

TWO CHRONOLOGICAL CONTRADICTIONS IN CATULLUS 64

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In Catullus 64, not far from the beginning, there is a famous contradiction which was first observed by Moritz Haupt and in the century since has elicited abundant scholarly comment.¹ Haupt's remarks, translated, are as follows:²

Catullus relates that Ariadne, who
fluentisono prospectans litore Diae
Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur,
was depicted on the fabric with which Thetis' *pulvinar geniale* was covered, and he devotes many lines to the sea voyage of Theseus. At the beginning of the poem, however, while mentioning the Argo in which Peleus was sailing when Thetis first laid eyes on him, the poet also writes this line:
illa rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten.

Catullus, however, seems blissfully unaware of this contradiction and, indeed, even compounds it by labeling as *prisci* (50) Theseus and the rest

¹ It is routinely observed that much—indeed, too much—has been written about this contradiction, but nowhere is an adequate bibliography on the subject to be found. For this reason I offer the following.

Alexander Riese, ed., *Die Gedichte des Catullus* (Leipzig 1884) 156, 161; Robinson Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford 1889²) 282; Johannes Heumann, *De epyllio Alexandrino* (Königsee 1904) 41, note 4; Manara Valgimigli, *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria* 7 (1906) 404; Ettore Bignone, *Riv. Fil.* 37 (1909) 101, note 1; Giorgio Pasquali, *SIFC* 1 (1920) 1–23, especially 1–3; Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.* 2.299; Gaetano Munno, *Athenaeum* 7 (1929) 224–27; Gennaro Perrotta, *Athenaeum* 9 (1931) 178–82; M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, ed., *Il libro di Catullo* (Turin 1933) 139; Giuliano Bonazzi, ed., *Catulli carmina* (Rome 1936) 229; Clyde Murley, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 313; Hans Herter, *Rh. Mus.* 91 (1942) 247–48, note 36; Lawrence Richardson, Jr., *Poetical Theory in Republican Rome* (New Haven 1944) 42; Pier V. Cova, *Convivium* 5 (1949) 713 (see also the conclusion on p. 720); Ettore Bignone, *Storia della letteratura latina* (Florence 1945–51) 2.392, note 1; Charalambos S. Floratos, *Über das 64. Gedicht Catulls* (Athens 1957) 9–10; Nino Scivoletto, *GIF* 12 (1959) 341; T. E. Kinsey, *Latomus* 24 (1965) 929; Jean Granarolo, *L'Oeuvre de Catulle* (Paris 1967) 155–56; J. C. Bramble, *PCPS* n.s. 16 (1970) 22, note 4; Kenneth Quinn, ed., *Catullus: The Poems* (London 1970) 310; and Giuseppe Giangrande, *AC* 41 (1972) 124–26.

² Moritz, Haupt, *Opuscula* (Leipzig 1875–76) 2.73.

of the embroidered cast of characters.³ The sea voyages of Theseus are thus made to antedate the first ship ever to sail, and to do so, as *prisci* would suggest, by a span of centuries.

My purpose in this paper is to explain this contradiction with reference to a second, external contradiction between Catullus' account and traditional chronology. I shall conclude with some brief remarks on the literary context in which both contradictions are to be viewed.

Related to the priority of the Argo and Theseus' ship is the larger question of the relative chronology of the Argonautic expedition and Theseus' Cretan adventure. Others though there may be,⁴ the major point of contact between the two myths lies in Medea's sojourn in Athens. Fleeing Corinth, Medea found asylum with Aegeus before Theseus had yet arrived in Athens from Troezen. Upon his arrival, Medea alone knew his true identity, and she resolved to eliminate him. Her initial scheme was to have the

³ The significance of *priscus* in line 50 is acknowledged by Kinsey (above, note 1), but apparently nowhere else. For the opinion that it has to be understood from Catullus' frame of reference see Jan van Gelder, *Hermeneus* 41 (1969–70) 180. This interpretation, however, founders on two objections. First, it would serve no useful purpose for the poet to state the obvious, that Theseus, Ariadne, et al. are ancient history to him. Besides, even if a reference to this fact were warranted, it would more naturally be made at the beginning of the poem (in line 22 or 23, for example) than suppressed until line 50.

