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HORACE

E. C. WICKHAM
THE WORKS OF HORACE

WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

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VOL I.

THE ODES, CARMEN SECULARE, AND EPODES

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THIS EDITION IS DEDICATED

TO THE DEAR AND HONOURED MEMORY

OF

JOHN CONINGTON,

LATE CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

TO WHOSE SUGGESTION IT OWES ITS ORIGIN,

AND TO WHOSE TEACHING AND EXAMPLE IT WILL OWE

ANY MERIT THAT MAY BE FOUND IN IT.
My obligations to previous editors are, I hope, frankly stated in the course of my notes. Orelli's edition had always seemed to me so perfect in point of learning, judgment, and poetical taste, that when the task of preparing an English commentary on Horace was first suggested to me I was inclined to answer that nothing remained to be done, unless perhaps to translate his Latin notes for the benefit of the more indolent students. In effect, of course, this is not what has been done. If one's own judgment was to be responsible for the conclusions, there were even among recent editors others whose views could not be ignored. To name only two, there was much clearly to be learnt from the imaginative ingenuity of Ritter, and from Dillenburger's strong sense and keen grammatical analysis. A wider reading of Horatian literature, if it made originality appear even more impossible, seemed at the same time to encourage or even necessitate independent judgment. It lessened to some extent the feeling of personal obligation, by showing how large a portion of what was best in modern editors, both in respect of illustrative learning and of interpretation, was traditional, a part of the inherited store of Horatian criticism, which dates from the scholars of the 15th and 16th centuries, if not
from scholiasts of a much earlier time, a store from which later editors have made very various selections, but to which none since the great Bentley seems to have made any very considerable independent addition.

Perhaps the department in which modern editors have added most, as it is the one which has had the most attractions to me, has been that of tracing in the several poems the sequence and proportion of the thoughts. This is a function of criticism to which every reader with any imagination thinks himself equal; and he is apt to resent what seem to him the superfluous, if not prosaic and inadequate, comments of another mind. A commentator on a poet so loved and familiar as Horace is, at any rate to the elder generation among us, must make his count for such resentment. He would only attempt in part to disarm it, by pleading that as he has ventured at times to set aside the interpretations of his predecessors, so he is quite prepared that his own interpretations should be set aside by others; that it is the purpose and the method, not the particular conclusions, to which he attaches value. The thoughts even of a lyrical poem do not follow one another at haphazard. If the links be forged by feeling rather than by logic, yet the feelings must be such as can be traced, and the mind cannot be really in sympathy with the poem unless consciously or unconsciously it follows them. Where the art is so conscious and elaborate as in Horace's lyrics, it it not too much to expect that we should be able to detect the threads which bind them into their
several unities. If my efforts teach a young reader that he has not read a poem properly unless he has attempted to do this for himself, if they make him less ready to admit in any poet, and especially in Horace, the existence of ‘inert’ epithets, and purposeless digressions or amplifications, I shall not complain that he should come to trust for the explanation of his difficulties to his own imagination rather than to mine.

Some account of the materials at our disposal for the settlement of the text of Horace, and of the principles on which I have endeavoured, where it was necessary to do so, to exercise my own judgment, will be found in the General Introduction. In the matter of orthography I have followed Orelli.

I have to acknowledge much kind help and many useful hints from friends, especially from A. O. Prickard, Esq., Fellow and Tutor of New College, who has been always ready with suggestive criticism, and to whom I was indebted for special assistance in writing the notes on the Fourth Book of the Odes. I owe also to his labour, as well as to the kind courtesy of the Provost and Fellows of Queen’s College, the collation of the valuable Queen’s College MS. which appears in an Appendix to this volume.

Wellington College,
Jan. 1874.
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THE TEXT, MSS., SCHOLIASTS, EDITIONS.

An editor whose knowledge of MSS. is almost entirely at second-hand owes some apology, at least to himself, for discussing questions of text; but he can hardly avoid such discussion. Even if he chooses an existing text as his guide throughout, he must by his choice virtually take a side in many intricate questions, and he does so in the way which is the least instructive to his reader, by appearing to settle without discussion questions which are really open. Happily the text of Horace is one in which, if some points must always remain in uncertainty, the uncertainty is of a very bearable kind. The worst result of a bad judgment will usually be only to prefer the least probable of two readings, either of which has much to say for itself, makes good sense, and has been supported by great scholars.

It will be seen that the MSS. of Horace, though very numerous, are not very ancient. There are none, like the uncial MSS. of Virgil, of palmary authority. There are a considerable number which are placed between the end of the 9th and 10th centuries; only one now extant which belongs undoubtedly to the 9th. In addition to these, we have the testimony of Cruquius (see below), at whatever value it is to be rated, to the readings of a MS. probably some two centuries earlier, and we have Scholia which are generally believed to date, at least in their original form, from the 3rd to the 5th century.

Occasionally, where doubt hangs over the form of some salient expression in Horace, we find light thrown upon it by more or less certain imitations of it in Ovid, or in the later Roman poets. Lastly,
we have numerous quotations, chiefly in the grammatical authors of the first five centuries. These are rarely of any very high value; partly because quotations seem often to be made from memory, partly because the quotation is most commonly made for some metrical or grammatical reason which is not affected by the special word or form in respect of which the doubt exists, and therefore the testimony to the reading is not in truth older than the MSS. (not usually very ancient) of the grammatical author himself.

So far, then, as external testimony goes, it is clear that when a disputed reading occurs, the evidence to which we can appeal to determine it contains in every department some elements of uncertainty, and is not likely to be rated at the same relative value by all critics. Can the MSS. be made, by any process of comparison, to testify, through common readings, to sources of evidence older than themselves, older even than the Scholia? Has the value of any special MS. been unduly estimated? Is a particular Scholium genuine, or is it an interpolation to suit a late MS. reading? There will remain these and other previous questions upon which perfect agreement cannot always be obtained; and, in default of such agreement, an editor or a reader who approaches questions of text on this side, confessedly with only second-hand knowledge, can hardly form his judgments too modestly. It must not be supposed, however, that the criticism of Horace's text, any more than the criticism of other classical texts, turns by any means entirely upon the testimony of MSS. or Scholia. However far these carry us back, they leave us, on the one hand, with the certainty that varieties of reading existed, and that emendation on grammatical or other grounds had been at work, still earlier; and, on the other hand, they leave, if not very many blots which modern criticism has unanimously recognised and corrected, yet enough of these¹ to make us feel that when the question lies between an i or an e, an e or an a, one or other expansion of an ambiguous abbreviation, and the like, MS. testimony cannot be held to settle it absolutely, without any appeal to grammar or sense. We must add that in the majority of really doubtful readings no theory with respect to the

¹ Such as 'ter' in Epod. 4. 8, 'hic ut Mucius ill' in Epp. 2. 2. 89, which no editor would retain, though they are the unanimous reading of the MSS. The mistakes in proper names are notorious; e.g. the Schollasts, by their quotation from Homer, show that they had the right name in Od. 3. 20. 15, Epod. 15.

22, but all the MSS. have 'Nereus,' 'Nerea.' The certain form 'Alyattei,' in Od. 3. 16. 43, has had to be restored by modern scholars, the MSS. being utterly at sea, 'halyalyti,' 'aliat thi,' etc. The unmetrical 'tricenis' in Od. 2. 14. 5, has overwhelming MS. support.
external testimony will elicit other than an ambiguous answer from it. In these, if to the end we must give full room to doubt, we can hardly help balancing in our minds the fitness on other grounds of the rival claimants.

I. MSS.

1. As has been already said, no MS. of Horace is known to be in existence older than the 9th century. We have, however, in the edition of Cruquius (Antwerp, 1578), frequent testimony to the readings of at least one MS. of greater antiquity, the one, namely, which is known as the 'Vetus Blandinius.' In preparing his edition, Cruquius had the benefit of consulting four MSS. then extant in the Benedictine abbey of S. Peter, 'in monte Blandinio' (Blankenberg), near Ghent. These MSS. all perished, as he tells us (see his note on the Inscription to Sat. B. I, p. 308 of his Edition), in the sack of the abbey by a mob of 'iconoclasts,' in the outbreak of 1566. His own estimate of their date puts them all as early as the 9th century. One whose loss he specially laments, he distinguishes throughout from the rest as 'vetoctissimus.' This is the MS. referred to in most editions as V.

The general opinion of Horatian scholars, from Bentley onwards, has attached the very highest value to Cruquius' MS. Keller and Holder, as will be seen, set less store by it. Its readings correspond very largely with those of B (the old Bernese MS: see below) where that is extant, and in the Satires and Epistles it is followed most closely (especially in the famous variation Sat. 1. 6. 126 'campum lusumque trigonem,' where, with this one exception, it stands absolutely alone) by a Gotha MS. of the 15th century, known as g. That it was not free from interpolation, especially in the Odes, is allowed by those who rate it most highly; see e.g. Od. 4. 2. 6, where it reads 'cum . . saliere,' 4. 6. 21 'flexus.' In such a case as that noticed in Sat. 1. 6. 126, there seem only three theories possible; unless, with Ritter, we can suppose that we have actually a deuripa proorvis of the poet, we must imagine a blotted half-line deliberately filled up either in V (or its original), or in some one archetype to which all the other MSS, and the copies which were interpreted in the Scholia, owe their reading.

2. The oldest Bernese MS. 1 (363 in the Public Library) was first used by Orelli in forming his text, and has since been re-collated

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1 An interesting account of the history of this and of several other of the older MSS. of Horace is given by Ritter in the Prolegomena to his edition. This
by Ritter for his edition, and by Usener for Keller and Holder. It is assigned by Ritter and by Usener to the 9th century. It forms part of a quarto volume, which contains also Servius' Commentary on Virgil, two Treatises on Rhetoric, Bede's History, and Ovid's Metamorphoses. It is imperfect, omitting all the Epistles and the Satires, with the exception of the first two and part of the third of Book I, besides large portions of the Odes. The Odes are not arranged in their usual order, the copyist having apparently started with the intention of an arrangement according to metres, for he begins with nineteen Sapphic Odes. These follow the common order, though the distinction of Books is not marked. They are succeeded by some of the Epodes, then by the Carm. Sec., then by the remaining Odes and Epodes, also in their usual order. The Ars Poet. 1-440 follows the Epodes, then Sat. 1. 1, 2 and part of 3. The omissions in the Odes and Epodes are as follows:—of whole Odes in Book I, Odes 3-7, 9, 11, 33 and 34; in Book III, Ode 3; and of Book IV, Odes 3 and 15, besides parts of twenty-one more Odes and Epodes, viz. Odes 1. 10. 14, 1. 15. 20-32, 1. 16. 15-28, 1. 17. 15, 16, 1. 19. 11-13 and 15, 1. 29. 7-16, 2. 7. 19-28, 2. 17. 7-9, 3. 2. 2, 5-12, 17-32, 3. 4. 17-28, 39-52, 3. 6. 11-13, 15-48, 3. 16. 7-27, 29-44, 3. 22. 5-8, 3. 23. 12-20, 3. 24. 30-64, 4. 14. 5-52; Epodes 2. 37-70, 3. 9-22, 9. 13-38, 11. 13-28.

3. Of the 10th century the following MSS. have been collated for Keller's edition:—

A. Paris, 7900*.

This has been held by Otto Jahn and others to belong to the century before. With it Holder closely connects

(a) a MS. known as a, formerly belonging to Avignon, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (No. 136), which he has collated for the Satires and Epistles. I had the opportunity of inspecting it for a few hours, and have taken account of its readings in some of the more disputed passages in the Odes.

ψ. Paris, 7971, like the old Bernese, a relic of the Fleury Library.

MS. was originally in the Abbey of St. Benoit sur Loire, at Fleury near Orleans. When the abbey was sacked by the Protestants in the Civil War in 1562, the MSS. in which it was rich, were saved, and found a home in the library of Pierre Daniel, an 'avocat' and literary man of Orleans, and 'bailli' of the abbey. At his death his books were divided between two friends and fellow-townsmen, Paul Petau and Jaques Bongars. The latter of the two died at Paris in 1612, and left his library, including his share of the Fleury MSS. to René de Graviset, a jeweller of Strasburg. De Graviset migrated subsequently to Switzerland, and his son became a leading citizen of Bern, founded a public library there, and placed in it his books, amongst them this MS.
The common readings of this and the last MS. are marked by Keller and Holder by the letter F.

This is one of the MSS. which contains the Mavorian inscription; see next page. With it Holder connects the Leyden MS, which was one of which Bentley made use. This is marked l.

Paris, 1793, belonged, like B and ψ, to Pierre Daniel.

Holder seems to put this MS. rather later, and to attribute less value to it.

With this Holder connects a MS. (D) of about the same age, which was in the library of Strasburg, and perished in the recent siege. Keller has given, at the end of vol. i, a list of its most important readings in the Odes 1, 2 and 3. 1, 2.

(Orelli's S) St. Gall.

To these Keller and Holder add a Paris MS. (7975) of the 11th century, to which they both attribute high value (γ).

Of the 10th century also is the MS. in Queen's College, Oxford, a collation of which is given at the end of this volume (Reg.).

It has been already suggested, that the only method by which conclusive evidence upon questions of disputed reading could be gathered from MSS. of such late date, would be by grouping them in families or 'recensions,' each family being made by its common readings to bear witness to some archetype of much greater antiquity than the copies which we now possess. This has been attempted by Keller, and with more completeness by Holder. A and a, λ and l, φ and ψ, as we have seen, have been supposed to be severally related in this way, and the readings of their imagined archetypes are indicated by Holder by the signs A', λ', F. With his fuller 'apparatus criticus' on the Satires and Epistles, the process is carried still further, and the result is, to the extent that uniform readings can be obtained, a certain number of conjecturally restored MSS. of the 7th and 8th centuries. These and the other solitary representatives of older MSS. are again grouped into three classes.

The first of these is distinguished as containing, with many faults of carelessness, and with a certain number of grammatical corrections

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1 The Prolegomena to Keller and Holder's critical edition of Horace (Teubn. 1864 and 1868) are still to come. Their general conclusions are to be found, as regards Keller, who is responsible for the Odes and Epodes, in the Rhein. Mus. vol. xix, p. 211-227; as regards Holder, who undertakes the Satires and Epistles, in the Preface to vol. ii.
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(e.g. 'videri,' against the metre in Epod. 16. 14), little or no proof of alteration on rhetorical or general grounds. In this class Holder places, of the MSS. named above, A, a (in respect of most readings), D, γ, and, though not on an equality with these, τ.

The second class is supposed to show the corrections of an early and intelligent emender. That such διορθωται existed in early times is stated by the Pseudo-Acron on Ars Poet. 345. And the name of one is found in the inscription which appears, in slightly different terms, at the end of the Epodes in λ, l, Reg., g. 'Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius V. C. et inl. (vir clarissimus et inlustris) Excom. Dom. excons. ord. (Excomite Domestico, exconsule ordinariorum) legi et ut potui emendavi, conferente mihi magistro Felice oratore urbis Romae.' Felix is not known, but Mavortius was consul in the year A.D. 527. Asterius, consul 494, is similarly connected with the history of the text of Virgil. Bentley had treated this Mavortian recension as the ultimate point to which the oldest MSS. might be expected to take us back. Holder treats it rather as the first, though not the worst, source of systematic corruption. In the class which he thinks owe their peculiarities to this editing, he places B, V, with g, and in respect of some of their readings, A, a, and λ, the first two of these being in respect of much of their text affiliated to class one, the third to class three.

The third class (in which rank F (= φψ), λ' (= λι), μ, π, σ, and others) is held to be of less value, both as having been derived, in the first instance, from more faulty originals, and as bearing signs of later and less intelligent correction.

These conclusions are based upon such an elaborate study of the MSS. that it is impossible to criticise them in the absence of the full explanation and detailed evidence which are still promised. But it may be observed that the tie which is imagined between the MSS. which are classed together is confessedly a loose one. Room is left for considerable influence of MSS. of one class upon those of another. As a fact, there are very few cases indeed of doubtful reading where the division of testimony corresponds at all exactly to the three classes. Doubtless there are a few crucial passages where the value which is set on such MSS. as V or B goes far to decide the choice of a reading, and there must be more cases still where the instinctive feeling of the trustworthiness of particular MSS. on particular points which comes from long intercourse with them, but which no 'apparatus criticus' will convey to a reader, has guided Keller or Holder to a conclusion which the mere inspection of the list of MSS. on one side and the other
hardly explains. But a survey of the places where Keller’s readings of the Odes and Epodes differ from that of other recent editors will show, I think, that his theory of the relation of the MSS. has not had any very revolutionary effect upon his text, that he admits conjectures at least as largely as others, and that his conclusions, however they were formed, are supported generally by evidence from the Scholia or quotations, or by considerations of style, metre, and the like.

Before we leave the MSS. it may be the place to say a few words upon two subjects which present themselves very early to the reader of any notes upon Horace.

I. The first has been glanced at already. I do not know that conjectural emendation has really been exceptionally busy upon Horace’s text. That the two are specially associated in the minds of general readers is due doubtless, in a great measure, to their greater familiarity with the author, to the brilliancy of the conjectures themselves, the contributions of a long series of the greatest scholars from the Renaissance onwards, particularly perhaps to the unrivalled power, learning, and eloquence with which our greatest English scholar recommended the method and its results in his edition of the poet. There was something however in the nature of the critical evidence on which Horace’s text rests which made conjectural emendation, if not specially necessary, at least specially tempting. Necessary of course it was not in the sense in which it is necessary in the text of Aeschylus or of Lucretius, to restore sense or metre in a chaos; but in a way the multiplicity of MSS. tempts us to do for one author what the poverty of MSS. almost compels us to do for another. A variety of readings, all consistent with metre and intelligible, and all resting on fairly equal MS. testimony, must imply the hand of one or more emenders of the text at an early period. It is a natural interpretation to assume in such a case that all alike are attempts,

1 Deducting questions of orthography, punctuation, etc., there are thirty-seven places in the Odes and Epodes where Keller’s text differs from that of both Ritter and Mr. Munro. Of these nine are due to his introduction into the text of conjectures (Od. i. 7. 8 ‘honore,’ i. 15. 36 ‘Pergameas,’ i. 16. 5 ‘adyti,’ i. 23. 5. 6 ‘vepris . . . ad ventum,’ 3. 5. 15 ‘trahenti,’ 4. 4. 17 ‘Raetis,’ 4. 10. 5 ‘Ligurine,’ Epod. 2. 27 ‘frondes,’ 5. 87 ‘humana invicem’). Eleven are cases where readings resting on very slight MS. authority, or even upon none, have been received on other grounds, such as the authority of the Scholia, etc. (Keller, Od. i. 3. 37 ‘arduum,’ i. 16. 8 ‘si,’ i. 20. 10 ‘tum,’ i. 22. 2 ‘Mauro,’ i. 22. 11 ‘expeditus,’ 2. 3. 11 ‘quo et,’ 2. 6. 19 ‘fertilis,’ 3. 3. 55 ‘debcchantur’; Ritter and Munro, 1. 17. 14 ‘hic,’ 2. 13. 23 ‘discretas,’ 3. 4. 10 ‘altricis’). There are very few of the remainder where the effect of his view of the MSS. can be distinctly detected in the absence of other arguments from the Scholia, or from internal evidence; such are perhaps i. 8. 2 ‘hoc,’ 3. 21. 10 ‘negleget,’ 4. 9. 31 ‘sileri,’ Epod. 16. 33 ‘flavos,’ 17. 60 ‘prodeir.’
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more or less skilful, to fill up a gap in the original authority; and this once believed, a scholar of the 16th or 17th centuries may not unreasonably think himself as competent to guess the riddle as a scholar of the 4th or 5th. It is manifest that no impassable barrier separates cases where the MSS. are divided from those where they are consentient. Division is only a sign of the disease. We have already seen that it is confessedly possible for the same blunder to infest every MS. A modern editor will probably set aside, as a rule, purely conjectural emendations; at any rate, he will hesitate to give them the reality which is implied by printing them in the text; not because he denies the possibility of corruptions, or does not feel the plausibility of many conjectures, but only because experience has taught us that there is no necessary limit even to the cleverest and most plausible guessing, and because it cannot be proved that in such a text as that of Horace guessing on a large scale is necessary. One more remark may be allowed. An editor with the feelings which I have described will yet feel bound to recall, and to some extent to discuss, the more famous conjectures which have become part of the literary history of his author, and in doing so he will run the risk, at times, of seeming to treat great names ungraciously. It must be remembered therefore that to have learnt to distrust a method is not to deny the genius of those who used it, and who, by showing us its results at its best, have taught us the limits of its capability. The solid value of Bentley's edition is diminished very little, if at all, by the fact that very many of his conclusions are such as we cannot now accept with any confidence or even accept at all. There is hardly a question in Horatian exegesis that is not raised by him, and raised, if at times in a form rather more logical than befits the criticism of a poet, yet always with a precision and strength, as well as with a fulness of knowledge, which at least (and it is an editor's chief function) makes us understand and measure the difficulty.

2. To the constructive criticism of previous centuries has been added in the present one the destructive criticism of which the chief examples are to be found in the edition of H. Peerlkamp (Harlem, 1854; Amsterdam, 1862) and in the work of Gruppe, Minos: über die Interpolationen in den römischen Dichtern, Leipzig, 1859. This, like the former, proposes to carry us back beyond the age of MSS. or Scholia: unlike the former, it cannot even appeal to indications of disturbance in the MSS. which would explain, if they did not require, its theories. The antecedent probability of defects in the archetype wrongly filled up cannot be denied in the face of evidence that such
defects must actually have existed: it becomes a question of less or more. But the antecedent probability of the suppositions which are necessary to any theory of the interpolation of spurious Odes or parts of Odes cannot be so easily granted. Every known fact in the history of Horace's poems can be explained without such a theory, unless indeed it be assumed that no poem or stanza which falls below his highest poetical level can be genuine. On the other hand, as Mr. Munro points out, in his vigorous summary of the arguments against the interpolation theory, the form of Horace's poems is specially his own. We are asked to imagine that unknown poets, in the literary age of Rome, reproduced it with a skill and completeness of which the known poets who have tried to imitate it proved themselves incapable. The editors who have done the most for the interpretation of Horace in this generation (Orelli, Dillenburger, Ritter) are the least disposed to allow of any spurious poems or passages in his text. But though Peerlkamp's method of criticism must be pronounced baseless, we may trace from it, as from its predecessor, indirect results of value in the attention which it calls to the sequence of thought, the lights and shades of style, and the varying merit of the poetry.

II. The Scholiasts.

The collections of Scholia on Horace which pass under the names of Helenius Acron, and Pomponius Porphyrius, can neither of them be certainly dated, and some doubt therefore hangs over their relation to one another; neither of them is in a perfect state nor free from suspicion of interpolations. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, they must be considered of very high value. On questions of text the authority of the commentary is at the least several centuries older than any MS. of the poet, either extant or known to us by testimony. Of course the 'lemmata,' or quoted words, to which the comment is affixed, are of inferior importance, and they differ not unfrequently from the text interpreted in the commentary, and can only by themselves carry us back to the date of the oldest MS. of the Scholia, viz. at the earliest to centuries 9–10. On questions of interpretation, and especially of allusions to customs, sites, and persons, the Scholia have value, independently of any doubt as to their writer's precise date or

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personal acquaintance with Roman life, from the fact that they bear evidence of having been composed by men who had in their hands early authorities which are otherwise lost to us. These are sometimes referred to by name, as Terentius Scaurus (a grammarian of Hadrian's time who wrote a commentary on the Ars Poetica) on Sat. 2. 5. 92; Claranus (Martial. 10. 21. 2, Seneca, Ep. 66) on Sat. 2. 3. 83; more often generally as 'nonnulli,' 'alii,' 'plerique,' 'commentator' (Acr. on A. P. 120), 'qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt' (Porph. on Sat. 1. 3. 21 and 91, 2. 5. 92).

O. Keller,\(^1\) who has collected and used with much ingenuity all the available evidence on the subject, gives the palm of antiquity to the Scholia of Porphyryon. The only limit set to their date by external testimony is to be found in the mention of Porphyryon's name by Charisius, a grammatical writer, usually placed about A.D. 400; but Keller thinks they are as early as 200-250 A.D. The evidence on which he relies consists wholly of indications in the Scholia themselves, such as (a) the writer's personal knowledge of Rome coupled with the fact that he never alludes to the walls of Aurelian (A.D. 271), while he recognizes the older gates, as e.g. the Porta Esquiline on Epod. 5. 100, Sat. 1. 8. 1; (b) his use of Parthi, Parthicus, etc. as designations of the great eastern monarchy, in several places where the Pseudo-Acron uses Persae, Persicus, a natural variation if the fall of Parthia and the rise of the Persian dynasty of the Sassanidae (A.D. 226) had taken place between the two dates; (c) his way of speaking of the religious ceremonies of heathen Rome as though they were still observed in his own time. Contrast, e.g. his note on Od. 3. 11. 6 'fidicines hodieque Romae sacrificiis adhiberi videmus' with Acron's 'et in sacrificiis fidicines adhiberi consueverant,' or that on Od. 2. 16. 14 'salinum, patella in qua primitiae dis cum sale dantur' with Acron's 'patella in qua dis primitiae offerebantur,' or lastly, that on 3. 5. 11 'Aeternam Vestam, propeter aeternos ignes qui in ara eius coluntur' with Acron's 'aeterni ignis qui in ara eius indefesse colebatur.'

The genuine Acron wrote earlier than Porphyryon, if the latter's quotation of him on Sat. 1. 8. 25 is not an interpolation, 'memini me legere apud Helenium Acronem Saganamuisse libertum Pompeii senatoris qui a triumviris est proscriptus.' It is to be remarked, however, that the statement thus quoted does not occur in the Scholia which go under Acron's name. On the other hand, we find in them, the change of tense already noticed with respect to sacrifices, etc.,

\(^1\) Symbola philologorum Bonnensium, Lips., Teubn. 1867.
THE SCHOLIASTS.

which would point to their being later than the prohibition of heathen ceremonies by Theodosius in A.D. 391; we find (unless these be interpolations) the names of the Goths (on Od. 4. 15. 22) and, according to one MS. of the Huns (on Od. 2. 11. 1), and a hint perhaps of the desolation of Italy by the barbarians (on Od. 3. 4. 16); and we find, subject to the same proviso, references to Priscian (5th century) on Epp. 2. 1. 228, and to Priscian’s teacher Theoctistus on Sat. 1. 5. 97. It is mainly on those grounds that Keller distinguishes the Acron who was one of the commentators used by Porphyryion from the composer or composers of the Scholia which now bear the name, and which were composed by some one who had Porphyryion’s commentary in his hands and used it largely. These Pseudo-Acronian Scholia he relegates to the 5th century. Upon grounds on which it is less easy to feel secure in following him, he divides them into two parts; the first (up to the beginning of the Fourth Book of the Odes with part of those in the Fourth Book and most of the Epodes) belonging to the earlier half of the century; the remainder he places in the second half, and identifies as their author Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, a grammarian of that date, one of whose works, three books of mythology, is found with no mark of a new author on the same MS. with the Schol. Acron.

The so-called ‘Commentator Cruquianus’ is not an independent authority, the name being given to a medley of notes, in the main a transcript or paraphrase of Acron and Porphyryion, printed by Cruquius from marginal or interlinear annotations on his Blandinian MSS.

III.

It may be convenient for purposes of reference to add a chronological list of the chief editions of Horace earlier than the present century (chiefly from Mitscherlich).

Fifteenth century.

The ‘editio princeps’ is not certainly known: the title is usually given to an edition without name or date, which is supposed to have been published by Zarotus at Milan in 1470. The first edition, which contains a commentary by a modern scholar of name, is that of Landinus (Cristoforo Landino, born at Florence 1424, died 1504), printed at Florence in 1482, and at Venice in the same year. An edition, published at Venice in 1492, contained, besides, notes by Mancinellus (Antonio Mancinelli, born at Velletri in 1452, a teacher at Orvieto).
Sixteenth century.

1501 (also 1503, 1509, 1519, 1527), the Aldine edition, from the press of Aldus at Venice.

1503 (also 1514, 1519), the Juntine, from that of Ph. Giunta at Florence.

1519, the Ascensian (Paris), from that of Badius (named Ascensius from his birthplace, the village of Assche, near Brussels).

1523 (Freiburg in Breisgau), ed. of Glareanus (Henri Loriti, so named from his birthplace, the canton Glaris, born 1488, Professor at Basle 1515-1529, retired to Freiburg, where he died in 1563).

1551 (Venice), an edition of the younger Aldus, which contained annotations by M. Ant. Muretus (born at Muret, a village near Limoges, in France, 1526, died at Rome 1585).

1555 (Basle), ed. of Fabricius (George, born at Chemnitz in 1526, died 1571).

1561 (Lyons), ed. of Lambinus (Denis Lambin, born at Montreuil, in Picardy, 1516, Professor of Greek in Paris, died, it is said, partly from the shock of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in September 1572).

Canter (born at Utrecht 1542, died 1575), published in 1564, and in subsequent years, some ‘Novae Lectiones’ on various authors, including Horace (which are to be found in Gruter’s Thesaurus Criticus, vol. iii).

1578 (Antwerp), ed. of Cruquius, Professor at Bruges.

Seventeenth century.

1605, ed. of Dan. Heinsius, born at Ghent 1580, died at Leyden in 1665.

1608 (Antwerp), ed. of Torrentius (a Latinized form of the name Vanderbeken). He was Bishop of Antwerp, born 1525, died 1595; his edition being published posthumously.

1613 (Paris), R. Stephens published an edition with the notes of Rutgers (a pupil of Heinsius, born at Dort 1589, entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus, and served as ambassador in several foreign courts, died 1625). His ‘Venusinae Lectiones’ were not published in their entirety until Burmann’s edition in 1699.

1671 (Saumur), ed. of Tanaquil Faber (Tanneguy Lefevre, born at
THE VARIOUS EDITIONS.

Caen 1615, Professor at Saumur, died 1672; the father of Madame Dacier).
1681 (Paris), a translation, with notes, by A. Dacier, son-in-law of
the preceding.
1699 (Utrecht), ed of Burmannus (P. Burmann, born at Utrecht
1668).

Eighteenth century.

1701 (London), ed. of W. Baxter, nephew of the nonconformist
divine.
1711 (Camb.), ed. of R. Bentley.
1721 (London), ed. of Cunningham.
1728 (Paris), ed. of Sanadon, a Jesuit father.
1752 (Leipsic), ed. of Gesner.
1778 (Leipsic), ed. of Jani.
1794 (London), ed. of Wakefield.
1800 (Leipsic), ed. of Mitscherlich.

Of recent editions, those of which most frequent mention is made
in my notes are those of

Orelli, Zurich, 1837, 1852.
Dillenburger, Bonn, 1844–1867.
Ritter, Leipsic, 1856.
Nauck (7th edn.), Leipsig, 1871.
Yonge, London, Longmans, 1867.
Munro and King, London, Bell and Daldy, 1869.

The editions of the Scholia of which I have made use are those of
F. Hauthal (Berlin, 1864) and F. Pauly (Prague, 1858).
I have referred also often to Estré’s ‘Prosopographeia Horatiana’
(Amsterdam, 1846) and Franke’s ‘Fasti Horatiani’ (Berlin, 1839).
I should not forget the translations of Horace’s Odes by Conington,
Lord Lytton, and F. W. Newman, to each of which I have been at
times indebted for a happy rendering or an ingenious suggestion.
NAME—Quintus, Sat. 2. 6. 37.

,, Horatius, Od. 4. 6. 44, Epp. 1. 14. 5.

,, Flaccus, Sat. 2. 1. 18, Epod. 15. 12.

[Of the origin of the 'cognomen' nothing can be guessed. The 'nomen' might imply that his father, on manumission, had taken a gentile name from some member of the Horatia gens. It is now more generally believed, on a suggestion of G. F. Grotefend, that it was derived from the Horatia tribus, the one of the country tribes in which the colony of Venusia was enrolled, and to which Horace's father, as a libertus of Venusia, would belong.]

B.C. 65. DATE OF BIRTH.—The year is given in Od. 3. 21. 1, Epod. 13. 6, Epp. 1. 20. 26–28. The last reference adds the month. Suetonius completes it by fixing the day, 'Sexto idus Decembris,' December the 8th.

BIRTHPLACE.—Sat. 2. 1. 35. Cp. Od. 3. 30. 10, 4. 6. 27, 4. 9. 2. We may compare the familiarity of his mention of scenes in Apulia, Od. 3. 4. 9–16, Sat. 1. 5. 77; the river Aufidus, Od. 4. 14. 25, cp. Sat. 1. 1. 58; the Fons Bandusiae (?), Od. 3. 13; Garganum Pr., Od. 2. 9. 7, Epp. 2. 1. 202; Litus Matinum (?), Od. 1. 28. 3, cp. 4. 2. 27, Epod. 16. 28; Luceria, Od. 3. 15. 7; the wolves on the Apulian hills, i. 22. 13, 33. 7. See also 'on the fondness with which he attributes to the Apulian all Roman virtues, Od. 1. 22. 13, 2. 1. 34, 3. 5. 9, 16. 26, Epod. 2. 42.

PARENTAGE.—'Libertino patre natus,' Sat. 1. 6. 6 and 45; cp. Od. 2. 20. 6 and Epp. 1. 20. 21. Horace himself was 'ingenuus,' i.e. born after his father had attained his freedom, Sat. 1. 6. 8.

HIS FATHER'S PROFESSION.—'Coactor,' Sat. 1. 6. 86. [Suetonius, 'coactor exactionum,' 'a collector of taxes.' He says, further, that he was a 'salsamentarius,' or dealer in salt-fish, and that Horace was once taunted with this by one who said to him, 'Quoties ego vidi patrem tuum brachio se emungentem.'] He had purchased a small estate, Sat. 1. 6. 71. For Horace's feeling towards his father see Sat. 1. 6, especially vv. 89–96.
Anecdotes of his childhood.—Od. 3. 4. 9 foll., Sat. 1. 9. 29 foll., 2. 2. 112 foll.

Removal to Rome for his education.—Sat. 1. 6. 71 foll., Epp. 2. 2. 42.
His father's care, Sat. 1. 4. 105 foll., 1. 6. 71 foll. Study under Orbilius, 'plagiosus,' Epp. 2. 1. 69. [There is a short life of Orbilius Pupillus of Beneventum in Sueton. de Iul. Gramm. Horace's epithet is quoted and illustrated by a line of Domitius Marsus, 'Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque ceceit.']

B.c. 44 (?). Studies at Athens.—Epp. 2. 2. 43 foll. [Brutus was at Athens at the time, immediately after Caesar's murder, attending the lectures of Theomnustus the Academic, and Cratippus the Peripatetic, and wishing to be thought entirely intent on philosophy, Plutarch. Brut. 24.] First literary efforts (?), Sat. 1. 10. 35.

B.c. 43, 42. Campaign with Brutus.—Epp. 2. 2. 46 foll., Sat. 1. 6. 48, Od. 2. 7. 26, Epp. 1. 20. 23. [Sueton. 'bello Philippensi excitus a Marco Bruto imperatore tribunus militia meruit.'] For indications that he was with Brutus while he was still in Asia see Sat. 1. 7, Epp. 1. 11. 7 foll., and on Od. 2. 7. 6.

B.c. 41. Return to Rome.—'Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni Et Laris et fundi,' Epp. 2. 2. 49. [Sueton. 'Victis partibus, venia impetrata, scriptum quaestorium comparavit.' This means the place of a 'scriba,' or clerk, in the quaestor's office, and Horace's appointment to it is connected by some with his father's old employment as 'coactor exactionum.]

B.c. 38 (?). Introduction to Maecenas.—Sat. 1. 6. 54 foll. The date of this is fixed by a comparison of Sat. 2. 6. 40 'Septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus, Ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum In numero,' with the references in vv. 38, 53, 55, which seem to fix the composition of that Satire to the end of B.c. 31.
INTRODUCTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SUETONIAN LIFE OF HORACE.

Maecenas' regard for him.

Maecenas quantopere eum dilexerit satis monstratur illo epigrammate:

‘Ni te visceribus meis Horati
Plus iam diligo, tu tum sodalem
Ninnio videas strigosiorum;’

sed multo magis extremis iudiciis tali ad Augustum elogio: ‘Horati Flacci, ut mei, esto memor.’

Augustus' offer to him of the post of Private Secretary.

Augustus epistolarum quoque ei officium obtulit, ut hoc ad Mae-
cenatem scripto significat: ‘Ante ipse sufficiebamus scribendis epistolis
amicorum: nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te
cupio abducere. Veniet igitur ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc
regiam, et nos in epistolis scribendis adiuves.’ Ac ne recusanti
quidem aut succensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suam ingerere desiit.

Extracts from letters of Augustus to him.

‘Sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me tanquam si convictor mihi fueris: recte emin et non temere feceris, quoniam id usus mihi tecum esse
volui si per valetudinem tuam fieri possit.’

‘Tui qualem habeam memoriam poteris ex Septimio quoque nostro
audire: nam incidit ut illo coram fieret a me tui mentio: neque si tu
superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisti ideo nos quoque ἀνθυπερφρο-
νοῦμεν.’

‘Pertulit ad me Dionysius libellum tuum, quem ego, ut ne
accusem brevitatem, quantuluscunque est, boni consulo. Vereri
autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint quam ipse es. Sed si
statura deest, corpusculum non deest. Itaque licebit in sextariolo
scribas, ut circuitus voluminis tui sit ὑγκωδεστάτος sicut est ventriculi
tui.’ Cp. Hor. Epp. i. 4. i4, i. 20. 24.

Scripta eius usque adeo probavit [Augustus] mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est ut non modo seculare carmen componendum inuexerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere; post sermones vero lectos quosdam nullam sui mentionem habitam ita sit questus: ‘Irasci me tibi scito quod non in plerisque eiusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An vereris ne apud posteros infame tibi sit quod videaris familiaris nobis esse’? Expressitque eclogam illam cuius initium est ‘Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,’ etc.

Of Horace’s country houses.

Vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabin aut Tiburtini; domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum.

[The first clause might be interpreted as merely giving two alternative designations of the Sabine Farm, but the second distinctly recognizes the belief that he had besides a villa at Tibur itself, as the ‘Tiburni luculus’ can hardly be other than the ‘Tiburni lucus’ of Od. i. 7. 13; cp. Stat. Silv. i. 3. 74. The form, however, of the statement, ‘the house is still shown,’ is quite compatible with the idea that it is an addition to the original text interpolated after the tradition of a second Tiburtine villa had grown up. The passages in which he speaks of Tibur (e.g. Od. 2. 6. 5, 4. 2. 31, Epp. i. 8. 12) are quite enough to account for such a tradition, and quite inadequate to substantiate it; see Burn’s Rome and the Campagna, p. 428.]

Of spurious Writings attributed to him.

Venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub eius titulo, et epistola prosa oratione, quasi commendantis se Maecenati: sed utraque falsa puto: nam elegi vulgares, epistola etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur.

His Death.

Decessit quinto Kal. Decembres C. Marcio Censorino et C. Asinio Gallo coss. post nonum et quinquagesimum annum (this is a
mistake, as Suetonius himself puts his birth in the consulship of L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, inc. in B.C. 65, which would make him fifty-seven in B.C. 8) herede Augusto palam nuncupato, cum urgente vi valetudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas. Humatus et conditus est extremis Esquiliis iuxta Maecenatis tumulum.
QUINTI HORATII FLACCI
CARMINA, CARMEN SECULARE,
EPODON LIBER.
ERRATUM.

P. 269. Od. 4. 2. 41, for 'ut' read 'et.'
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I–III
OF THE ODES.

I.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ODES.

§ 1. The general period during which the greater number of the Odes of Books i–iii must have been composed can be fixed with some certainty. The later limit will be discussed presently. The earlier limit is fixed by the Battle of Actium. Epod. 9 was written when the news of the victory first reached Rome, while even the direction of Antony's flight was still unknown. Od. 1. 37 is written on Cleopatra's death in the following autumn, B.C. 30.

It is of course possible that some of the Odes may have been composed before the Epodes were finished, but there is none that bears any clear mark of it. Milman, who holds that some of the Odes must have been among Horace's earliest compositions, attaches much weight to the consideration that the verses which his poverty drove him to write (Epp. 2. 2. 51), and which would have been his introduction to Virgil and Varius, and their ground in speaking of him to Maecenas (Sat. 1. 6. 54), must have been 'something better than one or two coarse Satires and perhaps a few bitter iambics.' Franke, on the other hand, sees in the first passage rather an explanation of the bitterness of his early writings, the writings of a man who had lost all he had and was angry with himself and the world, 'vehemens lupus, et sibi et hosti Iratus pariter, ieiunis dentibus acer,' l. c. v. 30. And for the second argument, Epod. 16, to which all Horatian chronologists give a very early date, would have given Virgil as good an idea of his disposition and poetical powers as any of the less important Odes. Franke's conclusion is at least a safe one: 'Since there is no Ode which can be proved indisputably to have been written before the battle of Actium, while I will not indeed assert positively that one or two may not possibly have been composed earlier, I yet think that we should be very
chary of separating without clear cause any single Ode from the epoch common to the others.'

§ 2. The second limit, the latest date at which the Three Books as a whole can have been published, is fixed mainly by the reference in Od. i. 12. 45-48. Marcellus died in the autumn of B.C. 23. It is inconceivable that these lines should be (as Ritter suggests) a complimentary allusion to one already dead; an assurance to Augustus that at least the fame of his son-in-law survived: all that the author of the dirge on Quintilius could offer to match Virgil's 'Tu Marcellus eris.' And it is almost equally impossible that, written before his early death, they should have been published (as from other considerations it would be necessary to conclude) within a year or two of that great disappointment of the hopes of Rome and of the Emperor.

An argument, second only in weight to this, is founded upon the Odes (2. 10 and 3. 19) which have reference to Licinius Murena, the brother of Terentia, Maecenas' wife (see also on Od. 2. 2. 5). Murena was executed for participation with Fannius Caepio in a conspiracy against Augustus in B.C. 22. The presumption seems very strong that even if Horace's feelings would have allowed him to publish these poems, and especially Od. 2. 10, after his friend's catastrophe, he would have been deterred by the knowledge that the reminiscences must be displeasing to Maecenas as well as to Augustus. Franke recalls the story of Virgil's striking out the praises of Gallus from the end of Georg. iv on somewhat similar grounds.

The arguments for postponing the publication of the Odes to a later date are not such as can really be set against these considerations. They turn mainly on Od. i. 3, which is taken to refer to the voyage of Virgil to Athens in the last year of his life, B.C. 19: and on the supposed allusions (the strongest case is Od. 2. 9) to the expedition of Tiberius into Armenia, and the restoration of the standards by the Parthians in B.C. 20. Some remarks on these points will be found in the Introductions to Od. i. 3 and 2. 9. There remains the possibility that these (and if these, then other) Odes may have been inserted after the first publication. It will be seen that this is not likely to have been the case with i. 3; and the theory of any such insertions is perhaps hardly compatible with that pause in lyric composition between the publication of Books i–iii and the commencement of Book iv, which is implied in Suetonius' statement, and in Horace's own words, Od. 4. 1. i, Epp. i. i. 1–10.

