

A COMMENTARY ON
HORACE : ODES

BOOK 1

BY

R. G. M. NISBET

*Fellow of Corpus Christi College
Oxford*

AND

MARGARET HUBBARD

*Fellow of St. Anne's College
Oxford*

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1970

Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY IBADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

© OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 1970

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY VIVIAN RIDLER
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

THE *Odes* of Horace, in spite of all their popularity, are unusually liable to misinterpretation. The standard commentaries, though they often explain the meaning of the words, tend to be less illuminating on the wider issues. The obvious exception is Heinze's revision of Kiessling, but even that is short in scale, as well as being now forty years old. The modern interest in literary history finds expression, for the most part, in articles and general studies. It becomes all the more necessary, and all the more difficult, to write new commentaries.

We are greatly indebted to our predecessors; here it will be enough to single out Lambinus, Bentley, Mitscherlich, Peerkamp, Orelli-Hirschfelder, Keller and Holder, Lucian Müller, Kiessling-Heinze. We tried to read as much periodical literature as we could, but like others before us were defeated by its bulk. Many recent articles on Horace are strangely implausible; these are usually left unrefuted. Others, though deserving or innocuous, could find no mention in a book already overloaded. Sometimes, it may be assumed, a theory is ignored because we never heard of it. To our regret we could take no account of work that appeared after July 1968.

Horace has suffered from indiscriminating praise even more than other ancient writers. This seems the wrong attitude towards so astringent a poet, and we have occasionally suggested that some odes may be better than others. Our irreverence will be regarded by some as Philistinism; we can only say that if we had not regarded Horace as a great poet we could not have borne to write about him. But though we have waged war on the Panglosses of classical studies, we do not expect to please the literary critics either. We do not rule out the possibility of serious literary criticism on a Latin poet, but we had neither the confidence nor the time to take on the job ourselves.

We have cited a large number of parallel passages, many of which we believe to be new. It is easy to misunderstand this procedure: classical scholars must seem a strange breed of pedants who refuse to admit that life is short unless they can find ten

parallels to prove it. In fact we are trying to show how a very literary poet takes over themes conventional in various genres and adapts them to his new idiom. We also believe that many problems, both large and small, can be illuminated by the collection of evidence, and that without such evidence the most ingenious theorizing is often misdirected. We hope that our stores may be found serviceable by commentators on other works of ancient literature.

It would have been pointless to undertake any original work on the manuscripts, even if we had thought ourselves competent to do so; such an enterprise would naturally involve Horace's poems as a whole and not just a single book. In any case further research, while it would increase our understanding of early medieval scholarship, would probably make no difference to our decisions on what Horace wrote. The manuscripts divide into two groups, whose composition shifts from book to book and crux to crux; the significant divergences are presumably ancient, and not to be settled by constructing *stemmata*, weighing scholiasts, or triumphantly citing the lost Blandinianus. We have not even printed an existing text, though a commentary without the poems may seem a trifle austere; but it was represented to us that many people would prefer to consult the notes in a separate volume. We have included a brief account of the ancient commentators, to help the reader to find his bearings. But we are conscious that progress in this area must depend on detailed work, which we have not done, on scholia in general.

We owe much to the help of our friends. We should not have begun at all but for the insistence of Professor Sir Roger Mynors; we are grateful for his encouragement and support. Mr. A. F. Wells was originally a partner in our enterprise, *anima qualem non candidiorem terra tulit*; we should like our book to be thought of as a tribute to his memory. Mr. D. A. Russell read the whole of the completed commentary, Mr. J. Griffin a considerable part; both made valuable suggestions, and removed regrettable mistakes. Dr. S. Weinstock helped us generously on some aspects of Roman religion. Mr. F. A. Lepper kindly offered to read the proofs: his corrections are not confined to misprints. At a late stage Professor R. G. Austin and Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones suggested further improvements;

we only wish we had consulted them earlier. We are indebted in various ways to Dr. E. K. Borthwick, Mr. E. L. Bowie, Mrs. M. Griffin, Dr. A. Joseph, Mrs. A. Lonsdale, Miss G. M. Matthews, Mr. O. Murray, Mrs. E. Patterson, and Mr. L. P. Wilkinson. We have also benefited from discussions with many pupils, both graduates and undergraduates. Nor have we forgotten the Delegates of the Press, who accepted our book, or the officials who saw it through.

One debt remains to be acknowledged. Like many of our generation we owe to Eduard Fraenkel our whole approach to ancient literature, and in particular to Horace. He has always taken a sympathetic interest in our work, and lent us his books freely; if we have shown him nothing of what we have written, it is because we wish to remain as independent as we can. He will often find us guilty of plagiarism, sometimes of recalcitrance. We must trust to his magnanimity to forgive us for both.

M. H.

R. G. M. N.

Oxford

December 1968

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

1. The *Odes* and their Literary Form xi
2. The Chronological Setting of *Odes* I-III xxvii
3. The Metres of the *Odes* xxxviii
4. The Ancient Commentators xlvii
5. Abbreviations, etc. li

COMMENTARY I

INDEXES 429

immortality on others; he retains an effortless command of technique alike in hexameters and lyrics; at the same time there is some loss in intimacy and originality compared with the earlier odes and epistles. After 20 B.C. Maecenas is mentioned only once (*carmin.* 4. 11. 19 f.), but in his will he urged Augustus to remember Horace as himself (Suet. *vita*). His death in 8 B.C. was soon followed by Horace's own, a coincidence comforting alike to astrologers (*carmin.* 2. 17) and Romantic critics.¹

3. THE METRES OF THE ODES²

§ 1. *Asclepiad-based systems*

Horace uses Asclepiads either continuously (*κατὰ στίχον*) or in combination with Glyconics and Pherecrateans. The components are as follows:

Asclepiad ---υυ- / -υυ-υυ
(Maecenas atavis edite regibus)³

Greater Asclepiad ---υυ- / -υυ- / -υυ-υυ
(nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem)

Glyconic ---υυ-υυ
(cui flavam religas comam)

Pherecratean ---υυ-υ
(grato, Pyrrha, sub antro)

The systems used by Horace are as follows:

(a) *First Asclepiad*⁴ (1. 1; 3. 30; 4. 8). This metre consists simply of a series of Asclepiad lines written *κατὰ στίχον*. It is used similarly by Alcaeus (34b, 112, 117b, 349A-353).

(b) *Second Asclepiad* (1. 6, 15, 24, 33; 2. 12; 3. 10, 16; 4. 5, 12). Three

¹ W. Wili, *Horaz*, 1948, p. 374 'die Seele erfüllte ein Gesetz, dessen Gültigkeit dem Verstand entzogen bleibt'.

² See Bo 3. 29 ff.; E. Burck's appendix to the 12th edition of Kiessling-Heinze, pp. 606 ff.; F. Cupaiuolo, *Lettura di Orazio lirico*, 1967, pp. 137 ff.; R. Heinze, *Die lyrischen Verse des Horaz* (= *Vom Geist des Römertums*, ed. 3, 1960, pp. 227 ff.); Klingner 314 ff.

³ See further L. J. Richardson, *AJPh* 22, 1901, 283 ff., H. Sadej, *Eos* 45. 1, 1951, 109 ff., A. R. Bellinger, *YCIS* 15, 1957, 103 ff.

⁴ The names are not worth memorizing, but as different terminologies are found a comparative table may be useful:

Klingner (adopted here)	1	2	3	4	5
Wickham, Raven (<i>Latin Metre</i>)	1	4	5	3	2
Page	1	3	4	2	5

Asclepiads are followed by a Glyconic. This stanza is also found in Alcaeus (5, 67).

(c) *Third Asclepiad* (1. 5, 14, 21, 23; 3. 7, 13; 4. 13). Two Asclepiads are followed by a Pherecratean and a Glyconic.

(d) *Fourth Asclepiad* (1. 3, 13, 19, 36; 3. 9, 15, 19, 24, 25, 28; 4. 1, 3). The stanza consists of two distichs, each made up of a Glyconic followed by an Asclepiad.

(e) *Fifth Asclepiad* (1. 11, 18; 4. 10). The system consists of a series of greater Asclepiads written *κατὰ στίχον*. It was used by Alcaeus (39a, 44, 50, 115a, 296b, 340-9), Callimachus (fr. 400), Theocritus (28, 30), and Catullus (30).

(i) In the Greek poets Asclepiads, Glyconics, and Pherecrateans begin with the so-called 'Aeolic base' of two common syllables, i.e. with either a spondee or a trochee or an iambus or a pyrrhich (∪ ∪). Horace always begins with a spondee, with one apparent exception: at 1. 15. 36 the Glyconic runs 'ignis Iliacas domos' (see n. ad loc.).

(ii) In Alcaeus Asclepiads usually have a word-break after the sixth or seventh syllable, though the fragments show exceptions. The Horatian Asclepiad has a word-break after the sixth syllable; the only exceptions are at 2. 12. 25 'dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula' (where the prefix *de* is perhaps regarded as almost detachable), and 4. 8. 17 'non incendia Carthagini impiae' (where interpolation has been suspected). Horace twice has irrational lengthening at this position (1. 13. 6 'certa sede manēt umor et in genas', 3. 16. 26 'quam si quidquid arāt impiger Apulus'). Similarly the greater Asclepiad normally has word-breaks after the sixth and tenth syllables; the only exception is at 1. 18. 16 'arcanique Fides prodiga perlucidior vitro' (where *per-* may be regarded as detachable).

In the case of Asclepiads it is misleading to describe these breaks as *caesurae*. The sixth syllable is quite often a monosyllabic linking conjunction (*et, aut, nec, seu, quos*), and there is sometimes a strong pause after the fifth syllable (1. 6. 17 'nos convivia, nos proelia virginum', 3. 13. 10 'nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile', 3. 25. 14 'mirari libet. o Naiadum potens', 4. 5. 33 'te multa prece, te prosequitur mero'). Similarly in the greater Asclepiad the tenth syllable may be a linking conjunction (1. 18. 2 'circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili', 1. 18. 5 'quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?').¹

¹ Such phenomena occur at the *caesurae* of the Alcaic and Sapphic hendecasyllables, but in the Alcaics they are only half as common as in the Asclepiad line, and in the Sapphics very rare indeed. The difference of treatment suggests that Horace thought of the lesser Asclepiad line as made up of two separate cola ---∪∪- and -∪∪-∪-, whereas he treated the Sapphic and Alcaic hendecasyllables rather as units with *caesurae*.

(iii) In all these systems hiatus between the lines is rare, particularly after short vowels. For instances of the latter cf. 1. 3. 24 f. 'non tangenda rates transiliunt vada. / audax omnia perpeti', 1. 11. 7 f. 'fugerit invida / aetas', 1. 36. 16 f. (where the text has been doubted; see n. ad loc.), 3. 24. 61 f. 'indignoque pecuniam / heredi properet'. Between the Pherecratean and Glyconic (i.e. in the Third Asclepiad stanza) the only instances of hiatus are at 1. 23. 3 f. 'vano / aurarum', 1. 23. 7 f. 'lacertae / et'. Moreover if one posits synaphea between the lines the Pherecratean always ends with a long syllable (as at 1. 14. 3 f. 'nonne vides ut / nudum remigio latus').

The Glyconic and Asclepiad are also closely linked (i.e. in the Fourth Asclepiad stanza); there is actually synaloepha between them at 4. 1. 35 f. 'decoro / inter'. If one posits synaphea between the lines the Glyconic usually ends with a long syllable; of 20 exceptions (out of 164 places) 6 occur in 1. 3 (e.g. 'pater / obstrictis').¹ The Asclepiad in this stanza seldom ends with an open short vowel; out of 14 exceptions 9 occur in 1. 3 (e.g. 'lucida sidera').

Lines sometimes end with a connective or other weak word (1. 3. 19 f. 'qui vidit mare turbidum et / infamis scopulos', 38 f. 'neque / per nostrum patimur scelus', 1. 19. 13 f. 'hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic / verbenas', 1. 21. 14 f. 'pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in / Persas atque Britannos', 4. 13. 6 'ille virentis et / doctae psallere Chiae').

§ 2. *The Alcaic stanza* (1. 9, 16, 17, 26, 27, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37; 2. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20; 3. 1-6, 17, 21, 23, 26, 29; 4. 4, 9, 14, 15)

Two Alcaic hendecasyllables are followed by an enneasyllable and a decasyllable:

$$\begin{array}{c} \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} - - - / - \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} \\ \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} - - - / - \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} \\ \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} - - - - \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} \\ - \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} - \underline{\quad} \end{array}$$

(i) In Alcaeus the first syllable in the first three lines may be short. In Horace it is normally long, but is short thirteen times in Book 1 (1. 9. 1, 16. 9, 17. 7, 27. 17, 27. 22, 29. 7, 31. 9, 31. 17, 35. 15, 35. 37, 35. 38, 37. 15, 37. 22), eight times in Book 2 (2. 1. 6, 3. 3, 7. 22, 9. 5, 14. 6, 17. 3, 19. 22, 20. 11), and seven times in Book 3 (3. 1. 2, 1. 26, 3. 34, 3. 71, 4. 78, 5. 22, 29. 11). In Alcaeus the fifth syllable in the first three lines may be short, but in Horace it is invariably long; at

¹ For this and the following point see J. P. Postgate, *CQ* 16, 1922, 29 ff.

3. 5. 17 'si non periret immiserabilis', we have an irrational lengthening rather than a short syllable; cf. §§ I (ii), 2 (v), 3 (ii).

(ii) In the first two lines there is normally a word-break after the fifth syllable; there are exceptions to this rule at 1. 16. 21 'hostile aratrum exercitus insolens', 1. 37. 5 'antehac nefas depromere Caecubum', 1. 37. 14 'mentemque lymphatam Mareotico', 2. 17. 21 'utrumque nostrum incredibili modo', 4. 14. 7 'spectandus in certamine Martio' (at 1. 37. 5 the prefix may be regarded as separable, at 1. 16. 21 and 2. 17. 21 the irregularity is mitigated by the preceding elision). At rather more than a dozen places the word-break comes after a monosyllabic conjunction or similar word (e.g. *et* with elision before it 2. 13. 2, 3. 3. 49, 3. 4. 1, 3. 5. 10, 3. 6. 22, *an* 2. 3. 22, *ex* 3. 2. 6, *se* 3. 5. 33, *te* 3. 21. 10, 4. 14. 33, *o* 4. 4. 37, *non* 4. 4. 73, 4. 14. 41, *qui* 4. 14. 45); this list neglects cases like 1. 9. 2 'Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus' and 1. 9. 18 'morosa, nunc et Campus et areae', where the presence of a second monosyllable makes some difference. There is quite frequent elision over the word-break of a short vowel or of a syllable ending in *-m* (e.g. 3. 3. 41 'insultet armentum et catulos ferae'), of a long vowel only at 1. 34. 10 'quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari', 3. 2. 5 'vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat', 3. 3. 33 'Marti redonabo. illum ego lucidas'.

(iii) Hiatus is rare at the end of any line, but is found at all of them; there is hiatus after a short syllable only at 1. 16. 27, 1. 17. 13, 2. 13. 7, and after *-m* only at 1. 34. 14, 2. 5. 9, 2. 13. 11. There is synaloepha between the third and fourth lines at 2. 3. 27 f. 'aeternum / exsilium' and 3. 29. 35 f. 'Etruscum / in mare'.

The first line sometimes ends with a connective or other weak word; cf. 1. 19. 13 f. 'quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et / . . .', 2. 15. 5, 3. 1. 25, 3. 26. 9, 3. 29. 49, 4. 9. 1. The second and third lines are usually more separate; yet see 3. 1. 38 f. 'neque / decedit', 3. 29. 46 f. 'neque / diffinget', 4. 4. 18 '— quibus / . . .'. The third and fourth lines are closely linked by the occurrence at the end of the third of *et* (8 times, always with elision before it), *in* (1. 35. 39, also with elision before it), and *nec* (2. 7. 19).

(iv) Horace normally distributes the words in the third line of the Alcaic according to certain favoured patterns. It will be convenient to arrange these possibilities (somewhat over-schematically) according to the number of syllables in the last word or word-group; the only instances not covered by the main heads are 1. 26. 11 'hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro',¹ 2. 7. 19 'depone sub lauru mea, nec' and 2. 13. 27 'sors exitura et nos in aeternum'.

¹ This line is unique in having a word-break after the fourth syllable; in Alcaeus this is found only with elision (208a. 8, cf. Hor. 2. 13. 27) or where a monosyllable precedes (326. 7 *λαίφος δὲ πὰν ζάδηλον ἦδη*, 76. 12).

A. TRISYLLABIC

(a) preceded by a trisyllable:

pignusque dereptum lacertis
lenesque sub noctem susurri
ad arma cessantes ad arma

(b) preceded by longer words:

silvae laborantes geluque
non erubescendis adurit (rare)

B. DISYLLABIC (when preceded by a word longer than a disyllable)

fatalis incestusque iudex
ludo fatigatumque somno

C. QUADRISYLLABIC¹

(a) monosyllable plus trisyllable:

stetere causae cur perirent

(b) quadrisyllable proper:

nodo coerces viperino

double disyllable:

pronos relabi posse rivos

(The oddity of this last is sometimes mitigated by anaphora at the beginning of the next line; cf. 1. 16. 3 f. 'sive flamma / sive mari', 1. 26. 7, 2. 13. 27, 2. 14. 11, 2. 19. 7. For exceptions to this tendency see 1. 29. 11, 2. 1. 11, 2. 19. 11.)

The distribution of these types in the different books of the *Odes* is as follows (percentage figures in brackets):

<i>Book</i>		<i>I</i>		<i>II</i>		<i>III</i>		<i>IV</i>	<i>Total</i>	
A	(a)	32	(53·3)	36	(41·9)	59	(50)	21	(39·6)	148
	(b)	8	(13·3)	23	(26·7)	21	(17·8)	10	(18·9)	62
B		3	(5)	5	(5·8)	29	(24·6)	16	(30·2)	53
C	(a)	12	(20)	13	(15·1)	9	(7·6)	6	(11·3)	40
	(b)	4	(6·7)	7	(8·1)	0		0		11
Others		1	(1·7)	2	(2·3)	0		0		3
		60		86		118		53		317

The most interesting feature in this list is the startling increase of type B (disyllabic ending) in the third and fourth books, as well as the disappearance of C (b) (double disyllabic ending). These facts

¹ This break is only admitted by Alcaeus if the fifth syllable is short (except with elision at 326. 3).

may have some bearing on the date of composition (p. xxviii). One may also note the comparative rarity of A (*b*) in Book I and its sudden increase in Book II; this again suggests that when Horace arranged his first three books the date of composition may have played a bigger part than is generally supposed.

(v) In the last line of the Alcaic stanza there is usually a word-break after the fourth syllable. There is irrational lengthening at this place at 2. 13. 16 'caeca timēt aliunde fata'.

The following figures again show a changing pattern from book to book. The only line not covered by the main heads is 3. 5. 56 'aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum'.

A. Main word-break after the first trochee:

Caesar ab Italia volentem
vitis Achaemeniumque costum

B. Main word-break after the first dactyl:

torquibus exiguis renidet
liquimus? unde manum iuventus
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum

C. Main word-break after the choriamb:

sensit iners timuitque mortem
Hesperiae mala luctuosae
missilibus melior sagittis

D. Main word-break after the second trochee (usually in conjunction with other breaks):

o Thaliarche, merum diota

<i>Book</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>Total</i>
A	2 (3·3)	4 (4·7)	3 (2·5)	4 (7·5)	13
B	21 (35)	19 (22·1)	21 (17·8)	7 (13·2)	68
C ¹	33 (55)	61 (70·9)	92 (78)	41 (77·3)	227
D	4 (6·7)	2 (2·3)	1 ² (0·8)	1 (1·9)	8
<i>Others</i>	0	0	1 (0·8)	0	1
	60	86	118	53	317

¹ The choriamb is followed by a pyrrhic word (e.g. 'concutitur. valet ima summis') in the following number of cases:

<i>Book I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
5 (8·3)	7 (8·1)	24 (20·3)	11 (20·8)

² 3. 5. 12 'incolumi Iove et urbe Roma', where the elision and the following monosyllable make a difference.

§ 3. (a) *The Sapphic stanza* (1. 2, 10, 12, 20, 22, 25, 30, 32, 38; 2. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 16; 3. 8, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 27; 4. 2, 6, 11; *carm. saec.*)

Three Sapphic hendecasyllables are followed by an adonius:

- ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - ◡ - ◡
 - ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - ◡ - ◡
 - ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - ◡ - ◡
 - ◡ ◡ - ◡

(i) In Sappho and Alcaeus the fourth syllable of the hendecasyllable may be short;¹ so also in the Hellenistic hymn to Rome by Melinno (Stob. 3. 7. 12) and in Catullus. In Horace it is always long.

(ii) In Books I-III there is normally a word-break after the fifth syllable of the hendecasyllable; this occurs in five-eighths of the instances in Alcaeus, less often in Sappho. Elision is rare at this place (short vowel 2. 4. 10, 2. 16. 26, 3. 27. 10, *-um* 4. 11. 27). There is an irrational long at the word-break at 2. 6. 14 'angulus ridēt, ubi non Hymetto'. There is a break after *et* (preceded by an elision) at 1. 32. 13, 2. 2. 21, 3. 8. 14, and without elision at 3. 11. 50 'dum favet nox et Venus, i secundo'.

A break after the sixth syllable² occurs a few times in Books I and II (three in the hymn to Mercury 1. 10, one in the hymn to Venus 1. 30, one in the hymnal first line of 1. 12, and also at 1. 25. 11, 2. 6. 11). There is no example in Book III, even in the three hymns (3. 11, 3. 18, 3. 22). In the *Carmen saeculare* and in Book IV this break is quite common.

