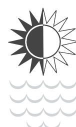
Antichthon (2021), **55**, 172–193
doi:10.1017/ann.2021.6



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Shameful Kisses: A History of the Reception – and Rejection – of Homoeroticism in Catullus

Maxine Lewis and Christina Robertson

University of Auckland
Email: maxine.lewis@auckland.ac.nz and c.robertson@auckland.ac.nz

(Received 3 December 2020; accepted 25 January 2021)

Abstract

The history of Catullus' reception has been one of exclusion as much as inclusion. Since the seventeenth century, many Anglophone writers have used Catullus as inspiration for their translations, poetic adaptations, and novels. A great deal of these works occluded the role that male homoeroticism played in the Latin poems, especially by omitting Catullus' male love object, Juventius. Writers have employed various techniques to deal with Catullus' 'problematic' pagan mores: choosing to ignore the suite of poems associated with homoeroticism (for example, Wilder 1948); bowdlerising homoerotic language (such as Nott 1795, Cranstoun 1867, and Macnaghten 1899); and performing 'gender swaps' to portray male-male relationships as male-female (a technique employed to memorable effect by de La Chapelle in 1680, and later by Lamb in 1821). Excision of whole poems or bowdlerisation of obscene terms was also often used to deal with Catullus' depictions of male-on-male sexual violence, a topic regularly entwined with the gentler homoerotic content. This article surveys, analyses, and explains this aspect of Catullus' reception in English from 1659–1915.

Keywords: Catullus; Classical reception; censorship; expurgation; homosexuality; Juventius; homoeroticism; rape; translation; novelisation

'Lord, what would they say
Did their Catullus walk that way?'
W. B. Yeats, 'The Scholars' (1915)

'You never told us Catullus was bisexual!'
High school student in Tāmaki Makaurau, Auckland (1990s)

This article deals in gaps and excisions; in the black hole left in Catullus' reception by centuries of censorship, expurgation, and bowdlerisation.[1]

[1] On censorship and expurgation of the Classics generally, see Harrison and Stray (2012). On Catullan expurgation, see e.g., Gaisser (2001) xxvii–xli, Hexter (2015), and Stead (2015) esp. 43–93. Trimble (2012) examines expurgation and censorship in English-language commentaries on Catullus, while Morwood (2012) discusses Latin editions that selected and/or expurgated Catullus. Ancona and Hallett (2007) examine how high school and university instructors have self-censored or been censored when teaching Catullus.

© The Author(s), 2022. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Scholars before us have traced Catullus' afterlife by focusing on the 'chain of reception'.[2] In the Anglophone world, this has resulted in scholars paying particular attention to receptions of poems that proved popular with later poets, translators, and novelists, such as the 'kiss' poems to Lesbia (5 and 7), the ode to Sirmio (31), and the epitaph to his dead brother (101).[3] Here we turn, instead, to unpopular poems. Our history of Catullus' Anglophone reception emphasises distinctive aspects of Catullus' poetry that have often been left out or occluded – his presentation of homoeroticism and male-on-male sexual violence. When translators, adaptors, poets, and novelists have included these topics, we investigate how they dealt with them, and what factors governed their approaches.[4] Throughout, we examine close translations, loose translations, explicit poetic adaptations, and looser creative responses, such as novelisations of the poet's life, because there has historically been interplay between the authors of these different kinds of texts.[5] Indeed some individuals have responded to Catullus across a range of genres.[6]

To provide a survey that can draw plausible conclusions about the censorship and expurgation of these 'difficult topics', we limited our temporal and geographical scope. We focus on Anglophone responses to Catullus in the period 1659–1915. This takes us from the first known English translation of a Juventius poem, appearing in England in 1659, through to 1915. Our endpoint serves as a fork in the road for Catullus; 1915 witnessed the publication of both Mary Stewart's bowdlerized *Selections from Catullus* and W. B. Yeats 'The Scholars', a poem that would secure a lasting place in Catullus' reception.[7] Yeats rejected fusty, 'respectable' approaches to Catullus whereas Stewart's book serves as a last, struggling gasp of Victorian morality (albeit one taken in the United States of America). Between 1659 and 1915 we observe clear patterns of expurgation and censorship in the reception of Catullus' homoeroticism and male-on-male sexual violence. In the 1920s, the landscape of the reception shifts, with a string of illustrated, sexually explicit editions of Catullus.[8] Texts from that era and beyond warrant separate studies with diverse methodologies.[9] In terms of geography, our discussion centres on reception texts from the British Isles because the vast majority of

[2] See e.g., McPeek (1972 [1939]), Harrington (1963), Vance (1997), Gaisser (2001) and (2009) 194–221, Arkins (2007), Ziolkowski (2007), Stead (2015) and Harrison (2021).

[3] See Gaisser (2009) 194–8 and Stead (2015) 3 on the 'kiss' poems, and Arkins (2007) 464–6 on *cc.* 31 and 101.

[4] As queer-identifying women, we have a stake in the recuperation of LGBTQIA voices throughout history.

[5] See e.g., Anna Jackson (2006), (2019), and (2017) in conversation with Lewis on her process in creating her Catullan poetry collections (2003) and (2014); likewise see C. K. Stead (2016).

[6] E.g., Hugh Macnaghten and Anne Carson.

[7] On 'The Scholars', see e.g., Peachy (1972) 258; Lee (1990) ix–xi; Fitzgerald (1995) 22 and 24, and Arkins (2007) 471–3.

[8] Hiley (1929), Lindsay (1929), and Gregory (1931).

[9] Analysing the reception of homoeroticism in the illustrated editions would require the addition of Art Historical methods to understand each edition's visual language. To take a more recent example, Theodorakopoulos (2014) effectively used feminist methodology to examine Catullus in historical novels such as Benita Kane Jaro's novel *The Key* (1988) and Helen Dunmore's *Counting*

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Anglophone responses to Catullus in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries came out of Britain.[10]

We begin in Part 1 by surveying Catullus' own portrayal of homoeroticism and male-on-male sexual violence, to scope the material in the ancient text that has often been erased in Anglophone receptions.[11] This survey highlights the distinctly Roman 'flavour' of male same-sex desire, practice, and rhetoric in the corpus, reflecting the Roman 'penetration paradigm'.[12] In Part 2 we work chronologically through Catullus' Anglophone reception, observing different techniques of – and motivations for – censorship and expurgation. Scholars have examined some parts of this story; we aim to provide a comprehensive picture. We focus on periods and texts where we can track deliberate politically and socially motivated expurgation. We identify three distinct ways that homoeroticism and male-on-male sexual violence was erased from Catullus' reception: i) the exclusion of whole poems or sections of poems, ii) bowdlerisation of 'objectionable' words and phrases, and iii) swapping the gender of one party in a homoerotic text, so that the erotic relationship became that between a man and woman.[13] We found that some strategies only worked in certain genres or certain kinds of texts, while others had more flexibility, appearing across diverse types of receptions.

We used multiple methodologies to answer our core question: how do Catullus' Juventius poems and other same-sex content fit into the Anglophone reception? We conducted philological study of individual English poetic responses to Catullan poems, searching for the omission, bowdlerisation, and alteration of relevant words, phrases, or sections. When examining novels, biographies, and longer series of poems, we combined philological investigation with a holistic approach, comparing each work to Catullus' corpus, to see how the authors handled the suite of poems discussed in part 1 (including examining how they dealt with obscenity in the corpus more broadly). We searched for contemporaneous reviews of the receptions, along with paratextual and extratextual information about books' pricing, print runs, publishing houses, and intended audiences. Finally, we searched

the Stars (2008); a queer studies approach would elucidate both novelists' engagement with homoeroticism.

[10] See author biographies in Gaisser (2001). Irish Yeats and American Stewart are exceptions. Yeats' and Stewart's nationalities signpost a change to Catullus' Anglophone fortunes from the early twentieth century. From the 1910s he inspired Australian, Canadian, New Zealand, and U.S. writers. Ergo, twentieth-century Anglophone receptions are more culturally diffuse than their earlier counterparts.

[11] We use 'homoerotic' and 'homoeroticism' to refer to sexual desires and practices that Catullus specifically genders as being between men, while avoiding the connotations of exclusive sexual orientation held by 'homosexual', 'homosexuality' and 'gay'. See Williams (2010) 4–13. We use the phrase 'male-on-male sexual violence' to refer to acts that, while they might have had a sexual element for the aggressor, were intended as and/or would have been experienced as acts of violence for the victim. See Loughlin (2014) 146–7 on terminology.