§ 3. When we pass from the general epoch to the date of special Odes

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we are on less safe ground. A very few can be fixed with exactness. Such are 1. 31, which is written for the dedication of the temple of Apollo Palatinus in b.c. 28; 2. 4, which Horace dates himself in b.c. 25, by reference to his own age; 1. 24 and 3. 14, both of which are fixed to b.c. 24, the one by the known date of the death of Quintilius, the other by the return of Augustus from Spain. We may perhaps add a few, though in their case of course more latitude must be given, which speak in terms of near anticipation of political events which can themselves be dated. Such are 1. 35, which represents Augustus as on the point of starting for Britain, a purpose for which we know that he set out from Rome in b.c. 27 (see Introd. to that Ode, Dio 53. 22, 25); and 1. 29, which seems to refer to preparations more or less immediately preceding Aelius Gallus’ expedition into Arabia Felix in b.c. 24. Such again are the Odes (2. 15 and 3. 6) in which we can hardly doubt the reference to the restoration of temples which Augustus undertook in the year 28.

§ 4. Those who would go much beyond this in fixing with accuracy the date of single Odes have to lean a good deal on Horace’s references to events on the frontier and beyond it, movements of the Cantabrian, the Scythian, the Parthian. In estimating the value of these it is of course necessary to be sure of the nature of the allusion. We are in danger of confusing poetry with history when we look too closely into every mention of Dacian or Indian and search the pages of Dio or Strabo for some detail that will exactly suit it. Horace’s verses are full of the feeling of the greatness of the Roman empire, the remoteness of its frontiers, the immense charge which Caesar has taken on himself. And the names of distant and unknown places and tribes had a spell in ancient times which they have lost in days of maps and geography. Even when we come to more definite references, as those to the quarrels of Phraates and Tiridates, or to the frequent risings of the Cantabri, though we have here ample ground for dating generally the period during the course of which the poems must have been composed, and exactly, if we know the date of a special event referred to, the year before which the particular poem could not have been composed, we yet soon get to the point where the event has become a standing illustration of the vicissitudes of fortune or a statesman’s anxieties, a poetical commonplace which may recur till it is supplanted by some fresh circumstance which strikes the poet’s imagination.

To this it must be added that the foreign history of the time is
imperfectly known to us, and that some uncertainty hangs over the dates of several of those events which are known.

§ 5. It may be convenient and may save some repetitions to give shortly in this place the few facts which are known with respect to the Cantabrians, the Dacians and Scythians, and the Parthians, to which, if to any known historical events, allusions in these Books must have reference.

§ 6. The Cantabri, a tribe living in the mountains of the northern coast of Spain, are named by Dio (51. 20), with their neighbours the Astures, as in arms against Rome at the time of the general pacification in B.C. 29, and as being conquered in that year by Statilius Taurus. The next mention of them is in B.C. 26 (Dio 53. 25), in which year the news of their rising reached Augustus in Gaul, and diverted him (see above, § 3) from his intended expedition to Britain. He was commanding in person against them in B.C. 25, but fell ill and was detained at Tarraco for some months. In the meantime the war was concluded by C. Antistius and T. Carisius, his 'legati.' Augustus himself returned home in B.C. 24. In the same year they rose again (Dio 53. 28) and seized by stratagem and killed some Roman soldiers, but were again put down by L. Aemilius.

The expressions of Od. 2. 6. 2 'Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra,' and 2. 11. 1 'Quid bellicosus Cantaber ... cogitet,' would be intelligible at any time during this period, and as each conquest would be thought final till the next rising, there is nothing in the words of 3. 8. 21 ('Servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae Cantaber sera domitus catena') to fix them necessarily to a single date. Other considerations perhaps place the Ode, as we shall see, either in B.C. 29 or in 25.

The final subjugation of the Cantabri by Agrippa in B.C. 19 (Dio 54. 11) does not come within the period of Odes i–iii, but is recorded in Epp. 1. 12. 26, and alluded to in Od. 4. 14. 41.

§ 7. Daci, Getae, Scythae, Geloni.—There is much vagueness in the use of these names by Horace, as indeed there is confessedly in their use by prose writers of much later date. The name 'Scythae' is the most comprehensive, being used apparently for all the tribes north of the Danube and Euxine. At times it is brought into close relation with that of the Getae (as in Od. 3. 24. 11), who again are closely connected by all writers with the Daci. At other times it is associated with the Geloni and the Tanais ('Scythicus amnis,' Od. 3. 4. 36), and denotes tribes far enough to the East to interfere in Parthian
politics. The names are often used merely as poetical expressions of distance, the extreme North (as in Od. 2. 20), or generally for the northern tribes, as the supposed representatives of the manlier virtues (as in Od. 3. 24) or as the objects of the vague fears of Roman statesmen (Od. 2. i. 1).

The Daci are mentioned by Dio 51. 22 as offering their services to Octavianus, and when their terms were declined by him joining Antony, to whom, however, they rendered little assistance, as they were quarrelling amongst themselves (see Od. 3. 6. 13).

In b.c. 30, M. Crassus, at the bidding of Octavianus, marched northward from Macedonia, and won some victories over the Daci and Bastarnae as well as the Moesi, for which he was allowed a triumph, Dio 51. 23.

From the Epitome of Livy (B. 135) it appears that Crassus was again fighting in Thrace in b.c. 25.

Florus (4. 12, § 18) speaks of Lentulus driving the Daci beyond the Danube, but no date is given. His words may be worth quoting for his mention of Cotiso (Od. 3. 8. 18) and for the illustration of Horace's expression 'intra praescriptum equitare,' Od. 2. 9. 23: 'Daci montibus inhaerent; Cotisonis regis imperio quoties concretus gelu Danubius iunxerat ripas decurrere solebant et vicina populari. Visum est Caesari Augusto gentem aditu difficillimam submovere. Misso igitur Lentulo ultra ulteriorem repulit ripam: citra praesidia constituit, sic tunc, Dacia non victa sed submota atque dilata est. Sarmatae patentibus campis inequitant; et hos per eundem Lentulum prohibere Danubio satis fuit.'

It is obvious that there is nothing here to fix the date of the debated Ode 3. 8. The victory of Crassus will satisfy the expressions of v. 18, and so would the victory of Lentulus, but this last is itself undated.

The only political event connected with the Eastern Scythians which is alluded to in these Books, is their interference on behalf of Phraates, which will be noticed immediately under the Parthian affairs.

§ 8. Parthia.—The defeats of Roman armies under Crassus, Decidius Saxa (the legatus of M. Antony), and M. Antony himself, in b.c. 53, 40, and 36, though the objects of frequent reference in Horace's poems,

1 Suetionis, Oct. 63, calls him 'Getarum rex,' and gives a story, on Antony's authority, of Augustus having at one time promised Julia in marriage to him, and asked a daughter of his in return.
and grounds of the keen interest taken in Parthian affairs, and of the stress laid on the mission of Augustus to restore Roman prestige in the East, yet all fall without the period assigned for the composition of the Odes. The only contemporaneous event of Parthian history is that which is related by Dio 51. 18, and by Justinus 42. 5. 5. Phraates IV, to whom Orodes I had resigned his throne in B.C. 38, after some years of tyranny, provoked his subjects to the point of rebellion. He was expelled, and Tiridates, another member of the Arsacid house, though his exact relationship to Phraates is unknown, was put on the throne in his place. After a short time Phraates was restored (Justinus adds, by the intervention of the Scythians, which explains probably the allusion of Od. i. 26. 3-5), and Tiridates fled to seek the protection of Augustus, carrying with him the infant son of Phraates. These events are undoubtedly the objects of reference in Od. i. 26. 5, 2. 2. 17, 3. 8. 19, and very probably also in i. 34. 14-16 and 3. 29. 28. If we could date them therefore with certainty we should know the earliest time at which the first-named Odes at least could have been written. And it so happens that this would incidentally throw light on one or two more points of Horatian chronology for 3. 8 is written on an anniversary (it seems almost necessarily the first anniversary) of Horace's escape from the falling tree. To fix, therefore, the earliest date of this Ode would determine as much for the other Odes which refer to the accident, i.e. 2. 13 and 3. 4. Horace's escape again is connected (2. 17. 21-30) with Maecenas' reception in the theatre on his recovery from illness, and this in its turn gives a date of some kind to i. 20. The date, however, on which so much depends is not itself quite free from doubt. Justinus says that Tiridates fled to Augustus, 'who was at that time fighting in Spain,' which would fix the date to B.C. 25. Dio, on the contrary, narrates the event under the year 30, and makes Tiridates find Augustus in Syria, on his progress through Asia after the battle of Actium. This seems more probable in itself than the story of his journey to Spain; and the earlier date is the one now generally accepted. A confirmation of it is found in Od. 3. 4, which contains a reference to the falling tree, and which yet, both by its relation to the other Odes at the beginning of Book iii, and by the allusion of v. 37 foll., seems to be fixed to a date earlier than B.C. 26-25. Another point of some interest has been supposed to be involved in the date of Tiridates' flight. Two of the Odes which refer to this event (3. 8 and 29) speak also of Maecenas as burdened with cares of State in a way in which no other Ode speaks of him. 'Mitte civiles
super urbe curas,' \textquoteleft Tu civitatem quis debeat status Curas, et urbi sollicitus times.' These expressions have been usually interpreted of the powers which Augustus is known to have delegated to Maecenas during his own absence from Rome in the last year of the civil war. Dio 51. 3, Tac. Ann. 6. 11 \textquoteleft Augustus bellis civilibus Cilinium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit.' If the later date of these Odes were adopted it would seem necessary to assume, what is probable enough in itself, but not otherwise ascertained, that the same powers were entrusted to Maecenas during Augustus' absence in Gaul and Spain in the years B.C. 27-24.

II.—THE ORDER OF THE ODES.

§ 9. In the preceding pages it has been assumed that the first three Books of the Odes were published together. This is not a necessary inference from Suetonius' words; all that we know from him being that three Books had been published before the fourth was commenced. But if we may assume that the present division of Odes between the Books is the original division, it will follow that the publication of the three must have been simultaneous, not successive, for, whatever be the principle of the arrangement of the Books, it certainly is not chronological. For this reason, then, if for no other, it may be a matter of some interest to see the evidence in favour of the present order of the Odes.

§ 10. In the first place, it has at least the right of undisputed traditional possession. One MS. indeed, and that the important Berne MS., ignores the division into Books, and to some extent rearranges the Odes; but we may notice (a) that the Fourth Book (which certainly was separate), and even the Epodes, are treated in the same way as the Odes of Books i–iii; (b) that a purpose can be probably assigned association with 3. 1-6; 1. 26 ranges itself with 3. 8, and this again is certainly prior to 1. 20.
INTRODUCTION TO THE

for the rearrangement; (c) that if we deduct the variation caused by this purpose, the order in which the Odes are placed bears distinct witness in favour of the common arrangement. Diomedes, the writer on metre (who is quoted by Priscian, and therefore cannot be later than the fifth century), refers to the Odes by their present numbering.

§ 11. It has also a considerable amount of internal evidence, in the testimony (distinct as far as it goes, even if it do not prove much) of Book iv;—in the general analogy of Horace's other collections of poems;—and in many indications of design (or at the least of a mind at work in the disposition), which on the one hand are inconsistent with the theory of a haphazard redivision of a mass of poems whose original arrangement had been lost, and which on the other, in several points, suit well with known characteristics of Horace's taste.

1. Few can doubt that the references in the First Ode of Book iv to 1. 19 and 3. 26, imply that these Odes must have stood in Horace's disposition pretty much where they do now, as one of the earliest and the latest of his love Odes.

2. Some kind of conscious arrangement, subsequent to composition and not chronological, is obvious on the face of the Epodes, the Satires, and the Epistles. If there is nothing else, there is the manifest choice of an opening poem, not usually it would seem, if ever, earliest in date of composition, an apology for the style of writing as in Sat. ii, or a quasi-dedicatory address to his patron as in the Epodes, Sat. i, and both Books of Epistles. The analogy between Odes i–iii and Epp. i is closer still, in the assignment of the first place and the last but one to Maecenas (Od. i. i and 3. 29, Epp. i. i and 19), while the last in both cases (Od. 3. 30, Epp. i. 20) is reserved for the poet's own literary self-consciousness.

The Fourth Book of the Odes stands apart from other collections in that the greater part at least of it was notoriously composed with a purpose; and therefore the plan of arrangement may have been

1 See the account of the Berne MS. in the General Introduction.
2 Epod. i, if it refers, as is most probable, to Actium, is one of the two latest in the collection. Epp. i. 1 and Sat. i. 1 are generally placed among the last compositions in their respective Books.
3 For an additional argument for the designedness of the position of 3. 29, see the correspondence noticed on 1. i. 1 and 3. 29. 1, between the opening address in the two Odes, bearing in mind that if 1. 1 was written for its place it must almost certainly have been posterior in composition to 3. 29.
antecedent to the composition. But if this difference must make us cautious in drawing sweeping conclusions as to the other Books from the obviously conscious and artistic arrangement \(^1\) of Book iv, we may at least gather that Horace contemplated a collection of poems being read continuously in such a way that the effect of a particular poem could be heightened or weakened by the sequence in which it was placed; and we may learn something also of the principles of taste which would be likely to guide him in arranging other collections.

3. A marked feature of Horace's style is the irony with which he professes to shrink from enthusiasm, to be the poet of mirth and love, 'non praeter solitum levis,' surprised, it may be, occasionally into serious subjects, but recovering himself before he has done injury to a theme for which he is unfit\(^2\). It is this irony as much as the mere desire for variety that makes him scatter his political poems at such wide intervals. It is this, as we shall see, that colours the prelude to Book iv; and though the relation between i. 1 and i. 2 is not worked out so fully as that between 4. 1, 2, 3 and 4. 4, 5, it is substantially the same. Od. i. 1 has of course a relation to the whole three Books; but it is not an accident that a poem, in which his political faith is set forth most fully, should follow immediately on his opening apology for verse-writing as a taste not more unaccountable than the thousand others that divide mankind.

On its artistic side,—that is where it affects his manner as a principle of taste, rather than as a characteristic of his own feelings or a prudential consideration of the judgment of the world,—this irony is nearly connected with another feature of his style which will be noticed on 2. 19 (Introd. and on v. 31), 3. 5. 56, and 4. 2. 57: I mean his affectation, in poems where we have been wrought higher than usual, of a rather dull, even conventional, ending, as though the passion ought to die away in a diminuendo before the strain ceases. When we are looking for exemplifications of either of these feelings in the position of a particular Ode, we must remember that they may pass again by shades hard to define into the mere sense of the relief afforded by contrast, an unwillingness to dwell too long on any one note. An instance, where we cannot doubt an artistic purpose in the juxtaposition, and where this purpose seems to hesitate between the first and second feeling which we have traced, is to be seen in i. 37, 38, where we must notice that the slight Ode, with its picture of

\(^1\) See this drawn out in Introd. to Book iv.

\(^2\) Cp. the form of Od. 1. 6, 2. 12, 4. 2, and the last stanza of 2. 1 and 3. 3.
INTRODUCTION TO THE ODES.

simplicity and light-heartedness, stands at the end of a long Book as well as immediately after the high-pitched Ode on Cleopatra.

Instances where we may see certainly the love of variety, very possibly an undertone of irony, are the position of 'Quum tu Lydia Telephi,' after 1. 12, and that of 'Quid fles, Asterie?' after the stately Odes that begin Book iii. The mere desire to change the key is well exemplified in 1. 24, 25 and 3. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.

4. If 1. 38 has a fitness at the end of a Book, we may note a similar fitness for their place in 2. 20 and 3. 1. The adaptation indeed of these two Odes to their position was doubtless what suggested the now abandoned theory of a separate publication of Books i, ii, and Book iii. That theory can really derive no support from them, for it would necessitate, as we have seen, an entire rearrangement of the Odes in a chronological order, in the course of which all evidence would disappear of the position of these two Odes as well as of all the others.

5. The hand of a conscious arranger must surely be seen in the fact that Odes 1–9 of Book i contain, with three exceptions, one of which is made good in the 11th Ode, representatives of all the metres employed in the Three Books. We may compare with this the obviously metrical disposition of the Epodes 1–10, 11–16, 17, and the regular alternation of Alcaics and Sapphics through more than half of Book ii of the Odes.

6. Where definite contrasts are not required, we may see from time to time in the selection the working of the opposite principle of association, sometimes in a general similarity of subject as between 2. 13, 14; 3. 9–12: sometimes in some accidental phrase or thought which seems to recall another poem to the arranger, and guide his hand to it, as in 1. 17, where Cyrus' tipsy brawls seem to suggest the Ode which follows on the moderate use of wine; 1. 34, where the mention of Fortune, even though in a different sense or point of view, is a link to the following Ode to Fortuna Antias; 3. 17, where the invitation to keep holiday, with which the Ode ends, suggests the special holiday picture of the Faunalia in 3. 18.
Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIB. I-III.
'Numerosus Horatius.'—OVIDIUS.

'Horatii curiosa felicitas.'—PETRONIUS.

'Lyricorum Horatius fere solus legi dignus: nam et insurget aliquando et plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae et variis figuris et verbis felicissime audax.'—QUINTILIANUS.
Liber Primus.

ODE I.

'Men have different ideas of glory and happiness—success in the Olympic games, civic honours, wealth. The farmer will not turn trader for any prospect of riches, nor the trader give up the sea for any danger. One likes a life of ease; another the excitements of war or sport. My taste is lyric poetry, and my glory that you should rank me with the lyric poets of Greece.'

The Ode is clearly written as an introduction. (Cp. the tone of Od. 3. 30, when the work is done.) It is dedicated to Maecenas—as is the first of the Epodes, the first of the Satires, the first of B. i. of the Epistles. See Introd. to Books i–iii. § 112.

Compare also Od. 4. 3, which recalls the main thoughts of this Ode, though its confident tone and the absence of a patron's name point the change which had by that time come upon the poet's circumstances. There is no need in either Ode to trace the 'incongruous' mention of the Olympic games as among the natural objects of ambition to the remembrance of any special Greek original, such as Pind. Fr. 201:

\[ \text{δελιτυδόνω μὲν τιν} \text{ εὐφραίνωισιν ἐπων} \]
\[ \text{τίμα καὶ στῆϕανον τούτω δ' ἐν πολυχρόσοις θαλάμωις βιοτά, κ. τ. λ.} \]

The purpose is to give the feeling of a wide survey of human life, and Horace does not draw a strong line between the Greek life which survived in literature and the actual Roman life of his own day. The apology for poetry, as one among the various tastes of mankind, is as old at least as Solon (2. 43–52), and Horace would remember the end of Virg. G. 2, esp. vv. 503 foll. For the same thoughts in a less poetical form, cp. Sat. 2. 1. 24 foll. 'Quot capitum vivunt totidem studiorum Millia: me pedibus delectat Claudere verba, etc.'

Metre—First Aeslepiad.

Maecenas atavis edite regibus,
O et praesidium et dulce decus meum,

1. See on 3. 29, 1 'Tyrrenia regum progenies.' In neither case is there the special purpose in the address which there is in Sat. i. 6. 1. Compare Od. i. 20. 5 with 3. 16. 20. It is, however, a little more than a pleasing compliment; in connection with the next line it has the force of 'so far above us, yet whose power is my protection, and whose glory is my pride.' The Cilini, Maecenas' ancestors on his father's side, are named (Liv. 10. 3) as a powerful family at Arretium in the fourth century B.C. 

atavis, 'ancestors,' cp. Virg. Aen 7. 56 'Turnus avis atavisque potens.' When contrasted with other compounds of 'avus,' 'atavus,' = ἐνιανως, the fifth ancestor—'pater, avus, proavus, abavus, atavus,' Plaut. Pers. 1. 2. 6.

edite, Virg. Aen. 8. 137 'Electram maximus Atlas Ededit.'

2. Cp. Od. 2. 17. 4 'meorum Grande decus columnque rerum;' Ep. 1. 1. 103
Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evexit ad deos;
Hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium
rerum tutela mearum;' Virg. G. 2. 40
'O decus, O famae merito pars maxima nostrae.' Notice that here, as with the corresponding word in the other passages, 'meum' is in the emphatic place, 'to me.'
3. sunt quos . . . iuvat. 'Sunt qui may take either a Subjunctive, in which case 'qui' has its consecutive force: 'sunt qui dicant,' there are people to say:' or an Indicative, in which case 'sunt-qui,' like 'nescio quis,' becomes a new pronoun, the subject of a definite categorical statement. The former is the more Latin construction, more consonant with the usages of the Relative, and is preferred in prose, although the Indicative is also found, as in Sall. Cat. 19. 4, where see Kritz' note. Horace, swayed perhaps by his love of Greek constructions, prefers the Indicative, after the model of eliav oí. Cp. Od. 1. 7. 5. Sat. 1. 1. 1. 24. 2. 1. 1. etc. But he uses the Subjunctive also, Sat. 1. 2. 28. 1. 4. 74. Epp. 1. 1. 77. In Epp. 2. 2. 183 'Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere,' he seems to use the two constructions as a means of contrasting the vagueness of a general statement with the definiteness of a known particular instance. 'There are who have not, I know one who cares not to have.'
curriculo may mean either the 'course,' as in Cic. Mur. 27 'quadrigarum curriculum,' or the 'chariot,' as in Ov. Trist. 4. 8 'curriculo gravis est facta ruina meo.'
4. collegisse. On comparison with Sat. 1. 4. 31 'pulvis collectus turbine,' perhaps rather 'to have raised a cloud of dust' than 'to have become dusty.' The perf. may be regular, but see on 3. 4. 52.
fervidis, Virg. G. 3. 167 'volat vi fervidus axis;' the object was to round the 'metae' as closely as possible, and with the chariot going at full speed.
5. palma nobilis, 'the palm of glory;' Paus. 8. 40 ἐς δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐστὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῷ μικρῶτι ἐστινίμους φωνῆς.
6. terrarum dominos. The interpretation of these words must depend to a great extent on the decision of the question discussed in the next note. (1) If the punctuation given in the text is adopted, so that v. 6 belongs to the preceding sentence, they may best be taken with Dillenburger as 'qua distant facti terrarum domini,' 'raises them to heaven, very lords of the world,' i. e. in their own feeling and estimation. Cp. Od. 4. 2. 17 'quos Elea domum reductum Palma caelestes.' Ovid (ex Pont. 1. 9. 36) gives the title 'Terrarum domini' to the gods themselves, and so it is taken here by many editors. The force would really be the same; for to name a special characteristic of the gods is in effect to qualify the sense of 'evehit ad deos,' 'raises them to the gods in so far as the gods are 'terrarum domini,' 'makes them like gods, lords of the world.' A less probable view, following Lucan's use of the words (8. 208, of Eastern princes), makes them the direct object of 'evehit' and understands them of the princes celebrated by Findar, as Hiero, Thero, etc. (2) If the verse belongs to the sentence which follows, 'Terrarum dominos' may be taken, according to the suggestion first made by Glareanus, as a designation of the Romans who are contrasted with the Greeks, the objects of the preceding verses. Cp. the contrast of the two peoples in the parallel Od. 4. 3. 3-9. The expression would then be the same as Virgil's 'Romanos rerum dominos,' Aen. 1. 282; but Mr. Yonge rightly points out that in Virgil it is used of the Romans collectively, and that we still lack proof that it could have been tolerated if used, as it would be here, of individuals.
7-9. hunc . . . illum. We must supply 'iuvat' from v. 4. The interposition of the fresh verb 'evehit' has been felt to be a difficulty. Bentley avoided it by altering 'evehit' to 'evehere,' which he took with 'nobilis,' as 'superare pugnis nobilem.' Od. 1. 12. 24. Rutgers had previously suggested
Certat te geminis tollere honoribus; Illum, si proprio condidit horreo,
Quidquid de Libycis verritur areis.
Gaudentum patrios findere sarculo
Agros Attalicis conditionibus
Nunquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.

the course which has been followed lately by Maclean and Munro, supported by the emphatic advocacy of Dr. Kennedy. They put a full stop at ‘nobilis,’ making ‘evehit’ the verb of the new sentence, and ‘lum’ the distribution of the collective accusative ‘terrarum dominos,’ in the sense of ‘the Romans;’ see preceding note. The serious objection to this view lies in the break of rhythm, resulting in an anti-climax, caused by stopping at ‘nobilis.’ The parallels which Mr. Munro alleges, such as 1. 30. 5, quite dispose of any difficulty which may have been raised against the break in the fifth line of the system, but they leave untouched the poverty of ‘palmaque nobilis’ if it is the subject of the preceding verb, the last in a series which descends both in fulness of sense and in weight of sound.

7. mobilium. The epithet, if it reflects the poet’s own feeling (cp. Epp. 1. 19. 34 ‘ventosae plebis,’ Od. 3. 2. 20 ‘popularis aurae’), suits also the feeling of the poem. It is the parallel of the ‘dust’ of v. 3, the dangers of v. 24, the discomforts of v. 25, etc. ‘Each pursuit has its drawbacks, yet men follow it in spite of them.’

turba has a similar force, something of Juvenal’s ‘turba Remi,’ 10. 73. Cp. Cicero on the uncertainty of the comitia, pro Mur. 17, pro Plan. 4 ‘Non est consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discriment.’

8. certat tollere. Vide App. 2. § 1
tergeminis. ‘Tergemini’ properly meant ‘three born at a birth,’ as ‘geminus’ (Plaut. Amph. 1. 2. 18 ‘duos geminos’) by usage meant two so born. Afterwards it was used generally for ‘triple,’ cp. ‘centumgeminus’ (Virg. Aen. 6. 287), etc.

honoribus, the abl. as ‘Cl. Marcelium pontificevat... extulit,’ Tac. Ann. 1. 3. The ‘triple honours’ are apparently those of curule aedile, praetor, consul.

9. proprio horreo. Cp. 3. 16. 26 ‘si quicquid arat impiger Apulus Occultare meis diceret horreas.’ For other metaphorical descriptions of the passion for enormous properties, which was a characteristic of the age, see the latter stanzas of that Ode, and 2. 2. 10 foll.

10. verritur, ‘is swept together after threshing.’

11. gaudentem, ‘one whose pleasure it is.’ The point of the following lines is the teneacit with which men cling to their own pursuit—so the instance taken is no longer the lordly owner of a ‘latifundium’ in the provinces, but the humble cultivator of an ‘avitus fundus,’ 1. 12. 44.

findere sarculo. The verb and the implement seem to imply difficult and personal work; a harsher soil as well as a smaller farm. Contrast ‘scindere’ and ‘proscindere,’ used of ploughing, and compare Virg. G. 1. 94 ‘rastris glebas qui frangit inertes.’

12. Attalicis conditionibus, ‘by offers such as Attalus could make.’ An allusion to the proverbial wealth of the kings of Pergamus, see on Od. 2. 18. 5. For the use of ‘condicio,’ cp. Cic. ad Q. Fr. 1. 1. 2. 8 ‘ut nulla condicio pecuniae te...ab summa integritate deduxerit.’

13. Cypria, Od. 3. 29. 60 ‘Cypriae merces.’

14. Myrtoum. ‘Speciem pro genere ponit more suq,’ Porph. on Od. 1. 16. 4. So with ‘Cypria,’ ‘Icaris,’ etc. When Horace puts a special for a general designation in this manner he usually selects a Greek one. Four names are commonly assigned to different parts of the Aegean: Thracium, the northern part: Myrtoum, the western part, south of Euboea, so named from the small island Myrto, off the south coast of Euboea: Icarium, to the east of Myrtoum, named from the island Icaria, just west of Samos: Creteum (Od. 1. 26. 2), south of both the last, washing the island of Crete.
Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
Mercator metuens otium et oppidi
Laudat rura sui; mox reficit rates
Quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.
Est nec nec veteris pocula Massici
Nec partem solido demere de die
Spernit, nunc veridi membra sub arbuto
Stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.
Multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
Permixtus sonitus bellaque, matribus
Detestata. Manet sub Iove frigido
Venator tenerae coniugis immemor,
Seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
Seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.
Me doctorum hederae praemia frontium

16. metuens, 'at the moment when he fears.' His repentance is as short-lived as that of the 'sugener Alphius' in Epod. 2. Cp. Od. 2. 16. 1-4, where the point is the same, 'Otium Divos rogat in patenti Prensus Aegaeo.' Dillenburger points out the triple contrast between the two lives, of danger, and of peace ('otium'); at sea, and in the country ('rura'); of wandering, and of rest at home ('oppidi sui').

18. quassas, though their state bears witness to the risks of the trade. pauperiem. The 'pauperies,' which the trader is represented here and in Epp. 1. 1. 45 as flying 'per mare, per saxa, per ignes,' is not 'want' ('egestas'), but a modest competence, such as Horace tells us was the school of the ancient Roman heroism. Od. 1. 12. 44 'Saeva pau-
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pertas et avitus apto Cum lare fundus,

such as he attributes to his own father,

Sat. 1. 6. 71 'macro pauper agello.'

pati, for the inf. see App. 2. § 2.

19. Massici, a wine grown near Sinuessa in Campania.

20. solido de die. He is speaking probably not of letting the festivities of the evening encroach on the day's work ('tempestivum convivium,' Cic. pro Mur. 6, etc.), but of breaking the continuity of business hours. Compare for the metaphor, Varr. R. R. 1. 2 'diffindere insititio somno meridiem.' and Horace himself, Od. 2. 7. 6. 7 'morantem saepe diem mero Fregi.' Seneca was probably thinking of this place when he wrote, Ep. 83, 'hodiernus dies solidus est,
nemo ex illo mihi quidquam eripuit.'

22. lene, not so loud as to disturb slumber.

caput, Virg. G. 4. 368 'caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus.'
sacrae. All springs were sacred.

Cp. Od. 3. 13. The epitaph recalls the qualities which gave them that character—the beauty, freshness, abundance.

23. lituo tubae, 'stridor lituum clango-

trique tubarum,' Luc. 1. 237. The 'li-
tus' was a curved horn emitting a shrill note, used by the cavalry—the 'tuba' was straight, and belonged to infantry.

24. matribus detestata, cp. Epod. 16. 8 'parentibusque abominatus Han-

nibal.' Cicero uses 'detestatus' as a passive, De Legg. 2. 11.

25. manet, 'stays all night,' cp. Sat. 2. 3. 234 'Tu nive Lucana dormis ocreatus ut aprum Cenem ego.'

Iove, of the air, Od. 1. 22. 20. 3. 10.

8. Epod. 13. 2; cp. Virg. G. 1. 418 'lup-

piter uvidus,' and G. 3. 435 'sub divo.'

28. teretes, 'of close-twisted cord,' not loose in texture and ragged; so that it is equivalent to 'strong.'

Marsus, for the form, see on Od. 1.

15. 10.

29. doctorum, i.e. a poet's. The epitaph is derived from the σοφὸς ὁδός of heroic times, ὀν Μῶν ἐδίδαξε (Hom. Od. 8. 481), the Muse, the daughter of Memory. The poet learnt and re-
Dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo, si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
Quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

membered rather than created. It is
appropriated here and elsewhere by a
Roman poet with a feeling that it de-
scribes his art also. It is on a know-
ledge and imitation of Greek models
that Horace rests his own title to fame.
The lute which his muse strings is the
‘lute of Lesbos.’

hederae. The ivy crown belongs to
the poet (Virg. E. 7. 25. 8. 13) as in-
spired by Bacchus; cp. Juv. 7. 64 ‘do-
ninis Cirrhiae Nisaequae,’ Hor. Epp. 1.
19. 4.

30. Dis miscent superis, not merely
like ‘evehit ad deos’ above—‘glorify
me, make me as happy as the gods,’ but
‘admit me to a happy dreamland,’ to
the Μουσών νάπα, the ‘pii luci’ of Od. 3.
4. 5 foll.; cp. 3. 25. 1 foll.

32–34. tibias . . . barbiton. The two
instruments are intended to include all
varieties of lyric poetry; see on Od. 3.
4. 1–4, and cp. 1. 12. 1. 2. They are
divided here between Euterpe and Poly-
hymnia. In the two passages referred
to they are both attributed in one case
to Calliope, in the other to Clio. In 1.
24 and in 4. 3, Horace traces his inspira-
tion to Melpomene. He knows no-
thing of any division amongst the Nine

of the different branches of poetry.
For the plural ‘tibias,’ cp. Od. 4. 15.
30, Epod. 9. 5, and see Dict. Ant. s. v.
The reference is to the double pipe—two
pipes used at the same time—one of a
higher the other of a lower pitch.
Cp. Herod. 1. 17, where the αἰδοὶ ἄν-
δρηϊοι καὶ γυναικήϊοι are generally in-
terpreted in this way.

34. Lesboum barbiton. The Greek
form of adj. and subst. seems to point
to the imitative character of the poetry
which he aspires to write: see on Od. 1.
32. 3, and on 4. 6. 20. It is to be no-
ticed that Horace prefers in the Odes
the Greek form Helenen, Cypron, etc.,
in the Satires and Epistles the Latin
Helenam, etc.

35. vatibus. The Greek lyric poets
—for on Horace’s showing they had as
yet no Roman rival. Cp. Od. 4. 3. 13,
and note the change of tone. He there
claims as his own, by gift of the public
voice, the place which here he looks for
at the hands of a patron.

36. feriam sidera. I shall be raised
to the skies with glory. A common
Greek trope. Saph. Fr. 9 ψυχές διὰ
πέλαν δοξῆς μοι ὅμοιος δυσπάχως. Soph.
O. C. 351 πρὸς ὁμοίοις βίβλοις.
ODE II.

'We have seen and felt enough of the wrath of the gods. Our population is thinned by civil war, while the Parthians defy us in safety. What god can save our falling empire, or atone for our guilt? Apollo? Venus? our father Mars? nay rather Mercury, who is amongst us in human shape, and submitting to be called Caesar's avenger—you, Augustus, you must be our prince. Long may you live—stay the civil war, and chastise the Parthians!'

This is one of the Odes which seem to challenge us by the definiteness of their historical allusions to find their date, and which yet baffle us if we attempt to do so. That the portents referred to in vv. 1–20 are those which followed the death of Julius Caesar, b.c. 44 (Dio C. 45. 17, Virg. G. 1. 466 foll., Tib. 2. 5. 71 foll., Ov. Met. 15. 782 foll.), seems certain from vv. 18, 44, although Horace stands alone in mentioning the inundation of the Tiber, Dio and Virgil only speaking of the Po. That the Ode was not written at that time is still more certain. Augustus did not then occupy the whole horizon of politics. Horace was at Athens, and on the point of joining the army of Brutus. Franke places its composition in b.c. 29, when Augustus returned to Rome after the victory of Actium, and celebrated his threefold triumph to find their date, and which yet baffle us if we attempt to do so. That the portents referred to in vv. 1–20 are those which followed the death of Julius Caesar, b.c. 44 (Dio C. 45. 17, Virg. G. 1. 466 foll., Tib. 2. 5. 71 foll., Ov. Met. 15. 782 foll.), seems certain from vv. 18, 44, although Horace stands alone in mentioning the inundation of the Tiber, Dio and Virgil only speaking of the Po. That the Ode was not written at that time is still more certain. Augustus did not then occupy the whole horizon of politics. Horace was at Athens, and on the point of joining the army of Brutus. Franke places its composition in b.c. 29, when Augustus returned to Rome after the victory of Actium, and celebrated his threefold triumph to

Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae
Grandinis misit Pater et rubente
Dextera sacras iaculatus arces
Terruit Urbem,

1. terris misit. A common poetical dative, Od. 1. 12. 59 'mittes fulmina lucis,' Virg. Aen. 2. 398 'demittimus Orco.'
dirae. A word properly of augural significance, 'of bad omen,' 'diri cometae,' Virg. G. 1. 488; 'dirae aves,' Tac. Ann. 12. 43. Dillenburger points out that though put only with the last of the two subst. after Horace's manner, it qualifies both. He gives the following list of instances, Od. 1. 31. 16, 1. 34. 8, 2. 8. 3, 2. 19. 24. 3. 2. 16, 3. 11. 39. 4. 14. 4; see on Od. 1. 5. 6.
2. Pater. Od. 3. 29. 44 'Nube pulmo Pater occupato.'
rubente, red from the flames of the bolt which he is launching.
3. sacras arces, 'temple and tower;' the Capitoline hill with its two summits, one occupied by the arx, the other by the temple of Jupiter.
Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
Seculum Pyrrhae nova monstra questae,
Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
Visere montes,
Piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo,
Notae quae sedes fuerat columbis,
Et superiecto pavidae natarunt
Aequore damae.
Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
Litore Etrusco violenter undis
Ire dejectum monumenta regis
Templaque Vestae;
Iliae dum se nimium querenti

5. terruit gentes. The downfall of rain was so great that the world looked for a return of Deucalion's deluge; cp. Virg. G. 1. 468 'Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.'

6. monstra, anything strange and portentous; used in Virg. Aen. 3. 582 of the noises of Aetna; Aen. 7. 21, of the transformations wrought by Circe.

questae, as a Greek might have used ἀγαρακτεῖν. The word serves to identify Pyrrha's feelings as well as her circumstances with those of the poet. She too said 'iam satis,' etc.

7. pecus, 'immia armeta... phocas,' Virg. G. 4. 395.

egit visere, App. 2. § 1.

9-12. Dillenburger points out how the words are chosen to emphasise the general inversion of the natural order of things. The fish 'cling' as if they were birds—the deer 'swim' as if they were fish.

13. vidimus, not necessarily of personal sight, 'our generation has seen;'
Virg. G. 1. 471 'quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros Vidimus undae tum ruptis fornacibus Aetnam.'

flavum, Od. 1. 8. 8. 2. 3. 18—an habitual epithet, otherwise we might take it as meaning 'yellower than usual from the flood.'

retortis litore Etrusco, 'hurled back from the shore of the Tuscan sea,' i.e. driven back by the wind and so caused to flood. Horace uses 'litus Etruscum' in two other places in this sense, C. S. 38, and Epod. 16. 46. And this was the common explanation of the flooding of rivers. Cp. the account of the rise of the Nile, mentioned, though not approved, by Herodotus, 2. 20.

So Seneca, Nat. Q. 3. 26 'si crebrioribus ventis ostium caeditur et reverberatus fluctu amnis restitit: qui crescere videtur quia non effunditur.'

'Litore Etrusco' has been otherwise taken of the right bank of the Tiber, against which the full stream dashes and is driven back so as to flood the lower left bank, 'sinistra ripa,' v. 18. 'Litus' is used for a river bank in Virg. Aen. 3. 390, 8. 83.

15. monumenta regis would properly include both the 'Atrium Vestae,' also called 'Regia,' the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, and the temple of Vesta, which was attached to it: both were attributed to King Numa. The 'que,' however, does not couple so much the names of two separate buildings as the two interests, historic and religious, that attach to the same block of building. Note that the identification of the cause of the flood with the murder of Caesar begins in these words, see on v. 27.

16. templa. Virgil uses the plural in the same way, Aen. 3. 84. The temple of Vesta stood at the foot of the Pala
tine near the south-west corner of the Forum.

17. nimium, with 'querenti,' 'complaining more than he could bear;' she complains of the murder of her great descendant. Horace connects the name of Ilia (Rea Sylvia) with the Julian line as Virgil does those of Ilus and Iulus, Aen. 1. 268-288. The Schol. refer to Ennius for
Iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
Labitur ripa Iove non probante u-
xorius amnis.
Audiet cives acuisset ferrum,
Quo graves Persae melius perirent,
Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara iuventus.
Quem vocet divum populus ruenti
Imperi rebus? prece qua fatigent
Virgines sanctae minus audientem
Carmina Vestam?
Cui dabit partes scelus expiandi

the story of her being thrown into the
Tiber. Claudian calls her 'Tiberini
uxor.' Ovid represents her as finding a
refuge and a husband in the Anio.
18. Cp. the opening of Lucan's Pharsalia, esp. v. 10 foll. 'Cumque superba
foret Babylon spolianda tropaeis Au-
soniis, umbraque erraret Crassus inulta,
Bella geri placuit nullos habitura tri-
umphos;' see also Epod. 7. 5-10.
19. Iove non probante. Jupiter,
as the Schol. says, 'terrei voluit popu-
lim, non perire,' he disapproves the
excessive vengeance of Ilia. For the
division of a word between the third
and fourth lines of a Sapphic stanza, cp.
1. 25. 11 'sub inter-lunia vento;' 2. 16.
7 'neque purpura ve-nale neque auro.'
21. cives. The purpose for which
the sword is sharpened, is indicated
partly by the contrasted 'better' purpose,
partly by the emphasis on 'cives;' not as
soldiers, nor as Romans against for-
reigners, but as citizens, in pursuance
of an intestine, civil quarrel; see on Od.
1. 32. 5, and 1. 35. 34. Compare the
22. graves, Od. 3. 5. 4 = 'molesti.'
Persae. From the decline of the
Syro-Macedonian kingdom, B.C. 250 foll.
to the restoration of a Persian dynasty
in the person of Artaxerxes, the founder
of the Sassanidae, A. D. 226, the ruling
race of western Asia was the Parthi, a
tribe originally settled to the east of
Media, and immediately south of the
Caspian. Their kings, the Arsacidae,
fixed their capital at Seleucia on the
Tigris, where they adopted the pomp
and title of the old Persian monarchs,
Basilieus basiliev, basilieis megas. Ho-
race is the only Augustan writer who
calls them 'Persae' (and therefore, fol-
lowing the Greek usage, also 'Medi';
see below, v. 51), an instance prob-
able of the predominant influence
of Greek associations upon his style.
Cp. the still more definite identification
of the two dynasties, Od. 2. 2. 17 'Reddittum
Cyi solio Phraaten.'
24. rara, 'our youth thinned by their
parents' crimes.' There will be few to
hear the story, for civil war has killed
those who should have bred up sons for
the state; cp. C. S. 17-20.
25. ruentis imperi rebus. The
dative = 'ut rebus succurrat,' 'rebus,'
'the fortunes.' It is a variety of the
more usual 'ruentibus rebus,' as Virg.
uses 'res fructae,' Tac. 'res labantes.'
26. imperi, 'the empire' = the whole
system of Roman rule—the State in its
aspect of power and majesty, i. 37. 8.
Sometimes it contains more definitely
the idea of the dominion of Rome over
foreign peoples, 3. 5. 4. 'adiectis Brit-
annis Imperio;' cp. the verb in 3. 6. 5
'Dis te minorem quod geris imperas
[Romane].' 4. 15. 14 'fama.. et imperi
Porrrecta majestas ad ortus solis et Hes-
perium cubile' seems to combine both
shades of meaning.
27. minus audientem, 'turning a
defaf ear to their litanies.' Vesta is re-
presented as offended at the murder of
the Pontifex Maximus, whose office was
spesially connected with her service and
temple, see above. v. 16. Ordinarily
she would be the protectress of Rome.
29. scelus, aivos, guilt which involves
ceremonial pollution. Cp. Virg. E. 4. 13 'scleris vestigia nostri'; Hor. Epod. 7.1 'Quo, quo, scelesti nuiis? The 'sclerus,' which in those places is the guilt of civil bloodshed generally, is here summed up in the murder of Caesar.

