COMMUNE SEPULCRUM
THE 'CATULLAN' MEMORY OF TROY IN VERGIL'S *AENEID*

BY PÉTER SOMFAI

Abstract: In Roman literature, Troy appears as a *locus memoriae* on several occasions. As a *locus memoriae* is an image of a location's past state, it inevitably recalls that past state's absence in the present. Troy as a literary *locus memoriae* recalls its own present absence, that it is only a ruin, or – according to Lucan – even less than a ruin. In this context, a literary phenomenon, i. e. the depiction of Troy being the equivalent of the absence of/or the grief for the loss of something or somebody can later be traced in the Roman poetry. Catullus, mourning his brother's death at Troy, calls the city the common grave (*commune sepulcrum*) of Asia and Europe in his *carmen* 68. Regarding Troy, several complex allusions can be noticed in Vergil's *Aeneid* recalling both Catullus 68 and 101, the two poems that are in both thematic and intertextual connection with each other. The purpose of the present study is to examine – by means of analysing the above mentioned intertexts – what kind of special *locus memoriae* Troy becomes in the *Aeneid*. This will be of crucial importance to observe the way Troy later appears in Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.

Keywords: Vergil, Catullus, Lucan, Troy, *locus memoriae*, intertextuality

Troy – as one of the most eminent fields of Roman cultural memory – presents itself as an excellent example of 'palimpsestic cities', a term used by Catherine Edwards, relying on the idea of Sigmund Freud.[1] Showing remarkable similarity with the physical stratification of the city, literary layers of Troy can also be unfolded, by means of which creating further symbolical connotations to be associated with the city.[2] In Roman literature, Troy appears on several occasions as a *locus memoriae* – a term borrowed from the method of *ars memorativa*, known from the classical descriptions of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero and Quintilian –, i.e. an all-time present memorial image of a location that constitutes an imprint of the place's past state, in order to enhance structured recollection by means of associations connected to the location's particular elements.[3] As the state underlying the memorial image irrevocably belongs to the past, recollection goes hand in hand with the perception of the past state's

---

[1] Freud 1948, 426-428.
[2] Edwards 1996, 28.
[3] Menke 2003, 123.

present absence.[4] Accordingly, Troy as a *locus memoriae*, inevitably recalls its own all-time present non-existence, that it is only a ruin, or – according to Lucan – even less than a ruin (*etiam periere ruinae*, Luc., IX 969). This latter idea had created a tradition extending up to the excavations of Heinrich Schliemann in the 19th century.[5]

In this context, a literary phenomenon – which seems to have been formulated by Catullus – i.e. the depiction of Troy being the equivalent of the absence of or the grief for the loss of something or somebody can later be traced in the Roman literature, especially in poetry.[6] Catullus, mourning his brother's death at Troy, calls the city the 'common grave' (*commune sepulcrum*) of Asia and Europe in his *carmen* 68. There are several complex allusions to the subject of Troy in Vergil's *Aeneid*, recalling both Catullus 68 and 101, the two poems that are in both thematic and intertextual connection with each other. This supports the findings of recent research that Vergil 'was alert to the recurring patterning of Catullus' poems, and was already »reading together« separate Catullan poems'.[7] The purpose of the present study is to examine – by means of analysing the intertextual relations mentioned above – what kind of special *locus memoriae* the Catullan *commune sepulcrum* becomes in Vergil's *Aeneid*. This will be of crucial importance to observe the way Troy later appears in Lucan's epic, the *Bellum Civile*, the issue of which I will return to at the end of my study.

In Catullus 68 the motif of personal loss appears in manifold ways. The poet draws a parallel between his own relationship with Lesbia and the mythic marriage of Protesilaus and Laodamia, which was ended by the early death of Protesilaus at the beginning of the Trojan War, because of a non-properly performed offering.[8] The mentioning of Troy is shortly followed by Catullus' mourning for his brother – who has also died there – and the cursing of the city, which lines constitute the core of the ring composition in the poem's second part conventionally marked with B:[9]

> *Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque,*
> *Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis,*
> *quaene etiam nostro letum miserabile fratri*
> *attulit. Ei misero frater adempte mihi*
> *ei misero fratri iucundum lumen ademptum,*

---

[4] Menke 2003, 129.
[5] Geimer 2002, 31-46.
[6] Putnam 2007, 195.
[7] Hardie 2012, 213.
[8] Gale 2012, 186.
[9] Traill 1988, 365.

