

διόρθωσις of the *Iliad* is the same as the variant dialectal form in *Theogony* 126 and the reading of the papyrus of the *Catalogue of Women*. We might therefore suspect, and with good reason, that the neo- and hyper-Ionicisms that existed in the texts of Homer and Hesiod stem from copies produced by rhapsodes in an Ionian setting, and that Τερμυ(σ)σοῖο, ἔωντῆ and ἔωντῆς all once appeared in Zenodotus' copy of Hesiod's poems. The methods by which Zenodotus' readings have passed into papyri of the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue*, medieval manuscripts of the *Theogony* and the Hesiodic scholia are opaque; yet taken together they point to the fact that ancient scholars who came after Zenodotus took an interest in preserving his readings and thoughts – if only to disagree with them. This theory about an Ionian rhapsodic copy of Hesiod in third-century Alexandria has the additional conclusion that Zenodotus' text of Hesiod contained both the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue of Women*.<sup>17</sup> This may serve as another reminder that ancient views on the authenticity of Hesiod's poems differ from our own.

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<sup>17</sup> Schwartz (n. 1), 280–1 hints in this direction, following the suggestion about the Ionian background of Zenodotus' text of Homer made by G. Pasquali in *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence, 1934), 240–1.

## THE DISUNION OF CATULLUS' *FRATRES* *UNANIMI* AT VIRGIL, *AENEID* 7.335–6

That Virgil presents the Latin War of *Aeneid* 7–12 as, among other things, a civil war between proto-Romans, has been noted by many readers of the poem.<sup>1</sup> The language of civil war becomes prominent in his account of the outbreak of war in Book 7. Here it is the typology of familial discord as a reflection of civil discord that Virgil employs most conspicuously. At 7.323–40 Juno commissions the Fury Allecto, the embodiment of familial strife (*odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores* | *Tartareae monstrum*, 7.327–8), to stir up discord between eventual son-in-law Aeneas and father-in-law Latinus. Juno's pitting of these two against one another (*hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum*: | *sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, uirgo*, 7.317–18) recalls – and so thematically prefigures – a later Roman civil war, that between father-in-law Caesar and son-in-law Pompey, a conflict highlighted by Anchises in the previous book (*aggribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci* | *descendens, gener aduersis instructus Eois*, 6.830–1).

Warring fathers and sons, we learn from Juno, are to be accompanied by battling brothers. At 7.335–40 Juno gives Allecto her formal assignment:

<sup>1</sup> On civil war in the *Aeneid*, see e.g. S.J. Harrison, 'Virgil as a poet of war', *PVS* 19 (1988), 48–68, esp. 63–6; F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge, 1989), 85–108; P. Hardie, 'Tales of unity and division in imperial Latin epic', 57–71, in J.H. Molyneux (ed.), *Literary Responses to Civil Discord* (Nottingham, 1993); and N.M. Horsfall, *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (Leiden, 1995), 155–61, with further bibliography.

tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres  
 atque odiis uersare domos, tu uerbera tectis  
 funereasque inferre faces, tibi nomina mille,  
 mille nocendi artes. fecundum concute pectus,  
 dissice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli;  
 arma uelit poscatque simul rapiatque iuuentus.

You have the power to arm brothers of one spirit for battle, and to overturn homes with hatred. You are able to strike whips and funeral torches upon houses. You have a thousand names, and a thousand talents for doing harm. Shake your fertile breast, dislodge the agreed-on peace, sow the grounds for war. May the youth wish for arms, at the same time demand them, and snatch them up!

So Allecto's task is to send the Latins and Trojans – 'brothers' in that they all have Italian ancestors,<sup>2</sup> and that they all *are* Roman forefathers – headlong into war with each other. With her attacks on Amata (7.341–405), Turnus (7.406–74), and then the hounds of Ascanius (7.475–504), the Fury of course succeeds.<sup>3</sup>

The effectiveness of Virgil's presentation of Allecto as an agent of familial discord, and, more broadly, of his Latin War as a fratricidal struggle, is heightened by an allusion in these lines to Catullus 9. This short hendecasyllable is addressed to Catullus' friend Veranius, who has just come home from service in Spain:

Verani, omnibus e meis amicis  
 antistans mihi milibus trecentis,  
 uenistine domum ad tuos penates  
 fratresque unanimos anumque matrem?  
 uenisti. o mihi nuntii beati! 5  
 uisam te incolumem audiamque Hiberum  
 narrantem loca, facta, nationes,  
 ut mos est tuus, applicansque collum  
 iucundum os oculosque suauiabor.  
 O quantum est hominum beatiorum, 10  
 quid me laetius est beatiusue?