(iii) There is synaloepha between hendecasyllables at 2. 2. 18, 2. 16. 34, 4. 2. 22, and perhaps 3. 27. 10. Lines end with *et* at 2. 6. 1, 2. 6. 2, 2. 16. 37, 3. 8. 26, 3. 11. 5, 3. 27. 22, 3. 27. 29, 3. 27. 46, and with *qui* at *carm. saec.* 9.

The adonius is still more closely linked with the last hendecasyllable. For synaloepha see 4. 2. 23, *carm. saec.* 47; for weak words at the end of the hendecasyllable see 3. 8. 3, 3. 8. 27 (?), 4. 6. 11; for a word shared between the lines see 1. 2. 19 'u-/xorius', 1. 25. 11 'inter-/lunia', 2. 16. 7 've-/nale' (this last feature is found in Sappho, but not in Alcaeus; cf. Page, *op. cit.*, p. 318).

On the other hand hiatus is found 10 times between hendecasyllables, 4 times between hendecasyllable and adonius. Normally it occurs after a long vowel; for instances after *-m* cf. 1. 2. 47, 1. 22. 15, 3. 27. 33, and perhaps 3. 27. 10.

(b) *Greater Sapphic* (1. 8)

- ◡ ◡ - ◡ - -
 - ◡ - - - ◡ ◡ - | - ◡ ◡ - ◡ - -

¹ For this and other points see Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, pp. 318, 324.

² D. W. Prakken, *CPh* 49, 1954, 102 ff.

An Aristophaneus is followed by a greater Sapphic line, which is like a Sapphic hendecasyllable with a choriamb added after the fourth syllable. The second half of the greater Sapphic is identical with the Aristophaneus. Horace has a break after the fifth and the eighth syllables. The metre is not found in the fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus.

§ 4. *Epodic metres*

(a) *First Archilochian* (or *Alcmanian*) (I. 7, I. 28; cf. *epod.* 12, anon. *GLP* 91)

A dactylic hexameter is followed by a dactylic tetrameter:

- υυ - υυ - υυ - υυ - υυ - υ
- υυ - υυ - υυ - υ

In general the hexameter follows the pattern of the heroic hexameter. Elisions are infrequent (I. 7. 5 'unum opus', I. 7. 13 'Anio ac', I. 28. 18 'exitio est', I. 28. 19 'senum ac', *epod.* 12. 9 'neque illi'). The line normally ends in a disyllable or trisyllable; exceptions are I. 7. 1 'aut Mitylenen', I. 28. 15 'una manet nox', I. 28. 21 'comes Orionis', *epod.* 12. 23 'conviva, magis quem'.

In the tetrameter there are a number of quadrisyllabic or double-disyllabic endings, and *epod.* 12. 6 ends with a single monosyllable ('ubi lateat sus'). For a weak ending cf. I. 7. 6 'celebrare et'. For hiatus in the middle of the line cf. I. 28. 24 'capiti inhumato'.

(b) *Second Archilochian* (4. 7)

A dactylic hexameter is followed by a dactylic hemiepes:

- υυ - υυ - υυ - υυ - υυ - -
- υυ - υυ - υ

There is no hiatus between lines, but a short vowel ends 22. There is only one elision (15 'neque enim').

(c) *Third Archilochian* (I. 4; cf. Archil. 112-116, Simon. *anth.* P. 13. 26, Palladius, *anth.* Lat. 628, Prud. *perist.* 12)

A greater Archilochian line is followed by an iambic trimeter catalectic. The greater Archilochian is an asynartete combination of a dactylic tetrameter and an ithyphallic; it is found also in Call. *epig.* 39, 40, Theoc. *epig.* 20, 21, and several times in the Anthology (13. 8 Theodoridas, 13. 27 Phalaecus, 13. 28 attributed to Bacchylides or Simonides).

- υυ - υυ - υυ - υυ / - υ - υ - -
υ - υ - - / - υ - υ - -

In Horace the diaeresis after the tetrameter is constant, and the last foot of the tetrameter is always a pure dactyl. The trimeter has the normal caesura after the fifth syllable; its first syllable is short only at 2. There is hiatus after a long vowel at the end of 9. Elision does not occur at all.

(d) *Hipponactean* (2. 18)

A trochaic dimeter catalectic (lecythion) is followed by an iambic trimeter catalectic:

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc} - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup \\ \cup & - & \cup & - & \cup & / & - & \cup & - & \cup & - & - \end{array}$$

The first syllable of the trimeter is long only at 6 and 34, the fifth short only at 2, 14, 38, 40; the fourth syllable is resolved in 34. There is one hiatus after the dimeter (5), and three after the trimeter (8, 18, 30); the dimeter ends in a short vowel at 17 and 21.

§ 5. *Ionics* (3. 12)

This poem is made up of 40 continuously linked ionic metra ($\cup\cup--$). The only constant pause occurs after every 10th metron.¹

Alcaeus 10, from which this poem takes its motto, seems to offer a 4-line stanza, the first line of which is a tetrameter, and the last perhaps a trimeter. Other ionic fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus are preserved only in single lines or parts of lines (Sappho 135, Alcaeus 380, 387, 393, 397).

*Note on stanzas*²

Horace's odes are normally written in multiples of 4 lines. The only exception is 4. 8 (34 lines), where interpolation has been suspected (partly on other grounds).

Many of the odes (such as those in Sapphics and Alcaics) are visibly written in 4-line stanzas, normally with a sense-pause at the end of the stanza. Exceptions occur at 58 places out of 280 in Alcaics, 8 places out of 179 in Sapphics.

In other metres the basic unit is of 2 lines, though there too 4-line sense-groups are often found (1. 4, 1. 8, 1. 13, 1. 19, 4. 7). But in other odes (1. 7, 1. 28, 2. 18) little is gained by thinking of units larger than the distich.

The poems written *κατὰ στίχον* show diverse treatment. 1. 1 breaks into 4-line sense-groups, but for the most part the divisions come, not after 4, 8, etc., but after 6, 10, etc.; it has the appearance of being eight 4-line stanzas framed by two distichs. The other such poems have nothing but the number of lines to suggest stanza form.

¹ See also J. P. Postgate, *CQ* 18, 1924, 46 ff.

² For further details see K. Büchner, *Horaz*, 1962, pp. 52 ff.

9. VIDES VT ALTA

[Pasquali 75 ff.; V. Pöschl, *WS* 79, 1966, 365 ff.; N. Rudd, *AJPh* 81, 1960, 387 ff.; M. G. Shields, *Phoenix* 12, 1958, 166 ff.; D. West 1 ff.; Wilkinson 129 ff.]

1-8. *Mountain, woods, and rivers are covered in snow; so build up the fire, Thaliarchus, and produce more wine.* 9-12. *Trust the future to the gods, who can still the fiercest storms.* 13-24. *Enjoy every day as it comes, and do not reject love while you are young.*

The first two stanzas, perhaps the first three, are modelled on an ode by Alcaeus (338), partly preserved by Athenaeus:

ὔει μὲν ὁ Ζεῦς, ἐκ δ' ὄράνω μέγας
 χεῖμων, πεπάγαισιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥόαι . . .
 κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμων', ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις
 πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως
 μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἄμφι κόρσα
 μόλθακον ἄμφι<βάλων> γνόφαλλον (a woollen fillet or cap).

Some features of the two poems are the same: the weather, the fire, the wine, perhaps part of the *paraenesis* or adjuration (9 n.). Horace even keeps something of the movement of his exemplar: 'dissolve frigus' follows the form, if not the meaning, of κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμωνα, and *benignius* scans the same way as ἀφειδέως. Yet, taken as a whole, Alcaeus's poem must have been very different. Alcaeus was writing for a society where the symposium was an important institution, at which men could express their unsophisticated gladness in song. Horace, on the other hand, is complex, literary, and much more reflective.

It is too often supposed that in spite of the literary allusion Horace's opening scene is primarily drawn from life. Monte Soratte is sometimes visible from a few favoured parts of Rome (2 n.), and the modern tourist, as he surveys the horizon from the Gianicolo on a clear day, willingly imagines that he is re-creating the poet's experience. But we should not suppose that Horace saw the mountain twenty miles away on a winter evening through the narrow slit of an ancient window; he is simply giving local colour to a Greek theme (for the same technique cf. 1. 9. 7, 1. 11. 6, 1. 18. 2, 1. 37. 2, *epist.* 1. 10. 27, etc.). Others assume that the scene is set at a villa near Soracte (D. West 3 ff.); this suits the *silvae*, and no doubt the diligent searcher might find plural rivulets in the neighbourhood. Yet there is nothing in the rest of the poem which encourages us to look for this kind of verisimilitude; the *flumina* are surely nothing

but the *ῥόαι* of Alcaeus. Horace is not describing a particular scene; rather he has composed a picturesque Christmas-card, based on Alcaeus, and containing among more conventional elements a single feature of familiar topography.

The second stanza is likewise based on literature rather than observation. Horace's friend Thaliarchus does not belong to the Roman world of Horace's political friends; instead he bears a Greek name, with associations of the symposium (8 n.). He is asked to put wood on the fire, though in real life the menial office would have been performed by a slave. Again the Sabine wine provides a single local allusion, although it is appropriately contained in a Greek type of jar.

The third stanza also provides surprises for the over-literal reader. Horace implies, even if he does not state, that a storm is raging (9 n.); this is inconsistent with the clear, cold day at the beginning of the poem. In the first stanza the trees bend under their load of snow; in the third they are shaken in the high wind. The contradiction may be derived from Horace's sources; Alcaeus has both rain and ice, and in sympotic poetry the storm outside is elsewhere contrasted with the snugness within (*epod.* 13. 1 ff., perhaps Anacreon 17). The seething sea also seems to be a traditional motif (cf. I. II. 4, *epod.* 13. 2), and may also come from Alcaeus; though Rome is so close to the Mediterranean, the ancient Romans, unlike their modern counterparts, were hardly aware of it. Horace's advice to Thaliarchus also contains some confusion. First of all he seems to imply 'The storm will soon blow over, and with it our troubles' (9 n.). However, in the last three stanzas he advises: 'Enjoy yourself while you can; you will not always be able to'. He has included two themes of Greek poetic moralizing which on close inspection seem inconsistent.

The last three stanzas are in fact quite different from the first three. Lines 13-15 owe more to Epicurus than to Alcaeus. The vignette that follows has nothing to do with early Greek poetry. Alexandrian realism is mellowed with Italian humanity. The attitude to love, or at least the literary expression of it, is not found before Middle Comedy: Alcaeus would not have written about romantic assignations in public places with flirtatious girls who are neither secluded maidens nor coarse prostitutes. The scene is urban, and specifically Roman. And the weather has changed marvellously since the beginning of the poem. When Thaliarchus is encouraged to play his game of hide-and-seek we must no longer visualize snow-laden trees and frozen rivers. Now it is spring, and evening.

The Soracte Ode has been censured by scholars for its inconsistency: 'Hübsche Verse' says Wilamowitz 'aber noch kein Gedicht' (*Sappho und Simonides*, 1913, p. 311). This view is mistaken. Horace

is not professing to describe something that really happened, or represent his emotions on any particular occasion. Rather he is weaving together varied strands from reading and experience; and though he does not describe life directly, he gives hints of sensitive and convincing attitudes. If he had regarded 'continuity' as all-important he was a skilful enough organizer to achieve it. But by blurring his outlines he writes more evocatively than if he had tried a more 'photographic' and 'representational' poem. It is no accident that there are so many confusions in the most imaginative poetry of his age, the eclogues of Virgil and the elegies of Propertius (not to mention Tibullus). Artistic harmony does not depend on the unities of time and place, and changes of direction can easily be paralleled in Horace. The wintry back-cloth at the beginning of the ode is poetically right for the middle-aged Horace (though one should beware of saying, with some scholars, that Soracte 'symbolizes' old age). After the *paraenesis* in the centre the spring scene at the close provides an appropriate contrast. This is a great poem.

Metre: Alcaic.

1. vides: Bentley preferred to take the opening sentence as a statement rather than a question, and he has been followed by almost all modern editors. In fact a question seems much more likely; cf. the common locutions *nonne vides ut . . . ?* and *viden ut ?* (see Norden on Virg. *Aen.* 6. 779). So in Greek Hom. *Il.* 7. 448 οὐχ ὄραας; (*Od.* 17. 545, Call. *h.* 2. 4), Alcman 1. 50 ἦ οὐχ ὄρηης; *carm. pop.* PMG 7. 5 τὸ φῶς διὰ τᾶς θυρίδος οὐκ εἰσορηίης;

alta: *nix alta* normally means 'deep snow'; cf. *epod.* 6. 7 'per altas . . . nives', Virg. *georg.* 1. 310 'cum nix alta iacet'. However, Dryden renders in his fine translation 'Behold yon' Mountains hoary height Made higher with new Mounts of Snow'. There is probably something in this interpretation: the sharp dichotomy between 'deep' and 'high' is not present in the Latin. For a similar point cf. Sil. 4. 743 f. 'condiderat nix alta trabes, et vertice celso / canus apex structa surgebat ad astra pruina'.

stet: the word suggests fixity and strength; cf. 3. 3. 42 'stet Capitolium', Virg. *Aen.* 6. 471, Ov. *fast.* 5. 169 'nondum stabat Atlas'. Here the word suits the isolated ridge of Soracte, which is separated from the Sabine mountains by the Tiber; cf. Byron, *Childe Harold* 4. 665 ff. 'the lone Soracte's height, display'd Not now in snow, which asks the lyric Roman's aid For our remembrance, and from out the plain Heaves like a long-swept wave about to break And on the curl hangs pausing'.

stet nive candidum makes a single and characteristically Horatian

complex. For *stet candidum* cf. Sen. *Thy.* 117 f. 'Cithaeronis iuga / stant parte nulla cana, deposita nive'. For *nive candidum* cf. 3. 25. 10 f. 'nive candidam / Thracen'. The ancient commentators took *nive* closely with *stet*, which is explained by Porphyrio as *plenum sit*, by ps.-Acro as *cooperiatur*; for instances of this usage cf. Enn. *ann.* 608 'stant pulvere campi', Virg. *Aen.* 12. 407 f., Sisenna, *hist.* 130 'caelum caligine stat', Prop. 4. 11. 4, Plin. *paneg.* 52. 1. Yet in our passage the presence of *candidum* makes all the difference.

2. *Soracte*: Monte Soratte, 2,400 feet high, about 20 miles north of Rome, 6 miles from Civit  Castellana (the site of the ancient Falerii). At different times it has been called Monte S. Silvestro (after Pope Sylvester I who hid there during the reign of Constantine), or Treste, or Sant' Oreste. It is visible from the Gianicolo and the Pincio, some tall buildings in Rome, much of the Campagna, and Tivoli (though not, of course, from Horace's Sabine farm). It was associated with Apollo, with the fire-walking Hirpini, with Soranus and Feronia and the cult of the dead (Virg. *Aen.* 11. 785 with Servius, Str. 5. 2. 9). Some scholars suppose that it has been introduced here because of its funereal associations (Commager 272), but so melancholy a note would be inappropriate at this place in the poem. There is no evidence that the mountain was so sinister that every mention of it suggested thoughts of mortality.

3. *laborantes*: straining and bending under their load of snow, which is a particular hazard to the evergreen trees of the south. For the picture cf. Longus 3. 3 *λάβροι μὲν οἱ χεῖμαρροι κατέρρευον, ἐπεπήγει δὲ κρύσταλλος· τὰ δένδρα ἐώκει κατακλωμένοις* (this passage conceivably contains a reminiscence of the lost third and fourth lines of Alcaeus's poem; it might even be relevant that the scene is set in Lesbos). For the verb cf. 2. 9. 7, Housman, *Shropshire Lad* 31 'On Wenlock Edge the wood's in trouble; His forest fleece the Wrekin heaves'.

geluque . . . acuto: *gelu* in conjunction with *constiterint* probably means 'ice' rather than simply 'cold'; cf. Ov. *trist.* 2. 196 'et maris adstricto quae coit unda gelu', Luc. 5. 438 'immensumque gelu tegitur mare'. *acuto* may refer to the biting or nipping coldness of the ice; cf. Manil. 5. 70 'qua gelidus Boreas aquilonibus instat acutis', Pind. *P.* 1. 20^b *χιόνος ὄξειας τιθήνα* (schol. ad loc. *ὅτι οἱ ἐφαπτόμενοι ὁμοίον τι πάσχουσι τοῖς κεντουμένοις*). But Porphyrio offers an alternative interpretation that is quite attractive: 'utrum ad sensum frigoris pertinet quod velut pungat, an quod fractum velut vitrum acutum sit?' These explanations are not necessarily exclusive; Horace may be combining the ideas of nipping cold and sharp ice. So Wilamowitz on Pindar loc. cit. 'der Schnee sticht, wenn man auf ihn tritt; er ist hart und kalt' (*Pindaros*, 1922, p. 299 n. 1).

4. **flumina**: frozen rivers are a conventional part of the poet's wintry scene (Virg. *georg.* 1. 310, 4. 135). Those who set the scene in Rome should note that even in antiquity the Tiber hardly ever froze, and when it did, the occurrence is mentioned with surprise: see Liv. 5. 13. 1 (of 399 B.C.), Aug. *civ.* 3. 17 (of 270 B.C.) 'hiems illa memorabilis tam incredibili immanitate saeviens ut . . . Tiberis quoque glacie duraretur, si nostris temporibus accidisset, quae isti et quanta dixissent'. Juvenal says with deliberate hyperbole 'hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem, / ter matutino Tiberi mergetur' (6. 522 f.).

constiterint: *πεπάγαισι* in Alcaeus. Cf. Enn. *var.* 12 'constitere amnes perennes', Ov. *trist.* 5. 10. 1, Gell. 17. 8. 16 'mare Bosporicum . . . gelu stringi et consistere', *Thes.l.L.* 4. 471. 60 ff.

ligna: *πῦρ* in Alcaeus. Cf. 3. 17. 14, *epod.* 2. 43, Xenoph. 18. 1 *πὰρ πυρὶ χρὴ τοιαῦτα λέγειν χειμῶνος ἐν ὄρη*, Eur. *Cycl.* 331 *καὶ πῦρ ἀναίθων χίονος οὐδέν μοι μέλει*, Tennyson, *In Mem.* 107 'Bring in great logs and let them lie, And make a solid core of heat'. G. Bagnani, *Phoenix* 8, 1954, 23 ff. points out that the Roman *focus* had no chimney to create a draught and remove smoke; he suggests that it must have burned charcoal rather than logs. He overstates his case: *ligna* could mean bits of wood smaller than logs, and an abundance of firewood was one of the privileges of country life (D. West 4 ff.).

6. **reponens**: *ἐπιτίθεις* in Alcaeus. *re-* does not imply a repeated action; it may suggest that the wood is being put where it belongs, or perhaps that it is replacing burnt logs (thus E. S. Thompson, *CR* 16, 1902, 282).

benignius: 'more lavishly'; cf. Varro, *Men.* 461 'ipsum avide vino invitari poclis large atque benigne'. *benignus* sometimes implies not so much kindness and amiability as objective openhandedness of a material sort; contrast *malignus*, 'mean' (cf. 1. 28. 23 ff.).

7. **quadrimum**: Alcaeus mentioned *οἶνον μέλιχρον*, but Horace, in the manner of later poetry, is more specific. His Sabine wine was of medium quality (1. 20. 1 n.), and suits his portrait of himself as a moderate man. The precise age may have been suggested by literary associations; cf. Theoc. 7. 147 *τετράενες δὲ πίθων ἀπελύσατο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ*, 14. 15 f. *ἀνῶξα δὲ Βίβλινον αὐτοῖς / εὐώδη τετόρων ἐτέων*.

8. **o**: the interjection sounds a Greek note; cf. 1. 16. 1. Horace normally uses the vocative alone; this is the standard Latin practice. Exceptions occur obviously in prayers (1. 30. 1, 1. 35. 1), pseudo-prayers (1. 32. 13, 3. 13. 1, 3. 21. 1), and other artificial addresses (1. 14. 1); sometimes also where the friend is characterized feelingly (1. 1. 2, 1. 4. 14, 2. 7. 1, 4. 10. 1).

Thaliarche: though not common, this is a real Greek name (Pape-Benseler 479, *SEG* 20. 238, 20. 486). *θαλία* in Greek poetry means 'a festivity', with suggestions of joy and abundance; so Thaliarchus is sometimes said to be the *συμποσίαρχος* at a drinking-party. Yet nothing else in the ode suggests a large gathering, so the association may be indirect and derived from Greek poetry. Thaliarchus appears once as a *καλός* name on a fifth-century Athenian pyxis (D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A History of Greek Love Names*, 1937, p. 183). But this by itself is not sufficient justification for suggesting a sentimental implication.

diota: a two-eared wine-jar; cf. Pl. *Hipp. mai.* 288 δ οἶαι τῶν καλῶν χυτρῶν εἰσί τινες δίωτοι, Athen. 473 c καδίσκον καινὸν δίωτον, Theoc. 1. 28 ἀμφῶες (of a *κισσύβιον*). This is the only occurrence of the word in extant Latin (except for glosses, etc., evidently based on our passage).

