A COMMENTARY ON
HORACE
Odes, BOOK II

BY

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AND

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CLARENDON PRESS · OXFORD

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP
Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
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Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press
in the UK and in certain other countries
Published in the United States
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

Reprinted 2001

ISBN 0-19-814452-0 (hb)
ISBN 0-19-814771-6 (pb)
Printed in Great Britain
on acid-free paper by
Bookcraft (Bath) Short Run Books
Midsomer Norton

PREFACE

THIS volume follows the same lines as our commentary on the first book of Horace's *Odes* (Oxford, 1970). Once again we have tried to explain the literary tradition within which the poet wrote, and once again we have quoted a fair number of illustrative parallels. A few critics of the earlier book thought that we were denying Horace's originality, or even the merit of Latin literature in general; such misinterpretations of our position are not now worth refuting. We should add that though we are much interested in the conventions that apply to different types of poem, we deplore attempts at too schematic a classification. The student of Augustan poetry must try to divine underlying forms, but he should not go about his business in the mechanical spirit of a post-office sorter.

The second book of the *Odes* contains poems of the middle range, with an emphasis on personal relationships and practical ethics: the philosophers play a larger part than in the first book and the *lyrici* considerably less. We have tried to make the poet's friends come alive as real people, and to show how the subject-matter and tone of voice are adapted to suit the temperament of the individual. We have done more than in the first volume to suggest instances of word-play and the tension of balancing and contrasting elements. Previously we were inclined to assume that such things were either too obvious or too uncertain to be worth mentioning, but here we have been more forthcoming and perhaps less prudent.

Once again we owe much to our friends. As before, Sir Roger Mynors gave unfailing encouragement. We have been helped on various points by Mr. E. L. Bowie, Dr. J. Briscoe, Mr. M. Davies, Dr. J. G. W. Henderson, Dr. H. M. Hine, Mrs. M. C. Howatson, Professor H. D. Jocelyn, Professor I. G. Kidd, Miss J. H. Martindale, Professor D. Pingree, Mr. D. A. Russell, Professor G. J. Toomer, and Professor M. L. West. We have also benefited from discussions with pupils, both graduates and undergraduates; one eminent reviewer was surprised when we said this before, so we say it again. Our greatest debt is to our University and our two Colleges, which have provided a suitable environment for the study of Horace.

M. H.
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Oxford
November 1977

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sic homines secundis rebus ecfrenatos sibique praefidentis tamquam in gyrum rationis et doctrinae duci oportere', Prop. 3. 3. 21 'cur tua praescriptos evecta est pagina gyros?'

Gelonos: this Scythian tribe appears from Hdt. 4. 108 f. (perhaps derived from Aristeas) to Amm. 31. 2. 14 (*RE* 7. 1014 ff.). They are mentioned on several other occasions in Augustan poetry without any precision (2. 20. 19, 3. 4. 35, Virg. *georg.* 2. 115, 3. 461, *Aen.* 8. 725); Horace is here in harmony with Virgil's account of the triumphs of 29 (above, p. 137). The Geloni suit this ode not just as a remote north-eastern tribe (cf. 2 *Caspium*, 4 *Armeniis*) but because their very name must have suggested *gelu* to a Roman reader (cf. 5 *glacies*, 20 *Niphaten*).

24. **exiguis equitare campis**: *exiguis* picks up *minores* and makes alliteration with *equitare*. There is something of an oxymoron: plains are naturally *lati* (3. 11. 9) and *equitare* suggests aggressive prancing (1. 2. 51 n.).

10. RECTIVS VIVES

[K. M. T. Atkinson, *Historia* 9, 1960, 440 ff.; R. Hanslik, *RhM* 96, 1953, 282 ff.; S. Jameson, *Historia* 18, 1969, 204 ff.; W. C. McDermott, *TAPhA* 72, 1941, 255 ff.; D. Stockton, *Historia* 14, 1965, 18 ff.; M. Swan, *HSCPh* 71, 1966, 235 ff.; D. West ap. Costa 47 ff.]

1–12. *You will follow the right course, Licinius, if you neither push out to sea too persistently nor hug the shore too close. The man who chooses the golden mean avoids the squalor of a hovel, the unpopularity of a palace. Height is a danger to trees and buildings and mountains.* 13–28. *A heart that is prepared for anything hopes in adversity and fears in prosperity; just as the seasons change, so the vicissitudes of life; misfortune does not last, and cruel Apollo sometimes relaxes. In difficult straits you should show spirit, but when the wind is too favourable you must shorten sail.*

'ad Licinium Murenam: optimum esse medium vitae statum': thus the superscription in Klingner's Ψ group of manuscripts (β in Wickham–Garrod). At once a crucial question is posed: is Horace's Licinius somebody otherwise unknown (Heinze, Atkinson), or is he to be identified with the Murena who was Maecenas's brother-in-law? This Murena engaged in angry debate with Augustus at the trial of Primus for unauthorized warfare in Thrace: when Horace advises Licinius to shorten sail (22 ff.), should this be connected with

Murena's notorious candour (Dio 54. 3. 4 *ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο*)? Soon afterwards Murena was accused of involvement in Caepio's conspiracy, and put to death after attempting to escape (Dio 54. 3. 5). There is a notorious chronological problem about the dating of these events (23 or 22 B.C.?), and it must be asked whether Horace's poem contributes to a solution.

Maecenas's brother-in-law is described by many names (*RE* 5 A. 706 f.), Licinius Murena (Dio 54. 3. 3), L. Murena (Vell. 2. 91. 2), Terentius Varro (Strabo), Varro (Seneca, Tacitus), Varro Murena (Suetonius). The conflated name 'Varro Murena' was borne by an aedile by 44 B.C. (*ILS* 6075 with Cic. *Phil.* 13. 26, cf. Cic. *epist.* 13. 22. 1), presumably the conspirator's father; he was probably a Licinius Murena adopted by a Terentius Varro (*RE* 5 A. 705 f., S. Treggiari, *Phoenix* 27, 1973, 255 f.), which is why Maecenas's wife, the conspirator's sister, is called Terentia. But the conspirator may also have called himself 'Licinius Murena', the form used by Dio (cf. Stockton, op. cit., p. 40); as has been mentioned, a Horatian superscription independently gives the same form of name, though without further identifying the person concerned (for these superscriptions, which go back to antiquity, cf. F. Klingner, *Hermes* 70, 1935, 262 f. = *Studien*, pp. 468 f.). So there is nothing in Horace's vocative *Licini* to preclude the view that the eminent subject of the ode (9 ff.) is Maecenas's brother-in-law.

