

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

HORACE

ODES

BOOK IV

AND CARMEN
SAECULARE

EDITED BY RICHARD F. THOMAS

CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

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CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Map</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
1 Horace's literary career	1
2 The date of <i>Odes</i> 4	5
3 Structural patterns	7
4 Thematic patterns	9
5 Poetry and propaganda	10
6 Reluctant praise	13
7 Pindar, Callimachus and aesthetic contestations	20
Text and sigla	24
Q. HORATI FLACCI CARMEN SAECVLARE	27
Q. HORATI FLACCI CARMINVM LIBER QVARTVS	33
Commentary on <i>Carmen saeculare</i>	53
Commentary on <i>Odes</i> IV	85
<i>Appendix 1 The Secular Games</i>	271
<i>Appendix 2 Acta of the Augustan Secular Games of 17 BCE (lines 90–168)</i>	274
<i>Appendix 3 The Sibylline Oracle for the Secular Games of 17 BCE</i>	277
<i>Bibliography</i>	279
<i>Indexes</i>	289
1. Latin words	289
2. General	290

PREFACE

This commentary has been some time in the making, in part thanks to recurring administrative duties. That has perhaps been for the good, in that my thinking about the poems included has evolved in what I hope will prove to be productive ways. The *Carmen saeculare* and book 4 of the *Odes* are not easy to situate in their political and aesthetic contexts. Fundamental issues of tone, purpose and meaning are still under debate, in spite of the fact that the Horace of the 30s and 20s BCE has seemed perhaps the most familiar of the Augustans. The poems of *C.* 4 have seemed at the same time, to many readers, to represent a falling away from the first collection. It has therefore been useful to spend some time, while engaged on other projects to which inclination or duty consigned me, to reflect about these poems, which have to me become more interesting as I kept their company.

It has been my fate now for the second time to be completing a commentary on the same text on which other commentaries were imminent or recently published. I received the Italian commentary of Paolo Fedeli and Irma Ciccarelli (*Q. Horatii Flacci Carmina: Liber IV*, Florence 2008), after I had finished a penultimate draft of my commentary. At the same time Philip Hills generously sent me an electronic copy of his impressive 2002 Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation on *Odes* 4.1, 2, 10, 11, 15. I have consulted both but ended up not really noticing either, in large part through a concern that the commentary was getting somewhat detailed for the present series, particularly since the size of the two commentaries in question was considerably greater than mine. Fedeli and Ciccarelli usefully give full references to secondary literature before the commentary on each poem, where I have been more selective. Hills sees in *Odes* 4 a much greater presence of Ennius than has previously been detected. As appears to be the case with my *Georgics* commentary (Cambridge 1988) and that of Sir Roger Mynors (Oxford 1990), it is my hope that the two commentaries on *Odes* 4 now available, and the third soon to be available, will be of use to students and scholars, who have been without modern commentaries for so long.

I acknowledge support from the Loeb Classical Library Foundation for financial help that enabled my first full year's leave in 2006–7, particularly since I was therefore able to take up a Visiting Fellowship, in Michaelmas, 2006, in the stimulating surroundings of All Souls College, Oxford, which housed, fed and entertained me in the hours I was not working exclusively on the commentary in the equally interesting setting of the Lower Reading Room of the Bodleian. I am particularly grateful to Dean of Visiting Fellows, Jim Adams, for help, encouragement and friendship towards a fellow antipodean. Over the years I have received generous help and suggestions from friends and colleagues too numerous to recall, but I mention a few who read and reacted to the commentary in a complete draft in 2008–9. For their the vigilance, intelligence and

generosity I thank, again, Jim Adams, Stephen Harrison, Philip Hardie, John Henderson, Peter Knox, John D. Morgan and David Ross, who read the entire commentary. Nicholas Horsfall helped with comments on the *Carmen saeculare*. As a result of this assistance the commentary is changed from what each of them then received, here and there doubtless in ways of which any given one of them might not approve. Lizzie Mitchell, who read parts of a draft, also sent me her excellent Cambridge M. Phil. thesis (to which I refer sparingly ahead of publication plans), while Tom Zanker gave good comments on a draft of the *Carmen saeculare* commentary. David Kovacs commented on a draft of C. 4.8, on which he subsequently published an interesting article, included in my bibliography. At a workshop on commentaries held at Corpus Christi College Oxford, on 14 March, 2009, I was fortunate to receive helpful reactions to my commentary on C. 4.15 from Stephen Heyworth, Gregory Hutchinson, Bruce Gibson, Robert Maltby and others who spoke at that event. The book has been much improved by the expert, perceptive and thorough copy-editing of Andrew Dyck. Thanks are also due to Tom Keeline, whose proofreading led to a number of improvements. Finally, my deep gratitude to my wife, Joan Thomas, for reading the entire commentary, and for her support throughout its composition, as throughout all else.

17 May 2010

R. F. T.

ABBREVIATIONS

In abbreviating I generally follow the practice of the *OCD*. H.'s works are cited as *AP* (*Ars Poetica*), *C.* (*Odes*), *CS* (*Carmen saeculare*), *Epod.* (*Epodes*), *Epist.* (*Epistles*), *S.* (*Satires*). In citations of individual lines from *C.* 1–3, 'C.' is generally omitted (e.g. 'cf. 2.3.14; 3.1.4'), while 'C. 4' is omitted in citations from that book (e.g. 'cf. 5.6–7, 10.4'). '22' means 'see p. 22', and refers to the introduction of this volume, while 'see 5 intro.' means 'see the Introduction to *C.* 4.5'.

