



Catullan Myths: Gender, Mourning, and the Death of a Brother

This article considers Catullus' reaction to his brother's death and argues that the poet, having found the masculine vocabulary of grief inadequate, turns to the more expansive emotions and prolonged dedication offered by mythological examples of feminine mourning. I begin by showing how Catullus complicates his graveside speech to his brother in poem 101 by invoking poems 65, 68a, and 68b. In these compositions, Catullus likens himself to figures such as Procne and Laodamia, and their feminine modes of grief become associated with the poet. While these women's grief brings them to a dreadful end, in my second reading of poem 101 I show how Catullus incorporates their emotional intensity and devoted attention into a masculine performance of mourning. Connecting his voyage to his brother's grave with Odysseus' journey, Catullus valorizes his single-minded remembrance of his sibling, even as he acknowledges that he will never overcome the distance between them.

Catullus¹ writes dozens of verses about his brother's death, but he characterizes his sibling with only a single detail: he is buried at Troy. This location makes his resting place geographically distant, a fact that already poses a commemorative challenge, but the metaphorical space separating the two creates even greater difficulties.

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1. I use the name Catullus and the designation the poet to refer to the *persona* created by the Catullan corpus as well as the figure that the corpus implies wrote these poems. While narratology would differentiate these two as the narrator and the implied author (Booth 1961: 73 and 151; Chatman 1978: 148; and Fludernik 2009: 26), the poems collapse any distinction by projecting an image of a narrator who shares a name and many biographical details with their author, with the differences between the two being impossible to unravel (see Veyne 1988: 35; Gaisser 1993: 3; Gaisser 2012: 46; Harrison 2013: 154). On the Catullan *persona*, see Janan 1994: x; Nappa 2001: 20–35; Mayer 2003; Whitmarsh 2009; Stroup 2010: 26; and Gaisser 2012: 45–68. For the historical Catullus, see Cairns 2003.

Central to Greco-Roman myth, Troy situates Catullus' brother within a realm where those who die are remembered as heroes, yet the strategies that memorialize death in epic are out of reach for this late Republican poet.² Achilles' overwhelming grief for Patroclus,³ for instance, would shatter the bounds of Roman masculinity, while Catullus' slender compositions, which offer refined treatments of moments and themes relevant to their addressees' social circle, cannot offer the expansive memorial the *Iliad* grants Hector.⁴ Through associating his brother with Troy and Troy alone, Catullus foregrounds his struggle to commemorate a death as devastating as the disasters borne by epic heroes.

In the face of these obstacles, Catullus attempts to inhabit areas of experience set outside his reach: mythology and the feminine expression of grief. In this article, I argue that Catullus, having found the masculine vocabulary of grief inadequate,⁵ turns to the more expansive emotions and prolonged focus on the deceased offered by mythological examples of feminine mourning. I begin and end with poem 101. The only composition concerning his brother where Catullus does not explicitly characterize his grief as feminine, his graveside speech seems to offer his last words to his sibling, but its references to poems 65, 68a, and 68b complicate this performance.⁶ In these three poems, Catullus likens himself to figures such as Procne, Penelope, and Laodamia;⁷ their open expression of grief and extensive focus on the deceased, behaviors gendered as feminine at Rome, are associated with the poet. Such grief, which either brings these women death or transforms them into eternal

2. Putnam 2007 illustrates how Roman authors represent Troy as a place of sorrow and loss, and Stevens 2013: 134–35 and 153 considers Catullus' challenges in commemorating one who died at Troy.

3. Van Wees 1998: 11–16 notes that in neither the *Iliad* nor *Odyssey* is grief gendered feminine, with the only difference being that women engage more conspicuously in ritual mourning. See also Föllinger 2009: 20 and 24–26 on how weeping is not unmanly in Homer's epic.

4. This second challenge is due partly to Catullus' obligations to his addressees as well as to the neo-erotic characteristics of his poetry, which moves away from traditional subjects toward a consideration of interior feelings (Lyne 1978: 171–73 and 183–84; Thomson 1997: 374; and Johnson 2007: 187).

5. Reeser 2010: 27 writes how a "crisis of masculinity" arises when there is a "split between men's subjective experience and larger ideologies that pervade culture," a scenario applicable to Catullus here. Fitzgerald 1995: 18 likewise notes how Catullus' brother's death causes "a crisis in poetic activity," while Steenblock 2013: 257 observes a more general crisis in masculinity in the late Republic.

6. Du Quesnay and Woodman 2012b: 266 write about the potential dangers of linking poems based on "high-level abstractions," but the appearance of Catullus' brother in poems 65, 68a, 68b, and 101 forms them into a group (in which I include poem 66 due to its connection with poem 65). Other poems may reflect on this loss (see Van Sickle 1968: 505–506; Ross 1969: 119n.8; Block 1984: 50; Janan 1994: 20; and Holzberg 2002: 152), yet Catullus mentions his brother nowhere else. Given the uncertainty over the responsibility for the poems' arrangement, I depend largely on internal evidence, not proximity, in interpreting poems. For discussions of manuscript arrangement, see Quinn 1973: 15–16 and 258–89; Wiseman 1979: 175–76; Most 1981; Fedeli 1990: 32–33; Gaisser 1993: 5–6; Thomson 1997: 6–11; Heyworth 2001: 122–23; Wray 2001: 53–55 and 109; Hutchinson 2008: 116–17; Du Quesnay and Woodman 2012: 265–66; Gaisser 2012: 27–31 and 41; Gutzwiller 2012: 86–87; and Kennedy 2014: 22–23.

7. While Catullus is not the first to construct such a cross-gender simile, as Woodman 2002: 59 remarks, he "is distinguished by the fact that he has constructed a complex personality of this nature within a single body of poetry and applied it to himself as the author of the text." MacLeod 1974: 88 and Stoessl 1977: 149 note how Catullus elucidates his emotions through Greek mythology.

mourners, portends a similar fate for Catullus. In the article's conclusion, I return to poem 101 and show how Catullus incorporates these women's emotional intensity and devoted attention into a new, masculine performance of mourning. Recalling the ongoing mythical context created by his cross-gender similes, these same allusions reframe the connection between poem 101 and the *Odyssey*, fostering a link between Catullus' trip to his brother's grave and Odysseus' travel homeward. Granting a legendary patina to his own journey, Catullus valorizes his single-minded remembrance of his sibling, even as he acknowledges that he will never overcome the distance between them.

Catullus' depiction of himself as exploring modes of feminine grief draws on his poems' literary and cultural contexts and a consideration of these compositions' place in the Catullan corpus and their cultural milieu illustrates how they engage both with the poet's sustained questioning of the construction of masculinity as well as with the constraining expectations for masculine behavior that a man faces in late Republican Rome. Such a destabilization of masculine grief fits well with Catullus' play with gender in his other poems. In his poetry, Catullus consistently explores new ways of performing his masculinity while also critiquing others' behavior.⁸ As David Wray (2001) shows, Catullus sometimes assumes a hyper-aggressive pose and spouts invective, whereas in other poems he is delicate and sophisticated, nearly effeminate. Along with his performance of different "code models" of masculinity,⁹ Catullus likewise questions gender norms through his depiction of other men. Attis, for instance, literally unmans himself in the service of Cybele in poem 63, an action Marilyn Skinner (1993: 117) notes evokes the loss of "personal autonomy and diminished capacity for meaningful public action" at the end of the Republic. Further examples, such as Catullus' characterization of Priapus¹⁰ or adaptation of Sappho,¹¹ highlight his interrogation of masculinity, an interrogation that focuses on the expression of grief and its attendant anxieties in poems 65, 66, 68a, 68b, and 101.

These anxieties center on the idea of control, a crucial marker of masculine behavior in the late Republic. Masculinity in Rome was "an achieved state,"¹² predicated not on biological status but on a man's capability to offer the sort of performance that withstands scrutiny.¹³ Catullus knows the need for such a display. His pique in poem 16, for instance, arises from the assertion that he lacks control over his own desires.

8. On this topic, see Skinner 1991: 10–11 and 1993: 109; Janan 1994: 29, 48, 55, 58, 67, 112, and 145; Fitzgerald 1995: 34–35; Greene 1998: xiv, 1, 5, 11, 33, and 49; Wray 2001; Woodman 2002: 58–59; Greene 2006: 50 and 56; Manwell 2007: 125; Gale 2012: 209–210; and Hutchinson 2012: 73–74. On performance, masculinity, and the ancient world, see Gunderson 2000 and Jones 2012: 6–12. Manwell 2007: 113–16 and Masterson 2014: 22–28 offer overviews of the study of Roman masculinity.

9. Wray 2001: 161–216.

10. Uden 2007.

11. Clark 2008. See also Zetzel 1983: 264 and 266 and Selden 1992: 498 on how Catullus' poetry questions the assumptions of Roman public life and looks toward a more private world.

12. Gleason 1990: 391. See also Greene 1988: xii; Walters 1997: 32–40; and McDonnell 2003: 235–38.

13. On the power of the gaze, see Wilcox 2005: 270 and Bartsch 2006: 115–82.

When Catullus argues that his poetic request for “many thousands of kisses” (*milia multa basiorum*, 16.12) does not mean that he himself is “not at all manly” (*male . . . marem*, 16.13), he corrects the belief that a literary expression of desire undermines his masculinity.¹⁴ His manhood impugned, Catullus responds with an obscene vow: “Fuck you, boys, in the ass and the mouth!” (*Pedicabo ego uos et irrumabo*, 16.1=14).¹⁵ With his repetition, vulgarity, and promise of penetration, Catullus asserts control over his own masculinity and the discourse surrounding it.

This maintenance of control likewise included valuing public engagement and social interactions over private concerns.¹⁶ Catullus’ corpus constructs a world of reciprocal obligations, where his poems are objects integral to an exchange between men of “approximately equal social status.”¹⁷ Within this system, one man is obligated to fulfill another’s request.¹⁸ If a friend deviates from such rules, Catullus exacts a devastating punishment. In poem 30 he lambasts Alfenus for being “forgetful” (*immemor*, 30.1) and threatens “If you have forgotten, then the gods remember, and Faith remembers” (*si tu oblitus es, at di meminerunt, meminit Fides*, 30.11).¹⁹ Poem 38 voices a similar sentiment, as Catullus writes to Cornificius in a state of distress.²⁰ Complaining how his friend offers him no consolation, Catullus declares “I’m angry with you” (*irascor tibi*, 38.6), and ends the poem by asking for something “sadder than Simonides’ tears” (*maestius lacrimis Simonideis*, 38.8), Catullus emphasizes the obligations inherent in friendship as well as the potential for poetry to offer a balm.

The same projection of control was crucial for men who lost a family member. Philosophical writings insist that men limit the expression and duration of grief.

14. The text used is Thomson 1997. All translations are my own, unless noted.

15. Translation adapted from Stroup 2010: 224, who writes about the challenges of translating this verse.

16. Kaster 2005: 44 notes the Romans’ disappeared of “pursuing self-interested ends at the cost of social obligations.”

17. See Stroup 2010: 9, 12, 17, 19, and 22 on the literary exchange inscribed in Catullus’ texts. Fitzgerald 1995: 51; Tatum 1997: 484; Feldherr 2000: 229; Wray 2001: 100–11; Feeney 2012: 31, 41, and 45; Stevens 2013: 83; and Ingleheart 2014: 69 remark how Catullus’ poems function as markers of transaction within friendships. While subtle inequalities and social differences may exist between poet and addressee and friendly requests may become more pointed (see Nielson 1987: 157; White 1993: 29; and Tatum 2011: 461), Catullus does not indicate that he is being pressured by socially superior men to write specific poems. Rather, his situation fits the description of the literary culture of late Republican and Augustan Rome offered by White 1993: 34, where poet and addressee, “although . . . unequal in health and status, both generally belonged to a socioeconomic upper class, and they shared a similar cultural background.”