Horace makes other possible allusions to the same person. In the *Satires* he mentions a Murena who gave his party hospitality at Formiae (1. 5. 38); this man may have been a relative of his patron (cf. Cic. *epist.* 16. 12. 6 for an A. Varro in the same neighbourhood, perhaps the conspirator's father). Elsewhere the poet praises Proculeius for helping his impoverished brothers (*carm.* 2. 2. 5 ff.); Maecenas's Murena was one of them (Dio 54. 3. 5). The augur Murena who is celebrated in the symposium of *carm.* 3. 19 might also be the Licinius of our poem; thus Horace speaks of the same man both as Aristius and Fuscus (vol. i, pp. 261 f.). Yet all this falls short of proof, and it is time for a disregarded piece of evidence to be thrown into the scales. Strabo records how the philosopher Athenaeus of Seleuceia (in Cilicia) was involved in Murena's fall (14. 5. 4): *εἶτ' ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὴν Μουρήνα φιλίαν ἐκείνῳ συνεάλω φεύγων, φωραθείσης τῆς κατὰ Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συσταθείσης ἐπιβουλῆς· ἀναίτιος δὲ φανεὶς ἀφείθη ὑπὸ Καίσαρος*. The story of the joint escape suggests that he was a 'domestic chaplain' in Murena's household (like Philodemus in Piso's and Diodotus in Cicero's). The significant thing is that Athenaeus was one of the leading Peripatetics of the day (Str. *loc. cit.* *ἄνδρες ἀξιόλογοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων Ἀθήναιός τε καὶ*

Ξέναρχος). Horace's ode is a commendation of the middle way, and the *mediocritas* which he enjoins was a Peripatetic watchword (5 n.). As Horace delights to allude to the tastes of his addressees, it would be a strange coincidence if the Licinius of the ode were somebody other than Athenaeus's patron.

The date of Murena's downfall is a much more intractable problem. Dio, the only narrative source (54. 3), assigns the trial of Primus and the ensuing conspiracy to 22 B.C. The trouble is caused by the entry in the Capitoline Fasti for the beginning of 23 B.C. (*inscr. Ital.* 13. 1. 59 and tab. xxxviii, frr. xlii–xliii):

A. T[erentius A. f. — n. Var]ro Murena
[14 or 15 letters] est. in e(ius) l(ocum) f(actus) e(st)
Cn. Calpurn]ius Cn. f. Cn. n. Pis[o

The consulship of this Murena is omitted by the other Fasti, which treat Calpurnius Piso as *consul ordinarius* with Augustus; hence many moderns identify the consul with the conspirator, put the date of the conspiracy in 23 rather than Dio's 22, and posit that Murena was driven from office and omitted from most Fasti (Stockton, Jameson, opp. citt.). The difference of *praenomen* does not cause an insuperable difficulty: *L.* in Velleius may be a corruption for *Licinius*, or Varro Murena may have had two *praenomina* (Treggiari, op. cit., p. 256 suggests that he was born before his father's adoption). The lacuna in the inscription presents an annoying problem; *in mag. damnatus* is constitutionally impossible (he would have to demit office first), and *magistratu motus* (Hanslik) lacks satisfactory parallels. Alternatively it has been suggested that the Murena of the inscription died or was condemned while still consul-designate; in such cases an entry sometimes appears in the Capitoline Fasti but is omitted elsewhere (Swan, op. cit.).

The year 23 was marked by a notable series of events that may throw light on our problem. During the consulship of Augustus and Piso the Princeps fell seriously ill (Dio 53. 30. 1); on any realistic view of human nature, speculation and intrigue must have been rife. Augustus's build-up of Marcellus (1. 12. 46 n.), the son of his sister Octavia, had alarmed senatorial sentiment; when he had given him his daughter and the aedileship in preference to his stepson Tiberius, the empress Livia must have been grievously mortified. Maecenas may have looked with favour on the young man's hopes (he could expect nothing from the disapproving eyes of Agrippa and Livia), and Murena may also have had points of contact. The Athenaeus Mechanicus who dedicated a work on artillery to one Marcellus (ed. R. Schneider, *Abh. Gött. Wiss.* 12. 5, 1912) seems to have been Murena's Peripatetic friend (Cichorius 271 ff., F. Lammert, *RhM* 87, 1938, 333);

among the philosophers he cites in his preface are Aristotle and the Peripatetic Strato (fr. 14 Wehrli). Vitruvius, who uses Athenaeus's work (Lammert, loc. cit.) belonged to the same cultured circle (1 *praef.* 2 to Augustus 'per sororis commendationem'); he may even have had connections with Formiae (*RE* 14. 966, more speculatively 9 A. 437 f.), where the Murenae had a villa (at Vitr. 2. 8. 9 'aedilitatem Varronis et Murenae' McDermott, op. cit., p. 258, deletes *et*). Another member of the group was the Stoic Athenodorus Calvus, who like Athenaeus came from Cilicia (Cichorius 279 ff., Bowersock 32 ff., 39 f., *RE* Suppl. 5. 47 ff.); he is a significant source for Horace in the *Epistles* (McGann 26 ff.).

Augustus unexpectedly recovered and quickly resolved the anxieties of the senate. At the end of June 23 he gave up his annual consulship, thereby releasing places for the ambitious; his successor, Sestius, was a former Republican, as indeed was his colleague Piso. He based his regime instead on the so-called *tribunicia potestas*, which gave him as much real power but could be represented as a retreat. He pleased loyalists so much at the trial of Primus that he was given the additional right to convene the senate as often as he pleased (Dio 54. 3. 3, H. F. Pelham, *Essays on Roman History*, 1911, pp. 77 f.); as the consul had this right without restriction, this implies that the new constitution preceded the trial of Primus, and *a fortiori* that Murena lost his office to Piso considerably earlier than the conspiracy (cf. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Gnomon* 33, 1961, 395). In the summer of 23 Augustus also acquired *maius imperium* even in the senatorial provinces; this looks like an attempt to resolve some of the constitutional uncertainties that had been revealed by Primus's operations (Stockton, op. cit., p. 29). But the point may have less significance for the chronology than is sometimes supposed. Perhaps Primus committed his alleged offence in the first half of 23 but was tried after his return in 22; though the rules about *imperium* had been changed in the interval, the senate, under the delusion that it had won over-all concessions, may still have insisted that war could not be waged in its provinces without its own consent.

