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CATULLUS AND MARTIAL IN THOMAS CAMPION'S EPIGRAMS

Abstract

This paper explores the influence of the poetry of Catullus, both on his own and as filtered by Martial, on the Latin epigrams of the British Elizabethan / Jacobean writer Thomas Campion (1567–1620). By looking at a selection of examples, the study shows how Campion's epigrams adopt and develop a number of motifs from Catullus, some of which had been taken up by Martial. The creative reworking of such elements contributes to enabling Campion to establish an individual brand of epigrams suitable for his own time.

Keywords: Catullus; Martial; Thomas Campion; Neo-Latin literature.

1. Introduction

Epigr. 2,27 (VIVIAN, p. 275): De Catullo et Martiale Cantabat Veneres meras Catullus; Quasuis sed quasi silua Martialis Miscet materias suis libellis, Laudes, stigmata, gratulationes, Contemptus, ioca, seria, ima, summa; Multis magnus hic est, bene ille cultis.

About Catullus and Martial.

Catullus kept singing of nothing but love; but, as if he was a forest, Martial mixed any possible material into his little books: praise, reproaches, congratulations, contempt, jokes, serious topics, the lowest, the highest; in the view of the many the latter is great, the former in the view of the very elegant.

This poem in the characteristically Catullan metre of hendecasyllables (Catull. 12,10; 42,1) comes from the second book of epigrams (publ. 1619) by the British writer Thomas Campion (1567-1620). It demonstrates that Campion was familiar with the Roman poets Catullus and Martial and thus was able to present them as it suited his argument: he contrasts Catullus as a refined love poet with Martial as a poet writing about a variety of things. While this is neither an accurate, comprehensive description of either poet nor a straightforward contrast, Campion

can thus highlight what he wants to be seen as characteristics of both of them, presumably in relation to his own poetry.

That Catullus was among the classical Latin poets who inspired Campion's poetry has long been recognized¹. In fact, with reference to Catullus' influence on English poetry, it was felt some time ago: «Of the poets considered in this paper, no other, with the single exception of Herrick, is so truly Catullian, in manner and inspiration, as Thomas Campion»².

Campion was one of the ambidextrous British poets of the early-modern period who produced poems in both English and Latin, in his case in a variety of forms and also for musical accompaniment. Hitherto the scholarly focus has tended to fall on Campion's longer love poems, where obvious allusions make the reference to Catullus as a love poet evident: an example is Campion's English poem «My sweetest Lesbia» (A Booke of Ayres I. I), since it gives the name of Catullus' beloved in its first line; the piece was printed as the «Poem of the week» by the British newspaper *The Guardian* in March 2010³. That there is also noticeable interaction with Catullus in the collection of Campion's short Latin epigrams, which by their generic outlook and arrangement show an influence of Martial, has been studied to a lesser extent⁴.

1 On the productive reception of Catullus see e.g. K.P. Harrington, Catullus and his influence, London-Calcutta-Sydney [s.a.] 1924 [?] («Our Debt to Greece and Rome»); G.P. GOOLD, Catullus. Edited with introduction, translation and notes, London 1983, pp. 13-18; J. Ferguson, Catullus, Oxford 1988 («Greece & Rome, New Surveys in the Classics» 20), pp. 42-46; J.H. Gaisser, Catullus and his Renaissance Readers, Oxford 1993; EAD., Catullus, Malden (MA) / Oxford 2009 («Blackwell Introductions to the Classical World»), pp. 166-221; G. Parenti, Latradizione catulliana nella poesia latina del cinquecento, in R. Cardini-D. Coppini (ed. by), Il rinnovamento umanistico della poesia. L'epigramma e l'elegia, Firenze 2009 («Humanistica» III/1), pp. 63-100. — On the reception of Catullus in Britain see e.g. E.S. Duckett, Catullus in English Poetry, Northampton (MA) 1925 («Smith College Classical Studies» 6); J.B. Emperor, The Catullian Influence in English Lyric Poetry, Circa 1600-1650, University of Missouri, Columbia 1928 («The University of Missouri Studies» III. 3); J.A.S. McPeek, Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain, Cambridge (MA) 1939 («Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature» XV); G. Braden, Viuamus, mea Lesbia in the English Renaissance, «English Literary Renaissance» 9, 1979, pp. 199-224; on the reception of Catullus in Germany see e.g. E.A. Schmidt, Stationen der Wirkungsgeschichte Catulls in deutscher Perspektive, «Gymnasium» 102, 1995, pp. 44-78; on the reception of Catullus in some French poets see K. Summers, Catullus' Programm in the Imagination of Later Epigrammatists, «CB» 77, 2001, pp. 147-159.

² EMPEROR, The Catullian Influence, cit. n. 1, p. 21.

³ http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/booksblog/2010/mar/22/poem-week-sweetest-lesbia-campion. 4 On Catullus' influence on Campion's English poetry see e.g. EMPEROR, *The Catullian Influence*, cit. n. 1, pp. 21-28. – On the role of Catullus' epithalamia for Campion's *Maskes* see MCPEEK, *Catullus*, cit. n. 1, pp. 211-216, D. LINDLEY, *Thomas Campion*, Leiden 1986 («Medieval and Renaissance Authors» 7), pp. 217-219.

Therefore, after a brief sketch of the biographical and literary background, this study will look at the character, function and modification of a few well-known elements from Catullus (some developed by Martial) in a paradigmatic selection of Thomas Campion's epigrams. Such an investigation can contribute both to a more detailed understanding of the reception of Catullus in the early-modern period and to insights into Campion's poetic technique and his reading of classical Latin poets⁵.

2. Thomas Campion: life and works

Thomas Campion (1567-1620) describes his literary activity in some of his writings, which complement other sources on his life⁶. His literary publications started after he had been admitted to Gray's Inn in London in 1586, following a stint at Peterhouse, Cambridge (1581-1584). Later, he received a degree in medicine, probably from the University of Caen on the Continent; he then ran a medical practice in London.