9. *permitte* . . . : after giving particular instructions Horace turns to more general advice. Such a *paraenesis* is found often in Greek lyric poetry, obviously in Pindar, but see also Alcaeus 38. 4 ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ μεγάλων . . . Here, as at 1. 7. 17 ff., the *paraenesis* is set in the middle of the poem.

divis: cf. Hom. *Od.* 19. 502 ἐπίτρεψον δὲ θεοῖσιν, 21. 279, 22. 288, Theogn. 1047 f. νῦν μὲν πίνοντες τερπόμεθα καλὰ λέγοντες / ἄσσα δ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται ταῦτα θεοῖσι μέλει, Aesch. *Pers.* 229, Pind. *O.* 13. 106, Bacch. 17. 46, Machon 111 Gow πίων καθεῦδε ταῦτ' ἐπιτρέψας τῇ τύχῃ, Symm. *epist.* 2. 7. 3, Milton, *P.L.* 11. 555 'how long or short permit to Heaven'.

cetera: everything outside the symposium; cf. *epod.* 13. 7, Eur. *Alc.* 788 ff. εὐφραине σαυτόν, πῖνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν / βίον λογίζου σόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης / . . . τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔασον ταῦτα, fr. 468 τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαίρε, κύλικος ἐρπούσης κύκλω, Amphis 21 K., Palladas, *anth. P.* 11. 62. 6.

qui simul . . . : the gods have power to still the storm; cf. 1. 12. 27 n. It may be asked why in our passage Horace should choose this relatively unimportant manifestation of divine omnipotence. The explanation surely lies in the ode's literary ancestry; it seems to have been a conventional feature in sympotic poems to say 'a storm is raging outside, but the gods will still it, and with it our present troubles'. See *epod.* 13. 1 ff. (which gives exactly the same sequence of thought as our poem): 'horrida tempestas caelum contraxit, et imbres / nivesque deducunt Iovem : nunc mare nunc siluae / Threicio Aquilone sonant . . . / tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo. / cetera mitte loqui; deus haec fortasse benigna / reducet in sedem vice'. In our poem Horace keeps the traditional reference to storms, though strictly speaking it does not suit the weather of the first stanza.

10. **stravere**: cf. Theoc. 7. 57 f. *χαλκύνες στοροσεῦντι τὰ κύματα τάν τε θάλασσαν / τόν τε νότον τόν τ' εἶρον*. Kiessling compares *κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμωνα* in Alcaeus's poem, but the context is different and the resemblance may be fortuitous.

11. **cupressi**: Horace abruptly moves the scene from the sea to the land; for other instances of such disconcerting variation cf. 1. 7. 10 n. The cypress is mentioned as a picturesque tree, which because of its thin trunk and evergreen leaves makes a fine flurry in the wind. Cf. Nonnus 3. 148 f. *καὶ εὐπετάλου κυπαρίσσου / ὄρθριον ἐρρίπιζε κόμην εὐδομος ἀήτης*, Tennyson, *The Princess*, 'Now sleeps the crimson petal, now the white; Nor waves the cypress in the palace walk'.

12. **orni**: a species of ash (strictly the 'manna-ash'), proverbially at home on windy hillsides; cf. Virg. *eccl.* 6. 71 'deducere montibus ornos', Avien. *orb. terr.* 676 'agitans aquilonibus ornos'. For *veteres* cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 766 'annosam montibus ornium'.

13. **quid sit futurum . . .**: cf. Simon. 521 *ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν μὴ ποτε φάσῃς ὅ τι γίνεται*, Philetaerus 7. 5 f. K. *εἰς αὔριον δὲ μηδὲ φροντίζειν ὅ τι / ἔσται*, Theoc. 13. 4 *τὸ δ' αὔριον οὐκ ἐσορῶμες*, *Anacreontea* 7. 9 f. *τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι / τὸ δ' αὔριον τίς οἶδεν; / ὡς οὖν ἔτ' εὐδία 'στιν, / καὶ πῖνε καὶ κύβευε*, anon. *anth.* P. 11. 56. 1 f. *πῖνε καὶ εὐφραίνου· τί γὰρ αὔριον ἢ τί τὸ μέλλον / οὐδεὶς γινώσκει*, Palladas, *ibid.* 5. 72. 2 ff. *ζωῆς ἀνθρώποις ὀλίγος χρόνος. ἄρτι Λύαιος, / ἄρτι χοροὶ στεφανοὶ τε φιλανθεές, ἄρτι γυναῖκες. / σήμερον ἐσθλὰ πάθω· τὸ γὰρ αὔριον οὐδενὶ δῆλον*, *Monuments et Mémoires* (Fondation Piot) 5, 1899, 59 (silver cup from Boscoreale) *ζῶν μετέλαβε· τὸ γὰρ αὔριον ἀδηλόν ἐστι*. See further 1. 11. 8 n.

fuge quaerere: *fuge* means 'forbear', and is probably a Grecism, modelled on *φεύγειν*; cf. 2. 4. 22 'fuge suspicari', Lucr. 1. 1052 'illud in his rebus longe fuge credere', *Thes.l.L.* 6. 1. 1491. 64. For similar locutions cf. 2. 11. 3 'remittas quaerere', 1. 26. 3 n.

14. **lucro adpone**: 'credit to your account'; the tone is commercial. Cf. *Sotadea* 6. 10 Powell *ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀλυσία μέγ' ἐστὶ κέρδος*, Plaut. *merc.* 553 f. (to an old man) 'id iam lucrumst / quod vivis', Ter. *Phorm.* 251, Cic. *epist.* 9. 17. 1 'de lucro prope iam quadriennium vivimus', Ov. *trist.* 1. 3. 68, Sen. *ben.* 5. 17. 7.

16. **puer**: 'while you are young'; cf. *epist.* 1. 2. 67 f. 'nunc adhibe puro / pectore verba puer'. For the commonplace cf. Pind. fr. 123. 1 *χρῆν μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρώτων δρέπεσθαι, θυμέ, σὺν ἀλικία*, Antiphanes, *anth.* P. 10. 100. 3 ff. *ὅτ' οὖν χρόνος ὤριος ἡμῖν, / πάντα χύδην ἔστω, ψαλμὸς ἔρως προπόσεις. / χεῖμων τούντεῦθεν γήρως βαρύς*, Eur. fr. 897. 9 f. *τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν προλέγω τοῖσι νέοισιν / μήποτε φεύγειν*, Sen. *Phaedr.* 446 f.

tu: in Greek and Latin the pronoun is sometimes expressed only in the second of two parallel clauses; it has the effect of giving more body to the clause that lacks the verb. See K.-G. I. 657, F. Leo, *Analecta Plautina* I. 24 f. (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* I. 96 f.).

choreas: one must not think of mixed couples revolving round a ball-room, but of young men dancing in a ring. We hear of Roman dances at a few religious ceremonies, and of less decorous solo performances at wild parties (Cic. *Mur.* 13 'nemo enim fere saltat sobrius', *Pis.* 19); female artistes also danced for the entertainment of men. But the dances here have less to do with Roman life than with the Greek poetic convention; cf. Nepos 15. I. 2 'scimus etiam musicen nostris moribus abesse a principis persona, saltare vero etiam in vitiis poni; quae omnia apud Graecos et grata et laude digna ducuntur'. See further *RE* 4 A. 2247, G. Williams, *JRS* 52, 1962, 37 f.

17. **donec:** cf. 2. 3. 15, 4. 12. 26, *epod.* 13. 4, Theoc. 14. 68 ff. ἀπὸ κροτάφων πελόμεσθα / πάντες γηραλέοι, καὶ ἐπισχερῶ ἐς γένυν ἔρπει / λευκαίνων ὁ χρόνος· ποιεῖν τι δεῖ ἄς γόνυ χλωρόν, Prop. 2. 15. 23 with Enk's note, 4. 5. 59 'dum vernat sanguis, dum rugis integer annus', Philostr. *epist.* 17 (35) μηδὲν μέλλε, ὦ φθεγγόμενον ῥόδον, ἀλλ' ἕως ἔξεστι καὶ ζῆς, μετάδος ἡμῖν ὦν ἔχεις, Spenser, *F.Q.* 2. 12. 75 'Gather therefore the Rose, whilst yet is prime, For soone comes age, that will her pride deflowre: Gather the Rose of love, whilst yet is time, Whilst loving thou mayest loved be with equall crime', Herrick 'Gather ye rosebuds while ye may'.

virenti: less specifically a colour-word than English 'green', yet here obviously contrasted with *canities*. Cf. Theoc. 14. 70 (cited in previous note), André 349.

18. **morosa:** cf. Cic. *Cato* 65 'at sunt morosi . . . et difficiles senes'.

nunc: the word means of course not 'today' but 'while you are young'; cf. *epist.* I. 2. 67 f. (cited 16 n.). Even so, there is some inconsistency with the weather of the opening stanza.

Campus: the Campus Martius, the park of Rome; by modern conventions editors should print with a capital letter. The word suggests the general social activities of the young (Pöschl, loc. cit., pp. 374 ff., D. West, loc. cit.). Editors generally assume that the associations are exclusively erotic, and that *composita hora* is to be taken with *Campus* and *areae* as well as with *susurri*. It is certainly true that young men seeking encounters with girls sauntered along the colonnades of the Campus; cf. Prop. 2. 23. 5 f. "quaenam nunc porticus illam / integit?" et "campo quo movet illa pedes?"', 4. 8. 75 'tu neque Pompeia spatia bere cultus in umbra', Ov. *am.* 2. 2. 4, *ars* I. 67, *trist.* 2. 286. Yet it may be doubted whether in our context *Campus* can be interpreted so narrowly; after all, *choreas* above

suggests the general gaiety of youth rather than anything specifically to do with love.

areae: 'in urbe loca pura areae' (Varro, *ling.* 5. 38). The name could be applied to open spaces round temples, and Ovid gives it to the Forum Boarium (*fast.* 6. 478). One has to think of the part played by a piazza in the social life of a modern Italian town.

19. sub noctem: 'approaching nightfall'. Cf. Pasquali 83 'di notte sì per vero in solitarie piazze romane, dove cresce l'erba, s'incontrano ancor oggi coppie di amanti, si ode ancor oggi il loro tenero sussurro, ma di giorno non si fa l'amore in piazza nè a Roma nè altrove' (1920).

susurri: Orelli comments 'amator ad ianuam semiapertam amicae hora constituta susurrat'. This is pure fiction: the scene is set in the open air, and the *susurri* are the *ψιθυρίσματα* of both man and girl. Cf. Hes. *th.* 205 *παρθενίους τ' ὄαρους μειδήματά τ' ἔξαπάτας τε*, Theoc. 27. 68 *ἀλλήλοις ψιθύριζον*, anon. *anth. Pl.* 202. 1 f. *τὸν φιλοκώμων / τερπόμενον νυχίοις ἠιθέων ὄαροις*, Tib. 1. 1. 71 f. 'iam subrepet iners aetas, nec amare decebit / dicere nec cano blanditias capite', 1. 8. 2, Prop. 1. 11. 13, Claud. 14. 21 f.

20. composita . . . hora: cf. *serm.* 1. 5. 82 f., Juv. 3. 12 'ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae', Paul. Sil. *anth. P.* 5. 279. 5 *ἄ πόσα τήν Κυθέρειαν ἐπώμοσεν ἔσπερος ἤξειν*.

repetantur: the prefix means 'according to the compact' rather than 'repeatedly'. The force of the verb carries on into the next stanza, though there it is less appropriate.

21. nunc et latentis . . .: in spite of his sentimental subject Horace's diction is austere and his word-order intricate; the tone is that of a detached observer. Porphyrio drily comments: 'grate dictum. sic enim puellae solent verecundiam sexus cum libidine miscentes abscondere se sequentibus amatoribus, et rursus ut inveniantur risu se prodere'. For this motif cf. 2. 12. 26 f. 'aut facili saevitia negat / quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi', Virg. *ecl.* 3. 64 f. 'malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella, / et fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri' (Servius ad loc. quotes our passage), Tib. 1. 9. 44 'et latuit clausas post adoperta fores', Ov. *am.* 1. 5. 15 f. 'quae cum ita pugnet tamquam quae vincere nollet / victa est non aegre prodicione sua', Maxim. *eleg.* 1. 67 ff. 'et modo subridens latebras fugitiva petebat, / non tamen effugiis tota latere volens, / sed magis ex aliqua cupiebat parte videri, / laetior hoc potius quod male tecta fuit'.

proditor: used adjectivally; cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen* 2. 54, H.-Sz. 157 f. The word here is artistically juxtaposed with *latentis*.

22. angulo: some editors assume that the action has shifted indoors.

But in a Mediterranean country the scene should be set outside, open to the appraising eye of the passer-by.

23. *pignus*: a bracelet from the arm, a ring from the finger (see D.-S. 1. 293 ff., 1. 435 ff.). For engagement-rings cf. Juv. 6. 27 'digito *pignus* fortasse dedisti', J. Marquardt and A. Mau, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, 1886, p. 41 nn. 7 and 8. Here a more temporary commitment is implied; cf. Ov. *am.* 2. 15 (the present of a ring to a girl), Mart. 8. 5 'dum donas, Macer, anulos puellis, / desisti, Macer, anulos habere'.

24. *aut*: in the ancient manner Horace suggests alternative situations; it would seem more vivid to the modern point of view if he had concentrated either on the ring or the bracelet. In the same way the *Campus* and the *areae* are mentioned as alternatives. Even *lacertis* implies that the bracelet might have come off either arm (here a desire to avoid rhyme with *digito* may play a part). For a similar disjunction which seems undesirable to modern taste cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 23 'sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae'.

male: negatives *pertinaci* but less bluntly than *non*; for such sophisticated understatements cf. the common use of *parum*. So *serm.* 1. 9. 65, 2. 5. 45, *epist.* 1. 19. 3, Petron. 87. 3 'male repugnanti gaudium extorsi'; cf. 'malcontent', 'maladroit'. Distinguish the use of *male* which intensifies words of bad sense: *serm.* 1. 3. 45, 1. 4. 66, *carm.* 4. 12. 7, Prud. *cath.* praef. 14 f. 'male pertinax / vincendi studium subiacuit casibus asperis', Sulpicius Lupercus, *anth. Lat.* 648. 5 ff. 'amnis insueta solet ire valle, / mutat et rectos via certa cursus, / rupta cum cedit male pertinaci / ripa fluento'. The last two passages are presumably modelled on our own, but *male* is used differently. For further details see Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen* 2. 255, J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, ed. 3, 1951, p. 145, E. Wölfflin, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 1933, pp. 139 f., Bömer on Ov. *fast.* 1. 559.

10. MERCURI FACVNDE NEPOS

[Fraenkel 161 ff.]

1-4. *Mercury, originator of language and athletic contests, 5-8 I shall hymn you as the inventor of the lyre and the god of trickery. 9-12. You stole Apollo's cattle and quiver, 13-16 you escorted Priam through the Greek pickets, 17-20 you conduct the dead to the underworld.*

Porphyrio calls our poem 'hymnus in Mercurium ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta'. Alcaeus's Hymn to Hermes occupied a prominent position in

Il. 24. 343 εἶλετο δὲ ῥάβδον τῆ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει / ὦν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὐτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει (so *Od.* 24. 2 ff., where Hermes drives the souls of the suitors), *h.Merc.* 529 f. (Apollo to Hermes) ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον, / χρυσεῖην τριπέτηλον ἀκήριον ἢ σε φυλάξει, *Orph. h.* 57. 6 ff., *Virg. Aen.* 4. 242 ff. 'tum virgam capit; hac animas ille evocat Orco / pallentes, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit, / dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat' (cf. *Stat. Theb.* 1. 306 ff.), Spenser, *F.Q.* 2. 12. 41. For further details cf. F. J. M. de Waele, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity*, 1927, pp. 29 ff., *RE* 11. 331 ff., 3 A. 1920, Roscher 1. 2365, Pease on *Cic. div.* 1. 30 and *Virg. Aen.* 4. 242.

levem: 'insubstantial'; cf. *Ov. met.* 10. 14 'perque leves populos simulacraque functa sepulcro', *Sen. Ag.* 757.

coerces: Mercury used his wand like a shepherd's staff; so more explicitly 1. 24. 16 ff. (see note).

19. aurea: Hermes is χρυσόρραπις in the *Odyssey*. He is still assigned a golden wand in a papyrus poem of the fourth century A.D. (*GLP* 136. 4 f.) δῶκε δέ οἱ ῥάβδον χρυσεῖν διακοσμήτειραν / πάσης εὐέργοιο νοήμονα μητέρα τέχνης, *ibid.* 18.

superis . . .: Mercury is an ambassador between Heaven and Hades; cf. *h.Merc.* 572 οἶον δ' εἰς Αἴδην τετελεσμένον ἄγγελον εἶναι, *Aesch. cho.* 165 κῆρυξ μέγιστε τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, *Apollod.* 3. 10. 2 Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν κήρυκα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ θεῶν ὑποχθονίων τίθησι, *Ov. fast.* 5. 665 and *carm. epig.* 1528 (see pp. 126 f.), *Cornutus, nat. deor.* 16 διὰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς . . ., *Plut. Is. et Osir.* 375 e, *Apul. apol.* 64, *met.* 11. 11. 1, *Claud. rapt. Pros.* 1. 89 f., *Serv. auct. Aen.* 8. 138 'alii Mercurium quasi Medicurrium a Latinis dictum volunt quod inter caelum et inferos semper intercurrat', *Fulg. myth.* 1. 18.

11. TV NE QVAESIERIS

[D. West 58 ff.]

1-3. Do not investigate our horoscopes, *Leuconoe*; better to accept whatever happens. 4-8. Whether life is to be long or short, enjoy your wine today and distrust the morrow.

The antecedents of this little poem are more complex than might appear at first sight. Some elements are obviously derived from convivial Greek lyric and epigram. Stormy weather is a traditional feature of drinking-songs (p. 117). The adjuration 'to cut short long hopes' suits the *paraenesis* of early lyric. It seems to have been a commonplace in sympotic verse to say 'do not ask or trouble

about serious or worrying matters'; cf. 1. 9. 13 'quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere', 2. 11. 3 f. 'remittas quaerere', *Anacreontea* 3. 10 f. τί Πλειάδων μέλει μοι; | τί γὰρ καλοῦ Βοώτου; In particular one may compare some elegant meiuoric hexameters of the Roman period (anon. *GLP* 125. 8 ff.):

μὴ κοπία ζητεῖν πόθεν ἥλιος ἢ πόθεν ὕδωρ
ἀλλὰ πόθεν τὸ μύρον καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀγοράσης.
αὐλεῖ μοι.

Similarly in our poem Horace expresses disregard for astrology; cf. Antip. Thess, *anth. P.* 11. 23. 1 ff. ὠκύμορόν με λέγουσι δαήμονες ἄνδρες ἀστρων | εἰμὶ μὲν ἀλλ' οὐ μοι τοῦτο, Σέλευκε, μελεῖ. | . . . πίνωμεν.

Yet the ode has one feature which is noteworthy in a drinking-poem: it is addressed to a woman. Perhaps Horace has chosen to do this because he is talking of horoscopes, and women were particularly interested in astrology. Yet there are also hints of a love-interest which, though not conspicuous, may have been more prominent in Horace's models. It is surely significant that Leuconoe consults astrologers not only in her own but on Horace's behalf (1 n.). Some of the parallels to *carpe diem* have a clear reference to love (8 n.), and this is the natural interpretation of the phrase in a poem addressed to a girl (D. West 64). Horace may be using a motif from a lost Greek prototype, something on the lines of Marvell's poem 'To his Coy Mistress', or Herrick's 'To the Virgins, to make much of Time'; for the general theme cf. Asclepiades, *anth. P.* 5. 85. 1 f. (above, 1. 4. 18 n.). A particularly illuminating parallel is provided by a little piece in the Virgilian appendix, *de rosis nascentibus*; this ends with the couplet (49 f.)

collige, virgo, rosas dum flos novus et nova pubes,
et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum.

Direct imitation of Horace is unlikely: the two poems are very different in subject and treatment, and 'collige virgo rosas' is much more explicit than 'carpe diem'. One should look rather for a common ancestry in Hellenistic erotic epigram. It may or may not be a coincidence that 'dum loquor' occurs in the elegiac poem (38) and 'dum loquimur' in Horace (7 n.).

The ode also contains several reminiscences of Epicurus. He seems to be the source of the maxim in line 3, 'put up with whatever happens' (see n.); he may also have commented on the advantages of not knowing the future (3 n.). *carpe diem* is perhaps Epicurean in expression as well as in spirit (8 n.). Epicurus's distrust of divination may therefore be relevant to the opening lines: cf. fr. 395. 16 ff. Ἐπικούρειόν ἐστι δόγμα ἀναιροῦν τὴν μαντικὴν· εἰμαρμένης γὰρ, φησι,

πάντα κρατούσης πρὸ καιροῦ λελύπηκας <εἰπὼν τὴν συμφορὰν>, ἢ χρηστόν τι εἰπὼν τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐξέλυσας. λέγουσι δ' ὅτι καὶ ἂ δεῖ γενέσθαι ταῦτα καὶ γενήσεται, IG. 27 μαντικὴ οὔσα ἀνυπαρκτός, εἰ καὶ ὑπαρκτή, οὐδὲν παρ' ἡμᾶς ἡγητέα τὰ γινόμενα, Cic. *div.* 1. 5 with Pease's note. Yet it would be wrong to interpret the poem as a whole as a rationalistic attack on astrology. The undesirability of knowing the future is emphasized as much as the impossibility. Distrust of prophecies merges into distrust of the future itself; and this too is an Epicurean doctrine (8 n.).

Horace's poem is outstandingly good. His theme may be traditional, but he relates it to the real life of his own times; as astrology was a contemporary interest (see 2 n.), the reference comes in very naturally. Even if the Tyrrhenian waves are derived from some Greek commonplace, Horace's treatment is fresh and evocative. To write in choriambics is something of a *tour de force*, but the metre is handled without strain. The rapid movement of the poem suits the suggestion that there is no time to lose; and 'carpe diem', however hackneyed it later became, is a brilliant expression. In Greek epigram the topic encouraged sensuousness and sentimentality, but here it is stated with unique brevity and authority. Horace nowhere expresses his pessimism (admittedly conventional) with greater energy and concentration.