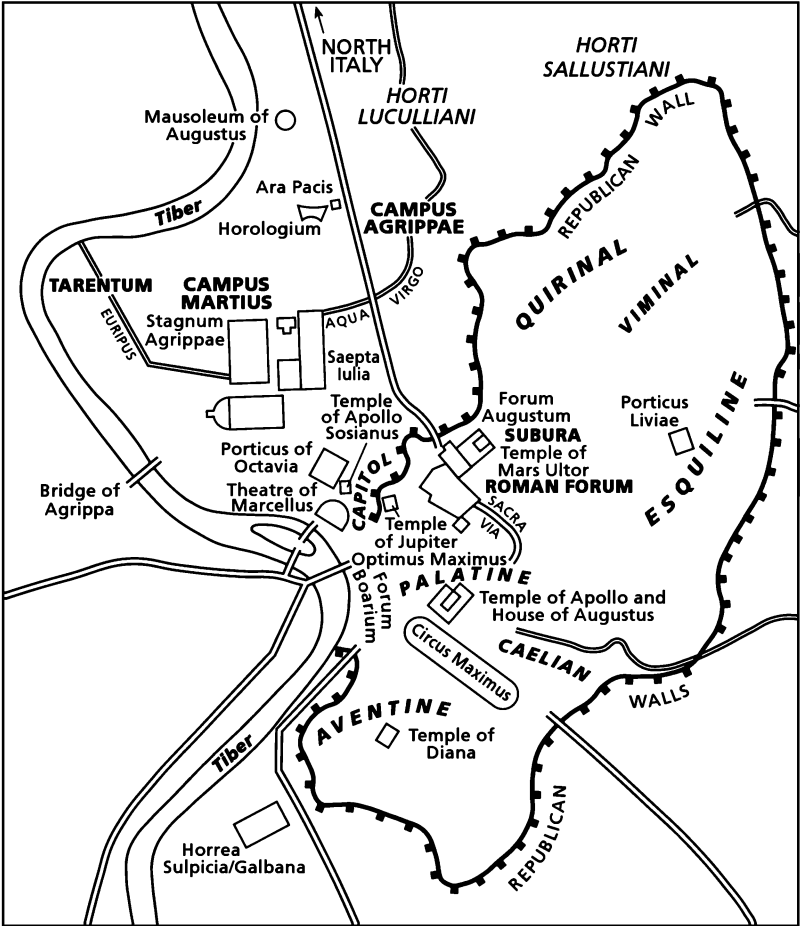
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Adams | J. N. Adams, <i>The Latin sexual vocabulary</i> (London 1982). |
| <i>AE</i> | <i>L'Année épigraphique</i> (Paris 1888–). |
| Axelson | B. Axelson, <i>Unpoetische Wörter. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache</i> (Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund 29, Lund 1945). |
| <i>BA</i> | <i>Barrington atlas of the Greek and Roman world</i> , ed. R. J. A. Talbert (Princeton and Oxford 2000). |
| Bentley | R. Bentley, <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus</i> , 3rd edn., 2 vols. (Berlin 1869). |
| BNP | M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, <i>Religions of Rome. Volume 1. A history</i> (Cambridge 1998). |
| Bo | D. Bo, <i>Lexicon Horatianum</i> , 2 vols. (Hildesheim 1965–66). |
| <i>Brill's New Pauly</i> | H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds. <i>Brill's New Pauly: encyclopaedia of the ancient world</i> (Leiden 2002–2010). |
| Brink | C. O. Brink, <i>Horace on poetry</i> , 3 vols. (Cambridge 1963–82). |
| <i>CAH</i> | A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin, A. Lintott, eds. <i>Cambridge ancient history</i> , Volume X: The Augustan empire, 43 B.C. – A.D. 69, 2nd edn. (Cambridge 2008). |
| Chantraine | P. Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> , 4 vols. in 5 (Paris 1968–80). |
| <i>CIL</i> | <i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin 1863–). |
| Clausen | W. V. Clausen, <i>Virgil, Eclogues</i> (Oxford 1994). |
| <i>CLE</i> | F. Bücheler and E. Lommatzsch, eds. <i>Carmina Latina epigraphica</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig 1895–1926). |
| Courtney | E. Courtney, <i>The fragmentary Latin poets</i> (Oxford 1993). |
| EJ | V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, <i>Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i> , 2nd edn. (Oxford 1967). |

- EO* *Enciclopedia Oraziana* (Rome 1996–8).
- EV* *Enciclopedia Vergiliana* (Rome 1984–91).
- Ernout-Meillet A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, 4th ed. rev. J. André (Paris 1985).
- Fraenkel E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957).
- FGrH* F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden 1923–).
- Gildersleeve and Lodge B. Gildersleeve and G. Lodge, *Latin Grammar*, 3rd edn. (London 1971).
- G–P A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic epigrams*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1965).
- Hofmann J. B. Hofmann, *La lingua d'uso latina*, expanded by L. Ricottilli, 3rd edn. (Bologna 2003).
- Hollis A. S. Hollis, *Fragments of Roman poetry c. 60 BC–AD 20* (Oxford 2007).
- ILLRP* A. Degrassi, ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae* (Florence 1957–63).
- ILS* H. Dessau, ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1892–1916).
- Johnson T. S. Johnson, *A symposium of praise. Horace returns to lyric in Odes IV* (Madison 2004).
- Keller-Holder O. Keller and A. Holder, eds. *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Leipzig 1899).
- K–H A. Kiessling and R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus*, 7th edn. 3 vols. (Berlin 1930).
- K–S R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 4th edn., rev. A. Thierfelder, 2 vols. (Hannover 1962).
- L–H–S M. Leumann, J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik II. Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich 1965).
- LIMC* *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 18 vols. (Zurich 1981–99).
- LGNP* P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds. *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987–).
www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/index.html
- LTUR* E. M. Steinby, ed. *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 6 vols. (Rome 1993–9).
- Löfstedt E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica. Studien und Beiträge zur historischen Syntax des Lateins*, 2 vols. (Lund 1956).
- Maltby R. Maltby, *A lexicon of ancient Latin etymologies* (Leeds 1991).