Veranius, you who of all my friends are worth more than three hundred thousand, have you come home, to your hearth, and to your brothers of one spirit, and to your old mother? You have. O wonderful news to me! I shall visit you unharmed, and hear you telling about the places, deeds, and peoples of the Hiberi, as is your custom. And, clinging to your neck, I shall kiss your dear mouth and eyes. O, of all the more blessed men that there are, who is happier or more blessed than I?

The poem is a celebration of homecoming and reunion. And home here is less the physical space of Veranius' house than it is the family with whom he is reunited: the *fratres* and *mater* in line 4 are a direct extension of the *domus* and *penates* to which Veranius returned (*uenisti*) in the preceding line.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Time and again in the poem we read of Dardanus', and thus his descendent Aeneas', Italian origins. Troy's Italian roots are addressed most explicitly at 3.163–8, 7.205–11, and 7.240–2. On Virgil's novel adaptation and treatment of the Dardanus myth, see V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963), 163–72. Another more strictly civil dimension of the Latin War is the struggle between the exiled king Mezentius and his former Etruscan subjects.

<sup>3</sup> Allecto's stirring up of familial discord here in *Aen.* 7 finds parallels in the opening of Seneca's *Thyestes*, where the Fury goads the shade of Tantalus to perpetuate the strife between Atreus and Thyestes. On the influence of *Aen.* 7.323–571 on the prologue of the *Thyestes*, see R.J. Tarrant, *Seneca's Thyestes* (Atlanta, 1985), 85–6, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> So R.M. Nielsen, 'Catullus 9 and 31: the simple pleasure', *Ramus* 8 (1979), 165–73, who writes at 169: 'In Carmen 9 ... home is conceived of as much more than physical shelter for

I would like to focus on the collocation *fratres unanimos* in line 4, a phrase that, it has been argued, stands at the core of Catullus' poem.<sup>5</sup> After Plautus, who uses the older *unianimus* at *Stichus* 731,<sup>6</sup> Catullus is the first surviving author to employ the adjective *unanimos*. We see it twice more in his poetry, at 30.1 and 66.80.<sup>7</sup> The next attested authors to use the adjective are Virgil, who employs it a total of three times,<sup>8</sup> and his contemporary the epigrammatist Domitius Marsus.<sup>9</sup> Like Catullus, Virgil modifies *frater* with *unanimos* just once, at *Aeneid* 7.335, where, as we saw above, the phrase also appears in the accusative plural.

The correspondence is noted by many commentators on the two passages, but seldom do they argue for a direct allusion.<sup>10</sup> And, while the appearance of the phrase *fratres unanimi* is unique in each of the authors, it is true that we find *unanimos* (and its alternate *unanimis*) as an epithet for siblings, spouses and close companions elsewhere in Catullus' and Virgil's poetry, and in later literature.<sup>11</sup> But, as often, it is the contexts in which we encounter the two phrases – more specifically, the pointed discrepancy between the contexts – that establish the case for allusion. As we have seen, Catullus 9 is a poem about Veranius' reunion with his brothers, mother and his friend Catullus. The Virgilian passage, contrarily, is about the *disunion* that Juno bids Allecto bring to families and homes. Let us look again at *Aeneid* 7.335–6:

tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres  
atque odiis uersare domos

and at Catullus 9, 3–4:

uenistine domum ad tuos penates  
fratresque unanimos anumque matrem?

The task that Allecto is instructed to perform is emphasized by the placement of the words in line 335: the martial words *armare* and *proelia* literally stand between the *unanimos fratres*, a figurative prolepsis of the rending apart that the Fury is about to

human life; it is a spiritual reality, one found in the bond among people enjoying the closest ties of blood and kindred'.

<sup>5</sup> Nielsen (n. 4), at 169: 'The importance of human contact, of loyalty, and of verbal communication as the primary elements in Catullus' presentation of homecoming in Carmen 9 is reinforced by his central placement of the adjective *unanimos*. This epithet summarizes the mood of all gathered to welcome Veranius'.

<sup>6</sup> *St.* 731: *ego tu sum, tu es ego, unianimi sumus*.

<sup>7</sup> At 30.1, of the friends to whom the addressee Alfenus has been false (*unanimis ... sodalibus*); and at 66.80, of the husbands of the brides addressed by the Lock of Berenice (*unanimis ... coniugibus*).

<sup>8</sup> At 4.8, of Dido's sister Anna (*unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem*); and at 12.264, where Tolumnius addresses his fellow Rutulians (*uos unanimi densete cateruas | et regem uobis pugna defendite raptum*), as well as at 7.335.

<sup>9</sup> Fr. 1 (Courtney), 1–2: *omnia cum Bauio communia frater habebat, | unanimi fratres sicut habere solent*.