Metre: Greater Asclepiad.

1. **tu**: the pronoun strikes a note of earnest admonition; the usage is not particularly colloquial (as suggested by H.-Sz. 173).

quaesieris: the word well suits the consultation of astrologers; cf. Prop. 2. 27. 1 f. 'at vos incertam, mortales, funeris horam / quaeritis, et qua sit mors aditura via', Ov. *met.* 1. 148, Tac. *ann.* 3. 22. 2 'quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris'.

scire nefas: 'knowledge is forbidden'; cf. Porph. on *carm.* 3. 29. 31 'nefas est inquirere futura quae divi nescire nos voluerunt'. The phrase is a conventional formula; cf. *carm.* 4. 4. 22, Ov. *fast.* 3. 325, Luc. 1. 127, Stat. *Theb.* 3. 562 f. 'quid crastina volveret aetas / scire nefas homini', Prud. *cath.* 3. 116. Cicero uses *nefas* to translate ἀδύνατον (*Tim.* 6), but the word has moral overtones which ἀδύνατον lacks: it suggests that something is a violation of a natural or divine order.

quem mihi, quem tibi: consultations about a loved one must have been common; for a satirical reference cf. Juv. 6. 565 ff. 'consulit . . . an sit victurus adulter'.

2. **Leuconoe**: the lady is obviously fictitious, and it is not clear why Horace calls her 'Leuconoe'. It may only be a pretty name that suits

a difficult metre. But more probably it conveys some particular nuance either by derivation or literary association. Yet no explanation that has been suggested seems completely convincing.

'Leuconoe' seems to be derived from *νοῦς* and *νοεῖν*. For similar names cf. *Alcinoe*, *Arsinoe*, *Autonoe*, *Chrysonoe*, *Philonoe*, *Thelxinoe* (F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, 1917, p. 337). Pape-Benseler connect 'Leuconoe' with *νόα*, an obscure word for a spring; this would suit the Attic deme Leuconoe, but is not a natural derivation for the woman's name.

The meaning of *λευκο-* is less clear, but it cannot in origin be derogatory; otherwise the name would not have been borne by several mythological heroines. This argument rules out any connection with *λευκαῖς . . . φρασίν* (Pind. *P.* 4. 109), an obscure phrase which has been variously interpreted as 'shallow', 'mad', and 'envious'. Perhaps the adjective refers to simplicity and innocence of character; it is used for instance of clear water (Hom. *Il.* 23. 282 *λοέσσας ὕδατι λευκῶ*). But even so it is difficult to see a really pointed application in this particular poem. Horace may be hinting that Leuconoe is a little too simple-minded; yet to consult astrologers was not the mark so much of guileless girls as sophisticated women. To trust the future may indeed be a sign of ingenuousness, but 'credula postero' only appears at the end of the poem. One might rather suggest, simply as a speculation, that a lost Greek epigram was addressed to a Leuconoe, who was of such purity and innocence of mind that she was reluctant to 'gather rose-buds'; and that Horace has overlaid this epigram with so many other features that the significance of the name has virtually disappeared.

If such a hypothesis is thought too fanciful, one might look for other forms of literary association. Leuconoe seems to have been a name for one of the Minyads who rejected the rites of Bacchus and were turned into bats (cf. ps.-Lact. *Plac. fab. Ov.* 4. 12, from where the name is restored by editors in *Ov. met.* 4. 168 for the corrupt *Leucothoe*). In a context urging the enjoyment of life an allusion to this legend might seem appropriate; yet there is a difference between Dionysiac ecstasy and the rational hedonism which Horace enjoins.

An attempt has been made to find a reference to star-gazing in the name. Meton, the great fifth-century astronomer, came from the deme Leuconoe; cf. Phrynichus 21 K. *A.* *Τίς δ' ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα φροντίζων*; *B.* *Μέτων | ὁ Λευκονοιεύς. Α. οἶδ', ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων*. Hence it has been suggested that the name is the equivalent of 'Miss Newton' (J. R. Smith, *CR* 33, 1919, 27 f.). This theory, if carefully phrased, is not absurd, but it depends on one unproved assumption: one has to posit that Meton was known familiarly in Hellenistic literature as *ὁ Λευκονοιεύς*, just as Epicurus was called

'Gargettius' (Cic. *epist.* 15. 16. 1, Stat. *silv.* 1. 3. 94, 2. 2. 113). Of course 'Leuconoe' is not the feminine of 'Leuconoeus', and even if it were the name would be, strictly speaking, irrational; it would have to acquire its effect simply by association. This is perhaps not altogether impossible; the athlete Hebrus is described as *Liparaeus* because the name suggests *λιπαρός* (3. 12. 6). Yet it must be recognized that the theory involves more than one step in the dark.

Babylonios: astrology originated in Babylonia and hence was often called *Χαλδαική*; the Chaldaei were, strictly speaking, the inhabitants of lower Mesopotamia, then the Babylonian priesthood, finally astrologers in general. The art spread over the Hellenistic world, notably to Egypt, in the wake of Alexander (cf. Leonidas, *anth. P.* 9. 80 for some unfriendly remarks). In the second century B.C. we find it practised at Rome: Cato (*agr.* 5. 4) and Ennius (*scaen.* 242 ff.) were hostile, as was the neo-Stoic Panaetius, and in 139 B.C. astrologers were expelled temporarily from the city (Val. Max. 1. 3. 3). In the next century opinion in the governing classes was much more favourable. Sulla believed in astrology; more significantly, so did Posidonius and Varro, as well as Nigidius Figulus; here as elsewhere the rationalism of Cicero is untypical (*div.* 2. 87-99). In 33 B.C. Octavian expelled the astrologers from Rome, but the effect did not last long. Maecenas seems to have been a believer (cf. 2. 17); Vitruvius (9. 6. 2), Propertius (4. 1), and Ovid (*Ib.* 209 ff.) all at least profess to take the art seriously; later in the reign Manilius began his remarkable poem. Augustus forbade the consultation of astrologers about death, but at the same time he published his own horoscope (Dio 56. 25. 5). Tiberius not only practised astrology himself, but allowed immense power to his astrologer Thrasyllus. The Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors all consulted astrologers, and their experts (e.g. Balbillus) obtained great influence; the elder Pliny is an outstanding exception to the credulity of the age (*nat.* 2. 23). Astrology was regarded as the most scientific method of telling the future, one sanctioned by cool-headed statesmen and high-minded scholars. No doubt astrologers made mistakes, but so did doctors; the art itself was not to be impugned for that reason any more than medicine. See further A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L' Astrologie grecque*, 1899, pp. 543 ff., F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, 1912, F. H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, 1954.

3. *numeros*: astrological calculations; cf. Cic. *div.* 1. 36, 2. 17, Luc. 1. 641, Juv. 6. 576. Astrologers were often called *mathematici* (Mayor on Juv. 14. 248).

ut melius: *ut* is exclamatory; for its use with a comparative cf. Plaut. *truc.* 806 'ut facilius alia quam alia eundem puerum . . . parit'.

Withof proposed *utilius* (against the ancient commentators); but it is too calculating to confine the issue so explicitly to expediency.

It was a commonplace of ancient thought that it is better not to foresee the future (3. 29. 29 ff.). The point was no doubt made by Epicurus himself; it is found in a fragment of Diogenianus, the Epicurean of the second century A.D. (ap. Euseb. *pr. evang.* 138 b 1 ff.): *τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἡμῖν ἦν προμανθάνειν τὰ πάντως ἐσόμενα δυσχερῆ ἃ οὐδὲ προφυλάξασθαι δυνατόν ἂν εἴη;* See also Aesch. *Pr.* 248, Cic. *div.* 2. 22 with Pease's note, 2. 105 'magnus Dicaearchi liber est nescire ea melius quam scire', *nat. deor.* 3. 14 with Pease's note, Plut. *εἰ ἢ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσις ὠφέλιμος* (title of dialogue), ps.-Plut. *Apoll.* 107 a οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀρώσαν τό τ' ἄτακτον καὶ βραχυχρόνιον τοῦ βίου ἄδηλον ποιῆσαι τὴν τοῦ θανάτου προθεσμίαν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἄμεινον, Favorinus fr. 3 with Barigazzi's note, Origen, *in Gen.* 8 (12. 68 c Migne) πάντα γοῦν χρησίμως ὁ Θεὸς τὰ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον οἰκονομῶν, εὐλόγως ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα ἐτύφλωσεν.

quicquid erit pati: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 710 'quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est', Ov. *epist.* 18. 51 'quidquid erit, patiar'.

Horace's sentiment may be Epicurean. This is suggested by a fine sentence in Cicero addressed to the Epicurean Paetus: 'tu tamen pro tua sapientia debebis optare optima, cogitare difficillima, ferre quaecumque erunt' (*epist.* 9. 17. 3). There is a similar aphorism in Plut. *tranq. an.* 474 c εὔχεται μὲν ὁ νοῦν ἔχων τὰ βελτίονα, προσδοκᾷ δὲ καὶ θάτερα, χρῆται δ' ἀμφοτέροις τὸ ἄγαν ἀφαιρῶν. It may be significant that Plutarch goes on to quote Epicurus fr. 490 in the next sentence.

4. seu . . . : this clause is best taken as the beginning of a new sentence which continues to 7 *resces*. 'ut melius quidquid erit pati' is complete in itself and needs no development. This argument is particularly forcible if Horace is alluding to an Epicurean aphorism.

Many editors print a comma at *pati* and run on till 6 *Tyrrhenum* (cf. P. Veyne, *RPh* 41, 1967, 107). But the long sentence seems to straggle a little; and it ends with an adjective immediately preceded by its noun. Moreover, the pronounced break after 6 *Tyrrhenum* is very sudden and interrupts the flow of the long choriambic lines. A full stop after the third syllable in line 6 would be unparalleled in Horace's greater Asclepiads; the only full stops inside the line occur after the sixth syllable (1. 11. 3, 1. 11. 7, 1. 18. 11, 1. 18. 13); the pause after *aetas* (1. 11. 8) is distinctly slighter.

hiemes: Horace partly uses 'winters' as a conventional substitute for 'years' (cf. 1. 15. 35), but he also implies a great deal more. Mediterranean winters are associated with storm rather than snow (cf. *χειμῶν*). It seems likely that a Greek lyric poet (perhaps Alcaeus) mentioned the sea in a sympotic poem (cf. p. 117).

tribuit: if the tense is perfect it suits the astrological doctrine that one's span of life is allotted at birth; cf. Plin. *nat.* 2. 23 'semelque in omnes futuros umquam deo decretum, in reliquum vero otium datum'. An Epicurean should not talk in such terms, but Horace is not greatly concerned to deny Leuconoe's presuppositions.

5. debilitat: the sea is worn down by a barrier of rock. Some editors find the expression strange; they say that one would sooner expect the sea to wear down the land. Yet cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 304 'fluctusque fatigat'; in Greek *κοπάζειν* is used of stormy seas being calmed; in English one talks of the 'spent force' of the waves (cf. also A. H. Clough's 'tired waves vainly breaking').

pumicibus: the name is applied not only to pumice in the modern sense (which is particularly associated with the Lipari islands), but also in a more general sense to other volcanic rocks, such as are abundant on the west coast of Italy; cf. Plin. *nat.* 36. 154-5, *RE* 3. 473 f., D.-S. 4. 767 f. The essential characteristic of *pumex* is porosity (Ov. *met.* 8. 562 'pumice multicavo'); hence the word is used of the hiding-place of birds (Virg. *Aen.* 5. 214) and of bees (12. 587).

pumex would not be the right stone to mention if Horace were emphasizing the strength of the rocks. Rather he suggests the slow and steady process of erosion caused by the continuous interaction of rocks and sea; cf. Lucr. 1. 325 ff. 'nec porro quaecumque aevo macieque senescunt, / nec mare quae impendent vesco sale saxa peresa / quid quoque amittant in tempore cernere possis', Sidon. *carm.* 11. 28 'asper ab assiduo lympharum verbere pumex'. By this subtle touch the poet evokes a contrast (which he does not explicitly state) between the long-drawn-out conflicts of nature and the brevity of human life and happiness.

6. Tyrrhenum: Horace includes an Italian place-name, as often, to add local colour.

sapias: 'be sensible'; cf. 1. 7. 17, Mart. 4. 54. 3 'si sapias, utaris totis, Colline, diebus', J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, ed. 3, 1951, pp. 134, 200. Porphyrio (together with Prisc. *gramm.* 3. 247. 14 ff.) says that *sapias* here means 'if you were wise', and is subordinate to *liques* (so also P. Veyne, *RPh* 41, 1967, 107). But as the words are both subjunctive this is unlikely.

vina liques: 'strain your wine'. The ancients removed the sediment from wine by pouring it through either a strainer of metal or rush (*colum*) or a linen bag (*saccus*); see D.-S. 1. 1331 f., *RE* 4. 590 ff., G. Curtel, *La Vigne et le vin chez les Romains*, 1903, pp. 156 ff. This process often took place just before the actual drinking; cf. Pherecrates 41. 2 K. ἔγχει τ' ἐπιθείς τὸν ἡθμόν, Juv. 13. 44 f. 'et iam saccato

nectare tergens / braccia Volcanus Liparaea nigra taberna' (where *saccato* is Schurzfleisch's convincing emendation of *siccato*).

Commentators on our passage do not ask why Horace says 'vina liques' rather than 'vina bibas'. Probably they assume that the preparation implies the drinking. Yet a special point seems to be meant. Sediment could be removed not only by straining but by leaving the wine standing; cf. *serm.* 2. 4. 51 ff. 'Massica si caelo suppones vina sereno, / nocturna, si quid crassi est, tenuabitur aura / et decedet odor nervis inimicus: at illa / integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem'. This method avoided the bad effects of straining. But Horace recommends immediate consumption: it is true that the wine may improve if you leave it standing, but you may not be there to drink it. Epicurean distrust of the morrow could not be expressed more vividly.

spatio brevi: 'within short limits'; the ablative is similar to the one sometimes found with *coercere* and *claudere*. It is correctly explained by A. O. Hulton, *CR N.S.* 8, 1958, 106 f.; he compares Liv. 2. 50. 7 'cogebantur brevior spatio et ipsi orbem colligere', Ov. *fast.* 6. 495 f. 'est spatio contracta brevi (terra)'. He rightly rejects the view of many commentators (following Porphyrio) that *spatio brevi* is ablative absolute (= 'the span of life being short').

7. *reseces*: the metaphor is from pruning vines.

dum loquimur: cf. Ov. *am.* 1. 11. 15 'dum loquor hora fugit', *Pont.* 4. 3. 58, Pers. 5. 153, Petron. 99. 3, Hier. *in Gal.* 3. 6 p. 528, *ros. nasc.* 37 f. 'ecce et defluxit rutili coma punica floris / dum loquor', *Orient. comm.* 2. 196. No instance of this *sententia* before Horace has been noticed by editors. Yet Horace is less pointed than some of his successors; 'dum loquimur' means not 'while I am speaking these words' but 'while we are holding this conversation'.

fugerit: 'will already have fled'; the future perfect emphasizes the speed of time's flight.

8. *aetas*: not 'life' (in which case *invida* would be inappropriate), but 'time'; cf. 2. 5. 13 f. 'currit enim ferox / aetas', Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 76 'volat enim aetas'. For similar aphorisms cf. Otto 112. Time is 'mean' because it will not let people enjoy themselves for long; cf. Erinna, *anth. P.* 7. 712. 3 βάσκανος ἔσσ', *Alida* (for parallels see Gow-Page 2. 283), Strato, *ibid.* 12. 234. 4 ταῦτα δ' ὁμῆ φθονέων ἐξεμάρανε χρόνος.

carpe diem: Porphyrio correctly comments 'translatio . . . a pomis sumpta est quae . . . ideo carpinus ut fruamur'. The word suggests both that there is something desirable to be gained and that if time is wasted the pleasure will be lost. So Ov. *ars* 3. 79 f. 'nostra sine auxilio fugiunt bona: carpite florem / qui nisi carptus erit turpiter ipse cadet', Pers. 5. 151 'indulge genio, carparamus dulcia', Mart. 7.

47. 11. For similar expressions cf. Pind. fr. 123. ἰ χρῆν μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρώτων δρέπεσθαι, θυμέ, σὺν ἀλικία, Aristaenetus 2. ἰ δικαία δ' ἂν εἴησ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ ἔργου συνεῖναι ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τηρεῖν ὀπώραν. τοῖς σοῖς δίδου ὀπωρώνας τὴν ὄραν τρυγᾶν. μετ' ὀλίγην ἔση γεράνδρουον (a withered stump), *ros. nasc.* 49 f. (above, p. 135), Ronsard, *Sonnets pour Helene* 2. 43. 13 f. 'Vivez, si m'en croyez, n'attendez à demain : Cueillez dès aujourd'hui les roses de la vie'.

Yet though this is the meaning, Horace indulges in none of the lush elaborations of erotic epigram. *carpe* is connected with the Greek *καρπίζειν*, and might suggest to Horace's readers the words of a serious and austere philosopher. Cf. Epicurus, *epist.* 3. 126 ὡσπερ δὲ σιτίον οὐ τὸ πλεῖον πάντως ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥδιον αἰρεῖται (ὁ σοφός), οὕτω καὶ χρόνον οὐ τὸν μήκιστον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἥδιστον καρπίζεται.

postero: distrust of the morrow is a recurring theme in Horace; cf. especially 3. 29. 41 ff., *epist.* 1. 4. 13. The same thought is expressed by many writers, often in a light-hearted way; cf. *cofa* 37 'pereat qui crastina curat', Petron. 99. 1 'ego sic semper et ubique vixi ut ultimam quamque lucem tamquam non redituram consumerem', above, 1. 9. 13 n. But in Horace one still finds something of the austere scepticism of Epicurus himself; cf. *epist.* 3. 127 *μνημονευτέον δὲ ὡς τὸ μέλλον οὔτε ἡμέτερον οὔτε πάντως οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἵνα μήτε πάντως προσμένωμεν ὡς ἐσόμενον μήτε ἀπελπίζωμεν ὡς πάντως οὐκ ἐσόμενον*, fr. 204 *γεγόναμεν ἅπαξ, δις δὲ οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι. δεῖ δὲ τὸν αἰῶνα μηκέτ' εἶναι. σὺ δὲ τῆς αὔριον οὐκ ὦν κύριος ἀναβάλλη τὸν καιρὸν. ὁ δὲ πάντων βίος μελλησιμῶ παραπόλλυται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἀσχολούμενος ἀποθνήσκει*, fr. 490 *ὁ τῆς αὔριον ἡκιστα δεόμενος ἡδιστα πρόσσεισι πρὸς τὴν αὔριον*, fr. 491. This is not hedonism but a serious and sensible attitude to life. Some readers associate Epicureanism with St. Paul's words in 1 *Cor.* 15. 32 *εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν*. A juster parallel would be *evang. Matth* 6. 34 *μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον, ἢ γὰρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει ἑαυτῆς· ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ κακία αὐτῆς*.

12. QVEM VIRVM

[T. Birt, *Philologus* 79, 1924, 26 ff.; G. Daniels, *Die Strophengruppen in den Horazoden*, Diss. Königsberg, 1940, 2 ff.; Doblhofer, *op. cit.*; D. L. Drews, *CQ* 19, 1925, 159 ff.; G. E. Duckworth, *TAPA* 87, 1956, 297 f.; Fraenkel 291 ff.; La Penna 95 ff.; A. Magariños, *Emerita* 10, 1942, 13 ff., *ibid.* 20, 1952, 78 ff.; T. Plüss, *Flecheisens Jahrb.* 107, 1873, 111 ff.; O. Weinreich, *ZKG* 1942, 33 ff.]

1-12. *What man, hero, or god shall I sing? 13-24. I shall sing first of*

viduertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas averruncesque', Liv. 5. 31. 5, Luther's litany, 'a peste et fame . . . a bello et cede . . . libera nos, Domine' (the words 'a peste, fame et bello' were added to the Roman litany in 1847, cf. L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* 1, 1932, p. 200). For similar collocations cf. Jeremiah 14. 12, Ezekiel 5. 17, 14. 21, R. H. Charles, *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, 1920, 1. 156 ff.

14. pestem: a poetical equivalent for the prose *pestilentiam*. Power to heal and send disease is constantly attributed to Apollo and to Artemis (13 n.). Apollo's hymn, the paeon, is defined in the *Etymologicum Magnum* as ὕμνος ἐπὶ ἀφέσει λοιμοῦ ἀδόμενος, and he was the first god mentioned in the Hippocratic oath.

populo: alliteration is very common in prayers; cf. Cato, loc. cit. above, Appel 160 ff.

principe: the *princeps* replaces the *patres*, who are frequently linked with the *populus*; cf. Lucil. 1229 'populusque patresque', Virg. *Aen.* 4. 682, 9. 192, Val. Fl. 8. 281, Stat. *silv.* 1. 4. 115, Mart. 7. 5. 1, 8. 49(50). 7, 9. 48. 7, 12. 2(3). 15, Auson. *Mos.* 409; the phrase is a poetical equivalent for the official *senatus populusque Romanus*. The more regular formula under the Empire is perhaps reflected in Apul. *met.* 11. 17. 3 'fausta vota praefatus principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo' (cf. Dio 51. 19. 7). Horace no doubt aims at brevity, but his disregard for the senate seems a constitutional enormity. Even a century later the omission could give offence; cf. Suet. *Nero* 37. 3 'et in auspicando opere Isthmi magna frequentia clare ut sibi ac populo Romano bene res verteret optavit, dissimulata senatus mentione'.