Campion's first literary works were published in 1591. In 1595 a volume of Latin works appeared (*Thomæ Campiani Poemata*): this collection included the short epic *Ad Thamesin* (a poem on the defeat of the Spanish Armada), the piece *Umbra* (the beginning of a mythical love poem) as well as sixteen elegies and 129 epigrams. A second edition of the Latin works was published in 1619: it consisted of a revised and completed version of the piece *Umbra*, thirteen elegies (revisions of earlier pieces and two new poems) and 453 epigrams in two books, including both revised

5 On Campion's Latin poetry see L. BRADNER, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, New York-London 1940 («The Modern Language Association of America, General Series» X), pp. 52-54, 81-83; J.W. BINNS, *The Latin Poetry of Thomas Campion*, in ID., *The Latin Poetry of English Poets*, London-Boston 1974, pp. 1-25 (on the epigrams pp. 12-17); D.F. SUTTON, *Introduction*, 1997-1999 (http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/campion/introduction.html).

6 On Thomas Campion's biography and works see e.g. P. VIVIAN, Campion's Works, Oxford 1909 (repr. 1967, 1990), pp. ix-l; W.R. DAVIS (ed.), The Works of Thomas Campion. Complete Songs, Masques, and Treatises with a Selection of the Latin Verse. Edited with an Introduction and Notes, Garden City (NY) 1967, pp. xxix-xxx; ID., Thomas Campion, Boston 1987 («Twayne's English Authors Series» 450), pp. 1-21; E. LOWBURY-T. SAITER-A. YOUNG, Thomas Campion. Poet, Composer, Physician, London 1970, pp. 14-31; M.T. ELDRIDGE, Thomas Campion. His Poetry and Music (1567-1620), New York-Washington-Hollywood 1971, pp. 41-43; LINDLEY, Thomas Campion, cit. n. 4; E. BICKFORD JORGENS, Thomas Campion (1567-1620), in D.A. RICHARDSON (ed. by), Dictionary of Literary Biography Volume One Hundred Seventy-Two. Sixteenth-Century British Nondramatic Writers, Detroit-Washington (DC)-London 1996, pp. 38-47.

ones and a large number of new ones, particularly in the first book. After the first publication of his Latin poetry Campion primarily turned to poetry in English (and its musical accompaniment): in 1601 A Booke of Ayres was published, produced in cooperation with his friend Philip Rosseter (c. 1568-1623). This volume was followed by four further books of Ayres and a collection of Songs of Mourning: bewailing the vntimely death of Prince Henry (1613). Campion also wrote Maskes for performance at the royal court and the houses of noblemen, and he produced prose treatises on questions of rhyme and metre (Observations in the Art of English Poesie, 1602) as well as on the musicological problem of counterpoint (A New Way of making Fowre Parts in Counter-Point, c. 1613/14)7.

The different types of poetry produced by Campion are connected: he gives examples of English epigrams written by him in his discussion of verse forms in Observations in the Art of English Poesie⁸, and he characterizes Ayres, the poetic form of most of his English poetry, as the equivalent of epigrams. In the introduction to the first collection of Ayres (1601) it is stated (A Booke of Ayres: To the Reader): «What Epigrams are in Poetrie, the same are Ayres in musicke, then in their chiefe perfection when they are short and well seasoned». This English form of poetry is then derived from ancient models, and the piece concludes with a quotation from Martial («the Poet») on Catullus and Vergil (Mart. 14,195): «Ayres have both their Art and pleasure, and I will conclude of them, as the Poet did in his censure, of CATVLIVS the Lyricke, and VERGIL the Heroicke writer: Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo: / Quantum parua suo Mantua Vergilio»⁹.

⁷ All references to and quotations from Campion's works are based on VIVIAN's edition (cit. n. 6), with its page numbers given. This edition is supplemented by anthologies as well as the more recent, yet less comprehensive edition by DAVIS (cit. n. 6), which has more explanatory notes and also provides English translations (by Phyllis S. SMITH) for its selection of the Latin poetry. Campion's Latin poetry, along with an introduction, notes and an English translation (though not always entirely accurate), is available at: http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/campion (D.F. SUTTON, 1997-1999); the Latin text is also accessible on *The Latin Library* (http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/campion.html). The original editions can be viewed on *Early English Books Online*. – English translations in this paper are the author's own, though they have been inspired by the versions in SUTTON and DAVIS.

⁸ In this treatise Campion notes trochaics and elegiac distichs as metres for epigrams in English (VIVIAN, pp. 44-47, 47-49).

⁹ VIVIAN, p. 4. – The preface, opening a collection published jointly by Campion and Philip Rosseter, does not bear a signature. Yet it is generally acknowledged that it reflects Campion's thoughts and was most probably written by him (see *e.g.* LOWBURY-SALTER-YOUNG, *Thomas Campion*, cit. n. 6, p. 47).

Since Campion wrote literary works in poetry and in prose, in Latin and in English, produced musical accompaniment to some of his poems and discussed issues of musical and poetic composition in treatises, in addition to working as a doctor, he describes himself, in one of his Latin epigrams, as *musicus*, *poeta* and *medicus*, like the Greek god Phoebus Apollo (*Epigr*. 1,167)¹⁰.

3. Campion's epigrams: literary context

Campion was not the first early-modern poet to write Latin epigrams on the basis of Catullus and Martial or to reflect on this practice¹¹. Early-modern writers, influenced in particular by Martial (and his reading of Catullus) as well as by contemporary poetry, had produced such epigrams before (in addition to Christian epigrams) and provided descriptions of the epigram, for instance Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) in his *Poetices libri septem* or Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547) in the introduction to an edition of Thomas More's (1478-1535) *Epigrammata*¹².

10 Epigr. 1,167 (VIVIAN, p. 259): Ad Labienum: Tres nouit, Labiene, Phæbus artes; / Vt narrant veteres sophi; peræque / Quas omnes colui, colamque semper: / Nunc omnes quoque musicum, et poetam / Agnoscunt, medicumque Campianum. - «To Labienus: Phoebus, Labienus, knew three arts, as the ancient sages tell us; in the same way I have cultivated all those, and I will always cultivate them: now all people indeed acknowledge Campion as a musician and a poet and a doctor». 11 On the ancient epigram see M. LAUSBERG, Das Einzeldistichon. Studien zum antiken Epigramm, München 1982 («Studia et testimonia antiqua» XIX); N. LIVINGSTONE-G. NISBET, Epigram, Cambridge 2010 («Greece & Rome, New Surveys in the Classics» 38). - For an overview of modern and early-modern ways of defining the Neo-Latin epigram and suggestions for a characterization see K. Enenkel, Introduction: The Neo-Latin Epigram. Humanist Self-Definition in a Learned and Witty Discourse, in S. DE BEER-K.A.E. ENENKEL-D. RIJSER (ed. by), The Neo-Latin Epigram. A Learned and Witty Genre, Leuven 2009 («Suppl. Humanistica Lovaniensia» XXV), pp. 1-23; on Neo-Latin epigrams see e.g. CARDINI-COPPINI, Il rinnovamento umanistico della poesia, cit. n. 1; G. NISBET, Epigrams - The Classical Tradition, in P. FORD-J. BLOEMENDAL-C. FANTAZZI (ed. by), Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World, Leiden-Boston 2014 («The Renaissance Society of America, Texts and Studies Series», Vol. 3), pp. 379-386; D. MONEY, Epigram and Occasional Poetry, in S. KNIGHT and S. TILG (ed. by), The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin, Oxford 2015, 73-86; R. CUMMINGS, Epigram, in V. MOUL (ed. by), A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature, Cambridge 2017, pp. 83-97; on Neo-Latin epigrams in Britain see BRADNER, Musae Anglicanae, cit. n. 5, pp. 77-98; H.H. HUDSON, The Epigram in the English Renaissance, Princeton (NJ) 1947; J. DOELMAN, The Epigram in England, 1590-1640, Oxford 2016.