The new constitution must be seen as a decisive defeat for Marcellus and his associates. Agrippa had proved more than a match for his youthful rival (cf. Vell. 2. 93. 1), and when he was given Augustus's ring from his sick-bed, it was a clear indication that he was regarded as the heir (Dio 53. 30. 2, P. Sattler, *Augustus und der Senat*, 1960, p. 67). Soon afterwards he was dispatched to the East with Augustus's full confidence (Syme 342), perhaps to secure the legions in Syria, where Murena's brother may have been legate (cf. Jameson, op. cit., p. 219). The triumph of the senatorial party was complete when Marcellus died towards the end of 23 (for the time of

year cf. Jameson, op. cit., pp. 214 ff., Swan, op. cit., p. 242). The grief and jealousy of his mother Octavia knew no bounds (Sen. *dial.* 6. 2. 3–5), in spite of a consolation from Athenodorus Calvus (Plut. *Public.* 17. 5, Cichorius 281 f.). The young man had been treated by Antonius Musa, Augustus's own doctor and an eminent pharmacologist (Galen 13. 463 K.); it is hardly surprising that the scandal-mongers suspected Livia (Dio 53. 33. 4).

The events of 22 suit the changed balance of power (if Dio's chronology may for the moment be accepted). When Primus was tried for his disregard of the senate's assumed prerogatives he alleged instructions from Augustus (Dio 54. 3. 2), but the Princeps denied the charge, perhaps as part of his renewed understanding with the senate. The accused man next pleaded directions from Marcellus (which he had no legal authority to give); if Marcellus had still been alive (as is believed by those who reject Dio's chronology), he would surely have been repudiated a second time (cf. Hanslik, op. cit., p. 285). Primus's counsel Murena was naturally indignant at the treatment of his client (perhaps he saw a parallel to his own betrayal the previous year), and he expressed himself with Republican candour. Soon afterwards he was accused of having conspired with Fannius Caepio to assassinate Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 19. 1, 56. 4); the two men were convicted *in absentia*, and killed after a dramatic attempt at escape (Macr. *sat.* 1. 11. 21). Athenaeus, who had joined their flight, was generously acquitted (Str. 14. 5. 4), and returned to Cilicia with the words ἥκω νεκρῶν κενθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας / λιπών (Eur. *Hec.* 1 f., Bowersock 35). Maecenas had early news of the discovery of the plot, and in his terrible dilemma betrayed the secret to his wife Terentia (Suet. *Aug.* 66. 3); predictably she informed her brother, who may have gone into hiding at this point. Though Augustus was astute enough to foresee this outcome (he must have hoped for a tactful suicide rather than another state trial), he could not overlook the indiscretion of his increasingly embarrassing minister. Maecenas lost the substance if not the semblance of imperial favour (cf. Tac. *ann.* 3. 30. 3–4)—to the great detriment of humane letters; the lightning had indeed hit the mountain-tops.

The first three books of Horace's odes seem to have been given to the world in the consulship of Sestius, that is to say in the second half of 23 (vol. i, p. xxxvi); before the constitutional crisis was resolved he had not even the authority of a consul-designate, and the prominence given to him in 1. 4 would have seemed inappropriate. It must now be considered how the date of 'publication' suits various hypotheses. (1) Suppose the ode was written before 23 B.C. and contained simply a string of conventional aphorisms. It would be

a strange coincidence if Horace warned Murena about the perils of success before he had become consul, and consoled him for misfortune before he was removed from office, only to see his words miraculously fulfilled before or after the publication of the poem. (2) This coincidence is diminished but not removed if the recipient of the ode (i.e. Maecenas's brother-in-law) is a different person from the consul of 23. In that case Horace writes about the dangers of the mountain-tops to a man who has not reached the summit (but soon meets with disaster), and he publishes his poem within a year of the condemnation or sudden death of a man of similar name who had attained the consulship. (3) Suppose that the conspiracy is assigned to 23 (in spite of Dio) and that Murena's dismissal is part of a single sequence of events. Horace must write the ode in the short period when Murena is out of favour for insulting Augustus, but has not yet been accused of treason; this is an inappropriate moment for warnings against the perils of timidity (3 f.). Then in the second half of the year he 'publishes' his ode, in spite of the spectacular scandal that in the meantime has killed Murena, put Athenaeus in jeopardy, and blighted the political career of Maecenas; in the same book he praises Proculeius in an expendable stanza for cherishing his brother Murena (2. 2. 5 ff.), who *ex hypothesi* has just been detected in conspiracy against Augustus. And Dio in recounting the crisis misses one of the most sensational facts of all, that Murena was *consul ordinarius* when the trouble began.

(4) It seems much more likely that Murena's downfall should be put in two distinct stages (Hanslik, op. cit.). He may have been driven from office early in 23, perhaps for showing too great officiousness in Marcellus's interest at a time when Augustus's health was already precarious (there were previous illnesses in 25 and 24); or he might have been pressed to abandon his prospects while still consul-designate (cf. Swan, op. cit.). Horace consoles him for his disappointment, but further catastrophe comes in 22, too late for changes in the *Odes* but in time for the municipal *Fasti*. It is an objection to this theory that Murena is described as a good man apart from his conspiracy (Vell. 2. 91. 2), but perhaps he was removed for being more royalist than the king. It is another difficulty that Velleius puts the death of Marcellus about the time of the conspiracy (2. 93, Jameson, op. cit., pp. 223 f.), but perhaps the second stage of Murena's downfall dragged on from the end of 23 to the spring of 22. It is interestingly suggested that the extra *Feriae Latinae* of October 23 are in celebration of Murena's destruction (*inscr. Ital.* 13. 1. 151, Dio 54. 3. 8, Jameson, op. cit., pp. 225 f.), but if significance is attached to the publication of the *Odes* the time-scheme then becomes uncomfortably tight. When

Dio assigns the dedication of Jupiter Tonans to 22 (54. 4. 2), he is thought to have made another mistake for 23, seeing that Augustus left Rome before the consular elections in 22 and dedicated the temple on 1 September (Jameson, op. cit., pp. 226 f.); but the argument is uncertain owing to the electoral confusions of the period (Dio 54. 6. 1–2).

