

GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, CATULLUS, AND THE ACADEMY IN NAPLES

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The critical reappraisal of Catullus has commanded recently the attention of Neo-Latin scholarship¹ yet he is one model not considered in Spanish Renaissance studies.² Critical appraisal of Garcilaso's poetry since Herrera has centered primarily on the Horatian and the Virgilian models, along with their Renaissance imitators. However, a secondary model of imitation for Garcilaso de la Vega was Neapolitan poetry that imitated Catullus's style. Catullus's poetry is a less known model, and sheds light on new poetic techniques used by Garcilaso in the 1530's. Both Renaissance Neo-Latin poets and imitators in the vernacular were particularly attracted to Catullus because Jacopo Pontano had imitated his poetry extensively. Pontano was the leader of the Academy in Naples, first called Pontano's Academy and later Sannazaro's; and after Sannazaro's death (1530) the Academy is most often referred to as simply the Neapolitan Academy, with its most important leader Scipione Capece in the 1530's, Garcilaso de la Vega's friend.

Garcilaso de la Vega resided in Naples from 1532 to 1536 where he composed his most innovative poetry. Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494), Andrea Pontano (1426-1503), Jacopo Sannazaro (1456-1530) and Andrea Navagero (1483-1529), Catullus's best imitators, were also the most important inspiration to poetic genre experimentation by Garcilaso de la Vega. The Neapolitan Academy was led by Pontano, Sannazaro and Scipione Capece until 1543 when it was disbanded because Capece was exiled and his title was taken away as punishment for his participation in the religious reform movement in Naples.³

Garcilaso's 16th-century commentaries note Catullus's presence in his Castilian poetry. Keniston, Lapesa, Lumsden, Gutiérrez Volta, Fernández Morera, Rivers, Morros and Alcina in the twentieth century also note borrowings, coincidences and possible debts between Garcilaso's and Catullus's poetry.⁴ A poet in the 16th century had many obstacles in reading

the poetry produced during the Roman Republic that the modern reader does not share. Essentially only Aldus Manutius's 1502 edition was available (this was reprinted in Venice, 1515,⁵ with Propertius's and Tibullus's poetry, placed in one slim volume without commentary).⁶ And Poliziano, Pontano and Sannazaro's commentaries were in circulation in manuscript form.

Gaisser's important study (1993) shows how Poliziano, Pontano and Navagero in their Neo-Latin poetry, well known to their Neapolitan contemporaries, create a context in which Garcilaso de la Vega could have known Catullus's poetry. Poliziano's commentaries on Catullus were not published, but we know that he gave many talks and classes in different Italian cities during his lifetime, especially in Verona, Rome, and Naples. Grafton also believes that his ideas circulated through letters, and this correspondence was reprinted many times (185). Catullus's poetry in the Renaissance was notoriously corrupt and the whole condition of the text could be considered garbled.⁷ Gaisser considers Poliziano to be one of the few Renaissance poets who correctly understood Catullus (*Renaissance Readers* 243). Naples was also the place where Pontano became Catullus's most successful imitator. At the same time Pontano and Poliziano initiated the polemic of the limits of sensuality and obscenity in poetry, by ignoring the prohibitions of the Church (Gaisser *Renaissance Readers* 220).⁸ Navagero was also an important source of diffusion of Catullus, although recent studies of his poetry do not emphasize his direct imitation of this model.⁹ Navagero, in Boscan's well known testimony, is the origin of the hendecasyllable in Castilian poetry: "Navagero ... me dixo que por qué no provava en lengua castellana sonetos y otras artes de trobas fui a dar muchas veces con lo que el Navagero me había dicho. Y así comencé a tentar este género de verso, en el cual hallé alguna dificultad por ser muy artificioso" (118). If, as Herrera noted, the study of the hendecasyllable was closely associated with Catullus, then Boscán and Garcilaso must have studied Catullus's verse closely.¹⁰ Menéndez y Pelayo, who favors Horace as Garcilaso's main source for his later verse, ends his study of the hendecasyllable with the suggestion that Garcilaso represented for Renaissance Spain what Catullus had represented for the first century BCE (118).

