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THE ODES OF HORACE
A TRANSLATION AND AN EXPOSITION

Quod curæ ad opera Nostri intellegenda insumptæ specimen, in
memoriam Caroli Badham gratissimam, ego, viri illius, et animo
et ingenio præstantissimi, olim discipulus, dare volebam.

SYDNEY, *ipsis Non. Dec. MCMVI.*

THE
ODES OF HORACE
A TRANSLATION
AND
AN EXPOSITION

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BY

E. R. GARNSEY, B.A.



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PREFATORY NOTE

MY grateful thanks are due to T. Butler, Esq., and to Dr F. A. Todd, respectively Professor of Latin and Classical Lecturer in the University of Sydney, for their interest in this work, and for the help their criticisms have afforded; also to J. Lee Pulling, Esq., of the Staff of the Church of England Grammar School, North Sydney, for his readiness at all times to give me the benefit of his scholarship in the discussion of various points arising in this inquiry. It need hardly be said that these acknowledgments do not imply participation in any heresies against the canon of traditional criticism for which I may be thought responsible.

In conclusion I desire to acknowledge the courtesy of Dr A. W. Verrall (Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge) in explaining by correspondence some points with reference to his book on Horace about which I was anxious for information.

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THE ODES OF HORACE

INTRODUCTION

1. THE object of this work is to present the results of an investigation into the major problems that confront the reader of the Odes of Horace. As a convenient frame for the volume, a literal translation of the text is given, but although it appears, for a reason hereafter indicated, in a form of blank verse (*lege solutus*), it pretends to be no more than a mere transcript into English of the sense, as I read it, of the original poems : to suggest their literary grace is no part of its design.

2. On the interpretation of the Three Books, and their supplement the Fourth, modern research has thrown, directly and indirectly, some new light, of which a part will be found in this Introduction, and the notes to the several odes, in conjunction with some original criticism and propositions.

3. The work with which the discussion will be most largely concerned is Dr A. W. Verrall's Studies in Horace (Macmillan, 1884). Quite apart from the question of assent to that eminent scholar's conclusions, his book is most valuable as a lesson in the proper method in which the interpretation of an ancient author should be essayed. The best interpreter is he who can mentally detach himself from his own times, and put himself in imagination in the place of his author. To do this with success in the case of Horace requires more historical knowledge, and a greater acquaintance with his personal surroundings and the events of his life, than are now accessible to us, and hence there is room for error, and we must expect divergence of opinion ; but the principle is sound, and the data that we do possess supply large and interesting results.

4. In support of these remarks a quotation from Professor Nettleship's article on Moritz Haupt (*Essays in Latin Literature*, p. 19) may usefully be given :—“Textual criticism is one great branch of classical philology : the other is interpretation. On interpretation Haupt had three main principles derived mainly from Hermann's precept and practice . . . which he set out in the form of paradoxes. The first was, ‘Do not translate ; translation is the death of understanding.’ The second was, ‘Use no technical terms of grammar.’ The third was, ‘Understand your author not logically but psychologically.’ None of these rules, of course, were to be taken literally. With regard to translation Haupt meant apparently that although it was a good

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exercise for enabling a schoolboy to master the construction of sentences, it was no help to the riper student towards the real understanding of an ancient author. This must be won by patient study and analysis of the language. 'The first stage is to learn to translate ; the second, to see that translation is impossible.' I am not sure that I . . . realise . . . the full extent of Haupt's meaning on this point ; but I suppose that he intended to protest against the idea that a ready translation, without previous analysis of the meaning of the words, is always a sign that the passage is understood. . . .

"The second rule was a protest against the use of technical terms . . . without sufficient analysis of the individual case to which they are applied. . . .

"The third requires a somewhat fuller explanation. 'Understand your author not logically but psychologically' was another way of saying, 'explain your author historically, remember his times and circumstances.' In other words remember that a Greek writer did not think even the same thought precisely as a Roman writer would have done, still less as a modern Englishman or German would do : every nation has its *nuances* of thought as well as language ; the language is the form or body in which those *nuances* live and have their being. One cannot dwell long on these points without lapsing into commonplace ; but it would not be untrue to say that the need of the historical spirit in interpretation has only recently begun to obtain general recognition."²

5. Dr Verrall's treatment of Horace is psychologic, and the defect of a great deal of the voluminous criticism of that author by editors, often of high scholastic abilities, is that it is not.

The last sentence of the passage quoted explains how it is that after so much interest in Horace's works, there is yet room for new discoveries and further elucidation, but the remarks on translation are of a kind to make the citation of them here seem somewhat maladroit. This impression, however, ought not, I think, to outlast an intelligent consideration of Haupt's dictum, and Professor Nettleship's explanation. For it is obvious that we must learn to translate, and it is also obvious that everyone cannot be a ripe scholar, though he may have the capacity and the wish to learn the nature of the ancient writer's contribution to literature. However impossible perfect translation, some must make shift with the nearest equivalent.

6. No one is better able to grasp the point of Haupt's paradox than he who tries to translate the Odes of Horace. Their effect as poems is inseparable from themselves, and it is possible to translate them in a manner which may give their actual meaning very little chance of survival. To select out of several alternative renderings the one which really conveys the purport of the original is sometimes a question of the utmost nicety. Their substance may be moulded into verse in another language, but never can

be straitened to strict rules of prosody and rhyme without frequent departures from the text. In so far as these departures are made, the quality of translation is lost, and paraphrase soon leads us out of the true region of the poet's thought.

7. The foregoing remarks are concerned chiefly with the difficulties of rendering sense, but a few words may be added on the question of form. In good metrical translations, with the usual accompaniment of rhyme, such as those of Conington and Calverley, a certain correspondence of effect is always aimed at; as for instance, in the arrangement of pauses, preservation of balance, suggestion of alliteration, etc.: still, ingenuities of this kind hardly do more than emphasise the vital difference of the original from the derived pieces: They mark progressions in art, but the line on which they move, like an asymptote to a curve, can never meet that which it approaches.

Translations of poems, though not in verse, may however be poetical, as the Scriptures show us. Prose need not be prosaic, and its rhythms are more elastic than those of prosody, while it is unburdened by metrical exigencies. If it loses correspondence in form, it may gain in accuracy and completeness. To this class belong some of the versions of Horace already extant in English.

8. The present rendering, in metre but without rhyme or a set scheme of prosody, differs in method from either of those above mentioned. It is not an attempt to imitate the form, or suggest the "flavour" of the original. The style was merely adopted because on the whole it seemed to admit of a closer rendering than was possible even in prose. The reader will see that adherence to the "*nuance*" of thought agreeable to the Latin mind, has often been preferred to the course of making a change to something more congenial to the English ear. The desire for fidelity has been the cause of this, and the risk of uncouthness has been faced in preference to any conscious disturbance of the sense.

9. Many passages occur in the original which are open to more than one construction. The "peculiar habit" mentioned by Conington as common to Vergil and Sophocles of "hinting at two or three modes of expression while actually employing one," is by no means confined to those authors. It is also a distinct feature of Horace's style, but whether it is capable of reproduction, is doubtful. Professor Conington thought that it could only be done, in the cases cited by him, by another Vergil or Sophocles, but even supposing (for the sake of argument merely) that this is putting the case too high, it is clear that its accomplishment is feasible only on an appreciation of the author's precise intentment, or his precise attitude towards his subject. At the present time this cannot be assumed of the whole of Horace's lyrics, but criticism may advance further than it has yet gone, and a patient examination of the language and the topics is the course most likely to lead to that desired end.

THE ODES OF HORACE

The remark of Suetonius that obscurity is no feature of Horace's style is true as regards grammatical construction only. His inmost thought is not always explicitly revealed. The two things are not at all inconsistent : we have a similar example of them in Euripides (see Paley's Preface). Sometimes the doubt as to the poet's exact meaning arises from our loss of the clue to the allusion, sometimes it is a result of his deliberate intention. Where any such doubt exists, we should recognise the need for care in our judgment of his work.

10. All Horace's writings are in verse, but he himself divides them into two classes, and only claims the distinction of "poetry" for one. The Satires and Epistles he calls "Sermones" (discourses), in which though the form is metrical, the language is that of prose : his lyrics constitute the other class. By far the most interesting of these are the four books of Odes, of which the first three were given to the world some years before the fourth. Concerning the origin of Book IV. we have some definite information. It was compiled at the request of Augustus who had asked Horace to commemorate the exploits of his step-sons, Tiberius and Drusus. The commission was carried out in a way that is instructive. The "State" Odes do not stand alone ; they are set among others, with an eye to the general effect. The poet takes advantage of the occasion to return to the topics treated in his former work, and thus, in a way, makes his Fourth Book assume the position of a sequel to the first three. It shows signs of careful arrangement, as Mr Wickham notices.

Now in the light of this explicit information as to the main purpose of the latest book, we may feel justified in supposing that the principles of art employed in shaping it may possibly appear in analogous works by the same hand.

11. To decide whether the Three Books, on reading them as a whole, present to us a work "teres atque rotundus," having a system and a theme, is a question of evidence, internal in the Odes themselves, external in the historic records of the times and topics concerned. This evidence is not as ample as could be wished, but at what there is, it is worth while to look closely, for the problem is one of the greatest literary interest, and it may be that progress will be made by resubmitting to inquiry many points usually regarded as settled, or at least, treated by some editors as if they were unlikely to yield any results to renewed examination. It is possible that this attitude of mind makes for the perpetuation of certain errors in interpretation that are capable of being corrected.

12. Whether the Three Books form a work meant to be read thus—an ordered and progressive work, the motive of which is recoverable, will, therefore, be considered in this Introduction ; but before going further, a few words on their probable mode of publication will be advisable. The Romans gave their literary productions to the world occasionally on parchment, but more

commonly on paper rolls which were exposed for sale. The prices were low, and it is improbable that the author received much (if any) profit from the proceeds. The servants of the booksellers multiplied the copies. Literary labours were not unproductive, but the rewards came from other sources. Patrons valued highly the fame and notice they gained from the connection of their names with popular books, and Horace's benefactor and friend, Mæcenas, was the prince of all such men. Besides this, the great value of letters as an educational factor in politics was fully recognised.

13. Publication was also made by recitation. Horace himself alludes to this practice, and tells us that he only followed it to the extent of reciting in private to his friends. It will be seen therefore that a piece, such as a satire or an ode, might become known through recitation or private circulation first, and then by its inclusion in a book, published perhaps long after its composition (*cf. e.g.* IV. 12).

14. In his playful address to the first collection of Epistles, Horace twits his book for its longing glance at the stall of the booksellers, and says, " You object to being shown only to a few people, and wish for a larger circulation ; I did not imbue you with such sentiments, and you will come to see that I was right."

From this and other expressions in the Odes, Satires and Epistles, we infer that Horace held the opinion that literature in the hands of those not qualified to read it, not only lost value, but became positively mischievous (see II. 13, 29, II. 16, 39, III. 1, 1, and Sat. I. 4). We may suppose him then in this attitude ; for some reasons he wished to publish his lyrics, for others he would have preferred to limit the circle of his hearers to those chosen by himself : for the sake of enlarging the scope of his message, and for the perpetuation of his fame, he resorts to publication, but he tells us plainly enough that it influences his style. He hates the outer crowd, and he keeps it at arm's length (see Appendix II.). It will not be out of place to quote here Professor Sellar's words on the publication of the Odes (Roman Poets of the Augustan Age : Horace, p. 141, 2nd. Ed.). " It is uncertain whether any of the Odes were in any way published at the time of their composition. And if so, what was the mode of their publication. . . . It is natural to suppose that the Odes addressed to individuals should have been sent to them, and should thus have obtained some currency before they were published collectively. It is possible also that there may have been some partial publication of some collection of his Odes before the completion of the three books. But the Epilogue, when compared with the Prologue, shows that these three books were *finally published as a collective whole, and were so regarded by the poet*. They were so arranged also as to give a different character to each of the three books, and to make them representative of the earlier, middle and mature period of his lyrical activity."

There is no evidence, either internal or external, of any such

partial publication as is here mentioned and, considering the deduction which Professor Sellar makes from the words of the Epilogue and the Prologue, partial publication becomes very improbable. The last sentence of our quotation from Professor Sellar's work is true in fact, but if it means that the several odes are arranged—speaking generally—to indicate any order of *composition*, we dissent from it. We believe this to be the true view : —that the appearance of odes written in Horace's earlier manner in the first book, is rather a consequence of the scheme of arrangement than the cause of it. The valuable remark made by so high an authority as Sellar, that the Odes were regarded by the poet as a " *collective whole* " should not pass unnoticed. It implies a vital principle of interpretation, too much overlooked in the past, and neglected at the cost of critical and interpretative error.

15. The chief features of Horace's style to which we wish to call attention are its poetic symbolism, its " irony," in the Greek sense, its allusiveness, and that quality which is so often described, in Petronius' words, as his " *curiosa felicitas*. " The charm of his form has never failed to impress ; the depth of his matter has not been so widely perceived ; for one reason, because Horace's surface is a perfect thing in itself (where corruption has not crept in), and there is often no hint to the casual reader of the second current of thought that may be running under it. I believe Horace to have written for two audiences, the world generally, and his own intimates. His message to the latter is much more interesting than that which he gives to the former, but it is masked. He expresses himself in generalities, intending that the particular application shall be made by those who hold the necessary clue to his meaning, but that the outer crowd whom he dislikes, shall not have anything too explicitly from *his* lips. To write, in the time of Horace, of contemporary events and persons was as delicate a proceeding as walking on ashes with the fires below them still alive, as he himself says. The period was one of the greatest crises in history. The old landmarks were shifting. Republican Rome, able first to resist then to master the world, had outgrown its constitution. The senatorial oligarchy, into which the wider republicanism of theory had developed, had been recognised since the days of the Gracchi as an oppression. For a century it had contrived to resist reform and to crush reformers, but it grew feebler with each attack. Julius Cæsar at last dealt it a death's blow, only however to receive his own. Now the time was come for the final revolution, consummated under Augustus.

Horace, though his youthful sympathies linked him with the party of Brutus, soon came to see that their cause was hopeless, and that the best thing for the Roman people was to accept the inevitable, and submit to a single ruler. Thus only could peace and a happy *modus vivendi* for the general mass of the citizens be obtained.

16. He was no doubt settled in this view by his intercourse with Mæcenas, who was not only his protector, but his closest friend. This friendship was brought about by Vergil (*cf.* Sat. I. 6, 55): Mæcenas and Vergil are the two men with whom, in Horace's own words, he "divides his soul" (I. 3, 8, II. 17, 5). Their aims and objects were apparently in complete accord. Mæcenas was probably the author of the policy adopted by Augustus, and practically his prime minister for many years, and Horace's political creed was the same with that of his patron. It was also Vergil's, and each poet employed his literary talents to the full in its support. One has only to study Horace's political and social pieces, and to read the *Æneid* in its allegorical significance, to see that the lesson of the epic is on a parallel with that of the Odes. I find this shortly, and well explained in the *Vita Vergilii* prefixed to the Parisian Edition of Heyne's *Vergil* (1824), from which the following extract is taken. Speaking of the *Æneid*, and of the Civil War, the author says:—"Augustus gained control of affairs without a rival, but not without envy: he was no longer assailed by open hostility but by underhand means; conspiracies against his life broke out, and the liberty of Rome, now lying at the point of death, but, like a strong man, breathing menace with its last gasp, was wrestling with the conqueror. It was Vergil's purpose to calm these heated feelings, and so gently to handle the Roman mind, sore as it was and enfeebled by recent injury, that submission should be made to the rule of Augustus with equanimity.

"And his intention was not only to influence the hearts of the Romans to love their Princeps, but he also desired to impress on *his* mind those virtues which make a ruler most acceptable—Augustus being placed in an exalted and critical position, and being surrounded on one side by hatred, and on the other by flattery, had a double danger before him with regard respectively to those opposed and those subservient to him; lest through resentment he should be driven to cruelty by the former, and by the latter to arrogance through demoralisation of his character. That the Princeps might take no injury from either cause, Vergil applied himself to the excision of those defects which are commonly found in connection with newly acquired power, viz:—pride, forgetfulness of self and of the gods, rancorous party spirit, and bitter remembrance of wrongs.

"Accordingly the poet, not thinking of his own glory alone, but as the servant of the people and the prince, made this the underlying sentiment of his poem:—first, that the gods always preserve those whom they charge with the initiation of great achievements—in order that he might thus quell hostility to the prince; and secondly, that they generally bring disaster upon tyrants and those who rule without mercy—in order that Augustus might be conspicuous for his clemency to the Romans, and for his mastery of himself in the exercise of unlimited power."

17. The fifty-second book of Dio Cassius, which deals with B.C.

29, not long before Octavian took the title of Augustus, consists of a report of speeches, by Agrippa and Mæcenas respectively, to Augustus on the expediency of his assumption of supreme power. We do not know what authority Dio is following, and the report must be largely concocted, but it is evident that the speeches sum up general opinions on the point sufficiently close to the period to be of value, and if we may suppose that a fautor of imperialism and an opponent of it might then respectively have represented the views of different parties in the way reported, it matters little whether the historian's circumstantiality is accurate. To quote a remark of Mr Edmund Gosse, " tradition, if it does not give us truth of fact, gives us what is often at least as valuable, truth of impression." In the biographical memoranda compiled by Donatus, Vergil is mentioned as a sort of referee in the discussion ;¹ a natural imagination considering his position in the Emperor's favour, and in literature.

The momentous step is opposed by Agrippa and advocated by Mæcenas in these speeches, and the arguments adduced have special interest for the student of Horace. The precepts of morality and of public policy in his works are paralleled in the oration put into the mouth of Mæcenas. Space forbids more than a glance at this, but as an example it may be mentioned that measures for good government are recommended which may enable honour to be conferred on the worthy without exciting envy, and the bad to be visited with punishment without *civil disturbance* (*cf.* notes on III. 24, and references *infra*) ; by which also the Roman people may enjoy their property free from internal strife, and without cause for alarm from wars abroad.

18. A second illustration may be useful as a hint to the true meaning of Horace's apotheosis of Augustus which, in modern times, has often been attributed solely to the desire to flatter. This is too narrow a view—Horace's motives may have been politic, but they were not those of the fawner—all the facts show that he was personally punctilious in asserting his independence. Within certain bounds he claimed the right to freedom of thought and action, but circumstances had forced on him the belief that the man who could was the man who should, and, Augustus being that man, he did not scruple to proclaim his power as a gift from Heaven.

Horace's use of the names of the gods as controllers of affairs, is everywhere symbolic, and in addition to the mythic family group of heaven, he, with Cicero and Vergil (see Sellar, *Vergil*, p. 332), makes a great deal of those supernatural abstractions connected in the Roman mind with the names Fata, Fors or

¹ That Dio was following a tradition in his report, is clear from the fact that the debate is mentioned by Suetonius in the Life of Augustus, as well as in the Donatian compilation, in which modern critics believe that some fragments of Suetonius' lost Life of Vergil are preserved. Concerning its proper use by the historian and critic, see Sellar's *Horace*, and Firth's *Augustus Cæsar*.

Fortuna, Necessitas, etc., which point to a conception of powers outside humanity of a spiritual rather than an anthropomorphic kind. What we should call his "religion" was based on this conception, and his belief was that the *morale* of his race depended on its general recognition. So far as the order and government of the State was concerned, Augustus was the earthly embodiment of these powers. Madmen like Caligula or Nero were unknown monstrosities of the future, and Augustus, however stern his methods in the early days of his fight for supremacy, was a blessing to Rome while he lived. He accepted divine honours for a precisely similar reason with that for which Vergil and Horace attributed them to him, viz. because the assumption would increase his useful influence over his subjects.

In his speech Mæcenas is reported to have urged Augustus not to erect temples and images of himself in gold and silver, but to build them up in men's minds, that no man was ever transformed into a god by the votes of other men, but that if he were to rule with justice, the whole world would be his temple and all men his image, for in their hearts his honour would have its dwelling-place. The true way to immortality was to worship the gods in the manner of his fathers, and to see that his people did the same (see Dio, LII. 15, 35).

19. All of which shows that the editor of Mæcenas' oration was taking his cue from history, as he has faithfully represented the Emperor's actual policy. Augustus had no objection to be deified in men's hearts, and none to the *cultus* of himself *per se*. He allowed it at once in the provinces (see Mommsen, Provinces of the Empire, p. 345) but he was characteristically cautious about its introduction into Italy. There he stood forth as the champion of the traditional faith, and attached great importance to the influence of that faith on the Roman character, and, in spite of his assumption of a title which indicated that he was above other men, he at first kept his "divinity" and his humanity distinct, and forbade direct worship of himself, until long after he had acquired supreme power. The works of both Vergil and Horace do more than support this position, they favour the advance upon it that was actually made. The *Aeneid* established the divine pedigree of the Julian race, and Horace has several references to it (*cf. inter alia*, IV. 5, 1, IV. 15, 32), and in such passages as III. 3, 11, III. 5, 2, IV. 5, 31, he recognises the peculiar divinity of the monarch; but it does not follow that the authors were solely prompted by a desire to flatter Augustus —their object may rather have been, appreciating as they did the benefit of his rule, to spur him, and to "educate" the people.

The Emperor is likened in the Odes, first to "Maia's gentle son," twice at least to Apollo, and afterwards to Jove, and it is probable that he is also contemplated in a reference to the exploits of Bacchus in II. 19, etc. Dr Verrall infers that the "Delius et Patareus Apollo" of III. 4, 64, is an allusion to

Tiberius as the prosecutor of the conspirators in an assassination plot directed against Augustus, of which we shall hear more hereafter.

20. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that the first three Odes in the Three Books are addressed respectively to Mæcenas, Augustus and Vergil. The collection itself, we are told in the epilogue, is a monumentum, that is, a work to preserve the remembrance of something, which the author inscribes to Mæcenas, and lays as a tribute at the feet of Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy, the mistress of those impelled to sing the songs of grief (III. 30, I. 24).

21. That Horace is one of the immortals none deny. That his carmina—attention is here confined to the Three Books—are anything more than detached lyrics, written at different times and on various subjects, few admit; while the notion that the term “tragic” is a suitable description of them seems to many commentators so untenable that they tell us that Horace makes no discrimination between the names of the Muses. To apply a remark of Dr Verrall’s, criticism of the latter kind is only a bad way of saying that we do not understand our author. If there was one thing that Horace did not do, it was to use names or words ineptly, and his meaning in his invocation of the Muses is generally transparent: for instance, when referring to the art of writing lyrics, he mentions Euterpe and Polyhymnia (I. 1); in a historical poem he appeals to Clio (the Muse of Panegyric, and of History, I. 12); in a pathetic one, the lament for Quintilius, to Melpomene (I. 24); in the ode where the note of sublimity is longest sustained, one of that great group which seems to form the apex or crown of the structure before us (*regalique situ pyramidum altius*), he invites Calliope, the Muses’ queen, to descend from heaven to his aid (III. 4).

22. This point is fully treated by Dr Verrall in the first essay of his book, to which the reader is referred. Those who argue against it must face the risk of transforming Horace, one of the greatest artists in expression known to literature, into an early example of the “Laura Matilda” school, satirised by an English namesake of his own in the Rejected Addresses. The conclusion that because Horace speaks of Augustus as typifying different deities he therefore makes no distinction between the gods, is not drawn by anyone, but it would be quite as reasonable as that deduced from his references to the Muses. It is our business therefore to find out what function the Muse of Tragedy has here, and the invocation of her (referred to again in the Fourth Book) leads us to look for subjects that inspire grief, pity and awe.

“Pathos and sublimity,” says Dr Verrall, “and before all, pathos, are the gifts of Melpomene, and if Horace is occasionally sublime, it is a commonplace of Horatian criticism that he is not usually pathetic.”

Whether this verdict is correct is certainly an interesting

problem, though on first impression it would seem impossible that in an author so well thumbed as Horace any quality of his work could have escaped notice ; but the answer to this may be contained in Professor Nettleship's statement quoted above, that the "need of the historical spirit in interpretation has only recently begun to obtain general recognition."¹

23. Had the true date of the publication of the Three Books to the world not been left in doubt, it is probable that the obscurity in which Horace has deliberately veiled much of his poetic intention would have long ago been pierced ; but that date has not been given to us, and efforts to discover it have led to the general acceptance of the year A.U.C. 731, or B.C. 23, as the right one. To an open mind the arguments for this date are not only unconvincing but are severally answerable. The commonest of all is the "Marcellus" argument. Marcellus, the Emperor's nephew, son-in-law, and presumptive heir, died in B.C. 23, and it is contended that the reference to the Marcelli, and the star or constellation of the Julian line, in I. 12, points to him being alive when that Ode was written, and also alive when the collection of the Three Books was given to the world. The two things are quite distinct, and no one is absolutely forced to deny that Marcellus was not dead when Horace first penned the lines, but to press on to the conclusion that the whole collection cannot be later than B.C. 23 because he would not have given them to the world in their original form if, in the interval between the writing and the final collection, Marcellus had died, is at best only an assumption.

The poem would be known to Mæcenas and to the intimate friends to whom Horace was wont to recite, and almost certainly to the Emperor. Why should it be altered ? Readers of the Book would understand the position, and it would not be true, or complimentary to Augustus, to say that because one of its affinitive lights was gone the whole Julian constellation had ceased to shine.

24. This argument will hold even if we regard the Three Books as a collection without plan or order. If, on the other hand, we find evidence of systematic arrangement, part of which is that the public or national odes follow historic chronology, then for the bearing of that fact on the interpretation of this passage due allowance must be made. If we see reason to conclude that I. 12 commemorates the battle of Naulochus in B.C. 36, its date in the historic sequence would fall long before the marriage of Marcellus with Julia—in fact, when the young bridegroom was about five years old. It is obvious therefore that if Augustus' triumph at Naulochus is in any way connected with I. 12, and also if the

¹ For an examination of the question whether definite provinces and functions are assigned by Roman poets to the various Muses, see the treatise *De Musis in Carminibus poetarum Romanorum commemoratis* (Ienæ. Typis Neuenhahnii 1903) by Dr F. A. Todd, of Sydney and Jena Universities.

mention of the name Marcellus in close collocation with the Julian constellation is accounted for by the relation in which the young scion of that stock once stood to the Emperor, as by common consent it is, then the composition of the Ode, or at any rate the form in which it was published, is of a much later date than B.C. 36. The reasons for the association of the poem with Nau-lochus will be referred to subsequently. Assuming it for the moment, the consequence is important in this respect, that it shows us that the odes containing references to contemporaneous history are not necessarily to be regarded as having been written at or near the time of happening of those events. When engaged in the composition of a poem, Horace may have been separated by a long interval from the events he alludes to therein. This is so obvious that it would be hardly worth mentioning were there not so much confusion on the matter in the commentaries. It is often assumed that when we perceive the drift of Horace's allusions to historic events which occurred in his lifetime, we have all the necessary data for saying when a particular ode was written. The fact that we have not has a large effect on the proper interpretation of the poet's meaning.

25. As to the bearing of stanza twelve on the date of publication of the Three Books, the following extracts from Verrall's Studies in Horace may be given. He says (p. 96) "The description of the glories of the name of Marcellus 'growing like a tree whose time is hid' is carefully worded so as to admit an ominous interpretation. . . . The juxtaposition of *Marcellus* and *Julius* foreshadows of course the subsequent marriage which like our own 'Marriage of the Roses' furthered the union of the two great parties (M. Claudius Marcellus, the grandfather of Augustus' son-in-law, had been one of the most prominent of the constitutional party in the Civil War between Julius Cæsar and Pompeius), but was dissolved, with all the hopes which rested on it, by the hand of death before the collection was published." And at p. 60:—"I take this opportunity of touching on the absence from the Odes of any reference to the death of Marcellus. From this and the occurrence of the name in I. 12, 46, it has been argued that the Odes were completed before 23. Of course if this Essay has any meaning this is no more possible than that *Samson Agonistes*, for example, was published before the Restoration, or the *Divina Commedia* before the exile of Dante. Assuming the later date (B.C. 20-19), is there anything surprising in the treatment of Marcellus? As for the supposed difficulty of I. 12, 46 I confess that I can see nothing in it. It is an allusion of the vaguest kind. Among names and families great in Roman History occurs that of Marcellus. The direct reference is not to the young heir, but to his great ancestors, especially the victor of Syracuse. Cf. Prop. IV. 18, 33, and see Plüss, Hor. Stud, p. 106. No doubt the juxtaposition of the names *Marcellus* and *Julius* has significance, but the ostensible date of the poem is long before the death.

In a poem on the prospects of Rome, assuming to date from that time, some notice of the heir was almost necessary ; the lighter the touch the better, and Horace's touch is the lightest possible. Why the subject is not taken up again, why there is in Book III. no 'dirge' such as Mr Wickham thinks might be expected from the author of I. 24, is a more interesting question, but like most literary questions of this negative kind admits no certain answer. Perhaps the simplest and truest would be that Horace did not think he could do better than Vergil and Propertius, and did not care to do worse. And another consideration—Vergil was, certainly after 29, the personal friend and intimate of the imperial family : Propertius had at least no Philippi in his past ; Horace, it must be again observed, rather avoided the friendship of Augustus, even when (*after* the Odes and first Book of Epistles) it was almost forced upon him, and lived in connection with a party whose devotion to the Emperor (so far as it existed) was purely political. Before 19 Marcellus' place had been supplied, in the political sense, by the birth of Augustus' grandson (see III. 25). Under all these circumstances a 'golden silence' is far from inexplicable. And on the other hand, we might surely ask with at least equal force, how, if the Odes were published at a time when Marcellus was the 'cynosure' of every eye—how it is that the allusion of I. 12, 46 is all that Horace gives him ? "

26. On this subject we may also ask permission to quote from the learned writer's remarks on III. 14 (p. 161, *ibid.*), which concerns the Emperor's return to Rome, in B.C. 24, from the Cantabrian war. "Why no word of the Emperor's daughter and his sister's son ? It was said before that the silence of the Odes on this subject (if we except one faint allusion) has been made an argument for placing the publication before Marcellus' death. Arguments from silence are commonly double-edged, and this one is sharp on the wrong side. Marcellus and Julia were married in 25, Agrippa filling the place of the absent father at the festivities in Rome. What could induce anyone describing the meeting of the family in the next year, and publishing that description before Marcellus' death, to omit the chief figures of the picture ; or if it was to be done, why make the absence so conspicuous by introducing the bridegroom's mother, the *soror clari ducis*, who appears here only in the work ? The first three stanzas seemed planned to force the name of Marcellus upon the lips, yet it does not come. But the 'mute shadow' is there, one of the many ghosts which flit in the polished chambers of the Odes."

27. This criticism of the position of those who claim to date the Three Books before 23 on account of their treatment of Marcellus, sufficiently reveals the inadequacy of that consideration as a guide to us. The last extract from Dr Verrall's work contains an argument against their contention which is quite as strong as anything that can be put forward in favour of it, and the safest conclusion is that if we cannot discover the date of

publication without reference to I. 12, 46, we cannot use that passage as supplying material for any certain answer to the question ; *cf.* footnote to § 78, *infra*.

28. A second argument cited in support of the view that B.C. 23 is the latest year possible for the publication of the Three Books, brings us into the region of the "tragedy," of which we are in search.

The relations existing between Horace and Mæcenas have been already described. Remembrance of them must never leave the mind of the interpreter of the Three Books, for they seem to be the psychologic key to their meaning. The poet has not left us without means of ascertaining them, and a study of his expressions shows that his feelings for his patron were those not only of respect and gratitude, but also of that personal attachment and sympathy which far transcends friendship, and of which the poetic temperament is peculiarly susceptible.

29. Mæcenas, though holding no formal office, was a man of affairs, for long in the closest confidence of the Emperor, and entrusted by him with the most delicate and difficult commissions ; who from the outset of Augustus' career had worked loyally in his service, becoming in all but name a minister of State in charge of home affairs, and acting as the Emperor's vice-gerent at Rome during his absences. His only peer in the earlier esteem of Augustus was Agrippa, whose talents found better scope in the ordeals of war than in administration.

30. Now when history tells us that shortly after the death of Marcellus, society at Rome was convulsed by the discovery of a plot to assassinate Augustus ; tells us too that Licinius Murena, one of the men denounced as a conspirator and publicly prosecuted by Tiberius, the Emperor's youthful step-son (Suet. Tib. 8) was a near relative (either brother or first cousin) of the wife of the great minister ; that the latter had not been the discoverer of the nefarious plan, but had received information of it from the Emperor himself ; that he had imparted to his wife his knowledge of what he should have regarded as the most inviolable of State secrets ; that in consequence of this betrayal of trust Murena seems to have learned his danger and fled, though he was afterwards captured and executed ; and that the indiscretion of Mæcenas caused him to lose the confidence of his master : it is natural to look for allusions to events of such serious importance in a book of poems dedicated to Mæcenas by his closest friend. Not to find them, considering the *genre* of the Odes, would be so significant that it would be a fair argument to say that the publication must have preceded the plot.

31. It is said : but one answer is that we do find in the Three Books a possible reflection of the position, both on a general view and an examination in detail. By prologue and epilogue they are linked in closest association with Mæcenas, and if, while reading the collection as a whole, we direct our thoughts to his

plight after the injury to the confidence formerly subsisting between him and the Emperor, we shall find that his poet-friend has written most appropriately to the occasion. The scope of Horace's lyrical work, here collected and moulded into formal shape as a monumentum, was not limited to doing this, but it may be fairly argued, from the evidence internal and external, that it came ultimately to embrace it. The reader who consults the notes to the translations of the several odes *infra*, will find many passages which may be taken to refer to the situation created by the events of B.C. 22, the concatenation of which is a trait so remarkable that it would appear to exclude any theory of mere accident. Later on in this Introduction he will also find corroborative evidence derived from other sources than the Odes themselves.

32. Horace's allusions, as would be expected in so delicate a case, are carefully worded. His sympathies would certainly be with Mæcenas. It is probable that he thought the Emperor's treatment of him undeserved. It is possible that he knew that Murena, though he had given Augustus just cause of resentment, was not guilty of the precise crime that was charged publicly against him, as will be explained below. But he was a man of the soundest sense. His whole career, and the whole tenor of his writings, show that where his head and his heart were at variance, sentiment was suppressed in favour of reason. If it was his wish to defend Mæcenas, he would be likely to walk circumspectly lest the cause of his patron should be injured by his advocacy. If it was his desire to console him, he would be astute not to use words that might give offence to the ruler, of whose authority they were both supporters. His vehicle, too, was poetry not rhetoric, or the narrative of history, which would demand more explicitness.

It should be remembered that there was no manifestation immediately, so far as we know, of any change in Augustus' feelings towards Mæcenas. Having no formal office to lose, he could really fall from a footing of the highest influence with the Emperor without a public disclosure of the fact.

Attention was directed to the matter in B.C. 16, when on the revival of the office, Statilius Taurus was appointed Prefect of the City. The "tale-makers" of the period (*λογοποιοί*), according to Dio, were then concerned to find the reason why Mæcenas had not been appointed to this office, and, after the manner of such people, discovered that there was an estrangement between Augustus and Mæcenas on account of adultery between the Emperor and the wife of the minister. Suetonius, however, says nothing about this, which is almost sufficient to disprove it. He does say in general terms that Augustus' friends did not deny that he had been guilty of adultery. But as Verrall remarks : "After this anyone who has studied the 'Lives of the Cæsars' might wager that if there was specific proof against Terentia,

Suetonius could not find it. For earlier scandals about Octavian he cites his authority—the Letters of Antonius!¹ It happens, however, that Suetonius has preserved a remark of the Emperor which throws fuller light on the point: he says he sometimes expressed his regret that Mæcenas had not command over his tongue—a statement justified in terms by the allegation that he had betrayed to his wife the secret of the discovery of this particular plot. (Suet. Aug. 66.)

33. This gives us the far more probable reason for the loss of the sovereign's confidence. As Verrall points out, "Mæcenas' real importance as a counsellor was a question not of status but of confidence, and the breach of confidence occurred in 22." That the estrangement and the establishment of the prefecture of the city were not connected, is proved by the fact that the office had been first created in b.c. 25, and Messalla Corvinus appointed, who, however, relinquished it immediately as "unconstitutional" (*incivilis*). From a sentence in Tacitus we see that Mæcenas unquestionably lost the favour of his master, and that the person who really stepped into his shoes was that rich and luxurious, but able, Sallustius Crispus whom Horace had years before mentioned—with no compliment—in a Satire (I. 2, 48), and to whom he addressed Ode II. 2—though the sting in the latter is probably not meant for Sallustius. It is greatly to be regretted that though Tacitus indicates the time when Sallustius became the depository of the Emperor's confidence, and the agent of his secret business in succession to Mæcenas, he has used a word susceptible of two interpretations. The word is "*incolumis*." "While Mæcenas was '*incolumis*,'" says Tacitus, "Sallustius was next to him, but soon the chief on whom the secrets of the Emperor reposed." What does Tacitus mean by "*incolumis*"? The point is important because it may be a key to the interpretation of III. 29. (See that Ode, and footnote to § 51.)

34. Now though such authorities as Messrs Church and Brodribb translate "*incolumi Mæcenati*" as "while Mæcenas lived" (Annals, 3, 30), it is a question whether this is correct: "*Incolumis*" is not primarily a synonym of "*vivus*," and the antithesis of it may not only be "*mortuus*" but "*damnatus*," as we may see from Cicero, pro Cœtario, chap. 4: "quis est qui dubitare debeat contra damnatum et mortuum, pro *incolumi* et *vivo* dicere,"—see Professor Ramsey's note on the passage in his edition; cf. *ibid.* chap. 9, where the word is similarly used in antithesis with "*condemnatus*." The sense of "*incolumi Mæcenati*" is probably "before the fall of Mæcenas from power," and it is highly likely that that fall dated from the time when Augustus found out, as he himself declared, that Mæcenas' "*taciturnitas*" (power of holding his tongue), was not absolutely to be trusted. That Mæcenas did decline in the favour of his master is proved by Tacitus' comparison of the respective fates of Mæcenas under

Augustus, and of Sallustius Crispus in his old age under Tiberius. The following extract is from Messrs Church and Brodribb's translation. " Though his (Sallustius') road to preferment was easy he chose to emulate Mæcenas, and without rising to a Senator's rank, he surpassed in power many who had won triumphs and consulships. He was a contrast to the manners of antiquity in his elegance and refinement, and in the sumptuousness of his wealth he was almost a voluptuary. But beneath all this was a vigorous mind, equal to the greatest labours, the more active in proportion as he made a show of sloth and apathy—and so while Mæcenas lived (before the fall of Mæcenas ?) he stood next in favour to him, and was afterwards the chief depository of imperial secrets, and accessory to the murder of Postumus Agrippa, till in advanced age he retained the shadow rather than the substance of the Emperor's friendship. *The same too had happened to Mæcenas*, so rarely is it the destiny of power to be lasting, or perhaps a sense of weariness steals over (*satias capit*) princes when they have bestowed everything, or over favourites, when there is nothing left them to desire."

The last sentence seems to make the true meaning of "incolumis" quite clear.¹

35. With the exception of the name of the informer, one Castricius, the historical records left to us mention only two of the conspirators in this political plot, Fannius Cæpio the ring-leader, and L. Licinius Varro Murena, the "brother" of Mæcenas' wife.

Reference to the commentators will show that the exact name of the conspirator whom Dio calls "Licinius Murena"; Velleius, "Lucius"; and Suetonius, "Varro Murena"; has been the subject of controversy, but it cannot be contradicted that he stood to Mæcenas in the affinity mentioned above, and this is really the chief point. An inquiry into his history, will be found in Dr Verrall's Studies in Horace, together with some highly interesting deductions from the facts made with rare critical acumen. Proof to the point of demonstration is unhappily beyond our reach in many of the problems that it raises, but Dr Verrall's treatment of the case has not been refuted, and until it is shown to be wrong,

¹ On this see also Cic. pro Archia, ch. 5: "Gabinii quamdiu inculomis fuit levitas post damnationem calamitas omnem tabularum fidem resignasset." "Gabinius' carelessness lasted while he was 'incolumis,' after his conviction the fact of his fall would have spoiled the reliability of the Registers." See Long's note on the passage, Vol. III. p. 217. "Halm remarks that the opposition of calamitas and inculomis shows that the word was formed by a popular corruption from calamitas." "The old grammarians define a calamitas to be a fall of hail or tempest which damages the crops (Forcellini, calamitas), and, after their fashion, they derived the word from 'culmus,' because the culmus was injured, which is absurd in every way." (Long, on In Verrem, Act. II. ch. 98.) However erroneous philologically, this throws light on the ancient associations of these words.

or some valid grounds given for suspecting its truth, a position in conflict with it cannot be said to be established, although private opinion, trained to assume that 23 B.C. is the date of publication of the Three Books, may incline towards it.

36. The point has been raised by Professor Nettleship that the conspirator was not Lucius Licinius, but Aulus Terentius, Murena, who was Consul for a short time in B.C. 23, and that the plot occurred during his tenure of office, but this is not only in conflict with the language and chronology of both Dio and Velleius, but has to encounter the serious objection that although this particular assassination plot is alluded to by many ancient writers, and is treated at some length by Dio, there is no sign or hint that one of the Consuls of the year in which it occurred was concerned in it.

As Aulus died in 23, he is out of the running for any event occurring in 22, to which year the plot is assigned definitely by Dio, and inferentially by Velleius, who says it was about three years before the plot of Egnatius, which occurred in 19. The "sensation" it caused was very great, but it is probable that we should have heard much more of it had the most prominent man amongst those accused of the crime—an absconder tried and condemned in his absence—occupied so high an office as the Consulate, and that at a time when Augustus had just thought fit to lay it down (see *infra* § 44 and foll.).

37. Who, then, was this L. Licinius Varro Murena? Dr Verrall comes to the conclusion that he was the Murena who, years before, had offered his house at Formiae to Mæcenas and Horace on the occasion of the journey described in Sat. I. 5, and that he is one with the Licinius of II. 10, and with Murena, the Augur, of III. 19, and also with the "Tū" (Thou) addressed in II. 18, whose luxury, extravagance and greed are the subject of such stern remonstrance. (See the notes to those Odes.) "Brother" of Mæcenas' wife, and also brother of Proculeius, for whose love towards him that valued friend and servant of Augustus was declared by Horace (II. 2, 5) to have made his memory immortal, he at least came from an environment not likely to produce a treacherous foe to the Emperor, though that gives no assurance that he was not one. We know that he had had experience of riches and poverty, having somehow had losses through the Civil War, and we also see from the Odes that he must have been rich during the last years of his life. His holding of the non-political office of Augur, is cited by Dr Verrall to support this, but that argument is not really necessary. He also may have been a Senator, and he was certainly an advocate, facts respectively implying wealth and position. Up to the time immediately preceding the conspiracy, he had not been suspected of *political* disaffection by the monarchical party, but he had indulged in a certain insolence or extravagance of speech, through which he had made enemies, and through which he had even come into collision with the Em-

peror himself, as will appear later on. He seems to have been of a blustering and violent character. From the name Varro, by which he is sometimes called, and a number of allusive expressions in Horace, Dr Verrall propounds the theory that the access of wealth which he acquired some time during the last eight years of his life, may have been derived from his succeeding to the whole or part of the estates and fortune of M. Terentius Varro, the writer and antiquary, one of the richest men in Italy, who died about the year B.C. 28. More will be heard of this hereafter (*cf.* II. 18, *n.*): that in B.C. 22, he was rich, prominent, in some quarters unpopular, and of close affinity to Mæcenas, is certain. The point is so important, and Murena's character and fate so vital to the interpretation of the Odes as a collection (a *monumentum*), that an extract from Dio, dealing with the year B.C. 22, is here put before the reader, that he may have an opportunity of forming his own judgments from the words of the most ancient historian from whom we have a connected account of the period. I begin rather far back, for the purpose of making elucidations on points, not immediately connected with Murena, referred to, either in this Introduction, or the notes to the translations.¹

38. Dio Cassius, Bk. LIV. ch. 1, dealing with A.U.C. 732, B.C. 22. "In the succeeding year, when M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius were Consuls, there was again a flood in the Tiber, and the city became navigable, and many places were struck by lightning, including the statues in the Pantheon where the spear was dashed from the hand of the Augustus. As the Romans were of the opinion that the pestilence and famine from which they were suffering (for there was plague throughout the whole of Italy, so that no one cultivated the land, and it would appear that the same conditions prevailed abroad) was caused solely by the fact that they no longer had Augustus as Consul, they desired that he should assume the dictatorship. So, shutting the Senators in their house, they forced them, by threats of burning it down, to carry a resolution to this effect. After which they went to Augustus with twenty-four lictors, and asked that he should be proclaimed Dictator, and that a procurator of food supply should be appointed as was done in the time of Pompeius. Whereupon Augustus, having no other course open to him, acceded to the latter proposal, and ordered that two of those who during the

¹ A learned and acute critic to whom my thanks are due for help, has here put in a word about the danger of relying on Dio. It is seasonable, no doubt, but I would point out that when Dio relates simple facts, which there is no reason *altiunde* to suspect or dispute, his account is received by all historians. If it were not, large excisions would have to be made from modern histories of Rome. The valid cause of complaint against Dio and other ancient historians is that expressed by Mommsen in the Introduction to the "Provinces," viz. that they so often tell us what is immaterial, and omit what the modern writer more earnestly desires to know, and not that there is no truth at all in them. *Cf.* Cic. *Orat.* Ed. Long. II. p. 403.

preceding five years had held office as *Prætor* should be commissioned yearly to arrange for a general food supply. But he refused the dictatorship, and since he could not, by argument, or request, or in any other way, induce the people to refrain from pressing it on him, he rent his clothes ; thus wisely, while he had power and authority greater than that of a Dictator, guarding himself from the envy and hatred that the title would excite." (This envy would of course proceed from the aristocratic, but anti-imperial party. *Vide infra.*)

(2) " His action was similar when it was desired to make him perpetual Censor, for he refused this honour and appointed others, viz. Paulus Æmilius Lepidus and L. Munatius Plancus, a brother of that Plancus who in former times had been proscribed, and the very Lepidus who had been under sentence of death. . . ." (The rest of this chapter may be summarised.) It tells us that the appointment of these men was unsatisfactory, and then mentions certain regulations as to public games, measures for the extinguishment of fires in the city, and rules as to the participation by members of senatorial and knightly families in public dances, etc., instituted by Augustus.

(3) " In these matters Augustus assumed both the style and title of legislator and autocrat, in others he acted as if his status was merely that of a private citizen, and appeared in court in support of his friends. On the indictment of one M. Primus for having made war on Odrisæ while Prefect of Macedonia, the accused first said that he had acted on the orders of Augustus, and then that it was on the orders of Marcellus ; whereupon Augustus, of his own accord, came to the court, and on being asked by the *Prætor* whether he had given Primus any such order, he denied it. Then Licinius Murena, who was counsel for Primus, after a wanton exhibition of insolence in questioning Augustus, inquired who had summoned him, and what had brought him there. To which Augustus simply answered, ' The common weal.' He was so commended for this by the sensible and well-affected that authority was given to him to convene the Senate to take a vote, whenever he chose. But some of his opponents still disdained him ; and in fact not a few voted for the acquittal of Primus, and others formed a conspiracy against the Emperor's life. Of this Fannius Cæpio was the ringleader, but others were implicated, and Murena was denounced as being in the plot, perhaps justly, but perhaps on a false accusation because he had used before all alike an unrestrained and blatant mode of speech. The accused did not abide their trial, and accordingly judgment was given against them in their absence as fugitives from justice ; and shortly afterwards they were executed. Neither Proculeius, the brother of Murena, nor his sister's husband, Mæcenas, although then holding the first place in the favour of Augustus, was able to be of any assistance to him ; and since some members of the tribunal had absolved even these men, Augustus

made a law that not even a secret ballot should be taken in trials in absence of absconders, and that the accused, in such cases, should stand as unanimously condemned. That he had made this decree from motives of public policy, and not in any spirit of anger, he showed very clearly ; for though Cæpio's father freed one of two slaves who had fled with his son, because he had tried to protect his master after he had been condemned to death, while he caused the other, who had betrayed him, to be led through the forum to crucifixion, with a placard on him stating the reason of his death, Augustus did not resent it ; and if the Emperor had not ordered sacrifices to be voted and performed as if for a great victory, the animosity of those who were offended at what had been done would soon have subsided."

39. To understand so much as concerns us in this account, and to appreciate its effect on the interpretation of the Odes, the reader should review the position. Julius Cæsar by a *coup d'état* had subverted the Republic more than twenty years previously: In revenge he had been assassinated, leaving Octavian, a youth of nineteen, his heir. At this time Octavian (whom it will be more convenient to call Augustus) did not—to use Mr Wickham's phrase—fill the whole horizon of politics. M. Antonius, Julius Cæsar's colleague in his fifth consulship, stood forth much more prominently as the probable "avenger of Cæsar," but his demeanour soon brought the young Augustus as well as the Senate into opposition with him, and he was defeated at Mutina by forces led by the new Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa (who both lost their lives in the battle), and by Augustus. The latter, had he wished it, might have crushed Antonius then, but the time was not yet. Antonius was less his enemy than the senatorial party with whom for the nonce he was acting. Accordingly he made an arrangement with Antonius and Lepidus, who had seven legions behind him, for the famous Triumvirate, which was ratified by a law of the people. The consequence of this was the crushing of the power of the senatorians ; by the proscriptions, in Rome ; abroad, by the campaign ending with the two battles at Philippi, which saw the last of Brutus and Cassius. The Roman Empire was then divided among the triumvirs, Antonius taking the East, Augustus, the West, Lepidus, Africa. Thanks to Agrippa (*cf.* I. 6 and I. 12) the mastery of the western seas was secured to Augustus in B.C. 36, by the defeat of Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus, and the food supply of Rome was assured. Lepidus immediately afterwards was reduced to impotence, and the times ripened for the inevitable struggle between Augustus and Antonius. It came in B.C. 31, when, at the battle of Actium, Antonius and Cleopatra were defeated. The surrender of Alexandria followed (I. 35 and 37) and Augustus stood forth as conqueror, never again to be assailed in open war by his own race. Having the good will of the army and the commonalty, he was secure from all danger except insidious hostility among the

remnant of the old senatorial party, with whom he earnestly tried from henceforth to live in peace.

40. In the year B.C. 30 one plot against his life was formed by the younger Lepidus, the only result of which was to confer glory on Mæcenas. The plan was to assassinate the Emperor on his return from Egypt, after the final subjugation and death of Antonius and Cleopatra. Mæcenas, who was in charge of Rome, detected and crushed this conspiracy quietly and effectively, and we hear of no more attempts of a like nature until that related by Dio in the chapter given above, which, however, was followed within three years by another, and that again by more. The reason of this outbreak of disaffection to the Emperor after an interval of eight years, can only be found by considering the history of these years, which form a period of great importance to the student of the Odes.

41. After the establishment of the sole power of Augustus, the next question was the use to be made of it. Before returning to Rome from Egypt he made a progress through the East "settling" affairs in Asia Minor, including the affairs of Parthia, "rewarding his allies and dispossessing his enemies." In January 29 B.C. the temple of Janus was closed, and later in the year Augustus returned to Rome, and celebrated his memorable threefold triumphs (see note to I. 2 and II. 9). He was greeted with acclaim as the saviour of the State. The remainder of 29 and the whole of 28, when Augustus in his sixth consulship had Agrippa as colleague, were spent in the work of restoring order. Irregular enactments of the Triumvirate, made to meet special necessities, were cancelled, and the difficult and protracted task of settling on the land the veterans, both from his own and Antonius' armies, was begun. There were large disbandments, but twenty-five legions were kept in arms.

During this time the future of Rome was decided. The tradition followed by Dio gives us in the dramatic form of speeches (§§ 17-19) in a set discussion, arguments and considerations that must have strongly exercised the mind of Augustus and his counsellors, and by the end of 28 we find that he had resolved upon his course. On January 1st, 27, when he and his colleague were re-elected Consuls for the year, he laid down his extraordinary authority, and "transferred the Commonwealth from his government to the arbitrament of the Senate and people" (Monument-Ancy. Lat. VI. 14); receiving back, "unquestionably in accordance with his own intentions, . . . the more essential powers" (Pelham, Outlines Roman Hist. p. 368), viz. consular power for ten years, the command in chief of all forces, sole power of levying troops, and of making peace or war, and concluding treaties: the provinces were divided between him and the Senate, the title of Augustus was conferred on him, and precedence as Princeps was granted to him over other holders of magisterial authority.

The Republic was thus officially "restored,"¹ and Augustus was described as the champion of the liberty of the Roman people. The old machinery was set going, but "for the general public, the essence of the matter lay in the recognition by law of the supremacy of Cæsar, and in the establishment not of a republic, but a personal government" (Pelham, Outlines, 369).

42. The title "Augustus" was the one conspicuous novelty and, as Dr Verrall says, was for some time the only imperial thing in the Empire. (As to the occurrence of the full style "Cæsar Augustus" in the Three Books, and the significance of its position; see II. 9.) Such was the notable "concordat" between the Princeps and the Republic, of B.C. 27. It followed the constitution in outline, while it really reduced the State to the subjection of one man. Augustus took credit for accepting no office "contrary to the usage of our forefathers" (Mon. Anc.). As Merivale says (Fall Rom. Rep. ch. 17): "The fate of Cæsar warned his successor to look more carefully to the foundations of his sovereignty," and it seems a most probable view that the final cast of the Prefatory Ode, I. 2, was influenced by the terms of this settlement of January B.C. 27. (Cf. especially, the last stanza.)

43. Augustus immediately turned his attention to the provinces, and was afterwards in Spain on the business of the Cantabrian war, from which he returned victorious (but not with a peace that lasted) in B.C. 24. This circumstance will also be found noticed in the Odes (III. 14). He was received with great rejoicing by the populace, intensified because he was not only restored to them as a conqueror but also as the survivor from a dangerous illness at Tarraco. Affairs at Rome seem to have been quiet. Mæcenas was without doubt entrusted with the chief control and Horace indicates this in III. 8,¹ though it should be noticed that it was during this absence of Augustus that the first attempt was made to establish a formal prefecture of the city to which Messalla Corvinus, was appointed, an attempt not renewed upon his hasty retreat from a position which he described as "incivilis" (note, III. 8, 17), until B.C. 16, when the position was given to Statilius (*ante* § 32).

44. The "settlement" of January B.C. 27 lasted for a few months longer than four years, and then some important changes were made. Early in B.C. 23, Augustus, whose colleague as Consul was A. Terentius Murena (C.I.L. I, 441), who died in office (see Verrall, Studies, p. 82), laid down his eleventh—and ninth successive—consulship, and nominated as *Coss. suffecti*, L. Sestius and Gn. Calpurnius Piso, the former (cf. I. 4, notes) being a man who was notorious for piously cultivating the memory of Brutus and Cassius. What were his reasons for this step? So far as we can see it was a wholly unnecessary reopening of difficult questions already satisfactorily settled.

¹ The date of the fall of King Cotiso (III. 8) is lost, but the reference to the Dacians is appropriate as Augustus had lately sent successful expeditions to the Danube (see Mommsen, Provinces, I. 11-13).

45. Before going into these, it will be well to state the nature of the changes. The following account of them is abridged from Mr Pelham's Outlines of Roman History, p. 371. On June 27th, B.C. 23, Augustus laid down the consulship. The imperium granted to him for ten years in B.C. 27 he still retained ; but he now held it only "pro-consule," like the ordinary governor of a province, and it therefore ceased to be valid within the city. His renunciation of the consulship entailed also the loss both of precedence over all other magistrates, which a Consul enjoyed, and of the Consul's rights of convening the Senate, and of holding assemblies of the people—it struck, in short, at the very root of that administrative unity which was essential to the good government of the Empire, and threatened to reintroduce the dual control, which had worked such evils before, of Consuls and Senate at home, and powerful pro-consuls abroad. In Rome and Italy the liveliest anxiety was excited by the prospect that Cæsar would no longer visibly reign over them, and one extraordinary office after another was pressed on him. All were refused as unconstitutional ; but by a series of enactments, what Augustus lost was gradually restored to him :—(1) He was allowed to retain his imperium in Rome, on an equality with the other Consuls ; (2) He was granted equal rights with the Consuls of convening the Senate and introducing business (this was in B.C. 23 and 22, Dio, LIII. 32, and LIV. 3), and of issuing edicts. In B.C. 19 (Dio, LIV. 10) he was placed on a level in outward rank with the Consuls, with lictors assigned to him, and an official seat between the Consuls. It is also clear that he came to possess the power of nominating candidates for election to office, but there is no record that this was formally given to him, and it is only proved by the subsequent practice of himself and Tiberius. Now these respective restorations of power were not simultaneous, and it is by no means clear that they were made in accordance with Augustus' own intentions, as had been the case in B.C. 27 when he "gave back the Republic."

That "surrender" was a necessity for the maintenance of any show of a constitutional position. It was made in fulfilment of a promise, but was in effect nullified immediately, so far as the rehabilitation of the Republic was concerned, by explicit provisions. But the settlement of 23 was a purely gratuitous act on the part of Augustus, and an act which, however it might gratify the aristocrats and senatorians, was entirely displeasing to the populace (see Dio, LIV. 1, translated *supra*). It was in fact the populace who insisted on the first steps of its subsequent undoing ; the prolongation of the Emperor's life, and the course of events that immediately followed, were responsible for the rest.

46. Again we ask what was in the mind of Augustus when in 23 he spontaneously divested himself of powers which he was afterwards forced into resuming? Why did he wish to exchange consular power for pro-consular which deprived him of constitu-

tional authority within the precincts of Rome—the pomœrium? And why did he appoint an arch-republican as his own immediate successor in the consulship? He whose nose would lead him to smell out a selfish scheme in these proceedings is surely on a false scent. Augustus already had powers which made him absolute. The settlement of 23 was no means of gaining anything more,¹ but an attempt—futile as it turned out, but that was not the Emperor's fault—gradually to strip himself of some of his burden, and to restore to his collegiate magistrates, more especially to the Consuls, something of their old constitutional authority; see III. 4, 37. He failed to do this. The will of the people prevailed, since he found that the reward of his generosity among the upper classes was the reappearance of turbulence in magisterial elections, and the risk of civil war renewed. The existence of sympathy with would-be assassins like Cæpion in 22, or Egnatius in 19, showed him conclusively that he could not afford to relax his control of affairs in the presence of the seething ambitions of the great Roman families.

47. The answer to our question then, may be found in the facts and circumstances of the times, and the following note upon them by Dr Verrall, may usefully be quoted.

"For many years past, since Mæcenas had detected and crushed the conspiracy of the younger Lepidus, no attempt, as far as we know, had been made upon the Emperor's life, and Augustus was provided with the best shield against assassins in the person of the young Marcellus, heir to the blood of the Julii. . . . When we consider what was the prospect at this time (B.C. 24) and what was the actual sequel, it is not surprising but highly significant to find that the autobiography of Augustus concluded here, being continued 'as far as the Cantabrian war, and no further' (Suet. Aug. 85). At the close of that war, warned by the sickness which had confined him to his bed at Tarraco for the greater part of the campaign, he had notified, as it were, his retirement to the functions of peace by the foundation and title of Augusta Emerita (Merida)."¹ (Note: As a fact he never again took part in actual

¹ The fact that Augustus, on relinquishing his consular imperium, acquired at the same time the tribunician power for life has not been forgotten. The tribunician power was one of veto; in his hands it formed, as Dr Verrall indicates, a good security. It would enable him to reassume control if necessary. One gets rather weary of the references to Augustus' political "hypocrisy" in some histories. It seems never to be remembered that Augustus, from the moment he decided to claim his inheritance under Julius Cæsar's will, had no alternative but to fight for power—to see that he got and kept it—for on those terms only was his life for a moment safe. Having acquired power, he used it well. It was his fate to be the only Roman able to restore peace and order to his country, with its obsolete constitution and rotten government, but it seems often to be accounted to him as a fault. In consequence, we have him presented to us by more than one historian as sincere in his religious ardour, but an arch-hypocrite whenever he touched politics. It would be possible to concoct a "Life" of Mr Gladstone presenting similar contradictions—but would it be true, or just?

war, though he was at the scene of war both in the East and in Germany.)

" He might well hope that under the government of himself or his most probable successor the celebration of the birthdays of Brutus and Cassius in the houses of great noblemen holding office by his appointment would soon become as harmless a ceremony as the wearing of the ' royal oak ' by subjects of King George the III. . . .

" Under these auspices was drawn the settlement between the republican past and the imperial present, from which the new time may in one sense be said to begin. The one feeling from which opposition was to be feared was the restlessness of the aristocratic families deprived of the natural prey of their ambition, the republican offices and especially the consulship. To the public at large these offices were perfectly indifferent ; indeed for many reasons, political and superstitious, they would have felt more comfortable if Augustus would have made himself sole Consul or Dictator at once (Dio, 54, 1). Not so the representatives of the old senatorial families. To them it seemed the natural object of life to become one of the two co-equal magistrates of the commonwealth, and a Rome in which only one man could be Consul in each year, and that with a ' colleague ' who was also generalissimo of the army from year to year without intermission, was not at all a Rome to their mind." (Studies in Horace, p. 13.)

48. In fact Augustus, apprehensive probably of his health, and certainly regarding himself as " *emeritus* " in warfare, seems to have thought the time had come when he might seek repose. The enthusiasm in Rome at his return, accompanied, as no doubt it was, by a careful concealment of the disaffection that was still lingering among the nobles, may have been the cause of making him too sanguine as to the safety of such a course, either for himself or for the State generally. Whether this be the true reason of his action or not,¹ he did divest himself for a time of some of his authority, and withdrew from his long-continued tenure of consulship, leaving the office to be competed for as in former times, merely taking security (as Verrall says) for the proper exercise of the office, by the general veto conferred on him under the name of the " *tribunician power*," and the right to consult the Senate.

49. His hope, it may be assumed, was to placate the aristocratic families, but this was speedily disappointed. The immediate result of his retirement was a renewal of keen competition for office, to the point of riot and bloodshed (Dio, LIV. 6, 10), a fact which

¹ Cf. Dio, LIV. 6 and 10, in which Augustus is said to have rebuked the Senate for its incapacity to keep the peace in Rome without his actual presence. See Mr Firth's *Augustus*, p. 197, on the incident. Consider also that it was at this time that he proposed to marry his daughter to Proculeius, a mere knight, and not engaged in politics—a project apparently with an anti-dynastic aim. Tac. Ann. 4, 40. See also Seneca, *De Brev. Vit.*, Bk. I. ch. vi.

may explain lines 7-8 of the prologue to the Odes, as Dr Verrall is the first to point out. If this preface was published in or before 23, this reference to elections to the three great civil offices would have been for an imperialist like Horace exceedingly maladroit, because for several years there had been no real elections at all, as Augustus had controlled the appointments, but after 23, when their character changed back to something resembling the "gladiatorial canvasses" of the late Republic, they might well be alluded to in the terms Horace has used (*cf.* I. 1, 7, III. 2, 20 : on the nature of the consular elections in B.C. 22, see Bury's History of Rome, p. 51, ed. of 1900).