- Mankin D. Mankin, *Horace Epodes* (Cambridge 1995).
- McKeown J. C. McKeown, *Ovid: Amores. Text, prolegomena and commentary in four volumes* (Liverpool and Leeds 1987-).
- N-H R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A commentary on Horace: Odes Book I, II* (Oxford 1970, 1978).
- N-R R. G. M. Nisbet and N. Rudd, *A commentary on Horace: Odes Book III* (Oxford 2004).
- N-W F. Neue and C. Wagener, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 3rd edn., 4 vols., (Berlin 1892-1905).
- Orelli J. K. Orelli et al., eds., *Q. Horatius Flaccus*, 4th edn. (Hildesheim-New York 1975; orig. Berlin 1886-92).
- Page T. E. Page, *Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum Libri IV, Epodon Liber* (Glasgow 1895).
- Pasquali G. Pasquali, *Orazio lirico* (Florence 1920).
- PHI Packard Humanities Institute, CD ROM 5.3 c. 1991
- Pighi G. B. Pighi, *De ludis saecularibus populi Romani Quiritium libri sex* (Amsterdam 1965).
- PIR *Prosopographia imperii Romani*, 2nd edn. (Berlin and Leipzig 1933-).
- Porph. *Pomponii Porphyronis Commentum in Horatium Flaccum*, ed. A. Holder (Innsbruck 1894).
- POxy. *The Oxyrhynchus papyri* (London 1898-).
- ps.-Acro *Pseudacronis Scholia in Horatium vetustiora*, ed. O. Keller, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1902, 1904 (repr. Stuttgart 1952-4)).
- Putnam M. C. J. Putnam, *Artifices of eternity. Horace's fourth book of Odes* (Ithaca 1986).
- Quinn K. Quinn, *Horace: The Odes* (Basingstoke 1980).
- Race W. H. Race, ed. and trans. *Pindar*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA and London 1997).
- RE G. Wissowa, ed. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1893-1980).
- RIC H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *Roman imperial coinage I*, 2nd edn. (London 1984).
- Richardson L. Richardson, Jr., *A new topographical dictionary of ancient Rome* (Baltimore and London 1992).
- ROL E. H. Warmington, ed. and trans. *Remains of Old Latin*, 4 vols. (London 1956-61).
- Schnegg-Köhler B. Schnegg-Köhler, *Die augusteischen Säkularspiele* (Archiv für Religionsgeschichte 4, Munich 2002).

- Shackleton Bailey D. R. Shackleton Bailey, ed. *Q. Horati Flacci opera* (Stuttgart 1985, 3rd edn., 1995).
- Syndikus H. P. Syndikus, *Die Lyrik des Horaz: eine Interpretation der Oden*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt 1972–73).
- Thomas R. F. Thomas, *Virgil, Georgics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1988).
- TLL* *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (Leipzig and Munich 1900–).
- Tränkle H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Propertius und die Tradition der lateinischen Dichtersprache* (Hermes Einzelschriften 10, Wiesbaden 1960).
- VT* J. M. Ziolkowski and M. C. J. Putnam, eds. *The Virgilian tradition. The first fifteen hundred years* (New Haven 2008).
- Walde-Hofman A. Walde and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols., 4th edn. (Heidelberg 1982).
- Watson L. C. Watson, *A commentary on Horace Epodes* (Oxford 2003).
- West M. L. West, *Greek metre* (Oxford 1982).
- Wickham E. C. Wickham, *The works of Horace*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1891–6).
- Wilkinson L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin artistry* (Cambridge 1963).
- Wills J. Wills, *Repetition in Latin poetry. Figures of allusion* (Oxford 1996).
- Woodcock E. C. Woodcock, *A new Latin syntax* (London 1959).

MAP



Horace's Rome

1.4 AND 4.7

Housman considered it ‘the most perfect poem in the Latin language’ – the basis for its opening words’ becoming the leitmotif of Tom Stoppard’s play *The Invention of Love*. For La Penna 1969: 77 it was ‘la regina delle odi oraziane’. Many critics have inevitably been led to compare it to 1.4, whose diction, themes and movements are in a close intratextual relationship. Woodman 1972: 752 notes that ‘scholars seem to take a particular delight in letting us know which is their favourite’, then proceeds to do so himself, finding 1.4 superior because it is in his view more unified – not itself necessarily the only criterion for an ode of H., whatever Philodemus may or may not have thought (754, n. 3).

There can be little doubt that the two poems have a strong relationship to each other, but they have quite distinct dynamics and effects. Each poem begins with winter dissolving into spring and ends with reflection on the inevitability of death. But, simply on the level of diction, there is much in common:

1.4		4.7	
1	uice	3	uices
5	choros ducit	6	ducere . . . choros
6	iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae	5	Gratia cum Nymphis
13	pauperum	15	diues
14	regum	15	Aeneas . . . Tullus . . . Ancus
15	uitae summa	17	hodiernae . . . summae
	spem	7	speres
16	nos	14	nos
17	quo simul mearis	21	cum semel occideris
17	quo	15	quo . . . quo

Whatever the relative merits, 4.7 is the more complex and intricate poem, particularly in the way it fails to sustain the sharp separation between reflection on spring and the seasons on the one hand and the inevitability of death on the other. H.’s intratextuality aids in precisely permitting this violation of unity and normative writing, since the reader knows what is coming anyway, once the traces of 1.4 are recognized. The poem opens (1–4) with a single thought, iterated by an accumulation of detail: the snows have gone, grass appears on the plains, foliage on the trees, the earth’s appearance is changed and rivers flow less rapidly. No season is mentioned, but it is spring, late spring given the last detail. Elaboration comes through the most extensive intratext with 1.4: it is warm enough for the Graces and Nymphs to dance naked (5–6 in both poems). But where 1.4.7–8 stayed with the celebratory mood, things have changed in the corresponding lines of 4.7, which rather give strong intimations of mortality, with the indirect command after *monet* that speaks of the inevitability of death preceding the basis for those intimations (*immortalia ne speres monet annus . . .*). The elaboration of that basis (the remorseless cycling of the seasons) is only revealed in the course of the next quatrain (9–12), where each season is named (*uer . . . aestas . . . autumnus . . . bruma*), with winter framing the whole (9 *frigora* | 12 *bruma . . . iners*).

Far from constituting an ‘absence of convincing cohesion’ (Woodman 1972: 756–7), all this is part of the poem’s play with our reading of it in its own right, as well as against our prior reading of 1.4 and other texts. In the next stanza (13–16) we encounter further disruptions of unity, as *tamen* functions almost as the poem’s pivot, looking back to what precedes (and yet the seasons renew themselves) but also anticipating what follows (we, however, are dust and shadow). With the words *pius Aeneas*, Virgil is once again and inevitably brought into play. The quatrain at 17–20 delicately leads into the *carpe diem* theme, with a strong marker to the most prominent poem in that subgenre (2.14; see 19–20n.). This in turn leads to another (21–24), shifting the focus to the addressee, now Torquatus rather than us (see 7n.), as H. rewrites Catullus (see 21n.) to communicate the inevitability of that man’s death, for all his breeding, eloquence and *pietas* – again alluding to Virgil. The poem ends with an epigram, invoking failed catabases of myth to prove the point. Diana could not save Hippolytus, nor could Theseus rescue Pirithous.