12 For a list of relevant early-modern poetics and discussion of some see ENENKEL, *Introduction*, cit. n. 11, pp. 4, 16-21. – Julius Caesar SCALIGER, *Poetices libri septem III*, cap. 125, p. 170 (in *Iulius Caesar Scaliger. Poetices libri septem. Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst. Band III: Buch* 3, *Kapitel* 95-126, *Buch* 4. Herausgegeben, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von L. DEITZ,

There was a preceding tradition of Neo-Latin poems in the adapted style of Catullus and Martial, especially in Italy and inaugurated in particular by Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503)¹³. In the process, certain pieces by Catullus had emerged as especially popular, including the opening poem of the collection (Catull. 1), the poem on the difference between life and poetry (Catull. 16) as well as the items on kisses (Catull. 5; 7) and on the sparrow (Catull. 2; 3).

While the text of Catullus (ed. princ. 1472) was not printed in Britain until the 1684 edition by the Dutch scholar Isaac Voss, so that editions of the text had to be imported from the Continent, British poets were familiar with and engaged with his work; Catullus' poetry had been known in Britain since the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. In addition, British poets were aware of each other's efforts and those of their European predecessors; thus, the engagement with Catullan motifs may sometimes be indirect and the perception modified by other ancient and early-modern authors¹⁴.

Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1995, pp. 202-216): «Epigramma igitur est poema breve cum simplici cuiuspiam rei vel personae vel facti indicatione aut ex propositis aliquid deducens. Quae definitio simul complectitur divisionem, ne quis damnet prolixitatem. ... Brevitas proprium quiddam est, argutia anima ac quasi forma. Quare non est verum epigramma esse maioris poematis partem. Brevitatem vero intellegemus non definitam; nam et monostichon est apud Martialem, et aliquot satis longa, si alia spectes. ... Epigrammatis duae virtutes peculiares: brevitas et argutia. Hanc Catullus non semper est assecutus, Martialis nusquam amisit. Argutia non uno modo comparatur, inexspectata aut contraria exspectationi conclusione. ... Haec esse decet candida, culta, tersa, mollia, affectum plena, interdum arguta in fine, interdum deficientia et mutila»; Beatus Rhenanus, introduction to an edition of Thomas More's epigrams (in The Complete Works of St. Thomas More. Volume 3. Part II. Edited by C.H. MILLER, L. BRADNER, C.A. LYNCH and R.P. OLIVER, New Haven-London 1984, pp. 72-75): «Nam is demum nouerit, quam sit egregia res doctum epigramma, quisquis ipse fuerit, suum non nunquam ingenium in hoc exercitationis genere periclitatus. Sed enim, id quod te non latet, argutiam habeat epigramma cum brevitate coniunctam, sit festiuum, et acclamantiunculis, quae ἐπιφωνήματα Graeci uocant, subinde claudatur. Quas sane dotes omneis cumulatissime licet in his Moricis Epigrammatibus reperire, praesertim in his quae ipse genuit: nam in caeteris, quae e Graecis uersa sunt, inuentionis laus priscis tribuitur. Quanquam hic quoque non minus magni fieri meretur commode reddens ex aliena lingua, quam scribens: labor certe uertentis saepe maior».

13 On the reception of Catullus in the Renaissance, including the roles of Martial and Pontano, see GAISSER, Renaissance Readers, cit. n. 1, passim. – For the prominence of the Italian poets Pontano and Marullus see e.g. Beatus RHENANUS, introduction to an edition of Thomas More's epigrams (cit. n. 12, pp. 74-75): «Iam inter epigrammatographos Pontanum et Marullum in primis hodie miratur Italia: at dispeream, si non tantundem in hoc est naturae, utilitatis uero plus. Nisi si quis inde magnopere se credit iuuari, dum suam Neaeram celebrat Marullus, et in multis αἰνίττεται, Heraclitum quendam agens, aut dum Io. Pontanus ueterum nobis epigrammatistarum nequitias refert, quibus nihil sit frigidius, et boni uiri lectione magis indignum, ne dicam Christiani».

14 See e.g. GAISSER, Catullus, cit. n. 1, pp. 194-195.

In Britain Campion was among the first to write epigrams on a large scale and to publish a collection of Latin epigrams, even though activity in this genre was common for poets and educated men; during Campion's lifetime the genre changed from miscellaneous short pieces to a more precise form of witty short poetry. Notable British poets writing epigrams close in time to Campion are John Leland (c. 1503-1552) and John Owen (c. 1564-1622). John Leland produced a large number of epigrams; the collection was only published posthumously in 1589, i.e. not long before the first edition of Campion's epigrams. Leland's epigrams include some in which he mentions or addresses Catullus or Martial and refers to famous poems of theirs 15. John Owen, sometimes called the «British Martial», further developed the genre of the Neo-Latin epigram in Britain: he wrote short, witty and satirical poems of one or two couplets in elegiac distichs. Owen's epigrams were only published from 1606 onwards, i.e. between the first and second editions of Campion's Latin epigrams. Owen also mentions Catullus and Martial in his epigrams¹⁶. While Owen refers to other ancient and some contemporary writers, he does not seem to comment on the preceding Italian tradition of the genre; Leland, by contrast, names slightly earlier Italian poets and presents them as part of a tradition stretching from Catullus to himself¹⁷.