22. INTEGER VITAE

[Commager 130 ff.; Fraenkel 184 ff.; G. L. Hendrickson, *CJ* 5, 1910, 250 ff.; C. Jossierand, *AC* 4, 1935, 357 ff.; Pasquali 470 ff.; R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 57, 1922, 358 ff.; P. Shorey, *CJ* 5, 1910, 317 ff.]

1-8. *The man who is pure of heart needs no weapons even when travelling through the most dangerous territory.* 9-16. *For instance, when I was singing of Lalage in the Sabine woodland a monstrous wolf fled from me although I was unarmed.* 17-24. *Set me in the most distant and uninhabitable lands and I shall go on loving Lalage.*

This ode is addressed to Fuscus, whom Porphyrio rightly identifies as Aristius Fuscus. He was a close friend of Horace's (*serm.* 1. 9. 61

'mihi carus', *epist.* 1. 10. 3 'paene gemelli'). He wrote comedies (Porph. on *epist.* 1. 10) and seems to have had a sense of humour: it was he who refused to rescue Horace from the 'importunate man' in the Sacra Via (*serm.* 1. 9. 60 ff.). Horace says elsewhere that he was a town-lover, who disliked the countryside (*epist.* 1. 10); here he amuses him with an account of the perils of his Sabine estate. Fuscus was a schoolmaster by profession (Porph. on *serm.* 1. 9. 60 'prae-stantissimus grammaticus illo tempore'); in *epist.* 1. 10. 45 Horace teases him for his stern discipline ('nec me dimittes incastigatum . . .'; cf. *CQ* N.S. 9, 1959, 74 f.). Fuscus is mentioned with Asinius Pollio and others as a critic who approved of Horace's poetry (*serm.* 1. 10. 83 ff.). He may also have written on grammar; cf. *gramm.* 7. 35. 2 'Abnesti Fusti (*Aristi Fusci* Haupt, *Aufusti* Usener) grammatici liber est ad Asinium Pollionem'.

Horace's ode starts with the proposition that the pure in heart need no weapons even when travelling through the most dangerous country. Bias is supposed to have thought that a good conscience is without fear (Stob. 3. 24. 11), and even Epicurus affirmed that a good man would disregard danger (fr. 99). But Horace's maxim seems more characteristically Stoic: *non eget* gives a hint of Stoic self-sufficiency (2 n.), and the reference to the Syrtes suggests the Stoic hero, Cato (5 n.). For similar sentiments cf. Sen. *Thy.* 380 ff. 'mens regnum bona possidet. / nil ullis opus est equis, / nil armis et inertibus / telis quae procul ingerit / Parthus cum simulat fugas', Claud. 17. 193 ff. (on Justice) 'nitidis quisquis te sensibus hausit, / inruet intrepidus flammis, hiberna secabit / aequora, confertos hostes superabit inermis. / ille vel Aethiopum pluviis solabitur aestus; / illum trans Scythiam vernus comitabitur aer'. In the past many people have taken this absurdity to be the true meaning of Horace's poem; cf. Lact. *inst.* 5. 17. 18 'recte igitur Flaccus tantam esse dixit innocentiae vim ut ad tutelam sui non egeat nec armis nec viribus quacumque iter fecerit'. The ode was even supplied with mournful music by F. F. Flemming (cf. the *Scottish Students' Song-book*), and sung at German and Scandinavian funerals.

As an illustration of his general maxim Horace says that when he was singing about Lalage a wolf met him and ran away (9-16). An epigram in the Greek Anthology describes how the chaste priest of Cybele (*ἀγνὸς Ἄρτυς*) frightened off a lion with his tambourine (Dioscorides 6. 220; cf. 217-19, 237, Varro, *Men.* 364; see H. W. Prescott, *CPh* 20, 1925, 276 f.). To Horace it is not the eunuch *gallus* but the lover who is pure of heart; his weapon is not the tambourine but a simple love-song (cf. Jossierand, loc. cit.). He is applying to himself, not without amusement, the elegists' commonplace that the lover is a sacred person under divine protection; cf. especially Prop. 3. 16. 11 ff. :

nec tamen est quisquam sacros qui laedat amantes:
 Scironis media sic licet ire via.
 quisquis amator erit, Scythicis licet ambulet oris:
 nemo adeo ut feriat barbarus esse volet.
 luna ministrat iter, demonstrant astra salebras;
 ipse Amor accensas percutit ante faces.
 saeva canum rabies morsus avertit hiantis;
 huic generi quovis tempore tuta via est.

For other variations on this theme cf. Poseidippus, *anth. P.* 5. 213. 3 f. *εἰπέ δὲ σημεῖον μεθύων ὅτι καὶ διὰ κλωπῶν / ἦλθον, "Ἐρωτι θρασεῖ χρώμενος ἡγεμόνι*, anon. 12. 115. 4 *τὸν ἔρωθ' ὄπλον ἄτρωτον ἔχων*, Tib. 1. 2. 27 f. 'quisquis amore tenetur eat tutusque sacerque / qualibet; insidias non timuisse decet', *Ov. am.* 1. 6. 13 f. 'nec mora, venit amor; non umbras nocte volantis, / non timeo strictas in mea fata manus', Longus 3. 5 *ἔρωτι δὲ ἄρα πάντα βασιμά, καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ Σκυθικὴ χιῶν*.

At the end of the poem Horace returns to the theme of sojourning in remote areas (17–22); the grandiloquent lines balance 5–8 and form a frame round the story of the Sabine wolf. In the last two lines 23–4 he points the moral. To achieve symmetry with the opening stanza we expect Horace to say that he will keep his heart pure; this is what is required by the principles of 'Ring-Composition' (for which see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 205, V. Buchheit, *Studien zum Corpus Priapeorum*, 1962, p. 39, Newman 59). Instead he makes the less pretentious statement: 'I shall go on loving Lalage'. The *integer vitae* is thus revealed as the lover; the poem which began so pompously is shown to be not so earnest after all.

Some commentators, while rightly dismissing the most solemn interpretations, still believe that the ode contains some serious note. They point to other places where Horace claims to be under special protection: 1. 17. 13 f. 'di me tuentur, dis pietas mea / et Musa cordi est', 2. 17. 28 (Faunus saves the poet from a falling tree), 3. 4. 9 ff. (doves protect the infant Horace); see further K. F. Smith on Tib. 2. 5. 113–14. Though Horace would not literally regard the poet as sacred, he might (it is argued) use the old idea to represent the happiness and security that poetry gave him. Yet one feels that this approach should not be pressed. The type of poetry alluded to is love-poetry, not the most serious sort; and in the last two lines the emphasis is on the love rather than the poetry.

The ode is one of Horace's most charming and most perfect. It does not describe a real event literally: few poems do. There was no such person as Lalage: the name, and indeed the whole circumstance, is chosen because it suits the artistic needs of the poem (cf. 23 n.). Horace may have glimpsed a wolf shambling off in the middle

distance, but the incident was a trivial one at best. Yet the ode is not just a conventional exercise devoid of personality. Only a poet could have expressed so agreeable a blend of self-mockery and self-satisfaction.

Metre: Sapphic. The first stanza is quoted in Lily's Latin Grammar to illustrate this metre; cf. Shakespeare, *Tit. Andr.* iv. ii. 20 f. (after quoting the first two lines) 'O 'tis a verse in Horace; I know it well. I read it in the grammar long ago'.

1. *integer vitae*: the genitive is slightly mannered, and *vita* would have been more normal; cf. *carm. epig.* 667. 1 f. (on a priest from Arles) 'integer adque pius vita et corpore purus / aeterno hic positus vivit Concordius aevo'. *integer mentis* and *integer animi* seem to have belonged to spoken Latin (*serm.* 2. 3. 65, 2. 3. 220); the poets extended the construction to *aevi* (*Enn. scaen.* 414, *Virg. Aen.* 2. 638, *Ov. met.* 9. 441). See further H.-Sz. 74 f., Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 1². 172 ff.

scelerisque purus: this phrase is likewise poetical; cf. *Stat. Theb.* 11. 450 f. 'puraeque nefandi / sanguinis . . . hastae', *Sil.* 12. 370, *Paul. Nol. carm.* 10. 213. Such genitives are found in Greek with *ἀγνός* (*Eur. Hipp.* 316), *ἀκήρατος* (*ibid.* 949), and *καθαρός* (*Pl. rep.* 496 d), and in Latin with *solutus* (3. 17. 16), *vacuus* (*serm.* 2. 2. 119), *liber* (*ars* 212), *orbis*, *cassus*, *privus*, *nudus* (K.-S. 1. 441 f.).

The labelling of these genitives is not very important. The ancient reader, who did not think in grammatical categories, would be less aware than we are of the distinction between the two types. He would rather appreciate the elegance of the chiasmus: *integer* and *purus* are similar in meaning and combined elsewhere (*Cic. Tusc.* 1. 41, *nat. deor.* 2. 31, 2. 71). The syntax is interesting because of its stylistic significance: the important thing to realize about the first line is that it is grandiloquent.

2. *non eget*: ancient moral philosophers were fond of enumerating the things which the good man can do without. Cynics and Stoics in particular emphasized the importance of self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*).

Mauris: to be taken with *arcu* as well as *iaculis*. The *iaculum* (*ἀκόντιον*) was a typically Moroccan weapon; cf. *Str.* 17. 3. 7 (of the Moors) *μάχονται δ' ἰππῶται τὸ πλεόν ἀπὸ ἄκοντος*, *bell. Afr.* 7. 5, *Sil.* 3. 339 'iaculove . . . Mauro', Herodian, *hist.* 1. 15. 2 *συνῆσαν δὲ παιδεύοντες αὐτὸν Παρθυαίων οἱ τοξικὴν ἀκριβοῦντες καὶ Μαυρουσίων οἱ ἀκοντίζειν ἄριστοι*.

3. *venenatis*: poisoned arrows were barbarous; cf. Pease on *Cic. div.* 2. 135, *nat. deor.* 2. 126, *RE* 19. 1427 f. In the present context, after *Mauris*, one naturally thinks of North Africa; for the use of poison

in this area cf. Sil. 1. 219 (of Numidia) 'nec fidens nudo sine fraudibus ensi', 15. 681.

gravida . . . : 'with its brood of arrows'. The word properly means 'heavy with child'; here it gives a more sinister note than the objective *gravi*. Cf. [Liv. Andr.] *trag.* p. 4 'pressaue iam gravida crepitant tibi terga pharetra', Sil. 7. 445.

5. *sive* . . . : Horace no doubt remembers Catull. 11. 2 ff. 'sive in extremos penetrabit Indos / . . . sive in Hyrcanos Arabasve molles, / seu Sagas sagittiferosque Parthos, / sive quae septemgeminus colorat / aequora Nilus, / sive trans altas gradietur Alpes . . .'. For similar lists of diverse journeys in remote areas cf. *epod.* 1. 11 f. 'te vel per Alpium iuga / inhospitalem et Caucasum / vel occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum / forti sequemur pectore', *carm.* 2. 6. 1 ff. 'Septimi, Gadis aditure mecum et / Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra et / barbaras Syrtes ubi Maura semper / aestuat unda', 3. 4. 29 ff., Prop. 1. 6. 1 ff., 3. 22. 7 ff. One may note that the Syrtes, the Caucasus, and India are mentioned in other places besides our ode.

Hendrickson, loc. cit., calls attention to the fact that some such passages refer specifically to lovers; cf. Virg. *ecl.* 10. 64 ff., Ov. *am.* 2. 16. 21 ff. 'cum domina Libycas ausim perrumpere Syrtes . . .', Sen. *Phaedr.* 613 ff. But at this stage of the poem Horace is emphasizing heroic achievement; the *integer vitae* is seen as the Stoic good man, and has not yet emerged as the lover. On the other hand the topic of the 'lover in distant lands' is very relevant to the balancing lines 17-22.

Syrtis: the *magna Syrtis* is the gulf of Sirte or Sidra where Cyrenaica and Tripolitania meet; the *parva Syrtis* is the gulf of Gabes, where Tunisia and Tripolitania meet. The name was often applied, as here, to the land as well as to the sea (cf. Butler on Apul. *apol.* 72). Libya was infested by wild animals (Hdt. 2. 32. 4 *θηριωδής*, Plin. *nat.* 5. 26, Luc. 9. 607 ff., Dio Chrys. 5. 5 ff., Apul. *apol.* 72), and must have been dangerous to the traveller.

Commentators do not mention that in 47 B.C. a very famous march was made round the Great Syrtis. Cato set out from Berenice (Benghazi) with 10,000 men, and reached Leptis in Tripolitania in 30 days (Str. 17. 3. 20, Plut. *Cato min.* 56. 3 f., *RE* 22. 200). His sufferings and endurance were described by Livy (*epit.* 112 'laboriosum M. Catonis in Africa per deserta . . . iter'), and in the ninth book of Lucan; cf. also Sen. *epist.* 104. 33 'vides posse homines laborem pati: per medias Africae solitudines pedes duxit exercitum. vides posse tolerari sitim: in collibus arentibus sine ullis impedimentis victi exercitus reliquias trahens inopiam umoris loricated tulit, et quotiens aquae fuerat occasio novissimus bibit', Sidon. *epist.* 8. 12. 3 'et cum

nec duodecim milium obiectu sic retarderis, quid putamus cum exercitu M. Catonis in Leptitana Syrte fecisses?' These accounts must go back to the panegyrics written soon after Cato's death by Cicero, Brutus, and others (cf. E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, 1919, pp. 434 ff., M. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 1960, pp. 279 ff., P. Pecchiura, *La figura di Catone Uticense nella letteratura latina*, 1965, pp. 25 ff.). When Horace was at Athens in 44 Cato's recent march was surely idealized in Stoic and Republican circles. It is difficult to see how he could talk of an *integer vitae* marching through the Syrtes without remembering this familiar event; this point remains valid even when it is conceded that the Syrtes belonged to the conventional topic of 'journeys in remote areas' (see above).

aestuosas: probably this refers to the heat rather than the boiling tides of the Syrtes; cf. Apul. *apol.* 72 'hiemem alteram propter Syrtis aestus et bestias opperendum'. This coheres with the usual meaning of the word; cf. 1. 31. 5 'aestuosae . . . Calabriae', Catull. 7. 5 'oraclum Iovis inter aestuosi', 46. 5 'Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae', Cic. *Att.* 5. 14. 1 'aestuosa et pulverulenta via'. Horace is thinking of the horrors of a land journey, though admittedly the tides of the Syrtes were reputed to swirl over the land. One may also see a contrast with the frosty Caucasus, and a parallel with the heat of 21 f.

It could be argued on the other side that the seething tides of the Syrtes were notorious. Cf. 2. 6. 3 f. 'barbaras Syrtes ubi Maura semper / aestuat unda', Ap. Rhod. 4. 1235 ff., Sall. *Jug.* 78. 3, Str. 17. 3. 20, Luc. 5. 484 f. 'non rupta vadosis / Syrtibus incerto Libye nos dividit aestu', H. Weld-Blundell, *ABSA* 2, 1895-6, 115 ff. For the use of *aestuosus* in such contexts cf. 2. 7. 16 'unda fretis tulit aestuosis', Val. Max. 9. 8 ext. 1 'angusti atque aestuosi maris'.

6. inhospitalem: ἄξερον. The Black Sea (Euxine) was originally called ἄξερος (Str. 7. 3. 6), and the adjective was applied to the Crimea by Euripides (*IT* 94), to the Phasis by Theocritus (13. 75), to the Symplegades by Apollonius (fr. 5. 4 Powell). Prometheus is chained τῶδ' ἀπανθρώπων πάγῳ (Aesch. *Prom.* 20); so Varro in his *Prometheus liber* (*Men.* 426) talks of 'late incolens / Scytharum inhospitalis campis vastitas'. See also *epod.* 1. 12 'inhospitalem et Caucasum', Sen. *Med.* 43, *Thy.* 1048, Serv. *Aen.* 4. 367.

7. Caucasum: the range, like the whole Caspian area, was notorious for its wild beasts, particularly tigers; cf. Sen. *Herc. f.* 1208 f., Sil. 4. 331 'ubi Caucaseis tigris se protulit antris', 5. 148, 15. 81, Lact. *inst.* 5. 11. 4 'quis Caucasus, quae India, quae Hyrcania tam immanes, tam sanguinarias umquam bestias aluit?'

Of the three places mentioned by Horace, the Syrtes are associated with Cato, the Hydaspes with Alexander; for the sake of symmetry

the Caucasus should perhaps also be connected with some great man, though in view of the commonplace (5 n.) the point cannot be pressed. The first general to reach the Caucasus was Pompey (Plut. *Pomp.* 34); yet though he may have received eulogies from Theophanes and others, he is hardly a typical enough hero to put beside Alexander and Cato. Perhaps one should rather see a reference here also to Alexander; it may be significant that the second and third clauses are separated by *vel* rather than *sive*. Alexander had nothing to do with the real Caucasus, but the Hindu-Kush was identified with the Caucasus by his panegyrist; cf. Str. 11. 5. 5 καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐνδοξότερον τὸ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μεχρὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ὄρων καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν ἢ μεχρὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Εὐξείνου καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἀλλὰ . . . χαριεῖσθαι τι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπέλαβον τοῦνομα τοῦ ὄρους μετενέγκαντες εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν.

fabulosus: 'about which stories are told' (cf. 3. 4. 9 ff. 'fabulosae . . . palumbes'); these are the first appearances of the word in Latin, and it might even be a coinage of Horace's own (on the lines of *μυθώδης*). Ancient writers on India were famous for their *τερατολογία* (notably about animals). Of historians before Alexander one may mention Scylax and Ctesias, of later authors Onesicritus, Megasthenes, Cleitarchus, Curtius (8. 9), and the authors of the Alexander-Romance; the genre is parodied in Lucian's *Vera Historia*. Cf. Str. 2. 1. 9 ἅπαντες μὲν τοίνυν οἱ περὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς γράψαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ψευδολόγοι γεγόνασι, Rohde, *Roman*³, pp. 178 ff., M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, 1938, R. Wittkower, *JWI* 5, 1942, 159 ff., R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, 1954, pp. 40 ff., L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, 1960.

8. lambit: this verb is used elsewhere of licking flames (*serm.* 1. 5. 74, *Lucr.* 5. 396, *Virg. Aen.* 2. 684, 3. 574), but is not found before Horace of a river. For later parallels cf. *Stat. Theb.* 4. 51 f. 'quos pigra vado Langia tacenti / lambit', *Amm. Marc.* 27. 4. 6, *Avien. orb. terr.* 495, 1077. The usage does not seem to be Greek.

Hydaspes: a river of the Punjab ('land of the five rivers'), now the Jhelum, once also called Bitasta (Sanskrit *Vitasta*, whence *Hydaspes*). It flows into the Chenab (Acesines), which flows into the Indus; it was not the biggest river of the system, but the richest in associations. Here in 326 B.C. Alexander the Great, in one of his greatest battles, defeated the elephants of Porus; here he founded the city of Bucephala in memory of his horse Bucephalas; finally he sailed down the river in splendour with Onesicritus at the helm (*Arr. Ind.* 18. 9). Hence *Hydaspes* is used by the poets as a romantic place-name; cf. *Virg. georg.* 4. 211 'Medus Hydaspes'.

9. **namque**: like *καὶ γάρ* introduces a particular instance (*exemplum*, *παράδειγμα*) which illustrates a preceding general maxim. Fraenkel quotes Hom. *Il.* 24. 601 f. *νῦν δὲ μνησώμεθα δόρπου. | καὶ γὰρ τῆύκομος Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου*, Alcaeus 38 *ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ μεγάλων . . . | καὶ γὰρ Σίσυφος Αἰολίδαις βασίλευς . . .*, anon. *PMG* 869. 1 f. *ἄλει μύλα ἄλει. | καὶ γὰρ Πιπτακὸς ἄλει*, Prop. 4. 7. 1 ff.

me: grandiloquently emphatic (= *ἐμέ*, not *με*).

silva . . . in Sabina: Horace humorously suggests that the familiar Sabine woodland is comparable with savage places like the Caucasus. He himself owned 'silva iugerum / paucorum' (3. 16. 29 f., cf. *serm.* 2. 6. 3 'paulum silvae'); he addresses his bailiff as 'vilice silvarum' (*epist.* 1. 14. 1), and mentions his cornel- and plum-trees, oaks and holm-oaks (*epist.* 1. 16. 9 f.). But here he is clearly referring to wilder forest outside his own estate. The area must have been far more wooded than it is now; the face of Italy has been changed by the depredations of men and goats.

lupus: wolves were common in ancient Italy (J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines*, 1951, pp. 9 ff.), and played a big part in folklore (Bömer on *Ov. fast.* 4. 766, G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros und Romulus*, Meisenheim, 1964, pp. 78 ff.). For Sabine wolves cf. 1. 17. 9. Fraenkel quotes two modern pieces of evidence: in October 1950 a soldier was killed by a wolf in the Abruzzi, and in February 1956 a postman was devoured by wolves near Mandela, only a few miles from Horace's estate.

10. **meam canto Lalagen**: Lalage encourages the romantic tendencies of commentators. Dacier explains 'Fuscus Aristius étoit amoureux de Lalage'. Ritter takes a less frivolous view: 'Lalagen non esse meretricem sed honestam puellam de qua in matrimonium ducenda Flaccus aliquamdiu cogitavit'. Others suggest that she is the Livia Lalage found by chance in an inscription from Rome (*CIL* 6. 3940). In fact we need look for no autobiographical information. When Horace says that he 'sang of Lalage' he means that he was composing a love-poem, but not even this is likely to have been literally accurate.

Lalage is in fact a rarely attested name; cf. 2. 5. 16, Prop. 4. 7. 45, *priap.* 4. 3, Herodian, *Gramm. Graec.*, ed. A. Lentz, 3. 310. It is connected with *λαλαγεῖν* 'to chatter', a by-form of *λαλεῖν*.

