

THE IMAGERY OF CATULLUS 63

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In this study I hope to show that Catullus 63 is developed around one dominant and totally relevant image.¹ I shall develop my discussion as much as possible in accordance with the more or less natural divisions of the poem noted by Weinreich.²

Important for our purposes is the phrase *citato . . . pede* (2). As Kroll observes, forms of *citatus* appear first in Accius in expressions descriptive of horses and are thereafter used in this context.³ The phrase is more appropriate to four-legged animals than to humans.

The language of verse 4 advances our initial impression that a man is being described in the language proper to the description of animals. *Stimulatus* applies strictly to goading beasts, especially oxen and horses.⁴

¹ Important earlier studies include J. P. Elder, "The Art of Catullus' Attis," *TAPA* 71 (1940) xxxiii-xxxiv; *idem*, "Catullus' Attis," *AJP* 68 (1947) 394-403; O. Weinreich, "Catullus' Attisgedicht," in *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Brussels 1936) 463-500; E. Schäfer, "Das Verhältnis von Erlebnis und Kunstgestalt bei Catull," *Hermes*, Einzelschriften 18 (1966) 95-107.

I quote Catullus from the critical edition of M. Schuster, revised by W. Eisenhut (2nd ed., Leipzig 1958). I use the following symbols: *Anth. Lat.* = *Anthologia Latina*, ed. A. Riese (Leipzig 1906); *Goetz* = G. Goetz (ed.), *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum* (Leipzig 1901); *Ribbeck* = O. Ribbeck (ed.), *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1897); *Varro* = Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, ed. G. Goetz and F. Schoell (Leipzig 1910).

² Weinreich 487, note 3. The poem is constructed out of alternating blocks of *narratio* and *oratio*, e.g. *narratio* (1-11), *oratio* (12-26), *narratio* (27-49).

³ W. Kroll, *Catull* (3rd ed., Stuttgart 1959) *ad loc.* *ThLL* s.v. "cio" confirms Kroll's observation, e.g. Accius, *Phoenissae* 1 (in Ribbeck), "candido curru atque . . . equis citatis"; Eurysaces xxii (in Ribbeck), "reprime parumper vim citatum quadrupedum"; Vergil, *Aen.* 12.373, "ora citatorum dextra detorsit equorum"; Caesar, *De bello civ.* 3.96.3, "equo citato."

⁴ E.g. Isidore 20.16.6, "calcaria dicta quia in calce hominis ligantur . . . ad stimulandos equos." Cf. Goetz, s.v. "stimulus," and A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*⁴ (Paris 1959) s.v. "stimulus": "aiguillon (κέντρον)." I do not mean to deny the metaphorical use of this and similar words that are strictly appropriate to animals. By drawing upon the etymologists of antiquity and parallel passages

It seems clear from verse 77 that Catullus associates forms of *stimulare* with prodding animals, *pecoris hostem stimulans*. Cybele here goads her lion into action as she earlier impelled Attis by afflicting him with *furor*. *Rabie* (4), in Festus' words (375.5 and 375.14), is *morbus caninus*.⁵

Let us now direct our attention to a word that at first glance seems to be devoid of animal associations. Forms of *nemus* appear frequently in the poem (2, 12, 20, 32, 52, 58, 72 [*nemorivagus*], 79, 89).⁶ The word seems to be associated primarily with woodland that can also be used as pasture land. Varro (5.6.36) defines it thus, "quos agros non colebant propter silvas aut id genus, ubi pecus possit pasci, et possidebant, ab usu salvo saltus nominarunt. Haec etiam Graeci νέμνη nostri nemora"; and Festus (161.11 ff.), "nemora significant silvas amoenas . . . [the text is corrupt here] campos et pascua." Each of these etymologists describes *nemora* as wooded grazing lands.⁷ It should be remembered that Catullus was writing during Varro's lifetime.