While these publications might have exerted an influence on Campion's epigrammatic poetry, especially during the extensive period between the first and second edition of his Latin works, he may also have been inspired to write epigrammatic poetry by his circle of friends, including Charles Fitzgeffrey, nowadays best known for his collection of epigrams in *Affaniae* (1601), and the brothers Edward, Thomas and Laurence Michelborne, who also produced poetry, though published little, as well as John Stradling and John Owen¹⁸.

¹⁵ John LELAND, Epigr. 17: Natale solum; 30: Ad Catullum; 32: Ad Famam; 237: Castos esse decet poetas – 24: Ad Camaenam, ut Martialem salutat; 98: Ad Valerium Martialem. – A version of these epigrams in Latin, along with an English translation, is available at: http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/lelandpoems/ (D.F. SUTTON, 2007-2011).

¹⁶ John OWEN, *Epigr.* 2,163: *De Cicerone. Ad Catullum*; 2,160: *Ad Martialem.* – A version of these epigrams in Latin, along with an English translation, is available at: http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/owen/ (D.F. SUTTON, 1999).

¹⁷ On the development of the genre of epigram in Britain see e.g. J. Jansen, *The Microcosmos of the Baroque Epigram: John Owen and Julien Waudré*, in De Beer-Enenkel-Rijser, *The Neo-Latin Epigram*, cit. n. 11, pp. 275-299: pp. 278-282.

¹⁸ See Bradner, Musae Anglicanae, cit. n. 5, pp. 78-79, 81.

4. Campion's epigrams: poetic concept

Campion's Latin epigrams consist of short, mainly humorous or polemical poems, addressed to historical or fictitious characters with Latinized names and commenting on love relationships, on the behaviour of human beings generally and with respect to individuals, on historical events and on particular professions¹⁹. In terms of classical models, they are indebted mainly to the poetry of Catullus and the epigrams of Martial. Beyond Catullus and Martial, Campion mentions other classical writers such as Vergil and Ovid as well as Homer and Plato (*Epigr.* 1,1; 1,103; 2,24; 2,88). Yet he does not merely insert names; moreover, he displays familiarity with details from ancient poetry: for instance, he notes (like Martial: Mart. 1,107; 8,55[56]) that there is no Maecenas for poets of his age, alluding to the historical Maecenas, who supported poets in Augustan Rome, though he trusts in *bona fama* instead (*Epigr.* 1,210); or he adopts ancient poetic concepts when he talks of the Muses and Apollo as supporters of poetry (*Epigr.* 2,2; 2,172).

In a poem placed at the beginning of the second book Campion defines the content of the (early) epigrams as *lusus* ... *mollis*, *iocus aut leuis*, i.e. as gentle playfulness or easy wit (*Epigr*. 2,2)²⁰. He continues that

19 Campion's epigrams are numbered according to the two books in the 1619 edition, except for those from the first edition that have not been transferred to the second.

20 Epigr. 2,2 (VIVIAN, p. 270): Ad Lectorem: Lusus si mollis, iocus aut leuis, hic tibi, Lector, / Occurrit, vitæ prodita vere scias, / Dum regnat Cytheræa: ex illo musa quieuit / Nostra diu, Cereris curaque maior erat: / [5] In medicos vbi me campos deduxit Apollo, / Aptare et docuit verba Britanna sonis: / Namque in honore mihi semper fuit vnicus ille, / Cuius ego monitis obsequor vsque lubens. / Quid facerem? quamvis alieno tempore Phæbus, / [10] En, vocat, et recitat pulueris ore scelus. / Respondente cheli, metuendaque dulce sonanti, / Quo sic perfudit mentem animumque meum, / Cogerer vt chartis, male sed memor, illa referre / Quæ cecinit mira dexte-ritate deus. / [15] Hinc redijt mihi musa vetus, sed grandior, et quæ / Nunc aliqua didicit cum grauitate loqui; / Et noua non inuita mihi, diuersaque dictat, / Omnia quæ, Lector candide, reddo tibi. - «To the Reader: If gentle playfulness or easy wit meets you here, Reader, you should know that they were released in the springtime of my life, while Venus ruled. Afterwards my Muse long stayed silent, and the concern for Ceres was greater, [5] when Apollo led me into the fields of medicine and taught me to set English words to music. For he alone was always held in honour by me, he whose orders I continuously follow willingly. What should I do? Lo, although at an inconvenient time, Phoebus [10] summons me and recites with his mouth the crime of my vile spirit, with his lyre joining in and sweetly singing what is to fear. Thereby he overwhelms my mind and spirit to such an extent that I am compelled to fill these pages with those things the god sang with wondrous skill, though I recall them imperfectly. [15] Hence the old Muse has returned to me, but more sublime, and she has now learned how to say things with some gravity. And things that are novel and diverse, not unwelcome to me, she dictates, all of which, kind Reader, I pass on to you».

after a return to writing epigrams, following a forced interruption, the nature of his poetry has changed: «Hence the old Muse has returned to me, but more sublime, and she has now learned how to say things with some gravity. And things that are novel and diverse, not unwelcome to me, she dictates, all of which, kind Reader, I pass on to you». Thereby Campion implies that the poems added for the second edition might be more serious and cover different topics. There are, however, few obvious differences in the extant material. In fact, this poem *Ad Lectorem* is followed by a poem *Ad Librum*, retained from the first edition, where the poet addresses the book with the Catullan term *libellus*²¹ (in Catullan metre) and describes its contents, equally in Catullan manner, as *ineptiae* (*Epigr.* 2,3)²²: such terms continue the concept of light and playful poetry in mock-modesty (*e.g.* Catull. 1; 14a).

In the first and programmatic poem of the entire collection (*Epigr.* 1,1) Campion characterizes his poetry as «trifles» (with words such as *ludicra*, *tenues*, *parva*), though, since the piece is addressed to «Charles, Prince of Great Britain», the notion is connected with a *recusatio* and the potential expectation of greater poems by the same writer in future²³.

²¹ The term *libellus* was taken up by Martial (e.g. 1,1,3; 1,4,1; 1,35,3) and appears in Campion's poem on both Latin poets (*Epigr.* 2,27).