Garcilaso arrived in Naples in 1532 and his acquaintance with some of the prominent members of the Academy marks his participation in the Academy itself. Catullus's poetry was known to the membership of the Neapolitan Academy probably through Pontano's poetry and also from

the recent lectures in Rome by Muret. Garcilaso realized that Catullus was an important model for genre experimentation within the Neapolitan Academy. The Academia Pontaniana or Neapolitan Academy met after Sannazaro's death at Scipione Capece's villa. The most prominent poets included Antonio Minturno, Mario Galeota, Cosimo Anisio, Plácido de Sangro, Girolamo Borgia, Luigi Tansillo, Serafino Aquilano and María de Cardona.¹¹ Sanseverino was closely allied through family ties to the Marquis of Colonna and Vittoria de Colonna. Giulio Cesare Caracciolo and Bernardo Tasso also participated in the Academy and knew these poets through the Marquis D'Avalos (Morros XXXVIII). Garcilaso evokes the learning in the Neapolitan Academy when he writes in the "*Ad Thylesium Ode*":

Haec aure cuncti praecipue imbibunt
 alte silentes, et Marius meus,
 rerumque multarum refertus
 atque memor Placitus bonarum. (ll. 57-60)

[These matters are captured by all with attentive hearing
 And in deep silence, and also my Mario,
 As well as Placitus, filled with my thoughts,
 And not forgetting the good ones.]

The secrets of the gods and the new poetic fury are absorbed in silence in the company of Mario Galeota and Plácido de Sangro under the tutelage of Seripando or Scipione Capece, but clearly within the confines of the Academy in Naples.

Many of these poets served the two opposing political constituencies of the Marquis Alfonso D'Avalos and don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples.¹² Heiple's study makes a strong case for Garcilaso's political alliance to Alfonso D'Avalos by 1535; and he states that Garcilaso had left the protection of don Pedro de Toledo. Hernando Sanchez notes that Garcilaso's rejection of the position at Reggio and his departure with D'Avalos's troops were a rejection of don Pedro de Toledo.¹³ D'Avalos was a prominent patron of poets and painters.¹⁴ These poets and patrons are present in Garcilaso's Neapolitan poetry as will be discussed below. Morros emphasizes how Pontano's poetry continued to influence the members of the academy and was among the poets discussed (LIII).¹⁵ Garcilaso's conversations with members of the Academy were his main source for his knowledge of the Renaissance Catullus. Documentary evidence exists of his extensive

knowledge of Donato's *Commentary* on the *Aeneid* and his Horatian Neo-Latin odes are evidence of his familiarity with Horace while in Naples.¹⁶

The Neapolitan academy looked to P. Bembo, B. Tasso, L. Tansillo or L. Alamanni as models for experimentation with new genres, as Claudio Guillén notes. And these Italian and Neo-Latin poets were in turn models for Garcilaso's Castilian poetry (Guillén 215). For these poets the new models of emulation were important because they helped to identify their poetry with new standards.¹⁷ Garcilaso's most ambitious project took shape in this context, and for these poets the integration of the mythological digression by Catullus was to become a compelling example.

Less than fifty years after Garcilaso's death, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (Salamanca, 1574), Fernando de Herrera (Sevilla, 1580) and Tomás Tamayo de Vargas (Toledo, 1622) document a dozen times where Catullus is a source for Garcilaso. And they all note Garcilaso's poetry is experimental just as Catullus's poetry had been experimental in antiquity. The thematic coincidences in the longer poems and the narrative use of *ekphrasis* are what the commentaries highlight.

Gaisser notes in *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers* that Renaissance poets did not distinguish between the poets of the Republican, Augustan and early Imperial periods. Catullus, Virgil, Horace and Martial for them seemed to be contemporaries. Sánchez de las Brozas (El Brocense) in his polemic 1585 "Prólogo" to the second edition of his commentaries writes:

Ningún poeta latino hay que en su género no haya imitado a otros, como Terencio a Menandro, Séneca a Eurípides, y Virgilio no se contentó con caminar siempre por la huella de Homero, sino también se haya haber seguido a Hesiodo, Teocrito, Eurípides y entre los latinos a Ennio Pacuvio, Lucrecio, Catullo y Severo. (A7 recto)

If Virgil is the principal model of imitation, nevertheless other important models should not be discarded.¹⁸ El Brocense notes Garcilaso's use of other models, but only mentions Catullus in particular in his discussion of the "Second Eclogue." El Brocense insists that important Latin subtexts add weight to modern Castilian poets and those who study and imitate Garcilaso should note his various Latin sources. El Brocense's stress on the rule of many Classical sources should not be underestimated in view of his strict adherence to include sources omitted by others (Gallego Morell 20).¹⁹

Fernando de Herrera praises Catullus in his *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso*:

Porque Catulo ... aunque sea preferido en los yambos a todos los latinos, i candidísimo entre sus élegos, i inimitable en los endecassílabos, i elegantísimo i de maravillosa suavidad y terneza, i en los eroicos raro i casi a solo Virgilio inferior; i aunque no tan agudo en los epigramas como Marcial, más puro i propio i tierno i hermoso, no tiene aquel espíritu que Oracio ni resplandece con algún modo galán i gentil o figurado... (482) [*I use Herrera's spelling*].