<sup>10</sup> An exception is F.P. Simpson, *Select Poems of Catullus* (London, 1942 [1879]), xxxviii, who included this correspondence in his catalogue of 'imitations of Catullus' by Virgil. N.M. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 7. A Commentary* (Leiden, 2000), 233, writes ad loc. that '*unanimus/-is* is from Catullus'. On Virgil's engagement with Catullus generally, see C. Nappa, 'Catullus and Vergil', 377–98, in M.B. Skinner (ed.), *A Companion to Catullus* (Malden, MA, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> See nn. 7 and 8 above, as well as A.S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis, Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, MA, 1935), 91–2, ad *Aen.* 4.8 for cases of *unanimus/-is* modifying other categories of relatives and friends. Along with Domitius Marsus (see n. 9), Silius (13.651), and Statius (*Theb.* 8.669 and 10.727) also modify *frater* with *unanimos*, perhaps under the influence of their epic predecessor Virgil.

execute.<sup>12</sup> The disrupted homes (*domos*) in line 336 are an extension of the brothers of 335. In this regard these lines share with lines 3–4 of Catullus 9 the assimilation of home and family. Indeed, if we consider this close sympathetic link between lines 335 and 336, the ordering of the words too can be read as a chiasmic allusion to Catullus' similarly connected lines (Catullus' A *domum* B *fratres* C *unanimos* → Virgil's C *unanimos* B *fratres* A *domos*). We have here, then, a type of *oppositio in imitando*.<sup>13</sup> Virgil incorporates and then immediately pulls apart Catullus' *fratres unanimos* and the home that they represent.

Another contrast evoked by the allusion at 7.335–6 is that between the homecomings lying at the heart of Catullus 9 and *Aeneid* 7–12. Veranius' safe (*incolumem*, line 6) return to his family and friend Catullus is one of affection (lines 8–9) and unspeakable joy (lines 10–11). Aeneas' homecoming will be much different. Italy is his ancestral home, where he now belongs, as Aeneas articulates in his address to the Trojan *penates* at 7.121–2 (*o fidi Troiae saluete penates: | hic domus, haec patria est*), and as the river god Tiberinus reassures him at 8.39 (*hic tibi certa domus, certi [ne absiste] penates*).<sup>14</sup> Here he and Lavinia are to wed and establish, or re-establish, his race's *domus* in Italy. But – so contrary to Veranius' welcoming party – the *fratres unanimi* that await Aeneas' return will be his opponents in war.

Strengthening the argument for allusion to Catullus at *Aeneid* 7.335–6 is the presence of other Catullan correspondences in this episode. As we saw above, Virgil's dubbing of Aeneas and Latinus as *gener atque socer* just above our passage at 7.317 recalls his use of the same terms for Caesar and Pompey at 6.830–1. But it is at Catullus 29.24 (*socer generque, perdidistis omnia?*) that we first see this slogan for Caesar and Pompey that Virgil adopts<sup>15</sup> and then extends into his own civil war. Further, in the surrounding lines in Book 7 he twice incorporates language from Catullus 64. At 7.302–3, Juno's complaint about the failure of various sea obstacles to halt Aeneas (*quid Syrtes aut Scylla mihi, quid uasta Charybdis | profuit*) is adapted from Ariadne's indictment of Theseus' parentage at 64.156 (*quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae uasta Charybdis*). Then at 7.356 Virgil describes Allecto's gradual seizure of Amata (*nequm animus toto percepit pectore flammam*) with language and rhythm drawn from Catullus' account of Ariadne's falling for Theseus (64.92: *cuncto concepit corpore flammam*).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Horsfall (n. 10), 233, writes of this phrase that '[b]rothers ought to be *unanimi* ... [H]ere therefore the adj. almost concessive'; he compares the application of *concordes* to Caesar and Pompey at 6.827. Cairns (n. 1), at 101, aptly calls *unanimos fratres* at 7.335 'a combined allusion to fraternal concord and its opposite, civil war, which illustrates well the standard ancient equivalence of familial and public harmony'. C. Bannon, *The Brothers of Romulus: Fraternal Pietas in Roman Law, Literature, and Society* (Princeton, 1997), 148, similarly observes Allecto's 'inversion of fraternal *pietas*' in 7.335–8, but also downplays the extent to which Virgil presents his Latin War as a fratricidal, civil war.

<sup>13</sup> As G. Giangrande ('Arte Allusiva' and Alexandrian epic poetry', *CQ* 17 [1967], 85–97) labels such an inversion of one's model. R.F. Thomas ('Virgil's *Georgics* and the art of reference', *HSCP* 90 [1986], 171–98) terms such a reference a 'correction', a process defined at 185: 'The poet provides unmistakable indications of his source, then proceeds to offer detail which contradicts or alters that source'.