18. Wiseman 1974: 92; Farrell 2011: 169 and 174; and Kennedy 2014: 29 mark Catullus’ focus on friendship’s obligations and dynamics. See Batstone 1988: 9 and Williams 2012: 23–26 more generally on this topic.

19. The emendation argued for by Trappes-Lomaux 2007: 93–94 (*si tu oblitus es, at di meminere, at meminit Fides*) increases the contrast between remembering and forgetting. On the likely identity of this addressee as P. Alfenus Varus, a judicial writer and jurist, see Neudling 1955: 2 and Thomson 1997: 282. Catullus also criticizes friends for being false in poems 73, 77, and 91. See Wiseman 1974: 28 on poem 91.

20. See Thomson 1997: 303 on this addressee and Quinn 1970: 206 on the tone of Catullus’ “protestation of affliction.”

Cicero, for instance, claims in the *Tusculans* that friends and relatives must help if a man's soul threatens to give itself over "in a womanly fashion to lamentation and tears" (*lamentis muliebriter lacrimisque*, 2.48).²¹ Moreover, *exempla*, such as that of Marcus Horatius Pulvillus, showcase men's ability to complete their public duties in the face of a loved one's death.²² Yet these normative discourses likely present a stricter portrait of male mourning than existed in actuality.²³ Evidence shows that men grieved and expressed emotion. Even Seneca, who claims that it is better to not grieve at all, does not demand that a friend utterly abstain from mourning,²⁴ and an edict after Augustus' death required men mourn for a few days.²⁵

Although the gender differentiation in mourning likely falls short of that prescribed by *exempla* and philosophical texts, there was pressure for elite men to manifest their grief in a brief and restrained manner.²⁶ Cicero, for instance, notes the pleasure it gives him to learn, after the death of Caesar's daughter, "about his courage and dignity . . . in his greatest sorrow" (*de uirtute et grauitate . . . in summo dolore*, *Q. fr.* 3.6.3).²⁷ Customs associated with death and its aftermath

21. To illustrate this point, Cicero quotes selections that show Odysseus' greater emotional restraint in Pacuvius' *Niptra* as compared with his wailing in Sophocles. According to Cicero, having been rebuked for his expressions of pain, Pacuvius' hero states "It is fitting to complain of bad fortune, not to lament it: This is the duty of man; weeping was added to women's nature" (*conqueri fortunam aduersam, non lamentari decet; / id uiri est officium: fletus muliebri ingenio additus*, *Tusc.* 2.50). Even if Cicero manipulates these verses to suit his argument that men should endure pain without tears (Schierl 2015: 50–58), his use of them nonetheless demonstrates the force of such beliefs about masculine behavior in the late Republic. Another philosophical example of concern over excessive grief comes in Seneca's consolations to women, where, as Wilcox 2006 shows, Seneca's advice to mourn as briefly as possible shows that feminine traits of grief were so problematic that they should be avoided by both sexes. See also Erker 2009 on gender differentiation in mourning in Rome; and Treggiari 1991: 495; Braund and Gill 1997: 10; Wilcox 2006: 96n.7; and Konstan 2013: 24 on links between emotion, irrationality and feminine softness in philosophical writings and consolatory literature.

22. Livy writes how the consul Pulvillus, told of his son's death in the midst of dedicating a temple, pauses only to order that the body be buried and then completes his task, because he either did not believe the report or "had so strong a mind" (*tantum animo roboris fuerit*, 2.8.8; see Oakley 1965: 254). Cicero also cites this example at *Dom.* 139, where he implicitly contrasts the consul's "most steadfast resolution" (*constantissima mente*), a quintessentially masculine trait, with the character of Clodius, who "often behaved as a woman among men and a man among women" (*inter uiros saepe mulier et inter mulieres uir fuisset*).

23. See Richlin 2001: 231 and Erker 2009: 157 and 2011: 57 on this gap.

24. *Ep.* 63.1. While Seneca does this, though, he argues that core Roman morals are undermined by excessive grief and necessitate its suppression (Wilson 1997: 59–62).

25. Flower 1996: 28. For another example of men mourning in response to an imperial death, see the reaction to Germanicus' funerary urn in Tacitus, where it is impossible to distinguish "lamentations of men and women" (*uirorum feminarum planctus*, *Ann.* 3.1.4). Woodman and Martin 1996: ad loc. note how Tacitus emphasizes the "universality of grief" and "its outward manifestations." Treggiari 1991: 489–90 also comments on this passage and collects evidence claiming that Augustus groaned and cried at a kinswoman's death.

26. Koziak 2000: 27; Clark 2008: 269–71; Hope 2011: xvi–xvii; and Mustakallio 2013: 237 discuss cultural and familial factors that influence how and when people show emotions.

27. See Treggiari 1998: 15 on this passage. Other examples illustrate this point. Cicero, for instance, also urges his friend to limit his mourning (*Fam.* 5.16.5–6). Moreover, on the brevity of male grief, note Tiberius' appeal to Roman custom (*Tac. Ann.* 3.6.1 and see Woodman and Martin 1996: ad loc. and ad 3.12.5) and the distinction made in the case of Augustus' death, for which the period of

illustrate this expectation. At funerals, women sang a repetitive chant called the *nenia* to help the deceased move toward the world of the dead,²⁸ while men delivered the *laudatio funebris*, a speech situating their loss within the community.²⁹ Following their ritualistic laments, women entered a period of formal mourning,³⁰ while men returned to public life after being purified,³¹ where their reactions “were scrutinised, partly in sympathy, to see how they were coping, and partly to see how they lived up to an ideal of restraint in the display of grief and in ability to get back to ‘business as usual.’”³²

Against this backdrop, Cicero, who lived in roughly the same time period as Catullus and possessed a similar socioeconomic background,³³ provides good evidence for the pressures facing the poet. In the months after his daughter Tullia’s death, Cicero’s letters testify to his deep sadness as well as the burden he felt to hide that emotion. In the earliest epistles, Cicero tells Atticus how he retreats to his villa in Astura, where he is overwhelmed by weeping and desires only solitude.³⁴ With his “prolonged grief . . . judged by his contemporaries to be excessive and suspect,”³⁵ Cicero considers his attempts to project an image of control: “And I try all I can to restore not just my heart but also my face itself, if I can. If I do this, I sometimes feel I am doing wrong, while, at other times, I feel like I would be doing wrong if I do not” (*omniaque nitor non ad animum sed ad uultum ipsum, si queam, reficiendum, idque faciens interdum mihi peccare uideor; interdum peccaturus esse nisi faciam, Att. 12.14.3.*) Focusing on the difference between his face and heart, Cicero’s words show his awareness of the strict standards of male emotional expression as well as the performative nature of Roman culture.³⁶ Along with the Romans’ customs for mourning, these letters help to identify the characteristics of grief specifically gendered as feminine in the late Republic. Clustering around the notion of a lack of control, they include a long-lasting attention to the deceased and the visible expression of emotion:

men’s mourning (a few days) is considerably less than the entire year expected of women (see Flower 1996: 28 on this and Wilcox 2007: 272 and Erker 2009: 135 on the regulation of the mourning period by gender). Also, as Flower 1996: 27–28 notes, the first punishment listed for Piso is that no women were permitted to mourn him, an edict revealing the assumption that mourning is done by women alone.

28. Dutsch 2008. See Treggiari 1991: 489–93 and Erker 2011: 40 on funeral rituals.

29. Erker 2011: 41–47, 51, and 57.

30. Erker 2011: 54–55.

31. Erker 2011:41–44. “Men were exempt from public duties” for nine days (Treggiari 1991: 493).

32. Treggiari 1998: 15. See also Treggiari 1991: 493–94; Greene 1998: 7; and Richlin 2001: 234 on how excessive grief would render a man effeminate.

33. This last factor is of considerable importance, as the gender division in mourning was most pronounced for the upper class (Richlin 2001 and Erker 2011).

34. See the letters closest in date to Tullia’s death (especially, *Att.* 12.12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31) as well as Treggiari 1991: 495–96 and 1998: 15–23; Erskine 1997: 36–39; and Baltussen 2009.

35. Wilcox 2005: 267, and see *Fam.* 4.5 and 5.14 as well as Treggiari 2007: 136.

36. As Erskine 1997: 36 remarks, Cicero’s letters depict his sadness as “a passion that needs to be brought under control,” and he searches for a practical solution in the *Tusculans* (see Erskine 1997: 39–47 and Wilcox 2005: 277).

behaviors that, it will be argued below, are consistent with the female mythological examples of mourning to which Catullus compares himself.

Apart from his reaction to his brother's death, Catullus often distances sadness from himself and undermines its seriousness. When he asks his friends to tell Lesbia their relationship is over, he transfers his loss onto the figure of a flower that is cut down by a plow.³⁷ In poem 3, meanwhile, Catullus minimizes the gravity of another's disaster so that he may focus on his own complaint. Here, the poet notes Lesbia's sorrow over her sparrow's death, but he shifts from appearing to lament the bird itself to mourning how his mistress' once attractive eyes are now marred by tears.³⁸ Lastly, when Catullus considers the grief of a fellow poet, he entertains the possibility that it may decrease the suffering of the dead. In Poem 96 he tells Calvus that their grief will help Quintilia, his deceased beloved:³⁹ if anything grateful can befall the tomb "from our grief" (*a nostro . . . dolore*, 96.2), then "surely Quintilia's grief in her untimely death is not so great as her joy at your love" (*certe non tanto mors immatura dolori est / Quintiliae, quantum gaudet amore tuo*, 96.5–6). Here, Catullus voices the possibility that the grief of the living may help the dead, yet he couches this in a conditional statement, leaving his audience unsure whether any communication between Calvus and Quintilia actually occurs.⁴⁰

While Quintilia may find happiness in Calvus' love and grief, Catullus makes no such claim for his brother, and his exploration of his own emotions differs from the other examples in his corpus as well as from Cicero's reaction to the loss of Tullia. Given that the rest of the article considers Catullus' response to his sibling's death, it is sufficient to say for now that his grief, personal and overwhelming, can neither be displaced, minimized, nor transformed into a positive force. In regard to Cicero, while he provides a productive point of comparison for Catullus, fundamental differences distinguish their expression of their emotions. While Cicero's private letters were meant for Atticus,⁴¹ Catullus sets his grief in poems that, although they are addressed to individual friends, were written for and circulated among a wider audience.⁴² This is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it means that Catullus chooses to make his reaction to his brother's death public, and by situating his grief within poems that emphasize the reciprocal duties binding himself and his addressees, he creates a tension between his social and commemorative obligations.⁴³ Secondly, this particular literary setting locates Catullus' performance of his grief in a

37. See 11.21–24, as well as Celentano 1991 and Greene 1998: 27–28 and 2006: 64.

38. 3.17–18. Dutsch 2008: 268–70 considers this poem a parody of a lament from the perspective of the *nenia*.

39. On whether Quintilia was Calvus' wife or mistress, see Thomson 1997: 529.

40. Stevens 2013: 190–94.

41. Steel 2005: 43–47.

42. While this is not the place for extensive discussion, Gaisser 2012: 27 offers a reasonable model for the circulation of Catullus' poems, suggesting that the poet's "actual audience" was drawn from a "potential contemporary audience . . . of well educated elite men (and some women) with literary interests . . . measured not in thousands but in a few hundreds at most."

43. Tuplin 1981: 119; Burgess 1986: 580–81; and Fitzgerald 1995: 17–18, 189, and 194–95 remark on the conflicting duties the poet feels after his brother's death.

liminal region, somewhere between the realm of philosophy and *exempla* (which urge men to suppress any reaction to loss), and “real life” (where gender differences still exist but may not be absolute). Perhaps best conceived of as “fictionalized representations of reality,”⁴⁴ Catullus’ poems engage with everyday Roman cultural expectations, but they do so on a poetic stage that likely invokes some of the more restrictive expectations about male grief expressed elsewhere in literature.