The *Attis* itself provides unmistakable evidence of the associations that *nemus* holds for Catullus. Attis exhorts the Gallae to make for the *nemora* of Cybele (12). In the next verse he addresses them as *vaga pecora*: the substantive is unequivocal. The mention of *taurei* (10) reinforces the impression that Cybele's followers are to be pictured as animals, probably bovine. I do not think that there can be any doubt in the light of these verses (32-33):

Attis [vadit] per opaca nemora dux,
veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi.⁸

from other Latin writers I hope to illustrate that the primary connotations of such terms cannot have been completely absent from Catullus' mind.

⁵ Cf. Goetz, s.v. "rabia" (sic); Lucretius 5.1065, where he is speaking of *canum Molossum*: "longe alio sonitu rabie restricta minantur"; Cicero, *Tusc.* 3.26.63, "Hecubam . . . putant propter animi . . . rabiem fingi in canem esse conversam."

⁶ Elder, *AJP* 68.401-2, notes that the form *nemora* occupies the same position in each line in which it appears.

⁷ Catullus' contemporary Lucretius regularly thinks of *nemora* as wooded pasture land (e.g. *frondiferum nemus*, 2.359). In Lucretius such wooded countryside is a haunt of cattle (2.359-60; echoed in Vergil, *Aen.* 8.215-16). Cf. also Lucr. 5.39-41, where *nemora* are the haven of beasts in general (*ferarum*). At 5.1386-87 *nemora* are associated with *pastores*.

⁸ See p. 70 of J. Svennung, "Catullus Bildersprache," *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* (1945): No. 3, pp. 1-147, where he discusses the history of this simile. On the antiquity of the metaphorical use of *pecus* (13) and the comparable application of this image (*θοαὶ κύνες*) by Euripides, *Bacchae* 977, see Svennung, p. 97.

There is additional internal evidence for supposing that Catullus thinks of *nemora* as wooded pasture lands and associates them closely with animals. In his soliloquy Attis laments his coming to the "nemora, ut aput . . . ferarum gelida stabula forem / et earum omnia adirem furibunda latibula" (53-54). Cybele's exhortation to her lion and the lion's pursuit of Attis also support this conclusion:

fac uti furoris ictu reditum in nemora ferat (79).

facit impetum: ille demens fugit in nemora fera (89).

In the latter passage Attis is, as we shall see, reduced to an animal pursued by Cybele's lion into the *nemora*.⁹ *Nemora*, then, contribute to the impression that Cybele's followers have taken on certain animal characteristics. It seems almost superfluous to qualify *nemora* with *fera* (89), as Catullus does. The adjective *fera* denotes beasts, of course, and insists that Attis be pictured as such as he flees to the *nemora* with the lion in pursuit. There may, incidentally, be a certain amount of grim irony in labeling the lion *ferus* (85), for by fleeing to *nemora fera* Attis races into the domain of the lion. In any case, the concluding lines, in which I argue that Attis is portrayed as a fleeing heifer, reveal Catullus' motives for using the simile of verse 33.

The adjective *vagus* (4) also adds to the illusion that Cybele's followers forsake, along with their masculinity, the right to be regarded as sentient humans.¹⁰ The epithet next appears in verse 13, *vagapecora*. The noun that it modifies leaves no question of the meaning that the adjective has here for Catullus. The use of *vaga* in verse 31 is explained by its echo in verse 86. In the latter verse Cybele's lion is described thus: *vadit . . . pede vago*; verse 31 portrays Attis in these words: *vaga vadit*. Thus his actions are reflected in those of a beast, a lion which is,

⁹ Cf. Weinreich 97.

¹⁰ C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford 1961) 310, discusses Catullus' use of the adjective, in connection with its appearance at 64.271. My conclusions differ from his. For *vagus* applied to animals, cf. Lucretius 5.948, where *vagis* as a substantive denotes wandering animals (the *saecla ferarum* of the previous line); 5.932, *vulgivago . . . more ferarum*; also 1.404, 2.597, and 2.1081. Cicero, *Tusc.* 5.28.79, "bestiae non frigus, non famem non montivos atque silvestris cursus lustrationesque patiuntur?" Horace, *Odes* 3.13.12, *pecori vago*, with the note of Kiessling-Heinze, *ad loc.*: "*vagus* ist das für die zerstreut weidenden und *deviae* (I, 17, 6) die Halden durchstreifenden Ziegen das bezeichnende Beiwort;" they then cite *Culex* 104, "et iam compellente vagae pastore capellae," and 48, "iam saxis dumisque [capellae] vagae."

ironically, the enemy of the herd. The *vaga pecora* of verse 13 become *vaga cohors* in verse 25. In the next verse the adjective *citatus* is applied to Cybele's herd. Forms of *vagus* and *citatus* are, as I have argued, highly suggestive of animals.