<sup>14</sup> See n. 2 above. And on Virgil's development of Italy as Aeneas' *patria* (a theme first made explicit at 1.380: *Italiam quaero patriam*), see Cairns (n. 1), 109–28.

<sup>15</sup> So M.C.J. Putnam, 'The lyric genius of the *Aeneid*', *Arion* 3 2/3 (1995–6), 81–101, at 89: 'Virgil draws the collocation of *socer* and *gener* [at 6.830–1], and a touch of that poem's irony, from Catullus 29 (24) where the two relatives are apostrophized as incorporations of Roman immortality'. W.A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1969), 97, regards the possible evocation of Caesar and Pompey at 7.317–18 rather as a 'sub-conscious association'.

<sup>16</sup> R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1987), 16–17, explores the erotic implications of this allusion.

Furthermore, Virgil's use of Catullus 9 elsewhere in the *Aeneid* has been observed. At 6.687, we find as the first word of a speech rich with Catullan allusions the verb *uenisti*. As Michael Putnam has noted, Virgil uses this form of *uenio* only here; and Catullus uses this form only twice, at lines 3 and 5 of poem 9, of Veranius' return.<sup>17</sup> Just as Catullus hails the returning Veranius with *uenisti ... uenisti*, Anchises at *Aeneid* 6.687 exclaims *uenisti tandem* to his son when they meet again in the Underworld. Their reunion, however, will be brief, to be followed by a more lasting separation. The fleeting and unfulfilling nature of Aeneas' reunion with his father, Putnam argues, is brought out by the contrast with Veranius' living, lasting reunion with his family and friends in Catullus 9.<sup>18</sup>

A similar contrast with Catullan precedent comes at 7.335–6, where, as we have seen, Virgil adopts and simultaneously dissolves Catullus' *unanimos fratres*. The loss of the *unanim*-ity that Catullus captured in his poem will define Virgil's Latin War. Juno's bidding of Allecto at 7.331–40 begins the dissolution; and, indeed, over the ensuing lines of Book 7 Virgil emphasizes Allecto's stirring up of hostile *animi*. As we saw above, at 354–6 we read of the gradual movement of Allecto's poison from Amata's body on to her *animus* (*ac dum prima lues udo sublapsa ueneno | pertemptat sensus atque ossibus implicat ignem | necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam*). The Fury's attack on Turnus is noted as successful when at 475 he is spreading combative *animi* to his Rutulian countrymen: *dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet*. Just after, at 481–2, we read that Allecto's infection of Ascanius' hunting dogs (who are thus able to track down Silvia's stag) caused the enflaming of Latin rustics' *animi*: *quae prima laborum | causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis*. Then, after war has broken out, Allecto vows at 550 to enflame more *animi* with the love of war, should Juno bid her do so (*accendam animos insani Martis amore*). Indeed, the stirring up and fractiousness of *animi* that we witness over the course of Book 7 is announced in the book's proem, where Virgil declares that he will sing of kings driven by *animi* to their deaths (*dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges*, 7.42).<sup>19</sup>

*Fratres unanimi*, it is clear, have no place in this conflict. The Latin War's impetus is the precise lexical opposite of *unanim*-ity, *discordia*, the splitting or separation of kindred hearts. Allecto boasts of *discordia*'s arrival in Latium at 7.545, just before her pledge at 7.550 to enflame more *animi* as needed: *en perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi*. And Virgil's illustration of civil discord in *Aeneid* 7 is made more potent, more painful by his allusion at 7.335–6, where the reunion with *fratres unanimi* that Catullus had commemorated is torn apart, replaced by disunion and *discordia*.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Putnam (n. 15), at 95. At 96 Putnam looks at further verbal connections between *Aen.* 6.684–702 and Cat. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Putnam (n. 15), at 96: 'There can be no physical contact in the world of ghosts, no possibility for living son to embrace dead father ... It is this notion [of the horror of separation] that Virgil chooses to emphasize in contrast with Catullus 9'.

<sup>19</sup> Virgil keeps the opposition of proto-Roman *animi* fresh in our minds as we enter Book 8. Before the relative calm of Aeneas' trip to Pallanteum, we are reminded in the book's opening lines of the agitated *animi* of the Latins (8.4: *extemplo turbati animi*) and of Aeneas himself (8.20–1: *animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc | in partisque rapit uarias perque omnia uersat*).

<sup>20</sup> I am thankful to Christopher Krebs, Michael Putnam, Richard Thomas, the *CQ* editor Rhiannon Ash, and the anonymous reader at *CQ* for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.