50. Dr Verrall thinks that the death of Marcellus in B.C. 23, deprived Augustus of his best shield against the dagger of the assassin. It is true that the heir designate was highly popular, and would have had the certain support of the commonalty had the Emperor succumbed to either of his two illnesses, or been otherwise removed, and this consideration perhaps had something to do with the outward acquiescence of the malcontents in the Senate in things existing between Actium and the year 23. But in addition it should be remembered that time may have done much to stiffen their resolution, and to nerve them once more to the hazardous experiment of a bid for the reality instead of the semblance of power (see Bury, *ibid.* p. 60). And here the policy of Augustus towards placation would help them, as would also his scrupulous care to avoid all appearance of constitutional change. His retirement from the consulship gave to the Senators a pretext for asserting themselves, and although the majority of their carefully packed house was, as Dio says, "sensible," the other side, the evilly-disposed who still "disdained" him, were there represented —no doubt deliberately retained with the hope of conciliation.

Augustus had been successful in assuming the control of affairs. His influence had been predominant in the West for thirteen years before B.C. 23. Since Actium he had had no rival to challenge his authority to dictate to the whole Empire, and in Rome itself all spirit of resistance to him had been kept under the surface for so long that he seems to have thought it either dead, or so unimportant that the time was come when he could assert that the "felicissimus status," as it is called by Velleius, *i.e.* the happy condition, had arrived, when it was possible to treat all Roman citizens alike with confidence.¹

¹ That Augustus regarded himself as having established a permanent "status" in 23 is confirmed by Suetonius (Aug. 28) who, when mentioning that he twice considered the question of restoring the Republic (in B.C. 27 and 23), quotes from an imperial edict as follows "That I be may permitted to set the Republic safe and sound in its seat is my wish, and to reap the reward of that achievement which I look for, viz. that I may be described as the man to whom the establishment of that most desirable condition is due (auctor optimi status), and that when I die, I may take with me the hope that the foundations of the Republic which I have laid will remain firm in their place."

51. He was promptly undeceived. The sequel of the arrangement of B.C. 23 was a crop of assassination plots, and a renewal of civil disturbance requiring stern repression. The anticipated happy period of peace led to a peace only maintained by frequent recourse to the "laqueus" of the executioner (*Tac. Ann. I. 10*). And this condition of things began from the moment of the Emperor's giving once more to the Senate a pretext for independent activity. The more minute the examination of the decade B.C. 30-20, the more convinced must the interpreter of the Odes become that, had they been published before 23, the tone of their allusions to the internal condition of Rome would have been very different. They reflect unmistakably the situation to which the events of 23 and 22 gave rise, and if they were brought into their final shape as constituents of Horace's "Monument more lasting than bronze" before it had occurred, then Horace was wonderfully prophetic. That the poet was himself an avatar of Apollo, with the future in his ken, is much more improbable than that the flimsy arguments on which the year 23 is supported for the issue of the Three Books are unsound.¹

52. It will be remembered that we have already mentioned two of these : (1) the "Marcellus" argument, (2) the supposed absence of any explicit allusion to the seditious attempt on Augustus' life for which the brother-in-law of his minister, Mæcenas, suffered the death penalty. In dealing with the latter we have been led into a review of history for the purpose of considering the counter-claim that the events of the years 23-22 are reflected in the Three Books, and have materially influenced their tone. But this second argument generates a third which we may now consider. It is said that if the issue of the Three Books was after the conspiracy, Odes II. 10 and III. 19, could not possibly, considering

¹ The following allusions to events later than B.C. 23 may be noted now, others will be perceived later :

(1) Throwing open the consulship and other curule offices once more to free election, I. 1, 7-8, III. 2, 19-20. (2) Reappearance of sedition and civil strife in consequence, necessity of stern repression by the Emperor of "impious slaughter" and "civil madness" arising from a lawlessness "still untamed," III. 24. (3) Allusions to the divulging of the "secret"; by Mæcenas to his wife; by her to Murena—relations of Mæcenas and Terentia (*Licymnia*) first shown, II. 12; express allusion to the secret, III. 2, 25. (4) The whole of III. 4, which concerns the events of 25-22—see Dr Verrall's analysis, *Studies*, p. 58—the battle of the Titans against Jove symbolising the coming outbreak of sedition against Augustus after his return from Spain, and the settlement of his soldiers in Augusta Emerita. (5) References to Mæcenas' position : in III. 8, shortly before the conspiracy, he is represented as having control of State affairs. In III. 29, after it, similar language is used, but in conjunction with expressions very strange for a statesman in full power to hear—happiness swept away; Fortune shifting her favours; the consciousness of innocence; the right to look back on past happiness; etc. They are put as coming from the poet, but it was Mæcenas who had cause to reflect on them though no outward sign was given of his altered relations with the Emperor (see notes).

the relation of Horace to Mæcenas, and of the latter to Murena, have been published in their present form. Ode II. 10 is an exhortation to Murena to observe the golden mean, concluding with the paradox of danger even from a favourable breeze—the idea is that of Nemesis following on too much prosperity. The whole Ode exactly fits in with what we know of Murena's circumstances and disposition. This may have been written at the time when Murena's arrogance and self-assertion were making him unpopular "with all alike." Would it not have been cruel to publish it to the world after he had paid for his madness with his life? This is the argument. But it must be remembered that he had been condemned as a would-be assassin of the Emperor. Now in such a position, however sorely grieved Mæcenas may have been for Murena's sake, however doubtful—if he was doubtful—of his guilt, he would have only one course open to him, that is to make clear that in the face of a crime of such a kind, private feelings could not be allowed to interfere with duty. As events had turned out, he had laid himself open to the displeasure of his master by a breach of trust. He might well feel it incumbent on him to prove that this was not a sign that he had faltered in his loyalty. The consideration of Horace would be for Mæcenas more than for Murena; he would wish to see his benefactor and friend restored to favour, and one way in which this could be furthered was by showing that as between poet and patron there was no mistake about their disapproval of Murena's courses. He had been warned against the faults of his character, but in vain. We shall see later on the importance of this. There was reason, as we have heard from Dio, to doubt Murena's complicity in the particular plot formed by Cæpio, and it may be that though both the Emperor, Mæcenas, and Horace, knew that he was innocent of this, the two last named knew also his real crimes, the real cause of his denunciation, and the reason for the Emperor's implacability. This is another important point which we hope to make clear as we proceed.

53. Ode III. 19 however presents further difficulties. It cannot be regarded merely as an indication that Horace and Mæcenas had no hesitation in making their attitude clear to the world and its ruler, and had no reason to be silent on the point. It is generally read (after a considerable struggle with its parts) as a poem commemorating *in a friendly way* the election of Murena to the Augurate. If this were the true purpose of the Ode, it would offer a serious objection to its inclusion in the collection after his execution. But Dr Verrall points out by a full analysis of the language and bearing of the allusions, that this may be a misconception. The scene is one of riot and extravagance, an orgy in fact, deep drinking, wild music, women and malicious mischief. There is no hint of Horace's actual presence, and he interprets it as a moral lesson conveyed by a picture of a festive supper at Murena's own house at Reate, probably given to cele-

brate the announcement brought to him by some friends, of his appointment to the Senate, and perhaps also to the Augurate. He reads it as the lesson of a great occasion treated not as it should be, but with drunkenness, prodigality, and "the 'insane' luxury against which the readers of the Odes are so often warned." Thus viewed, III. 19 may fall into line with II. 10 as before explained, and provide an answer to the argument.¹

54. Another argument for the 23 date is drawn from the opening lines of the first Epistle. These are a reply by Horace to Mæcenas who has asked for more work in the style of the Odes. In Messrs Lee and Lonsdale's translation they are thus rendered. "Yon Mæcenas who were the subject of my earliest lay, who shall be the subject of my latest, would fain shut me up in the old training school, though a gladiator publicly approved enough, and already presented with the wand of freedom. My age is not the same; no more is my inclination. . . . There is one whose voice is ringing in my unobstructed ear: 'sensibly set free betimes the horse that is growing old, lest he laughably fail in the end, and strain his panting flanks.' So now I lay down verses and every other toy; what is true and becoming I study and inquire and am all absorbed in this; I amass and arrange my stores, so that afterwards I may be able to bring them forth."

The first book of the Epistles is supposed to have been published in the year B.C. 19 or 18, hence it is argued, Horace's words would not be apposite unless an interval of some years had elapsed between it and the issue of the Three Books. The postulate is unnecessarily large. The excuse is quite playful, as Horace in 19 was only in his forty-sixth year, and, so far as artistic perfection is concerned, was at the height of his powers. The Carmen Sæculare, and the Fourth Book (with some notable exceptions) may not show the spontaneity of old, but they are formally faultless, and contain some exquisite poetry, and they were yet to come.

In B.C. 19, want of "inclination" was, no doubt, a reality with Horace. He himself tells us that he did not write easily in his "poetic" vein, and to this must be added the consideration that he was blest (from our point of view) with a literary conscience than which none other before him or since has been more sensitive. Art and workmanship of the best were the only kinds that Horace would consent to exhibit, and it may well be that the labour involved in arranging, connecting and polishing his lyrical work, with an eye to unity, as a great memorial of his times, was so severe as to bring to his lips the plea "non eadem est ætas, non mens," when the request for more poems was made. This is perhaps the real purport of his words, and if so, they do not

¹ I here confine myself to Dr Verrall's elucidation of III. 19. For further developments as to the subject of Murena's banquet, and its connection with his offence against the Emperor, see *infra*.

require any long interval between the time of their utterance and the issue of the Three Books. (*Cf.* III. 26, *n.*)

55. The rest of the extract is indeed all against such an interval. "So now I lay down my verses and other toys," he says, using the present tense, as if the action were simultaneous with the writing of the Epistle, which may very well have been called forth by a remonstrance from Mæcenas to the possible announcement by Horace that his lately published work had brought his "poetical" labour to a close. The word (*ludicra*) translated "toys" has no precise equivalent in English; it is a metaphor from the *ludi*, *i.e.* games, or public shows, and perhaps means "my sporting on that stage"; it is in the same vein of irony as the last stanza of the solemn Ode III. 3, which it is Horace's pleasure to represent as the production of a "jocund" lute. It should be remembered that form of composition had great significance for Greeks and Romans. Particular classes of subjects were associated with specific metres. From the lyric Muses one might expect passion in the form of personal sentiment, every possible variety of love theme, light or serious, or Bacchic rhapsody, but they were not supposed to supply heroic enthusiasm, or to touch the subjects of the epic. Horace accordingly is found frequently to apologise for the intrusion of a lyrist into domains that do not properly belong to his instrument, and has recourse to this expedient, sometimes as an artistic relief from tension, sometimes perhaps as a convenient means of escape from pressure as to the serious meaning of his words (see II. 1). The original of the last clause quoted is "Condo et compono quæ mox depromere possim," and I hardly think the rendering above has the exact *nuance* required. *Compono* when used of literary pursuits, is much more probably equivalent to our "compose";¹ and *mox* suggests quickness of sequence, not merely an indefinite "afterwards"; the compound *depromere* is not very common, but *promo* is frequent enough in the sense of "bring forth," "bring to the light," etc. The translation therefore, "I conceive and compose things which I may bring to light at once," conveys the intention of the words, and the point may be this—"my poems have involved much labour, henceforth I shall deal only in a class of composition that can be quickly written." It is possible that in the Three Books he had himself been doing the "dangerous work" which he represents C. Asinius Pollio as undertaking (*cf.* II. 1), and treading on the treacherous ashes still with the living fires below, and this also he purposed to abandon.

56. Further, though it is not desirable to press the point too closely, the expression "donatum iam rude"² seems more con-

¹ Cf. "Carmina compono," Epist. II. 2, 91. Even with regard to *Condo*, translated by L. and L. "I amass," and by Wickham "I am storing," there may be a misleading alteration of the metaphor: *cf.* Propertius, El: II. 1, 14: "Tunc vero longas condimus Iliadas," where *condimus* means "I conceive": Milton's word, "to build the lofty rhyme," may bring us nearer to Horace's meaning.

sistent with a short than with a long interval between the Epistle and the Poems. The Three Books themselves are the “*rudis*,” or wand given to the gladiator who has earned his repose. Would it not have been more natural to couple *iam* with *pridem* or *dudum* if the *rudis* had been presented three or four years previously? It will be said that “*antiquo*” in the next line implies this, but there is room for doubt whether Horace really intended it to do so, for *antiquus* is the commonest word for “old,” and *antiquo ludo*, “the old game,” would mean about as much as the same phrase in English. Besides, Horace had been writing for many years, chiefly, as is most probable, for the benefit of the circle of Mæcenas, and the word by no means concludes the point of a long interval, or necessarily refers to the interval at all (*cf.* III. 26, *n.*).

57. There is no need therefore, in my opinion, to regard the lines under discussion as an obstacle to accepting a later date than B.C. 23 for the publication of the complete collection. If the first book of the Epistles was collected, and published at some time in the year 19 or 18, there is really no valid reason why it should not have been preceded by the Three Books a few months earlier. To contend the opposite presses parts of the above-quoted lines too hard, and refuses the inferences from the remainder.

58. The next point in connection with the date we are discussing arises from I. 3. This poem is addressed to the ship which at the moment of recitation is supposed to be carrying Vergil to Attica. We know that Vergil made a journey to Greece in the last year of his life, and we know of no other. As Vergil died shortly after his return in B.C. 19, the commentators who support B.C. 23 for the issue of the Three Books, are forced to imagine an earlier unknown journey, or to regard I. 3 as an added supplement. The latter proposition may be dismissed as purely hypothetical, without any valid argument to support it. The former is quite possible, but not probable. The biography of the poet left to us by Donatus is, as Mr Long says, founded undoubtedly on good materials though not a critical performance. If, as Professor Nettleship supposed, Vergil did not finish the Georgics *circa* B.C. 30, without a visit to Greece, it is odd that a fact so important is not mentioned. It is not however impossible or without precedent—we have no information from Suetonius of Horace’s voyage when his life was endangered through Palinurus in the Sicilian Sea, but that may have occurred during his early travels, or it may have been on some short trip without much moment to the circumstantial, with none to the literary, history of his life. In the case of Vergil, to pass by an early visit to Greece without mention would be paralleled by a “life” of an English poet with the omission of the fact that he had a University education. That Vergil visited Greece in the last year of his life we know, if we know anything at all from the source from which we derive the whole of our biographical information concerning him. Donatus

says that this was his fifty-second year, but that is inconsistent with his own chronology. According to him, Vergil was born A.U.C. 684, on the Ides of October, Gn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus being Consuls ; he died on the 21st September 735, the Consuls again being mentioned, and agreeing with those named by Dio. It will be seen, therefore, that Vergil would not enter his fifty-second year till October 735 ; but the error is not important to us, for Donatus is clearly dealing with the last year of Vergil's life. Taking it thus, we get the Ides of October 734, or B.C. 20, as the anterior terminal date possible for Vergil's start upon his voyage. Now the end of this year of 20 may well be the true date of issue of the Three Books, and it is not at all unlikely that Vergil wintered in Greece, just as Augustus, with whom he returned from Athens in the summer of 735, wintered at Samos, and that I. 3 was in time to take its place, virtually as part of the preface to the collection, after the respective addresses to Mæcenas and the Emperor.¹

59. A difficulty has been felt in respect of this Ode by eminent critics which Mr Wickham states. After saying (very truly) that it is not an ode which seems very likely to have been inserted after publication, he continues, "Given to the world in Vergil's lifetime it seems playful and affectionate, but it would seem cold and irrelevant to be published after his early death and in a volume in which it was the sole (*sic*, in spite of I. 24) record of their friendship. Franke felt the difficulty so much that he proposed to read *Quintilium* for *Vergilium*, etc." But considering that Vergil did not die till the 21st September 19, after his return from Greece, and that the Ode is written any time after mid-October 20, the difficulty is unsubstantial—the assumption that the piece must in the circumstances have been published *after* Vergil's death is gratuitous, for nearly a full year may have been to wait.

60. If we look at I. 3 itself, we shall see that the latter half of it may certainly be read as suitable for introducing a series of poems dealing with disturbed times in Rome. The allusions are, as always with Horace, left for interpretation to the reader's intelligence, but the point of the solemn reflections on mortal presumption would probably be clear enough to the cultured Roman world. Mr Wickham thinks that the tirade against sea-travel is "in part playful"; but surely, if so, the joke is very grim. The fear felt by Romans for the sea was genuine, and the "presumption" of man in quitting *terra firma* was an idea strong in Horace's mind as it was also in Pliny's (*cf.* Nat. Hist. XIX. 3-6). Where any jesting spirit appears in Horace's references to Death, Audacity, Folly, etc., and in the use of such solemn terms as *vetitum nefas*, "crime forbidden by Heaven," and *Necessitas*,

¹ Professor Sellar (Horace, p. 142, 2nd ed.) states that Vergil went to Attica in the spring of B.C. 19, but gives no authority. And I have sought vainly for any basis for this explicitness as to the time of his departure : see also footnote to § 78.

"inevitable fate," is hard to see. Elsewhere in the book the thunderbolts of the wrathful Jove are used as analogues of earthly punishments meted out by the hand of power, and the presumption that "assails heaven" is denounced. (III. 4, 42, etc.)

61. Let the reader pause and reflect for a moment, bringing before his mind the situation in Rome in the year B.C. 20, the circumstances, characters, sympathies and relations of the four men, Augustus, Mæcenas, Vergil and Horace, and then imagine what would be the effect of the poem when recited or read. Would it seem a "playful" good-bye compliment and nothing more? Is it not manifest that the poet speaking is prepared to find a response to his words of solemn warning? Is it not also clear that these serious reflections are very maladroit if meant to be taken literally, and can be saved from that objection only by the possibility of a larger significance? And if he allow this to be so, then let him ask to what events in contemporary history can this larger significance most appropriately be referred.

62. If this Ode does not refer to a voyage in B.C. 20-19, it clearly becomes useless for chronological purposes, but it may be as well to point out that the assumption which commentators are so willing to make of an earlier voyage by Vergil, in no way certifies to B.C. 23 as the correct date of issue, and leaves untouched the difficulties caused by the allusions in the Three Books seeming to point to a condition of affairs in Rome that did not obtain till after that year.

63. The arguments on which the acceptance of B.C. 23 as the date of publication rests have now been reviewed, and, putting the case at the lowest, they may be said to be inadequate to prove the proposition in support of which they are adduced.

The importance of a miscalculation in this respect is well expressed by Dr Verrall (*Studies*, p. 26): "Literary chronology has seldom so vital an interest. It signifies little, for instance, whether the Odes came out before or after the year 20. The success of Augustus and Tiberius in cajoling or terrifying the Parthians had no particular effect on Horace, or Mæcenas, or their private and political friends, and, except in some allusions to the East and to the glories of Cæsar, a collection of poems dedicated by Horace to Mæcenas would be much the same whether issued in 19 or 21. But if Horace was a lyrical *poet* at all, if the Odes were meant to reach the feelings of the patron, the person addressed, or the general reader, the question 'before or after the year 22?' goes to the essence of the work." This is indisputable. If we exclude from consideration all events subsequent to B.C. 23 without positive assurance of our right to do so, we shall certainly run the risk of wholly misjudging our author. Horace's topics are actual and local. The Odes reflect the life, the circumstances, the character of his age. Therefore if it be true that his monumentum is to be read as a whole, though it is composed of materials of diverse kinds, that it is built on a plan, shows signs of order and

a definite purpose, the discernment of which may be assisted by history, then an *apparatus criticus* which would disregard its symmetry, which would examine minutely the bricks but never survey the edifice, which would refer allusions to the wrong times and events, and would miss the chronological scheme, is clearly a useless instrument for interpretation, and unsound as a base for any estimate of the poet's powers.

64. Great as is Horace's reputation for his style, and freely as his elegance is recognised, it is a question whether he has received in modern times full justice for his higher poetical qualities.¹ The mental attitude which induces critics to describe portions of his work as "artificial," "trite," "cold," "incohesive," *et cetera*, may be based on misconceptions. To take the exact shade of meaning of the language of poetry surely requires that the critic shall know the point of view from which his author speaks — for instance, it will be contended later that there is *passim* in Horace much sarcasm which is frequently read as if it was meant in sober earnestness: analogously, the warmth and feeling of a poem may seem to fade away entirely when knowledge of its true motive is lost; and further, the emotions raised by hearing of some stirring event or mishap are but a pale reflex of those which actual experience excites, and words that touch the heart of one who has "felt" may not impress him who has merely "heard."

These considerations show the need, for the understanding of an ancient author, of a restoration of the spirit of his time—of that psychologic process, on which Haupt insists—and it is manifest that no such restoration can be made unless we have a true insight into the facts. To assume certainty where there is none is a dangerous course.² Where there is room for error there must be the utmost caution, and the most patient examination. This does not imply a timid reluctance to use our powers of imagination; without imagination we can do nothing at all in the way of interpretation; its proper lesson is against unwarranted dogmatism.

65. The genius of Horace was truly original. To imitate good models in his age was regarded not as plagiarism, but as a canon of style, and when we find that an Ode so absolutely "topical" in its interest as I. 37 (the thanksgiving for Cleopatra's fall) is an adaptation from the Greek, and that one model supplies two

¹ "It may happen . . . that a great work of imagination sometimes presents such difficulties to the ordinary understanding, that, although its power and beauty are instinctively recognised by succeeding generations of men, the main thoughts which have inspired it and which are the real strength of its author are not clearly grasped, and criticism, favourable or unfavourable, lingers over details with praise, blame, explanation, or apology, while it misses the great intention which lies beneath and is the foundation of the whole." (Nettleship, on the *Aeneid*: not less true of the Three Books.)

² To state in an edition of the Odes for school use that B.C. 23 may be considered "certain" as the date of issue for the Three Books is unjustifiable.

distinct Odes (I. 4 and IV. 7), we perceive that the formal imitation did not exclude substantial originality. It was a genius that may be called unique, for whatever preceded the Odes of Horace in Greek, there has been nothing like them since. Are they, as they so often seem to be regarded, a miscellaneous *olla podrida* of casual verses on amatory and convivial subjects, or a sculptured memorial, through the story which they tell, of a momentous crisis, in a great historical epoch ?

66. In effect, as finally shaped, they inculcate a definite code of morality, though it has to be admitted that Horace's moral system is purely opportunist, and therefore incomplete. The dangers from one side he sees clearly, but the limitation of his view becomes apparent from his evident conviction that the civilised life he knew could continue under the political conditions obtaining. The good behaviour of the governed is the chief thing that society requires, in his opinion. Considering his time, and with the example of Augustus before him, this is intelligible enough, but it lowers our estimate of the philosophic reach of his mind. He lived under a ruler of a disposition so exceptional that with every increase of power, his greater and better qualities continued to be revealed ; than whom no autocrat, perhaps, has emerged from his trying ordeal with more merited commendation. That the equilibrium was unstable, and permanence impossible, Horace gives no hint, and our estimate of him as a sage may be lowered in consequence. His lessons of good conduct, conveyed with the perfect art of which he was master, are inspired by his convictions in favour of the imperial ideal of Augustus, Mæcenas and Vergil, and spring possibly from no higher motive, but this is only to say that he was the product of his time, and took short rather than long views : III. 29, 29-33.

67. Speaking of the Three Books, Dr Verrall says, "In actual theme it is 'An Ode of Fortune,' a descent in various moods upon the perishing pleasures, the certain, and often sudden death of man—touched with something of tragedy by the awful story, so near to Horace and his readers, of which the outline is so powerfully dashed in. What the fall of Antonius is to the Hymn to the Queen of Antium (I. 35), that the fall of Murena is to the entire work." There is light and shade in the Three Books because they present a general view of life, and the poet never forgets his art to assume the functions of a preacher pure and simple. Fraught, as I conceive, with serious intention, they yet give an admirable lesson to the one who would use imaginative literature with a "purpose," of the way in which this may be done without offence to art.

68. Dr Verrall's summing up of his essay on their chronology is as follows :—"The period covered by the Three Books extends over about twenty years from B.C. 40-20. The cardinal epoch is the close of the Civil Wars marked by the end of Book I. The political poems of Book I. describe the phases of the decade 40-30,

and present Cæsar as the coming saviour of the state. In the second decade two dates are marked, the constitution of the monarchy, notified by the assumption of the title of Augustus, and the close of the Cantabrian war, the two leading dates in the period as represented by the historians. The first, the date of transition, is placed in Book II., otherwise chiefly of a personal and non-political character. Book III. is the book of the monarchy, the separation of it from the second serving chiefly to throw into prominence the six Imperial Odes. Into this frame are fitted in their appropriate places the poems on the story of Murena, the quasi-political addresses to Mæcenas as minister for Augustus (III. 8 and III. 29) and a poem (III. 24) on the social and political state of Rome at the time of the final collection." The reader who bears in mind the facts on which this theory is based, will find his path smoothed for the interpretation of the Odes, and his estimate of the poet's powers perhaps raised. All trace of Horace's so-called "artificiality" and "coldness" disappears (from some minds at least) on the realisation of the fact that his words are not prompted by a desire to give utterance to vague generalities, but are the expression of real feeling, called forth by his relations to particular persons and the happening of specific events.

69. The probable reference to actual history in the first Ode of the collection has already been noticed (§ 49); on the second, addressed to Augustus, there is more to be said. Mr Wickham writes of this piece that it is one which seems to challenge us to find its date by the definiteness of its historical allusions, but which on examination baffles the attempt. Before giving any theory as to the meaning of the poem and of its form, it will be well to note that the word date, when applied to any ode, is ambiguous. It may mean three things—(1) Date of composition; (2) Date of the contemporary events alluded to in it; (3) Date of publication. Mr Wickham's use of the term may have reference to either of the first two, but probably contemplates No. 1. Dr Verrall, uses it with exclusive regard to No. 2; *i.e.* to the internal or ostensible date at which the lyrist is supposed to speak, and this is the course we shall follow. The date of composition may be regarded by the interpreter as irrelevant on a collective review. In making his collection for the world's eye Horace takes care that the historical events of which he treats are in order, and he distributes the Private Odes in such a way as, without offence to this principle, to enhance the general artistic effect of his whole diorama. The Private Odes, when they have a date, are not necessarily placed in chronological order, their position was no doubt determined, where it is at variance with that order, by some other consideration; but the National Odes which are precisely "dated," in the sense of No. 2, are all chronological.

70. When we know the date of any events to which Horace may allude we shall speak of that as the date of the ode, but it

does not follow at all that we shall be speaking of the date of its composition. The important thing for us to mark in this connection is what effect the Ode would produce *at the time when the collection was given to the world*. When therefore, and in what precise form, I. 2 was written, and published by recitation or otherwise, we cannot tell, but we are in danger of mistaking the poet's intention if we separate it for the purposes of interpretation from the forefront of the collection—the monumentum—in which it is included. Thoughts on the assassination of Julius Cæsar may have called it forth before the plot for the assassination of his successor occurred to create a parallel, and invest it with new point and interest. We are unable to say whether or not this was so ; but we can see, if such was the fact, how his early poem aided the poet in his ultimate design. Regarding it, therefore, in this way, and assuming that the Three Books were *published* after the year B.C. 22 in which Cæpion's plot occurred, and civil disturbance reappeared, our imagination, assisted by history, will enable us to appreciate the effect that the piece would then have in Rome.

The reference to the assassination of Julius Cæsar is as clear as anything can be, and marks the starting-point of the historical sweep of the Three Books. Mars, who is the god of War, not of fratricidal strife, is represented as slighting his descendants because of their long "show" of slaughter which is not entitled to the honourable name of "war," and Augustus is hailed as the coming avenger of Cæsar. It may here parenthetically be mentioned that the notes of date in the last stanza refer probably to the years B.C. 29 and 28, when the triumphs for Actium were celebrated, and the title of Princeps was formally conferred on Augustus. Pater was used as a description of him long before it also was formally conferred in B.C. 2. The Ode might well have been conceived *circa* B.C. 28 and 27. "Pater" is a natural "anticipation," "Princeps" one rather too explicit for the poet to make. The indication that the Civil Wars had been going on for some time, and that Octavian had emerged into full light as the "avenger," shows clearly the largeness of the period which the ode really covers. But viewed after B.C. 22, as a commemoration of former events lately paralleled in Rome, its effect would be impressive. The correspondences are so remarkable as to suggest the thought that they can hardly be accidental. For observe, it is not merely in the recurrence of the design to overthrow the monarchy that the points of resemblance are found, but in all the *attendant circumstances*. Rome in B.C. 22 might with point be reminded of the fear of a former generation against the return of the dread day of Pyrrha. The lightnings and thunders, were there, Jove with his thunderbolts striking the spear from Augustus' sculptured hand, and so terrifying the city that the people importuned him to assume extended powers : the inundation of the river, represented as the uxorious husband of Ilia, the

Mother of Rome, who hastes to avenge her exaggerated wrongs, despite the will of Heaven ; the younger generation hearing that citizens had sharpened a sword that had been better used against the Persian (not yet subdued in B.C. 22). Truly, whenever it was originally conceived, this Ode would create a profound impression in the light of the events of 22, when the "populus" again had occasion to call on a God to save the Emperor from downfall. What would be their thoughts on reading the concluding prayer for his safety, the prayer that through "our" wickedness no "breath" should whirl him away before his time, knowing that the sword of the assassin had lately been making ready to repeat the crime wrought on his predecessor ?

If I. 2 was edited for publication after the year 22, the events of that year may perhaps account for Mr Wickham's difficulty that though its historical illusions seem so definite, they baffle attempts to fix them. Mr Wickham himself notices that Horace is the only writer to mention a flood in the *Tiber* as one of the phenomena attendant on the death of Julius Cæsar, though floods in other rivers were recorded. The inundation was so severe in 22 that the city "became navigable" (see § 38).

From any point of view the parallel is very interesting to note. Can it have been so complete without design ? May not the old have been deliberately tinged with the colour of the new ?

71. Ode I. 3 has been considered in §§ 58-61, and of I. 4, in which Sestius is significantly bidden not to hope for too much (see notes) it is sufficient to say that the man to whom it is addressed is the very cherisher of the memory of Brutus to whom, with Piso as colleague, Augustus confidingly handed over the consulship in B.C. 23 (§ 44). Is this again accident, and does accident also account for the fact that the framework of this Ode has been used by Horace in the Fourth Book in a poem which seems to refer back to the case of Murena (IV. 7), the man who died because he was supposed to have been trying to realise the hope of ridding Rome of its second great Cæsar ?

72. Ode I. 6 introduces Agrippa, the "rough man of modest origin" of the kind to whom Rome owed so much, as Horace mentions in I. 12. Note that the coming struggle at sea is foreshadowed in the first stanza.

Ode I. 12. "Thanksgiving for the triumph of the national cause" in the defeat by Augustus and Agrippa of the fleet of Sextus Pompeius, "the first and only Roman (as Merivale says) who sought to extort the sceptre of the Commonwealth by his maritime supremacy." The great sea victory of Naulochus, and the frustration of the subsequent attempt by Sextus "once more to raise the standard of rebellion," and also, probably, of the feeble effort made by Lepidus at this time to assert himself in opposition to Augustus, are marked and commemorated in this fine poem, for which the Muse of History is invoked ; period B.C. 36.

Ode I. 14. An allegory, typifying renewed danger to the ship

of State. The danger that was not averted until the defeat of Antonius and Cleopatra at Actium.

73. Ode I. 15. It hardly requires a scholiast to tell us that this is an allusion to the adulterous connection, in lands across the seas, of Antonius now Emperor of the East (the husband of Octavia, Augustus' sister) with Cleopatra. Antonius had lately left Octavia and had renewed his intimacy with Cleopatra, publicly acknowledging their children and calling them the sun and the moon "to the amazement of his Roman brothers in arms" (Merivale), and plunging into luxury and dissipation himself, while his paramour kept steadily in view "her policy of extorting from him the command of the regions which her ancestors had most devoutly coveted." A profligate "Paris," in the hands of a shrewd and designing "Helen," both of whom might well listen to their "fortunes" told in these terms by the son of Oceanus and Terra. The period of I. 14 and I. 15 is between Naupactus and Actium, for though Antonius abandoned Octavia shortly before 36, there was no sign of rupture between him and Augustus till afterwards.

74. Ode I. 35. The Hymn to Fortuna, Queen of Antium, a town which the Antonii specially revered. Dr Verrall, following Plüss, explains this Ode in substance as follows:—Its point is the fall of Antonius, 31-30. In the presence of the mysterious power which strikes down princes in their pride, and standing as it were between the Ages, the national poet humbles himself for the wickedness and folly of the Civil Wars and implores protection for the new generation and for Cæsar, that the arms of Rome, so long turned against herself, may be carried victoriously against her enemies from East to West. The coming fall of Antonius is the tacit thought, and is treated in this solemn way because, though it must be brought about, it is no subject for exultation.

75. I. 37. Actium and after. The battle was fought on the 2nd September B.C. 31, the death of Antonius and Cleopatra did not take place till September in the following year. The whole period is included.

Mr Wickham's description of the Ode as "A song of triumph written when the news reached Rome in September B.C. 30" of the death of Antonius and Cleopatra, assumes more than we know. We cannot possibly tell that it was then written: Horace has two Epodes, viz. I. and IX., dealing with Actium, and it is noticeable that the Ode has parallels in expression with them. It was a habit of Horace to return on his former traces (as may be seen by examining the correlations of the Fourth Book with the Three), and it is at least a possible theory that the Epodes may be the contemporary poems, and the Ode a later production constructed for its present place. As the climax of the first book, it fixes deep the terminus of the Civil Wars (Verrall, *Studies*, p. 93).¹

¹ For comment on odes not included in this introductory review, the reader is referred to the notes. I hold that the Murena story is

76. Ode II. 1. The intention of I. 37 as a chronological landmark cannot be missed on reviewing the opening of the second book. The time is come when an author may write the whole history of the Civil Wars. "Could there be a better way of denoting, if such was the poet's intention, that the division between these books is a historical symbol, and stands for the great landmark of all recollections, the boundary between the Wars and the Peace? But further, this limit is marked by another noticeable change. The earliest public badge of the new monarchy was the title of Augustus, assumed at the beginning of the year 27. . . . This title does not occur in the First Book of the Odes, though several poems are occupied with the praises and fortunes of *Cæsar*. It is introduced for the first time, and with emphasis, in the Second Book (II. 9). . . . The formal conjunction here of the name and title is unique; afterwards either is used—the name generally, the title twice in the specially Imperial Odes, III. 1-6." (Verrall.) After Actium, Augustus was in Asia, and on his return he celebrated his triumphs. This was in B.C. 29; the title of Augustus was not conferred formally till the end of 28, but both the triumph and the title seem to be alluded to in II. 9.

77. Ode III. 8 is the next "dated" ode which we can claim to place. The Emperor in 27-25 was engaged personally in correcting, or "taming," the somewhat incorrigible Cantabrians in Spain, and it is his return from there to Rome—a journey delayed through ill-health—that is the subject probably of III. 14. There had also been war with the Dacian tribes on the left bank of the lower Danube in 27, against whom M. Crassus was sent by Augustus as his legate. The Roman Army was victorious, but without lasting effect, as the Dacians continued afterwards to harass the province of Moesia. Ode III. 8 alludes to both these campaigns. The Cantabrian was an old enemy. In II. 11 he is not yet taught to bear our yoke, in II. 11 he is plotting, in III. 8 he is tamed. He rebelled again however, and was not finally subjugated until Agrippa was sent against him in 20-19, but the course of the books seems to indicate that III. 8 has reference to the victory of Augustus in B.C. 25.

78. The other notes of date throughout the Third Book are less explicit. The references to the East can be shown to be not inconsistent with the general chronological arrangement of the work, though they do not help us much in determining specific points. The six "Imperial" Odes at the opening of the Third

unfolded side by side with events of larger historical importance. It is begun in the prologue, the group 8-11 is concerned with it; *inter alia*, it reappears in 18, 20, 27, 28, 36, etc.; the second book is almost exclusively occupied with it; in 2 and 10 Murena is expressly referred to, in others he is variously addressed. The death of Varro (Postumus), and the succession of Murena to his estate, are commemorated in II. 14 and 15; 18 is concerned with the use to which his wealth was put; thence we pass to the third book, and the end of his career (see *infra*).

Book are not precisely dated, as we use the term, though they are full of allusions to contemporary events, on which point we shall have something to say presently. Neither is Ode 24 so dated, but that it is a picture of a phase of affairs in Rome after B.C. 23, lines 25 and the following indicate.¹ If the invocation of the man who desired the proud title of Father of Cities to quell disorder, and not to shrink from harsh measures for securing the common safety, and the rest of the Ode, stood alone, they would tell us little, but considering their environment they tell us much.

79. If there were serious disturbances in Rome after B.C. 23-22, and if the Odes deal with current events, and display a system of historical chronology, and if the collection was published at no very great interval after B.C. 22, then III. 24 justifies our inferences, for it is in the position we should expect, and is couched in terms which lie well in the mouth of a man who was alive to the Emperor's danger from assassins, and who dreaded the recurrence of Civil War, and believed that the absolute rule of Augustus was the State's only safeguard against it. The other allusions tending to confirm the scheme of chronology here maintained are numerous, but only the most striking can be mentioned—as has already been said, there is no real necessity in the non-historical pieces for observing chronological order at all. It may be disregarded for the sake of artistic effect, or other consideration.

80. The six Imperial Odes, which form the apex of Horace's structure (III. 1-6) have been the subject of an immense amount of criticism and commentary. They present a unique feature in the work in their unusual length, their serious cast of thought so long sustained, and in the fact that all are in the same metre. The solemn roll of the alcaic stanza is heard eighty-four times in succession, but in groups that show signs of careful adjustment of the balance.

In these Odes Horace has risen to a height he nowhere else attains. They contain the essence of the Three Books, and they exemplify the style which he has deliberately selected for the conveyance of his message to the world.

81. That style like his metres had been known to the Greeks before him : it is known to ourselves now, and valued as much by the modern as by the ancient world. Its note is irony, the use of language in which the "significance is larger than the words." What the French call the *double entendre*, though that phrase has for us a suggestion of vulgarity, is akin to it. Horace has examples of the *double entendre*, a habit of expression which depends for its effect entirely on the percep-

¹ Professor Sellar's vacillation here shows up the weakness of the B.C. 23 position. On p. 32 (Horace, 2nd ed.) he declares in favour of publication in 23; on p. 147—after reading Verrall—he discovers a "bias of probability" in favour of 22: that if 22 be right, the "Marcellus" argument, that sheet-anchor of 23, is swept away, he omits to point out.

tion of the duplicity. The hearer of a two-edged statement, whose penetration does not reach beyond the first and obvious application, is at a loss to understand the sensation it creates. Viewed from one aspect only, speech of this kind is generally platitudeous, and Horace has been in the past pronounced "trite," and "cold," and his thought "commonplace" and "obvious." Some readers—even occasionally those whose linguistic scholarship is highest—maintain that his words are savourless. His poems interest them as verbal mosaics, with a beauty of finish that no others in their own language can match, but from which depth or sincerity of feeling is absent. The question is whether the poet or the critic is responsible for this. In the appreciation of poetry the reader has to meet the author half way. Consider what it is that produces sententiousness and platitude. Is it not precisely those qualities which were conspicuous by absence from Horace's mind:—poverty of imagination and language, lack of power to form independent opinions, want of wit and humour, dullness, laziness? Horace was an example to the contrary in respect of all these things. Even when he imitated he followed, so far as we can judge, the course pursued by other great lights, and impressed the products with an originality of his own; his imagination was powerful and strong, and not less so because it was that of a sane man, noticeable for the even balance of his mind; of his own language he was master, with a superlative gift for expression and with a special faculty of elevating homely words to the higher uses of the poet (see Ep. ad Pisones, "It is well"—he says in effect—"if by a new combination you give freshness to a trite phrase.") Mr Wickham deserves the thanks of Horatian readers for the examples noted by him of this achievement in the poet's lyrics). No man whose thought was not powerful could ever have acquired the clarity of Horace's style; confused language results from confused thought, and though Horace is sometimes dark, he is never confused. He will not be accused by anyone of a lack of either wit or humour, or of dullness, or of laziness, considering his care in conforming to prosodic rules which were held in almost sacred regard. Horace had a meaning and he has conveyed it, but often in a style that conceals the pregnancy of his words:—for the supreme example, *cf. III. 4, passim.*

82. The reason therefore why Horace sometimes appears "cold" in his manner, and "trite" in his thought, which is very much the same thing as saying that he is sententious and prone to platitude, is because the full content of his words is not measured. Sometimes of course it is irrecoverable, but our lack of information should not be counted as blame to the poet. That is precisely the fault of what Haupt calls the "logical," as opposed to the "psychological," consideration of an author (see § 4).

In respect of those Odes that receive censure for their want of coherence, their digressions and their excrescences, I believe that

the fault lies in semblance rather than reality. To a modern reader it seems that connection is wanting : it was not so to more ancient readers. How many of those who speak of Horace's "curiosa felicitas" remember that the author of that phrase employed it while praising him as a writer against whom these particular charges could not be brought ? If our association of ideas was the same with that of the poet and his circle, and our grasp of his meaning complete, the reasons for his sudden transitions of thought would doubtless be clear enough. See on this, Stallbaum (Hor. Ed. Ster. p. L.) : he, after curtly dismissing an absurd critic who pronounced Horace's lyrics to be the forgery of some utterly *stupid* monk of the darkest age, mentions several *viri docti*, who accuse the poet of this vice of inconsequence : he also quotes a confession of Markland—remarkable for its penetration as well as its candour—that scarcely one of Horace's Odes was intelligible to him, and he notices the criticisms of the slashing Peerlkamp, who wished to expunge as spurious one-fifth part of the Odes on account of "awkward repetitions," "faulty connections," "extreme obscurity," and faults of similar kinds. Stallbaum replies that adherence to rules proper for strict dialectic is not to be asked from a poet. But though this is a fair retort, it is not a complete answer. It leaves the difficulties largely untouched. Consider, for instance, Od. III. 17 ; Peerlkamp says at once, "spurious" : Stallbaum does not help us ; but nevertheless this poem bears the unmistakable stamp of Horatian style, and may now at least be read—even though the interpretation be not accepted—as the very reverse of an ineptitude. The set of Odes now under consideration affords other examples. History, as Verrall shows, supplies the reason for the sudden leap from the glory of Augustus to the shame of the soldier of Crassus (III. 5), and other striking instances will be noticed presently.¹

83. These six Odes then, whose form and place proclaim their importance to the scheme of the work, require all our attention. Dr Verrall notes that they are not precisely dated, and this is true, but there is an allusion in one of them (III. 4, 37) to the settlement by Cæsar of his tired cohorts in towns, followed by a touch which makes its reference to the close of B.C. 23 and the following events practically certain. "In 25" (says Dr Verrall)

¹ If it be objected that the theory of the Odes here advocated presses too much work into the years immediately succeeding B.C. 23, and leaves those preceding them too barren, I reply, that it demands no impossibility, and that the difficulty is slight in comparison with its alternatives. The clues supplied by Verrall and—correctly or incorrectly—developed here, enable us to trace allusions, to mark points of connection, and to interpret the major part of the work on such a principle of unity as the author's words require. How far with truth, is a question determinable, to some extent at least, by the effect produced. If unintelligibility, and the grounds for the critical censure mentioned above, are thereby removed, and mere metrical ingenuity is visibly transformed into genuine poetic achievement, the strong presumption is against such a result being accidental.

"Cæsar was dangerously ill at Tarraco : during his illness his lieutenants finished (for this time) the Cantabrian war, and subdued the Salassi of the Graian Alps : both conquests were followed by the foundation of colonies for the veterans, Augusta Prætorianorum and Augusta Emerita, the name of the Spanish foundation indicating . . . the feeling of the Emperor that his *military* career was at an end. Under the care of his physician, Antonius Musa, he recovered and returned to Rome in 24. Early in 23 he had a more severe illness and made preparations for death. Musa however was again successful. . . . In the autumn of the same year Marcellus . . . died and the conspiracy of Cæpio and Murena followed within a few months. It would be impossible to put a 'learned' allusion to these events in the style which the Roman poets borrowed from Alexandria . . . more neatly than Horace has done it. The Muses were the patrons of the healing art as well as of all the arts, and especially favourable it might be supposed to their namesake—if indeed his remarkable name was not rather due to his skill. In a single stanza Horace combines with it the foundation of the two cities Augusta Prætorianorum (cohortes) and Augusta Emerita (Cæsarem altum finire quærentem labores) and finally the 'Pierian cave' with its memories of the Thessalian Chiron, teacher of Æsculapius and the mythical beginnings of medicine. The Muses saved the life of Horace and the life of Augustus ; 'Ye give the (physician's) soothing counsel, and rejoice in the gift. (But there were those who hated the felicissimus status—see § 50—Woe to those who rejoiced not !) We know how Jove's thunderbolt destroyed the unduteous Titans' and so we pass to the conspirators."

84. In this way the difficult transition of thought in this Ode, which has caused so much perplexity to critics, is explained. The key is found in the events of 25-22. The gratitude of Horace to the Muses for their guardianship connects itself with the overthrow of the Titans without any appearance of irrelevance if we admit that this is the point of the poem, and are not led astray by harking back to the defunct Antonius. This Ode therefore, the central one of the collection, its importance marked by the dedication to the Queen of the Muses, has for its themes the poet, and his heavenly commission and the frustrated attempt in B.C. 22 to subvert the monarchy.

85. Remembering Mæcenas' relations with Horace, Augustus, and Murena, the bearing of the others becomes evident. They begin (III. 1) with an intimation that the world contains a class of people with whom the poet wishes to have naught to do. Only those who will take his words in seemly manner are the subject of his address (*favete linguis*). He does not speak for the "carping" or the "malignant" crowd—them he repulses or baffles—but he speaks to the ἔμφρονες, "the sensible," and proclaims himself the teacher of the rising generation. He had assumed this position as a mission from heaven long before Augustus

ratified his claim by choosing him as his laureate for the Secular games (I. 2 : III. 1) and the precepts he wishes to inculcate are here discernible. The example of Murena furnishes him with one text which appears in the first Ode of the series. These references to riches which bring no happiness are no sententious generalities. We have mentioned that the "Tu" of II. 18 is in all probability Murena : the allusion to the new moon, coupled with the same thing in III. 19, the mention of Attalus, which is traced by Dr Verrall to the connection between Murena and the Varro whose name he bore, and whose "unknown heir" he probably was, all point to this : and one of the subjects of expostulation with this "Tu" is the grasping spirit he shows in adding to his landed estate at the expense of the sea. It is not by accident that the "lord" with whom mount fears and threats, who is interested in a contract to build a sea wall which shall increase his possessions, is brought so prominently on the scene in III. 1, 33-40, and neither is it by accident that his rise suggests the thought that black care departs not from the armoured ships and sits behind the *knight*. Reference to Maecenas' status as a knight is frequent in the Odes (we know that his choice to remain one was a subject of surprise to his contemporaries) and therefore, in the circumstances, there is no undue strain in assigning to the general words a particular application, rather, the association of ideas is inevitable. When we come to read Book IV. however, and find there that these "atram curae" reappear in an ode the point of which is the celebration of Maecenas' birthday, it is difficult to entertain further doubts, especially since the tenor of the words supports another inference already drawn from II. 13, viz. that one of the poet's objects in writing was to alleviate by the power of song his sorely stricken friend. As for the reference to Murena, it may be fairly placed beyond doubt, and the proof comes from no other than M. Terentius Varro himself. This evidence was only discovered after much work had been done in the present research, and the passage I am about to cite, in my case, has the effect of a discovery that looks like confirming what had previously been suspected. The suspicion was that the ninth stanza in which a "lord with dry land not content" is mentioned, was an express allusion to Murena, and connected with him through II. 18, 20. The work that this lord is engaged in, by means of a contractor and "hands," is making a marine fish pond—not to our minds a discreditable operation, but if we examine the *De Re Rustica* (Bk. III. 3) we shall see how it was regarded by the old-fashioned Roman. The chapter begins on the subject of warrens or hare preserves (*leporaria*), "Of old," says Varro, "nothing but hares were preserved in them, now they contain wild boars and wild goats kept for sport": then he turns to fish ponds, and remarks that whereas once these were exclusively of fresh water for keeping coarse fish, now the epicure would as soon have a preserve of frogs, and will not allow such fish to

be worthy of the name, and he continues, "Thus our age, in the same luxurious way in which it has enlarged warrens, has extended fish ponds to the sea, and has reinclosed multitudes of fish from the deep. Have not Sergius Orata and Licinius Murena been sued for this very thing? And who from their notoriety has not heard of the fishponds of Philippus, Hortensius, and the Luculli?" Varro wrote this work in B.C. 36, for the guidance of Fundania his wife, whom he expected to predecease (II. 14, 21). The suing of this Licinius Murena had therefore been before that. If he is Mæcenas' brother-in-law, and the Murena of the Odes, who in 37 was owner of a house at Formiæ (Sat. I. 5, 38), the incident may have occurred before the adversity fell upon him in which Proculeius came to his aid (II. 2): if the reference is to some other member of the family (perhaps his father) we know that this branch of the Licinian gens was fond of following in the footsteps of its ancestors, especially in those things for which it was censured by others: e.g. Cicero's client had been reproached for his fondness for dancing, and Horace takes the trouble to insert in II. 12, 17 an adroit justification for the indulgence of Mæcenas' wife in the same exercise. But most probably Varro is alluding to the man with whom we are concerned, and the fact would in no way oppose, but would strongly confirm the theory of the Odes as a monumentum "exacted" from the elements which the poet found at hand. On this point at least, the extension of luxuries, Horace, as the bard of the Three Books, was as conservative as the author of the *De Re Rustica*, and when we find him, so deeply concerned as he is with the career of a Licinius Murena, censuring a particular manifestation of the luxurious spirit which has been explicitly connected with a man of the same name by Varro, we are justified in adding this fact to the mass of evidence intrinsic and extrinsic for the identification of the person referred to in this particular place. And of course, if we are right in supposing that Licinius Murena is contemplated in III. 1, it carries us further and adds probability to our view of the consequences—in the domain of interpretation—that necessarily follow. It will, for instance, fortify us in the opinion that the person who is mentioned as "grief-stricken" in stanza 11, whom Phrygian stone and Achæmenian attar cannot comfort, but whose "black care" (IV. 11, 35) song may alleviate is, as we had conceived from II. 12 and 13, no other than Mæcenas. It takes us in fact from the region of generalities into that of the particular, in our consideration of the poetic intent of this great group of Odes.

86. The second of the series begins with a note often struck in Horace (I. 8, etc.) regarding the education of young men—through severe discipline let them prepare for war with Rome's alien foes. This is the force of the allusion to the Parthians, and the beautiful line "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori," implies a contrast between death in civil and foreign war—a point rarely in the

minds of those who quote it. Then "virtue," with a probable reference to the Emperor, is presented in two aspects, and immediately we come "with great abruptness," as Verrall says, upon the remark that "faithful silence" is sure of its reward, and in connection with which are mentioned the mysteries of Ceres, to the Romans (according to Verrall) a natural symbol of the *Confarreatio* (*i.e.* Marriage), but said by Wickham to be significant of secrets generally, and later on we have the statement that Jupiter when slighted often confounds the innocent with the guilty, but that it is rare to find retribution, with lame foot, giving up pursuit of an offender. In view of what has been related concerning the events surrounding the detection of Murena's plot, and the parts played by Mæcenas, and his wife to whom he divulged the secret, with their consequences, it becomes extremely probable that these words bear on this subject. If they do not the coincidence is remarkable, and not the less because the allusion is both obvious and obscure. Dr Verrall thinks this obscurity intentional, and that the betrayal of the *Cereris sacrum* points rather to the offence of the wife than the offence of the husband, and also that the complaint that "Jupiter" often confounds the innocent and the guilty could not do anything but good, while the generality and loose construction of the poem have the result most desirable in a case of extreme delicacy of saving the writer from responsibility for any meaning in particular.

87. The last stanza probably relates to the after history of the plot. Upon denunciation the alleged conspirators quailed, and fled, not daring to stand their trial. Punishment however pursued them—or some of them—and the wealthy lord running from his "bought up" glades, and the houses he had built while forgetting his tomb, was captured and executed.

88. The third Ode opens with the well-known lines on the upright man holding with tenacity to his purpose. It is morally certain that they reflect Horace's thoughts on some specific event, though what that was is undefined. The expression "civium ardor prava iubentium" indicates influence brought to bear on those invested with executive powers, and is probably a generalisation from some instance of this kind of pressure within Horace's own purview. If in existence before the year 22, they might well occur to the mind of Augustus when the citizens were pressing upon his acceptance one extraordinary office after another (see Pelham, *supra* § 45, Dio, LIV. 1, § 38) all of which he refused: and it may be remarked that after Mæcenas ceased to be "incolumis" (§§ 32-34), and when the countenance of the master under whom he served no longer smiled on him, the next few lines would again furnish very significant reading for him. The explanation of this may of course be that elasticity is the note of a good aphorism, but it has been pointed out already (§§ 31, 51, 70) that a greater number of Horace's expressions exhibit a power

to stretch beyond the year B.C. 23 than is consistent with a theory of mere coincidence.

89. After these words we find Augustus imagined in the calm hierarchy of the gods, and this is followed by the queen of heaven's description of the terms on which a new "Ilion" may exist. Modern critics (Plüss, Sellar, Page) reject the theory that Horace was seriously warning the Romans against resettlement in the Troad, and the law of destiny laid down by Juno for Quirites, not to try to rebuild the "Troy" their fathers knew, is held to indicate that there have been two Troys both of which have fallen : the Troy from which Æneas came and the Troy of republican Rome for which has been substituted an Empire ruled by a god. It is the second Troy that is not to be rebuilt. The old order has changed ; live in the new and try not vainly to restore the old. Fanatic folly of that kind, leading to internal strife, will bring the race to destruction at the hands of foreign foes. (*Cf. I. 4.*)

90. We have already considered the next Ode (§§ 83, 84) and only wish to note that the interpretation of the Gigantomachia is helped by the last poem in which Augustus' apotheosis is spoken of as assured, whether in the present or the future—for the tense of the verb is disputed.

91. Ode III. 5. Augustus' deity will be perceived not only by his own generation but by futurity : the poem is a lesson on the traditional ethics of war which Rome has to a large extent lost, but which she must restore and foster. The following Ode has also a preceptual aim, but its subject is the revival of the religious spirit of their fathers and the morality of ancient life. (*Cf. end of § 18.*)

92. This concludes the great series of odes connected by their uniformity of metre. Their solemn tone is relieved by the graceful verses to Asterie, and an invitation to Mæcenas to relinquish temporarily his cares of office and celebrate an anniversary with a cheerful and quiet dinner. Then this is followed by the lovers' (or conjugal) dispute and reconciliation, that by a picture of life of which there is no sign that Horace approves, and concerning a class of persons against whom he has recently declaimed, viz. those who disregard the sanctity of the marriage bond. Ode III. 10 might be entitled "A Wife's Temptation," and is an illustration of that life which Horace has so earnestly exhorted Rome to abandon in III. 6. After this comes the address to Lyde which contains the story of the Danaid maid who alone recognised her duty as a wife and refused to slay her husband even at her father's bidding, and next, the short poem to Neobule, which deals with the love of a wayward girl.

93. With the exception of the address to Mæcenas, which as we have seen before marks a date, all these odes are concerned with what in modern times would be called the "sex" question, chiefly from the point of the woman's duty towards the man.

The verses to Asterie, considered apart from environment, have a perfect charm from which nothing is wanting, but, complete as they are, they really carry on the thought of the ode before them, and thus seem to link themselves to the scheme of the whole work. In III. 6 we have before us a contemptible husband and a vile wife whose immoralities portend the ruin of society. The lines to Asterie are no less didactic. The maid is exhorted to be faithful to her lover whose troth is being kept, with a suggestion that the warning is necessary, although she is now weeping at his absence. The young Asterie must take heed of the dangers that beset her, and be true to the love that inspires her. Wifely duty seems to be the burden of this group of songs, and the elevation of family life to the ideal of purity which it was one of Augustus' chief desires to realise. They might be called the Social Odes.

94. The next Ode, III. 14, which again marks a date, does not break the train of thought. It is instructive, because it throws into relief the difference between the modern and the ancient view of the sex question. It has been read as though in a space of twenty-eight lines Horace was doubling the parts of a moralist and a rake. But a verdict of this kind is unjust. To explain why at full length would require an essay on ancient views of morals from this side. It should be remembered that the crime in Roman eyes was a breach of the marriage bond—"mœchus" was the worst term of reproach for a man—but the institution of the "Pierian dames," to which class no doubt the songstress Neæra belonged, was recognised, and association with them was sharply distinguished from conduct which defiled the marriage couch. Views on the point have altered, but that is no reason for expecting a man to be in advance of his age. Besides this, the true lesson from Horace's Ode is that growing age deprives one of the tastes and attractions of youth. He thinks he ought to rejoice with the rest and determines to have Neæra in to sing for him, and then in effect ends by declaring that he does not care whether she comes or not, though in his young days, in the year of Plancus, and of Philippi,—the subtle suggestion of more than one kind of change in himself is thoroughly Horatian—it would have been different.¹

95. Ode III. 15 is a reproof again to a class of wife whom Augustus—and Horace as the poet of the Three Books—wished to improve out of existence, and after administering this, he makes the love of riches the ostensible subject of a very suggestive poem to Mæcenas (III. 16, notes). Murena's banquet follows in

¹ The words "Consule Planco" may be used in proof of the assertion about Horace's style made in § 81, and elsewhere. They are so well adapted for general use that they have become proverbial, with the mere sense of "in former times," but to Augustus and Mæcenas and to Horace himself and to those of his day "Consule Planco" would have a far deeper significance, especially when read with the context; cf. III. 28, 8.

III. 19 (see § 53 and notes to the Ode) and to that succeeds a most interesting poem, specially worthy of study because it seems to indicate the real cause of offence which Lucius Murena had given to Augustus, and the true reason for his condemnation. The meaning of the ode has escaped Dr Verrall's acuteness, which has so far been our chief guide in interpretation, but though he abandons this poem as one of which the key is lost, he has really supplied us as it were with the wax impression of one that will unlock its secret. His careful observation has caused him to notice that in the Odes which concern Murena, the allusions are not to the Titans who warred against the gods, but to characters of mythology who were punished for *insolence* towards them, and in commenting on III. 4 vv. 69-80 he points out that the two last stanzas "introduce rather abruptly examples of the dangers of *lust*," which he regards as possible allusions to supposed projects with respect to Julia who became disposable by the death of Marcellus. Now, through the mythology of its names, an examination of III. 20 fortifies this theory in a striking way, and serves to explain parts of the preceding Ode. We know from Tacitus (Ann. 4, 39, 40) that Augustus seriously thought of giving her to Murena's brother, Proculeius, but for reasons of State conferred her hand on Agrippa in B.C. 21. Proculeius was a man who lived in retirement, his brother to judge by all we can glean, one who refused to go into the shade (II. 2, notes) a man of overweening presumption, and one who would acknowledge no superior (III. 12, notes). It is not impossible therefore that what Augustus thought of for Proculeius, Murena desired for himself, and that in his presumptuous determination to compass his object at all costs lay his unforgivable sin, and that this is signified in III. 20. That Ode—to state results first—I understand to say this:—"Do you not see, Murena, you who imagine that you are a descendant of Æacus (Pyrrhus) the risk you run in touching the whelps of a savage lioness? You will soon lose your present boldness and flee, when through obstructing bands of young men she will go in search of her illustrious ruler, who is new to his throne (Nearchus: Augustus)—an important conflict, truly, to whomsoever the spoil may fall! In the meantime, while you sharpen arrows and she whets formidable teeth, a certain beautiful youth (Tiberius) is standing by, coolly taking his ease, and him you will find to be the real decider of the fight."¹ (Cf. notes to III. 20.)

96. In support of this interpretation I must ask the reader's attention to the nineteenth chapter of Suetonius' Life of Augustus of which I append a literal translation.

"After this he (sc. Augustus) put down revolts and the beginnings of revolutions, and several conspiracies discovered through information before they matured (invalescerent) some at one time, some at another :—of Lepidus the younger, next of Varro Murena and Fannius Cæpio, soon afterwards of Marcus Egnatius, then of

Plautus Rufus and of Lucius Paulus, his own granddaughter's husband ; and besides these, of Lucius Audacius (or Audasius) a man accused of forgery, and not sound in age or body (*neque æstate neque corpore integri*) in like manner of Asinius Epicardus (or Epidacus, Epicadius, etc.) a half-breed of the Parthian race (so the MSS.) lastly of Telephus, a woman's slave, a nomenclator, for not even from the lowest rank of men did he lack conspiracy and danger. Audacius and Epicardus had designed to spirit away his daughter Julia and Agrippa his grandson (*nepotem*) to the armies, from the islands in which they were confined : Telephus, as if supreme power was owed to him by Fate, to attack both Augustus himself and the Senate. Once even a minion (*Lixa* : lit. an army scullion or sutler, then a follower in a bad sense, one of the 'black guards' in fact) having eluded the janitors, was caught near his bed-chamber at night with a hunting knife in his girdle : whether he was out of his mind or feigned madness is uncertain, for nothing could be extracted by the torture."

97. The first thing to notice is that the list of conspiracies is in two parts : it opens with an enumeration in correct chronological order of five historic plots, the dates and particulars of which are recorded with more or less detail by other writers. Then we come on a very extraordinary series, mentioned by no one else, and introduced by words which as to time are vague.¹

If, however, Suetonius really wrote " *nepotem ex insulis quibus continebantur*," he must have thought that at least one of the plots occurred after the banishment of Agrippa Postumus to Planasia (an island off Corsica) *circa A.D. 6*.

Now the very manner in which Suetonius mentions this second string of conspiracies, excites a suspicion that he was himself rather hazy about them. As set forth first, he would seem to be recording three separate projects, first of Lucius Audacius, then of Asinius Epicardus, then of Telephus : but immediately afterwards he returns to Audacius and Epicardus and speaks in a way that is passive to the inference that they were fellow-conspirators with a conjoint design of rescuing Julia and Agrippa Postumus. The language used, however, gives no positive assurance of this : their plots may have been distinct. If we assume that they were not, we face an inaccuracy at once : Julia and her son were never simultaneously confined *in islands*. The former spent five years (B.C. 2—A.D. 3) at Pandateria (near the Campanian coast) and was then removed to Rhegium on the mainland. Agrippa Postumus was not banished until after A.D. 6 to Planasia, where he remained till his murder in A.D. 14. In association with this second reference to Audacius and Epicardus, Suetonius re-introduces Telephus, with the simple but startling statement that

¹ Editors take the words " *ad extremum*" before the mention of Telephus, to refer to the order of narration : see reference to Cinna's plot *infra*.

his design was to attack Augustus himself and the Senate—a considerable undertaking for one man, but "Telephus" apparently was a man obsessed by some strange idea of destiny, *une tête montée* in fact,—*tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem.* (I. 18, 15.)

Then in conclusion we have the story of the "lixa," armed with a hunting knife, who like the gold mentioned by Horace, had a fancy for going through the midst of sentries for nefarious purposes.