⁴ Among the combinations and relationships bringing Theseus into contact with the Argonauts are the following:

1. When Theseus leaped into the sea to fetch Minos' ring, Thetis gave him the crown which she had received from Aphrodite as a wedding gift. For this detail, however, there is only one source (the Alexandrian Hegesianax cited in Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.5). In the usual version Theseus is given the crown by Amphitrite (Bacchyl. 17 and the other sources cited in Preller-Robert 2.682, note 4).

2. Theseus gave up his mistress Perigune to Deioneus, whose brother Clytius was an Argonaut (Plut. *Thes.* 8; Hyg. *Fab.* 14; Preller-Robert 2.584, note 5, 714).

3. Ariadne and Phaedra were granddaughters of Helius and hence nieces of Aeetes and cousins of Medea (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1076; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.1; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.19.48; Preller-Robert 2.760–61).

4. After Theseus had abducted the young Helen (at the age of fifty according to Helianicus in *FGrH* 4 F 168), the Argonauts Castor and Pollux rescued her and captured Theseus' mother, whom Helen later took to Troy (Hom. *Il.* 3.144 and the many other sources cited in Preller-Robert 2.699–703).

5. In some accounts Theseus is himself an Argonaut (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16; Hyg. *Fab.* 14; Stat. *Theb.* 5.432, *Achil.* 1.157; Preller-Robert 2.738).

6. Two sons of Ariadne, Staphylus and Phanus, are included among the Argonauts in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16.

7. Ariadne was Hysipyle's paternal grandmother (Apollod. *Epit.* 1.9; Ov. *Her.* 6.114; Preller-Robert 2.688, 851).

8. Peleus was the grandson of Jupiter, but Ariadne was his great-great-granddaughter. This link is emphasized in Granarolo (above, note 1) 155, but in view of Jupiter's immortality and, hence, his immortal potency, it is less significant chronologically than Granarolo would like it to be.

putative stranger sent against the bull of Marathon,⁵ but when Theseus survived this ordeal, she next contrived to poison him. In this, however, she was foiled by Aegeus, who recognized his son without a moment to spare. Thereupon Medea was banished from Athens, and soon after this Theseus sailed for Crete.⁶

This episode establishes unambiguously the priority of the Argo relative to Theseus' expedition to Crete. It was also a story known to all, unlike the other connections between the two legends. Forming the basis of the plot of Euripides' *Aegeus*, in Rome it achieved further currency in a tragedy of Ennius.⁷ "The connexion between Aigeus and Medeia was long established and the audience did not need to have seen the *Aigeus* [of Euripides] to understand the Aigeus scene in the *Medeia*."⁸

For Catullus, however, the most familiar account will have been that of Callimachus in the *Hecale*, where the narrative began with Medea's attempt on Theseus and his recognition by Aegeus in the nick of time (fr. 232–34 Pf.). There can be no doubt that Catullus was familiar with the details of Theseus' arrival in Athens, for it is mentioned explicitly in 64.217. This reference, moreover, is made by Aegeus in a speech addressed to Theseus shortly after the latter's arrival. Aegeus also delivered a speech to his son in the *Hecale*, and the context of this speech as well as Theseus' recent arrival in Athens, as the sole surviving fragment requires:

παρὲκ νόον εἰλήλουθας. (234 Pf.)

In 64.217, therefore, Catullus refers to an episode of the *Hecale*, and he does so in a speech for which there is an exact parallel in that very episode. Indeed, *reddite . . . nuper mihi* is a virtual paraphrase of the only fragment surviving from the parallel speech in the *Hecale*. If the Callimachean speech of Aegeus to Theseus is ever recovered, it is likely to prove the model of Catullus 64.215–37.

Mythological tradition, then, yielded an earlier date for Peleus' sea voyage and wedding than for Theseus' exploits in Crete. This priority

⁵ In what some scholars have termed the "canonical" version of the story, Theseus' Marathonian exploit *follows* Medea's flight from Athens. See the bibliography cited in note 7 below.

⁶ Sources and further details in Preller-Robert 2.725–27.