The first *oratio* (12–26) elaborates on the image suggested by the language of the opening lines. Attis here performs in his traditional role of *pastor bonus*, the good shepherd.¹¹ As he addresses the *vaga pecora* he reveals a consciousness of this authoritative position by referring to himself as *me duce* (15). Within this structural unit of the *Attis* the incipient image begins to crystallize and to develop into full-fledged allegory. In addition, the type of irony that plays such a large part in the meaning of the *Attis* is exemplified here in the intentional and appropriate ambiguity of *sectam* (15) as derived from either *sequor* or *seco*.¹²

In arguing that Catullus portrays Cybele's followers as senseless creatures, it is best, perhaps, to pause over a group of words which share certain characteristics: *reboant* (21), *ululatus* (24), *ululat* (28), *remugit* (29) and *mugienti fremitu* (82). Each of these terms, except *reboant*, applies strictly to the sounds of animals, and each, I add in honesty, has a long history of being used metaphorically. Forms of the root *ulul-* are used regularly of humans taking part in orgiastic rites and frequently of Cybele's devotees.¹³ The word is, however, literally expressive of animals, the wolf in particular: e.g. Varro 7.5.104, "minus aperta [Varro is here writing of the extension of words that originally denoted animal sounds], ut Porcii ab lupe: volitare ululantis"; *Anth. Lat.* 733.16, "sic ululare lupos certum est"; Suetonius 248.1, "luporum ululare."¹⁴ Ovid seems to employ *ululare* to denote

¹¹ Attis appears regularly in literature, art, and inscriptions as *pastor*. See H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Gieszen 1903) 103, note 2, and M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* (Leiden 1966) 14–21 and *passim*.

¹² On verbal irony in the poem see Elder, *AJP* 68.398.

¹³ The following references (all quoted with contexts in Hepding [above, note 11]) pertain only to Cybele's followers: Maecenas, frag. 5 (Hepding, p. 18); Iulius Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum* 3.26 and 30 (H. 48); Claudianus, *In Eutropium* 2.302 (H. 67); Lucian, *Dialogoi deorum* 12.6 (H. 27), *Tragoidopodagra* 31 (H. 29); Martial 5.41.3 (H. 25).

¹⁴ Cf. also *Anth. Lat.* 730.4 and 762.52; Vergil, *Aen.* 7.18, *Geo.* 1.486; Goetz, s.v. "ululare." I took most of these references from Goetz and Schoell's *testimonia* to the Varro passage. The citations of Suetonius here and following are from the critical edition of A. Reifferscheid, *Suetoni praeter Caesarum Libros Reliquiae* (Leipzig 1860).

animal sounds in general: "falsaque saevarum simulacra ululare ferarum" (*Met.* 4.404). Thus, while not precisely appropriate to cattle, the root *ulul-* must have conveyed at least a hint of animals to the mind of the Roman reader. There can be no question about *remugit* (29). The verb is, to be sure, regularly used metaphorically, even as early as Ennius, "tibicina maximo labore mugit."¹⁵ Its basic meaning is evident, however, to many Latin writers, e.g. Nonius 156.21 (quoting Varro), "mugit bovis, ovis balat, equi hinnunt, gallina pipat"; Suetonius 249.1, "boum mugire, equorum hinnire"; *Anth. Lat.* 762.54, "taurus mugit, et celer hinnit equus."¹⁶ The unequivocal meaning of the root *mug-* raises an interesting problem of interpretation in verse 82, where we find the phrase *mugienti fremitu*, for the root *frem-* is especially appropriate to lions: e.g. Varro 7.6.104, "eiusdem a leone: pausam facere fremendi"; Servius, *In Aen.* 9.339, "quidam accipiunt 'mutum fremit' de leone"; Suetonius 247.5 "leonum est fremere"; *Anth. Lat.* 762.51, "lynces fremunt."¹⁷ The confusion of terms is, I think, intentional. The Roman reader, more sensitive to the nuances of the Latin language than we, must have felt in this phrase both the roars of the lion and the bellowing of Attis the heifer. The metaphor of the poem, herd-predator, could not have been employed more dramatically. The last of this group of words to come under scrutiny is *reboant* (21). Unlike the other words which strictly denote animal sounds, *reboare* does so on the basis of a faulty etymology, clearly represented in Varro 7.6.104, "eiusdem a bove: clamorem bovantes"; Nonius 79.5, "bount dictum a boum mugitibus."¹⁸