22 Epigr. 2,3 (VIVIAN, pp. 270-271): Ad Librum: I nunc, quicquid habes ineptiarum / Damnatum tenebris diu, libelle, / In lucem sine candidam venire / Excusoris ope eruditioris: / [5] Exinde vt fueris satis polite / Impressus, nec egens noui nitoris, / Mychelburnum adeas vtrumque nostrum, / Quos ætas, studiumque par, amorque, / Mi connexuit optume merentes: / [10] Illis vindicibus nihil timebis / Celsas per maris æstuantis vndas / Rhenum visere, Sequanam, vel altum / Tiberim, siue Tagi aureum fluentum. – «To the Book: Go now, whatever you have of trifles, long condemned to the shadows, little book, let them come into bright light with the help of a more erudite publisher: [5] then, when you have been printed sufficiently finely, not needing new splendour, approach both our Mychelburni [the brothers Michelborne], whom age, similar interest and affection has connected with me, men who deserve it very well: [10] with them as supporters, you will not be afraid in any way, through high waves of the billowing sea, to visit the Rhine, the Sequana, or the deep Tiber or the golden stream of Tagus».

23 Epigr. 1,1 (VIVIAN, p. 237): Ad Excelsissimum Florentissimumque CAROLUM, Magnæ BRITANNIÆ Principem: Ludicra qui tibi nunc dicat, olim (amplissime Princeps), / Grandior vt fueris, grandia forte canet, / Quæque genus celebrare tuum et tua lucida possunt / Facta, domi crescunt, siue patrata foris. / At tenues ne tu nimis (optime) despice musas; / Pondere magna valent, parua lepore iuuant. / Regibus athletæ spatijs grati esse solebant / Apricis; nani ridiculique domi. / Magnus Alexander magno plaudebat Homero, / Suspiciens inter prælia ficta deos: / Cæsar, maior eo, Romana epigrammata legit; / Sceptrigera quædam fecit et ipse manu. / Talia sed recitent alij tibi (maximè Princeps); / Tu facias semper maxima, parua lege. / Enecat actiuam quia contemplatio vitam / Longa, brevis, necnon ingeniosa, fouet. – «To the most respected and most illustrious Charles, Prince of Great Britain: This man who now speaks these trifles for you, in the future, most distinguished Prince, when you have become greater, will perhaps sing great things. These can celebrate your family and your brilliant deeds, whether they occur at home or have

The idea of playfulness is taken up in a poem to his friend Charles Fitzgeffrey (*Epigr.* 1,178), where Campion describes his poetry by *tibi ...* noua lusimus and addresses another writer²⁴, as does Catullus in his first poem addressed to Cornelius Nepos, to whom he too offers a new book of poetry. The attribution of similar features to Campion's poetry recurs elsewhere in the collection (*Epigr.* 1,180: nostra ..., tenui sed carmina cultu; 1,224: paucos ... versus ludere; nugis; versiculis; see also Mart. 1,113).

In addition to being named in Campion's epigram quoted at the beginning, Catullus is mentioned by name in another poem later in the same book (*Epigr.* 2,225)²⁵: there Catullus is characterized as *doctus lepidusque*; this phrase takes up two important words from Catullus' first poem (Catull. 1,1; 1,7). In Catullus these words are not applied to the poet, but rather to literary works; and only one of them refers to his own writings, the other characterizes those of the addressee. By transferring both these descriptions to Catullus, Campion follows what later Roman poets had done for both terms individually (*doctus*: Ov. *am.* 3,9,62; [Tib.] 3,6,41; Mart. 1,61,1; 7,99,7; 8,73,8; 14,100,1; 14,152,1; *lepidus*: Mart. 12,44,5).

Beyond the emphasis on light and playful poetry, Campion deviates from Catullus by declaring unambiguously that the poetry collected in

been accomplished abroad. But, best of men, do not overly condemn my slender Muses; great things prevail by weight, small ones please by elegance. Athletes used to be welcome to kings in the sunny open spaces and ridiculous dwarfs indoors. Alexander the Great applauded great Homer, admiring the gods among fictitious battles. Caesar, greater than him, read Roman epigrams; he even wrote a few himself with his sceptre-wielding hand. But, greatest Prince, let others recite such things to you; you should always do very great things and read small ones. For contemplation, when long, kills active life, but supports it, when short and ingenious in particular».

²⁴ Epigr. 1,178 (VIVIAN, p. 261): Ad Carolum Fitzgeofridum: Iamdudum celebris scriptorum fama tuorum, / In me autem ingenue non reticendus amor, / Frustra obnitentem si non fortuna vetasset, / In veteres dederat, Carole, delicias: / [5] Hac tibi qualiacunque tamen noua lusimus, ut nos / Vsque amplecteris non alieno animo. – «To Carolus Fitzgeofridus: The celebrated renown of your writings and your affection towards me, candidly not to be kept secret, if fortune had not forbidden me to make efforts in vain, had produced old pleasantries long ago, Carolus: [5] yet we have come up with these new trifles for you, of whatever quality they may be, so that you may embrace us with a mind not alien».

25 Epigr. 2,225 (VIVIAN, p. 304): In Cambrum: Cum tibi vilescat doctus lepidusque Catullus; / Non est vt sperem, Cambre, placere tibi. / Tu quoque cum Suffenorum suffragia quæras; / Non est vt speres, Cambre, placere mihi. – «To Cambrus: Since the learned and elegant Catullus is of no worth to you, there is no way how I could hope to please you, Cambrus: Since you too seek the votes of men like Suffenus [a witty person, writing flat poems in Catull. 22; 14,19], there is no way how you, Cambrus, could hope to please me».

the two books belongs to the genre of epigram, both by the title of the collection and by the self-referential use of the generic term in some poems (Epigr. 1,44; 2,179; 2,150; 2,195). While Catullus identifies his poetry as hendecasyllabi (Catull. 12,10; 42,1; cfr. Sen. contr. 7,4,7: Catullus in hendecasyllabis) and describes it with other unspecific terms (nugae: Catull. 1,4; versiculi: 16,3; 16,6), Martial as well as Quintilian apply the term epigramma to his writings (Mart. 1, praef. 4: lascivam verborum veritatem, id est epigrammaton linguam, excusarem, si meum esset exemplum: sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur; Quint. inst. 1,5,20: qua de re Catulli nobile epigramma est). Martial also calls his own poems epigrammata (e.g. Mart. 1, praef.; 1,1) and refers to Catullus as a model in the introduction to the first book (Mart. 1, praef. 4), explicitly compares himself to Catullus in a later epigram (Mart. 10,78,16: uno sed tibi sim minor Catullo) and frequently mentions him throughout²⁶. Martial thus provides a particular reading of Catullus to create a generic continuity: this picture was taken up by later poets, including Campion. In the tradition of Martial (Mart. 1, praef. 4), Campion characterizes his poetry as lascivus (Epigr. 129 in 1595 edition)27.