⁷ Euripides' *Aegeus* may have been adapted by Ennius either in the *Medea exul* (T. B. L. Webster, AC 34 [1965] 520) or in another Medea tragedy (H. D. Jocelyn, ed., *The Tragedies of Ennius* [Cambridge 1967] 342–43). Catullus' familiarity with the former is evident in the fact that in Poem 64, out of five allusions to identifiable passages of Ennius, four are to the *Medea exul* (viz., lines 1–5, 171–72, 177–80, 250). For bibliography on Medea in Athens and Euripides' play see T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London 1967) 77–78, to which add Rudolf Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus* (Oxford 1949–53) 1.227.

⁸ Webster, *Tragedies of Euripides* 52–53.

was confirmed, moreover, by the mythographic scholarship of Catullus' own day.⁹ Catullus, therefore, in reversing this priority, is not likely to have done so unawares. Further, if the external contradiction between Catullus' and traditional chronology was conscious, deliberate, and intentional, then a fortiori so must also have been the internal contradiction between 64.11 and Theseus' ship. To perceive the reversal of Peleus and Theseus requires some acquaintance with myth, literature, and the scholarship of mythographers. The internal contradiction, however, is evident to any careful reader of the poem itself.

If the contradictions in question are due to conscious intent, what end are they intended to serve? In Neoteric epyllia like Catullus 64, the poet "courts the interest of the cultivated reader by giving a novel twist to his story. . . . And Catullus writes for a sophisticated reader who is equipped to seize on hints and expand allusions."¹⁰ The internal contradiction and the inversion of traditional chronology which we have identified are not due to a lapse of memory, or to imperfect editing, or to gauche contamination, or to textual corruption, or to any of the other blunders alleged by scholars. On the contrary, they are deliberate and, as such, thoroughly in the Neoteric manner.¹¹ It would hardly be an overstatement to call them instances of willful sophistry designed for the unique delectation of the *docti* among the poet's readers. Interpreted in this light, *prima* and *priscis* in lines 11 and 50 read as challenges to the reader's intelligence and erudition.¹²

⁹ For this see the appendix.

¹⁰ C. J. Fordyce, ed., *Catullus* (Oxford 1961) 272, 274. The remarks to the same effect in Eduard Norden, ed., *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI* (Stuttgart 1957⁴) 125 also merit quotation: "Solche 'compendia fabulae', die das Denken des sagenkundigen Lesers reizen sollten, waren gerade in demjenigen poetischen *γένος*, in dessen Stile Vergil diese Episode [*Aen.* 6.14–33] dichtete, ausserordentlich beliebt."

¹¹ Norden (ibid. 214) draws the same conclusion about the internal inconsistencies in *Aen.* 6: "Die lateinischen Kunstdichter . . . duldeten das Nebeneinander solcher mythologischen Varianten unbedenklich, ja liebten es, dadurch das Schwanken der Tradition mit affektierter Gelehrsamkeit beiläufig anzudeuten." In *Aen.* 6 there is inconsistency among the references to the Eumenides' location in the underworld (lines 280, 374–75, 555, 570–72, 605–7), and also, as critics as early as Hyginus observed, between line 122, where Aeneas mentions Theseus' return from Hades, and lines 617–18, where Theseus is said to be condemned to a sedentary eternity. Between different books a straightforward example is to be found in the discrepant genealogies given for Latinus in 7.47–49 (son of the nymph Marica) and 12.164 (grandson of Sol and, by implication, son of Circe).

¹² With *prima* Catullus not only contradicts his later references to Theseus' ship but also passes over in silence the alternative traditions that Danaus or Minos was the first to sail. See Preller-Robert 2.771–72 and Herter (above, note 1) 244–49. As for *priscis*, it demolishes the notion of Lenchantin (above, note 1), Bignone (above, note 1, second citation), and Giangrande (above, note 1) that Theseus' trip to Crete occurred after the sailing of the Argo but before Peleus' wedding, not to mention Bonazzi's and Granarolo's proposal (above, note 1) that *future* events are portrayed on the coverlet. See above, note 3.