COMPLETION WITHOUT CLOSURE: POEM 101

Out of all of Catullus’ poems about his brother, the poet comes closest to him in poem 101. Here, he stands before his sibling’s grave and speaks to him directly in a seemingly masculine pose. Even as he attempts to perform the rituals of mourning in a masculine role, though, any sense of finality is precluded by internal cues within the poem and, more significantly, by a series of allusions that recall Catullus’ feminine portraits of his grief.

Poem 101 contrasts Catullus’ trip to his brother’s grave with the impossibility of contact. Five spare couplets fashion its amalgam of action and futility (101.1–10):

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus
 aduenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias,
 ut te postremo donarem munere mortis⁴⁵
 et mutam nequiquam alloquerer cinerem,
 quandoquidem fortuna mihi tete abstulit ipsum, 5
 heu miser indigne⁴⁶ frater adempte mihi.
 nunc tamen interea haec, prisco quae more parentum
 tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias,⁴⁷
 accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu,
 atque in perpetuum, frater, aue atque uale. 10

Having sailed through many people and many seas, I come to these wretched last rites, brother, so that I might present you with this final offering for death and speak to the silent ashes, all to no avail, since fortune stole you yourself from me, alas wretched brother wrongfully taken from me.

44. Du Quesnay and Woodman 2012b, 257. Gaisser 1993: 3 and Nelis 2012: 11 offer similar views.

45. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 279 proposes to emend this verse to *ut te postremo donarem munere, <frater>*, but *mortis*, while challenging to interpret, may be interpreted as qualifying Catullus’ gift. Moreover, the addition of *frater* would destroy the elegant repetition of that word at four line intervals.

46. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 280 emends *indigne* to *indigno*, based on Catullus’ usage of adjectives. Yet retaining the adverb allows its meaning to describe the shocking nature of the brother’s death as well as its impact on Catullus (see Fordyce 1961: ad loc. on this point).

47. The emendations of Trappes-Lomax 2007: 280 in lines 7–8 (*haec tamen interea, prisco quae more parentum / tradita sunt tristis munera ad inferias*) weaken the poem’s temporal movement by excising *nunc*. (See Gaisser 2012: 118–21 on the poem’s temporal and rhetorical structures.) While *tristi munere* is an opaque phrase, clarity is not a pressing enough reason to emend and ambiguity often has value in Catullus’ text (Skinner 2008: 181–83 and Heyworth 2008).

Now nevertheless, as for these things, which in the old custom of our ancestors were given as a gloomy offering for the last rites, accept them, drenched with a brother's tears, and forever, brother, hail and farewell.

The poet addresses his brother with an arresting immediacy, and the poem's multiple deictics and second-person forms emphasize Catullus' presence at this particular place in this particular moment.⁴⁸ From the most basic perspective, his location enables him to perform the necessary funerary rites, something brought out by the references to rituals in lines 2, 3, 7, 8, and 10 and the *conclamatio* of *frater* in the same metrical seat in lines 2, 6, and 10.⁴⁹ Yet, in spite of these gestures toward finality, the poem mitigates against any closural movement.⁵⁰ Most broadly, as G. O. Hutchinson (2008: 129) points out, it brings together "the emotional contact of address . . . with the futility of speaking to the dead."⁵¹ The same tension animates its syntax. The present tense main verb, "I come" (*aduenio*, 101.2), leads into a purpose clause with two imperfect verbs, "I might present . . . I might speak" (*donarem . . . / . . . alloquerer*, 101.3–4), a sequence showing that Catullus intended these actions when he began his journey but cannot perform them now.⁵² Even the poem's end, where Catullus draws on words spoken at a funeral, juxtaposes connection and separation: "*ave* carries the dual meanings of 'hail' and 'farewell' and combines them to create a bitter irony."⁵³

Above and beyond these tensions within the poem, a Homeric allusion raises further questions about the efficacy of Catullus' actions. Gian Biagio Conte (1971: 326) first noted that the poet's travels invoke the *Odyssey's* proem (*Od.* 1.1–4):

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε·
πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω,
πολλὰ δ' ὃ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν . . .

48. A list includes *has* (2) *frater* (2, 6, 10); *te* (3); *tete* (5); *miser* (6); *adempte* (6); *haec* (7); *accipe* (9); *aue* (10); and *uale* (10), with *tete* being the earliest repeated apostrophe in Latin hexameters (Wills 1996: 82). See also Williams 1968: 186 on the "directness and immediacy" of Catullus' "self-expression" in the poem.

49. Syndikus 1987: 107; Treggiari 1991: 485; Thomson 1997: 537; and Gaisser 2012: 120.

50. For an alternative view, see Clarke 2008: 142, who writes that Catullus has commemorated his brother in such a way "that will enable him to be buried in the past."

51. Bignone 1945: 371; Quinn 1970: ad 5–10; and Stevens 2013: 177 and 179 remark on this futility.

52. While *aduenio* can signify the perfect *adueni* and may introduce a secondary sequence subordinate clause (Kroll 1959: ad loc.), it is also possible to interpret it as a true present and view the subjunctives as dependent on *uectus* (see Biondi 1976: 412; Gaisser 2012: 131 and 131n.29; and Stevens 2013: 181–82; Thomson 1997: ad loc. entertains both possibilities). Catullus' aims precede his arrival (Fordyce 1961: ad loc. and Quinn 1970: ad loc.), and the imperfects *donarem* and *alloquerer* show a potential that will never be fulfilled. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 279–80, emends *aduenio* to *adueni*, a change he claims would move the line away from being "so jauntily dactylic a hexameter." Yet, in addition to the arguments above about *uectus*, the line's dactylic nature effectively contrasts with the next verse's five spondees, which undercut the momentum of Catullus' arrival and his incipient hope for closure at his brother's gravesite.

53. Howe 1974: 276. See also Ferguson 1985: 312 and Fedeli 1990: 18 and 104–105 for analysis of other details that emphasize the hopelessness of Catullus' efforts.

Sing to me, Muse, of the man of many ways, who was driven many places
after he sacked Troy's holy citadel; he saw the cities of many men and
learned their minds, and he suffered many pains in his heart on the sea. . .

Catullus' voyage "through many peoples and many seas" (*multas per gentes et multa per aequora*, 101.1) recalls this opening encapsulation of Odysseus' homeward journey, wherein the Greek hero "was driven to many places" (μάλα πολλά / πλάγχθη, 1.1–2); saw the cities "of many men" (πολλῶν . . . ἀνθρώπων, 1.3); and suffered "many pains on the sea" (πολλά . . . ἐν πόντῳ . . . ἄλγεα, 1.4). These phrases, centering on a sea journey through numerous peoples and places, link the poems together, a connection buttressed by the passages' similar locations.⁵⁴ Conte (2007: 174) claims that Catullus alludes to the *Odyssey* "to make Odysseus' mythical journey well up through his words." Giuseppe Gilberto Biondi (1976), meanwhile, argues for a more specific referent: namely, Odysseus' journey to the underworld in *Odyssey* 11, where Odysseus enjoys the type of communication with the dead denied to Catullus.⁵⁵ Neither possibility rules out the other, and each emphasizes Catullus' yearning for contact with his brother as well as the denial of that connection.

A series of allusions to other Catullan poems suggest that these tensions need to be evaluated within the poet's larger portrait of his grief. Given its focus on his brother, poem 101 is linked to poems 65, 68a, and 68b, the only other poems in Catullus' corpus that mention his sibling. Specific verbal allusions reinforce this thematic connection. The phrase *frater adempte mihi* appears at the end of 68a.20, 68b.92, and 101.6,⁵⁶ an intertextual repetition that echoes and expands the *conclamatio* of *frater* in poem 101. Other verbal cues join poems 101 and 65, as *manantia* (101.9) recalls *manans* (65.6), which describes the Lethe River washing over Catullus' brother's feet, and *manat* (65.24), which denotes the blush of a figure to whom Catullus has been compared.⁵⁷ Lastly, the Homeric allusion in poem 101 brings Troy to mind and thereby invokes poems 65 and 68b, the only places where Catullus reveals the site of his brother's burial.⁵⁸ In these three poems, along with poem 66, presented as the companion piece to poem 65, Catullus frequently links himself with female figures of mourning from myth. As I argue in the rest of the article, these cross-gender connections associate the poet with marked feminine modes of grief,

54. The *Odyssey* is not the only text to which this poem alludes; Williams 1968: 185–86; Bellandi 2007: 271–340; and Gutzwiller 2012: 104–107 analyze its relationship with Mel. *AP* 7.476.

55. See also Gaisser 2012: 138 on how "Catullus, despite his own Odyssean journey, lacks the power of an epic hero: he cannot bridge the gap between life and death to reach his kinsman."

56. Feldherr 2000: 226 writes that these near identical-lines "construct the poet's oeuvre as a monument supplementing the epigraph." More broadly speaking, Maggiali 2008: 182 and Gaisser 2012: 132n.37 observe how multiple aspects of the lament in poem 101 are found in 65.5–14, 68a.15–26, and 68b.90–100. The imagery of water and a journey by ship in poem 101 also further connects this composition with poems 65 and 68a (see p. 305).

57. These represent three of the word's four appearances in the Catullan corpus, with the only other occurrence coming at 64.344 (*manabunt*). This tally comes from a survey of McCarren 1977.

58. Gaisser 2012: 138.

specifically a lengthy focus on the dead and an expansive expression of emotion that he incorporates within his masculine performance of mourning in poem 101.

FEMININE MODELS OF MOURNING: POEMS 65 AND 66

Recalled through its focus on his brother's death as well as the link between *manans* (65.6), *manat* (65.24), and *manantia* (101.9), poem 65 expresses the intensity of Catullus' emotions through comparison with female mythological figures. Catullus details his conflict between dueling obligations: the necessity to mourn his brother and to reply to Hortalus' request for a poem.⁵⁹ Trying to negotiate a satisfactory response, Catullus looks toward feminine modes of mourning even as he writes within a masculine environment. By the end of the poem, Catullus has associated his grief with a ceaseless focus on and an invariable lament for the dead. Moreover, when he does satisfy his friend with a translation of Callimachus in poem 66, Catullus still explores his emotions through the experience of a female figure.

Even before Catullus discloses his brother's death, he evokes the difficulty of creating a new work. The poem's opening address effaces his presence (65.1–4):

Etsi me assiduo defectum cura dolore
seuocat a doctis, Hortale, uirginibus,
nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus
mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis —⁶⁰

Even if care calls me, worn out from continuous grief, away from the
learned virgins, Hortalus, and my mind's thought cannot bring forth the
Muses' sweet fruits and is itself tossed about by great evils —

These couplets reveal that Catullus struggles to write while hiding his suffering. The poem's first word, "Even if" (*Etsi*), promises that its clause's claims will be overcome.⁶¹ By setting "me" (*me*) directly after this conjunction, Catullus undermines his position, an effect compounded by the pronoun's elision with *assiduo* ("continuous").⁶² Conversely, *Hortale* ("Hortalus"), placed between *doctis* ("learned") and

59. On the identification of this addressee as the orator Q. Hortensius Hortalus or his son, see Neudling 1955: 83–86; Tatum 1997: 489; Thomson 1997: 526; Stroup 2010: 84, 85n.50, 192n.58, and 279–80; and Du Quesnay 2012: 154–56. On social obligation in Catullus 65, see Stroup 2010: 199–206.

60. Like Quinn 1970 and Thomson 1997: I punctuate the end of line 4 with a dash. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 207 prefers a semi-colon, yet the notion that lines 5–14 are a parenthesis works well in terms of the poem's tension between Catullus' obligations to his brother and addressee.

61. Clarke 2008: 135 remarks how this "abrupt beginning . . . flings the reader into the midst of [Catullus'] tumultuous frame of mind."