Elsewhere Campion implies that another characteristic of epigrams is their sharpness (*Epigr.* 1,34)²⁸: «Just as sharp pepper, a biting epigram is not welcome to every palate: nobody denies that it is useful». Thereby he suggests that this poetic genre has a polemical character. Even though such a description would not apply to all of Catullus' poems, it is valid

26 On Martial's epigrams and his reception of Catullus see e.g. H. Offermann, Uno tibi sim minor Catullo, «QUCC» 34, 1980, pp. 107-139; GAISSER, Renaissance Readers, cit. n. 1, pp. 200-211; GAISSER, Catullus, cit. n. 1, pp. 168-174; B.W. SWANN, Martial's Catullus. The Reception of an Epigrammatic Rival, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1994 («Spudasmata» 54); ID., Sic Scribit Catullus: The Importance of Catullus for Martial's Epigrams, in F. GREWING (ed. by), Toto notus in Orbe. Perspektiven der Martial-Interpretation, Stuttgart 1998 («Palingenesia» 65), pp. 48-58; W. FITZGERALD, Martial. The World of the Epigram, Chicago-London 2007, passim; M. CITRONI, Marziale e l'identità dell'epigramma latino, in CARDINI-COPPINI, Il rinnovamento umanistico della poesia, cit. n. 1, pp. 15-42; N. MINDT, Martials , epigrammatischer Kanon', München 2013 («Zetemata» 46), pp. 131-161.

27 Epigr. 129 (1595 edition; VIVIAN, p. 348): Ad Librum: Desine, iam satis est, nimium lasciue libelle, / Et vix Romano qui pede tutus eas. / At vos ô Latiæ peregrinæ parcite musæ, / Et fiat vestri pars leuis illa chori. – «To the book: Stop, it is already enough, too lascivious little book, and you may hardly walk safely even with a Roman foot. But you, o Latin Muses, be merciful to a foreign one, and she may become a light part of your chorus».

²⁸ Epigr. 1,34 (VIVIAN, p. 242): De Epigrammate: Sicut et acre piper mordax epigramma palato / Non omni gratum est: vtile nemo negat.

for some. The biting character is more prominent in Martial's epigrams; still, Campion can be said to continue a Catullan tradition with the combination of poems described as playful trifles and of polemical epigrams. Accordingly, most of the epigrams are in the metre of the elegiac distich, the standard form of the genre in Latin, but some are in other metres, including Catullan hendecasyllables (cfr. Mart. 10,9,1-3: undenis pedibusque syllabisque / et multo sale nec tamen protervo / notus gentibus ille Martialis / ...), though there does not seem to be an immediately obvious connection between the choice of metre and the topic and tone of the poems.

What Campion does not do as clearly as Catullus in his famous poem 16 is to insist on a distinction between poet and poetry (for this contrast see also Ov. trist. 2,353-354; Mart. 1,4,8); at any rate there is no comparable explicit distinction. On the contrary, Campion mentions autobiographical information in some of the programmatic poems (esp. Epigr. 2,2), addresses the reader (*Epigr.* 1,3; 1,225; 2,2) and talks about love experiences described as his own, his poetic development or the relationship to friends and historical figures. While these details are not necessarily historically accurate, the way in which they are presented creates the impression that the poet speaks about his own experiences, which is also the case for Catullus and Martial. At the same time Campion notes in another poem addressed to someone who had apparently complained about not having been described correctly that fiction is an element of the genre of epigram; since the simple truth would please hardly anybody, fictitious names are also used (*Epigr.* 2,150)²⁹: thus, an awareness of the fact that poetry not simply reproduces reality is indicated.

In terms of items referred to, Campion does not make an effort not to go beyond classical themes and to appear as «another Catullus» from Roman times: for instance, he talks about contemporary historical personalities such as William Camden, Francis Bacon and Philip Sydney (e.g. Epigr. 1,69; 1,189; 1,190; 2,11) or kings, princes and queens (Epigr. 1,1; 1,41; 1,42; 1,43; 1,96; 1,124; 1,186; 1,188; 2,4), Britain and London (e.g. Epigr. 1,70; 1,144; 1,148; 1,187; 2,47; 2,194), doctors (e.g. Epigr. 1,72;

²⁹ Epigr. 2,150 (VIVIAN, p. 296): Ad Mathonem: Arguo cur veram ficto sub nomine culpam / Quæris, nec titulis te quoque signo tuis. / Nunquam si fingit non est epigramma poema; / Vix est simpliciter cui, Matho, vera placent. – «To Matho: Why I assert the true sin under a fictitious name, you ask, and do not denote you with your titles either. If it never uses fiction, a poem is not an epigram; there is hardly anybody whom, Matho, the simple truth pleases».

1,73; 1,92) and lawyers (e.g. Epigr. 1,49; 1,59; 1,73; 1,134; 1,146, 1,150; 1,158; 1,212; 2,168), tobacco (Epigr. 1,5; 1,51; 1,121; 2,183) and a portable clock (Epigr. 1,151). In fact, he shows himself aware of the fact that he is not a Roman poet, though he aspires to be rated like one (Epigr. 129 in 1595 edition). Thus, in this respect, Campion rather resembles Martial, including a variety of elements like a forest (Epigr. 2,27). With the references to contemporary individuals (not all of them identifiable) and items, Campion produces poetry for his own time like Catullus and Martial, who addressed and talked about their contemporaries in their poems.