Horace's ode is skilfully adapted to an intermediate stage in his friend's downfall. If Murena were still consul it would be absurd to talk of present misfortunes (17 'si male nunc') and an impropriety to offer good advice, but after his removal from office greater liberties become possible. In his paraeneses Horace normally advised his patrons to do what they are doing already; here he is able to avoid offence by citing Murena's own Peripatetic maxims. The appeal to the experience of humanity lessens the humiliation of the individual; it was also a consolation for Murena to be reminded that he had reached the summit. At the same time there is a trace of *deprecatio* to the Princeps, appropriately wrapped up in third-person allegory: Jove brings back fair weather (for similar allusions to Augustus cf. *epist.* 1. 19. 43 'Iovis auribus', Ov. *met.* 15. 871 'Iovis ira'), and Apollo sometimes prefers the lyre to the bow. Like his divine patron, Augustus sometimes relaxed over poetry (3. 4. 37 ff.); by his graceful and unservile acknowledgement of Murena's fault, Horace is not only offering him a tactful hint (no doubt at Maecenas's suggestion) but putting in a plea for forgiveness.

From the formal point of view Horace's organizational skill is a match for his subtlety in personal relationships. The ode is concerned with the mean between two extremes (as suits the Peripatetic recipient); the topic lends itself to a series of antitheses, which are sustained throughout the poem. The first stanza contains a paraenesis about extremes of conduct; at this stage recklessness is stressed no more than timidity. The second stanza turns to extremes of wealth and life-style (still represented as a matter of personal decision); here by a chiastic arrangement the more flamboyant course is given the emphatic position at the end. The third stanza proceeds from wealth to power (for the sequence cf. 2. 16. 9 n.); this time the three parallel clauses point in the same direction and put the emphasis entirely on a fall from greatness (to suit Licinius's own situation). It should further be observed that the poet has now glided from extremes of conduct to extremes of fortune; 7 f. *invidenda . . . aula* marks the transition from the envy of men to that of the gods.

The second half of the poem begins with a new paraenesis (13 ff.), this time tactfully put in a general form; as extremes of fortune are still the subject, the paraenesis develops into a consolation (15–20). The poet explains that good and bad fortune can easily change: in

the first two sentences (13–17) he holds the balance fairly evenly between the two possibilities (except that his chiasmus ends with the more favourable), but in the next two (17–20) he concentrates entirely on a change from bad to good (thus reversing the pattern of 9–12). He has now resumed his series of antitheses: two longer sentences come on the outside (13–15, 18–20), two shorter ones in the middle (West, loc. cit., pp. 48 f.). In the last stanza he once more addresses Licinius (which he has not done since the beginning of the poem); he also returns to the navigational metaphor of the opening lines (though weather imagery of different sorts is found in the central stanzas). Now he combines the themes of conduct and fortune: one should adjust one's actions to counterbalance the prevailing conditions (for moral weighting cf. Arist. *Nic. eth.* 1109ª30 *διὸ δεῖ τὸν στοχαζόμενον τοῦ μέσου πρῶτον μὲν ἀποχωρεῖν τοῦ μᾶλλον ἐναντίου*, Sen. *epist.* 13. 12 'vitio vitium repelle, spe metum tempera'). This time the warning against pride is put in the emphatic last position (the opposite order from lines 1–4, and yet another instance of ring-composition); thus Horace not only gives Licinius appropriate advice but insinuates that all is not lost. The poem's dense argument and intricate structure perhaps suit an address to a would-be Peripatetic; certainly the short and usually self-contained Sapphic stanza lends itself to clipped aphorisms (cf. 2. 2). But the imagery is poetic rather than philosophic: the dead metaphors of rocks and wind are reactivated by ingenious accumulation. And though Horace's reasoned maxims may seem at first sight to lack universal appeal (contrast 2. 16), in fact he is applying his tact as well as his intelligence to a very real human predicament. It is easy to understand why the ode was a particular favourite with educated men of affairs in the seventeenth century.

Metre: Sapphic.

1. **rectius vives**: cf. *epist.* 1. 6. 29 'vis recte vivere', 1. 16. 17, Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 12, etc.; the phrase suits a man of Murena's philosophical interests. *recte* suggests a straight course (Lucr. 6. 28, C. M. Bowra, *Pindar*, 1964, pp. 252 f., Bramble 118 n. 1); it therefore coheres with the nautical image that follows. The implication of the comparison is simply 'than if you pursue extremes'; there is no overt criticism of Licinius's present behaviour. The formal future suits the sententiousness of the admonition.

neque . . .: the voyage of life was a natural metaphor to the nautical Greeks (cf. Pl. *leg.* 803 b, C. Bonner, *H. Theol. Rev.* 34, 1941, 49 ff., H. Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*, English translation, 1963, pp. 328 ff.); in particular the story of Scylla and Charyb-

dis was given moral applications, especially in late antiquity (Otto 82). For a striking parallel to Horace's expression cf. Lollius Bassus, *anth. P.* 10. 102 *μήτε με χείματι πόντος ἄγοι θρασύς, οὐδὲ γαλήνης / ἀργῆς ἠσπασάμην τὴν πολυνηνεμίην. / αἱ μεσότητες ἄρισται· ὅπῃ δέ γε πρήξιες ἀνδρῶν, / καὶ πάλι μέτρον ἐγὼ τἄρκιον ἠσπασάμην. / τοῦτ' ἀγάπα, φίλε Λάμπι, κακὰς δ' ἔχθαιρε θυέλλας· / εἰσί τινες πρηεῖς καὶ βιότου ζέφυροι.* Bassus, who wrote on the death of Germanicus in 19 A.D. (*anth. P.* 7. 391), seems to be imitating Horace rather than relying on a common source (cf. Pasquali 205 f.); *μεσότητες* is unusually philosophical to have been originated by a Greek poet (curiously in this respect the Roman poets were more enterprising), and Horace's *mediocritas* suits Licinius so well (above, pp. 152 f.) that it is likely to be independent. For less close parallels cf. further Prop. 3. 3. 23 f. 'alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat harenas: / tutus eris', Ov. *met.* 2. 137 'medio tutissimus ibis' (with Bömer's note), Sen. *Herc. O.* 694 ff. 'stringat tenuis litora puppis / nec magna meas aura phaselos / iubeat medium scindere pontum: / transit tutos Fortuna sinus / medioque rates quaerit in alto, / quarum feriunt sipara nubes', *Ag.* 103 ff., *Oed.* 882 ff.