But later in his discussion he agrees with Scaliger, who had condemned the lyrical obscenities found in Catullus:

antes lo que trató de amor particularmente, que fue poco i deviera ser menos, fue bestial, o ínfamo i vil, con torpeza más que plebeya i sin la cortesía que Oracio. Porque explica lo más de sus pensamientos con l'abominable desonestidad que suelen los barqueros i gentes semejantes. (482)

Gaisser and Grafton note that Scaliger influenced greatly how late 16th-century contemporaries interpreted Catullus, Herrera included among them.²⁰ He, Herrera, is a good example of the Catullan influence appreciated in the commentaries, even though Catullus is a frivolous and inappropriate poet, nevertheless he should be studied for his excellent Latin (O'Connor 1008).²¹ Herrera closely resembles modern critics, and insinuates that Garcilaso himself was in agreement with this post-Tridentine analysis of the Roman poet. In Herrera's quote I note three key ideas common in the Renaissance. First, that Martial's epigrams were used to understand the more difficult Catullus; second, Latin metrics were used to transform romance metrics; and third, that the humanist community valued the inimitable quality of Catullus's hendecasyllable.²²

Garcilaso's Latin Ode "*Sedes ad cyprias Venus*" (first in Morros's edition and third in Rivers's) presents a compelling example of a decisive presence of Catullan subtexts. Garcilaso cites Catullus 2, 61 and 63 in eight instances (Alcina and Morros) and recreates a ritual Greco-Roman celebratory ode. Keniston understood the Latin odes as a formative exercise in his apprenticeship in Naples.²³ Gutiérrez Volta read this ode as original in its conception and outside of Horace's model. The ode represents Garcilaso's close reading of Catullus's poetry. The extensive quotes from Cat. 63 in his invocation of the Roman goddess, Cybeles, are noteworthy. Garcilaso gives realistic details, discusses erotic aspects of the myth of Venus and Cupid

and presents love and friendship as counterparts (Alcina *Poesía*, 237). Images derived from Catullus enliven the drama in the conversation between Cupid and Venus. I note a unique quotation from Cat. 2, a poem most familiar in the Renaissance. This poem's bawdy interpretation promulgated by Pontano and Poliziano was widely imitated in its erotic overtone, but Garcilaso chooses to avoid the poem's erotic interpretation. Instead he quotes: "*et tristis animi leuare curis*" (2.10) (to alleviate the sadness of my soul),²⁴ thus rendering homage to the poem, but remaining within the limits of propriety. In summary, this Latin ode is a tapestry of Catullan quotes and stylistic elements imitated by Garcilaso and proof of Garcilaso's familiarity with Catullus.

The "Second Eclogue," Garcilaso's most experimental Castilian poem, cites Catullus seven times. El Brocense first noted: "Todos estos ritos solían los antiguos usar en las bodas y todo es tomado de Catulo en su Epitalamio" (Gallego Morell 296). Severo's narrative in ekphrasis of don Pedro de Toledo's wedding takes up the second half of this long eclogue. El Brocense identifies the formal subtext for ekphrasis. Garcilaso chooses his thematics from a recent historical event, instead of from Classical mythology. Albanio's turbulent emotion caused by Camila's refusal, contrasts the happy marriage of his kinsman. The ironic laughter we hear in commentaries by Albanio, Nemoroso and Salicio suggests a playful tone. Garcilaso juxtaposes ironic jests with serious context in the first half of the eclogue. The jesting is evocative of Catullus's shorter verse. When Albanio speaks to Nemoroso about the cruel games inflicted upon hunted birds, Albanio responds: "Ya puedes ver cuán gran placer sería ver [...] la porfía" (ll. 290-91); or in the often noted irony: "¿Para qué son magníficas palabras? / ¿Quién te hizo filósofo elocuente / siendo pastor de ovejas y de cabras?" (ll 395-97); or even in Albanio's protest when Salicio tries to control him with force: "¿Cómo azotado y preso?" (l. 1021). A dramatic dialogue combined with an *epyllion*, a short epic-like section in a narrative poem, may also suggest a blending of Catullan forms in this innovative eclogue. The reminiscence of the Catullan subtext noted by Herrera and El Brocense underscores Garcilaso's noteworthy departure from the eclogue form and the inclusion of historical referents. References to Catullus reinforce our understanding of this longer eclogue. Thus the historical referent acquires mythological proportion and gives weight to the imperial undertakings described by Garcilaso.