The connection with Simonides (mentioned in the lyric catalogue at 9.7, and alluded to at 6.9–12; see n.) has long been noted (Cataudella 1927–8, though at least one fragment was already noted by K–H), particularly *Eleg.* 19–20 West², already connected with H. on the basis of Stob. 4.34.28 before the appearance of *POxy.* 3965 fr. 26, which has at least four different lines before the start of fr. 20. The fragments are themselves also ostentatiously intertextual:

ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔειπεν ἀνὴρ·
 ‘οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν’·
 παῦροί μιν θνητῶν οὔασι δεξάμενοι
 στέρνοις ἐγκατέθεντο· πάρεστι γὰρ ἐλπίς ἐκάστωι
 ἀνδρῶν, ἥ τε νέων στήθεσιν ἐμφύεται.

fr. 19.1–6 West

‘and this was the best thing the man of Chios ever said “As the generation of leaves, so is that of men”. Few mortals having heard it with their ears have deposited it within their breasts. For hope is present with each man, hope which grows in the hearts of the young’ (tr. Campbell, *Eleg.* 8.1–6).

θνητῶν δ’ ὄφρα τις ἄνθος ἔχηι πολυήρατον ἡβης,
 κοῦφον ἔχων θυμὸν πόλλ’ ἀτέλεστα νοεῖ·
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐλπίδ’ ἔχει γηρασέμεν οὔτε θανεῖσθαι,
 οὐδ’ ὑγιῆς ὄταν ἦι, φροντίδ’ ἔχει καμάτου.
 νήπιοι, οἷς ταύτηι κείται νόος, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν
 ὡς χρόνος ἔσθ’ ἡβης καὶ βίотου ὀλίγος
 θνητοῖς. ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα μαθῶν βιότου ποτὶ τέμμα
 ψυχῆι τῶν ἀγαθῶν τλῆθι χαριζόμενος.

fr. 20.5–12 West

'as long as a mortal has the lovely flower of youth, he ponders with light heart many impossibles; for he neither expects to grow old or die, nor when he is healthy does he worry about illness. Fools, to think like that and not realise that mortals' time for youth and life is brief: you must take note of this, and since you are near the end of your life endure, indulging yourself with good things' (tr. Campbell, *Eleg.* 8.6–13).

Oates 1932: 76–90 has a good discussion of the connections, while Barchiesi 1996: 33–7 sees the presence of Simonides not just in this poem, but generally in 6, 8 and 9, which he sees 7 as 'interrupting'. The multiplicity of intertexts makes it difficult to isolate a single source, and Barchiesi himself discusses the presence of Homer, Mimnermus, Theocritus and others (see 17–20n.). On the Latin side, Catullus 5 is prominent, in meaningful ways rather than, as Woodman 1972: 761 and n.2 puts it, having 'the appearance of being a careless series of borrowings'. Putnam 142 sees a reference to Cat. 46.1–3 *iam uer egelidos refert tepores* etc., but this seems more remote, since the single focus on spring in that poem creates a very different mood.

Traina 1997: 402–4 explores some of the Virgilian connections (see 15, 25–6nn.). Dyer 1965 sees ideological undercutting but ultimately, as an alternative to the problematic political world, private joy that comes through a focus on the theme of *carpe diem* (1n.). The third triad of the book opens with the arrival of spring, as H. moves away from the world of Drusus, Augustus and the *Carmen saeculare*, back into the personal and private lyric world.

1–4 Receding snow (*diffugere niues*) is accompanied by the return of vegetation (*redeunt* . . . *gramina*). Although they are part of the same process of seasonal change, the opening verbs (*diffugere* | *redeunt*) capture and anticipate the contrasting themes of the poem, nature's eternal return and the flight of human time. The stanza moves from the specific (snow, grass, foliage) to the encapsulating general (*mutat terra uices*), then back to the specific (rivers, banks), *terra* also forming a contrast with *flumina*. Woodman 1972: 756 found fault with this orchestration, as with the stanza in general, finding *mutat terra uices* to be a cliché. *uices* (-em) *mutare* is not found before H. (frequently enough after; cf. *TLL* s.v. *muto* 1727.75–81); nor does Woodman's citation of Hirzel's choice of *mutauere uices* (following the *TLL*) for the clearly correct *mutauere uias* at Virg. *G.* 1.418 change that fact. The very simplicity of the words, as of the syntax, of this stanza creates a series of vivid vignettes. Each couplet mirrors the other with the opening utterances metrically equivalent and rhyming, each then followed by a more complex enjambed clause, one dealing in chiasmic, the other in enclosing word order – *simplex munditiis*, one could say.

Diffugere niues: the verb, used absolutely with subjects from the physical world, is a favourite of Lucr.: 1.761, 762 *fulmina*; 1103 *moenia mundi*; 2.457–8 *fumus, nebulae, flammae*; 3.121–2 *calor*; 6.231–2 *uina*; also of mental states (as in H. at 1.18.4 *diffugiunt sollicitudines*): Lucr. 3.16 *animi terrores*; 254–5 *animai* | . . . *partes*; see *TLL* s.v.

diffugio 1106.57–68. Dyer 1965 suggests a reference to the opening at 1.2.1–2 and its larger political context (see intro.): *Iam satis terris n̄uis atque dirae | grandinis misit Pater*. N–H in their intro. note to 1.4 point to the relationship between C. 1.4 and Lucr. 5.737–40, and it is clear Lucretian intertextuality continues here.

Diffugere . . . redeunt: the antithesis is only apparent with the two verbs referring to the same thing (the arrival of spring). Perhaps a reference to the less rhetorically loaded opening of 1.4 *soluitur . . . trahuntque* – both verbs also fronted in their clauses.

redeunt: the return of spring grass and leaves recalls other returns, that of Augustus at 2.43 and particularly at the beginning of 5 (cf. 5.3–4n.). Cf. also 12 *recurrat*, 13 *reparant* of nature but 23–4 *non . . . restituet* of Torquatus, and us.

gramina campis | arboribusque comae: chiasmus. Cf. 1.39–40 *per gramina Martii | Campi*; AP 162 *aprici gramine Campi*, distinct in that they both refer more specifically to the Campus Martius. Virgil has *gramineum in campum* at *Aen.* 5.287. For *comae*, see 3.10–11n.

mutat terra uices ‘the earth goes through changes’; cf. 1.4.1 *grata uice ueris et Fauoni*; see 1–4n. H. avoids the regular term for ‘change of seasons’, *temporum uices*, which occurs exclusively in prose (and will not go into the hexameter). Apul. *Mun.* 29 *sol . . . IV temporum uices mutat* looks to those usages, rather than to H.

praetereunt: a pregnant usage, in the view of Porph.: the rivers *pass by* their banks and therefore do not overflow them.