On any view, this is an extraordinary piece of writing, and if it really gives us true information of three or four different conspiracies with which Augustus had to cope, it is surprising that such a number of them could have occurred without eliciting remark from other writers, since the topics are precisely of the kind that "unscientific" historians love most. In this place then Suetonius cannot be commended for lucidity. He is generally clear enough : can any reason be suggested for the exception ? The first is interpolation ; but no one to my knowledge has ever seen reason to regard the latter half of this chapter as spurious, and it is obvious that any such theory must create greater difficulties than it removes. The second is corruption ; it is certain that some has crept in, but when we examine the framework of the chapter we see that this consideration will not dispose of the matter. We must look further ; Suetonius himself does not appear to have understood the authority from which he derived the information, but though so confused in his account of these plots, his belief in them is manifest. His exceptionally favourable position with regard to documents in the imperial archives is well known. He was secretary and *Magister epistolarum* to Hadrian (117-138), and thus had the opportunity of seeing many important documents relating to the Emperors. His biographies prove that he had access to many of Augustus' papers, and to other documents of that time (see Life of Horace, *infra*). What then is more reasonable than the inference that the information in the latter part of the chapter under review is derived from some such source ? In Seneca's *De Clementia* (I. 9), Livia, wife of Augustus, is represented as recounting a list of the plotters against her husband : after giving several she breaks off, saying that there were others, but for shame at their "audacity" she cannot bring herself to mention their names. Some of these thus omitted by Livia we know to have been concerned with Julia, and we perceive that those mentioned were all men whose treasons (at least officially) were of a purely political character. Now considering that Suetonius did not write without authority, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he may have found a record of the doings of some of these unmentionable plotters, with their identity disguised under pseudonyms, and that what he gives us is his reading of it. However this may be, the value to us of Suetonius' statements is that they open a possibility for running

down the quarry that we have been following in our examination of the Three Books, viz. the real cause of Lucius Licinius Varro Murena's execution—the real reason of the doubt of his guilt for the political offence for which he was tried—the real reason why Tiberius, a member of the imperial family, prosecuted and procured the conviction of a brother-in-law of the Emperor's most devoted servant and ardent political supporter. For consider the names and language, both of Suetonius and Horace, and the facts :—In Suetonius is a *Lucius Audacius* plotting to snatch away *Julia*. In Horace (III. 19) is a *Lucius* who has proved his audacity on *Augustus* himself (§ 38) found indulging at a memorable banquet in some “madness” which one “*Lycus*” and a lady at his side who is thought by the revellers to be no fit mate for him, is concerned to hear. In the following poem a scion (by his name) of the stock of *Æacus*—of which mention is made in III. 19 by one “*Telephus*,” who is not only acting as a sort of literary “nomenclator” but is also a “ladies' man”—is described as a ravisher of the whelps of a lioness with whom he is about to engage in a great battle which shall somehow involve the loss and disappearance of a *Nearchus* (New-ruler) and in which he will be discomfited despite his supporters, and rendered “unaudacious,” “inaudax” (the unique negative form of course indicating his previous audacity) while in some strange way a long-haired youth of conspicuous beauty, who at the time of speaking is taking his ease, is to be the real decider of the conflict. If in the circumstances the whelps of the lioness are not the line of *Iulus*; *Nearchus*, *Augustus*; and *Tiberius* the beautiful stripling; the accidental creation of such a parallel is astounding. (*Cf.* the notes to III. 19 and 20.)

98. From evidence totally unconnected with Suetonius, Dr Verrall has inferred that Murena's proceedings in B.C. 22, which culminated in his execution as a public traitor and an intending assassin of *Augustus*, may have been connected with some project about the disposal of *Julia's* hand in marriage. On consulting history we have also seen that *Augustus* had about this time a plan of marrying her to *Gaius Proculeius Varro Murena*, the brother of *Lucius*, and that this he abandoned on the grounds stated by *Tiberius* himself (*Tac. Ann. 4, 39, 40*) that it would raise a private citizen to an elevation too great for him, and so gave her to *Agrippa*—a fine soldier and sailor, but otherwise something of a “boor,” a *Bœotian*, a “*Lycus*” in fact, and no fit mate (in the opinion of some presumptuous arrogance) for one of the wittiest and most attractive women of her time. Before this marriage comes off, we find *Lucius Murena* incurring the implacable resentment of the Emperor, and being prosecuted by *Tiberius* on a charge of complicity in *Cæpion's* plot, and executed. From this imbroglio come disastrous consequences for *Mæcenas*, the addressee of these lyrics into which may be read an allegorical presentment of the whole story, and in which we find one “*Tele-*

thus¹² figuring largely, a man with the same designation as the overweening individual in Suetonius, who was ready for Augustus and the whole Senate. Though there is much room for different explanations here on points of detail, the correspondences between Horace's story, told in terms of poetry, and the biographer's, told in such a way as to suggest that he knew little about the persons he was mentioning, can escape no one, and the sole obstacle to connection is the vague reference to the date involved by the mention of an island in regard to Julia, and the plot about Agrippa Postumus, for which apparently Asinius Epicardus was responsible. From the fact that when L. Audacius (with or without Epicardus) plotted to ravish Julia, she was in an island, it is clear that if the text be accurate, no such design could have been formed before B.C. 2. If therefore Suetonius believed this, the words "Agrippam nepotem ex insulis quibus continebantur" may be authentic. On the other hand, for "Agrippam nepotem" what Suetonius wrote may have been "Agrippæ nuptam" or "nupturam," to which the other words have been added as a gloss, after the right word had been read as *nepotem*. Or there is another alternative: as Epicardus, unlike L. Audacius and Telephus, does not seem to be traceable in Horace (considering the Parthian who fears an Italian dungeon, and chains, in II. 13, 18 he may nevertheless be there) his plot may have been a separate one, and really concerned with Agrippa Postumus. There is nothing in the language of Suetonius to prevent this construction, and his meaning would then be this:—L. Audacius plotted to carry off Julia, his daughter: Epicardus to carry off his grandson Agrippa to the army (one MS. has the singular, but the majority the plural as translated) and then again the words about the islands may be a gloss, or an alteration of "ex insula qua continebatur," "from the island where he (sc. Postumus) was confined."

99. However, I do not think the latter alternative at all probable, for on this question of a plot about Agrippa Postumus, another consideration arises extraneously. The historical facts, as generally accepted, are that the last person who formed a conspiracy of any sort in Augustus' reign was Gn. Cornelius Cinna. We have this information from Seneca, who gives his prænomen as Lucius (De Clem. I. 9), and from Dio (LIV. 14-22). The plot of Cinna, who was forgiven and raised to the consulship, occurred in A.D. 3, before Agrippa Postumus had assumed the toga, and at least three years before he was banished. If Suetonius is correctly transcribed, he is thus in conflict with both those writers: Seneca wrote about fifty years before Suetonius, Dio about a century after him. The error (if any) of Seneca therefore in saying that Cinna's plot was the last in the reign, might be explained by the consideration that Suetonius had some information that his predecessor knew not of, and a similar reason might also account for the omission of these particulars from the works

of Velleius and Tacitus. Dio must have read Suetonius, but the reason why he omits them it is futile to inquire : it may be that his history being cast in the form of a chronological record from year to year, he would not know where to place them (especially if Suetonius wrote "Agrippæ nuptam") but yet the fact that he follows Seneca as to Cinna's plot being the last in time, would seem to show that he at least did not regard what he found in Suetonius as contradicting that assertion. This therefore seems to me to form some argument—slight in itself—but accumulating force when everything else is taken into consideration, that there have been alterations in Suetonius' text later than Dio, making the plot of Epicardus appear to concern Agrippa Postumus. Suetonius' unluminous narrative inclines one to think that he is really dealing with a single conspiracy, though he may be taken to be enumerating more, and I believe that the words which connect any part of it with Agrippa Postumus are either the result of error, or are not authentic. One is not however forced to take one's stand on this since Epicardus' plot may be separated from its surroundings without violence to the construction, and "Andacius" be left with Julia, and "Telephus" with the Emperor and the Senate.

The appended story of the "lixa" does not seem to me opposed to this theory of unity. It reads as if Suetonius found it where he found the rest, and did not quite know where to place it relatively to the others. We may, I think, feel confident that the words "for not even from the lowest rank of men did he lack conspiracy and danger," give us the explanation formed in his own mind of the obscurity of the matters he was recording. For him "Telephus" could certainly be no Roman—as a real name it was only possible for a slave : Epicardus he found described as a Parthian half-breed, and then on the scene comes this "lixa" who looks very like the agent of someone else. Accordingly he tells the story in such a way as to leave it doubtful whether he is talking of several matters or not : but probably the reader of Horace who comes to the conclusion that the Three Books were not published in B.C. 23, and who examines them carefully in the light of Murena's and Mæcenas' history, will have acquired insight enough to see that Suetonius' record of Lucius "Andacius" and "Telephus" with their designs on Julia, Augustus and the Senate, may contain useful material—despite the confusion about "Agrippam nepotem" for recovering the tragic story that underlies the Odes.

100. On a further consideration of details we find that L. Audacius is described by Suetonius as "neque ætate neque corpore integri," which would imply that he was advanced in years and either diseased or deformed. On this point there may be one hint in II. 2, 13, but in addition Suetonius, in another place (*De Grammat*, 9), has preserved for us the explicit information that a Varro Murena who was prominent in Augustus' reign, and who

was an advocate (§ 38), was a “gibber,” that is, a hunchback, a thing inconsistent with beauty but not with strength or force of character, and further, Seneca has preserved a bitter rhetorical complaint of Mæcenas that someone has “put the hunchback’s hump on to him” (see II. 2, 13, note), to which I can attach no meaning unless it be that Mæcenas was suffering for Murena’s sins.

Another matter is that he is stated by Suetonius to have been accused of forgery (*falsarum tabularum reus*). This crime consisted of any fraudulent alteration of documents such as records of debt, and especially of wills. Now if the “*Tu*” of II. 18 is Murena, we know that there was a surprise about his succession to an inheritance (“*ignotus heres Attali*,” unknown, unrecognised or unexpected, heir of an Attalus; cf. *infra*, § 101) and later we shall find it not at all improbable that L. Murena may have added forgery to his other crimes, and that in the fact that it was known to have been unjustly acquired may lie the true explanation of Horace’s stern tone of reproach on the subject of his wealth. But before proceeding further with this, we will conclude what is to be said about the Telephus of Suetonius. The description of him in the Delphine text is “*mulieris servi nomenclatoris*,” which I translate, “a woman’s slave, a nomenclator,” the latter word meaning a name-prompter. The readings however vary: one MS. has “*militis*” for “*mulieris*,” which I regard as a mere error. Others have “*mulieris servi cui nomen circulatoris*”; that the passage is corrupt is certain, but when we remember that Telephus, the only named person besides Murena at the banquet in III. 19, seems to be the man who is reciting the names of Greek kings, and the pedigree of the house of Æacus, ancestor of Achilles (cf. IV. 6), the rebellious spirit whose quarrel with the king of men caused epic woe, we see that the alterations have not been sufficient to destroy the traces of possible connection between the Telephus of Suetonius and him of Horace, and we ought to regard the chapter under review as a potential guide to the interpretation of the nineteenth and twentieth Odes of the Third Book. See *infra*, §§ 105, 116; etc.¹

¹ In compiling his Lives, Suetonius avowedly inserted both fact and fiction; that he disbelieved a story was to him no reason for omitting it, cf. Claud. 1, Galba 12. His concern was to avoid the charge of omitting anything. It is seldom that he himself appraises the credibility of his stories, but the reader can generally see which must rest on fact, and which are likely to be the offspring of scandalous imagination. His method accounts for his contradictions. These are numerous in respect of the character of Augustus, of whom however two things interesting to us are related which are probably true. The first is that he bore the death of relations more patiently than their disgrace (Aug. 65); the second, that deformed persons were held by him in especial abhorrence as being of evil omen (*ibid.* 83). The Emperor’s sensitiveness on the point of family honour explains much that we find concerning the Murena imbroglio in Horace and elsewhere.

101. Dr Verrall has shown that there is small room for doubt that the "Tu" of II. 18, the "heir" to Attalus, is Lucius Varro Murena, and if so it would not be surprising to hear that his brother Proculeius Varro Murena had a legacy by the same will. In fact it would be natural to find that their respective shares were approximately equal. What then? Simply that we do hear from an independent source of an inheritance which a Proculeius—a most uncommon name—shared with another man, but it happens to be in the proportion of one-twelfth to Proculeius and eleven-twelfths to his more fortunate co-legatee, who is styled "Gillo," which means a vessel for "tempering" or cooling wines in.

The classical reader will not need to be told that I am referring to the first Satire of Juvenal, to which I would invite his attention, for if it chance that through following out the investigation initiated by Dr Verrall, we have really got closer to the meaning of the Three Books, and to the way in which they were meant to be understood by the cognoscenti, it seems to me that the interpretation of that Satire may in some places be assisted, and that we may discover in it also a valuable commentary on the Odes of Horace.

"Am I to hear only and not write?" asks Juvenal, "the Theseid of Codrus (or Cordus), 'dramas with the scene laid at Rome' (togatas), and elegies, and shall the mighty Telephus occupy a whole day without reproach, or the voluminous Orestes?" Even among these titles of literary works current in the first century, there are names to arrest our attention, but we build nothing on that. Any doubt whether Juvenal had Horace's writings in his mind when he framed the list of examples of vice and folly which impelled him to satirise them (using the method and style of Lucilius, *i.e.* the hexameter, see vv. 19-20) is removed by himself in v. 51; "Am I not to take it that these themes are worthy of the lamp of Venusium?" Holding this in mind, and in the light of our investigations, we may attach a more definite meaning to several of Juvenal's allusions than was perhaps possible before, and may trace some of his illustrations to their source, and we shall find them, not in the *Saturæ* of Horace, but in the Three Books. "The same themes," says Juvenal, "may be looked for from the greatest poet and the least." Horace would of course be one of the former: after these, "unknown tragedies" (Mayor), the "Theseid," "Telephus" and the "Orestes," comes the preliminary announcement that the house of no man is better known to its owner than the "grove of Mars" and the "cave of Vulcan near to the Æolian rocks" are to Juvenal. "Lucus Martis" is reasonably taken to be a poetical expression for Rome (see Mayor), the city that sprang from his association with Rhea Sylva; but where was the cave of Vulcan, and how should Juvenal's acquaintance with it serve as an *apologia* for writing stinging satire? It was at Hieræ, one of the

Æolian islands near Sicily, of which Lipara was the chief, and among which was the volcano Stromboli, the Cyclops' workshop, which in order to forge the thunderbolts Vulcan makes to glow (Odes I. 4, I. 3, 40), and the mention of Lipara also recalls III. 12, for it was from thence that "Hebrus," the hunter and dashing hero generally, came to disturb the composure of Neobule, and to demonstrate the suitability of the adjective *Liparæus* to the Ionic, a minor metre. What Juvenal seems to mean is, "I know my Horace as a man knows his own house." If his understanding of the poet was so complete, let us see if he can help us who have not his advantage. After these words we find an allusion to ghosts suffering under the judgments of Æacus (II. 13, 22), and to Monychus, one of the centaurs (I. 18, 8, II. 12, 5, III. 4, 80, etc.), hurling trees, and to a furtive theft, with the statement that the plane-trees in Mæcenas' old garden on the Esquiline—then in the possession of Fronto—"shout" their witness to the meaning of it all. Then, as a further excuse for writing, Juvenal adds, "I also have given advice to a 'Sulla,' that if he would sleep soundly he must retire into private life."¹ We need say no more on this than that Sulla's chief work, so far as Rome itself was concerned, was the "constitution" he fashioned for it, and the reputation of Mæcenas, the man to whom Horace tendered similar advice (III. 10 and 29), rested mainly among the ancients on the part he took in framing the "constitution" established by Augustus. (Dio, LII. 14-40, § 17 and foll.) Among the examples given of persons open to censure we discover those who earn their bequests by night, in which the above-mentioned remark is made concerning "Gillo's" eleven-twelfths of the estate and Proculeius' beggarly one-twelfth.

In these lines occurs a phrase "in cælum quos evehit," directly imitated from the prologue to the Odes, and if we think for a moment on the strange circumstance that Proculeius' co-legatee should be described as "a wine-cooler" (Gillo), the lines from the Ode addressed to "Telephus" (III. 19) and commemorating Murena's banquet will recur to the mind, "Quis aquam temperet ignibus, Quo præbente domum etc. . . . taces." "Who is to mix the water with the fires of the wine, who finds the house, you say not"—the name required being, as we take it, L. Murena, brother of Proculeius, and host or governor of that feast.

Then with a glance at a contemporary case of flagrant spoliation and a miscarriage of justice, Juvenal asks the rhetorical question about the lamp of Venusium, as if to say, "Is there not here room for another Horace? Shall I stay my hand from

¹ The interpreter who assumes that Proculeius and Gillo must designate the persons who traffic with the rich harridan—and them only—will not have considered the question in all its bearings, and will be in danger of overlooking Juvenal's characteristic habit of placing old and contemporary allusions in juxtaposition.

wielding the lash, etc. ?" passing on to a further enumeration of malpractices that call for attack.

These considerations seem sufficient to prove the contention that the themes which Juvenal associates with the Horatian lamp are those which we believe to be the themes of the Three Books, but there is yet another passage recurring to the question of the forged will. (The reader will not have forgotten Lucius Audacius *falsarum tabularum reus*.) Lines 63-68 may be turned thus : " Does not one wish, even in the centre of the cross-roads, to fill large sized note-books when, on the necks of six slaves, in full view in his chair, is carried in close imitation of the recumbent Mæcenas, the sealer of a forged will who had made himself a man of wealth and splendour by a tablet or two and a moistened seal ? " What can be plainer than the association of these ideas in the light of what we find in Horace, Suetonius, and the facts we can collect from history ? We seem to have a glimpse into Juvenal's reading of Horace's work under the form of a plea for imitating him, and we find it supporting the position arrived at through an examination of Dr Verrall's main thesis that the " tragedy of the Three Books is the career of Murena and its effect on the fortunes of Mæcenas." The inquiry thus opened is much too large to be finished off-hand, and I cannot now discuss other possible references in Juvenal to the same theme, though I believe them to exist.

102. One exception, however, must be made : In Sat. III. vv. 203-211 we read :—*Lectus erat Codro Procula minor urceoli sex / ornamentum abaci : nec non et parvulus infra / cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron : / iamque vetus Græcos servabat cista libellos / et divina Opici rodebant carmina mures / Nil habuit Codrus : quis enim negat ? Et tamen illud / perdidit infelix totum nihil : ultimus autem / ærumnæ est cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem / nemo cibo nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit.*" Here the name " Codrus " reappears with an unexplainable phrase " Procula minor." What " Codrus " may imply is not easy of decision. In Horace (III: 19) the term is a name, a symbol. Here it clearly represents a man. The question is, are there any points of connection between the writings of the two poets ? No answer can be returned until we have arrived at the meaning of these lines, and that is a problem to which I would ask scholars of higher philological attainments than myself, and with access to better libraries than an Australian city affords, to direct their attention. The current interpretation takes Codrus merely as a pauper who if burnt out finds no helping hand, while the rich Asturicus, under similar calamity, gets abundant sympathy : but this is by no means self-evident, and it is a strange pauper whose house contains such articles of luxury as marble sideboards, a statue of Chiron, Greek vases, etc., even though they are his all. I think if all preconception were removed from the mind, and a close scrutiny of the language instituted, something

would come of it. The inquiry might well begin on the word "procula." It is generally taken to be a proper noun. Is this correct? In the dictionaries will be found the locution "procultiunt," a term of divining law, said to mean "they promise," or "they promulgate." Can "procula" (*cf. procul*) be a substantival form of this verb's root, or the relic of such a thing, referring to prophecy, destiny or the future (the thing afar) as declared by divination? For observe, we are in the thick of the paraphernalia and the language of sortilege, etc. Here is the abacus, the calculating board (*cf. the Numeros Babylonios* of I. 11), here is the cantharus (*cf. the same word in I. 20 and note on v. 2*), not only a Greek vase but also the sacred beetle, the distinguishing mark of Apis, deity of Egypt, the land of magic: Chiron, the Merlin of the ancients, uncle and tutor of Achilles, and in this category perhaps the *urceoli*, the little jugs, for holding lots, etc., had their appointed place. (The root of this word is said to be the same with that of *urna*, *cf. Sat. I. 9, 30: Od. II. 3, 25, III. 1, 16.*) *Divina carmina* are certainly applicable to Sibylline or oracular verses. It is not impossible, considering the "Augur" Murena of III. 19, the "house of the Argive Augur perished through greed," III. 16, 11, and Suetonius' "Telephus," possessed with an insane idea of what Fate "owed" him, that "Quantum distet ab Inacho Codrus" may yet receive some elucidation from this passage, for it may turn out that "procula minor" means "less than was prognosticated," and that "lectus" does not contemplate the sleeping couch of "Codrus," but that as *sortilegus* is the fortune-teller, so "lectus" (*noscatur a sociis*) has something to do with the process of divination also, and that "ornamentum" is the arrangement—"set out" is, I believe, the technical term—of the "board," with the abacus, the scarabæus, the Chiron, and the little urns, all in proper order. Point too would thus be given to the chest which seems to have held Greek (divining) books, and to the Oscan, the native Italian mice¹—who had no connection with Greek kings, but who used to gnaw the lying oracles like so much rubbish. Even if my suspicion about Procula is ill-founded, the connection of this passage with sorcery and magic when once pointed out cannot be neglected, and it seems to damage the traditional interpretations which fluctuate between Procula as the wife of "Codrus," or a dwarf of the period. It is rather too whimsical to imagine that this pauper, with his marble side-board, Chiron, etc., had a bed in which his wife was unable to keep her toes covered, but though I may be right in saying that the current interpretations are unconvincing, I freely admit that more explanation is wanted before this passage can be fixed as an allusion to Horace and L. Murena. Coupled with the language of the first Satire, however, there are grounds for suspecting that

¹ Mythological experts may be interested in these Opic or Oscan Mice: see "Apollo and the Mouse," in *Custom and Myth*, by Mr Andrew Lang.

it is, and that "Codrus" may be a name derived from the actors in that story.

103. Juvenal and Suetonius therefore seem to me to offer clues to the interpretation of Horace, the perception of whose methods may perhaps result in elucidating the meaning of other Latin poets. I conceive that this will be its effect on parts of Ovid¹ and Persius, and upon certain of the Catalecta ascribed to Vergil: see Appendices I. and II.; and perhaps on some of Martial's allusions.

If this be so, we may gradually be able to reconstruct the inner history of portions of Augustus' reign—more especially of the important years following B.C. 23. We may also be able to understand the Emperor's character better than before, and to get a clearer insight into his motives in his second attempt to restore the Republic (§ 44 and foll.), an attempt which he himself sanguinely regarded as the inauguration of a new peace, a *feli-cissimus status*, but which, as Tacitus indicates, resolved itself into a peace that could only be described as "bloody," on account of the immediate reappearance of sedition and the "rabies civica" manifesting itself in response to conflicting ambitions: we may also be enabled to understand on what very convincing grounds he perceived, as Tiberius told Sejanus long afterwards, that marriage with Julia must raise a private citizen to an immense height above others, and that it was too late to indulge in anti-dynastic dreams for the Cæsarean house, or to try to reduce it to the level of other Roman families.

104. It will be evident from these later lights on the subject that though Verrall's main theories are supported, his explanation of details may require modification. Granting that we can perceive clearly that the Odes are allegorical (for which we have Quintilian's and the scholiasts' authority), we are not yet in a position to denominate the particular point and bearing of each allusion, nor have we a complete key to Horace's nomenclature. The fact emerges that the same man appears under different names in different places, but our want of precise information of the details of Murena's doings, and of the men described in Horace as "iuvenes" with whom he was associated (III. 20), prevents us from assuming certainty with regard to all the persons or incidents of the drama. Our difficulty exists to a large degree because Horace intended it to do so. The named persons in the Odes who seem to typify Murena include Sybaris (I. 8), Pyrrhus (III. 20), Telephus (I. 13, etc. *vide esp.* III. 19, *n.*), the person addressed in II. 3 (in the oldest Blandinian MS., "Gelli," in others, "Delli," probably in the original, "Gillo")—Groosphus, "the arrow" (II. 16), Hebrus Liparæus (III. 12), and others; by

¹ In the Metamorphoses I. the banquet of Lycaon (? Licinius) may be instanced as a problem likely thus to have some light thrown upon it. Its mythology seems appropriate for the allegorical treatment of Murena's story. Cf. note on Hirpinus and the Sorani, II. 11.

mythological reference he seems to appear as Achilles (II. 16, IV. 6), Pirithous, the lover (III. 4), Gyas (II. 17, III. 4), and possibly more. The elderly Hirpinus Quintius we also find to be addressed in terms similar to those used when referring to Murena (*cf.* II. 11). What inconsistencies occur in the allusions to these persons may be explicable if we remember that there can be no doubt that Horace is often speaking ironically, and saying exactly the opposite of what he means. If Murena was advancing in years in B.C. 22 (he was the owner of a house at Formiae in B.C. 37, I. Sat. 5, 38) and a hunchback showing the effects of excesses in drink (*cf.* II. 2, 13), one can understand the ironical point of references to the beauty of Hebrus, and the description of that splendid fellow generally (III. 12, *n.*).

105. By piecing our information together, I think we can reasonably infer that the following contains some of the points in his story. He had early losses of property. His brother Proculeius came to his aid. Afterwards he acquired great wealth by inheritance : a suspicion fell upon him, but at what time we cannot say, that he had himself forged or altered the will, which was probably that of M. Terentius Varro : this fraud was greatly to the detriment of Proculeius : L. Murena made a bad use of his riches, and showed himself arrogant and presumptuous, and possibly his excess in wine undermined his health. Insolent in speech, he was a coward at heart. He conceived the design of abducting Julia, and, defying the Emperor, Agrippa, and the Senate, of raising himself to power. He was superstitious, and resorted to augury, divination and magic, he had pride in the nobility of his descent which he seems to have traced to the ancient mythologic heroes of Greece : he probably believed in the Pythagorean doctrine of reincarnation, *cf.* I. 28, *n.*, and was obsessed with strange ideas of his destiny as revealed by sortilege : with these mad notions in his head he rushed on ruin. His banquet denotes the climax of his career in so far as it was prosperous ; whatever led up to or happened at that entertainment, it marks the beginning of the end : his designs came to the ear of Augustus : whether their coincidence in time with the plot of Cæpion was purely accidental or not cannot be declared : to avoid scandal in connection with Julia's name—it would have been the first—he was denounced as a political plotter : the person (Castricius) who informed against him declared himself to have been a fellow-conspirator, and the protection of this man's life was made a special and unique object of care by the imperial family (Suet. Aug. 56, Tib. 8. It is mentioned as the only case in which Augustus caused a prosecution to be dropped). Mæcenas was informed of his guilt, and divulged the secret to his wife, Murena's sister. Murena got wind of his danger and fled, was prosecuted by Tiberius in his absence, condemned, captured and executed ; and Mæcenas lost the first place in the counsels of Augustus. On this framework, so far as Murena is concerned, we may hope to

trace the bearings of Horace's allusions in his "monumentum" or memorial.

106. A small part of the task thus opened for those who are inclined for one of the most interesting investigations that literature can offer, will be found in the notes to the several Odes. The story is not confined to them by any means. It crops out in other places, in the Epistles especially, the fifth and sixteenth of the first book being conspicuous instances. In the latter, I take it, a good part of Murena's history is introduced.

If it should surprise anyone to find that there is so much that seems new to be found in Horace, it may be well to point out that since B.C. 23 was generally accepted as the date of publication of the Three Books, criticism and commentary have been building on a false foundation. As that theory took shape as a canon about seventy years ago, it has deflected two generations of scholarship from the right path, and it was during those generations that the value of the historic method was perceived, and any attempts at understanding a classical author in the way that Haupt describes as psychologic began seriously to be made. The truly surprising point is that Dr Verrall's acute inquiries and learned investigation of the subject, have not yet had the results predicted for them by the scholar who reviewed the Studies in Horace in *The Edinburgh Review* in 1885, of materially influencing the current views of Horace, and of the history of this particular time. To Dr Verrall is due the credit of perceiving the vital part the career of Lucius Murena plays in the interpretation of the Odes. With that one fact as a guide, most of the hidden chambers of Horace's monumentum reveal themselves to view. Our author himself uses the Pyramids as illustrations of his work. We may continue the analogy, for we are like explorers who, though the exterior of a great one has long been familiar to us, are only now discovering the secret chambers concealed within it. So cunning, so felicitous, is the art with which they are set that it would be rash at any time to say we had detected them all, or to attempt finally to sum them up, but of the nature of the discovery there can be little doubt (*cf. infra*, § 118).

107. The Odes in the Three Books are not separate units, but links in a chain of allegory so skilfully forged that in the whole range of extant literature we find nothing to compare with it. Horace has beaten the Alexandrians at their own game with the aid of his Muses. In the events of his time he has found material for a song of Titans at war with heaven, presumptuous mortals offering insult to "Jove," and of the Nemesis on such daring, and he has sung it in the first place for the purpose of lightening the torments of an innocent sufferer for the crimes of others, in the second for that of reading to Rome the lesson it needed to learn. He cloaks his allegory, and speaks of "jocund lutes" and experiments in Greek metres, but the scope of this a reader may rightly appreciate who will explore the secrets of "Vulcan's cave" where

the thunderbolts were forged for the hand of wrathful "Jove."²³ Passing on from these considerations, which arise out of Odes 19 and 20 of this book, we come to III. 24, in which Murena's death seems to be commemorated, while the loss by Mæcenas of his master's confidence, though without sign of open disgrace, is accountable for the tenor of III. 29.

108. The remainder of the book the reader must follow for himself. It is, as Dr Verrall says, the book of the monarchy. It reflects the policy of Augustus, and it contains the denouement of the tragic story in which Horace's patron and friend, to whom the whole work is dedicated, unhappily figured. The notes and references given with the several translations will direct the reader to the various arguments in favour of this position.

109. The considerations for the elucidation of the Three Books which it was desired to submit have now been indicated. What in this Introduction is given in outline, will often be found hereafter worked out in more detail with a full record of the connections between the different parts of the work. To sum up, it may be said that the Odes as a collection have a historical framework : they are intended to present a picture of the times, a picture that not only enshrines a tragic story but enforces a moral lesson. Their general ethic is that which the Emperor desired to establish. Their politics are imperialist on the highest ground, viz. divine right, but though this is so, they imply that they are the result of reasoned conviction rather than sentiment. Horace was a convert without any of the qualities that make the term "turncoat" a reproach. It is long before his heart follows where his head directs, and he is always true to his old friends (II. 7).

110. The work as a whole is indeed a memorial of his greatest friendship. It is inscribed to the man whose love was Horace's glory, on whom calamity, rendered no lighter because it was not to be blurted out to everyone, had laid so heavy a hand. Mæcenas was himself an author, and one of the books he wrote had the suggestive title of "Prometheus," that very son of Iapetus of whom Vergil is reminded in I. 3, who was condemned to be for ever gnawed at heart by a vulture for his offence against the majesty of Zeus. This book is lost, unfortunately for those whom Horace's poetry attracts, and who would wish to know its full import, as may be gathered from an extract of an epistle by Seneca (19) of which I transcribe Dr Verrall's translation : "Suppose you allow your fortunes to grow yet higher : every advance will be an addition to your fear. I have a mind to quote you here what Mæcenas said *speaking truth upon the rack* 'ipsa enim altitudo attonat summa.' If you ask for the reference it is in the book entitled 'Prometheus' : by 'attonat' he means 'attonita habet' i.e. (the very height) 'exposes to the thunder.' Now would you accept any power whatsoever at the price of so intoxicated a style ? Mæcenas was a man of genius and would have been a fine specimen of Roman eloquence had not prosperity

impaired his vigour—I should say his virility—this is how you will end unless you at once ‘pull in your sails,’ unless you ‘hug the shore,’ as he wished he had done when it was too late.” “It cannot be by accident” (continues Dr Verrall) “that these selections from Mæcenas’ ‘Prometheus’ reproduce not merely the metaphors but the words of the warning given by Horace to Murena (II. 10, premendo litus : feriuntque summos fulgura montes : contrahes vela :). Horace intended a contrast between Murena and Mæcenas. The self-accusing minister saw but too much resemblance and repented that he had not practised or even exaggerated the caution recommended by the poet.”

111. This passage gives us a glimpse into the mind of Mæcenas which is very valuable, slight as it is (another is elsewhere afforded, see II. 2, n.). It was the work of 22 that brought Jove’s thunder down upon his uplifted head, that fashioned the rack whose tortures wrung from him the bitter truth which he found enunciated in the poem addressed to the man whose conduct had so disastrously reacted upon himself. On the assumption that Horace, the divided half of his soul, in whom if any emotion was strong it was his love for his friend, published after his fall, it is not surprising to find that he did not spare the cause of this tragedy, but gave forth the poems in which his faults may be discerned—a man publicly condemned perhaps for a crime he did not commit, but a reckless spirit who greedily made his own desires his criterion of right and wrong, and who only received his deserts, though unfortunately his ruin involved the happiness of others—

“Cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
Jupiter ?”

Horace asks at the beginning of the book : a question that might well be re-echoed by Mæcenas in his time of trial and distress, and which he seems to have answered in the way we should expect (see II. 2, 13, n.). There are numerous Odes, especially in Books II. and III., which contain expressions that would remind Mæcenas after this great crisis, of the circumstances surrounding it. If Horace shaped and edited his collection before the events of 22, he compiled by accident a work quite extraordinary in the quantity of food for thought it was ready to supply to the man to whom it was addressed—an accident utterly unparalleled in literature—and considering that the required assumption is based on inconclusive grounds, and that it introduces confusion and obscurity where otherwise there is order, significance and point, one may be excused for refusing to make it.

112. The matter may be summed up thus ; Horace was a prophet after the event. He was not a copious writer in this poetic style, but out of his lyrical work, some of which was perhaps at hand and adaptable, but most of which was composed expressly for it, he fashioned or “exacted” the memorial which he desired to set up in honour of his friend, and as a witness of his own poetic

power. Through this he conveyed to his world the message which he desired to deliver. Whether he omitted to include in his collection other experiments in Greek metres that he may have made and recited to his intimate friends, we cannot say: We may be sure that the sacred regard in which he held his art would prevent him from publishing anything that fell short of his high-set standard, or would be, as Petronius says, an "ex-crescence" to mar his "felicity."

113. In spite of the gaps in our record of the times, there are very few Odes in the Three Books which seem to be out of the picture. Of the majority one can "feel" the ground for inclusion, even if one is unable always to be certain as to the precise intent or point. As Horace in publishing may be taken to have had three objects, patriotic, political and personal, respectively, as to one of which he was often deliberately obscure: and considering that nearly two thousand years have passed since he wrote, and that our information is defective in detail, it is surprising that we can follow him as closely as seems to be possible.

114. A few words remain to be said here of the Fourth Book. If the tone of the first Three denotes a time of crisis, that of the last is equally unmistakable for one of security. The national dangers so acutely feared are past. The prospect for the future is fair. The policy of Augustus has been successful. There is specific reference to many of the old subjects of complaint, but now the poet's function is to call attention to the absence of all their attendant evils. Civil strife is over: Rome is at her proper work of subduing foreign foes, and has abandoned the practice of self-slaughter: family life is become pure. If the picture is a little too rosy, we must remember that this book is composed in response to an imperial commission.

115. Horace takes his readers much more into his confidence now, and shows himself in his own proper person with a freedom that is not to be found in the Three Books. The strange features of his "amatory" Odes in the earlier collection have often been observed, and many comparisons have been drawn between Horace and other poets who have treated erotic subjects, to his great disadvantage. The truth is that there is no basis for such comparisons. The standpoints of the contrasted writers are quite different, and so is the impulse which led them to write. I question whether there is a single Ode in the Three Books—in spite of their ironical claim to be concerned with "light" topics—that is intended to show us the poet in love. The poems addressed to female names are seldom meant as records of his personal experiences; as Dr Verrall points out, they mutually exclude each other. Their real object must be otherwise explained. The mention of the name Myrtale in I. 33 seems to be an exception. Horace appears to be speaking of himself in that place, and to be giving us the reason why he did not marry. The hint is conveyed in an unobtrusive way, but it is direct enough, and it is not impossible

that a bachelor, who not only advocated marriage but put himself forward to expound its ethic, should wish to explain his own celibacy. The poem deals with a common phenomenon, the unhappy marriage. Albius is consoled by the reminder that he may have had a happy escape in not linking himself indissolubly with Glycera : that reflection ought to soften his present grief : "I," says the poet, "might have been married once, but I was held by the pleasing fetters of Myrtale." The inference is that Myrtale was not desirable as a wife to one in Horace's position though he might be willing to make her his mistress. Marriage was the higher estate, and its obligations once assumed were to be respected, but happy marriages were not for everyone (I. 13, 17). The son of a freedman, himself associating with the proudest families, might easily discover this.

When historic examination, brings into clearer relief the *raison d'être* of the Three Books, and enables us to understand the attitude of the author to his work, we at once see that the poems which have "love" for their apparent subjects are quantities incommensurable with the outpourings of passion of Catullus and Propertius. Between the moral censor, or the poet whose purpose is in any way didactic, and the self-centred love elegist there is a difference in kind not merely in degree : but the State poet, commissioned to write gratulatory odes, may bring himself into the picture without hesitation so long as he is cheerful and does not offend contemporary taste.

116. However, in some places we find a return to the symbolism that pervades the Three Books. The sixth poem has always been a puzzle to critics. It purports to be "a sort of prelude to the Carmen Sæculare" : "a poetical expression of the pride of the poet in his selection to write the Hymn" (Wickham. The C.S. was composed in B.C. 17). But why is "Achilles" brought on the scene in such a strange way—dragged on, as it were, without any manifest reason? Dr Verrall is the only expositor I know who has provided anything like a real answer. It was of course conjectural, but since it gave point to the poem it is of great interest to the student. It is not possible to extract his full discussion of the Ode, but his result is as follows :—The poet has seized an opportunity to say what he hardly dared hint at in his former book—that a certain person, viz. Murena, here typified by the son of Æacus who fought beneath the walls of Sacred Ilium, though both arrogant and inhumane, and though as an enemy to "Apollo," he had used a *magna lingua* (insolence) for which he had paid dear, nevertheless was an honourable enemy, and not, as the senatorial judges had decided, a treacherous assassin. Like the pine which courts the winds was his overtopping greatness (II. 10); like the pine or cypress he fell, and the towers that shook at his spear were but symbols of his own overthrow before a mightier than he. It should be remembered that Tiberius had acted as prosecutor of Cæpio and Murena, and it was his victories

against the Ræti that were being celebrated in the book. The Ræti were in the habit of putting to death all the males of their conquered foes, including unborn babes whose sex they professed to ascertain by magic. This cruelty is used to give Horace's conception of the character of his "Achilles."² The Ode therefore is not a prelude to the Carmen Sæculare, for between that and the death of "Achilles" there is no connection at all, but between the "retrospective defence of Murena and the writing of the Carmen Sæculare there is a connection and a very significant one. To the success of the vates Horatius as a poet of the Roman nation in the Carmen Sæculare, as much as the fame of his Three Books, might be attributed the request or injunction of the Emperor that he should bend his powers to the praise of Tiberius. In no way, therefore, could he better dignify his compliance than by thus conjoining the renown of 'Apollo' *vindex magna linguae* (the avenger of a boasting tongue) with an allusion to the Rætian war, with his own dignity as author of the Carmen, and above all with an emphatic declaration that treachery was not in the character of 'Achilles.' If the result is not very artistic, the immediate object was something more important even than art to the 'honour of the Daunian Muse,' it was to be shown that Phœbus had given the poet not only 'art' but 'spirit'?" (II. 6). (Stud. in Hor. p. 82.)

Such is Dr Verrall's explanation. Personally I think it requires modification. It implies that Horace had some sympathy with Murena as a man, however much he might disapprove of his conduct. There is no trace of this in the Three Books, and clearly, if Murena was the villain that we imagine, it is quite impossible that Horace should wish to vindicate his "honour." That the references to "magna lingua," and Apollo's vengeance on it, and to "Achilles," connect this Ode with Murena, I have not the smallest doubt, but the theory of Horace's object in writing advanced by Dr Verrall I think untenable. The explanation of the Ode may be this:—in publishing the Three Books in which Murena's offence is indicated (albeit in allegory), Horace was treading on a very fragile crust of ash indeed. He was running the risk of opening the fires of imperial wrath by divulging what Augustus regarded as an outrage on the honour of his family too shameful to be mentioned; he was at the same time showing a passionate sympathy with Mæcenas, whom the Emperor, though he did not care to proclaim it, had deposed from the first place in his counsels: he was, in fact, inviting the prurient *vulgus*, who greedily drink in the tales of exiled potentates (II. 13), to make awkward inquiries. On my reading of III. 27, Horace was quite aware of this, and there asked Augustus to pardon him. It is not impossible that IV. 6 recurs to the same theme—" 'Achilles' was an impudent, but a real and a cruel, foe to 'Troy': vengeance such as Phœbus took on the insolence of Niobe was wreaked on him: the Daunian Muse who told his story is mine, yet I ask

and receive the protection of Phœbus"; between this and the selection of Horace to write the Carmen Sæculare, there is an appropriate connection, for to that he can point in support of his claim.

117. The modification of view with regard to Horace's lyrical work to which criticism seems thus to be leading, is altogether pleasant, and is possibly only bare justice. It may be that to know all is to forgive all, and that some hasty judgment upon those "things" in Horace which we "would gladly miss" in them requires correction. The fact certainly emerges that upon the theory of the Odes enunciated here the passages which cause the greatest offence to modern ears are precisely those where Horace's conscience was most excited in the cause of morality. As to his character, there is now a distinct tendency to recognise its better side as against a previous habit of regarding him as a mere pleasure-loving lounger through life (*cf.* Sellar's monograph). It was common to describe him as an "Epicurean" at a time when that term had hardly any other connotation than that of self-indulgence. It is true that Horace was a disciple of Epicurus, but he took his teaching from the fountain-head. The following is his master's conception of the "wise man," and the known facts of Horace's life show that in him we might find an example of almost every clause. "The injuries which come to men either through hatred or envy or pride, the wise man will conquer by reason. He will acknowledge the power of feelings and passions, but will not thereby be hindered in his wisdom. Even though he be tortured, he is yet happy, albeit that at times in his torture he will moan and groan. It is the wise man only who can feel affection for his friends, whether present or absent. He will not punish his servants, but will be compassionate and pardon those who are worthy. No wise man will fall in love, nor believe that Eros is heaven-sent. Nor will he be a good orator. At times a sage will marry and beget children; at times, if circumstances be adverse, he will not marry and will try and dissuade others. He will neither cherish wrath in drunkenness, nor will he engage in politics, nor become a tyrant, nor yet flatter. Neither will he beg. Even though bereft of eyes the wise man will still have a hold on life. He will feel grief: he will think about property, he will provide for the future. He will be fond of a country life, and bear a stout heart against fortune. Only so far will he think of repute amongst men that he be not contemned. More than others he will feel delight at the theatre. It is only the wise man who will have a right opinion on music and poetry: yet the sage lives poems and does not make them. Money he will make, yet only in wisdom, if he be in want. He will court a monarch at the proper moment. He will humour a man in order to correct him. He will found a school, but not to gain crowds of scholars. He will give his opinion freely and never be at a loss: in his dreams he will be true to himself. And sometimes he

will die for his friend." (Hellenica : Art. Epicurus : W. L. Courtney.)

The reader should bear in mind that in the philosophy of Epicurus, theology had no point of contact with ethics. The two things were regarded as distinct, and from Epicurean theology, which was quite opposed to Roman ideas of religion, Horace, as the poet of the Three Books, expressly dissociates himself in I. 34.

118. In conclusion we may advert to an objection likely to be made to the interpretation of the Odes given here. It will be said that if these hypotheses have substance a direct confirmation ought to be found in the scholiasts, but the conditions do not require this. There are no works extant of the earlier grammatical and scholastic interpreters of Horace. The names of three remain, viz. C. Æmilius, I. Modestus, and Terentius Scaurus, some traces of whose writings doubtless are preserved by Acron. We have two later scholiasts in Helenius Acron and Porphyrius, but the former seems to have lived in the sixth century, and the latter at some unknown time afterwards. Five hundred and fifty years probably separated the earlier of these men from the publication of the Odes, and, further, on their texts we can place small reliance. They are, as Stallbaum says, corrupt, interpolated, and contaminated by annotations of later grammarians, forming in fact *centos* of a kind that renders it difficult to separate the genuine from the false. The Cruquian scholia are a legacy from the Middle Ages. It is clear that in these circumstances we perceive ample opportunity for the loss of an abundance of Horatian allusions, and also for the incorporation of an abundance of fallacious explanation. The fact that Horace's works soon became a school-book would not prevent such losses. Instruction in syntax, in a general review of the career of historic persons, and in the original stories connected with mythologic names, without regard to their particular point in a given place, would be the natural staple of grammatical and scholastic commentaries, between which and refined literary criticism there is a distinction:

It is obvious, both from the state of the texts of the scholiasts, and an estimate of their critical methods, that any help in the deeper—or as Haupt calls it, the psychologic—study of the author is only to be accepted from them with caution. Hence in this volume I have made it my aim rather to examine the literature nearer to Horace, and to mark its effect on the interpretation of the Odes, than to review the scholia. An idea of the scholiasts' inability to perceive the value of the historic method may be gained from the fact that they do not preserve the date of issue of Horace's several works, and, as I have explained above, the erroneous antedating of the Three Books in modern times is one of the chief causes why the full importance of Murena's career in their interpretation was not observed until Dr Verrall pointed it out. Upon a consideration of the history of that man, and upon recognising that mythological names are used allegorically by

Horace, the interpretation put forward in this book follows naturally without the use of any strained or perverse ingenuity.

The study of the question was begun without any predilection in favour of Dr Verrall's thesis, and simply with the desire to do what I could find done nowhere else, *i.e.* to test it. Such developments as it has received at my hands may be said to have come of themselves. To my mind the allusions to Horace made by Juvenal in his first satire show that he found in the Odes the same themes with those here asserted (*supra*, §§ 101-2) and I think that a perusal of the remainder of Horace's works will also show that the conduct of his patron's exuberant and aggressive brother-in-law has frequently prompted the thoughts to which poetic expression is given. Murena's superstition was not the offspring of a day, and his character and actions, as would be expected, have supplied many a saw or instance for Horace's enunciation in works issued both before and after the Three Books. I have elsewhere mentioned Epist. I. 5 and 16, both of which they elucidate, and the reader should study the second book of Satires, and some of the Epodes, in the light of the knowledge we have of this man. One striking passage in Sat II. 3 has been shortly considered in App. II.

LIFE OF HORACE

BY SUETONIUS

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS was born at Venusium, and his father, according to his own story, was a freedman and a clerk of auctions [but in reality, as is believed, a salter, since in a dispute some man cast this reproach at him : " How often have I seen your father wiping his elbow ? "]

Roused to action by M. Brutus, and under his leadership, he served as military tribune in the fighting at Philippi. After the defeat of his side, he was granted a pardon, and purchased a Quæstor's clerkship. But having been introduced, first to Mæcenas, and then to Augustus, he held no unimportant place in their friendship. The extent of Mæcenas' love for him is sufficiently shown by the following epigram : " If I do not love you more than my own vitals, Horace, may you see your friend leaner than a ——" [text doubtful], and much more by this commendation of him to Augustus in his last provisions made before death :—" Remember Horatius Flaccus as you would me." Augustus offered him a private secretaryship, as appears from this which he wrote to Mæcenas :—" Up till now I have been able to cope with my correspondence with friends, but, being very busy and in weak health, I wish to rob you of Horace. He will therefore come from that parasitic table of yours to this palace, and help us in writing letters." Yet when Horace refused this offer, he neither showed any annoyance, nor ceased to press his friendship upon him. Letters exist from which, to show that this was so, I have made a few extracts : " Assume the right to anything to which you would be entitled as a member of my household ; for this reason, that I was desirous that such should be your relationship with me, if only your health had permitted it." And again :—" Of the nature of my regard for you, you will be able to hear from Septimius, for it chanced that in his presence there was mention of you by me : and even if you in your pride have rejected our friendship, we do not reciprocate in turn."²

Often too he jokingly called him " most charming of mannikins," and other things, and more than once rewarded him with liberality. He had so high an opinion of the quality of his compositions, and of their immortality, that he commanded the composition not only of the Secular Hymn, but also of the poetical work on the victory in Vindelicia of his stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus :

and thus caused Horace after a long interval to add to the Three Books of Odes, a Fourth. After reading his Sermones also, he complained in these terms that they contained no mention of himself :—“ I would have you know that I am annoyed because, in this class of writing generally, you do not specially converse with me : are you afraid that it may be a reproach to you among posterity if you show that you were a personal friend of mine ? ” Accordingly Horace wrote the piece which begins : “ Cum tot sustineas, et tanta negotia solus ” (Epist. II. 1).

In figure Horace was short and stout, as described by himself in the Satires, and by Augustus in this letter : “ Dionysius has brought me your booklet, which, without blaming you for its brevity, and short as it is, I take in good part. You seem to me to be afraid of your books being bigger than yourself. However, if you lack height, you do not lack girth, so you may write on a pint pot, and thus make the circumference of your volume of a size to match your waist.” [Note.—“ On a pint pot ” refers to the roller round which Roman volumes were folded.]

Horace lived chiefly in the seclusion of the Sabine country or at Tibur. A house of his is pointed out near the Tiburtine grove. There have come to my hands some elegies bearing his name, and also a letter in prose purporting to recommend himself to Mæcenas, but I regard both as spurious : for the elegies are commonplace, and even the letter is obscure, a fault from which he was most free. He was born on the sixth of the Ides of December in the consulship of L. Cotta and L. Torquatus [B.C. 65] and died on the fifth of the Kalends of December [27th November] in that of C. Marcius Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus, after his nine and fiftieth year. [According to the historians this should be his fifty-seventh year, as the two men named were Consuls in B.C. 8.]

He named Augustus as his heir in the presence of witnesses, for through the sudden onset of his illness he was unable to sign the tablets of his will.

His place of burial was on the far side of the Esquiline, near the tumulus of Mæcenas.

BOOK I

I

TO MÆCENAS

MÆCENAS, sprung from grandsires who were kings,
O both safeguard, and glory dear to me :
There are whom it delights to have up-whirled
Olympic dust upon the course, and lap-post grazed
With glowing wheels, and palm ennobling lift
Lords of the earth unto the gods—
One, if the tumult of inconstant citizens
Strive to upraise him to the threefold honours :
Another, if he has stored in his own grange
All that is swept from Libyan threshing floors.
Him who with mattock loves to cleave ancestral fields.
By terms of Attalus one ne'er may tempt away,
So that, a frightened seaman, he shall plough,
With bark of Cyprus, the Myrtoan sea.
Fearful of Africus struggling with waves
Icarian, the merchant lauds the rural ease
Of his own town : quickly his shattered craft
Refits : indocile he to suffer poverty.
There is who scorns not cups of Massic old,
Or part of midmost day to steal, at times
With limbs reclined beneath a green arbute,
At times by hallowed streamlet's tranquil source.
Many find joy in camp and clang of trump
And bugle blended, and in war which mothers hate.
Lingers beneath the frigid sky the hunter,
Unmindful of his youthful bride, if there be viewed
By trusty hounds a doe, or if a boar
Of Marsia hath burst the well-wove nets.
Me ivies, guerdon of adept brows, do raise
Among the gods above ; me the cool grove,
And flitting choirs of Satyrs and of nymphs,
Distinguish from the mass, if but Euterpe hold
Not back her pipes, and Polyhymnia.
Do not refuse to string the Lesbian lute.
Wherefore, if with the lyric bards thou'l give me place,
I shall with crest uplifted strike the stars.

This Ode has been considered in the Intr. § 48, etc. By remembering that the collection is laid at Mæcenas' feet, and includes the story of Murena, we find the clue to the poet's subtler meanings. This poem has by some been interpreted as a casual composition to which the first and last couplets were added in order that it might stand as a preface. The internal evidence of the Odes shows that such a theory must lead the reader utterly astray. The prologue contains exactly what we should expect from an artist so scrupulous as Horace. It is a true introduction, in which the principal themes afterwards elaborated are mentioned. Like the overture of a modern opera, it gives us the "motives" of the symphonic whole. Its opening lines show what Mæcenas was to Horace (*cf.* Suet. *Life*, *ante*, p. 73, II. 17, II. 20, 6, etc.). Then it passes to the political aspects dealt with in the work. We have shown in the Introduction that these are mainly the conditions arising after Augustus laid down the consulship in B.C. 23, when civil strife reappeared in Rome, and competition for the magistracies again led to disorder and bloodshed. It is no accident therefore that prompts this allusion to contests for the *tergeminis honoribus*—the three great offices of Curule *Ædile*, *Prætor*, and *Consul*.

After this we are brought to the subject of wealth, with expressions that show from what follows that the case of Lucius Licinius Varro Murena is contemplated. From v. 9 to v. 29 we find matter applicable to him. His career (and its effect on the fortunes of Mæcenas) is the intimate theme of the work, nowhere openly divulged, but always supplying point and meaning. The notes to the following Odes in the first book, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 18, 20, 25, 27, and to these of Books II. and III. *passim* will enable the reader to trace the various allusions: e.g. to Libyan threshing floors, Attalus, the merchant tempting the sea to supply luxuries to rich men, the love of wine and ease, soldiering, hunting, etc.—all in Odes which point to Murena.

Then the poet turns to himself and explains his *locus standi* in high company. Marked out by the Muses, he may concern himself with the doings of the great, even of those who are more than mortal—pointing to the emperor. This claim, solemnly made at the outset, enables us to appreciate at their true worth his occasional denials of seriousness, made for convenience sake, and also of statements that his title to fame lies in successful experiment in Greek metres. In the successful adaptation of Greek allegory to Italian song it does lie, but Horace had good reason for not being too explicit on this point. *Cf.* III. 27. On the Muses invoked, see note to v. 32.

In conclusion, he recurs to Mæcenas with a hint that explains the style of the Three Books: "It is for you I sing, you who will understand: your approval is all I want." *Cf.* II. 13, III. 1, IV. 11, etc.

The key to the Three Books lies in reading them as a whole, and in tracing the connections between the poems, and also in interpreting their mythological allusions through the recorded facts of history. The testimony to the truth of this is sufficiently contained in themselves, but directly the case is examined ample corroboration appears extraneously.

1. *Reges*: Kings, often equivalent to high society: Mæcenas was of royal Etruscan stock.

2. *Dulce decus meum*: *Meum* is emphatic, and *dulce, qua* Horace, is objective: to have Mæcenas' love is his glory. Cf. II. 20, 6, and Prop. II. 1, 73.

3-10. *Curriculo*: the course, rather than the car, cf. Cic. Pro Arch. 11, 38. *Pulv. Olymp.*: The highest arena. The whole passage is symbolic. If Horace had only the Olympic games in mind, the usual step at *Deos* leaves the next four lines to be supplied with a verb very awkwardly from *iuvat*: by taking the reference to Olympia allegorically, and *meta* and *palma* as signifying the crises and prizes of life, *hinc* and *illum* fall into place as class divisions of *quos iuvat*, cf. III. 1, 11. *Terrarum dominos* does not imply sovereign power, but means the great ones of the earth. I would punctuate only a comma at *deos*: to separate *meta* and *palma* from *evehit* by a pause after *nobilis*, makes the verses harsh, and the expression awkward. *Evehit ad deos*: cf. Juvenal, Sat. 1, and note Intr. § 101. *Turba*: tumult, the contending crowd.

Tollere: we have no one word in English with the double meaning of raising and destroying in *tollere*.

10. Libyan threshing floors : III. 16.

12. *Attalic. condit* : II. 18, 5.

19. *Est qui* : probably foreshadows II. 11, q.v.

20. *Solido de die* : prosaically, "working hours." Cf. De R. R. of Varro, I. 2.

28. *Tereetes* : without gaps ; reference to hunting appears again in III. 12, and elsewhere.

29. *Doctarum* : more than "learned" ; there is the idea of mysterious endowment ; cf. wizard from wise.

30. *Dis superis* : symbolical ; he explains how the bird from the small nest (Ep. I. 20, 20) comes into the regions where the eagles fly : cf. Cic. Ad Att. II. 9 and 19, also Phil. II. 42.

32. *Euterpe, Polyhymnia* : indicate the style of the work. In the epilogue Melpomene—the Muse of tragedy—is asked to crown his labours. This fact does not justify the conclusion that Horace selects his Muses at random, but puts us on inquiry as to his meaning. Intr. §§ 21, 22. Euterpe's province was in short song of a light kind, love subjects, etc. Polyhymnia seems to have had a special connection with gesture and with μῆθις, legendary lore. We have no reason to suppose that Horace's Lesbian models were specially concerned with μῆθις, and therefore Horace may be intending to say that he invokes her aid in a style with which she has not previously been identified (II. 20, 1). Although this is not quite the usual interpretation, when we examine the use he has made of myth and fable, we shall see that there are grounds for accepting it ; cf. Ciris, 55 ; Anson. Id. XX. 7.

35. *Vatibus* ; Prophet and poet. We have no one word.

II

TO AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

By now enough of deadly hail and snow
Hath the great father sent on earth,
Smiting with red right hand our sacred heights,
The city he hath terrified :

Terrified nations too, lest there should be return
5
Of that dire age of Pyrrha mourning portents strange,
When Proteus led his whole drove on

To visit mountains high,
And tribe of fishes clung to elm-tree top,
Which unto doves had been a perch
10
Well-known, and timid deer

Swam the encroaching flood.

We have seen yellow Tiber—backward hurled
Its waves with violence from Tuscan strand—
Rush to o'erthrow a monarch's monument,

15

And Vesta's fane :

Boasting itself avenger of Ilia,
Too loud in her complaint, the river fond,
Against the will of Jove, bursts bounds
20
And floods its leftward bank.

Our youth, made fewer by their parents' sin,
Will hear that citizens have edged a sword
Through which 'twere better Persians stout should die,
Will hear of broils.

25

On whom then of the gods may a people call
To aid the fortunes of the falling state ?
With what prayer should the holy virgins Vesta ply
Less heedful of their psalms ?

To whom will Jupiter assign the task
Of expiating guilt ? O, come at last, we pray,
30
Veiling thy dazzling shoulders in a cloud,
Apollo, the augurer.

30

Or thou, if such thy will, O smiling Erycina,
Round whom flit Joy and Love :
Or thou, O Founder, if on a race forgotten and its sons
35
Thou turn thine eye again,

Alas ! now cloyed with our too lengthy show of strife ;
For 'tis the battle-shout and gleaming helms that gladden
thee

And the fierce gaze of Maurian legionary
On bleeding foe.

40

Or thou, winged child of gentle Maia,
If, changed to likeness of a youth on earth,
Thyself thou suffer to be called
Avenger of a Cæsar.

Late be the time for thy return to heaven, and long
45
May thou be happy with the people of Quirinus :
And through our crimes may no untimely gale
Snatch thee from us in enmity.

Here, rather, be thy joy in mighty triumphs,
Here to be called Father and First ; and let
No riding of the Medes pass unavenged
50
While thou commandest, Cæsar.

Intr. §§ 38-39, § 69 and foll. This Ode hails Octavius as the avenger of Julius Cæsar. The date of its composition has been the subject of much controversy. In the general Introduction we have shown that its difficulties are perhaps lessened if we adopt the principles of interpretation there explained. From this point of view the date of publication is the one of most moment. If the Odes as a collection were first given to the world shortly after a formidable plot for the assassination of Augustus had been frustrated, the Ode would gain much in its effect. History shows that the circumstances attendant on the second plot have a marked resemblance to the illustrations used in this Ode. The storms, the floods, the lightning strokes, the civil violence and strife, were all as representative of the time when the unsuccessful plan was formed against Augustus as they were of the accomplished deed wrought on Julius. The words used often suit the later occasion better than the earlier one, and it is in part this fact which has so baffled criticism. In the concluding lines there is a clear allusion to the possibility of Augustus' life being cut short prematurely, conveyed by the expression of a hope against it happening, and this is followed by a note of date which shows that the piece was probably composed after B.C. 29-28. The allusion to the death of Julius Cæsar marks the historical starting-point of the Odes, and the hopes expressed by the poet for the future are those which pervade the entire collection. He pictures Augustus as the incarnation of a god, and mentions those of the gods whose divine functions most closely touched the policies and aims of Augustus.

1-20. Natural phenomena such as are here recorded were paralleled in Rome in B.C. 22. No writer except Horace connects a flood in the Tiber with the death of Julius, though Dio and Virgil speak of one in the River Po.

3. *Dextera* : See Intr. § 38.

5. Refers to Deucalion's flood. Pyrrha was his wife.

13. We have seen, etc : The effect of the following lines would be enhanced by perusal after the events of B.C. 22 when new avengers of Ilia's (Rome's) fancied wrongs had arisen and threatened the Empire letting men again hear of the sharpening of a sword that should have been reserved for Parthians.

Nimum querenti : the sense of wrong is morbid. The uxorious river would be equally applicable to the party of Brutus, and to the later irreconcilables who still "disdained" (*καταφρούειν*) Augustus.

28. *Vesta* : the tutelary of Rome's destinies.

31. *Nube* : cloud, a reference to the human shape he is to take. Notice the deities ; between Apollo and Augustus there was a notorious connection : Venus was the legendary ancestress of the Iulii : Mars, who loves *real* war, is Rome's founder (*cf.* *lucus Martis*, Intr. § 101) ; the son of Maia, Mercury the intermediary between earth and heaven : both the policy and character of Augustus are suggested by this selection.

32. *Augur* : the true, contrast the false in III. 19.

35. Show of strife : *ludo* is ironical, a "false" war, comparable only with gladiators' combats : real in death and destruction, but suicide rather than war.

39. "Maurian" is probably a mis-copying of "Marsian."

47. *Iniquum ocior aura* : Metrical considerations mark these

words with emphasis. Before an initial vowel, *um* unelided is seldom found at the end of the preceding line. The effect is to weight "iniquum," after which a Roman must have paused to defeat the tendency to say "iniqu' ocior," which would not satisfy the metre. *Iniquum* is not easy to translate; perhaps this paraphrase gives the sense—"may no perverse hostility of ours raise a storm to snatch thee from us before thy time," although *iniquum* is adjective to *te*: cf. II. 10, 4, n.

49. *Magnos triumphos*: those after Actium; a touch which shows that this was a prophecy after the event, as is also "Pater atque Princeps." Augustus was designated Princeps in B.C. 27; though often called Pater Patriæ, this title was not formally conferred till B.C. 2.