“Desde aquí adelante es esta égloga de pastores: porque la pintura no lo era, y es casi al modo de la de Ariadna en Catulo, si no queremos que sea parergo, porque lo que promete cantar es las Ninfas, aunque dice que escuche su zampoña ruda” (Herrera 973)²⁵. Herrera’s commentary on the “Third Eclogue” after the ekphrasis reveals the Catullan subtext. Cat. 64; the centerpiece in Catullus’s poetry, combines the epithalamium with an epyllion set in a mythological ekphrasis. Herrera, like El Brocense, notes stylistic imitation as opposed to mere quotes and emphasizes its quality of embellishment or parergon. To interrupt a pastoral narrative with a mythological parenthesis is not common, and the two well-known sources are Cat. 64 and Virgil’s *Georgics*, Book IV.²⁶ Herrera and El Brocense note the digression within the eclogue genre and confirm the Catullan subtext. Furthermore Garcilaso acknowledges Catullus in his use of linear detail and vivid description,²⁷ and innovates by incorporating Ovidian subtexts from the *Metamorphoses*. Garcilaso’s richly allusive creation is outstanding as his 16th-century readers noted. Garcilaso gleans the best qualities of lyrical manifestations of poetry, both classical and contemporary that will lend innovation to the eclogue. Inserting a digression (whether ekphrasis or not) is an important innovation, and a very interesting one at that. Garcilaso’s ability gained him the admiration of the Neapolitan literary community, revered poets like Bembo and his contemporaries in Spain.

Garcilaso’s experimentation, possibly inadvertently, created a Renaissance development of classical technique. Ancient poems using hendecasyllables tended to be short, fifteen lines or so at most, but Garcilaso was using this meter for much longer narrative poems. Pontano and others had used this innovation in Neo-Latin poetry. Garcilaso then not only includes a long digression, but also formally changes the accepted meter in Castilian. Garcilaso thus adapts the known Classical and modern models in the “Third Eclogue.”²⁸

Tamayo de Vargas (1622) notes one other point of commonality between the “Third Eclogue” and Catullus’s poetry: “Ni desdeñes aquesta inculca parte / de mi estilo, qu’en algo ya estimaste (ll. 35-36)” an echo of: “*Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas / meas esse aliquid putare nugas*” (Cat. 1, ll. 3-4), “Cornelius, for you; since you used to give my nonsense importance”). Not surprisingly Tamayo de Vargas wished to note other points of contact ignored by Herrera, since he belonged to Prete de Jacopin’s literary circle, the so called “anti-herreristas”.²⁹ Tamayo writes: “Es de Catulo esta última cláusula en la dedicación a Cornelo Nepote” (Gallego Morell 151). For

Tamayo in the pastoral genre rarely is the patron's friendship recognized as notoriously as in Cat. 1. Modern critics disagree with Tamayo; Rivers (1981) cites Tamayo, Morros (1999) prefers Virgil, Sannazaro or Calpurnio Siculo as the source, but accepts Tamayo only in so far as the topic of humility. Fernández Morera notes that Garcilaso's patron will be praised beyond earthly limits (86). Both Tamayo and Fernández Morera by noting this commonality corroborate Cat.1 as a subtext, a favorite poem with the humanist community. Again Garcilaso changes the occasion for the use of the subtext, and thus creates innovation within the framework of the eclogue.

The rhetorical *enallage* or the direct reference by a poet to himself in the third person is a noteworthy characteristic of Catullus's poetry, imitated in turn by Virgil and Propertius. Herrera notes this rhetorical device in Garcilaso's "Second Elegy" (640-641).

Yo endereço, señor, en fin mi passo
 por donde vos sabeys que su processo
 siempre á llevado y lleva Garcilasso. (ll. 25-27)

The Renaissance poet did not know that Catullus was the first poet to use a third person reference for his poetic *personae*. C. Guillén places this elegy within the Renaissance context of Neapolitan problematics, the conjunction of the Roman subtexts is significant (216-17). The "Second Elegy" emphasizes the concerns shared by Garcilaso and Catullus: the poetic, the political and the amorous. K. Quinn writes that Catullus's revolution is part of an intensely personal lyric, in so much as he abandons the community in favor of an esoteric poetry. Garcilaso in his elegy quotes the Horatian subtexts with his disdain for the courtly world, and he quotes the Catullan subtext in the tone of anxiety.