5–8 A very different stanza, with the continuation of the springtime picture interrupted at mid-point by reflection on mortality, even before the fully cyclical nature of the year, the basis for such reflection, has been revealed (in 7–12).

5 Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus: Nymphs and the Graces seem to appear together only in H.; cf. 1.4.6–7 *iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes | alterno terram quatunt pede*; 1.30.5–6 *feruidus tecum puer et solutis | Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae*; 3.19.16–17 *Gratia | nudis iuncta sororibus*. The Graces, daughters of Eurynome, are named by Hesiod (*Theog.* 909 Ἀγλαΐην τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην Θεαλίην τ’ ἔρατεινήν) but are not much individualized thereafter, in Latin notably in Seneca, quoting Hesiod (*Ben.* 1.3.6). Θεαλία is not to be confused (as she is in the *OLD*) with the metrically distinct Muse Θάλεια. H.’s *Gratia* here almost has the look of an individual’s name, as it will come to be in its English translation.

6 ducere . . . chorus: cf. 1.4.5 *iam Cytherea chorus ducit*.

nuda: goes closely with *audet*: with the weather warming they now venture to dance naked. The epithet is also consistent with the iconography, as they are naked in Hellenistic and Roman art: *LIMC* III 2 s.v. *Charis, Charites, Gratiae* 1–139 (the Greek *Charites* are clothed, albeit lightly).

7 immortalia ne speres: indirect command, emphatic in position and abrupt in the transition it brings, but not surprising once the reader recognizes the parallel with 1.4 (e.g. 15 *uitae summa brevis spem nos uetat incohare longam*), on which see intro.

immortalia functions as an abstract noun.

ne speres monet ‘warns you not to hope for’. The address seems to be to the reader, who would be the subject of *speres*, as of *dederis* (20) and even *occideris* (21), but at 23 (*Torquate*) the reader must change the identification, at least for *occideris*, while for *speres* and *dederis* the ambiguity lingers. The effect is similar, but on a larger scale, to that of 1.9.1 *Vides ut alta stet niue candidum . . . ?* 5–8 *dissolue . . . o Thaliarche*; likewise 4.9.1 *Ne forte credas . . .* 30–3 *non ego te . . . silebo . . . Lolli*. C. 3.24.1–8 is a special case, unique in the *Odes*, of an unidentified addressee: *licet occupes . . . non . . . expeditis*; but in that poem the speaker’s voice is throughout strongly didactic and moralizing, so that the didactic addressee is generically familiar. In no other ode is there any such ambiguity, rather the identification by name or otherwise (e.g. 3.8.5 *docte sermone utriusque linguae*, i.e. 13 *Maecenas*) is always made in the sentence in which the verb occurs. The effect in the present poem is clearly to universalize and to implicate the reader in the inevitability of death, one of the powerful themes of this poem. In 1.27.1 8 (*tollite . . . prohibete . . . impium | lenite clamorem, sodales*) the plural and the obviously sympotic setting prevent confusion as to the identity. In 2.5.1 the addressee is clearly an acquaintance of the speaker: *Nondum subacta ferre iugum*.

7–8 annus . . . | hora diem: the accumulation gives a strong sense of the passage of time. Bold phrasing, with the image of the day being seized off by its constituent elements (*hora*), and with *rapit* opposed to and cancelling *alnum* (*alo*).

alnum: used of day with particular reference to the *light* of day and its nourishing effects, for which cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8.17 *‘nascere praeque diem ueniens age, Lucifer, alnum’*; *Aen.* 5.64–5 *si nona diem mortalibus alnum | Aurora extulerit*. Cf. also CS 9–10 *alme Sol curru nitido diem qui | promissis*; 4.39–41 *pulcher fugatis | ille dies Latio tenebris | qui primus alma risit adorea*.

rapit: common in contexts of mortality and in epitaphs, where death typically ‘snatches off’ (see 2.21n.), but here more strikingly of the personified hour’s snatching away the day, a unique expression.

9–12 See intro. on the shape of the stanza, which is both an expansion and a contraction of the opening four lines; its first three words go back to the return of spring, but now as a prelude to tracking with exquisite concision the entire cycle of the seasons. The balance of the first line iconically suggests continuity from winter through spring to summer, while *simul* and *et mox* establish parallel movements from summer to autumn then from autumn to winter respectively. The whole movement is perhaps imitated at *Laus Pisonis* 149–51 *cessat hiems, madidos et siccata uere capillos; | uer fugit aestates; aestatum terga lacessit | pomifer autumnus, nauibus cessurus et undis*.

9 A very mannered line, consisting of two autonomous parts (NVN, NVN) which at the same time interact with each other: the line is framed by the antonyms, winter’s cold (*frigora*) and summer (*aestas*), while it is centred around and encloses quasi-synonyms, spring and its breezes (*zephyris/uer*).

frigora ‘the cold (conditions of winter)’; winter itself will appear at the end of the cycle (12), so framing the entire stanza.

mitescunt: originally ‘become soft, juicy (and therefore “ripe”, of fruits)’; whence ‘soften, become mild’. Of natural forces first here and at Livy 23.19.1 *mitescente iam hieme*; see *TLL* s.v. *mitesco* 1146.14–27.

Zephyris: causal ablative. Cf. 12.1–2n.

proterit ‘tramples down, treads underfoot’; a striking figurative use, picked up by *recurrit*, and variation of the equally striking metaphor at 1.4.13 *pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede* etc.

10 interitura: emphatic in placement at line-beginning and colon-end, in implied contrast to *proterit*: ‘it too bound to die’. Although used of incorporeal things from Plautus on (*beneficium, oratio, salus* etc.; see *TLL* s.v. *intereo* 2187.31–56), first here of a season, which seems a more vivid use; cf. Sall. *Jug.* 106.3 *morbo interiturae uitae*.