altum . . . : 'the high seas', contrasted with *litus* (so Virg. *Aen.* 5. 163 f.); the word also suggests the idea of political height (cf. the third stanza). *urgendo* is stronger than *premendo* below; though applicable to literal force, it is not quite natural with *altum*, and better suits Murena's uncompromising perseverance. With careful tact Horace advises against ambition only when it is too persistent (*semper*); the word is balanced by *nimium* below.

2. **procellas . . . horrescis** : political storms are common in Latin; cf. also *ars* 28 'serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae' (of the unenterprising poet). In our passage the verb is edged, as the sea and cornfields literally 'shiver at the storm'; for the same point cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12. 453, Ov. *am.* 2. 11. 25 'cum ventos horret iniquos', *fast.* 2. 147 (see also 2. 13. 15 n.).

3. **premendo** : cf. Ov. *ars* 1. 40 'haec erit admissa meta premenda rota' (where *terenda* is a variant). As *premere* can almost mean 'to smooth down', there may be a slight verbal point in the collocation with *iniquum*.

4. **litus** : for the metaphor cf. Theognis 575 f., 855 f., Péron 309 ff. It may be significant that the fish *murena* (or murry) was caught when it came to the shore; cf. Arist. *hist. anim.* 543^{a}28 f. *ἐξέρχονται δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ξηρόν, καὶ λαμβάνονται πολλάκις*, Plin. *nat.* 9. 76, 32. 14 'ob id sibilo a piscatoribus tamquam a serpentibus evocari et capi' (it was believed to mate on land with snakes), Nicander, *ther.* 825 f.

with Gow's note, D'Arcy Thompson, *Fishes*, p. 163, *RE* 16. 1. 653 f. One might be tempted to suspect a characteristically Roman allusion to Licinius's *cognomen*, which an ancestor had derived from his fish-ponds (Colum. 8. 16. 5 'velut ante devictarum gentium Numantinus et Isauricus, ita Sergius Orata et Licinius Muraena captorum piscium laetabantur vocabulis'). The objection to such a theory is not so much the obscurity of the information (for it is widely attested) as a feeling that the occasion is inappropriate for such frivolities; yet the ancient attitude to puns on names was very different from our own, and the seriousness of Murena's predicament at this stage should not be exaggerated.

iniquum: a litotes for 'hostile' or 'dangerous'. The word also suggests the literal unevenness of shallow waters (for *litus* in this sense cf. 2. 18. 21 n.); the same ambiguity is found at Virg. *Aen.* 10. 303 'inflicta vadi dorso dum pendet iniquo'.

5. **auream**: the adjective implies outstanding value; cf. 4. 2. 22 f. 'moresque aureos', Lucr. 3. 12 'aurea dicta', Aug. *civ.* 18. 18 'Apuleius in libris quos asini aurei titulo inscripsit'. It is naturally used by lovers (1. 5. 9 n.) and by moralists (Pl. *leg.* 645 a *τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀγωγὴν χρυσῆν καὶ ἱεράν*, Lucian, *Men.* 4 *χρυσοῦν . . . βίον*); on both counts it suits *diligit*. In our passage the adjective makes a brilliant oxymoron with *mediocritas* (which sometimes has an implication of mediocrity); it is contrasted alike with *obsoleti* and with the literal glitter of the rich man's *aula* (D. West, loc. cit., p. 49). Horace's phrase is repeated by Ausonius (419. 28), and the 'Golden Mean' is attested in English from 1587 (*Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*[3], 1970, p. 317).

mediocritatem: moderation was a persistent ideal of poets; cf. Hes. *op.* 694, Theognis 220, 331, Phocylides 12 D. *πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἄριστα· μέσος θέλω ἐν πόλει εἶναι*, Pind. *P.* 11. 52 f. *τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὑρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακροτέρῳ / ὄλβῳ τεθαλότα μέμφομ' αἶσαν τυραννίδων*, Aesch. *Eum.* 529 with Grooneboom, *trag. adesp.* 547. 3 ff. N. *οὐδ' ἀσφαλὲς πᾶν ὕψος ἐν θνητῷ γένει / . . . ἡ δὲ μεσότης ἐν πᾶσιν ἀσφαλεστέρα . . .*, Palladas, *anth. P.* 10. 51. 5 f. *ἡ μεσότης γὰρ ἄριστον, ἐπεὶ τὰ μὲν ἄκρα πέφυκεν / κινδύνους ἐπάγειν, ἔσχατα δ' ὕβριν ἔχει*. As Murena was nominally a Peripatetic (above, pp. 152 f.), Horace is alluding particularly to the Aristotelian doctrine that excellence lies within an intermediate range on a scale (not necessarily the half-way mark); cf. *Nic. eth.* 1106[a]27 ff., W. F. R. Hardie, *Aristotle's Ethical Theory*, 1968, pp. 129 ff. For Latin references cf. *serm.* 1. 1. 106 f. 'est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines / quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum', *epist.* 1. 18. 9 'virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum', Cic. *Mur.* 63, *Brut.* 149 'cum omnis virtus sit . . . medio-

critas', *Tusc.* 3. 22, *off.* 1. 89 'mediocritatem illam . . . quae est inter nimium et parum, quae placet Peripateticis et recte placet' (at *Tim.* 23 he invents and rejects the rendering *medietas*).