In addition to his own poetry, like Catullus, Campion comments on the writings of others, appreciating the products of his friends and ridiculing the efforts of various people. Like Catullus (Catull. 95), Campion criticizes poets who do not polish what they write or are not ready to delete part of it (*Epigr.* 1,39; 1,76), something also valued by Martial (Mart. 1,3,9)³⁰. Campion's focus, however, is not on the sheer amount written as in Catullus, but rather on the reluctance to change and refine what has been put on paper. Accordingly, Campion encourages his friend Charles Fitzgeffrey to publish what he had let ripen during a long period (*Epigr.* 2,70)³¹, again in line with the Neoteric ideals of Catullus and his circle as implied in the same poem (Catull. 95), and his friend

30 Epigr. 1,39 (VIVIAN, p. 242): Ad Cosmum: Versum qui semel vt generat nullum necat, idem / Non numeris gaudet, Cosme, sed innumeris. – «To Cosmus: He who kills no verse once he created it, this same person rejoices not in (rhythmical) numbers, Cosmus, but in things that cannot be numbered»; 1,76 (VIVIAN, p. 247): Ad Maurum: Perpulchre calamo tua, Maure, epigrammata pingis; / Apparet chartis nulla litura tuis. / Pes seu claudus erit, seu vox incongrua, nunquam / Expungis quidquam; tam tibi pulchra placent. / [5] Pulchra sed hæc oculis vt sint, tamen auribus horrent; / Horrida vox omnis, lusce, litura fuit. – «To Maurus: You paint your epigrams, Maurus, most beautifully with your pen; no erasure appears on your paper. Whether a foot will be limping or a word incongruous, never do you expunge anything; so much does the beautiful appearance please you. [5] But even though this is beautiful to the eyes, it still is horrible to the ears; every horrible word, you half-blind fellow, was an erasure.» – For further criticism of Maurus see Epigr. 2,25 (VIVIAN, p. 275): In Maurum: Tres elegos Maurus totidemque epigrammata scripsit, / Supplicat et musis esse poeta nouem. – «Against Maurus: Maurus has written three elegies and as many epigrams, and he prays to the nine Muses to be a poet».

31 Epigr. 2,70 (VIVIAN, p. 282): Ad Carolum Fitz Geofridum: Carole, si quid habes longo quod tempore coctum / Dulce fit, vt radijs fructus Apollineis, / Ede, nec egregios conatus desere, quales / Nescibit vulgus, scit bona fama tamen. / [5] Ecce virescentes tibi ramos porrigit vltro / Laurus; et in lauro est viuere suaue decus. – «To Carolus Fitz Geofridus: Carolus, if you have anything that, ripened for a long time, becomes sweet, as a fruit by Apollo's rays, publish it, and do not abandon excellent attempts, of a kind that the people will not know, but good reputation knows. [5] Look, the laurel offers you flourishing branches of its own accord; and to live in laurel is a sweet honour».

Edward Michelborne to publish something that he regards as being of good quality (*Epigr.* 1,192)³².

5. Catullan motifs in Campion's epigrams

As in Martial and especially in Catullus, a significant proportion of the poems in Campion's epigram books deals with the theme of love. For his poetry Campion rejects anything vulgar (*Epigr.* 2,217)³³; instead, he focuses jokingly and ironically on aspects of love affairs such as the relationship between husband and wife, the unfaithfulness of lovers and their beloved, the existence of adulterers and whores and the effect of a lot of drink. While Campion tends to ridicule the love affairs of others or to highlight odd, illicit or deceptive relationships, he describes feelings of love, envy, concern and loss in relation to the love affairs, for instance with a girl called Mellea, of a first-person speaker, who presents himself as the incarnation of Campion (*Epigr.* 2,10; 2,12; 2,18; 2,48; 2,63; 2,109; 2,136).

In addition to the general thematic range, Campion adopts some specific characteristically Catullan phrases and motifs³⁴. Unsurprisingly, as in some of his English poems³⁵, Campion plays with the motif of kisses and the number of kisses in Latin epigrams about girls the speaker is in

32 Epigr. 1,192 (VIVIAN, pp. 263-264): Ad Ed: Mychelburnum: Nostrarum quoties prendit me nausea rerum, / Accipio librum mox, Edoarde, tuum, / Suauem qui spirat plenus velut hortus odorem, / Et verni radios ætheris intus habet. / [5] Illo defessam recreo mentemque animumque, / Ad ioca corridens deliciasque tuas; / Haud contemnendo vel seria tecta lepore, / Cuncta argumentis splendidiora suis. / Hac quorsum premis? vt pereant quis talia condit? / [10] Edere si non vis omnibus, ede tibi. — «To Ed. Mychelburnus: Whenever disgust of our circumstances grabs me, I straightaway take up, Edoardus, your book, which breathes forth a sweet odour like a full garden and has the beams of a spring-time sky inside. [5] With that I restore my exhausted mind and soul, smiling at your jests and pleasantries; or serious matters covered by grace not to be condemned, all the more splendid by their arguments. To what end are you suppressing these? Who puts such things together so that they may perish? [10] If you do not wish to publish them for all, publish them for yourself».

33 Epigr. 2,217 (VIVIAN, p. 303): Ad Lausum: Non si quid iuuenile habeant mea carmina, Lause / Sed vulgare nimis, sed puerile veto. – «To Lausus: Not if my poems may have anything juvenile, Lausus, but I forbid (if they have) anything too vulgar, puerile».

³⁴When BRADNER (*Musae Anglicanae*, cit. n. 5, p. 81) says that «there are no direct imitations of the more famous poems by Catullus» in Campion's epigrams, this is perhaps true in a narrow sense, but Campion certainly takes up famous Catullan motifs.

35 E.g. Come, you pretty false-ey'd wanton (Two Bookes of Ayres. The Second Booke XVIII; VI-VIAN, p. 143); What haruest halfe so sweet is (Two Bookes of Ayres. The Second Booke X; VIVIAN, p. 138). – On the reception of Catullus in English poetry see DUCKETT, Catullus, cit. n. 1.

love with, yet he adds witty and unexpected turns (*Epigr*. 2,12; 2,53; 2,136)³⁶. Thereby Campion takes up the famous Catullan motif (Catull. 5; 7), which was popular in this period and already identified as typically Catullan by Martial, and also the ironic twist added by Martial, who playfully comments on the number of kisses³⁷. In the first of these kiss epigrams (*Epigr*. 2,12), for instance, Campion makes use of the notion of a specific number of kisses, but in this case they are just seven in contrast to Catullus' uncountable number; the amount and the way of presentation seem to suggest some kind of negotiation between the lover and the beloved. Moreover, the purpose is different: these kisses by the girl are meant as an incentive for the lover to leave. The opposite happens, and the speaker mockingly notes that the girl did not anticipate this usual effect of kisses. Thereby the kisses turn again into an element of love-making to be enjoyed, and the lover is shown in charge of the relationship.