31. Hom. II. 5. 186 νερέλη εἰλημένος ὁμοὺς, veiling his brightness that mortals might look upon him.

32. augur. Apollo (μάντις Δίος προφήτης)—Romanized as the god of augury, Virg. Aen. 4. 376.—may tell them how the pollution is to be removed.

33. Erycina, 'Venus,' from her temple on Mount Eryx in Sicily, Virg. Aen. 5. 759. The people of Segesta applied to Tiberius to restore this temple on the ground of its mythical connection with the founder of the Julian gens, and he 'susceptit curam libens ut consanguineus,' Tac. Ann. 4. 43.

ridens, φλογμείδης.

35. genus et nepotes, = 'genus nepotum,' Od. 3. 17. 3. The purpose of the hendiadys is to give full emphasis to 'neglectum' and to 'auctor' by allowing each a clause to itself.

36. auctor. Mars, the father of Romulus and Remus; Virg. Aen. 4. 365 'generis nec Dardanus auctor.'

37. Indo, war is the sport of Mars (see on Od. 1. 28. 17) as the turns of luck are the sport of Fortune, Od. 3. 29. 50; the miseries and errors of lovers, of Venus and Cupid, 1. 33. 10, 3. 27. 67.

39. Mauri. This is the reading of all the MSS. and of Acr. and Porph. Tan. Faber conjectured 'Marsi,' and Bentley argues at length for it on the ground that the 'Mauri' were 'nec fortes, nec pedites, nec cominus pugnantes.' To the first point Ritter well answers that it is ferocity, not courage, which is in question. For the others he shows from Sall. Jug. 59, that the Numidae at least had learnt at this time to mingle foot soldiers amongst their cavalry. For the Roman practice in this respect see Liv. 26. 4, Caes. B. G. 1. 48. 7. 65. This is simpler than Orelli's explanation of 'peditis,' 'dismounted.'

cruentum, 'bleeding.'

41-43. 'Or if thou be sweet Maia's winged child wearing on earth the disguise of human youth.'

41. iuvemem, Virg. E. 1. 43 'Hic illum vidi iuvemem'; G. 1. 500 'Hunc saltem everso iuvemem succurrire seculo Ne prohibete.' Augustus would be now, if we take Franke's date for the Ode, thirty-four years old.

45-50. Cp. Virg. G. 1. 503 'Iam-pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar,
Neve te nostris vitiiis iniquum
Ocior aura
Tollat; hic magnos potius triumphos,
Hic ames dici pater atque princeps,
Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,
Te duce, Caesar.

Invidet, atque hominum queritur curare
triumphos; Quippe ubi fas versum atque
negas,' etc.

47. nostris vitiiis iniquum, 'in-
tolerant of,' 'non diutius aequa mente
vita ferentem.' Franke sees in these
words a reference to the censorian
power which Octavianus had accepted
in the year b.c. 29.

48. aura tollat, keeps up the char-
acter of the winged Mercury, ever 'on
tiptoe' for flight.

49. triumphos. 'Caesar triplici in-
vectus Romana triumpho Moenia,' Virg.
Aen. 8. 714; 'Curules triumphos tres
egit, Dalmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandri-
um: continuo triduo omnes,' Suet.
Oct. 22.

50. pater. The title of 'Pater pa-
triae' was not solemnly given to Au-
gustus by the Senate till b.c. 2, but, as
Ovid says, Fast. 2. 127, it was only the
ratification of a title which had been
long given him by popular usage:
'Sancte Pater patriae, tibi Plebs, tibi
Curia nomen Hoc dedit; hoc dedimus
nos tibi nomen Eques; Res tamen ante
dedit.' It was a title familiar to Roman
ears, having been given by the Senate
to Cicero (Juv. 8. 243), and in earlier
times to Camillus by the army (Liv. 5.
49); and 'Parenti patriae' had been
the inscription placed by the people on
the column erected in the Forum to
Julius Caesar's memory, Suet. Jul. 85,
Cic. Phil. 1. 2. Horace promises (Od.
3. 24. 27) a similar title to any one who
will venture to restrain the licence of the
time, pointing, of course, to Au-
gustus, 'Si queret Pater urbium Sub-
scribi statuis, indomitam audeat Re-
frenare licentiam.' The title of 'Princeps'
(Od. 4. 14. 6), sc. 'senatus,' must also
(if we take Franke's date for the Ode)
be here anticipated, as it was conferred
on him in the following year (b.c. 28)
by Agrippa, his colleague in the Censor-
ship, Dio C. 53. 1.

51. Augustus is to restore the dis-
turbed order of things, vv. 21, 22, to
stay the civil war, and to retrieve the
military glory of Rome, which had been
tarnished by the defeat of Crassus in
b.c. 53, and Antony in b.c. 36.

52. Caesar. The true name of the
incarnate Mercury is reserved to be the
last word left on our ears, the word that
stills all the fears and satisfies all the
doubts of the preceding stanzas.
ODE III.

'O ship, in which Virgil is sailing to Greece, carry thy precious burden safely. It is a dreadful risk, the sea. He was a hard, bold man who first ventured upon it. The gods meant it to be a barrier impassable, but man delights in disobedience. Prometheus brought fire on earth and sickness with it. Daedalus tried to fly. Acheron was no barrier to Hercules. Where shall we stop? and when will Jove be able to lay aside his bolts of wrath?'

This Ode has been very generally referred to the voyage of Virgil to Athens, from which he returned only to die in B.C. 19. This, however, would fix its composition four years later than the date which the considerations suggestion by Od. i. 12 lead us to assign to the publication of Books i-iii; nor is it an Ode which seems very likely to have been inserted after publication. Given to the world in Virgil'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 record of their friendship. Franke felt the difficulty so much that he proposed to read 'Quintilium' for 'Virgilium,' thinking that he could trace a correspondence between this Ode and i. 24, especially in vi. 11 'heu non ita creditum.' It has even been suggested that it may have been another Virgilius, as is the case probably with Od. 4. 12. The simplest solution would be that the reference is to another voyage. All we know even of the voyage in B.C. 19 is due to the fragmentary biography which goes by the name of Donatus, and which is not supposed to be earlier than the fifth century.

For other notices of Horace's friendship for Virgil, cp. Sat. i. 5. 49; 6. 55. The form of the Ode may have been suggested by a poem of Callimachus, the beginning of which is preserved:—

ἀ ναῦς ἡ τὸ μύκον φέγγος ἔμοι τὸ γλυκὸ τὰς ζοᾶς
ἀπαξας, ὑπὶ τοῦ Ζάνος ἰκνεύμαι λιμνοκόσοι.

Statius' 'Propempticon Metio Celeri,' Sylv. 3. 2, is in great part an expansion of Horace's poem. We may contrast Horace's wishes for the voyage of an enemy, Epod. 10.

The tirade against sea-travelling as one form of man's restless audacity is in part playful; and as Prof. Sellar (Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, p. 120) suggests, adapted to Virgil's own temperament and expressed feelings: but Horace recurs to the idea that commerce and the mingling of nations are against nature and a source of evil, and that if the golden age could return they would cease; Od. 3. 24. 36-41, Epod. 16. 57-62. Cp. Virg. E. 4. 32-39; and Hesiod ἐργα καὶ ἡμέρα 236.

Metre—Third Aesopiad.

Sic te diva potens Cypri,

1-7. sic . . regat . . reddas. This may be taken, ' Pay back (may Venus so guide thee),' etc., a wish, with a parenthetical wish for that which is necessary to its accomplishment. But 'sic' in wishes, as in protestations, seems always to involve a condition; see Conington's note on Virg. E. 9. 30 'Sic tua Cynneas fugiant examina taxos, . . Incipe;' cp. Od. i. 28. 25. ' May you suffer shipwreck if you do not pay back,' etc. The prayer is illogical, for if the ship did suffer shipwreck on the voyage it could not land Virgil safely. But the ship is personified, and charged by its hopes of happiness to perform a certain task; and what happiness can a ship look for but calm seas and favouring winds?

1. potens Cypri, for the gen. cp.
HORATII CARMINUM

Sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater
Obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,
Navis, quae tibi creditum
Debes Virgilium, finibus Atticis
Reddas incolcem, precor,
Et serves animae dimidium meae.
Illi robur et aes triplex
Circa pectus erat, quò fragilem truci

Od. 1. 5. 15 'potenti maris deo'; 1. 6. 10 'musa lyrae potens.' He is addressing Venus ('marina,' Od. 3. 26. 5. 4. 11. 15); she was worshipped at Cnidus under the name of ἐυπλοία, Paus. 1. 1. 4. Cp. Ov. Her. 19. 160 'Auso Venus ipsa favebit, Sernet et aequoreas aequore nata vias.'

2. fratres Helenae, 'Castor and Pollux,' Od. 4. 8. 31 'Clarum Tyndari- deus sidus ab inimis Quassas eripuit acquiribus rates.' Cp. 1. 12. 25 foll., 3. 29. 64. They were especial protectors of sailors, who saw their presence in the electric lights which are said to play about the spars of a vessel at times after stormy weather in the Mediterrane an, and which are now called St. Elmo's fire. It is these, and not the constellation Gemini, that are the 'lucida sidera.' Cp. Statius Pro. Met. Cel. 8 'Proferte benigna Sidera, et antennae gemino considite cornu.'

3. regat, for the number, see on v. 10. pater, 'Acolus,' from Hom. Od. 10. 21; cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 52.

4. aliis, 'all others,' cp. Sat. 1. 1. 77, an uncommon use, but found even in good prose; 'vulgus alius trucidatum,' Liv. 7. 19. It is perhaps rather in its sense of ἀλλοιον than of ἀλλος, 'those of other kinds.'

Iapyga, 'albus Iapyx,' Od. 3. 27. 20. The N.W. wind, which got its name in the mouths of those who crossed from Brundusium to Dyrrhachium, on whom it blew from the 'Iapygium Promontorium' in Apulia, and to whom it was the most favourable wind.

5. finibus Atticis, 'ambiguum utrum 'debes finibus Atticis' an 'finibus Atticis reddas?,' Porph. It is really governed and καθώς, as grammarians say, by both. This is a construction which Horace often adopts for the sake of brevity, and to avoid clumsy and unmanageable pronouns and particles. Compare the position of 'consiliis' in Od. 2. 11. 11; of 'sibi' in 3. 8. 19; of 'cantare' in Sat. 1. 3. 2. The metaphor of a 'depositum' (Stat. 1. c. 5 'Grande tuo 'rarumque damus, Neptune, profundo Deposito') is sustained through the words 'creditum,' 'debes,' 'reddas;' with 'incolcem' the 'safety' of Virgil becomes again more prominent than the 'entireness' of the repayment.

6. robur et aes triplex. The original of this and other expressions of the kind is the Homeric στρεφεις θυμος, II. 21. 357; στρεφειον θυρο, 24. 205. Jani took the words as = 'robure aeris tripliis,' quoting Virg. Aen. 7. 6. 699 'aeternaque robora ferri.' But the accumulation 'oak and triple brass' is like Aesch. P. V. 242 σιδηραφρών τε κακ πέτρας εἰργασμένοι: cp. Od. 3. 16. 2 'turris aenea Robustaeque fores.' It is common both in Greek and Latin to put the two things conjunctively, rather than as alternatives; cp. Hector's wish for Paris, II. 3. 40 εἶλ' οἴχες ἀγνόις τ' ἐμναί ἁγαμός τ' ἀνολέοθαι. See on Od. 3. 11. 49.

10. erat. It is common in Horace to find a singular verb with two or three subjects where all, or the one nearest to the verb, are singular. Bentley gives a list on Od. 1. 24. 8 'Cui Pudor et Tustitiae soror Incorrupta Fides nudaque
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus nec timuit praecipitem Africum
Decertantem Aquilonibus
Nec tristes Hyadas nec rabiem Noti,
Quo non arbiter Hadriae

Major, tollere seu ponere volt freta.
Quem Mortis timuit gradum,
Qui siccis oculis monstria natantia,
Qui vidit mare turgidum et
Infames scopulos Acroceraunia?

Veritas Quando ullam inveniet parem?
Od. 1. 2. 38. 1. 3. 3. 4. 16. 1. 6. 10. 1.
3. 3. 10. 3. 6. 10. 12. 14. 3. 11. 20. 50. 3.
16. 31. 4. 5. 18. 22. 4. 8. 27.

fragilem trudi. For the collocation of the contrasted epithets, cp. Od. 1. 6.
9 'tenues grandia'; 1. 15. 2. 'perfidus hospital'
1. 29. 10. 2. 4. 2. 3. 10. 6. 8. 2. 12. 1. 3. 7. 13. 3. 11. 46.

12. nec timuit. We may compare the curious remark about the possible excess of fearlessness in Arist. Eth. N. 3.
7. 7 εἶδ' ὅτι τις μακρόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος
ei μήδεν φοβοῦτο μήτε σειμάν μήτε τὰ
κόματα καθίσερ φαοὶ τοὺς Ἐλευθοὺς.

praecipitem, Virg. G. 4. 29 'praec-
ceps Eurus,' of sudden gusts that seem to fall from the sky; 2. 310 'si tempestas
a vertice silvis Incubuit.'

13. decertantem, Od. 1. 9. 11 'ven-
tos depredantes'; 1. 18. 8 'rixia super
mero debellata'; 3. 3. 54 'debacchantur
ignes'; 'fighting to the death.' The pre-
position expresses the pertinacity and unstrained fierceness of the struggle,
not its conclusion.

14. Hyadas, 'Navita quas Hyadas
Graecus ab imbre vocat,' Orig. Fast. 5.
165: 'rain-stars.' Cic. de N. D. 2. 43;
says that the Romans, mistaking the deri-
vation, called 'Sculaie,' aibusus.'

15. arbiter Hadriae, Od. 3. 3. 5
'Auster...Dux inquieti turbidos Hadriae.'

16. tollere seu ponere. For the
omission of the first 'seu' cp. Od. 1. 6.
19 'vacui sive quid urimur.' So εἶτε is
omitted in Greek, Aesch. Ag. 1403,
Soph. O. T. 517.

ponere, the wind 'lays' the waves
when it ceases to blow; Virg. Aen. 5.
763 'placidi straverunt aequora venti';
Soph. Aj. 674 δεινῶν ἄμα πνευμάτων
ἐκόμισε στένωτα πόνων.

17. quem gradum. To fear the
step, the footfall, of death would be a
natural expression, and the personifica-
tion suits v. 33, where death 'corripit
gradum'; 'quem gradum' must then
mean, 'What kind of footfall'? 'the ap-
proach of death in what guise'? It has
also been taken (1) as parallel to 'leti
via,' etc. = 'quem aditum ad mortem';
(2) by the Scholiasts, who are followed by
Gesner, as = 'what degree of death'? I.
e. what death is so terrible that he
feared it if he feared not the sea?

18. siccis, εἶροις διλαθότοις δύμασιν,
Aesch. S. c. T. 696, Bentley, after
Heinsius, would alter 'sic-is' to 'rectis'
(Cunningham proposed 'fixis') with no
MS. authority, on the ground that tears
are not with us the natural indication
of terror. But Orelli quotes, amongst other
passages, Ov. Met. 11. 539, of a ship-
wreck, 'Non tenet hic lacrimas, stupet
hic.' When the panic falls on the
Suitors in Hom. Od. 20. 349, their eyes
baebrôfñ πιμπλαντo.

monstra natantia, Od. 3. 27. 27
'scatenat Beluis pontum,' one of the
stock dangers of the sea, perhaps helped
to become conventional in poetry by
the popular misunderstanding of Ho-
mer's μεγαλιτία πόντον, cp. 4. 14. 47.

21. infames, δυσωσίμοις, with refer-
ence perhaps to their terrible name, 'the
headlands of thunder.' They were pro-
verbial for storms and shipwrecks, Virg.
G. 1. 332.

Acroceraunia. After Horace's man-
ner he names a special dangerous head-
land, as he has a special wind in v. 12,
a special sea in v. 15. They are all,
however, actual dangers which Virgil
himself must encounter in passing from
Brundusium to Dyrhachium.
HORATII CARMINUM

Nequicquam deus abscedit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras, si tamen impiae
Non tangenda rates-transiliunt vada.
Audax omnibus perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.
Audax Iâpeti genus
Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit.
Post ignem aetheria domo
Subductum macies et nova febrium
Terris incubuit cohors,
Semitique prius tarda necessitas
Leti corripuit gradum.
Expertus vacuum Daedalus aëra
Pennis non homini datis;
Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.

22. prudens, 'in his providence,' Od. 3. 29. 29.
dissociabili, 'estranging'; cp. the active use of 'illacrymabilis' in Od. 2. 14. 6, though Horace himself uses it passively in Od. 4. 9. 26; so 'penetrabilis,' Virg. G. 1. 93; 'genitabilis,' Lucret. 1. 11. Ritter and others deny this active use, and render it by ἀξειός; but it is formed upon the verb 'dissociare' and must mean either 'able to sever,' as here, or 'able to be severed,' as in Claud. Ruf. 2. 298 'non dissociabile corpus.'

23. impiae, pred. 'in their impiety.'

24. transiliunt, 'leap lightly over.'
The word is expressive, as Ritter says, 'et levitatis et impudentiae.' Cp. its use in Od. 1. 18. 7, and Sil. Pun. 4. 71, of Hannibal, 'qui sacros montes rupesque profundas Transiliuit.'

25. perpeti = θερα, unifying the ideas of 'to bear' and 'to dare.' Compare the tone of Soph. Ant. 333 foll.

26. per vetitum nefas, 'through sin, despite of prohibitions.'

27. Iâpeti genus, Prometheus; 'genus' as the Greek γένος. Σιαφόσου γένος, for Ulysses, Eur. Cycl. 104; cp. Sat. 1. 6. 12 'Laevinum Valeri genus.'

28. fraude mala, 'an unhappy theft.'

There seems to be no instance of 'fraus' in a neutral sense, otherwise we might take it as a parallel of Cicero's 'malus dolus,' Off. 3. 15.

30. macies, 'wasting sickness,' not to be distinguished from the 'febres.' The things coupled are the effect of the fevers and their number.

31. incubuit, ἐπίσκοπην, Lucret. 6. 141 'morbifer aestus Incubuit populo Pandionis,' 'fell upon,' like a storm, or a bird of prey.

32. necessitas, with 'leti,' 'the doom of death.' Horace elsewhere personifies 'Necessitas' (Od. 1. 35. 17, 3. 1. 14. 3. 24. 0), but it is doubtful whether one person could be said 'corripere gradum' of another.

36. perrupit Acheronta. For the lengthening of the short syllable, cp. Od. 2. 6. 14 'Angulus ridet, ubi;' 2. 13. 16 'Caeca imitem aude.' 3. 16. 26 'quidquid arat impiger.' In all these cases the metrical accent falls on the lengthened syllable. It is noticed that this licence does not occur in the Fourth Book of Odes nor in the Epistles.

Hercules labor, not without reference to the Greek βήθ Ἡρακλῆς, but as in all Horace's imitations of the idiom, with a more definite purpose and emphasis on the substantive. 'Labor' does not represent an inert or habitual epithet. 'It was a labour of Hercules to burst the barrier of Acheron.' Cp. Od. 3. 21. 11 'Narratur et prisci Catonis Saepe mero caluisse virtus;' Sat. 2. 1. 72 'Virtus Scipiiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli.'
Nil mortalibus ardui est;
Caelum ipsum petimus stultitia neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus
Iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina.

37. ardui, so V and the majority of older MSS, though a fair proportion have 'arduum.' The gen. is supported by Horace's custom, Epp. 2. 1. 31 'Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.'
38. A proverbial impossibility, Pind.

ODE IV.

The lesson of the Ode is the same, though not so explicitly put, as that of Od. 4. 7 'Immortalia ne spers monet annus.' 'We have spring once more, all nature is enjoying itself. Take thy fill of pleasure, Sestius, for death, which comes to rich and poor alike, will soon be here, and then no more pleasures.'

The Sestius to whom it is addressed is probably identified with L. Sestius, son of the P. Sestius whom Cicero defended. He had served in M. Brutus' army with Horace. Dio C. 53. 32 mentions it to the credit of Augustus, that he appointed Sestius 'Consul suffectus' in his own room in n.c. 23, although he was notorious for preserving images of Brutus, and honouring his memory.

The metre (Archilochium IVtum) is from Archilochus, Fr. 91:

odus' d'wos th'alleis apalov xalov kai'retai gar h'et, 
odmos kakou de 'g'raos katharei.

SOLVITUR acris hiemis grata vice veris et Favoni;
Trahuntque sicas machinac carinas;
Ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni,
Nec prata canis albicant pruini.
IAM Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente Luna,

The meaning of 'trahunt' is defined by 'sicas': 'draw down to the sea the keels long high and dry,' navigation having been suspended during the winter.

5. Cytherea Venus. The conjunction of the two names is not found in any other classical writer, cp. Od. 1. 17. 22 'Semeleius Thyoneus.' In the procession of the seasons, Lucret. 5. 736, Venus is the companion of Spring, as
Junctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
Alterno terram quamquam pede, dum graves Cyclopum
Volcanus ardens urit officinas.
Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto
Aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae.
Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
Seu poscat agna sive malit haedo.
Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turres. O beate Sesti,
Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.

Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes

Ceres of Summer, and 'Evius Evan' of Autumn.

'imminente Luna, 'when the moon is high overhead,' merely = 'by moonlight.'

6. Od. 4. 7. 5 'Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet Ducere nuda choros.'

decentes, Od. i. 18. 6 'decens Venus;' 3. 27. 53 'decentes malas,' of a handsome person; Od. 4. i. 3 'decens . . . Paulus.'

7. alterno pede, 'rhythmic,' falling one after the other each in its due turn and time.

graves, 'with their ponderous forges.'

8. Volcanus. The employments of Venus and Vulcan (the latter probably suggested by the former) are a mytho-
logistical way of saying that pleasures and labours begin again with spring.

ardens, 'glowing red in the blaze,' cp. 'rubente dextera,' Od. i. 2. 2.

urit, 'makes them fiery hot.' The metaphor offended Scaliger, Bentley, and others. Scaliger conj. 'urget.'

Mr. Munro makes a strong case for 'visit,' the reading of the Paris MS. A, which Bentley preferred, and which Keller editis. Among the variants are 'ussit,' 'vissit,' 'iussit,' all of which he refers to the old spelling of 'visit' with the double s, as caussa, causus, divisiones (Quintil. i. 7. 20). For this as a disturbing cause in the text of Virgil he refers to Ribbeck's Proleg. p. 445, quoting esp. G. i. 167, where 'pro-
vissa' is read in the Pal. MS. and Aen. 5. 637, where 'iussa,' a corruption of 'vissa,' represents 'visa'). It must be confessed, however, that the epithet 'ardens' suits 'urit' better than 'visit.'

9. Now is the time for pleasure, for drinking bouts in town, and rural holi-
days.

viridi, of the fresh green of the young leaves that are now opening.
nitidum. Od. 2. 7. 7 'coronatus nitentes Malobathro Syrio capillos.'

11. Fauno. Ovid, Fast. 2. 193, mentions a sacrifice to Faunus on the island in the Tiber on the Ides of February. The Faunalia of Od. 3. 10. 10 are in December.

12. agna, sc. 'immolare,' as Virg. E. 3. 77 'quum faciam vitula.' So in prose, Cic. Legg. 2. i 2 'quibus hostiis immo-
landum sit.' 'Immolare' has lost its special meaning 'to sprinkle the salted meal on the victim's head.'

13. pulsat pede, of knocking at the door, not merely treading the threshold. Plaut. Most. 2. 2. 23 'pulsando pedibus poene conrefregi hasce ambas [fores]'; Call. Hym. Apoll. 3 kal δηνον τα βιετερα καλω τον θευμ ορασει.

14. regum, of the great and wealthy. Od. 2. 14. II 'sive reges Sive inopes erimus coloni.'

15. inchoare, 'to enter upon what will not be finished,' cp. Od. i. 1. 6 'spatio brevi spem longam rescues.'

16. premet, 'night will be upon thee,' used by a zeugma with 'Manes' and 'domus.' For the sing. see on Od. 1. 3. 10.

fabulae, the nominative; best ex-
plained by Persius' imitation (5. 152), 'Cinis et manes et fabula fies,' 'some-
thing to talk of, a name and nothing more.' Transl. 'the world of names and shadows.' There is nothing in it of Juvenal's 'Esse aliquid Manes . Nec pueri credunt.'
Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
Nec regna vini sortiere talis
Nec tenerum Lycidæ mirabere, quo çalet iuventus
Nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

17. exilis. Bentley takes it as = 'egena,' opposed to the luxury of Sestius' present life, quoting Epp. 1. 6. 45 'Exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt'; or, it may be 'hollow,' 'unsubstantial,' like 'levis turba,' Od. 1. 10. 18; Virgil's 'domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna,' Aen. 6. 269. Rutgers explained it of the 'narrow home' of the grave.

'regna simul = 'simul ac.'

18. regna vini, the post of συμποσιαρχος, 'arbiter bibendi,' 'rex mensae,' Macr. Sat. 2. 1; see Dict. Ant. s. v. 'symposium.'

talis, dice made of the knuckle-bones of some animal, ἀστρίγαλος; Sat. 2. 7. 17 'mitteret in phimum talos.' See on Od. 2. 7. 25 'quem Venus arbitrum dictæ bibendi.' It has also been understood as τολοῦ, 'of such wine as this,' as if the poet pointed to his delicate wines and young Lycidas by his side; but we could hardly say 'regna vini talis' any more than we could say 'regna vini tui.' So far as 'vini' qualifies 'regna' and forms part of one notion with it, it is general.

O D E V.

'Who is the delicate stripling now, Pyrrha, that is wooing thee? Poor boy! disappointment is in store for him. Thy love is as the sea, as bright and tempting, and as treacherous. I was shipwrecked on it once, but I escaped alive.'

Metre—Fifth Aeclepiad.

QUIS multa gracilis te puer in rosa
Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus,
Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
Cui flavam religas comam,
Simplex munditiis? Heu quoties fidem

1. multa in rosa, 'in rosa' might mean 'crowned with roses,' as Cicero's 'potare in rosa,' de Fin. 2. 20; perhaps the epithet 'multa' points rather to a 'bed of rose leaves,' which can be equally well illustrated. Sen. Epp. 36. 9 'in rosaiacere'; Arist. Fr. 116 εν ἰδινίσμως στράμματι πανυχίσαν.
4. cui = 'cuius in gratiam,' 'for whose eye,' cp. Od. 3. 3. 25.
flavam, Od. 2. 4. 14. 3. 9. 19. 4. 4. 4. 4. 4. The correspondence of the name 'Pyrrha,' πυῒρα, 'Golden-hair,' is enough to show, if it were needful to show, that it is a fictitious name.

5. simplex munditiis, 'plain in thy neatness,' Milton. 'Munditiae' meant a scrupulously exact toilet, not necessarily excluding, but not requiring, any adventitious adornment. The simplicity of Pyrrha seems intended to contrast with the lover's elaborate preparations of himself and the grot; the 'liquid exodores,' 'multa rosa,' 'gratam antrum.'
Mutatosque deos flebit et aspera
Nigris aequora ventis
Emirabitur insolens,
Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea;
Qui semper vacuum, semper amabilem
Sperat nescius aurae
Fallacis. Miseri, quibus
Intentata nites! Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo.

fidem, sc. 'mutatam.' Comp. Od. 3. 5, 7 'Pro curia, inversique mores.' It is an extension of the usage noticed on Od. 1. 2. 1.
6. mutatos deos, the gods as the givers of happiness or pain; but from the close connection with 'fidem' there is probably also the feeling that they are the gods who listened to her vows and seemed to guarantee her truth; ἵκνων δὲ φροῦδι πίστις, οὐδ' ἐξω μαθεὶν εἰ θεοὺς νομίζεις τοὺς τύτ' οὐκ ἄρχειν étì, Eur. Med. 492.
7. nigris, Epod. 10. 5 'niger Eurus'; Virg. G. 2. 278 'nigerrimus Auster'; so the opposite 'albus Notus,' 'albus Tápyx.'
8. emirabitur, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in class. Latin.

insolens, 'new to the sight.'
10. vacuum, 'free,' not preoccupied by any other passion, Od. 1. 6. 19.
11. aurae, 'ignorant how soon the wind may shift.' It is a common metaphor for anything that is fickle and changeable, 'popularis aurae,' Od. 3. 2. 20.
13. intentata nites, continues the metaphor. She (or her love) is a shining untried sea, 'placidi pellacia ponti.'
15. potenti maris, on Od. 1. 3. 1 'Diva potens Cyprī.'
16. deo, Neptune.
'Heroic exploits require a Homer to sing of them,' says Horace, and so gives Agrippa the lyric glory that (it would seem) he has asked for, while professing to leave the task of celebrating such exploits to the epic genius of Varius. For panegyrical cast in the same form compare Od. 2. 12 and 4. 2.

The Ode is addressed to M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the friend and counsellor of Augustus, and the greatest commander of his reign. He finally defeated Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus in b.c. 36, and commanded at Actium in b.c. 31. After the death of Marcellus (and consequently, it would seem, after the publication of this Ode) he was married by Augustus to his daughter Julia (b.c. 21); was associated with him (b.c. 18) in the Tribunitian power, and was looked upon as his intended successor. He died four years before Horace, in b.c. 12. Horace speaks of his popularity in Sat. 2. 3. 185; of his subjugation of the Cantabri in Epp. 1. 12. 26; of his engineering exploit of turning the Lucrine lake into a harbour, though without mentioning his name, in A. P. 63.

Metre—Fourth Asclepiad.

**SCRIBERIS Vario fortis et hostium**

Victor Maconii carminis alite,

1. sciberis. Not necessarily a definite promise or prophecy,—although Varius is said really to have written a 'Panegyricus in Caesarem Octavianum' (see Epp. 1. 16. 27, where Horace is said by the Schol. to have borrowed 23 lines from that poem) which would have contained the exploits of Agrippa,—but = 'scribaris licet,' 'I shall leave Varus to write of you.' Cp. Od. 1. 7. 1 'laudabant alii'; 1. 20. 10 'bibes'; 3. 28. 13 'tinget.' 'Scribere' is used of poetical description, cp. v. 14. Sat. 2. 1. 16.

Vario, L. Varios Rusus, the friend of Horace and Virgil, and one of the literary executors of the latter. Cp. Sat. 1. 5. 40, 1. 6. 55, 1. 9. 23, 1. 10. 44, 81, 2. 8. 21, 63, Epp. 2. 1. 247, A. P. 55.

2. Maconii carminis, Od. 4. 9. 5. 'Homerici'; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 44. 'Fortepos acer Ut nemo Varios ductit.'

alite. This is the unimposing reading of the MSS; and the Pseudo-Aacers. and the Comm. Crud. found it, for the difficulty of the ablative made them separate it from 'Vario' and explain it by 'Homerici auspiciis.' Ritter takes 'Vario' as a dative, and 'alite' as a loose 'ad sensum' apposition to it. It seems better with Orelli to take 'Vario, alite' as an abl. absol., a construction the use of which Horace is inclined to extend (see Od. 2. 1. 12, 16. 2. 7. 15, 3. 5. 5). The position of the words is quite in his manner; the promise or permission standing first, and accompanied only by Varus' name as a sufficient guarantee to stay in initio any impatience; then, measured off against each other, the characteristics of the theme and of the poet who is fit to sing of it. 'It shall be told, but by Varus, thy bravery and thy victories; for he is a bird of Maconian song.' For the grammatical difficulty of the separation of 'Vario' from 'alite' we may perhaps compare Sat. 1. 3. 70 'Cum mea compenset vitis bona,' if 'cum' be there a preposition. For more certain but rather less analogous cases of odd sorting of words see Sat. 2. 1. 60; 2. 3. 2. 11. The passages usually quoted on this place, such as (of Horace) Sat. 2. 1. 84 'Iudices laudatis Caesares'; Epp. 1. 1. 94 'curatus inaequali tonsore,' are insufficient to substantiate the use of the ablative of the agent without a preposition. There is either a predicate present, as in 'Iudices Caesares' (Dillenburger quotes it as 'laudatus Caesares,' which would be just the case we are in search of), which brings it within the scope of the abl. absol., or else the subst. is barely personal, and the abl. becomes rather instrumental or modal, as in Ov.
Horatii orbor, aut tenare, to see cp. probably as he profierce construction by num, Thealteration tuae.' had been brought in, whole idea of Od. 2. 20.

3. quam rem cuunque, 'every exploit which thy brave soldiery achieved by sea or land, led on by thee'; the construction is as if the previous clause had run 'scribentur fortitudo et victoriae tuae.' The tmesis is common in Horace, cp. Od. 1. 7. 25, and even in prose, Cic. pro Sest. 31 'quod iudicium cuunque subierat.'

5. neque . . nec, 'we essay no more to tell this tale than to tell,' etc., cp. Od. 3. 5. 27.

6. stomachum. This rendering of the Homeric μὴνν δειλόμενη is quoted by Charisius as an instance of intentional tateivnis, which he defines 'rei magnae humilis exposito,' as if it were an undignified word chosen to show Horace's distaste for such a character. In any case, in respect of this as well as of 'duplicis' and 'saevam,' though the traits themselves are traditional, their selection is probably intended to point a contrast with the milder themes which Horace prefers 'I cannot write of the fierceness and the craft and the cruelty of heroic wars.'


Ulixei, for the form cp. Achillei, 1. 15. 34. and see Madv. § 38. obs. 3.

8. Pelopis domum, the theme rather of the Greek drama than of Epos; but Horace is probably alluding to Varii's tragedy 'Thyestes,' which was brought out in the year after the battle of Actium. It was greatly admired. 'Vasti Thyestes culibet Graecorum comparari potest,' Quint. 10. 1. 98.

10. lyræ potens, Od. 1. 3. 1. vetat, see on Od. 1. 3. 10.

11. egregii, Od. 3. 25. 4, 'peerless,'

12. deterere, lit. 'to wear the fine edge off'; cp. 'obterere,' Cic. Verr. 2. 5.

1 'obteri laudem imperatoriam crimniubis avaritia,' and 'tenare,' Hor. Od. 3. 3. 72.

13. tunica tectum adamantina, xaloxi lávov : 'adamas,' is hard steel.

14. pulvere nigrum. Cp. 2. 1. 22. The 'dust' of the Trojan plain occupies a prominent place in Homer.

16. superis parem, referring to his wounding Aphrodit and Ares, in Hom. II. 5; see esp. vv. 881-884. 'H (sc. Pallas) vnν Τυνδος υνον υπέρφαλον Διομήδει μηραγείν τύρκεν εν αθανάτωι θεόιν. | Κάπρα μν πρώτον σχεδον ούτατε εχεο ετ υπερ καρπων, | αυταρ είναι αυτόν μοι έπεσανο δαιμονίον σοι. |

17. nos, not quite = 'ego,' but generalizing, 'I and such as I.'

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1 This was written before the publication of the 2nd ed. of Prof. Mayor's Juvenal. The note which he inserts by Mr. H. A. J. Munro, on Sat. 1. 13, argues my main point more effectivly than I can.
Sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium
Cantamus vacui, sive quid urimur,
Non praeter solitum leves.

18. sectis, 'pared,' so as not to hurt, Orell.; cp. 'iresectum,' Epod. 5. 47, of clawlike nails; 'cut to a point,' Ritter. Who shall decide? The first makes the better contrast with 'acrium,' and so with the real battles of which these are the harmless parody. Bentley proposed 'strictas' as helping the point of 'proelia' by the ἐπὶ προδοτικὰν substitution of 'unguibus' for 'ensibus,' and as supported by Ovid's 'Non timeo strictas in mea fata manus,' Am. 1. 6. 14.

19. vacui, see on Od. 1. 5. 10. For the omission of the first 'sive' see on Od. 1. 3. 16.

20. leves, 'light-hearted much after my wont,' i.e. whether in love or not, habitually given to light and fanciful themes; 'iocosae Musae dediti': cp. Od. 3. 3. 69 'iocosae lyrae,'

ODE VII.

The natural meaning of the Ode is, 'The world is full of fair spots, but your own Tibur is the fairest. Forget your troubles, Plancus; in camp, or here in Tibur, drown care in wine. Remember how Teucer put a bold face on his calamity, and found a new Salamis to make up for the old.'

What Plancus' trouble was we do not know, nor whether it bore any resemblance to Teucer's by involving a compulsory absence from his well-loved Tibur.

L. Munatius Plancus was a man of no character, 'morbo proditor,' Vell. Pat. 2. 83. He had been a friend of Julius Caesar; after his death he changed sides more than once between Antony and Octavius. By the latter he was made consul in B.C. 42.

With the story of Teucer at the end of the Ode compare the conclusion of Epod. 13. 11 ad fin.

Several of the best MSS. begin a new Ode at v. 15. The division was as old as Porph., for he notices and condemns it; on v. 15 'Hanc Oden quidam putant aliam esse, sed eadem est; nam et hic ad Plancum loquitur cuius in honorem et in superiori parte Tibur laudavit, Plancus enim inde fuit oriundus.' There seems too little substance in the first fourteen lines for a separate Ode, and the recurrence to Tibur in v. 20 is clearly the link, though a slight one. Mistakes in the matter are common in the MSS. See Epod. 2. 23 and 9. 27. Porph. mentions and condemns a division of Od. 3. 24 at v. 25, though it is not so found in any extant MS. The opposite mistake occurs in Od. 2. 14, 15, which are written continuously in several of the oldest MSS., although there is no conceivable connection between them.

Metre—Alcmanium.

LAUDABUNT alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen

1. laudabunt alii, 'I shall leave it to others to praise,' see on v. 1 of the last Ode.

clare, 'sunny,' 'quia soli sit opposita,' Porph.; and so Lucan took it, 8. 248 'claramque reliquit Sole Rhodon,'
HORATII CARMINUM

Aut Epheson bimarisve Corinthi
Moenia vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline Delphos
Insignes aut Thessala Tempe.
Sunt quibus unum opus est, intactae Palladis urbem
Carmine perpetuo celebrare et
Undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam.
Plurimus in Iunonis honorem
Aptum dicet equis Argos ditesque Mycenas.
Me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon
Nec tam Larissae percussit campus opimae,
Quam domus Albuneae resonantis

or 'glorious'; Catull. 4. 8 'nobilem Rhodum.'
5. sunt quibus, see on Od. i. 1. 3.
6. perpetuo, a continuous poem not merely touching incidentally on Athens, Ov. Met. i. 4 'prima ab origine mundi
In mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.'
7. 'To wreath the brow with the olive plucked on every hand,' i.e. to seek fame by writing on a well-worn theme. This is Bentley's interpretation. The expression contains a reminiscence of Lucret. 1. 926 'iuvat . . . novos decerpere flores, Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam Unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musae,' a passage which Horace imitates again in Od. i. 26. 6. 7. The 'olive' leaf is specially named as the appropriate crown for one who wrote of Athens: Bentley quotes Sen. Herc. F. 913 'Popollea nostras arbor exornet comas, Te ramus oleae fronde gentili tegat, Theseu.'
undique, 'by every one,' parallel to the use of 'unde' = 'a quo,' of the agent, Sat. i. 6. 12, etc. All other interpretations are more forced. Orelli takes it 'to pluck the olive for a crown from every quarter of Attic soil,' i.e. to sing of every myth, event, glory of art, that adorn Athens.
8. plurimus. There seems to be no other instance of 'plurimus' without a subst. for 'plurimi.' Ritter will not allow the use, and takes 'plurimus in Iunonis honorem' as 'effusus in,' as 'multus esse in re nota,' Cic. de Or. 2. 87. But if Virgil says 'plurimus oleaster,' G. 2 182, and Lucan, 3. 707, 'multus sua vulnera puppi Affixit mo-

riens'; 'plurimus' may well be used for the plural here.
in honorem, for the accus. cp. Epod. 1. 24 'militabitur in tuae spem gratiae,'
9. aptum equis, ἰσὸς βοτόν, ἰσὸς προ-
fov, Hom.; 'rarum pecorique et vitibus almis Aptius uber erit,' Virg. G. 2. 234.
dites Mycenas, πολυχρώσους, Il. 8.
10. patiens, of the Spartan discipline.
11. percussit, as we say, 'has so smitten me,' has made such an impression on me.
opimae, Homer's ἵρμεναι Αὔρισα, Il. 2. 841; 'opimae Sardiniae segetes,' Od. i. 31. 3, Virg. Aen. 2. 782.
12. domus Albuneae. See Mr. Burn's account of Tivoli in 'Rome and the Campagna,' p. 394 foll. He identifies it not with the 'temple of the Sibyl,' as it is commonly called, but with the second ancient temple, now the church of S. Giorgio, which stands close to it on the brink of the precipitous ravine through which the 'old fall' of the Anio descends. The topography of Tibur is especially difficult on account of the changes which great inundations have caused in the course of the Anio. One such is described in Plin. Epp. 8. 17. Another, in A.D. 1826, led to the excavation of the tunnels through the Monte Catillo, by which the larger part of the river is now conducted to the 'new falls' beyond the reach of the rocks on which the town is built.
resonantis, echoing from the cata-
cract close by. Albunea was the last of the Sibyls. Mr. Burn thinks that Virg. Aen. 7. 82 'lucosque sub alta Consulti Albunea,' etc., refers not to Tibur but
Et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.
Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
Saepe Notus neque parturit imbres
Perpetuo, sic tu sapiens finire memento
Tristitiam vitaeaque labores
Molli, Plance, mero, seu te fulgentia signis
Castra tenent seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui. Teucer Salamina patremque
Cum fugeret, tamen uda Lyaeo
Tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona,
Sic tristes affatus amicos:
Quo nos cunque feret melior fortuna parente,
Ibimus, o socii comitesque.
Nil desperandum Teuco duce et auspice Teuco;

to some sulphureous springs near Lau-
terunt.
672, Tiburnus (Virg. calls him 'Tibur-
tus'), Catillus ('Catilus,' Hor. Od. 1.
18. 2), and Coras were three Argive
brothers, founders of Tibur.
14. mobilibus rivis. Burn, l. c. 'A
third portion of the Anio is diverted
just above the bridge into canals appa-
rently through very ancient date, which, pass-
ing completely through the centre of the
town, are used as the motive power of
watermills of every kind and then fall
again (the falls known as the "Cascat-
elle") into the main stream at various
points of the romantic cliffs on the
western hill side.'
15. albus, predicative. The south
wind is sometimes λευκῶντος, not al-
ways ' niger Auster.' The lesson is that the
very same wind which brings the
clouds will presently clear them. 'Al-
bus' as 'albus Iapys,' Od. 3. 27. 19;
'candidi Favonii,' 3. 7. 1.
16. parturit, see on Od. 4. 5. 26.
17. sapientia, 'be wise and remem-
ber,' etc., Od. 1. 11. 6 ' sapias, vina
liques.'
19. mollitia, 'mellow,' as 'lene,' Od. 3.
29. 2. It breaks the flow of the sen-
tence needlessly to take 'molliti, with
Ritter, as an imperative.
20. tenet . . tenebit, 'as now,' 'as
by and bye,' stress is clearly laid on
the tenses, so that apparently Plancus was
now, or might be supposed to be, cam-
painging.
21 foll. This story of Teucer is not
found elsewhere, beyond the fact of his
being ill-received by his father Telamon
because he returned without Ajax, and
of his founding Salamis in Cyprus.
Cicero may possibly be referring to a
common source in Tusc. 5. 37 'ad om-
num rationem Teucri vox accommodari
potest: 'Patria est ubiquecumque est bene.'
22. cum fugeret, when he was start-
ing on his banishment, not ' during his
flight,' as though he had put in to shore
for the night, as some commentators
suppose, see on v. 32.
23. populea, sacred to Hercules, to
whom as a wanderer Teucer would
offer sacrifice; 'vagus Hercules,' Od. 3.
2. 9, who speaks of sacrificing τῷ ἡγε-
μονι τῆς Ἱεράς.
27. duce et auspice, 'under Teucer's
conduct and Teucer's star,' a curious
technicality of Roman military life to
put into Teucer's mouth. 'Ductu et
auspicio,' Liv. 6. 12; 'dum partim
ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam,'
etc., Suet. Oct. 21. The two did not
necessarily belong to the same person.
The auspices were taken in the name of
the Emperor, and the 'felicitas' was his,
see Od. 4. 14. 33 foll. Horace has
not exactly reproduced the technical
phrase, for we find 'auspicis Camilli,
Augusti,' etc., not 'auspicie Camillo.'
Certus enim promisit Apollo,
Ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.
O fortes peioraque passi
Mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite curas;
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

'Auspex' is used elsewhere either of the person who attends the imperator and actually takes the auspices, or if in the sense of 'patron,' then only of some god who by omens or otherwise sanctions an enterprise. Meanwhile a certain amount of doubt hangs over the reading. Paris A, with a few other MSS., has 'auspice Teucr,' and Acron's note looks as if he had found that reading *auspices*. Fautore vel suasore, Apollinem dicit cuius responsa vel promissa sequabatur. Victorinus (fourth century), who is quoted in defence of the vulg., gives no support to it. He only quotes the line for its metre, and two of the best MSS. of his work read 'Teucr.' Keller accepts that reading. It must then mean 'under the guidance of Teucer and of Teucer's patron,' sc. Apollo; but 'auspex' in this sense with a genitive of the person patronized is unlikely, and the combination 'duce... auspice' is harsh. Bentley reads ex conj. 'Phoebo,' which would satisfy Acron's note, though not so probably as 'Teucr.' The slight variation of a technical phrase, which is the main ground on which Bentley opposed the vulg., is really quite in Horace's manner, see on Od. 3. 5. 42.