[12] On which see Kamen and Levin-Richardson (2015) 449–60 and Williams (2010) 258–63. On Roman sexual mores, see e.g., Hallett and Skinner (1997) and Ormond (2009) 128–261.

[13] We were influenced by Gaisser (2001), who observed these phenomena in Catullus' reception, and Trimble (2012).

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

secondary sources to develop our understanding of each period, particularly its gender politics, sexual socio-legal context, and processes and laws on censorship.

Part I. Homoeroticism, Male–Male Sexual Practices, and Male-on-Male Sexual Violence in Catullus' Poetry: A Survey

While defining limits to our study, we identified the following poems that refer to male–male erotic or sexual behaviours: 15, 16, 21, 24, 37, 48, 56, 61, 81, 99, 100, and 106.[14] We do not call this whole group 'homoerotic'; some are violent rather than erotic, with threats of oral and anal rape from one male to another.[15] These poems each include one or more of the following elements: male sexual desire for other males; references to or depictions of actual sexual acts between males; threats of or acts of sexual violence by a man towards another male (or males).[16] Our preliminary research suggested that these poems often proved difficult or 'objectionable' for Anglophone translators, editors, adapters, and readers.

Six of the poems listed above form an intratextually linked cycle focusing on the love object, Juventius, with *cc*. 48 and 99 nestled at the centre.[17] In both, Catullus uses the first person, addressing Juventius. He solicits kisses in 48 and spends 99 lamenting his humiliation after his kisses are firmly rejected.[18] Poems 24 and 81 name Juventius but introduce a new trope: another man stands as Catullus' rival.[19] Catullus' rivalry with Juventius' admirers occupies four poems (*cc*. 15, 21, 24, and 81). This overlaps with his poetry to Lesbia, which also thematises competition for the female love object.[20] As Hexter writes: 'Catullus presents himself in his poetry as loving males in all the same ways he loves Lesbia and other females'.[21]

Catullus also wrote about other men who loved or lusted after young men, portraying a Roman social world in which certain kinds of homoerotic

[14] We omit *c*. 25. The poem includes *cinaede* (line 1), but as *c*. 10.24 shows, Catullus applied *cinaedus* to women; it does not inherently signal homoerotic transgressions. Williams (2010) 193–214 and Kamen and Levin-Richardson (2015) 453–5 discuss the term's elasticity.

[15] The poems span what Kamen and Levin-Richardson (2015) 449 call two axes of Roman sexuality: 'the primary conceptual axis of penetrating (penetrating versus penetrated) ...[and] a secondary axis of agency (activity versus passivity)'.

[16] We use the term 'male' to denote the male object of love when said male's age and social status remain ambiguous; e.g., where *puer* appears. Williams (2010) 83 notes 'both *puella* ('girl') and *puer* ('boy') could be used to refer to a man's sexual object regardless of his or her actual age, and also to his slave'.

[17] See Hexter (2015) and O'Hearn (2021).

[18] Khan (1967) compares the Juventius 'kiss' poems to their Lesbia equivalents, *cc*. 5 and 7.

[19] From the agency ascribed to Juventius, we think that *puer* likely refers to a young man with low social status. On the association of *puer* with servile status and/or youth, see Sen. *Ep*. 47.7 and Williams' discussion (2010) 31–2.

[20] E.g., *cc*. 11, 37, and 58; see Wray (2001) 109.

[21] Hexter (2015). See Gaisser (2009) 206 and Lewis (2013) 7–13 on how this posed a threat to scholars' romantic views of the Lesbia poems.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

relationships received social approval.[22] In poem 61.119–41, Catullus illuminates the difficult situation of Manlius' *concubinus* ('kept man', 'sex-slave', or 'boy toy'). He instructs Manlius to move the *puer* into a non-sexual role in the household, while depicting the *concubinus* as sad to lose his place as favourite. Later in the corpus we find the playful epigram 100 to Caelius and Quintius, who were in love with Aufillenus and Aufillena respectively (brother and sister). After pondering which friend he should favour, the speaker decides to support Caelius' homoerotic pursuit of Aufillenus. Taken collectively, these poems reveal a Roman man comfortable with male same-sex desire and relationships.

The poems also reflect specifically Roman (upper-class) attitudes to power, sex, and masculinity. We see this in the depiction of slaves. In poem 56 Catullus jovially recounts to his addressee 'Cato' a scene that he describes as funny, where he interrupts two slaves having sex and inserts himself into the scene by raping the male (line 7).[23] The slaves' sexual agency is short-lived and trumped by the speaker's power. The *concubinus* in *c.* 61 was likely a slave.[24] Freeborn Catullus depicts him as emotionally invested in his sexual relationship with his master, casting an inherently unbalanced, problematic relationship as romantic.[25] The ambiguous *c.* 106 makes sense as a scene where a (male) auctioneer of (male) slaves hinders the purchase of a slave because of *his* sexual interest in said slave. All these poems highlight the asymmetric power relations resulting from slavery in the Roman world, where some participants in sex had no ability to withhold consent or exercise agency.[26] Other poems feature the threat of male-on-male rape from one citizen to another, primarily as a mode of exerting social control over the potential victim.[27] Forced sexual activity (or its threat) consistently appears to demonstrate the priapic rapist's own virility.[28] Such rape threats shape the dynamic of the Juventius cycle. In the current order of the collection, the first 'love' poem about a male (*c.* 15) ends in a graphic threat to the speaker's rival, Aurelius.[29] Next the infamous *c.* 16 begins with a threat to anally and orally rape Aurelius and Furius.[30] Throughout the collection Catullus links sexual violence with men and masculinity. All the actual and would-be rapists are men, and so are all the victims.[31]

The wide variety of Catullus' treatments of male–male sexual desire, acts, and violence is matched by variety in translators' and adaptors' responses to

[22] See Williams (2010) 3.

[23] Cowan (2015) explores the problems of interpreting *c.* 56.

[24] See Stead (2015) 86–90.

[25] See Williams (2010) on the dynamics of sexual slavery, especially 31–40.

[26] See Williams (2010) 31, and Kamen and Levin-Richardson (2015) 449–56 on the importance of agency in Roman conceptions of penetrative sexual acts.

[27] Compare *c.* 28, in which Catullus figures himself as the victim of metaphorical (but still emasculating) rape; see Wray (2001) 174–5. Such rape would have been an act of *stuprum*, unlikely to be enacted in reality, but the threat itself serves to emasculate the recipient.

[28] Gaisser (2001) xxxix. See Richlin (1992) on priapic stances in Roman literature.

[29] See O'Bryhim (2017) on the infamous Roman 'mullet and radish' punishment.

[30] On the fortunes of *c.* 16, see Winter (1973) and Gaisser (2019).

[31] See Wray (2001) e.g., 82–6.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

specific poems. The ribald Archilochean humour of *c*. 56, for example, is a far cry from the passionate and erotic hyperbole of *c*. 48. Likewise, the performative threats in *c*. 16 differ considerably from the scene of the male concubine in *c*. 61, who is sad that his master is marrying.[32] We examine the whole spectrum, however, since the male–male content in all these poems has been the focus of pressures to censor or obfuscate, whether a poem deals with sexual violence or erotic longing.

Moreover, we note that the structural position of homoerotic desire and behaviour in these vignettes differs wildly within individual poems. Some poems have been more 'censorable' than others, because of their length or the way in which the homoerotic content sits in the poem. For example, the wedding hymn *c*. 61 celebrates marriage between a man and a woman for the purpose of having legitimate children. Because the references to male–male sexual acts all appear within one section, it has been easy for translators and adaptors to excise the passage while retaining most of the lengthy poem. For example, Theodore Martin's 1861 book, *The Poems of Catullus Translated into English Verse*, cut the homoerotic lines from *c*. 61 (erasing 119–49). In the notes, he writes: 'several stanzas of the original have been omitted here for obvious reasons. Happily, they are of no value to the poem as a poem.'[33] In contrast, a poem such as *c*. 15 is riddled with references to male-on-male eroticism *and* sexual violence, and, being only nineteen lines, has little other content. So Martin (with many others) simply omitted it.