62. Conversely, the distance between *me* and *uirginibus* expresses the poet's separation from the Muses (Ferguson 1985: 209).

uirginibus (“virgins”), emphatically points to the type of erudite and polished composition Catullus’ addressee awaits.⁶³

The anacoluthon at the end of verse 4 unveils the specific origin of Catullus’ anguish,⁶⁴ orienting his brother’s death around a nexus of guilt, forgetting, and separation. After speaking of how his mind is “tossed about” (*fluctuat*, 65.4),⁶⁵ Catullus turns toward his sibling (5–14):

namque mei nuper Lethaeo in gurgite fratris 5
 pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem,
 Troia Rhoeteo quem subter litore tellus
 ereptum nostris obterit ex oculis.
 * * * * * *⁶⁶

numquam ego te, uita frater amabilior, 10
 aspiciam posthac? at certe semper amabo,
 semper maesta tua carmina morte canam,
 qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris
 Daulias, absumpti fata gemens Ityli. —

for recently the running water in the Lethaeian stream lapped the poor pale foot⁶⁷ of my brother, whom the Trojan earth crushes beneath the Rhoeteian shore, snatched from my eyes * * * * *

Will I never, brother more beloved than life, see you after this? But surely I will always love you, I will always sing songs saddened by your death,⁶⁸ such as the Daulian sings under the dense shadows of branches, mourning the fate of her slain Itylus. —

As the poem moves from the metaphorical buffeting of Catullus’ mind to the actual water of Lethe, “recently” (*nuper*, 65.5) sets his brother’s death in the near past. Already, though, the poet faces the challenge of commemoration. In the Greco-Roman underworld, a shade must drink from Lethe and forget his previous life before being reborn as a different person.⁶⁹ Having approached the river,

63. “The topos of the *carmen iussum* . . . signals friendship between author and addressee” (Tatum 1997: 489), even as Catullus describes his challenge in honoring his friend’s wishes.

64. Ferguson 1985: 209 also remarks on how line 5 reveals to the audience what has happened.

65. *Flucto* (OLD 1 and 2) often describes the ocean and its effects, and here it links Catullus’ suffering with Lethe’s touching of his brother.

66. See Thomson 1997: ad loc. on this gap in the poem.

67. Gaisser 2012: 93–94 notes the pathos communicated by the diminutive *pallidulum*.

68. As Wiseman 1969: 18 and Thomson 1997: ad loc. remark, *maesta tua* . . . *morte* reflects the change in Catullus’ songs caused by his brother’s death.

69. The name Lethe comes from λήθη, which means “forgetfulness” or “forgetting,” and the association between forgetting and the underworld likely goes back to proto-Indo-European myth (Lincoln 1982). Pl. *R.* 621a and Verg. *A.* 6.713–15, 748–51 describe the oblivion a drink from Lethe brings to shades.

Catullus' brother will soon forget him, and this impending oblivion transfers the burden of remembering to the poet.⁷⁰

His sibling's resting place complicates Catullus' task by creating mythological and geographical distances. The metrical flourish of the adjectives *Troia Rhoeteo* ("Trojan Rhoetean"), which occupy the beginning of line 7 up to its caesura, grants them an added prominence.⁷¹ *Troia* ("Trojan") recalls the Trojan War and all who died fighting it, while *Rhoeteo* ("Rhoetean") alludes to a single, more problematic death. Ajax was buried on the Rhoetean shore after he ended his life in madness and frustration, and the commemorative difficulties that attended his suicide encircle Catullus and his brother.⁷² Troy's distant location likewise impedes his commemorative efforts.⁷³ *Troia* and *Rhoeteo* confer a specificity on the site of the corpse that only emphasizes its far-flung location, a pathetic effect accentuated by the verse's structure: *quem* (Catullus' brother) is literally enveloped by *Troia . . . tellus* ("the Trojan earth") and *Rhoeteo . . . litore* ("the Rhoetean shore"), a construction that renders the siblings' separation all the more permanent.⁷⁴ The couplet's second line brings this feeling to a climax. The violence of "snatched" (*ereptum*) and "crushes" (*obterit*), along with the specification "from my eyes" (*ex nostris . . . oculis*), heighten Catullus' awareness of his need to remember his brother in the face of the gap between them.

Catullus' consideration of his grief orients the poem further from Hortalus and closer to myth. After apostrophizing his brother in line 10, Catullus asserts his perpetual love and promises he will always sing mournful songs. Lines 13–14 leave behind a public, masculine environment for a private, feminine realm. Catullus' simile likens his songs to those sung by a woman who, transformed into a nightingale, always laments the son she killed.⁷⁵ These details link his poetry with a feminized version of mourning: the nightingale's trills, enclosed "under the dense shadows of branches" (*sub densis ramorum . . . umbris*, 13), exist as an unabated and invariable lament, distant from

70. Sweet 2006: 89 and Woodman 2012: 138. Clarke 2008: 136 notes how *gurgite* heightens the threat of oblivion.

71. Additionally, as Woodman 2012: 139 shows, the fronting of *Troia* and *Rhoeteo* outside their clause brings out "the distance and foreignness of the locality," while, as Ferguson 1985: 209 remarks, "the juxtaposition of *Troia* with *pedem* in the previous line reminds us of the end of his brother's journey."

72. *APL*. 7.146.1; *Str.* 13.1.30; and *Plin. Nat.* 5.125 place Ajax's burial on the Rhoetean shore. The dialogue between Teucer, Odysseus, Agamemnon, and the Chorus in *S. Aj.* 1163–420 centers on the question of Ajax' corpse. Although this tragedy ends with the agreement that Ajax will receive a proper burial, in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 3) Ajax is denied cremation (there depicted as the more typical rite) and buried instead. *Verg. A.* 6.505–506 may look back to the difficulties the location of his brother's grave poses to Catullus (see Bleisch 1999: 213–18 and Horsfall 2013: ad loc.).

73. It also prevented Catullus from being at his deathbed. On the rituals expected of a relative at this time, see Treggiari 1991: 484–85.

74. Woodman 2012: 140 notes the mimicking effects of the line's syntax.

75. See Forbes Irving 1990: 99–107 on various interpretations of this metamorphosis. Monella 2005: 236–41 argues that the nightingale represents not just Catullus' song but elegiac poetry. As Stroup 2010: 203 notes, the nightingale was connected with poetry in antiquity.

any societal obligations to the living.⁷⁶ The only time in his corpus “when Catullus imagines himself as a singer,”⁷⁷ this vision focuses his eternal song on his own private emotions. The cross-gender comparison illuminates how Catullus’ sorrow overflows the confines of masculine mourning. Such uncontrolled grief, absent any engagement with another, is antipodal to Republican codes of male behavior.⁷⁸

The well-known myth to which Catullus alludes makes him responsible for his brother’s passing. *Daulias* (“Daulian”), conspicuously placed at the beginning of line 14, refers to Procne, the wife of the Daulian king Tereus, and recalls the story of how she, after learning that Tereus raped her sister Philomela, conspires with Philomela to kill Itys, Tereus’ son by Procne. In the end, Procne, Philomela, and Tereus are transformed into birds,⁷⁹ and Procne’s eternal song stands as a paradigm of unremitting mourning. Her story prompts a reimagining of Catullus’ relationship with his brother. Instead of siblings, they are likened to mother and son, a situation that suggests Catullus should have been nurturing his brother and that he, like Procne, may be culpable for his loved one’s death.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the destruction of Procne’s human form through her mourning alludes to a darker end for Catullus as well.

The second name in line 14, *Ityli*, brings Catullus into the orbit of the Trojan War by alluding to an older, less common version of the tale.⁸¹ Specifically, *Ityli* recalls *Odyssey* 19,⁸² where Penelope recounts how Aedon, jealous of her sister-in-law Niobe’s many children, attempts to kill one of her sons. Instead, though, in a moment of “senseless folly” (δὲ ἄφραδίας, *Od.* 19.523), she murders her own offspring, Itylus. Aedon is then transformed into a nightingale who forever mourns her son’s death, calling out his name again and again.⁸³ The story of Aedon, like that of Procne, makes Catullus responsible for his brother’s demise

76. See Block 1984: 55 on this simile’s impact on the poem’s portrayal of the depth of Catullus’ grief. This feminine, wordless grief represents “the earliest form of mourning . . . there is” (Clarke 2008: 139) and hints at the poet’s almost nonhuman mode of expression (Stevens 2013: 132–33).

77. Farrell 2011: 175.

78. Wailing is a distinctively feminine practice in Rome (Erker 2011: 44 and Richlin 2001: 238–40).

79. In Greek versions, Tereus is transformed into a hoopoe, Procne a nightingale, and Philomela a swallow, while many Roman authors, but not Catullus, often reverse the sisters’ birds.

80. Stehle 1997: 109n.120 remarks that a myth such as the one of the nightingale “depletes the mother’s power by making her responsible for her grief and destroyed by it.” As Sweet 2006: 90 observes, the bird’s “song is both sad and guilty.” More generally, a woman’s self-mutilation invokes the idea that she “is expected to blame herself for the death” (Richlin 2001: 241) and, in Greek literature, a mother’s loss of a child is characterized as immeasurable (Loraux 1990: 57–65).

81. See Kroll 1959: 198 and Holzberg 2002: 153–54 on Catullus’ reference to two forms of the myth.

82. *Odyssey* 19 is the oldest source for this version (Forbes Irving 1990: 248; Russo, Fernandez-Galiano, and Heubeck 1992: ad 19.518–24; Monella 2005: 17–21). See Wiseman 1969: 18 and Sweet 2006: 90 on two verbal links that confirm this allusion. “Under the dense shadows of branches” (*sub densis ramorum . . . umbris*, 65.13) echoes “on the dense leaves of the forest” (δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι . . . πυκννοῖσιν, 19.520), and “mourning the fate of her slain Itylus” (*absumpti fata gemens Ityli*, 65.14) recalls “lamenting her son, dear Itylus” (παῖδ’ ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, 19.522).

83. Rutherford 1992: ad 518–24.

and underscores how his grief transforms him. Yet, due to its rarity, this variant prompts further consideration of its Homeric context.

Several similarities between Catullus and Penelope reveal that two equal obligations overwhelm the poet. Like Catullus, Penelope elucidates her feelings with a simile invoking this myth. Unknowingly addressing the disguised Odysseus, Penelope describes how she “laments” (ὄδυρομένη, 19.513; ὄδυρομένην, 19.517) both day and night. In particular, disquiet seizes her when all others sleep (*Od.* 19.518–24):

ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόυρη, γλωρηῖς ἀηδῶν,
καλὸν ἀεΐδησιν ἕαρος νέον ἰσταμένοιο,
δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκνοῖσιν, 520
ἢ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῶ
κτεῖνε δι' ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθιοιο ἄνακτος,
ὡς καὶ ἐμοὶ . . .

As when Pandareos' daughter, the greenwood nightingale, perching on the forest's dense leaves, sings her beautiful song at spring's beginning, the nightingale, who, splendidly varying her notes, pours out her many-toned song, lamenting her son, dear Itylus, son of king Zethos, whom she once killed in senseless folly with a sword, in this way also for me . . .

After describing the nightingale's song, Penelope relates her situation to the bird's. “In this way” (ὡς, *Od.* 19.524), Penelope says, she does not know whether she should marry a suitor or await Odysseus' return. Through this comparison, Penelope points to the responsibility she feels for Telemachus' suffering as the suitors devour his patrimony.⁸⁴ Again associating Catullus with a woman who feels guilty for her actions,⁸⁵ this likeness draws attention to the poet's impossible conflict.⁸⁶ the equal importance of son and husband to Penelope implies that Catullus feels a similar duty to Hortalus and his brother.

Just when Catullus' grief seems ready to engulf the entire poem, the poet returns to Hortalus' request.⁸⁷ He addresses him in the composition's sole main clause: “But, nevertheless, although I am in such mourning, Hortalus, I send you these translated verses⁸⁸ of Callimachus” (*sed tamen in tantis maeroribus, Hortale,*

84. Rutherford 1992: ad 518–24 notes that the simile reflects Penelope's fear over potentially causing Telemachus' death as well as her grief over Odysseus' presumed death. See Gaisser 2012: 145–47 on the conflicts and guilt brought out here.