¹⁵ *Incerta* 7 Vahl. For similar metaphorical extensions cf. Lucretius 4.545; Horace, *Odes* 3.10.6, *Epodes* 10.19; Vergil, *Aen.* 6.99, *Geo.* 3.45.

¹⁶ Cf. also *Anth. Lat.* 730.3; Cicero, *Rep.* 3.30.42; Vergil, *Aen.* 8.215 and 526; Horace, *Odes* 2.16.34; Goetz, s.v. "mugio."

¹⁷ Cf. also Lucretius 3.296-97, "vis est violenta leonum, pectora qui fremitu rumpunt," and 5.1316.

¹⁸ The kinship of *boare* with *βοᾶν* was seen by Servius, *In Geo.* 3.223 ("est autem graecum verbum") and Festus 22.6 ("boare, id est clamare, a Graeco descendit"). Cf., too, Goetz, s.v. "boantes," "boat," and "boatus." A helpful critic reminds me that the animal sounds discussed in this part of my paper were used in Latin in a wide variety of contexts and that in time these verbs became neutral and ceased to evoke the immediate picture of an animal, as is the case with the English "bellow," "roar," and "bleat." It is true that such verbs would be ludicrously out of place in this poem if they summoned up automatically only a picture of an animal. Each of these words has an underlying meaning that suggests animals, and the remarkable accumulation

The middle portion of the poem (*narratio* 27-49, *oratio* 50-73), although lacking the frenzy of the first two sections, through its language and images is also assimilated into the pattern of the *pecoris hostis* metaphor. Cybele's worshipers make their way *properante pede* (30). Their movement is echoed in that of Cybele's unleashed lion (86). The lion follows its course *pede vago*. The epithet *viridem* (30) seems to correspond to *virgulta* (86). The two words are not, of course, related, but Catullus' contemporary Varro provides us with this current etymology, "*virgultum dicitur a viridi*" (5.21.102). Thus the descriptions of Cybele's devotees in verse 30 and her lion in verse 86 have enough in common to suggest that Catullus wants to reinforce the transformation *ab animalibus in homines* that he has more explicitly set forth in the first two sections of the poem. The behavior of Cybele's human entourage mirrored in that of her animal attendant is not without the irony that we associate with Horace.

Comparable with *properante pede* is the attribute *properipedem* applied to Attis (34). Compounds formed from *pes* are regularly epithets of animals, as *sonipedibus* (41) shows. To cite only a few examples from other early writers: Accius, "*nitidantur iugulos quadripedantum sonipedum*"; Plautus, *Captivi* 814, "*qui advehuntur quadrupedanti, crucianti cantherio*"; Cicero, *De div.* 1.9.15, "*mollipedesque boves*."¹⁹ Thus both his companions and Attis, too, at this point, are unmistakably pictured as beasts, with Attis as leader of the herd (34):

rapidae ducem secuntur Gallae properipedem.

The *façon de parler* of the heifer simile of verse 33 is here reflected in reality. In the first two structural units of the poem Attis appears predominantly as a human in possession of his reasoning faculties and seems, in fact, to be characterized as a *pastor*, as his commands to the

of such words, along with other points considered in this paper, convinces me that Catullus provides an atmosphere designed to suggest that the fanaticism of Cybele's followers has filled them with animal frenzy.