Garcilaso's late poems present experimental models of versification, narrative technique and genre forms, all of which is evidence of a familiarity of the texture of Catullus's poetry. Garcilaso, although not a philologist like Poliziano, read Catullus in the Academia Pontaniana, as he acknowledges in the "Ad Thylesium Ode." The Catullan *nugae*, or short poems are parallel to Garcilaso's Neapolitan sonnets. Garcilaso shares a grouping of historical sonnets dedicated to friends placed side by side with experimental longer poems.

Boscán's 1543 edition ordered Garcilaso's poems within a Petrarchan framework. Prieto and Armisen most recently read Garcilaso's poetry from this framework. Rivers notes the need to read Garcilaso's poetry from a synchronic vision, following Lapesa. Sonnet 19, "Julio, después que me partí llorando;" Sonnet 21, "Clarísimo marqués, en quien derrama;" Sonnet 24, "Ilustre honor del nombre de Cardona;" Sonnet 28, "Boscán, vengando estáis en mengua mía;" Sonnet 33, "Boscán las armas y el furor de Marte;" and sonnet 35, "Mario, el ingrato amor como testigo": all are addressed to friends and give historical referents.³⁰ Keniston values these sonnets for their biographical detail. Rivers notes the creation of a public persona. These sonnets also share the consolation offered by humanist friends to Garcilaso during his stay in Naples. Friendship is the stability in a foreign country filled with political and personal upheavals. If the outstanding characteristic of Catullus's *nugae* is the blending of the political, the personal and the poetic concerns, then Garcilaso appropriates this combination in these apparently unrelated sonnets. Garcilaso presents his "dulcibus immemoremque amicis" [and forgotten, by the sweet friends] ("*Ad Thylesium Ode*," l. 72) as readers of his 1530's poetry. In the principal collection by a fellow academician poet, Marco Antonio Flaminio's *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum* (1552), includes Bembo's, Castiglione's, Flaminio's and Navagero's poetry. They dedicate many epigrams and short Neo-Latin poems to friends like Seripando, Mario Galeote and Guilio Caracciolo with similar titles.³¹ And Boscán renders homage likewise to Garcilaso's Castilian innovation with his own sonnet entitled "A Garcilaso" at the end of Book II.

The importance of friendship is best illustrated by sonnets: 28 y 19, when the recipient is asked to give counsel: "...sabed que / me he rendido con mis ojos abiertos" (28, ll. 9-10); or more colloquially: "a razonar con vos, o dulce amigo" (19, l. 10). These poems correspond to the quality of friendship that C. Johnson relates to Montaigne's ideals of masculine friendship in his discussion of "*Ode Ad Florem Gnidi*" (299-300). Friends offer a sympathetic ear to Garcilaso's troublesome love affairs, but they also seem an excuse for the exchange between friends.

In three of these sonnets Garcilaso speaks of the art of writing. The first topic is what can be said and what must remain unsaid: "Si preguntado soy lo demás, en lo demás soy mudo" (28, l. 14). Garcilaso as the poet must choose what is possible to tell the friend in this public space of the poem: "... que si escribo y digo / su condición . . ." (35, ll. 5-6). Garcilaso

finds a place for the esteemed patron: “al claro resplandor de vuestra llama / arribare mi pluma y do la llama” (21, ll. 4-5). Writing or artistically elaborating is the problem that unites the “First” and “Third” eclogues, the “Second Elegy,” the “Epistle” and these sonnets. Sonnets 24 and 21 are noteworthy in their description of the patron and the admiration for a female poet, and again they underline the use of *enallage* in “Sonnet 21” in “a vuestro Laso.” Repeatedly, the community that honors the poet and whom he in turn values is present throughout these sonnets.

Exact place, battle, age and private communication is shared in all the above mentioned sonnets. As in Garcilaso’s Neo-Latin odes, exile is emphasized. Four sonnets speak of the poet’s amorous melancholy. The poet’s ambivalence about how much to disclose was noted by El Brocense in particular. Catullan subtexts are equally ambivalent as Poliziano’s reading makes clear: *inscitia nostra nunc quoque corruptus*” [they remain always in our equivocal interpretations.] (Selden 476). The contemporary Neo-Latin poems lend a new tone to Garcilaso’s Castilian sonnets deviating from the model of Petrarch or Ausias March.