248

tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus,
omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,
quae tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor.
Quem nunc tam longe non inter nota sepulcra
nec prope cognatos compositum cineres,
sed Troia obscena, Troia infelice sepultum
detinet extremo terra aliena solo.

<div align="right">(Catul. 68, 89-100)</div>

'Troy (accursed!) the common grave of Asia and of Europe, Troy, the bitter ashes of heroes and of every noble deed, that also lamentably brought death to our brother. O brother taken from unhappy me! O delightful light taken from an unhappy brother! Together with you is buried all our house, together with you have perished all our joys, which your sweet love nurtured during life. Whom now so far away Troy, obscene, baleful Troy, an alien land, holds in far-distant soil laid not among familiar tombs or near the ashes of his kindred.'

<div align="right">(Trans. L. C. Smithers)</div>

The central part of the poem begins in accordance with the traditional curse-formulas, i. e. the multiple and diverse designation of the curse's target, a practice following the archaic Roman (and not only Roman) idea that the name and the named thing are identical to each other. So uttering the name maintains dominance for the invoker over the thing itself.[10] The tone of the passage might have been unusual for a contemporary reader as it had already started to become popular among the noble Roman families to trace their origins back to Trojan ancestors by the time the poem was written. This time Troy doesn't appear as a place where the most renowned *gentes* originate from, but first as the grave of Asia and Europe, then (in line 94) as the grave of a Roman family, more specifically as that of the poet's family.[11] The lines including Troy's invocation are in intertextual connection with two texts. On the one hand, they recall Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, where the chorus sings about Ares as the one sending the remains of 'men's ashes that cause bitter tears' (δυσδάκρυτον ἀντήνορος σποδοῦ, Aesch., *Ag.* 438-444) from Troy back home to their families.[12] The Catullan text yet identifies Troy itself with the ashes of heroes fallen at its walls. Furthermore, the city's designation as *commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque* ('common grave of Asia and Europe') in line 98 establishes a connection with a passage of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* that describes the earth:[13]

---

[10] Köves-Zulauf 1995, 91.
[11] Theodorakopoulos 2007, 324; for the ground of the burial place of Catullus' brother near Troy, see Fordyce 1961, 388.
[12] Gale 2012, 201.
[13] Fordyce 1961, 354.

Praeterea pro parte sua, quod cumque alit auget,
redditur; et quoniam dubio procul esse videtur
*omniparens eadem rerum **commune sepulcrum**.*

<div align="right">(Lucr. V 257-259)</div>

'Besides, whatever takes a part its own in fostering and increasing [aught] is rendered back; and since, beyond a doubt, Earth, the all-mother, is beheld to be likewise the common sepulchre of things.'

<div align="right">(Transl. W. E. Leonard)</div>

There has been a long-standing philological question whether Catullus or Lucretius alluded to the other one's texts as they had been versifying during the same period, and either direction of citing is thinkable. Proceeding from the earlier presupposed 'mutual borrowing', a theory has also emerged focusing on the special reciprocity between the texts of the two authors and, as a result, on a simultaneous dialogue.[14] According to which, it seems the most expediential way to examine the intertextual interplay of the quoted passages of *carmen* 68 and the *De Rerum Natura*, especially if we are aware of the phenomenon called 'retroactive intertextuality' by Lowell Edmunds,[15] thanks to which examination is possible even to those intertextually related works in whose case it is known which one of them was written earlier and which one later, so the direction of citing is obvious. Still, the intertextual relation can influence the earlier work's interpretation retroactively.

The quoted passage of Lucretius' work constitutes a part of a discourse about the mortality of the universe's elements, emphasizing the world order's cyclic nature:[16] everything is born from the earth and everything gets back into it. As a result of this conception, the idea is outlined: that the earth is both the mother and the common grave of everything. Obviously, the underlying principle of the idea is that everything arises from something and nothing perishes into nothing, and one thing's decay contributes to another's growth.[17] In this theory an Epicurean doctrine manifests itself: as everything in the universe is transient, death has to be accepted as a natural consequence of life and the fear from it has to be subdued. With regard to that, the Catullan and the Lucretian texts seem have to affected each other mutually in a subversive way: Catullus damns Troy as *commune sepulcrum*, whose mentioning is followed first by the word *nefas*, then it is called *acerba cinis* ('bitter ash') and finally it occurs accompanied by the attributes *obscena* ('baleful') and *infelix* ('ill-starred'), so the

---

[14] Tamás 2016, 2.
[15] Edmunds 2001, 153.
[16] Frantantuono 2015, 327.
[17] Long, Sedley 2014, 43.