6. diligit: the word suggests the philosopher's choice (*προαίρεσις*) more than the English 'love'.

tutus: Bentley took with *diligit*; this would give the adjective the common meaning of 'careful' or 'playing safe' (*serm.* 2. 1. 20 'recalcitrat undique tutus', Brink on *ars* 28, Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, pp. 86 f.). But it is much better to punctuate after *diligit* and to refer *tutus* to the objective security of an established home; cf. *trag. adesp.* (cited on 5) *ἀσφαλεστέρα*, Sen. *Herc. f.* 199 f. 'humilique loco sed certa sedet / sordida parvae fortuna domus', *Herc. O.* 675 f. In that case *tutus* formally balances *sobrius*, though the function of the two adjectives is different: the former expresses the result of freedom from poverty, the latter the condition of freedom from envy. It is no objection to this punctuation that *caret* is second word in the first clause and first word in the second; for this pattern cf. *ciris* 391 f., Juv. 6. 585 f.

caret: 'avoids'; the verb is sometimes more positive than 'lacks' (cf. 2. 14. 13 n.).

obsoleti: 'dilapidated'; the word goes well with *sordibus* (cf. *epod.* 17. 46, Cic. *Sest.* 60).

7. invidenda: the ancients took it for granted that grand houses aroused envy; cf. 3. 1. 45 'invidendis postibus', Mart. *spect.* 2. 3. For the advantages of the middle way cf. Arist. *pol.* 1295^{b}30 f. (on the *μέσοι* or middle classes) *οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὥσπερ οἱ πένητες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν οὔτε τῆς τούτων ἕτεροι*, Sotades fr. 10. 1 f. Powell *ὁ πένης ἐλεεῖται, ὁ δὲ πλούσιος φθονεῖται, / ὁ μέσως δὲ βίος κεκραμένος δίκαιός ἐστιν*, *anth. Lat.* 276.

8. sobrius: pointedly juxtaposed with *aula*, the last place to expect *sobrietas*. The word may have suggested *σώφρων* in meaning as well as sound (cf. *CGL* 3. 332. 60). The mention of a palace leads naturally from the dangers of wealth to the dangers of power (9 ff.).

9. saepius . . .: the illustrations of the perils of greatness go back to Hdt. 7. 10 *ε* (the speech of Artabanus to Xerxes) *ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῷα ὡς κεραννοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει· ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα. φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν.* The theme becomes a commonplace; cf. especially Lucr. 5. 1131 f. 'invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant / plerumque et quae sunt aliis magis edita cumque' (for lightning cf. 1. 2. 3 n.), Lucr. 6. 421 f., Maecen. ap. Sen. *epist.* 19. 9 'ipsa enim altitudo attonat

summa', Liv. 45. 35. 5 'intacta invidia media sunt: ad summa ferme tendit', Ov. *rem.* 369 f. 'summa petit livor: perflant altissima venti; summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Iovis', Sen. *Ag.* 92 ff., *Phaedr.* 1125 ff., *Oed.* 8, *Octavia* 897 f. 'quatiunt altas saepe procellae / aut evertit Fortuna domos', Vollmer on Stat. *silv.* 2. 7. 90, Otto 148, *Nachträge*, p. 165. A variation is the story of beheading the tall stalks (Hdt. 5. 92 ζ. 2, Liv. 1. 54. 6, Ov. *fast.* 2. 705 ff.); for the contrast between the stubborn oak and the pliant reed cf. Soph. *Ant.* 712 ff., Aesop 101 Chambry (= 71 Hausrath), Lucianus, *anth. P.* 10. 122. 5 f. *οὐ θρύον οὐ μαλάχην ἄνεμός ποτε, τὰς δὲ μεγίστας / ἢ δρύας ἢ πλατάνους οἶδε χάμαι κατάγειν*, Babrius 36, Avian. *fab.* 16, Macr. *sat.* 7. 8. 6, E. Grawi, *Die Fabel vom Baum und dem Schilfrohr in der Weltliteratur*, Diss. Rostock, 1911.

saevius was a conjecture for *saepius* in the Rouen edition of 1701; for the confusion of *v* and *p* in Horace cf. Housman 1. 102 = *JPh* 17, 1888, 316 (who looks with favour on *saevius* here). It seems in fact to have been an ancient variant (C. O. Brink, *PCPhS* 17, 1971, 23 ff.); cf. the imitations by Fronto 209 N. (= 199 van den Hout) 'sed profecto sicut arborum altissimas vehementius ventis quati videmus, ita virtutes maximas invidia criminosius insectatur', Isid. *synon.* 2. 89 'alta arbor a ventis fortius agitatur et rami eius citius in ruina confringuntur, excelsae turres graviore casu procumbunt, altissimi montes crebris fulminibus feriuntur'. On the other hand cf. Porphyrio on 11 'et hic et in superiore *saepius* per zeugma accipiendum, ut sit *saepius feriunt*'; though somewhat overstated, this note shows that *saepius* was also an ancient reading.

It is argued that *saevius* is necessary in order to give a proper balance to *graviore* in the next line; it could be suggested on the other hand that the absence of a corresponding comparative in the third clause (lightning either hits or misses) tells against a strong word like *saevius* here (contrast the references to height, *ingens* . . . *celsae* . . . *summos*, which appear in all three clauses). The adjective *saevus* can be used of winds even in informal contexts (Cic. *Att.* 5. 12. 1 'saevo vento'), but the personification suits the adverb less well; and *agitatur* does not seem quite strong enough to be combined with it. By comparison *saepius* may seem banal to some, but words like *πολλάκις* are often found in gnomic statements; in the passages cited above note *αἰεί* (Hdt.), *plerumque* (Lucr., cf. 1. 34. 7 n., Cic. *div.* 2. 45 'quid cum in altissimos montis, quod plerumque fit'), *ferme* (Liv.), *saepe* (*Octavia*).

10. graviore casu: cf. *trag. adesp.* 547. 11 N. *ὄγκου δὲ μεγάλου πτῶμα γίγνεται μέγα*, Liv. 30. 30. 23, Lucian, *Charon* 14 *ἐπαιρέσθωσαν ὡς ἂν ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου ἀλγεινότερον καταπεσούμενοι*, Juv. 10. 105 ff. 'numerosa

parabat / excelsae turris tabulata unde altior esset / casus et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae', Hosius on *Octavia* 377 ff., 896, A. Cameron, *Claudian*, 1970, p. 331 n. 1. Before engineering became a science, *ruinae* were commoner (already a topic at Catull. 23. 9); the ancient buildings that have survived were good ones. For the grandiloquent *figura etymologica* with *decidunt* cf. Lucr. 1. 741 'et graviter magni magno cecidere ibi casu'. The alliteration with *celsae* reinforces the epigram (so below 'feriuntque . . . fulgura').