28. certus, σαφῆς, ἀδύνατης.
29. ambiguam, 'that in a new land there should be a Salamis to dispute the name;' cp. the use of ἄμφιλεκτος, Aesch. Ag. 1585. Lucan, 3. 183, in memory of this place, 'veram Salamina.' Cp. Virgil's 'falsi Simoentis,' 'simulata Pergama,' Aen. 3. 302, 349.

30 peioraque passi, Virg. Aen. 1. 199 'O passi graviora dabit Deus his quoque finem'; both are from Hom. Od. 12, 208 ὁ φίλοι ὦ γὰρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδινομέν τείχε. 32. iterabimus, 'take again to the boundless sea,' which he had just crossed from Troy. It gives much more force to the dreariness of 'ingens' than to suppose that they had landed for the night in their flight, see on v. 23.
ODE VIII.

'Lydia, thy love is ruining young Sybaris. He is no more to be seen on horseback, in the Tiber, at wrestling matches, quoits, javelin-throwing. He is lost to manly life like Achilles in his woman's dress.'

The name of 'Sybaris,' at least, is chosen to suit the ideal character.

Metre—The Greater Sapphic.

LYDIA, dic, per omnes
Te deos oro, Sybarin cur properes amando
Perdere; cur apricum
Oderit campum, patiens pulveris atque solis.
Cur neque militaris
Inter aequales equitat, Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frenis?
Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? Cur olivum
Sanguine viperino
Cautius vitat neque iam livida gestat armis
Brachia, saepe disco,
Saepe trans finem iaculo nobilis expedito?
Quid latet, ut marinae?

2. properes, so the majority of MSS. as against 'properas'; and the subj. seems necessary to suit 'oderit,' which can hardly be a future, standing alone among so many presents. 'Equitat,' 'temperat,' are more lively than the continued subj., and the mood of 'properes' and 'oderit' will account for copyists giving 'equitet,' 'temperet.' Bentley remarks that they would have completed their work, and written 'timeat,' 'vitet,' 'gestet,' if they had not been stopped by the metre at 'timet.'

4. patiens, in age and strength capable of bearing, as Juv. 7. 33: 'actas Et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque lignonis.'

5. militaris, as a soldier, in soldierly exercises. For these, cp. Od. 3. 7. 25-28, 3. 12. 7-9, S. 2. 2. 9 foll., Epp. 1. 18. 52; A. P. 379.

6. Gallica ora = 'ora equorum Gallorum': the best Roman horses came from Gaul, Tac. Ann. 2. 5: 'fessas Gallias ministrandis equis.'

lupatis, sc. 'frenis,' bits roughened with jagged points like wolves' teeth, used for taming the fiercest horses. 'Asper equus duris contunditur ora lupatis,' Ov. Am. 1. 3. 15; Virg. G. 3. 208: 'duris parere lupatis.'

8. olivum, i. e. the oil with which wrestlers anointed themselves, so that it stands for the 'palaestra.'

9. sanguine viperino, held to be a deadly poison, Epod. 3. 6.

12. armis, the 'arma campestria' of A. P. 379, the quoit and the javelin. It is the strain of the muscles in throwing that renders the arms 'livida.'

12. trans finem expedito. The object in throwing the 'discus' was only to throw it the greatest distance. For a description of the game, see Hom. Od. 8. 186 foll. That which Ulysses threw υπερτατο σηματα πάντα θύμα θεών ἀνό χειρὸς. 'Expedire,' 'to send it clear beyond.'
Filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Troiae
Funera, ne virilis
Cultus in caedem et Lycias proriperet catervas?

14. Filium Thetidis. How Achilles was concealed by his mother in woman’s disguise, and how he was discovered by the way in which he handled some weapons which Ulysses introduced in a pack of female wares, is told by Ovid, Met. 13. 162 foll. The story is post-Homeric.

ODE IX.

‘It is midwinter. Well, pile on more logs, and bring out larger supplies of wine. When the gods will, spring will come back. Don’t look forward. Each day that you get is so much gained. Enjoy it. Love and dance and play while you can, for old age is coming.’

The opening is copied from Alcaeus, Fr. 34:—

υει μεν ο Ζεύς, έκ δ’ οράνω μέγας
χείμων, πεπάγαιαν δ’ ὄντων βοι.

κάββαλλε τοιν χείμων’, ετι μεν τίθεις
πῦρ, εν δε κράναις οἴνον ἀφείδεις
μέλιχρον, αὐτάρ ἀμφί κόρα
μάλθακον ἀμφιτίθη γνώφαλλον.

Horace has given a Roman dress to it, and the conclusion is probably his own. The tone is the same as Od. 1. 11.

Thaliarchus seems to be a name invented for the ideal character from its etymological meaning; a possible (though it is not found in extant Greek literature as an actual) synonym for συμποσιάρχος.

Compare Epod. 13 with its sudden change to the singular number in v. 6, as though he were addressing the master or the ‘ruler of the feast,’ ‘Tu vina Torquato move Consule pressa meo.’ The whole poem presents a strong resemblance in thought and expression.

VIDES, ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus

1. stet, a natural word to use of a solitary hill which ‘stands up’ or ‘rises’ out of a plain; but possibly from its position it is here meant to describe rather the depth and firmness of the snow, as Virgil’s ‘pulvere caelum stare,’ Aen. 12. 407, of a thick and palpable cloud of dust; as we should say, ‘stands deep in snow.’

2. Soracte, Virg. Aen. 11. 785, hod. ‘Monte S. Oreste;’ a mountain of Etruria, 2,420 feet high, about twenty-
Silvae laborantes geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto.
Dissolve frigus ligna super foco
Large reponens, atque benignius
Deprome quadrimum Sabina,
O Thaliarche, merum diota.
Permitte divis cetera, qui simul
Stravere ventos aequore servido
Deproeliantes, nec cupressi
Nec veteres agitantur ornii.
Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quacerere et,
Quem Fors dierum cunque dabit, lucro
Appone, nec dulces amores
Sperne puer neque tu choreas,
Donec virenti canities abest
Morosa. Nunc et campus et areae

six miles north of Rome. Its striking outline, separated from the main range of the Sabine hills by the broad Tiber valley, makes it a conspicuous feature in all northern views across the Campagna.

4. acuto, 'piercing.' Virgil's 'penetrabile frigus,' G. i. 93.
5. dissolve. The frost is a chain that binds man as well as the earth and streams. Od 1.4.1 'solvitur acris hyems.'
6. reponens, piling, laying again and again. The participle is gerundial: it gives the precedent action, or means by which the main action is to be accomplished.

7. deprome. The verb is used both of 'bringing out' wine from the apotheca,' or other place of storing; Od. 1. 37; 5 'depromere Caecubum Cells avitis'; and of 'drawing it off' from the amphora,' or some larger vessel, as in Epod. 2. 47 'promens dolio.' The latter sense seems to be given to it here by the addition of 'benignius.'

quadrimum, four years was a fair time to keep wine of the kind.
Sabina. Wine from a Sabine jar = Sabine wine; cp. Od. 3. 16. 34 'Laestrygonia amphora.' Sabine wine was not among the better kinds, but it was such as Horace would drink himself, Od. 1. 20. 1, and he supposes the person whom he addresses to have means such as his own. 'A fire and some wholesome country wine are enough to keep out the cold.'
8. diota, probably the same as the 'amphora.' Both names refer to the two handles or ears.
9. Epod. 13 'Cetera mitte loqui: Deus haec fortasse benigna Reducet in sedem vice.' 'Make the best of winter, its storms will cease when the gods will, and spring will come back.' There is certainly there, and probably here also, a suggestion of a winter and a spring of fortune; cp. Od. 3. 29. 43 'Vixi: cras vel atra Nube polum pater occupato, Vel sole puro.'
simul = 'simulac.'
11. deproeliantes, see on Od.i. 3. 13.
13. fuge quaerere, Od. 2. 4. 22 'fuge suspicari'; Epp. 2. 2. 150 'fugeres curarier.'
14. lucro appone, set it down as clear gain.
16. neque tu, 'nor, pray,' calls especial attention to the prayer which follows, Epp. 1. 2. 63 'hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catenis'; Luc. 2. 637 'nec Pharmacis arma relinquas, Admoneo, nec tu populos utraque vagantes Armenia'; so the Greek ov γε. See on 1. 11. 1.
27. virenti, Od. 4. 13. 6 'virentis Chiae'; Epod. 13. 4 'duumque virent genus'; so a hale old age is called 'viridis senectus.'
18. areae, the open spaces in Rome, especially round temples, so that we hear of the 'Area Concordiae,' etc.
HORATII CARMINUM

Lenesque sub noctem susurri
Composita repetantur hora,
Nunc et latentis proditor intimo
Gratus puellae risus ab angulo
Pignusque dereptum lacertis
Aut digito male pertinaci.

20. **composita,** 'the hour of tryst'; Juv. 3. 16 'ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae.'

21 foll. 'Now too the sweet tell-tale laugh from the secret corner that betrays the hiding girl'; 'repetatur' is understood from the last sentence. Compare the lover's play in Virg. E. 3. 63 'Et fugit ad salices et se cupit ante videri.' Dillenburger calls attention to the symmetrical arrangement of the adjectives and their substantives: 'latentis puellae,' 'proditor risus,' 'intimo angulo'; 'puellae' seems to depend on 'proditor' and 'risus.'

24. **male pertinaci.** This may mean either 'but faintly resisting' or 'wickedly (i.e. coquettishly) resisting,' resisting in order to invite the violence.

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**ODE X.**

'Hymnus est in Mercurium ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta,' Porph. Pausanias, 7. 20, mentions a hymn to Hermes by Alcaeus, and that it contained the story of his theft of the oxen. Among the fragments of his poetry (Fr. 3 Bergk) there is what seems to be the first line of a Sapphic Ode to Hermes:

χαιρε Κυλλάνας ο μίδεις, σε γάρ μοι.

The Ode is a study, and doubtless an imitation, not a translation, from Greek.

Mercurius, identified with the Greek Hermes, is celebrated as the teacher of language; of the palaestra; of the lyre; of craft, theft included; as the herald, σομπαῖος, on earth and below it.

Compare Ovid, Fast. 5. 663-692 'Clare nepos Atlantis,' etc.

**MERCURI,** facunde nepos Atlantis,
Qui seros cultus hominum recentum
Voce formasti catus et decorae

1. **facunde,** λέγεστι is a frequent epithet of Hermes; so he is the mouthpiece of the gods, 'interpres Divom.'

nepos, as the son of Maia 'quam Atlas generat,' Virg. Aen. 8. 141.

3. **voce formasti,** comp. Horace's account of man before the invention of language, Sat. 1. 3. 100 'mutum et turpe pecus.'

catus, 'by thy wit'; Varro, L L. 7. 46, says that it is a Sabine word meaning properly 'sharp.'

decorae, 'grace-giving.'
More palaestrae,
Te canem, magni Iovis et deorum
Nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem,
Callidum, quidquid placuit, iocosod
Condere furto.
Te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
Risit Apollo.
Quin et Atridas duce te superbos
Ilio dives Priamus relictos
Thessalosque ignes et iniqua Troiae
Castra fefellit.
Tu pias laetis animas reponis
Sedibus virgaque levem coerces
Aurea turbam, superis deorum
Gratus et imis.

4. *more,* 'rule,' 'institution.' Pind. Ol. 6. 126 τεθηκόν ἀόθλων.
9. *olim,* so 'puerum' in the next line, 'long ago,' 'when still a mere boy.' It was on the very day of his birth according to the Homeric Hymn εἰς Ἑρμήν, 20. The construction is 'dum terret nisi reddidisses,' 'is trying to frighten you with threats of what he will do if you do not return the kine.' In stricter grammar it would be either 'reddideris' or 'terrebat.'
11. *viduus risit,* like 'sensit delapsus,' laughed to find himself robbed.
14. *dives,* with his rich presents, ἀπερεία ἀποφά, see Hom. II. 24. 228 foll. Mercury, the best of thieves, is the best of guardians against theft, like Plato's δεινός φίλαξ φῶρ δεινός, Republ. p. 334.
15. *ignes .. iniqua,* it was neither because they were not watching, nor because they were friends, that he was able to pass safely.
17 foll. His functions as ψυχοποιός. The 'levis turba,' the 'shadowy throng,' εἰδώλα καμάντων, are distinguished from the fewer 'piae animae.'
18. *coerces,* of keeping a flock together, preventing them straying by the way, Od. 1. 24. 18. Hermes carries ἰδιαθέν χρυσεῖν when he drives the suitors' souls to Hades in Hom. Od. 24 1 foll.
ODE XI.

'Do not go to the Astrologers, Leuconoe. Better bear life as it comes; enjoy the present, and think as little as possible about the future.'

On the 'mathematici' see Dict. Ant. s. v. Astrologia; 'genus hominum potentibus infidum sperantibus fallax quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur,' Tac. Hist. i. 22. Horace himself was not above an interest in the superstition of the day, see Od. 2. 17, and Sat. i. 6. 113.

The name of Leuconoe is chosen doubtless in part at least as a pretty sounding name which suits the Choriambic metre, as Neobule and Liparaeus suit the Ionic a minore of Od. 3. 12. It is possible also that Horace may have looked to its etymology, but it is hard for us to say whether it would have conveyed a complimentary sense or the reverse; 'candida' or 'clara mente' say some of his editors, 'empty-minded' say others. Findar's λευκὰ φιάνες, Pyth. 4. 194, which is quoted in support of the latter view, seems rather to imply 'malignity' than 'folly.'

Metre—Second Asselpiad.

Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
Finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
Tentaris numeros. Ut melius, quidquid crit, pati!
Seu plures hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
Quae nunc oppositis debilitat punicibus mare
Tyrrenhusm, sapias, vina liqueus, et spatio brevi
Spem longam resecus. Dum loquimur, fugiter invida
Aetas: carpe diem quam minimum credula postero.

1. tu, see on Od. i. 9. 16. The use of the pronoun emphasizes the prayer, 'Pray do not.'
   quaesieris, Madv. § 386. The perf. subj. is more usual than the pres. subj. or imperative in prohibitions addressed to the second person. 'Hoc facito; hoc ne feceris,' Cic. Div. 2. 61.
2. numeros, 'tables,' 'calculations,' Juv. 6. 576. Cic. Div. 2. 47 'rationes Chaldaeaus.'
   ut melius, δογ βελτιών, 'How much better is it!' so in prose, Cic. Mil. 24 'Ut contemptat ac pro nihilò putavit,' etc.
3. seu . . . seu. It is a question whether the apodosis is to be looked for in 'ut melius,' etc., or in 'sapias.' Orelli prefers the latter, as avoiding an awkward break in the run of v. 6.
4. debilitat, breaks 'the force of, beats the waves on the rocks till they are tired.'
   punicibus, of any rocks 'vesco sale peresa' (Lucr. 1. 320); so Virg. Aen. 5. 214.
5. sapias, Od. 1. 7. 17.
   liqueus, 'clear.' This was done either with a linen strainer, or by other means, such as those described in Sat. 2. 4. 55.
   spatio brevi, 'by the thought of the little span of life.'
6. dum loquimur, imitated by Pers. 5. 153 'Vive memor leti: fugit hora; hoc quod loquir inde est.'
7. carpe diem. What is the metaphor? Is it of plucking a flower? 'Velox Flosculus angustae miseraeque brevissima vitae Portio,' Juv. 9. 126; or perhaps rather (as Orelli) 'snatch,' αρπάγη, 'fugitiva gaudia carpe,' Mart. 7. 47. 11, 'catch them by the sleeve as they run.'
ODE XII.

'What man wilt thou sing of, Clio? what demigod? what god?—sing of, till the hill of Helicon rings his name again, or the woods of Haemus follow to listen, as they did when Orpheus sang? What god, but Jove first, and Pallas next, Liber Diana, Phoebus. For demigods, Hercules and the Twin Brethren who calm the stormy sea. And of men: Romulus and all the Roman worthies; Marcellus, the lustre of whose name grows with each generation; the Julian house, which outshines all others as the moon outshines the stars; Augustus, the hope of the human race, the vicegerent of Jove himself.'

The framework of the Ode is suggested by the opening of Pind. Ol. 2:

\[ \text{ἀναξιφώρμυγες ὑμοι} \]
\[ \text{τίνα θεόν, τίνι ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἀνδρα κελαθήσομεν;} \]

But after the question has been asked the resemblance ceases. In Pindar it is, answered immediately: 'The god is Zeus, the hero Hercules, the man Theron,' and all three are directly connected with the Olympian victory which Theron has won.

On the date of this Ode, see Introd. to Odes i-iii. § 2.

The arguments as to the latest time at which it can have been written or published seem irresistible. It cannot have been after Marcellus' untimely death in the autumn of B.C. 23. The earliest date is commonly fixed by his marriage with Julia in B.C. 25, when Augustus adopted him as his son. The Ode links his name too closely to the Julian house to have been written before Augustus had given final and unmistakable proofs of his intentions towards him.

QUEM virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
Tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
Quem deum? Cuius recinet iocosa
Nomen imago
Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
Aut super Pindo gelidove in Haemo?
Unde vocalem temere insecutae
Orpheus silvae,

1. lyra vel acri tibia, see on Od. 1. 32, and on 3. 4. 1.
2. sumis celebrare, App. 2. § 1.
3. Clio, see on Od. 1. 1. 32.
4. 3-6. Clio is to sing, not Horace, and so the song will be sung in the Muses' haunts on Helicon (in Boeotia), on Pindus (in Thessaly, Virg. E. 10. 11), or on Haemus, the old home of Orpheus (in Thrace, Virg. G. 2. 488).
5. iocosa imago, Od. 1. 20. 7; in neither case is any specially freakish echo intended.
6. oris, not confined to the seashore, Od. 1. 26. 4.
7. 7-13. A reminiscence of the power of song. He implies, 'let your song be such as that.'
8. temere, 'pell-mell,' 'nullo ordine,' in their hurry to hear.
HORATII CARMINUM

Arte materna rapidōs morantem
Fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos,
Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere quercus.
Quid prius dicam solitis parentis
Laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum,
Qui mare ac terras variisque mundum
Temperat horis?
Unde nil maius generatur ipso,
Nec viget quidquid simile aut secundum:
Proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.
Proelii audax neque te silebo
Liber et sacris inimica Virgo

11. blandum ducere, App. 2. § 2.
13. dicam, a usual word with Horace for 'canere,' 'praedicare,' cp. Od. 1. 17. 19. 1. 19. 12. 1. 21. 1. 3. 4. 1, etc.
parentis, 'the sire' of gods and men.
This is the reading of the oldest MSS.,
though both V and A have also a v. l.
'parentum,' which is found in many
MSS. and was read by the Comm.
Cruq. 'Parentum' might be construed
with 'laudibus' as the genitive either of
the subject (as it is taken by Comm.
Cruq.), 'the hymn of praise ascribed
by our fathers,' or of the object, 'the
praises ascribed to our fathers.'
In the first case, though the construction would
not run as smoothly as it does with
'parentis,' there would be no alteration in
the order of the thought. We should
still be answering the question, 'Quem
deam?' But the second rendering makes
'Quid dicam?' not part of an
answer, but a new question: 'What
can come before the praise of our fore-
fathers?' 'The praise of Jupiter.' We
do not expect to go through a list of
gods, and then to answer the question,
'Quem heros?' before we come to any
further allusion to the 'parentes.' It is
not even as if the 'laudes parentem'
were the main subject of the Ode,
worthy to be named now though they
are necessarily postponed for a time.
They are only to be parts of a climax
which leads up to Augustus. But the
idea that the purpose was simply 'to
praise famous men and our fathers that
began us' would naturally suggest 'pa-
rentum' to a copyist who did not read
on, or view the Ode as a whole. With
the 'Quid prius dicam?' cp. Virg. E. 3.
60 'Ab Iove principium, Musae,' Theoc.
17. 1, and for the whole order of the
objects of the poet's praises, cp. 4. 15.
28-32 'deos, virtute functos duces..
Progeniem Veneris.'
14. qui res, etc., Virg. Aen. 1. 230
'O qui res hominumque deumque Aeter-
nis regis imperis.'
15. mundum, surrounding space.
16. horis, like the Gr. ἐπας, 'sea-
sons'; so again A. P. 302 'sub verni
temporis horam.'
17. unde, 'from whom,' of a person,
Od. 1. 28. 28, Sat. 1. 6. 13. 2. 6. 21.
The Schol. quote Virg. Aen. 1. 6 'genus
unde Latinum.' Cp. the use of 'undi-
qu,' Od. 1. 7. 7.
secundum, Cic. Brut. 47 'nec enim
in quadrigis cum secundum numeraverim
aut tertium qui vix e carceribus exierit
cum palmar iam primus acceperit.'
21. proelii audax. Bentley, fol-
lowed by Ritter, puts the stop after
instead of before these words, making
them an epithet of Pallas, who is pre-
eminently 'Arripotens,' 'Belliopotens,'
etc. But Bacchus is 'idem pacis medi-
usque belli' in Od. 2. 19. 28.
22. Virgo, Diana, the huntress.
Beluis nec te metuende certa  
Phoebe sagitta.  

Dicam et Alciden puerosque Ledae,  
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis  
Nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis  
Stella refulsit,  
Defruit saxis agitatus humor,  
Concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes,  
Et minax—quod sic voluere—ponto  
Unda recumbit.  

Romulum post hos prius, an quietum  
Pompili regnum memorem, an superbos  
Tarquini fasces, dubito, an Catonis  
Nobile letum.  

Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae  
Prodigum Paulum superante Poeno

26. Hom. II. 3. 27 Κάστορα 6' ιππο- 
damov και ποδ άγαθον Πωλυδένεια,  
pugnis, πυγμαγία, 'boxing.'  
27. alba stella, see on Od. 1. 3. 2;  
'alba,' probably as bringing back clear  
weather, as 'albus Notus,' Od. 1. 7. 15.  
29. agitatus humor, 'the wind- 
driven spray.' It has been blown high  
up the rocks, now it streams down them  
and is not blown up again.  
31. quod sic voluere. The MSS.  
have a strange variety of readings. The  
majority, including V, have 'quia sic,'  
B 'qui sic,' two 'Di sic,' one 'nam sic,'  
Porph., with one or two MSS. of no  
special value, 'quod sic.' 'Di' and  
'nam' are evidently alterations. The  
former, though Bentley defends it,  
would be out of place, as we are now  
as (as Ritter remarks) celebrating the  
power of heroes. Of the rest, 'quia'  
is out of the question itself metrically,  
but it is a likely gloss of 'quod.'  
ponto is a local ablative, where in  
strictness we require 'in pontum,' as  
motion is expressed, Virg. G. 1. 401  
'campo recumbunt'; cp. Aen. 5. 481  
'procumbit humi bos.'  
34. superbos Tarquini fasces. The  
apparent mention of Tarquinius Super-  
bus among the Roman worthies has  
troubled commentators from the Scho-  
liliasts downwards. The latter are dri- 

ven to take the words impossibly of  
Tarquiniius Priscus. A comparison of  
Virg. Aen. 6. 817, 818, seems to show  
that it is no merit of Tarquin, but the  
glory of the Regifugium that Horace is  
recalling. It suggests the leap across  
Roman history to the death of Cato of  
Utica, the latest, as that was the earliest  
instance of devotion 'pulchra pro liber-  
tate.' Bentley, in his wish to bind  
Horace to a chronological order which  
in such cases he never follows, would  
rob him of the credit of this tribute to  
a lost cause (see on Od. 2. 7) by reading  
ex mera conj. 'anne Curti.'  
37. Regulum, see on Od. 3. 5.  
Scauros. The reference, as in Ju-  
venal's catalogue of the stern Censors  
of old days, TI. 90 'Quum tremerent  
Fabios durumque Catonem Et Scauros  
et Fabricios,' is to M. Aemilius Scaurus,  
Cos. B.C. 115 and 107. As censor in  
B.C. 109, he constructed the Aemilian  
Road. Cicero is never tired of extol- 
ling him, see esp. pro Font. 7 and pro  
Mun. 7. The plural need mean no more  
than 'such people as Scaurus,' as in Vir- 
gil's 'Extulit hac Decios, Marios,  
magnosque Camilios,' G. 2. 169, and  
Juvenal's 'Fabricios,' 1. c.  
38. Paulum, L. Aemilius Paulus,  
the Consul who refused to leave the  
fatal field of Cannae, Liv. 22. 38 foll.
Gratus insigni referam Camena
Fabriciumque.
Hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tuit et Camillum
Saeva paupertas et avitus apto
Cum lare fundus.
Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo
Fama Marcelli; incaer inter omnes
Iulium sidus velut inter ignes
Luna minores.
Gentis humanae pater atque custos
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo
Caesare regnes.
Ille, seu Parthos Latio imminentes
Egerit iusto domitos triumpho,
Sive subjactos Orientis orae
Seras et Indos,

40. Fabricium, C. Fabricius Lusci-
nus, Cos. B.C. 282 and 278; 'parvo
potentem Fabricium,' Virg. Aen. 6.844.
The story of his refusal to avail himself
of treachery against Pyrrhus is told by
Cicero, Off. 3. 22; stories of his con-
tented poverty by Val. Max. 4. 3. 6; cp.
Cic. Tusc. 3. 23.
41-44. 'He and Curius of hair un-
kempt were bred to do good service in
war, and Camillus too, by stern po-
verty and the ancestral farm with its
cottage home to match.' They were
'rusticorum mascula militum Proles,'
Od. 3. 2. 37.
41. incomptis, cp. Od. 2. 15. 11
'intonsi Catonis,' of Cato the Censor.
Pliny (N. H. 7. 59) says that the first
tensor' was brought to Rome from
Sicily in B.C. 300, and that Scipio Afri-
canus was the first Roman who was
shaved daily. To have lived before the
days of barbers implies antiquity, and
the absence of softer modern habits.
Curium, M. Curium Dentatus, who
as Consul won the battle of Beneven-
tum, B.C. 275. He is a standing ex-
ample of ancient Roman simplicity.
'Qui Curios simulat,' Juv. 2. 3; cp. id.
1. 78 foll. Cicero, Sen. 16, numbers
him among the worthies who 'a villa in
senatum arcesebantur.'
45. 'As a tree grows by the un-
marked lapse of time, so grows the
glory of Marcellus'; so the glory of the
house, dating at least from the captor of
Syracuse (B.C. 212), is now culminating
in the young Marcellus.
oculto, as Lucret., of the wearing
away of iron by infinitesimal decrements,
'occulte decrescit vomer in arvis,' 1.
315.
47. Iullum sidus, 'the star of Ju-
llius' is the same as 'Caesari astrum,'
Virg. E. 9. 47, the comet which ap-
peared after Julius Caesar's death.
Here it stands for the name and great-
ness of the Julian house.
51. fatis, as often 'fato.' The fates
are not here personified.
secundo Caesar, 'with Caesar for
thy vicegerent.'
53-57. He—it is only a choice of
triumphs, we do not know what the
first will be—shall rule the world.
53. Latio imminentes. For the ex-
aggeration cp. Od. 3. 6. 9-16.
54. iusto, 'well earned.'
55. subjactos, etc., 'that border the
land of the rising sun'; so in Liv. 2. 38.
1 ' campus viae subjactus,' 'sub.' of
succession.
orae, see on v. 5.
56. Seras, Od. 1. 29. 9. 3. 29. 27. 4.
LIB. I. OD. 13.

Te minor latum reget aequus orbem;
Tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
Tu parum castis inimica mittes
Fulmina lucis.

15. 23. They stand with Horace for the peoples of the extreme East. He probably knew nothing of them except that silk came across Asia from them, Virg. G. 2. 121. As described by ancient geographers, 'Serica' is supposed to correspond to the north-west provinces of the present empire of China.

57. te minor, 'while he bows to thee,' Od. 3. 6. 5. 'Dis te minorem quod geris imperas.' It is not merely a division of sovereignty, 'Caesar on earth, Jove in heaven' (cp. Od. 3. 5. 1), but the two sovereignties are connected. The rule of Caesar is the restoration of religion.

latum. The MSS. are fairly divided between 'latum' and 'laetum'; 'latum' seems to sum up the feeling of the last stanza best, 'laetum' would mean 'to its joy.'

59. parum castis. Lightning striking a place was held to prove that it had been polluted by some crime, and the spot was covered lest any should tread on it. Dict. Ant. s. v. 'bidental,' and cp. Hor. A. P. 471; so that Horace, with a more general meaning, selects a particular instance, popularly recognized, of the moral government of Jove, 'Coelo tonantem credidimus Iovem Regnare.'

ODE XIII.

'Ir is torture to me, Lydia, to hear you for ever praising Telephus. Love as passionate and boisterous as his is not the love that lasts. Happy they that are bound in that true chain!'

Metre—Third Asclepiad.

CUM tu, Lydia, Telephi
Cervicem roseam, cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia, vae meum

1. Telephi. Telephi, 'of Telephus—always Telephus.' The repetition is emphatic; cp. Epod. 14. 6, and one interpretation of Virg. E. 7. 70 'Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis.' The name of Telephus recurs in 3. 10. 26 and 4. 11. 21, and always of the same ideal character. a youth, 'puro similis vespero,' whose beauty brings the ladies to his feet, and (here and in 4. 11.) stands in the way of the poet's own imagined affections.

2. roseam, 'lustrous,' Virg. Aen. 1. 402. Cp. Horace's 'purpureis orloribus,' Od. 4. 1. 10: the notion of colour is lost in the more general one of brightness.

cerea. Servius, on Virg. E. 2. 53, explains this epithet as meaning 'soft,' 'supple.' Flavius Caper, a grammarian older than Servius, quotes the passage as running 'lacten . . . brachia,' and interprets it 'candida,' which may mean either that he had found 'lacten' (possibly as a gloss on 'cerea') or that he had interpreted 'cerea,' 'white,' and then forgotten the exact word which Horace had used instead of the simple 'candida.'
Fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.
Certa sede manent, humor et in genas
Furtim labitur, arguens
Quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.
Uror, seu tibi candidos
Turparunt humeros inmodicæ mero
Rixae, sive puer-•fures
Impressit memorem dente labris notam.
Non, si me satis audias,
Speres perpetuum, dulcia barbare
Lacedentem oscula, quae Venus
Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuist.
Felices ter et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula nec malis
Divolsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvet amor die.

4. *difficili, χαλεψ: ἀγαλέος χόλος*, Hom. II. 18. 119, 'difficult to treat.'
   *iecur*, the seat of passion with the ancients; so 'bilis.'
5. *nec mens nec color.* Almost a *zeugma*, like Virgil's 'incepoque et sedibus haeret in isdem,' Aen. 2. 654; the use of the same verb of a mental and a physical fact, 'my mind reels and my colour comes and goes.'
8. *quam lentis,* slow, and so torturing.
14. *perpetuum,* 'constant.'
15. *oscula* = 'labella,' 'the pretty lips,' Virg. Aen. 1. 236 'Oscula libavit natae.'
16. *quinta parte.* Ibycus according to Athenaeus, 2. p. 39 B, called *honey έκνατον μέρος ηθη μωβρωσίας.* And the Scholiast, on Pind. Pyth. 9. 116, says that honey had been said to be *δικατον μέρος ηθη ὄμωασίας.* It is possible that Horace may have had some such words in his head in giving this numerical ratio of the sweetness of Lydia's lips. Another suggestion, to which Orelli in-

clines, is that he is thinking of Pythagoras' division of the elements, earth, air, fire, water, and ether, the *πέμπτον ὅη, πέμπτη ὀυαία,* 'quinta essentia,' the most perfect element; so that 'quinta pars' will mean the 'purest and best' of her nectar. 'Quintessence,' with other words of the Pythagorean philosophy, was affected by the Alchemists, and has passed from them into modern language; but if we use it in translating Horace we must keep it free from any unconscious associations of their chemical processes. It is the 'best part,' not what a modern perfumer would call the 'essence.'
20. *suprema citius die,* 'sooner than at death.' We may say that 'citius' is used for 'citius quam,' as 'amplius' and 'plus'; 'neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas,' Virg. G. 4. 207; or that the ablative does double duty, as the ablative of comparison and of the point of time. Cp. Od. 4. 14. 13 'plus vice simplici.'
ODE XIV.

The ship addressed has just escaped from a storm, its mast broken, its hull shattered, its sails in ribands. The harbour is in sight. The wind is rising again. It is warned not to drift back into a sea in which it cannot live.

Quintilian (8. 6. 44) makes the Ode his illustration of the meaning of the term 'allegoria.' 'Ut "O navis referent," etc., totusque ille Horatii locus quo navem pro republica, fluctuum tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit.' And the poem of Alcaeus, which looks like its model, was believed by the ancients to be an allegorical description of the political troubles of Mitylene:

\[\text{just as long as we are content with Quintilian's general exposition, all is simple. The allegory is satisfied when the commonwealth, in danger of relapsing into civil war, has become a sea-weary ship, drifting back into the storm. The masts, the sails, the pine of Pontus, the Cyclades, belong to the ship, and we must not look for their exact counterparts in the State. Here, as with other allegories, we are beset with difficulties the moment we attempt to fit the details more exactly. It has been argued, from vv. 17, 18, that Horace speaks of the ship as if he had himself left it (but see notes on those verses), and that the subject of the Ode must, therefore, be not the State but the Republican party. Why, others ask, is it a Pontic pine, not some other—Idean, perhaps, as more suitable to the mythical origin of Rome? Acron suggested the answer, which has since been developed into a whole theory of the purpose of the Ode. Pompey was the conqueror of Mithridates of Pontus. The ship, therefore, represents the fortunes of his son, Sextus Pompeius, whom Horace would dissuade from embarking again in war with Octavianus after the treaty of Misenum, b.c. 39. The difficulties of interpretation seemed so great to Muretus, Dacier, and Bentley, that they refused to allow the Ode to be allegorical at all.

On our view there will be nothing to fix it to a definite date. The ship is in sight of harbour. This distinguishes the Ode from Epodes vii. and xvi. (see the Introductions to them). It is not yet moored beyond the reach of the wind. So long as the most timid politician could see in any movement a thought of renewed resistance to the rule which had saved Rome from anarchy, so long might Horace have vented his fears, or appealed to the fears of others by this allegory.

A plausible suggestion of Torrentius, which Franke adopts, finds an occasion
for the Ode in b.c. 29, when Augustus, according to the statement both of Suetonius (Oct. 28) and of Dio Cassius (52. 1), entertained the thought of abandoning the supreme power which had just fully come into his hands. Dio gives a speech of Maecenas on that occasion, in which he uses the very allegory of the Ode. As Maclean remarks, this may prove too much. It is as certain as can be that Horace drew his image not from any speech of Maecenas, but from Alcaeus. Maecenas or Dio may more probably have taken theirs from Horace.

The image of a ship for the State is an old one. See, inter alia, Aesch. Sept. c. T. 1, Soph. O. T. 25, Plat. Resp. p. 488, Theognis, 671–682.

**Metre—Fifth Asclepiad.**

O NAVIS, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus! O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum! Nonne vides, ut
Nudum remigio latus
Et malus celeri saucus Africo
Antennaeque gemant, ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinae
Possint imperiosius
Aequor? Non tibi sunt integra lintea,
Non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo.

1. referent... novi, a double statement. Fresh waves are rising, and they will carry thee back. Horace speaks of the civil war under the same metaphor in Od. 2. 7. 15 ‘Te rursus in bellum resorbens Unda fretis tulit aestuosis,’ and in Epp. 2. 2. 47 ‘Civilis... belli... aestus’; although in those cases it is individuals, not the State, who are battling with the waves.

2. fortiter occupa portum, ‘make a brave effort and gain the harbour first,’ i.e. before the fresh waves prevent you. The ship is still outside the bar.

4. nudum, supply ‘sit,’ as also after ‘saucus.’ Orelli speaks of this as ‘miro zeugmate ex v. “gemant” v. “sit” elicere,’ and thinks it far more poetical to make ‘gemant’ the verb to all three clauses. But it is a harsher zeugma to speak of a broadside swept bare of rowers as ‘groaning’ in the same sense as yardarms. And if ‘gemant’ apply to all three subjects, the ‘antennae’ are left without any special description of the injury done to them. Bentley, accepting the reading of some of the less ancient MSS, ‘gemunt,’ ‘pos- sunt,’ puts the question at ‘latus,’ making the second stanza consist of cate-

gorical statements. For ‘vides ut... gemant,’ the particular sense of ‘seeing’ being lost after a time in the more general notion of ‘perceiving,’ cp. Od. 3. 10. 5–8 ‘Audis quo strepitu Ianua... remugiat Ventis, et positas ut glaciect nives Iuppiter,’ and Virg. Aen. 4. 490 ‘mugire videbis Sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.’

6. sine funibus. They are the ἱπποζώματα of Plat. Resp. p. 616 C; cp. Acts 27. 17 Βοηθείας ἐξρώντο ἵπποζώνυμτες τὸ πλοῖον, ropes passed round the hull to prevent the timbers starting.


carinae, apparently a plural for a sing., the keel and all that belongs to it, the timbers that start from it, the hull, the bottom. Bentley takes it as a proper plural, ‘Other ships about you cannot hold without anchors.’

8. imperiosius, ‘too tyrannous,’ ‘peremptory.’ The sea insists on breaking in, will have no refusal.

10. non di, sc. ‘sunt integri.’ The images of gods which were carried on board as a protection to the ship; Pers. 6. 30 ‘Iacet ipse in litore, et una Ingentes de puppe dei.’
Quamvis Pontica pinus,
Silvae filia nobilis,
Iactes et genus et nomen inutile;
Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
Fidit. Tu, nisi ventis
Debes ludibrium, cave.
Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
Nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
Interfusa nitentes
Vites acquoara Cycladas.

12. nobilis, with 'silvae,' a forest of name; cp. 3. 13, 13 'fies nobilium tu quoque fontium.'
14. pictis puppibus, Virg. Aen. 5. 663. Ships in Homer are μιλτοσάραοι. Seneca, perhaps thinking of this place, Ep. 76 'navis bona dicitur non quae pretiosis coloribus picta est, . . . sed stabi lis et firma et iuncturis aquam exclu dentibus spissa.'
timidus, 'in the time of his fear.'
15, 16. nisi debes . . . cave, 'unless thou art doomed to make sport for the winds, take good heed,' i.e. if it is any use to warn you, be warned. 'Cave,' absolutely, as in Epod. 6. 11 'cave . . . cave.' 'Debere' is 'to be bound to give'; it may be, because we have received an equivalent; it may be, as here, by some irreversible law outside of us, as we talk of death as the 'debt' of nature. 'Debemur morti nos nostra que,' A. P. 62. It is not necessary to imagine with Orelli a hesitation between the two constructions, 'nisi mavis perire, cave' and 'cave ne pereas,' or with Dill', an ἄγα κοινον' government of 'ludibrium' by 'debes' and 'cave.' You could not say 'cavere ludibrium' in the same sense of 'ludibrium' in which you would say 'debere ludibrium ventis.' The position of 'cave' gives it the necessary emphasis.
17, 18. Here Horace seems to be thinking of the Commonwealth as much as of the ship. The contrast is between the two moments, a few hours ago when the ship was struggling for existence in the storm, and now when it is at the haven's mouth, but still not quite safe. His feeling towards it then was 'a hopeless heart-sickening,' now it is 'a fond yearning and anxious care.'
18. desiderium does not necessarily imply regret for what is lost or impossible to get, see for instance, Od. 3. 1. 25 'desiderantem quod satis est.'
19. nitentes, 'fulgentes Cycladas,' Od. 3. 28. 19. of their marble rocks. Perhaps there is a notion of 'tempting to the eye but destructive.'
ODE XV.

Nereus becalms Paris, as he flies with Helen, to foretell to him his own fate and the destruction of Troy.

'Hac ode Bacchylidem imitatur; nam ut illae Cassandrae facit vaticinari futura belli Troiani ita hic Proteum,' Porph. (The last word is a slip arising from a reminiscence of the prophecies of Proteus in Hom. Od. 4.) The same statement is repeated by a Scholiast on Stat. Theb. 7. 330. If, however, the fine verses which Clement of Alexandria quotes, without giving the name of their author (Strom. 5. 731 δ Ἀμφῖδος φησι), belonged, as is commonly believed, to this poem, Horace's imitation cannot have extended beyond the mere framework.

The lines of Bacchylides are:

ollideres Ἀρηφιλοι, Ζεὺς ὑψιέθων, ὃς ἀπαντα δέρνεται
οὐκ αἰτίος θνατοῖς μεγάλοις ἄχεων ἄλλ' ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται κιχείν
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι Δίκαιν δύσιν, ἀγάνιν,
Εὐφομίας ἀκόλουθοι καὶ πιννᾶς Θέμιδος
ἀλβιόν παιδεῖ νυν εὑρόντες σύνοικον.

Fr. 29 (Bergk).

The imagery of Horace's Ode is really Homer's rather than that of the Greek lyricists, cp. Od. 1. 6.