250

poet – as opposed to the Epicurean ethics – cannot or is not willing to reconcile with death and transiency. Instead of the conception of cyclic rebirth appears the idea of peremptory doom as the together with the poet's brother's burial his whole family has been buried (line 94), and Troy is *infelix*, i.e. not only 'ill-starred' but – following the analogy of *arbor infelix* – it is also 'infertile'. On the other hand, the quoted lines of the *De Rerum Natura* undermine Catullus' image of Troy as they suggest that everything perishes inevitably but will be reborn in another form. In addition, Troy's rebirth as Rome had been an ancient theory that fitted in the Roman approach of history very well and was becoming more and more of a political issue in the 1st century BC. According to this idea – that will be of essential importance in the Augustan age, especially in the works of Horace and Vergil[18] –, the fall of Troy had been an indispensable pre-requisite of Rome's coming into existence, and this bestows *carmen* 68 with additional substance of key importance to my study as the *Aeneid* recalling the Catullan poem on several occasions narrates the antecedents of the City's foundation due to the conception mentioned above.

Catullus' personal grief for his brother appears in *carmen* 101 too, and although Troy is not mentioned by name in it, the poet's presence is still palpable there, at the final resting place of his brother:

> *Multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus*
> *advenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias,*
> *ut te postremo donarem munere mortis*
> *et mutam nequiquam alloquerer cinerem.*
> *Quandoquidem fortuna mihi tete abstulit ipsum.*
> *Heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi,*
> *nunc tamen interea haec, prisco quae more parentum*
> *tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias,*
> *accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu,*
> *atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale.*

<div align="right">(Catul. 101.)</div>

'Through many nations and through many seas borne, I come, brother, for these sad funeral rites, that I may give the last gifts to the dead, and may vainly speak to your silent ashes, since fortune has taken yourself away from me. Ah, poor brother, undeservedly snatched from me. But now receive these gifts, which have been handed down in the ancient manner of ancestors, the sad gifts to the grave, drenched with a brother's tears, and for ever, brother, hail and farewell.'

<div align="right">(Transl. L. C. Smithers)</div>

The first line of the poem alludes to the opening lines of the Odyssey,[19] thereby Catullus' voyage to Troy appears as a sort of 'reversed Odyssey' and at

---

[18] Ferenczi 2011, 27.
[19] Nappa 2007, 392.

the same time, the very same journey made by Dardanus, the founder of Troy from Italy to Asia Minor, according to the mythological tradition. The purpose of the poet's journey is to piously pay the last honours to his brother, which rightfully behove to the dead by the Roman customs. As Andrew Feldherr has pointed it out, boundaries between the spheres of the living and the dead get blurred during these Roman rites: for a short time, participants of the rituals get out of the social milieu surrounding them, and simultaneously they enter another one where it is possible to make contact with the deceased.[20] The phrasing in line 6 consonant with lines 20 and 92 of c*armen* 68 reflects this state in question: *heu* **miser** *indigne* **frater adempte mihi** ('ah, poor brother, undeservedly snatched from me!') as at these places we get informed that Catullus has fallen into a grief so deep that he is unable to write poems, and as this activity is the basis of his companionship, he cannot be a participant of his usual milieu.[21] The verb *alloquerer* ('may speak') in line 4 can signal his return to this milieu as we perceive the passage as Catullus' re-emergence as a poetic speaker, but it can also signify that Catullus really addresses the silent ashes of his brother[22] (probably alongside with Troy, as he uses *cinis* as a feminine word the way he does in line 90 of *carmen* 68 referring to the city). In this case we have to imagine him still being on the verge of the spheres of the living and the dead. This way a certain degree of contact with the world of the dead – which is also a kind of *commune sepulcrum* – can come into existence, creating absence and presence at the same time, which will have a special importance in Vergil's *Aeneid*, especially in the Underworld of Book VI.