Friendship is a key to the coherence of Catullan poetry in Ruiz Sánchez’s study.³² The same ideal existed in the context of Italian academies, and Garcilaso echoes this sentiment in his letter to Seripando and in his “*Ode Ad Thylesium*”. Garcilaso also points to the stability of the shared world of poet-friends who ameliorate the desperation and turbulent emotion of love, as much as the soldier’s fatigue. Mario, Julio, Boscán, María Cardona and the patron Marquis (who we identify as Alfonso D’Avalos) remind us of the Catullan friends evoked in Cat. 6 and 55. Catullus’s sentiment in Cat. 6: “*volo te ac tuos amores / ad caelum lepido vocare versu*” (ll. 16-17, “tell this to me because you and your loves/I wish to elevate to the heavens in beautiful verse”) are echoed in sonnet 19: “yo comencé como testigo / a poder dar, del alma vuestra, nueva...” (ll. 12-13) after the poet had said: “Y con este temor mi lengua prueva / a razonar con vos” (ll. 9-10). El Brocense literally read “nueva” as the news to Julio of Garcilaso’s beloved, and the “razonar” within the context of friendship. Garcilaso presents friendship as a calming source within the turmoil of his life, particularly in these sonnets.

Ludwig has shown that as the 16th century progressed greater emphasis was placed on what was considered Catullan meter, vocabulary, forms of expression and certain topics and themes in Neo-Latin poetry (“*Petrus*” 184). This type of Catullan imitation was not in vogue in the early 1530’s

when Catullus instead represented experimentation with lesser-known models.

Critics have insisted that direct quotations constitute the only evidence for Garcilaso's imitation of Catullus. From this vantage point Catullus is a minor presence in Garcilaso's poetry. When experimental attitudes particular to the 1530's Neo-Latin and Italian models are studied in conjunction with Garcilaso, then the Catullan subtext is constantly present. Catullan innovation in form and theme as understood by his fellow Italian poets, showed Garcilaso how to derive a new voice, particularly innovative in Spain and acknowledged by his Italian contemporaries as most original.³³ The imitation of style and formal experimentation distinguishes Garcilaso's poetry, and is derived from an emulation of Catullus's poetry; that emulation in turn resulted from Garcilaso's participation in the vibrant intellectual literary community of the Neapolitan academy from 1532 to 1536. Garcilaso's creation within the most experimental genres, sonnet-epigram, eclogue and elegy, owe a particular debt to Catullus.

NOTES

¹See especially Julia Gaisser, *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993) whose careful study lays the groundwork for the vernacular borrowings that ensued shortly thereafter. Of particular interest are her relevant discussions about Pontano, Navagero, Sannazaro and of course Poliziano. See also Anthony Grafton, "On the Scholarship of Politian and its Context," (*JWCI* 40 (1977): 152-88), whose discussion on the diffusion of Poliziano's poetry to Naples is highly relevant for my own discussion; and Walther Ludwig "The beginnings of Catullan Neo-Latin Poetry," (*Acta Conventus neo Latini Torontonensis* (Binghampton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991. 449-56), and "Petrus Lotichius Secundus and the Roman Elegists: Prolegomena to a Study of Neo-Latin Elegy," (*Classical Influences on European Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1971. 171-90), whose thoughtful ideas on Catullus and amorous lyric poetry are most insightful.

²I am most grateful for Julia Gaisser's and Elias Rivers's comments on earlier versions of this paper, as well as the readers of *Caliope*. I also acknowledge the important influence of Thomas Greene's, *The Light in Troy* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1982), on the problems of imitation. See Christopher Colenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins UP, 2004), for his call to review the Neo-Latin sources of the Renaissance and our current re-appraisal in Renaissance studies.

³See Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Cenno storico della Accademia alfonsina: istituita nella città di Napoli nel 1442* (Napoli: Rinaldi, 1885), "... e finalmente da Scipione Capece

in sua casa fino all'anno 1543, época in cui si estinse interamente, essendo stato il Capece privato dell'ufficio di Regio Consigliere e cacciato in estilio pere essere egli uno de'partigianni della reforma religiosa" (iii).

⁴See Rivers's article "El problema de los géneros neoclásicos y la poesía de Garcilaso," as well as the 1980 edition for quotes from Catullus. Morros and Alcina also include Catullus's quotes in their editions. Gallego Morell's anthology includes all of El Brocense's, Herrera's and Tamayo de Varga's references to Catullus. All the quotes from Herrera are from the Inoria Pepe and José María Reyes's edition. Lapesa, Lumsden, and Gutiérrez Volta refer briefly to Catullus's presence in Garcilaso's poetry. See Fernández-Morera's discussion (103-10).