III

TO VERGILIUS

- So may our goddess, queen of Cyprus,
So may the brothers of Helen, brilliant stars,
And the father of the winds, all quelled
Except Iapyx, steer thee, O ship,
Which holdest Vergil in thy trust 5
That thou render him safe (such is my prayer)
To shores of Attica, and thus preserve
The half of my own soul.
Oh, oak and triply-folded bronze
Had that man round his heart who ventured first 10
His frail bark on the angry deep,
Nor feared swift Africus wrestling with northern blasts,
Nor the grim Hyades, nor Notus' rage,
Chief arbiter of Hadria's moods,
Raising or making fall its swell at will. 15
What death impending did he fear
Who with dry eyes watched monsters swimming,
And saw the surging main, and thy
Detested cliffs, Acroceraunia?
In vain hath a foreseeing god cleft lands 20
Asunder by Ocean's severing stream,
If o'er forbidden waters impious barks
Still speed their way.
Bold to dare all, the human race
Runs through the crime proscribed by heaven: 25
Thus bold, he, gotten of Iapetus,
Through evil fraud brought fire to man:
After that fire was filched
From its ethereal home, disease,
And a new company of fevers, 30

Lay like an incubus upon the earth,
 And doom of distant death, aforetime slow,
 Quickened its step.
 The void air Daedalus essayed
 On wings not given to man :
 The might of Hercules through Acheron burst. 35
 Nothing for mortals is too high.
 The very heavens with folly we assail,
 And through our guilt we suffer not
 That Jove should lay aside his wrathful bolts.

40

Intr. §§ 58 and foll. The arguments are there reviewed for assigning this Ode to the voyage to Greece which Vergil made in the last year of his life, at some time after mid-October B.C. 20. Horace's description of his fellow-poet as the "half of his soul," becomes significant when we remember why the *Aeneid* was written (Intr. § 16). Vergil was Horace's fellow literary worker in supporting the cause and policy of Augustus. The closest bond of friendship linked together the patron Mæcenas, and the two poets. Horace describes his feeling towards Mæcenas in similar terms in II. 17, 5 and Mæcenas returned his affection (Suet. Life, *supra*, II. 20, 6, etc.).

The Ode *prima facie* would be so singularly unhappy in its suggestions to a man starting on a voyage, that more than a doubt is raised whether the poet would ever have written it if there had been any chance of its being taken literally. I do not think with Mr Wickham that this "tirade against sea travel is in part," or at all, "playful," but that in sea travel Horace found a text for enforcing a desired moral. The most noticeable feature of the poem is its earnestness, and the solemnity of its tone. It is inconceivable that this would have been imparted had Horace thought that his friend would read his words as implying that he himself was guilty of presumption, and an impious trespasser on forbidden seas: he knew that the literal would be lost in the allegorical.

17. Dry eyes: see Wickham's note: Tears in weak natures are a natural accompaniment of terror, but Horace's thought here is on subjects that inspire grief as well as fear.

27. *Audax Iapeti genus*: This reference to Prometheus is interesting, knowing as we do that "Prometheus" was the title of a book in which Mæcenas "spoke truth upon the rack" about himself, after his fall in B.C. 22. If anyone knew Mæcenas' mind it was Horace, and perhaps the Prometheus was in writing at the time of the composition of this Ode. (Intr. § 110, II. 2, 13 n.)

Mæcenas lost the confidence of Augustus for an act which might well find an analogue in the crime of Prometheus (Intr. § 28, and foll.). The Titan, who otherwise was faithful to the gods, secretly gave the sacred fire to mortals.

37. We may be sure that this and the following lines are no mere generalities: contemporary readers would recognise the crime or folly spoken of.

IV

TO SESTIUS

SHARP winter melts, with pleasing change, to Spring and Zephyr,
 And hauling are the pulleys on dry keels.
 The flock no longer revels in the stalls, or in his fire the hind :
 Beneath hoar frosts the meadows whiten not :
 Cythera's Venus now leads forth her choirs under the hanging
 moon, 5
 And comely Graces, linked with nymphs,
 Strike with alternate foot the earth, and glowing Vulcan
 Makes the great forges of the Cyclops flame.
 Now it beseems to wreath the glossy head with myrtle green,
 Or flower which the loosened earth brings forth, 10
 And now to Faunus it beseems to sacrifice in shady groves,
 Be it a lamb he ask,—or with a kid if more desired.
 Pale death with foot impartial strikes at the huts of paupers and
 Kings' towers : O Sestius blest, life's short span bids us not
 Begin long hope. Soon upon thee will press 15
 Night and the fabled shades, and the bare house
 Of Pluto : where when thou comest, thou shalt win with dice
 No rule of wine, admire no dainty Lycidas,
 Who now is dear to all our youths, and soon
 Will rouse love's fire among the maids. 20

See Intr. §§ 44 and 71. Of Sestius, the subject of this Ode, we know that he was an ally of M. Brutus, and notorious for the respect he paid to his memory, preserving an image of him in his house, and treating it with continued honours. Professor Bury describes him and his colleague as irreconcilables, ready, if an opportunity occurred, to restore the Republic. When Augustus resolved to give up the consulship, which he had held eleven times altogether, and for nine years in succession, he allowed the appointment of Sestius to the vacancy. This was probably in pursuance of that policy of placation of the senatorians which he was then bent on effecting. For the consequences, see the Intr. § 44, and foll.

The description of the oncoming of spring, and of the religious celebration appropriate thereto, is abruptly followed by a reference to death. It looks as if line 14 is the real burden of the poem:

14. Blest ; *beatus* generally refers to good fortune through riches ; cf. II. 2, 18.

15. *Spem* : the poet does not enlighten us as to the nature of the long hope presumably cherished : it was probably of restoring the Republic.

16. *Iam te*, etc : this expression indicates that Sestius was either advanced in years or ill when the Ode was written. The poem is probably adapted from the Greek : the metre is Archilochian (see Wickham). Horace has used the same thoughts in framing IV. 7.

V

TO PYRRHA

'MID many a rose, what slender youth bedrenched
 With liquid odours, wooes you, Pyrrha,
 Within a pleasant grot ? For whom
 Do you braid your yellow hair with art
 That apes simplicity ? Ah fie ! how oft
 Shall he bewail your faith, and changed gods,
 And upon seas enruffled with
 Black winds astonished gaze ?
 Who now enjoys you credulous all gold,
 Whose hope conceives you ever free and fond,
 In ignorance of your fickle airs !
 Misfortunate they on whom,
 Untried, you shine ! A sacred wall
 By votive tablet indicates that I
 Have hung wet garments to the god
 Who dominates the sea.

5

10

15

Cf. Milton's translation of this Ode. Pyrrha means "golden-haired"; Horace's use of names should be carefully studied. His intention may often be gathered from them, though not in this case perhaps.

4. With art, etc. : This is a freer rendering than here usually admitted. Milton has "plain in thy neatness": Wickham, "So trim, so simple." Concealed art is implied—simplicity, but very carefully studied; *cf.* II. 8, 14.

5. Bewail your faith: *i.e.* the change in it.

9. This line is from Milton.

12. *Miseri-nites*: any English version of these words seems poor: Milton has "Hapless they, to whom thou untried seem'st fair."

13. A sacred wall, etc. : the wider purpose of the Ode seems to be conveyed by these words. It was customary for men escaped from shipwreck to hang garments in Neptune's temple as votive offerings. There may be a hint here that to show the poet in love is not the object of the collection.

VI

TO AGRIPPA

By Varius, bird of Mæonian song, you shall be written
 Brave and a victor over foes, as to each deed
 Which a proud soldiery achieves
 Under your lead with ships or horse.

We, O Agrippa, do not attempt to sing these themes,—
 Neither the heavy wrath of Peleus' son implacable,
 Nor voyagings o'er sea of guileful Ulysses,
 Nor Pelops' savage house,
 Small we, they great ; while shame and the Muse
 Who rules th' unwarlike lyre, forbid that I
 Impoverish, by default of wit, the fame
 Of peerless Cæsar and yourself.
 For who can worthily treat Mars clothed with mail
 Of adamant, or Meriones, black with the dust
 Of Troy, or Tydeus' son, an equal match,
 By aid of Pallas, for the gods ?
 We sing of banquets, we the strife of maidens fierce
 Against young men—with nails cut short ;
 Heart-whole, or whether we burn at all,
 Not overstepping custom, we are light.

The poet explains to Agrippa why his exploits have not a larger place in his work. But for this man, and perhaps for Mæcenas, the power of the Emperor would never have been established. Agrippa brought to Augustus' aid the military genius which he required but had not in himself. He was great both by land and sea. The defeat of Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus was due to him, and also the crowning triumph of Actium, and in B.C. 20, he crushed the Cantabrians in Spain, which the Emperor himself had tried and failed to do in 25. The poem introduces for the first time the "pose" of Horace as being concerned only with light themes, an attitude the more natural to an ancient writer of lyrics, with whom the form of the verse adopted had a much more definite association than would be the case in a modern language. In a later Ode, I. 12, which celebrates the victory at Naulochus (B.C. 36) Agrippa is called to mind though not mentioned by name. He was a man of modest origin and blunt manners. Horace does not say so, but the mention of Curius and Camillus, would at once suggest the living example of their class.

Peleus' son, *i.e.* Achilles : for the significance of this reference in an ode to Agrippa, *cf.* the considerations raised by III. 19, and 20. The irony of the last stanza, with its clever duplicity of meaning, should not be overlooked : a *banquet* plays a very important part in Horace's story.

VII

TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS

OTHERS will laud the famous Rhodes or Mitylene,
 Ephesus, or the walls of Corinth 'twixt two seas,
 Or Thebes, illustrious through Bacchus, through Apollo, Delphi,
 Or Tempe of Thessalia.

Some are whose one task is to sing in endless song 5
 The city of Virgin Pallas,
 And on their brow to set the olive plucked on every side.
 Many an one in Juno's honour
 Will chant of Argos good for horses, and of rich Mycenæ.
 Me neither disciplined Laconia, 10
 Nor bounteous Larissa's fields, have so impressed
 As the home of echoing Albunea,
 The headlong Anio, and Tibur's grove, and orchards moist
 From sluices' mobile streams.
 As the white Notus often sweeps the clouds from darkened sky, 15
 And breeds not constant showers,
 So do thou wisely recollect to put an end to sorrow,
 And to the toils of life with soothing wine,
 O Plancus, whether the camp with standards all ablaze,
 Be holding thee, or whether the dense shade 20
 Of thine own Tibur thee shall hold. Tho' Teucer from his father
 And Salamis would flee, 'tis said he bound
 His brows, moist with Lyæus, with a poplar wreath, and spake
 Thus to his sorrowing friends :—
 " Whithersoever fate, more than a father kind, will bear us, 25
 We will go, O comrades.
 Let nothing be despaired of under Teucer's lead and auspices—
 For Apollo, who fails not, hath promised
 That on new soil shall be a Salamis to double this.
 O brave men, often worse things ye with me
 Have borne, now drive with wine your cares away, 30
 To-morrow we will sail the wide sea once again."

Lucius Munatius Plancus was Consul in B.C. 42, the year of Philippi (III. 14, 28). He was a man of notoriety, and not liked by the imperialists although he came over to Augustus' side, and was a supporter of his authority before he died. He had been a traitor to causes. Before Mutina (Intr. § 39) he was operating with Decimus Brutus against Antonius. Afterwards he changed sides, but took as little part in the Perusian war as possible. On its failure he fled to Athens (B.C. 40). Thence he returned with Antonius, afterwards going back with him to the East. Antonius gave him the province of Asia, but Plancus abandoned it on the invasion of the Parthians under T. Labienus, and took refuge in the islands. In B.C. 35 he governed Syria for Antonius, and fell into some disgrace for plundering it. However, he remained at the Egyptian court, and plunged into its dissipations. Foreseeing the fall of Antonius, he returned to Rome in B.C. 32, and ingratiated himself with Augustus. He revealed the contents of Antonius' will to the Emperor and the Senate. It was found that Cleopatra's son Cæsario, was recognised as the child of Julius, and that, judging by his dispositions, Antonius intended to reduce Rome to a dependency of Egypt. This revelation was the proximate cause of the hostilities. War was formally declared against Cleopatra, but the struggle was of course between Augustus and Antonius. After the triumph of Actium, it was on the

suggestion of Plancus that the title of "Augustus" was conferred. Plancus' fortune was large, and, perhaps shrewdly perceiving the way to the Emperor's favour, he used some of it in building a temple. He died in B.C. 12. Whether Augustus' favourable reception of him in 32 was merely politic, cannot be said with certainty : the probabilities point in that way. Plancus was made Censor in 22, but was found wanting (*Intr.* § 38). Horace seems to be speaking in a mocking strain here : the advice to drown cares in drink must be sarcastic : it is in ill accord with his ideal of soldierly duty elsewhere displayed (see *infra*, v. 17, n.) and the comparison with Teucer seems satirical. One cannot fix with certainty upon a voyage of Plancus for which Teucer's would serve as an analogy, but *circa* 35-36 he was on military service, and did sail the seas more than once.

1-12. The point of these names of cities is not clear : Rhodes and Mitylene were common resorts for exiles from Rome : Cic. *Ad Fam.* 14, 7, and *ibid.* 7, 3.

7. This is a reference to the belief that the olive first grew at Athens, and was supposed to have been brought to Italy by the founder of the Licinian gens. Varro, calls it *Olea Liciniana*. The key of the Ode may really lie here : if Licinius Murena's madness, which brought him into collision with Augustus, arose from his belief in his descent from Greek kings, it is highly probable. The olive grew everywhere, yet foolish people claimed it for their own special honour.

12. Albunea : one of the Sibyls, worshipped at Tibur.

14. *Mobilibus rivi* : sluices into which the water could be admitted at will. The remains of irrigation channels still exist in the neighbourhood.

17. This satirical advice to a man in camp recalls Cicero's joke in his letter to Trebatius (*Ad Fam.* VII. 12) "Pansa has let me know that you are turned Epicurean. What a splendid camp yours must be ! What would you have done if I had sent you to Tarentum instead of Samarobriva ?" This Trebatius was Horace's friend of Sat. II. 1. For another view of Horace on soldierly duty, see next Ode, and III. 2.

21. Teucer : The authority for this speech of Teucer (if any) is unknown.

VIII

TO LYDIA

LYDIA, tell by all the gods I pray thee,
Why thou should'st hasten Sybaris to ruin with thy love ?

 Why does he hate the plain
Exposed who patient was of dust and sun ?

 Why rides no more among
His soldier fellows, checks no more his Gallic steed
 With wolf-toothed bit ?

Why fears to touch the yellow Tiber-wave ? Why shuns
The oil than viper's blood

More cautiously ? No longer showing arms by weapons bruised, 10
 Who often for the disc,
 Oft for the dart sped o'er the mark, won fame ?
 Why lurks apart as people tell
 Of sea nymph Thetis' son, when Troy's sad doom
 Was near, lest manly dress 15
 Should hurry him to Lycian hosts, and death ?

The ostensible purpose of this Ode is moral. Contrast its soldierly ethic with that of the preceding piece. The youth of the day were giving themselves to luxury, and neglecting the manly exercises useful as training for war. This was a tendency that Augustus was anxious to counteract (*cf.* III. 2 and 6, etc.). Horace in these matters is always on his side.

The fact reveals itself on a thorough examination of the bearings of the Three Books that in this Ode we may have an allusion to Murena as a self-indulgent young man, being corrupted by a woman. The reader who studies the Introduction and the later notes, will be better able to appreciate the force of this argument, and the full irony of this particular comparison with Achilles. The developments in Murena's character are quite consistent with this beginning which marks an early tendency to luxury. If this be the true view, an easy and natural explanation is provided for the subsequent Odes to "Lydia," I. 13 and I. 25. In I. 13, Sybaris, who appears under the familiar and significant name of Telephus (*cf.* III. 19, notes) is still in her toils, but when we reach I. 25, we see that the poet has grounds for prophesying that his mistress will sink at last to degradation. Traditional interpretation may have been visiting on the poet the sins of his "villain," in the view it has taken of his relations with "Lydia."

10. *Cf.* I. 1, 24.

14. Thetis' son : Achilles, *cf.* Ovid, Met. 13, 162.

IX

TO THALIARCHUS

You see how stands Soracte, white with its depth of snow,
 Nor longer may its burdened trees sustain

The weight, and how the rivers' flow

Has been arrested by the sharp set frost;

Dissolve the cold by piling freely logs

5

Upon the hearth : more lavishly give forth

The wine—the four-year-old—

O Thaliarchus, from its Sabine ewer:

Leave to the gods all else, for soon as they

Have laid the strife 'twixt winds and surging sea ;

10

No more the cypresses are buffeted,

No more the ancient mountain-ash,

What is to be to-morrow do not ask : appraise
As gain the course of days Fortune will yield :

Being but yet a youth, contemn

15

Neither the sweets of love nor of the dance,
While from your bloom crabbed greyness holds aloof.
Now let the Campus and the city squares,

And whispers low, be sought at nightfall,

On the appointed hour of tryst ;

20

And now the fascinating laugh from some recess
Secluded, the bewrayer of a maid

In hiding, and the pledge snatched off

An arm or finger ill retaining it.

Thaliarchus : A Greek name meaning "governor of the feast," see Wickham's note and II. 11. The Ode illustrates the conditions of a self-indulgent existence : keep warm, drink good wine, and take no care for the morrow : your destiny is in higher hands than your own ; suit your pleasures to your age. Dr Verrall has called attention to the suggestion of chronological sequence in the Odes by the succession of the seasons : I. 4 is in spring, I. 5 passes to summer with its roses, etc., I. 7 to autumn and the winds of Notus (*cf.* III. 7, 5 and Epod. IX. 13). The extent of time covered by Book I. (several years) is too great for the series to be complete, but the effect is obtained.

Soracte : A mountain of Etruria, about twenty-six miles north of Rome. For its possible relation to the Murena motive, with which the philosophy of the Ode is in accord, see II. 11. This Ode is imitated from one of Alcaeus.

For its significance as forming one of a series with I. 8, 9, 10, 11, see notes to I. 11.

X

TO MERCURIUS

MERCURIUS, Atlas' grandson eloquent,
Who the rude mien of first-born men
Didst mould by skill of word, and habit
 Of comely exercise,

Thee I would sing : herald of mighty Jove and of the gods, 5
Inventor of the bended lyre, with art endowed
To get whatever thee should please
 By playful theft !

Of old, when but a boy, Apollo, frightening thee
With threatening voice if thou shouldst not restore
The oxen lifted by craft, smiled when he found

10

 His quiver also gone.

So, likewise, wealthy Priam, led by thee,

When Ilion was left, escaped the proud
Atridæ, and Thessalian fires, 15
And hostile camp at Troy.
Thou placest spirits of the blest in blissful seats,
With golden staff thou marshallest the shadowy host,
For thou art welcome both to gods
Of heaven and hell. 20

This Ode is also an imitation from Alcæus. Horace's adaptations were certainly infused with his own genius, for I. 12, and I. 37, two of the most unlikely media for anything approaching plagiarism, are introduced by expressions from Greek poets. Aulus Gellius says of Vergil's borrowings from Theocritus that he seldom took without showing his genius and taste. It does not need the survival of Alcæus' and Sappho's works to prove the same of Horace. This Ode to Mercury, with its special reference to his function as the god of thieves, is no meaningless production, and in a constituent of the Three Books the reason why theft is alluded to is perhaps not irrecoverable; see notes to the next Ode.

XI

TO LEUCONE

TRY not to learn, Leuconoe (to know's forbid), the end for me, for thee,
That gods would give. With Babylonish figures meddle not.
Whatever shall be, how much better is it to bear that !
Whether Jove hath granted thee more winters, whether this the last
Which breaks the force of the Etrurian sea on stones against it set, 5
Be wise, rack off thy wines, and cut thy long hopes down
To suit a short span. While we are talking envious time steals on :
Catch to-day's joy and give the morrow but a minimum of trust.

This poem contains a variant of the advice to "Thaliarchus" in I. 9. It has generally been taken for granted that Leuconoe is the pseudonym of some superstitious *amica* of Horace. The possibility that this is a correct interpretation is remote, though its plausibility may have been felt by the poet to have its convenience. The 9th, 10th and 11th Odes are in close connection, each brings out a salient feature in the Murena story that is to follow, viz. the feast (III. 19), the theft (II. 2 and 3), the mischievous superstition (*ibid.* III. 17, etc.). The name Leuconoe must be examined, like all the other non-historic names in the Odes, for its meaning: this is "white mind" or "thought," and the analogy between it and the λευκαὶ φρένες of Pindar, Pyth. 4, 194, has often been noticed. Wickham rightly says

that in Pindar the words do not imply the "simplicity" towards which commentators are of course predisposed, but "malignity," or, as Mr Myers translates, "evil thoughts." No careful student of the Ode of Pindar, who follows Horace, will fail to observe how closely its thought associates with much that we find in the Three Books. Considering the allusion to it that may be contained in the name Leuconoe, and its own burden (the descent of Arkesilas from Euphemos, after a long series of generations prophetically announced—*cf.* III. 17 and 19) we can see why, in a book treating Murena's career in allegory, we are justified in regarding it as a guide to the poet's intention. It should also be noted that Leuconoe is very close in sound to Lyconoe, or wolf-mind, a possible word play not to be missed by the initiated reader making contact with I. 9 (see note on Hirpinus, II. 11), and also with the preceding Ode in which property gained by theft is alluded to, and with the references *passim* to rapacity and fierceness : *cf.* II. 11; I. 18; II. 10; II. 18, etc. Murena was suspected of acquiring dishonestly a large inheritance (Intr. § 100 and foll.). We hold that that circumstance is alluded to in II. 2, and 3, and that in the last-mentioned Ode the forger is called Gillo (a nickname associated with wine) and we believe that he also had strange superstitions about his genealogy and his destiny. In this poem the reader will notice that Evil Mind, *cf.* III. 4, 67, is advised to enjoy wine, and to take life as it comes, without regard to occult calculations. (Intr. § 102.)

5. *Oppositus* : this word is also important. Dr Verrall, with his usual acuteness, finds a note of date in it. He says "The place of I. 11, shows that there is real sense in the words *seu . . . Tyrrhenum*. With what truth or point can it be said of winter in general that it breaks the power of the sea with frail stones *set* against it? But the winter of B.C. 37-36 literally did this, for Agrippa had just completed the great breakwater of the Portus Julius (*cf.* Georg. II. 161) a work which largely contributed to his momentous victory in the following autumn. I. 11 is therefore the natural preface to I. 12" (Stud. in Hor. p. 113). This is *ben trovato*, and points to Horace's extreme cleverness in his presentation. We now see that I. 11 may also be part of the preparation for the private and tragic theme of the Three Books, and to note that the *pumex oppositus* may contain a second allusion. The "riches built out into the deep" (II. 3, 19), and the masonries (III. 1, 35) of the lord who is not content with dry land (II. 18, 20) and who, like a lictored magistrate, bids the sea "stand off," as Jove is said to do to the winters or storms of II. 10,—*cf.* v. 4 of this Ode,—are probably not unconnected with these "pumices oppositi"—that is, with the expensive and unpopular luxuries of marine fish ponds, for the building of which, as Varro tells us, a person of the name of Licinius Murena had been sued at law, Intr. § 85.

The reader may gather what kind of information consultants of Babylonish magic might be expected to receive in *The First of Empires*, by W. St C. Boscowen, pp. 270, 279, 329, etc.

XII

TO CLIO

WHAT man or hero on the lyre or piercing pipe,
O Clio, art thou about to hymn ?
What god ? Whose name shall blithe
Resounding Echo sing,
By Helicon's umbrageous banks, 5
Or over Pindus, or on Hæmus cold,
Whence woods incontinently followed
The voice of Orpheus,
Able, by art maternal to arrest
The river's cataracts, and the rapid winds, 10
And by allurement oaks to lead that heard
His tuneful strings ?
What shall I sing before time-honoured praise
Unto the Father who governs all for gods and men,
The lands and seas, the universe 15
Of time and change ?
Of whom none is begotten greater than himself,
To whom none living is peer or even second,
Though Pallas hath won the honour
Of nearest place. 20
Of thee too will I speak, O Liber, bold in fight ;
And thee, O virgin, foe to savage beasts ;
And thee, O Phœbus, to be held in awe
For thy sure arrow.
Alcides will I sing, and Leda's boys, 25
One famed for victory by his steeds,
And one for boxing ; on the flashing forth
Of whose bright star to mariners,
The troubled swell flows down from off the rocks,
And gales abate, clouds flee, and on the deep 30
The menacing wave subsides,
For such their will.
Then Romulus—whom after these to tell of first
I doubt—or Numa's peaceful reign,
Or haughty ensigns of Tarquinius, 35
Or Cato's noble death :
Regulus and the Scauri, and Paulus, prodigal
Of a great soul when Punic arms prevailed,
Thankful I will recall in hymn sublime ;
Fabricius too ; 40
Both him and Curius with unkempt locks,
As e'en Camillus, cruel poverty,
And small ancestral farm, with home to match,
Urged to good work in war :

Grows like a tree with age obscured Marcellus' fame, and among all there shines The Julian constellation, like the moon Among the lesser fires.	45
Father and guardian of the human race, Offspring of Saturn, to thee was given the charge Of mighty Cæsar by the Fates ; thou shalt be king With Cæsar next to thee.	50
Whether the Parthians threatening Latium Conquered he drive in triumph just, or whether Seres and Indians bordering close upon The Orient shore ;	55
The wide world he shall rule with justice—under thee. Thou with thy heavy car shakest Olympus, And thou at groves intolerably profane Wilt launch the hostile bolts.	60

Intr. §§ 23-27, and § 72. That the defeat of S. Pompeius at Naulochus is the subject of this Ode seems certain. By this victory Augustus gained the sovereignty of the West, and the way was prepared for his final supremacy of the world. The Ode opens with a line from Pindar's Olymp. 2. Dr Verrall's analysis is as follows :—" The poet asks the historic Muse to whom the honours of the day are due and answers himself that they are due, first to the gods and demigods who hate and punish disorder (to show which their names and emblems are taken from the typical defeat of the giants) in whose hands is the rule of seas and storms : and secondly, to all the illustrious men without distinction (he is in doubt whom to choose first in v. 33) who have helped to build up Rome, and whose memories are to be the common inheritance of the reformed nation : to the warlike founder and to the peaceful founder, to the representatives of stern government and indomitable liberty, to the patriots of all times (the Cæsarean hymnist does not omit even the peculiarly ' optimate ' name of Scaurus) to the name of Marcellus (though held by the last representative of the senatorial regime) as well as to that of Julius (under whom the democracy was victorious : all that is good in the Roman past triumphs in the triumph of Cæsar), and Cæsar (here the poet glances at the impieties of Sextus and Antonius) will not forget that he rules under god."

2. Clio : the Muse of History and Panegyric.

5. Helicon, Pindus, Hæmus : resorts of the Muses in Bœotia, Thessaly and Thrace, respectively.

20-24. The perception of the reference here to the victory of Jove over the giants by Verrall is acute : on Pallas, see III. 4, 53 : on Liber, II. 19 : on Apollo and Diana, III. 4.

41. Curius and Camillus, I. 6, n.

45. Marcelli : Wickham says : " So the glory of the house, dating at least from the captor of Syracuse—B.C. 212—is now culminating in the young Marcellus," Intr. §§ 23-27, and §§ 69, 70.

XIII

TO LYDIA

WHEN you, O Lydia, praise
 The rosy neck of Telephus, the waxen arms
 Of Telephus—Ah, my spleen
 Raging is swollen with irrepressible gall.
 My reason fails, my colour stays 5
 Inconstant in its place, and stealthily
 The tear glides on my cheeks, and shows
 How I am wracked by slow deep-seated fires.
 I burn if wanton broils
 Have stained with wine your shoulders white, 10
 Or with his tooth the raging lad
 Hath pressed a tell-tale mark upon your lips.
 If to good purpose you hear me,
 You will not look for steadfastness from one
 Who rudely wounds delicious mouths, 15
 Which Venus with quintessence of her nectar steeps.
 Thrice happy, and even more, are they
 Whom an unbroken bond unites, whose love,
 Estranged by no unhappy plaints,
 Will not relax before their latest day. 20

The last four lines of this Ode might be regarded as earning its title to inclusion. “Love is a great force for good and evil; when it leads to the lifelong happiness of man and woman its blessedness is revealed.” Hardly the sentiment of a cynical and selfish debauchee.

The name Telephus seems here to designate a man whose attractions influence women greatly; cf. III. 19, 26 n., and IV. 11. 23, and the consideration of the name in Intr. § 96 and foll., cf. also I. 8. The man intended may be Murena, and the Lydia here the same woman with her of I. 8 and I. 25. Line 14 has special point if I. 25 is a sequel to this Ode.

3. Spleen: Literally the liver, the seat of hot passion. The reader will understand the Ode better if he has no prejudice in favour of jealousy as the cause of the lyrist's outburst. The last four lines are inconsistent with that, unless he means “Telephus will not marry you, but I will.” Now the Roman of Augustus' time did not marry with women of Lydia's presumed class; cf. I. 33 and Intr. § 115.

XIV

TO THE STATE, ADDRESSED AS A SHIP

O SHIP, shall new waves bear thee back
 To sea? What dost thou? Boldly make
 The port! Dost thou not see how bare
 Thy side of oarage, and

Thy mast how shattered by swift Africus,
Thy yards that groan, and how thy garboard
Without ropes can scarce 5
Withstand a more imperious main ?
Thy sails are not intact, thou hast no gods
Whom, urged by danger, thou may'st still invoke. 10
Although of Pontic pine,
And child of sylvan haunt far-famed,
Futilely boastest thou both race and name ;
In hour of fear no sailor trusts
In painted poops. Beware lest thou 15
Be debtor to the winds for sport.
Lately to me an anxious weariness
Who wast, now a regret and no light care,
Avoid the seas that flow
Among the shining Cyclades. 20

Quintilian describes this Ode as an allegory : the ship being the State, the sea the Civil Wars, the port peace and safety. There has been much controversy as to the time to which it refers, but it clearly suits the period when the rupture between Antonius and Augustus was looming ahead. The important part the sea plays in this portion of the Three Books should be noticed ; on the assumption that they give a historical reflection this is natural. Dr Verrall says (Stud. in Hor. p. 96) "The existence and acceptation among the ancients of the allegorical view is in itself an indication that the order of the poems was to them significant. Given this principle, it is easy enough to arrive at the perception that the poem has a date and is a political allegory, without it, not so." It might be urged that the last stanza contains inherent evidence of allegory. It satisfies the symbolic idea much better than the literal, considering that Horace's early sympathies had been with the Republic.

2. *Fortiter* : Strongly allegorical ; nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of safety.

6. *Antennæ*, etc.. These images are found in a fragment of Alcæus.

71. *Pontica* : The pines of Pontus were renowned : the epithet may simply imply excellence : the use of "Gætulian" for "fierce," in III. 20, is a parallel case of the metonymous use of a local epithet.

XV

THE PROPHECY OF NEREUS

WHEN the false swain was carrying on the wave
His hostess Helen in Idæan ship,
Nereus, with calm unwelcome, stilled the rapid winds,
That he might chant their dreadful doom.

- "Thou'rt leading home, with evil omen, one 5
 Whom Greece will seek again with many a soldier,
 In league to rend thy nuptial ties,
 And Priam's ancient realm.
- Woe, Woe ! What sweat is there for horses, what
 For men ! What death upon the Dardan race 10
 Thou bring'st ! Now Pallas gets her ready with
 Helm, shield and chariots, and her wrath.
 'Tis vain that bold in Venus' guardianship
 Thy locks thou combest, and on unwarlike lute
 Dost pick out melodies to women dear— 15
 Vainly too thou wilt shun
 The spears and points of Gnossian shafts,
 Foes to the couch, and battles' din, and Ajax quick
 In chase—thou yet in the end, ah woe ! shalt roll
 Adulterous locks in dust. 20
 Seest thou not, behind, Laertes' son, the bane
 Of thine own race, Nestor the Pylian,
 Teucer of Salamis, and Sthenelus skilled in fight—
 Or, if necessity there be
 To take to horse, no tardy charioteer— 25
 Undaunted all press on thee ? Meriones
 Thou too shalt know, and lo, in rage to find thee burns
 Tydides, greater than his sire.
 Whom, as a hart flees from a wolf seen far
 Across the vale, oblivious of its pasture, thou, 30
 Coward ! shalt flee with gaspings deep, although
 Not this thy promise to thy love.
 Achilles' angry fleet will but postpone
 The day of Ilion, and Phrygian wives ;
 After appointed winters an Achæan flame 35
 Shall burn the homes of Troy.

Intr. § 73. After the death of his first wife, Fulvia, Antonius married Octavia, sister of Augustus, in B.C. 40. The first association with Cleopatra had occurred a short time previously. On acquiring the rule of the East, Antonius left Rome, and took up his residence in Athens with Octavia. After living with her for about three years, he left her and resumed his intimacy with Cleopatra. His wife attempted to rejoin him, but he forbade her to advance. He was then in Asia with Cleopatra, intending to make war on the Parthians. Octavia obeyed, but asked if she should send on some presents to him. Her rival, to frustrate her influence, feigned illness, and induced Antonius to go with her to Alexandria. He abandoned his military project, and yielded himself up to a life of pleasure. This was in B.C. 35. Octavia returned to Rome, and in B.C. 31, Antonius sent her a letter of divorce. The adulterous connection of Antonius with Cleopatra is probably the reason why Horace relates this legend here. In the analogue, the Romans play the part of the Greeks, and the kingdom of the Ptolemies represents that of Priam. The thirteenth line is very ex-

pressive. When, in Cilicia, Antonius first met Cleopatra, whom he was waiting to call to account for helping the assassins of Julius Cæsar, he is said to have exclaimed at the sight of her charms, "It is Venus herself." He at once fell under the spell which, though intermittent, was never entirely shaken off. His own death in Cleopatra's arms, and the end of his extravagant schemes may be forecast in the last stanza but one. As this Ode is placed before that dealing with Actium and the death of Cleopatra, I. 37 (covering a year) the journey from Asia to Alexandria above referred to may be meant; especially as the coming of the "Greeks" is in the future: see note to I. 17, 19. The scholiasts recognise the Ode as an allegory.

XVI

O DAUGHTER, lovelier than a lovely mother,
Make of those libellous iambics any end
 You please, albeit in the flames,
 Or in the Hadriatic, if you wish.
Neither Dindymene, nor Pythian at his shrine,
So thrills the mind of his priests as anger dire,
 Nor Liber eke, nor Corybants as they
 Double the clash of strident shawms,
Which neither Noric sword doth warn away,
Nor sea that wrecks the ships,
 Nor raging fire, nor Jupiter himself
 Descending in appalling storm.
Prometheus, so 'tis said, had need to add
To the primordial clay traits widely culled,
 And did implant within our breast
 The violence of the raging lion.
Anger laid low in overwhelming ruin
Thyestes, and has been the ultimate cause
 Why lofty cities perished utterly,
 Why an exulting host should mark
The wall's line with an hostile plough.
Restrain your mind: me also in sweet youth
 Hath rage in heart possessed,
 And unto swift iambics sent
In frenzy; now the harshness I am fain
Myself to change for smooth, while you,
 The insult thus withdrawn, may be my friend,
 And give me back your heart.

This is an apology for and retraction of some harsh words previously expressed, which we cannot identify in any of Horace's extant works (see Wickham's note). It might perhaps here be brought into line of connection by the assumption that it

is intended to mark the different character of the Three Books from the Epodes, but there are serious objections to this hypothesis. The weight of the poem seems to lie in the references to anger, and the devastating elements of iron, sea, fire, and the wrath of heaven. Anger is the most prominent, and the allusion to the downfall of cities through it, and to the mythic Thyestes, of the house of Tantalus and Pelops, who was fed on the flesh of his own children by his brother Atreus, whom he slew, and who attempted to slay him, may have more to say to the point of the poem than the form of its setting. Regarded chronologically, the Ode is placed during the progress of the interneccine strife which ended with Actium. It accords with the time at or about which Horace's material prosperity was assured by the gift of the Sabine farm (I. 20). It is a question therefore worth considering whether the opening lines have not an entirely symbolic intendment—whether the "mother" and her "fairer daughter" may not typify political causes, the old republican ideal, which the poet in his youth favoured, cf. I. 14, 17, and the new order with which he had by now definitely thrown in his lot. As in I. 3, the developments of the ostensible theme overweight it to such an extent that they may be reasonably regarded as carrying the real burden of the poem : cf. also IV. 6 and IV. 11. The traditional criticism pronounces them to be mock heroics : and it analogously holds the solemn warnings of I. 3 to be playfulness, and but weakly explains the intrusion of "Achilles" into IV. 6 : but is it right to accuse Horace of such lumbering wit ? Is it consonant with what we find elsewhere ? Are we in short at the right point of view ? There is only one answer to such questions for one who reads the Three Books as a whole ; whatever may be the real meaning, Horace is not here indulging in a joke.

17. Anger ; III. 3, 30 ; *Pugnæ* ; I. 2, 23, the *cædes* of III. 24, 26 and II. 1, 35, etc., internal strife.

Thyestes, son of Pelops and grandson of Tantalus. For references to Tantalus, I. 28, 7, II. 13, 37, II. 18, 37, cf. also Epod. 17, 65, Sat. I. 1, 68 : for other references to the house of Pelops : I. 6, 8, Epist. I. 2, 12, I. 7, 43.

23. *Compescere mentem* : restrain your mind ; assuage the old bitterness. Considered as a work for public reading, these words are probably the pith of the poem. The reference to Noric steel would have a living force from M. Crassus' expedition in B.C. 27, till after the campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus commemorated in Bk. IV.

XVII

TO TYNDARIS

LOVELY Lucretialis doth Faunus oft,
By swift flight change with Mount Lycaeus, and
Defends alway my goats
From fiery summer and from rainy winds.

With safety through the grove the roaming wives 5
 Of their rank spouse are seeking thyme,
 And hidden strawberry plants, and fear
 No vipers green or wolves of Mars
 That haunt Hædilia, whene'er,
 O Tyndaris, with his dulcet flute 10
 The valleys and the slippery rocks
 Of sloping Ustica resound.
 The gods protect me : with the gods my feeling
 And my Muse are in accord. Hence plenty, rich
 With foison of the field, shall flow 15
 To the full for you from bounteous horn ;
 Here, in a vale retired, Canicula's heat
 You shall escape, and to your Teian lute shall sing
 Of glassy Circe and Penelope
 In travail of a love for the same man. 20
 Of harmless Lesbian cups you here shall quaff
 In the shade, and Thyoneus, Semele's son,
 Shall not confound his part in strife
 With Mars : and from suspicion free
 You shall not fear lest forward Cyrus lay 25
 Incontinent hands on you, so little his match,
 And chaplet catching in your tresses tear,
 And your all unoffending dress.

A pastoral. The land is "Arcady," but the references are clearly in consonance with the Murena story, and also that of Antonius (*cf. Intr. § 67*).

1. Lucretilis ; A Sabine mountain.

2. Mount Lycæus : A mountain in Arcadia.

9. Hædilia, supposed to be a local name. There is a reluctance among editors to accept Bentley's conjecture, "hæduleæ," "kidlings"; *cf. Inuleus*, I. 23, 1, which may be right, and would translate "and the kidlings fear no wolves of Mars."

10. Tyndaris ; one of the names of Helen. The reason of its use here is not clear.

19. Circe and Penelope ; the unreality of the picture makes safe the mention of the names of Penelope, the faithful wife, and of Circe, the false enchantress, whose struggle in their love for the same man is to be the subject of her song. The juxtaposition of this poem with the previous Ode seems in itself sufficient to explain these names. To have referred, however, too explicitly to Octavia, the Emperor's sister and Antonius' wife, and the distressing position she was placed in by her husband's association with Cleopatra, the temptress, would have been too hazardous. They therefore have this setting of unreality : *cf. I. 15*.

22. Thyoneus, Bacchus : The observation that the god of wine and conviviality shall not be confused with the god of war is intelligible in the light of our theory of I. 27 and III. 19, and the references to Murena's design throughout the Three Books. There is a distinction between harmless Lesbian cups and the strong Falernian of I. 20, I. 27, and II. 3, 8.

XVIII

TO VARUS

O VARUS, plant no tree before the sacred vine
 In the soft soil of Tibur, by the ramparts of Catillus.
 For hard is everything that God has set to men athirst,
 And by no other means do gnawing cares disperse.
 Who, after wine, grumbles at toilsome war or poverty ? 5
 Who rather hails not thee, Sire Bacchus, or thee, fair Venus ?
 But lest one should exceed the dues of temperate Liber,
 The strife of Centaurs against Lapithæ over wine
 Gives warning, gives warning Evius' severity to Sithonian,
 When, greedy, they distinguish right from wrong 10
 By the unsound criterion of their lusts.
 Not I, fair Bassareus, will rouse thee 'gainst thy will, nor bring
 To light what's hid by divers leaves. Silence the cruel drums,
 And Berecyntian horn, the sure accompaniment
 Of blind Self-love, and Pride raising too high a fatuous head, 15
 And Confidence, clearer than glass, that flings its secret to the world:

We have no certain knowledge of Varus, and do not know if he is the subject of I. 24. The moral of the poem is high : Use not abuse is its motto. Of the self-love, and the vaunting spirit that raises high its fatuous head, Horace has occasion to treat later on, and this Ode becomes useful to the interpreter as elucidating subsequent words. The expression of sentiment here has the effect of an enunciation of a general principle proved afterwards by a particular case : see v. 13, n., 6-8, cf. I. 27, 3, n.

8. Lapithæ : See II. 12, III. 4, 80, III. 20, IV. 7, 28.

9. For parallel with Pind. Pyth. II., see IV. 2. *Exiguo* : " defective," cf. I. 28, 3.

12. A reference to the style of reserve found throughout the work.

13. Cruel drums : Berecyntian horn : these things are here said to be found in accompaniment with certain objectionable qualities in human nature. They are afterwards (III. 19) mentioned in connection with a named man who had all these traits, which were responsible for his ruin. The fact is significant, and supports the theory of the work discussed in the Introduction.

16. So the traditional interpretation : this is perhaps one of the places where Horace uses duplicity : the words may imply an unbounded credulity in the occult : for *arcانum* in this sense, see Epod. 5, 52.

XIX

THE cruel mother of the Cupids,
 The son of Theban Semele, and my
 Own fancy's freedom,
 Bid me recall to mind loves past and gone;

5

Me radiance of Glycera burns,
More dazzling than the glow of Parian marble :
Burns me her charming waywardness,
And glance too dangerous to be looked upon.
Venus herself hath quitted Cyprus,
And swooping full on me, forbids me sing the Scyth, 10
And Parthian, bold in heart although
His horse be turned, and things that matter not.
Here, boys, come place for me
The living turf, and here the sacred boughs,
And incense with a bowl of last year's wine : 15
More kindly will she come after a victim's blood is shed.

This poem instances the power of love : there is significance in the reference to the religious ceremonial. Horace was a supporter of Augustus' efforts to secure at least formal observance of the old religious customs ; *cf.* Intr., and III. 6, *n.*

i. The Ode is a correlative of III. 26, and the invocation of Venus portends the same as that of IV. 1, *q.v.*

XX

TO MÆCENAS

FROM moderate goblets thou shalt quaff
Plain Sabine, which, stored in its Greek jar,
Myself did seal, when in the theatre
Applause to thee
Was given, dear knight, Mæcenas, so that the banks 5
Of thine ancestral stream, at the same time
With sportive echo from the Vatican mount,
Returned the praise.—
The Cæcuban and grape by press
Of Cales crushed, *Thou* seest— 10
Falernian vines temper no cups of mine,
Nor hills of Formiæ.

Mæcenas gave the Sabine farm to Horace *circa* B.C. 33. Regarded chronologically with the historic Odes, that date suits this position, but that the composition was much later the following notes tend to prove.

Verrall observes that I. 17, I. 20, and I. 22 are rural idylls. They seem to be connected also with the principal theme of the Books as a whole.

The difficulty in the Ode lies in the words *tu bibes*, v. 10. Dr Verrall's conjecture of "invides" was at first attractive, and may be right; it does not spoil my argument that the Ode contemplates Murena, but I hold that *Tu* must stand, and that *bibes*

may, though possibly the right word is *vides*, as Munro, arguing from the meaningless "bides," in one MS., has opined. However, I should construe *vides* naturally as "thou lookest upon," and not be forced to the reading "thou providest," with Munro, the objection to which is that it would be most ungracious in Horace as an address to the giver of the farm ; and tantamount to saying, " You have not enabled me to treat my guests as you would yourself." I am inclined to think that the "Tu" of the third stanza is not Mæcenas at all. The Ode has three verses : the first brings in Horace, the second is concerned with Mæcenas, and the last turns to a third person, "Tu." This "Tu" has a liking for the precious Cæcuban, the wine worthy of a hundred keys, like the "worthier heir" of Postumus, II. 14. He is probably the same man as that "heir," and the "Tu" reappears in II. 18, the man who "tempers" the wine in III. 19, the man whose home was in Telepylus Læstrygonia, I mean Formiæ—as Cicero says (*cf.* III. 16)—the Gillo or "wine-cooler" of Juvenal (*cf.* II. 3), who was so fortunate as to obtain eleven-twelfths of the estate while Proculeius had but one-twelfth (Juv. Sat. I. Intr. § 101, II. 2)—our bold friend, the Lucius Audacius of Suetonius (Intr. § 96), who was accused of forgery. "Tu," then, we take to be another reference to Murena. He will have Cæcuban, but luxurious vintages with the taint of Formian suggestion—about as pleasant for Mæcenas as the view of the hills of Telegenus, the parricide (III. 29, 8)—shall temper no draught that Horace will offer. The Ode should be read and compared with III. 16. See also Epist. I. 5, 4, to "Torquatus" (Murena ?). Not only is there nothing casual in this collection, but hardly any touch or allusion that is isolated. The correlations that emerge on examination render much easier the task of elucidation, when once the author's plan is perceived. For this foreshadowing the story of Murena long before the occurrence of its events, it is easy to conceive many reasons, but not to decide peremptorily on any to the exclusion of others. So far as historic chronology is marked in it, the first book extends from the death of Julius Cæsar to Actium, but, the historic and the non-historic Odes are governed by different rules as to position, *cf.* Intr. § 69. Horace did not intend the casual reader to understand him as would Mæcenas or Augustus, who were in possession of knowledge that had been most carefully concealed from the public. He is purposely ambiguous here, and this explains the apparent awkwardness of the last stanza, but it seems a convincing explanation when the work is read as a whole.

1. *Modicus cantharis* : there is a special point in adjective and noun : the cantharus was a Greek vessel : but also a thing connected with Egyptian divination ; the scarabæus, or beetle-shaped mark, that signified the presence of the god Apis ; images of it were one of the commonest constituents of a magician's paraphernalia : and used as charms in every Egyptian grave. Murena drank immoderately from the well-springs of magic and sorcery : Intr. §§ 102, 105, III. 19, *n.*, etc.

4. Applause : II. 13, II. 17.

9. Cæcuban : Like Falernian, this was one of the Campanian wines, *cf.* Mart. XIII. 111, 113, 115.

10. Cales : I. 31, 9.

11. Formian : III. 16, 34, III. 17.

XXI

YOUNG maidens, sing Diana !
 Boys, sing ye to unrazored Cynthius,
 And to Latona deeply loved
 By sovereign Jupiter !
 Ye maids, to her who joys in streams and tressèd groves, 5
 Be they aloft on frigid Algidus,
 Or in the gloomy woods of Erymanth,
 Or Cragus green !
 Ye youths, with equal praise extol Tempe and Delos,
 Apollo's birthplace, and his shoulder decked 10
 With quiver, and with lyre,
 His brother's gift !
 He shall drive far calamitous war and famine fell,
 And plague, from people and their prince—
 Cæsar—away to Parths and Britons, 15
 By your prayer influenced.

There have been many attempts to connect this Ode with history. They only bring out the fact that if it was written for any particular celebration we have lost the connection. Orelli's remark, that the poem is not of sufficient weight for festival use, is full of good sense. No such use was probably contemplated for it. It inculcates the revival of religious observance desired by the Emperor. Horace tells us that one of his objects is to educate the rising generation (III. 1). This is an express assumption of his part. The explicit reference to difficulties that beset Augustus for many years after Actium, is significant; Intr. § 38.

The poem, considering the deities mentioned, and its general sentiment, may be read as prefatory to the later Murena episodes. It is in the same strain with I. 31 and 32, *q.v.*

XXII

TO FUSCUS

THE man blameless in life, and free
 From sin, will need no Moorish javelins,
 Or bow, or quiver with a load, Fuscus,
 Of poisoned arrows :
 Whether about to make his way through Syrtes hot, 5
 Or through inhospitable Caucasus,
 Or through those regions which the storied stream
 Hydaspes laves.
 'Tis so, for in a Sabine wood a wolf,

- While I am singing of my Lalage, and stray 10
 Beyond my bound—with thoughts of care dismissed—hath fled
 From me unarmed :—
- A monster, such as not warlike Daunia
 Rears in its wide-spread groves of oak,
 Not land of Juba breeds, that arid nurse 15
 Of lions.
- Place me in those torpid steppes,
 Where summer's breath restores no tree to life,
 That side of the world which mists oppress,
 And evil sky : 20
- Place me beneath the chariot of a sun
 Too close, in lands where none may make a home,
 And Lalage of winsome laugh I'll love,
 And winsome word.

A poem with a pastoral setting, cf. I. 17, I. 20. To read this Ode as if Horace was thinking of a flesh and blood "mistress" is absurd. Verrall describes it as a poem of love "in the same sense that the *bergeries* of porcelain are pictures of love," but is it not more than that? We may read a meaning into the mention of the man blameless in life and free from sin, of the man also of javelins and arrows (III. 20, 9), and into the allusion to the wolf (I. 11, II. 11) which precipitately flees from an unarmed man, that has not been brought into prominence. Cf. the irony of Epist. I. 16.

3. Fuscus: cf. Epist. I. 10, and Sat. I. 9. We know nothing of him except from Horace: the scholiasts describe him as a writer—of tragedy (Acron): of comedy (Porphyrius).

XXIII

TO CHLOE

- You shun me, Chloe, like a fawn,
 Seeking its timid dam in pathless mountains
 With vain affright
 At breezes and the woods—
 For if the approach of Spring hath shivered through 5
 The quivering leaves, or greenish lizards stir
 The bramble-bush, so trembles it
 In heart and knees.
 But hold! For I do not, like tigress fierce, 10
 Or lion of Gaetulia, pursue to rend :—
 At last your mother leave,
 Ripe for a man to woo.

Supposed to be imitated from Anacreon: Chloe means the tender shoot of a plant.

5-6. *Veris inhorruit*, etc. : There is great controversy whether *adventus*, the approach, should not be *ad ventum*, to the breeze : and *veris*, of spring, be amended to *vepris*, gen. of *vepres*, a bramble to be rendered "for whether it (the fawn) hath trembled at the bramble leaves quivering in the breeze, or whether green lizards have moved the thorn-bush, both in its heart and limbs it quakes (like you)." Dillenburger, and other German editors, prefer these amendments which seem to give the better sense.

If one reads the Ode in the light of the theories here advanced concerning III. 19 and 20, one feels that in this early, and to all appearance casual, address to a young maiden, general expressions are used that foreshadow similar ones pointed afterwards with more directness : cf. the savage Gætulian lion in v. 10, with III. 20, 2, and the adjective "tempestiva," repeated in a similar connotation in III. 19, 27. The continual recurrence of such features is the *testis locupletissimus* to unity, and to our view that Horace's "curiosa felicitas" is not merely verbal, but consists in having produced a work, which he tells us is to be read and regarded as a whole ; that is, in fact, free from those excrescences for the absence of which he received Petronius' commendation. Cf. II. 5, n.

XXIV

TO MELPOMENE

WHAT shame or limit can there be to our regret
For one so dear ? Teach me thy songs of grief,
Melpomene, on whom thy father with the harp,
 Bestowed a melting voice.
Does then perpetual sleep oppress Quintilius ?
For whom, will Self-respect, and Faith inviolate,
Sister of Justice ; for whom, will naked Truth,
 Find any peer ?
By many good men mourned he dies,
But deeper mourned by none than thee, O Vergil !
Quintilius—not lent for this—thou askest of the gods.

10

Alas ! Thy piety is vain.
What though thou wert to modulate with more
Than Thracian Orpheus' charm, the lyre which trees had heard,
The blood would not return to the empty shade
 15
Which once with his grim staff Mercurius,
Not gracious to requests to alter fate,
Hath driven in company with his gloomy throng.
'Tis hard : but yet by patience lighter grows
 20
What it is impious to amend.

This Quintilius is probably the man mentioned in the Ars Poet. 438. If the Chronicle of Eusebius is correct, his death

occurred in B.C. 24, and this would be a late Ode inserted in the first book. It is quite possible that this is the case, *cf.* note to I. 29, Intr. § 69, etc. The reason why it is placed here lies in the last two stanzas; it is a preparation for the Archytas Ode; see note to v. 20 *infra*.

3. Melpomene: the Muse of tragedy. The use of her name here, coupled with Horace's discernible habit of using relevant words, disposes of the criticism induced by the employment of the name elsewhere, that the poet does not discriminate between the Muses (Intr. § 21). Where pathos is the theme we find Melpomene invoked, and he who would deny the pathos in the whole work, must account for its solemn inscription to her (III. 30). Wickham points out that this is not a mere threnody, but a consolation. In this respect it may be regarded as representing in little the chief idea of the Three Books. (Intr. § 89, etc., II. 13, *n.*)

11. Quintilius thou claimest, etc.: "Pious, alas in vain, thou demandest back from the gods Quintilius, not entrusted on such terms." The expression probably means that the gods were the lenders of Quintilius, and had not entrusted him to Vergil on the terms of restoring him for the asking.

20. Impious to mend: An indication of the view Horace took of the belief that the dead returned, or could be restored to life; *cf.* I. 28, *n.*, etc.

XXV

TO LYDIA

MORE sparing of reiterated knocks
Upon your casements closed, the wanton blades
Deprive you not of sleep: its frame
Loves now that door

That erstwhile used to move with ease
Its hinge: now less and less the cry you hear,
"Lydia, sleep'st thou while your own pines
The live-long night?"

Grown old, 'twill be your turn to weep
Betrayers' scorn, neglected in some lonely nook,
While Thracian blasts hold revel at

The dark of moon.

When burning passion and desire,
Such as is wont to madden horse's dams,
Shall rage about your fevered breast,

Not without plaint

Because light-hearted youth rejoices more
In growing ivy, and myrtle darkly green,
While withered leaves to Hebrus, winter's mate,

It dedicates.

5

10

15

20

To regard this as personal invective is to disregard the whole aspect of the Three Books in which the poet's amatory history is obtruded very sparingly (I. 33). Verrall says, "It is not easy to find in the Three Books a single poem painting licentious passion in its gay and attractive aspect to set against those which make it terrible, ugly or ridiculous."

Read at large, it contains a moral warning. For our view of it, cf. I. 8, I. 13.

7. Your own : literally, "while thy 'me' is pining."

19. Bentley's reading "Euro" is a "logical" emendation of a misunderstood "Hebro"; just as modern editors favour "fecundi calices" in Epist. I. 5, 19, because they do not see the point of "facundi" (cf. IV. 7, 23), and, thinking it clashes with "disertum," "correct" their already correct MSS. For the significance of Hebrus, cf. III. 12, n.

XXVI

ON LAMIA

THE Muse's favourite, I may leave grief and fear
 To wanton winds to bear to Cretan sea,
 Peculiar in my unconcern by whom
 The king of frozen lands beneath the pole is feared,
 Or what strikes terror into Teridates. 5
 O thou, who revellest in virgin founts,
 Twine thou the sunshine flowers,
 Twine thou a coronal for Lamia mine,
 Sweet one of Pimpla ! For without thine aid
 My praises come to naught. Him with the novel strings, 10
 Him to immortalise with Lesbian quill,
 Doth well become thy sisters and thyself.

Because Lamia was the cognomen of a Roman family, some of the members of which were contemporary with Horace, it has been assumed that the Lamia here and in Ode III. 17 and Epist. I. 14, is one of them. Dr Verrall shows that this is not so (Stud. in Hor. p. 120). To connect this Lamia with the *Aelius* who was long afterwards Consul is guesswork, and leads to confusion. Dr Verrall's result after a long inquiry is that the name of the *vilicus* or steward on Horace's farm was Lamia, and that III. 17 is addressed to him and contains a joke on his name. The reason why it is made is clearer now that Murena's history has been more fully investigated. Cf. notes III. 17. The person addressed in this Ode is conceivably the same slave, with whom Horace seems to have been on affectionate terms, and the irony of this poem will become apparent from the same reference. Lamia, the slave, is quite as worthy of the Muses' song, as persons of much more prominence. Considered with III. 17 and Murena's story, a meaning for this piece becomes discernible, cf. also note

to v. 1. The Ode's position near the other Sabine idylls is appropriate (I. 20).

1. Grief, fear, and Cretan sea : *cf.* this with III. 27, notes.
 5. Teridaten : A reference to the struggle for the Persian throne that is too vague for evidence of date. In the year B.C. 33 Teridates, the usurper, who for a time dethroned Prahates, the "legitimate," is in terror. In II. 2, after the year 30, Prahates is on his throne again. In this respect Horace agrees with the account given by Dio. For the further light thrown by modern research, see Stud. in Hor. p. 116.

9. Pimplea : A fountain near Mount Olympus, sacred to the Muses.

10. The novel strings : III. 25, 7, the lyrical mode which he was utilising in allegory.

XXVII

To fight with tankards formed for an aid to joy,
 Is Thracian. Avaunt, barbarity !

And Bacchus, to whom excess is shame,
 Preserve from sanguinary brawls.

With wine and lights how ill consorts

5

A Medic scimitar. Repress

The impious clamour, friends, and stay
 Reclined upon your bended arm.

Wish you that I too share the strong Falernian ?

Let brother of Megilla the Opuntian,

10

Tell to what wound he has been treated,
 And from what dart he dies.

Falters his will ? I do not drink on other terms.

What passion rules thee burns not with a flame

Of which thou ought'st to be ashamed. Through love 15

Quite honourable thou'rt finding way

To sin. Come, then, to safe ears trust

Thy trouble. O unhappy one ! In what

A Charybdis thou hast been labouring,

O youth of nobler ardour capable !

What witch, what adept, can by venom-lore

20

Of Thessaly free thee ? Can even a god ?

Scarcely will Pegasus deliver thee

Entoiled by that Chimæra, triple in form.

[The appended notes are left as they were made at an early stage of this investigation. My present view is that the Ode does adumbrate the banquet of III. 19, and probably hints at details which Horace chose to omit from the poem in which Murena is named : its place in the environment of the Antonius and Cleopatra poems, which also deal with a crisis through which the State and the Emperor successfully passed, may be accounted

for on grounds similar to those which caused Horace to use allegory and not direct narration for his story.]

"A supper degenerating into a drunken brawl" (Wickham). It is easy to translate the ode so as to give sense to the words : to understand them is quite another matter. Most probably we have here a surface with a strong undercurrent of meaning : Who is the speaker ? Who is the brother of Megilla of Opus ? Ritter connects him with Xanthias of Phocis (II. 4)—not improbable, but what follows ? What has happened to him ? Is he dying of love only ? If so, what has the question of the speaker's drinking strong *Falernian* to do with that, and why is it tacked on to reproaches against Medic scimitars at a banquet ? Is the youth who is worthy of a better love, Megilla's brother or a third person ? And is the threefold Chimæra from which Pegasus may not loose him, love or something else ? Charybdis, the whirlpool, was often used to symbolise a rapacious mistress,—was in fact proverbial : but that does not settle the question whether in speaking of love, Horace's words are allegorical or not. For another reference to the Chimæra, see II. 17, 13, to Pegasus IV. 11. There are two other Odes connected with banquets, which may be considered with this one, I. 36 and III. 19. Is this a foreshadowing of III. 19 ?

3. Bacchus : cf. I. 18, 6-8. The clear parallel in v. 3 connects these Odes, and the reference to the Lapithæ may be enlightening, cf. II. 12.

16. Sin through an honourable love ? Murena's project of marriage with Julia.

XXVIII

NAUGHT but trifling tribute of some grains of dust,
 Archytas, measurer of earth and sea,
 And countless sand, restrains you here, hard by the Matine shore :
 Of no avail is it to you that you essayed
 To climb to airy palaces, and sped in spirit o'er 5
 The arch of heaven, to you, destined to die.
 Even the Sire of Pelops fell, the god's own guest,
 And Tithon, lifted high in air,
 And Minos unto whom Jove's secrets were revealed :
 And Tartarus holds the son of Panthus, sent 10
 Again to Orcus, though—as his unfixed shield declared—
 A witness of the times of Troy, naught gave
 He unto gloomy death save thews and skin,
 In your opinion no mean master he
 Of truth and nature. But for all one night awaits, 15
 Once must the day of death be trod.
 The Furies give up some as sport to wild-eyed Mars :—
 To mariners the greedy sea is death :—
 Of old and young the mingled funerals crowd :—
 And ruthless Proserpine omits not one. 20

- Notus, swift comrade of Orion bending low,
 Hath plunged me in Illyrian waves.
 But do not you, O Mariner, unkindly grudge
 Unto my head and bones all uninterred
 A pinch of sand : So, whatsoever Eurus threatens 25
 Unto Hesperia's waves, Venusian woods
 May punished be, while you are safe, and great reward,
 Which kindly Jove can give, shall flow for you
 From him, and Neptune of Tarentum guardian.
 Are you remiss, thus working harm that afterwards 30
 Will evil bring upon your guiltless children ? While
 Perchance due punishment and contumely
 Wait you in turn ? Not with mere prayers for vengeance
 Shall I be left, and you no expiation shall absolve.
 Although you haste, the stopping is not long, 35
 The dust thrice sprinkled, you may speed away.

The principal thought of this poem, that one night waits for all, the night of death, is entirely appropriate in a collection inspired by the tragic Muse, and the sentiments have parallels throughout the work.

Again I believe the significance of the poem to be found in the story of Murena. At the opening a sailor is speaking to the unburied corpse of Archytas, a celebrated mathematician and philosopher of the Pythagorean school, which believed in the migration or reincarnation of souls. This, I think, is the main point. Here we probably have, in the vague terms of poetry, the explanation of Murena's genealogical researches, and the reason why there was talk of the distances between Inachus and Codrus, etc. (III. 19), and perhaps why the thunderstruck bard hesitates to complete the calculation from king to king, down to the latest one to whom fate " owed " the sovereignty of the world (Intr. § 95 and foll.). Here we may perhaps perceive to whom Juvenal is alluding when he talks of " Codrus " (Intr. § 103) the " pauper " who had much magical paraphernalia, but yet nothing at all. If Murena thought himself the reincarnation of Inachus, Codrus, etc., as Pythagoras was fabled to be Euphorbus, son of Panthus, returned to earth, a very great deal is accounted for. Though Archytas the calculator essayed to reach the heavens, and rode in spirit round the arc, he, like the person addressed in Ode II. 3, was destined to die—*moriturus*—and had to crave a handful of dust to enable his shade to proceed to its proper place. This adds pregnancy to Horace's insistence on the theme of death, and the impossibility of escape from Orcus ; it may not only point to loss of life, but to a loss of it for ever, cf. I. 24, n.