As already mentioned above, there are several allusions in the *Aeneid* to the two Catullan poems, in connection with the joint emergence of personal and collective losses. However, elsewhere there are some allusions that refer to only one of the *carmina* at text level, but through this particular *carmen* the other one also emerges in some way, due to their tight thematic and intertextual relations.

In the Vergilian epic we can notice the joint presence of *carmina* 68 and 101 for the first time in Book I, when Aeneas – for a somewhat comical effect for the reader as he doesn't recognize his disguised mother – reveals his identity to Venus and tells her about how he has reached the Libyan shores:

---

[20] Feldherr 2000, 212.
[21] Feldherr 2000, 214.
[22] Feldherr 2000, 216.

*Nos **Troia** antiqua, si vestras forte per auris*
Troiae** nomen iit, diversa **per aequora vectos
forte sua Libycis tempestas adpulit oris.
Sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates
classe veho mecum, fama super aethera notus.
Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo.
Bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,
matre dea monstrante viam, data fata secutus;
vix septem convolsae undis Euroque supersunt.
Ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,
***Europa atque Asia** pulsus. ...*

<div align="right">(Verg., A. I 375-86)</div>

'[…] Of ancient Troy are we –
if aught of Troy thou knowest! As we roved
from sea to sea, the hazard of the storm
cast us up hither on this Libyan coast.
I am Aeneas, faithful evermore
to Heaven's command; and in my ships I bear
my gods ancestral, which I snatched away
from peril of the foe. My fame is known
above the stars. I travel on in quest
of Italy, my true home-land, and I
from Jove himself may trace my birth divine.
With twice ten ships upon the Phrygian main
I launched away. My mother from the skies
gave guidance, and I wrought what Fate ordained.
Yet now scarce seven shattered ships survive
the shock of wind and wave; and I myself
friendless, bereft, am wandering up and down
this Libyan wilderness! Behold me here,
from Europe and from Asia exiled still!'

<div align="right">(Transl. Th. C. Williams)</div>

The quoted passage is framed by the reminiscences of Catullus 68: the *Troia* anaphora of lines 89 and 90 is repeated similarly in lines 375 and 376 in Book I, and the last words of Aeneas' introduction (*Europa atque Asia pulsus*, 'from Europe and from Asia exiled') echo line 89 of the Catullan poem (*commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque*).[23] The Trojan hero's last sentence gives evidence that he perceives his present situation as being excluded from everything: Troy is no more, and the identity of the Trojans who have escaped from there has perished together with it. They have been expelled from Europe and Asia, and they are in Africa now, in an 'uncivilised' territory. With this, regarding the issue of knowing and not knowing can be related the poetic play with the verb

---

[23] Putnam 2007, 200.

nosco's ('know') derivatives (*nomen* – 'name'; *ignotus* – 'unknown', 'igno-rant'), also in an allusive way (*non inter* **nota** *sepulcra,| nec prope* **cognatos** *cineres* – 'not among familiar tombs or near the ashes of his kindred', Catul. 68, 97-98). So, absence is recalled by means of the Catullan intertexts: the absence of native land, home, Trojan identity and civilisation. Hence, Aeneas is not only looking for a new home but for a new native land in Italy while he piously carries out his duty given to him by the gods; so does Catullus by visiting his brother's resting place in order to pay the last honours to him by the proper rites. Using the phrase *diversa per aequora vectos* ('on various seas tossed') doesn't only serve for recalling the long and hard journey that Catullus made from Italy to Troy, but also for being reminiscent of Odysseus' adversities by opening an 'intertextual window'.[24]

Still in Book I, Dido's words also recall the image of Troy of *carmen* 68, when she welcomes Aeneas and his companions:

> *Quis genus Aeneadum, quis* **Troiae** *nesciat urbem,*
> **virtutesque virosque**, *aut tanti incendia belli?*
> > (Verg., *A*. I 565-66)

> 'Aeneas and his people, that fair town
> of Troy – who knows them not? The whole world knows
> those valorous chiefs and huge, far-flaming wars.'
> > (Transl. Th. C. Williams)