85. Wiseman 1969: 18 and Sweet 2006: 91 discuss the suggestive parallels between the two.

86. Fitzgerald 1995: 199 writes “the Greek poem insinuates that the Roman protests too much,” yet the danger to Penelope's household brings out Catullus' peril and also links these verses with 68a.22 and 68b.94, where Catullus speaks of how his brother's death ruined his household.

87. On whether Hortalus requested an original poem, see Williams 1968: 253 and 707; Quinn 1970: ad 65.19–23; Selden 1992: 471; Thomson 1997: 443; and Wray 2001: 99.

88. See Thomson 1997: ad loc. for this translation of *carmina*.

mitto / haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae, 65.15–16).⁸⁹ This couplet's place in the poem's structure distills Catullus' quandary: indispensable from the perspective of grammar and communication, the verses are overwhelmed by the length and content of the surrounding subordinate clauses.

Having left behind a feminine mode of mourning to reengage with his masculine social obligations, Catullus ends the poem by divulging why he complies with Hortalus' request. He will send Hortalus these translated verses (65.17–24):

ne tua dicta uagis nequiquam credita uentis
 effluxisse meo forte putes animo,
 ut missum sponsi furtiuo munere malum
 procurrit casto uirginis e gremio, 20
 quod miserae oblitae molli sub ueste locatum,
 dum aduentu matris prosilit, excutitur,
 atque illud prono praeceptis agitur decursu,
 huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.

in order that you not perhaps think that your words, entrusted to the wandering winds in vain,⁹⁰ had slipped out of my mind, just as an apple, sent as a fiancé's secret gift, slips out of the chaste virgin's lap, the apple which, placed under the soft clothes of the poor, forgetful girl, is knocked out when she gets up at her mother's arrival and falls headlong, straight down, and a knowing blush spreads on her rueful face.

The comparison between Hortalus' "words" (*dicta*, 65.17) and the forgotten apple situates Catullus as the young woman and Hortalus as her fiancé, with the apple representing Hortalus' request for a poem.⁹¹ Catullus is passive and neglectful, while his addressee occupies the masculine position of power. Hortalus' request is figured as a precious gift to Catullus, an opportunity to display his literary virtuosity and strengthen their relationship.⁹² Instead of being plagued by one flaw of memory

89. See Wray 2001: 190 on how, in general, when Catullus mentions Callimachus he evokes a "delicacy pressed to the point of effeminacy." Du Quesnay 2012: 154–61 considers how poem 66 may reflect Hortalus' interest in Egypt.

90. Alluding to a sea-voyage, *credere uentis* indicates that Catullus "does not want Hortalus to think that his letter triumphed over the hazards of the journey, only to be forgotten once it reached its destination" (Woodman 2012: 148).

91. Stroup 2010: 85 and Woodman 2012: 150. This simile also comments on Catullus' situation in other ways. Ferguson 1985: 210–11 notes how the girl's blush brings out Catullus' shame both at writing the poem in a time of mourning and at potentially not writing the poem, in spite of his friend's request (on the shame felt in the latter case, see Kaster 2005: 26 on a similar situation in Cicero). From a different perspective, Stroup 2010: 85–86 and 201 also points out how the simile's details emphasize the poem's dedication to Hortalus and the obligations connected to its composition and reception. Schäfer 1966: 69; Quinn 1970: ad 65.19–23 and 1973: 264; Block 1984: 49; Laursen 1989; Fitzgerald 1995: 192–93; Sweet 2006: 95; and Clarke 2008: 14 offer further discussion.

92. Catullus' description of his difficulty in writing in the face of personal tragedy heightens the importance of poem 66, and is a strategy that, as Stroup 2010: 201 notes, makes a textual gift "all the more valuable." Neudling 1955: 85; Tuplin 1981: 119; and Tatum 1997: 499 also remark how poems

(eternal mourning), this young woman is beset by another (forgetfulness),⁹³ and just as Catullus could not afford to engage in an all-consuming mode of grief, so too he cannot carelessly let Hortalus' entreaty slip from his mind.⁹⁴ The young woman's blush would be a disastrous display for a Roman man, and this simile communicates Catullus' understanding that, if he is to avoid shame, he must not forget.⁹⁵

With this closing image capping a poem focused on masculine duties, Poem 65 shows Catullus seeking to avoid two sorts of mnemonic failure, obsessive remembering and lasting forgetfulness, and to fulfill two different obligations, one to his brother, the other to Hortalus. The poem's language links these concerns, as words related to water describe the poet (*fluctuat*, 65.4; *effluxisse*, 65.18), his brother (*manans alluit unda*, 65.6), and even the maiden in the poem's final simile (*manat*, 65.24).⁹⁶ Beyond intermingling Catullus' worries about his various duties,⁹⁷ this vocabulary hints at his tenuous position. Each example describes an action outside of a person's control: Catullus' mind is tossed about (*fluctuat*); a spreading wave laps at his brother's foot (*manans alluit unda*); a request may slip out of his mind (*effluxisse*); and a blush spreads over a woman's face (*manat*). Conferring a notion of inevitability on the emotions that grip him, this water vocabulary leaves Catullus in a passive pose and hints that, even as he attempts to fulfill his social duties, the entire situation might escape his grasp. This lack of control, so strongly linked with the feminine in Roman thought, further undermines the poet's masculinity, even as he successfully brings poem 65 to a close and appends to it a translation of Callimachus.

In his Latin rendition of the *Lock of Berenice* in poem 66,⁹⁸ Catullus elaborates his strategy of using female characters to explore his own grief, as he aspirationally compares himself to a figure who manages to avoid devastating loss by transforming her private anguish into public action. In poem 66, Queen Berenice represents an anaesthetized model of feminine grief that may offer relief to the poet, but, in the end, stands only as a bitter impossibility.⁹⁹ A catasterized lock of hair, which Berenice

65 and 66 testify to the value Catullus places on strengthening his bond with Hortalus. See Stroup 2010: 193–94 on the reciprocal future obligations between Catullus and Hortalus implied in poem 65.

93. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2002: 475 comment on this movement between remembering and forgetting.

94. *OLD effluo* 4.

95. Clark 2008: 259 and Wray 2001: 200 describe the danger posed by this blush and the shame it could induce.

96. See also Van Sickle 1968: 503; Wiseman 1974: 61; and Wray 2001: 199 on these images. Stevens 2013: 171 notes how they continue in the shipwreck descriptions in poem 68a.

97. Stroup 2010: 192 argues that Hortalus and Catullus' brother are both dedicatees for poem 65: Hortalus is the primary dedicatee, Catullus' "ally in the ongoing process of textual exchange," and his brother is the secondary dedicatee, to whom the text is given to memorialize "a relationship past."

98. Marinone 1997: 15–26 and Thomson 1997: 448–50 describe the historical backdrop of the marriage of Ptolemy III and Berenice II.

99. Clausen 1970: 93–94; Ferrero 1955: 98; Fitzgerald 1995: 197 and 201; Sweet 2006: 92; Stroup 2010: 205; Gaisser 2012: 147–50 likewise consider how poem 66 engages with 65. Not all share the view that poem 66 reflects on Catullus' own situation: see, e.g., Wiseman 1969: 18.

dedicated to secure her husband's return from war, is the poem's speaker,¹⁰⁰ and the Lock's description of Berenice's tears recall Catullus' emotions: "But did you, abandoned, grieve not for your widowed bed but rather for your dear brother's¹⁰¹ lamentable departure?" (*at*¹⁰² *tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile, / sed fratris cari flebile discidium?* 66.21–22). The Lock's mention of grief for a brother in line 22 echoes Catullus' passion,¹⁰³ and, moreover, the queen's emotional focus on her loss recalls Procne and Aedon. Berenice, however, instead of disappearing from the public realm, puts her concern to a productive end: she dedicates a lock of hair to the gods on her husband's behalf "if he should return. In a short time, he added Asia, captured, to Egypt's borders" (*si reditum tetulisset. is haut in tempore longo / captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat*, 66.35–36). Only the caesura in line 35 separates vow from victory, and this instantaneous fulfillment makes Berenice's actions appear decidedly causal.

Just as Berenice's vow brings her sorrow to a point of termination, perhaps poem 66 represents Catullus' attempt to do the same, as his urbane translation fulfills Hortalus' request while reflecting on his brother's death. At the same time, though, as Berenice's grief is driven away, line 36 recalls the impossibility of this for Catullus. The territory Ptolemy captured is labeled *Asiam* (66.36), a designation that includes Troy¹⁰⁴ and thereby links him with the poet's brother. This cruel parallel points toward the impossibility of Berenice as a model for Catullus: the poet's brother, unlike the queen's husband, will never return and his poetry cannot have the same magical effect as the queen's lock.

APPROACHING MYTH AND DEATH: POEMS 68A AND B

In poems 68a and b,¹⁰⁵ each linked with poem 101 by the repetition of *frater adempte mihi* (68a.20 = 68b.92 = 101.6), the overwhelming nature of Catullus'

100. The Lock may also stand as a female model for the reflection of Catullus' grief. In a shift from the Callimachean original, Catullus changes the Lock's gender from male to female (Gutzwiller 1992: 373–74; Gaisser 2012: 148; and Corbeill 2015: 87–89), and the Lock complains of her own separation from Berenice's head (see Puelma 1982 on the Lock and Berenice as twin figures of separation). Furthermore, just as Berenice's grief is brought to an end, the Lock's distress is related in playful terms and, in the end, she commemorates meaningful devotion rather than all-consuming grief.

101. See Quinn 1970: ad 66.21–25; Thomson 1997: 449; and Marinone 1997: ad 21–22 on the Egyptian context for this reference to Ptolemy as Berenice's brother.

102. I follow Trappes-Lomax 2007: 210 in printing *at. et*, if retained, does not change the interpretation.

103. This connection, noted by Ferguson 1985: 217; Thomson 1997: 448; and Gaisser 2012: 149, is reinforced by *cura* (65.1 and 66.23); *frater* (65.5 and 66.21); and *maesta* and *maestas* (65.12 and 66.23, 29).

104. See Thomson 1997: 450 and ad 66.36.

105. The debate about whether the 160 lines appearing in the manuscripts as poem 68 represent one or two poems tends toward the latter position, with lines 1–40 being labeled poem 68a and lines 41–160 poem 68b. Following arguments about the differences between these sections' addressees and situations, I read lines 1–40 and 41–160 as "a juxtaposed pair" of poems (Wray 2001: 103n. 91) not only because of their proximity, but also because the poet's brother appears in both. See Ross 1969: 121; Skinner 1972; Stoessl 1977: 154; Tuplin 1981: 118–19; and Trappes-Lomax 2007: 227 for separatist arguments, *pace* Williams 1968: 229–230 and 234; Coppel 1973: 133–35; and Maggiali 2008: 40–57.

loss challenges his performance of masculinity. In poem 68a the impact of his brother's death encompasses his entire household and ends the pursuits he has enjoyed since becoming a man, with Catullus effeminized through his association with a generalized loss of control. In poem 68b his sibling's unexpected appearance in the midst of a simile portends his deeper hold on Catullus' memory and also re-engages with the same mythological context seen in poem 65. Here, Catullus is likened to Laodamia, a parallel which once again brings the poet closer to Troy and delineates the potential dangers of overpowering emotions and a ceaseless focus on the dead.

Powerless in the face of his grief, Catullus is compelled to abandon his masculine pursuits in poem 68a.¹⁰⁶ Facing a request from Manlius¹⁰⁷ for help with his love life,¹⁰⁸ the poet's demurrals centers on his brother's death (68a.15–26):

tempore quo primum uestis mihi tradita pura est, 15
 iucundum cum aetas florida uer ageret,
 multa satis lusi: non est dea nescia nostri,
 quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiam.
 sed totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors
 abstulit. o¹⁰⁹ misero frater adempte mihi, 20
 tu mea tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater,
 tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus;
 omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra
 quae tuus in uita dulcis alebat amor.
 cuius ego interitu tota de mente fugauit 25
 haec studia atque omnes delicias animi.