¹⁹ There is an example from Varro which belongs to a Cybele context, "*non vidisti simulacrum leonis ad Idam eo loco, ubi quondam subito eum cum vidissent quadrupedem galli . . . ?*" (frag. 364 in Buecheler's critical edition of Petronius). The quotation of Accius is from Ribbeck, *Thebais*, p. 247. Cf. also Lucretius 4.580, 6.765; Vergil, *Aen.* 8.596, 11.875; Horace, *Odes* 2.19.4; Silius Italicus, *Punica* 12.564; Isadore, *Differentia* 47; Dracontius, *Satisfactio* 314. For additional examples see Forcellini s.v. "*sonipes*" and "*levipes*," and *ThLL* s.v. "*aeripes*," "*alipes*," and "*cornipes*."

vaga pecora suggest, although there are hints that his fanaticism has in some mysterious way made him partly animal-like. Immediately after the simile of verse 33 he becomes leader of the herd instead of a *pastor*. This simile, then, is the turning point of the poem.²⁰ In conjunction with this simile the phrase *pecoris hostem* (77) takes on great importance, for Attis has become in verse 33 the herd animal of which the lion is an enemy. It is evident here how fundamental irony is to an understanding of this poem.

The heifer simile of verse 33 deserves further attention. The frenzied flight of the *iuvenco* is the image that Catullus intends to evoke, and not the fact that the creature is *indomita*, for Attis is still at this point Cybele's faithful servant.²¹ *Indomita* is important, however, for foreshadowing Attis' ultimate disillusionment and rejection of Cybele. Like Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae*, Attis resists *ἐνθουσιασμός* and its implications, and so must suffer.²² As in several other descriptions of Attis and his fellow worshipers, features of their behavior are paralleled in the activity of Cybele's lion. The yoke (*iuga*) of the simile repeated in connection with the lion (76 and 84) is grimly ironic. It seems clear enough that Cybele removes the yoke from the lion only to attempt to place it upon the shoulders of the heifer (that is, Attis) which has just attempted to avoid it. The yoke taken off the lion represents the forced or imposed onslaught of *ἐνθουσιασμός*, that is, *μανία*, which Attis had earlier accepted willingly.²³ Because *furor*, which sleep has banished (38), must be present if Attis is to fulfill his duties to her, Cybele sets out to renew it with the yoke as its symbol (78-80):

²⁰ Schäfer 98-99 approaches the poem from a different point of view and interprets verse 38 as the focal point of the poem. He notes that comparable ideas are juxtaposed on either side of this line: Attis' movement from shore to mountains to collapse into sleep (27-37) is balanced by his awakening and return to shore (39, 49), his exhortations (12-26) are balanced by his lament (50-73), the outbreak of *furor* (1-11) is balanced by its return (74-90). Schäfer also notes that the structure of the poem is highly dependent upon contrast: the darkness of the forest (3, 12, 20, 32) gives way to light (39-41), sleep yields to frenzied activity (38, 44), masculinity gives way to effeminacy. In short, Schäfer sees the poem as a ring composition: it begins and ends in *nemora Cybeles*.

²¹ Svennung (above, note 8) 70, concentrates on the *indomita* attribute of the heifer rather than the image that I feel sure Catullus intends to convey, that of frenzied motion.

²² Cf. A. Guillemin, "Le poème 63 de Catulle," *REL* 27 (1949) 157.

²³ Weinreich 480.

fac ut hunc furor agitet,
 fac uti furoris ictu reditum in nemora ferat,
 mea libere nimis qui fugere imperia cupit.

Fugere in verse 80 corresponds to *vitans* in the heifer simile. In verse 80 Attis is represented as desiring to escape Cybele's impositions, as the heifer in verse 33 tries to get out from under the yoke. The yoke of madness which the unbroken heifer had momentarily avoided must be reimposed. It is interesting to observe that *nemora* in the quoted passage are associated closely with frenzy. Moreover, *furor* and its cognates appear frequently in the poem (4, 31, 38, 54, 78, 79, 92), and with one exception each instance of *furor* or its cognates is applied to Attis' frame of mind. The one exception (54) pertains to animals.²⁴