⁵Thomson in his "Introduction" discusses the importance of Avantius and concludes: "The second edition unlike the first, accompanies a text of Catullus (and of Tibullus and Propertius); On this second edition was based the epoch-making first Aldine text-edition of 1502 and also the second Aldine of 1515, for both of which he functioned as Aldus's editor; and he was also largely responsible for the *editio Tricavelliana* of about 1535. To anticipate a little: the Aldine editions displace all others and became the rocklike foundation of the very many texts in circulation" (48). The Aldine edition is also significant because Herrera, Alcina and Fernández-Morera all remark on the slight distinction between the borrowings of Propertius and Catullus.

⁶Garcilaso has not been studied in relation to Propertius or Tibullus, but Lia Schwartz-Lerner speaks of the difficulties of Garcilaso's contemporaries finding and understanding Propertius. Fernández Morera proposes that the logic found in Catullus relates closely to Garcilaso unlike Propertius ("Elegías" 106).

⁷See Julia Gaisser, *Catullus*, (2009, 166-76) for an overview of how the text survived from Antiquity and how poems were divided incorrectly.

⁸The examples cited by Ludwig of Pontano's poetry, may illuminate what has been noted by many critics of Garcilaso, the absence of purely Christian motifs. Ludwig suggests: "The poetical example of Catullus and his distinction between the *catos* and *pious poeta* and his *versus molliculi et parum pudici* made possible and legitimized for Pontano a poetry of Epicureanism, which separated from his Christian beliefs. Catullus had a certain role in the complex process in which some humanists distanced themselves from the moral precepts and doctrines of Christianity" ("Petrus," 195).

⁹Wilson's careful edition of Navagero, suggests that Catullus was perhaps not the most notable influence on his poetry, since he only cites a handful of quotations.

¹⁰Boscán quotes Catullus in his dedicatory poem to the Duquesa de Soma in lines 1-2

"¿A quién daré mis amorosos verso, / que pretenden amor, con virtud junto, / y desean también mostrars' hermosos?" (ll. 1-2, 45). Also in the "Octava rima" he quotes Bembo's "Ottava rima" and praises Catullus: "Ésta hizo que aquel gran Veronés, / por su Lesbia cantase dulcemente" (lines 593-94, 394). I note these quotations because they are further evidence of Boscán's knowledge of Catullus's

poetry both directly and indirectly through his reading of the Italian contemporaries and Garcilaso.

¹¹See Morros and Heiple who place Luigi Tansillo in the service of don Pedro de Toledo, and not in the company of the Academy. B. Morros's introduction is the most complete overview of Garcilaso's years in Naples. See also Mele's article on the original documents. Many Italian biographical dictionaries give partial information about many of these poets. No complete study of the Neapolitan Academy of the 1530's exists.

¹²See Carlos José Hernando Sánchez who portrays the rivalry between D'Avalos and Pedro de Toledo. He also notes Tansillo's close ties to the Vice King as his propaganda spokesman, a role not shared with Garcilaso. See also "Titian and the Commander: A Renaissance Artist and his Patron," October 4, 2005-February 5, 2006. <http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/titian/index.html>. See Francesco Fiorentino "María d'Aragon, Marquesa D'Avalos," *Studi e retratti Della rinascenza* (Bari, 1911), 154-91; and more recently Angelora Brunelle Di Risio, *Il Palazzo d'Avalos in Vasto* (Pescara: Carsa, 1990).

¹³See Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, "Parthénope ¿tan lejos de su tierra? Garcilaso de la Vega y la poesía de la Corte en Nápoles" that traces carefully Garcilaso's actions with regard to don Pedro de Toledo. He argues that don Luis de Toledo, don Pedro's son was particularly interested in the Neapolitan Academy's intellectual life.

¹⁴See Tobia R. Toscano's "Due 'allievi' di Vittoria Colonna: Luigi Tansillo e Alfonso d'Avalos," (*Critica Letteraria*, 16:4 (1988): pp. 739-73).

¹⁵Rivers writes: "La clasificación más antigua, y por ende más respetable, dependía directamente de las formas métricas ... cada categoría con su complicada forma estrófica muy particular. Yo saco en consecuencia que predominaban antiguamente conceptos de comunicación puramente acústica. Pero en el s. XVI los humanistas pensaban casi siempre en textos escritos: en primer lugar, las odas, epodas, sátiras y epístolas de Horacio, con las églogas pastoriles de Virgilio, las *Heroidas* y otras elegías de Ovidio, Tibulo Propertio, con los versos variados de Catulo... Este era el corpus principal, el conjunto de modelos que servía para la invención de la poesía no épica, la poesía lírica renacentista, fusión de lo clásico con lo petrarquista" (Rivers "Problema," 51). He gives greater prominence, rightly so, to Horace as had Guillén and Menéndez Pelayo.