Ever since the manly toga was first handed down to me, when my flowery
 age was in its delightful spring, I played the lover a good deal; the

Wiseman 1974: 88–89; Morgan 2008: 141; and Stroup 2010: 281n.15 consider the names appearing in the manuscripts.

106. Holzberg 2002: 163 comments on the similarity between the beginnings of poem 65 and 68a.

107. See Fordyce 1961: 343; Wiseman 1974: 92; and White 1993: 73 on Manlius' appeal to Catullus. Neudling 1955: 124–25 discusses the addressee's potential identification with Manlius Torquatus.

108. Catullus' description of Manlius' request (*muneraque et Musarum hinc petis et Veneris*, 68a.10) has caused considerable difficulty. I interpret it as indicating a request for two gifts, consisting of poetry and social companionship in the hope of finding a woman. Several scholars, though, argue the phrase is a hendiadys designating love poetry (Baehrens 1885: 494; Quinn 1970: ad loc. and 1973: 187 and Coppel 1973: 42–43) or “something serious and beautiful about life and love” (Nisbet 1978: 105), yet this interpretation is undone by *utriusque* in 68a.39. While Nisbet 1978: 105 and Trappes-Lomax 2007: 230 suggest emending *utriusque* to *hucusque*, Heyworth 2008 convincingly argues against this change. Among those who count two requests, there is general agreement that they consist of poetry and help with Manlius' love life, with opinions about the nature of the latter varying (Williams 1968: 231; Levine 1977: 67; Tuplin 1981: 115; Woodman 1983: 100–103; Ferguson 1985: 226–27; Simpson 1994: 567; Fitzgerald 1995: 283; Skinner 2003: 224; Morgan 2008: 147; and McKie 2009: 205–207 and 235).

109. Trappes-Lomax 2007: 228 advocates *ei* instead of *o*, as “this regularizes the exclamations.” While this change is insubstantial, the need for regularity in Catullus is not so great as to necessitate it.

goddess who blends sweet bitterness with cares is not unaware of us. But my brother's death stole this whole pursuit away from me in grief. O brother taken from wretched me, you, brother, you broke our happiness with your death, our entire household was buried together with you; all our joys perished with you, joys which in life your sweet love was nourishing. Because of your death I have banished from my entire mind these pursuits and all my soul's delights.

This passage, which explains why Catullus cannot fulfill Manlius' request, makes his social companionship an integral part of his masculinity. Such pursuits began with his transition to manhood (68a.15–16)¹¹⁰ and had continued up to the present day (68a.17–18), yet his brother's death has stopped this activity, thereby ending an activity coeval with his manhood and setting him in a feminine role.¹¹¹ This effect is furthered by the poem's movement toward a plaintive recapitulation of the earlier happiness Catullus has lost.¹¹² A series of first- and second-person pronouns and adjectives weave the siblings together, while several totalizing adjectives emphasize the permanent changes in the poet's life.¹¹³ Catullus' entire household feels this bitter devastation, a claim implying that the family line may not continue because of his brother's death.¹¹⁴ The repetition of *fraterna* and *frater* in lines 19, 20, and 21 evokes the funeral rite of *conclamatio* and further links this poem with Catullus' visit to this brother's grave in poem 101, but here it seems as if Catullus' entire family is being buried. Unable to take up the sort of social engagement that marked his masculinity, grief leaves him in a passive role. Rather than contextualizing his loss within his community, a strategy characteristic of the masculine *laudatio funebris*, Catullus describes how his loss becomes his community's context, enveloping and changing it.

Poems 65 and 68a raise the expectation that, if Catullus mentions his brother, he will do so in the context of a friend's request. Yet, when his sibling appears in poem 68b, it is in the center of a mythological simile meant to underscore his gratitude to his addressee Allius.¹¹⁵ This appearance upends the poem's established structure, simultaneously setting Catullus in the role of a female figure of mourning while also

110. Fordyce 1961: ad 68.5 remarks that "the *toga virilis*, the plain white toga" was "the symbol of entry into manhood." See also Quinn 1970: ad loc. on the assumption of this toga at the age of 15 or 16.

111. Arkins 1982: 32–33 also observes this.

112. As Konstan 2013: 21 notes, a sense of grief was often "accompanied by a true awareness of the joy that one had experienced in the other's company, and which one will have no more."

113. These include *totum* (19); *mihi* (19); *mihi* (20); *tu* (21); *mea* (21); *tu* (21); *tecum* (22); *tota* (22); *nostra*, (22); *omnia* (23); *tecum* (23); *nostra* (23); *tuus* (24); *ego* (25); *tota* (25); *omnes* (26). Janan 1994: 117 remarks on these larger, collective losses brought about by the brother's death.

114. On the different implications of "house" (*domus*), see Quinn 1970: ad 68b.94–96 and Miller 2004: 52–59. As Ferguson 1985: 227 notes, the *tu* sounds in lines 19–26 create "the effect of throbbing grief."

115. As Wiseman 1974: 70; Stoessl 1977: 158–59; and Thomson 1997: 474 remark, the simile in 68b is concentrically arranged around the verses on Catullus' brother (68b.91–100). Ferguson 1985: 228 and Gaisser 2012: 121–28 provide structural overviews of the entire poem.

raising more questions about the effect of his grief. Elaborating on the cross-gender similes and the Trojan War associations of poems 65 and 66, this composition once again associates Catullus with a ceaseless focus on the deceased and an emotional reaction to loss, even as it foreshadows a darker ending to his mourning.

In poem 68b, Catullus turns to myth to explain his gratitude to Allius for having given him and Lesbia a place to meet,¹¹⁶ and he uses a simile that initially presents a gender-consistent comparison. Referring to the meeting place Allius offered, Catullus tells how Lesbia stood on its threshold, “just as once Laodamia, burning with love for her husband, came to Protesilaus’ house” (*coniugis ut quondam flagrans aduenit amore / Protesilaeiam Laodameia*¹¹⁷ *domum*, 68b.73–74). Revolving around a woman’s arrival at a man’s house, this image underscores Lesbia’s passion for Catullus. These verses, the first couplet of a simile that extends for 58 lines (68b.73–130), set up a rigid gender equality: Lesbia is to Laodamia as Catullus is to Protesilaus.

The subsequent introduction of Catullus’ brother overwrites this pattern. As Catullus narrates Protesilaus and Laodamia’s story, he tells how a neglected sacrifice doomed them. Married right before the Trojan War, they enjoyed their union for only a single night before Protesilaus set off for Troy, where he was the first soldier killed.¹¹⁸ With this death in mind, Catullus turns to the war’s origins (68b.87–100):

nam tum Helenae raptu primores Argiuorum
 cooperat ad sese Troia ciere uiros,
 Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque,
 Troia uirum et uirtutum omnium acerba cinis, 90
 quae nunc et nostro letum miserabile fratri
 attulit. ei misero frater adempte mihi,
 ei misero fratri iucundum lumen ademptum,
 tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus,
 omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra, 95
 quae tuus in uita dulcis alebat amor.
 quem nunc tam longe non inter nota sepulcra
 nec prope cognatos compositum cineres,
 sed Troia obscena, Troia infelice sepultum
 detinet extremo terra aliena solo. 100

For then, on account of the rape of Helen, Troy had begun to rouse the chief men of the Argives against herself, Troy (evil!), the common grave of Asia and Europe, Troy, bitter ash of all men and every virtue, which now brought dreadful death even to our brother. Alas, brother taken from wretched me,

116. I follow Williams 1968: 232; Quinn 1973: 72–73 and 179–90; Fedeli 1990: 49; Gale 2012: 168; and Gaisser 2012: 121 in identifying this unnamed woman as Lesbia due to the echoes of her appearances elsewhere. It is insignificant for my argument if she is identified differently.

117. I follow Trappes-Lomax 2007: 237 in printing these names in the Greek forms.

118. See Reeson 2001: 114–16 and Maggiali 2008: 57–64 for summaries of this myth.

alas, pleasant light stolen from a wretched brother, our entire household was buried together with you, all our joys perished together with you, joys that your sweet love was nourishing in life. And now so far off, buried neither among known graves nor near relatives' ashes, but at ill-omened Troy, at disastrous Troy, alien land holds you, interred in the farthest soil.

As Catullus narrates the war's beginning and enters deeper into myth, his brother intrudes. His appearance is jarring,¹¹⁹ all the more so since four of the next six verses almost exactly repeat lines from poem 68a. 68b.92, 94–96 echo 68a.20, 22–24, with the sole difference coming between the first words of 68b.92 (*attulit ei*) and 68a.20 (*abstulit o*). So extensive a repetition is unprecedented in Roman poetry, and it evokes the persistence of Catullus' grief for his sibling, prompted here simply by the mention of Troy.¹²⁰ Instead of creating a new composition, Catullus echoes his earlier verses, a duplication that betrays the static nature of his passion and recalls the first cross-gendered simile in poem 65. Like the nightingale, Catullus voices the same song again and again, just as women who sing the *nenia* at funerals.¹²¹

Yet lines 91–96, with their mixture of old and new, go beyond recalling the nightingale's incessant lament to suggest that Catullus conceives of his sibling's demise as analogous to his own. Already in poem 68a, lines 20–24 bring out the catastrophic nature of the poet's loss. Now the death's effects grow further, unencumbered by ties with Catullus' current situation.¹²² This is increased by 68b.93, the single new verse among these repeated lines. Its polyptoton emphasizes the siblings' relationship: *fratri*, referring to Catullus (68b.93),¹²³ mirrors *frater*, denoting

119. Feeney 1992: 44; Lowrie 2006: 127 and Hutchinson 2008: 118 remark on this appearance's unexpected nature. Warden 2008: 45 notes various effects in 68b.91–96 that increase the verses' urgency, and the five elisions in lines 89–90 (Ferguson 1985: 230) may presage the emotional effect of the brother's intrusion.

120. Ellis 1889: ad 68.92–96 writes that this repetition is “unexampled in the other Roman poets.” While there are instances where a Catullan poem's last verse echoes its opening line (Fain 2006: 71) or a single line repeats within a poem (poem 64), nowhere else is so extensive a repetition found. I follow Edwards 1991: 75; Hunter 1993: 182; Thomson 1997: 287; Lowrie 2006: 128; and Gale 2012: 186 in regarding this repetition and the reappearance of Catullus' brother as a sign of the poet's emotional distress. Some excise lines 93–96, but the arguments are unconvincing. Morgan 2008: 148 suggests that the verses in poem 68b are an editor's later insertion, while Trappes-Lomax 2007: 239 removes them based on the notion that Catullus' excellence as a poet speaks against such a repetition and that the lines, written in poem 68a in the context of the “loss of joy in the pursuit of love,” do not fit this passage about death and Troy. Yet, the repetition can just as easily be regarded as a mark of ingenuity (on this quality in poem 68b, see Quinn 1959: 58 and Zetzel 1992: 54), and, moreover, it is not that lines 93–96 are out of place, but rather that their meaning must be reevaluated within their new context. See Copley 1957: 31–32 and Thomson 1997: 473 for considerations of this repetition in regard to arguments about the unity of poems 68a and b. Gaisser 2012: 101–104 writes on repetition as a general ordering technique in Catullus.

121. Repetition is a characteristic feature of *nenia* (Dutsch 2008: 272), and the recurrence of “certain moods and attitudes” is a mark of the grieving process in general (Clarke 2008: 140).

122. Maggiali 2008: 185 points out the shift in the verses' focus from the grief brought to Catullus' family (68a.20–24) to a greater emphasis on the brother's unfortunate fate.