Who has not heard of[25] the heroes and virtues, about whom the reader aware of the Catullan intertext (*Troia* **virum et virtutum** *omnium acerba cinis* – 'Troy, the bitter ashes of heroes and of every noble deed', Catul. 68, 90) already knows that the city is only equal to their ashes? The passage is another form of expression of personal and collective losses as the poetic question surely recalls both for Aeneas at the same time. However, a proleptic function can also be attributed to the reminiscence: the queen of Carthage talks about Troy using the words Catullus does when he damns the city, but she expresses her admiration by them. In Book IV she will damn Aeneas and the Trojan nation right before her suicide that she commits because of the grief for the Trojan hero's departure (and therefore absence), and by that she brings about collective grief for her own people. Besides this, the idea of *commune sepulcrum* emerges too, even if in an indirect way, in association with its Lucretian connotations, the world order's cyclic nature. Basically the *Aeneid*'s approach of history is linear, as it shines the spotlight on continuity and advancement, but at some points of

---

[24] Nappa 2007, 393.
[25] Another verb (*nesciat*) appears that expresses not knowing when Troy is mentioned.

254

the epic the cyclic historical conception becomes conspicuous thanks to certain textual repetitions.[26] One of the most prominent examples of this is the paralleling of the fates of Troy and Carthage.[27] The way everything is born from the earth and gets back into it, cities and empires emerge and perish alike – after Troy had been destroyed, Carthage set off for the way that lead to the city's influence extending over the Mediterranean and lasting up to the 3rd century BC. Then Carthage was destroyed by Rome, which then became the dominant power of the Mediterranean region. Following this logic, the disquieting thought emerges for the Roman reader that the *commune sepulcrum* which swallowed Troy and the Punic city alike, will ingurgitate Rome too, like its 'predecessors' in a later cycle of the world.

In Book III of the *Aeneid* that describes the Trojans' visit to Buthrotum, Andromache starts telling Aeneas her story with the following words:

> *Nos patria incensa diversa **per aequora vectae***
> *stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum*
> *servitio enixae tulimus …*
>
> <div align="right">(Verg., A. III 325-27)</div>

> 'Myself from burning Ilium carried far
> o'er seas and seas, endured the swollen pride
> of that young scion of Achilles' race,
> and bore him as his slave a son.'
>
> <div align="right">(Transl. Th. C. Williams)</div>

The allusion to the 1st line of *carmen* 101 (*multa **per aequora vectus*** – 'through many seas borne') and of course indirectly to the Odyssey – besides making a parallel between the hardships of Hector's widow and those of the naval journeys of Odysseus, Catullus and Aeneas – emphasizes an eminently important circumstance: Andromache, just like the Catullus of *carmen* 101, tries to pay the last honours to one of hers and at the same time she endeavours to make contact with him and to enter that particular and previously mentioned boundary sphere between the worlds of the living and the dead. There is an essential difference however, that while the poet completes the rite at his brother's resting place, the Trojan woman does the same in front of a cenotaph, an empty grave that recalls twofold absence by its emptiness. The grave is empty because Hector's remains are at Troy, just like the ashes of Catullus' brother. Both of the deceased rest *non inter nota sepulcra*, i. e. among unmarked graves, but Hector is *prope cognatos (…) cineres*, i. e. near the ashes of his kindred, unlike

---

[26] Kozák 2005, 13.
[27] See Kozák 2005, 18-29.

Catullus' brother. Besides this, *carmen* 68 is related to the quoted passage of the *Aeneid* by means of another association: as a grave created for a certain person, a cenotaph is potentially anyone's grave because of its emptiness, so it is another *commune sepulcrum*. Accordingly, Hector rests in a 'common grave' in both the physical and the symbolical sense.

Book VI that narrates Aeneas' descent into the Underworld, appears to be especially rich not only in reminiscences referring to Catullus 68 and 101 but also in allusions echoing other poems of the Catullan *corpus* which reflect the feelings of absence (*carm.* 46) and of pain arising from it (*carm.* 64), several times by means of combined allusions to the Catullan poems, which are in the focus of this study. The manifold echoes of *carmen* 101 recall the rituals that offer a possibility to make contact with the dead again; however, Aeneas doesn't stop on the border of the world of the dead but steps through it, and by doing so becomes the part of it completely for a short time.

At the beginning of his journey through the Underworld the protagonist glimpses many of his deceased companion's souls, among them first that of Leucaspis and Orontes:

Constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit
multa putans sortemque animo miseratus iniquam.
*Cernit ibi maestos et **mortis honore** carentis*
Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
*quos simul a Troia ventosa **per aequora vectos***
obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.