Typical of the Neoteric manner in general, the chronological inversion in question can also be traced to a specific Alexandrian source. It is only natural that, given the Argonautic context of his epyllion, Catullus should have known in detail the epic of Apollonius of Rhodes. Whatever the nature and extent of Catullus' debt to Apollonius,¹³ in the *Argonautica* he found ready-made, as Wilamowitz discerned half a century ago,¹⁴ his reversal of the Peleus and Ariadne legends. In Book 3 of that poem Jason's initial appeal to Medea concludes with the example of Ariadne:

Once upon a time [δὴ ποτε] even Theseus was rescued from pernicious ordeals by the maiden daughter of Minos, kind Ariadne, she whom Pasiphae, daughter of Helios, bore. But when Minos had calmed his anger,¹⁵ she, going on board ship with him, even left her fatherland, and her even the immortals themselves cherished, and in the middle of heaven her sign, a starry crown which people call Ariadne's, spins all night among the constellations of heaven. (3.997–1004)

Medea's reply likewise concludes with Ariadne:

And tell of this girl, whoever she is, whom you mentioned by name, renowned daughter of Pasiphae, who is of the same family as my father. (3.1074–76)

Like his first, Jason's second appeal ends with the exemplum of Ariadne:

But why do I mention all these idle matters, our home and far-famed Ariadne, daughter of Minos, the splendid name which people used to call that lovely maiden about whom you ask? As Minos was at that time well inclined toward Theseus for her sake, so compliant with us may your father be! (3.1096–1101)

Medea's reply begins as follows:

In Hellas, presumably, it is an honorable thing to care about ties of friendship, but Aeetes is not such among men as you said was Minos, husband of Pasiphae; and I am not like Ariadne. Therefore, make no mention of friendship with a stranger. (3.1105–8)

¹³ For this see H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *RU* 2 (1893) 2.161–69, K. P. Schulze, *Jahresb.* 183 (1920) 13–14, Wilamowitz *Hell. Dicht.* 2.299, Perrotta (above, note 1) 382–94, and Wendell Clausen in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* 2 (Cambridge 1982) 189–92. Unfortunately I have not had access to Riccardo Avallone, *Antiquitas* 8 (1953) 8–75.

¹⁴ *Hell. Dicht.* 2.299. Bramble (above, note 1) fails to acknowledge Wilamowitz and instead credits A. G. Lee with this insight.

¹⁵ This unparalleled detail, beside serving Jason's self-interest, is also to be read as Apollonius' solution to the question, much debated in antiquity, why Minos did not sail in pursuit of Theseus. For a detailed analysis of the whole question see Herter (above, note 1) 228–37; also Wendell Clausen, *ICS* 2 (1977) 220.

In *Argonautica* 4 there is yet another reference to the Ariadne legend, and here the affinities with Catullus 64 extend beyond inverted chronology.¹⁶ In lines 430–34 there is the following description of the “holy purple robe of Hypsipyle” given by Jason to Apsyrtus:

Its fragrance, moreover, was ambrosial, ever since that time when the Nysean lord himself, mellow with wine and nectar, lay on it, clasping the fair breast of the maiden daughter of Minos, whom Theseus had once abandoned on the isle of Dia when she had followed him from Cnossus.

In Apollonius, then, is found the same inverted chronology as we have detailed in Catullus 64.¹⁷ It constitutes a major theme in the initial dialogue between Jason and Medea, recurring no fewer than four times in scarcely more than 100 lines. Also, the putative antiquity of Theseus’ voyage to Crete is emphasized at the outset (δη ποτε in 3.997), just as it is in Catullus (*priscis*, 50). Finally, in Apollonius the skewed chronology is even easier to detect than it is in Catullus, thanks to Medea’s double role in the legends both of the Argo and of Theseus. Given what he knows about Medea’s attempt to poison the young Theseus years later, the reader quite properly perceives no little irony in the Apollonian Medea’s references to Theseus and Ariadne as if they were ancient history.¹⁸

But Catullus owes still more to Apollonian chronology. In the four passages cited above, Theseus is consistently treated as anterior to the Argonauts, but in 1.101–3 he is named as potentially one of their number:

But Theseus, who surpassed all the sons of Erechtheus, an unseen fetter was confining under the Taenarian earth after he had followed Peirithous on a common journey. Surely they would both have made easier for all the end of their toil.