There has been much controversy on the division of the speeches in this Ode. Archytas' shade seems to have begun his reply at v. 21:

3. *Exigui* : Naught but, etc : the want of a little dust : the idea of " lacking " is contained in *exiguus*. (Cf. I. 18, 9.) Rightly or wrongly, the Romans connected it with *egeo*.

¶ 7. The sire of Pelops ; Tantalus ; II. 13, II. 18.

10. The son of Panthus : Euphorbus who fought at Troy : Pythagoras was fabled to be his reincarnation, and to have proved this by recognising Euphorbus' shield.

15. Note the point of *semel*—once for all, and only once. Cf. *Mors ultima linea rerum est*, in Ep. I. 16, 79, which I conceive to be addressed to Murena, see Ode II. 11, note.

XXIX

TO ICCIUS

Iccius, rich treasures of the Arabs now you eye
 With envy, and equip for hot campaign
 Against Sabæan kings not heretofore
 Subdued, and for the dreadful Mede
 Link chains ? Who of the native girls shall be 5
 Your slave, when you have slain her promised spouse ?
 What page-boy of the Court with scented locks,
 Is to be stationed at your cup,
 Though taught to strain the Seric arrows
 On his father's bow ? Who will deny 10
 That torrent-streams can run up lofty mounts,
 And Tiber be reversed,
 Since your famed volumes of Panætius,
 Bought far and wide, and the Socratic school,
 To change for an Iberian cuirass 15
 You haste, who promised such superior things ?

An Iccius, presumably this man, was living on Agrippa's property in Sicily in B.C. 19, cf. Epist. I. 12. If this expedition to Arabia was that under Aelius Gallus in B.C. 24, we clearly have here a late Ode inserted in the first book. On the principle of the order upheld by me (Intr. § 69) this does not create a difficulty, as the allusion to history is indefinite, and the Ode falls into the class which I describe as "private." Dr Verrall holds that there is no need to connect it with the expedition mentioned, but rather to that against Antonius and Cleopatra which resulted in Actium and the conquest of the East, cf. I. 35, 30. The point does not strike me as important, because I conceive the purpose of the poem to be that indicated below :—Iccius seems to have been a bookish stoic, but fretful at his lack of riches, and Horace, while enjoying a "dig" at a philosopher whose precept and practice are in ill accord, appears to be "casually" preparing—in regard to his general scheme of compilation—for a more important reference to the "Auri sacra fames" later on ; cf. II. 2, etc.

XXX

INVOCATION OF VENUS

O VENUS, queen of Gnidos and of Paphos,
 Desert dear Cyprus, and to the comely shrine,
 Of Glycera, calling thee with incense plentiful,
 Transport thyself—

And may there haste with thee thy eager boy,
 Graces whose zones are loosed, and nymphs,
 Youth, who without thee has too little charm,
 And Mercury.

An invocatory hymn on "Glycera's" marriage, of the kind called *κλητικός* in Greek (*cf.* III. 22). It is an injustice to the lady to label her "hetaira" or "amica." The poem proves that she is to be a bride. The extract quoted by Orelli from Plutarch's *Præcepta conjugalia*, shows that the conjunction of Venus, Mercury and the Graces, symbolised marriage; others in the retinue were Peitho or Persuasion, Eros, and Hebe (Youth).

For the significance of the Ode in this place see I. 33.

XXXI

TO APOLLO

WHAT from Apollo on his dedication asks
 A bard? What prays he, pouring from the bowl
 New liquor? Not the cornfields rich
 Of bountiful Sardinia:

Not goodly herds of scorched Calabria,
 Not gold or Indian ivory,
 Not lands which Liris, silent stream,
 With quiet water frets.

With the curved blade of Cales let them prune
 To whom fate gave the vine: from cups of gold
 Let the rich trader drain his wine.

Purchased with Syrian merchandise.
 Dear to the very gods since thrice and four times
 Yearly visits he the Atlantic main

In safety. Olives nourish me,
 And succories, and mallows light.
 Grant me in health to relish what I have
 In store, Latona's son, with mind I pray,
 Unclouded—and to pass an eld
 Not base, nor of my harp deprived.

5

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This Ode is generally supposed to celebrate the dedication of the Temple of Apollo with its library, built on the Palatine by Augustus in B.C. 28 in memory of Actium. Verrall points out that the selection is arbitrary, and apart from the place of the poem, demonstrably inappropriate. There is no reference to the Emperor, to Actium, to the Palatine, or to any of the topics proper to the supposed occasion (contrast Propertius' poem on the subject El. III. 23).

This poem is correlated by its commencement with the next one. Here the poet considers the proper demand to be made of the god: in I. 32, the demand by the god from the poet.

1. *Dedicatum*: literally from our dedicated Apollo. We speak of the place or object as dedicated, the Romans applied the word also to the deity.

6. Cf. II. 18, 1.

7. *Liris*: now Garigliano, cf. III. 17, etc. The stream of Formiae.

9. *Calena falce*. Cf. I. 20, 10. The last two touches are both Murena references; their association with the Indian ivory of v. 6 tends to show that II. 17 is rightly construed in connection with him, and it becomes very doubtful, on considering the three together, whether the "Apollo of the dedication" is concerned at all with any building: see notes to next Ode. The wealth of Murena, says Horace, I do not ask from Apollo, my prayer is of quite another kind: cf. III. 24, etc.

XXXII

TO HIS LUTE

WE are required: If idle in the shade with thee
Aught I have played, to live for this year or for more,
Now come again, utter a Latin lay,

O lute of many strings,
First modulated by the Lesbian citizen,
Who bold in war, yet sang betwixt the fights,
Or, if he moored his storm-tossed ships

By oozy beach,
Of Liber and the Muses, Venus and the boy
Unto her ever clinging, of Lycus too,
By his black eyes made beautiful,

And his black hair.

Thou glory of Apollo, welcome shell,
Even at the banquetings of Jove supreme,
Labour's sweet solace, greet me whene'er

I duly call on thee.

5

10

15

See notes to preceding Ode. Not only are these two Odes correlated by their commencements but also by their endings. In each is a reference to the instrument for which the poet writes.

In the first, Horace prays that his senses may remain unimpaired, and that his old age may not lack power of song. In the second, he asks that his "shell" may never fail him. The wish to write a Latin lay, worthy of Apollo, may be connected, as some think, with the opening of some building, possibly the first national library in Rome established by Pollio out of the spoil of his Dalmatian campaign (II. 1, 15) *circa* B.C. 33. As the Odes were published long after Pollio's and the Emperor's later tribute to Apollo, these pieces would serve to show Horace's general sentiments on the matter, and the whole collection might then be regarded as the response to the demand which the god makes of the poet.

Personally I agree with Verrall that the answer to the demand is the Three Books, and I think that the position of this Ode at the end of the first book may be explained by the fact that it is in one sense introductory. After II. 1, we are in the heart of Murena's story, the chief motive of the work. Odes II. 19 and 20 are correspondingly introductory to the third book, but with the note much raised.

Cf. this Ode with IV. 1, and see notes thereto.

5. *Lesbio civi* : Alcæus. IV. 1, 33, n.

14. *Testudo* : Shell, the lyre, from the mode of its invention.

XXXIII

TO ALBIUS

ALBIUS, grieve not too much in memory
Of Glycera harsh and crude, and sing no mournful lays
Because a junior is eclipsing thee,

And broken is her faith.

Lycoris famed for her low brow, a love
For Cyrus fires : off Cyrus swerves
To prudish Pholoe : but ewes shall mate

5

With the Apulian wolves,

Ere Pholoe sin with base adulterer.

Such things doth Venus will : whom it delights
To send beneath the brazen yokes in cruel sport

10

Persons and tempers incompatible.

Myself, when Venus gave me a kindlier call,
Was held in pleasant chain by slave-born Myrtale,
More grasping she than Hadria hollowing out

15

The inlets of Calabria.

The Albius of this Ode is usually assumed to be Tibullus, the poet ; whether this be correct or not, the name Glycera, repeated from I. 30, impels us to compare the two poems. In I. 30, we have two stanzas from which we gather that "Glycera,"² the sweet one, is a bride. In this piece Albius is offered as a solace for his loss of Glycera some reflections on the risks of ill-assorted marriages. He has had a disappointment, the sweet one has

left a bitter taste through her preference for a younger rival. The presumption is natural that both poems refer to the same Glycera, and that she has not only preferred the junior but has actually married him? The *aenea juga*, yokes of brass, beneath which Venus, the goddess of love and marriage, delights to send persons who afterwards find out that they do not suit one another, can only have one meaning (Carm. Sæc. 17). That it does refer to wedlock is shown by the illustrations of Cyrus, Lycoris and Pholoe: the word "declinat" indicates that Cyrus is yoked to Lycoris: it implies a breaking away from a previous connection (Cic. De Orat. 2, 38) and the other words point to a breach of the marriage bond.

The Ode is noticeable for Horace's reference to himself in a way that shows he is giving a little of his own history, and to do this is, I believe, the purpose of the poem. The last stanza contains the one allusion to love in the first compilation of his Odes that can *only* be taken as personal to the poet. "I once had a chance to marry, but my connection with a freed-woman, Myrtale, prevented me from taking it." The conclusion of which is, "I too am a sufferer from the cruel caprice of Venus, but my case is slightly different: she offered me a good match, but at a time when I was loath to accept it; I regret it now, for Myrtale was shrewish and greedy." See Verrall, Stud. in Hor. p. 152, and Intr. § 115.

1. *Plus nimio*: more than too much, cf. I. 18, 15.

2. *Immitis*: unripe and so, sour: both meanings are wanted but cannot be rendered by one word.

6. *Asperam*: untranslatable "at once uncomplimentary to Pholoe's person and complimentary to her virtue" (Verrall).

XXXIV

A GRUDGING and unfrequent worshipper of the gods,
When versed in an unsound philosophy

I strayed, now I am forced to back my sails,

And trace the courses o'er again

That I had left. For lo, Diespiter,

5

Most often riving clouds with flashing fire,

Hath driven through the void

His thundering steeds and flying car:

Whereat the stolid earth and wandering streams,

Whereat Styx, and grim seat of hated Tænarus,

10

And the Atlantean boundary, do quake.

The lowest for the highest God can change;

He minishes the famous, bringing forth

Obscurity to light. Fell-swooping Fortune,

With rustling sharp, hence tears,

15

There joys to place, a diadem.

A sequel to Ode 33, and a preface to Odes 35 and 37. We have seen that the poet has lifted the veil from his private life in the

last Ode. Here he is also personal. It looks as if he were, by a touch or two, vindicating his life and opinions. His attitude towards religion is now dealt with. Philosophy is not all-sufficing. There is a power above the human mind for which it will not account. In so far as it denies the existence of this power, philosophy is madness, not wisdom. There is such a thing as fate or destiny independent of ourselves. The theory of Epicurus, to whose school Horace elsewhere declares himself to belong, was that the gods did not interpose in mundane affairs ; but as to the nature of Horace's Epicureanism, *cf.* Intr. § 117.

5. *Diespiter*, an archaic and solemn name of Jupiter.

12. *Cf.* The Magnificat, and the close parallel in Pind. Pyth. II., and see notes to IV. 2.

16. *Diadem* : The tiara of Eastern kings, and also the cap of the Roman flamens, was called *apex*. The use of the word may probably point to the extravagant ambitions of Antonius which were a menace to Augustus and Rome, more serious than the later insane presumptions of Murena (*cf.* II. 2, 21).

XXXV

TO FORTUNA

GODDESS, who rulest pleasant Antium,
At hand, either to lift mortality

From bottommost degree, or turn

Proud triumphs into obsequies,

The humble tiller of the soil solicits thee 5

With anxious prayer : So, mistress of the deep,

Doth one who with Bithynian keel

Challenges the Carpathian main.

Of thee the Dacian rude, the nomad Scythians,
Cities and peoples, Latium in its pride, 10

Of thee, mothers of alien kings,

And purple despots, stand in awe,

Lest thou o'er topple with injurious foot

The standing column, lest an assembling populace

"To arms" may urge the loiterers, "To arms ! 15

And let the empire crash ! "

Before thee always marches stern Necessity,

Bearing in hand of iron, girder bolts

And wedges : neither is ruthless hook

Not there nor molten lead. 20

Thee Hope reveres and rare Fidelity,

Veiled in white robe, who parts not company with thee,

Although, with change of garb, in wrath

Thou leavest lordly homes.

But faithless crowd and harlot false draw back, 25

And friends disperse when kegs are drained

To the lees, deceitful in their pledge
 To share the burden of the yoke.
 Keep Cæsar safe about to go to Britain,
 Terminus of the world, and this new band of youths, 30
 A cause for fear to regions of the dawn,
 And to the Ocean red !
 Alas for scars, for sin, for brothers, there is shame
 To us ! From what have we, heart-hardened age,
 Refrained ? Left what impiety 35
 Untouched ? Whence hath our youth
 Through fear of gods withheld its hand ? What altars
 Hath it spared ? Oh would that on new forge
 Thou may recast our steel made blunt
 Against the Arabs and the Massagets ! 40

That the tacit thought of this hymn to Fortuna is the fall of Antonius is the conclusion of such Horatian commentators as Dr Verrall and Plüss (Intr. § 74). The great Roman so soon to end ingloriously a career unworthy in its end of the nobler qualities he possessed, is not expressly named, but it is the goddess whose temple was the chief feature of the town of his race, who is implored to prevent his contemplated designs. The nature of the connection between Antium and the family of Antonius is not accurately known, but that it gave rise to feelings of reverence in that family is proved by the facts collected by Verrall (Stud. in Hor. p. 97).

We must remember that this Ode was published many years after the death of Antonius, that the sister of the Emperor had been his faithful wife, and was still alive, that his children occupied high places in society and at the court (IV. 2), and above all that he was no common enemy, but one of the greatest of Romans—a brother—against whom brothers were compelled to take up arms. So strong was this feeling, that Augustus expressly refrained from declaring war or triumphing against him, and named Cleopatra as the enemy. His fall was no subject for exultation, and Horace treats it with delicacy.

2. *Præsens* : cf. III. 5, 2, where Horace uses the word in a sense exactly equivalent to the "Emanuel" of Scripture.

13. *Ne* would perhaps be taken more correctly as a prohibition : the pres. subj. is no obstacle, II. 1, 37.

14-16. *Stantem columnam ; imperium* : the new constitution.

17. These illustrations are from sculptures on the temples of Fortune (III. 1, 14, III. 24, 5).

29-30. *Britannos* : A design of Augustus to visit Britain was well known.

33. *Alas* : the language is almost broken : the guilt of fratricidal strife is condemned, cf. III. 2, 13.

35. Cf. III. 6.

XXXVI

With incense and with strings, and dues
 Of steerlings' blood, 'tis pleasure to placate 5
 The guardian gods of Numida,
 Who now, safe back from far Hesperia,
 Distributes many a kiss
 Among his comrades dear : yet more to none
 Than to sweet Lamia, remembering
 Their childhood spent in the same tutelage,
 The gown together changed.
 Let not the gladsome day lack Cretan mark : 10
 No stint be to the jar brought forth :
 In Salian manner be for feet no rest :
 Deep drinking Damalis must not
 Win victory from Bassus by the Thracian draught : 15
 Be neither wanting roses to the feast,
 Nor parsley evergreen, nor lily brief.
 On Damalis all will set
 Their languishing eyes ; but Damalis will not
 From her new lover parted be.
 Than spreading ivy clinging closerier. 20

This Ode contemplates a scene not precisely comparable with any other in the Three Books (*cf.* I. 27 and III. 19). The Lamia is certainly not Horace's *vilicus*, and is hardly likely to be any member of the *Aelian* gens (*cf.* I. 26, III. 17). The meaning of Lamia is a vampire, of Numida, a wanderer, of Damalis, a heifer, of Bassus perhaps "deep" (but *cf.* Battos of Pind. Pyth. IV., who would probably be one of Murena's supposed ancestors —*cf.* I. 11—and note the possible irony of a comparison between a drinking contest with a woman and that for which Battos' descendant Arkesilas was praised). The use of these names renders it almost certain that the identity of the actors in the drama is concealed. Contrast it with the picture of I. 38, and the relative positions of the two Odes become significant. *Cf.* Verrall, Stud. in Hor. p. 129.

Any critic who carefully weighs the whole evidence of the Three Books will hesitate before pronouncing that the tone of rejoicing in this Ode is prompted by sympathy on the part of the poet.

It may be remarked that the ironical contrast which we suppose to be implied in the reference to the Thracian Amystis, may have been suggested by the final scene in the Acharnians, a play which helps our efforts at interpretation on another point, viz. the significance of the name Telephus, see III. 19, 26, notes.

XXXVII

ACTIUM, AND THE FALL OF CLEOPATRA

Now 'tis to drink : now with free foot
 To smite the ground : for now is come the time
 That was to deck the conches of the gods
 With Salian viands, comrades !

Ere this 'twas sacrilege to draw the Cæcuban
 From the ancestral bins, while for the Capitol
 Mad schemes of ruin, and for the Empire doom,
 Was compassing that queen,
 With her contaminate herd
 Of men made vile by maiming—weak

Enough to hope for anything, and with
 Good fortune drunk ! But scarce one ship saved from
 The fires lowered her frenzy. Cæsar brought
 Her mind, inflamed with wine of Marea, back
 To terrors real, pressing with

 His oars upon her as she fled
 From Italy (like hawk on tender doves
 Or speedy hunter on a hare
 O'er snowy Hæmonia's plains)

 That he to chains might give

The monstrous-birth of Fate. But she, seeking to die
 More honourably, unwomanlike cast forth
 Fear of the sword, and did not make
 For hidden shores with her swift fleet,

But dared to view her palace lying low,
 With eye unblurred, and courage had

 To handle angry asps, that through her flesh
 She might drink in the venom black :—

The more defiant as she pondered death :—
 A woman not humbled, nay, disdaining to be brought

 By cruel Liburnians
 To grace, unqueened, a triumph proud.

Intr. § 75. The "curtain" of the first act in Horace's tragedy. The time covered is from the battle of Actium till the death of Cleopatra, twelve months afterwards.

2. The Salii were priests of Mars.

10. Maiming : literally, by disease : a reference to the eunuchs of eastern courts.

12. But scarce one ship, etc., *i.e.* : This fact brought her to her senses.

21. But she, etc. : notice that with this short pause only we are taken from the battle to the death of Cleopatra.

XXXVIII

TO HIS SLAVE

Boy, I detest elaborate Persian state :
Chaplets, with linden-fibre bound, displease :
Cease searching in what places late
The rose is lingering.

To simple myrtle trouble to add naught
With sedulous care : not thee, a servitor,
Doth myrtle misbeseem, nor me while drinking
'Neath an arboured vine.

Horace does not end his book with the loud tone of triumph heard in the preceding Ode ; but, in accordance with the canons of Greek art, brings it to a close with this quiet picture and reflection. The thought he desired to inspire was probably this : "Rome had a fortunate escape from eastern domination. Oriental luxury is not a mode of life for our example." The reference to traders and merchants impiously tempting the sea, which occurs several times in the Odes, has the same moral point. Cf. I. i, II. 18.

BOOK II

I

TO G. ASINIUS POLLIO

THE civil rising since Metellus' consulate,
The cause of war, its crimes and scope,
 The play of Fortune, and the pacts of chiefs,
 Pregnant with woe, and arms
Besmeared with blood, unexpiated yet, 5
Work full of perilous hazard,
 You touch, and walk o'er fires suppressed
 Beneath a treacherous crust of ash.
For a brief space your Muse of Tragedy severe may leave
The theatres. Soon, when you have shaped state history, 10
 Your lofty theme you will resume
 In the Cecropian style,
Pollio, illustrious aid to wretched men accused,
And to a Senate seeking counsel ;
 For whom the bay brought forth eternal honours 15
 Through triumph o'er Dalmatia.
Even now, with murmuring din of horns, you rive
Our ears : now sound the trumpets, now the flash
 Of arms lends terror to the horse that flees,
 And to the horseman's glance. 20
Of mighty leaders now I seem to hear,
By no dishonourable dust defiled,
 And everything on earth subdued,
 Save only Cato's stubborn heart.
Juno, and each of the friendlier gods to Africa, 25
Had impotently left the land all unavenged—
 The conquerors' sons she brought again
 As sacrifices to Jugurtha's shade.
What field, enriched by Latium's own blood,
Doth not bear witness, through its graves, 30
 Of impious battles, and the crash
 Of western downfall heard by Medes ?
What whirlpool, or what rivers, of our dolorous war
Are ignorant ? What sea hath Daunian slaughter
Not incarnadined ? 35
 What shore lacks gore of ours ?

But Muse of rapid speech, with pleasantries renounced,
 Do not resume the burden of a Cean threnody !
 Within Dione's grot with me
 Seek melodies of lighter quill.

40

G. Asinius Pollio was a distinguished soldier, politician, orator, poet and historian of the Augustan age. He was a friend of Horace and Vergil. His early sympathies were strongly Cæsarean. He had been advanced by Julius Cæsar, and was one of the negotiators in arranging the business of the triumvirate. At that time he was associated with Antonius, and was by him sent on a military expedition to Dalmatia for which he triumphed. After this he withdrew from politics. He declined to join Augustus against Antonius, pleading their old friendship, an excuse which the Emperor accepted. His History, alluded to in the Ode, was of the Civil War from B.C. 60 to B.C. 30. Pollio was a patron of literature as well as an author, and built the first library in Rome (See I. 31 and I. 32) in B.C. 33. The Ode has no precise date, but it clearly indicates the beginning of a new era : see Intr. § 76.

12. Cecropian : Lit. "with Cecropian buskin" : Attic tragedy is alluded to.

25. Juno : note that the gods are impotent against fate but they exact revenge on its instruments.

II

TO SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS

THERE is no colour in silver hid within
 The miserly earth, Crispus Sallustius,
 Thou foe to bullion, if by temperate use
 It shine not fair.

To an extended age shall Proculeius live,
 Known for a fatherly spirit to his brothers,
 Him on a wing afraid to droop shall Fame
 Bear, and outlive.

By taming a grasping spirit thou wilt reign
 More widely than if Libya to Gades far
 Thou add, and each Phoenician be
 Slave to a single man.

Dropsy, indulgent to itself, increases sore,
 And does not banish thirst unless the cause of ill
 Flee from the veins, and from the pallid frame
 The languor of its flow.

Virtue, in disagreement with the mass,
 Excludes Praehates, back on Cyrus' throne,
 From the number of the happy, and teaches folk
 To use not words

5

10

15

20

Of error : kingship and diadem secure
 And worthy bay, assigning unto him alone
 Who looks with eye not backward-stained
 On mighty hoards.

Intr. §§ 30, 35, 95 and foll., and Appendix I. Though several of the Odes of the first book seem to contribute to the story of Murena, this is the first in which there is an unveiled allusion to him, for he was the brother to whom Proculeius acted the part of the good father.

This poem is addressed to Sallustius Crispus, the man who succeeded Mæcenas in the counsels of Augustus, and was for many years an intimate friend of Tiberius (Intr. § 33). Sallustius was rich and luxurious, but a man of ability : the first stanza therefore credits him with qualities to which he had a poor title : considering Horace's relations with Mæcenas, it would be hardly possible to suppose that it was not sarcastic, if the moralising was being read as a special lesson for him, but on this see *infra*, and the notes to the next Ode.

Gaius Proculeius Varro Murena was the brother of Terentia (the wife of Mæcenas) and of L. Murena. He was intimate with Augustus, and acted as envoy between him and Cleopatra in Alexandria (Plut. Ant.). Augustus thought of giving Julia to him in marriage after Marcellus' death (Tac. Ann. 4, 40).

At some unknown date he committed suicide by taking poison (Plin. N. H. XXXVI. 59). Quintilian tells of his having had some words with an "heir" of a tenor not unlike those between King Henry IV. and Prince Hal (Shaks. Hen. IV. Act IV. Sc. 4). This heir is described as a son by Quintilian (Inst. Bk. 9, Ch. 3).

In the absence of full details of the relations between Sallustius and Horace, and the secret history of Murena's accusation and conviction, in which Tiberius was prosecutor and his friend Sallustius may have played his part, nothing absolutely certain, but much fair inference, can be gathered from this abrupt collocation of his name with Proculeius. We know that Proculeius was alive and was unable to save his brother in B.C. 22 (Intr. § 38). Knowledge of the date of his death would be very welcome. It is not at all improbable that he was dead when Horace wrote this Ode, and that "*extento ævo*" may refer to the memory of men. The phrase *fama superstes* "surviving fame" seems to support this. The Ode should be carefully compared with the next one.

2. The uncommon word *lamnæ*, here translated "bullion," means gilding foil : cf. II. 18, 2, a reference to gilded ceilings, the acme of ostentatious luxury at the time.

5. *Vivet* ; shall live : balanced by the *moriture* in v. 4 of the next Ode.

6. *Fratres*, see Wickham's note : the plural does not necessarily imply that there was more than one brother : History tells us only of Lucius, but the sixth century scholiasts, Acron and Porphyrius, mention another whom they call Scipio. Wickham says "Scipio has been ingeniously altered by Estre to Cæpio, the name of the person who suffered death with Murena for a conspiracy against Augustus in B.C. 22. There is no reason however from any other authority to suppose the two were brothers."¹²

Very much misplaced ingenuity, for it is quite clear from Dio that they were not brothers. Cæpio's father was alive at the time, and there is no hint of an attempt on the part of Mæcenas and Proculeius to save anyone but Murena. All the recorded facts are against such a supposition. The scholiasts' notion may be a relic of some tradition on the bearing of the Cæpio-Murena execution on the interpretation of the Odes.

9. By taming, etc. Probable point :—as you and Tiberius have tamed the spirit of Proculeius' brother ; a foreshadowing of what follows.

13. Dropsy : Intr. § 104 : Suetonius describes Lucius Audacius as "unsound in body." On our showing that Audacius may be Murena, the reference to dropsy might be regarded as a note of explanation, but we have no record of his suffering from this disease, and we chance to have a record of what seems a definite deformity. A story is told by Suetonius (De Gram. 9) of Orbilius, the teacher of Horace, who died at an advanced age, as follows :—*Orbilius interrogatus a Varrone diverse partis advocato, quidnam ageret et quo artificio uteretur. "Gibberosos se de sole in umbram transferre" respondit, quod Murena gibber erat* :—That is : that when Orbilius was once questioned by Varro, the advocate, as to his calling and the vocation he followed, Orbilius made the cutting reply, that he "put hunchbacks from the sunlight into the shade" ; because Murena was a hunchback.

Now this Varro Murena can hardly be anyone but our friend who was, as we know, an advocate (Intr. § 38), and who is elsewhere described by Suetonius by these two names, and when he asked the question, he was clearly a prominent man, for the anecdote is given as an instance of Orbilius' freedom of speech with social leaders. This possibility of Murena's deformity will also explain the outburst of extravagant emotion of Mæcenas which is quoted by Seneca (Ep. 101) "Make me powerless in the hand, powerless in the foot, powerless in the thigh : add to me the hunchback's swelling : shatter my smooth teeth : while life is left it is well : sustain that in me even if I suffer the agony of the cross" :—*Debilem facito manu, / debilem pede, coxa : / Tuber adstrue gibberum : / Lubricos quate dentes. / Vita dum superest bene est : / Hanc mihi, vel acuta / si sedeam cruce, sustine.* Whether this is a quotation from the Prometheus (Intr. § 110) we are not told, but the reference to the "tuber gibberum" by Mæcenas is remarkable. The extract reads like a bitter reflection on the treatment he had received from Augustus after the Murena debâcle. It would appear as if one Richard Plantagenet in the fifteenth century A.D. had perhaps a more plausible claim to regard himself as a reincarnation of Licinius Murena than the latter for assuming to be the avatar of Inachus, Achilles or Codrus (III. 12 n.).

17. Prahates is pictured as restored to the throne from which he had been driven by Teridates (I. 26). This note of date would indicate to a contemporary reader the time at which the lyrst is supposed to speak. It is no guide to us as to the actual date of composition.

23. These words clearly contain a sting, but the barb is more likely for Murena than for Sallustius ; Intr. § 100, and next Ode. The words "kingship," "secure diadem," and "worthy bay," may be allusions to Murena's ambition : the "eye on the gold," to his fraud : cf. note on v. 9.

III

TO —

AN even mind remember to preserve
 In arduous times, conversely, in the good
 One tinctured with no overweening joy,
 For you will die (Gillo)
 Whether you live at all times sad, 5
 Or whether on distant lawn reclined
 Through days of feast you are made glorious
 From inmost cellar of Falernian.
 Where the giant pine and silver poplar love
 To blend with boughs an hospitable shade, 10
 And where the fleeing water frets
 To ripple o'er a crooked course,
 Hither bid bring the wines and oils and lovely blooms
 Of roses too short-lived, while age,
 And means, and the dim webs, 15
 Of the Sisters three allow.
 You will depart from bought up glades,
 From mansion and estate which yellow Tiber laves :
 You will depart ; your heir will take
 Your wealth built in the deep. 20
 It matters not that you be rich and sprung
 From ancient Inachus, or that of lowest birth,
 And poor, you dwell beneath the open sky,
 Victim of Orcus pitying none.
 We all are driven alike. The lot of all 25
 Is tossed within the urn, later, sooner,
 To come forth and place us in the boat
 Hieing to eternal banishment.

The problem offered by this Ode is to arrive at the correct reading of the name in the first stanza. When once the connection of Murena's story with the plan of the Three Books is allowed, the reader can have no doubt that this moralising looks towards him. The words of warning, however, lose their force under the cover of an address to a third person. The name Dellius has a long tradition with this Ode, for the sixth century scholiasts read "Delli." However the eldest, and best, Blandinian MS. had "Gelli," and in my opinion this gives a glimpse of the truth. One can see no reason for drawing the turn-coat Dellius, or L. Gellius Poplicola, into the Murena - Mæcenas - Augustus story, and neither of these men seems to be mentioned elsewhere in Horace, whereas the contrary will be found of almost every other historic person named in the Three Books. The suggestion that I have to make may seem startling and overbold, but if I am right in my interpretation of v. 40 of Juvenal, Sat. 1, it has more

justification than the majority of accepted emendations. I believe the original reading to be Gillo, and that II. 2 and II. 3 are a pair of poems adding point to the story (which here begins in earnest to be unfolded) by illustrating the different dispositions of the brothers, Proculeius and L. Licinius Murena. "Ah, well," says Juvenal, "Proculeius receives one-twelfth and Gillo eleven-twelfths, every man has his deserts you see," an ironical reflection from so deep a student of Horace which, considering the other allusions to the Three Books pointed out in Intr. § 101, may well suggest, in the light of other discoveries, that Horace did not write "Gelli" or "Delli" in this place, but that he did write "Gillo" "the wine-cooler," and that some reader, who had not Juvenal's understanding of the meaning, has altered the name. In all likelihood this poem is the place whence Juvenal derived this "Gillo," whom he contrasts with Proculeius—the man, Murena, who tempers the fires of the wine in III. 19. If so, II. 2 and II. 3 must be read together. They will illustrate many facts elsewhere gathered. Both of course would be written after Murena's execution, perhaps after the suicide of Proculeius had added to their appropriateness as constituents of a memorial inspired by Melpomene. It will now be seen why I noted in the notes to II. 2 that "laminæ" might refer to the gilded ceiling (II. 18) in the palace to which Murena entered as an *ignotus heres*, and why the allusion to the covetous look on up-heaped gold may more nearly concern him than Sallustius.

The parallels and allusions common to this Ode and those expressly referring to Murena are patent; cf. II. 10, III. 19, etc.

17. *Coempts*: bought up: For the reproach in this, cf. II. 15, notes. For the point as to the leaving these things, cf. III. 19, 26, n.

18. *Flavus quam*, etc. See Verrall's Essay on these words. Stud. in Hor. p. 124. He remarks the suggestion of danger they contain, an effect that would not occur to a reader without imaginative projection into the times: see Intr. § 4, cf. also Appendix I.

22. Inachus: this coupling of the descent from Inachus with riches, etc., points directly to Murena, and links the Ode with III. 19.

24. Orcus: cf. III. 4, 75 and notes, also I. 28, Orcus does not allow men to return to earth as you think, the banishment is eternal.

26. *Urna*: A glance at Murena's reliance on sortilege: III. 1, 16, Intr. § 102.

IV

TO XANTHIAS PHOCEUS

LET not thy love of a bond-maid be shame to thee,
O Xanthias Phoceus! Ere his rage broke forth
A slave, Briseis, by her beauty fair as snow,
Achilles moved.

Moved Ajax, born of Telamon, her lord,
The beauty of Tecmessa, a captive girl,
The son of Atreus glowed in mid-triumph for
A ravished virgin, 5
When the barbarian squadrons fell
Before a conqueror from Thessaly, and Hector lost
Gave to the war-worn Greeks a Pergamos
More easy to be razed.
Thou know'st not if, their son-in-law, the parents rich
Of auburn Phyllis may not be thy pride?
Royal surely her descending, and she mourns 10
O'er household gods unkind?
Think not that she, by thee beloved, is of
The tainted crowd. that one so true, and so
Indifferent to gain, could have been born
Of mother shame-worthy.
Her arms and face, and well-turned limbs,
I honestly praise. Put off suspicion of one
Whose age has hastened on to close
Its lustrum eighth. 20

Xanthias of Phocis : Xanthias means golden or yellow, and is an equivalent from the Greek of the *flavæ* applied to Phyllis. It is perhaps a variant of the names Telephus and Pyrrhus (III. 19, etc., and III. 20). That the Ode is the mere piece of pleasantry generally supposed is very doubtful. Wickham notes the sarcasm in the qualities attributed to Phyllis, and there is certainly not less in the comparison of the man with Achilles and Ajax. Phocis was celebrated for its war single-handed against the other constituents of the Amphictyonic confederacy, who had the aid of Philip of Macedon. Parnassus and Delphi were both in this country, the men of which were distinguished for their courage. If in the latter half of the poem Horace is speaking in *propria persona*, he places it as if written *circa* December B.C. 25, when he would complete his fortieth year, but too much precision must not be expected. See Page's note.

15. Her descending : cf. Shakspere, Pericles, Act V. Sc. 1. Cf. notes on I. 27.

V

Not yet on burdened neck hath she the strength
To bear a yoke, not yet to share
The offices of mate, nor of a bull,
Rushing on amorousness, to thole the weight,
Your heifer's heart is in the greening plains,
Assuaging now oppressive heat in streams, 5
Now fain to sport with steerlings

In the lush withy-copse:
 Crush the desire for unripe grape,
 Quickly for you will changeful Autumn mark 10
 The livid clusters
 With a purple hue.
 Soon she will follow you, for quickening age
 Runs on, and adds to her what years
 It takes from you : with winsome look 15
 Shall Lalage soon seek a spouse—
 Beloved as even Pholoe coy was not,
 Nor Chloris gleaming so with shoulder white
 As the pure moon reflected in
 Nocturnal sea, or Gnidian Gyges,
 Set whom among a group of maids, and Lo, 20
 Discernment of his sex, obscured by flowing locks,
 And face of boy or girl, would wondrously
 Elude the stranger though of sharpest eye.

This warning is evoked under circumstances somewhat similar to those which led to I. 33. Horace condemns marriage with girls too young for that estate. This custom was turned to a strange use in later years as a method of evading the stringent marriage laws passed by Augustus.

16. *Maritum*: husband, the word shows that the maid is being wooed as a bride.

I may state here that this and the Chloe poem (I. 23) and perhaps the Asterie (III. 7), etc., may have some point of contact with the Murena motive, but we have not sufficient facts preserved for drawing inferences, or rather, research has not as yet revealed them.

VI

TO SEPTIMIUS

SEPTIMIUS, thou wouldest go with me to Gades;
 And to Cantabrians, untaught to bear our yoke,
 And barbarous Syrtes, where the Maurian wave
 For ever seethes.

Let Tibur, founded by the Argive colonist,
 Be of my eld—I pray—the resting place,
 To me worn out be end of warfare and
 Sea journeyings.

But if the Fates unkind debar me thence, 5
 I'll seek the river of Galæsus, dear to its sheep
 Enwrapt in pelts, and lands ruled by Phalantus,
 The Laconian.

That corner of the world smiles more for me
 Than all, where honeys yield not to Hymettus, and
 The berry vies with green
 Venafrian.

15

Where lengthy Spring Jove grants and Winters mild,
 And Aulon kindly to the Bacchic tilth,
 Has least to envy in

Falernian grapes.

20

Thee in my company that place and refuge blest
 Require : and there with tributary tear
 Shalt thou bedew the glowing ashes
 Of thy poet friend.

A pathetic poem, genuine in sentiment. Horace contemplates death, and evidences his love for his country home. Porphyryion describes Septimius as a knight and also a poet, *cf.* Epist. I. 9.

1. The form of the opening recalls Catull. IX. (*cf.* I. 22). Comparison between Catullus' sapphics and this Ode shows the nature of Horace's treatment of his originals to some extent. He imitates and adapts, working in local allusion to the framework selected. The fact that an Horatian Ode can be placed as an imitation is but a minor point in interpreting it, the poet's genius was shown in the application to local topics, and they are the true basis for interpretation.

2. Cantabrian : A note of date. He is not yet conquered. Augustus returned to Rome claiming to have conquered the Cantabrians in B.C. 25-24. Intr. § 77, and III. 14.

VII

TO POMPEIUS

O, oft with me reduced to lowest strait,
 In our campaign 'neath Brutus' leadership,
 Who has restored thee as a citizen *Quirites*
 To thy paternal gods and sky of Italy,
 Pompeius, first of my companions,

5

With whom I often broke the lingering day with wine,
 Chapleted on my locks that shone
 With Syrian perfume ? *Augustus*.

With thee Philippi and its headlong rout
 I felt, my little shield ingloriously left,

When ~~Virtue~~ broke, and threateners
~~Strikes~~ *Joled* ignominious dust.

Me through the foe *Mercurius* swift,
 In a dense cloud, all fearful, bore,

Thee a wave sucking back to war
 Carried upon its boiling surge.

15

Now therefore pay to Jove the bounden feast;
 And lay thy side, worn out with service long,
Beneath my laurel bush, nor spare
The jars reserved for thee.

20

With the oblivion-giving Massic fill to brim
 The polished cups. Pour from capacious shells
The scents. Who sees to speeding coronals
Of parsley lush or myrtle?

25

Whom will the "Venus" name as arbiter
 Of drinking-rule? Oh, not more soberly
 Than Edons I shall revel! to have
 My friend restored to me is joy delirious.



25

The sincerity of this Ode is manifest. Our only knowledge of this Pompeius is from Horace, but that he was a real person is clear. It is not probable that he is the "Grosphus" of II. 16; as to the Pompeius Grosphus of Epist. I. 12, 22, the case is doubtful. Horace was about twenty-three years old at the time of Philippi, where he was a tribune in Brutus' army. The tone in which he speaks of his part in the battle is clearly influenced by later history, "the poor little shield I left there" is rather a depreciation of youthful error than a confession of cowardice. The poem's main link of connection with the Three Books as a whole is in v. 21, see *n.*, *infra*.

3. Quiritem: a very significant word, meaning that the rebel has regained his citizenship. The answer to the question in the first sentence is of course "Augustus."

11. Virtue: a reference to Brutus' dying words: *cf.* Wickham's note.

12. Joled: an old word meaning to strike the head against anything; it is used as an equivalent for *tetigere mento*.

21. Oblivion-giving: the point of the poem; recognise that the past is dead, a lesson intimately connected with the main themes of the Three Books.

25. Venus: the name for the highest throw with the dice.

27. Edons: *i.e.* than Bacchanals, from Mount Edon in Thrace, a seat of Bacchus-worship; *cf.* Ovid, Met. 11, 69.

VIII

TO BARINE

IF any punishment for your perjured oath
 Had e'er, Barine, touched the quick,
 Or spoiled your beauty to the extent
 Of one lost tooth, one nail,
 I might believe. But you, as soon as you have pledged 5
 Your faithless head with vows, flash forth
 More lovely far, and forward stand professed
 A favourite of young men.

It helps you to swear falsely by
 Your mother's inurned ashes, by silent signs
 Of night, with the whole heaven, and by the gods
 Immune from chilly death.

10

True, Venus smiles at this herself, smile too
 The guileless nymphs, and cruel Cupid,
 Alway sharpening glowing darts on whetstone
 Stained with blood.

15

And more, our flower of youth grows all for you,
 Grows up enslavement new. Yet their precursors
 Quit not their wicked charmer's roof,
 Though threatening oft.

20

Our matrons fear you for their young,
 And fathers, foes to riot, and lately wedded brides,
 Distressed lest your alluring air delay
 Their husbands' home return.

The matchless elegance of this reproach to "Barine" has perhaps caused the fact that it is a reproach to be rather too much overlooked. As to Horace's use of such names or addresses as Barine, Asterie, "wife of Ibucus," Damalis, etc., see Verrall, Wickham, and the modern commentators. We may safely conclude that they are never meaningless, though unable always to explain them with certainty. The old-fashioned habit of reading Horace's personal history into such poems as this is responsible for much error. See Verrall, Stud. in Hor. Essay VI.

14. *Simplices*: guileless, but perhaps a little less so than they are thought; cf. I. 5, 5.

IX

TO T. VALGIUS RUFUS

Not always do the rains pour from the clouds
 On twilled fields, or do the ruffling storms

Harass the Caspian sea for ever,

And in Armenia's shores,

Friend Valgius, ice stands not motionless
 Through all the months : or under Aquilo

Do oak woods of Garganus strain,

Or ash-trees bear their widowhood of leaves.

With mournful mood thou harpest ever
 On Mystes lost, and from thee

5

Thy passion sinks, neither at Hesper's rise,

Nor when he flees before the hastening sun.

But that old man whose age spanned lifetimes three,
 Wailed not for loved Antilochus through all his years ;

His parents, and the Phrygian maids,

His sisters, did not mourn

Young Troilus without end. Desist at last

10

15

From weak repinings : and rather let us sing the new
 Trophies of Cæsar, the August ;
 And of Niphates frozen stiff,
 The Median river added to our conquered states
 To roll more humble tides, and the Gelonians,
 Riding within the bounds prescribed,
 On narrowed plains.

20

T. Valgius Rufus was a poet and a member of the circle of Mæcenas. See Sat. I. 10 where he is mentioned as one of the men of culture for whose approbation Horace cares, *cf.* vv. 80-88. Valgius was probably Consul in B.C. 12. The notes of date in the last stanza have been much discussed. In Intr. § 76, the significance of the words *Augusti Cæsaris* has been indicated. This is the only occasion in the Odes where both name and title occur together. Cæsar became the "August" in January B.C. 27. The allusions to Asiatic conquests have been referred to two distinct periods (1) Cæsar's "settlement" of Parthian and other Eastern affairs, soon after Cleopatra's death (see the Histories, and *cf.* IV. 14, 34), and (2) the events of the year B.C. 20, when the lost standards of Crassus were restored. The former is in our view the correct reference. Horace's words re-echo a passage in the Georgics, 3, 30, etc., written in B.C. 29. Considering that contemporary history explains their insertion in Vergil's poem, commentators reasonably reject the forced theory that they are an addition made by Vergil shortly before his death in B.C. 19. The same historical events explain Horace's allusions, and there is no need to regard them as a disturbance of the chronological outline. The first Ode in this book speaks of the Civil Wars as finished, here we have a reference to the trophies by which the Emperor's victories were marked, and to the assumption of the new title.

1. *Hispidos* : *i.e.* ruffled ; for "twilled," *cf.* Shakspere, Temp. Act IV. Sc. 1, "twilled brims". The idea here is of the surface dried in ridges after rain.

10. *Mystes*, a Greek word meaning "initiated," hence, one old enough to witness the rites at the mysteries. Initiation was part of a Greek youth's education.

14. Antilochus : Nestor, and his son Antilochus, who was killed while defending his father : this allusion, and the one to Troilus, would point to "Mystes" as a son of Valgius, and the use of the Greek term, indicating the age of the boy, is not against it. Pindar, Pyth. 6, relates the story of Antilochus.

X

TO LICINIUS

LICINIUS, better wilt thou live by neither urging
 Alway out to sea, nor, while on guard 'gainst storms
 Thou shudderest, by pressing an evil shore
 Too close.

Whoever courts a golden mean is safe
To escape the squalor of a mouldered roof,
And shrewd to escape a palace that may

5
Be grudged to him.

Most often is the tall pine rocked by winds,
High turrets fall with greatest crash,
And 'tis the loftiest mounts that lightnings

10
Strike.

A mind well balanced hopes for the opposite lot
When times are adverse, when they are favourable,
Fears it. Ill-looking winters Jove brings back,

15
And eke

Removes them. Not if things go badly now,
For long will it be so. Apollo sometimes wakes
The silent Muse within his lyre, nor always bends

His bow.

In straitened circumstances spirited
And brave appear. With wisdom thou
Wilt likewise shorten sail that bellies to

20
A gale too favourable.

This Ode is the first to mention Lucius Licinius Varro Murena by one of his names, *cf.* Intr. §§ 52, 95, and foll., etc. Two conditions of life are contemplated, a moderate competence and great wealth. The former has its compensations, the latter its dangers. We know that Murena passed from the one through poverty to the other. The time at which the lyrist speaks is before the favourable breeze had brought him fortune. Of course the composition was later : see Wickham's note. Since we have grounds for suspicions that the "favourable breeze" was contrived by Murena himself with the help of a "small tablet or two and a moistened seal" (Intr. § 101), the irony of the first stanza becomes apparent, and *iniquum* untranslatable. The first line is a reference to his "audacity," the later ones to the fact that his dread of poverty leads him to fraud (*iniquum*, in the sense of "unfair") and to danger (*ditto*, in the sense of "hostile") : it is not the first time we have met the same word with a *double entendre* (I. 2, 47). The palace that arouses a feeling of envy connects with II. 18, and other references link the Ode with II. 3, and consequently with II. 2, and numerous others *passim*. One who has not been accustomed to read the Three Books as a whole should note how, after the close of the Civil War with Book I., the second book becomes the *nidus* for the development of the pathetic and personal element of Horace's work. After Murena is unmistakably introduced the tone is gloomy and ominous. For the association of this Ode with Mæcenas, *cf.* Intr. § 110.

7. *Aula invidenda* ; *cf.* III. 1, 45.

15. A mind, etc. : II. 3.

17. Removes ; *submovere* : the regular word for the act of lictors in causing bystanders to stand aside, *cf.* I. 11, II. 18, 21.

20. Apollo keeps, etc. : III. 4, 64, *n.*

22. With wisdom, etc. : the exact opposite of the course really pursued.

XI

TO QUINTIUS HIRPINUS

WHAT the Cantabrian, prone to war, intends,
Or Scythian, separate, with Hadria interposed,
Forbear to ask, Hirpinus Quintius,
And fret not to provide
For life requiring little. Retreating flees 5
Smooth-rounded youthfulness and bloom,
When withered greyness drives away
Light-hearted loves and easy sleep.
Not always is the glory of spring flowers the same ;
The reddening moon shines not with single phase. 10
Why weary out the mind incapable
Of planning for all time ?
Why not, either beneath a lofty plane, or 'neath
This pine reclining, thus unblushingly,
And with hoar locks rose-scented, drink 15
While yet we may, with Syrian nard
Anointed ? Evius disperses gnawing cares,
What lad will quicklier slake the fire
In cups of hot Falernian,
With water running by ? 20
Who will entice from home the truant harlot Lyde ?
Come, bid her hasten with an ivory lyre,
Her hair bound back in comely knot,
After the manner of Laconia.

Of Quintius Hirpinus we are without information. The tone of the Ode is in harmony with those concerned with Murena. The Quintius of Epist. I. 16 seems to be the same man. There are passages in that epistle which gain unmistakable point on our view of Murena's character and offences if we read it as addressed to him by a pseudonym, cf. esp. vv. 57-62 : the "good" man of the courts and forum who prays the goddess of thieves that he may not be found out : that he may have a reputation of justice and sanctity : that night may cloke his evil deeds and clouds conceal his fraud : and why does Horace moralise to "Quintius" on the fact that he who covets shall also fear, and that whoso has fear in his life is not to be considered a free man ? Why does he refer to myths which he has used in the Odes such as the story of Pentheus (II. 19, 14) and to the Bacchanals the inciters to frenzy (I. 16, 8) with the conclusion that after all Death is the end of everything (I. 28, II. 3, 4) ?

There are some facts emerging from the name Hirpinus which also seem worthy of consideration. Hirpus, from which it comes, means a wolf. The Hirpini, or wolf-folk, seem to have been an ancient Sabine clan who with cruel rites worshipped the infernal gods on Mount Soracte. It is related that they

had been ordered by oracles to live like wolves on prey (Serv. ad *Æn.* XI. 784). Now in the first book of the *Metamorphoses* the giver of the banquet, which seems to connect itself by allusion to some plot against Augustus, is Lycaon, noted for ferocity, who was turned by Jupiter into a wolf. Thus Ovid's allegory and Horace's quite possibly refer to the same subject, and under the names Hirpinus and Lycaon we may have L. Licinius Murena reappearing. If so, this Ode would settle the question that in spite of this being likened to "Achilles" and "Pyrrhus" (which were probably comparisons of his own choice) Murena was not a young man in b.c. 22 (*cf.* Intr. § 100). The Hirpini, from their connection with Soracte, were called Sorani, and hence we may doubt whether Ode I. 9 which introduces the self-indulgent "Thaliarchus"—the governor of a feast—is the mere prettiness generally supposed.

It may more reasonably be taken to adumbrate the story of the sequel in one department, as the fourth Ode, to Sestius, does in another. The reader will do well to examine the allusions to wolves and beasts of prey throughout the work: *cf.* I. 22, I. 23, I. 17, III. 18, etc.

Notice that Lyde here is described by the most offensive term possible. In Juvenal we read of a notorious person called "gross Lyde with her box of medicaments," *i.e.* witch's oils, etc., Sat. II. 141; in *Catalecta V.* (see App. I.) the "fat bedfellow" of the witchcraft-loving Lucius is cast in his teeth: there is probably a connection between the three: *cf.* III. 11, *n.*

XII

TO MÆCENAS

DESIRE not that long wars of fierce Numantia,
Or doughty Hannibal, or the Sicilian sea,
Purple with Punic blood, be set

To the soft measures of the lute,
Or savage Lapithæ, Hylæus all too deep
In wine, the sons of earth subdued by hand
Of Hercules, whence danger shook

The shining house of ancient Saturn
To its base. You in the narrative of prose
Will better tell the wars of Cæsar,
Mæcenas, and the necks of menacing kings

Led through the streets.
My Muse hath willed that of Licymnia,
Our lady, I should sing sweet songs,—
Her brightly shining eyes, and heart

All faithful to responsive love.
Her it has neither misbeseemed to give the foot
To dances, nor in mirth's fray to share, nor to link arms
In sport with gay-dressed maids upon
Diana's crowded holiday.

5

10

15

20

Would you for all that rich Achæmenes possessed,
 Or wealth Mygdonian of fertile Phrygia,
 Or plenished homes of Araby, wish one tress
 Of your Lycymnia to change ?—
 When she inclines her neck to glowing kisses, 25
 Or with a gentle cruelty denies those she
 Would joy in more if by the asker snatched,
 Which sometimes she makes haste to snatch.

The position of this Ode, following II. 10 and 11, is important, and also that it proposes Mæcenas as the author of a work on “the battles” of Cæsar, and of “reges” (as to the double meaning, see I. 1, 1, II. 14, 11) who threatened him, and who had been led to execution through the streets, or in triumph. What battles are indicated? From the first stanza they would seem to be of the Cantabrian war, or of general history, but in the second, as if to hint at allegory by mention of its material, there is the familiar reference to fights of Lapithæ (I. 18, 8) and of “giants” against the ancient home of Saturn (II. 19, 22, III. 4, 50). The poet then introduces Lycymnia as the better subject for his own compositions, *i.e.* Licinia, Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas, and Murena’s sister. He describes her charm, her wit, and love of dancing—traditional in the Murena family (Cic. Pro. Mur. 6), her influence over her husband, and her “*bene mutuis fidum pectus amoribus*,” a phrase susceptible of more than one meaning: *e.g.* her heart faithful to its love that is returned, or her heart trusted in by love (felt for her, and) which she returns: for *fidus* in the second sense, *cf.* Livy I. 11.

In the story of the Lapithæ we find that at the marriage of Piritheus, their king, the Centaurs were guests. One while drunken insulted Hippodamia, the bride, and a fight followed. It was supposed to have been excited by Mars who was offended at being the only god uninvited to the feast. The Centaurs were repulsed. Hercules afterwards was with the Centaurs, but a dispute arising, he attacked them and slew so many that the others fled to Chiron. Hercules followed, and unintentionally slew Chiron; he was so enraged at this that he put all the remaining Centaurs to death. Hylæus was one of the Centaurs; Vergil, Georg. 2, 427, says he was killed by Bacchus in the fight with the Lapithæ. Rhœtus or Rhœcus was, according to some, also a Centaur: Horace gives him a similar fate with that of Vergil’s Hylæus, but classes him among the giants who attacked heaven (II. 19, 23, III. 4, 55). This story of lust and blood over a marriage feast is not so likely, as some editors think, to be a reference to the later career of Antonius as a foreglance towards the story of Murena that is to follow (III. 19 and III. 20, n.), *cf.* also III. 4, 80, and for the story of Piritheus, Theseus and Proserpine, IV. 7, 27.

The symbolism underlying the attempt of the young giants has been treated in the Intr. § 83. It offers an analogue of a battle that put Cæsar in great danger, *cf.* Sellar, Horace, p. 162, 2nd ed.

Mæcenas was an author, Intr. § 98, II. 2, 13, n. As to his wife’s part in the story of Murena, see Intr. §§ 30 and 68.

XIII

TO A TREE

HE planted thee on an ill-omened day,
 And with a sacrilegious hand, whoever first
 Grew thee, O tree, to be a bane
 To children's children, and the country's shame.
 I could believe that he had broken his father's neck, 5
 And stained his inmost chambers with
 The midnight blood of a guest :
 Venoms of Colchis, and whate'er
 Of wickedness is anywhere conceived,
 That man had handled, who set in my field 10
 You, wretched log, you, fain to fall
 Upon your unoffending master's head.
 What each man should avoid, is never quite
 Guarded against from hour to hour. The Punic seaman
 Shudders at Bosphorus, but has no fear 15
 Further of unseen fate elsewhere.
 The soldier dreads the Parthian's bolts and rapid flight ;
 The Parthian, chains and an Italian dungeon :
 But 'tis the stroke of death all unforeseen
 That takes and will take men. 20
 How nearly did I see the realms
 Of gloomy Proserpine, and Æacus giving judgment,
 The seats of the blessed set apart,
 And Sappho, with Æolian strings,
 Complaining of the girls of her own race, 25
 And thee, Alcæus, sounding with golden quill
 More loudly, a sailor's hardships,
 Hardships malign of banishment, hardships of war.
 The shades admire both singing what befits
 The holy hush. But through its ear 30
 More eagerly doth the dense shouldering crowd
 Drink tales of quarrels and banished potentates.
 What wonder ? When, gaping at their refrains,
 The hundred-headed monster droops his ears,
 And vipers twisted in the locks 35
 Of the Eumenides take rest ;
 Prometheus too, and Pelops' sire, are cheated
 By the sweet sound out of their travail,
 Nor cares Orion to disturb
 Lions or timorous lynxes. 40

Horace's life was endangered by the fall of a tree : we do not know when, but he uses the incident as a link between himself and his patron (II. 17, 21). The danger of Mæcenas is generally

supposed to have been from illness, after which his appearance in the theatre was greeted with applause. This may be so, but that it does not explain all the language of II. 17 is evident; cf. also I. 20.

The course in which Horace's thought runs in the latter half of this Ode should be carefully considered. After the risks of life, and especially of the unforeseen, he mentions the *Vulgarus*—the crowd that jostles and gapes to hear the disputes of the mighty *and the downfall of the great*, and—quite casually, of course—Prometheus is again mentioned, the son of Iapetus after whom Mæcenas named the book in which he “wrote truth upon the rack” (Intr. § 110, I. 3, II. 18, 35), and also Pelops' sire—Tantalus—who in the midst of water could never get a drop to drink (I. 28, II. 18, 37) and Orion (III. 4, 71): three men suffering the tortures of hell for offences against the gods. They are doing—what? Being cheated out of the remembrance of their travail for a moment by sweet sounds (cf. III. 11, IV. 11, 35). The poet of these Odes is perhaps using his art to similar end for the friend to whom they are dedicated (III. 1, 41), but he does not blurt this out to the vulgar herd. (Intr. § 14, §§ 30-34, § 85, and II. 16, 40, III. 1, 1. App. I.)

8. Venoms of Colchis : cf. I. 27.

XIV

TO POSTUMUS

ALAS! Postumus, Postumus, the fleeing years
Slip by, and duteousness does not give pause
To wrinkles, or to hastening age,
Or death unconquerable.

Not even if on each day that goes,
O friend, you favour with three hundred bulls

Pluto inexorable, who holds
Geryon triply huge, and Tityos,
Beneath a bitter flood, which verily must
By all who eat the bread of earth

5

10

Be sailed, whether we princes be,
Or starveling country-hinds.

In vain shall we be free from bloody war,
And from the broken waves of rancorous Hadria,

In vain shall we through autumns fear

15

Auster, our bodies' enemy,
Our visit we must make to black Cocytus,
Wandering with languid flow, to Danaid race

Ill famed, to Sisyphus, son of Æolus,

Doomed to a lengthy toil.

20

Earth must be left, and home and darling wife,
And of those trees you cherish none

Except the hated cypresses will be
 In company with their master of a day.
 An heir more worthy shall consume the Cæcuban
 Kept by a hundred keys, and drench
 The pavement with the lordly wine,
 More fit for banquets of the priests.

25

Postumus was the cognomen of a Roman gens, but no contemporary of Horace can be identified with the addressee of this Ode. The general opinion is that it is here a pseudonym. If Verrall's conclusion that Licinius Varro Murena inherited the fortune of M. Terentius Varro is correct (Intr. § 37), it is probable that the latter is Postumus. The word would suit him, for Varro, who died *circa* B.C. 29, was the last survivor of a generation of culture and action in which Julius Cæsar and Cicero were leading lights. Varro was immensely rich, and a deep scholar and voluminous author. He compiled, *circa* B.C. 36, a book on agriculture to which Vergil was indebted in composing the Georgics, and which no student of the Odes can believe that Horace had not read. (Intr. § 85.) This Ode purports to be addressed to an old man (Varro was eighty in B.C. 36) who may if he choose, sacrifice 300 bulls daily : a cultivator of trees, who is about to leave to a "worthier" heir his hoarded Cæcuban (I. 20, n.). The points which Horace selects for mention are all significant, and an heir is not out of sight for long (II. 15, II. 18, 5). On this theory, the allusion to the misuse of the precious wine is intelligible. In the picture of the banquet in which he is described as an Augur, Murena is represented as actually wasting in an orgy the substance that might better have graced a pontiff's board. The condemnation of private luxury in Horace must always be associated with a second idea, whether mentioned or not—viz. that it was the duty of the rich to spend freely on public objects. The support of the wealthy was most material to the success of Augustus. (II. 15, 17.)

8. Geryon and Tityos : Geryon was slain by Hercules : Tityos was the subject of the vengeance of Zeus or Apollo for insolence to Leto (III. 41, 77, III. 11, 21, IV. 6, 2).

11. *Reges* : A common sense of *reges* in the plural is "the great," I. 1, 1, II. 12, 12.

18-20. Danai genus: *cf.* III. 11. The punishment of the daughters of Danaus consisted in trying to fill a vessel from which the water ever escaped : of Sisyphus, to roll uphill a stone which always fell again from the top—tasks never to be completed.

XV

FEW acres for the plough 'the regal piles
 Will leave : pools will be seen spread out
 On all sides wider than the Lucrine lake :
 The plane companionless
 Will oust the elms ; then violet beds,

5

And myrtle, and all the nosegay mass,
 Will sprinkle scent on olive groves,
 Productive for their former lord :
 Then matted laurel with its branches will exclude
 The burning rays. Not so was it ordained by policy 10
 Of Romulus, or of unshaven Cato, or
 By rule of men of old.
 Their private revenues were small,
 The public great : no portico,
 Measured by ten-foot lengths, for private folk, 15
 Would face the shady north.
 And custom would not let them scorn
 The chance-found sod, bidding them decorate
 Towns at the common cost,
 And temples of the gods with new-dressed stone. 20

If the theory advanced in the notes to the preceding Ode is correct, the heir has come into his inheritance, and is exchanging the useful for the ornamental (for Roman sentiment on this, see Verrall, Stud. in Hor. p. 35). He is throwing land out of cultivation to make lakes, and for agriculture is substituting the luxury of flowers. The persistent acquirement by the rich of huge landed estates, and the consequent disappearance of the small free farmers, the backbone of old Rome, was the problem in Italy from times before the Gracchi downwards (see the Histories : for the first appearance of Agrarian problems, see Pelham, Outlines, p. 5). It is this fact which adds a sting to the words "coemptis saltibus," bought-up glades, in II. 3, 17, from which the rich owner must depart, like the peasants he ousts. *Horti*, gardens, and *violaria*, are mentioned by Varro in the De Re Rustica as undesirable because they make the soil "macer" or poor, and the fact that the moral of this Ode is precisely in point with the extract from that work given in the Intr. § 85, is one of the reasons which prompt the suggestion, made also on other grounds, that the author is "Postumus," and his "heir" is Murena.

XVI

TO GROSPHUS

REST from the gods craves he in mid-Ægean
 Caught when black clouds have hid
 The moon, and no stars beam
 A guide for mariners.

Thrace, furious though it be in war, craves rest, 5
 Rest crave the Medes with quiver dight,
 O Grosphus, which may not be bought with gems,
 With purple, or with gold.

For neither treasures, nor Consul's lictor,
 Disperse the wretched tumults of the mind,
 Nor cares that flit round panelled roofs. 10

Life passes well on scanty means for him
 For whom ancestral salt-box shines on frugal board,
 And whom no fear or sordid lust

15
Deprives of easy sleep.

Why then do we, with our short life,
 Aim boldly at so much ? Why change to regions warmed
 By other suns ? What exile from his fatherland
 Has also fled from self ?

Care bred by vice boards brazen ships, 20
 And does not leave the troops of knights,
 Speedier than stags, and speedier
 Than Eurus driving storms.

A heart at the moment joyful should abhor
 To fret o'er what's beyond, and bitter hap 25
 Should soothe with quiet smile : nothing is good
 From every point.

A quick death took Achilles famed afar,
 Long dotage wore Tithonus out,
 And time perchance to me may offer what 30
 It has denied to you.

Round thee a hundred flocks and kine
 Of Sicily low, for thee the chariot-broken mare
 Neighs loud, wools doubly dyed
 With Afric's purple shell 35
 Clothe thee. To me small fields,
 And the fine spirit of the Grecian Muse,
 The Fate not false hath given, and power
 To spurn the carping crowd.