The phrenetic motion of Cybele's followers has ceased and the emphasis falls on repose and quiet recollection. The accumulation of words to represent this new mental state is as remarkable as that which earlier depicted violently irrational behavior: *piger sopor* (37), *labante langore* (37), *quiete molli* (38 and 44), *rapida sine rabie* (44), and *liquida mente* (46). Even in Attis' soliloquy (50-73), which is made possible by this calm detachment, Catullus does not fail to integrate new material into the image of the poem. To Attis separation from home means relegation to the cold haunts and hiding places of mad beasts (52-54). By maintaining in this calm atmosphere a suggestion of pervading animal frenzy, Catullus keeps the image, which he has painstakingly developed, before the reader's eyes. The same is true, I believe, of the passage in which Attis pictures himself living with the *cerva silvicultrix* and *aper nemorivagus* of Ida (72).²⁵ Nor is this section of the poem without additional examples of bitter irony. The home that Attis left when he followed Cybele is described as "*floridis corollis redimita domus*" (66). The celebrated athlete, whose home had been decked with garlands, arrives in Phrygia, "*adiit . . . opaca silvis redi-*

²⁴ There is some uncertainty whether *furibunda* (54) is feminine or neuter. In either case it is clear that *nemora*, forms of *ferus*, *furor*, or their near equivalents regularly appear together in this poem so as to be virtually formulaic: cf. 2 and 4; 11-13; 18 and 20; 30-33; 78-79; 89.

²⁵ It is interesting that Catullus' contemporary, Lucretius, uses this unusual type of compound in connection with Cybele as *mater ferarum*: "*montivago generi . . . ferarum*" (2.597).

mita loca" (3). Catullus makes the same sort of *tunc-nunc* contrast in verse 67. At the rising of the sun Attis used to leave his bedroom and be greeted by admirers. The rising of the sun now brings to Attis recognition of the loss of his virility, which once, as manifested in his athletic prowess, had been responsible for his fame.

The part of the poem that introduces Cybele resumes more explicitly the *pecoris hostis* image that Attis' soliloquy has interrupted. We have already seen the irony of associating the yoke both with the lion and with Attis. Within the short narrative passage describing Cybele's reaction to Attis' rejection of her, the poem reaches its dramatic climax. Since the simile of verse 33, Attis has consistently been depicted as a gregarious creature. When the lion appears as the enemy of gregarious animals, *pecoris hostem* (77), Attis' fate is irrevocably sealed. After returning to this fundamental image of the poem, Catullus echoes the action and the phrasing of earlier passages that were centered on this metaphor. The compendious announcement of Attis' arrival in Phrygia concludes with the introduction of his hortatory address to the *vaga pecora* ("canere haec suis adorta est," 11). Cybele's arrival concludes with the anticipation of her exhortation ("ita loquitur," 77). The parallelism is further brought out by the use of a form of *stimulare* in each of these sections (4 and 77). Moreover, a variant of *pecus* appears almost immediately after the introduction of Attis' urgings (13) and among Cybele's words of encouragement (77). Each commences his commands with equal spiritedness: *agite ite* (12) and *simul ite* (13); *agedum . . . age . . . fac* (78), *fac* (79), *age* (81) and *fac* (82).

We must try to determine the significance of such counterbalancing. Catullus first portrays Attis in his traditional role of *pastor* and assigns to him a suitably hortatory speech. Attis commands Cybele's herd of worshipers to continue on to her Phrygian precinct. Cybele then assumes Attis' role of *pastor*, and in this capacity, in language similar to that of Attis, urges her lion to pursue the deposed *pastor*.

In a sense this exchange of roles summarizes the poem. Although language suggestive of animals colors Attis' initial appearance (1-11), the reader has the impression that he is a human leader (*dux*) of the herd, that is, *pastor*, when he addresses the *vaga pecora* (12-26). The heifer simile of verse 33 brings about a drastic change in our conception

of Attis. He is still *dux* (34) but now as a sort of swift-footed (*properipedem*) bellwether rather than a human. In his soliloquy (50–73) he pictures himself as a creature destined to roam the countryside of Ida with deer and boars (53–54 and 72). The final *oratio* (78–83) and *narratio* (84–90) reveal why this is so. Because of his despair of the awful consequences of devotion to her (73), Cybele fills his mind with animal-like frenzy. Attis undergoes a change in his entire being, and the poem closes with Attis being chased like a heifer by a savage lion.