A Scholiast calls the Ode an allegory of Antony and Cleopatra, and that explanation of it is adopted by several editors, Landinus, Baxter, and Sanadon. Ritter draws the parallel out in detail. Paris, hidden by Venus in Helen's chamber, is Antony taking refuge in Cleopatra's ship at Actium, etc. The whole theory is very improbable. Mitsch. remarks that the first suggestion of it is probably due to the position of the Ode. The key which had unlocked the last was applied to this. Compare the relation of the next two Odes to one another.

The Ode is imitated by Statius, Achill. 1. 20 foll.

Metre—Fourth Aeschiad.

PASTOR cum traheret per freta navibus
Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam,
Ingrato celeres obruit otio
Ventos, ut caneret fera
Nereus fata: Mala ducis avi domum,

1. pastor, Virg. Aen. 7. 363 'Phrygian pastor.'
2. Helenen. The older MSS. are divided between 'am' and 'en,' the majority of later ones are for the Greek form, see on Od. 1. 1. 34.
perfidus hospitam, 'his hostess,' cp. Od. 3. 3. 26 'famous hospes.' The great sting of Paris' offence was that he ἐγχύνει εἰναίαν τράπεζαν κλαπαίει γυναι-

kós, Aesch. Ag. 401. For the relation of the two adjectives, cp. 3. 7. 13 'per-

fida credulum.'
3. ingrato, to the winds themselves, as in Virg. Aen. 1. 55 'Illi indignantes magno cum murmur montis Circum claustra fremunt.'
5. Diff', remarks on the weight given to the words 'Nereus fata' by their reservation to this place, the name
Quam multo repetet Graccia militem, 
Coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias 
Et regnum Priam vetus.

Heu heu quantus equis, quantus adestr viris 
Suder! quanta moves funera Dardanæ 
Genti! Iam galeam Pallas et aegida

Currusque et rabiem parat.

Nequicquam Veneris praesidio ferox 
Pectes caesariem grataque feminis 
Imbelli cithara carmina divides;

Nequicquam thalamo graves 
Hastas et calami spicula Gnosii 
Vitabis strepitumque et celereum sequi

of the speaker, and the nature of his words. They bespeak attention for the prophecy which follows.

*mala avi*, Od. 3. 3, 6 ‘alite lugubri’; 
Epod. 10. 1 ‘mala alite’; Od. 4. 6. 23 
‘potiore alite,’ like the Gr. ὤψις, ὀλονόσ.

7. *rumpere,* by a zeugma (Madv. § 478, obs. 4) with ‘nuptias’ and ‘regnum.’ The union of the two objects under the one verb helps the feeling that the same blow will effect both purposes.

9. Hom. II. 2. 388 ἱδρώσει μὲν τοις τελαμών... ἱδρώσει δὲ τοις ἵπποισ.

10. *quaenta funera,* ‘what a scene of death!’ Virg. Aen. 8. 557 ‘Heu quantae miseries cæcedes Laurentibus instant.’ See Forc. for this use of ‘quant̉’ with a plural, where we should expect ‘quot.’ The strongest instance quoted from an Augustan writer is Prop. 1. 5. 10 ‘Ac tibi curarum milia quanta labit.’ It is poetical, and seems to include the notion of magnitude as well as of number, ‘What a mighty host of cares!’

*moves,* used, without any definite metaphor, of ‘setting in motion,’ ‘beginning,’ ‘causing.’

Dardanæ, Od. 4. 6. 7. The poets, and especially Horace, use the names of nations and tribes as adjectives instead of the fuller derivative forms in -ius or -icus. ‘Marsus aper,’ Od. 1. 1. 28; 
‘Medium flumen,’ 2. 9. 21; ‘Afro rice,’ 2. 16. 35; ‘Thyna merce,’ 3. 7. 3. They extend the liberty even to the proper names of individuals, as here; 
cp. C. S. 47, Od. 4. 5. 1 ‘Romulae genti’; Virg. Aen. 6. 877 ‘Romula tellus’.

12. *currusque et rabiem,* her rage is one of its own weapons, as Aeneas in 
Virg. Aen. 12. 107 ‘acuit mentem et se suscitat ira’; and Hecuba, in Ov. Met. 13. 554 ‘se armat et instruit ira.’ For the union of abstract and concrete, 
Orelli quotes Hom. II. 3. 447 σῶν ἐβαλον μνών, σῶν ἐγχεα, καὶ μένε 
ἀνθρώπων, and Hor. Od. 1. 35. 33 ‘cicatricum et sceleris.’

13 foll. Hom. II. 3. 54 οὐκ ἂν τοῖς χραιμίοις κιθαρεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀφροδίτης ἔν 
τε κόμη, τὸ τε ἂγος, ὅτι εν κοινῷ μι-

ten. 

15. *divides.* The meaning is doubtful. 
Orelli understands by it ‘halve the song with the guitar,’ i.e. between the voice and the guitar, ‘make the guitar take half the song.’ Or it may conceivably mean ‘mark the time of songs,’ ‘accompany them.’ Cp. Luc. 2. 688 ‘buccina dividit horas,’ ‘tell the hours,’ i.e. ‘mark their divisions.’ Dill gives it a simpler sense, comparing Od. 1. 36. 6 ‘sodalibus .. dividit oscula, 
sing to one and another’; ‘feminis’ will then depend, ἀνθρώπων, on ‘grata’ and, ‘divides.’

16. *thalamo,* of Venus carrying him from the fight to Helen’s chamber, II. 3. 381.

graves, compare Homer’s spear, 
βρασθ, μέγα, στιβαρόν; and there is an 
Horatian contrast between the weighty spear and the light arrow of reed.

17. Gnosii, Cretan, Virg. Aen. 5. 306 
‘Gnosia spicula’; E. 10. 59 ‘Cydonia.’

18. celerem sequi, Ὑλάγος ταξις 
Alias, Hom. II. 2. 527, etc.
Aiacem; tamen heu serus adulteros
Crines pulvere collines.

Non Laërtiaden, exitium tuae
Genti, non Pylium Nestora respicis?

Urgent impavidit te Salaminius
Teucer et Sthenelus sciens

Pugnae, sive opus est imperitare equis,
Non auriga piger; Merionen quoque
Nosces. Ecce furt te reperire atrox

Tydides melior patre,
Quem tu, cervus uti vallis in altera
Visum parte lupum graminis immemor,

Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,

Non hoc pollicitus tuae.

Iracunda diem proferet Ilio
Matronisque Phrygum classis Achillei;

Post certas hiemes urret Achaicus

Ignis Iliacas domos.

20. crines. The MSS. are divided
between this and ‘cultus,’ ‘ornaments.’
Acr. read ‘crines,’ as he illustrates it
by Virg. Aen. 12. 99 ‘foedare in pulvere
crines.’ And the reference seems to be
to the line of Hom. quoted on v. 13.
With ‘adulteros crines,’ cp. ‘impia
cervice,’ 3. 1. 17; ‘timido tergo,’ 3. 2.
16; ‘libero tergo,’ 3. 5. 22; ‘iratos regum
apices,’ 3. 21. 20; and in Gr. ελευθέρων δήρων, Aesch. Ag. 328.

24. With some hesitation I have fol-
lowed Orelli in reading ‘Teucer et’; Ritter, Dillenburger, and Keller, give
‘Teucerque et.’ The MSS. are fairly di-
vided between these two readings and
‘Teucerque et,’ which Bentley preferred.
The Scholiasts do not help us, and
though Cruquius says that 3 Bland.
read ‘Teucer te,’ he does not distinctly
cite the oldest. The considerations in
favour of ‘et’ are: (1) that there was
an obvious metrical reason for altering
it; (2) that this reason, with the read-
ing itself, explains the double variation
‘te,’ ‘que et.’ What could be the mo-
tive for altering either of these to the
other? (3) the number of ‘urgent.’
‘Teucerque’ is awkward, as the position
of ‘que’ would seem to make ‘Sala-
minius’ an epithet of Sthenelus as well
as Teucer.

sciens pugnae, Homer’s μάχης εὖ
eidás, ‘citharae sciens,’ Od. 3. 9. 10.
Orelli points out that the form ‘sciens
sive opus est,’ etc., is very likely from
Hom. Od. 9. 49 ἑπιστάμενοι μὲν ἄφ
ἵππων ‘Ἀδριάοι μάρωναβαί καὶ ὅτε χρῆ
πειρὸν ἠνών.’

27. nosces, ‘thou shalt come to know.’
furt reperire, App. 2. § 1.

28. melior patre, from Hom. II. 4.
405, where Sthenelus says, ἢμεῖς τοι πα-
tέρων μέγ’ ἀμέμνονε εὐχόμεθ’ εἰναι.

31. sublimi, a translation apparently
of μετέφρασ. Liddell and Scott compare
the phrase πνεύμ’ ἐχειν ἀνω, ‘to be out
of breath.’ The breath ‘is stopped mid-
way,’ can’t get down, but stays at the
entrance of the lungs.

33. iracunda classis, the anger
which kept Achilles’ ships apart from the
rest.

diem proferet, ‘shall postpone the
day of doom.’

34. Achillei, see on Ulyxei, Od. 1.
6. 7.

36. For the trochee, as the ‘basis’ of
the line and in v. 24, see Index of
metres, § 1.
ODE XVI.

'Fair daughter of a mother fair, though not so fair as you, burn and forget my scurrilous iambics. Passion is as restless as the afflatus of Cybele, or Apollo, or Bacchus. We are all liable to it, we all have our share of the lion's heart. You may read its effects in all story. Curb your passion; I too was led astray by it. Forgive me; accept my palinode and be my friend.'

'Tyndarides satisfacit... Imitatus est Stesichorum poetam Siculum qui vituperationem Helenae scribens coecatus est et postea responso Apollinis laudem eius scripsit et oculorum aspectum recepit, cujus rei et in Epodo poeta idem meminit:—

'Infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice
Fraterque magni Castoris victi prece
Adempta vati reddidere lumiua.' Acron.

'Hac ode παλίνδραυν repromittit ei in quam probrosum carmen scripserer Tyndaridi amicae suae.' Porph.

In accordance with this the Ode is headed in the MSS. B and A 'ad Tyndariden.'

'Cantat palinodium, i.e. cantando revocat quae scripserer iratus in amicam Gratidiam,' Comm. Cruq. And so some MSS. head it 'Palinodia Gratidia.' Others unite the two views, and identify 'Tyndaris' with 'Gratidia' or 'Canidia'; 'Palinodia Gratidia eti Tyndaridis.'

For the first view, which identifies the unknown object of this palinode with the Tyndaris of the following Ode, there seems to be no external argument. There was the temptation to connect the two Odes, to make the invitation of that the complement of the reconciliation in this; and the connection of the name of Helen on the one side with the name of Tyndaris, and on the other with the original 'palinode,' would easily suggest to ingenious Scholiasts the desired link.

'With respect to the second view the case is not so clear. If the 'criminosi iambi' here recanted are to be looked for among Horace's extant poems, they can hardly be other than his attacks on Canidia in Epodes 5 and 17. To our ideas it is a slight recantation for such a libel, so much so that it might seem to force us to give both to the Epodes and to Sat. 1. 8 less reality than we should naturally give. There is no bitterness in this Ode, nothing which would justify us in holding (for this is one suggestion) that it is a continuation of the libel, the 'tu pudica, tu proba' which he offered to sing, 'mendaci lyra,' 'tuning his harp to falsehood,' in Epod. 17. 39.; but yet the tone of the palinode is barely serious. There is a mock heroic air in the 'urbes altae,' 'Thyestes,' 'Prometheus' (comp. Od. 2. 4, 4. 11. 25 foll., and Epod. 3). It is intended, as Newman says, to make the occasion slightly ridiculous, to represent both himself and the lady as having made too much of it.

The παλίνδραυa of Stesichorus, which added to the legend of Troy the famous variation that it was only a phantom in Helen's shape that Paris carried from Mycenae, is mentioned by Plato, Phaedo. 243 A, who quotes the first three lines:—

οὖν ἐστ’ ἐτώμες λόγος οὕτος
οὖθ' ἐβας ἐν νυσίν εὐσέλμοις
οὖθ’ ἱκεο Περγάμα Τροίας.
Acron's statement, 'Stesichorum imitatur,' can barely mean more than that Horace took from him the idea of a 'palinode.' Ritter suggests that the first line may be an echo of some line in which Stesichorus addressed Helen as fairer than her mother Leda.

O MATER pulchra filia pulchrior,
Quem criminosis cunque voles modum
Pones ãmbis, sive flamma
Sive mari libet Hadriano.
Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
Mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
Non Liber aequè, non acuta
Sic geminant Corybantes aera,
Tristes ut irae, quas neque Noricus

2. modum pones, 'modum ponere,'
'to set bounds,' 'cupidinibus, orationi,
etc., are common expressions, cp. Od.
3. 15. 2 'nequitiae fìge modum.' There
is a play in its extension here to mean
simply 'to put an end to,' i.e. 'destroy.'
The verses have been intemperate, the
lady shall put bounds to them in the
only possible way. Compare Ovid's
trope, 'Emendaturis ignibus,' Trist.
4. 10. 62.

3. pones, the permissive future, 'you
shall if you wish,' see on Od. 1. 6. 1.
4. Hadriano, see on Od. 1. 1. 14.
5-9. 'Ira furor brevis est.' 'No di-
vine afflatus makes those it possesses so
reckless as the passion of anger.'
5. Dindymene, 'Dea Dindymi,' Cat.
62. 91, a mountain in Phrygia where
Cybele was worshipped.

non adytis... incola Pythius.
It seems best to take this as a slight inver-
sion, after Horace's manner, for 'adytis
Pythii incola,' 'not in his shrine at
Pytho the god who dwells there'; comp.
Epod. 10. 12 'Graia victorum manus
for the more usual 'Graiorum.' For
the mode of describing the god, comp.
Virg. Aen. 3. 111 'mater cultix Cy-
belae.' Possibly 'incola' may have a
stronger force, and represent Findar's
ovis apôdomos tiychov (Pyth. 4. 7), 'when
his presence is there'; with reference to
the migrations of gods from one shrine
to another. Dillenburger's interpreta-
tion is less likely. He takes 'sacer-
dotum,' ãpor ënîouö, with 'incola' as well
as with 'mentem,' 'his priests' hearts
when he possesses them,' quoting Plu-
tarch de Orac. Def. p. 414 c, τὸν θεὸν
avtov... ënûlûmeron eis ta sómata tòn
prophētôn 'upôphoûγeòvni.

adytis is opposed to the more widely
diffused afflatus, ënðosùmariôs, of Cybele
or Bacchus.

7-8. non acuta sic... aera, 'the
Corybantes do not clash again their
cymbals with such fury.' Grammatic-
ally, these words are in a parenthesis,
putting in another form what we have
already had of the priests of Cybele:
and the main construction harmonizes
not with them but with the other
clauses. 'Non Dindymene... non Apollo
... non Liber aequitium mentem...
tristes ut irae.' Bentley, offended at the
anacoluthon, proposed to read 'si' for
'sic,' constructing as Od. 2. 17. 13 'Me
nec Chimaeræ...spiritus igneae Nee si
resurgat centimanus Gyas Divellet un-
quam.' 'Not the Corybantes if they
clash again,' etc. His reading is ac-
cepted by Keller, Dillr., and others,
but in addition to the fact that only the
slightest MS. authority can be obtained
for it, there is the objection that it will
introduce an entirely new idea, viz. the
effect of the Corybantian cymbals on the
heavers, instead of what we have in the
rest of the stanza, the effect of the divine
afflatus on the ëndhòvì themselves; and as
the second-hand inspiration will be the
weaker, the result is an anticlimax.

9. tristes, 'ill-o mened,' 'odious,'
irae, 'bursts of passion.'

Noricus, Epod. 17. 71. Noricum, the
modern Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, was
famous for its iron, Plin. N. H. 34. 41.
Deterret ensis nec mare naufragum
Nec saevus ignis nec tremendo
Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu.
Furtur Prometheus, addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.
Irae Thyesten exitio gravi
Stravere et altis uribus ultimae
Stetere causae, cur perirent
Funditus imprimereque muris
Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.
Compese mentem: me quoque pectoris

10. deterret, frightens from their purpose.
Naufragum, actively, as Virg. Aen. 3. 553 ‘navisfragum Scylaceum.’
12. Iuppiter ipse ruens, cp. Od. 3. 3. 7 ‘Si fractus illabatur orbis Impavidum
ferient ruinae.’ The expression here contains a remembrance of Zêôs ἐκράτησαι, though the thought is not so much, as it is in the Greek, of the thunderbolt, as of the vault of heaven cracking, ‘ruit arduus aether,’ Virg. G. 1. 324, of the lightning, thunder, and rain; for ‘Iuppiter’ of the sky, cp. Od. 1. 1. 25.

13 foll. The legend of Prometheus does not appear in this form in extant Greek literature, see on Od. 1. 7. 21 and Epod. 13 introd. He is the creator of man in the myth of Plato’s Protagoras. 13–16. The simplest construction is to take ‘addere’ after ‘coactus,’ ‘apposuisse’ after ‘fertur,’ giving to ‘et’ the sense of ‘etiam,’ ‘also,’ ‘among the rest.’ Two other ways are proposed: (1) to take both infinitives after ‘fertur,’ ‘et’ coupling them together. It would be hard to justify the change of tense, for which there is no reason as there obviously is in Od. 3. 20. 11, the passage usually quoted in illustration; (2) to supply ‘esse’ with ‘coactus,’ ‘fertur coactus esse . . . et apposuisse’; cp. Tac. Ann. 1. 65 ‘visus est . . . obsecutus . . . et repuluisse.’

14. undique, from every animal; A. P. 3 ‘Undique collatis membris.’ The Schol. Crug. adds (possibly from an older commentator, and so conceivably from some fuller version of the legend), ‘Sic timorem deprompsit a lepore, a volpe astutiam.’

16. vim, to be taken closely with ‘insani,’ which defines its meaning, ‘the force of the lion’s fury.’
Stomacho, the seat of anger, see on Od. 1. 6. 6.

17. Thyesten. Thyestes stands as the representative of the crimes of passionate revenge in Greek Tragedy. Cp. Od. 1. 6. 8 ‘Saevam Pelopis domum.’

18. ultimae, the furthest off, the first link of the chain. Ritter quotes Virg. Aen. 7. 49 ‘tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.’

19. stetere. By the variation from the usual ‘existitère,’ Horace clearly wishes to feel again something of a living metaphor in the verb, though it is not quite evident what the metaphor is. Cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 553 ‘stant bellii causae.’ There it seems to be ‘they are on foot, in full life and strength, there is no need to use any more efforts to arouse them.’ Here perhaps the verb cannot ‘be altogether separated from ‘ultimae.’ ‘They have been the primary and sufficient cause,’ which that stands of its own strength, leans on no other.

20. imprimet muris aratrum, to plough the site of a conquered city was a token (or a metaphor) of its total destruction. Prop. 4. 9. 41 ‘Moenia cum Graio Neptunia pressit aratro Victor Palladiae ligneus artis equus.’ Cp. Aesch. Ag. 526.

22. me quoque, as well as the rest of the world, as it may you. Take care
you are not as bad as I was in your
revengefulness.

23. tentavit, of a disease; Epp. 1. 6.
28. `Si latus aut renes morbo tentan-
tur'; Virg. G. 3. 441 `Turpis oves ten-
tent scabes.'

dulci iuventa, `so sweet,' says Dillr.,
that one can think of nothing else, its
pleasures make one careless'; cp. Od. 1.
37. 11 `dulci fortuna ebria.' Orelli
thinks it is only the fondness with which
a man, as he grows old, looks back on
his youth, and pleads for it even while
he recounts its errors.

24. celeres, `hasty,' `impetuous';
cp. Epp. 1. 18. 89 `oderunt .. sedatum
celeres'; but there is some force in
giving the epithet to the `iambi' rather
than to himself. He would suggest that
his Pegasus ran away with him.

26. tristia, perhaps with reference to
v. 9. Here, as contrasted with `miti-
bus,' it carries more distinctly a me-
taphor of taste, as Virg. G. 2. 126
`tristes succi'; G. 1. 75 `triste lupi-
um.'

ODE XVII.

An invitation to Tyndaris to visit the poet at his Sabine farm, `a very haunt of
Faunus, a heaven-blest spot, where she will find all country pleasures, and be able
to sing her favourite songs and sip Lesbian in the shade without the brawls of a
city merrymaking or the tipsy violence of Cyrus' love and jealousy.'

VELOX amoenum sæpe Lucretilem
Mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam

1. Lucretilem. This name probably
covers the whole mass of mountain be-
tween the Licenza valley and the Cam-
pagna—the highest point of which is
now called Monte Gennaro. See Burn's
Rome and the Campagna, p. 431.

2. mutat. It is more usual to put
the thing taken in exchange in the abl.,
as in the last Ode, v. 26 `mutare tristia
mitibus'; but Horace often inverts
them as here and in Od. 3. 1. 47 `Cur
valle permutem Sabina Divitias opero-
siores'; cp. Od. 2. 12. 21, Epod. 9. 27,
Sat. 2. 7. 109. The abl. in either case
is analogous to the abl. of price, the
transaction being regarded from the
side, in the first case, of the seller, in the
second of the buyer.

Lycaeo Faunus. Horace identifies
(see on Od. 2. 17. 28) the Latin Faunus,
the legendary son of Picus, and giver of
oracles (Virg. Aen. 7. 48, 81), the god
of agriculture and cattle (Hor. Od. 3.
18), with the Arcadian Pan, ὁρτίαν,
the inventor of the pipe (see v. 10). Cp.
Ovid, Fast. 2. 267 foll., and esp. v. 424
`Faunus in Arcadia templ a Lycaeus ha-
bet.' `Lycaeus' is a mountain in Arcadia.
Defendit aestatem capellis
Usque meis pluviosque ventos.
Impune tutum per nemus arbutos
Quaerunt latentes et thyma deviae
Olentis uxorès mariti,
Nec virides metuunt colubras,
Nec Martiales Haediliae lupos,
Utcunque dulci, Tyndari, fistula
Valles et Usticae cubantis
Levia personuere saxa.
Di me tuentur, dis pictas mea

3. defendit, Virg. E. 7. 47 'Solstitium pecori defendite.'
4. usque. The 'frequent' visits of Faunus have conferred 'perpetual' salubrity on Lucretilis.
5. tutum, pred., 'without risk, for it is safe in his guardianship.' Bentley is needlessly offended at the repetition, and would read 'tutum.' Ritter points out that stress is laid on the quiet and security of the place; there are no vipers nor wolves for the goats, no tipsy Cyrus for Tyndaris.
6. latentes . deviae. The two adj. are correlative, and so really belong each to both clauses. The arbutus may be hidden in a thicket of other shrubs, the thyme may grow only in nooks, but the goats may stray safely to search for both.
7. uxorès, Virg. E. 7. 7 'Virc gregis ipse caper'; G. 3. 125 'pecori maritum.'
8. virides, possibly, as Orelli and Ritter think, with the idea that the colour indicated their poisonous character. But any epithet makes a danger more terrible which helps our imagination to realize any of its circumstances more vividly.
9. Martiales, an habitual epithet, as Virg. Aen. 9. 566 'Marti us lupus'; but doubtless some correspondence is intended between the qualities of the wolves and the fierce god to whom they belong, see on 1. 21. 13.

Haediliae. The oldest MSS. vary only between 'haediliae' and 'haedilia.' Acron read the latter, and interprets it 'Septa hedorum.' But Bentley shows conclusively that even if the Romans had used 'haedilia' rather than 'caprina' (Varr. R. R. 2. 38, as they use 'ovile,' not 'agnile'), it would be the plural of 'haedile' with the i long and the a short. Bentley himself defends the suggestion of 'haeduleae,' 'kids' (Auratus had conj. 'haedulei' following the analogy of 'equuleus,' equula,' 'hinnuleus'). We have to weigh the probability of such an ἀναγεννημανον against the probability of the name of some wood or hill near the farm being otherwise unknown to us.
10. utcunque, temporal, as always in Hor. Od. 1. 35. 23. 2. 17. 11. 3. 4. 29. 4. 4. 35. Epod. 17. 52; here, as in Od. 4. 4. 35, it means 'so soon as.'
11. cubantis, the meaning of the epithet cannot be certainly known till we are sure what 'Ustica' was, which it qualifies. Is it 'low-lying,' of a valley, or some spot in a valley; Theoc. 13. 40 ἀνένυ ἐν χώρᾳ? or 'sloping,' of a hill-side, Virgil's 'colles supini'; 'Lucretius; 4. 528, 'cubantia tecta'?
13. di me tuentur. He sums up the previous stanzas. The thought was apparently at first only the beauty of Lucretilis which draws Faunus even from Arcadia; but it has passed into the wider idea that the Farm and its owner are under the special protection of heaven.
HORATII CARMINUM

Et Musa cordi est. Hic tibi copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Hic in reducta valle Caniculae
Vitab is aestus et fide Tete
Dices laborantes in uno
Penelope vitreamque Circe n;
Hic innocens poca lus Lesbii
Duces sub umbra, nec Semele
Cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
Proelia, nec metues proter mum
Suspecta Cyrum, ne male dispari

14. hic. The great majority of MSS.
have 'hinc,' and we must add Acr. and
Porph., who interpret 'scilicet de Sa-
bin o fundo.' But 'hinc' and 'hinc'
(hic) are often confused, as in Od. 1. 21.
13, where B has 'hinc' against the
clear sense. And the balance of
the three promises, country pleasures, music,
and good wine without quarrelling,
perhaps justifies the almost unani-
mous preference given by the editors to
'hic.'

14-16. The construction is 'copia,
ruris honorum opulenta, benigno cornu
manabit tibi ad plenum.' 'Plenty, rich, in
all the pride of the country, shall stream
from her bounteous horn into thy lap
till it is full.'

15. ad plenum, adverbially, as in
Virg. G. 2. 244 'Huc a g er ille malus
dulc esque a fontibus undae Ad plenum
calcen tum.'

16. honorum = 'omnium quibus ho-
estatur rus,' Orelli; i. e. flowers, fruits,
etc. S. 2. 5. 12 'dulcia poma Et quos-
cunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,'
So leaves are 'silvae honor,' Epod. 11. 6,
Virg. G. 2. 404.

cornu, the horn of plenty. Ovid
gives two forms of legend. In Fast. 5.
115 it is the broken horn of a goat
which Amalthaea filled with fruit for
the infant Jupiter. In Met. 9. 85 foll.
it is the horn which Hercules broke
from the forehead of Aachelus, and
which the Naiads filled for Plenty,
'pomis et odor o flore.'

17. reducta valle, as in Epod. 2. 13
and Virg. Aen. 6. 703 'deep-drawn,'
'running into the hills.' It suggests the
ideas both of quiet and of shade.

18. fide Tete, in songs such as
Anacreon might have written and sung.

19. dices, see on 1. 12. 13.
laborantes in uno, wearing them-
selves for love of the same man, viz.
Ulysses.

20. vitream, as a sea-nymph, daugh-
ter of the Oceanid Perse, Hom. Od. 10.
139; so Thetis is called '[Achillis] mater
carerula,' Epod. 13. 13. Statius has in-
itiated it, Silv. 1. 3. 85 'vitreece iuga
perfida Circes,' and 1. 5. 15 'Ite deae
virides, liquidosque advertite vultus,
Et vitream Vestris crinem redimite
corymb.'

21. innocens, 'that will not lead
to quarrels'; a light wine. Athenaeus, 1.
22, calls it olvapio.

22. dices, 'drink,' as Od. 3. 34
and 4. 4. 12. 14

Semele us Thyoneus, from Semele
Thyone, both names of Bacchus' mo-
ther. The latter, as coming from
bvev, is appropriate here; see on Epod.
9. 38.

23. confundet, an extension of the
usual phrase, 'miscere proelia'; the
drunken brawl is represented as a
'blind and aimless quarrel' between
Mers and Bacchus.

24 foll. You will be out of the way
of the petulance with which Cyrus vents
his jealous suspicions.

25. male dispari, 'a poor little
match for him;' 'male' increasing the
unfavourable force of the adj. as in
'male laxus calceus,' S. 1. 3. 31.
Incontinentes iniiciat manus
Et scindat haerentem coronam
Crinibus immeritarque vestem.

26. incontinentes, 'violent,' παρωνία, as Orelli explains.

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ODE XVIII.

'The purpose of the Ode may be summed up,' says Dillenburger, 'in the lines of Theognis, (509 ed. Bergk):

οίνος πιύνεινος πουλά κακόν ἃν δὲ τις αὐτὸν
πυρ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακόν, ἄλλ' ἀγαθὸν.

'Plant the vine, Varus, especially where it grows so well as at Tibur, and drink of its fruit, but it is possible to drink too much.'

Varus is called by the Scholiasts 'Quintilius Varus,' and generally identified with the Quintilius the friend of Virgil, who died in B.C. 24, and whose death is lamented in Od. i. 24.

The form at least of the poem was suggested by an Ode of Alcaeus, of which we have the first line, Athen. 10. 8:

μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτέσθη πρῶτερον δενδρεον ἄμπελον.

Metre—Second Asclepiad.

NULLAM, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
Circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili.
Siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit, neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiiunt sollicitudines.
Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat? 5

1. sacra, 'god-given,' belonging to Bacchus. Horace begins by granting to the full the virtues of wine.

severis, for the mood, see on Od. i. 11. 1; 'sero' is Virgil's word for planting trees, G. 2. 275, etc.

2. mite, a soft and kindly soil, opp. to Virgil's 'difficile,' G. 2. 279; 'amarum,' ib. 238.

moenia Catili, a further description of 'Tiburis solum'; for Catilus see on Od. i. 7. 13, and cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 672.

Horace seems to stand alone in shortening the penult. of the usual 'Catilis.' Compare his use of 'Porsena,' Epod. 16. 4.

3. siccis, the opp. of 'uvidis,' Od. 4. 5. 39 'dicimus integro Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi Cum Sol Oceano subest'; cp. Epp. i. 19. 9.

dura, tertiary pred. 'All that heaven ever sets before them, every task and fortune, is hard.'

deus, as in Od. i. 3. 21; not Bacchus, but the power which rules our life.

4. aliter, 'in any other way than this,' the true way is implied by 'siccis' in the opposed clause.

5. crepat, like the Gr. παταγέων,
Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus?
At, ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
Debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euius,
Cum fas atque nefas exiguus fine libidinum
Discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candidae Bassareu,
Invitum quatiam, nec variis obsita frondibus
Sub divum rapiam. Saee tene tene Berecyntio

Sithoniis, properly the inhabitants of the middle finger of the three which run out into the Aegean from Chalce-dice. For Thracian intemperance, cp. Od. 1. 27, 1. 36. 13, 2. 7. 26.

Bassareu, a name of Dionysus from 

varii, is a list of the leaves gathered by the Bacchants, 

Berecyntio, Od. 3. 19. 18 "Cur Berecyntiae cessant flamina tibiae?" the horn used in Cybele's worship on Mount Berecyntus in Phrygia. It was also an accompaniment of the Bacchic orgies.
OD. 19.

Cornu tympana, quae subsequitur caecus Amor suí,
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem,
Arcanique Fides prodiga, per lucidior vitro.

Catull. 1. c. "Plangebant alií proceris tympana palmis, Multis rauçones efflanta cornua bombos."

14. caecus, a physical characteristic of the personified self-love, as Conington points out in a note on his Translation.

15. plus nimio, Od. 1. 33. 1, Epp. 1. 10. 30. The order in prose is "nimio plus," Cic. ad Att. 10. 8. It has been explained: (1) as a translation of ὑπερ-διάφωσκε, following the analogy of "plus justus," etc., "more than that which is too much"; (2) as following the analogy of "plus paulo" ("a little too much") Ter. Heaut. 2. 1. 8; "nimio validius," Plin. 24. 12; "nimio melius," Plaut. Pers. 1. 3. 31, "by very much too much"; "nimio" being the ablative or adverb of measure. It is a colloquial phrase common in Plautus, M. G. 2. 6. 106, Bacch. 1. 2. 42, and the combination in

Bacch. 4. 4. 21 "nimio minus, multo parum," seems to show that the second explanation was the true one; see a collection of instances of "nimio" with compar. adj. in Ramsay's "Mostellaria," Excursus 12. It qualifies "tollens," "lifting far too high"; with this picture cp. Od. 3. 16. 17 "Iure perhorruit Late conspicuum tolleret verticem."

Gloria, "vainglory," as in Epp. 1. 18. 22 "Gloria quem supra vires et vestit et ungit."

16. arcani Fides prodiga, an oxymoron, "Faith, that blabs out her secret"; cp. Od. 3. 24. 59 "periura fides."

per lucidior vitro, "with a window in its mind," Con. Compare the Greek proverbs, κάτωπρεπον εἴδον χαλέον ἑστ' οἴνος δὲ νοῦ and τὸ ἐν καρδίᾳ τοῦ νήφοντος ἐπὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ τοῦ μεθύοντος, Hor. Epod. 11. 14. 89.

ODE XIX.

'I thought my days of passion were over, but love and wine and idleness and Glycera's beauty are too much for me. Again I feel the full power of Venus—again must leave all other subjects to write love songs—again think only of propitiating Venus and moderating the pains of my passion.'

See Introd. to Ode 4. 1, which Horace links to this Ode by repeating the first line.

Metre—Third Asclepiad.

MATER saeva Cupidinum
Thebanaeque iubet me Semelae puer

1. saeva, 'imperious.' 'Saeva Proserpina,' Od. 1. 29. 20; 'saeva Necessitas,' 1. 35. 17.

2. Semelae. It is needless to write 'Semeles' against the nearly unanimous authority of the MSS, although Horace more usually prefers a Greek form in the Odes. Comp. Helenae, Od. 1. 3. 2, with Helen, 1. 15. 2, Helene, 4. 9. 16.
HORATII CARMINUM

Et lasciva Licentia
Finitis animum reddere amoribus.
Urit me Glycerae nitor
Splendentis Pario marmore purius:
Urit grata protervitas
Et voltus nimium lubricus adspici.
In me tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit, nec patitur Scythas
Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere nec quae nihil attinent.
Hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic
Verbenas, pueri, ponite thuraque
Bimi cum patera meri:
Mactata veniet lenior hostia.

3. Licentia, 'freedom of life,' as Catullus, 51. 13, traces his passion to
'otium,' 'Otium Catulle tibi molestum est,' etc.
5. nitor, Od. 3. 12. 5 'Liparai nitor
Hebri,' 'bright beauty.'
8. lubricus, a face to look on which
is to slip from your resolve. The meta-
phorical use of 'lubricus' in the sense of
'hazardous' is common in Cicero.
For the infin. see App. 2. § 2.
10. The Scythians, with the Parthians
and the Spaniards, represent to Horace
the foreign politics of the time, the glory
that Augustus' arms were always about
to win or had won, cp. Od. 2. i. 1, 3. 8.
16, etc., and Introd. to Odes i-iii. §§ 7, 8.
11. versis equis, Od. 2. 13. 18 'sa-
gittas et celeris fugam Parthi'; Virg. G.
3. 31 'Fidentemque fuga Parthum ver-
sisque sagittis.'
12. nec quae nihil attinent, 'nor
aught that is irrelevant,' sc. to her,
and to love, to my proper themes: that
he does not add such a qualification
may be possibly meant to show that he
is already absorbed in the thoughts of
love; he is no longer speaking of them
from outside.
13. vivum caespitem, a fresh cut
turf for a temporary altar. Od. 3. 8. 4
'acerra thuris Plena . . . positusque carbo
in Caespite vivo.'
14. verbenas, Od. 4. 11. 16 'ara
castis vincita verbenis'; Virg. Aen. 12.
120 'verbenas tempora vincit'; Virg. E.
8. 65 'verbenas adole pingues et mascula
thura.' Explained (by Servius on Virg.
Aen. 1. c., Donatus on Ter, Andr. 4. 3. 11,
and Acron on this place) as the name
of all green things, boughs or leaves of
myrtle, bay, olive, etc., or even grass
gathered 'ex puro loco' and used in a
religious rite. The quotations given
show that they were used for several
purposes in a sacrifice.
15. bimi. New wine was used in
sacrifices, cp. Od. 1. 31. 2, 3. 23. 3;
'bimi' will therefore probably mean
'last year's wine,' which would be used
till the wine of the year was ready.
meri, wine with any admixture of
water was unfit for religious uses. Fest.
s. v. 'spurcum.'
16. veniet lenior, opposed to 'in me
tota ruens,' v. 9. The overpowering and
painful 'afflatus' of a god was a sign of
disfavour rather than of favour, and
would be mitigated by submission and
reverence. See Od. 2. 19.

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ODE XX.

An invitation to Maecenas to visit Horace at his Sabine farm, where he will have not indeed the Caecuban or Falernian which he drinks at home, but Sabine wine, if cheap yet carefully bottled by Horace himself, and carrying in its date a pleasant reminiscence of Maecenas' life, viz. of the rounds of applause with which he was received on first entering the theatre after an illness.

On the date of this Ode, see Introd. to Odes i-iii, § 8.

Compare the tone of the Ode with Epp. i. 5.

VILE potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
Conditum levi, datus in theatro
Cum tibi plausus,
Care Maecenas eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripae simul et iocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
Montis imago.

1. modicis, of simple make and material; Epp. i. 5. 2 'Nec modica coenare times olus omne patella.'

2. cantharis, a kind of cup with handles ('gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa,' Virg. E. 6. 17), usually of large size (Plin. N. H. 33. 11 'C. Marius post victoriam cantharis potasse Liberi patris exemplo traditur,' and the 'cantharus' is the drinking-cup given to Bacchus himself), and of common material. Horace names it among his table furniture, rough, but scrupulously clean, in the parallel Epp. i. 5. 23 'et cantharus et lanx Ostendat tibi te.'

Graeca ... ipse, both touches point to the care bestowed on the process of racking it off from the 'dolium.' Horace did it with his own hands, and used a 'testa' or 'amphora,' which still kept some of the fragrance of the Chian or Lesbian which it had held; for 'Quo semel est imbuta recens servavit odorem Testa diu,' Epp. i. 6. 2. 70.

3. conditum levi, 'stored and sealed.' The cork was secured by a coating of pitch, Od. 3. 8. 9 'Hic dies ... Corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit Amphorae.' So to open an amphora is 'relinere,' see on v. 10.

in theatro, Od. 2. 17. 25 'quum populus frequens Laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum.'

5. eques, see on Od. 3. 16. 20, and i. 1. 1.

paterni, because Maecenas is 'Tyr- rhena regum progenies,' and the river is the 'Tuscus alveus,' Od. 3. 7. 28; 'Lydius Tbris,' Virg. Aen. 2. 781. So that in the whole verse there is implied reference to both topics of compliment, Maecenas' high birth and his modest state. 'Maecenas eques Etrusco de sanguine regum Intra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam,' Prop. 4. 9. 7.

6. iocosa imago, see on Od. i. 12. 3.

7. Vaticani. The theatre of Pompey, which was the only one finished at this time, stood at the south end of the Campus Martius, so looking across the Tiber on the Janiculan and Vatican hills. Juvenal (6. 344) lengthens the second syllable in Vaticanus, and he is followed by Martial.
9. **Caecubum.** The 'Caecubus ager' was a marshy tract on the coast of Latium between Terracina and Formiae. The wines chosen to represent the finer Italian growths are two pairs of neighbouring vintages, one pair in Latium, the Caecuban and Formian (Od. 3. 16. 24); the other in Campania, the Falernian and the wine of Cales (Od. 1. 31. 9, 4. 12. 14).

10. *tu bides.* It is easier to see the difficulty of this reading than to convince oneself of the truth of any of the proposed remedies. If it stands, it must mean, 'I must leave *you* to drink, sc. at home,' the future, as in Od. 1. 6. 1. There is undoubtedly great awkwardness in the difference of sense which we are thus obliged to put on the future here and in v. 1, 'potabis.' Keller prints 'Tum bides,' a conj. of Doedelein's, which seems to be the reading of the best MS. of Porphyrion's scholia on Sat. 2. 2. 48, where this verse is quoted. He explains it (Rhein. Mus. vol. xix. p. 212) to mean, 'Then, after the flask of Sabine, you shall have some Caecuban; you should have Falernian if I had any.' But the sense is dull; it is hardly possible to doubt the antithesis 'Tu.' 'mea'; and Caecuban is usually a type of the most expensive sort of second class wine (see Od. 2. 14. 25, etc.) He had previously (Rhein. Mus. vol. xviii. p. 274) supported 'Tu bides,' the quantity of the *i* being justified by 'scribis,' Sat. 2. 3. 1. Mr. Munro has lately (Journal of Philology, 1871, p. 350) proposed from a reading 'vides' in a Paris MS. of the 10th century (λ), to restore 'vides' in the sense of 'you provide.' Cp. Cic. ad Att. 5. 1. 3 'ut prandium nobis videret,' and Ter. Heaut. 3. 1. 48 'Quid vini absumsit! Sic hoc, dicens, asperum, Pater, hoc est: aliud leniens sodes vide. Relevi dolia omnia, omnes serias,' a passage which Mr. Munro thinks may have unconsciously suggested to Horace the 'levi' of v. 3 as well as the 'vides' of this verse.

11. *temperant.* Properly the man who mixes the wine and water is said 'temperare pocula.' The vines and hills are here said to do so because they produce the grapes which are used for the purpose.
ODE XXI.

Compare Catull. 34 'Dianae sumus in fide,' etc.
Several occasions have been imagined for this Ode. The Pseudo-Acr. associated it with the Ludi Seculares, b.c. 17, and it was accordingly treated by several editors as an introduction to the Carm. Sec.
Franke assigns it to b.c. 28, the year in which Augustus dedicated the temple to Apollo on the Palatine (Od. i. 31), and instituted the quinquennial Ludi Actiaci in honour of Apollo and Diana. He thinks the ode was written for their first celebration.
Orelli considers it a mere exercise of fancy, suggested perhaps by some such occasion as the games of b.c. 28, but not of sufficient weight to have been composed for public performance.

Metre—Fifth Asclepiad.

Dianam tenerae dicite virgines,
Intosum, pueri, dicite Cynthium
Latonamque supremo
Dilectam penitus Iovi.
Vos laetam fluvii et nemorum coma,
Quaeque aut gelido prominet Algido,

1. Dianae. The first syllable is long, as once in Virg. Aen. i. 499.
2. intonsum, Epod. 15. 9, Hom. Il. 20. 39 Φοίβος ἄκερσεόμης. It is the sign of youth. The maidens are to sing Diana, the maid τὰν ἀλέν ἄδημτον, Soph. El. 1239; the boys, Apollo the ever young.
Cynthium, from M. Cynthius in Delos.
3. Latonam, as the mother of the two deities. Cp. Hymn. in Apoll. 14 χαίρε μάκαιρ ὁ Δηλοι ἐπεὶ τίκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα. It is probably meant that both choruses should join in her praise; cp. Od. 3. 28. 9-16. He returns to the maidens in v. 5 'vos.'
5. laetam fluvius, as in Catull. 34. 5 'Montium domina ut fores Silvarumque virentium Saltuumque reconditorum Amniumque sonantium'; Pind. P. 2. 7 ποραμίας Ἀργήμοδος.
 coma. Some of the best MSS. (V B 7) have 'comam,' which Acron seems to have read and tried, against the sense, to take with 'laetam fluvius.' Bentley defends it as setting off the woods of Algidus, etc. against Tempe and Delos, and 'laetam fluvius' against the 'insignem pharetra humerum' of the next stanza. But Horace would hardly have tolerated the ambiguity of 'laetam' not agreeing with 'comam,' yet without a visible substantive of its own. And though it is a natural hyperbole to speak of Diana's joy in 'every leaf of the woods,' it would be forced to bid the maidens sing of each leaf.
6. Algido, sacred to Diana; C. S. 79 'Quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque.' 'Mons Algidus' was the name of part of the eastern side of the Alban hills. Its name is supposed to be still recognised in the Cava dell' Aglio, the gorge by which the Via Latina issues from them on the south-east. Its woods are celebrated in Od. 3. 23. 10, 4. 4. 57.
HORATII CARMINUM

Nigris aut Erymanthi
Silvis aut viridis Cragi;
Vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus
Natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis,
Insignemque pharetra
Fraternaque humerum lyra.
Hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem
Pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in
Persas atque Britannos
Vestra motus aget prece.