This poem to "Grosphus" (the arrow, *cf.* III. 20, 9) is well placed. It is a reiteration of the thoughts to be found *passim* in the second book, and especially in these Odes following the introduction of Murena's name. "Rest is a blessing, but unpurchasable : neither wealth nor political advancement quell the tumults of the mind, and Care flits about the roofs panelled and gilded though they be. Fear and longing banish sleep : why crave so much ? Care too is on the brazen-beaked ships (*cf.* Epist. I. 1, 93) and among the troops of knights (III. 1, 40). Fret not for the future. Death takes young and old ; Achilles as well as Tithonus. You are rich, I poor ; but I have the spirit of the Greek Muse and scorn the crowd." As to the *spiritum Graiae Camenae*, *cf.* IV. 6 and Intr. § 116. For admissible senses of *spiritus*, see the dictionaries.

10. Disperse : II. 18, 22. III. 1, 36, the mention of the emblems of sovereignty are probably a reference to Murena's ambition.

30. Achilles, Tithonus : Achilles and other members of the race of Æacus are elsewhere used to typify Murena (III. 19, III. 20, IV. 6). The conjunction here, close to II. 14, of Achilles with the aged Tithonus suggests a contrast between Murena and Varro. Murena was, we believe, rather too old for the part of Achilles (II. 11, Intr. § 100) but compared with Varro, who was about

ninety when he died, death might be spoken of as coming to him prematurely. Besides, the irony would be increased if the choice of the name was Murena's own.

34. Wools doubly dyed : II. 18, 8.

The suggestions throughout this Ode are pregnant with meaning not openly professed ; *cf.* v. 17, the resort to other countries is perhaps an allusion to Murena's notion of Greek lineage, and the strong insistence on the desirability of "otium," to the turbulence of his character.

XVII

TO MÆCENAS

WHY take all heart from me by thy complaints ?
 'Tis not agreeable to the gods or me
 For thee to die first, O Mæcenas,
 My fortune's pillar and signal pride.
 Ah ! if a too quick stroke take thee,
 The half of my own soul, why should I stay, its fellow
 Not equally loved, a relict incomplete ?
 That day will bring to each of us
 Disaster. I have not sworn an oath
 To break it. We shall go, we shall go,
 Whenever thou wilt lead the way, comrades,
 Prepared to face our final journeying.
 Me shall no fiery Chimæra blast
 —Not even if hundred-handed Gyas rise again—
 Tear ever from thee. Such is the will
 Of overruling justice and the Fates.
 Albeit Libra, albeit the dreadful Scorpion—
 That powerfuller influence at my hour of birth—
 Cast eye on me, albeit Capricorn—
 Lord of Hesperian wave—
 The star of each of us agrees
 In wondrous way. Thee did Jove's guardianship,
 Outshining impious Saturn,
 Snatch from him, and delayed the wings
 Of swooping fate, when, in the theatre,
 The crowded people thrice thundered a sound of joy :
 The fall of tree trunk on my head
 Had killed me if Faunus with his right hand
 Had broken not the blow, the guardian
 Of Mercury's men. Remember thou to give
 Victims and votive shrine,
 An humble ewe-lamb I will slay.

Mæcenas was a valetudinarian, but such people contemplate death as little as healthier men. This Ode reads as if Mæcenas

was really wishing to die. We may guess the reason (II. 2, 13, n.): The Ode itself has no particular note of date for us, as the theatre incident cannot be placed (I. 20).

5. *Mea partem animæ*: Mæcenas and Vergil divide Horace's soul, I. 3, Intr. § 16.

13. *Chimæra*: I. 27: the literal meaning of the words is "the breath, or influence, of a fiery Chimæra"—an unreal monster—a delusion fraught with danger. The stanza may mean "I can judge you with justice, no dissension caused by 'giants,' i.e. rebels, pursuing a vain object will break our friendship." If so, the poem was assuredly edited after the breach between Augustus and Mæcenas. The continual coincidence of these ideas cannot be neglected.

14. This hundred-handed Gyas reappears in III. 4, 69; to decline to connect them is surely to be blind.

17. *Libra*: These astrological references are prompted probably by Murena's known faith in such things.

29. *Mercurialium*: There was a college for the cult of Mercury in Rome. Its foundation is mentioned by Livy, II. 21, 27. The Mercuriales in later times formed a society; Cic. *Ad Quint. Fr.* 2, 5; the subject is obscure.

XVIII

No Ivory,
Or golden groinings, glisten in my house :
Hymettan beams
Press not on columns hewn in farthest Africa .

I took possession of
No palace of an Attalus, an unknown heir :
For me retainers,
Gentle of birth, weave no Laconian purples :
But honour, and liberal vein
Of genius is mine, and poor as I am, the rich
Seek me. For naught beyond
Solicit I the gods. My friend in power I ask
For no more profuse gifts,
Endowed enough with my one Sabine farm.

Day is pressed on by day,
And the new moons go forward to their wane.
You bargain for carved marbles
Upon the very stroke of doom, and build your houses
But forget your grave :

And of the sea, at Baiae roaring, you compel
The coast line to move back—
Not rich enough with its retaining strand.
What more ? Do you tear down
Anon the adjacent landmarks of the field, and overleap
The boundaries of your clients

5

10

15

20

25

In your greed ? Outcast are man and wife,
 In bosom carrying
 Their wretched children and their household gods.
 And yet no hall awaits
 The wealthy lord more certainly than that 30
 Delimited by the term
 Of grasping Orcus. Why press on ? Impartial earth
 Is opened for the pauper and
 The sons of kings. The satellite of Orcus
 Was not enticed by gold 35
 To ferry shrewd Prometheus back. He prisons still
 The haughty Tantalus, and race
 Of Tantalus. He listens, whether invoked
 Or not invoked, to soothe
 The poor man when acquitted of his tasks. 40

The reader should mark two features in this Ode—its stern tone of remonstrance, and the omission of the name of the person addressed. He is not however unindicated. "What Horace says of himself in the first fourteen lines is obviously to be understood by contraries of the unknown : the antithesis is the scope of the poem, enforced by the emphatic 'mea,' 'mihi,' 'tu.' Horace has no golden roof and marble columns. 'Tu' builds incessantly, invading the sea, and, what is worse, expelling the poor to enlarge the palace, which after all he must quit for the tomb. Horace has *not* entered suddenly upon a princely residence by the bequest of a stranger. 'Tu' then has ; and this in itself is evident that 'Tu' is no mere 'dives aliquis' but ascertainable. Originals answering such a description must in any society be so few that to rebuke them as a class would be to court an offensive misapplication. Now whoever else there may have been in Rome who might be fixed on as the 'ignotus heres Attali' (unknown heir of Attalus) there was one whom inquiry could scarcely miss, and that was the successor of M. Varro" (Verrall, Studies in Hor. p. 51). The following is abridged from the same work :—The Attalus of the parallel is the Pergamene. Attalus Philometor, king of a book-buying dynasty who made the Roman people the heir to his realm—a fit type for the great librarian and landowner whose distinctions were immense wealth and prodigious scholarship. But there is a closer analogy. In his work *De Re Rustica*, Varro gives a list of previous writers on the same subject, and in the forefront of the list stands the very Attalus of the allusion. "If this severe address to the heir of Attalus had not been intended for the successor to Varro's wandering wealth, that successor might justly have resented the equivocation." On these grounds (*inter alia*) Dr Verrall holds the "Tu" of this Ode to be Murena, the man who became suddenly rich through a favouring gale, who occupied a prominent position in Rome from which he descended to the executioner's *laqueus*, with a fall that had dire consequences for Mæcenas. In his particular case are to be found Horace's reasons for his bitter reflections on the abuse of wealth, a fact which invests them with an interest that they lack entirely so long as they

are interpreted as general moralisings. There is further evidence, also from the *De Re Rustica* (not noticed by Dr Verrall), which serves to connect Licinius Murena with the person here addressed. A man of that name is mentioned as having been sued for encroaching on the sea for the purpose of building marine fish ponds, the very course "Tu" has been pursuing at Baiæ. In conjunction with the facts above noted this passes the bounds of mere equivocation (*Intr.* § 37 and foll., § 85, I. 11, n., III. 1, 33-40). The Ode is clearly connected in subject with II. 14 and 15. The "worthier heir" of Postumus is showing himself a bad citizen, and exhibiting objectionable traits in relation to the policy of Augustus. Considering his fate, he is reminded that he forgets to build his tomb with a significance that is grim. Further the metre—*Hipponactean*—should be remarked. It is unique in Horace. Metrical form had far more specific association for the ancients than for us. This, invented by Hipponax of Ephesus, implied, like the iambics of Archilochus (I. 16), censure, reproach, or satire. The fact that the Ode is the one example of the style in the collection, differentiates it from the others in a marked manner. III. 12 is similarly distinguished.

5. Attalus : this reference is forecast in I. 1, 12.

12. *Potentem* : Friend in power ; Mæcenas ; for the gift of the Sabine farm, cf. I. 20.

16. New moons : according to Verrall an allusion to the badge of the senator, III. 19, IV. 7, 13, *Intr.* § 53, etc.

20. At Baiæ : see *supra* : the encroachment on the sea is cited by Varro as an illustration of the growing tendency to luxury, and as impious against Neptune, *De Re Rus.* III. ch. 3.

22. *Submovere* : see II. 16, 10, III. 1, 36.

31. See Wickham's note : the metaphor from tracing a plan in conjunction with the idea of destiny is not transferable.

35. Again we have a reference to Prometheus and to Tantalus, cf. II. 13, n.

Satelles Orci : Charon, ferryman of the Styx ; whose gold was unavailing, and for what particular transgression, can only be surmised. In regard to the symbolism of words addressed to Murena which Mæcenas seems to have applied to himself, see *Intr.* § 110.

XIX

BACCHUS 'mid distant rocks I saw,
—Posterity believe me—teaching songs
To listening nymphs, and pointed ears
Of Satyrs with the feet of goats.
Evoe ! My mind is thrilled with new-felt awe,
And joys tumultuously in my breast
With Bacchus full. Evoe ! Spare, Liber, spare !
Thou with thy mighty thyrsus terrible !
'Tis meet for me of overbearing Thyiades,
And fount of wine, and streamlets flush with milk,

5

10

To sing, and sing again of honey
 Dripping from hollow trunks.
 'Tis meet to sing the glory added to the stars
 Of thy blest consort, and of the house of Pentheus,
 Thrown down with no light fall, 15
 And of the Thracian Lycurgus' doom.
 Thou swayest rivers and barbarian sea,
 Thou, dewy god, on peaks remote,
 Bindest in snaky knots without deceit
 The locks of thy Bistonides : 20
 Thou, when the impious cohort of the Giants
 Climbed to thy father's kingdom o'er the steep,
 Repelledst Rhoetus with thy lion's nails
 And terrible fangs.
 Though, sung as more inclined to dance, 25
 And jests and sport, thou wast accounted one
 But ill equipped for fight, yet thou alike
 Of peace and war the centre wast.
 Thee Cerberus, guiltless of harm, beheld
 Adorned with golden horn, and gently wagging his tail, 30
 And as thou wast retiring, touched,
 With triple tongue, thy feet and legs.

This "dithyramb" should be read with the following Ode. Its purpose is probably to impress the reader with a solemn sense of the poet's inspiration. He is not listening to a mere mortal's words, but to those of the god. These two Odes have an effect both retrospective and prospective. They awake conviction of the prophetic import of the preceding poems, and they prepare for the flight of the poet's genius to the apex of his work, the great opening Odes of Book III. They create the atmosphere to which the words "favete linguis" are appropriate—the "sacred silence" of II. 13.

The mythologic references are again instructive. The crime of Pentheus was the refusal to recognise the divinity of Bacchus. He was king of Thebes, and when the women were to celebrate the rites of the god, he ordered Bacchus to be seized. The prison doors refused to remain shut on deity, and Pentheus in anger ordered the destruction of the Bacchanals. This was not effected as Bacchus inspired Pentheus with a desire to witness the rites. The king hid himself to do this, but was discovered and torn to pieces by his women subjects. Lycurgus' fate was for an offence somewhat similar. He was a king of Thrace who abolished the worship of Bacchus, for which he was punished with madness by the gods. He put his son to death and, mistaking his own legs for vine branches, he cut them off. Without defining too particularly the proper application of these stories here, it may be noticed that Bacchus is represented as a divinity who shall make the land flow with milk and honey, and a divinity who played his part in the repulse of the giants assailing heaven, and that those who refused to recognise his godhead (I. 18, 7), suffered dreadful deaths. Thus at least a possibility of connection emerges, though

we cannot be sure of setting all the links in the chain in proper order, and though for some the proper place is doubtful, as e.g. the reference to Cerberus, the only suggestion as to which that seems plausible, is that the three-headed monster symbolises some enemy of Augustus who cowered before him.

8. Thrysus : a stalk ; insignia of Bacchus : to speak of its onlaying was a way of saying that the subject was "possessed," by the god.

9. Thyiades ; Bacchanals : *pervicaces*, probably "irresistible." cf. Epod. 17, 14.

20. Bistonides ; the allusion is to the women of Thrace, the Bacchæ.

22. Giants, III. 4, 49, etc.

29. In the midst, etc. cf. I. 12, 21.

XX

ON wing unwonted but not weak shall I
Be borne, a poet twain in guise, through liquid air :
Longer I shall not tarry upon earth,

But one too great for envy I shall leave
Cities of men, Not I "of humble parents born,"
Not I whom thou, Mæcenas, callest "dear,"

Shall pass away, or be
Held under by the Stygian wave.

Now, now, the skin upon my legs is shrivelling rough,
To a white bird I am transformed

10

Above, and o'er my fingers,

And o'er my shoulders, springs a downy fledge.

Now I shall visit as a bird of song,
More famed than Icarus through his father Dædalus,
The shores of sounding Bosphorus,

15

Gætulian Syrtes, and Hyperborean plains.

Of me Colchian, and Dacian who conceals
His fear of Marsian cohort, and, farthest of all,
Gelonians shall know ; of me the schooled

Iberian shall learn, and drinker of the Rhone:

20

Be dirges absent from my empty funeral,

And ugly signs of mourning and laments :

Repress the cry of wailing, and omit

Superfluous honourings of my tomb.

Cf. notes to the preceding poem. Observe that the Ode is addressed to Mæcenas. Lines 5-7, which Wickham regards as the point of the poem, are paralleled in other places (I. 1, 2, II. 11). They carry the thought back to the prologue, both in the mention of Mæcenas' love and in the expression that a humble mortal has achieved immortality. The gift of the Muses has brought him to the presence of the gods.

There is significance in the opening words. Horace's theme was new, and his treatment of it original, though his models were known (*cf.* III. 27, *n.*).

The metamorphosis of the poet can only be saved from very uncharacteristic absurdity by regarding it as a serious claim to be speaking under the inspiration of the Muses : *cf.* the opening lines of the next Ode, III. 1 : that he was marked from infancy with the divine impress, see III. 4, *cf.* also IV. 6, and notes.

BOOK III

I

I HATE the outer crowd, and I repel them ;
Offend not with your tongue. Unheard before
The songs that I, the Muses' priest,
Am singing unto boys and maids.
Of kings whom their own flocks must hold in awe, 5
The sovereignty, though they themselves be kings, belongs
To Jove, famed for his triumph over giants,
Directing all things by his nod.
It haps that one man wider than another plants
His trees in rows ; that here a candidate 10
Of nobler birth comes down into the Field ;
That one makes better fight through moral force
And name ; that one has greater following
Of clients :—but Doom, with equal law,
Wins high and humblest, 15
The ample urn shakes every name.
For him above whose impious neck
The sword hangs drawn, Sicilian feasts
Will not express a savour sweet,
And songs of bird and harp, 20
Will lull him not to sleep. Yet placid sleep
Does not abhor the lowly homes
Of rustic folk, or shady bank,
Or Tempe by the Zephyrs stirred.
The man who craves what is enough, 25
Neither doth heaving sea entice,
Nor savage onset of Arcturus setting,
Nor rising Hædus,
Nor vineyards flogged with hail,
Nor farm deceitful, since its tree 30
Blames now the rains, now stars
Scorching the fields, now winters harsh.
The fishes feel restricted seas
Since barrages are cast into the deep :
Here many a factor with his men lets down 35
Cemented masses ; for the lord
Is scornful of dry land : but Fear and Warnings
Mount to the same place as the lord, and gloomy Care
Departs not from the brazen ship,

40

And sits behind the knight.
 So if to one grief-stricken nor Phrygian stone,
 Nor use of purples brighter than a star,
 Nor the Falernian vine,
 Nor Achæmenian attar, bring relief,
 Why should I build in the new mode
 A lofty court-yard pillared with envy, why
 Exchange my Sabine vale
 For riches more laborious ?

45

See discussion of this and following five Odes in Intr. § 80, and foll. They will be seen to focus much of the thought of the work, and to develop the meaning of the allusions made in other places. Especially do they tend to reveal the poet's intention in dedicating his book to Mæcenas under the inspiration of the tragic Muse, and to define his attitude as a political and social reformer on the lines of the Emperor's ideal. They contain continual references to these two subjects. Horace's frequent reiterations in the Three Books of similar thoughts is sometimes attributed to poverty of invention, but when the passages are examined, the truer view emerges that they reveal to us the main themes of his work, which is no more a *pasticcio* than is Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. The parallels between this Ode and the prologue to the whole work call for special remark.

1. *I hate, etc., profanum* : beyond the pale ; cf. *malignum*, II. 16, 39, and II. 13, 30, n. *Arceo* ; repel, baffle, the reference is to the style of writing, see App. II., etc.

2. *Favete linguis* : Assume the attitude proper to the occasion ; cf. *Sacrum silentium* ; II. 13, 29, and II. 19, n.

3. *Sacerdos* : Priest, a solemn claim of the poet's divine mission to teach the rising generation, cf. I. 21.

7. *Giganteo* : For the symbolism of the battle with the giants, cf. III. 4, etc.

11. *Campum* : The arena, cf. *Pulverem Olympicum*, I. 1, 3. As to the importance of the political arena after B.C. 23, see Intr. §§ 47-49, etc.

14. *Necessitas* : Doom, Fate. The overruler even of gods. At Præneste near Tusculum, where Varro had a villa, to which doubtless his "heir" succeeded (cf. III. 29, 8, n.), there was a temple and oracle of Fortune, where lots, used for divination, were drawn from a chest, hence note the following lines ; also I. 34, 14, II. 3, 26, III. 24, 5, where the stroke of Doom has fallen.

20. Songs of bird or harp : II. 13, notes.

25. The first line of this stanza shows that the last two contemplate Murena's astrological observations.

33. Barrages : An explicit reference to Murena. Intr. § 85, and II. 18, notes.

36. The meaning is fixed by II. 18, 22.

39. Brazen ships ; knight : cf. II. 16, 21-22, IV. 11, 26, Intr. §§ 30-34, 85 ; cf. *Lucret.* II. vv. 20-21 and 34-35.

41-4. Phrygian stone, Achæmenian attar ; both these marks of wealth have been previously associated with the name of Mæcenas in II. 12 : the house pillared with envy, with Murena, II. 10, 7. ~

II

GLADLY to bear privation strait
 Let the strong boy on active service learn,
 And let the horseman harry with the spear,
 For which he is feared, the Parthian bold,
 And pass his life beneath the open sky,
 'Mid stirring scenes. May, watching him
 From hostile battlements, the dame
 Of warring despot, and the full-grown girl,
 Sigh, " Ah ! " lest the princely bridegroom, yet
 A novice in the ranks, provoke a lion
 Dangerous to rouse, whom rage bloodthirsty
 Drives to the slaughter's midst.
 'Tis sweet and honourable to die for fatherland ;
 Death follows even the man who flees,
 And of unwarlike youth
 Spares not the loins and recreant back.
 Virtue that knows not base defeat
 Shines with untarnished honours,
 Nor takes nor lays aside the Consul's axe
 Upon decision by the popular whim.
 Virtue that opens heaven to those not due for death
 Essays a journey by a path proscribed,
 And spurns the common crowd,
 And the dank earth, with flying wing.
 Also there is for faithful silence sure reward—
 I will ban one who would divulge
 The rite of sacred Ceres
 From the same roof, or that he launch
 A fragile craft with me. Often Diespiter,
 Slighted, has joined the blameless with the guilty :
 Rarely has punishment with halting step
 Quitted pursuit of the offender going before.

See Intr. §§ 80 and foll. 1. On the discipline of youth, see I. 8 : that a Roman's taste for war should be gratified on foreign foes, cf. I. 8, 22, I. 35, 40, etc.

13. To die for fatherland . Distinction is between civil and foreign war, cf. I. 2, 22.

19. Virtue, etc. ; A reference to the action of Augustus, cf. Intr. § 38, and III. 24, 31.

21. This stanza also seems to refer to the Emperor. That the whole of this poem is connected with the "Tragedy" is self-evident, if there is any basis for the theory of Dr Verrall.

24. Ceres : Refers probably to marriage, through the *confarreatio* : Dr Verrall takes this as a direct allusion to the betrayed secret, see Intr. § 86.

32. Wickham notes that Horace is the only poet to describe punishment as lame, cf. Intr. § 87, and III. 24.

III

THE upright man holding his purpose fast,
No heat of citizens enjoining wrongful acts,
No overbearing despot's countenance,

Shakes from his firm-set mind, nor Auster,
Wild pilot of unresting Hadria,
Nor mighty hand of levin-hurling Jove :

If broken falls the orb of heaven,
Its wreck will strike him undismayed.

By this endowment Pollux, and roving Hercules,
Through toil attained the fiery citadels,
'Mongst whom Augustus lying drinks
The nectar with his crimson lip.

Through this deservedly, O Father Bacchus,
Thy tigers, drawing the yoke with untamed neck,
Up-bore thee ; through this Quirinus,
With steeds of Mars, fled Acheron,

When Juno spake acceptably to gods
In council :—" Ilion, Ilion,
A fateful judge corrupt,

And a foreign woman have turned thee
To dust, from that time when Laomedon
Defrauded gods of the agreed reward,

Thou wast condemned to me and to Minerva chaste,
Together with thy people and false chief.

No longer shines the guest notorious
Of the Laconian adulteress,

And Priam's perjured house no longer beats
Achæan warriors back by Hector's might.
The war, protracted by our feuds,

Hath sunk ; forthwith my heavy wrath,
And hated child of my own child,

Whom Trojan priestess bore, to Mars
I will yield up. I will allow him
To approach the shining seats, and quaff

The nectar's juice, and be enrolled among
The ranks serene of gods.

So that a long sea rage 'twixt Ilion
And Rome, let the exiles reign
In all prosperity in any place :

So that on tomb of Priam and of Paris
Kine tread, and beasts of prey unharmed
There shelter whelps, the Capitol may stand

Resplendent, and proud Rome may give
Laws to the Medes o'er whom she triumphs.
Held far and wide in awe, let her name spread

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To farthest shores, where central stream
 Europe divides from Africa,
 Where flooding Nile waters the tillage lands :
 Rather resolved to spurn the gold unwon
 —And so, when earth conceals it, better placed— 50
 Than to the use of man to press it,
 With hand that tears at every sacred thing.
 Whatever bound is set unto the world,
 It she shall reach by arms, joying to see
 The region where the fires their revels hold, 55
 And where the mists and rainy dews.
 But by this law I speak the destinies
 Of warrior citizens, that they, fanatical,
 And confident through wealth, aim not the roofs
 To re-erect of their ancestral Troy : 60
 The fate of Troy, resurgent under auspice dire,
 Will be repeated through a melancholy fall,
 Myself, the sister and the wife of Jove,
 Being leader of the conquering hosts.
 If thrice the brazen wall should rise 65
 By Phœbus' aid, thrice shall it perish, by
 My Argives felled, thrice shall the captive wife
 Deplore the loss of spouse and sons."
 These themes consort not with a jocund lute :
 Whither, O Muse, dost go ? Desist, O wilful one, 70
 To quote the speech of gods,
 And minish what is great by puny strains.

Cf. Intr. § 80, and foll. It may be remarked of the opening of this Ode (as well as of parts of the others of the series) that a perusal of it by the Emperor and Mæcenas would arouse very different thoughts in their respective minds, but in each case thoughts that Horace would desire to suggest.

The point of Juno's speech as we take it, will be found in the Intr. §§ 88-89.

IV

DESCEND from heaven, and come, upon the pipe,
 Sing a long melody, O Queen Calliope,
 If thou prefer, with high-pitched note,
 Or, to the strings and harp of Phœbus.
 Heard ye ? Or does delightful rapture sport 5
 With me ? I seem to hear,
 And roam through hallowed groves
 Which lovely streams and airs pervade.
 Me on Apulian Vultur, but beyond
 The boundary of (Apulia) my nursery, 10

- With play fatigued and sleepfulness,
 Doves of romance did cover, when a boy,
 With new-grown leaves, to be a wonder unto all
 Who dwell in lofty Acherontia's nest,
 And glades of Bantia, and rich 15
 Tilled land of low Forentum,
 That in my person safe from vipers black,
 And bears, I slept ; that I should feel
 Impress of sacred laurel and myrtle heaped—
 A babe infused by Heaven with fortitude. 20
 Yours, O Camenæ, yours, I rise, on Sabine steeps,
 Or if to me Præneste cold,
 Or sloping Tibur,
 Or watery Baiæ, yield their charm.
 Not me, a lover of your founts and choirs, 25
 Did line of battle, backward hurled at Philippi,
 Destroy, or the accursed tree,
 Or Palinurus in Sicilian wave.
 Whenever you are with me, willingly —
 The raging Bosphorus, a sailor, I 30
 Will tempt, and burning sands
 Of Syria's coast, a traveller by land :—
 Will visit Britons, savage unto guests,
 And Concan, revelling in horse's blood,
 Visit Geloni quiver-girt, 35
 And Scythian river—all unharmed.
 To Cæsar high, seeking to end his labours,
 When he has planted in their towns
 His war-worn cohorts, ye
 Refreshment grant within Pierian grot. 40
 Ye, succouring, both give counsel sweet
 And at the gift rejoice. We know
 How impious Titans and the Giant host
 He dashed with falling thunder-bolt,
 Who sways the sluggish earth and windy sea, 45
 And cities, and the gloomy realms :
 And hosts of gods and mortals rules
 Alone, with righteous command.
 A mighty terror into Jove had struck,
 That dire array of youth, confident in their strength 50
 Those brethren, striving Pelion to impose
 Upon Olympus deep in shade.
 But what could stalwart Mimas and Typhœus do ?
 Or what Porphyriion with threatening stance,
 What Rhœtus, and Enceladus, 55
 The daring hurler of up-rooted trees,
 Rushing against the ringing shield
 Of Pallas ? Here stood, all eagerness,

Vulcan, and Matron Juno, and he

Who from his shoulder ne'er will lay the bow, 60
 Who in the crystal dew of Castaly laves
 His loosened locks, of Lycia who holds
 The thickets and his natal wood,
 Apollo, Delian and Patarene.

Force void of counsel falls by its own weight : 65
 But force restrained the very gods bear on
 To greater : so they hate the power

That stirreth every disobedience in the mind.
 A witness of my words is Gyas,
 The hundred-handed, and Orion, ill-famed 70
 Assailant of Diana chaste,
 By virgin dart subdued.

Earth, laid upon these monsters of her own,
 Grieves, and bewails her progeny sent
 To lurid Orcus by a bolt : but the quick fire 75
 Consumes not Ætna on it superimposed ;
 Leaves not the liver of incontinent Tityos
 The bird assigned to him, as guardian o'er
 His infamy ; three hundred fetters hold
 Pirithous the lover down. 80

Cf. Intr. § 80 and foll. Horace again speaks in this poem, which may be regarded in one sense as the culmination of the work, as the inspired priest of the Muses (III. I, II. 19) whose divine gift separates him from others (I. 1, 29) and brings him to the region of the highest. He invokes Calliope, queen of the Muses, notwithstanding the express statement at the close of the last Ode (*cf.* II. I, 36) that the themes of his lute are "jocund." The gist of the Three Books is to be found here.

10. Beyond the boundary : This is a translation of the Vulgate : Apulæ is certainly a false reading, perhaps introduced by the same hand that "corrected" *publicum* in III. 24, 4 to *Apulicum*. See Wickham for the older emendations proposed : a striking one of more recent date is "limina perulgæ," "beyond the boundary of the hut which bred me," by Professor A. E. Housman.

20. *Cf.* Shakspere : Temp. Act I. Sc. 2, "Infused with a fortitude from heaven."

23. Præneste : *cf.* III. I, 14, *n.* Tibur and Baiæ : the connection of Horace, Mæcenas and Murena with these places should be remembered : for Baiæ see II. 18, 20. Horace here claims the protection of the Muses : his statement that they will hold him safe may be a politic hint to the Emperor, *cf.* III. 27. Intr. § 116.

37. To Cæsar high : See Intr. § 83, etc.

42. We know, etc. : Intr. §§ 83-84, III. I, 7, and next note.

64. Apollo : In this allegory Verrall holds that Cæsar is Jove, the conspirators the Giants, and Tiberius, who was prosecutor at their trial, is Apollo. Of the heavenly family it will be seen mention is made of the sire, the wife, a daughter and two sons : this selection answers to the state of the imperial family in B.C. 22, and in that year only : Augustus, Livia, Julia, Tiberius and

Drusus. Before 22 Marcellus would require representation, "after 22 Julia must have brought in Agrippa,"²² Stud. in Hor. p. 62; Tiberius was playfully likened to Apollo by Augustus himself (Suet. Tib. 21, and cf. 68, 70, cf. also III. 20, notes). As to the objection of critics that the description "who from his shoulders will never lay the bow," does not suit the moment of battle, Verrall says, "If we compare it with the promise to Murena in II. 10 (viz. that Apollo keeps his bow not always bent) which like the rest of the poem is not only a promise but a warning, we shall see that it is adapted not to the parable, but to the interpretation. Speaking *as if* before 22, Horace reminds the disaffected that though Apollo is not always bending his bow, yet from his shoulders he will never lay it."

68-80. Gyas, Pirithous : This introduction of the king of the Lapithae recalls II. 12. It was there remarked that the later story of Antonius had been associated with the mythology : Page on this passage again refers to Antonius, but Verrall, most reasonably, thinks that from Cæpio and Murena back to him is too long a spring. He says, "It is perhaps more likely that there is some allusion to supposed projects on the part of the conspirators with respect to Julia, who became disposable on the death of Marcellus." The later conspiracies were certainly connected with Julia's amours. The Julian blood was an object of superstitious reverence in Rome, especially among the populace, and for Julia's husband there would be great possibilities. Our view of the matter is discussed in the Intr. §§ 95 and foll., and see notes to III. 19, III. 20.

The structure of the latter part of the Ode becomes clear on close examination. The references to the political plot extend no further than v. 64. After that, the project of Murena is dealt with to the close. It is introduced by the significant dictum that violence uncontrolled by reason fails, and that the gods hate men of evil design, and as a witness the cases of Gyges or Gyas, Orion, Titios and Pirithous are cited. Their bearing is unmistakable : Orion's lustful assault upon Diana is expressly mentioned. Titios and Pirithous suffered for similar crimes. Gyas was a giant who fought against heaven, but his name has a second point very convenient for the poet's purpose. Gyges or Gyas was the founder of the dynasty of Lydian kings of which Alyatteus and his son Croesus were the best known (Herod. I. 6, 14, cf. Odes II. 12, III. 16). Their wealth was proverbial and sufficiently accounts, though perhaps not exhaustively, for Horace's use of the name in connection with Murena : cf. II. 17, 14. When we find Ovid (Fasti, IV. 591) making Ceres say in her complaint to Jove at the rape of Proserpine (the intended victim of Pirithous) that her daughter was disgraced by a husband who had gained her by theft, and that that was not the proper way of acquiring a son-in-law, and adding the following argument, "In what respect *if Gyas had been your conqueror* should I have been worse off than I am now, though you are master of heaven?" the illustration makes it probable that he is referring to secret history rather than to mythology.

71. Orion : cf. II. 13, 39, and note the significance the above interpretation gives to the words there used. It is a foreglance to the Pyrrhus of III. 20 who does disturb lions.

73. Monsters : Deformed births : if our Varro Murena really

was crooked or hunchbacked (*cf.* II. 2, 13, *n.*) the pointedness of the word is clear.

77. Tityos : II. 14, 8 : III. 11, 21 : IV. 6, 2.

80. Pirithous : IV. 7, 28, *n.*

V

JOVE for his thundering, we have believed
To rule in heaven. Though yet with us, Augustus will
Be held divine, with Britons

Brought beneath his sway, and Parthians dire;
Has soldier of Crassus passed his life,
A dastard husband with a foreign mate ?

And in the lands of foes—and fathers-in-law !—
(Oh, Senate, 'Oh, perverted morals !) with Mede
For king, have Marsian and Apulian grown old,
Of shields, of name, of garb, oblivious,

And of eternal Vesta, albeit Jove
Is safe, and Rome a city still ?
On guard 'gainst this had been the prophet mind
Of Regulus, dissenting from conditions base,

Since he by his example would
Be bringing ruin on a coming age,
Had not our captured youth been left to die
Unpitied. "Standards hung in Punic shrines,

And weapons from our soldiers snatched
Without blood-shedding, I" he said,

"Have seen : have seen the arms of citizens
Pinioned behind a back once free,

And gates not shut, and fields,
Ravaged by our own Mars, in tilth.

Think ye a man bought back with gold
Will come more keen ? To infamy ye

Add loss, for wool once steeped in dye
Does not regain lost hues.

So real valour, when it once departs,
Cares not to be restored to men unworthier.

If a doe, extricated from close toils,
Fights, that man will be brave

Who has put himself in pledge to treacherous foes :
And in a second war, will crush the Poeni, he

Who, unresisting felt the thongs on arms,
Behind him bound, and dreaded death.

He, knowing not whence he should win his life,
Hath mingled peace with war. O shame !

O Carthage great, raised higher
By dastard fall of Italy !"

'Tis said the kiss of his pure wife, his children small,

He put away from him as one
 Under attaint, and sternly fixed
 His manly gaze upon the ground,
 Until by counsel never given elsewhere, 45
 He, th' author of it, should convince
 The wavering fathers : then, through sorrowing friends,
 Went forth in haste, an exile without peer.
 Yet he knew what a barbarous tbrturer for him
 Was compassing : but notwithstanding, put aside 50
 His kin who barred his way,
 The people hindering his return,
 As if a suit had been adjudged,
 And he would leave a client's long-drawn cause,
 Making towards Venafrum's fields, 55
 Or for Tarentum, the Laconian town.

See Intr. § 80 and foll. Verrall says of this Ode : "Upon or shortly after the suppression of Cæpio, the Emperor dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tonans, a votive offering for a narrow escape from a thunderstorm in Spain (Dio, LIV. 4, Suet. Aug. 29). Upon such an occasion of thanksgiving the quite recent escape could scarcely be forgotten : in Horace, at all events, the parallel between the thunderer and his servant on earth, immediately following the allegory of the Titans slain by the bolt ever ready to fall (*cf.* I. 2, 3, I. 3, 37, III. 4, 44), suggests the connection in a manner not to be mistaken. After this rite followed almost immediately the departure of Augustus for the visitation of the East, the object and termination of which was the recovery of the lost standards of Carrhæ (Dio, LIV. 6). The complaints of many critics against the transition from faith in the Thunderer to the ignominy of the 'miles Crassi,' might have been modified had they observed that the thoughts of the poet are following in outline the events of the past" (Stud. in Hor. p. 62). From the conspiracy, the poet turns to the desired reform in the Roman character.

3. Briton and Persian : The names, apart from the specially suitable mention of the latter, were used generally to mark the bounds of the Empire : see I. 21, 15.

37. Peace with war, etc. : *i.e.* in war life ought only to be preserved by the sword, not by bargaining.

42. *Capitis minor* : cut off from society by loss of citizenship.

48. *Egregius* : without peer, *cf.* III. 25, 4.

VI

FOR your sires' sins, O Roman, you will pay,
 Though innocent, until you have restored
 The temples, and the falling houses of the gods,
 And images befouled by sooty smoke.

Because you bear yourself as less than gods, you rule : 5
 Hence all inception, hither ascribe each end.

The gods, neglected, have given many woes
Unto Hesperia the sore-distressed.

Now twice Monæses and Pacorus band
Have beaten inauspicious onsets back
Of ours, and smile to add

10

A trophy to their necklets bare.

A city given up to civil strife,
Dacian and Æthiop almost have destroyed,
This, formidable for his fleet,

15

That, better with his missile shafts.

Our age, fertile in crime, did first defile
The nuptial couch, the family and the home,
And from this fount derived,

20

Disaster flowed on land and race.

The maiden ripe rejoices to be taught
Ionic dances, and is formed by arts ;
And even now reflects on loves

Dishonourable, from time of tender age :

Soon she looks out for younger paramours
Over her husband's wine, and makes no choice
On whom by stealth she may confer

25

Illicit favours when the lights are gone :

But, beckoned, rises there before her husband,
And not without his knowledge, whether a factor calls
Or master of a Spanish ship,

30

The buyer at high prices of her shame.

Not sprung from parents such as these
Our youth that tinged the sea with Punic blood,
Slew Pyrrhus and great Antiochus,

35

And the dire Hannibal :

But manly scions of a farmer soldiery,
Trained with the Sabine hoes to turn the glebe,
And at the bidding of a mother strict,

To carry logs cut down,

40

What time the sun changed shadows of the hills,
And from tired oxen took the yokes,
Bringing the friendly hour

With his departing car.

What is there time the spoiler has not marred ?
Our parents' age, worse than our grandsires',
Bore us more wicked, quickly to produce

45

A generation yet more vile.

See Intr. § 80 and foll. Augustus' policy of reform had two main constituents ; the restoration of religion, and of the sanctities of married life. With regard to the latter he was quite sincere. Faithful husbands and wives rear good children. Without them, family life and the *fausta penetralia*, the blessed environment, out of which there had come in the past and might still

come, sons fit to do honour to Rome, could not exist (IV. 4, 26). If men and women refused to take and fulfil the responsibilities of marriage, the race was doomed.

As for the former, he might have known that revivification of the dry bones was impossible. It was hopeless to try and imbue the Roman world with the feelings of their forefathers towards their gods. Julius Cæsar himself had shown this by his calm refusal to allow superstition to balk him. However, Augustus did try, and insisted on formal observances with stringency: and, oddly enough, his sincerity in this respect has not been doubted, even by those who regard him politically as an arch-hypocrite.

The Ode shows Horace as a supporter of his policy. Celibate as he was (I. 33), his utterances prove that he held the estate of marriage as the highest and best (I. 13, 18). There is not a hint in his works that any breach of its sanctity was directly contributed to by him, and there is much condemnation of those in opposite case. Horace's views are not here optimistic on the social question, but they could not be stronger. In the Fourth Book he represents things in quite a different light, *cf.* Intr. § 114, and Spec. Intr. to Bk. IV.

8. Hesperiæ : The west, *i.e.* Italy: the rhythm of the line gives great emphasis to the epithet.

9. Mouæses and Pacorus : The allusion is to the defeat respectively of Crassus' and Antonius' armies: see the Histories, Dio, XLVIII. 24, XLIX. 24. Unsanctioned : *i.e.* contrary to divine will.

14. Dacus and Æthiops: referring to the struggle with Cleopatra and Antonius who had Dacian troops, *cf.* I. 35, 9.

35. Pyrrhus : King of Epirus, invaded Rome, B.C. 280, defeated by Curius and Fabricius, *cf.* I. 12.

VII

ASTERIE

WHY weep, Asterie, for him whom Zephyrs fair,
In early springtime, will restore to thee,
Enriched with Thynian merchandise,

A youth of constant faith,
Thy Gyges? Driven by Notus unto Oricum,
After Capella's raging stars, chill nights,
Not without many tears,
Sleepless he spends.

And yet an envoy of his longing hostess,
Saying that Chloe sighs, and hapless is consumed
By thine own fires, astutely tempts

Him in a thousand ways:—
How treacherous woman by false charges drove
Prætus, the credulous, to quicken death
For the over-chaste

5

10

15

Bellerophon, he tells :

Relates of Peleus almost given to Tartarus,
When, continent, he fled Magnessian Hippolyte ;
And warns him guilefully

By tales that teach to sin : 20

In vain : for deafer than the cliffs of Icarus,
The words he hears, as yet heart-whole. But for thyself
Be cautious lest Enipeus, thy neighbour, prove
More charming than is right.

Although none other with skill to turn a horse 25
Is equally observed on Mars's turf,
And no one else with equal speed,

Swims down the Tuscan stream,
Close house when night is young, and on the streets
Do not look down at song of plaintive pipe, 30
And though he often call thee hard,
Remain intractable.

This and several Odes following (Intr. § 92, etc.) may certainly be regarded as dealing with reform on the social side. The youth here is a faithful lover. The girl is tempted and is warned. The name Enipeus is allegorical and supports this theory. It was that of a river in the Peloponnesus of which Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, King of Elis, became enamoured : as she frequented its banks Neptune took the shape of the river-god and won her love. If Horace had a real case in his mind, the selection of the name Enipeus might be due to Asterie's youthfulness—she is a tiro or novice, and perhaps likely to swerve from her loyalty to Gyges.

Verrall notes that the chronological outline, suspended in the Six Odes, which are lifted above the transitory scene, having no precise marks of date or address, is here resumed. The fact is shown by the reference to early spring in the second line. "From this time to the banquet of Murena the calendar is followed with increasing closeness," III. 8 is March; III. 10 November (the Aquilones); III. 12 round again to the season of III. 7, the athletic season when bathing is a noticeable feat; III. 13 and 15 to summer; III. 16 to harvest; III. 17 to autumn; III. 18 to December; III. 19 to the *nova luna*, the commencement of the year (Stud. in Hor. p. 110).

VIII

TO MÆCENAS

WHAT on the Martian Kalends I, a bachelor, do,
What mean the flowers, and bowls with incense filled,
The coal deposited on living turf.

You wonder, you,
Familiar with the lore of either tongue ! 5
I had vowed sweet viands and a he-goat white

To Liber when by the stroke of tree

Brought near my grave—

This day, a feast with the returning year,

Will move the cork secured with pitch

From jar set up to drink the smoke

In Tullus' consulate.

Of ladlefuls, Mæcenas, take a hundred to

Your friend preserved, and keep the lamps

Watching till dawn : be far from here

All noise and wrath.

Relinquish cares politic for the State ;

The host of Dacian Cotiso is fallen,

The Mede, a danger to himself, distracted is

By grievous strife :

A slave is our old foe of Spanish shores,

The Cantabri, subdued by a late chain :

Scythians, with bow relaxed, now contemplate

Retirement from the steppes.

Carelessly, like a man in private life, refrain

From guarding over-much lest people suffer aught :

Accept with joy the gifts of the present hour,

And let grave matters be.

20

25

Intr. § 43, etc. From this Ode we see that Horace's escape from the falling tree was on the 1st March, but of what year is uncertain. This is not necessarily a commemoration of the first anniversary. (*Cf.* II. 13 and 17.) The Ode is "dated" by historical allusions; Cotiso has fallen; the Mede is torn by faction, and the Cantabrian tamed by a tardy chain. The last fact is the most useful. Augustus retired from the Cantabrian war in the spring of B.C. 25, and arrived in Rome, after his illness at Tarraco, in 24, claiming to have subdued the enemy. The Cantabri revolted again, and were only finally conquered by Agrippa in B.C. 19. The complexion of affairs in the East in 25 suits these other allusions, but would not apply in 19. (*Epist.* I. 12, 26.) The March intended to be marked is almost certainly that of 25, see Verrall, *Stud.* in Hor. p. 103. The Emperor's return to Rome is celebrated in III. 14. Mæcenas here is in charge of affairs (v. 25). The difference in tone between this Ode and III. 29, where Horace again mentions Mæcenas' connection with the State, has been considered in the Introduction.

5. Familiar with, etc. Versed in Greek and Latin, and the lore, religious and otherwise, of each.

15. Be far, etc. A contrast is here drawn; *cf.* I. 27 and I. 36, III. 19, III. 21.

26. *Privatus*: Out of office. The word is in point with Augustus' absence: Mæcenas was always technically "out of office," except when made vicegerent while the Emperor was away from Rome.

IX

THE MAN

WHILE I was dear to you,
And no more favoured swain folded his arms
About your snowy neck,
I flourished happier than Persia's king.

LYDIA

While you were fired with greater love 5
For no one else, and Lydia was not after Chloe,
I, Lydia, great of name,
Flourished more bright than Roman Ilia.

THE MAN

Me Thracian Chloe ruleth now,
Learned in sweet songs, and skilful on the harp : 10
For whom I will not fear to die,
If fate will spare my heart surviving me.

LYDIA

With brand he feels himself
Calais, son of Ornithus of Thurium, burns me :
For whom I will endure death—twice, 15
If fate will spare my boy surviving me.

THE MAN

But how if former love return,
And link us parted, with a brazen yoke :
If Chloe fair be shaken off,
And doors be opened wide to off-cast Lydia ? 20

LYDIA

Though he is brighter than a star,
You, lighter than a cork, and quicker
In temper than that wicked Hadria,
With you I'd love to live, with you I'd gladly die.

Intr. § 92. To read this poem as if it was a record of a liaison of the poet's is to court misunderstanding. It is a lover's quarrel, and if any meaning is to be given to "Rome's Ilia" they are wedded lovers. Ilia in the Roman calendar was "the type of matronhood, and as she was at first the victim of unjust persecution, and afterwards the wife of a uxorious husband" her fame should be wifely fame, and Lydia's presumably a matrimonial quarrel. *Ergo*, Horace is not speaking in person. (From Verrall.) Given this key, the art which has so cunningly juxtaposed these words may be seen to lack the "falsity" with which it has been charged.

X

TO LYCE

If you remotest Tanais had to drink,
 Lyce, a wild man's wife, yet sorry would you be
 To expose me, stretched before your cruel doors,
 To the north winds there rife. 5
 You hear with what a roar your gate, with what
 The grove planted within your handsome court,
 Re-echo to the winds : How Jove, with cloudless influence,
 Ices the drifted snows.
 Abandon the disdain abhorrent unto Venus,
 Lest with a whirling wheel your rope run back, 10
 Not a Penelope, to suitors harsh,
 Fathered in you your Tyrrhene sire.
 Oh, though not gifts or prayers make you swerve,
 Or pallor of your lovers violet-tinged,
 Or that your husband is hard hit by dame 15
 Pierian ; unto your suppliants
 Be merciful, O you, not softer than unbending oak,
 Or milder in your spirit than Moorish snakes !
 This side will not be always prone to bear
 Your threshold or the rain from heaven. 20

Intr. § 92: In this "serenade" we are not justified in taking the spokesman to be Horace. It is a phase of the social questions treated in this part of the work. In III. 7, Enipeus was ready to supplant Gyges: here the speaker is a more objectionable person, a would-be *mæchus* tempting a wife, and urging the wrongs she is suffering from her husband as an excuse for her own transgression. Lyce's opinion seems to be that two wrongs would not make a right. Her sense of wifely duty is strict and sound, and perhaps this is the conclusion that the poet wishes us to draw. There may be good wives with bad husbands, but to expect a class of good husbands where the wives are bad, is to ask too much of human nature. This thought seems to have a distinct bearing on Odes 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 15 of this book.

15. Pieria: an epithet of the Muses. The *hetairæ* were often accomplished women.

XI

TO MERCURIUS

MERCURIUS!—for at thy tutorship Amphion,
 Easy to teach, moved stones by singing—and thou,
 O shell, that clever art to sound
 With seven strings,

Of old not speaking much, or liked, but now
Welcome at rich men's tables and in fanes !
Sing strains to which Lyde may bend
 Her obstinate ears,
Who, like a filly three years old, in spacious fields
Sports friskily, and shrinks from being touched,
Not knowing nuptial joys, and young as yet
 For a lusty mate.

5

Thou tigers as companions and woods
May'st lead, and stay the rapid streams :
Yielded to thy allurement the uncouth
 Doorkeeper of the hall,
Cerberus, although a hundred snakes do guard
His fury-like head, and fetid breath
And blood flows from his mouth
 Of triple tongue,

15

Nay, but Ixion and Tityos smiled with face
Unwilling : Dry for a short space stood
The urn, whilst thou didst soothe the daughters
 Of Danaus with welcome song—
Let Lyde hear the virgins' crime and punishment
Well known, and of the vessel void,
Through water from the bottom flowing away,
 And of the doom at last

20

Which waits for sin even in Orcus.
Impious—for what more heinous could they ?—
Impious, they could destroy their bridegrooms with
 Relentless steel.

25

One, out of all their number, worthy
Of nuptial torch, was to her forsborn parent
Nobly false, and for all time a maid
 In honour held.

30

Who said to her young husband :—" Rise, arise,
Lest a long sleep be given to thee from whence
Thou fearest it not, and cheat thy father-in-law,
 And sisters stained with crime :

40

Who, as 'twere lionesses that have found
Some steers rend, Alas ! each her own. I, tenderer
Than they, will neither strike thee nor will hold
 Thee behind bars.

Me would my father load with cruel chains,
Because in mercy I spared my hapless spouse,
Or me to farthest regions of Numidia he may
 Convey with ships.

45

Go, whither sails and breezes hurry thee,
While night and Venus aid,
With omen favouring, go ; and on my tomb
 Carve a memorial elegy."

50

Intr. § 92, etc. It has been asked what is the moral of this story : to which Verrall makes the retort, "Why should so beautiful a poem have one?" From a purely æsthetic point there is perhaps no need, but the first question admits a more definite answer. The purpose of the Ode in the collection may be gathered from its place. See the list of associated poems in the previous note. Getting rid of objectionable husbands was a crime from which the women of Rome were not free, and with this thought in the mind, the Danaids may be turned to moral account. Scenes from the myth alluded to here were sculptured on the temple of Apollo Palatinus (Propertius, III. 23).

13. The reason for the references in these three stanzas to monsters of mythology, Cerberus (II. 19) Ixion and Tityos (II. 14, III. 4, IV. 6), which Horace elsewhere connects with the Murena story, is not obvious as regards allegorical point. The proper inference from this fact I conceive to be that the full purport of the Ode has not revealed itself. For the reference to song lightening the torments of hell, cf. II. 13, III. 1, IV. 11, and Intr. § 85. If we had Mæcenas' book "Prometheus," we might be able to see Horace's point more clearly ; cf. II. 18, 34. The way in which he speaks of Lyde in the earlier verses, gives me a strong impression of sarcasm. Lyde has obstinate ears, and requires, to reach the emotional side of her, music of stone-moving power, to say nothing of the tigers, and Cerberus ! Her comparison with a filly, and her nuptial aptitude, are not couched in the most delicate terms, and may possibly be irony at its height. If this thought is well prompted, "gross Lyde with her medicinal box" (see II. 11, n.) may be on the scene again.

XII

TO NEOBULE

It is the lot of unhappy girls, either to make no play with love
 And not to wash away cares with mellow wine : or to go out of
 their mind
 Fearing the lash of an uncle's tongue. Thy basket is Cytherea's
 winged boy,
 O Neobule, taking away. The beauty of Hebrus of Lipara,
 When in the Tiber's waves he bathes anointed shoulders, is
 taking away
 Thy webs and the love of Minerva's assiduous art.
 He than Bellerophon himself is a rider better, and conquered not
 Either through tardy fist or foot. Dexterous too
 At shooting bucks, as they flee through the open in startled herd,
 And speedy in taking the lurking boar out of the covert deep.

More than half this poem, which is unique in its metre, is concerned to describe Hebrus of Lipara, i.e. Lipari, one of the Æolian Isles, near Sicily. In so far as this is not ironical, he is rich, hand-

some, bold, a fine horseman and a hunter. Hebrus, like Enipeus, was the name of a Greek river. It was in Thrace, and was supposed to run over *sands of gold*. I reject the theory that the name is meaningless, and merely chosen to fit the metre. The converse is more likely to have something in it. When we note this strange collocation of "Liparæus" with a Thracian river it puts us on inquiry, and we find straightway allusions to help us. At Lipara were the forges of Vulcan mentioned by Horace (I. 4) which Juvenal knew so well (Intr. § 101), and when we remember the man for whom Sicilian banquets—proverbial for luxuriousness—could have no flavour because of the impending sword, we have grounds for identifying him with the man of supposed Greek descent to whose wealth there is such frequent reference in the Odes. "Hebrus" has fascinated Neobule and diverted her thoughts from maidenly tasks. He has made her impatient of restraint, and inspired her with a wish for dissipation. As for Neobule, the name is that of the daughter of one Lycambes, and it suggests a story, well known to Horace (Epod. 6, 13, Epist. I. 19, 23), in which Archilochus, the Parian inventor of iambics, figures (*cf.* Ars. Poet. 79). Lycambes had promised Neobule to Archilochus, but broke his word, and conferred her on a richer suitor, whereupon the poet's raging iambics caused both father and daughter to commit suicide. Archilochus himself, though δεινὸς λέγεται (*cf.* III. 19, 26, *n.*), was a debankee and a coward at heart.

At this stage of our inquiry into Horatian allegory, when so much of its meaning looks like revealing itself, it would be disingenuous to ignore some obvious suggestions contained in this Ode simply because they present difficulties. The time is past when efforts at interpretation, such as are here made, may be declined. There has been a surprising silence over Dr Verrall's illuminating criticism, but no one after its appearance may build as if the old foundations were intact. (It has clearly influenced Sellar's later work, but has not apparently induced him to pursue thoroughly the lines of investigation opened by it.) What follows is offered as possibly containing elements for interpretation. Hebrus may be Murena. With this thought in our minds, we can hardly help asking if Neobule may indicate Julia. The considerations to which III. 20, read in the light of what may be found elsewhere (Intr. § 95, etc.), gives rise, prompt this question at once. But we see that against an answer in the affirmative stands the position of the Ode, which chronologically is before the return of Augustus from Spain in B.C. 24, and hence within the period of her married life with Marcellus. Frankly recognising this difficulty, let us mention the obvious suggestions that seem to be made by the poet. Neobule, after being promised to Archilochus, was given to a richer suitor. When Marcellus died, Julia, after being thought of as a possible wife for a member of the Murena family, was given to a greater man, Agrippa. The proposed consort (Proculeius: see Tac. Ann. 4, 40, Intr. 95) seems to have made no objection, but he had a brother of greater family pride, and a less accommodating spirit, and trouble arose through him. Archilochus, as the story goes, lashed father and daughter with stinging reproach. Lucius Murena stands forth in history as conspicuous for the insolence of his speech, and one specific instance of this is given in a collision between himself and Augustus

(Intr. § 38, the text is, οὐκ ἐπιτίθεται ἀποβρύψαντος, i.e. “shooting forth”—sc. at Augustus—“words more violent than was necessary”: and later on, as a reason why Murena was thought to be wrongfully accused of complicity in Cæpio’s plot, ἐπεδή καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορέν παρέργησα πρὸς πάντας ὅμοιως ἔχρητο:—“since he made use of unrestrained and freely indulged licence of tongue towards all.”)

Archilochus though great as a poet, was of bad moral reputation, and when the clash of arms came, he fled. Murena, who if not a poet, had a sufficient supply of invective at command, was likewise a profligate—probably a scoundrel—and with all his “audacity” and the display of *magna linguae* for which “Apollo” exacted due vengeance (IV. 6), when the crisis came he ran away, as Horace says he will (III. 20, 3: cf. Dio, LIV. 3, Intr. § 38).

Neobule who fears the lash of an uncle’s tongue, seemingly a proverbial expression—see Sat. II. 3, 88—is a young woman with an inclination towards the delights of love and wine, on whom a training in feminine duties has palled: Julia became notorious for her profligacy, but had been most carefully educated in the *fausta penetralia* of the Emperor’s unpretentious home.

We think therefore that this Ode, marked like II. 18 by a metre which distinguishes it from all others in the collection, may concern the great theme of the work, the story of that Cave of Vulcan in the Æolian Isles which Juvenal had unriddled (Intr. § 101), where avenging bolts were forged for use by gods whose honour was insulted by audacious mortals. The reason of its position, relatively to others of the series, is one that might be divined if we had all the secret history of this time to guide us. We have seen that the real Murena, so far from having the conspicuous physical advantages of “Hebrus,” was probably a hunchback (II. 2, 13, n.): The deformity is not always an obstacle to favour with women—one of the distinctions of Horace’s “Telephus,” III. 19, 26, n.—as is proved by the case of Richard III., but it may account for Augustus’ exultation over the death of Murena (Intr. § 38), which could only be expressed by sacrifices as if for a great victory, since one can easily conceive that the idea of an alliance between his daughter and a deformed and half-mad individual of shady reputation, was an “audacity” from which he had thankfully escaped, and a subject afterwards too loathsome to be openly spoken of. It is not unlikely that the hatred of Augustus for dwarfs and “monsters,” mentioned by Suetonius, dated from his collision with Murena (Intr. § 100). The Ode is perhaps deliberately misplaced.

XIII

TO THE FOUNT OF BANDUSIA

O FOUNT of Bandusia, more bright than glass,
Worthy of mellow wine, not lacking flowers,
To-morrow thou shalt be presented with a kid
Whose poll, swelling with its first horns,
Marks him for battles and for Love in vain :

For the child of the gambolling flock
 Shall in thine honour tinge
 Thy runnels cool with ruby blood.
 Flaming Canicula's fierce hour cannot
 Touch thee, a pleasing chill thou offerest
 To oxen weary with the share,
 And to the roving herd :
 And thou also shalt be of the famous founts,
 With me to sing the holm oak poised above
 The hollow rocks from which
 Thy babbling rills leap down.

10

15

The fount is supposed to have been on Horace's farm (Epist. I. 16, 12). The sacrifice of a kid implies that the season is spring, and the reference to the heat in the next stanza is an anticipation. The deity honoured would probably be Venus, and the time mid-April.

XIV

TO THE ROMANS

O PEOPLE, Cæsar lately said like Hercules
 To have sought the bay whose price is death,
 His household gods reseeks, victorious
 From Spanish shore—
 Let wife, rejoicing in her spouse alone,
 Go forth, her task fulfilling to the righteous gods,
 And sister also of our glorious leader, and,
 With suppliant wreath

5

Bedight, the mothers of maids and of young men
 Lately from peril preserved. Ye, boys, and girls
 To wedlock new, refrain from words
 Of ill import:

10

This day, in truth a festival to me,
 Shall banish gloomy cares. I shall not fear revolt,
 Or death by violence, while Cæsar holds
 Possession of the world.

15

Go, search for unguent, bøy, and coronals,
 And jar remembering the Marsian war,
 If any vessel can have slipped the eye
 Of roving Spartacus :

20

And bid the tuneful-voiced Neæra haste
 To bind her myrrhine hair into a knot :
 If there be stoppage through the hated janitor—
 Begone !—

The grizzling hair swages the mind
 That hankers after love's disputes and strife,
 This would I not have borne, hot in my youth,
 In Plancus' consulate.

25

Intr. § 94. Addressed to the people on the occasion of Augustus' first return to the city in the character of acknowledged sovereign. The progress of the year has been marked by the seasons (III. 7). We are now in late April or May B.C. 24 (Dio, LIII. 28), shortly before the time when Augustus celebrated his victory over the Cantabri (III. 8).

Verrall (Stud. in Hor. p. 157) considers this Ode from two points of view (1) as personal to Horace, (2) as though the lyrist was not to be identified with himself :—against the latter the last stanza seems to me to be decisive (IV. 11, n.).

5. *Unico* : some take the word to mean "peerless."

6. *Operata* : do her duty by sacrifice : the participle has the force of present time.

11. Words of ill import : III. 1, 2, II. 13, 29.

18. Marsian : the Social war, B.C. 90-88.

19. Spartacus : leader in the Servile war, B.C. 73-71.

28. Plancus (I. 7) : Consul in B.C. 42, the year of Philippi. As Horace there fought against Augustus, the allusion to his hot youth invites attention to other changes than those of age : cf. II. 7.

XV

TO THE WIFE OF IBYCUS

WIFE of a poverty-stricken Ibucus,
Put thou at last a limit to thy wickedness,
And tasks notorious.

Cease nearer to a not untimely grave,
To sport 'mongst girls.

5

And on bright stars to cast a cloud.
If aught suits Pholoe, Chloris,

It also suits not thee. With more excuse
Thy daughter storms the homes
Of youths, like Thyiad stirred by beaten drum.

10

A love for Nothus makes

Her sport like a she-goat at play :
Thee rather fleeces shorn

At famed Luceria beseem, not harps,
Not crimson flower of rose,

15

Not, in old age, the wine-jars drunk to the dregs.

Intr. § 95. The Ode strikes at an offence against *bonos mores*, and may be connected with the series extending from III. 6.

It is probably placed after III. 14 to give a suggestion of the passage of time through the mention of the roses of summer. We obtain no hint of Horace's meaning through the Greek names here used, but "Ibycus" must have had so definite an association with the poet of Rhegium that it is justifiable to prefix an article. It would be as clear to the educated Roman as the description of someone as "a Goethe" or "a Petrarch" would be to us.

"Pauperis" may refer to a lack of the endowments in which the original Ibucus was rich, rather than to a lack of more material possessions.

Nothus (like Thaliarchus, I. 9) is an instance of the *invention* of a Greek name by Horace; its Latin equivalent would be Spurius, see Wickham, quoting Meineke, *ad loc.* Though we may not understand them, it is childish to suppose that such inventions were meaningless, or, if we admit the contrary, to assume the right to criticise the poet as if we were in full possession of his intention. Horace was no trifling dilettante with a *cacoethes scribendi*, but a person (like Vergil) who wrote because he had something to say.

XVI

TO MÆCENAS

FOR prisoned Danae a brazen tower,
And doors of oak, and surly watch of wakeful dogs,
Had been sufficient garrison against

Nocturnal paramours,

Had Jove and Venus laughed not at Acrisius,

5

The timorous keeper of the hidden maid,

Seeing that there would be a safe and open path

Before the god turned to a bribe.

Gold loves to go through the midst of sentinels,

10

And more effectually than lightning's stroke

To cleave the rocks. The Argive Augur's house

Fell plunged in ruin

By pelf. The man of Macedon

Burst open gates of cities, and rival kings

O'erturned by gifts. Gifts are a snare

15

For captains fierce of ships.

Care follows growing wealth, and thirst for more.

I have been right to shrink from lifting up

My head conspicuous afar, Mæcenas,

Glory of the knights.

20

As each shall more deny himself, so more

Will he have from gods. Naked, I seek the camp

Of those coveting naught, and, a deserter, I rejoice

To leave the side of the rich,

Lord of a paltry estate, distinguished more

25

Than if, wealthless amid great wealth,

I should be said to hoard within my barns whate'er

The busy Apulian grows.

A river of pure water, and wood of acres few,

And in my crop sure faith, are better in lot

30

Than his (he knows it not) who glitters in a command

Of fertile Africa

Although Calabrian bees no honey bring,
 And Bacchus mellows not in Læstrygonian jar
 For me, and though in Gaulish pastures grow 35
 No fleeces rich,
 Still, absent is oppressive poverty,
 And thou, if I wished more, would'st not refuse to give.
 Better may I extend my puny revenues
 By lessening desire, 40
 Than if the realm of Alyatteus with Mygdon's plains
 I hold in one. Those seeking much lack much—
 'Tis well for him to whom the Lord, with sparing hand,
 Has given what is enough.