As we will show, the poems dealing with sexual violence are more likely to have been omitted altogether. The range of expurgatory approaches taken to the Juventius poems and to *c*. 61 is more varied, their appeal perhaps foregrounded by the narrativising approach that focuses on the poems as a 'record' of Catullus' affair with Lesbia, casting him as a poet of romance and soft-focus eroticism. Thus, we note that our discussion in part 2 is skewed somewhat towards the Juventius poems and *c*. 61, because they have been treated more frequently.

Part 2. A History

In England from roughly 1600 to 1795, responses to Catullus consisted mainly of poetic translations and adaptions of a small number of texts.[34] Steering away from the obscene poems in which Catullus presented himself as hypermasculine, and which had dominated the Italian response to Catullus,[35] English poets tended to engage with the more romantic (and less obscene) Lesbia poems, such as the 'kiss poems', along with *c*. 61.[36] Few early modern authors in English addressed the Juventius poems directly, but their responses

[32] On performativity in *c*. 16 see Selden (1992).

[33] Martin (1861) 182.

[34] For histories of Catullus' early appearances in England, see Duckett (1925), McPeek (1972 [1939]), and Gaisser (2001) xxvii–xli.

[35] Gaisser (1993) and (2009) 177–186.

[36] Gaisser (2009) 196–201.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

to the 'Lesbia' kiss poems unintentionally allowed later readers to trace a thread back to Juventius, since the kiss poem to Juventius, *c.* 48, echoes *c.* 7, to Lesbia.[37]

Juventius first appeared in English in Richard Lovelace's *Lucasta: Posthume Poems* (1659), in a direct translation of *c.* 48:

To Juvencius
Juvencius, thy fair sweet Eyes,
If to my fill that I may kisse,
Three hundred thousand times I'de kisse,
Nor future age should cloy this Blisse;
No not if thicker than ripe ears
The harvest of our kisses bears.

Quoted in Gaisser (2001) 27

This poem deserves note as a close translation that does not attempt to erase the homoeroticism.[38] Lovelace also translated c. 106, with Latin and English that makes clear the subject of the erotic gaze was male:[39]

De Puero et Praecone, Englished
With a fair boy a Cryer we behold.
What should we think? but he would not be sold.

Quoted in Gaisser (2001) 31

The use of Latin in the title suggests that Lovelace anticipated a reader versed in that language, and perhaps Roman history and culture more broadly, thereby restricting readership. Lovelace's *Lucasta* originally saw publication in 1649, without the Catullus translations. The 1659 edition, published posthumously, provides a wider selection of Lovelace's poetry. Interestingly, concealment of same-sex material does not seem to have been Lovelace's only motive (if motive it was) for not publishing his translations during his lifetime; other translations that appear only in the *Posthume Poems* are *c.* 13 and several Lesbia poems.[40] The 1649 work was tightly focused on Lucasta, unlike the wider-ranging posthumous edition.

From what we can tell, Juventius next appeared in the Anglophone tradition in 1707's anonymous *The Adventures of Catullus.* This was an English translation of Jean de La Chapelle's French novelisation of Catullus' life, *Les Amours de Catulle* (1680). La Chapelle's 'biography' is based on his poems, integrating

[37] See Ben Jonson's 'To the Same' (*The Forest* VI, 1616), addressed to Celia, which references *cc.* 5 and 7, and perhaps also echoes *c.* 48 to Juventius ('all the grass that Rumney yields' echoes 48.5–6). Harvests of kisses also appear in Thomas Campion's 'What harvest half so sweet is' (second book of Airs, poem x, circa 1613).

[38] Contra Loughlin (2014) 146, who makes this poem into an aside.

[39] See Loughlin (2014) 144–5, who argues that many Greek and Roman authors were translated quite transparently in this era.

[40] Loughlin (2014) 194 notes that critics have overlooked Lovelace's translations within his overall oeuvre.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

French translations of many poems within the narrative.[41] The English translation stays close to the original French, so in the discussion to come we credit La Chapelle with the distinctive reception narrative that results. It is noteworthy that the English version was published anonymously, with the involvement of multiple people, and as Vance puts it, was 'opportunistically dedicated' to a young nobleman.[42]

The novel's focus is on the Lesbia poems, evident in the main text along with the introduction to the work, which outlines Catullus' 'biography' without Juventius. In the main text, La Chapelle includes Juventius and the poems to him, but in a convoluted, feminised form that might surprise modern readers.[43] Here is the English translation of La Chapelle's explanation of the Juventius poems. The narrator introduces a young woman called Crastinia:

> Crastinia's beauty was all the discourse; one of the Company that was more charm'd with her than the Rest, fancied that she resembled young *Juventius* mightily in her riding Habit. This *Juventius*, was a young Gentleman of the first Quality in *Rome*,[44] whose Wit and Genteel Manner and Good Nature, but above all, his Beauty began to be much talk'd of. All agreed that there was a great Resemblance, and from that day, *Catullus*, call'd her nothing but, the *Lovely Juventius*.[45] The Verses that he made upon her were inscribed to *Juventius*, and there were but very few that understood the Mystery.
>
> Anonymous (1707) 121–2

In the next scene, Catullus writes *c*. 48 and passes it to Crastinia via Aurelius.[46] The most romantic Juventius poem thus morphs into an example of *this* Catullus' deeply amorous feelings for women, which La Chapelle focuses on throughout the novel.

Next, La Chapelle's Catullus tries to convince himself to fall in love with the uninterested Crastinia. This sets up Catullus' clumsy attempt at a kiss, which Crastinia spurns, leading him to compose and send *c*. 99. Rather creatively, La Chapelle brings this event into the cultural context of the *bona dea* scandal. He paints Crastinia as a would-be wife to Caesar, who uses her rejection of Catullus as a kind of virtue-signalling.

The English translation of La Chapelle's work occupies a major place in the Anglophone history of Catullus' reception. Firstly, this appears to be the first time in English that an author swapped Juventius' gender. This enabled them to include the homoerotic poems, marking a significant shift, yet at

[41] This integration of biography and source poems would become prominent in both scholarship and literary responses; e.g., Schwabe (1862), Macnaghten (1899), Wilder (1948), and Jaro (1988).

[42] Vance (1997) 114. 'By Several Hands' appears as the author on the title page. The dedication to the Earl of Thomond uses the first person.

[43] In her study of English translations of Classical same-sex literature, Loughlin (2014) 146–7 calls this strategy 'contextualisation'.

[44] La Chapelle's 'jeune homme de la première qualité' (1680) 149; see the English version (1707) 121.

[45] La Chapelle's 'le beau Juvencius' (1680) 149.

[46] Anonymous (1707) 121–2.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the same time stripped them of that same homoeroticism.[47] As we will see, swapping Juventius' gender would become a common approach in the Anglophone tradition. Secondly, in making it clear that Catullus' feelings for 'Juventius' were just an attempt to escape his love for Lesbia, La Chapelle (and his English translators) elevated Lesbia further in Catullus' story. This would become a common theme in the Anglophone chain of reception, both scholarly and artistic.[48] Thirdly, the translation of La Chapelle's work appeared more than a century before a full translation of Catullus' poetry was available in England. Julia Gaisser points out that *The Adventures of Catullus* included more Catullus translations in English than had ever been circulated, giving readers access to forty-six poems.[49] As Henry Stead has shown, access to the Latin editions was limited to a select audience at this stage.[50] These combined factors elevated the importance of this originally French novelisation to the English world; much of the Anglophone reception of Catullus was shaped by a racy work of French fanfiction.[51]

Translations of *c*. 48 and *c*. 99 soon follow, appearing in an anonymous 1713 translation of Petronius, which includes (among other additions) poems from Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius.[52] The Juventius poems had so far appeared at arm's length in English: posthumously à la Lovelace, with a gloss of heterosexuality via the translators of La Chapelle's novel, or anonymously. Loughlin notes that in the same period some other homoerotic Greco-Roman literature was valorised (generally despite its homoeroticism) and could be tamed for an English audience.[53] Catullus' poems, however, could serve neither as moral exemplars for a transcendent, platonic love, nor satires against men's sexual desires for other men, as per Juvenal or Martial. Nor did they lend themselves to allegorical, Christianised readings.[54]

The early modern responses to Catullus also eschewed his same-sex themes more generally. The epithalamia (*cc*. 61–62) attracted a number of responses, but the *concubinus* of *c*. 61 is passed over in silence.[55] The *concubinus*' nuts (*nec nuces pueris neget / … concubinus*, 61.121–3) appear in 'Epithalamie to Sir Thomas Southwell and his Ladie', stanza 13 (1648) and Peacham's 'Nuptial Hymn' (1613), but without any hint of the *concubinus*. Peacham nods to the groom having had previous interests, but without mentioning same-sex affairs:

[47] Hence the table of poems included in the novel, which precedes the novel itself, can baldly yet safely include one titled 'To Juventius'. When the reader gets to the relevant page, they find La Chapelle's backstory of how the poem 'really' referred to a woman.