Catullus' famous *odi et amo* (Catull. 85,1) is alluded to in another of Campion's descriptions of the love relationships with women (*Epigr*. 2,109)³⁸: the speaker, who apparently has affairs with two girls, claims

36 Epigr. 2,12 (VIVIAN, p. 273): In Melleam: Mellea mi si abeam promittit basia septem; / Basia dat septem, nec minus inde moror: / Euge, licet vafras fugit hæc fraus vna puellas, / Basia maiores ingerere vsque moras. — «To Mellea: If I should leave, Mellea promises me seven kisses; she gives seven kisses; and I stay there no less: Well, this single deceit may have escaped crafty girls: that kisses entail even greater delays»; 2,53 (VIVIAN, pp. 279-280): Ad Caspiam: Ne tu me crudelis ames, nec basia labris / Imprime, nec collo brachia necte meo. / Supplex orabam satis bæc, satis ipsa negabas, / Quæ nunc te patiar vix cupiente dari. / Eia age iam vici, nam tu si fæmina vere es, / Hæc dabis inuito terque quaterque mihi. — «To Caspia: Do not love me, you cruel one, and do not press kisses on my lips, and do not put your arms around my neck. I have asked for this as a suppliant sufficiently; you have sufficiently denied it. I shall now hardly bear that this is given even if you are eager. Look, I have already won; for if you are truly a woman, you will give these three times and four times to me now that I am unwilling»; 2,136 (VIVIAN, p. 294): Ad Melleam: Quid mæres, mea vita, quidue ploras? / Nec fraudem paro, quod solent prophani / Caros qui male deserunt amantes; / Nec, prædator vti, arduum per æquor / Hispanas reueham, Indicasque nugas: / Expers sed Veneris, Cupidinisque, / Siluæ iam repeto virentis vmbras, / Et dulcem placidamque ruris auram, / Vt memet reparem tibi, et reportem / Lucro millia mille basiorum. — «To Mellea: Why are you sad, my life, or why are you crying? I am not preparing a deceit, as the common men are used to do, who abandon their dear friends in a bad way; nor, like a plunderer, will I bring back Spanish and Indian trifles through the rough sea. But without a share of Venus and Cupido, I will again revisit the green shadows of the forest and the sweet and pleasant air of the countryside, so that I refresh myself there for you and bring back thousands and thousands of kisses as my gain».

37 Mart. 6,34,7-8: nolo quot arguto dedit exorata Catullo / Lesbia: pauca cupit qui numerare potest; 11,6,14-16: da nunc basia, sed Catulliana: / quae si tot fuerint quot ille dixit, / donabo tibi Passerem Catulli.

38 Epigr. 2,109 (VIVIAN, p. 289): De Mellea et Caspia: Vror amat plures quod Mellea, Caspia nullos; / Non sine riuali est aut amor, aut odium. – «On Mellea and Caspia: I am burning with grief because Mellea loves many men, Caspia none; without a rival, there is neither love nor hatred».

that love or hatred, felt in relation to a single rival, is necessary for a proper love relationship; in contrast to Catullus, he suffers for the very reason that he does not experience these emotions because one of his beloveds has too many lovers and the other has none, and he is able to exactly analyse his situation. Thereby *odium* and *amor* are mentioned as meaningful keywords, but they are used in a wittily and artistically twisted context.

A poem on the death of a dog (*Epigr.* 2,46)³⁹ is reminiscent of Catullus' poem on the death of Lesbia's sparrow (Catull. 3), in that it is a poem on the death of a pet, and also of an epigram of Martial, where the motif is already transferred to a dog with an explicit comparison with Catullus' sparrow (Mart. 1,109). Martial describes how the male owner of a dog makes arrangements to cope with the eventual death of the dog by having it painted. Campion does not focus on the grief caused by the loss of the animal, but rather proclaims ironically that people no longer need to be afraid of attacks by the dog (described as 'our') and of having taken their food away. Thus, in the style of Martial, the Catullan motif of sympathy for the beloved is given a witty twist: in Martial the poem focuses on the preoccupations of a man; in Campion the death of the pet is seen in relation to others, but in the sense of a general feeling of relief⁴⁰.

6. Conclusion

As Thomas Campion indicates and his poetry demonstrates, he was familiar with Catullus and Martial, and both Roman poets exerted a major influence on his poetry. In the Latin epigrams Campion follows the style and thematic range found in Catullus as a love poet and polemical epigrammatist, influenced by the way in which he was viewed by Martial, and takes up famous Catullan motifs, like the notion of kisses, giving them ironic twists.

³⁹ Epigr. 2,46 (VIVIAN, p. 278): De morte canis: Desinite, o pueri, ientacula vestra timere, / Non eritis nostræ postea præda cani: / Quod lacera scit plebs errans per compita veste, / Cur manet ex huius parta quiete quies. – «On the death of a dog: Stop, boys, fearing for your breakfasts, you will not be prey for our dog in future: the people, wandering through the streets with torn garments, know why quiet remains obtained by the quiet of this dog».

⁴⁰ For the identification of further comparable lines and motifs in Catullus and Campion see MCPEEK, *Catullus*, cit. n. 1, pp. 304-305, 319, as well as notes in editions.

Campion's reception of Catullus' poems and Martial's epigrams provides him with a solid basis, which he can mould creatively to develop his own brand of epigrams: Campion describes his poetry both as playful trifle and biting sharpness; he uses both elegiac distichs and hendecasyllables as metrical forms. In comparison with Catullus, Campion has more verbal puns and witty resolutions, addresses further aspects of human behaviour, includes elements of his own poetic development and comments on contemporary issues.

Thus, in his epigrams, Campion shows himself as a careful reader of Catullus, both on his own and through the lens of Martial, as well as a self-confident early-modern poet in the field of epigrams. Or to describe it with Charles Fitzgeffrey, who contrasts his own abilities as a writer of epigrams with those of two illustrious predecessors (Thomas More and Thomas Campion), in a poem of *Affaniae* (2,101,1-4)⁴¹:

Primus apud *Britones* Latiis Epigrammata verbis, More, tuo scripsit nomine notus *Eques*: Huic aetate quidem, sed non tamen arte secundus, Cui *Campus* nomen, *Delius* ingenium.

The first among the British to write epigrams in the Latin language was a famous knight, More, with your name. Second to him in point of time, yet certainly not in art, is the man whose name comes from camp and whose talent from Apollo.

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⁴¹ Latin text and English translation (adapted) quoted from BINNS, *The Latin Poetry*, cit. n. 5, pp. 2-3. – A version of these epigrams in Latin, along with an English translation, is available at: http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/affaniae/ (D.F. SUTTON, 1999-2006).

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