11. **terminum**: the word is more evocative than the English 'boundary'; it suggests that Horace is an intrepid pioneer venturing outside the safe precincts of his estate (cf. 1. 17. 5 ff.). The *terminus* (cf. Greek *τέρμα*) was a concrete object, a stone or a tree. It was of great importance in law and religion; the man who removed landmarks was accursed (cf. 2. 18. 24).

curis . . . expeditis: there is something to be said for the weakly supported *expeditus*, which was approved by Bentley. Strictly speaking *expedire* means 'to disentangle'; the object should be not the shackles but the thing that is disentangled. For the use with *cura* cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 823 'cura sese expeditit', Cic. *Att.* 16. 15. 6 'consenti in hac cura ubi sum ut me expediam', Aug. *epist.* 31. 4 'vos autem audio curis eius modi expeditiores liberioresque vivere', Pelag. *in Eph.* 6. 14, p. 383. 17 'ab omnibus curis saeculi expediti'. In favour of *expeditis* editors quote Catull. 31. 7 'o quid solutis est beatius curis?'; this is not a useful parallel as *curas solvere* means to 'dissipate cares'. Better evidence is provided by Ter. *Hec.* 291 'rem cognosces, iram expedies, rursum in gratiam restitues'.

Bentley failed to make clear that *expeditus* has no serious manuscript authority. It is also worth noting that the rhyme *curis . . . expeditis* is very typical of Horace's Sapphics, yet this fact might in itself have contributed to a corruption. Bentley ingeniously attributed *expeditis* to an *eruditulus* who remembered 1. 8. 12 'saepe trans finem iaculo nobilis expedito'; such a person might not have realized that *ultra terminum* goes with *vagor*.

13. portentum: *τέρας, πέλωρον*, something that goes against the normal laws of nature; the word here has a mock-heroic tone.

militaris: at this date the Roman army was still primarily recruited from the stalwart rustics of Italy; cf. 2. 1. 34 f. 'Dauniae . . . caedes', 3. 5. 9 'sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus'. The Apulians had a particular reputation for hardiness, at least in an Apulian poet; cf. 3. 16. 26 'impiger Apulus', *epod.* 2. 42 'pernicis uxor Apuli'.

14. Daunias: 'the land of Daunus' (nom. fem.); the Greek accident strikes a mock-heroic note and reinforces the legendary associations of the name. Horace is speaking of the northern part of Apulia, which included his native Venusia; this is called *Δαυνία* by Strabo (6. 3. 2, 6. 3. 9), and *Apulia Dauniorum* by Pliny (*nat.* 3. 103). The Daunii were a mysterious tribe who were said to have been brought across the Adriatic by Diomedes; the legend assigned him a father-in-law called Daunus. See Str. 6. 3. 9, Aug. *civ.* 18. 16, Bömer on Ov. *fast.* 4. 76, G. Giannelli, *Culti e miti della magna Grecia*, ed. 2, 1963, pp. 53 ff.

It may well be relevant that Pythagoras is said to have tamed a monster called the 'Daunian bear' (Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 60 τὴν μὲν γὰρ Δαυνίαν ἄρκτον . . . κατασχών, Porph. *Pyth.* 23). Of course wolves were common in Apulia (1. 33. 7 f. 'Apulis . . . lupis'), and a wolf is perhaps found on third-century B.C. coins of Venusia (Head 50). Yet Horace's other parallel for the Sabine wolf is not a wolf but a lion; and the sentence is more symmetrical if an animal other than a wolf is

referred to here also. If the story of the 'Daunian bear' was familiar to Horace's readers they might first think of bears.

alit: *τρέφει*. A wild beast is a *θρέμμα*; so in Latin Stat. *silv.* 1. 3. 6 'Nemeae frondentis alumnus', Claud. 24. 280 'horribiles Libyae . . . alumnos'. See below, 16 n.

aesculetis: cf. 1. 28. 26 f. 'Venusinae . . . silvae'; for the lost forests of Italy cf. A. J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, 1965, 2. 593 ff. See also Norman Douglas, *Old Calabria*, pp. 106 f. (quoting an 'old writer') 'in this province there is excellent hunting of divers creatures, as wild Hogs, Staggs, Hares, Foxes, Porcupines, Marmosets. There are also ravenous beasts, as Wolves, Bears, Luzards . . .'.

15. *Iubae*: the son of the Juba who was King of Numidia and committed suicide in 46 B.C. after Thapsus. Juba II fought for Octavian at Actium and was thereafter restored to his father's kingdom (Dio 51. 15. 6, doubted by S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* 8, 1928, 207 ff.). He married Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra; for a coin bearing portraits of both see Head 888. In 25 B.C. he was translated to Gaetulia and Mauretania (Dio 53. 26. 2, cf. Str. 17. 3. 7); in modern terms he moved from eastern Algeria to western Algeria and Morocco. Lions, which are mentioned below, are conventionally Gaetulian (1. 23. 10, 3. 20. 2, Virg. *Aen.* 5. 351); they are found on the coins both of Juba I in Numidia and Juba II in Mauretania (Head 885, 888).

Juba did more than rule over lions; he also wrote about them. Aelian tells what is clearly one of his tales (*nat. anim.* 7. 23): a lion wounded by an *ἀκόντιον* (= *iaculum*) singled out its assailant a year later and killed him. Solinus tells another (27. 15 f., cf. Plin. *nat.* 8. 48): a Gaetulian woman begged some attacking lions for mercy, and was spared. It seems likely that many of the tall stories about wild animals in Pliny and Aelian are derived from the same source (M. Wellmann, *Hermes* 27, 1892, 389 ff., F. Münzer, *Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius*, 1897, pp. 411 ff., *FGvH* 275 F 47-61). So Horace is perhaps not just using a poetical periphrasis for Morocco; he may be hinting that his wolf was a more terrible *portentum* than anything in the zoological sections of Juba's *Λιβυκά*. But this point cannot be put strongly as the date of the work is unknown.

Juba was, in fact, unusually research-minded for a king (Plut. *Sert.* 9. 5 *τοῦ πάντων ἱστορικωτάτου βασιλέων*). Besides his book on Africa (*Λιβυκά*) he wrote on Assyria and Arabia, on Roman history and antiquities, on grammar and agriculture, on painting in nine books and on the theatre in seventeen. He discovered the properties of the plant euphorbia, which was long used in medicine (*RE* 6. 1171);

he named it after his doctor Euphorbus (brother of Augustus's doctor Antonius Musa), and naturally composed a monograph on the subject. He was an art-collector and patron of literature; the epigrammatist Crinagoras wrote for him (*anth. P.* 7. 633, 9. 235). Horace and Fuscus must have been familiar with his works, and may even have met him in Rome, where he lived before his restoration. See further F. Jacoby, *RE* 9. 2388 f. (= *Griech. Historiker*, 1956, pp. 168 ff.).

16. arida nutrix: an oxymoron; a *nutrix* was primarily a wet-nurse (*assa nutrix* was used of a nursemaid). Richer women in antiquity were reluctant to feed their own babies; hence the importance of the faithful nurse (reflected, for instance, in tragedy). See Favorinus ap. Gell. 12. 1, *RE* 17. 1491 ff., W. Braams, *Jenaer medizin-historische Beiträge*, 1913, Heft 5, *RLAC* 1. 381 ff.

For *nutrix* and similar words applied to regions cf. Hom. *Il.* 8. 47 μητέρα θηρῶν (of Ida), Pind. *P.* 2. 1 f. Συράκοσαι . . . ἀνδρῶν ἔππων τε σιδεροχαρμῶν δαιμόνιαι τροφοί, Ap. Rhod. 4. 1561 Λιβύη θηροτρόφω, Vit. 8. 3. 24 'cum esset enim Africa parens et nutrix ferarum bestiarum', Juv. 7. 148 f. 'nutricula causidicorum / Africa', *orac. Sib.* 3. 469. It is a curious circumstance that the passage of Vitruvius cited above occurs in a context which explicitly mentions Juba's father and his capital of Zama. It is even possible that both Horace and Vitruvius are imitating some expression of Juba's own (cf. E. Wistrand, *Eranos* 29, 1931, 81 ff.).

17. pone me . . .: the imperative is equivalent to a conditional clause, though more rhetorical, and the repetition of *pone* increases the pomposity of the passage. Cf. Sen. *dial.* 7. 25. 1-2 'pone in opulentissima me domo, pone aurum argentumque ubi in promiscuo usu sit: non suspiciam me ob ista quae etiam si apud me extra me tamen sunt . . . pone in stramentis splendentibus et delicato apparatu: nihilo me felicioram credam quod mihi molle erit amiculum'. For an imitation of Horace's lines cf. Petrarch, *Canzoniere* 145, J. B. Leishman, *Translating Horace*, 1956, pp. 94 ff.

pigris: the dead and barren steppes of the North; cf. Lucr. 5. 746 'bruma nives affert pigrumque rigorem', Hor. *carm.* 2. 9. 5 'stat glacies iners', 4. 7. 12 'bruma recurrit iners', Ov. *am.* 3. 6. 94 'pigra . . . hiems'. Yet here Horace seems to be influenced by γῆ ἀργός (= ἀεργός), the opposite of γῆ ἐργασμένη; this view is supported by the fact that other geographers' expressions are alluded to below (*latus, nimium propinqui, domibus negata*).

nulla . . . aura: it is a geographer's point to comment on treelessness; cf. Hdt. 4. 21 πᾶσαν ἐοῦσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δεινδρέων, Plin. *nat.* 16. 2. The breeze is the giver of life, particularly from the Mediterranean standpoint; cf. Pl. *leg.* 845 d οὔτε γὰρ γῆν οὔτε

ἥλιον οὔτε πνεύματα τοῖς ὕδασι ξύντροφα τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστανόντων ῥάδιον φθείρειν, Call. fr. 110. 53 θῆλυς ἀήτης, Lucr. 1. 11 'genitabilis aura favoni', Sen. *nat.* 5. 18. 13, Plin. *nat.* 16. 93, Longus 3. 12 τὰ δὲ (ἀνθη) ἄρτι ὁ Ζέφυρος τρέφων καὶ ὁ ἥλιος θερμαίνων ἐξῆγεν. The Roman poets often make pretty allusions to the subject; cf. *carm. saec.* 31 f. 'nutriant fetus et aquae salubres / et Iovis aurae', Catull. 62. 41, 64. 282 'aura parit flores tepidi fecunda Favoni', Prop. 4. 7. 60, Ov. *met.* 1. 108, *fast.* 5. 209 f., Sen. *Phaedr.* 11 f., *pervig. Ven.* 14 f. Kroll suggests that the theme is derived from Hellenistic poetry; perhaps Sappho is just as likely (cf. 2. 10 f.), with Catullus the intermediary.

19. **latus**: in a geographical sense, like πλευρά; cf. 3. 24. 38 'Boreae finitimum latus', Pers. 6. 76 'omne latus mundi', Juv. 8. 117.

nebulae: cf. 3. 3. 54 ff. 'visere gestiens / qua parte debacchentur ignes, / qua nebulae pluviiue rores'.

malusque Iuppiter: Jupiter was the Indo-European sky-god, the gatherer of the clouds and the wielder of the lightning, who had his dwelling in the mountain tops (for abundant material see Cook's *Zeus*). When the poets discuss the weather they are much more ready than prose authors to introduce a personal Jupiter.

21. **nimum propinqui**: cf. Arist. *meteor.* 363^a14 ἐκεῖνος δ' ὁ τόπος διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου γειτνίασιν οὐκ ἔχει ὕδατα καὶ νομάς, Prop. 2. 18. 11, Tib. 2. 3. 56, Sen. *Oed.* 122 f., *Thy.* 602, Plin. *nat.* 2. 189 'namque et Aethiopas vicini sideris vapore torrerī', Ach. Tat. 4. 5. 1 'Ἰνδῶν γὰρ ἡ γῆ γείτων ἡλίου, Serv. *Aen.* 4. 481 'et dicta Aethiopia a colore populorum quos solis vicinitas torret', Macr. *somn.* 2. 10. 11 'Aethiopes . . . quos vicinia solis usque ad speciem nigri coloris exurit', Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice* II. i. 1 ff. 'Mislike me not for my complexion, The shadow'd livery of the burnisht sun, To whom I am a neighbour and near bred'. On the other side cf. Str. 15. 1. 24 (= Onesicritus, *FGH* 134 F 22) φησὶ γὰρ μήτε ἐγγυτέρω τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κατὰ κάθετον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπικαίεσθαι πλέον . . . μήτε τὸ θάλπος εἶναι τοῦ τοιοῦτου πάθους (colouring) αἴτιον· μηδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἐν γαστρὶ, ὧν οὐχ ἄπτεται ἥλιος.

22. **terra domibus negata**: i.e. 'uninhabitable'; cf. Cypr. *heptat. deuteron.* 37 'informes heremi terras domibusque negatas'. Horace seems to be translating ἀοίκητος, a word much used by Greek geographers; he connects the word too specifically with οἶκος (rather than with οἰκεῖν). *inhabitabilis* appears from Cicero as a more correct translation (cf. also 4. 14. 5 f. 'qua sol habitabiles / illustrat oras').

The idea of uninhabitable areas was an old one; cf. Hdt. 5. 10 (on the lands to the north of Thrace) τὰ ὑπο τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα

δοκέει εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχρα, Anaxagoras A 67 ἃ μὲν ἀοίκητα γένηται ἃ δὲ οἰκητὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου κατὰ ψύξιν καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ εὐκρασίαν. The belief is particularly associated with the doctrine of the zones, which was current long before Eratosthenes (J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, 1948, see index). Cf. especially Arist. *meteor.* 362^b5 ff. ταῦτα δ' οἰκείσθαι μόνον δυνατόν, καὶ οὐτ' ἐπέκεινα τῶν τροπῶν· σκιὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἦν πρὸς ἄρκτον, νῦν δ' ἀοίκητοι πρότερον γίγνονται οἱ τόποι πρὶν ἢ ὑπολείπειν ἢ μεταβάλλειν τὴν σκιὰν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν· τὰ θ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ὑπὸ ψύχους ἀοίκητα, Lucr. 5. 204 f., Cic. *nat. deor.* 1. 24 with Pease's note, Virg. *georg.* 1. 233 ff., Str. 2. 3. 1 τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῷ ἰσημερινῷ καὶ τῇ διακεκαυμένη ζώνῃ διὰ καῦμα ἀοίκητά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῷ πόλῳ διὰ ψύχους, Plin. *nat.* 2. 172. As exploration advanced the falsity of these statements became apparent, and seems to have been recognized by Eratosthenes (?), Polybius, and Posidonius (Str. 2. 3. 2, Cleomedes 1. 6. 31 ff., W. W. Tarn, *CQ* 33, 1939, 193). Yet they went on being made.

23. *dulce ridentem*: the phrase comes from Catullus's Sapphics 51. 4 f. 'spectat et audit / dulce ridentem'. *dulce loquentem* comes not from Catullus but from Catullus's source: πλάσιον ἄδν φωνείσας ὑπακούει / καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν (Sappho 31. 3 ff.). In our poem *loquentem* is an effective climax because it reminds us of Lalage's name (10 n.). For a similar declaration of fidelity cf. Aristaenetus 2. 21 ἔστω τοίνυν ἔργον ἐν μόνον ἐπιδέξιον ἐμοὶ φιλεῖν Δελφίδα καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης φιλεῖσθαι καὶ λαλεῖν τῇ καλῇ καὶ ἀκούειν λαλούσης (cf. F. Wilhelm, *RhM* 57, 1902, 606). The use of the verb λαλεῖν suggests that Aristae-netus and Horace may have been influenced by a common source, presumably a lost Hellenistic poem.

23. VITAS INVLEO

[Fraenkel 183 f.; H. J. Rose, *HSPH* 47, 1936, 2 f.]

1-8. *You shrink from me, Chloe, like a timid fawn that starts at every sound.* 9-12. *Yet I am no savage beast, and you are old enough for love.*

This ode is modelled on a theme in Anacreon. In discussing whether does have horns, Aelian quotes a tantalizing fragment (408):

ἀγανῶς οἶά τε νεβρόν νεοθηλέα
γαλαθηνόν ὅς τ' ἐν ὕλῃ κεροέσσης
ἀπολειφθεῖς ἀπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοήθη.

and interesting discussion cf. A. C. Andrews, *CPh* 44, 1949, 91 ff.; add *RE* 6. 252 ff., J. André, *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*, 1956, p. 35.

Celery was often used at symposia for garlands; cf. 4. 11. 3, Anacreon 410 ἐπὶ δ' ὀφρύσιν σελίνων στεφανίσκους / θέμενοι θάλειαν ἑορτὴν ἀγάγωμεν / Διονύσω, Theoc. 3. 21 ff., Virg. *ecl.* 6. 68. The plant is *vinax* because it does not wither quickly; cf. Theoc. 13. 42 θάλλοντα σέλινα, Nic. *ther.* 649 ἀειφύλλοιο σελίνου.

breve lilium: the lily, unlike celery, is short-lived; cf. 2. 3. 13 f., Val. Fl. 6. 492 f. 'lilia . . . quis vita brevis totusque parumper / floret honor, fuscis et iam notus imminet alis'.

17. putris: languishing not with wine, as Porphyrio thinks, but with love; cf. Pers. 5. 58 'in Venerem putris', Ibycus 287. 2 τακέρ' ὄμμασι δερκόμενος, Eubulus fr. 104. 7 K., Lucian, *amor.* 14, Apul. *met.* 3. 14. 5, Agathias, *anth. P.* 5. 287. 8 ὄμματι θρυπτομένω, Rohde, *Roman³*, p. 159 n. 2, Russell on Longinus 4. 4, West on Hes. *th.* 910.

18. deponent oculos: cf. Xen. *symp.* 1. 9 Αὐτολύκου τὸ κάλλος πάντων εἶλκε τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς αὐτόν. *defigent* would have been more normal, but *deponent* reinforces the languishing effect of *putris*.

19. adultero: ablative; Numida is hinted at.

20. lascivis: libere vagantibus. The word is artfully chosen; it suits the girl even more than the ivy. For the simile cf. *epod.* 15. 5, Eur. *Hec.* 398 ὅποια κισσὸς δρυὸς ὄπως τῆσδ' ἔξομαι, Eubulus fr. 104. 1 ff. K. ὦ μάκαρ ἦτις . . . συνίλλεται . . . / ἠδύτατον περὶ νυμφίον εὔτριχα / κίσσος ὄπως καλάμῳ περιφέεται, Catull. 61. 33 ff., 61. 102 ff., Stat. *silv.* 5. 1. 48 f., Claud. 14. 18 ff., Paul. Sil. *anth. P.* 5. 255. 13 f. ρεῖά τις ἡμερίδος στελέχη δύο σύμπλοκα λύσει / στρεπτά, πολυχρονίῳ πλέγματι συμφύεα, Rohde, *Roman³*, p. 168 n. 2, Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream* IV. 1. 44 f. (Titania to Bottom) 'The female ivy so Enrings the barky fingers of the elm'.

ambitiosior: 'more embracing'. The long word with its startling literalness rounds off an indifferent poem magnificently. For a similar usage cf. Plin. *nat.* 5. 71 '(Iordanes) amnis . . . ambitiosus'. See also *ars* 447 f. 'ambitiosa recidet / ornamenta'; in view of *recidet* there must be a suggestion of the twining tendril.

37. NVNC EST BIBENDVM

[I. Becher, *Das Bild der Kleopatra in der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur*, 1966; S. Commager, *Phoenix* 12, 1958, 47 ff.; Fraenkel 158 ff.; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 47, 1961, 113; E. Groag, *Klio* 14,

1914-15, 57 ff.; H. U. Instinsky, *Hermes* 82, 1954, 126 ff.; La Penna 54 ff.; J. V. Luce, *CQ* N.S. 13, 1963, 251 ff.; M. L. Paladini, *Latomus* 17, 1958, 240 ff.; Pasquali 38 ff.; F. Wurzel, *Der Krieg gegen Antonius und Kleopatra in der Darstellung der augusteischen Dichter*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1941.]

1-4. *Now at last we can celebrate.* 5-12. *It was wrong to do so while Cleopatra in her madness was plotting Rome's ruin.* 12-21. *She was brought to her senses by defeat at Actium and the pursuit by Octavian, who sought to enchain her.* 21-32. *But she preferred a nobler death: she did not shrink from battle or try to escape, but killed herself with snakes rather than submit to a Roman triumph.*

This poem celebrates the suicide of Cleopatra in 30 B.C. She was descended from Alexander's marshal Ptolemy (Soter), who on the death of his master (323 B.C.) carved a kingdom for himself in Egypt. The house was therefore Macedonian by blood, but it adopted some traditional Egyptian customs, ruler-worship among others. In 52 B.C. Cleopatra succeeded her father, Ptolemy Auletes, who is much mentioned in the correspondence of Cicero; she shared the throne in turn with two younger brothers, to whom she was nominally married. She supported Julius Caesar in the *Bellum Alexandrinum* of 48-47, and followed him to Rome in 46; she claimed, rightly or wrongly, that Caesarion was their child (for the evidence see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *CR* N.S. 10, 1960, 69 ff.). After the Ides of March she returned to the East, and in 41 met Antony at Tarsus. Their liaison was interrupted by his marriage to Octavia in 40, but was revived in 37. In the succeeding years they lived together in imperial magnificence at Alexandria.