7. Erymanthi, a mountain on the north frontier of Arcadia.
8. Cragi, in Lycia, for Artemis as well as Apollo Λύκα ὄρος δίκτυος, Soph. O. T. 208. 'Nigris' is the epithet of 'Erymanthi'; in the second clause the epithet 'viridis' supplies its place, though grammatically attached to 'Cragi,' see on Od. 2. 5. 13, 3. 23. 15. For the verbal antithesis 'nigris,' 'viridis,' cp. Od. 1. 36. 15 'Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium,' 3. 20. 3, and 11 'asperae . . . leves'; 3. 27. 18, 19 'ater . . . albus.' Horace is specially fond of contrasts of colour, see on Od. 2. 3. 9, and cp. 1. 25. 17, 18 'hedera virente . . . pulla myrto.' The woods would be black from pines, holm oaks, etc., Od. 4. 4. 57; 4. 12. 11 'nigri colles Arcidae.'
9. Tempe, where Apollo, according to the legend, purified himself after the slaughter of Pytho.
10. natalem Delon, Od. 3. 4. 63 'natalem silvam,' Virg. Aen. 4. 144 'Delon maternam.'
12. fraterna, for Hermes invented the 'lyra,' though he gave it to Apollo, Hom. Hymn. έλς Ἐρυμέν. 490-503; see on Od. 3. 4. 4.
13. hic. B and some other MSS. read 'hinc,' see on Od. 1. 16. 14. Bentley would read 'haec bellum . . . hic miseram famem,' 'ne nihil omnino agat Diana.' But Horace does not separate the functions of the two deities. Both are ἄλεξίωνος, 'averrunci.' The boys are to pray to Apollo because he can avert war and pest and famine; and it may be understood that the girls will pray to Diana for a similar reason. For a similar brachylogy leading to a slight confusion as to the assignment of the parts of the hymn I have already (on v. 3) referred to Od. 3. 28.
1acrimosum, πολύσκαρν, δακρυόεντα; 'lacrymable bellum,' Virg. Aen. 7. 604, war and its pains. He does not pray for peace, but only that the horrors of war may be felt in Parthian or British, not in Roman, homes. Cp. Od. 3. 27. 21 'Hostium uxores,' etc.; Virg. G. 3. 515 'Dii meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum.'
ODE XXII.

'Di me tuentur: Dis pietas mea
Et Musa cordi est.' Od. 1. 17. 13.

The protection from common dangers accorded to the poet's flocks is extended to himself. As a child, 'non sine Dis animosus,' he is covered by the wood-pigeons from the snakes and bears of Mount Vultur (Od. 3-4). Mercury snatches him from the folly and danger of civil war into which his boyish enthusiasm had carried him (Od. 2. 7). Faunus (Od. 2. 17) wards off from him the falling tree. Now a wolf flies from him as he wanders unarmed in the woods near his Sabine farm.

We may compare the Ode with the Epistle (1. 10) addressed to the same Fuscus, 'Urbs amatorum Fuscum salvere iubemus Ruris amatores.' 'Fuge magna,' v. 32. 'A harmless, pious life is the true secret of safety and of happiness.' The Ode dresses this doctrine in the garb of poetry and religion—the Epistle in that of philosophy and worldly wisdom. Aristius Fuscus is an intimate friend of Horace, Epp. 1. 10. 2-4 'caetera poene gemelli Fraternis animis quicquid negat et alter Annimus pariter vetuli notique columbi.' He appears in S. i. 10. 83, amongst the critics by whose judgment Horace will abide, in S. i. 9, as the friend who wickedly escapes, leaving the poet 'sub cultro.' He is called by Acr. on Epp. 1. 10 'scriptor traguediarum,' by Porph. 'comediarum,' by both, on S. i. 9, 'grammaticorum doctissimus,' but nothing is known of him from other sources.

INTEGER vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce, pharetra,
Sive per Syrtes iter aestuosas
Sive facturus per inhospitalem

1. integer vitae. S. 2. 3. 220 'integer animi.'
   sceleris purus, Od. 3. 17. 16 'operum solutis.' Two uses of the Greek genitive, for each of which the Latin idiom would have the ablative. Cp. S. 2. 3. 213 'purum est vito tibi .. cor,' Madv. § 290 g, § 268 b, obs. 2.

5. aestuosas. As far as concerns Horace's use of words there is equally good authority for taking this of the hot sandy coast that borders the Syrtes, as 'aestuosae rura Calabriae,' Od. 1. 31. 5, or of the boiling surf of the bay; 'Barbaras Syrtes ubi Maura semper Aestuat unda,' Od. 2. 6. 3. Perhaps the similarity of that place makes for the latter interpretation, as in that case both passages will combine the same two dangers. You have to choose between a furious sea, if you don't land, and savage inhabitants if you do. The proverbial danger of the Syrtes consisted partly in the number of sunken rocks in the bay, partly in deep quicksands which lined the shore.

6. inhospitalem Caucasum, Epod. 1. 10; Aesch. P. V. 20, of the same mountains, τυφών ταπείνωφι πόλης.
Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes.
Namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
Dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
Terminus curis vagor expeditis,
Fugit inermem,
Quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias: jatis alit aesculetis,
Nec Iubae tellus generat leonum
Arida nutrix.

7. *fabulosus*, with its storied dangers, the stories that would be told of India as of any unknown southern country, of its jungles, its strange beasts. The Hydaspes is a river of the Punjaub, the modern Jelum, Virg. G. 4. 211.

8. *lambit*, used of the gentle wash of water, as of fire, S. 1. 5. 73, Virg. Aen. 2. 683, etc.

9. *namque*. The whole force of the Ode is thrown on Horace’s miraculous escape, which is the sufficient justification both of the general statement in the two preceding stanzas of the safety of innocence, and of the particular statement in the two that follow of the poet’s own indifference to outward circumstances, see Introd. to 1. 34.

10. *ultra terminum*, beyond the bounds of his own farm. A few acres of the forest belonged to him, Od. 3. 16. 29, S. 2. 6. 3.

11. *expeditis*, as Catull. 31. 7 ’O quid solutis est beatus curis’? a variation of the more usual ‘expedire, solvere animum curis.’ Bentley (and Keller follows him) adopts ‘expeditus’ from some MSS. of less weight. ‘Dill’ supports the ablative on the ground that Horace inclines to διωμοτελευτα in Sapphic verses. MacLeane points out that there are six other instances in this Ode, vv. 3, 9, 14, 17, 18, 22.

13. *portentum*, sc. the wolf, τίρας, πίλαρον; not that to see a wolf there was such a wonder, but he means to express the shock which the sight gave him, and half playfully turns the wolf into a monster.

*militaris*, ‘the land of soldiers,’ is chiefly a complimentary epithet to the poet’s birth-place, cp. 3. 5. 9 ‘sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus’; 2. 1. 34 ‘Dauniae caedes.’ All other Roman excellences are in the same way attributed to the Apulians, industry and hardiness to the men, housewifely virtues to the women, Od. 3. 16. 26, Epod. 2. 42. A comparison, however, of 1. 17. 9 (see note there) suggests that there is some connection of thought between the size of the wolves and the soldierly character of the inhabitants.

14. *Daunias*, Apulia, so called, according to Festus, from Daunus, an Illyrian prince who settled in it and became the son-in-law of Diomedes, see on Od. 3. 30. 11. ‘Daunias,’ is a Greek form, not found elsewhere in Horace, but not uncommon in Ovid; cp. ‘Ambra-cias terra,’ Her. 13. 164, etc., though more usually with Greek names and in an adjective. The MSS. vary between ‘Daunias’ and ‘Daunia,’ the latter altered, metri gratia, in a few to ‘Dau-nia in.’ For Apulian wolves, cp. Od. 1. 33. 7.

15. *Iubae tellus*. Augustus restored to the younger Juba, in b.c. 30, the kingdom of Numidia, which had been forfeited by his father, the elder Juba, who fought at Thapsus on the side of Scipio and Cato, and slew himself after their defeat. In b.c. 25 Juba surrendered Numidia, which became a Roman province, and received instead of it Mauretania with some tribes of the Gaetuli to the south of it. As ‘Gaetulus’ is a common epithet of lions (see on the next Ode, v. 10), it has been supposed that this is a passing allusion to this exchange, and that ‘Juba’s new territory’ gives a date to the Ode.
Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Iuppiter urget;
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis in terra domibus negata:
Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem.

17–24. 'Place me in the frigid zone or in the torrid (cp. Od. 3. 3. 55 'Qua parte debacchentur ignes, Qua nebulae pluvilique rores') I care not, I shall still be safe, still light-hearted.'

17. pigris, ἀργοῖς, of the dull deadness of winter; 'bruma iners,' Od. 4. 7. 12; Lucret. 5. 745 'Bruma nives afferit pigrumque rigorem.'
nulla arbor recreatur, i.e. there is no tree to be woke to life again by the breezes of summer, the 'genitabilis aura Favoni.'

19. malus Iuppiter, see on Od. 1.1.25.
22. domibus negata, unfit for human habitation, opp. to the temperate zones, which are 'mortalibus aegris Munere concessae divom,' Virg. G. 1. 237.

23. dulce ridentem, from Sappho's ὄνθ' ἀμναίοις καὶ γέλαιοις ἱμέροιν. Catullus, in his imitation of that Ode 51. 5), has 'Dulce ridentem.' For the construction compare 2. 12. 64 'lucidum fulgentes'; 2. 19. 6 'turbidum laetatur'; 3. 27. 67 'perfidum ridens,' etc. 'Lalagen' takes us back to the wolf and v. 10: 'I shall be the same Horace still, free from care and thinking of Lalage, and safe in being the same.' Horace doubtless felt the play on the name of 'prattling' Lalage (λαλιώ)'; cp. Od. 1. 33. 2 'immitis Glycerae.' The choice of the name may be due to the remembrance of Sappho's verse or the reminiscence of Sappho to the name.
Ode XXIII.

'You fly from me, Chloë, like a frightened kid to its dam. I am not a tiger or lion going to eat you. You are too old for such shyness.'

We have possibly part of a Greek original to this Ode in a fragment of Anacreon (Fr. 51 Bergk):—

\[\text{ἀγανὼν οἶδα τὲ νεβρὸν νεοθῆλα}
\text{γαλαθὴν δοτ' ἐν ὕλης κεροίσης}
\text{ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ μυτρὸς ἐπτομὴ.}\]

Chloë's name seems to be chosen to suit the character, see Introd. to i. 8 and App. i.

Metre—Fifth Aeslepiad.

Vitas hinnuleo me similis, Chloë,
Quaerenti pavidad montibus aviis
Matrem non sine vano
Aurarum et siluae metu.
Nam seu mobilibus veris inhorruit
Adventus foliis seu virides rubum
Dimovere lacertaes,
Et corde et genibus tremit.

1. \text{vitas.} This was 'the reading of the Comm. Cruq. and is found in one MS. of the 10th century (\(\pi\)); but if it be right, it was very early corrupted to 'vitat,' which is read in B and all the other 10th century MSS., was interpreted by Porph. and Acr., and is quoted by Diomedes. A change from the third person in v. 1 to the second in v. 9 would be strange in the absence of any change of tone to account for it; and, on the other hand, a misunderstanding of the subj. of 'tremit' may have led a copyist to assimilate 'vitas' to it. On the metrical question, see on Od. i. 15. 24, and Index of Metres.

4. \text{aurarum et siluae,} cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 728 'Nunc omnes terrent aurae sonus excitat omnis.' 'Silvae' is a trisyll. as in Epod. 13. 2; so 'milius,' Epod. 16. 32.

5. \text{veris...adventus, etc.,} 'if through the light-hung leaves hath run the shiver of spring's approach,' i.e. of the 'animae veris comites,' Od. 4. 12. 1; Lucret. 5. 735 'It ver et Venus et Veneris praenuntiui ante Pinnatus graditur Zephyrus.' Bentley, pressing 'adventus' too closely, objects that when spring is still approaching there are no leaves nor lizards nor fawns, and is displeased at the boldness of attributing the shiver to the approach of spring rather than to the leaves, see 4. 4. 7. Muretus had written ('ex codd.' but no extant MS. is known to have it) 'Vitis inhorruit Adventum,' which Bentley accepted, altering 'vitis' to 'vepris,' a conj. which had occurred independently to Salmasius. The Vulg. was read by the scholiasts.

7. \text{lacertaes, Virg. E. 2. 9} 'Nunc virides etiam occultant spineta lacertos.'

8. \text{tremit, sc. hinnuleus.}
LIB. I. OD. 24.

Atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo frangere persevero:
Tandem desine matrem
Tempestiva sequi viro.

frangere, of crushing between the teeth; Virg. G. 2. 72 'glandemque sues fregere sub ulmis'; Hom. II. 11. 113 ὃς ἐδέλων ἐλάφοι θαλείης νήπια τίκνα ῥηῖδιοι συνεάθε λαβὼν κρατέροισιν ὀδούαι. For the infin. see App. 2, § 1.

ODE XXIV.

Of the person whose death is the subject of this Ode we know nothing but what is contained in the statement of the Chronicon of Eusebius (A.D. 264-340), which, opposite the year a.v.c. 730, b.c. 24, has (in the Latin version of Jerome) 'Quintilus Cremonensis Vergili et Horatii familiaris moritur.' We may notice that the mention of Cremona makes him a neighbour of Virgil. The Scholiasts on Horace call him Quintilus Varus, and add that he was a Roman knight, identifying him with the Quintilus of A. P. 438, see on v. 8, and with Varus of Od. 1. 18.

The Ode is not merely, as Porphy. describes it, 'ὀφένος in Quintilium sodalem Vergili.' The Pseudo-Acr. characterizes it more justly, 'Consolatur Vergilium impatiënter amici sui mortem lugentem.' Horace's feeling is for Virgil as much as for their common friend. From this point of view we must be struck by the delicacy of the 'consolation.' He justifies Virgil's grief, he shares it. 'He too will join in the dirge; Quintilus is gone, the peerless, the soul of modesty, honour, justice, and truth! All good men weep; and who has greater right to weep than Virgil, whose piety and trustfulness the gods have so hardly rewarded?' Only at last, when he has opened his friend's heart by his expression of sympathy, does he venture on a hint, not perhaps of comfort, but of self-restraint. 'After all, no laments, though sweeter than Orpheus, no prayers, will reach the dead. It is a cruel fate, patience only will lighten what may not be cured.'

It would seem, if Donatus be giving a genuine trait of Virgil in his Life, c. 18, that Horace is recalling his friend to his own philosophy for consolation: 'Sólitus erat dicere nullam virtutem commodiorem homini esse patientia, ac nullam adeo asperam esse fortunam quam prudenter patiendo vir fortis non vincat.'

Metre—Fourth Asclepiad.

QUIS desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis? Praeclipse lugubres

praecipe, 'teach me.' The Muse herself is to sing, cp. Od. 1. 12. 1. Horace will only hear her voice and repeat the strain after her.
HORATII CARMINUM

Cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater
Vocem cum cithara dedit.
Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget! cui Pudor et Iustitiae soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
Quando ullum inveniet parem?
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.
Tu frustra pius heu non ita creditum
Possis Quintilium deos.

Quid si Threicio blandius Orpheo
Auditam moderere arboribus fidem,

3. Melpomene, see on Od. 1. 1. 33,
and cp. 3. 30. 16, 4. 3. 1.

5. ergo, S. 2. 5. 101. 'Ergo nunc
Dama sodalis Nusquam est?' cp. Virg.
E. 1. 47. 'Fortunate senex, ergo tua
rura manebunt.' So Ovid begins Trist.
3. 2. 1. Ergo erat in fatis Scythiam
quoque visere nostris.' Like the Gr.

perpetuus, broken by no waking,

Pudor, aiúos. According to the de-
definition in A. Gell. 19. 6. 'timor iustae
reprehensionis,' the sensitiveness to the
judgment of others, which makes a man
modest, harmless, temperate.

7. Fides, defined by Cic. Off. 1. 7
'dictorum conventorumque constantia
et veritas,' and called there 'iustitiae
fundamentum.' In calling Good Faith
or Honour the sister of Justice, Horace
implies that the two go together, and
therefore that both were present in
Quintilius.

nuda Veritas, as Acr. explains,
'quae nihil occulti habeat ut egeat
'tegumento.' Ritter compares the pic-
ture of Quintilius, the candid critic of
A. P. 438 foll.; see Introduction to this
Ode.

8. inveniet, for the sing. verb after

several subjects, see Od. 1. 3. 3.

11. frustra pius. Virgil, the gentle
and reverent poet, has committed his
friend to the safe keeping of the gods,
little dreaming how they would dis-
charge the trust; now he asks back his
'depositum' (cp. Od. 1. 3. 5-8) only to
find how fruitless his piety has been.
Another interpretation is that of Lam-
binus, 'Thou askest Quintilius of the
gods, and findest, despite thy piety,
that he was not lent to thee on such
terms,' i.e. that you should never part.
The first is probably right as assign-
ing the same agent to, 'creditum' and
'possis,' and as giving a more definite
sense and connection with the context
to 'frustra pius.' With the thought
of these words we may perhaps com-
pare, as a characteristic difference
between the two poets, Virgil's notice
of the same moral difficulty, Aen.
2. 426-430, and his more reverent
and religious comment, 'Dis alter
visum.'

ita = 'hac conditione,' on such terms
as this.

13-15. quid si...num. The words
'frustra pius' have struck the note
which is the key to this stanza. 'In
vain—did I say?—while he was alive.
What if you had the persuasive lyre of
Orpheus? could it restore to us the
dead?' Orelli reads 'Quod si...non,'
but against the preponderance of MSS.
For the construction, a hypothetical
question preceded by the interrogative
or exclamatory 'quid,' Dill', refers to
4. 311.
Num vanae redeat sanguis imaginii,
Quam virga semel horrida,
Non lenis precibus fata recludere,
Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi?
Durum: sed levius fit patientia,
Quidquid corrigere est nefas.

The unsubstantial forms, veil ovew each other, in Hom. Od. 11, have to drink a draught of blood before they can recover life enough to talk with Ulysses.

17. lenis recludere, App. 2, § 2. precibus, the dat. = ‘in answer to.’ fata recludere, to open the door of fate. ‘Panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces,’ Prop. 4. 11. 2.

18. nigro compulerit gregi, has gathered to the black fold. For the case, cp. Od. 1, 28. 10 ‘Panthoiden iterum Orco demissum.’ Madv. § 251. For the image, Od. 2. 3. 25 ‘omnes eodem cogimur.’

19. patientia, see Introduction to the Ode.

O D E XXV.

The ‘vices superbae’ which await a fading beauty when lovers begin to leave her for her younger rivals.

PARCIUS iunctas quatiunt fenestras
Iactibus crebris iuvenes protervi,
Nec tibi somnos adimunt, amatque
Ianua limen,
Quae prius multum facilis movebat
Cardines; audis minus et minus iam:
‘Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
Lydia, dormis?’
Invicem mocchos anus arrogantes
Flebis in solo levis angiportu,

1. iunctas, the ‘fenestrae biforme’ (Ov. ex Pont. 3. 3. 3), shut close for the night.
2. iactibus, so the oldest MSS, against ‘ictibus’ the reading of the mass of more recent ones.
3. amat, ‘cleaves to ’; cp. its metaph. use, Virg. Aen. 5. 163 ‘litus ama,’ ‘hug the shore.’
5. multum facillis, cp. S. 1. 3. 57 ‘multum demissus’; 2. 3. 147, 2. 5. 92,
Ep. 1. 10. 3. 2. 2. 62.
10. levis = ‘contempta.’
Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
lunia vento,
Cum tibi flagrans amor et libido,
Quae solet matres furjare equorum,
Saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum,
Non sine questu,
Laeta quod pubes hedera virente
Gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto,
Aridas frondes hiemis sodali
Dedicet Hebro.

11. sub interlunia, changes of the moon are, in common fancy, still associated with changes of weather: *al oýno-
doi τῶν μυρῶν χειμερνύτερα*, Theophr. de Ventis, 3; 'Interluniorum dies tem-
pestatibus plenos,' Veget. de Re Mil. 5, 10.

18. pulla, 'subnigra'; it is used of the colour of a ripe fig, Epod. 16. 46; for the contrasted 'virente'—'pulla,' see on Od. 1. 21. 7.

19. aridas frondes. The same image is used in Od. 4. 13. 9 'Importunus enim [cupido] transvolat aridas Quercus.' The commentators multiply illus-
trations of the metaphor of the 'sere and yellow leaf,' as Aesch, Ag. 79 τὸ ἐνεργήρων φυλλάδος ἡδὴ κατακαρφομέ-
νης; Archil. Fr. 91 οὐκέτι ὅμως θάλλει ἀπαλδὸν χρῶς, κάρφεται γὰρ ἡδὴ.

20. dedicet Hebro. In plain words, 'throw away,' as in the next Ode, 'Tra-
dam protervis in mare Creticum Portare ventis'; but the river seems to be cho-
sen as one specially associated by Ro-
man poets with images of winter (Epp. 1. 3. 3, 1. 16. 13, Virg. E. 10. 65, Aen. 12. 331), and so one to which the offering of withered leaves is more appro-
priate. A large number of Editors,
following a conjecture of Rutgers, have adopted 'Euro' as simpler, and a better parallel to 'animae veris comites,' Od. 4. 12. 1; 'Notus comes Orionis,' 1. 28. 22; but such an alteration in all the MSS. is very unlikely, and when coupled with the similar case in Virg. Aen. 1. 317, next to impossible.
ODE XXVI.

'The Muse's friend, I can cast sorrow and fears to the winds. The politics of Parthia that trouble all the world are nothing to me. Help me, sweet Muse, to weave a chaplet of freshest lyric verse for my dear friend Lamia.'

It is difficult to see the point of connection between the first and last parts of the Ode, unless, indeed, as has been suggested, Horace is holding up his own cheerfulness and its source to Lamia's imitation, see Introd. to Od. 3. 17. If Epp. 1. 14. 6 refer to the same person as the two Odes, the trait there given, 'rapto de fratre dolentis Insolabiliter,' may confirm the idea that he was a person on whom sorrow sat heavily.

Aelius Lamia, the school friend of Numida (Od. 1. 36. 7) and the 'vetusto nobilis ab Lamo' of 3. 17. 1, is generally identified with L. Aelius Lamia who was Praefectus urbi in A.D. 32, and died A.D. 33. Tac. Ann. 6. 27 'genus illi decorum, vivida senectus.' If this Ode therefore is to be dated before B.C. 23, he must have been quite a young man when it was written. Ritter, feeling this to be a difficulty, suggests that the Lamia of the Odes is an elder brother of Lucius. The name of a Q. Aelius Lamia, 'triumvir monetalis,' has been found on a coin of this date. He thinks that it is his death that Lucius is represented as lamenting in Epp. 1. 14. 6.

On the date of the Ode and the allusion of vv. 3–5 see Introd. to Odes i-iii, § 8.

With vv. 1–6 cp. Virg. G. 2. 490–497. The friendship of the Muses gives to Horace the freedom which Virgil attributes to philosophy and a country life.

MUSIS amicus tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis, quis sub Arcto
Rex gelidae metuatur orae,

1. Musis amicus, gives the reason for his being able to throw care to the winds; for the expression, cp. 'amicum Crethea Musis,' Virg. Aen. 9. 774.


2. protervis, the winds 'at play,' as 'ludibrium ventis,' 1. 14. 16.

Creticum, see on Od. 1. 1. 14. It is a proverbially stormy sea. Soph. Tr. 117 βιότον πολύτον δαπερ πέλαγος Κλήσον.

3. portare, for infinitive, see App. 2, § 1.

quis, best taken, perhaps, with the Schol., as a dative plur.; cp. Epod. 11. 9 'in quis'; 'by whom the king of the frozen coast beneath Arctos is dreaded.'

'Quid Tiridates terrat' is the same question put another way: but it is more general, and Tiridates would fear other things besides the King of Scythia. Others make 'quis' a nom., 'who is the king so terrible,' etc. It will still, on our view, refer to the fears of Tiridates. Dillr., however, urging the parallel 'infidos agitans discordia fratres, Nec conlunato descendens Dacus ab Istro,' Virg. G. 2. 496, 497, takes 'metuatur' of the fears of the Romans themselves, and the Scythian king (cp. Od. 1. 19. 10, and see on 3. 8. 18) as representing the barbarians north of the Danube, of whose incursions so much is made in Horace.
Quid Tiridaten terreat, unice
Securus. O, quae fontibus integris
Gaudes, apricos necte flores,
Necte meo Lamiae coronam,
Pimplea dulcis! Nil sine te mei
Prosunt honores; hunc fidibus novis,
Hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
Teque tuasque decet sorores.

5. *unice*, though every one else is full of these questions.

6. *fontibus integris*, etc. A second reminiscence (see Od. i. 7. 7) of Lucr. i. 926 ‘iuvat integros accedere fontes Atque haurire; iuvatque novos decerpere flores,’ etc. Observe how Horace combines the two claims for his poetry, ‘integris,’ ‘novis fidibus,’ and yet ‘Lesbio plectro’; cp. Epp. i. 19. 21 ‘Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, Non aliena meo pressi pede . . . Parios ego primus iambos Ostendi Latio’; see on Od. i. 1. 29. He only claims originality in imitation.

9. *Pimplea*, prop. the name of a fountain in Pieria (cp. ‘Pierides Musae’), near Mount Olympus. Horace uses it as an adj. of the *Muse* who haunts the spot. Bentley and others would read the Greek form ‘Pimplei’ against the MSS, which vary only between ‘Pimplea’ and ‘Piplea.’

11. *sacrare*, to canonize, to give the immortality which so many stout hearts have lacked for want of a ‘vates sacer,’ Od. 4. 9. 25.
ODE XXVII.

In Od. 1. 18 the poet had recommended moderation in the use of wine on moral and religious grounds. Here his object is the same though the tone is lighter. The Ode is a dramatic sketch of a banquet which is degenerating into a drunken brawl. Horace interrupts it by an appeal, playful in its mixture of the Bacchic hierophant with the genial poet of good living. The company would reply to their monitor by filling his glass. ‘On one condition only,’ he says, and diverts them at once from his own lecture and their rising quarrel to an absorbing interest in the love affairs of Megilla’s brother, his bashfulness, his imagined confidences, his mysteriously hopeless fate.

It is at least an ingenious suggestion of Ritter’s that the ‘Opuntiae frater Megillae’ is the same as the Xanthias Phoecus of Od. 2. 4, whom Horace banter on his love for a slave girl (the ‘Charybdis’ on this view of this Ode), neither ‘fidelis,’ if we read the irony aright, nor ‘lucro aversa’; see the Introd. to that Ode.

Athen. x. p. 427 A preserves part of a poem of Anacreon, which may have inspired the beginning of this Ode:—

άγε δητε (al. δετε) μηκέθ’ οὕτω
πατάγω τε κάλαμτῳ
Σχυσθὴν πόσιν παρ’ οἶνῳ
μελετῶμεν ἄλλα καλὸς
νποινοντες ἐν ὕμνοις.

NATIS in usum laetitiae scyphis
Pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
Morem, verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis!

1. natis. Horace is fond of the trope, ‘nata mecum testa,’ Od. 3. 21. 1; ‘versus male nati,’ Epp. 2. 1. 233.

scyphis pugnare; cp. Juv. 5. 26
‘Iurgia proludunt; sed mox et pocula torques Sauciæ, et rubro deterges vulnera mappa; Inter vos quoties libertorumque cohortem Pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagena.’

2. Thracum; see on Od. 1. 18. 9.

3. verecundum, ‘modici Liberis,’ Od. 1. 18. 7. From another point of view Horace calls him ‘inverecundus deus,’ the god who removes the restraints of bashfulness, Epod. 11. 13. Ritter thinks that there is an antithesis intended between ‘verecundum’ (cp. ‘verecundus color,’ Epod. 17. 21) and ‘sanguineis,’ the red of the blushing wine-god’s cheeks (οἰνῶν θεῦ, Soph. O. T. 211) and the red stains of bloody quarrel. The construction, ‘Bacchum prohibete rixis’ (cp. Epp. 1. 1. 31 ‘nodosa corpus prohibere cheragra’) is found in prose, as Cic. de Leg. Man. 7 ‘magnum civium numerum calamitate prohibere.’
5. *vino et lucernis*, the lamps are signs of festivity, as they imply a banquet prolonged into the night; *cp.* 'vigiles lucernas perfer in lucem,' *Od.* 3. 8. 14: 'viva lucernae,' 3. 21. 23. So probably to exalt the hospitality of Dido's welcome, and not only for the picture, *Virg.* *Aen.* 1. 726 'Dependent lychni laquearibus aureis Incensu et noctem flammis funalau vincent.'

6. *immame quantum*, *dictum non*, *thaumastw non*. *Tact.* 4. 34 'Civilis, lapsu equi prostratus . . . immame quantum suis pavoris et hostibus alacritatis inindit.' Cicero has 'nimium quantum,' *Orat.* 25. 87. Grammatically, it is a full parenthetical clause, after the model of 'nescio quis,' standing instead of the expected adverb of quantity, so that it is unnecessary to read 'discrepet.'

*impium*, because they offend Bacchus.

8. *cubito presso*, with the left arm deep in the cushions of the sofa.


10. *Megillae*, a Greek name. Megillus is an interlocutor in *Plat.* *Legg.* She comes from *Opus Locorum.* The challenge to give a name as a toast is common: *Theoc.* 14. 18 ᾳηδη δε προϊντος ἔδοξε ἐπιχεισαι ἄκρατων, ἀτινος ἤθελ εκαστος, ἐδει μονον ἄτινος εἰπῆ; *Mart.* 1. 72. 1 'Naevia sex cythasis, septem Justina bibatur.'

11. *beatus . . . pereat*, 'dies a happy death.' For the 'oxymoron, *cp.* *Od.* 1. 33. 14 'grata detinuit compede,' and *Tib.* 2. 5. 109 'laceo cum sauciis annum Et faevo morbo, tam iuvat ipsa dolor.'

12. *cessat voluntas*, 'Falters thy will?' *Do you hesitate to tell us?'

13. *quaeque Venus, Od.* 1. 33. 13 'melior Venus'; *cp.* v. 16 'ingenuo amore,' i.e. love for a freeborn girl. 'Venus' is still more definitely for 'the beloved' in *Virg.* *E.* 3. 68 'Parta meae Veneri sunt munera.'

15. 'The passion with which she fires thee need raise no blushes.'

16. *que.* *Dillenburger draws attention to Horace use of 'que' in such a case, where the first clause having a negative form an adversative conjunction would be more usual; cp.* 2. 12. 9. 2. 20. 4. 3. 30. 6, and see on *Epod.*

15. 14. *semper*, always, and so I am sure now.

17. *Whisper to me, if you will not tell it to all the company.*
Quanta laborabas Charybdi,
Digne puer meliore flamma!
Quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
Magus venenis, quis poterit deus?
Vix illigatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimaera.

19. laborabas. There seems to be no doubt that this is the true reading. 'Laboras' is found in a few good MSS, but the hiatus is filled in none of any authority. The imperfect represents the Greek ἀπ' ἔποιεις, 'you are labouring all the time.' It is of a new discovery, and refers to the time before the discovery was made; see on Od. i. 37. 4.

Charybdi. Compare the lines of Anaxilas, the comic poet, quoted by Athen. 13. p. 558 'Ἡ δὲ Φοίνη τὴν Χάρυβδαν οὐρὴν πόρρω που ποιεῖ; Τὸν τε ναῦκηλαν λαβοῦσα καταλέπων' αὐτὸς σκάφει. Cicero says of Antony 'Quae Charybdis tam vorax,' Phil. 2. 27. 67.

21. Thessalis, Epod. 5. 21. 45.
22. venenis, a translation of φαρμάκοις, of magic potions.
23. triformi. Hom. ii. 6. 181 πρὸ-σθε λέον, ἐπὶθεν δὲ δράκαν, μέσα δὲ χνίμαρα. Bellerophon, according to the post-Homeric legend, killed the monster with arrows from the back of the winged horse Pegasus. The ablative 'Chimaera' is governed, ἀνό κοινόν, by 'illigatum' and 'expedit,' see on Od. i. 3. 6.

Ode XXVIII.

If it be essential to good drama that the dramatic play should be at least so obvious that most intelligent readers should put the same interpretation upon it, this Ode cannot be pronounced very successful. Its scene, its nature, the division of the parts (if it is a dialogue), its purpose, are all points on which it would be hard to find two editors who agree.

The question of the scene has been complicated by doubts which have been raised as to the locality of the 'Matinum litus.' The Scholiasts speak with an uncertain voice. 'Mons Apuliae, sive ut quidam volunt plana Calabriae' is Acron's note. Porph. calls it here 'promontorium Apuliae;' on Epod. 16. 28 'mons Calabriæ.' Ritter, arguing from this Ode, and pressing the identity of the 'Matina apis' of Od. 4. 2. 27 with the 'Calabrace apes' of 3. 16. 33, and the Tarentine bees of 2. 6. 14, places it near Tarentum, where it was natural that Archytas should have been buried. The balance of evidence, however, is greatly in favour of the more northern site. The 'Matina cacumina' of Epod. 16. 28 would seem to have been part of the range of Mount Garganus, and the 'litus Matinum' the shore at their base. A village and port at this place is still called 'Matiinata.' Lucan, 9. 181, joins Vultur, Garganus, and 'calidi buxeta Matini,' as all belonging to Apulia. The Scholiasts' confusion arose more probably from the vagueness with which the term 'Calabria' was employed in many writers. We must choose then for the scene of the Ode between the 'litus Matinum,' as thus explained, and
the shore near Tarentum. Which is most likely, that a speaker on the shore of Apulia should commend a passing sailor to the care of 'Neptune, the warden of sacred Tarentum,' or that one speaking at Tarentum shall apostrophize Archytas in his burial place on the 'litus Matinum'? The question seems to be really settled by the second local reference in v. 26. The woods about Venusia are near enough to stand for the 'inland woods' on the shore just north of the Aufidus, but they would not occur naturally if the scene were at Tarentum.

The Ode consists of at least two parts; some moralizing on the universality of Death, connected in some way with the fate of Archytas, and the petition of an unburied corpse for the handful of sand which would enable it to cross the Styx. What is the relation between the two? The oldest answer was that the unburied body was that of Archytas himself, who (we must suppose) had been drowned and cast ashore during a voyage on the Adriatic. The Scholiasts consider the Ode a monologue, the shade of Archytas addressing itself in the first twenty lines, and appealing to a passing sailor in the remainder. The commoner view makes it a dialogue begun by the sailor who finds the body of the philosopher, and moralizes upon it till he is interrupted by the shade of Archytas. Where the break takes place is a question still to be settled. Verses 7, 15, 17, and 21, have all been proposed. A chief motive for throwing the division as late as at least as v. 15, is to prevent the appeal of v. 14 'Judice te non sordidus auctor Naturae verique' from being addressed by Archytas to the sailor. Newman, on the contrary, hears in the appeal so addressed a very keynote of the Ode. He thinks that 'the poem is written in the spirit of Lucian to ridicule the mixture of old mythology and new philosophy in Southern Italy, where the Pythagorean doctrines were widely diffused. The sailor is presumed, by the shade of Archytas, to be an adherent of Pythagoras.'

Dillenburger, dividing at v. 17, thinks that the point of the Ode is the mutual exposure by a philosopher and a man of the world of the vanity of their respective pursuits,—the philosopher measuring the sand and dreaming of metempsychosis, the trader so intent on his pursuit of gain as to be unwilling to spare a minute to render the last service to his brother man,—both losing sight of death, and of their common humanity. The chief difficulty in the way of this interpretation is supposed to lie in the rendering of vv. 2, 3. Can 'parva munera pulveris te cohibent' mean 'the want of the gift of a little dust keeps you fast'? Or has Horace, when he makes Archytas ask for burial in v. 23, forgotten that he had already buried him in v. 2? Perhaps we may say that neither Horace nor Archytas vouch for the fact of a due sprinkling of dust. They are the sailor's words; and he is thinking at the time of the small compass to which the far-reaching mind of the philosopher is shrunk, not of the sufficiency or insufficiency of his burial. Archytas replies that his case is worse even than the sailor had supposed, for he still lacks the sand that would give his shade rest.

Those interpreters who, for this or other reasons, hold that the unburied body is of some other than Archytas, explain the address of the early lines by placing the scene of the Ode in sight of Archytas' tomb. There is still a question whether it is a dialogue or a monologue. The interpretation which Orelli gives from an anonymous friend, and which lies favours himself, makes the contrast between vv. 1–20, which contain reflections on the common doom of mortality suggested to a passing voyager by the sight of the philosopher's tomb, and the remainder of the Ode, in which the voice of an unburied corpse on the shore is supposed to interrupt his moralizing, and in its urgent appeal to suggest that, after all, death is not the hardest of fates.

Ritter imagines the Ode to have been suggested by the drowning of some
doctus iuvenis’ which was the talk of Tarentum on some occasion when Horace was staying there. He has been drowned on the Illyrian shore (v. 22), but his shade revisits Tarentum, apostrophizes Archytas, whose tomb is placed there, and appearing to a sailor, bids him stop on his voyage to throw dust on its unburied corpse, as he hopes for a prosperous return to more western waters (v. 26).

Others have supposed that the imaginary corpse is Horace’s own. He had been nearly lost at sea once off Cape Palinurus (Od. 3. 4. 28). The scenery of this Ode will hardly suit that occasion; but the event may have filled his mind with thoughts and images of shipwreck.

In my notes I have inclined to Dillenburger’s interpretation, not as a completely satisfactory one, but as less far-fetched than most, and involving fewer difficulties, and as giving the Ode a thoroughly Horatian tone. That Archytas had a tomb on the sea-coast, near Mount Garganus, is not a fact of history, nor in any way less an assumption of the interpreter than that he was drowned and cast ashore there.

We may notice that Horace seems to have been interested in the Pythagorean doctrines, and especially in that of Metempsychosis, and yet not disinclined to speak playfully of them, Epod. 15. 21, Epp. 2. 1. 52, S. 2. 6. 62. He ranks Pythagoras with Socrates and Plato as representing the great teachers of Greek philosophy, S. 2. 4. 3.

Archytas was a Greek of Tarentum, and lived in the fourth century B.C. Like the rest of the Pythagorean school of philosophers he was a great mathematician.

Metre—Alcmanium.

"TE maris et terrae numeroque carentis arenae
Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
Munera, nec quidquam tibi prodest
Aërias tentasse domos animoque rotundum"

1. maris et terrae. Horace combines the title of γεωμετρη with the charge of counting the sand which exceeds number. He is thinking probably of the ψαυμτης of Archimedes, the responsibility of which he throws on Archytas as a kindred genius. The question with Archimedes was not really the number of the sand, but the possibility of expressing numbers which defied the capacity of the clumsy Greek notation; though his treatise starts as an answer to those who had asserted that the number of the sand on the shores of Sicily was infinite, or at least incapable of arithmetical expression. ‘To count the sand’ was a proverb for wasted trouble, Pind. Ol. 13. 66, Virg. G. 2. 104, so that the speaker is intended (as the oxymoron ‘mensorem...numero carentis’ suggests) to put Archytas’ labours in a somewhat ridiculous light.

2. cohibent, ‘confine,’ κατέχει. The contrast is, of course, between the infinitude of space and number through which Archytas ranged in life, and the tiny handful of dust which has set bounds to him and his thoughts now.

3. litus. There is a variant ‘latum’ found in Β γ τ, and in the first hand, altered subsequently to ‘litus,’ in A. Keller accepts it, and perhaps it is more consistent than ‘litus’ with the form of the notes of Acr. and Porph. The Scholiast on γ read it, for its interpretation is ‘amplum.’

4. munera, specially used of the last offices. It does not occur to the sailor that the sand on Archytas’ body, if there be sand, has been heaped by the wind, not by human hand, and that the tribute of a few grains duly thrown is the one boon he still needs.

5. tentasse, as if there were some audacity in lifting even the mind to the heavenly bodies; ‘animo’ of course in sense qualifies it as well as ‘percurrisse.’
HORATII CARMINUM

Percurrisses polum moritura.
Occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum,
Tithonusque remotus in auras,
Et Iovis arcasis Minos admissus, habentque
Tartara Panthoiden iterum Orco
Demissum, quamvis, clipeo Troiana refixo
Tempora testatus, nihil ultra
Nervos atque cetera morti concesserat atrae,
Iudice te non sordidus auctor
Naturae verique. Sed omnes una manet nox
Et calcanda semel via leti.

Dant alios Furiae torvo spectacula Marti;

6. percurrisses, from Lucr. 1. 73

'Omne immensum peragratim mente
animoque.'

moritura, the case ruled by 'tibi'
(Madv. § 393 c), the time fixed by
tentasse' and 'percurrisses.' 'What profits
it you now to have scaled the homes
of the sky, and in spirit to have ranged
from star to star through the round
heaven, you that had still to die!' Cp.
2. 3. 4, where 'moritura' occupies the
same emphatic position.

7 foll. The instances are of those
who seemed at one time to have
escaped the universal law: Tartalus,
when he feasted with the gods; Tithonus,
when he was beloved by Aurora,
and snatched by her into the sky (Eur. Tro.
855 ὃν ἀστέρων τέθριπποι ἐλπίζοις χρύσοις
δῶχος ἀναρπίασος); Minos, when Jove
himself counselled him in the art of
dawgiving (cp. Hom. Od. 19. 179 Δίσος
μεγάλου δαριστής); Pythagoras, when
he proved that he had outlived one
d death. The form of argument is that
of Hom. II. 18. 117, so often imitated,
οἷς γὰρ οἷς βήχ Ηρακλῆσ φύτε εἴπον ὡς
τήντα φιλτατος ἔσκε Δίι Κρονίων ἀνακτή
[. . . ὅσ καὶ ἐγών, κ.τ.λ. Horace uses the
myths of Tartalus and Tithonus ('longa
Tithonum minuit senectus,' Od. 2. 16.
30) for other purposes elsewhere; here
we are not to think of the punishment of
the one or the old age of the other, only
of the fact that, though privileged above
humanity, they died at last like others.