<div align="right">(Verg., A. VI 331-36)</div>

'Aeneas lingered for a little space,
Revolving in his soul with pitying prayer
Fate's partial way. But presently he sees
Leucaspis and the Lycian navy's lord,
Orontes; both of melancholy brow,
Both hapless and unhonored after death,
Whom, while from Troy they crossed the wind-swept seas,
A whirling tempest wrecked with ship and crew.'

<div align="right">(Transl. Th. C. Williams)</div>

Absence emerges in a twofold way again through Catullus: on the one hand, Aeneas is seized by the grief for his sometime companions' absence; on the other hand, Leucaspis and Orontes are sad (*maestos*) because they did not receive the last honours (*mortis honore carentis*), i.e. they are unburied dead who have to wait a hundred years to get carried over the Styx by Charon. Aeneas cannot help them, unlike Catullus, who can pay the last honours to his brother

(*postremo munere mortis*, Catul. 101, 3.).[28] However, line 335 of the *Aeneid*'s quoted passage refers not only to *carmen* 101 but also to *carmen* 46:

> *O dulces comitum valete coetus,*
> *longe **quos simul a domo profectos***
> *diversae varie viae reportant.*
> (Catul. 46, 9-11)

'O sweet band of comrades, fare you well, whom various roads in different directions carry back all at once setting out far from home.'

(Transl. L. C. Smithers)

The Trojans had set sail together from their burnt city and they had been tossed on the windy seas (***quos simul a** Troia ventosa per aequora **vectos***) until the Auster separated them, but now they are together again even if just for a short time.[29] In *carmen* 46 Catullus says farewell to his companions with whom he has travelled far away from home (*quos simul a domo profectos*) and who will get back there via diverse ways. The motifs of being away from home, momentary togetherness and upcoming farewell are common in the two texts, but the contrast is not less conspicuous: while Catullus' companions are preparing for homecoming, the souls of the dead are waiting for their last journey through the waters of Styx, and they wouldn't be able to see their home again even if they were alive because Troy has been destroyed. Instead of it they are heading to another *commune sepulcrum*, the 'common grave' of all souls, the heart of the Underworld. Besides the common characteristics of swallowing everything and everybody, it also suggests a parallel between the Underworld and Troy that they both are reminiscent of absence: the Underworld recalls the absence of the ones who had been once alive, and Troy primarily recalls its own.

After Aeneas meets his father's shade – whose words also echo Catullus 101[30] (*quas ego te terras et quanta **per aequora vectum** | accipio …* – 'o, over what lands and seas wast driven | to this embrace …', Verg., *A*. VI 692-93) –, Anchises shows him a *Heldenschau*, i.e. the souls of Roman history's great future heroes who are preparing for ascension to the world of the living. This passage reflects the Stoic natural philosophic approach characteristic of the *Aeneid* in general, and this is also tinged by the parallels the passage shows with Plato's *Phaidon*[31] and the part of Cicero's *De re publica* known as *Somnium Scipionis*.[32] The souls get from the world of the living into the Underworld,

---

[28] Putnam 2007, 202.
[29] Hardie 2012, 223.
[30] Putnam 2007, 200.
[31] Vince 2005, 94-95.
[32] Hardie 1986, 71-76.

a kind of 'common grave', then, after a definite time, back into the world of the living – this circumstance shows a difference from the Catullan *commune sepulcrum*, Troy, which swallows everything irrevocably and never sends out anything. The Vergilian Underworld as a 'common grave' cannot be paralleled with the Lucretian *commune sepulcrum*, the earth either only capable of taking in or sending out things of a material kind, and certainly not souls, since those get dissolved at the moment of death, according to the Epicurean conception.[33] Thus in this sense the Vergilian text 'corrects' both *carmen* 68 and the *De Rerum Natura*: in accordance with the traditional theory of *translatio imperii*, something is able to come to life from Troy as *commune sepulcrum*, namely Rome, the empire that conquers the world later; in turn, the immortal souls that come to light from another *commune sepulcrum*, the Underworld, will take shape in the citizens of the City.