The compact between Antony and Octavian expired on the last day of 33 B.C., and the long-predicted confrontation ensued. Though he now held no constitutional position Octavian dominated the senate with his armed bodyguard, and the new consuls fled to Antony together with three hundred senators. The civil conflict had begun, but it was not recognized as such: instead war was declared on Cleopatra with antique formality. By a brilliant manœuvre, which had some precedents in Roman history, Antony was not treated as a principal; he was simply deemed to have adhered to the nation's enemies (Dio 50. 6. 1). Horace does not even mention Antony, thereby obfuscating what the war was about. Cf. Dio 51. 19. 5 (describing the celebrations at the end of the campaign) τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ νικηθέντας οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε τότε, ὡς καὶ εὐορτάζειν σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δέον, ὠνόμασαν.

'Huc mundi coiere manus': the dynasts clashed off Actium, on the west coast of Greece, on 2 September 31 B.C. The conflicting ships

were numbered in hundreds; vast armies supported them on shore. It is impossible now to disentangle the tactics (cf. W. W. Tarn, *JRS* 21, 1931, 173 ff., more plausibly J. Kromayer, *Hermes* 68, 1933, 361 ff., G. W. Richardson, *JRS* 27, 1937, 153 ff.). The poets found Actium a profitable subject; see *epod.* 9, Virg. *Aen.* 8. 675 ff., Prop. 3. 11 and 4. 6, [Rabirius], *Bellum Actiacum* (A. Baehrens, *poet. Lat. min.* 1 pp. 212 ff., edited most recently by G. Garuti, 1958), anon. *GLP* 113, Paladini, loc. cit., Wurzel, loc. cit. Propertius wrote a very poetical account (4. 6. 26 'armorum et radiis picta tremebat aqua'), but Horace avoids such picturesque colouring. Both Virgil and Propertius mention remarkable celestial phenomena, such as have been observed at many battles from the Milvian Bridge to Mons; but Horace has nothing to say even about Actian Apollo. Romantic miracles would not suit his realistic and political treatment.

It is left to other writers to describe the sensation when Cleopatra fled, soon to be followed by Antony. The possibility of a break-out must have been contemplated; it is significant that Antony took on board not only sails but also his war-chest. Yet in a civil war it is unwise to abandon an army that is still in being (Plut. *Ant.* 68. 2), and it seems possible that Cleopatra moved too soon. Horace's ninth epode preserves, or rather recaptures, the incredulity of the victors: Antony's fleet has taken refuge in port, his army is largely intact, he himself has vanished on the high seas. In our poem, which is not primarily about Actium, he compresses all this to a single inaccurate line, 'vix una sospes navis ab ignibus'. In fact Cleopatra escaped with 60 ships, and Antony with others; moreover, the effect of the fire-ships, not mentioned in the epode or in Plutarch, is greatly exaggerated (so Virg. *Aen.* 8. 694 f., Dio 50. 34). Octavian's own dispatch shows that the casualties were not unduly heavy, and that most of Antony's fleet surrendered intact; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 68. 1 και νεκροὶ μὲν οὐ πλείους ἐγένοντο πεντακισχιλίων, ἐάλωσαν δὲ τριακόσιοι νῆες, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀνέγραψε Καῖσαρ. For the preservation of some ships cf. Tac. *ann.* 4. 5. 1, Philippus, *anth. P.* 6. 236, J. Gagé, *Actiaca*, *MEFR* 53, 1936, 41 ff.

Next Horace describes the pursuit. Octavian was dependent entirely on oars (Dio 50. 33. 5 τοὺς γὰρ φεύγοντας ἄτε καὶ ἀνευ ἰστίων ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν μόνην παρεσκευασμένοι οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν). He sent a few ships ahead, which captured two of Antony's ships (Plut. *Ant.* 67. 2 f.), but inevitably abandoned the chase. Obviously he did not pursue in person, and *remis adurgens* (17) is distinctly misleading; so Flor. *epit.* 2. 21. 8 (presumably based on Livy) 'sed instare vestigiis Caesar'. Horace's simile of the hawk and the doves lacks both truth and humanity. Contrast Plutarch's picture of Antony sitting in the prow with his head in his hands (67. 1), or Virgil's subtle description

of the Nile-God receiving the defeated fleet in the secluded reaches of the Delta (*Aen.* 8. 711 ff.):

contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosaue flumina victos.

Virgil's poetry has a whole dimension that Horace's lacks.

Octavian returned to Italy to suppress sedition (Dio 51. 4. 3-6), and later wintered in Samos; but Horace runs together the pursuit from Actium and the war in Egypt. Antony and Cleopatra sought peace terms, and Octavian offered Cleopatra her kingdom if she killed Antony (Dio 51. 6. 6, Plut. *Ant.* 73. 1). Finally, after an ineffective campaign, Alexandria capitulated on the first of August 30 B.C.; Horace may exaggerate Cleopatra's resistance and her determination not to run away (23 n.). Antony's suicide marks the end of the war, but Horace must not speak of Antony. Cleopatra tried to kill herself first by a dagger, then by hunger-strike; but by threatening her children Octavian compelled her to desist (Plut. *Ant.* 78-82). Octavian even interviewed her personally (Flor. *epit.* 2. 21 'pulchritudo infra pudicitiam principis fuit'). But when she was ordered to leave for Rome in three days (Plut. *Ant.* 84. 1) she apparently killed herself.

Octavian claimed, and the world believed, that he wished to see Cleopatra paraded at his triumph. Such a petty spectacle would gratify his partisans, but great statesmen are surely capable of larger views. Cleopatra was completely untrustworthy, she knew too much, and she occupied the throne of Egypt. Obviously she had to die. But the strangling of Caesar's mistress in the Tullianum might seem superfluous even to Roman consciences; perhaps there were better ways. There is no need to assume that Cleopatra was murdered, though the possibility cannot be excluded (the death of her servants Iras and Charmion was certainly opportune). But it seems that no excessive precautions were taken to prevent her suicide (in similar circumstances Aemilius Paullus gave Perses a broad hint; cf. Plut. *Paul.* 34. 2). Of course one cannot be sure that the official story was false; all one can say is that Octavian could calculate his interests better than most men. See further E. Groag, loc. cit., E. Herrmann, *PhW* 51, 1931, 1100.

The story of the snakes is supported by a wealth of unsubstantial evidence. Suetonius says *putabatur* (*Aug.* 17. 4), Plutarch shows equally unaccustomed caution: λέγεται . . . φάσκουσιν . . . τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν . . . The trail of the snakes was detected only on the beach, and the marks on Cleopatra's arm were very faint (*Ant.* 86. 1-3; cf. Str. 17. 1. 10, Dio 51. 14. 1, Ael. *hist. anim.* 9. 61); the testimony of the doctor Olympos is more substantial (*Ant.* 82. 2),

but even that is not completely reliable. Snake-bite has been thought an implausibly unpleasant method of suicide, but Cleopatra's asps were Egyptian cobras, which are painless; cf. Nicander, *ther.* 187 ff. with Gow's note, Galen, *ther.* 941 (14. 237 K.), Luc. 9. 816 f. 'nulloque dolore / testatus morsus', Plut. *Ant.* 71. 4, *RE* 2 A. 524 ff., Becher, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 f. If there is any truth in the story about Cleopatra's death it might have had religious significance (cf. Prop. 3. 11. 53 'sacris . . . colubris', T. Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae*, 1922-5, s.v. *serpens*, Pease on Cic. *nat. deor.* 3. 47). Snakes were associated alike with Isis (Roscher 2. 533 ff., Becher, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 f.), and with Egyptian kings; and it has even been suggested that their bite brought apotheosis (W. Spiegelberg, *Ägypt. Mit. Sitzungsab. Münch.* 1925, 3 ff., quoting Joseph. *contra Apionem* 2. 7. 86 '(the Egyptians honour asps) quando eos qui ab istis mordentur . . . felices et deo dignos arbitrantur'). Yet this method of killing was used both for murdering enemies (Cic. *Rab. Post.* 23), and the execution of criminals (Galen, *loc. cit.*, [Rabirius] 36-51). Besides, a Ptolemy was a god already, and needed no adventitious aids to immortality (Griffiths, *loc. cit.*).

The tale of Cleopatra's barbaric death was a godsend to Octavian's propaganda; it provided the perfect confirmation of his own assessment. At the triumph the queen's image was accompanied by snakes (Plut. *Ant.* 86. 3); Propertius can dutifully claim 'bracchia spectavi sacris admorsa colubris' (3. 11. 53). The account is accepted by Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 697: 'necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues'. Likewise pseudo-Rabirius's poem describes the sufferings of Cleopatra's victims as she tested various poisons. The story was almost too good to be true. Perhaps it was not true.

But whatever one thinks of its historical accuracy, Horace's ode is a magnificent piece of rhetoric. The tone is political and Roman throughout. There is no languorous death-scene; the snakes are horrible and scaly to the touch; Cleopatra dies from pride and not for love. Horace uses precise and prosaic words like *privata*, *deduci*, *triumpho*. The magnanimity of 'non humilis mulier' suits the attitudes affected by the victor; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 86. 4 *Καίσαρ δὲ καίπερ ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τῆς γυναικός, ἐθαύμασε τὴν εὐγένειαν αὐτῆς*, Dio 51. 14. 6 *ἐκείνην μὲν καὶ ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἠλέησεν*. Less attention is paid to Horace's gibes (*dementis*, *ebria*, *furorem*, *lymphatam*, *fatale monstrum*, *contaminato cum grege turpium morbo virorum*); these also have links with history, as they reflect the virulent propaganda campaign waged between Octavian and Antony (K. Scott, *MAAR* 11, 1933, 7 ff., H. Bardon, *La Littérature latine inconnue* 1, 1952, pp. 287 ff.). Even in the latter half of the poem, which alone has any magnanimity, Cleopatra commits suicide only to cheat the *carnifex*;

the crucial word *generosius* (21) is usually misunderstood. The distortion of history is perhaps almost as great as in the romantic picture. Shakespeare, following Plutarch, drew a character in depth, gay, calculating, sensuous, and untrustworthy. Horace writes as an orator: he expresses one viewpoint with astonishing power, but he does not increase our understanding of the way things happen. Cleopatra was 39 when she died, and an ugly and vindictive woman (for the numismatic evidence cf. A. B. Brett, *AJA* 41, 1937, 452 ff.); but she did not captivate two great men simply by strategic resources and political acumen.

Metre: Alcaic.

1. *nunc est bibendum*: the poem begins with an imitation (in the same metre) of Alcaeus 332 *νῦν χρῆ μεθύσθην καί τινα πέρ βίαν / πῶνῃν, ἐπεὶ δὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος* (πέρ Lobel: πρὸς cod.). The educated reader, who knows the Greek original, will understand that the tyrant is dead.

Several Augustan poems describe symposia in honour of political events; the literary convention is obvious, the element of reality may be negligible. Horace's ninth epode, written immediately after Actium, finishes with an uninhibited carousal. Propertius's poem on the anniversary of the battle ends with the patriotic vow 'sic noctem patera, sic ducam carmine donec / iniciat radios in mea vina dies' (4. 6. 85 f.). Our ode avoids such frivolity, the celebrations are communal and Roman (note *Saliaribus* and *pulvinar*), and they soon give place to graver themes.

libero: 'unfettered', referring alike to the nimbleness of the dance and to Rome's freedom from Cleopatra's chains. For the transferred epithet cf. 3. 5. 22 'tergo . . . libero', Aesch. *Ag.* 328 f. ἐξ ἐλευθέρου / δέρης, Eumelus, *PMG* 696. 2 ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα, 1. 4. 13 n.

2. *pulsanda tellus*: characteristic of an uninhibited celebration; cf. Epict. 3. 24. 8 (if somebody returns from a journey) ὀρχώμεθα καὶ κροτῶμεν ὡς τὰ παῖδια, above, 1. 4. 7 n. But though stamping the ground may have been natural in rustic festivities, one must not imagine that Roman gentlemen behaved this way.

Saliaribus . . . *dapibus*: after his Greek opening Horace strikes a Roman note here and in *pulvinar*. The Salii were famous for their magnificent dinners; cf. Fest. 439 L. (= 329 M.) 'Salios quibus per omnis dies ubicumque manent quia amplae ponuntur cenae, si quae aliae magnae sunt, Saliarum appellantur', Cic. *Att.* 5. 9. 1 'epulati essemus Saliarem in modum', Suet. *Claud.* 33. 1 'ictusque nidore prandii quod in proxima Martis aede Saliis apparabatur, deserto

tribunali ascendit ad sacerdotes unaque decubuit', Otto 306. The Roman priestly colleges were exclusive clubs whose members made no profession of asceticism; cf. 2. 14. 28 'pontificum potiore cenis'. Macrobius preserves the menu of such a dinner held about 70 B.C. (*sat.* 3. 13. 2); it is too long to quote here.

3. *pulvinar*: at the so-called *lectisternium* feasts were placed beside couches on which were laid images of the gods. For such offerings on occasions of national rejoicing cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3. 23, *res gest.* 9. 2, *RE* 12. 1108 ff., Latte 242 ff., Ogilvie on Liv. 5. 13. 6. For the celebrations after the death of Cleopatra cf. Dio 51. 19. 5 καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἱερομηνίας πολλὰς (i.e. *supplicationem multorum dierum*). A public holiday was held in succeeding years on August 1; cf. *fasti Amiternini, inscr. Ital.* 13. 2. 25 'feriae ex s.c. q(uod) e(o) d(ie) imp. Caesar divi f. rempublic. tristissim[o] periculo liberat'.

4. *tempus erat*: more urbane than *tempus est*; cf. Liv. 8. 5. 3, Ov. *am.* 2. 9. 24, 3. 1. 23, *trist.* 4. 8. 25, Sen. *Med.* 111, Mart. 4. 33. 4. Some editors explain 'it has been time all along', and cite Ar. *eccl.* 877 τί ποθ' ἄνδρες οὐχ ἤκουσιν; ὦρα δ' ἦν πάλαι. But even if the imperfect was temporal in origin, it cannot have seemed so to Horace; such an interpretation does not suit *nunc* (one would expect *iam*), and blurs the point of *antehac* in the next stanza.

sodales: Horace is imitating the ὦ φίλοι of archaic Greece; cf. *epod.* 13. 3f. 'rapiamus, amici, / occasionem de die' (where Housman's *Amici* is clearly wrong).

5. *antehac*: Horace professed to drink Caecuban immediately after the battle of Actium (*epod.* 9. 36); but as the symposia in both places are purely literary, the inconsistency is easily explained.

nefas: during the second Punic War a certain Fulvius was detected wearing a rose-garland for a party, and was incarcerated by the senate for the duration of hostilities (Plin. *nat.* 21. 8).

Caecubum: regarded by some connoisseurs as the best wine of all (1. 20. 9 n.). It came from Fundi in the reassuring countryside of Latium, quite unlike Cleopatra's vile Mareotic (14).

6. *cellis avitis*: cf. Tib. 1. 10. 48, Ov. *ars* 2. 695.

Capitolio: the site of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and therefore the most sacred place in Rome. Cleopatra had threatened to dispense justice there, or so at least it was believed; cf. Dio 50. 5. 4 ὥστ' αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρξειν ἐλπῖσαι τὴν τε εὐχὴν τὴν μεγίστην, ὅποτε τι ὀμνύοι, ποιέσθαι τὸ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ δικάσαι. See also Prop. 3. 11. 45f. 'foedaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo, / iura dare et

statuas inter et arma Mari', Ov. *met.* 15. 827f. 'frustra que erit illa minata / servitura suo Capitolia nostra Canopo', Manil. 1. 918 'atque ipsa Isiaco certarunt fulmina sistro', Luc. 10. 63, *anth. Lat.* 462. 4.

7. regina: Cleopatra is nowhere named in Augustan poetry; she is called *regina* or *mulier* or *illa*. For *regina* cf. Cic. *Att.* 14. 8. 1, 14. 20. 2, 15. 15. 2 'reginam odi', Virg. *Aen.* 8. 696, 707, Prop. 3. 11. 39 'incesti meretrix regina Canopi'. When Virgil in the decade after Cleopatra's death described Dido as *regina*, readers may have noticed a parallel.

Here *regina* is effectively juxtaposed with *Capitolio*; a *rex* was hateful to the Romans, and it was even worse to be enslaved to a woman. Cf. *epod.* 9. 12 'emancipatus feminae', Prop. 3. 11. 49 'si mulier patienda fuit', 3. 11. 58, 4. 6. 57, *eleg. in Maecen.* 53f. 'hic modo miles erat ne posset femina Romam / dotalem stupri turpis habere sui', Manil. 1. 917, Dio 50. 24. 7 *γυναικὶ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς δουλεύοντες*.

dementis: we are in the world of political invective; Cicero often attributes madness to his enemies. The adjective is defensible, if Horace is saying that to destroy Rome would be a mad act. Yet one expects him to say 'To think that one can destroy Rome is a sign of madness'; if that is what he means, the transference of *dementis* to *ruinas* is irrational. There is a little to be said for Arthur Palmer's *dementer* (*Hermathena* 60, 1942, 98).

8. funus: often used by Cicero of national catastrophe; cf. *prov. cons.* 45 'casum illum meum funus esse reipublicae'.

imperio: cf. Flor. *epit.* 2. 21. 2 'hinc mulier Aegyptia ab ebrio imperatore pretium libidinum Romanum imperium petit; et promisit Antonius', Val. Max. 5. 2. 1 (on Coriolanus) 'funus ac tenebras Romano imperio minitantem'.

9. contaminato . . .: cf. *epod.* 9. 13f. '(Romanus) spadonibus / servire rugosis potest'; the present passage may be higher in style, but scarcely in subject-matter. For other allusions to immorality at Cleopatra's court cf. Prop. 3. 11. 30 'et famulos inter femina trita suos', Sen. *epist.* 87. 16 'Chelidon, unus ex Cleopatrae mollibus', Luc. 10. 60 'Romano non casta malo', Suid. 4. 797 (*λέγεται Χελίδων*) *καὶ ὁ Κλεοπάτρας κίναϊδος*. In the ancient world Egypt had a low moral reputation (Str. 17. 1. 11, Mart. 4. 42. 4).

grege: derogatory, as often (cf. *ἀγέλη*). So Mart. 3. 91. 2 'semiviro Cybeles cum grege', Tac. *ann.* 15. 37. 8 '(Nero) uni ex illo contaminatorum grege . . . in modum sollemnium coniugiorum denupsisset', Suet. *Tit.* 7. 1 'exoletorum et spadonum greges'.

10. morbo: the word refers to sexual perversion; cf. Catull. 57. 6 'morbose pariter, gemelli utrique', Sen. *epist.* 83. 20 'impudicus morbum profitetur ac publicat', *priaph.* 46. 2, Juv. 2. 17, Call. *ep.* 46. 6 *τὰν*

φιλόπαιδα νόσον, Lucian, *am.* 21 τῆς οὐδὲ ῥηθῆναι δυναμένης εὐπρεπῶς νόσου, *Thes.l.L.* 8. 1481. 54 ff.

virorum: the word is presumably ironical and refers to the eunuchs at Cleopatra's court (such as Mardian). For the position of eunuchs in the ancient world cf. *RE Suppl.* 3. 453 f., H. Herter, *RLAC* 4. 620 ff., M. K. Hopkins, *PCPhS* 189, 1963, 62 ff.

Bentley found awkwardness in the irony after so much direct offensiveness; he proposed *opprobriorum* for *morbo virorum*. Dr. Shackleton Bailey tentatively suggests a comma after *turpium*; he translates 'her crew of foul creatures, men only in vice' (*Proceedings of Leeds Philosophical Society*, vol. 10, part 3, p. 113). One would sooner dispense with the comma and explain 'foul men-only-in-perversion'; yet this may be thought more difficult than the conventional interpretation (by which *morbo* is taken with *turpium*).

10. *impotens*: ἀκρατής; Cleopatra had none of the self-control which the Romans so much admired. The following infinitive is a characteristic Horatian brachylogy.

12. *ebria*: cf. Dem. 4. 49 οἶμαι . . . ἐκείνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων, Sidon. *epist.* 5. 7. 4 'novis opibus ebrii'. Horace also hints at the literal meaning of the word. Antony's drunkenness was notorious, and he was forced to write an apologia 'de ebrietate sua' (*Sen. epist.* 83. 25, *Plin. nat.* 14. 148, K. Scott, *CPh* 24, 1929, 133 ff.). For similar aspersions on Cleopatra cf. Prop. 3. 11. 55 f. 'non hoc, Roma, fui tanto tibi cive verenda' / dixit et assiduo lingua sepulta mero' (the drunkard queen is driven to a realization of facts just as in line 15 of our poem), Plut. *Ant.* 29. 1 συνεκύβευε καὶ συνέπινε. Strabo says of Octavian, reflecting contemporary propaganda, τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔπαυσε παροουμένην (17. 1. 11).

There may also be relevance in a Greek epigram attributed to Asclepiades or Antipater of Thessalonica; this refers to an amethyst engraved with the figure of Μέθη, and set in a ring belonging to a Queen Cleopatra (*anth. P.* 9. 752 εἰμι Μέθη τὸ γλύμμα σοφῆς χερός, ἐν δ' ἀμεθύστῳ / γέγλυμαι· τέχνης δ' ἡ λίθος ἀλλοτρίη. / ἀλλὰ Κλεοπάτρης ἱερὸν κτέαρ· ἐν γὰρ ἀνάσσης / χειρὶ θεὸν νήφειν καὶ μεθύουσαν ἔδει). Tarn thinks that this poem refers to μέθη νηφάλιος or the divine joy of life (*CAH* 10. 38 f., H. Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas*, *Zeitschrift Neutest. Wiss.* 1929, Beih. 9); in that case stories of Cleopatra's drunkenness might be a wilful misinterpretation of this symbol. However, his theory is very speculative, partly because of uncertainty about the poem's date; Gow thinks on grounds of style that the third-century Asclepiades is a more likely author than the first-century Antipater (Gow-Page 2. 148), while Cichorius refers the poem to Cleopatra Selene, the great Cleopatra's daughter (*Römische Studien*, 1922,

pp. 331f.). Tarn also sees a counter-blast to these stories about Cleopatra's drunkenness in *orac. Sib.* 3. 356 ff. ὦ χλιδανὴ ζάχρυσε Λατινίδος ἔκγονε Πώμη, / παρθένε, πολλάκι σοῖσι πολυμνήστοισι γάμοισιν / οἰνωθεῖσα . . . (JRS 22, 1932, 138).