12. fulgura : some have wished to read *fulmina*, the proper word for the bolt as opposed to the flash; cf. Sen. *Ag.* 96, *Phaedr.* 1132 (both imitations). But Horace's text is supported by two of the three *testimonia* in Jerome (*epist.* 60. 16, 108. 18), and *fulgur* can bear the required meaning (*Thes.l.L.* 6. 1. 1519. 79 ff.).

13. infestis : probably with the passive meaning 'exposed to danger', 'insecure'. The interpretation 'hostile' is admittedly closer to *adversis* (the normal opposite of *secundis*), and it suits the weather imagery of the poem; on the other hand *sortem* suggests that Horace is thinking of the victim rather than of the storm. For the dative cf. Sall. *Cat.* 40. 2 'quem exitum tantis malis sperarent', *Thes.l.L.* 5. 1. 741. 38 ff.; for the dative with *metuere* cf. 2. 8. 21, *Thes.l.L.* 8. 904. 38 ff. Ablatives ('in times of trouble', etc.) would bind the sentence much less effectively.

metuit secundis : for this kind of contrast cf. 2. 3. 1 n. Compare Asinius Pollio's comment on Cicero (Sen. *suas.* 6. 24) 'utinam moderatius secundas res et fortius adversas ferre potuisset; namque utraeque cum evenerant ei, mutari eas non posse rebatur', Sen. *nat.* 3 *praef.* 8 'in melius adversa, in deterius optata flectuntur'.

14. alteram : with the second member the adjective is euphemistic for *malam*; cf. Pind. *P.* 3. 34, Soph. *Phil.* 503, Dem. 22. 12 *ἀγάθ' ἢ θάτερα, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴπω φλαῦρον.*

bene praeparatum : to be prepared for trouble (*προφυλάξασθαι*) was the advice of many philosophers, especially Stoics; cf. Diog. Laert. 6. 63 (on Diogenes the Cynic) *ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ περιγέγονεν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔφη Εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὸ γοῦν πρὸς πᾶσαν τύχην παρεσκευάσθαι,* Ter. *Phorm.* 241 ff. 'quam ob rem omnis, quom secundae res sunt maxume, tum maxume / meditari secum oportet quo pacto advorsam aerumnam ferant, / pericla damna exilia; peregre rediens semper cogitet / aut fili peccatum aut uxori' mortem aut morbum filiae: / communia esse haec, fieri posse, ut ne quid animo sit novom; / quidquid praeter spem eveniat, omne id deputare esse in lucro', Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 28 ff., *off.* 1. 81 'illud etiam ingeni magni est, praecipere cogitatione futura et aliquanto ante constituere quid accidere possit in

utramque partem, . . . nec committere ut aliquando dicendum sit "non putaram"', Virg. *Aen.* 6. 103 ff. 'non ulla laborum, / o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit; / omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi' (with Norden's note), Sen. *epist.* 18. 6, 77. 3–5, 78. 29, 91. 8, 107. 4, *dial.* 7. 8. 3, *Phaedr.* 994, ps.-Plut. *cons. Apoll.* 103 f, 112 d, Housman, *More Poems* 6 'So I was ready When trouble came'. The opposite case was put by the Epicureans: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 32 'nam neque vetustate minui mala neque fieri praemeditata leviora, stultamque etiam esse meditationem futuri mali aut fortasse ne futuri quidem; satis esse odiosum malum omne cum venisset . . .'. See further Pohlenz 2. 82, P. Rabbow, *Seelenführung*, 1954, pp. 160 ff., Kassel 66 ff., 87 f., C. C. Grollios, *Seneca's ad Marciam: Tradition and Originality*, Athens, 1956, pp. 48 ff., Otto, *Nachträge*, p. 203.

15. **pectus**: the syntactical break after the second syllable is attested elsewhere in Horace's Sapphics only at 1. 2. 49 and 2. 16. 18. But the pause need not be long, as the ode here begins to gather momentum; cf. the enjambement at the end of the stanza.

informis: Southerners are depressed by the dreariness of wintry landscapes, whether because of snow or the lack of vegetation. Cf. Virg. *georg.* 3. 354 'aggeribus niveis informis (terra)' (Serv. ad loc. 'nivis superfusione carens varietate formarum'), Sen. *Herc. O.* 384 'deforme solis aspicis truncis nemus', *apocol.* 2. 1, Sil. 3. 489, Juv. 4. 58, Claud. *carm. min.* 39. 3, Lucian, *Sat.* 9 *τὰ δένδρα ξηρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ καὶ ἄφυλλα καὶ οἱ λειμῶνες ἄμορφοι.* At *epod.* 13. 18 'deformis aegrimoniae' the adjective helps to sustain the weather imagery of the poem.

reducit: such words are readily used of the cycles of nature; cf. 3. 29. 20 'referente', Virg. *georg.* 1. 249. For the comparison of changing weather with human vicissitudes cf. 2. 9. 1 n.

17. **submovet**: perhaps like a lictor 'moving on' a crowd (cf. 2. 16. 10). For a similar personification cf. Soph. *Ai.* 670 f. *τοῦτο μὲν νιφοστιβεῖς / χειμῶνες ἐκχωροῦσιν εὐκάρπῳ θέρει.*

olim: 'one day'; cf. Theoc. 4. 41 *τάχ' αὔριον ἔσσετ' ἄμεινον*, Tib. 2. 6. 19 f. (with K. F. Smith's note). *quondam* below means 'sometimes', like *ποτε* in maxims.

18. **citharae**: Bentley preferred the genitive to the variant *cithara*; cf. 2. 1. 9 'Musa tragoediae', Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 64. 101 Bond *μοῦσαν . . . κιθάρας Ἀσιάδος.* He argued that *musam* refers to the music and not to an external mythological personage: 'non enim hoc vult Horatius, Apollinem nescioquam ex novem sororibus tacentem vel dormientem cithara sua suscitare' (it is no objection to this view that *musam*

balances *Apollo*). The music is latent in the lyre itself, and does not have to be evoked out of the air; in these circumstances it is awkward to say 'awakens with the lyre'. Heinze argues that *cithara* makes a sharper contrast with *arcum*, but *citharae* could also be emphatic; it perhaps even suggests that the κλαγγή of the two instruments alternates.