[48] The classic scholarly example is Schwabe (1862). For poetic and novelistic responses see especially Wilder's *The Ides of March* (1948), Dunmore's *Counting the Stars* (2008), and Anna Jackson's *I, Clodia* (2014).

[49] Gaisser (2001) xxxii.

[50] Stead (2015) 26–7, 34–42.

[51] This particular French influence is just one instance of a wider phenomenon, as Hall and Stead (2020) 27–8 and 50 document.

[52] See discussion of this anthology at Loughlin (2014) 147.

[53] See Loughlin (2014) 143–5.

[54] Gaisser (2009) 194. Loughlin (2014) 143–7 surveys English approaches taken to homoerotic material in diverse Classical sources.

[55] On the reception of *c*. 61, see McPeek (1972 [1939]) 144–236.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Scatter Nuts without the Dore,
The Married is a Childe no more,
For whosoere a wife hath wed,
Hath other businesse in his head.
Io Hymen Hymenaeus.

Peacham, 'Nuptial Hymn', stanza 14

Herrick's and Peacham's responses to Catullus' homoeroticism (ignoring or de-sexualising), are not unique to Catullus, instead reflecting the era's translation practices.[56] These bowdlerized treatments of *c*. 61.121–3 had a wider impact on British understandings of Roman wedding customs and sexuality, appearing in a Christian account of pagan customs and a compendium of global wedding traditions.[57]

With the advent of 'complete translations' in England, beginning in 1795, in the Romantic and then Victorian eras, writers engage with a wider selection of Catullus' poems, and therefore deal more coherently and explicitly with the 'problem' of 'objectionable content'.[58] Simple exclusion was not possible in a complete edition, so we find an increase in writers using other strategies to minimise homoeroticism and male-male sexual violence. This includes using their introductory and other paratextual material to mitigate the potential 'threat' to the reader. Texts from the ancient world that normalised same-sex desire and relationships supposedly posed a particular danger of activating those desires in (otherwise) upright, British men.[59] It is in this socio-cultural context that Catullan translators, editors, and apologists develop a consistent poetic practice that relied on bowdlerising specific homoerotic words, translating obscenities into languages other than English, and changing Juventius' gender.[60]

The first English translator to include all the poems was John Nott in *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus* (1795). With his work published anonymously by a 'radical bookseller', Joseph Johnson,[61] Nott explicitly aimed at filling a literary and scholarly gap, noting: 'hitherto we have had no complete translation of that Roman classic'.[62] This required a comprehensive approach, and Nott defended his inclusion of 'indecencies':[63]

[56] See Loughlin (2014) 143–7.

[57] Bowley (1843) 166 and Wood (1869) 48 respectively.

[58] See Stead (2015) esp. 43–9.

[59] For instance, Blanshard (2010) 145 notes the importance of classical Greek culture to early gay rights activist John Addington Symonds.

[60] Feminising Juventius was not always an act of censorship; it could be a playfully subversive act. Lord Byron titled his first version of *c*. 48 'To Ellen' and then re-titled a later version, 'To Anna'. Stead (2015) 197–198 argues that Byron's own homoerotic experiences would shape how a reader read this act of re-naming, 'showing a fault line in the heterosexual gloss of a homosexual poem'.

[61] Hall and Stead (2020) 88. Stead (2015) covers Nott extensively; see Gaisser (2001) xxxii.

[62] Nott (1795) v.

[63] Nott (1795) x. Nott also reluctantly acknowledges Juventius' existence in the introductory biographical sketch: 'truth obliges us to acknowledge his minion Juventius.' (xix).

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

> When an ancient classic is translated, and explained, the work may be considered as forming a link in the chain of history: history should not be falsified, we ought therefore to translate him somewhat fairly; and when he gives us the manners of his own day, however disgusting to our sensations, and repugnant to our natures they may oftentimes prove, we must not in translation suppress, or even too much gloss them over, through a fastidious regard to delicacy. I have endeavoured throughout the work to convey our poet's meaning in its fullest extent, without overstepping the modesty of language.
>
> Nott (1795) xi

Nott's concern for the 'modesty of language' nevertheless hinders his project of conveying Catullus' meaning. Venuti suggested that Nott's 'foreignizing' translation practices, producing more literal versions, reduced 'the risk of euphemism and expurgation'.[64] We find, however, that he obscures homoerotic desire by translating gendered Latin terms with less explicitly gendered terms, such as 'favourite' for *c.* 15's *puer*,[65] or by excluding the addressee's name. He titles *cc.* 48, 81, and 99 'To his favourite', and does not use Juventius' name, though it appears in the Latin on the facing page.[66] Thus, readers with some Latin can recognise Juventius as a male name, but readers without cannot easily identify these poems as part of the Juventius cycle. Nott also draws a veil over other homoerotic content, addressing the *concubinus* of *c.* 61 as 'thou', which obscures his gender, but keeping the reference to shaving in lines 131–2. One poem where Nott makes the same-sex content clear is *c.* 100, naming both Aufilenus and Aufilena, and maintaining the original gender of the prospective lovers.

Nott's linguistic modesty also affected his treatment of Catullus' obscene poems, both same- and opposite-sex. For example, *tangam te prior irrumatione* (*c.* 21.8) is translated as 'for e'en my guilt should thine prevent' (line 12). In poem 37, *confutuere* is translated as 'mingle with wantons' – something of a euphemism. One important point is that in the opposite-sex obscene poems, while Nott's language is tame, the ideas are clear (for example, that the inhabitants of the bar in *c.* 37 are contemplating intercourse); this is by no means the case in the same-sex obscene poems. What is Catullus' 'guilt' that will 'prevent' Aurelius? The Latinless reader must speculate in vain. Overall, then, while claiming to publish a full and honest version of Catullus – and being critiqued for it – Nott actually produced something quite different.[67]

In 1821, George Lamb introduced what we suggest was a new type of Catullus edition. Unlike previous translators and adaptors, who elected to

---

[64] Venuti (1995) 86–7. See also his detailed comparison between Nott's and Lamb's approaches to translation and their respective biographies (84–98).

[65] Nott does not use the modern numbering; for the sake of clarity, we refer to the poems by their modern numbers.

[66] *C.* 24 is a partial exception in that the 'favourite' is addressed as 'O loveliest of Juventian bloom' (line 1); however, without the Latin's masculine pronouns, there is nothing to show that the addressee is not a *Juventia*.

[67] See Stead (2015) 48–53 on the critical reception of Nott's work.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

work on their favourite Catullus poems (generally a small proportion of the corpus),[68] and then Nott, who went the 'Full Catullus', Lamb essentially produced the 'complete poems, except the naughty bits'.[69] As Gaisser notes, he omitted twenty poems based on their 'indecency'.[70] Lamb's text thus reflects a series of compromises as he grappled with what he saw as his responsibilities to protect the reader. Lamb included *cc.* 48, 81, and 99, but erased the homoeroticism. He titled *c.* 48 'To his love' and omitted Juventius' name. For *c.* 99, Lamb changed Juventius' gender, using the phrase 'dearest maid of my soul'. Only in *c.* 81 did Lamb retain Juventius' name and gender, and here Catullus' sexual interest is less overt: there is jealousy, but no kisses. Similarly, Lamb included the *concubinus* lines of *c.* 61 but altered the content, obscuring the sexual connection between the master himself and the *concubinus*:

> Now let his pure, his plighted hand
> Throw nuts to all the youthful band,
> Base emblems of the looser joys
> He henceforth leaves to wanton boys.
>
> Lamb (1821) 105

As Stead has shown, Lamb's edition did not meet with universal approval; his re-writing of obscenity ironically denuded Catullus too successfully for some critics.[71]

We next move into the Victorian era, when, unsurprisingly, translators and adaptors brought considerable energy to the task of censoring, expurgating and bowdlerising Catullus. This period is notable in the history of the reception of ancient Greek and Roman sexualities as a time when in Britain (and its colonies), queer men and women who had a certain status and access to education could find comfort and a model for their sexuality in the ancient Greeks, from Plato to Sappho.[72] Such comfort, however, did not save them from exile, pathologisation, public humiliation, or imprisonment.[73]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is scant trace of queer- or homosexual-identifying people finding the same comfort in ancient Roman literature that many found in Greek. This may have resulted from the many Roman portrayals of homoeroticism as extremely transgressive, quite unlike the elevated ideal of either Platonic or Sapphic love.[74]

[68] See Gaisser's (2001) survey.