To be sure, Hans Herter¹⁹ found no inconsistency here, arguing from Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 168) that Theseus was in his fifties at the time of

¹⁶ Even if *Argon.* 4.430–34 cannot be called the source of the ecphrasis in Catullus 64, it can plausibly be imagined to have inspired that passage. (I now find the same suggestion advanced by Clausen [above, note 13] 191.) No great leap of the imagination is required to pass from the actual marriage bed of Ariadne and Dionysus to a marriage bed on which they are portrayed. For the suggestion that Catullus was rather inspired by *Argon.* 3.997–1004 and 1074–76, see Kinsey (above, note 1) 914, note 2. The description of Jason’s cloak in *Argon* 1.721–67 is most often proposed as Catullus’ Apollonian model.

¹⁷ Apollonius’ portrayal of Theseus’ Cretan adventure as prior to the Argo is observed in Wilamowitz, *Hell. Dicht.* 2.299, Herter (above, note 1) 246, Bramble (above, note 1), and, among commentators, not until Francis Vian’s edition of *Argon.* 3 (Paris 1961). To my knowledge, however, the perversity of this chronology is nowhere mentioned, nor is any reference made to the Medea–Aegeus episode and its ramifications for the relative chronology of the two legends.

¹⁸ One of the *TAPA* readers observes that this irony is compounded by the fact that desertion was Ariadne’s reward, and such is to be Medea’s as well.

¹⁹ Herter (above, note 1) 246.

his catabasis. Nevertheless, even if one is inclined to attribute to Apollonius such extreme chronological fine-tuning as this, it is unlikely that he relied on an isolated remark of Hellanicus in preference to the traditional priority of the Argo. Besides, if Theseus was already in his fifties when the Argo set sail, he was beyond the age when he would have "made easier for all the end of their toil." Apollonius in fact contradicts himself about the relative chronology of the Argo and Theseus, and in doing so he provides warrant for Catullus to do likewise in the matter of the Argo and Theseus' ship.

In conclusion, the priority of the Argonauts relative to Theseus was firmly established by the Medea episode in the legend of Theseus, and it achieved wide currency when Euripides and Callimachus treated this episode, and after them Ennius as well. By Catullus' day this priority was so well established that in reversing it he cannot have acted in ignorance. He was fully aware of what he was doing, and so, he knew, had Apollonius been in perpetrating the same reversal in four of his five references to Theseus.²⁰ To the reader "in the know," moreover, Catullus signaled the perversity of his chronology by referring to Theseus as *priscus* (50), just as Apollonius had challenged his readers' alertness with *δὴ ποτε* in 3.997. The recognition of an Apollonian precedent for his skewed chronology was another delight that Catullus held in reserve for the special enjoyment of the sophisticated reader. Though less abstruse than the contradiction between Catullus' chronology and the established priority of the Argonauts, the contradiction between Theseus' ship and the Argo as *prima* (line 11) also has an Apollonian parallel and is no less deliberate than the first, external contradiction.²¹

Finding traditional chronology reflected in Callimachus but inverted by Apollonius, Catullus, then, rejected the former in favor of the latter. To go no farther than this, however, would be to oversimplify. To be sure, Catullus rejects the priority of the Argo, but in doing so, as we have seen, he also alludes (in line 217 in particular, but also in the speech of Aegeus as a whole) to the very episode in the *Hecale* which establishes this priority. This incorporation of discrepant chronological traditions is an example of the Neoteric technique of multiple reference which has recently been discussed in some detail.²² For example, Catullus never

²⁰ The likelihood of Catullus' self-consciousness is increased by the fact that in Valerius Flaccus 7.287, Venus invokes the exemplum of Ariadne and the Minotaur in her speech to Medea. Identical inversions in Apollonius, Catullus, and Valerius are less likely to be due to coincidence than to an awareness of literary precedent and the disposition to acknowledge it.

²¹ As Bramble (above, note 1) has observed, this internal contradiction finds a later parallel in Valerius Flaccus, where a reference to the Argo as the first ship in 1.1 is followed by allusions to pre-Argonautic seafaring in 2.285–300 and 7.261–62.

²² See David O. Ross, Jr., *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (Cambridge 1975) 62; Richard F. Thomas *AJP* 103 (1982) 144–64.

mentions the Argo by name, but, as Richard Thomas has shown,²³ all three of the competing etymologies of "Argo" are nevertheless implied at the beginning of the poem.