10. 'And the son of Panthus is in
Tartarus now since he descended a
second time to the lower world, for all
that before (for he took down his shield
and proved his knowledge of the days
of Troy) he had yielded to black death
no spoils beyond mere sinews and skin.'
Pythagoras was said to have supported
his doctrine of μετεμφύσας by asserting
that his own soul had animated the
body of Euphorbus (Πάνθον ὑλὸν ημμε
λήφθη, whom Menelaus slew, Hom. II.
17. 69), a fact which he proved by re-
cognizing Euphorbus' shield hung with
others in a temple at Argos.

Tartara, not of the place of punish-
ment, but of the lower world generally,
as in Virg. G. 1. 36, where the Elysian
plains seem to be included in it. No
distinction is intended between 'Tar-
tara' and 'Orco.' 'Orco demittere' is
a Virgilian phrase representing Homer's
Αἰδί προϊδέων. For the dat. see on
Od. I. 24. 18.

14. iudice te. As addressed to Ar-
chytas this is simple, and the case of
Pythagoras is a natural climax. Those
who put the words into Archytas' mouth
are driven either to alter, with
Jani, 'te' to 'me,' or to suppose that
Archytas presumes in all the world
the same reverence for his master that he
feels himself.

auitor, 'master,' 'teacher,' Cic. ad
Att. 7. 3. 'auitor Latinitatis'; Virg.
Aen. II. 339 'consilis habitus non
futiles auitor.

15. sed, advers. to the last clause.
He may have been a great philosopher,
but he was a man, and death knows
no exceptions.

16. via leti, the same image, Od. 2.
17. II 'supremum carpere iter.'

17 foll. On Dillenburger's theory,
Archytas' answer begins here. The
sailor has insisted on the universality
EXITIO EST AVIDUM MARAE NAUTIS;
MIXTA SENUM AC IUVENUM DENSENTUR FUNERA; NULNUM
SAEVA CAPUT PROSERPINA FUGIT.

ME QUOCO DEVEXI RAPIDUS COMES ORIONIS
ILLYRICIS NOTUS OBRIUIT UNDIS.

AT TU, NATUA, VAGAE NE PARCE MALIGNUS ARENAE
OSSIBUS ET CAPITI INHUMATO
PARTICULAM DARE: SIC, QUODCUNQUE MINABITUR EURUS
FLUCTIBUS HESPERIIS, VENUSINAE

of death by the argument that those
do not escape whom you would most
expect to escape. 'You, the philoso-

phers, do not escape.' Archytas is sup-
posed to bring the same lesson home to
the sailor by another argument. 'The
forms and occasions of death are many;
your own trade has its dangers; the
young did as well as the old; the only
fixed thing is that all die. I died like
the rest, cast ashore, as you might be,
by a tempest. Be not in such a hurry
after your gain as to refuse me the last
rites. You will not be unpunished if
you do.'

17. spectacula. The metaphor is
from gladiatorial shows; wars are the
'juries' in which Mars delights, Od. 1. 2.
37. The Furies are represented as
stirring up war in Virg. Aen. 7. 324
foll., 12. 845 foll.

18. avidum, a few MSS. read 'avid-
is'; but even if we want, as we do on
Dillenburger's interpretation, a hit at
the trader's eagerness for gain, 'avidus'
is neither so delicate nor so forcible as
'avidum,' which means 'greedy as they';
cp. Od. 2. 18. 30 'rapacis Ori,' where
the epithet is clearly meant to compare
the greediness of death for his prey
with the greediness of the rich landlord
who is laying field to field.

20. saeva, Od. 1. 19. 1, perhaps with
a reminiscence of the Homeric epithet,
είφει 'iepès γάρ ὄντος τῶν κατὰ χοῦνθ
θεών ἵστεον τὸν τόδ' ἔγχος κρατᾶς ἄγγισθ
τρίχα.

21. devexi Orionis. Orion's set-
ing is a time proverbial for bad
weather, Od. 3. 27. 18, Epod. 15. 7,
Virg. Aen. 7. 799.

comes, Od. 4. 12. 1.

22. Ilyricis, for the Adriatic gene-

erally, as Virg. Aen. 1. 243.

23. at tu answers, perhaps, the em-

phatic 'te' of v. 1, 'You have lectured
me, now hear what I have to say to
you.'

24. ne parce malignus, 'grudge not
churlishly'; he puts it as though avarice
could be the only reason for his refusing,
vagae adds a touch, 'surely the sand
that drives hither and thither before
the wind won't cost you much.' It is
time, however, rather than sand, that he
doubts his sparing; 'parce dare' as
'parce cavere,' Od. 3. 8. 26.

25. For the hiatus, cp. Epod. 13. 4
'Threicio Aquilone'; Virgil's 'Actaeo
Aracynho,' Ecl. 2. 24 etc.

25. sic, i.e. if you do as I ask; see on
Od. 1. 3. 1.

26. fluctibus Hesperiis. Does this
mean 'on the other side of Italy when
you get round there,' 'may the east
wind spend its force on the forests of
Apulia as it crosses Italy?' or do the
words not necessarily imply that the
trader will himself be sailing on the
Hesperian waves? The east wind is on
an errand of vengeance against the
waves of the west, it is dangerous to
come in his course. The form of ex-
pression is dictated by the love of ver-
bal antithesis, but there is the notion of
Plectantur silvae te sospite, multaque merces,
Unde potest, tibi defluat aequo
Ab Iove Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.
Negligis immeritis nocituram
Postmodo te natis fraudem committere? Fors et
Debita iura vicesque superbae
Te maneant ipsum: precibus non linquar inultis,
Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa; licebit
Inietto ter pulvere curras.

the wind sweeping, or threatening to sweep, if it be not stayed by Archytas' prayer, from one end of heaven to the other. As the trader is already east of Italy, he would more probably be sailing to the east than, like the 'mercator' of 1. 31. 14, to the Spanish ports outside the Straits.

27. plectantur, in its usual sense not only of being lashed, but of bearing the punishment; 'may all his vengeance be wreaked on them.'

multa merces, 'a rich reward,' i.e. for your humanity.

28. unde potest, I cannot reward you, but there is that which will, the favour of Jove, who (as originally in his function of ἓλμος) presides especially over the reciprocal duties of men to one another, and of Neptune the tutelary god of Tarentum, who will remember kindness shown to a citizen of his own. For 'unde' of a person, see on Od. 1. 12. 17.

29, 31. 'Art thou careless of committing a crime that shall bring punishment presently on thine innocent children? May-be even in thine own person the debt of justice and a return of contumely may be in store for thee.'

te natis, to be taken together, 'te' being the ablative, as in 'nate Dea,' 'Apolline natus,' etc.: the opposition is to 'te ipsum.' 'Te' has also been taken (as by Nauck) as the subj. of 'committere.' 'Is it nothing to thee that thou art committing,' etc. 'Negligis committere' and 'negligis te committere' are both possible constructions.

33. non linquar, i.e. 'a te.' If thou leavest me my prayers for vengeance will not be unheard.

36. ter, the sacred and complete number; cp. Soph. of Antigone pouring the dust on Polynice's body, χοιαὶ τρισπόνδοιαι τὸν νέκυν στέφει, Ant. 430.
ODE XXIX.

'What, Iccius hankering after the treasures of Arabia, and planning eastern conquests? Have you chosen already your share of the spoil? Who will say again that aught in nature is impossible, when Iccius the scholar sells his library to buy armour and belies the promise of his life?'

Iccius is unknown to us except from this Ode and Epp. i. 12. In that Epistle, written probably about five years afterwards, he has resumed his peaceful pursuits, if he ever left them, and is engaged as manager of Agrippa's estates in Sicily. We must not take Horace's banter here or his imputation of avaricious motives as serious. Some readers see in the opening lines of the Epistle a hint of restlessness in Iccius' disposition, but Horace speaks of him as a man of singularly temperate life and a rare example of the possibility of maintaining a pure and lofty taste 'inter scabiem et contagia luci.'

In the year 24 B.C. Aelius Gallus made an unsuccessful expedition into Arabia Felix. The Ode will probably have been written when the preparations for it had begun, but these seem to have lasted some time; see on Od. i. 35. 30.

ICCI, beatis nunc Arabum invides
Gazis, et acrem militiam paras
Non ante devictis Sabaeae
Regibus, horribilique Medo
Nectis catenas? Quae tibi virginum
Sponso necato barbar serviet?

1. beatis, properly the epithet of the rich man, not of his riches; but it contains a reference to the name of Arabia Felix.

nunc. Dill* points out the emphasis laid on this word. 'What, now, after a lifetime spent in such different pursuits!' Arabum gazis, Od. 2. 12. 24 'plenas Arabum domos'; 3. 24. 1 'Intactis opulentior Thesauris Arabum'; Epp. 1. 7. 36 'divitiae Arabum.' On the extravagant ideas of the Romans about the wealth and treasures of Arabia, see Dict. Geog. s.v. Sabaei.

3. Sabaeae, the name of the most important city and tribe of S. Arabia, the Σαβά, 'Sheba,' of 1 Kings 10. 1.

4. Medo, a hyperbole, possibly of those who vapoured about the expedition; but it is in Horace's way, cp. Od. 1. 12. 56, i. 35. 31. We may notice the terms of playful exaggeration in which Iccius' part in the expedition is spoken of. It is he that plans the war, that carries chains ready made for his captives (as Florus, 3. 7, relates that M. Antonius, the father of the Triumvir, did when he attacked Crete): he is to have the pick of the spoil, his Briseis like Achilles, a court page as his cup-bearer.

5. quae virginum barbar, for 'quae virgo barbar' or 'quae virginum barbararum.' Horace is fond of variations of the kind; cp. Epod. 10. 13 'Graia victorum manus'; Sat. 2. 1. 61 'majorum nequis amicas.' He is speaking of a princess, the 'bellantis tyranni adulta virgo' of Od. 3. 2. 7.
Puer quis ex aula capillis
Ad cyathum statuetur unctis,
Doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno? Quis neget arduis
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus et Tiberim reverti,
Cum tu coemptos undique nobilis
Libros Panaetii Socraticam et domum
Mutare loricis Hiberis,
Policitus meliora, tendis?

7. puer ex aula, 'a page from the court'; Liv. 45. 6 'pueri regii apud Macedonas vocabantur principum liberi ad ministerium regis' electi. The phrase 'ad cyathum stare' occurs in Suet. Jul. 49. Compare Virro's cup-bearer, 'Flos Asiae,' Juv. 5. 56, and the 'incultus puer...non Phryx aut Lycius' of a humbler household, id. 11. 146.

9. doctus, etc., i.e. 'a high-born boy,' an archer like his fathers before him. The purpose is to exalt the value of the page, not, as some editors think, to frighten Icicius.

sagittas tendere. Virgil has the same inversion, 'spicula tendere cornu,' Aen. 9. 606.

Sericas. This illustrates the 'Mede' or Parthian of v. 4: it is the whole East that Icicius is going to conquer; see on Od. 1. 12. 56.

10. arduis montibus. It may be doubted whether this is a dative case like Od. 1. 24. 18, or an abl. absol. on the analogy of 'adverso, secundo, flumine,' 'up the steep mountains' side.' Notice the antithetical position of the two adjectives 'arduus pronos.' Eur. Med. 410 ἀνω ποταμῶν ἵππων χροφώτει παγαί, καὶ δίκᾳ καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται.

13. nobilis. The MSS. are fairly divided between 'nobilis' and 'nobiles,' but it must be remembered that 'nobilis' may still be the accusative plural. The arrangement of the words is in favour of the genitive, as pairing, after Horace's way, the substantives and epithets. In support of the genitive are quoted Epp. 1. 19. 39 'nobilium scribitorum'; Cic. Phil. 5. 5 'Phaedri philosophi nobilis.' In support of the accusative, A. P. 258 'Acci nobilibus trigemis'; Mart. 7. 97. 8 'Turni...nobilibus libellis'; and A. Gall. 13. 27 'Panaetii tribus illis inquitis libris.'

14. Panaetii, the Stoic philosopher and the friend of Scipio Africanus Minor. His great work was a treatise περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων, which was the basis of Cicero's de Officis.

Socraticam domum, A.P. 310 'Socraticae chartae,' the writings of Plato, Xenophon, etc. 'Domus' is used for a school of philosophy by Sen. Epp. 29. 'Idem hoc omnes tibi ex omni domo acclamabant, Peripatetici, Academicii, Stoici, Cynici.' Cpl. Cicero's phrase, de Div. 2. 1. 3 'Peripateticoorum familia, and Horace himself, Epp. 1. 1. 13 'quo me duce, quo lare, tuter.'

15. Hiberis. Spanish steel was famous, Plin. N. H. 34. 41 and 43.

16. tendis, for 'tendere,' of purpose or effort, with infinitive, cp. Epp. 1. 7. 31, 1. 19. 16, Virg. Aen. 1. 18.
O D E XXX.

'Queen Venus, leave Cyprus and bring thy presence to the shrine which Glycera offers thee, and bring with thee love and grace and youth and wit.'

The Ode is a hymn of the kind which the Greeks called κλητικοί, hymns of invitation; see on Alcman, Fr. 10. Ed. Bergk, Κύπρον ἵμερταν λεποῦσα καὶ Πάφον περιφέρον, a line of which we may possibly hear an echo in 'Sperne diletam Cypron.'

O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique, Sperne diletam Cypron, et vocantis Thure te multo Glycerae decoram Transfer in aedem. Fervidus tecum puer et solutis Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae Et parum comis sine te Iuventas Mercuriusque.

1. Cnidi, in Caria; Κνίδια τιμῶσιν 'Αφροδίτην μάλωτα, Paus. i. 1. 3.
   Paphi, in Cyprus; Hom. Od. 8. 262 'Η δ' ἀρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομελίδος 'Αφροδίτη 'Εσ Πάφον, ἐνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήσεις; Virg. Aen. i. 415. Tacitus describes the worship of Venus at Paphos, Hist. 2. 2.

2. sperne diletam, Od. i. 19. 9 'Venus Cyprum deseruit.' So Faunus must leave Lycaeus to visit Horace's Lucretilla: and Apollo, when he would visit Delos, 'deserit hibernam Lyciam,' Virg. Aen. 4. 143.

4. aedem, 'temple,' not 'house,' according to the distinction laid down by Bentl. on Epp. 2. 2. 92 between 'aedes' in the sing. and in the plur. There is nothing strange in supposing either that a little shrine or 'sacramentum' is dignified with the larger title, or that the whole house is called a temple of the goddess.

5. fervidus, Virg. Aen. i. 710 'Flagrantesque dei [Cupidinis] vulgus.'
   solutis Gratiae zonis, Od. 3. 19. 16 'Gratia nudis iuncta sororibus,' cp. 4. 7. 5. Seneca describes the representations of them, de Ben. 13 'Tres Gratiae sorores manibus implexus ridentes iuvencis et virgines solutaque et pellucida veste.' The notion seems to be the absence of restraint and of disguise—the grace of nature. They are joined with the nymphs in Od. 4. 7. 5, and in 1. 4. 6.

6. properentque. Dill*, has a note (on Od. 2. 7. 25) on Horace's not uncommon practice of joining an enclitic particle to some word other than the one which it logically couples to the preceding clause. In all these cases the word to which it is joined is emphatic and is usually a common element in the two clauses, the verb or adverb which gives their meaning to both, and which is placed in this way between them in order to make us feel their unity. Cp. 'que' in Od. 2. 17. 16, 2. 19. 32, 3. 11. 13, C. S. 22, Sat. i. 4. 115, 1. 6. 43. 44. 2. 1. 68. 2. 3. 132; 'ne' in Sat. 1. 8. 2; 've' in Od. 2. 7. 25, Epod. 2. 50, Sat. 1. 2. 63, 2. 3. 139 and 180.

8. Mercurius, as the god of speech and wit. Compare Homer's description of Aphrodite's cestus, Il. 14. 216 ἐν μὲν φιλέτης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος ἐν δ' ὀραστῷ | πάρφασις ἦ τ' ἐκλείψε νῦν πικά
This Ode professes to be written (B.C. 28) on the day on which Augustus dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to which was attached the famous Library, see Epp. i. 3. 17. 2. 1. 217. 2. 2. 93. Suet. Aug. 29. Dio C. 53. 1. Propertius gives an account of the inauguration of the temple, at which he had himself been present, 3. 23 'Quaeris cur veniam tibi tardior? Aurea Phaebo' Porticus a magno Caesare aperta fuit,' etc.

'What special boon shall his poet ask of Apollo to-day? Not wealth in cornlands or cattle, not gold and ivory, not vineyards in Campania. He envies neither those who grow the rich wines nor the trader who at the cost of so much risk buys and drinks them. Content with humble fare, all he asks is the power to enjoy health, a sound mind now, and an old age not wanting either in honour or in the pleasure of poetry.'

**Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem?**

Vates? quid orat de patera novum?

Fundens liquorem? Non opimae

Sardiniae segetes feraces,

Non aestuosae grata Calabrae

1. dedicatum. The Latins said 'dedicare deum' as well as 'dedicare aedem,' perhaps from the image of the god which was installed in his shrine. Liv. 5. 51 'Iunonem dedicare.'

2. vates. The poet has a special claim on Apollo, the inspirer of his art. novum, see on Od. i. 19. 15; or it may be a hypallage, the 'novelty' referring to the pouring, not to the wine, the meaning being, 'pouring for the first time.'

3. Sardiniae. Val. Max. 7. 6. 1 calls Sardinia and Sicily 'benignissimas urbis nostrae nutrices.'

segetes, corn-land; as often Epp. 2. 2. 161 'Qui segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas.' He is speaking of 'latifundia' in the corn-growing provinces, see on Od. 1. 1. 9.

5. aestuosae Calabriae, cp. on the same topic Epod. 1. 27 'Non ut iuvenci illigata pluribus Aratra nitantur mea; Pecusve Calabris ante sidus servidum Lucana mutet pascevis.'

A second investment of Roman
Armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum,  
Non rura, quae Liris quieta  
Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis,  
Premant Calena falce quibus dedit  
Fortuna vitem, dives et aureis  
Mercator esxiccet culullis  
Vina Syra reparata merce,  
Dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater  
Anno revisens acqueor Atlanticum

wealth, large cattle farms; cp. Od. 2, 
16. 33 'Te greges centum Siculaeque cir-
cum Mugiunt vacae,' etc.; Epp. 2. 2. 117  
'Quid vici prosunt aut horrea? quidve  
Calabris Saltibus adiecti Lucani?'  
grata, 'pleasant,' to own or to see.  
6. A villa adorned with gold and  
ivory; cp. Od. 2. 18. i 'Non ebur neque  
aureum Mea renidet in domo lacunae.'  
7. rura, i.e. as the next stanza shows,  
the wine-growing lands through which  
the Liris (now the Garigliano) flows. On  
the left bank of the Liris, as it nears the  
sea, is the Ager Falernus, and at a short  
distance the Mons Massicus.  
8. mordet, Lucret. 5. 257 'ripas  
radentia flumina rodunt.'  
9. 'Let who may own rich vineyards  
at Cales, I grudge them not.'  
premant = 'reprimant,' check the  
luxuriant growth; Virg. G. 1. 156 'ruris  
opaci Falce pemes umbram.' The  
words are probably meant to imply the  
richness of the soil and luxuriance of  
the vines. Cales was a town in the  
north of Campania. Its wine is named  
in Od. 1. 20. 9. 4. 12. 14.  
Calena falce (cp. 3. 6. 38) involves a  
slight hypallage, i.e. the adjective would  
more naturally go with 'vitem.' 'At  
Cales' is the simple meaning. When  
for the local case or adverb an adjecti- 
ve is substituted, there are possibly  
several words in the sentence with  
which it may without positive impropriety  
be made to agree. The prose  
writer chooses the most obvious,  
the poet very likely the least obvious.  
10. vitem, ἀνὸ κοινὸ, with 'premant'  
and 'dedit.'  
et. Some good MSS. (including B)  
have 'ut,' which also stands in the  
lemma of Porph. If we read 'ut' there  
is a taunt against the wine-grower who  
toils that other men may drink of his  
wine, as well as against the trader who  
risks his life for his gold cups and rare  
wines. The irony would be not un-
likely to attract an emender, but it  
sounds beyond the requirements of this  
place. We want the 'esxiccet,' 'let  
him drain,' that Horace may acquiesce  
in the good fortune of the trader, even  
if he afterwards undervalue it.  
11. esxiccet, 'cum aliqua aviditatis  
significatione,' Orell.  
culullis, A. P. 434, apparently used  
for 'large cups.' According to the  
Schol. they were originally 'calices  
fictiles quibus pontifices virginesque  
Vestales in sacris utebantur.'  
12. Syra reparata merce, obtained  
by bartering Syrian wares. The mean-
ing of 'reparo' seems to be 'to obtain  
in exchange,' the 're' 'playing the part  
of ἀνὸ in ἀνὸν ὀδόν, 'to give for a  
consideration,' ἀναρεῖν, etc. Forcell.  
quotes for the use two fragments of  
Alfenus Varus and Scaevola contained  
in the Digest, 'alios boves his numis  
reparare,' 'messes reparare'; see on Od.  
1. 37. 24 'latentes Classe cita reparavit  
oras.' Bentley, denying this use of  
'reparo,' alters that passage 'and interpret  
this, 'condita vel medicata Syriaco  
nardo,' referring to the Roman practice  
of mixing spices and perfumes with  
certain wines. For the 'Syrian wares' cp.  
Od. 3. 29. 60 'Tyriae merces.' These  
would consist of the produce of the  
East, amongst them of spices and per-
fumed oils. 'Assyria nardo,' 2. 11. 16;  
'Malobathro Syrio,' 2. 7. 8.  
13. Dis carus ipsis, 'I don't envy  
the trader his wealth, and yet he surely,  
if any one, must be a favourite (not,  
like the Campanian vine-grower, of  
Fortune, but) of the gods themselves,
Impune. Me pascunt olivae,  
Me cichorea levesque malvae.  
Frui paratis et valido mihi,  
Latoë, dones, at, precor, integra  
Cum mente, nec turpem senectam  
Degere nec cithara carentem.

else he would have been drowned long ago on his long voyages.' Under the form of exalting his €vβαμονδια Horace hints at the deductions to be made from it.  
15. 'I do not ask for wealth, for I am contented with what costs little,' 'dapes inemptae.' Cp. Epod. 2. 55 foll. and Horace's own supper, S. i. 6. 115.  
16. leves, 'light,' 'digestible'; Epod. 2. 58 'gravi malvae salubres corpori.'  
17. 'Be thy boon to me, son of Latona, both in full strength to enjoy the goods the gods provide me (only, I pray thee, be a sound mind among them) and to spend an old age neither unhonoured nor unsolaced by the lyre.'  
valido is opposed to 'senectam.' He asks for the health and strength to enjoy, as long as nature allows a man to look for health and strength, and when old age comes, for the solaces of old age. This double purpose of 'valido,' fixing the time as well as asking for the necessary condition of 'frui' ('while I am strong and because I am strong'), will explain the reason why 'et' is joined to it, although grammatically it qualifies 'frui' and answers to 'nec (= et non) turpem senectam degere.' 'At' has been altered with some slight MS. authority to 'ac' and to 'et.' 'Et valido et integra cum mente,' which Orelli accepts, would give a more flowing sentence, and a more complete parallel to Juvenal's prayer for the 'mens sana in corpore sano,' the insertion of 'precor' serving only to lay the greater stress on the second prayer. Bentley, reading 'ac,' seems to divide the sentence into two prayers, 'Et frui paratis valido ac senectam degere cum integra mente, nec turpem, nec cithara carentem.' He quotes Cicero's description of a happy old age, de Sen. 20 'Vivendi finis est optimus quum integra mente ceterisque sensibus, opus ipsa suum, eadem quae coagmentavit, natura dissolvit.'
ODE XXXII.

'They call on us for a song. Come, my lyre, I have drawn strains from thee before which, light though they be, will not soon die: answer now with such music for Roman ears as thou yieldest of old to Alcaeus. He was a patriot and a warrior, yet amidst his wars and shipwrecks he found time to sing of wine and love. O lyre, the delight of gods, the solace of toil, help me too whenever I duly call on thee.'

It is not unlikely that the Ode refers to some request of Augustus or Maecenas for a poem of a graver cast: Ritter thinks the six stately Alcaic Odes which stand at the beginning of Book iii. There is an appearance of reality in the appeal of the first stanza, and in the pains which he takes to point out that lyrics on Lycus' black hair were not inconsistent in Alcaeus' case with civic zeal and soldierly courage. It is written, like Od. i. 1, 2. 20, 3. 30, when Horace had become easy as to his own powers and their recognition by the world. See, however, on v. i.

POS CIMUR. Si quid vacui sub umbra
Lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum
Vivat et plures, age, dic Latinum,
Barbite, carmen,

1. poscimur, so V.; and it is interpreted by both the Schol., and so quoted by Servius on Virg. Ecl.i.10. The reading is strongly supported by the occurrence of the same phrase several times in Ovid. Fast. 4. 721 'Palilia poscor,' 'I am asked for a poem on the Palilia'; Met. 5. 333 'Poscimur Aonides,' 4. 274 'Poscitur Alcathoe,' 'silicet ut narret fabulam,' Bentl. There is a rival reading 'poscimus,' which has the authority of B and of Diomedes, and which Bentl. supports. It seems to necessitate the alteration, which he also adopts, in the mode of taking the whole stanza. He puts 'si quid . . . tecum' into a parenthesis, making 'quod et hunc in annum vivat et plures' a description not of what Horace and his lyre have already sung, but of the greater song now asked for, 'carmen' being constructed ἄνδρος κοινοῦ with 'poscimus' and 'dic.' It is obvious that this would alter the character of the poem. It would hardly lead us to think of any special occasion, and the tone of confidence would have vanished from it.

si quid . . . lusimus, the usual formula for urging a petition. C. S. 37 'Roma si vestrum opus est,' etc.; Virg. Aen. 4. 317 'si bene quid de te meruit . . . oro.'

vacui, in hour of leisure. S. 2. 3. 10 'si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto'; Virg. G. 3. 3 'quae vacuas tenuissent carmina mentes.'

2. lusimus, παλικίων, Pind. Ol. 1. 23; 'si quid olim lusit Anacreon,' Od. 4. 9. 9; 'hacc ego ludo,' S. 1. 10. 37.' So Virg. E. 1. 10, G. 4. 565, of light and playful poetry; or 'used depreciatingly by an author of his own performances, which he represents as the amusement of a leisure hour.'

3. vivat. Epp. 1. 19. 2 'nulla placent diu nec vivere carmina possunt.'

dic, Od. 3. 4. 1; Theogn. 761 φόρμικες
δ' αὖ φθέγγουθ' τερπὸν μέλος.

Latinum, for it is a Greek lyre that is called upon to give music to Roman ears. Horace is 'Romanae fidicen lyricae,' Od. 4. 3. 23. The main antithesis is contained in the words 'Latinum,' 'Lesbio,' helped also probably, as Dill suggests, by an antithesis which might be felt between the Greek and Latin 'barbite,' 'carmen.' See on Od. 1. 1. 34.
HORATII CARMINUM

Lesbio primum modulate civi,
Qui ferox bello tamen inter arma,
Sive iactatam religarat udo
Litore navim,
Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
Semper haerentem puerum canebat
Et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
Crine decorum.
O decus Phoebi et dapis supremi
Grata testudo Iovis, o laborum
Dulce lenimen, mihi cunque salve
Rite vocanti.

5. modulate, used passively as 'metatus,' Od. 2. 15, 15, S. 2. 2. 114; 'abominatus,' Epod. 16, 18; 'detestatus,' Od. 1. 1. 24. See Madv. § 153.

civi, emphatic: cp. Od. 1. 2. 21. Of Alcaeus' strenuous participation in the politics of Mitylene we have proofs in the fragments 15-23, classed together by Bergk as στασιωτικά ('Alcaei minaces Camoenae,' Od. 4. 9. 7).

6. ferox bello. Alcaeus fought against the Athenians in the Troad (Hdt. 5, 95), and against Myrsilus and Pittacus, 'tyrants' of Mitylene. 'ferox' = 'quamquam ferox erat.' With this stanza, cp. Od. 2. 13, 26 'te sonantem plenius aureo Alcaee, plectro dura navis, Dura fugae mala, dura belli.'

11. Lycum. His name occurs in Alc. Fr. 57, Bergk.

nigris oculis. A. P. 37 'Spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.'

15. cunque. This is the unanimous reading of the MSS. and was found by all the Schol., who explain it by 'quando-cunque.' If so, we must either say that Horace, who abbreviates 'quandocunque' to 'quandoque' (Od. 4. 1. 17, etc.), has here treated 'cunque' (see Lucr. 2. 113) in the same way; or, that he has used 'cunque' (which generalizes relatives and relative particles of all kinds, and which is constantly separated from the word which it generalizes [Od. 1. 9. 14, etc.]), after the analogy of ὡτε, with the temporal participle. Nothing else is offered but conjectures, 'mihi, cuique,' Bentl.; 'medicunque,' Lachm.
ODE XXXIII.

'Think not too much, Albius, of Glyceria's faithlessness, nor write piteous elegies about your rejection. It is the way always. Lycoris pining for Cyrus: Cyrus in love with Pholoë, who will as soon wed him as a she goat a wolf. This is merely Venus' cruel sport. I am not exempt from the law.'

The Ode is addressed to Albius Tibullus, the poet, to whom also Horace wrote an Epistle (1. 4). Glyceria is not one of the mistresses to whom any of Tibullus' extant poems are addressed. See Dean Milman's Article on Tibullus in the Dict. Biog.

Metre—Fourth Asclestiad.

ALBI, ne doleas plus nimio memor
Immitis Glyceriae, neu miserabiles
Decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior
Laesa praeniteat fide;
Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam

1. ne doleas, 'to prevent your grieving, consider these facts.' It is not a direct prohibition, but the negative purpose of the coming recital. Cp. 2. 1. 37 and 4. 9. 1.

plus nimio, see on Od. 1. 18. 15. It seems to qualify 'doelas' as well as 'memor.'

2. immitis Glyceriae, with a play on her name which makes it an oxymoron; πικρὸν Λυκέριον: see on Od. 1. 22. 24.
miserabiles, 'piteous,' 'moving pity.'

Virg. G. 4. 514. of the nightingale, 'miserabile carmen Integrat.'

3. decantes. From the notion of 'singing out to the end,' comes that of persistence, and then of the tediousness of repetition, the same tune always, in which sense the verb is used constantly in Cicero, as de Or. 2. 18. 75 ' nec mihi opus est Graeco aliquo doctore qui mihi pervulgata præcepta decantet.' Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 64 'naenia .. Curis et decantata Camillus.'

cur. .. praeniteat, this is the question which he is perpetually asking in his piteous elegies. Cp. Epp. 1. 8. 10 'irasca amicia Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno,' 'be angry,' and ask what they mean by warning me,' etc.

So in prose, Cic. ad Att. 3. 9 'quod me accusas, cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram, debes ignoscere.'

5 foll. Cp. the sixth Idyll of Moschus, Ἡρα Παν' ἄχως τῶν γείτων ἔρατο ὡς ἀχώ σκηρητῆ Σατύρω, Σάτυρος ὡς ἐπεμαίνετο Λιθα, κ.τ.λ.

5. tenui fronte. Mart. 4. 42. 9 'frons brevis.' Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 26 'reddes .. nigros angusta fronte capillos.' It is a mark there of youth as well as of good looks, and seems to suggest that this admiration for a low forehead, or rather for hair low down on the forehead, was connected with the horror which a Roman felt for baldness.

6. torret. The metaphor is Sappho's, ὃπτασ ἄμμε Fr. 115.

Cyrus .. Pholoën, see App. 1. The name of 'Cyrus' appears in Od. 1. 17. 25, that of 'Pholoë fugax' in Od. 2. 5. 17. In both cases the type of character, if not the person indicated, is the same as in this place. 'Pholoë' is the name of a coy or coquetish girl in Tibull. 1. 8.

in asperam declinat. 'Asperam' is not a mere epithet, but predicative. Cyrus, instead of pursuing Lycoris, turns aside after Pholoë, but only to find her bristles set against him.
Declinat Pholoën; sed prius Apulis
Iungentur capreae lupis,
Quam turpi Pholoë peccet adultero.
Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas atque animos sub iuga aënea
Saevo mittere cum ioco.

Ipsum me, melior cum peteret Venus,
Grata detinuit compede Myrtale
Libertina, fretis acrior Hadriae
Curvantis Calabros sinus.

Virgil’s ‘acri Lycurgo,’ Aen. 3. 14, translates Sophocles’ ὁχολος παῖς

7. prius, etc. Virg. E. 8. 26 ‘Mopso
Nisâ datur: quid non speremus amantes?
Iungentur iam gryphes equis.’ Wolves
of Apulia are named in Od. 1. 22. 18.

10. sic visum Veneri, of mysterious
‘dispensations’; as Acron says, ‘quoties-
cunque ratio non appareet sic visum’
interponitur, ut Vergilius (Aen. 3. 1)
‘Postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere
regnum Immeritum visum superis’.
Here there is a half-comic irony in the
solution. Sophocles’ Chorus are more
serious in their explanation of the trou-
bles caused by love: ἔμαχος γὰρ ἐμπαίζει
θέσις ἄφροδίτα, Antig. 800, a Play with
which Horace was familiar, see on
Od. 4. 13. 8. Compare the sport of
Mars, Od. 1. 2. 39; of Fortune, 3. 29. 50; and of Venus herself, 3. 27.
67 foll.

11. iuga aënea, ‘a yoke they cannot
break.’ Od. 3. 9. 17 ‘quid si prisca
redit Venus, Diductosque iugo cogit
aëneō.’

13. melior Venus, on Od. 1. 27.
14. ‘Melior’ is interpreted by the
description given of Myrtale’s rank and
temper.

14. grata compede, so again, Od. 4.
11. 23.

15. acrior, ‘more passionate,’ as

HORATIUS CARMINUM
ODE XXXIV.

'I SURRENDER my old Epicurean doctrine of the "careless" gods (Sat. i. 5. 101). I have heard thunder not where Lucretius might explain it to me from clashing clouds, but in a cloudless sky, where I could not but recognise it as the rolling of the chariot wheels that shake all creation. It is the same hand that launches "bolts from a clear sky" in human things, that lifts the humble and overthrows the proud when men least expect it.'

Horace is thinking probably of the challenge with which Lucretius clenches his argument that thunder comes from purely natural causes:—

'Denique cur nunquam caelo iactit undique puro
Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?'—6. 400.

The notable changes of fortune in his mind at the time are very possibly the vicissitudes of Phraates and Tiridates on the Parthian throne (see Introd. to Odes i–iii, § 8), though the expressions in vv. 14 foll. are not particular enough to necessitate this interpretation. The framework of the Ode bears some resemblance to that of i. 22; each centering round a circumstance in the poet's personal experience. This in both cases stands in the middle of the Ode, introduced by the emphatic 'namque' (i. 22. 9): it is the ground of the statements that precede and follow. What he has witnessed in this case, and the cause to which alone he can trace it, justify both the general recantation of stanza i, and the solution which he gives in stanza 4 of the difficulty in the human world which seems to him analogous to the thunder, for which no 'secondary cause' was to be found, in the material world.

PARCUS deorum cultor et infrequens,
Insaniéntis dum sapientiae
Consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
Vela dare atque iterare cursus

2. insaniéntis sapientiae, σοφίας ἄσωπου: the oxymoron is continued in 'consultus erro': σοφία or 'sapientia' is the special name that Lucretius claims for the Epicurean system, 'vitae rationem... cam quae nunc appellatur sapientia,' 5. 10, cp. 2. 7 'doctrina sapientum.'
3. consultus, as used commonly with 'iuris,' meant one whose opinion was sought, and so an adept, a professor. Livy had led the way in transferring it to other arts, 'iuris atque eloquentiae consultus,' 10. 22.
4. iterare cursus relictos, 'to steer again in the course I had deserted,' i.e. to return to the ways of thought to which I was accustomed before I learnt Epicureanism. Bentley, disliking the expression 'relinquere cursus' ('relinquere viam' he thinks would be right, but 'intemittere cursum'), and attracted by the frequent use by the later poets of 'relegere' with 'cursus,' 'viam,' etc. (cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 690 'relegens errata retrorsum Litora'), wished to read, ex mera coniectura, 'rectos,' which would be predicative, 'to retrace and travel again,' etc.
HORATII CARMINUM

Cogor relictos: namque Diespiter,
Igni corpusque nubila dividens
Plerumque, per purum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum,
Quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina,
Quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari
Sedes Atlanteusque finis
Concittitur. Valet imà summis
Mutare et insignem attenuat deus
Obscura promens; hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum striodore acuto
Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

5. Diespiter, a religious archaism, affected by Horace again in Od. 3. 2. 29: cp. Varr. L. L. 5. 66 'antiquius Iovis nomen: nam olim Diovis et Diespiter dictus, id est dies pater.' So A. Gell. 6. 12 'Iovis Diespater appellatus est, id est, diei et lucis pater.' and Macr. Saturn. 2. 15. It is connected by them with the name 'Lucetius,' given to him in the hymns of the Salii. It occurs probably in the formula of the Fetiales, Liv. 1. 24 (see Prof. Seeley's note). On the etymology see Corssen, Aussprach. 1. 233: he refuses to allow the composition of a Latin word by means of a genitive case, and therefore sees in Dies- a form of the stem which also appears in the Greek εἰ-δίο-τερός, and 'with the Latin change of s to r' in 'ho-dier-nus.'

7. Plerumque. All the older commentators who notice the point join 'plerumque' with 'egit,' not perceiving that Horace is speaking of a single instance in his own experience. For the emphatic position of 'plerumque' at the end of its clause Bentl. compares Ep. 2. 2. 84 and Lucr. 5. 1131.

purum, the cloudless sky; 'sole pura,' Od. 3. 29. 45, cp. 3. 10. 8. Thunder, under such circumstances, is a special portent in the poets; Hom. Od. 20. 112-114, Virg. G. 1. 487, Aen. 8. 524 foll., Ov. Fast. 3. 370, etc.

9. currum, Od. 1. 12. 58.

9-11. See on Od. 3. 4. 45. The meaning is 'all creation.' The sense of universality is given by the contrasts; 'earth, though you might think it too dull and still, the streams which seem as if they moved too quick, the abysses below, the utmost bounds above.'

10. Taenari: a cavern in the cliffs of Taenarum Prom. (Cape Matapan) was thought to be an entrance to Hades, Virg. G. 4. 467 'Taenarias fauces, alta ostia Ditis.' Aida στόμα, Pind. Pyth. 4. 44.


14. Apicem seems to be used here, and in Od. 3. 21. 30 'regum apices,' for the tiara of eastern kings. It was the name of the conical cap worn at Rome by the 'flamines'; see Virg. Aen. 8. 664, and Conington's note on id. 2. 683. Cicero (Leg. 1. 1) uses it where Livy (1. 34) uses 'pilus,' in telling the story of the eagle which snatched away and restored the cap of Tarquinus Priscus as he approached Rome. It seems quite possible (as Lord Lytton argues) that even if Horace is actually thinking of the vicissitudes of Phraates, he may be also 'borrowing a metaphor to describe them from a familiar Roman myth.'

15. Fortuna, not apparently that he attributes any moral purpose to Fortune, as in the following Ode, or co-ordinates her with 'deus' as an expression of the power that governs human life. It is only (as in Od. 3. 29. 49 foll. where also we have her 'rushing wings') the personification of the vicissitudes of life, the effect that we see, not the cause which he has traced in the lines before.

16. Sustulit. The so-called 'aoristic' perfect, 'has often, ere now, lifted,' Ep. 1. 2. 47, 1. 19. 48, Virg. G. 2. 211. The reference to definite past times is more evident when the tense is qualified by the addition of 'multi,' 'nemo,' 'saepè,' 'plerumque' (Od. 3. 29. 16), or of another tense ('rapuit ripaetique,' Od. 2. 13. 20). For the tense of 'posuisse' see on 3. 4. 52.
ODE XXXV.

The Fortuna of this Ode, as has been already suggested, is a different conception from that of the last. She is the author of the vicissitudes of life, but not in sport (as in Od. 3. 29. 49), or at random, as the blind chance-goddess. The apparent capriciousness is that of a hidden will, and its decisions have the fixity of fate. Through any confusion of image in vv. 21–28 (see on v. 24) the thought seems clear, that her attributes are moral. 'Her brow does not drive away hope nor extinguish any but mercenary affection.' Her purposes are moral, and the great- ness of Rome is amongst them. This gives their relevancy to the later stanzas. 'The rule of Caesar is the cessation of civil bloodshed, the restoration of religion, the turning of Roman arms to their legitimate aim of conquering the world. Therefore Fortuna is invoked to protect him and his plans.'

One of the chief conceptions of Fortune to a Roman was the 'Fortuna publica,' 'Fortuna populi Romani,' the Fortune described in Plutarch's image (de Fortuna Romanorum, c. 4): 'even as Aphrodite, when she crossed the Eurotas, laid aside her mirror and her ornaments and her cestus, and took spear and shield to adorn herself for Lycurgus' eyes, so when, after her sojournng with Persians and Assyrians, with Macedonians and Carthaginians, she (ρόξη) approached the Palatine and crossed the Tiber, she laid aside her wings and took of her sandals and left behind her ball, the symbol of fickleness and change.'

O DIVA, gratum quae regis Antium,
Praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
Vertere funeribus vel superbos.

1. gratum, sc. 'tibi,' 'your loved Antium,' as 'dilectam Cypron,' Od. 1. 30. 2. Horace imitates the common mode of addressing a Greek god or goddess by the title of some chief seat of their worship, 'O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum;' Od. 3. 26. 9, etc. There was at Antium a famous temple of Fortuna, or rather apparently of the Fortunae, who were represented as two sisters, 'veridicae sorores,' Mart. 5. 1. 3, whose images were consulted as an oracle; cp. Suet. Cal. 57.
2. praesens, not elsewhere used with an infinitive, but found not uncommonly in the sense of 'powerful,' 'prompt to any purpose.'
3. mortale corpus, 'to lift from the dust a frail mortal man, and to change to a funeral train the proud triumphal procession.' 'Mortale' corresponds to 'funeribus.' Put man at his lowest, she can yet raise him to glory; put him at his highest, a touch of her hand brings him down to dust again. 'Funeribus' is the ablative, 'vertere seria ludo,' A. P. 226, after the analogy of 'mutare.'
Te pauper ambit sollicita prece
Ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris,
Quicunque Bithyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina.
Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scytheae,
Urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox.
Regumque matres barbarorum et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni,
Iniurioso ne pede prorua
Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Concitet imperiumque frangat.

pauper. There seems to be suggested a double opposition, the rich and the poor, the landsman and the sailor, though, after Horace's way, each clause has to borrow something to complete the antithesis from the other. 'Pauper ruris colonus' implies its converse, the riches of the trader; 'dominam aequoris' is meant to suggest that she distributes also the treasures of the country.

7. Bithyna, perhaps rather, like 'Cypria trabe,' Od. 1. 1. 13, as coming from or trading to Bithynia, a seat of commerce, Od. 3. 7. 3. Æpp. 1. 6. 33, than as built of Bithynian timber. 'Pontica pinus,' Od. 1. 14. 11.

lacescit, 'tempts,' as though the sea were a wild beast which it was dangerous to go too near; 'non tangenda vada,' Od. 1. 3. 24.