[69] Stead (2015) 43–98 compares Nott's and Lamb's approaches.

[70] Gaisser (2001) xxxvi.

[71] Stead (2015) 66–7.

[72] Blanshard (2010) 92 and 143–62; see also Loughlin (2014) 143 on both Greek and Roman models.

[73] See Blanshard (2010) 92–6 on Oscar Wilde's trial, and 146 on John Addington Symonds' breakdown and exile.

[74] We think of the depiction of male homoeroticism in Catullus, Juvenal's *Satire* 2 and Martial's *Epigrams* 2.28, 2.62, 3.73 and 9.27, along with the negative view of female homoeroticism in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 9.666–797 and Martial's *Epigrams* 1.90 and 7.67. The differing impact of Greek sexual mores (or perceptions of them) upon later cultures, as distinct from the impact of Roman mores,

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The first fully Victorian Catullus is Martin's 1861 verse translation. Martin was even more selective than Lamb, including only 76 poems. Martin reordered those works to create a sense of narrative that focuses on Lesbia, which has a strong impact on how Catullus' sexuality comes across. Martin began with seventeen poems (all Lesbia poems, or those he assumes to be Lesbia poems, such as *c.* 109), ordered along Martin's presumed timeline of 'The Affair'.[75] Here we can see Martin, whether consciously or not, echoing the novelistic strategies of La Chapelle.[76]

After Martin's 'Lesbia cycle', the poems are mostly in their accustomed order (though with some exceptions; for example, Martin places cc. 16–17 between *cc.* 113 and 116). In keeping with the focus on Lesbia, Martin leaves Juventius out of his Introduction and claims that 'Besides his poems on Lesbia, Catullus wrote few verses that can be called erotic'.[77] In the text, only *cc.* 48 and 99 are included from the whole cycle of Juventius poems. Martin obscured Juventius' gender (he titled *c.* 48 'To a Beauty' and did not name the addressee) and inverted it (*c.* 99's addressee is 'dear girl' (line 2)). He excluded the same-sex lines of *c.* 61, and because the edition has no Latin facing text and no line numbers, a reader unfamiliar with the poem will not detect the omission. Martin excluded the 'wing-man' poem, *c.* 100, and the sexual violence in *c.* 56. He did include some obscene poems, but he markedly toned down both same-sex and opposite-sex obscenity, with 'I'll trounce you' for *pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo* (16.1) and '…loving none / Of all the fools by thee undone' for *nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium / ilia rumpens* (11.19–20). Taken together, Martin's interventions in the text produce a Catullus who differs considerably from the Roman poet.

Many of these early works seem to have anticipated a relatively small readership, whose members already knew Latin (marking them as upper class).[78] Kelly's 1854 translation for Bohn's Classical Library marks a turning point. Appealing on both price and aesthetic grounds,[79] this series successfully aimed at a mass audience which was reading for self-improvement, including both the middle and working classes.[80] Bohn's edition of Catullus includes Kelly's prose translation, followed by selected verse translations (by Hunt, Lamb, and Nott, among others). All poems are said to be included, though this is not completely true. The biographical Introduction mentions

has long been observed. See Blanshard's (2010) 89–165 survey, which highlights the importance of specifically Greek models to nineteenth-century homosexuals, rather than generically 'Classical' ones. See Stead (2015) 8 on how hellenophilia affected Catullus' eighteenth-century reception.

[75] Martin (1861) combines a biographical interpretation of the Lesbia poems with the assumption that the poems were written in order to match the biographical events; see his comments p. xxii.

[76] Gaisser (2009) 203 notes that Schwabe's novelistic approach to his (1862) 'scholarly' work would influence others; Martin prefigured him.

[77] See Martin (1861) xxv on the Bohn's Catullus.

[78] On learning 'the Classics' and belonging to the British ruling classes, see Hall and Stead (2020) especially 20–44.

[79] Hall and Stead (2020) 57.

[80] On the Bohn editions, see O'Sullivan (2009). Hall and Stead (2020) 57–60.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Hypsithilla and Aufilina (sic) as well as Lesbia, but Juventius and similar personae are mentioned only by way of 'the traces of a turpitude to which we cannot without a painful effort make even a passing allusion'.[81] Kelly also aligns same-sex themes with Catullan obscenity:

> Amidst our natural disgust at these abominations, and at the filthy ribaldry of many of the short pieces of Catullus, it is right to remember that these things were the vices of the age rather than of the individual.
>
> Kelly (1854) 3

Kelly adopted an inconsistent approach to the Juventius poems.[82] He obscured the gender of Catullus' *puer* in *c*. 15 (with 'this ward', 'this one object', and 'one who is dear to me') and *c*. 21 (Aurelius is 'bent on debauching my young friend'). Poem 24 is titled 'To Juventius', signalling the masculine addressee, but in the poem itself, gender remains ambiguous, with the gender-neutral 'O fairest bud of the Juventian race'. Kelly obscured both gender and name in his version of *c*. 48, entitled 'To His Love', and *c*. 99, entitled 'To ——', but retained both in *c*. 81, 'To Juventius'. Poem 81 presents an interesting case for the translator. It reads as homoerotic when seen alongside *cc*. 48 and 99, but stripped of that intratextual context, as Kelly chose to present it, *can* be read as a poem unrelated to Catullus' own desires, that actually denigrates male-male relations.[83]

At points, Kelly provided no prose translation, instead directing the reader to the metrical version. Often a French prose translation (by Noël) is given in a footnote.[84] In the footnote to *c*. 33, Kelly states: 'a literal translation of this, and of some other pieces … would be insufferable in English'.[85] The reader with French (presumably better educated and likely of higher social status), has access to a reasonably clear and less expurgated, if free, translation.[86] However, the monolingual reader (more likely to be working class with less formal education) must resort to Nott's modest verses included by Kelly, which we have seen themselves were expurgated.[87]

81 Kelly (1854) 2–3.

82 See O'Sullivan (2009) 119–121.

83 See Lamb's treatment of *c*. 81 above.

84 As O'Sullivan (2009) 122 points out, these and other footnotes 'recuperate some of the textual material lost … through expurgation', if only partially. Noël's translation was also used by Leigh Hunt in selecting and translating several poems of Catullus, some of which are included in the Bohn edition (discussed in Stead (2015) 233–44).

85 The poems thus treated are 33, 56, 61 (lines 119–141), 74, 80, 97, 100, 106 and 112. In the case of *c*. 100, the reader is, as is Kelly's usual practice, pointed to the metrical version – but they will actually find it omitted. The version Kelly gives for poem 61 is Leigh Hunt's, which Hunt had expurgated by condensing the lines addressed to the bridegroom and omitting reference to the *concubinus*. See Stead (2015) 255 on Hunt's translation's socio-political context.

86 Except for *c*. 97; here, instead of Noël's version, the footnote offers Grotius' Latin translation of Nicarchus 11.241 as a parallel. O'Sullivan (2009) 121 argues that this footnote still shows some impulse toward accessibility in using Latin rather than Nicarchus' Greek original.

87 See Stead (2015) 81–3 on how Nott himself used the Latin text to provide a point of access to Catullus' homoeroticism, only for upper class readers with prior knowledge and skills.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Kelly diligently expurgated Catullan obscenity, both same-sex and opposite-sex. He uses em-dashes to 'translate' *irrumatus* (*c.* 21.13), renders *pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo* (*c.* 16.1) as 'I will trim you and trounce you',[88] and makes *confutuere* in *c.* 37 'kiss'. The footnote draws the reader's attention to this expurgation with this weak claim: 'There is often an immense difference between the conventional and the etymological meaning of words.'