11 pomifer: the word is not found before H., who twice uses it in a transferred sense, here modifying autumn, and similarly at 3.23.8 *pomifero . . . anno* (‘when the year is in its apple-bearing phase’). Except for Prop. 4.7.81 (*ramosis Anio qua pomifer incubat aruis*) it is otherwise found only in its conventional application, of trees. Eur. *Herc.* 396 has μηλοφόρος of leaves of the fruit-bearing tree.

effuderit: like *pomifer*, the verb is found first in H. in a transferred sense. As is clear from *TLL* s.v. *effundo* 222.42–53, the usage is an extension of the language of parturition (*OLD* s.v. 10 ‘of female animals, only contemptuously of women’) but normally it is the earth, or even a plant (*OLD* 10 b), that is the subject, rather than, as here, a season. H.’s passage is parallel in shared *iunctura* (*effundere fructus*) but distinct in view of the difference in subjects from the other instances at *TLL* s.v. *effundo* 218.3, such as Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.89 *effusis et dissipatis fructibus*.

12 bruma: original superlative of *brevis*: ‘the shortest day, winter solstice, mid-winter’ (de Vaan 2008: s.v. *brevis*, with bibliography of varying explanations of how the superlative may have come to be); cf. Varro *Ling.* 6.8 *dicta bruma quod breuissimus tunc dies est*.

recurrit: cf. *Epist.* 2.1.147 *libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos*.

iners ‘inactive, idle’, since nothing gets done in winter; grouped with *S.* 2.6.61 *somno et inertibus horis* at *TLL* s.v. *iners* 1310.84–1311.12: for 2.9.4–6 *nec . . . stat glacies iners | menses per omnes*, referring more to the material than the temporal aspect of winter ice, see *TLL* 1311.45–7.

13–14 ‘And yet (even if summer dies and winter comes running back: 9–12) the lunar cycles swiftly renew heaven’s losses (so spring and summer will return): but as for us . . .’ Peerlkamp emended *tamen* to *etiam*, since he saw no contrast between 9–12 on the one hand and 13 on the other – both seeming to deal with the cycle of the seasons. But this is clearly mistaken, and Woodman 1972: 759–60 rightly notes that *damna . . . reparant* refers to the recovery of summer, which is then contrasted with the unrecoverability of *human* seasons; for *tamen* thus anticipating a following adversative, cf. *OLD* s.v. 4.

damna . . . caelestia: i.e. the losses that accompany the cycling of the seasons, as observable from the sky. *caelestia* sets up a contrast with *decidimus*. It is

tempting to see the *damna* as exclusively the waning of the moon (as at *TLL* s.v. *damnum* 27.5–7; *OLD* s.v. 2b – significantly neither includes H., which would be the first attestation), but the sense of seasonal, rather than simply monthly, change suggests a broader set of celestial renewals, particularly of the loss associated with winter and the renewal that comes with spring and summer.

14 nos ubi: the fronting of *nos*, through postposition of *ubi*, lends emphasis, and contrast with what preceded. Cf. the allusion to Catullus 5.4–6 (intro. and 21–2n.): *soles occidere et redire possunt: | nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux, | nox est perpetua una dormienda*. In Cat. *nobis* naturally refers to the poet and Lesbia (1–3 *uiuamus, mea Lesbia, . . . amemus . . . aestimemus*), while in H. it refers to the poet, the reader and the as yet unencountered Torquatus (see intro. and 7n.).

decidimus: like leaves from a tree (11–12), anticipating the more emphatic compound at 21 *occideris*.

15 pius Aeneas: the epithet points unavoidably to the *Aeneid*: ‘when we go down to where pious Aeneas went’ brings to mind the catabasis of *Aen.* 6 (see also 25–6n.), motivated as it was by the *pietas* of Aeneas towards his father; cf. 24 *pietas*, immediately before unsuccessful attempts to rescue from the Underworld. But when we get to wealthy Tullus and Ancus, Aeneas becomes, like them, just a figure of history, a mortal of the past, who also went down in death, his *pietas* no more effective at evading the inevitability of death than was Tullus’ wealth. The line is a pointed questioning of the myth of Julian and Augustan divinity, an effective refutation of Jupiter’s promise to Venus at *Virg. Aen.* 1.259–60 *sublimemque ferēs ad sidera caeli | magnanimum Aenean*. Some editors prefer the reading *pater*, which works less well with *diues* (concessive, like *pius*).

Tullus et Ancus: the third and fourth kings of Rome, Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, also together before they emerge from the lower to the upper world at *Virg. Aen.* 6.812–16 *cui deinde subibit | otia qui rumpet patriae residesque mouebit | Tullus in arma uiros et iam desueta triumphis | agmina. quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus | nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris*.

diues: Tullus Hostilius was held to be from old money: *Dion. Hal.* 3.1 (of his grandfather, an Alban in the service of Romulus) ἀνὴρ εὐγενῆς καὶ χρήμασι δυνατὸς Ὀστίλιος ὄνομα (‘a noble and wealthy man called Hostilius’). The adjective also looks to 1.4.13–14 *pauperum tabernas | regumque turres*, where the point is made more explicitly: death comes to the taverns of the poor and the castles of kings, with *regum* now specified – and politicized: Aeneas, Tullus and Ancus.

16 puluis et umbra: Page notes *Soph. El.* 1158–9 (Electra thinks Orestes is dead) ἀντὶ φιλιτάτης | μορφῆς σποδὸν τε καὶ σκιὰν ἀνωφελῆ ‘instead of your dearest shape dust and useless shade’. These seem to be the only two instances of the expression in Greek and Latin literature and are something of an oddity in combining upper- (*puluis*) and underworld (*umbra*) concepts.

17–20 The brevity and uncertainty of life and the inevitability of death encourage spending one’s wealth. For uncertainty about the morrow, cf. 1.9.13 *quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere*. Oates 1932: 78 points to *Simonides*, fr. 32.1–2

Bergk (Campbell fr. 521.1–2), from the lament for the Scopadae, ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν μὴ ποτε φάσῃς ὅ τι γίνεταί αὐριον, | μηδ' ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ἄλβιον ὄσσον χρόνον ἔσσεται, 'since you are man, never say what will happen tomorrow, nor when you see a wealthy man how long he will be that way'. H. frequently expresses indignation at the prospect of an (unworthy) heir's enjoyment of his bequest; cf. 2.3.19–20 *extructis in altum | diuitiis potietur heres*; 2.14.25–8 *absumet heres Caecuba dignior | seruata centum clauibus et mero | tinget pauimentum superbo, | pontificum potiore cenis*; 3.24.61–2 *indignoque pecuniam | heredi proferet*; S. 2.3.122–3 *filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres, | dis inimice senex custodis?*; *Epist.* 1.5.13–14 (also addressed to Torquatus; see 23–4n.) *parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque seuerus | assidet insano*.