Many examples of this technique have been identified both in Catullus 64 and elsewhere, but one in the speech of Aegeus has to my knowledge gone unnoticed. In 64.227 Aegeus uses the words *obscurata* . . . *ferrugine Hibera* of the inauspicious sails of Theseus. The familiar color of these sails was black, and interpreters have accordingly been at pains to explain how *ferrugo* ("rust") can be made to denote the color black. But Servius (on *Aen.* 9.582) knew that rust is red, as did Virgil in calling the hyacinth *ferrugineus* (*G.* 4.183), and in the Propertian phrase *minium Hiberum* (2.3.11) the adjective *Hiberus* is again applied to red dye. Theseus' sails are, to be sure, normally black, but in one account unique to Simonides (fr. 45a Page) they are red. This is the recondite tradition which Catullus, taking the unworn way, is following in 64.227.²⁴ At the same time, with the participle *obscurata* he also alludes to the tradition he rejects, that is, that Theseus' unlucky sails were black.

Beyond the feat of technical bravado which Catullus aimed to achieve in his adoption of contradictory chronologies, he may also have had larger ends in view. The interpretation of Catullus 64 as a whole is, of course, a question which lies beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, with reference to the poetic function of the contradictions in question, one possibility suggests itself. If the ship said to be the first ever to sail proves in fact to have had a predecessor, nothing could be more appropriate to a poem in which heroic *virtutes* professed are sometimes sordid *scelera* in fact, marriages called happy are replete with insistent reminders of unions ending in tragedy, and the sin allegedly unique to the present is in fact amply attested in the dark recesses of the heroic past.

Appendix

Shortly before Catullus died, Castor of Rhodes published his *Chronological Epitome* covering the period from 2123 B.C. to Pompey's reorganization of Asia in 61 B.C. This work was the first systematic chronology to include the mythical period of Greek pre-history.²⁵ For this mythical period, moreover, Castor's *Epitome* was followed by Eusebius in his *Chronicle*,²⁶ where the following note is found on years 756–62 from Abraham (= 1261–1253 B.C.):

²³ Ibid. 148–54.

²⁴ The relevance of the Simonides fragment to Catullus 64.227 is acknowledged in Wilhelm Kroll, ed., *C. Valerius Catullus* (Stuttgart 1960⁴) 298, but apparently nowhere else.

²⁵ *FGrH* 250 Komm., p. 816.

²⁶ See Alden H. Mosshammer, *The "Chronicle" of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, Pa. 1979), especially pp. 130, 135.

If, however, Castor and Pollux were among the Argonauts, how can it be believed that their sister was Helen, who many years later is raped by Theseus while still a virgin?

According to Castor's chronology, therefore, the career of Theseus followed—and followed by many years—the voyage of the Argonauts.

The utility of an all-inclusive chronology like Castor's was such that the *Epitome* was put to prompt and extensive use by no less a figure than Varro.²⁷ In view of this fact and the coincidence of the publication of the *Epitome* with the years of Catullus' activity as a poet, it is most unlikely that Castor's groundbreaking work was unknown to Catullus. Indeed, in 68.33–36 Catullus makes explicit reference to the impossibility of writing verse away from his well-stocked library,²⁸ and for the importance of reference works to *poetae docti* we have from later in the century the familiar example of the compendium of myths composed by Parthenius for the benefit of Cornelius Gallus.

In short, Castor's *Chronological Epitome* must have been known to Catullus, for whose *doctrina* it will have been as useful as for the researches of Varro and his ilk. If Catullus used it in fact, he will have found therein an explicit statement of the conclusion implicit in Medea's sojourn with Aegeus—that the adventures of Theseus postdated by many years the voyage of the Argonauts.²⁹

²⁷ *FGrH* 250 F 9 and Schanz-Hosius 14.566. Varro's four books *de gente populi Romani*, for which Castor's *Epitome* was a principal source, cannot have been published long after 43 B.C.

²⁸ Concerning the contents of Catullus' library see J. C. Yardley, *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 337–39.

²⁹ Catullus also had at his disposal the "tres chartae doctae et laboriosae" of the *Chronicle* of his friend Nepos, but this work did not deal with legendary history: see Felix Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin 1902) 33–34.

In this appendix I am indebted to Prof. Alden Mosshammer for several valuable suggestions.