As previously mentioned, it seems that Lucan also goes back to the original Catullan image of Troy through his epic model, Vergil, when he concerns the subject of Troy in his *Bellum Civile*. Troy is mentioned explicitly in the depiction of Iulius Caesar's (presumably fictive)[34] visit there, from which it turns out for the reader that nothing has been left from the once huge city: Caesar can only perambulate the 'memorable name' of the 'scorched Troy' (*circumit exustae nomen memorabile Troiae;* Luc. IX 964). Regarding the word *memorabile*, it is worth considering the claim made by Stephen Hinds – following Gian Biagio Conte –, according to which, words referring to recollection can activate intertextual (literary) recollection as well:[35] in this way, not only Troy's name (or rather the city's absence) is recalled in line 964 but also the way the poetic predecessors have dealt with the subject of Troy. The phrase *nomen Troiae* can refer to lines 375-76 of the *Aeneid*'s Book I (*… si vestras forte per auris | **Troiae nomen** iit* …) and at the same time to Catullus 68, by using the word *nomen*, a derivate of the verb *nosco*. Thus, the Lucanian passage recalls the context of the Catullan and the Vergilian passages as well, i.e. destruction and absence. To this contributes the shortly unfolding image of the perished ruins (*etiam periere ruinae*, Luc. IX 969). This time the personal and collective losses that characteristically come up along with the image of the perished Troy emerge in a more oblique way than in the works of Catullus and Vergil. As even the ruins have disappeared – so Caesar has to construct them in accordance with his propaganda[36] –, Caesar has to be warned by his 'tourist guide' to watch his steps if he doesn't want to violate sacred places like the grave of Hec-

---

[33] Long, Sedley 2014, 192.
[34] Rossi 2001, 313.
[35] Hinds 1998, 11.
[36] Spencer 2005, 53.

tor or the altar of Iuppiter Herceus. The latter location has a special significance because – according to the *Aeneid*'s Book II – Pyrrhus beheaded the Trojan king, Priam exactly there.[37] Servius already realizes in the way Priam's death is depicted in the *Aeneid* that Vergil refers to the tale of Pompey unspoken,[38] thus mentioning the altar of Iuppiter Herceus does not only remind of Priam's murdering but through it also of Pompey's, that of one of the main character's in the *Bellum Civile*. Moreover, with Pompey's death associates the idea of the Roman Republic's fall as a collective loss which is a characteristic conception of the whole Lucanian epic.[39]

As we have seen, mentioning of Troy in Vergil's *Aeneid* goes hand in hand with recalling Catullus 68 and 101 on several occasions, at times in a combined way. The variants of the first line of *carmen* 101 occur at least at eleven places of the epic uniting the subject of travelling with forms of *pietas* every time, principally in relation with funerary rituals or making contact with the dead.[40] These allusions that appear at various points of the epic can exemplify the dispersal of the Trojans in the Mediterranean who have survived the fall of their city. The emergence of Catullus 68's image of *commune sepulcrum* in the *Aeneid* evokes the recollection of absence and loss, not only at the personal level but also at the common one, especially in the context of Troy. Troy as a specific *locus memoriae* recalls its own absence, non-existence, and along with this non-existence itself: presenting the idea of total absence it becomes an 'absolute ruin'. Lucan's *Bellum Civile* reflects the effect of this 'Catullo-Vergilian' Troy-image too when the author recalls Pompey's death and the dissolution of the republican framework by depicting the absence of the ruins.

Bibliography

Costa 1984 = Costa, C. D. N: *Lucretius: De Rerum natura V*. Oxford.
Duff 1957 = Duff, J.: *Lucan*: *The Civil War. Books I–X. Pharsalia*. Cambridge, MA.
Edmunds 2001 = Edmunds, L.: *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry*. Baltimore–London.
Edwards 1996 = Edwards, C.: *Writing Rome. Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge.
Feldherr 2000 = Feldherr, A.: *Non inter nota sepulcra*. Catullus 101 and Roman Funerary Ritual. *ClAnt* 19/2, 209-231.
Ferenczi 2011 = Ferenczi, A.: Ki mihez ragaszkodik? Horatius, *Ódák* III. 3. [Who to whom adheres?] *Ókor* 10/1, 27-33.
Fordyce 1961 = Fordyce, C. J.: *Catullus. A Commentary*. Oxford.