Shackleton Bailey notes of the lines: 'a nonnullis sine causa suspecti'. The wording *quis scit an* otherwise occurs only at *Ov. Her.* 10.85 (*quis scit an et fuluos tellus alat ista leones*), from a couplet athetized by Bentley. Woodman 1972: 766 is strongly hostile to the stanza, which seems perfectly in the manner of H.

hodiernae crastina: an effective juxtaposition.

adiciant: although in colloquial Latin and in prose the present subjunctive may be used in place of the future in indirect questions, it is preferable particularly where there is some marker of future time, as here with *crastina* (cf. K–S II 2.180–1; Woodcock 136–7), to take this as a real present: 'who knows whether they are (now) adding tomorrow's time to today's tally?' H. may also be imitating the present tense of Simon. fr. 32 Bergk (above) ὅ τι γίνεταί αὐριον 'what will happen tomorrow'. Cf. the future at 1.9.13 (above) *futurum sit*.

di superi: normally in the company of *di manes* or *inferi*: cf. *Epist.* 2.1.138 *carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes*. The latter will come in the first couplet of the next stanza (21 *Minos*).

manus auidas: for instances after H. (depending on the dating of *Livy* 5.20.6 *auidas in direptiones manus*), see *TLL* s.v. *auidus* 1427.25–34. In the only instance before H., the 'greedy hands' are those of Death: *Tib.* 1.3.4–5 *abstineas auidas, Mors, modo, nigra, manus. | abstineas, Mors atra, precor*. By transferring the hands to the heir who will profit from the death, H. seems to allude to, and transform, Tibullus. If so, he is therefore hardly to be accused of resorting to 'weak verbal cliché' (Woodman 1972: 766).

amico | quae dederis animo: as K–H noted, the wording is close both to Simon. 20.11–12 West? (see intro.), and *Theoc.* 16.24: ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ψυχᾶι, τὸ δὲ ποῦ τιμι δοῦναι ἑοιδῶν, 'to be generous to oneself, then perhaps to one of the poets'. *amico* = Gk. φίλωι, i.e. *tuo*.

21–2 cum semel occideris: cf. *Cat.* 5.5 *cum semel occidit brevis lux* (see intro.; 14n.), also 1.4.17 *quo simul mearis; on occido* ('die') see 4.70–2n.

splendida . . . arbitria: the adjective is paralleled by none of the examples given in *OLD* s.v. *splendidus* 3 ('(transf., often as a general compliment) Of shining quality, splendid, brilliant'), since we want to know why the *arbitria* are *splendida* – as we would want to know why they were *bona*, had they been so designated (as opposed to *uera*, say). It does not help to cite, as K–H do, Caesar, *B. Gall.*

1.41.2 *legio* . . . *ei gratias fecit, quod de se optimum iudicium fecisset*, where the context explains *optimum*. The obscurity of Page (“stately,” in reference to the “state” in which the judge sits) cannot simply be ascribed to his Victorian language. De Rosaria 1997: 433 gives the reasoning of Porph. (because Minos is ‘splendid’ so are his judgments) and La Penna (the judgments illuminate Torquatus and hence are splendid). Minos gives out judgments to the dead at Hom. *Od.* 11.568–71 (θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσιω . . . δίκας), and it is possible that *splendida* is transferred from the Homeric adjective that describes Minos himself: 568 Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱόν, ‘the splendid son of Zeus’. Torquatus will have to follow the ultimate judgment passed by Minos, however good his way with words (23 *facundia*).

23–4 non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te | restituet pietas: Fraenkel 420–1 well compares 1.4.18–19 [*quo simul mearis,*] | *nec regna uini sortiere talis | nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere*: ‘One could hardly find a more significant illustration of the wide difference between the Greek παίζειν with its elaborate regulations for the συμπόσιον and its devotion to παιδικὸς ἔρωσ on the one hand and on the other the full *grauitas* of the *res Romana* as embodied in the traditions of the nobility.’ While this is true, it is also the case that the *grauitas* in question is undermined by the death that will cancel out its attributes. The asyndeton and anaphora of *non* (and *non te*), for which see Wills 367, give a particularly emphatic ring to the couplet.

genus: i.e. the *gens Manlia* (cf. below).

pietas: cf. 15n.

Torquate: clearly the same Manlius Torquatus as in *Epist.* 1.5 (*PIR*² M162; his praenomen is nowhere recorded), since in each case we are dealing with a) orators (the likely implication of *facundia*, and cf. *Epist.* 1.5.8–9 *mitte* . . . *Moschi causam*), b) the theme of *carpe diem* and c) the specific injunction to consume in preference to leaving an inheritance (17–20n.). The name also resonates with that of Manlius Torquatus the executioner of his disobedient son (Livy 8.7.19) and occupant of the Virgilian Underworld (*Aen.* 6.825). The Manlii Torquati were generally anti-Caesarian, which may inform the presence of T. here (n. below). On the basis of Plin. *Epist.* 5.3.5, in a catalogue of writers of verse (*Torquatam, immo Torquatos*) Syme 1986: 395–6 suggests T. may have been a poet, but *facundia* and *causam*, the latter exclusively, point more to oratory; he could have been both orator and poet. Munzi 1998: 426–7 has argued that T. Manlius Sura Septicianus, who was honoured on a recently discovered Cypriot inscription of early imperial date, was probably a son of Septicius, the mutual friend of H. and Manlius Torquatus, adopted by the latter, whose praenomen would have been Titus. John D. Morgan will argue that this Torquatus is the now elderly quaestor of Pansa in 43 BCE, for the implications of which see 8.1–4n. Judging from the specificity, it may be assumed Porph. had access to the speech mentioned in *Epist.* 1.5.8–9 (*ad loc.*): *Moschus hic Pergamenus fuit rhetor notissimus. reus ueneficii fuit, cuius causam ex primi <s> tunc oratores egerunt, Torquatus hic, de quo nunc dicit, cuius exstat oratio, et Asinius Pollio;* cf. Mastrocinque 1996b: 921–2. Obviously distinct from the L. Manlius Torquatus

(who died in 46 BCE, soon after Thapsus; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 265), son of the consul of 65 BCE, the year of H.'s birth: 3.21.1 (*o nata mecum consule Manlio*) and *Epod.* 13.6 (*tu uina Torquato moue consule pressa meo*); for whom see Mastrocinque 1996a: 789.

non . . . restituet: in view of the republicanism of the recent Manlii Torquati, and the fact that their last consulate was in 65 BCE (see Syme 1986: 395–6: 'Thus ended the Manlii.'), there may be a political meaning lurking here (*OLD* s.v. *restituo* 6). Cf. Marcus Lepidus' reinstatement of Sextus Pompey at Cic. *Phil.* 5.39 *Sex. Pompeium restituit ciuitati*; or H. of another 'Pompeius', who was reinstated years after Philippi: 2.7.3 *quis te redonauit Quiritem*.