I should like now to round out certain considerations only touched upon above, to speculate why the *pecoris hostis* image suggested itself to Catullus, and to adduce some literary parallels. Like Attis, Paris is a shepherd, and Horace exploits this tradition in *Odes* 1.15, where Paris appears first as pastor (1) and then as a deer (29) chased by a wolf, the very animal against which he would be expected to protect the flock in his role of *pastor*. Horace's Chloe ode (1.23) is an etymological *tour de force* which provides another parallel worth considering. Arnobius (*Adversus nationes* 5.6) records that Phrygians call goatherds *attagos* (= he-goat; Greek ἀττηγός), and in this way derives the name Attis.²⁶ Like Chloe in *Odes* 1.23, Attis' name may have occasioned major elements in Catullus 63. The *Bacchae* exhibits some interesting parallels. Pentheus resists Bacchus, and the god fills him with animal frenzy (ἀγριωπὸν τέρας, οὐ φῶτα βρότειον, 542–43). The transformation is complete when Pentheus thinks that Dionysus is a bull (920). E. R. Dodds in his commentary notes:

The vision is no drunken fancy, but a sinister epiphany of the god in his bestial incarnation, comparable with the visions of the medieval satanists who saw their Master with the horns of a goat. . . . Now at last . . . Pentheus' eyes are unsealed to "see what he should see" because now the bull-nature, the Dionysiac nature, has broken loose in his own breast.

The *Bacchae* also exhibits the same sort of grim irony as Catullus 63. At 1020 Pentheus is pictured as a hunter; the Maenads are a herd of hunted animals (ἀγέλη, 1022). At 1107–8 Pentheus has become a beast (ἀμβάτης θήρ) treed by the Maenads. Agave, under the delusion that she is a huntress (1170) and he a lion, tears him apart. In reality,

²⁶ For representations of Attis as goat-like, see Vermaseren (above, note 11) 7–8.

both Pentheus and Agave have been filled with animal frenzy, as her savage slaughter of him shows (1122-47).

There are, then, literary parallels for the type of image that I have argued the *Attis* displays, as well as a parallel to the possibility that the name *Attis* lies behind certain motifs of the poem. Another important consideration is that some features of Cybele's cult are responsible for elements in the poem. Although there is a certain amount of vagueness about exactly what kind of animal Catullus intends us to construe *Attis* to be, the heifer simile of verse 33 seems to me to leave the lasting impression. It is well known that Cybele is regularly accompanied by lions. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 395-401, calls her *μᾶτερ πότνια . . . ταυροκτόνων λεόντων*. The lion that threatens the Gallus in *Anth. Pal.* 6.219.7 is *ταυροφόνος θήρ*. Catullus produces this notion of Cybele's lion in Latin with the phrase *pecoris hostem* (77). The final scene, in which Catullus portrays *Attis* being pursued like a heifer by a lion, may, then, be a development of the cult tradition that Cybele's lions are bull-slayers.²⁷ Another feature of Cybele that fits this interpretation is her title *πότνια θηρῶν*.²⁸ Lucretius calls her *mater . . . ferarum* (2.598). It seems likely that it is in this capacity that she reduces *Attis* to a heifer and commands her lion to chase him. Thus the image of the poem, herd-predator, may very well be rooted in the cult traditions of Cybele. Catullus exploits the latent metaphor in Cybele as the *πότνια θηρῶν*, her bull-slaying attendants, and *Attis* the shepherd.²⁹

²⁷ On the phrase *ταυροκτόνων λεόντων* see J. W. Crowfoot, "The Lions of Kybele," *JHS* 20 (1900) 118-27, where he shows that the phrase is closely related to the cult of Cybele and not just a general expression, as Jebb claims.

²⁸ On Cybele as *πότνια θηρῶν* see G. Radet, "La déesse Cybèbe," *REA* 10 (1908) 109-60.

²⁹ K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description* (London 1968) 391-93, discusses Vergil's "restoring to a phrase which has become jaded its original imaginative content."

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