[37] Rossi 2001, 318.
[38] Hinds 1998, 9.
[39] Rossi 2001, 322.
[40] Nappa 2007, 392.

Frantantuono 2015 = Frantantuono, L.: *A Reading of Lucretius'* De Rerum Natura. Lanham.

Freud 1948 = Freud, S.: Das Unbehagen in der Kultur. In: Freud, S.: *Gesammelte Werke, chronologisch geordnet. Bd. 14.* London, 421–516.

— 1982 (1930) = Freud, S.: Rossz közérzet a kultúrában [Indisposition in culture]. (Transl. Linczényi A.) In: Freud, S.: *Esszék*. Budapest, 327-405.

Gale 2012 = Gale, M.: Putting on the Yoke of Necessity. Myth, Intertextuality and Moral Agency in Catullus 68. In: Du Quesnay, I., Woodman, T. (eds.): *Catullus. Books, Poems, Readers*. Cambridge, 184-211.

Geimer 2002 = Geimer, P.: Das unsichtbare Troja. Ruinen eines Originalgenies. In: Assmann, A., Gomille, M., Rippl, G. (eds.): *Ruinenbilder*. München, 30-46.

Hardie 1986 = Hardie, P.: *Virgil's* Aeneid. *Cosmos and Imperium*. Oxford.

— 2012 = Hardie, P.: Virgil's Catullan Plots. In: Du Quesnay, I., Woodman, T. (eds.): *Catullus. Books, Poems, Readers*. Cambridge, 212-238.

Hinds 1998 = Hinds, S.: *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*. Cambridge.

Kozák 2005 = Kozák, D.: *Urbs antiqua fuit – urbs antiqua ruit*. Nyelvi és történelmi ismétlődés az *Aeneis*ben [Repetition of language and history in the Aeneis]. In: Ferenczi, A. (ed.): *A rejtélyes* Aeneis. Aeneis-*tanulmányok* [The enigmatic Ae.. Sudies on the Ae.]. Budapest, 13-46.

Köves-Zulauf 1995 = Köves-Zulauf, T.: *Bevezetés a római vallás és monda történetébe* [Introduction to the history of Roman religion and myth.] Budapest.

Long, Sedley 2014 = Long, A., Sedley, D.: *A hellenisztikus filozófusok* [The Hellenistic philosophers]. Budapest.

Menke 2003 = Menke, B.: Mneme–Mnemonik. *Archiv für Mediengeschichte* No. 3: *Medien in der Antike*, 121-136.

Nappa 2007 = Nappa, C.: Catullus and Vergil. In: Skinner, M. (ed.): *A Companion to Catullus*. Malden, MA, 377-398.

Putnam 2007 = Putnam, M.: Troy in Latin Literature. *New England Class. J.* 34/3, 195-205.

Rossi 2001 = Rossi, A.: Remapping the Past. Caesar's Tale of Troy. Lucan BC 9.964-999. *Phoenix* 55/3–4, 313-326.

Spencer 2005 = Spencer, D.: Lucan's Follies. Memory and Ruin in a Civil-war Landscape. *G&R* 52/1, 46-69.

Tamás 2016 = Tamás, Á: Erroneous Gazes. Lucretian Poetics in Catullus 64. *JRS* 106, 1-20.

Theodorakopoulos 2007 = Theodorakopoulos, E.: Poem 68. Love and Death, and the Gifts of Venus and the Muses. In: Skinner, M. (ed.): *A Companion to Catullus*. Malden, MA, 314-332.

Traill 1988 = Traill, D.: Ring Composition in Catullus 63, 64 and 68b. In: *CW* 81/5, 365–369.

Vince 2005 = Vince, M.: Ha az álom kapuja kitárul [If the gate of dream is thrown open]. In: Ferenczi A. (ed.): *A rejtélyes* Aeneis. Aeneis-*tanulmányok* [The enigmatic Ae. Studies on the Ae.] Budapest, 89-116.

Williams 1972 = Willams, R.: *The* Aeneid *of Virgil. Books 1–6*. London.

Translations

Leonard, W. E. (1921): *Lucretius: On the Nature of Things*. New York.

Smithers, L. C. (1894): *The* Carmina *of Caius Valerius Catullus*. London.

Williams, Th. C. (1910): *The* Aeneid *of Virgil*. Boston.