Our next complete translation, by Cranstoun in 1867, also aimed at a broader audience. However, where the Bohn's series aimed at all men, including working-class autodidacts, Cranstoun focused on those in formal education, mentioning 'youthful students' in his preface.[89] This likely reflects his profession, as master at Kirkcudbright Grammar School. Like Kelly, Cranstoun included all poems, and defended the desirability of a complete translation: to do otherwise would be to 'mutilat[e] the poet, and [present] him in a totally different aspect from that in which he has revealed himself'.[90] However, Cranstoun also signalled that modesty would sometimes supersede accuracy: 'Some of the poems, for obvious reasons, have not been rendered with the same verbal accuracy as others…'. These 'obvious' reasons are, however, obscured for the non-expert reader: Cranstoun excludes any mention of Juventius and other *pueri* in the introduction,[91] and in his translations he excluded all same-sex content either by gender reversal (*cc.* 15, 21, 24, 48, 61, 81, 99, 100) or removal of the sexual implications. For example, in *c.* 56, Catullus no longer rapes his victim, but beats him with a weapon: '[I] pommell'd him well with my cane' (line 12). Obscenity, both same-sex and opposite-sex, is sanitised. In buffing away these 'objectionable' elements, he has, despite his claims, presented Catullus in a 'totally different aspect'.[92] Cranstoun's practice stands out as one where the stated intentions do not match the result.

By contrast to the popularising impulses of Kelly and Cranstoun, the scholar Robinson Ellis self-consciously aimed at an educated, even erudite audience with a 1871 translation of Catullus into English versions of the original meters.[93] Interestingly, Ellis was criticised in his obituary for the 'unexpurgated' nature of his translations.[94] However, we found that he *did* bowdlerise both same-sex and opposite-sex obscenity. For example, *confutuere* in *c.* 37.5 is rendered as 'possess', *pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo* (*c.* 16.1) as 'I'll traduce you, accuse you and abuse you', while he omits *cc.* 56, 71, 80 and 97 entirely. He also changed the gender of the male love object in *c.* 15, and obscured Juventius' gender in *c.* 99 with 'dear one'. However, Ellis did include and

[88] Again, the multilingual reader is advantaged; in a footnote Kelly offers 'the corresponding phrases of the modern Italians, *T' ho in culo* and *becco fottuto*,' as support for his argument that Catullus' sexual threats should not be taken literally. Trimble (2012) 152 notes that using other European languages still indicates the expurgation.

[89] On working-class autodidacts of Classics, see Hall and Stead (2020) 44–72.

[90] Cranstoun (1867) v.

[91] He also excluded female non-Lesbia love interests, such as Ipsitilla.

[92] Cranstoun (1867) v.

[93] Ellis (1871) xx.

[94] See Hexter (2015).

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

translate much of the non-obscene homoerotic content, retaining male names and genders of *cc*. 48, 81 and 100, while translating *concubinus* in *c*. 61 as 'womanish youth'.[95] Sadly, this open inclusion of Juventius and other homoerotic objects made Ellis a target for criticism.[96]

In 1879, Hart-Davies located his select edition within the tradition of translations for a general audience.[97] Hart-Davies, like Kelly, argued that Catullus' obscenity was 'part of the ordinary speech of the day',[98] and should not be taken literally; accordingly, he markedly sanitised opposite-sex obscenity and largely omitted the same-sex obscenities.[99] Like Ellis for his scholarly readers, however, Hart-Davies retained much non-obscene same-sex content for his general audience. This is noteworthy in the context of a select edition, in which these poems could easily have been left out.[100] Hart-Davies included *cc*. 24, 48, 81 and 99, with the correct genders retained, and titled 'To Juventius'; *c*. 61's *concubinus* appears as a 'favoured slave' who has lost 'his master's love'; and *c*. 100 appears, with Caelius feeling both 'friendship' (line 5) and 'love' (line 14) for Aufilenus.

Examining these Victorian editions reveals considerable variation in what the authors considered objectionable, and what they thought would threaten readers' morality. While Martin and his ilk tried to eliminate homoeroticism, Ellis and Hart-Davies retained it, but toned down the obscenity (related to same-sex practices or otherwise). The latter works aimed at two distinct audiences, so their intended readerships do not explain their similar approaches. It seems an example of personal mores dictating how these men responded to – and expressed – what they found in Catullus. Ellis' and Hart-Davies' approaches to both obscene male-on-male sexual violence and homoeroticism complicate Gaisser's argument that the common pattern was for authors to retain male-on-male sexual invective but omit Juventius, unable to 'allow a homosexual romance to the poet himself'.[101] In fact, some could tolerate Juventius. In a different world Richard Burton would have numbered among them.

In his 1894 edition, Burton explicitly aimed to provide an unexpurgated text of the 'nude Roman poetry',[102] with plenty of notes. Co-author Leonard Smithers says that before his death, Burton 'laid great stress on the necessity of thoroughly annotating each translation from an erotic (and especially a

[95] His *c*. 24 is ambiguous. 'Blossom of all the race Juventian' (line 1) could imply a Juventia, but the reader can draw links to *cc*. 48 and 81, in which Juventius appears.

[96] See Hexter (2015) on fellow scholars' attacks on Ellis' reputation.

[97] Hart-Davies (1879) ix.

[98] Hart-Davies (1879) xxxiii.

[99] Poem 37 is omitted, while Clodia in *c*. 58 'sells' her 'charms'; the footnote deplores the 'painful incongruity' of *glubit* without discussion. In the same-sex department, e.g., *cc*. 16, 21 and 56 are omitted.

[100] As was done by Shaw (1882) in his general-audience translation of selections from Juvenal, Persius, Martial and Catullus. Space constraints in a multi-author edition require much to be omitted, but the absence of all same-sex content is suspicious.

[101] Gaisser (2001) xxxix.

[102] Burton and Smithers (1894) ix.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

paederastic) point of view'.[103] But 'subsequent circumstances'[104] (Burton's death prior to publication) prevented Smithers from annotating as thoroughly as he might have wished,[105] while Burton's widow apparently expurgated certain passages.[106] Both same-sex and opposite-sex obscenity in Burton's verses has been expurgated, though not in Smithers' prose,[107] while other same-sex content survives unscathed. As such, this text yields a fascinating example of a volume simultaneously censored and uncensored. Its treatment of homoeroticism is patchy as a result. Juventius' name and gender are retained in *cc.* 24, 48, 81 and 99; *c.* 56 is included (*trusantem* yielded to Lady Burton's ellipses, but the sexual imagery of the last line survives), *c.* 61's *concubinus* appears as a 'he-concubine' (Burton) and an 'ingle' (Smithers),[108] and the genders of Caelius' and Quintius' lovers in *c.* 100 are retained. Their version of *c.* 15 clearly follows the Latin, with the title, 'To Aurelius – Hands off the Boy!' Burton translates *pene* as *penis*, emphasising it through the rhyme with 'I ween is!'. Smithers' note also makes matters clear: 'my fear is from thee and thy penis'. However, in the translation of *c.* 16 we find em-dashes instead of *pedicare* and *irrumare*. It seems likely from Smithers' comments in the Preface that Burton's widow may have altered the text. Burton's situation highlights how hard it was to publish un-censored versions of Catullus. Not only did people have to get past their own internal censor; in death their translations ran the gauntlet of their executor's mores.

Our final example from the Victorian era proper is also, arguably, the most 'Victorian', Macnaghten's 1899 *The Story of Catullus*. Macnaghten was a schoolmaster at Eton. His 1899 work selects the corpus in service of a Lesbia-centred narrative, which Macnaghten supplies by interleaving his own prose. The book thus follows a similar model to La Chapelle's *The Adventures of Catullus*, although Macnaghten likely saw his work as more scholarly.[109] Macnaghten never mentions Juventius in the prose text, and of the Juventius poems, only *c.* 48 appears. Macnaghten links it thematically to *c.* 7, omitting mention of Juventius' identity and gender.[110] Macnaghten thus uses the placement of poems to convey an impression of heterosexual content. He also removes other homoerotic content, omitting the *concubinus* from *c.* 61, and excluding *c.* 100 from his selection; same-sex obscenity and threats of sexual violence

[103] Burton and Smithers (1894) xv. Burton provides verse translations, Smithers the prose; Burton also authored some of the notes.

[104] Burton and Smithers (1894) xv.