13. *vix una sospes* . . . : 'the almost total destruction of her fleet'; for the *ab urbe condita* construction cf. 1. 15. 33f., 2. 4. 10ff., 3. 10. 15, 4. 11. 25, K.-S. 1. 770, H.-Sz. 393f.

14. *mentemque* . . . : for the absence of the normal caesura after the fifth syllable cf. p. xli. Some scholars explain the irregularity by the ode's early date, but a dizzy effect may be intended.

lymphatam: 'ex ebrietate vesanam' (Porphyrio); as the word suggests *lymphā*, the combination with *Mareotico* produces an oxymoron. *lymphatus* normally refers to irrational panic terror (cf. *νυμφόληπτος*, *πανικόν*, Sen. *epist.* 13. 9 'nulli itaque tam perniciosi . . . quam lymphatici metus sunt'); see Gruppe 2. 829 n. 2, Roscher 3. 514f., Pease on Cic. *div.* 1. 80.

Mareotico: Alexandria is built on a strip of land between Lake Mareotis (Mariut) and the sea (*RE* 14. 1676f.). The lake dried up in the Middle Ages, but was flooded again during Abercrombie's operations in 1801. The area produced the most famous wine in Egypt; cf. Virg. *georg.* 2. 91 'sunt et Mareotides albae', Str. 17. 1. 14 εὐοῦία τέ ἐστι περὶ τοὺς τόπους ὥστε καὶ διαχεῖσθαι (*diffundi*) πρὸς παλαιῶσιν τὸν Μαρειώτην οἶνον. Horace tries to give the drink a sinister sound; cf. Gratt. 312f. (on luxury) 'haec illa est Pharios quae fregit noxia reges, / dum servata cavis potant Mareotica gemmis'. In fact it was a light wine; cf. Athen. 33d-e ὁ γινόμενος οἶνος κάλλιστος· λευκός τε γὰρ καὶ ἡδύς, εὐπνους, εὐανάδοτος, λεπτός, κεφαλῆς οὐ καθικνούμενος, διουρητικός (it was not strong enough for Cleopatra to offer to Caesar; cf. Luc. 10. 161ff.). For another reference see *Parf. Fayūm* 134 (a private letter of the 4th century A.D.) ἐὰν . . . καὶ καλὸν Μαρειωτικὸν δυν[ήσε]ι μοι σειρῶσαι. Of course the tenets of Islam are different from those of the Hellenistic world; and viticulture in Egypt is now confined to districts with a predominantly Greek or Coptic population.

Perhaps Shakespeare vaguely remembered this passage; see *Antony and Cleopatra* v. ii. 280f. 'now no more The juice of Egypt's grape shall moist this lip'. Nothing is said in Plutarch about specifically Egyptian wine.

15. *veros*: 'justified'; cf. Luc. 1. 469 'vana quoque ad veros accessit fama timores'.

17. *accipiter velut* . . . : the simile is a piece of epic convention. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 22. 139ff., ἥντε κίρκος ὄρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν, /

ρήιδίως οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν / ἢ δέ θ' ὕπαιθα φοβεῖται, ὁ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὄξυ λεληκῶς / τάρφε' ἐπαίσει, Aesch. *supp.* 223 f., *Pr.* 856 ff., Eur. *Andr.* 1140 f., Ap. Rhod. 4. 485 f., Lucr. 3. 751 f., Virg. *Aen.* 11. 721 f. 'quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto / consequitur pinnis sublimem in nube columbam', Ov. *fast.* 2. 90 (with Bömer's note), Sil. 4. 105 ff., *Thes.l.L.* 3. 1731. 57 ff., D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1936, pp. 227 f.

18. *molles*: cf. τρήρωνα above, Juv. 3. 202 'molles ubi reddunt ova columbae'. The pre-Christian world realistically associated doves with cowardice rather than innocence; cf. 4. 4. 31 f., Varro, *rust.* 3. 7. 4 'nihil . . . timidius columba', Otto 88.

citus: the ancients hunted for the most part on foot, running behind their dogs. Cf., for instance, *epist.* 1. 18. 51, Varro, *Men.* 294, 296 (*Meleagri*), Phaedr. app. 28. 9 'venator citus', Nemes. *cyn.* 2, 49 'totisque citi discurrimus arvis'.

In our context *citus* has caused some doubts, but they are probably unjustified. In the first place, the word occurs in the next stanza; yet for such repetitions cf. 1. 29. 16 n. Secondly, Octavian took eleven months to catch up with his prey; yet one must not demand historical precision from a patriotic poet. Thirdly, it can be argued that when there was snow about (cf. *nivalis*) ancient huntsmen normally dispensed with dogs (Xen. *cyn.* 8. 1-2, Opp. *cyn.* 1. 454 ff., Arr. *cyn.* 14. 5 f.). Yet for the use of dogs in such circumstances cf. *epod.* 6. 5 ff. 'nam qualis aut Molossus aut fulvus Lacon, / amica vis pastoribus, / agam per altas aure sublata nivis / quaecumque praecedet fera'.

Wyngaarden proposed *canis* (see Burges's note on Aesch. *Eum.* 229), Peerlkamp *premit*, Palmer *catus* (*Hermathena* 60, 1942, 98). This last adjective is appropriate to a stalker; it is not normally used in the higher forms of poetry, yet see 3. 12. 10 f. 'catus idem per apertum fugientis agitato / grege cervos iaculari'. On the other hand *citus* is much better suited to the epic tone of the passage. Possibly the word is to be taken with *accipiter* as well as with *venator* (and *mollis* with *leporem* as well as with *columbas*).

20. *Haemoniae*: properly an area of Thessaly, but used by the Alexandrian and Roman poets as a name for Thessaly in general (*RE* 7. 2219 f.). The Thessalian snow is conventional; cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1. 476 f. 'quis enim Haemoniis sub vallibus alter / creverit, effossa reptans nive?'

catenis: at a triumph the chief prisoners were led in chains; cf. *epod.* 7. 7 f., *epist.* 2. 1. 191, Cic. *Pis.* 60 'vincti ante currum duces', Prop. 2. 1. 33, Stat. *silv.* 3. 2. 120 'Actias Ausonias fugit Cleopatra catenas'.

21. fatale: here 'bringing doom' rather than 'sent by the fates'. This must be the meaning of 3. 3. 19 (on Paris) 'fatalis incestusque iudex'; cf. Cic. *Pis.* 9 (on Clodius) 'a fatali portento prodigioque reipublicae', Luc. 10. 59 (on Cleopatra) 'Latii feralis Erinys'.

monstrum: a *monstrum* is a thing which *monet* (cf. *claustrum*, *lustrum*, etc.), i.e. a portent or something outside the norm of nature. Unlike 'monster' the word does not immediately suggest a wild animal, but such a meaning is no doubt present here; Octavian like some ancient hero cleared the world of a foul beast. *monstrum* was a common word in Latin invective; cf. Cic. *Pis.* fr. 1 'ut hoc portentum huius loci, monstrum urbis, prodigium civitatis viderem', Flor. *epit.* 2. 21. 3 'monstrum illud' (of Cleopatra), I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter*, 1965, s.v.

Yet the word may have a special point as applied to Cleopatra. Her father Ptolemy XI Neos Dionysus (Auletes) was married to his sister, Cleopatra V Tryphaena; she died between 7 August 69 and 25 February 68 (*RE* 11. 749). The famous Cleopatra was 39 at the time of her death in August 30; therefore she was probably the daughter of Cleopatra V. The only other possibility is that she was illegitimate and later legitimized (*RE* 11. 750); but this is nowhere suggested. If the famous Cleopatra was the offspring of a brother-sister union, a Roman would certainly regard her as a *monstrum*. One is only surprised that if this was the case it is not pointed out somewhere more explicitly.

quae . . . : *constructio ad sensum*; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 79, K.-S. 1. 27. At this point Horace ends his invective and in three magnificent stanzas, which make the poem, describes Cleopatra's death. Note the complication of the period: there is not a really strong pause throughout the ode. Kiessling suggests that Horace had not yet gained full control over his medium, Pasquali speaks of 'immaturità giovenile . . . nella composizione e nel periodare troppo complicato', Campbell criticizes 'this long trailing sprawling invertebrate sentence'. These objections are astonishing. One should rather admire Horace's virtuosity in building so elaborate a structure in so difficult a metre with such power and precision (cf. 4. 4. 1 ff.).

generosius: editors explain that to perish was nobler than to be led in chains; cf. Dio 51. 13. 2 *μυρίων θανάτων χαλεπώτερον*. Yet the Latin naturally means that Cleopatra wanted a nobler death than at the hands of the executioner, the normal end of a Roman triumph; cf. Liv. 26. 13. 15 'neque vincetus per urbem Romanam triumphis spectaculum trahar, ut deinde †in carcerem† aut ad palum deligatus, lacerato virgis tergo, cervicem securi Romanae subiciam', Joseph. *bell. J.* 7. 5. 6 *ἤν γὰρ παλαιὸν πάτριον περιμένειν μέχρι ἂν τὸν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἀπαγγείλῃ τις*. The sentimental and

unpolitical shrink from the notion that Octavian might have destroyed Cleopatra; yet he killed Caesarion and Antyllus (the young son of Antony and Fulvia). In any case it is quite clear what the Augustan poets expected; cf. Prop. 4. 6. 63 ff.: 'illa petit Nilum cumba male nixa fugaci, / hoc unum, iusso non moritura die. / di melius! quantus mulier foret una triumphus, / ductus erat per quas ante Iugurtha vias'.

22. muliebriter: cf. Vell. 2. 87. 1 '(Cleopatra) expers muliebris metus spiritum reddidit', Shakespeare, *Ant.* v. ii. 237 f. 'My resolution's placed and I have nothing Of woman in me'.

23. expavit ensem: Horace is talking of events before the capture of Alexandria (line 25); so the sword belongs to Octavian's invading army, and has nothing to do with Cleopatra's attempt at suicide (Plut. *Ant.* 79. 2).

nec latentis . . .: Cleopatra in fact thought of hauling her fleet over the Suez isthmus to the Red Sea; however, she desisted when the Arabs from Petra burned some of her ships (Plut. *Ant.* 69. 2 f., cf. Dio 51. 7. 1). Antony contemplated a voyage to Spain (Dio 51. 6. 3, Flor. *epit.* 2. 21. 9 'praeparata in Oceanum fuga'); but Cleopatra was said to have caused his ships to desert (Dio 51. 10. 4).

24. reparavit: literally 'took in exchange', and hence 'reached'. The decisive parallel is a pastiche of grand verse in *carm. epig.* 258 'Silvano sacr., M. Vicirius Rufus v(otum) s(olvit) / quod licuit Iunianos reparare penates'. *reparare* seems to be modelled on ἀμείβειν or ἀλλάσσειν (so 2. 16. 19 *mutamus*). Cf. Aesch. *Th.* 304 f. ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίης πέδον / τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, Pind. *P.* 5. 37 f. Κρῖσαῖον λόφον / ἄμειψεν ἐν κοιλόπεδον νάπος, Eur. *Hec.* 482 f. ἀλλάξασ' Ἴδα θαλάμους, Antip. Sid. *anth. P.* 9. 567. 7 'Ἰταλίην ἤμειψεν. The English expression 'to repair' is irrelevant; it is derived from French *réparer*, late Latin *repatriare*.

25. ausa: 'enduring to' (τλᾶσα); as often the word refers to καρτερία rather than to boldness. *et* means 'even' (in 26 it means 'and').

iacentem . . . regiam: 'the royal city prostrate in defeat'; cf. Sen. *Tro.* 54 'regni iacentis', *Thes.l.L.* 7. 1. 26. 48 ff. *regiam* seems to refer to the royal area of Alexandria (cf. the Imperial City of Pekin). This occupied a square mile, perhaps a quarter or third of the whole city; cf. Str. 17. 1. 8, Plin. *nat.* 5. 62. Sometimes *regia* means 'capital city' (*epist.* 1. 11. 2 'Croesi regia Sardes', Plin. *nat.* 5. 20 'Caesarea . . . Iubae regia'); but the Ptolemies' 'capital' was the royal city rather than Alexandria as a whole. The word here can hardly have its usual sense of 'palace'; in that case *iacentem* would suggest that the building had literally collapsed.

26. **vultu sereno**: Cleopatra concealed her intention of suicide, to which this clause naturally leads; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 83. 5 τούτοις ὁ Καίσαρ ἤδετο παντάπασιν αὐτὴν φιλοψυχεῖν οἰόμενος, Dio 51. 13. 3 ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε, μεταγιγνώσκειν τε ἐπλάσατο . . . καὶ ἔκουσία τε πλεύσεσθαι ἔλεγε. Such unanimity was commended by the philosophers; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 31 (on the *vultus semper idem* and *frons tranquilla et serena* of Socrates), Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4. 477.

fortis et . . .: a characteristic Horatian construction; cf. 1. 1. 8 n., Stat. *silv.* 3. 2. 126 'fortis et Eoas iaculo damnare sagittas'. Old editors punctuate after *fortis*; the correction, which is obvious once it is pointed out, was thrown off casually by Bentley on 3. 4. 69.

asperas: the word partly means 'fierce'; cf. 1. 23. 9 'tigris ut aspera', 1. 35. 9, 3. 2. 10. But here in combination with *tractare* there is a clear suggestion that snakes are rough to the touch (which is not in fact the case). Cf. Nic. *ther.* 157 f. ἀαλέησιν ἐπιφρικτὴν φολίδεσσιν / ἀσπίδα φουήεσσαν.

27. **serpentes**: Horace speaks of plural snakes like Virg. *Aen.* 8. 697, Prop. 3. 11. 53, Flor. *epit.* 2. 21. 11; only one asp is mentioned by Plutarch (*Ant.* 85-6) and Dio 51. 14. 1. The double snake was a royal symbol in Egypt (Griffiths, op. cit., pp. 116 ff.). No doubt the image of Cleopatra at Octavian's triumph was portrayed with two snakes (Prop. loc. cit.).

atrum: both 'black' and 'deadly'; cf. *epod.* 17. 31 f. 'atro delibutus Hercules / Nessi cruore', Ap. Rhod. 4. 1508 μελάγχμιον ἰόν, Nic. *ther.* 243, 327, Virg. *georg.* 2. 130, Ov. *epist.* 9. 115, Sil. 3. 312, André 48 ff.

28. **corpore**: according to Propertius, Galen, Plutarch, and Dio the snake bit Cleopatra in the arm. Peerlkamp proposed *pectore*, which suits some ancient accounts; cf. Fulg. *aet. mund.* p. 176 'Aegyptiacam superatam reginam lactandas praebere mammas serpentibus persuasit', Ponnanus, *anth. Lat.* 274. 2 f. 'nam vivere serpens / creditur et morsu gaudens dare fata papillae', *corp. paroem. gr.* 1. 126, Walter of Châtillon 209. 518 b Migne 'lactandasque dedit hydri Cleopatra papillas', Shakespeare, *Ant.* v. ii. 309 f. 'Dost thou not see my baby at my breast That sucks the nurse asleep?' Horace is more realistic.

29. **deliberata**: normally *deliberare* means 'to deliberate on', but sometimes as here 'to decide on'; cf. Turp. *com.* 180 'certum ac deliberatum est me illis obsequi', Afran. *com.* 274. But the word means more than *decernere*; it suggests that the decision has been taken after weighing the pros and cons (cf. Plin. *epist.* 1. 22. 10 'deliberare vero et causas eius [sc. mortis] expendere . . . ingentis est

animi'). For similar phrases cf. Luc. 4. 533 f. 'stabat devota iuventus / damnata iam luce ferox', Sen. *Ag.* 210, Stat. *Theb.* 12. 760.

ferocior: Horace is not contrasting Cleopatra's spirit with her timidity at Actium: rather he is saying that her innate *ferocia* is now increased.

30. **Liburnis:** fast galleys used first by the Liburnian tribe in the coastal waters at the north of the Adriatic (Lucian, *am.* 6, App. *Illyr.* 3. 7). Both sides presumably had them at Actium, but Octavian made greater use of them: the little ships which destroyed Antony's galleons played an important part in the legend of the battle (Dio 50. 18. 4 f.). See further *epod.* 1. 1, Prop. 3. 11. 44 '(Cleopatra dared) baridos et contis rostra Liburna sequi', Veg. *mil.* 4. 33. At the battle Octavian cruised in one of these ships, and afterwards they were used in the pursuit (Plut. *Ant.* 67. 2). See further C. Torr, *Ancient ships*, 1894, pp. 16 f., R. C. Anderson, *Oared fighting ships*, 1962, pp. 31 ff.

31. **privata:** no longer a queen. For Cleopatra's attitude cf. Galen, *ther.* 940 (14. 235 K.) ἐλομένη μᾶλλον ἔτι βασίλισσα οὐσα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι ἢ περ ἰδιώτης 'Ρωμαίοις φανῆναι, Dio 51. 11. 2 ἐν τε τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ σχήματι αὐτῆς (τῆς δυναστείας) ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἰδιωτεύσασα ζῆν ἡρέετο. According to Plutarch (*Ant.* 85. 3) she died κεκοσμημένη βασιλικῶς; cf. the death-scene in Shakespeare ('Give me my robe, put on my crown').

deduci: to be taken to Rome for the triumph; therefore *triumpho* must mean more or less *ad triumphum*. In such a context *deducere* can only have this meaning; cf. Liv. 28. 32. 7 'quos secum in patriam ad meritum triumphum deducere velit', *Thes.l.L.* 5. 1. 274. 51 ff. It cannot mean 'to be led in the triumph'; for this plain *duci* is the *vox propria*. The fact that Horace names the ships and not the soldiers confirms that he is here talking of the voyage from Alexandria to Rome.

32. **non humilis:** with the pride of a Lagid; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 85. 4 πρέποντα τῇ τοσοῦτων ἀπογόνῳ βασιλέων, *comp. Dem. et Ant.* 1. 3 γυναικὸς ὑπερβαλομένης δυνάμει καὶ λαμπρότητι πάντας πλὴν Ἀρσάκου τοὺς καθ' αὐτὴν βασιλεῖς, Dio 51. 15. 4 περιφρονήσει θρασεῖα χρησαμένη.

triumpho: the poem of triumph suitably ends with this Roman word. For Cleopatra's attitude cf. Porph. ad loc. 'nam et Titus Livius refert illam cum de industria ab Augusto in captivitate indulgentius tractaretur identidem dicere solitam fuisse οὐ θριαμβεύσομαι'; so Shakespeare, *Ant.* iv. xv. 23 ff. 'not th' imperious show Of the full-fortuned Caesar ever shall Be broocht with me'. For similar remarks cf. Liv. 26. 13. 15 [21 *generosius* n.], Sen. *Tro.* 150 ff. In fact Cleopatra's effigy was carried in the triumph (Prop. 3. 11. 53 f.), and

her young children Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, later the wife of Juba (I. 22. 15 n.), were marched through the streets of Rome. Cf. Augustus's proud boast (*res gest.* 4. 3) 'in triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi novem'.

38. PERSICOS ODI

[Fraenkel 297 ff.; G. L. Hendrickson, *AJPh* 39, 1918, 32 ff.; Pasquali 324 f.; R. Reitzenstein, *Aufsätze*, pp. 15 f.]

1-8. *I do not care for elaborate accessories when I drink. A plain myrtle wreath suits both my slave boy and myself.*

The address to an attendant slave was a common and natural device in Greek sympotic lyric and epigram. The theme can already be found in Anacreon:

Ἄγε δὴ φέρ' ἡμῖν, ὦ παῖ,
κελέβην . . . (356)

Φέρ' ὕδωρ, φέρ' οἶνον, ὦ παῖ, φέρε <δ'> ἀνθεμόεντας ἡμῖν
στεφάνους ἔνεικον. (396)

Pseudo-Aristotle quotes a scolion in memory of Cedon, who had attacked the Peisistratids (*Ath. pol.* 20. 5):

Ἔγχει καὶ Κήδωνι, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,
εἰ χρὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιω οἰνοχοεῖν.

The formula was taken over by later poets, who wrote for a literary public rather than for a symposium. Cf. Catull. 27. 1 f. 'minister vetuli puer Falerni, / inger mi calices amariores', Hor. *carm.* 2. 11. 18 ff., Mart. 9. 93. 1 'addere quid cessas, puer, immortale Falernum?', 14. 170. 2, Marc. Argent. *anth. P.* 5. 110. 2 ἔνα μοι, λάτρι, δίδου κύαθον.

Sometimes the master tells the slave to do some shopping. This element can be found in the comic poet Ehippus, where a master asks for simple food (fr. 15 K.):

A. Ἄλλ' ἀγόρασον εὐτελῶς·
ἅπαν γὰρ ἰκανόν ἐστι. B. φράζε δή ποτε.
A. μὴ πολυτελῶς ἀλλὰ καθαρείως. ὅ τι ἂν ᾗ,
ὀσίας ἔνεκ'. ἀρκεῖ τευθίδια, σηπίδια . . .
B. ὡς μικρολόγος εἶ. A. σὺ δέ γε λίαν πολυτελής.

See also Antiphanes fr. 68 K. The theme was taken over into Hellenistic epigram, where a small speech is sometimes put into the