In this address to Mæcenas, made as we approach the crisis of Murena's tragic career (III. 19, 20, 24) most of the allusions are traceable. The elaborate insistence on the power of gold, its temptations and disadvantages, and upon moderation, are no mere repetitions, but a rhetorical aversion to much that has gone before (I. 1, II. 10, II. 15, II. 18, etc.) to bring it into the reader's mind again. The poet says, "I have been right to shrink from lifting up a far conspicuous head, O Mæcenas, glory of the knights." Murena had not followed this course. He had shown himself an example of the vain-glory which raises its empty head too high (I. 18, 15) only to descend to the executioner's strangling knot. Murena had riches ; for him Bacchus did mellow in Læstrygonian jar (Formian, cf. I. 20, etc.) ; for him all the resources of the Empire were open, and when we remember how his career affected Mæcenas, the motive of this Ode, as of so many more, becomes intelligible. Mæcenas also was opulent, but leaving his side is not what Horace contemplates. Mæcenas was the adornment of his order ; Murena, however wealthy, a disgrace to society. But with the lord mount fear and threats, and the tragedy of it all is that the consequences of wrong-doing are not confined to the culprit. Care sits behind the knight ; Jove confounds the innocent with the guilty, and the "gibber's" hump is shifted on to another's shoulder (cf. II. 2, 13, n.). "I have been right, etc.," is therefore nothing else than to say delicately "You have been right" : a similar device is used in III. 29 (Intr. §§ 110-111).

11. The Argive Augur's house fell plunged in ruin by greed of gold ; and the house of Murena fell likewise. The Argive augur was Amphiaraus. It had been prophesied that if he went against Thebes he would be killed. He tried to avoid the call to the siege. His wife Eriphyle was bribed by the present of a necklace to tell where he was. Amphiaraus proceeded to Thebes, but ordered his sons to slay Eriphyle on news of his death. Amphiaraus was swallowed up by the earth, and Eriphyle was afterwards slain by her son Alcmæon. Amphiaraus was a king of Argos, and in all probability figured in the family tree of Murena (III. 19). He was a son of Oiclens, who was a son of Antiphates, King of the Læstrygones (cf. v. 34, and notes to III. 17) and a grandson of Melampus, the seer—hence the name "Augur" given to Amphiaraus. For the significance of augury, etc., in reference to Murena, see Intr. § 95 and foll. and III. 19, notes.

14. *Vir Macedo*, Philip, father of Alexander the Great : see Cic. ad Att. 16.

26. Wealthless amid great wealth : cf. *Nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat?* etc. Juv. III. 208, Intr. § 102.

31. *Imperio* : a man of splendour through his possessions in Africa ; cf. I. 1, 10, and see Wickham's note.

34. Læstrygonian : That is, of Formiæ—the home of Murena, Sat. I. 5, 38. Cf. Cic. ad Att. 2, 13. "But if you come to this Telepylus Læstrygonia (I mean Formiæ) what an uproar the people make." Lamos, the mythic founder of Formiæ, was, like Antiphates, a king of the Læstrygones.

XVII

TO "ÆLIUS"

ÆLIUS, ennobled through the Lamos of old time—

Since hence they trace both the earlier ones

Called Lamia, and all the line

Of sons' sons down the recording calendars—

From that same founder you derive descent,

Who is said to have been the first to hold

The walls of Formiæ,

And Liris brimming o'er Marica's shores,

A lord of wide domain—to-morrow a storm

By Eurus sent, will strew the grove

With many leaves, with useless kelp the shore ;

Unless of rain the aged carrion-crow

As augur fail. While you are able stack

Dry wood. With wine to-morrow, and a two-month pig,

You will indulge your genius,

Together with the servants freed from toil.

Cf. notes to I. 26. The main clue to this Ode has been discovered by Dr Verrall. The Ælii were "nobiles." Some of them took the cognomen of Lamia, thereby perhaps commemorating descent from Lamos, mythic king of the Læstrygones, and supposed founder of Formiæ (*Odyss.* 10, 81, and cf. III. 16). Horace writes, "Ælius, the records say that you are descended from Lamos, there will be a storm to-morrow, therefore get in dry wood for the holiday feast at which you will eat pork with the servants." On the hypothesis that a real Ælius is addressed, no point can be assigned to this, but if we see grounds to suppose that it was meant for a Lamia who was not an Ælius, a possibility of understanding it arises. Horace believed in no pedigrees from mythic kings, but Telephus and Murena, a person also intimately connected with Læstrygonian Formiæ, apparently did, and with most unfortunate consequences for them and others (Intr. § 95, and foll.). Cf. notes to the preceding Ode.

The first two stanzas read like an ironical statement and are

one. Lamia was Horace's steward or bailiff, and ode I. 26 and Epist. I. 14 are addressed to him. A proof of Haupt's paradox that translation may be the death of understanding is adducible from this Epistle (Intr. § 4). The false but ready translation of one word—*moratur*—has obscured the meaning of the Epistle, and has probably been the cause of the long delay in the elucidation of the Ode. See Verrall's masterly analysis, Stud. in Hor. p. 126. The Epistle is from Horace to Lamia at a time when the latter is mourning the loss of a brother, which is the circumstance that makes the discussion somewhat malapropos, and makes Horace pause for a moment before urging on the steward the argument he proposes: it was probably written to cheer up the retainer in his grief, and, like the Odes themselves, may be taken to exhibit the kindness of Horace. The introduction of the *Ælii* into the Epistle brings as much confusion upon its interpretation as the non-recognition that the “*Æli*” of this Ode is ironical, imports here.

Dr Verrall's explanation of this Ode's position is given at p. 141 of his book. Mr Wickham says, “Probably the stormy weather, if not actually allegorical is used to enforce a moral beyond that which appears on the surface.” This is quite true. A storm is impending on Marica's shore below Formiae (III. 16) and on the head of the wealthy lord—who did believe in mythic ancestry—a storm of ruin was about to break. This “manner of suiting the changes of external scene to those of the internal thought is characteristic of the Odes,” and is one of our surest bases of interpretation. The adroit method of showing by a comparison between the servant Lamia and the prehistoric Lamos Horace's sense of the absurdity of Murena's delusions as to his lineage (II. 3, III. 19), is yet another instance of his felicity.

5. Read *ducis*, not the conjectural *ducit*. *Ferunt* in the second line is generally rendered “they tell.” If this is right, I believe the sense to be, “*Ælius*, a noble through Lamos—for since the tradition is that the older Lamias and their whole line, down to the recording *fasti*, took their name from him who, etc., so also do you.”

12. The mention of an aged crow as an angur, and the possibility of its forecast failing, are additional felicities which if accidental are strange, cf. III. 19, etc.

XVIII

TO FAUNUS

FAUNUS, lover of the fleeing nymphs,
Through my bounds and sunny fields
Pass gently, and depart to my
Small nurselings kind,
If a young kid falls with the full year,
And plentiful wines be absent not
From Venus' mate, the bowl, and the old altar smoke
With bounteous fragrance.

Upon the grassy plain the whole herd sports,
What time December's Nones return for thee ;
The feasting village idles in the meads,

With ox at rest :

The wolf is roaming amid lambs grown bold ;
For thee the forest scatters rustic leaves ;
It is the ditcher's joy thrice with his foot
To smite the hated earth.

10

15

This Ode, keeping in our minds the scene of Horace's farm to which we are brought by the one preceding, has several points of connection with the one following it. Prominent is the note of date, or rather season. We are approaching the end of the year, a time of conviviality. This is clearly marked, and the rural deity is reminded that in winter the wood scatters its rustic leaves for him, a thought which is perhaps intended to call attention to the case of Murena and his friends in the next Ode, who with insane prodigality, in the delirium of their exultation, are scattering roses by handfuls. Horace could have chosen no better way to suggest extravagance. It was for this that flowers were substituted for the useful crops of agriculture (II. 15)—for wanton waste. The expense of roses in winter would be enormous. See Verrall, Studies in Hor. Essay II.

The possible double point in the thirteenth line should not be overlooked. Cf. II. 11, n.

XIX

MURENA'S BANQUET

How far removed from Inachus
Is Codrus, not afraid to die for fatherland,
You tell, and race of Æacus,

And battles fought at sacred Ilion :

But at what price we buy the jar
Of Chian, who is to mix the water with its fires,
Who finds the house, and when of chills
Pelignian I may be rid—you leave unsaid.

Charge instantly for the new moon !

Charge for midnight ! Charge for Murena, boy, ' 10
The Augur ! By ladlefuls

Of three or nine let cups be mixed at will—
The awestruck seer who loves
Odd-numbered Muses, calls for three times three—
The Grace, with her nude sisters linked,

Fearful of quarrellings, forbids that one
Should take of more than three.

'Tis joy to lose one's wits ! Why cease the blasts

5

15

- Of Berecyntian pipe ?
 Why hangs the whistle with the silent lyre ? 20
 I hate the hands that spare ;
 Scatter the roses ; let envious Lycus hear
 The furious din, and her beside
 The old man, no fit mate for Lycus.
 You, Telephus, resplendent with 25
 Your clustering hair, you, like the radiant Hesperus,
 Rhode—of suitable age—is seeking ;
 Me a deep love consumes for Glycera mine.

See Intr. §§ 52-53, 95 and foll., and Appendix I. In the former of these sections we have given a bare outline of Dr Verrall's views on this Ode, but the reader should study his analysis in full. Dr Verrall's criticism is most valuable for its demolition of every previous attempt to explain the poem, but with all deference seems to me to suffer because his inductions were made on an incomplete collection of the ascertainable facts. His theory is rounded off and perhaps prematurely so, for further examination seems to cast doubt on some of his inferences. We have got an outline of Murena's history, and it supplies us with explanations of much of this poem, but we still lack definite information on material points. All has not been told us—probably with very good reason, considering the sensitiveness of the Emperor on the honour of his family—and we can only infer what precisely led up to this banquet, or what was the cause of the delirious exultation there indulged in. Dr Verrall conceives the event celebrated in the poem to be the reception or reassumption by Murena of a senatorial peerage, because he sees a reference to the Senate in the words *novaē lunae* (to the new moon, the senatorial badge). Now the evidence that Murena was ever a senator is weak : the conclusion that he was an official Augur may even be wrong, although he has that description in this poem, and although the belief that it was a true description is used by Dr Verrall in proof of the fact of his wealth. Later investigations, enabling us to discern the meaning of so much of the Three Books, and to trace therein the allusions to this man's career, quite rid us of the need of that argument to show that Licinius or Murena, or "Grosphus," or "Quintius Hirpinus," or "Gelli," i.e. "Gillo," or "Gyas," or the heir of Attalus, or "Hebrus of Lipara," or "Telephus," etc., was rich—and rich with ill-gotten gains of which he made bad use.

We may perceive through the material we have why Murena might be hailed as "Augur"—the diviner of the future—in this poem, without necessarily being a member of the sacred college : see the Intr. § 95 and foll. Murena's resort to augury had convinced him that he was of high lineage, and specially marked out by fate for supreme advancement, and this is reflected in the Odes. It is a consideration which explains names and references (*cf.* I. 9, I. 11, II. 3, II. 11, III. 16, III. 17, etc.) with an accumulating force when the work is read as a whole. It is the keynote to the reference to Inachus and Codrus, and the race of Æacus, in the present Ode. Murena regarded himself as having the blood of both in his veins—perhaps of being a reincarnation of one or other of them (I. 28, II. 3, v. 21). The calculation of the interval between

Inachus and Codrus is only half the problem for solution ; the name which the computer hesitates to utter has probably something to do with the other branch—"From Inachus to Codrus, from Codrus to—Murena!" and then comes the delirious joy, and the mad exultation, the call for frenzied music, and the bidding of "Lycus," and the woman at his side who is no fit mate for him, to hear the riot (see *infra*). Divination, astrology, etc., are associated with this exordium, and the significance of the fact can be used in interpretation without recourse to theories or details not revealed by the poet, or preserved *aliunde*.

The season is the *vovupnla*, or new year, the depth of winter, the time midnight, the house Murena's own (*quo præbente domum*, cf. Sat. I. 5, 38) whether, as Dr Verrall thinks, at Reate to the N.E. of the Pelignian hills or not, is unnecessary to decide. "Pelignian chills" can be understood without that. The Peligni were a tribe who dealt in the arts of magic (Epod. 17, 60) and it is not impossible that before this outburst of joy "Telephus" and company were engaged in astrological observation for the answer of the heavens to their impious questionings (cf. I. 11, Epist. I. 16, 28). "Pelignian" chills may mean those induced by Pelignian operations on a winter's night.

The point I wish to make on this Ode is that although particularity of detail is not always within reach, the general intention can be ascertained. It marks the height to which Murena's madness led him. There are now good grounds for assuming that this "madness" was the project of marriage with Julia, and the accession of Murena to the highest position in Rome, or in the world (II. 2, 21, Epist. I. 16, 28). To work his will he was prepared—in advance—to defy Augustus and the Senate. The health to the new moon might thus acquire double point—a sincere toast from the banqueters on a favourable sign from heaven, and one of another kind to the senatorial order which the audacious Lucius was ready to sweep out of his way.

This scene then marks the climax of Murena's career *in so far as it was prosperous*. The advice of Horace given in II. 10, to shorten sail to a gale too favourable was unaccepted, and ruin followed. The design on Julia, treated in allegory in the succeeding poem, was frustrated by his denunciation on a political charge. History tells us that so far from proving by deed the audacity of spirit exhibited in his speech, he fled from justice, and was afterwards captured and executed (III. 20, III. 24) and that the unusual step was taken by the Emperor of public thanksgiving to the gods therefor, as if for a great victory (Dio, Intr. § 38). It is possible that II. 3, vv. 17-24, are a forecast of his plight as a fugitive, and that if the passage of Juvenal quoted in Intr. § 102 refers to this story, it explains why he described "Codrus" as a beggar (but see III. 16, 26 and note). On this view it will be seen that "Telephus" and Murena may be the same person ; the obscurity being intentional ; cf. v. 26, *n.*

1. Inachus : A son of Oceanus and Tethys, the mother of all the rivers. He was the first king of Argos. We can perhaps see why Murena, with his name of a fish, regarded him as an ancestor, and why Horace should choose the name of a river in one place to typify him, III. 12.

3. Race of Æacus, Intr. § 105, III. 20, *n.*, IV. 6, etc. — Murena's own conception of his lineage.

5. *Quo* : at what price ; for conclusive reasons against regarding this feast as a symbola, see Verrall, Stud. in Hor. p. 38.

8. *Peligni* : see *supra*, their home was the Sabine mountains.

9. *Lunæ novæ* : see *infra*, v. 26, *n* ; and Verrall, Stud. in Hor. p. 54 ; II. 18 ; IV. 7, 13.

10. *Auguris* : see *supra* : the word has great irony of effect, even if unintentional.

13. *Musas* : This reference to the nine Muses and the three Graces connects with M. Varro, who used the same method of indicating number in respect of the guests for a banquet ; his rule was that they should not be more than the Muses nor fewer than the Graces. To apply the illustration to the drinking rule (*cf.* II. 7, 25, and Dict. of Antiq.) was more characteristic of his "heir," the Thaliarchus of this feast (I. 9).

18. *Berecyntiae* : The pipes that roused the votaries of Cybele to frenzy ; *cf.* I. 18, 8.

22. *Sparge rosas* : see III. 18, *n*.

23. *Lycus* : A son of Neptune and King of Boeotia, who married his niece. *Vicina seni* : the woman at the side of an elderly man, and no fit mate for him. We believe that the persons referred to are Julia and Agrippa, who, though he became her husband, was one year older than her father ; see next Ode.

26. *Telephus* : Wickham's remark on this name is that it is one habitually used by Horace for a man with attractive power over women. This is true, and ought to suggest a connection between the poems in which it occurs. But we can go further ; investigation will show that in the meaning of "Telephus" much of the arcana of the Odes is contained. The word means "shining afar," and from the terms used here we see that it may have parallel point with the Xanthias (blooming) of II. 4, the Pyrrhus (golden-haired) of III. 20, the Hebrus Liparæus (Liparean golden stream) of III. 12, etc.—Note the double pun in "of Lipara" (*cf.* Intr. § 101) and *λυπάρος*, *unctus* or *nitidus*, III. 19, 25, and II. 11, 15-17.

The mythological accounts of Telephus vary in detail. He was a son of Hercules and Auge, daughter of Lycaon, or Aleus, King of Tegea in Arcadia. Through services rendered to Teuthras, King of Mysia, he obtained the hand of his daughter, and succeeded him on his throne. He is also represented as the husband of a daughter of Priam. This latter circumstance brought him into conflict with the Greeks, who wished to traverse Mysia on their way to Troy. In resisting them the feet of Telephus were entangled in a vine, which Bacchus miraculously caused to spring up, and he fell to the spear of Achilles. Though his Grecian birth was discovered, he refused to side with the invaders, and, dispossessed of his kingdom, wandered, wounded and miserable, to consult an oracle. Having been told that the inflicter of his injury alone could cure him, he applied to Achilles, by whom his wound was healed. His story was used in tragedies by Euripides, by Ennius and Attius (A. P. v. 96) the Latin versions being apparently mere translations. In support of my hypothesis that "Telephus" is a pseudonym for Murena, selected by Horace, and recognisable in his circle, I would refer to Euripides (I think the pseudonym is on a different footing from the names drawn from the lineage of Æacus ; that connection was probably imagined by Murena himself). The Telephus of Euripides was one

of a tetralogy, viz. the Cretan women, Alcmæon at Psophis, Telephus, and, in lieu of the conventional satyric play, the Alcestis. The fragments that remain of the first three are not enough in themselves to give us a notion of the several dramas. The motive of the Cressæ is quite lost ; the story of Alcmæon at Psophis is known, but not the actual treatment of it by Euripides. In one respect it presents a situation parallel with that of the Telephus. Alcmæon, a son of the Argive Augur, Amphiaraus, the mention of whom in III. 16 is so significantly referable to the case of Murena, was also a king, *pauper et exsul*, wandering in distress after his act of matricide ; see Dindorf, Frag. Eurip. Oxon. 1846. The link of connection between these associated plays is unknown. It was probably an idea, and not impossibly that of the vicissitudes of life, and their various issues. Different sets of persons are dealt with but, as to the last three, persons between whose circumstances a relation is apparent. Alcmæon, who had lost his kingdom, suffered a violent death ; Telephus, after his destitution and exile, was cured of his wound and restored ; Alcestis, who had devoted herself to the endless exile of death, was rescued by Heracles ; on some thread of this sort the dramas seem to be strung. The Telephus was brought prominently into notice by Aristophanes' satire. The great scene of the Acharnians—a play which in another place has supplied Horace with an illustration (*cf.* I. 36)—is devoted to him. Telephus is there derisively cited as Euripides' ideal character in tragedy (an ousted king exciting pity by his physical and other woes). Aristophanes' ridicule is for the dramatist's art, as a modern critic sometimes becomes caustic on the melodramatic heroine and her snowstorm, but his presentation of the character, and general treatment of the case, are admirable for Horace's purpose, if that was to satirise Murena and any wild claim of his to sovereignty. Aristophanes' hero, Dicæopolis, wishes to pose as Telephus in order to give proper tongue to the situation in which he finds himself. Telephus, he says, is a "terror to talk" (*δεινὸς λέγειν*) and can use words as weapons (*ῥηματῖοις σκιμαλίζειν*). In this respect Murena would compare with him very well. If we then pass to the speech itself, we see that the speaker's subject is war and strife caused by the kidnapping of women. There is a reference to the god of the Lenæa, to attend on whom, says Horace enigmatically, involves so much risk (III. 25, 19) and it is very apposite, for it is used to explain the style of the speech. At this Lenæan festival, the mock Telephus says, I may talk openly because no strangers are present : and he then proceeds to denounce the wickedness of going to war over the abduction of women.

We can perhaps see here the association of ideas in Horace's mind that induced him to employ this name, and if we turn to the other Odes in which it occurs, we see it undisturbed. In IV. 11, where "Phyllis" is warned of the dangers of unequal matches, and is told that Telephus is not present, but held bound (?) like Pirithous, the lover) by another mistress, the point of the connection and of the irony becomes apparent. These considerations also tend to show that the Telephus of Horace and of Suetonius (Intr. § 96) are one and the same. The Telephus of Suetonius believed that Fate "owed" him the sovereignty of the world, and plotted against Augustus. The Murena-Telephus of Horace was also a superstitious person who acted similarly in circumstances

of which the correspondences have been pointed out. The original Telephus was however tripped up by Bacchus: so also his Horatian analogue, who was fond of the cups which probably held most of his distinctive "audacity," and would loosen his already loose tongue; fond too of the drums and Berecynthian horns, the accompaniments of blind self-love, and empty-headed pride, and of that Fides which has "a window in its mind," and flings its secret to the world (I. 18). Murena's braggart insolence was exhibited "to all alike"; Dio, *cf.* Intr. § 38. Of him Horace often speaks in bitterest irony, saying precisely the opposite of his real meaning, and this fact must be allowed for in interpretation.

Such irony appears in the word "tempestiva," in v. 27. In B.C. 22, Murena could not have been very young, and hence probably comes the point of the sarcasms of II. 11. The self-supposed descendant or reincarnation of Achilles, Inachus, Codrus, etc., in his own estimation, was a fit mate for anyone, to whom the humbly born and boorish Agrippa ought not to be preferred.

No theory of mere accident or coincidence will suffice to account for the far-reaching results of construing the name Telephus in this way. To anyone who will take the trouble to follow them, they must carry conviction. The only one we need mention here is the reduction of the Odes from a perplexing jumble of beautiful elements to an exquisite mosaic of interrelated allegory and felicitous allusion.

XX

TO PYRRHUS

You do not see at what great risk you take
Whelps, Pyrrhus, from a Gætulian lioness :
An unauacious ravisher, you will flee

Soon from the stubborn fight :
When through the hosts of youths barring her way, 5
She goes demanding back her famed Nearchus—
A mighty conflict, whether it yields to you

Or her the larger spoil.
Meantime—while you draw forth swift shafts,

She sharpens formidable teeth—

The strife's decider, it is said, has placed

Beneath his naked foot

The palm, and in a gentle breeze relieves

His shoulders swept by scented locks—

One such as Nireus was, or he

From watery Ida snatched.

10

15

Intr. § 95 and foll. That this Ode is symbolic is certain. Its position next after Murena's banquet is worthy of note, and may supply us with a clue, for though Verrall confesses himself un-

able to see its point, there is good reason to believe that it elucidates III. 19, and bears with a strong confirming influence on his main theories. It yields this result on the application of an obvious principle, viz. an examination of the purport of the names used by Horace. The name which suggests a particular μῦθος or legend may suffice for a full revelation of the allegory, or it may only offer us to-day the elements of a hypothesis. The use of myth in this way was thoroughly in accord with the spirit of Athenian tragedy, but not perhaps of lyrical work.

Now to what legends do the names of Nearchus and Pyrrhus direct our attention? The former, of which the meaning is a new ruler—not, as will be seen, an insignificant fact—recalls the story of Zeno of Elea (Velia) in Italy, a philosopher and disciple of Parmenides, who is credited with having attempted to rid his country of a tyrant named Nearchus. His plot being discovered, he was put to the torture to make him reveal the names of his accomplices, but he cut off his tongue to prevent himself from doing so and, it is added, flung it in the face of the tyrant. Whether in all this there would be possible points of connection with the career of Murena, the reader may judge for himself. With regard to Pyrrhus the case is still more remarkable. Through that name we are immediately brought into contact with the genus *Æaci* of III. 19, and the "Achilles," of IV. 6 and elsewhere. Pyrrhus means golden-haired, and was the name of a son of Achilles—otherwise Neoptolemus. Calchas the seer, after Achilles' death, declared that the towers of Troy would not fall until Pyrrhus arrived at the siege. He was accordingly summoned, and in the final onslaught on Troy distinguished himself by his daring, and also by the ferocious cruelty of his temper (IV. 6, 17), dragging Priam from sanctuary, and ruthlessly slaying him and other members of the royal house, and taking Andromache captive. On the theory that "Achilles" and "genus *Æaci*," where they occur in the Odes in poems referable to Murena, are symbolic names for him, there emerges an easy connection for Nearchus (the new ruler) and the latter-day Pyrrhus which, if we had more detail of the projects really in Murena's mind, we should be able to fit exactly into place. It is likely that the disposal of Julia's hand was connected with those projects. The time of the Ode is after the death of Marcellus in 23, and before the death of Murena in 22, which we take to be noted in III. 24. The remarrying of Julia was then an important matter. Augustus actually thought of allying her to Proculeius Murena, the brother of our hero, an unambitious man not engaged in politics (Tac. Ann. 4, 39, 40). This proposal was not carried out, and she became the wife of Agrippa for reasons of State. Now it is possible that these facts explain both this Ode and the reference in the preceding one to the lady who is "vicina seni," and "a strange mate for 'Lycus'" (III. 19, 23, n.). The reference to Boeotia, the home of the most rude of the Greeks, is striking, considering that Agrippa was a blunt, rough fighter by land and sea (I. 6), a typical "Boeotian" and also, seeing that Lycus was a son of Neptune, and Agrippa the recipient of the unusual honour of a naval crown, the reference is more pointed still. It may be that Lucius Murena, dazzled by the prospect of an imperial alliance with his family, resolved, when he found that Augustus had abandoned it, that it should after all come about,

even if Julia had to be got in the way in which Pyrrhus obtained Andromache. It is possible that this was part of the mad schemes of the banquet pictured in III. 19; it is possible that this memorable banquet is the one referred to by Ovid in Met. I., and that Murena is there symbolised by the name of Lycaon, whose designs, coupled with his wolf-like ferocity, caused such consternation to Augustus and the Senate.

It is further possible and likely that these momentous schemes are the topic of III. 20. The Gætulian lioness, *i.e.* one as savage as those of Gætulia, is probably Rome, excited with jealousy for its whelps, the sacred line of Iulus, and for the safety of its "Nearcharus," its new ruler, Augustus: while the arbiter of the fight, the man who checkmated Murena and his mad schemes by prosecuting him before the Senate as an accomplice of Cæpio—whether quite "accurately" or not was doubtful, but at least so effectively as, without compromising the honour of the Cæsarean name, to fasten the strangling knot (*laqueus*) round his neck—is Tiberius, the friend of the Muses (Suet. Tib. 21, 68, 70, and see Verrall's note thereon, Stud. p. 61) remarkable in youth for his beauty, and his long hair, and his love of art (Pliny, N. H. 34, 19), the young Apollo of Delos and Patara—

Qui rore puro Castaliæ lavit
Crines solutos—etc., III. 4, vv. 61, 64.

Such is the interpretation, pieced together from many hints in Horace and from other writers, which I venture to propound for this poem. On this view it becomes one of the most important links in the chain, and confirms the conjecture which Dr Verrall had been induced to make, without reference to it, that some project with regard to Julia's hand in marriage might be the key to the mystery of Murena's denunciation and execution. The references to Pirithous, III. 4, 80, IV. 7, 28, and II. 12, 5, and I. 18, 8 support this.

XXI

TO A WINE-JAR

O BORN with me when Manlius was consul,
Whether lamentations, mirth, dispute,
 Mad loves or facile sleep,
 You bring, O wine-jar blest,
Deserving, in whatever name you guard
 The Massic choice, to be disturbed on a good day,
 Come down, Corvinus bids
 Me serve the mellower wine.
Not he, although he drips with lore
 Socratic, will with a shudder pass you by :
 'Tis said the virtue of old Cato even
 Grew often warm with wine.

5

10

You ply a gentle strain upon the mind
 That's hard by wont. You, through Lyæus gay,
 Reveal the secret project of the wise,
 And their solicitudes.

15

Hope you restore to anxious minds,
 And firmness, and exalt the poor man's horn,
 Who dreads not after thee the angry crests
 Of kings, or soldiers' arms.
 Liber, and Venus if she comes with joy,
 And Graces, slow to loosen their embrace,
 And living lamps will lengthen out your time,
 Until returning Phœbus routs the stars.

20

Addressed in form to a wine-jar, this Ode commemorates the poet's friendship with Messalla Corvinus, a comrade in arms at Philippi who had become reconciled to Augustus, and had fought for him at Actium. He said to the Emperor that he had been on the right side on each occasion—a statement very valuable to the historian as showing the trend of public opinion among some of Rome's leading citizens through these eventful times. He was a patron of literature. The Ode, placed next to the description of Murena's mad revel, gains significance by a comparison. Horace's views are broad and sane. It is not pleasure that is wrong but excess. A former school of critics systematically put the worst construction on any reference to "Venus" in Horace's works, or even to the mere mention of a woman's name. Elaborate schemes of the course of Horace's amours have been formulated, but not with success. The Three Books are no record of such things, and whatever Horace's private standard of morality may have been, the critic who does not recognise his high moral purpose here is blind to a fact that cannot be overlooked without error. Mention in this place of "Venus" implies no impropriety. The entertainment contemplated is a decent and sober one, not unfit for the presence of ladies. As Dr Verrall amusingly says, "There is nothing in the piece that Wordsworth might not have written in expectation of a visit from Mr and Mrs Southey." So far from gloating over the prospect of a debauch, Horace's intention was probably to draw a contrast between comely conviviality and licence.

XXII

TO DIANA

O VIRGIN, keeper of the mounts and groves,
 Who hearkenest to women in their travail
 When triply called, and rescuest them from death,
 Goddess, whose forms are three !
 Thine be the pine that overhangs my cot,
 To which I gladly as the years conclude
 Would give the blood of a boar just thinking of
 His sidelong thrust.

5

Horace promises a votive offering to the goddess who presides over child-birth, the triply named Luna, Diana, Hecate. It is in accord with his manner to prepare in one piece for another, I. 30 for instance is a preface to I. 33, and there are others similarly correlated. This Ode may possibly be taken to give a clue to III. 25, but on this view, which is Dr Verrall's, its position is rather early chronologically, for Julia did not marry Agrippa till B.C. 21, and we are still in the year before that, *cf.* III. 24.

XXIII

TO PHIDYLE

If thou hast raised uplifted hands to heaven
 At the moon's birth, O rustic Phidyle ;
 With incense if thou hast appeased thy gods,
 And this year's fruit, and gluttonous sow,
 Not pestilent Africus will thy fecund vine 5
 Feel, and thy crops no blighting rust,
 Thy younglings dear no heavy time
 When the year brings forth fruit—
 For though a victim vowed for sacrifice
 Which now on snowy Algidus is pasturing, 10
 Among the oaks and holms, or growing fat
 On Alba's sward, shall from its throat
 Dye pontiff's axe, there is no need that thou
 Should'st ply with many slaughterings of sheep,
 While thou dost crown thy little gods 15
 With rosemary and myrtle frail.
 If an exempted hand hath touched the shrine,
 Not greater through a costly victim were its charm,
 It has assuaged untoward household gods
 With holy spell and crackling salt. 20

This beautiful Ode is a good index to the real nature of the poet. The feelings that inspired it can only be such as are worthy of admiration—reverence and sympathy, the willingness to praise what is admirable even though found in the humble and the poor. Sincerity is transparent throughout. It is no formal expression of the right thing to say, but is suffused with genuine feeling. No man who was merely a careless pleasure-lover, only anxious, for sybaritic reasons, to be on good terms with life, could have written it. There is not a sign that the author is posing : the sentiment is expressed with reserve, and is free from sentimentality. It ought to raise the question whether one's whole view of the Three Books must not take some colour from it. Can an interpretation be sound which would allow the poet here to be singing as a psalmist, and in II. 14 or in I. 36 as a debauchee ? An impartial study of all the elements of the question can only

lead to one conclusion. Attention to such considerations gives us, at least, our best hope of perceiving the author's standpoint. The striking contrast between this Ode and the one which follows is an effect too conspicuous to escape notice.

2. The new moon thus associated with religious observance, must mark the season of the new year, *viximia*. It applies more fitly to the beginning of the religious year in March, than of the civil, in January, thus carrying on the time from III. 19. Phidyle : that is "thrifty," a housewife of the class from which sprang Rome's strength, her soldier-farmers, III. 6, 37, etc.

17. *Immunis*: i.e. "exempt from a service or charge" (IV. 12, 23, Epist. I. 14, 33). Its force here is not merely "without a gift." Mr Wickham's acute remark that the doctrine of the stanza is "that the gods do not look for costly offerings from humble worshippers," really lays much of the critical dust raised over it. The sense is clear when once the meaning of "immunis" is grasped. Besides the grammatical objection, it is evident that "manus immunis" does not contemplate the "hand of innocence" generally, from the fact that *hostia* continues the thoughts on sacrificial slaughter just mentioned in connection with Phidyle.

20. *Far*: Mr Page seems clearly right in saying that *far* and *mica*, "mola salsa," point to the *act* of worship : they must not be confounded with any idea of the offering itself in a cheap form.

XXIV

BE it that you more opulent
Than untouched treasures of Arabs and rich India,
Appropriate with your masonry
The whole Tyrrhene, even sea of common right,—
If dire Necessity
Fixes her adamantine nails upon the highest crests,
Not mind from fear,
Not head from snares of death, shall you unloose.
The Scythians on the steppes,
Whose wains, after their manner, draw their wandering homes, 10
Live better, and Getians
Austere, to whom unmeted acres yield
Free store of fruits and grain,
Whom tillage pleases not for longer than a year,
And one acquit of toil
Another upon equal terms in turn relieves.
There woman without guile
Attends the wants of motherless step-children,
Dowried wife rules not
Her husband or with sleek adulterer pledges faith. 20
An ample dowry is
Their parents' virtue, chasteness that shrinks from another man
—Vows being inviolate—

5

15

15

15

20

And heaven's mandate against sin whose wage is death.
 Oh, whosoever wills 25
 To put down impious massacres and madness in the state,
 If he would seek to have
 " Father of Cities " graven on his statues, let him be bold
 To curb the untamed lawlessness,
 And be a light unto posterity. How, Ah, 'tis sin ! 30
 Safe-standing valiance we hate !
 Swept from our sight we seek it, envious.
 What use in sad complaints,
 If crime be cut not at the root by punishment ?
 What profit in laws, futile 35
 Without morality, if neither the part of the world
 Shut in by fervent heats,
 Nor its side upon the north wind bordering close,
 And snows upon the ground
 Hard frozen, daunt the trader ? If sailors shrewd 40
 Vanquish the fearful main ?
 And poverty, a dire disgrace, commands us both to do
 And suffer anything,
 And leaves the path of lofty righteousness ?
 Either into the Capitol, 45
 Whither the shout and throng of partisans enjoins,
 Or in the nearest sea,
 Let us ourselves cast gems, and stones, and useless gold,
 Source of the worst of ills,
 If there be true repentance for our sins. 50
 Of baleful lust
 The rudiments must be erased : too flaccid minds
 By practice more severe
 Must shapen be. The well-born boy has not the skill, 55
 Untrained, to sit his horse,
 And is afraid to hunt : but better versed in play,
 If one bid with the Grecian hoop,
 Or give the choice to dice proscribed by law,
 And this because his father's faith
 Forsworn deceives his partner-colleague and his guest, 60
 And for a worthless heir
 Hurries a fortune quick. In truth, wealth grows
 Beyond all bounds ; but yet
 To an estate is always lacking something to round it off.

Intr. §§ 78-79, 107. It is probable that the first eight lines of this Ode give the last episode in the story of Murena ; the millionaire, the encroacher on the sea, the man who, diviner of the future though he be, forgets Nemesis (*Diva necessitas*) is not in the end able to extricate his head from the *laqueus*, the " bowstring " of the executioner. Murena was put to death in the early part of B.C. 22. To this he has come, and his wealth and presumption

have led to his ruin. This thought causes the poet to make his reflections more general, and brings them into line with portions of the Six Odes (*cf.* III. 6). For the sake of moral health the State must revert to the simplicity of former times. If wealth is sapping the national character, away with it. Has Rome been brought to such a pass that Scythians and Getæ may be held up to her as examples? Then let the strong man be up and doing. Querulous whining will not mend matters. There must be stern measures of repression. Authority must insist on obedience. Despite the meagreness of the hints we have of the sequel to the Cæpicio-Murena plot, we shall probably be right in taking Horace here to be reading the Emperor a "straighter" lesson than anything of the kind he had previously ventured. It is as if he had said, " You have found these men guilty of treason ; they have died for their crime ; it is well, but matters cannot rest there. Treasonable plots are the outward sign of internal mischief ; find the roots of the canker, and extirpate it. If you have 'virtus,' strength in your consciousness of right, which men admire though they hate it in action, prove that you deserve the title which we give you ; severity is necessary in a father if he would have un-spoiled children ; it must be applied to the nation, unless want of principle and discipline, the insolence of wealth, and the enervation of luxury, are to be our ruin " ; *cf.* III. 2. The Ode is valuable to the historian as an indication of the political condition of Rome after Augustus' attempt to "restore" the Republic in B.C. 23. Intr. §§ 44 and foll.

4. Common unto all : The reading "publicum" here followed is that of the oldest known MS., V. Bland.

6. The crowning heights : See Wickham, Fate is a builder too, and may take the completion of the work into her own hands.

9. Scythians : Horace seems to be applying to these people Julius Cæsar's account of the Suevi. Among the Suevi the warriors of one year were the agriculturists of the next, and so on. Fidelity to marriage vows was a feature of the Germans (Cæs. Bell. Gall. 4, 1).

23. Vows : *i.e.* marriage which death alone should end, I. 13, 17.

31. Valiance ; *virtus* : *cf.* Epist. II. 1, vv. 10-14.

35. What profit, etc. : The point is in the reference to morals and poverty : the merchant is the feeder of luxury : the daring of the sailor is of the wrong kind. It is false morality to regard poverty as a disgrace. Poverty that stimulates is better than wealth that destroys.

50. Baleful lust : Conington.

52. Erased : the metaphor is from expunging writing from tablets.

60. *Hospitem* : The person to whom the duty of help and hospitality is owed : not impossible that this line is pointed through the contrast between the respective ideas of Proculeius and his brother on the subject.

XXV

TO BACCHUS

WHITHER art taking me, O Bacchus, filled
 With thee ? Into what groves or caverns am I swiftly born
 With a new mind ? Within what grotos
 Shall I be heard rehearsing how to set
 Among the stars and at Jove's council-board 5
 The endless glory of a Cæsar without peer.
 A thing of note, new and as yet unsung
 By other lips, I'll sing. Just so on mountain-peaks
 The Eviad unsleeping stands amazed,
 Forth looking over Hebrus, and on Thrace agleam 10
 With snow, and Rhodope betrod
 By foot barbarian, as in my wandering
 To me it is delightful to admire
 The banks and solitary groves. O lord of Naiads,
 And Bacchanals of strength 15
 To overthrow by hand the ash-trees tall,
 No trifle, naught in humble strain,
 No mortal thing I'll sing. Sweet is the hazard, O thou
 Of the Lenæa, to attend the god
 Who wreathes his temples with the tendril green. 20

This "dithyramb" has had many hard words for its supposed "falsetto"—to introduce Augustus as a theme new, not only to the mouth of this poet but to the mouth of all poets, is considered inept, especially as it is done at the end of a book which deals largely with his praises. This ineptness seems to me to be largely an effect produced by the traditional course of regarding the Odes as a collection of disconnected poems. Verse 8 should perhaps be read in the light of Epist. I. 19, 32. The "newness" if referred to Horace's use of lyrics as a vehicle for allegory would become intelligible.

However, the theory of Dr Verrall, though it cannot be considered unassailable, may have substance. He argues that the "unique Cæsar" is not Augustus, but that the Ode is a pendant to III. 22 in which the prayer of the lyrast was offered to the goddess of child-birth, and celebrates the arrival in the world of a new member of the Julian line in the person of the infant son of Julia and Agrippa. As Bacchus is the god of infancy and infant nurture, he uses that fact to support his view. Stud. in Hor. p. 115.

This theory would involve composition not earlier than B.C. 20. Disregarding either of these theories of the Ode, I cannot see that Horace is necessarily to be taken as indicating that the glory of Cæsar is the point of novelty. That may be something by which the glory of Cæsar shall be reflected, e.g. the overthrow of opponents, and the final establishment of his power.

The concluding lines indicating risk to the poet may be interpreted through III. 27, cf. notes. Concerning the Lenæa, cf. III.

19, 26, n. The Ode should be considered and construed with II. 19. Taken as a constituent of a connected work, it may be relieved of the objections which critics urge against it. One eminent editor dubs it "a mere study," and with all deference, such gratuitous assumptions seem to me to strike at the root of sound criticism, they would never have been made had we followed Horace's own directions, and read systematically his work as a whole : *cf.* Intr. §§ 11-14, III. 15, n.

XXVI

LATELY I lived a proper squire of dames,
And fought not without honour : now
 My weapons, and my harp discharged
 From warfare, this wall shall receive,
That guards the left side of our seaworn Venus. 5
Here, here, lay down the gleaming brands,
 The crowbars and the bows,
 That menaced the obstructing doors.
O goddess, who possessest blissful Cyprus,
And Memphis, which is free from Thracian snow, 10
 O queen, with lash aloft
 Touch Chloe once the arrogant.

Compare this Ode with I. 5. In taking farewell of his readers, Horace speaks as a conventional writer of lyrics. The "pose" which he has elsewhere assumed, reappears (*cf.* I. 6, 20; II. 1, 37; III. 3, 69). The Ode makes a show of justifying the language of those references. See also the opening lines of the Fourth Book.

This piece may be read as a useful commentary on the lines in Epist. I. 1, which are by some taken as an argument in favour of B.C. 23 as the date of publication of the Three Books. Horace is here saying the same thing as he there expresses in the words "versus (*i.e.* *versus ludicros*) et cetera ludicra pono," "I am giving up writing in this style." I am reminded on this point (if I may quote from a private communication) by Dr Verrall, that Horace does not mean that he is giving up writing altogether, because he is actually engaged then in publishing a literary work of the kind he intends to continue ; and if the reference is to the style only, the postulate of a long interval between Odes and Epistles is not required. Intr. §§ 54-57, and notes to last Ode.

XXVII

TO GALATEA

MAY omen of a jay's re-echoing note,
May pregnant bitch, and grey wolf running down
From a Lanuvian field, or heavy vixen,
 Herald the impious,

And may a serpent break the appointed route,
If, like an arrow shot athwart, it hath
Struck fear into their jennets. I, a prophetic seer

5

For her, my care,
Before the bird reseeks the stagnant fens,
That presages impending rains, will rouse
With prayer a rook, whose songs speak sooth,
From the sun's rising.

10

May you be fortunate where you wish it most.
And live, O Galatea, in memory of me :
And may no sinister pie, or wandering crow,
Forbid your going.

15

But see with what excitement throbs Orion
As he sets. I know what the dark gulf
Of Hadria is, and how even fair
Iapyx may offend.

20

Let wives and children of our enemies
Feel the blind tumults of arising Auster, and
The groaning of the gloomy sea, and strands
With the shock quaking.

25

Thus too Europa trusted her snowy side
To the deceitful bull, and, bold as she was,
Paled at the deep with monsters seething,

And wiles encompassing—

Lately engaged with flowers in the meads,
A fashioner of chaplets due to the Nymphs,
In the half-light of night she saw naught else
Save stars and waves.

30

And when she came to Crete whose might is in
Its hundred towns, she cried, " My father, Oh !
Lost name of daughter ! My duty, Oh !
Vanquished by madness,

35

Whence, whither, am I come ? Light punishment
For virgins' sins is death alone : am I awake
Wailing a wicked deed ? Or, free from guilt,
Does empty phantasy

40

Mock me, that fleeing from the ivory gate,
Brings on a dream ? Was it a better lot
To go across long waves, or cull
The new-blown flowers ?

If to me, angered now, the infamous steer
One gave, with steel to hack it I should try,
And break the horns of the monster but lately
Much beloved.

45

Shameless I left my father's household gods,
Shameless from Orcus I delay. O of the gods
If any hearest this, would that among lions
I naked roamed :

50

Before the hideous shrinking of decay
 Seize on my comely cheeks, and the blood leaves
 Their tender prey, I, fair, do ask to be
 For tigers food.

55

'O base Europa,' urges my sire though far away,
 'Why hesitate to die? Thou canst from this ash-tree
 And with thy zone—wise to accompany thee—

By hanging break thy neck:

60

Or if the crags and rocks pointed with death,
 Attract thee, come then, trust thyself
 To the whirling storm; unless thou dost prefer

To card a master's wool,

Thou of king's blood, and as his concubine,
 Be handed to the mercy of a foreign queen.'"

65

Sly-smiling Venus at her plaint had stood

And, with his bow unstrung,

Her son. Soon, when she had played enough, "Refrain,"
 She said, "from wrath and heated quarrellings,

70

Since unto thee the hated bull will yield

His horns to rend,

Thou knowest not that to Jove unconquered thou
 Art spouse. Repress thy sobs. Learn well to bear
 A mighty destiny: a quarter of the world

75

Shall take thy name."

See Wickham's summary and notes. This Ode, which seems to stand alone in the series, may perhaps reveal a glimpse of its meaning through the name Galatea. It is slight, and the interpretation below is not put higher than possibility. Allegorical writing was a feature of Grecian style: the use of words with a shade of meaning apparently less than the writer intended (*έπωνυμία*) and the narration of a true story under the guise of a fictitious one (*άληγορία*) had delighted Greek audiences long before Vergil and Horace charmed the Latin ear with them, and an example of the kind appears in the Cyclops or Galatea, of Philoxenus, a dithyrambic poet of Cythera. We know the legend by the name of Acis and Galatea (Ovid, Met. 13, 750); in the original, the lover of the nymph was Ulysses. The origin of this story was attributed to an episode in the life of Philoxenus, and was said to symbolise the following events. While living in Sicily, at the court of Dionysius (*circa* 400 B.C.), the poet was discovered in a liaison with a favourite of the tyrant, and for this was condemned to work in some quarries. In the poem, the lover represents Philoxenus, Galatea is the lady, and the Cyclops, who hurled stones against his rival, is Dionysius. Whether this is the true basis of the poem or not, it is certain that Philoxenus wrote a work called Cyclops or Galatea, and that it was regarded as an allegory with a *έπωνυμία* or hidden meaning under its outward form. This is the first point.

Looking further we find that Dionysius was a poetaster, and desired the applause of Philoxenus for his efforts. One story says that he submitted some verses to Philoxenus with a request that

he should suggest improvements. The uncompromising artist replied that he would recommend a black line through every word. Another version of the story is that Dionysius hinted that the poet would be set free if he were to praise the tyrant's writings, and that Philoxenus, after hearing them recited, turned to his guards and bade them take him back to the quarries, whereupon Dionysius, respecting his manliness in preserving the honesty of his speech, ordered his release. Our second point lies in the fact that this tradition was probably known to the cultured world in Rome. If Horace wished to hint that he too had written something allegorical, he might allegorise this by describing it as his "Galatea": the choice of the name being prompted by these stories of Philoxenus and Dionysius. Supposing Galatea setting forth on a journey across the Adriatic to typify the despatch of his own book, a subtle inference might be drawn from the analogy of something the poet would never dream of saying openly (*cf.* I. 18, 12) or even of hinting at broadly—an inference, for instance, that if his sovereign found in the book things not altogether to his taste yet integrity of speech was preferable to assentation.

The Three Books, read as a whole in the light of history, give us grounds for thinking that in one respect Horace was taking a side against the Emperor—the side of Mæcenas. There would be a difference of opinion as to the heinousness of his offence in connection with the memorable betrayal of confidence (Intr. § 28 and foll.) there was probably difference of opinion as to the wisdom of Augustus' own action after the execution of the conspirators which may reflect itself in III. 24 (vv. 25 and foll.): and Horace may here, with a non-committal and safe vagueness, be vindicating his right to his own opinion. There was also the serious risk of offence in publishing, even in allegory, poems concerning the recent outrage on the honour of the imperial family. Supposing that he felt himself safe from any dangerous resentment of his sovereign as to the latter, the step would not lack adroitness, since it would confirm the sincerity of his frequent praises of Augustus.

I take it therefore that in the exordium to this poem, Horace is asking for an auspicious start for his book on its journey. It is not an impious book (*qua* the Emperor that is of course seditious) because with "impiety" Horace has no sympathy, and its author is about to ask a good omen for it *from the East*. In the years B.C. 20 and 19 Augustus spent a considerable time in the East, and Horace despatched a volume of his works—most probably the Three Books—to him by one Vinius Asella (Epist. I. 13: see Sellar) and another by Dionysius (see Suet. Life, *supra*, p. 73). On this reading special point may be discerned in several expressions in the first six stanzas. The story of Europa follows: it is not necessary, or perhaps from the poet's view desirable, that it should carry on the hidden thought of the opening too closely. It is possible, however, to imagine a connection, which would be wanted for the benefit of Augustus, and it may be this: Europa was distressed with anxiety, fear and self-reproach, here am I in a similar position: she was joyfully relieved, and her name made immortal, my lot may be similar: I shall be assured that I have not committed an offence, and the poems will make my name famous (*cf.* extract from Augustus' letter to Horace (Life, Suet. *supra*) showing that there was question between them as to

the way in which the poems impressed the Emperor): Cf. notes to the next Ode.

2. Grey wolf : cf. II. 11.

3. Lanuvium : a town on the Appian Way : would be passed by a traveller from Rome to a southern Adriatic port. It also seems to have been the *real* place of origin of the Murena family : Cic. Pro. Mur. 40.

13. May you be fortunate where you wish it most ; i.e. with the Emperor.

14. *Memor* : In III. 11, 51, Horace uses this word in the active sense as "that which reminds of" ; the possibility of the double application would help the allegory, cf. III. 17, 4, I. 13, 12.

19. In II. 20 the first region which Horace says he will visit is the shores of the Bosphorus. Vinius Asella may have taken there the first copy of the book.

20. Iapyx : I. 3.

25. According to Pindar, Europa was a daughter of Tityos, but according to others, of Agenor, King of Phoenicia, and Telephassa, a feminine form of Telephus, the interpretation of which name would resolve many questions arising out of these poems.

64. *Dominæ* : *pellex* : the concubine of the lord, slave of his wife.

XXVIII

TO LYDE

WHAT better can I do
 On Neptune's festal day ? My bustling Lyde, draw
 The cellared Cæcuban.
 And force 'gainst fortified discretion ply.
 The noon is on the wane 5
 You see, and yet, as though the flying day would stand,
 You hesitate to seize the jar
 Of Consul Bibulus, lingering in the store—
 I, in my turn, will chant
 Of Neptune and the green locks of Nereids, 10
 Thou with the bended lyre
 Shalt answering sing Latona and swift Cynthia's darts :
 In final song of her who holds
 Gnidos and glittering Cyclades, and visit makes
 To Paphos with linked swans : 15
 Night also shall be hymned with well-earned lullaby.

This Ode appears to me to support the theory enunciated in the notes to the preceding one. It indicates that on Neptune's day Horace has made up his mind to take a bold course, and speed his book on its way to Augustus across the sea, and as it goes he will mark the importance of the occasion with the most precious of all vintages. The toasts to be drunk are as significant as those

of Murena's banquet (III. 19), first Neptune, god of the sea, and his ministering sprites, the Nereids : then Latona and the darts of Cynthia : what this means can be gathered from Horace's other references to insults offered to the gods and the vengeance exacted for them. The case of Latona and Niobe is afterwards mentioned in IV. 6, and in the Three Books there are several allusions to similar topics, *cf.* Tityos, II. 14, Pirithous, III. 4, IV. 7, etc., and others. Horace seems to hint at a risk which compels him to decide between discretion and boldness. This risk is of committing an offence such as that which invoked the avenging darts of Cynthia. He desires to disclaim any intention of offending. The reference to Venus connects the subject with Augustus, through his ancestry, and the association of locality is in point, considering that the Emperor spent portions of the year during B.C. 20 and 19 in the region of the Greek islands. Neptune's feast was in July, in which month Augustus returned to Rome from Samos in B.C. 19. The "lullaby" to Night is probably an allusion to the close of the poet's labours : note its epithet "merita" and compare it with the "meritis" of III. 30, 15. Nenia, in its first significance, is a dirge, but it was also used for lullabies and such songs.

7. Bibulus : *i.e.* of the time of Julius Cæsar's first consulate, the beginning of the new era when the Republic was over-thrown. Bibulus was powerless against Julius ; Murena, a wine-bibber, equally so against Augustus. Horace's punning use of the name, coupled with its associations as above, is only another instance of his "felicity." At the end of the book our thoughts are thus directed back to the starting-point in I. 2. The invitation in the Ode is of course only a poetic device, and it is not necessary to suppose that Horace waited for the Neptunalia to frame it.

XXIX

TO MÆCENAS

O TYRRHENE scion of royalty, for thee
 In jar as yet untilted, mellow wine,
 With bloom of roses, O Mæcenas, and
 Pressed balsam for thy hair,
 Has long been by me. Rid thee of all delays. 5
 Do not for ever fix thy gaze on Tibur moist,
 And sloping fields of Æsula,
 And heights of Telegon, the father-slayer.
 Leave ease-destroying plenty, and
 The pile that nears the lofty clouds :
 Cease to admire the smoke, and wealth,
 And din of opulent Rome.
 Full oft are changes pleasing to the rich, 10
 And fair repasts under the roof of the poor,
 Without embroideries or purples,
 Have smoothed a worried brow. 15

- Now bright the father of Andromeda
 Displays his hidden fire ; Procyon rages,
 And the Lion's furious star,
 As the sun brings back days of drought. 20
- The weary shepherd with his languid flock,
 Seeks shade and rivulet, and copse
 Of shock Silvanus, and without
 The wandering breezes is the silent bank.
- Thou hast in charge what thing beseems the State,
 And, anxious for the City's sake, thou fearest
 What Seres, and Bactria, where Cyrus reigned,
 Design, and Tanais faction-torn. 25
- With wisdom God enshrouds in murky night
 The issue of the time to come, and laughs
 If mortal man inordinately fret.
 Remember with composure to adjust
- What is at hand. The rest is borne along
 As is a river, now in mean channel calmly
 Down gliding to the Tuscan sea, 35
 Now rolling rounded stones,
 Stumps torn away, and kine and homes
 Together, and not without the roar
 Of mountains and of neighbouring wood,
- When a fierce downpour fills
 Quiet waterways with rage. That man will be
 Master of self, and pass in joy, who daily may
 Declare "I have lived" : to-morrow let the Father
 Encompass heaven, or with black cloud,
 Or sunshine clear : still that which is behind 45
 He will not render void, nor forge anew,
 Nor make as though undone,
 Whate'er the flying hour has once removed.
- Fortune, rejoicing in her cruel play,
 Persistent aye to play her insolent game,
 Changes her honours insecure,—
 Now to me now to another kind.
- I praise her biding, but if she shakes
 Quick wings, I render back her gifts,
 And wrap me in my worth, and, unendowed, 55
 Betake me unto honest poverty.
- 'Tis not for me, if the mast creaks
 At Afric's storms, to rush to piteous prayers,
 And strike a bargain through my vows,
 That wares of Cyprus and of Tyre
- May add no riches to the greedy sea—
 Then with the safeguard of a two-oared skiff,
 Me through Ægæa's tumults will the breeze,
 And Pollux and his twin, convey unharmed. 60

See Verrall, *Stud. in Hor.*, Essay II. The significance of this poem becomes clear on the theory of Horace's work here supported (Intr. § 33, etc.). Horace bids his patron come to him, and leave his own home with its view of the heights of Telegonus, the parricide. One naturally asks why this allusion is made with such extraordinary emphasis. The answer is that *parricidium* means any treasonable murder. The heights are those of Tusculum where Varro had a villa. On the Sabine farm Mæcenas would not be in sight of places recalling his troubles to mind. Clearly he is in trouble, else why mention the worried brow, why the reflection that mortals over-anxious as to the future are objects of ridicule to the gods, why the whole tenor of the poem? (see III. 16).

We know that after Mæcenas had betrayed the "secret" (Intr. § 30) he lost the confidence of his master, we also know that no outward sign of the changed relations seems to have been observed by the world till six years later: we have seen how Horace deals with the story, and that being so, we know what he means when he uses these words to his patron. Addresses to men high in place and power are not often cast in this strain, but there is little difficulty in finding the explanation for the present exception. At no time during the course of Mæcenas' association with the Emperor could they have any point except after the fatal year of B.C. 22. The events which then occurred would rouse in Horace the strongest emotions of sympathy. Others may excel him in the poetry of love, none have done so in that of friendship. To his striking comparison of the Three Books with Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, Dr Verrall might have added that both works are inspired by friendship *in excelsis*. Different though they are, each resembles the other in being the memorial of the personal attachment of a man to a man. Horace tells us that he composed but little, and that with difficulty: sympathy with his benefactor supplied the necessary stimulus. Had Mæcenas' career ended in calm prosperity, we should have had no monumentum from Horace's pen perhaps, but some poems answering more truly to what he has professed to give us—a casual collection of experiments in Greek metres: as it is, we have a memorial more sublime than the Pyramids, which reveals to us the true place of Horace in the literature of the world.

1. *Regum progenies*: cf. I. 1.

3. *Roses*: the time is summer, cf. III. 19.

10. *Molem*: probably Mæcenas' mansion (Intr. § 101) where were planted the plane-trees, afterwards the property of Fronto, which bore such eloquent testimony to Juvenal.

Full oft, etc.: Epist. I. 11, vv. 26 and foll. esp.

25. Thou hast in charge: cf. III. 8, Mæcenas ostensibly retained his position in Augustus' favour; the latter part of the poem reflects the change in his circumstances. The foreign references to the East suit B.C. 20: see the Histories.

33. Cf. II. 3, 18.

45. The point of this reference to the past is obvious when the real date of the poem is perceived.

50. Cruel ploy · her exultation in thwarting the over-confidence of mortals.

51. *Honores*: used specially of political distinction. Ostensibly Horace is thinking of himself, but he has previously said

that the honours granted by the Muses are eternal. He was not in political life. It is clear that "to me" is the same here as "to thee." We know that Mæcenas applied the poet's own words to his case; Intr. § 110, and see II. 18, 35, n.

55. In my own worth: *i.e.* "you know the extent of your fault. Let the consciousness of that be your solace."

XXX

I HAVE wrought out a monument more durable than bronze,
And higher than the regal structure of the Pyramids,
Which not corroding rain, nor blustering Aquilo
May overthrow, or the innumerable
Series of years, and flight of time. 5

Not wholly shall I die: of me great part
Shall escape Libitina. Ever shall I grow new
In the praises of posterity, while the high priest
Ascends the Capitol with the mute virgin—
I shall be sung as one who, risen high 10
From low estate where violent Aufidus resounds,
And where the Daunian, stinted in water, reigned
O'er rustic folk, did first implant th' Æolic lay
Among Italian measures. Take the pride,
Won by thy merits, and for me be pleased 15
With Delphic bay, Melpomene, to wreath my head.

Intr. § 14, etc. The opening words of this Ode, in conjunction with the prologue, show, as Professor Sellar observes, that the Three Books were intended by the poet to be read as a whole.

They are a memorial, not a collection made at haphazard. The reader will know what we regard as the links of connection between the parts. A great deal more is done here than the mere implantation of the Æolic lay among the strains of Italy. If it were not so, the subscription to Melpomene would be quite inappropriate: The work is dedicated to Mæcenas whose name opens it, and whose sorrows are the subject of its penultimate piece. That the latter fact explains the appeal to Melpomene is not an unreasonable suggestion. Love for his friend is the emotion that has led to this achievement, and it is through him whose love was the poet's glory, that he will be placed among the bards who have won immortal bays; I. 1, 35.

1. *Monumentum*: A thing to preserve the memory of something.

13. *Princeps*: first: this is strictly true in the case of some Æolic metres only. Catullus had imitated before him. Horace first introduced the Alcaic, and the allegoric use of a series of connected lyrics.

14. *Implanted*: *Deducere* is the regular word for founding a colony.

BOOK IV

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION

IN this book written to commemorate the military exploits of Tiberius and Drusus, there are five State Odes :—the second to Iulus Antonius : the fourth, in praise of Drusus' campaign against the Vindelici, in B.C. 15 : the fifth, to the Emperor, at the time absent from Rome : the fourteenth, celebrating the victories of Tiberius and ascribing them to Augustus' auspices : and the fifteenth, a final panegyric on the Emperor.

In the disposition of these design is clear, and the same remark may be made of the other Odes in the book (*Gen. Intr.* § 10). The first opens with a conventional reference to the form of composition. Lyrical poetry being most largely concerned with erotics, the first mention is of Venus who is represented as impelling the poet to action. That she was the legendary ancestress of the ruler at whose “command” the work was compiled of course adds significance to the invocation. Opportunity is taken to pay a compliment to Paulus Maximus, about whom we have little information except that he was Consul (probably) in B.C. 11. The second Ode is a further development of the same theme :—though lyrics are not generally written on epic subjects, one poet has set them high, but whoso tries to rival Pindar, etc., the remainder of the piece being made the vehicle for compliments, this time to Iulus Antonius as well as to the Emperor.

When the Fourth Book was published, Iulus, the son of M. Antonius and Fulvia, was in favour. He was the step-son of Augustus' sister, and had been brought up by her. In B.C. 10 he was made Consul, but was afterwards executed for crim. con. with Julia, and for treasonable conspiracy. He apparently attempted epics, and Horace suggests that his Muse would be the better one for the purpose in hand in a way that recalls some words in I. 6.

The following Ode is interesting in that it reasserts the right of Melpomene to claim the Three Books. It should be closely compared with I. 1, II. 20, III. 30, for with them it has the relation of a sequel. The conclusion of Professor Sellar, that the prologue and epilogue to the Three Books indicate an intention that the work should be read as a whole, is confirmed by IV. 3.

As has been said, the fourth Ode deals with the feats of the younger of the princes, and the fifth is an encomium on the Emperor in the form of a request for his return. It also stands

in sequel with the Three Books. The reforms there desired are now spoken of as consummated : prosperity reigns, Italy and the surrounding seas have peace, homes are chaste and—guilt does not go unpunished (III. 2, 31, III. 24, 25-34).

The questions raised by the sixth Ode are dealt with elsewhere (Gen. Intr. § 116, etc., and notes to the Ode).

The beautiful address to "Torquatus" is quite in the tone of the Three Books, and reminds us of them by its allusions, mythologic and otherwise (*cf.* the notes). The main point of the eighth is the power of literature : "poetry," says Horace (*carmina*), "I can give, and can tell the value of the gift," and the ninth continues in the same strain. The study of the Three Books is greatly assisted by the consideration of the Odes here grouped together, as will be seen from the notes. The eleventh Ode is in form an invitation to "Phyllis" the last of the poet's "loves." Her presence and her musical accomplishments (*cf.* *Neæra*, III. 14) are to add to the gaiety on celebrating Mæcenas' birthday. The shadow which we know to have been cast on Mæcenas' career has not been removed (*cf.* the last line) and the words addressed to Phyllis on the ominously-named Telephus, on the presumption of Phæthon and Bellerophon, coupled with the advice to aim at what is becoming, and not to indulge *in hopes of marriage above one's rank*, may be read as supporting very strongly the theories that arise out of III. 20, and the deductions from the chapter of Suetonius discussed in the Gen. Intr. § 96 and foll.