123. As Lowrie 2006: 128 and Gaisser 2012: 132n.38 point out, *fratri* in line 93 could refer to Catullus or his brother, an ambiguity that further blurs the lines between the siblings. McKie 2009:

his brother (68b.92). Moreover, Catullus' designation of his brother as *lumen* signifies not just that he was the light of Catullus' life, but that his death may presage Catullus' end as well.¹²⁴

These first six verses on Catullus' brother, lines 91–96, reorient the larger simile of which they are a part and bring out a host of dreadful implications for the mourning poet. Earlier, Laodamia was compared to Lesbia, and Protesilaus to Catullus. Now, Protesilaus and Catullus' brother, both entombed at Troy, are linked, a pairing which joins Catullus and Laodamia, those who mourn them. Highlighting the intensity of Catullus' grief and guilt, Laodamia's story further invokes the possibility of the poet's death.¹²⁵ As Catullus describes it, Protesilaus and Laodamia began their marriage in vain, having offended the gods by neglecting a pre-wedding sacrifice (68b.75–76). It is possible that "Protesilaus is himself a substitute for the neglected" sacrifice,¹²⁶ a substitution that leaves Laodamia, at least partly responsible for the missed sacrifice, somewhat culpable for her spouse's death. Accordingly, Catullus may stand in the same position vis-à-vis his brother. Moreover, while Catullus does not narrate the rest of Laodamia's myth,¹²⁷ in some versions Protesilaus (or his ghost) returns for a single night. Yet this is not enough for the widow, and authors variously claim that she kills herself with a sword; wastes away next to an image she made of her husband; or throws herself onto the fire with which her father burns that image.¹²⁸ While Catullus only hints at Laodamia's suicide,¹²⁹ the audience's knowledge of her ending would bring out the danger he faces from harboring a devotion that does not accept death's finality and a passion that overwhelms the desire to live.¹³⁰

The final couplets describing Catullus' brother focus on the dreadful location of his grave, a site that creates both a real and metaphorical gap between the siblings. Lines 97–98 highlight the perverseness of his sibling's burial place by invoking

207 also notes this, but argues it is preferable to take *fratri* as designating Catullus since Lesbia brings light to him in 68b.160.

124. See *OLD lumen* 10 for the idea of inspiration and *OLD lumen* 3 and Lucr. 3.1033 for parallels that illustrate how the word can indicate life, especially when it is being lost. Kroll 1959: 232 focuses on how this new verse introduces the notion of light into the repeated verses, and Kennedy 1999: 40 sees the poem's links between life and love emphasized by the imagery of the brothers' separation.

125. Tuplin 1981: 118 and Gale 2012: 190 describe this effect, and Gaisser 2012: 124, and 127–28 remarks on other ways the poem links Catullus with Laodamia.

126. Gale 2012: 199. Lyne 1978: 207–208 comments on Catullus' development of the details of the neglected sacrifice.

127. On this point, see Cairns 2003: 168

128. See Reeson 2001: 114–16.

129. See Tuplin 1981: 131 on 68b.81–84, 106, and 107–118 and Sarkissian 1983: 19 on 68b.73. Implications of Catullus' death and that of his house are also contained in 68a22=68b.94 (Vandiver 2000: 159). In addition to these details, there were also numerous examples, often spoken of in positive terms by the Romans, of wives who commit suicide after their husbands' deaths (see Treggiari 1991: 485–88).

130. Clauss 1995: 248 argues that, while Laodamia kills herself because her "boundless passion will remain forever unfulfilled," Catullus finds solace in his relationship with Lesbia; yet the nature of Lesbia's commitment to Catullus is unclear in this poem and, at this moment, her presence is distant.

where he is not buried (*non*, 68b.97; *nec*, 68b.98), and the next verses lay out the grim reality that enfolds him. The repetition of “Troy” (*Troia*), modified by “ill-omened” (*obscena*) and “disastrous” (*infelice*) on each side of the caesura in line 99 emphasizes the terrible effects of his distant burial. Moreover, its repetition recalls its earlier appearances in lines 88, 89, and 90, where that city was described as Asia and Europe’s tomb. These references to Troy frame Catullus’ address of his brother¹³¹ and link him with the epic figures who share his burial place. Yet Catullus’ brother, unlike those heroes, lacks the monumental commemoration afforded by epic. Instead, his grave’s location makes the geographical gap and, hence, Catullus’ commemorative challenges, seem insurmountable.¹³² Moreover, that distance has become mythological as well. Folded into this legendary world by his association with Protesilaus, Catullus’ brother stands far from the poet’s Roman realities.

Although line 100 contains the last mention of Catullus’ sibling and the poet soon resumes considering how he may repay Allius in the currency of song,¹³³ Catullus seems no closer to reaching stability in his grief. Even as he tries to progress toward resolution, his brother remains geographically and mythologically distant, accessible only through the pose of a woman. Moreover, these women’s persistent focus on the deceased and their expansive emotional expression, now associated with Catullus, lead to wretched ends. If Catullus searches for a point of contact without acknowledging that it can be but fleeting, then Laodamia’s fate offers a warning: her brief reunion with Protesilaus brings death. The metamorphoses of Procne and Aedon likewise yield no comfort. The same can be said for Berenice, who transforms her worry into a vow that brings about her beloved’s return, a miracle Catullus will never enjoy. Penelope’s predicament, too, does not apply to the poet, as her husband comes back. Yet, as the article’s second reading of poem 101 shows, Catullus integrates the emotional intensity and persistent focus of these feminine models of grief into a masculine persona of mourning, while he also simultaneously situates himself within the world of myth.

CONTEXTUALIZING POEM 101: THE GENDER OF GRIEF

Poems 65, 66, 68a, and 68b,¹³⁴ alluded to by poem 101, are a necessary supplement to Catullus’ graveside speech. Only poems 65 and 68b reveal that his brother is buried at Troy, and only poems 65, 66, and 68b associate the poet with female figures

131. Maggiali 2008: 181.

132. Putnam 2007: 199 notes how these verses show that Catullus and his brother are each separated from their proper place: Catullus from his brother’s grave and his brother from a grave in Italy. Maggiali 2008: 188 also observes how this line portrays the psychological distance between Catullus and his brother.

133. Stroup 2010: 227–9 and Gaisser 2012: 122 write how *officium* (68b.42 and 150) and *munus* (68b.149) emphasize the obligations friendship entails as well as the poem’s status as repayment for Allius’ favor.

134. See p. 288.

of mourning, details that enrich Catullus' performance of his grief in poem 101.¹³⁵ Here, in this article's final section, I argue that Catullus incorporates a prolonged focus on the deceased and an emotional expression of loss, both gendered as feminine, within a heroic, masculine pose in poem 101. Moreover, the ongoing mythical context created by poems 65 and 68a, invoked by the allusions in poem 101, reframes this poem's reference to the *Odyssey* and its relationship to Catullus. The poet arrives at a stable manner of mourning wherein he accepts that his brother will never return and his sadness will never end, a portrait that ultimately destabilizes masculine modes of mourning and raises the possibility that Catullus' description of his responsibility to grieve for his brother may stand in for anyone's reaction to loss.

In poems 65 and 68b Catullus compares himself to female mythological figures who mourn with an intensity of emotion and a prolonged focus that leads them toward death or transformation. Poem 101 displays the same focus and passion (101.1–10):

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus
 aduenio has miseram, frater, ad inferias,
 ut te postremo donarem munere mortis
 et mutam nequiquam alloquerer cinerem,
 quandoquidem fortuna mihi tete abstulit ipsum, 5
 heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi.
 nunc tamen interea haec, prisco quae more parentum
 tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias,
 accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu,
 atque in perpetuum, frater, aue atque uale. 10

Having sailed through many people and many seas, I come to these wretched last rites, brother, so that I might present you with this final offering for death and might speak to the silent ashes, all to no avail, since fortune stole you yourself from me, alas wretched brother wrongfully taken from me. Now nevertheless, as for these things, which in the old custom of our ancestors were given as a gloomy offering for the last rites, accept them, drenched with a brother's tears, and forever, brother, hail and farewell.

When Catullus speaks of his grief in poems 65 and 68b, he places his thoughts in verses addressed to another person, even as Procne, Aedon, and Laodamia look solely toward those they have lost. Now Catullus shares their orientation. Having journeyed to Troy and overcome the distance between himself and his sibling,¹³⁶

135. Williams 1968: 187 notes how this knowledge about Troy changes the interpretation of poem 101.

136. Armstrong 2013: 60 also remarks on how Catullus overcomes "one of the strands of this separation, at least, having made the journey to Troy." See also Fitzgerald 1995: 189 on the implications of Catullus' travel.

he addresses his brother alone¹³⁷ and makes no effort to invoke a contemporaneous community amongst which he might situate this loss, such as a man might do at a Roman funeral.¹³⁸ Instead he attends solely to this interaction, leaving aside this death's impact on himself and his family.¹³⁹ In addition to this concentration on the deceased, he also displays his emotions. Catullus never mentions his tears in poems 65, 66, and 68b, even as Aedon and Procne are transformed by their mourning into birds; Penelope laments; Berenice weeps over her husband's departure; and Laodamia literally dies from her grief. In poem 101, though, Catullus describes his graveside offerings as "very wet with a brother's tears" (*fraterno multum manantia fletu*, 101.9). In doing so, he reveals his own weeping, a reaction commonly associated with women at Rome and gendered as feminine by the other poems on his brother's death.¹⁴⁰

These feminine aspects of mourning, namely a lengthy focus on the dead and an open expression of grief, are integrated into a masculine persona and characterized positively. Instead of likening Catullus to a female figure, this poem's reference to the *Odyssey* compares him to Odysseus. Moreover, Catullus' allusion specifically invokes the epic's proem,¹⁴¹ where its first word, "man" (*ἄνδρα*, *Od.* 1.1), emphasizes masculinity all the more. While a prolonged and emotional grief lead Procne, Aedon, and Laodamia to their transformation or death, Catullus avoids such an ending; this Homeric comparison validates his single-minded focus on his brother. Odysseus' memory of Penelope fuels his ten-year journey home, and its importance is emphasized when he speaks of his desire to return to his wife in one of the epic's first glimpses of him (*Od.* 5.214–24). In a similar way, this comparison with Odysseus valorizes Catullus' tears. In his initial appearance in the epic, Odysseus also openly expresses grief: sitting on the shore of Ogygyia, he "weeps . . . rending his heart with tears and moans and anguish" (*κλαῖε . . . / δάκρυσι καὶ στοναχῆσι καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἐρέχθων*, *Od.* 5.82–83). Homer's epics do not share Roman values, and this example illustrates the tendency of men to voice their emotions in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, where weeping was not at all regarded as unmanly.¹⁴² Given that Odysseus' tears over and focus on Penelope are part and parcel of his *nostos*,

137. Bellandi 2003: 68 likewise remarks on the lack of a framing device in poem 101.

138. See p. 283 on the *laudatio funebris*. The only community the poet does mention is that of his "ancestors" (*parentum*, 101.7).

139. Gelzer 1992: 29.

140. While men do weep in Catullus (a lawyer while pleading a case at 39.3 and Catullus himself over a lost friendship at 96.4), these depictions challenge social conventions and, even in Catullus, women weep more often (see Clark 2009: 168n.20 for discussion and a list of weeping in Catullus' poems). It is more typical in Rome for weeping to be seen as a characteristic of women: Fögen 2009b: 187n.11 collects ancient passages that illustrate this and Erker 2009: 134–35 notes how even though weeping for the dead was a religious duty for men and women alike, "it appears with a direct female connotation in ancient texts." See Konstan 2009: 313 and 318 on the cognitive and emotional aspects of weeping at a funeral. Howe 1974: 275 argues that, with this weeping, Catullus "knows he must leave" after the "poem threatens to disintegrate into a form of self-indulgent catharsis."

141. See pp. 287–88.

142. See n. 3.

Catullus' comparison with the Greek hero likewise sets his own emotional expression and lengthy focus on his brother within a masculine persona and casts them as crucial factors that help him reach his sibling's grave.