25–8 The poem ends with a pair of mythological exempla whose doubling drives home the point: if those favoured by gods and heroes cannot be brought back, there can be little hope for Torquatus, or for the rest of us. The two couplets mirror each other, with *pudicum* . . . *Hippolytum* and *caro* . . . *Pirithoo* in the same position; likewise the opposites, *liberat* and *uincula* (cf. *uincio*). The syntax is inverted: *Hippolytum* and *uincula* are direct objects. The pairing is underscored by the fact that Hippolytus and Pirithous are both connected to Theseus, who is father of the former, comrade of the latter. Traina 1997: 402–4 has a good treatment of the lines.

25–6 infernis . . . tenebris: ablative of separation. For the noun-adjective combination, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.325 (of the summoning up of Allecto) *infernisque ciet tenebris*.

tenebris Diana . . . | liberat: possibly an etymological play on the name; cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.69 *Diana dicta quia noctu quasi diem efficeret*; cf. *CS* 1–4n; 6.37–40n.

Diana . . . Hippolytum: Euripides' *Hippolytus* is the most extensive surviving witness for the Athenian versions of the story of Hippolytus, whose preference for Artemis, and neglect of Aphrodite (and of his stepmother Phaedra), led to his destruction at the hands of Poseidon – by bulls sent from the sea, with input from Hippolytus' father Theseus, varying according to the source. The author of the *Naupactica*, (? sixth century BCE), has Asclepius restoring Hippolytus to life (for which Zeus strikes him with a thunderbolt), and Philodemus (*Piet.* 52) says Asclepius acted 'at the request of Artemis'. For this see Barrett *ad Hipp.* 7–8. The dead Hippolytus is mainly connected with the cult of Aphrodite in Greece, but in Italy Diana assumes a greater role, one that seems to have been treated by Callimachus (fr. 190 Pf. and Pfeiffer *ad loc.*). Of chief importance for the present context is Virgil's version, which H. contradicts and 'corrects': at *Aen.* 7. 761–82, in the catalogue of Italian heroes, we find Virbius (*uir bis*), son of the restored Hippolytus (also renamed Virbius) and the nymph Aricia, settled at the precinct in the grove of Diana Nemorensis. H.'s *neque . . . liberat*, then, responds to Virg. *Aen.* 7.767–9 *ad sidera rursus | aetheria et superas caeli uenisse sub auras | Paeoniis reuocatum herbis et amore Dianae*. Porph. noted the apparent contradiction, but made a different suggestion (*ad loc.*): *sed nunc non ad illud refert, quod post distractionem illam, quam ab equis suis passus est, in uitam restitutus fertur, sed ad condicionem mortalitatis, quam non potuit perpetuo effugere per Dianae fauorem*.

puḍicum: i.e. he resisted Aphrodite's and Phaedra's power. Particularly juxtaposed to *Diana*, the adjective has a concessive sense: 'although he was chaste (and therefore her favourite)', Diana could not rescue him. Since in the Virgilian version Hippolytus/Virbius had a union with Aricia, H.'s use of *puḍicum* is another instance of 'correction' of Virgil (see 15n.). Servius *ad Aen.* 7.761 was troubled by the son's existence: *adeo omnia ista fabulosa sunt. nam cum castus ubique inductus sit et qui semper solus habitauerit, habuisse tamen fingitur filium.*

enim: explanatory of 21–4.

liberat Hippolytum: the verb perhaps glosses the name Hippolytos, 'loosened' (λύω) by his 'horses' (ἵππος). Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.767, where the pulled-apart word order creates an iconic effect, *turbatis distractus equis*; see O'Hara 1996, Horsfall *ad loc.*

27–8 Lethaea . . . | uincola: see Löfstedt 1 109–24 on the formation and use of such adjectives in place of genitive nouns.

abrumperē . . . | uincola: at Enn. *Ann.* sed. inc. fr. 535 Skutsch (*uincla . . . abrumpit*) in a Homeric simile translating *Il.* 6.507 = 15.264, of a horse breaking its bonds, δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας, whence Virg. *Aen.* 11.492 in the same context, *abruptis . . . uinclis*; also 9.118 *abrumpit uincola*, then sparingly in Livy, Lucan, the younger Seneca and Silius.

Pirithoo: the Lapith was a friend of Theseus, who helped him in the fight with the Centaurs and in the attempt to make off with Persephone. P. was unable to escape the Underworld in this latter exploit, to which H. here alludes. In the rationalizing account at Plut. *Thes.* 31.4, the object of the quest (which follows Theseus' kidnapping of the young Helen for himself) is Cora the daughter of Aïdoneus, king of the Molossians, and his wife Persephone, and Pirithous is killed by Cerberus, the family dog. Putnam 141 refers to the 'implicitly homosexual liaison of Theseus and Pirithous', though *caro* (27) need not imply that. Theseus failed to get Pirithous back while the latter was making a sexually motivated attempt on Persephone, for which he is punished at 3.4.79–80 (also closing the poem) *amatorem trecentae | Pirithoum cohibent catenae* – where *amatorem* refers to heterosexual transgression. Cf. Traina 1997: 402–4.

8

METRE

Lesser Asclepiadean (---υ---υ---υ×), otherwise in H. only at 1.1, 3.30 – the framing poems of C. 1–3, as here in the central one of C. 4.

INTRODUCTION

I would give my companions precious art, Censorinus, if I were rich in art. But you don't need such things, rather it is song you delight in, and that we can give. Those who defeated Hannibal are not remembered through inscriptions, but rather through the poetry of Ennius. Without song