The next Ode (12) is lighter, and is dealt with in the notes : the thirteenth, considered as an address to an individual, offends modern sense of good taste, but, in spite of its personal note, I doubt if we understand it.

One point brought out by Dr Verrall may be here noticed : viz. that one of the differences between the Three Books and their supplement is that all the autobiographical references in the former occur in pieces addressed to historic persons. This is perhaps slightly overstated. In the main, however, it is true, and Horace certainly does not keep his personality in the background in Book IV. as he does in the Three Books. His tone is more natural, and the voice is that of the man himself, not of the priest of the Muses speaking, at times, under the influence of a divine inspiration, and giving his title to announce that it is divine (I. 1, 29, III. 4, 1-35, etc.).

Number fourteen serves as a tribute to the elder Nero—Tiberius : in form it is an ascription of the recent victories to the influence of Augustus. The last poem to Augustus himself, is short but significant. Following the third and fifth, it again represents that the reform of society has been effected. The poet puts into both the Odes addressed to the Emperor in this book touches connecting his art more cordially with the service of Cæsar than in the earlier work. Dr Verrall thinks that this points to the healing of old scars. There are certainly grounds for the theory that Horace,

with all his belief in Augustus as the saviour of society, and the nation's only bulwark against anarchy, was no personal courtier, but punctilious rather in showing his independence. He refused to enter the Emperor's service, the tardy epistle addressed to the monarch had to be asked for, with an expostulation against Horace's presumed fear of exhibiting himself to the world as his familiar friend—little ironies of this kind are not uttered without substrata of truth—and both the *Carmen Sæculare* and the Fourth Book were commanded. In the occult hints that Horace's works are thought to contain of their differences of opinion, the language used is not of a kind to give offence, and the position is generally handled with address, but to regard Horace and Vergil, as some writers seem to do, as nothing but fawning sycophants or "courtly flatterers" is wholly to misunderstand the men and the times.

From the memorials that we have of Horace's life, meagre as they are in detail, it appears as if he cherished towards the end a warmer personal regard for the Emperor. That the latter courted him, the quotations from his letters given by Suetonius show (*see supra*). It should be observed that the first set of letters directly addressed to Horace were written after the refusal of the secretarial office, for they are proofs that Augustus was not thereby angered. We also see that one of Horace's publications—a short one—was sent by the hands of Dionysius to the Emperor, who is careful to say that he takes it in good part. This may have been written in respect of the first or second book of the *Epistles*, or possibly of the Fourth Book itself, if that was completed before Augustus' return to Rome in B.C. 13.

The date of publication of the Fourth Book is generally placed by critics in B.C. 14 or 13. The stronger presumption is that this is correct, but it is not absolutely certain. Some commentators declare for B.C. 10, on account of the allusion to the closing of the temple of Janus (*circa* B.C. 10), but as that closing was the third in the reign, and the reference is in general terms, the premiss is not large enough for the conclusion.

As to the note of date in IV. 1 by reference to Horace's age, it may be said that it helps us hardly at all. His tenth lustrum closed on the 8th December 15, which is too close to those campaigns to make it probable as an indication of the completion of the book. Its purpose may be rather to mark the starting-point, as the reference to the death of Julius Cæsar seems to do in the Three Books (I. 2). Affairs in Gaul, Germany and Spain, causing the absence of Augustus and his step-sons from Rome, were not sufficiently settled to allow their return till July B.C. 13. The book purports to be in writing during the Emperor's absence (IV. 2 and 5) but the successful results were known before completion. If it was published before B.C. 13, Augustus' command for it must have been sent from abroad.

BOOK IV

ODE I

TO VENUS

O VENUS, long suspended wars
Again thou stirrest. Prithee, prithee, hold thy hand,
I am not as I was
In good Cinara's reign. Cease cruel mother 5
Of sweet Cupids to constrain
One hardened now, and nearing lustres ten,
Unto thy soft commands. Depart
Whither the gentle prayers of youths call thee anon.
Winged to the house
Of Paulus Maximus by resplendent swans, 10
More opportune will be
Thy revel, if thou seek to fire a proper heart.
For noble in his birth and mien,
And eloquent of speech for anxious men accused,
And a youth of an hundred arts, 15
Far will he bear the standards of thy war,
And when prevailing o'er
The great gifts of a rival, he exults,
In marble hard by Alba's lake,
He will set up thyself beneath a roof of citron wood. 20
There incense plenteous
Thou shalt inhale, and by mixed songs of lyre
And Berecyntian pipe
Be gladdened, not without the flute.
There, twice in the day, 25
Boys and young maids, belauding thy divinity,
With gleaming foot
In Salian mode shall triply smite the ground.
Me neither woman
Nor lad, nor the fond hope of mutual love, 30
Nor part in wine-bout, now delights,
Nor with fresh flowers to wreath my brows.
But why, alas, O Ligurinus, why
Does the rare teardrop flow upon my cheeks ?
Why does the facile tongue 35

Falter between the words with ill-becoming silence ?
 By night in dreams
 I sometimes hold thee clasped, sometimes
 Pursue thee flying o'er the grass
 Of Mars' field, or, obdurate one, through purling streams. 40

See Sp. Intr. Bk. IV. 4. Cinara : Seemingly the first of Horace's mistresses. Cf. IV. 13, Epist. I. 7, 28, I. 14, 33.

22. Berecyntian (III. 19, etc.) : Horace does not object to joy, even frenzied joy, at time of religious or national festivity ; see I. 37.

23. Ligurinus : IV. 10. The subject introduced by this name may be dismissed in a few words. It was viewed in the same light as other irregular connection. Freely talked about but a scandal if indulged in openly. The manner in which the practice was used as a reproach—often slanderous—is significant, and instructive. Catullus (XVI.) strongly protested against a charge of personal indulgence because he mentioned the vice freely in his verse (cf. Mart. Ep. XI. 15, 13). Horace's Greek models had long before familiarised the topic, and this fact probably explains its introduction, so strange to our ideas, in a prefatory Ode like the present. If we look back at I. 32, this becomes clear. That poem is on a parallel with this one. There a demand had been made for a Latin lay, whereupon Horace immediately pays a tribute of admiration to Alcæus, his model, whose subjects were Bacchus, Venus, and his favourite Lycus. With such things the lyre of the Lesbian is there identified. Now again the poet is "commanded," and again Alcæus is remembered. Though unnamed, a tribute is paid to his Muse in the cast of the thoughts, which are clearly similar to those that produced I. 32. Venus' influence is the motive force, and the Lycus—here Ligurinus—whose beauty so inspired the older poet, is introduced. Since the days of I. 32, time has fled and made the follower too old to be an ideal writer in the style, and this is indicated throughout the poem (cf. IV. 10). Had Alcæus never celebrated Lycus of the dark eyes and hair, we should probably not have heard anything from Horace of "Ligurinus." The poetic intention is perhaps to represent the wistful glance which age casts on its waning powers. The poet who finds his Muse difficult and refractory (IV. 1, 4-7) reflects with sorrow that his prayer to retain his power over the lyre has not been granted in full (I. 31, 17-20). The instant reality has given place to the fitful dream. (There is but small philological objection to regarding "Ligurinus" as a representative of "Lycus," at a distance—the diminutive form expressing the higher title of the master : the Romans associated the letters C and G in their theories of derivation, cf. *cervus* from *gero*, etc. Varro, De Ling. Lat.) Had it been the habit of Roman poets to make regarding themselves a personal revelation such as Horace is commonly (but erroneously) supposed to be making here, there would be no sting left in many of the bitterest invectives of Catullus, Martial and others, but it was not. "Ligurinus," like "Phyllis" (IV. 11), etc., is pure *apparatus lyricus*.



II

TO IULUS ANTONIUS

WHOEVER wills to rival Pindar effort makes,
Iulus, with a wing wax-fastened by resource
Of Dædalus, destined to give his name

To glassy sea.

Like stream from mount descending which the rains
Have fed too amply for its well-marked banks,
Immeasurable Pindar surges and sweeps along
With deep-toned voice.

Worthy to gain the laurel of Apollo,
Whether in daring dithyrambs he rolls
Forth novel words, and on is borne by numbers
Freed from rule :

Or whether gods he chaunts, or kings of gods
Begot, through whom, by death deserved,
The Centaurs fell, fell too the terrible
Chimæra's flame :

Or whether those whom the Elean palm
Leads home, upraised to heaven, boxer or steed,
He sings (and thus rewards with mightier meed
Than a hundred statues)

Or whether he mourns a youth snatched from his weeping bride,
And lifts his prowess, soul, and morals golden,
Up to the stars, and of his prize
Cheats Orcus black.

A copious breeze uplifts the swan of Dirce,
Antonius, as often as he speeds
To lofty regions of the clouds, I in the mode
And manner of Matine bee,

Rifling the pleasant thyme with utmost toil,
About the grove and banks of dewy Tibur, I,
A lesser poet, fashion odes

With laboured art.

Thou, bard of greater quill, shalt sing
Of Cæsar when, bedecked with leaf well won,
He o'er the sacred slope will drag
Sygambri fierce :

Than whom none greater or better in the world
The Fates and the good gods have given
Or will give, though the times return
To pristine gold.

And thou shalt sing the days of joy,
The city's public games upon return,
Asked for and gained, of brave Augustus, and
The forum void of suits.

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

40

Then, if I may say aught worthy to be heard,
The fulness of my voice shall help, and I will sing,
“ O glorious day, O worthy to be praised ! ” in bliss
At Cæsar home restored.

45

And, as thou marchest, “ Io Triumphe,” thee
We will hail not once alone ; “ Io Triumphe,”
The whole state, and incense we will give
To gods benign.

50

Ten bulls and heifers of like number, thee
Will quit : me a young steer that has left its dam,
And now is flourishing 'mid lush herbage for
Fulfilment of my vows,
Whose head is like the curved fires of the moon
When she returns with her third rise,
Snowy is he to view where he has ta'en a mark,
But the rest tawny.

55

60

Sp. Intr. Bk. IV. 1. “ Pindar was a lyrist who used his instrument for grand subjects, but few can imitate him ” ; the usual allusion by way of excuse for diverting the lyric style from more accustomed courses. In Pindar there is a reference to the slaying of the Chimæra by Bellerophon : Olymp. XIII. 90. The slaughter of the Centaurs by kings begot of gods is not mentioned in any extant work, but the origin of the Centaurs is, Pyth. II. 42, an ode whose sentiments might serve as a commentary on the main themes of the Three Books. It has constant parallels of Horace's expressions.

17. Elean : Olympian. Cf. I. 1.

25. Swan of Dirce : Theban, Pindar.

36. Sygambri : Sp. Intr. IV. 14, 52, n. Words clearly anticipatory.

43. Return of Augustus : Either of two returns may be meant. In B.C. 13 or in B.C. 10, Dio, LIV. 25 and 36. The probabilities are in favour of the former. This book was in writing during his absence, IV. 5. Before the return in 13, Augustus had been absent for more than two years.

49. As thou marchest : See Wickham.

III

TO MELPOMENE

HIM, O Melpomene, on whom at birth
Thou shalt have looked but once with eye serene,
No Isthmian struggle shall glorify
As pugilist, no mettled steed
Shall draw, in an Achaean car,
Victorious, no warlike feat,
Shall show to the Capitol, a leader dight
With leaves of Delos, since he quelled

5

The boastful threats of kings.

But waters such as flow o'er fruitful Tibur,
And the dense-matted tresses of the groves,
Shall make him famous through the Æolic lay.

The sons of Rome, of cities first,
Now deign to give me place
Among the choir of poets to be prized,
And now I am bitten less by envy's tooth.

O Muse Pierian, that orderest
The sweet vibration of the golden shell,
O one to give even to fishes dumb—
If such thy will—the music of the swan,
All this is of thy boon that I
Am marked by finger of the passers-by
As minstrel of Rome's lyre—
That I inspire and please (if I do please) is all through thee.

10

15

20

Sp. Intr. Bk. IV. The parallels between this Ode and I. 1, really marking it as a sequel, are noted by Wickham. For the meaning of its inscription to Melpomene, see Gen. Intr. § 20 and foll.; and II. 20, III. 30. It has an important bearing on the interpretation of Horace's "poetry" (*carmina*). It is an explicit reference to himself, and not only that but a comparison between himself and one of the heroes of this second volume—Tiberius. Triumphs are reserved for those who conquer in battle; with leaves of Delos (III. 4), he shall be dight who quells the boastful threats of kings (a reference to Murena and Cæpio: see note on *reges*, II. 14, 11, etc.). I am a poet, my title to honour is through the favour of Melpomene. Cf. notes to IV. 8, in which we believe Horace again to bring himself into comparison with Tiberius.

IV

ON CLAUDIUS DRUSUS NERO

LIKE the winged minister of the thunderbolt—
By king of gods given kingship over roving birds,

Since Jupiter had tried his loyalty
On golden Ganymede—

Whom long ago youth and race vigour drove,
All ignorant of labour from the nest :

To whom, still timorous, spring breezes
(Storm clouds now dispersed) gave lessons
In facing unaccustomed tasks : when soon
His rapid swoop let down an enemy

5

10

Upon the folds, and love of feast and fight
Anon impelled him 'gainst opposing dragons :

Or as a lion but lately driven from
 His tawny mother's milk, off from the teat,
 Which an ewe bent on pastures fair hath viewed,
 Itself about to fall by virgin tooth :—
 Thus did Vindelici view Drusus carrying war
 Against the Rætan alps :—concerning whom
 I have forbore to question whence
 Their custom came of arming the right hand 20
 With Amazonian axe—for us to know
 All things is not heaven's will. Howbeit, hordes,
 For long time conquerors far and wide,
 When vanquished by the tactics of a youth,
 Perceived what mind and character well trained 25
 In precincts favourable to heaven could do,
 And what the fatherly spirit of Augustus was
 To boys of Nero's blood.
 Brave men are procreated by the brave and good,
 There lives in cattle, in horses lives, the virtue 30
 Of their sires, and eagles fierce
 Had not begot th' unwarlike dove.
 Yet discipline improves the insown force,
 And proper training steels the mind :
 Where'er the moral forces fail, 35
 Crime puts its stain on things by nature good.
 What thou, O Rome, to Neros owest witness is
 The river of Metaurus, and Hasdrubal
 Defeated, and that day, made glorious
 By scattering gloom from Latium, 40
 Which first did smile with kindly fruits of victory,
 When the dread African was wont to ride
 Through cities of Italy, like a flame
 Through pines, or Eurus through Sicilian waves,
 Thereafter, with successful enterprise, 45
 The Roman manhood ever prospered, and the fanes,
 Despoiled by impious sack of Carthaginians,
 Had their divinities replaced.
 At last outspoke perfidious Hannibal :—
 " As stags a prey to ravening wolves, 50
 Of our own will we follow those
 Whom to elude and to escape is palmary triumph.
 This valiant race which brought from Ilion burnt
 Its sacred relics tossed on Tuscan waves,
 Its children and its aged fathers, 55
 To the Ausonian cities,
 Like holm-tree lopped by tempered battle-axe
 On Algidus, where the dark leaf grows thick,
 'Mid loss, 'mid slaughter, from the very steel
 Draws strength and courage. 60
 Cleft through the body not more resolutely grew

Hydra 'gainst Hercules, who grieved to be o'ercome.

A greater prodigy not Colchians

Or Echionian Thebes have raised.

Plunge it in the deep, and finer it comes forth :

65

Grip it, with great acclaim 'twill throw

The unbeaten conqueror, and wage

Battles to give wives cause for talk.

To Carthage I may now not send

Exulting messengers. Fallen, fallen is

70

All hope and fortune of our name

With Hasdrubal cut off."

Naught will the hand of Claudian race fail to effect,

For it both Jove's propitious influence guards,

And wise discretion extricates

75

From warfare's sharp ordeals.

Sp. Intr. Bk. IV. The style of this elaborate official Ode, with its long-drawn opening similes, is quite different from the usual manner of Horace, and shows that there was some substance in his protestations of the unfitness of his lyric Muse for epic subjects. The versification is perfect, but apart from the fine "Hannibal" episode, the effect seems forced.

This first campaign was against the Ræti who dwelt in the Tridentine alps, by Drusus, in order to prevent incursions into Italy. Shut in on this side, they, with other tribes, tried to break into Gaul, and this attempt was frustrated by Tiberius and Drusus. Augustus was at this time in Gaul; cf. next Ode.

For a possible explanation of the abrupt parenthesis in vv. 18-22, see notes on IV. 6, 17, IV. 14, 10.

29. Cf. Eurip. Alcmæon at Corinth, Frag. Ω πᾶν Κρέοντος, ὡς ἀληθὲς ἦν μάρα ἐσθλῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐσθλὰ γίγνεσθαι τέκνα.

V

TO AUGUSTUS

O THOU, arisen through good gods, best guardian of the race

Of Romulus, thine absence now is all too long :

Since to the Fathers' sacred council thou didst promise

Returning prompt—return.

Restore its light, good leader, to thy fatherland,

For when thy face beams like the face of Spring,

Upon the people, gailier speeds the day,

And better shine the suns.

As a mother when the south wind, with jealous blast

Across the surface of Carpathian sea,

Delays her son, and keeps him longer than a year

From his dear home,

With vows, and omens, and with prayers, calls him,

5

10

And does not turn her face from the curving shore,
So—struck with loyal yearnings—asks
The fatherland for Cæsar.

15

For the ox in safety roams the fields among :
The fields doth Ceres fertilise, and genial Prosperity :
Our sailors flit o'er seas of warfare rid,

To be blameworthy Honour dreads.

20

The chaste home is not tainted with adulteries ;
Morals and law have vanquished that defiling sin ;
Mothers take honour by their child's resemblances ;
Punishment presses close on guilt.

25

Who would fear Parthian ? Who the Scythian cold ?
Or who the brood that rugged Germany begets,
While Cæsar is secure ? Who to the wars of wild Iberia
Would give a thought ?

Each man lays up his store of days on his own hills,
And gives the vine his widowed trees to wife,
Hence to his wine returns with joy, and treats as god

30

Thyself at his board's second course ;
Plies thee with many a prayer, and thee with wine
From chalice poured ; thy deity with his household gods
Commingles, following the steps of Greece in mind

35

Of Castor and great Hercules.

Good leader, mayst thou to Hesperia grant
Long holidays. Dry in the morn we say it, with the day
Unbroke ; we say it in our cups, what time the sun
Beneath the ocean is.

40

Sp. Intr. Bk. IV. Augustus, with Tiberius, left Rome in b.c. 16 for Gaul, where Lollius (IV, 9) had been defeated by the Syagmbri. The enemy did not wait for him, but retired into their own country. The Emperor stayed in Gaul settling affairs. The following year was occupied by the Rætian and Vindelician campaigns, and Augustus did not return to Rome till the middle of b.c. 13. This Ode and No. 2 purport to be written during the latter part of his absence:

30. And gives, etc. Cf. II. 15, 4.

34. Thy deity : Augustus at first forbade the direct worship of himself in Italy, but Horace had given him an apotheosis in III. 4. See Gen. Intr. § 18.

VI

TO APOLLO

O god, whom progeny of Niobe knew as the avenger
Of a big tongue, and Tityos the ravisher,
And he who all but vanquished lofty Troy,
Phthian Achilles,

Surpassing others, but no match for thee,
Though he, the son of Thetis of the sea,
In fight with formidable spear would shake
Dardanian towers :

5

He, like a pine-tree struck with biting steel,
Or cypress buffeted by Eurus' blast
Fell headlong, and laid down his neck
In Trojan dust :

10

He, shut up in a horse that falsely claimed
Minerva's sanctity, would lay no trap for Troy,
Feasting in evil hour, and Priam's hall
In dances revelling :

15

But, open foe to those he seized—alas, what sin !
Infants who could not speak he would have burned
In Grecian flames—even the babe still hid
Within its mother's womb—

20

Had not, by words of thee and gentle Venus won,
The father of the gods assigned to be
A portion to Æneas, walls set up
With mightier auspices.

Phœbus the lyrist, tuneful Thalia's teacher,
Who in the stream of Xanthus lav'st thy locks,
Of Daunian Camena guard the honour,
Agyieus, smooth of face !

25

Phœbus the inspiration, Phœbus the art
Of song hath given to me and name of poet.
O flower of maids and boys, who spring
From fathers of renown,

30

Wards of the Delian goddess, who with her bow
Arrests the flight of lynxes and of stags,
Observe the Lesbian measure and
My finger's beat:

35

All meetly singing of Latona's son,
Meetly night's luminary with waxing torch,
Friendly to fruits and swift to roll
Declining months—

40

Wedded soon one will say :—" I to the gods
Rendered a welcome hymn as time brought back
The festal days, trained in the measures of
The bard Horatius."

Gen. Intr. § 116, where this important Ode is discussed. Dr Verrall's view that it contains a reference to the crime for which Murena suffered seems certain, and an examination of the allusions to mythology does not offer any obstacle to that interpretation.

1. Niobe was the daughter of Tantalus : she offended Latona by boasting herself as mother of a greater number of children. Apollo and Diana to avenge this insolence slew Niobe's children. IV. 8 and III. 28, n.

2. Tityos : a giant, the son of Zeus and Terra. He offered violence to Latora and was killed by her children. According to Pindar (*Pyth.* IV.), he was the father of Europa (see III. 27, n). Cf. also II. 14, 8, III. 4, 77, III. 11, 21.

17. Infants, etc : An allusion to the habits of the Ræti and Vindelici of slaying unborn male infants whose sex they professed to discover by magic. Cf. IV. 14, 10, n. The strange parenthesis, IV. 4, 18-22, refers to the same thing ; the Amazonian axe denotes one specially hostile to males. For the connection between this and Murena, and the writing of the *Carmen Sæculare* cf. Intr. § 116. Murena was a man who did try to know more than heaven's will permits, and was deceived and led on to his ruin in consequence, Gen. Intr. § 95 and foll.

25-26. Cf. III. 1, 14.

VII

TO TORQUATUS

THE snows have fled : new verdure to the fields returns,
And tresses to the trees :
Earth's varying seasons change, and streams subsiding pass
Within their banks.
The Grace, with nymphs and sisters twin, now dares unclad 5
To lead the dances.
Against immortal hopes the year gives warning, and the hour
Which steals the cheering day.
Cold mellows to the Zephyrs : summer treads on the heel of spring,
Itself to pass away 10
When fruitful autumn yields its crops, and torpid winter
Quickly then returns.
Still, rapid moving moons repair the heavenly losses :
We, when we fall
Whither the good Æneas fell, Tullus and Ancus rich, 15
Are dust and shadow.
Who knoweth if the gods above may add to-morrow's time
To this day's count ?
All that thou givest to thy soul's delighting will escape
An heir's greedy hands. 20
When once thou'rt dead, and Minos o'er thee shall have made
August decision,
Not, O Torquatus, not thy birth, or flow of word, not piety,
Will reinstate thee.
For neither doth Diana free the chaste Hippolytus 25
From gloom below :
Nor Lethe's chains has Theseus strength to break
From loved Pirithous.

Cf. I. 4, and see Intr. § 71. Of this "Torquatus" nothing certain is known. Horace has addressed Epist. I. 5 to a similar

name : it has several correspondences with this Ode and several touches connecting it with Murena. The association of ideas in the word is one honoured with a *torques* or necklace, and because G. Nonius Asprenas, who had injured himself in the *Ludus Troiae*, had been so adorned by Augustus, and granted the name as a cognomen, he has been suggested as the person here addressed (Suet. Aug. 43) and the assumption has also been made that the old Torquati of the Manlian gens were extinct. The latter is probable, the former possible on the theory that Horace's poetry is casual and unconnected, but the reader who traces the references to Murena in the other Odes of this book cannot refrain from calling his case to mind here, and there may be more in the allusion to the "necklace" than appears on the surface. It is not impossible, for example, that it refers to the *laqueus* or strangling knot of III. 24. 8, or perhaps to the ropes round the necks of menacing "kings" led through the streets (II. 12, 12, IV. 3, 9). This idea cannot justly be called fanciful when we examine the language of the poem, and mark the respective correlations between it and one of the Odes expressly concerned with Murena's career (III. 19), and between others of which there is the highest probability for asserting the same thing (II. 12, II. 18, etc.).

9. Summer treads, etc : II. 18, 15.

13. Moons : II. 18. 16, III. 19. 9. The line shows that the whole of this reference to nature and the course of the seasons is symbolic, cf. vv. 3 and 4 with I. 2, 13-20.

19. On the subject of heirs, cf. II. 14, II. 15, II. 18, etc.

23. Torquatus : For another place where a descriptive adjective may have been used. cf. the "Postumus" of II. 14. If this is a backward glance at the career of Murena, birth and eloquence (*facundia*, flow of speech, cf. the *facundi*—not *fecundi*—calices of Ep. I. 5. 19, and Od. I. 25, n.) are appositely mentioned, and *pietas* would acquire its classical but untranslatable significance of "duty arising out of the family bond." Dio tells us (Intr. § 38) that the efforts of neither Mæcenas nor Proculeius could save their relative's life. On this point, that the epithet *Torquatus* may be descriptive, it is worth noting that a late writer, Hieronymus, mentions that the diminutive "murenula" was a word of common speech for a necklace.

28. Pirithous : King of the Lapithæ, cf. III. 4, 80, II. 12, 5 and I. 18, 8. He attempted to carry off Proserpine. Theseus aided him. Both were confined in Orcus for the crime, "but when Theseus was set free by Hercules, all his love could not free Pirithous also," (Wickham, cf. his note), see III. 20 : on what we take that Ode to reveal, the point becomes manifest, cf. III. 4, 80.

VIII

TO CENSORINUS

I WOULD give bowls appropriately and bronze
Acceptable, O Censorinus, to my friends,
I would give tripods, meed of stalwart Greeks :
And thou shouldst not receive the worst

- Of tributes were I rich in artistry 5
 Which Scopas or Parrhasius hath produced,
 The former skilled in stone, the other
 In liquid colours to present now man now god.
 Of these I have no store : not unto thee
 Is fortune or taste lacking in such delights. 10
 Thou joyest in songs : and songs I can
 Confer, and tell the value of the gift.
 Not marbles graven with signs for public eye,
 Through which the breath of life returns
 To good commanders after death, not hasty flights 15
 And threats of Hannibal on his own head recoiled,
 Not fires of impious Carthage at his hands,
 Who home returned enriched with name
 From Africa subdued, show forth his praise
 More clearly than Calabria's Pierides : 20
 Neither, if books be dumb, for what thou hast done
 So well wilt thou receive reward. What would the son
 Of Mars and Ilia be, if as a bar
 To honours due to Romulus stood grudging reticence.
 Goodness and popularity, and the voice 25
 Of mighty poets have enshrined Æacus, snatched
 From Stygian waves, among the fortunate isles.
 The Muse forbids a man worthy of praise to die :
 To him the Muse grants heaven's beatitude : even so
 The strenuous Hercules hath place at Jove's 30
 Much coveted feasts. The Tyndarids' bright stars
 Snatch from the seas the storm-tossed barks :
 Liber, his temples decked with verdant vine,
 Leads on the vows of men to issues good.

Censorinus is universally assumed to be a real name. G. Marcus Censorinus was Consul with G. Asinius Gallus in B.C. 8, and Velleius mentions a man of that name in terms of approval, which is equivalent to saying that he was a good imperialist (Vell. Pat. II. 102). We have no explicit grounds for connecting the Ode with any actual Censorinus, and the address may possibly be pseudonymous. To my mind the probability is that it is a symbol behind which can be detected the personality of Tiberius —the young Censor, the man who at a very important crisis purged the Senate and Rome of some undesirable characters, Fannius Cæpio and Lucius Murena among them. The language of the Ode seems to indicate this. “Censorinus” was clearly a lover of art, and of the works of Scopas and Parrhasius especially. No reader of Pliny and Suetonius will forget their references to this trait in Tiberius (Pliny, N. H. XXXIV. 19, XXXV. 36 : Parrhasius' works said to be specially liked by him, Suet. Tib. 44). The mention of Scopas' name, too, is instructive when we inquire what works of this eminent sculptor are known to have been in Rome at the time. First of all was the Apollo Palatinus himself, in the temple and library built by Augustus to com-

memorate Actium : then one which in Pliny's time was in the shrine of Gn. Domitius, a statue more admired than any other, of Neptune, Thetis and Achilles surrounded by Nereids sitting on dolphins, whales and hippocampi, Tritons, a figure of Phorcus (a son of Neptune) and saw-fishes, and many other marine animals, all wrought by the same hand—a magnificent work, even if it had taken him his whole life (says Pliny). In addition to these, there was in the temple of Apollo Sosianus, a group of Niobe and her children dying—*Dive quem proles Niobæa magnæ vindicem linguae*, etc., IV. 6, 1—under the arrows of Apollo and Cynthia, launched in vengeance for their mother's wrongs (III. 28, 12) and there were also others, a Mars and Venus, etc. The subjects of all these are significant, the second and third being so specially in point with Horace's allusions that the mention of this sculptor's name is almost sufficient to prove the source which prompted them. " You rejoice in songs," says Horace (*cf.* Suet. Tib. 68, 70) " which I can give, and of them I can better estimate the value " (IV. 6, 25).

I read the Ode therefore, as a commendation to Tiberius for his part in the drama round which the Three Books are written ; enigmatically expressed for the same reasons that caused them to be so. It seems to me to support my argument that Dr Verrall is not at quite the right point of view in his explanation of IV. 6 (Intr. § 116). I have no space to discuss the question of interpolation raised by this Ode. See the Editors.

IX

TO M. LOLLIUS

Do not by any chance believe those words will die
 The which I, born beside far-sounding Aufidus,
 With art not widely practised ere my time,
 Speak for th' accompaniment of strings.

If Homer of Mæonia holds the prior place,
 The Muse of Pindar and of Ceos, the Muse
 Defiant in Alcæus, in Stesichorus
 Grand, hides not its light.

Neither whate'er of old Anacreon gave in sport
 Has time destroyed : breathes to this day the love,
 And living is the warmth imparted

To the lute, of the Æolian girl :—

Not sole to glow for a paramour's combed locks,
 In wonder at his vesture flecked with gold,
 His regal bearing and his suite,

Was Helen of Laconia :—

Not first was Teucer to fit arrows
 To bow of Cydon : Ilion's discomfiture
 Was not unique : it was not only huge

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- Idomeneus and Sthenelus who fought 20
 In battles worthy of the Muse's song :
 Neither was valiant Hector, nor Deiphobus bold,
 The first to suffer grievous wounds
 For modest wives, and children's sake—
 Prior to Agamemnon lived many who were brave, 25
 But all unwept, unknown,
 In endless night are plunged because
 They lack a bard divine.
 But little is the space between entombed inaction
 And valour hid from sight. I will not through
 My silence leave you unhonoured in my works, 30
 And all your many feats I'll not endure
 Envious oblivion, Lollius, to cavil at
 And go scot-free. A mind you have
 Discreet in action and well poised
 In times of crisis and success, 35
 That vengeance wrecks on grasping fraud, and holds
 Aloof from lucre drawing all things to itself,—
 And is a Consul, not for a single year,
 But ever, when like a good and faithful judge, 40
 It has set honour over interest,
 Has with high glance rejected bribes of evil men,
 And threaded through opposing hosts
 A way to victory for its arms.
 Not for his great possessions would you rightly call 45
 One "rich"; more rightly he assumes
 The style of "rich" who has the wit
 To use god's gifts with wisdom.
 And can endure harsh penury;
 Who fears dishonour worse than death; 50
 Not such an one would shrink from laying down
 His life for friends beloved, or fatherland.

The information that we have of M. Lollius is summarised in Smith's Biog. Dict. He is mentioned by Horace as Consul with Lepidus in B.C. 21, Epist. I. 20, 28. Epist. I. 2, is addressed also to a Lollius. Horace's high opinion of him is manifest, for the Ode is sincere, and written as a fervid vindication. The reason in this case can only be conjectured. This Lollius, in B.C. 16, was in command of the army in Gaul, fighting Sygambri and Usipetes on the Rhine. After some successes, he suffered a defeat.

Augustus hastened to the scene, but the enemy had retired. Drusus, and afterwards Tiberius, were engaged for many years in subduing these tribes (IV. 14, 52). The moral effect of Lollius' defeat was of more importance than the actual loss. It seems not to have affected the favour of Augustus towards Lollius, for he was afterwards appointed tutor to the young Gaius Cæsar, and his adviser in the East, but it is clear that Horace's address is occasioned by the manifestation of some enmity towards him. The almost passionate defence of him made here is not for any

military blunder, but is against charges of avarice and corruption.

Now if we could rely implicitly on the statements of Velleius and Pliny, we should believe that similar charges were substantiated against Lollius, when he was with Gaius Cæsar, in B.C. 2. The latter says he accepted gifts from Eastern kings, and the former describes him as avaricious and corrupt, and a pretender to virtue while really guilty of every kind of vice (II. 97, 102). In Velleius the admission of an appearance of virtue, coupled with a general charge of hypocrisy, at once puts the experienced reader of an annalist so exceedingly partial in his judgments of character upon inquiry. As the Clandian heir to Augustus was the black sheep of Tacitus, so he was the darling of Velleius. No man with whom Tiberius had fault to find could expect to fare well at Velleius' hands, and the meaning of the above statement may be that nothing definite could be proved against Lollius. According to Tacitus (Ann. III. 48) Tiberius himself charged Lollius with encouraging Gaius in perversity and quarrelsomeness: *cf.* also Suet. Tib. 48. Lollius therefore, trusted by Augustus, seems to have incurred the displeasure of Tiberius in B.C. 2: we know nothing of their relations in B.C. 15, but we here see that Lollius had his enemies even then, and that the nature of their complaint against him was similar to the subsequent charges.

(1.) It is possible that the discrepant views on Lollius' character, clearly prevailing when Horace wrote, may have had their origin in dynastic antagonisms. Mæcenas, Horace, and probably Lollius, were Julian in their political sympathies: considering Livia's long cherished and ultimately successful ambition for her son, there may have been a Clandian party as early as this. One of them had supplanted Mæcenas in the confidence of Augustus—viz. Sallustius Crispus, the man who took it upon himself to sign the order for the killing of Agrippa Postumus, the last male of the main Julian stock. Such a state of things might account for the tone of this Ode, but, without knowing by whom in Rome the accusations were made, no decision can be arrived at. Lollius committed suicide in consequence of the charges afterwards brought against him.

(2.) It is also possible, and more probable considering the dates, that the enmity to Lollius was connected with the old story of the Caepio-Murena conspiracy and trial. The gist of the poem does not lie in the introductory stanzas on the force of forgetfulness; those are perhaps akin to the legal fictions formerly used to bring the real issues before a Court. This appears on examining vv. 30-34. The elaborate preparation is not quite perfect, for we see that though Horace, to suit his preface, talks of rescuing Lollius from "oblivion," his real purpose is to vindicate his honesty. He shows this in verse 33 by the use in connection with "envious oblivion" of the words "impune," "scot-free," and "carpere" to carp at or slander (in the sense of belittling his title to credit) whereby a confusion, or rather a non-sequitur, is created, explicable perhaps by the perception that "oblivion" is not the real subject of Horace's indignation, but the men with whom his integrity has brought him into hatred. The close of the Ode has a marked resemblance to the one addressed to Sallustius Crispus (II. 2) which refers to Murena. It may be that Lollius was one of the judges of that

hero and his alleged accomplices, and that there had been attempts at bribery which had failed, for as Lollius was Consul in B.C. 21, the chances are that in the preceding year he was Praetor, and hence the proper magistrate to preside at trials for "maiestas."

3. *Artes*: rather "artifice" than art: not a general reference to the writing of lyrics, but special to the use Horace had found for them.

X

TO LIGURINUS

O THOU who still hast power, through gift of Venus, to be cruel,
 When to thy pride shall come the unwelcome down,
 And fallen are the tresses which now on thy shoulders stream,
 And that complexion still superior to the bloom of crimson rose,
 Has changed and altered what was Ligurinus to a hirsute mask, 5
 Oft as thou lookest in a mirror on thy different self thou'l cry,
 " Ah, me ! the will I have to-day why was it not the same in youth,
 Or why with these emotions come not back my cheeks unmarred ? "

This poem is probably a reference (*e converso*) to the poet's own age, and his declining powers.

The tenor of the thoughts is similar to that of the first Ode in the book. For his choice of "Ligurinus" as an addressee, note the considerations mentioned in IV. i, 33.

XI

TO PHYLLIS

THERE is by me a jar full of Albanian wine
 Just topping its ninth year : there is, O Phyllis,
 In my garden parsley for twining coronals,
 Of ivy too great wealth, 5
 With which if you do wreath your hair,
 All radiant you will be. The house is gay with plate :
 The shrine festooned with holy vervain, hails with joy
 Sprinklings from immolated lamb.
 Speeds the whole band of slaves : hither
 And thither fit the boys and girls together : 10
 The flames are flickering as they whirl
 Aloft the dusky smoke.
 For you to know to what joys you are called—
 'Tis that the Ides are to be kept by you,

The day by which April is cleft in twain,
The month of sea-born Venus :
Rightly a solemn day to me, and almost holier
Than that of my own birth, because
From its outshining my Mæcenas counts
 The onflowing years.

15

Telephus whom you are looking for, a youth
Not of your rank, is captured by
A mistress rich and gay, who holds him bound
 With pleasing chain.

20

Phaethon's burning frightens covetous hopes,
And winged Pegasus, intolerant of
Bellerophon, his earth-born rider, affords
 A weighty lesson always

25

To aim at what becomes you, and by holding it
As wrong to hope for more than is allowed,
To keep aloof from an unequal match,

30

Then come, last of my loves,
From henceforth shall my heart not warm
To other woman, learn the melodies
To reproduce them with your darling voice. Through song 35
Black cares will be made less.

Mr Wickham most justly says: "The point of the poem seems to lie, not in the invitation to Phyllis, which is only an incident in the holiday keeping, but in the occasion, Mæcenas' birthday."

If the Odes had always been read in this spirit they would be interpreted very differently. This is the only poem in this book in which Mæcenas is mentioned. Now if there is anything in our theory of the Three Books, and if our claim to trace allusions in the Fourth to topics previously treated is good, we should certainly expect to find some such allusions in this poem to Mæcenas. As will be seen they are not far to seek. "Phyllis," the last of the author's lyrical "loves," is bidden to a festivity which shall not be a failure through any lack of cordiality on the host's part. This he says first, and then comes the very significant information "Telephus (III. 19, n.) whom you are looking for is not here: another has him in a pleasing chain, a mistress rich and gay (!)" after which there is some moralising on such "audacious" characters as Phaethon, and Bellerophon (III. 12, 7) and on the wisdom of always aiming at what is becoming in that state of life to which it shall have pleased Providence to call one, and of avoiding *unequal marriages*. Cf. III. 20 and Intr. § 95 and foll.) with a reference in conclusion to black cares, the significance of which has been already pointed out (cf. Intr. § 85, etc.).

The meaning of everything becomes patent at once; the point of the mythology clear, and the poem a living record of Horace's sympathy with his friend and patron. If this is accident, it is one of the most curious anywhere to be found. Dr Verrall, taking "finis amorum" literally, remarks that this combining of a date with a real invitation to Phyllis is peculiar to the Fourth

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L. Licinius M. who was Cicero's client, and probably the father of our L. Licinius Varro M. See Verrall, quoting Drumann, etc., Stud. in Hor. p. 16.

XIII

TO LYCE

Lyce, the gods have heard my prayers, the gods
Have heard them, Lyce. Become a crone

Your wish is to seem fair,

Shameless you sport and drink,

And, in your cups, rouse sluggish Cupid

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With quavering song. Upon the lovely cheeks

Of Chia, blooming maid, and skilled

In harping, he is wakeful,

For churlishly he flieh past the sapless oaks,

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And you avoids, since yellow teeth

Disfigure you, and wrinkles, and

The snows upon your head.

Nor Coan purples now bring back to you,

Nor gleaming gems, old times which once,

Stored in the records of the past,

15

The fleeting day hath closed.

Whither has fled your charm ? Whither alas,

Your colour, whither your graceful mien ? What have you left

Of her, of her, who did breathe loves,

Who snatched me from myself ?

20

Fair after Cinara you were, and famed,

Your face had arts to please. But upon Cinara

Brief years the Fates bestowed who had

In store for Lyce a long life,

Equal to that of withered carrion-crow,

25

So that the hot young blades with many a laugh,

Might mark her torch

To cinders fallen away.

" It seems to refer to Ode III. 10," says Orelli ; but beyond the name Lyce there is absolutely no resemblance. The Lyce of III. 10 is a wife who refuses to break her marriage vow : the heroine of this is represented as a woman whose early profligacies are meeting with the usual reward. The conjunction of her name with Cinara (IV. 1) suggests that, if a real person, she has been an early mistress of Horace. This fact again serves to differentiate her from Lyce of III. 10. Horace in Sat. I. 2 and II. 7 denies that he has ever been guilty of adultery, and there is nothing inconsistent with this denial elsewhere, but much to

show that such conduct was opposed to his principles. See Verrall, Stud. in Hor. p. 170.

The only safe course at present is to regard this "Lyce" as an unsolved problem.

XIV

IN PRAISE OF TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO

WHAT care of Fathers or Quirites in full gifts
Of honours can for all time perpetuate

Thy virtues, O Augustus, through inscriptions
And calendars of records ?

O thou, wherever shines the sun on habitable shores,
Of princes greatest ! Of whom Vindelicis,
Unused to Latin law, but lately learned

What thou couldst do in war.

For Drusus, with thy soldiery,
Did fiercely overthrow Genaunians, restless tribe,
The mobile Breuni, and their strongholds set

On terrible Alps,

With more than mere retaliatory stroke.

The elder of the Neros soon engaged
In stubborn fight, and with auspicious signs

Repelled the barbarous Ræti ;

Worthy to watch is he in an assault at arms,
To note with what destruction he would visit

Hearts pledged to liberty or death,

Eager, almost as if 'twere Auster

Driving wild billows when the dance of Pleiads rends
The clouds, to harass hostile squadrons, and to urge
His panting charger through

The midst of fires.

Just so is bull-like Aufidus rolled on,

Which floweth o'er Apulian Daunus' realms,
When roused to rage and meditating

A dreadful deluge for tilled fields :

As Claudius was who overthrew with mighty shock

The iron ranks of the barbarians, and mowing

Them down from foremost unto last,

Bestrewed the ground, a conqueror without loss,

Through thee supplying troops, strategic plan,

And thy divinities. For from that day,

When Alexandria, suppliant, for thee

Flung wide her ports and empty halls,

On the third lustre, Fortune favouring

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Rendered successful issues to the war,
 And praise for thy campaigns fulfilled,
 And glory coveted, assigned. 40
 Thee the Cantabrian, unconquerable before,
 The Mede, the Indian, and the nomad Scyth,
 Look to with awe, O thou, the present
 Bulwark of Italy and sovereign Rome.
 To thee both Nile, the sources of his flow 45
 Who hides, and Ister and rapid Tigris,
 To thee the monster-teeming ocean, which
 To far-off Britons roars,
 Hearken, and land of rude Iberia, and Gaul,
 Untrembling at the thought of death : 50
 To thee Sygambri, who delight in blood,
 Obeisance make with arms laid down.

Sp. Intr. to Bk. IV., and notes to the State Odes. Fifteen years (three lustra) after suppliant Alexandria opened its ports, brings us to B.C. 15, the year of the Rætan campaign. Its double phase, and the parts played in it by the Emperor and his step-sons, and the general picture of State affairs are tersely but correctly sketched.

1. Fathers : The Senate ; Quirites ; the citizens generally, *cf.* II. 7, 3.

7. *Legis* : law or custom, v. 10, *n.*

8. Vindelici : These, with the Ræti, were tribes of the Tridentine Alps.

10. Genauni, Breuni : tribes of Vindelicia. It is related of the former by Strabo IV. that they slew all males captured in war, even infants in their mothers' wombs, whose sex they believed it possible to learn by divination. Dio (LIV. 22) says the same thing of the Ræti. This barbarity was viewed with horror in Rome, and if not the only cause of the war, was doubtless the reason why it was prosecuted with the utmost severity, and explains the poetic exultation over the infliction of a blow that was more than a mere retaliation for the injuries from the raids (v. 13 : vv. 31-32). This practice may possibly be alluded to in IV. 6, 19, and in IV. 4, 18-22. The names of the Genauni and Breuni appear on the inscription mentioned below, v. 52, *n.*

41. Cantaber, *cf.* III. 8, etc.

52. Sygambri : The repulse of Lollius by this German tribe in B.C. 16 caused Augustus to go to Gaul. They dwelt on the east side of the Rhine. After the Vindelician campaign the Rhine was given to the charge of Drusus. Upon his death in B.C. 9, Tiberius took over the command. The Sygambri were reduced to sue for peace in B.C. 8, but the negotiations were broken off, and a last battle was fought in which they were severely defeated. Tiberius then left the country. The Sygambri were not unable to hold their own against Roman troops until Drusus began to win battles against them.

In his Natural History, Pliny quotes an inscription set up to celebrate the victory over the Alpine tribes by Tiberius and Drusus : the names of forty-five peoples appear, or forty-eight,

if the four tribes of the Vindelici are counted separately. They do not include the Sygambri, Usipetes, or any of the Rhenish nations subsequently subdued.

XV

TO AUGUSTUS

PHÆBUS when I desired to sing of battles
And conquered cities, crashed at me with his lyre,
Lest I should trust my little sails

Upon the Tyrrhene main. Thine age,
O Cæsar, hath brought back to the fields
Rich harvests, and to our Jove restored

The standards torn from boastful pillars
Of the Parthians, and closed

The Janus of the Quirinal, exempt from war,
And hath imposed due order as a curb

On spreading lawlessness, rid us of sin,
And called back ancient practices,

Through which the Latin name and power
Of Italy grew, and the renown

And majesty of its empire reached
To sunrise from its western resting-place.

With Cæsar guardian of our weal, no violence
Nor civil madness shall dispel our ease,

No rage which forges swords and fills
Unhappy cities with hostility.

The drinkers of the Danube deep will not infringe
The Julian laws, the Getæ will not,
Or Seres or perfidious Persians,

Or those beside the river Tanais born.
And we at light of day both lay and holy,

Between oblations unto joyous Liber,
With children and our matrons,

Invoking first the gods befittingly,
Will chaunt as was the custom of our sires,
In a strain blended with the Lydian flutes,

Of leaders quit of valorous deeds, of Troy,
Anchises, and of fostering Venus' line.

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With Horatian terseness this Ode is the last word on all the national topics treated in the four books. Cæsar's rule was supported by Horace in days when its establishment was anything but assured. Now that it has been established he represents his previous forecasts as fulfilled in fact. Prosperity reigns, dishonour to the Roman name is wiped out, foreign war has

ceased, and internal revolt has been quelled. Here especially we come in contact with the Three Books (III. 24, etc.). The poet indicates that not only have the people done their duty in submitting to Cæsar, but that he has done his in repressing the lawless among them—a glance at the troubled years of B.C. 23 and after. His eye then sweeps round the world-wide Empire now at peace, and following a thought previously expressed as to the return of the race to ancient tradition, he ends with an allusion to restored worship of the gods, making special mention of the divine ancestress of the Julian line.

10. Lawlessness, *cf.* III. 24, 29. The parallels in this and following lines are noticeable.

12. Ancient practices ; *cf.* III. 5 and 6.

17. While Cæsar guards ; I. 2, 52, etc.

18. Civil madness ; III. 24, 26. *Otium* : 11, 16, 1.

19. Anger : I. 16, 7. Swords : I. 2, 21: Cities : III. 24, 27.

22. Julian laws : Those of Augustus:

APPENDIX I

NOTES ON THE CATALECTA

THE Catalecta are undoubtedly a product of the Augustan Age, and, from their early ascription to Vergil, it is probable that, whether all were penned by him or not, they had their origin in the circle of Mæcenas. I believe that the point of several of them becomes clear when we realise the effect that the character and actions of Lucius Licinius Varro Murena had in shaping the poetry composed in that neighbourhood, and I have reviewed three in support of my opinion. Those selected do not exhaust the number of these squibs and parodies which seem to refer to Murena, but consideration of the others must be reserved.

CATALECTA, NO. III

O father-in-law, fortunate (rich, blest) neither for thyself nor for the other ; and thou, son-in-law, the night-bird, the addle-head !

Under the influence of thy madness, thine, fie ! shall a girl of such a sort depart into the country ?

Ah, me ! How that verse applies everywhere ! Father-in-law, son-in-law, you have brought all to ruin.

A parody on Catullus XXIX. : the fact that v. 5 of No. V. (translated *infra*) has a parallel in the same poem, would indicate that these three of the Catalecta are by the same hand, and are aimed at the same man—one who bears the name Lucius. The allusions here all point to Lucius Murena, and the lines appear to be a derisive squib on his design of marrying Julia in defiance of Augustus.

Noctuine : night-bird : This perhaps is explained by the reference in Juvenal to Proculeius and Gillo (see Intr. § 101) or otherwise by Murena's dealing at night with astrology and sorcery.

Putidum caput : Fits in with our view of the "Telephus" of Suetonius, and our explanation of "Lucius Audacius" "un-sound in age as well as body," who conceived the mad idea of eloping with Julia (Intr. § 96 and foll.).

Talis : of such a sort, *i.e.* of the Cæsarean house : Murena, a descendant, or, as he thought, a reincarnation of ancient Greek heroes, no doubt considered himself quite worthy of alliance

with the Julian line, and more worthy than Agrippa (see Od. III. 19, *n.*). Those who knew him, including Horace, had a different opinion. The inclusion of Augustus in the satire of the last line is perhaps explained by the historic facts that shortly after B.C. 23 he did contemplate giving Julia in marriage to Proculeius, the brother of Lucius Murena, and that Mæcenas told him that the only possible match for her was Agrippa. Tiberius tells us that he came to see the sense of this afterwards (Tac. Ann. 4, 39, 40).

CATALECTA, NO. IV.

Proud night-bird, addle-head !
 The girl is given to thee whom thou art seeking, she is given:
 She is given, proud night-bird, whom thou art seeking.
 But oh, proud night-bird, thou dost not see that daughters two
 Atilius has, two, and this and the other are given to thee.
 Assemble now, assemble ! The night-bird proud weds, as befits
 him, lo ! the hernia.
 Thalassio, Thalassio, Thalassio.

These verses are clearly on the same subject as No. III. The author supposes Murena's wishes granted. Then he looks to the end of his career which was strangulation by the *laqueus* (*cf.* Intr. § 38, Od. III. 24, *n.*). The lines were, of course, not written for Murena to read, but for those who were offended at his mad presumption.

The point of the name Atilius, which must refer to Augustus if our theory be right, may be that the Atilii, of whom the *Regulus* celebrated in Od. III. 5 was one, were proverbial types of old Roman simplicity and rigour. Precisely those whom Augustus, both by precept and example, held up as models to his own generation. The plainness of Augustus' life was almost ostentatious. He wore cloth woven by his wife ; he studiously avoided pomp, and, though an autocrat, posed as a private citizen, and Murena is the only man in history who, in the latter respect, took him at his word, asking him in open court by what right he interposed in the administration of justice (Dio, LIV. 1, Intr. § 38). An account of the austerity of the Atilii, the Cincinnati, etc., is given by Val. Max. IV. c. 5-6, the class of men who went from the plough to the Dictatorship, and back again. History shows that after B.C. 23 Augustus seriously tried to rid himself of the burden of power, but found it impossible (Intr. § 46, etc.).

Superbe : points to the vain-glory such as is condemned in Od. I. 18, in conjunction with other characteristics found in Lucius Murena.

Noctuine : Murena's magical investigations would largely take place under cover of night, his Cotyutto rites (Catal. V. 19, see *infra*) his observations leading to Pelignian chills (*cf.* Od. III. 19, *n.*, etc.). See note to Cat. No. III. *infra*.

Adeste : assemble : The author projects his imagination to the marriage ceremony, and it appears that of Atilius' two

daughters the one whom Noctuinus actually marries is not Julia but hernia, a rupture or strangulation of the bowels, a gross word-play in connection with marriage, finding its point in the fact of his death by the strangling knot (*laqueus*).

Thalassio : The wedding-cry : uttered in mockery.

CATALECTA, NO. V

Thou thinkest that I am supine because unable as of old to traverse the deep waters of the sea, or to bear severe cold, or to endure heat, or to accompany a conqueror in war. But there is force unto me still in anger and the old-time rage, and the tongue with which I may be at your side. By the disgraceful comradeship of a debauched sister, oh, why dost thou rouse me ? Why, shameless one, abhorrent unto Cæsar ? But let thy thefts (underhand villainies) be told, and, patrimony having been swallowed, the parsimony of late in a brother, or the feastings held by a boy with men, and haunches moist through sleep, and that suddenly, to one not recking, the sudden shout arose aloft, Thalassio, Thalassio. Why hast thou grown pale, O woman? Do jests hurt ? or dost thou recognise thy deeds ? Thou shalt not call me through thy lovely Cotyto rites to idle witchcrafts, nor afterwards, when what was on the altars has been taken, shall I see thee move thy loins. . . . Nor (hear thee) call by yellow Tiber men smelling of the sea, where the ships driven up stand in the shoals, held by the fine mud, weltering in the shallow water : Nor into the kitchen wilt thou bring an oily feast for the cross-road rites, or foul banquets, stuffed with which as with slimy waters, thou returnest to thy fat bed-fellow, and, O learned one, loose thy *æstuantes* pantics, and continuously lick her mouth with kisses.

Now injure me, now attack me, if thou can'st do anything. I even add thy name—abominable Lucius, have thy resources left thee, and do thy molars gnash with hunger ? I shall see thee in possession of nothing but brothers who do naught for thee, and an angry Jove, and a rent belly, and the feet of a ruptured spitfire swollen through want.

The Lucius to whom this abuse is directed has obviously many of the marks of Murena. In line 6 I read "quis *adsim*" with Weber, rather than "qua *dixim*" with Ribbeck : every MS. has *adsim*. V. 15 is corrupt, and likewise v. 21, but in the former case enough is preserved to show the author's drift ; see note below.

7. *Contubernium sororis* : notwithstanding the sexual suggestion, the point of this may lie in the unauthorised divulgence by Terentia to her brother of the information imparted to her by Mæcenas.

9. *Impudice . . . Cæsari* : Supports the view of Augustus' shame over this matter as a blot on the Julian honour ; the emphatic

reference to Cæsar implies much more than his mere disapprobation as guardian of public morals.

10. *Furta* : thefts : a significant word, in conjunction with what follows, if it is true that Lucius Murena defrauded his brother Proculeius of a large portion of an inheritance.

11-12. *Patrimonio* : This reference to the dissipated patrimony and to a brother, seems to be in close association with the circumstances considered in Odes II. 2 and 3, *cf.* notes. Proculeius helped Murena in former times and was repaid, we believe, with the basest ingratitude. See note below on *fratres ignavos*.

15. The sudden shout of Thalassio : there is some corruption in the text, but "inscio" in connection with this cry is significant. As Murena stood forth as the *ignotus heres* of Od. II. 18, in respect of an inheritance, so, if he succeeded in a design of abducting Julia, his marriage shout might be supposed to fall on ears that had no thought of its coming.

19. Cotyutto rites : magical incantations, the epithet *pulcra* of course ironical.

23. *Flavum propter Thybrim* : by yellow Tiber : a phrase paralleled in the Odes in similar associations, II. 3. The following references to sailors and ships agree with the like allusions in the Odes to the sailors and traffickers for luxury, in passages contemplating Murena ; and the references to gluttony, put here in a most offensive form, may correspond with the more elegant condemnations of excesses, by Horace.

30. *Uxor* : not necessarily a wife.

31. *Docte* : No need to alter this vocative. There is a special point of irony in addressing Murena, the delver into ancient magical, and perhaps Pythagorean, lore as "learned one" ; *cf. supra*, Nos. III. and IV. "putidum caput."

35. Abominable : This line seems to be imitated from Catullus XXIX. 5 ; *cf.* note to No. III. *supra*.

Lucius : the ostentatious announcement of a real name and the name itself do not contradict our interpretation.

"Have thy resources left thee?" This reference to loss of means, bringing force into the comparison of this man with "Telephus," and perhaps with the "Codrus" of Juvenal (Sat. III. 203, *cf.* Intr. § 102) probably relates to the circumstances of Murena after his flight ; when the "lord" had in fact to depart from his "bought-up glades" (Od. II. 3, 17) and found that Retribution did not quit pursuit of an offender (Od. III. 2, 32).

36. *Genuini* : back teeth : to break one's teeth on anyone was used metaphorically to indicate vituperation (*cf.* Pers. I. 115) an exercise in which Murena's tongue was ready : perhaps this fact prompts the author to mention here their less usual experience of rattling through cold and hunger. Cf Juvenal, Sat. III. 212, "Quod nudum (*sc.* Codrum, and see Intr. § 102) et frusta rogantem, nemo cibo, nemo hospitio, tectoque iuvabit." Cf. also the last line of this poem.

37. The four concluding lines point to a final condition of destitution. The point of *ignavos fratres*, "brothers who are inactive," I believe to lie in the fact that Proculeius in earlier days had been exceptionally active in helping Murena (*cf.* Od. II. 2), but the latter's conduct had precluded all hope of a repetition of such activity.

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON PERSIUS

I BELIEVE that there are in Persius expressions which point to a recognition of the Murena motive in Horace. As in the case of Juvenal space forbids a complete analysis at present for the purpose of illustrating this, but an appeal to him on one point of primary importance, viz. the theory of the style in which I conceive Horace to have written the Odes (Intr. § 15) is desirable:

The manner of Persius is a not unnatural development of that of Horace. Neither is in the least degree naive, but the younger poet is, in the usual course of literary evolution, several removes further from naïveté than the elder. While both are pregnant and subtle, Persius is in addition extremely elliptical, and evinces no more sympathy with the reader who prefers an author to express his thought fully than Mr Browning, or the Mr Rudyard Kipling of later days. “Hobbs hints blue,” “who fished the Murex up?” would be quite as much in his style as in that of the author of “Sordello,” and other modern literary perplexities: Horace, with all his terseness, is seldom elliptical, and habitually gives a cloke of superficial meaning to his words, even when their real intention is least clearly expressed. In Sat. I. Persius has these lines :—

Secuit Lucilius urbem,
Te Lupe, te Muti, et genuinum fregit in illis.
Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit : et admissus circum præcordia ludit,
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.
Men' mutire nefas, nec clam, nec cum scrobe ? Nusquam.
Hic tamen infodiam. Vidi, vidi ipse, libelle,
Auriculas asini quis non habet ? Hoc ego opertum ;
Hoc ridere meum, tam nil, nulla tibi vendo
Iliade.

“Lucilius lashed the town with its Lupuses and Mutiuses, and gnashed his teeth upon them. Flaccus, the artist, puts his finger on every fault of his laughing friend, and, having once got in, sports round his heart, clever at suspending the populace on a dilated nostril (*i.e.* contemptuously using a style which mystifies). Is it then a crime for me to veil my speech, may I not be secret, or whisper into a ditch? Nowhere: Well, at anyrate, I will

bury something here. I have seen, I myself have seen it, my booklet. The ears of an ass, who has them not? This secret, this laughing-stock of my own, bagatelle though it is, I sell not to you for any *Iliad*.¹¹

Now this reference to the story of Midas, to the whispered secret, the suggestion in the question “Men’ mutire nefas?” and the pointed contrast of his own case with Horace’s, accurately accord with what is contended concerning the existence of a *hyponoia* or hidden meaning in the writings of Horace, and serves to explain the precise significance of the phrase “excusso populum suspendere naso.” These words afford a good illustration of Nettleship’s remark that every nation has its *nuances* of thought as well as of language. With them we connote, and to a certain extent correctly, the thought of a sneer, but this association of ideas is not co-extensive with the full suggestion to a Roman of “suspendere naso.” Balatro, for instance, when described as *suspendens omnia naso* (Hor. Sat. II. 8, 64), uses words by no means adequately summed up as “sneering,” but better as exhibiting ironical humour. Again, though “you do not sneer at me,” will pass as a translation of “nec naso suspendis adunco” (Hor. Sat. I. 6, 5), it is obvious that this does not measure the full content of the words; and the difference of *nuance* is again seen. Besides the idea of superciliousness, the phrase implies that Mæcenas does not treat Horace as a person unworthy of confidence. What Horace does to the “populus” is exactly the contrary.

Thirdly; in Quintilian we find the word “suspensa” as applied to style, indicating reserve—*suspensa et dubitans oratio*, Inst: 10, 7, 22. In that passage Quintilian is certainly not commanding the young Orator to begin in a hesitating or stuttering manner, but in such a way as to excite curiosity as to what is to follow: by keeping back something at first, he is to enhance the effect of the full explanation to be given subsequently.

Suspense or reserve of this kind, so far as the general reader was concerned, and a habit of veiling his language (*mutire*) appears, therefore, to be considered by Persius as a Horatian trait, and this is an additional argument in favour of our interpretation of his style as indicated in such words as “Odi profanum vulgus et arceo,” etc.

While on this passage, a word may be added upon the proper interpretation of “ridenti amico” “his laughing friend.” I do not profess to decide this, but I point out that its seemingly obvious sense—viz. that although Horace is satirising his friend, he is doing it so elegantly as to excite a smile rather than indignation—is not necessarily the true sense.

Ridens may here mean “exulting,” as it clearly does in Od. IV. 1, 18, and may refer to the attitude of the friend which provoked Horace’s satire (*Graece*, his *ὑβρις*) not to his demeanour in listening to it; and this seems probable, for when Horace, whether

in his Iambi (*cf.* the Epodes) or in his Sermones, does apply the lash to *vitia* of various kinds, his art is as often displayed in the severity of his strokes as in the delicate finesse with which they are administered.

If we look into the matter a little deeper, we shall see a potential source of Persius' reference. Murena's superstitions had been alluded to by Horace in works published before the Odes (*cf.* Intr. § 118). In the third Sat. Bk. II. (issued *circa* B.C. 28) there is a mysterious passage on the subject (*cf.* v. 75 and foll.) in which "Perillus," of the too addled brain (*putidius cerebrum*, *cf.* *putidum caput*, Cat. III. and IV. App. I.) is mentioned as dictating things one would be unable to write down, and this is followed by some advice to those who are under the influence of evil ambition, avarice, luxuriousness, calamitous superstition, or other mental disease. Immediately preceding this passage is a reference to money transactions, and to a slippery "Proteus," and to someone described as "laughing (*ridentem*) with the jaws of others," a phrase which has never been explained satisfactorily, but which by association with Murena may become intelligible. Perhaps it was this same "laugher" whom Persius had in mind.

The Murenaic allusions traceable in Horace, in other places besides the Odes, will, if possible, be made the subject of a supplementary work.

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