19. suscitat: the lyre when played is like a sleeper awakened; cf. Pind. *N.* 10. 21 ἀλλ' ὅμως εὔχορδον ἔγειρε λύραν, *I.* 8. 3 with Thummer's note, Eur. *Hipp.* 1135 μοῦσα . . . ἄυπνος, Cratinus 222. 1 K., Ar. *ran.* 370, Lucr. 2. 412 f. 'musaea mele, per chordas organici quae / mobilibus digitis expergefacta figurant', Gray, *Progress of Poesy* 1 'Awake, Aeolian lyre, awake'. For *tacentem* cf. Call. *h.* 2. 12 σιωπηλὴν κίθαριν.

neque semper: as so often in Horace there is an alternation of positive and negative propositions. *semper* not only balances 18 *quondam* but echoes 2 *semper*; it is the disregard of *mediocritas* that is criticized.

arcum: even Apollo the destroyer (3. 4. 60, 4. 6. 1 ff.) sometimes assumes a more kindly aspect; cf. 1. 21. 11 n. (the juxtaposition of the god's two stringed instruments), *carm. saec.* 33 'condito mitis placidusque telo' (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 138 'contra si citharam teneat, mitis est'), *h. Ap.* 6 ff., Prop. 4. 6. 69, *laus Pis.* 142 f., *eleg. in Maecen.* 1. 51 f., Sen. *Ag.* 326 ff. 'arcus victor pace relata, / Phoebe, relaxa / . . . resonetque manu pulsa citata / vocale chelys'. For an apparent reference to Augustus see above, p. 157; this gives a good sequence of thought after 'non si male nunc, et olim / sic erit'. The image of the taut bowstring normally occurs in exhortations to relax, and Horace may be hinting indirectly that this is the best course for everybody; cf. Hdt. 2. 173. 3 (King Amasis defends himself for following business with pleasure) τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντανύουσι, ἐπεὰν δὲ χρήσωνται, ἐκλύουσι. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγείη ἄν, ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρᾶσθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεὶ (*semper*) μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἑωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν ἤτοι μανεὶς ἢ ὅ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος. τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος μέρος ἑκατέρῳ νέμω (cf. Arist. *Nic. eth.* 1176^{b}32 ff.), Ov. *epist.* 4. 91 'arcus et arma tuae tibi sunt imitanda Dianae: / si numquam cesses tendere, mollis erit', Phaedr. 3. 14. 10, Stat. *silv.* 4. 4. 30 ff., Dio Chrys. fr. 5 von Arnim καὶ τόξον καὶ λύρα καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀκμάζει δι' ἀναπαύσεως, *gnom. Vat.* 17 Sternbach, Otto 36, K. Praechter, *Hermes* 47, 1912, 471 ff. (suggesting that the theme was found in such treatises as Athenodorus περὶ σπουδῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς).

21. rebus angustis: 'dire straits' (Petron. 61. 9 'in angustiis amici apparent'), not simply 'straitened circumstances'. The adjective

suits the nautical imagery, but it may also have suggested constriction (cf. *ango*) and even anguish (*angor*) more forcibly than English 'narrow'.

animosus : combined with *fortis* by Cicero and others (*Thes.l.L.* 2. 88. 41 ff.). The word suits the imagery of the sentence as it suggests wind (cf. Virg. *georg.* 2. 441 'animosi euri', *Aen.* 1. 57 with Austin's note); for the association of wind and pride cf. Onians 170, Péron 170 f. The idea of spiritual inflation makes a contrast with *angustis*.

atque : the only case in the *Odes* of *atque* at the end of a line; 3. 11. 18 *eius atque* is surely corrupt (*exeatque* Bentley). Perhaps the onward sweep of the lines suggests impetuosity (cf. 2. 6. 2 n.); in the same way the alliteration of *a* may convey some special implication (a defiant breath or a persistent wind?).

22. adpare : 'show yourself'; Murena's resolution is to appear in his demeanour. For the use with an adjective cf. *Thes.l.L.* 2. 266. 10 ff.

23. contrahes : the future picks up 1 *vives*. When the wind was too strong the ancients lowered the yard (*ὑφίεσθαι*) or shortened sail (*συστέλλειν*); cf. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, 1971, pp. 275 ff. The nautical Greeks used sailing metaphors for 'letting oneself go' or 'pulling in one's horns' in speech or behaviour; cf. Pind. *P.* 1. 91 f. *ἐξίει δ' ὥσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνὴρ / ἱστίον ἀνεμοέν*, *I.* 2. 39 f. (with Péron 52 ff.), Eur. *Med.* 524 (with Page), Ar. *ran.* 997 ff., 1220 f. (with Taillardat 183 ff.). So Cic. *Att.* 1. 16. 2 'contraxi vela' (*Thes.l.L.* 4. 759. 17 ff.), Prop. 3. 9. 30, Ov. *trist.* 3. 4. 32, Sen. *epist.* 19. 9 'hic te exitus manet nisi iam contrahes vela, nisi quod ille sero voluit, terram leges' (*ille* is Maecenas, and Seneca may have remembered that our ode was about his brother-in-law), *anth. Lat.* 407. 7, Otto, *Nachträge*, p. 223.

secundo : a following wind (*sequendo*), *ἵκμενος οὖρος*. The adjective picks up 13 *secundis*, and is paradoxically modified by *nimium* (which balances the contrary excess of line 3); cf. Sen. *Thy.* 615 f., *Ag.* 90 f. 'vela secundis inflata notis / ventos nimium timuere suos' (*nimium* with *suos*), Soph. *OT* 1314 f. *νέφος . . . δυσούριστον*.

24. turgida : for the bellying sail of prosperity cf. *epist.* 2. 2. 201 'non agimur tumidis velis aquilone secundo'. The word carries a suggestion of puffed-out pride (Sil. 2. 28 'tumefactaque corda secundis').