Beyond contextualizing these feminine aspects of grief in a masculine persona, the Homeric reference in poem 101 links the culminations of Odysseus' and Catullus' journeys. Other scholars show how this allusion points to the epic's beginning as well as its middle, where Odysseus successfully communicates with the dead in *Odyssey* 11.¹⁴³ Several factors suggest that it also invokes the epic's close. Most fundamentally, Catullus is at his journey's end, not its beginning, and this recalls the same position in Odysseus' travels. A variety of details reinforce this link. The epic's proem, the particular textual referent of 101.1, invokes the idea of a journey's completion: it foretells that "homecoming" (νόστον, *Od.* 1.5) and the "day of homecoming" (νόστιμον ἡμῶν, *Od.* 1.9) will be denied to Odysseus' companions, while it characterizes Odysseus as "yearning for his homecoming and his wife" (νόστου κεχρημένον ἠδὲ γυναικός, *Od.* 1.13). The connections between poem 101 and poems 65, 66, and 68b verify this orientation toward a journey's end. Here, Catullus is compared to Penelope, Berenice, and Laodamia, three women who yearn for a man's homecoming and two of whom await a husband who specifically went to Troy. The Penelopean scene to which poem 65 alludes even contains a discussion of Odysseus' homecoming, and the couple's reunification itself comes the very next day, in *Odyssey* 23. Lastly, a cluster of words in poems 65 and 68a associate Catullus' grief with water and a sea voyage, thereby inviting the interpretation of poem 101 as the completion of both a metaphorical and literal journey: *fluctuat* (65.4), *effluxisse* (65.18), and *merser fortunae fluctibus* (68a.13) describe Catullus, while *manans alluit unda* (65.6) and *manat* (65.24) characterize figures linked with his grief. Now, the opening verses of poem 101 recall these nautical struggles, and Catullus' tears in line 9 cap them. In the other poems, such imagery communicates Catullus' distress and loss of control, but here water is in the expected place, both as the means of his journey (101.1) and as the marker of his grief (101.9).

This connection with the *Odyssey's* end, in addition to its beginning and middle, opens up a spatial ambiguity for Catullus' location: the poet's travels seem set as the reverse of Odysseus' and he can never draw closer to his brother.¹⁴⁴ When Odysseus begins his *nostos*, he is still situated in the heroic and mythical world, far from Ithaca's daily life, while Catullus, in poems 65, 66, 68a, and 68b, writes to his friends within the social world of late Republican Rome. Odysseus' *katabasis*, where he converses with the dead, cruelly contrasts with Catullus' attempts to communicate with his brother, from whom no answer can ever come. Now, Catullus' arrival at his brother's grave recalls Odysseus' reunification with Penelope: yet whereas husband and wife experience joy, Catullus evokes sadness and solitude. At each point of comparison, Catullus falls short. Moreover, the simultaneous recollection of these three points in

143. See pp. 287–88.

144. Armstrong 2013: 61 considers reasons for seeing Catullus as an "anti-Odysseus."

the *Odyssey* implies that Catullus' attempts to bring his mourning to an end are far from linear, and they instead cycle through beginning, middle, and end without achieving closure.

Yet, even while these intertextual points of contact suggest that Catullus' grief is never-ending, there are implications that his arrival at Troy signifies that he may be closer to finding a satisfactory mode of mourning, one which recognizes his perpetual sadness. In other words, the poet's search for closure stands in tension with his final realization that there can be none. Two aspects of poem 101 communicate that Catullus moves toward an acceptance of his brother's loss and his own response to it: his entry into the realm of myth and his use of *munus* to designate his fraternal obligations. Myth stands as an ongoing intertext to Catullus' grief, especially in poems 65 and 68b. Here, though, Catullus remains in the world of late Republican Rome; only in the guise of a female figure can he access his brother, situated in the realm of myth by virtue of his burial at Troy. In poem 101, though, this situation changes. No longer drawing attention to the gap between his Roman existence and the mythological world, Catullus brings his journey into epic and imparts a legendary patina to his actions via his allusion to the *Odyssey*. More specifically, Odysseus' travels reinforce Catullus' transition into myth. The Greek hero moves from the fantastic to the everyday over the course of the *Odyssey*, leaving behind the Lotus Eaters and the Cyclops' cave for the swineherd's hut and his rooted marriage bed. Given the frequent oppositions of several of their characteristics, Odysseus' movement from myth to reality implies that Catullus journeys in the opposite direction as he leaves Rome behind for Troy. Having closed this gap and gained the capability of directly addressing his brother, Catullus progresses toward an acceptance of his mode of mourning a never-ending loss, all the while acknowledging that his sibling cannot answer his tears.

The repetition of *munus* in poem 101 signifies Catullus' attempt to fulfill his duties toward his brother as best he can, even in the knowledge that they will not bring his sibling's return. Sarah Stroup (2010: 34, 66, and 72) shows how Catullus often uses *munus* to designate a textual gift that is bestowed in a reciprocal relationship, where one person's present raises the expectation that the other will give something in return. In poems 65, 68a, and 68b, *munus* denotes obligations to another, living Roman, while in poem 66 it describes duties pertaining to Berenice's vow, a promise that brought Ptolemy's return.¹⁴⁵ Now, though, the noun (*munere*, 101.3 and 8) evokes Catullus' attention to his fraternal responsibilities,¹⁴⁶ a shift demonstrating that the poet, having left his other masculine obligations behind, focuses solely on his duties to his brother. Poem 101, Catullus' textual gift to his sibling, can never be reciprocated, a situation the poet acknowledges in his unrealizable purpose clause and

145. Ten of that noun's seventeen appearances in his corpus come in the poems concerning his brother: 65.19; 66.38, 82, 92; 68a.10, 32; 68b.149, 154; 101.3, 8. Its seven other appearances are 12.15; 14.2, 9; 17.7; 61.43, 227; 69.3. (References based off a survey of McCarren 1977.) See Stroup 2010: 87 for analysis of several of these instances.

146. Quinn 1970: ad 101.8 notes the combination of the idea of gift and duty.

description of his offerings “drenched with a brother’s tears” (*fraterno multum manantia fletu*, 101.9). Using a word that signifies reciprocity even where nothing can be given in return, Catullus communicates his emotional acceptance of a process of mourning that can never truly mitigate his loss.

Catullus’ arrival at an emotionally satisfying mode of mourning does not mean that his grief will ever end, yet his acceptance of his loss enables him to remain in the world of the living himself. This differentiates him from Aedon, Procne, and Laodamia, even as it links him more closely with Odysseus. Laodamia dies, unable to tolerate the gap between herself and her deceased husband, and Procne and Aedon’s never-ending mourning banishes them from human society, yet Catullus searches for a stable manner of mourning even though his grief may be everlasting. A parallel for this conception of a never-ending process can be found at the *Odyssey*’s end. When closure at last seems in reach during Odysseus’ first night with Penelope, the hero reveals that he still has one more task: to journey inland until someone mistakes his oar for a winnowing fan.¹⁴⁷ Odysseus’ quest to assuage Poseidon’s rage, revealed to Penelope in their midnight embrace, undermines any sense of finality. In a like manner, Catullus’ mourning will never truly end either, even if he has arrived at an emotionally satisfying way of conducting it.

In conclusion, a consideration of Catullus’ depiction of his grief within its literary and cultural contexts illuminates how the poet reshapes the boundaries of Roman masculinity and suggests that the responsibility he feels in mourning may be common to all. Pushing back against society’s expectations for men to display their grief in a brief and emotionally restrained manner, Catullus has recourse to feminine modes of mourning in poems 65, 66, 68a, and 68b and openly expresses his passion and focus on his brother in poem 101. This behavior conveys a lack of masculine control, and through this self-characterization, Catullus calls attention to the unrealistic nature of the expectations about male behavior promulgated by philosophical writings and *exempla*, which mandate that any potential grief should be quickly overcome. In the process of revealing the challenges he faces, Catullus shows remarkable poetic ingenuity: he shapes his grief over his brother’s death, unlikely material for writing, into a group of poems that fulfill his obligations in reciprocal friendships and bring him closer to his addressees and the larger audience that also reads them.¹⁴⁸ Catullus’ sleight of hand, whereby he reveals his struggle with grief even while solidifying his friendships, trumps any potential critique of his masculinity. The poems in which Catullus explores his personal loss, precise yet polyvalent, complex yet clear, showcase an extraordinary amount of control, that very quality most associated with masculinity in Rome,

147. See *Od.* 23.267–84 and Russo, Fernandez-Galliano, and Heubeck 1992: ad 23.248–55 on how this revelation “abruptly breaks the atmosphere of joy” enveloping Penelope and Odysseus’ reunification.

148. Feldherr 2000: 229 shows that Catullus sets his brother’s memorial within his “the constructed space of [his] social network,” and Catullus’ brother’s death, as Stroup 2010: 202 illustrates, even “serves as the impetus for producing textual relationships aimed at the future.”

even as they undermine the claim that such control must be upheld in the face of grief.¹⁴⁹

Catullus renders his description of his grief and the critique it implies all the more powerful by suggesting that his experience might represent anyone's reaction to a tragedy. Devoid of any distinguishing characteristics outside of his place of death, Catullus' brother never becomes fully articulated as a distinct figure. In another nod to feminine practices of mourning, Catullus' brother's lack of a proper name recalls their absence from the *nenia*,¹⁵⁰ the traditional funeral lament of women. This anonymity situates his death as the demise of any loved one, while Catullus' response offers itself as an *exemplum* for his audience to evaluate and, perhaps, emulate. Troy, the place of his brother's grave, evokes how any death may seem heroic in terms of its impact, while its literal and metaphorical distance from Catullus alludes to how daunting the task of mourning may be. Each loss, like an epic hero's death, is of monumental significance for those who love the deceased, and the living experience a commensurate pressure to commemorate them.

The origin of this pressure is hinted at by one last factor that runs through these poems' ongoing mythical context: the responsibility of the living to the dead. Catullus' cross-gender similes associate him with a group of mourners who bear some blame for the horrid endings of those they lament. Aedon and Procne kill their sons, while Laodamia is at least partly culpable for a missed sacrifice that causes her husband's death at Troy. Their guilt pushes these women toward death or transforms them into eternal mourners. While no one would suggest that Catullus killed his brother, his association with such guilt is too persistent to dismiss, particularly when the appearance of Odysseus in poem 101 engages this very topic. Above and beyond his responsibility for his companions who never return to Ithaca, Odysseus' presence in poem 101 recalls how poem 65 alludes to Ajax's death with the details that Catullus' brother is buried "beneath the Rhoetean shore" (*Rhoeteo . . . subter litore*, 65.7). The site of Ajax's resting place, "the Rhoetean shore" (*Rhoeteo . . . litore*) invokes that hero's suicide after Odysseus, not he, won Achilles' arms. By alluding to Ajax's burial, "Rhoetean" (*Rhoeteo*) links Catullus' brother with yet another death for which someone else is responsible, and when the poet is associated with Odysseus in poem 101, this notion of responsibility weighs upon him yet again, confirming the associations established by the cross-gender comparisons to Aedon, Procne, and Laodamia. Unlike these examples, though, Odysseus transmutes any feelings of responsibility he may have into an effort to secure Ajax's honorable burial. In Sophocles' version, it is he who forcefully and eloquently persuades the Greeks to bury the hero.¹⁵¹

149. Quinn 1970: 352 writes how, in poem 65, "the illusion of grief continually breaking through the bonds of rational restraint is an effect of the art." Selden 1992: 471–75 and Hutchinson 2008: 64 comment on the tension between a confession of poetic inability and its expression in a work of craft and complexity.

150. Dutsch 2008: 270.

151. See S. *Aj.* 1318–401.

These bonds of responsibility, wherein two mothers are culpable for their sons' deaths, a wife for her husband's, and one soldier for another's, far from implying that Catullus prepared a grisly end for his sibling, call attention to the more amorphous, but no less pressing sense of responsibility that the living feel toward the dead. The poet feels just such an obligation to give his own sibling an honorable farewell, a goal that seems quite distant in the face of his overwhelming grief and the Roman norms of masculine behavior that limit its expression. In order to face his responsibility, Catullus openly turns to feminine characteristics of mourning, namely a prolonged focus on the dead and an emotional expression of grief, and, in doing so, he suggests that such behavior may be the only way forward for anyone who has an obligation to mourn.

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