¹⁶The principal documentary evidence is Scipione Capece's dedication letter (Gallego Morell *Documentos* 170).

¹⁷For Ludwig, Catullus was for the Italian humanist the only model in the 15th century comparable to Petrarch's *Rimas*. Only Catullus and the Latin elegists who imitated him celebrated the chaste love of a poet and his *domina* or lady ("Petrus," 173). In other words the celebration of the beloved had Catullus as a model.

¹⁸Alcina notes today that one model is inherently flawed because it stagnates the productive possibilities, and thus poets like Poliziano and Pontano had suggested other models (353).

¹⁹Gallego Morell notes that Vázquez del Mármol had advised El Brocense to eliminate all the unnecessary citations and El Brocense writes: “Yo hice lo que Vuestra Merced mandó, que no solamente no puse sonetos ni encomios al principio: pero aun de las Anotaciones quité lo que pude, como aquella de Virgilio ... porque aunque es muy curiosa, y lugar nunca entendido, mejor está entre los muchos que yo tengo deste jaez, que yo sé que en Italia serán bien estimados” (20-21). El Brocense also notes that in Italy many of the Classical references were well known and will be acknowledged by learned readers.

²⁰See Gaisser who emphasizes Catullus’s presence in the Neapolitan Academy at the end of the 15th century. She notes Scaliger’s studies at the end of the 16th century, and I note the almost certain influence of Scaliger on Herrera’s critical ideas.

²¹Scaliger wrote his commentaries in 1577, but O’Connor cites the 1582 edition.

²²See *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* that states that the hendecasyllable was chiefly associated with Catullus and that English derivations of the metric form are usually imitations of Catullus (515). I wish to thank Prof. Rivers who writes to me: “The Classical hendecasyllable was associated with the Italian hendecasyllable, but they are really quite different. But the Italian and Spanish hendecasyllable are virtually identical (as is the English iambic pentameter.”

²³Keniston in particular emphasizes the great admiration Scipione Capece had for Garcilaso (“*Garcilasse illustris atque doctissime*,” 312). And he notes the influence of Catullus on Garcilaso in his analysis of the Latin ode “*Sedes ad cyprias Venus*”: “El tema de Atis y la Magna Mater se encuentran en Catulo, al que Garcilaso quizá leyese, y era favorito de los poetas alejandrinos” (319-20). His analysis ends with a less enthusiastic remark: “un fabricante de pastiches anacreónticos” (320), but he includes the positive evaluation of Garcilaso as one of the few humanists accepted by his Italian counterparts on equal terms (321).

²⁴All the Catullus translations are mine based on *Poesía Completa*, Trans. Juan Manuel Rodríguez Tobal, (Madrid: Hiperión, 1993).

²⁵*Parergon* is a rhetorical term used in Pliny, that refers to excessive embellishment or ornamental addition, and *OED* explains it is now in rare use. Herrera earlier in his commentary explained “Tal dizen que es en aquel maravilloso epitalamio de Catulo la pintura de Ariadne. Esta es parébasis, que los latinos dizen digresión o escurso, como la define Quintiliano. ... También es parergo, que ocupa la mayor parte de la égloga” (Herrera 863).

²⁶Other examples of Classical *epyllia* exist, but these two examples have a greater correspondence in theme and imagery than other well known examples. I agree with the large majority of critics on Garcilaso’s classical education to be above the normal Spanish courtier, but not at the level of learned humanists.

²⁷Fernández Morera’s study of the eclogues notes the linear detail and the vividness that Cat. 64 shares with the “Third Eclogue” as well (106).

²⁸I would like to thank Julia Gaisser for her observation on this point in relation to Renaissance understanding of classical poetry.

²⁹For a discussion on the rivalry between Tamayo de Vargas and Herrera see the first chapter of Juan Montero's, *La Controversia sobre las Anotaciones herrerianas* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1987).

³⁰I have changed the normal Roman numeral to common English usage of Arabic numerals.

³¹For example Flaminio (1498-1550) has an epigram entitled "*Ad Hieronymum Seripandum*" (194) and another "*Ad Marium Galeotam*" (226). Also Girolamo Borgia in his collection has poems with similar titles dedicated to G. Caracciola and C. Scipione.

³²Ruiz Sánchez's *Confectum carmine* dedicates an important chapter to stress the *nugae* as a coherent grouping where friendship is placed above amorous love.

³³See Bembo's commentary (Gallego Morell *Documentos*, 168-69).

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