[105] Though not entirely; Smithers offers clear explanatory notes on, among other things, Catullus' 'vice of paederasty' (note on *c.* 99) and the semantic range of *glubere* (note on 58.5).

[106] See Gaisser (2001) xxxviii. Lady Burton's expurgatory strategy is simple: objectionable material is replaced by ellipses.

[107] Smithers is given to Latinate verbs such as '*paedicate*' and '*irrumate*' (16, 21) and rarities such as 'ingle' (61), striking a rather more erudite note than Catullus. This unfamiliar vocabulary might have had its own expurgatory effect.

[108] A pejorative term in this period: *OED* s.v.

[109] Macnaghten had published a Latin school text of Catullus, with English introduction and notes, co-edited with Ramsay: Macnaghten and Ramsay (1889) left out all homoerotic material, sexual violence, and other obscenities. It was frequently reprinted into the twentieth century.

[110] Macnaghten (1899) 12.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

were also cut (*cc*. 15, 16, 56). Macnaghten mostly omits obscenity about women, with the exception of a much-toned down *c*. 11: *ilia rumpens* becomes 'though ... she drain / the lives of all'. Finally, like La Chapelle centuries before, Macnaghten made no mention of homoeroticism in his supposedly biographical introduction. This volume shows an author adopting multiple strategies to deal with 'objectionable' content of many kinds, ranging from exclusion of whole poems, excision of specific lines, and bowdlerisation. Overall, then, readers of Catullus ended the century – and the Victorian age – with a series of versions of the Roman poet that all, in some way, reflected mainstream culture's distaste with both homoeroticism and sexual violence among men.

This attitude undoubtedly persisted into the twentieth century. Across the Atlantic in 1915, Mary Stewart, a language instructor at the University of Montana, published a volume titled *Selections from Catullus*.[111] The volume includes an introduction, but has neither notes nor other technical paratextual material; Stewart aimed at a general readership. As we have seen was common practice, Stewart did not discuss Juventius or homoeroticism in her introduction, and censored both homoeroticism and obscenity. She wrote Juventius out of *cc*. 48 and 99 and addressed the poems to Lesbia instead. Stewart also polished up Catullus' rough edges by eliminating all traces of obscenity of any kind.[112] However, in her Introduction Stewart strongly rejects some interventions, such as changing names.[113] She thus fits within the tradition we have already observed, in which an author's actual practices in the main text can differ significantly from what they say they will do in their paratextual material.

However, Stewart diverges from the other writers herein in additional ways. Her biography is fascinating.[114] Academically, she deserves note as the first woman to translate a volume of Catullus.[115] Of even greater interest is her contemporaneous role as an important suffragist.[116] From 1907, Stewart served as the first Dean of Women at the University of Montana, being responsible for the female students in their on-campus dormitory, and she worked both for women's suffrage and the state and national level, and for better services for women students. And yet, while pursuing women's voting rights, in her work on Catullus she out-censored (or out 'Victorian-ed') many of the translators who came before her.[117]

[111] Gaisser (2001) 158.

[112] Alexander (1943) 337.

[113] Stewart cited in Alexander (1943) 343–4.

[114] Kirk (n.d.).

[115] See Balmer (2012) 266 on how few women engaged with Catullus until the late twentieth century. On later women's responses, see Balmer (2014) Chapter 9, Theodorakopoulos (2012) and (2014), Wasdin (2017), and Lewis (2018).

[116] See the timeline in the exhibition *Women in Montana Politics* held by the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library at the University of Montana: http://exhibits.lib.umt.edu/women-in-politics/timeline/um. The university newsletter also documented this work: see e.g., 'Dean Stewart Due Home Soon', in *Montana Kaimin,* November 24, 1914, 226, no. 2, p. 1, at https://scholarworks.umt.edu/studentnewspaper/226.

[117] We wonder whether Stewart might have trodden an especially careful path with her scholarship in order to protect her position as a respected (and respectable) activist.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Going into this project, we were aware of some receptions that censored or expurgated Catullus, and some socio-historical factors in each era that might have shaped authors' perspectives. We had been struck encountering egregious cases (such as Macnaghten and Fordyce) but we wanted to build up a fine-grained, full picture. We particularly wanted to focus on both Juventius and the wider depiction of male–male sexual relations in Catullus, because these topics have been so thoroughly eclipsed by interest in Lesbia.

We found much that confirmed the earlier scholarly narrative, that the early moderns and Victorians especially stripped Catullus of his distinctively Roman sexuality, often torn between a desire to represent and transmit Catullus, and a pressure or desire to do so 'modestly'. However, we found that not all authors censored homoeroticism more than they censored obscenity. Instead, some authors were able to portray desire for male love objects more transparently than they could communicate threats and acts of sexual violence. And while we saw that the Victorian era produced the most extreme examples of censorship and expurgation – of both homoeroticism and sexual violence – even in the Victorian era we found examples of certain writers pressing (however gently) against mainstream conservatism, presenting 'objectionable' parts of Catullus' corpus more transparently than their peers. We found examples of extensive expurgation in both scholarly and popular works, and counter-examples of writers subverting cultural boundaries in both types of work. This suggests to us that the mores of individual writers played an important role in shaping their take on Catullus, perhaps as much as the broader culture of their era.

Finally, we found one great irony. Until well into the twentieth century, readers had fairly limited access to Catullus' positive depictions of male–male desire, so Catullus, sadly (from our perspective), stood outside the canon of Classical works that offered succour and a cultural model to queer men and women. However, this meant that readers had even fewer opportunities to read Catullus' violent sexual threats and depictions of male–male rape. As a result, any queer readers likely to internalise the generalised, Christian homophobia of their age were *not* exposed to a series of poems that linked male–male sexual activity with aggression, competition, and even violence. For members of minorities, lack of representation in culture causes problems, but so does the prevalence of negative and stereotyped representations.[118] Representations matter, and they are not all created equal. It is a bittersweet irony that, in attempting to protect 'virtuous' (presumed heterosexual and Christian) readers, the early modern and Victorian expurgators we have surveyed unwittingly protected their queer readers from internalising disturbing portraits of male–male sex based in a violent slave culture.

Acknowledgements. We presented early research from this project at the Catullus Rides Again workshop held at the University of Newcastle, Australia, and Classics seminars at the Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, and Auckland, where we benefitted greatly from the feedback. We would

[118] See e.g., Cart and Jenkins (2006) who document the damage done to generations of queer readers in twentieth-century America by negative representations in novels.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

especially like to thank the editors, Marguerite and Leah, for their support for the project, and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions.

Bibliography

Alexander, W. H. (1943), 'Adaptative Translations of the Classics', *The Classical Journal* 38, 337–46.

Ancona, R. and Hallett, J. P. (2007), 'Catullus in the Secondary School Curriculum', in M. B. Skinner (ed.), *A Companion to Catullus*. Malden, MA, 481–502.

Anonymous (1707), *The Adventures of Catullus and History of his Amours with Lesbia. Intermixt with Translations of his Choicest Poems. By Several Hands. Done from the French*. London. Translation of Jean de La Chapelle (1680), *Les Amours de Catulle*. Paris.

Anonymous (1713), *The Works of Petronius Arbiter, Translated by Several Hands. With a Key by a Person of Honour, And Also His Life and Character, by Monsieur St. Evremont*. London.

Arkins, B. (2007), 'The Modern Reception of Catullus', in M. B. Skinner (ed.), *A Companion to Catullus*. Malden, MA, 461–78.

Balmer, J. (2012), 'Handbags and Gladrags: A Woman in Transgression, Reflecting', *Classical Receptions Journal* 4, 261–71.

Balmer, J. (2014), *Piecing Together the Fragments: Translating Classical Verse, Creating Contemporary Poetry*. Oxford.

Blanshard, A. (2010), *Sex: Vice and Love from Antiquity to Modernity*. Chichester, U.K.

Bowley, M. (1843), *University History on Scriptural Principles. For the Use of Children*. Part II. London.

Burton, R. and Smithers, L. (1894), *The Carmina of Gaius Valerius Catullus*. London.

Campion, T. (c. 1613), 'What harvest half so sweet is', in *Airs* book 2. London.

Cart, M. and Jenkins, C. (2006), *The Heart has its Reasons: Young Adult Literature with Gay/Lesbian/Queer Content, 1968–2004*. Lanham, MD.

Cowan, R. (2015), 'On Not Being Archilochus Properly: Cato, Catullus and the Idea of Iambos', *Materiali e Discussioni* 74, 9–52.

Cranstoun, J. (1867), *The Poems of Valerius Catullus Translated into English Verse with Life of the Poet, Excursus, and Illustrative Notes*. Edinburgh.

Duckett, E. S. (1925), *Catullus in English Poetry*. Northampton, MA.

Dunmore, H. (2008), *Counting the Stars*. London.

Ellis, R. (1871), *The Poems and Fragments of Catullus: Translated in the Metres of the Original*. London.

Fitzgerald, W. (1995), *Catullan Provocations: Lyric Poetry and the Drama of Position*. Berkeley.

Gaisser, J. H. (1993), *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers*. Oxford.

Gaisser, J. H. (2001), *Catullus in English*. London.

Gaisser, J. H. (2009), *Catullus*. Malden, MA.

Gaisser, J. H. (2019), 'Excuses, Excuses: The Fortunes of Catullus 16 from Martial to Johannes Secundus', *Paideia Rivista* 74, 1325–59.

Gregory, H. (1931), *The Poems of Catullus*, illustrations by Zhenya Gay. New York.

Hall, E. and Stead, H. (2020), *A People's History of Classics*. London.

Hallett, J. P. and Skinner, M. B. (eds.) (1997), *Roman Sexualities*. Princeton.

Harrington, K. P. (1963), *Catullus and His Influence*. New York.

Harrison, S. (2021), 'Catullus and Poetry in English since 1750', in I. Du Quesnay and T. Woodman (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Catullus*. Cambridge, 343–62.

Harrison, S. and Stray, C. (eds.) (2012), *Expurgating the Classics: Editing Out in Greek and Latin*. London.

Hart-Davies, T. (1879), *Catullus translated into English verse*. London.

Hexter, R. (2015), 'The Kisses of Juventius, and Policing the Boundaries of Masculinity: The Case of Catullus', in J. Ingleheart (ed.), *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities*. Oxford, Oxford Scholarship Online. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199689729.001.0001

Hiley, F. C. W. (1929), *Catulli Carmina: The Poems of Catullus, with Complete Verse Translations and Notes*. Illustrations by Véra Willoughby. London.

Jackson, A. (2003), *Catullus for Children*. Auckland.

Jackson, A. (2006), 'Catullus in the Playground', *Antichthon* 40, 104–15.

Jackson, A. (2014), *I, Clodia, and Other Portraits*. Auckland.

Jackson, A. (2017), 'Anna Jackson', Interviewed by M. Lewis, *Practitioners' Voices in Classical Reception Studies* 8, http://www.open.ac.uk/arts/research/pvcrs/2017/jackson

Jackson, A. (2019), 'Clodia Through the Looking Glass', in M. Johnson (ed.), *Antipodean Antiquities: Classical Reception Down Under*. London, 117–27.

Jaro, B. K. (1988), *The Key*. New York.

Jonson, B. (1616), 'To the Same', in *The Forest*. London.

Kamen, D. and Levin-Richardson, S. (2015), 'Revising Roman Sexuality: Agency and the Conceptualization of Penetrated Males', in M. Masterson, N. S. Rabinowitz and J. Robson (eds.), *Sex in Antiquity: Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World*. London, 449–60.

Kelly, W. K. (1854), *Erotica: The Poems of Catullus and Tibullus and the Vigil of Venus*. London.

Khan, H. A. (1967), 'Catullus 99 and the Other Kiss-Poems', *Latomus* 26, 609–18.

Kirk, K. (n.d.), 'Biographical Sketch of Mary Stewart', in T. Dublin and K. K. Sklar, *Online Biographical Dictionary of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States*, https://documents.alexanderstreet.com/d/1009860044

Lamb, G. (1821), *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus Translated, with a Preface and Notes*. 2 Vol. London.

Lee, G. (1990), *The Poems of Catullus*. Oxford.

Lewis, M. (2013), 'Narrativising Catullus: A Never-ending Story', *Melbourne Historical Journal*, 41, 1–19.

Lewis, M. (2018), 'Anna Jackson's *I, Clodia*: Catullus, Women's Voices, and Feminist Implications', *Classical Receptions Journal* 10, 127–48.

Lindsay, J. (1929), *The Complete Poetry of Gaius Catullus: Translated by Jack Lindsay: With Decorations Engraved on Wood by Lionel Ellis*. London.

Loughlin, M. H. (ed.) (2014), *Same-Sex Desire in Early Modern England, 1550–1735: An Anthology of Literary Texts and Contexts*. Manchester.

Lovelace, R. (1818 [1659]), *Lucasta: Posthume Poems*. Chiswick.

Macnaghten, H. V. (1899), *The Story of Catullus*. London.

Macnaghten, H. V. and Ramsay, A. B. (1889), *Poems of Catullus: Selected and Edited*. London.

Martin, T. (1861), *The Poems of Catullus Translated into English Verse*. London.

McPeek, J. A. S. (1972 [1939]), *Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain*. New York.

Morwood, J. (2012), '"From Out the Schoolboy's Vision": Expurgation and the Young Reader', in S. J. Harrison and C. Stray (eds.), *Expurgating the Classics*. London, 163–73.

Nott, J. (1795), *The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus in English Verse*. London.

O'Bryhim, S. (2017), 'Catullus' Mullets and Radishes (c. 15.18–19)', *Mnemosyne* 70, 325–30.

O'Hearn, L. (2021), 'Juventius and the Summer of Youth in Catullus 48', *Mnemosyne* 74, 111–33.

O'Sullivan, C. (2009), 'Translation Within the Margin: The "Libraries" of Henry Bohn', in J. Milton and P. Bandia (eds.), *Agents of Translation*. Amsterdam, 107–29.

Ormond, K. (2009), *Controlling Desires: Sexuality in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Westport, CT.

Peachy, F. (1972), 'Catullus 55', *Phoenix* 26, 258–67.

Richlin, A. (1992), *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*. Rev. Ed. New York.

Schwabe, L. (1862), *Quaestiones Catullianae, Liber 1*. Giessen.

Selden, D. L. (1992), 'Ceveat Lector: Catullus and the Rhetoric of Performance', in R. Hexter and D. Selden (eds.), *Innovations of Antiquity*. New York, 461–512.

Shaw, W. F. (1882), *Juvenal, Persius, Martial, and Catullus: An Experiment in Translation*. London.

Stead, C. K. (2016), *Shelf Life: Reviews, Replies and Reminiscences*. Auckland.

Stead, H. (2015), *A Cockney Catullus: The Reception of Catullus in Romantic Britain, 1795–1821*. Oxford.

Theodorakopoulos, E. (2012), 'Women's Writing and the Classical Tradition', *Classical Receptions Journal*, 4, 149–62.

Theodorakopoulos, E. (2014), 'Catullus and Lesbia Translated in Women's Historical Novels', in L. Hardwick and S. J. Harrison (eds.), *Classics in the Modern World: A Democratic Turn?* Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online. DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199673926.003.0020

Trimble, G. (2012), 'Catullus and "Comment in English": The Tradition of the Expurgated Commentary before Fordyce', in S. J. Harrison and C. Stray (eds.), *Expurgating the Classics*. London, 143–62.

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Vance, N. (1997), *The Victorians and Ancient Rome*. Oxford.
Venuti, L. (1995), *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London.
Wasdin, K. (2017), 'The Undead Past in Kathy Acker's *Blood and Guts in High School*', *Classical Receptions Journal* 9, 268–86.
Wilder, T. (1948), *The Ides of March*. Harmondsworth.
Williams, C. (2010), *Roman Homosexuality*. 2nd rev. ed. Oxford.
Winter, T. N. (1973), 'Catullus Purified: A Brief History of Carmen 16', *Arethusa* 6, 257–65.
Wood, E. J. (1869), *The Wedding in All Ages and Countries*. New York.
Wray, D. (2001), *Catullus and the Poetics of Roman Manhood*. Cambridge.
Ziolkowski, T. (2007), 'Anglo-American Catullus Since the Mid-Twentieth Century', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 13, 409–30.

Cite this article: Lewis M, Robertson C (2021). Shameful Kisses: A History of the Reception – and Rejection – of Homoeroticism in Catullus. *Antichthon* **55**, 172–193. https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6

https://doi.org/10.1017/ann.2021.6 Published online by Cambridge University Press