8. Carpathium, the sea between Rhodes and Crete, named from the island Carpathus. Like 'Bithyna' it is merely a special name for a general. There is a point, however, in naming as many countries, and those as distant from one another, as may be.

9. asper, the Dacian who stands fiercely at bay (cp. 'tigris aspera,' Od. 1. 23. 9) is contrasted with the nomad Scythians who, if attacked, retreat into their boundless steppes. These again, perhaps with more settled peoples, 'urbesque.' 'The object of all the epithets is to insist on the universality of Fortune's sway (cp. 1. 34. 9-11, 3. 4. 45-48). No distance nor difference of life exempts men from it. This is brought out equally by the antithetical form of v. 9 and by the quick accumulation of copulatives in vv. 10-12.

11, 12. The mothers of eastern princes fear for their sons, as Atossa for Xerxes (cp. Od. 3. 2. 7), and princes in the midst of their splendid state fear for themselves.

13. iniurioso, ἕβρατικός, 'contumelious,' Epod. 17. 33.

ne . . . neu, not two different dangers; the second is only one form of the danger metaphorically described in the first clause.


frequens, 'crowding,' 'gathering in crowds.'

15. 'Arouse to arms the loiterers, to arms'; 'ad arma' is the actual cry. Ovid imitates the repetition, Met. 11. 377 'Cuncti coæamus et arma, Arma capessamus'; 12. 241 'Certatimque omnes uno ore arma, arma loquentur.'

17. sæva, 'stern,' cp. Od. 1. 28. 20. The balance of MS. authority is in favour of the rival reading 'serva,' which Acr. and Porph. found; the latter interprets it 'slavish,' i. e. bringing slavery with it; the former, though he offers this as an alternative, takes it in what, if we retain it, is doubtless its true sense, 'as her slave,' 'quasi sit Necessitas comes et ministra Fortunae.' Keller reads 'sæva,' thinking that 'serva' owed its origin to some such
Te semper anteit saeva Necessitas, 
Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
Gestans aëna, nec severus
Uncus aëns, licuimumque plumbum.

blocks of stone, such as the joints of a
column, Vitr. 2. 8. The implements
which Necessitas carries are all em-
blems of the fixity of her sentence.
The point is not that they are im-
plements of building, but that they are the
implements which make a building in-
dissoluble. Others besides her may be
supposed to be planning and building,
but what she builds none shall throw
down or break in pieces. The meta-
phorical use both of nails and of molten
lead is old; Find. Π. 4 τίς κύδωνος
ματεροίς ἀδάμαντος δόσει ἑλλοι; Aesch.
Supp. 944 τόνδε ἐφήλωται τότος γάμ-
φος διάμαξας ὡς μένει ἀρχαῖος
Eur. Andr. 267 καί ἀρεῖν ἐνεχεῖ τητοῦ
μόλυβδος. On a cup found at Perugia
is a representation of Atropos holding
a nail against a wall with her left hand
and lifting a hammer with the right,
Dict. Ant. s. v. 'clavus.' The old mis-
take of the Comm. Cruq. who took all
the expressions of instruments of torture
has found no recent defender except
Ritter.

There is a well-known criticism on
this stanza in a note (30) to Lessing's
Laocoön. It seemed to him an instance
in which poetry had suffered from inat-
tention to the laws which distinguish its
functions from those of painting. It
is a picture, the attributes all appeal to
the eye. In a painting or piece of
sculpture they would be all seen at a
glance. The effort of mind required to
comprehend them would be very small;
and in the meantime, as 'Necessitas'
would be in itself merely an unnamed
female figure, they would be necessary
symbols to convey the allegory to the
spectator. It is different with the poet.
The symbols are not needed to inter-
pret the personification, for he can
speak the terrible name of the power
which he is personifying. They need
interpretation themselves, and their ac-
cumulation wearies, because, though
each costs a fresh effort to the mind,
there is no corresponding distinct addi-
tion to the idea conveyed. What, when
we interpret it, is implied by the molten
lead that was not also implied by the

gloss as this of Acron's, which had
really been meant to interpret 'anteit.'
'Anteit' does not seem to require
'se.' As Bentley pointed out, it is
not a technical term which might be
needed to complete a picture. The
'anteambulones' or 'antepedes' were
not ordinarily slaves (Becker's Gallus,
Exc. B.), but poor clients or friends
who ran before their patron to clear the
way for him. 'Servi' or 'ancillae' would
rather follow behind, as 'pedisequi' or
'pedisseque.' Doom is made to walk
before Fortune, probably rather because
Hope and Loyalty go by her side or
after her than for the sake of any defi-
nite picture from Roman life. On the
other hand, 'Necessitas' seems to want
an epithet as in the corresponding pas-
sage (q. v.), Od. 3. 24. 6 'Si fugit ada-
mantinos Summis verticibus dira Nec-
sitas Clavos.' The nails, etc. belong to
Necessitas; they are not carried by
her for Fortuna. We do not wish, even
if it were possible, to make too perfect
an image of the procession. The de-
dtails of one part of it are not really con-
gruous with those of another. 'Doom
goes before the steps of Fortune; 
Doom, whose handiwork man cannot
undo.' We want every word that we
can spare to heighten the picture of
Doom. Her relation to Fortune is
lightly passed over.

18. clavos trabales, nails such as
are used to fix beams. In a like sym-
bolic sense, Cic. Verr. 2. 5. 21 'Ut hoc
beneficium quemadmodum dicitur clavo
trabali figeret,' i.e. 'ut ratum ac firmum
facetur.'

Cuneos, 'wedge-shaped nails.' Cic.
who translates from Aesch., speaks of
Prometheus as fastened to the rock by
means of 'cunei,' Tusc. 2. 10, and ren-
ders διὰ σμιρφώτητα ἀθρότου πυκνοῖς
γύμφοις in Plat. Tim. p. 1055 by 'cre-
bris cuneolis.'

19. severus, 'inexorable'; the quality
which is the very object to be sym-
bolized is attributed to the symbol, see
notes on Od. 2. 2. 1, 4. 2. 7, 8. The
'uncus' is an iron cramp which, fast-
tened by molten lead, was used to join
nails? Few will dispute the main propositions of Lessing's criticism; but we may notice that Horace does not leave the interpretation of the symbols to the unassisted efforts of the mind. The epithets are an integral part of his description, and they give at every turn the moral meaning which sculpture or painting could only indirectly convey. As Orelli remarks, 'aëna manu' is an addition which poetry only could have ventured to make, for it involves a metaphor within the metaphor. The very sameness from this point of view has some force. Horace gives us a very detailed picture, but in every feature he bids us see one and the same awful character.

21. albo velata panno. The image seems to be taken from the actual custom which was observed by the priests who sacrificed to Fides of veiling their hand in a white cloth, the symbol expressing apparently at once secrecy (contrast Od. 1. 18. 10 'Arcani Fides prodiga pellucidior vitro') and guilelessness.

rara, i.e. rarely found. The epithet really reminds us that loyalty is a quality, and so impairs the personification, cp. Od. 2. 16. 21.

22. comitem abnegat, 'denies thee a companion,' i.e. the only companion whom she could deny, viz. herself. Ovid, possibly in imitation, 'Si qua repugnarat nimium comitemque negarat' (sc. se), A. A. 1. 127. For the sing. verb see on Od. 1. 3. 10.

24. inimica. It can hardly be denied that some correction in the allegory is brought to the surface by this epithet. In this stanza at least Fortune is not a power wholly external to the person who suffers or rejoices, but rather the genius of his life, 'mortalis in unum Quodque caput, vultu mutabilis.' This is quite clear from its first lines, for

Hope and loyal friends are said to cling to her when she changes her garb and leaves the home of greatness. Hope and loyal friends are consolations of adversity, so that Horace must mean not that they go with Fortune when she deserts a man, but that they cling to him, to his changed estate as to his unchanged. Yet if this is the case, in what sense is she said to be 'inimica'? On whom does she frown? A man deserted by Fortune, suffering under the ill-treatment of Fortune, is a common picture, but it is a conception of Fortune which, if it suits the earlier stanzas of the Ode, is at variance with the general tone of this one. Fortune, according to this, does not drive the great man from his palace, nor fly from him and leave him in it to calamity, but goes with him. She 'changes her garb,' but only as he would himself; it is the common Roman habit of putting on a sad-coloured dress in a time of misfortune (cp. Epod. 9. 28 'punico Lugubre mutavit sagum').

26. cadis siccatis, cp. the Greek proverb ξι γιατρα ζι φιλα.

28. ferre inugum pariter dolosi. 'Ferre' depends not on the whole idea of 'dolosi,' but on the positive attribute which is denied in it. 'Not honest in bearing,' 'no loyal yoke-fellows.' The metaphor is common. The yoke sometimes, as perhaps here, has a reference to the labours or troubles that friendship shares and lightens. Aesch. Ag. 842 ἐτοιμὸς ἵν ἐμοι σειαφόρος, St. Paul, Phil. 4. 3 σώζεις γνήσιος, Ov. Trist. 5. 2. 39 'Me miserum quid agam si proxima quaeque relinquant? Subtrahis effracto tu quoque colla iugo.' Sometimes, as Theoc. 12. 15 ἀληθεύου ἐφιλητάν ἰπό σύνη, it only refers to the bond of love or friendship which is only easy when both parties feel its weight equally.
Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos et iuvenum recens
Examen Eois timendum
Partibus Oceanoque rubro.
Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet
Fratrumque. Quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas? quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus? unde manum iuventus
Metu deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? O utinam nova
Incude diffingas retusum in
Massagetas Arabasque ferrum!

29. ultimos, 'remotis...Britannis,' Od. 4. 14. 47. Cp. Virg. E. i. 67 'pe-
nititus toto divisos orbe Britannos'; for the genitive 'orbis' cp. 'Extremi homi-
num Morini,' Virg. Aen. 8. 727.

126 πᾶς γαρ ἰππηλάτας καὶ πετοστι-
βῆς λείπει σάμην ὡς ἐκλέλονει μελα-
σῶν. Horace uses the metaphor of
slaves clustering round the fire, Epod.
2. 65.

32. Oceanoc rubro, the Indian
Ocean with its two arms, the Persian
Gulf and the Red Sea. The intended
expedition to Arabia did not actually
take place till b.c. 24, see Introd. to
Od. i. 29.

33. cicatricum et sceleris. The
expression is of the nature of what
grammarians call hendiaadyis. In prose
the ideas would be grouped more logi-
cally. The real object of the feeling of
'shame' is one, viz. the 'guilt' of civil
war; the 'scars' are only its memorials,
the 'brotherhood' of the combatants
its aggravation. We are not ashamed of
them in the same sense that we are
ashamed of the guilt; but the feeling of
guilt comes to us through divers
approaches. The poet, whose purpose
it is to wake feeling, tries them in suc-
cession.

34. fratrumque, Virg. G. 2. 510
'gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum.'
The absence of any definite qualification
of 'fratrum,' such as 'a fratribus occi-
sorum,' is due partly to the fact just
noticed that the word is not intended to
convey the full feeling; it is only one
approach among several—the thought
of brothers is a shameful thought to
Romans, because they would think also
how brothers had been treated, as the
thought of scars was shameful, because
they could not but remember the quarrel
in which they had been come by—partly
to the fact that 'fratrum' as a correla-
tive term, leads our thoughts to its cor-
relative; of 'brothers' conduct,' means of
their conduct as brothers, and so to-
wards their brethren. Cp. the pregnant
use of 'cives' in Od. 1. 2. 21. Any
more definite expression of the horror of
fratricidal war is purposely avoided
and sunk in the general question 'quid
nos refugimus'? With the string of
questions that follow, cp. Od. 2. 1.
29-36.

39. diffingas. This is the reading
of almost all the good MSS. and appar-
ently of Acr. and Forph. The Berne MS.
has 'defingas,' which Bentley adopted,
altering at the same time 'retusum,' the
unanimous reading of the old MSS., to
'recoctum,' 'melt and forge anew.' The
verb 'diffingere' is found in no
other author, and in Horace only here
and in Od. 3. 29. 47 'neque Diffinget
infectumque reddet.' The Scholiasts in-
terpret it here 'refabricare,' 'reformare,'
there 'immutare.' It seems to mean
'to make differently,' i.e. (in this case)
'to a different purpose.' The swords
have been blunted in civil war, they are
to be beaten straight and sharp again
for a foreign enemy. For the image cp.
Virg. Aen. 7. 636 'recoquant patris
fornacibus enses.'

40. Massagetas, a tribe living to the
east of the Caspian.
ODE XXXVI.

'Thanks to the gods that have brought Numida safe home again, to the delight of many friends, and of none more than his old schoolfellow Lamia. The day must have a white stone to mark it. We will revel, we will dance: Bassus shall rival Damalis in his draughts of wine to-day. Every eye will be on Damalis; but Damalis will have no embraces for any one but Numida.'

Nothing is known of Numida. Acr. and Porph. call him 'Pomponius Numida,' the Comm. Cruq. 'Ploitus.' The latter is more likely to be right, as Numida is a known cognomen of the Plautia or Plotia gens. It is usually supposed that he was returning from the Cantabrian war, from which Augustus returned in B.C. 25 (Od. 3. 14). Numida may of course conceivably have returned earlier.

For Lamia, see on Od. 1. 26.
For the subject of the Ode cp. 2. 7 on the return of Pompeius.

Metre—Third Aeslepiad.

ET thure et fidibus iuvat
Placare et vituli sanguine debito
Custodes Numidae deos,
Qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
Caris multa sodalibus,
Nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
Quam dulci Lamiae, memor
Actae non alio rege puertiae
Mutataeque simul togae.
Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota,

1. fidibus, of music at a sacrifice. Cp. Od. 4. 1. 21.
2. placare, a general word for 'to secure the favour' of the gods, without implying that they were angry before. Cp. Od. 3. 23. 3.
3a. debito, cp. in the parallel Ode 2. 7; 17 'obligatam redee Iovi dapem,' 'due,' whether it had been actually vowed or not.
4. Hesperia, 'the West.' To the Greeks Italy was the 'western land,' and so we find the word used in Virgil. Horace himself uses it of Italy as compared with Parthia, Od. 2. 1. 32. In Roman mouths generally it would mean the countries still further west, and be used of Spanish wars, etc.
5. non alio rege, see on Od. 4. 1. 4 'sub regno Cinarae.' The expression seems partly to be due to the common mode of computing dates, 'consule Planco,' βασιλείωντος Κύρου, etc., partly to contain a description of the imperious character of the rule, there of a mistress, here of a schoolmaster, like Horace's own ' plagosus Orbilius.'

puertiae. For the syncope cp. 'lamna,' Od. 2. 2. 2, Epp. 1. 15. 36; 'surpuerat,' Od. 4. 13. 20; 'soldus,' S. 1. 2. 113, 2. 5. 65.
6. mutatae...togae, i.e. the assumption of the 'toga virilis' instead of the 'praetexta' at the age of fifteen.
7. Cressa nota. Bentley seems to have been the first to suggest that by 'Cressa nota' Horace meant 'a mark of Cretan stone,' i.e. of chalk, called 'creta,' or supposed to be called so, for the reason
Neu promptae modus amphorae,
Neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum,
Neu multi Damalis meri
Bassum Threicia vincat amystide,
Neu desint epulis roseae,
Neu vivax apium, neurop breve lillium.
Omnes in Damalini putres
Deponent oculos, nec Damalis novo

for which the Greeks called fuller's earth Κυμωλια γη (Ar. Ran. 713, Od. Met. 7. 403 'Cretosque rura Cimoli') from Cimulus, one of the Cyclopes, whence they obtained it. He pointed out that where he is writing 'sermoni propriam,' he calls it simply 'creta'; S. 2. 3. 246 'Creta an carbone notandi,' Horace is referring to what was doubtless merely a proverbial mode of expression among the Romans. Pliny attributes it as an actual custom to a Thracian tribe, 'quaie calculos colore distinctos pro experimonto ciusque diei in urnam condit ac supremo die separatos dinumerat atque ita de quoque pronunciat,' N. H. 7. 40. The Latin poets are full of allusions to such a fancied symbolic practice. Cp. Mart. 12. 34 (where he is reviewing his thirty-four years of intercourse with his kinsman Jul. Martialis) 'Quum dulcia mista sunt amaris, Sed lucunda tamen fuere plura: Et si calculus omnis huc et illuc Diversus bicolorque digeratur Vinces candida turba nigriorem.' For briefer references, Catull. 69, 148 'Quem lapide illa diem candidiore notat'; 106, 6 'O lucem candidiore nota'; Pers. 2. 1 'Hunc Macrine diem numerat meliore lapillo.' Some early critics altered 'Creisa' to 'Thressa,' on the ground apparently of the story in Pliny. The Schol. justify 'Creisa' by relating the same story of the Cretans; but, as Bentley remarked, whether they were Thracians or Cretans they used black stones as well as white, so that the epithet would not imply the colour of the stone to be used.

11. promptae, pred., the wine jar must be brought out ('cellis depremores avitis,' Od. 1. 37. 5), and when brought there must be no stint of it.
12. Cp. 1. 37. 1 'pede libero Pulsales tellus.' The words morem in Salium occur again in Od. 4. 1. 28. 'Salium' may be the gen., as 'Boeotum,' Ep. 2.

1. 244, or more probably the accus. of the adj. 'Salius,' which occurs in Fest., and which Horace (see on Od. 1. 15. 10) would have been likely to prefer to the longer 'Saliaris.' Dancing was a part of the ceremonies observed by the Salii in the festival of Mars (Liv. 1. 20), and according to Ovid (Fast. 3. 387 'a salu nomina ducta') was the origin of their name.

13. multi meri, imitated by Ovid, Met. 14. 252 'multique Elpenora vini.' Cic. ad Fam. 9. 26, describes a man as 'hospes non multi cibi, sed multi loci.' It is an extension of the descriptive gen. 'pusilli animi,' etc., Madv. § 287, with obs. 3. Bassus, whose usual character is clearly intended to contrast with that of Damalis in this respect, is on this occasion to rival her in taking deep draughts of wine, 'multo venditi, i.e. without closing the mouth = omnis venditi.'

14. Bassum. The Roman name almost implies that a real person is intended. There was a Bassus a poetical friend of Ovid (Trist. 4. 10. 47), and one (or two) contemporary with Cicero; but none is known to us whose date would well suit this reference. By Martial's time the name has from this passage become proverbial for a hard drinker (Mart. 6. 69).

Threicia, cp. Callim. Fr. 109 καὶ γάρ ὁ Ῥωμικός μὲν ἀπλότων χάνδον ἀμύνων ἄποπτειν. Orelli recalls Hector's taunt to Rhesus the Thracian (Eur. Rhes. 405), ὥς ἐν δεμοῖσιν πυκνῷ ἄμυνῳ ὃς σὺ δεξιόγιον. For the Thracian habits, see on Od. 1. 18. 8.

16. vivax, breve. Merely for the pleasure of the antithesis, cp. Od. 2. 20. 9. 11 'asperae, leves.' 'Breve,' 'short-lived,' as 'breves flores roseae,' Od. 2. 18.

13. The flowers are for garlands for the guests.
17. putres = lascivos.
18. novo, sc. Numida.
19. adultero, 'adulter vocatur quia veteres amatores ab eo excutiuntur. Cf. Od. i. 33. 9 "turpi Pholoe pecet adultero."' Ritter.

20. Epod. 15. 5, Eur. Hec. 398 ὁποῖα κισσῶν ἀφύσ ὀπωὶ τῆς ἐξομη. lascivis, cp. Od. 2. 2. 1-4, for the manner in which the two sides of the simile overlap. Her motives are attributed to the ivy, as well as the movements of the ivy to her. See also on I. 35. 19 'severus uncus,' and compare Virg. Aen. 2. 626-630, where the falling tree, which is described to illustrate the fall of Troy, is itself spoken of in metaphorical terms which recall a 'warrior overthrown.' ambitiosier, 'more closely clinging,' from the original sense of 'ambire,' which occurs in Ovid, Met. 2. 355, of the sisters of Phaethon being turned into trees, 'cortex ... uterum pectusque humerosque manusque ambit.' Pliny uses 'ambitosus' of a river in the sense of 'winding' (N. H. 5. 15.)

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O D E XXXVII.

A song of triumph, written when the news reached Rome, in September, B.C. 30, of the death of Cleopatra and Antony (Dio C. 51. 19). Compare Epod. 9, which celebrates their defeat at Actium in the preceding year. We may note the absence from both Ode and Epode (see esp. on v. 13) of the name of Antonius. Octavianus has conquered not a Roman rival, but a foreign enemy: 'Senatus Cleopatrae non Antonio bellum indixerat (Dio C. 50. 6): de illa triumphum non de hoc decrevit (Dio C. 51. 19).' Ritter.

'Now is the time for merriment and thanksgiving, private and public; now, and not before, while the great queen was plotting wild schemes of destruction against Rome. Her madness was cooled at the sight of her fleet in flames. Blind panic became reasonable terror when she fled before Caesar as a dove before a hawk. Yet she was no vulgar woman. She could brave out her fortune, and look death in the face rather than adorn a Roman triumph.' As Horace paints the fierce barbaric queen, her recklessness and her fortitude, he is bringing out in stronger relief the danger from which Rome has been freed, and the glory of Octavianus, who has conquered no unworthy foe.

'The opening of the Ode was doubtless modelled on the Ode of Alcaeus upon the death of Myrsilus (Fr. 20, Bergk), of which we have two lines preserved in Athen. x. p. 430, A:—

νῦν χρῆ μεθαθην καὶ των πρὸς βλαψ
πίνης, ἐπειδῆ κατὰθανε Μύρασιος.
NUNC est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
Ornare pulvinar deorum
Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.
Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum.
Cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas
Funus et imperio parabat
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
Sperare fortunaeque dulci
Ebraia. Sed minuit furorem

1. libero, all restraint on our joy is removed. For dancing as an expression of joy see Od. 1. 36. 12; for the expression, 'pulsanda tellus,' Od. 1. 4. 7; 'quantium terram,' 3. 18. 15; 'pepulisse ter pede terram.'

2. Saliaribus, 1. 36. 12, 'fit for the Sali,' as 2. 14. 28 'mero Pontificium potior coenis'; 'in proverbio erat Saliars coenas dicere opiparas et copiosas.' Acr.


4. tempus erat, 'we were right to wait; this was the time.' In such uses of the imperfect there is always reference to some past thought, though the relation of the thought to the leading statement may vary. (1) 'It is, all the time, though we did not think so.' This is the Greek use of ἀρ ἤν. πέδωσ και κακών ἀρ ἤν τινι, Soph. O. C. 1607; so Od. 1. 27. 19 'quanta laborabas Charybdi'; so also negatively A. P. 19 'sed non nunc erat his locus.' (2) 'It is as we thought truly,' as here. (3) 'So we thought, but experience shows it is not so:' this is the use in the passages of Ovid often quoted to illustrate this place: Trist. 4. 8. 5 'Nunc erat ut posito deberem fine laborum Vivere;' and ib. 24 'Me quoque donari iam rude tempus erat.' This, again, is like the Greek use of ἐβούλομην, ἐχρηπ, of impossible wishes, and duties that will not be fulfilled. It should be said that the imperfect has been taken here in a simpler sense by Orelli, as rebuking the tardiness of the preparations, 'dudum oporetbat;' ὥρα δ' ἤν παλαί, Arist, Ecl. 877. This, however, weakens the antithesis, 'nunc... antehac.' Ritter and Dill, take it still more simply, but less forcibly, as contrasting the public 'supplicatio,' which has already begun, and which he approves, with the private festivities, 'nunc est bibendum,' which he enjoins.

5. antehac, a disyllable, as 'anteit,' Od. 1. 35. 37.

Caecubum, 1. 20. 9; Epod. 9. 1 'repostum Caecubum in festas dapes.'

6. cellis avitis, the bins which our grandsires filled; so it is the oldest as well as the choicest wine reserved for such an occasion.

Capitolio, the symbol of Rome's eternal empire, 'Capitoli immobile saxum.' Cp. Od. 3. 42. 3. 5. 12.

7. regina. The title 'Regina' would be doubly odious to Roman ears. Cp. Od. 3. 5. 9 'sub rege Medo,' and Epod. 9. 12 'emancipatus feminae.' Orelli notes that coins of Cleopatra's have been found with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΕΩΠΑΤΡΑ, and coins of Antony's with the inscription, 'Cleopatrae Reginae Regum Filiorum Regum.'

dementes ruinas, the epitaph transferred from the person to her purpose. Cp. 1. 3. 40 'iracunda fulmina.'

8. funus, so Cic. Prov. Cns. 19. 45 'caesium illum meum funus esse reipublicae.'

imperio, see on 1. 2. 26.

9. turpium morbo = 'qui turpi morbo illicitarum licibidum laborabant.' Orelli.


quidlibet impotens sperare, App. 2. 5. 2, with no self-restraint in the audacity of her dreaming; 'impotens' is a translation of ἀκράτης.

12. ebria, 'drunken with the sweet draught of fortune.' Dem. Phil. 1. p. 54 ὀμαί ἐκείνου μεθ'ισε τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων.
Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus, 13.
Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
Redegit in veros timores
Caesar, ab Italia volantem
Remis adurgens, accipiter velut
Molles columnas aut leporem citus
Venator in campis nivalis
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis
Fatale monstrum: quae generosius
Perire quacerens nec muliebrer
Expavit ensim nec latentes
Classe cita reparavit oras;

13. vix una sospes. For the construction cp. 2. 4. 10 'ademptus Hector Tradidit...Pergamo Graiiis.' Horace, in the desire to omit Antony's name, does not distinguish his fleet, which was totally destroyed, from that of Cleopatra, which fled without striking a blow.

14. lymphatam, 'panic-stricken.' Properly = νυμφότητας, panic terrors being attributed to the agency, amongst other deities, of the Nymphs; but the word, like panic itself, is generalized. Here the effect is attributed to her revels with Antony and the deep draughts of Egyptian wine, for Bacchus too is the author of such empty fears: cp. Eur. Bacch. 203 foll. στρατων γὰρ ἐν ὑπλων ὡστα κάτι τάξει φόβοι διεισνερε σφιν λόγχις θυγών μανία δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοιτι Διονύσου πάρα. It is opposed to 'veros timores,' 'the fears of soberness.'

Mareotico, a sweet wine from Marea, a town of the Delta, mentioned but not characterized by Virg. G. 2. 91.

16. ab Italia, not that she had reached Italy, but that it was the object of the ambitious schemes broken down at Actium. A few of Octavius' ships seem to have pursued Cleopatra for a short way, but she escaped safely to Alexandria. Horace marks no interval between this and the autumn of the following year, when Octavius followed, to put a close to the war at Alexandria, and Antony and Cleopatra escaped his hands by a voluntary death.

20. Haemoniae, poetical name of Thessaly, mythically derived from Haemon, the father of Thessalus. The epithet probably only implies 'in winter,' the appropriate time for hunting.

21. monstrum quae, a common constructio ad sensum. Cicero calls Catiline 'monstrum,' Cat. 2. 1; Lucan calls Cleopatra 'Latii ferals Erinnyis,' 10. 59.

22. nec ... ensem. According to Plutarch (Ant. 79) she attempted to stab herself on the approach of Proculeius, Augustus' emissary, but was prevented. The next line and a half have reference perhaps to a plan which, on the same authority (ib. 69), she is said to have entertained of carrying her fleet across the isthmus, and escaping down the Red Sea.

24. reparavit, a word of doubtful sense, but found in all the MSS. and interpreted by the Schol. Porph. took it as a pregnant expression = 'ad latentes oras fugit ut vires inde repararet.' It may mean no more than 'found some fresh land out of the way of Caesar's vengeance.' It may also mean (see on 1. 31. 12) 'purchased,' 'used her fleet to win for herself,' and there may be in it a more or less conscious remembrance of the Greek uses of δειλέων and αλλάτ-τειν , for 'to go to' some new place. Bentley proposed 'penetravit,' and there have been many other conjectures—'ci
care paravit,' 'iere paravit,' 'repetivit,' etc.

25. ausa et ... fortis et. There is no verb understood. These are the grounds of the foregoing statements, the infinitive following 'fortis,' as in 1. 1. 18, etc.

iaocentem, metaphorical = 'affictam ac desolatam,' Orelli. Bentley, at the
Ausa et iacentem visere regiam
Voltu sereno, fortis et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberata morte ferocior,
Saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

suggestion of one MS, would read 'tacentem.'

26. asperas, i. 23. 9.
28. combiberet, 'drink the full draught.' The story of her death by the bite of an asp was, according to Dio (51. 14), due to conjecture. Some _κεντύματα λεπτά_ were found on her arm, which were attributed by some to the bite of an asp, by some to a poisoned needle. Suetonius also (Aug. 17) only says 'putabatur.'

29. deliberata, in the sense of Cicero's 'certe statuere ac deliberare,' Verr. 2. 1. 1.

30. Liburnis, dative. Their will, which she grudged them, is expressed in the infinitive clause. For the Liburnian galleys see on Epod. 1. 1.

31. privata, 'unqueened.' The nominative is after the Greek idiom, Porph, and Acr, quote Livy for the statement that Cleopatra 'cum de industria ab Augusto in captivitate indulgentius tractaretur identidem dicere solitamuisse οὐ θραμβεύσομαι.'
ODE XXXVIII.

A slight Ode, expressive of the modest avoidance of pomp and luxury which Horace professes and recommends.

Orelli sees, and doubtless rightly, a meaning in its position at the end of the book, and immediately after the spirited Ode on Cleopatra's death. Cp. the position of Od. 3. 7, and see Introduction and notes on 2. 1. 37, 3. 3. 69, 3. 5. 55.

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus,
Displicent nexae philyra coronae;
Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
Sera moretur.
Simplici myrto nihil allabores
Sedulus curo: neque te ministrum
Dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta
Vite bibentem.

1. Persicos, of oriental luxury. Ritter quotes Tac. Ann. 2. 57 'Vox quoque eius [sc. Pisonis] audita est in convivio, cum apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno pondere Caesari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur principis Romani non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari; abiecitque simul coronam et multa in luxum addidit.'

2. nexae philyra. φιλύρα was the Greek name of the lime tree, Lat. 'tilia'; but it is used in Latin for the fibrous inner bark of that tree (Herod. 4. 67), which was employed, amongst other purposes, in making garlands (Plin. N. H. 16. 25. 14). Ovid calls such garlands 'sutiles,' Fast. 5. 335.

3. quo. Mr. Shilleto (on Thuc. 1. 89) explains this as an instance of attraction and absorption of the antecedent, 'quo' = 'eo ubi,' comparing Ter. Adelph. 2. 1. 36 'illuc redi quo occepisti.' It is perhaps better to take 'sectari' as only a picturesque substitute for 'quaerere' and admitting the same construction, and 'quo locorum' as = 'quo loco.' Cicero has 'quo loci'; see Forc. s. v.

4. sera, the time would seem to be autumn.

5. allabores, a word peculiar to Horace = 'laborando addas.'

6. curo. Bentley conjectures 'cura' (imperative), thinking 'curo' not a sufficiently peremptory way of expressing a wish to a slave 'ni Saturnalia tunc agebantur.' But the negative really qualifies it, so that it = 'non curo quidquam allabores.'

7. arta, not allowed to throw its arms abroad, but tied close over a trellis, or otherwise, so as to give shade.
O D E I.

'Pollio is writing the tale of the civil wars, a difficult and delicate task. We can afford to let even his tragedies wait awhile, till the great and brave orator of the forum and the senate, and the conqueror of Illyria, has given us his history. In our eagerness we seem already to hear the trumpets and see the flashing armour, to hear him reading to us of the fall of chieftains and the conquest of all the world save Cato's stubborn soul. Ay, Jugurtha is avenged now! What land or sea is not red with the blood of our fratricidal wars? But stay, my Muse, these are no themes for you.'

There is nothing to fix very definitely the date of the Ode. The expressions of the two first stanzas, 'nondum expiatis,' 'cineri doloso,' perhaps attract it to the Odes (such as i. 2 and 14) which dwell more on the troubles from which the State had already escaped; than on the new and peaceful order on which it had entered. Augustus is not mentioned. Pollio had not sided with him, and had certainly been a friend of M. Antony. But the Ode expresses, as strongly as Od. i. 2, that weariness of bloodshed which had induced men to acquiesce in the rule of one.

C. Asinius Pollio, the friend and supporter of Julius Caesar, having passed through the Consulship in B.C. 40 (Virg. E. 4), and won the honours of a triumph for his campaign against the Illyrians (ib. 8. 6-13), withdrew from public life, and, in the subsequent struggle between Antony and Octavius, remained honourably neutral. He was a magnificent patron of literature, and is famous as having established the first public library at Rome out of the spoils of his Illyrian campaign. He was also one of the most accomplished men of the age. Catullus (12. 9) speaks of him in his youth as 'leporum Disertus puer et facetiarum.' He is ranked among the great orators by Quintilian (10. 1. 113), Seneca (Epist. 100), and Tacitus (De Or. 38). His tragedies are spoken of in high terms by Virgil (E. 8. 10 'sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno') and Horace (Sat. 1. 10. 42). His history of the civil wars, from B.C. 60 to the establishment of Augustus' power, is referred to by Tacitus (Ann. 4. 34), Suetonius (Jul. Caes. 30).

We may notice the skill with which Pollio's various accomplishments are worked incidentally into the Ode.

**Motum ex Metello consule civicum**

Bellique causas et vita et modos

1. motum, the stir of civil strife.

2. ex Metello consule, from the consulship of Q. Caec. Metellus Celer and L. Afranius, b.c. 60, the year of the league between Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, often called the First Trium-
Ludumque Fortunae gravesque
Principum amicitias et arma
Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculosae plenum opus aleae,
Tractas et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.
Paullum severae Musa tragoediae
Desit theatris: mox ubi publicas
Res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno.
Insigne maestis praesidium reis
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
Cui laurus aeternos honores
Delmatico peperit triumpho.
Iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Perstringis aures, iam litui strenpunt,

3. ludum Fortunae, Od. 3. 29. 50, 1. 2. 37.
   graves principum amicitias, cp. Lucan. i. 84. 5 Tu causa malorum, Facta tribus dominis communis Roma, nec unquam in turbam missi feralia foedera regni. O male concordes! etc. It must not be applied to the triumvirate of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, of which Horace would not speak in such terms.
5. nondum expiatis, Od. 1. 2. 29.
6. aleae, of hazards which no prudence can foresee. Horace's object is not to discourage Pollio, but to exalt the value of the difficult task which he is performing.
7. ignes . . . doloso, metaphorical, of any dangerous business. Callim. 46. 2 πῦρ ὃδε τῇ σταυρίᾳ, Prop. 1. 5. 5 'ignotos vestigia ferre per ignes.'
11. ordinaris, after the Greek συντάττειν, of composition. This is the Scholiast's interpretation; but before Bentley the other commentators took it to mean, according to a common poetical figure, 'tell of the settlement of the State.' Orelli's objection to this seems to be forcible, that it would imply Pollio's approval of Augustus' policy more distinctly than Horace appears to intend.
12. Cecropio cothurno. For the abl. cp. v. 16 'Delmatico triumpho,' and 2. 7. 16 'fretis aestuosis,' and see on 1. 6. 2 and 3. 5. 5. The relation is of the nature of those classed together as the 'ablativ absolute'; i.e. the adjective is predicative, and it is not the substantive alone, but the substantive and adjective together which constitute the circumstance which justifies or limits the main statement. Pollio's occupation is a 'lofty calling,' because the 'buskin' which he wears is that of the Attic stage.
14. consulenti, absol. 'in its counsels.' Like 'maestis,' it describes the time at which Pollio's services would be most needed.
Pollio. There seems to be force in the reservation of Pollio's name for this place, when our interest has been roused for the forthcoming history, 'the history written,' Horace would say, 'not by a bystander, but by the great orator, statesman, warrior.' Compare a more evident instance of art in the collocation of a name, in the conclusion of Od. 1. 2.
curiae, 'the senate.' Cp. Od. 3. 5. 7. 16. Delmatico, Virg. E. 8. 6 foll. Pollio was sent by Antony against the Parthini, an Illyrian tribe who had espoused the cause of Brutus and Cassius. He defeated them, and took their chief town, Salonae. For the ablative see above on v. 12.
Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitumque voltus.
Audire magnos iam videor duces
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
Et cuncta terrarum subacta
Praeter atrocem animum Catonis.
Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
Tellure victorum nepotes
Rettulit inferias Iugurthae.
Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus sepulcris impia proelia

19. fugaces, pred. 'scare them till they would fly.'
20. equitum voltus, compare with Dill. Plutarch Caes. 45 (in the account of the battle of Pharsalia) οὐ γὰρ ἤνείχοντο τῶν ὑσσών ἀμαρημένων οὐδ' ἐτύλιμαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν ὁδήρων ὀρώντες, ἀλὰ ἀπεστρέφοντο καὶ συνεκαλύπτοτο κεῖσθαι μοι τῶν προσώπων. Ritter sees a definite reference to Caesar's order to his soldiers (Flut. ib.) to 'strike at the faces' of the Pompeians.
21. audire...duces, 'to hear you reading of chiefs,' etc. Ritter, Orelli, and Dill, take it of hearing the voices of the chiefs haranguing or giving command in the battle. Both interpretations are as old as Acron. The latter would require better with the preceding stanza; but there would be a harsh zeugma in the use of 'audire,' which, with 'cuncta terrarum subacta,' must mean 'to hear of;' and although 'non indecoro pulvere sordidos' may refer only to the dust and heat of battle (Od. 1. 6. 14 'pulvere Troico Nigrum Merionen'), not to biting the ground in death, yet if 'audire' means 'to hear them speaking,' we should certainly have expected an epithet for 'duces,' which should appeal to the ear rather than to the eye. Bentley felt this difficulty, and wished to read, in despite of the MSS, 'videre.' The point, which Orelli desiderates in our interpretation of the verse, is possibly given by the fact (recorded by the elder Seneca, Controv. 4 Praef.), that 'recitation' by an author of his compositions, was a novel practice introduced by Pollio himself.
23. cuncta terrarum, Od. 4. 4. 76 'acuta belli'; 4. 12. 19 'amara cura-
rum'; Madv. § 284. obs. 3 n.
24. atrocem, 'stubborn.' Silius, 6. 378, of Regulus, 'Atrox illa fides,'
25. Iuno, Virg. Aen. 1. 15. The Roman poets represent Juno as a special patroness of Africa, identifying her with the Phoenician goddess Astarte.
26. cesserat. So Virgil of the gods of the conquered city, Aen. 2. 351 'Excessere omnes adytes arisique relicitis Di quibus imperium hoc steterat.' Cp. the story of the destruction of Jerusalem, Tac. Hist. 5. 13 'Exaptatae repente delubri fores, et audit a maior humana vox, excedere deos; simul ingens motus excessentium.'
29. pinguior, Virg. G. 1. 491 'sanguine nostro Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.'
30. sepulcris, the barrows that marked battlefields (ib. 493-497).
Testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinæ?
Qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
Ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
Non decoloravere caedes?
Quae caret ora cruore nostro?
Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, iocis
Ceae retractes munera neniae,
Mecum Dionaeo sub antro
Quaere modos leviore plectro.

31. auditumque Medis. There seem to be two ideas conveyed; one of the mighty crash of the empire in the West heard in the extreme East, the other of the shame that barbarians should witness the catastrophe of Rome. Cp. Od. 3. 5. 39.
34. Dauniae, 'Apulian' for 'Roman.' See on Od. 1. 22. 14 and 3. 5. 9.
37-40. Cp. 1. 6. 17 foll., 3. 3. 69, 3. 5. 55, Introd. to Books i-iii, § 10. 3.
37. ne...retractes...quaere. For the construction see on 1. 33. 1.
38. retractes, take up the task which Simonides of Ceos (cp. 4. 9. 7) left unfinished.

munera, as ‘grande munus,’ supr. v. 11.
aeniae, θῆρνου, ‘maestius lacrymis Simonideis,’ Catull. 38. 8.
39. Dionaeo, the grot of Venus, where the songs will be of love; so called from Dione, Venus' mother. Virg. E. 9. 47 'Dionaei Caesaris.'
40. leviore plectro, opposed to Od. 4. 2. 33 'maiore plectro.' Cp. 2. 13. 26 (of Alcaeus' style) 'auro plectro'; Ov. Met. 10. 150 'cecini plectro graviore gigantas, nunc opus est leviore lyra.' The 'plectrum' was a little bar, usually of gold or ivory, with which the player touched the strings of the lyre.
The Ode is addressed to Salustius is enough to show that there could be no danger of the world's applying its doctrine to him.

The little we know of him is chiefly derived from Tacitus, Ann. 3. 30, where his death in A.D. 20 is recorded: 'Crispum, equestri loco, C. Salustius rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor, sororis nepotem, in nomen adscivit. Atque ille quamquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditum, Maecenatem aemulatus, sine dignitate senatoria multos triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteiit, diversus aut veterum instituto per cultum et munditias copiaque et auctoria luxu proprior. Suberat tamen vigor animi negotiis par, eo acrior quo somnum et ineratiam magis ostentabat. Igitur incolumi Maecenate proximus, max praecipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur, et interficiendi Postumi Agrippae conscius, aetate pro- vecta speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit.' Horace had satirised him some years before (Sat. 1. 2. 48 foll.), but he has now made his acquaintance in the Court circle. Pliny (N. H. 34. 2) mentions that the Sallust family possessed copper mines in the Tarentaise ('Centronum tractu'), and it has been suggested that this gave a special point to the first stanza, 'As you know from your experience of ore.'

**NULLUS argento color est avaris**

**Abdito terris, inimice lamnae**

**Crispe Salusti, nisi temperato**

**Splendeat usu.**

1-4. 'As silver has no brightness while it is still in the mine, so wealth only acquires its value by the uses it is put to.' In the first line and a half we have the allegory, its application helped by the epithet 'avaris,' which suggests the miser's hoards as the parallel for the useless ore; in the remainder of the stanza we have the application, but still clothed, with the exception of 'temperato,' in terms metaphorical, taken from the allegory ('lamnae,' 'splendeat'). See notes on 1. 35. 19. 4. 2. 5-8. 4. 4. 59.

2. *abdito terris*, as Od. 3. 3. 49 'aurum irrepertum...cum terra celat.' Much of the force of the stanza is lost if we take it with the Scholiast of the miser's treasure, 'qui defosso incubat auro,' Sat. 1. 1. 41.

*lamnae*, the unwrought bar into which the ore was first run. Bentley pointed out that the construction is 'inimice lamnae nisi splendeat,' not as it had been strangely taken, 'nullus argento color est nisi splendeat.' For the syncopated form see on Od. 1. 36. 8.

3. *Crispe Salusti.* For this inversion of the family and the gentle name cp. 'Hirpine Quinti,' Od. 2. 11. 2; 'Fuscus Aristius,' Sat. 1. 10. 61; 'Cascellius Aulus,' A. P. 371. Such violations of the old usage were growing common. Thus Velleius Paterculus (born B.C. 19) has 'Drusus Claudius' and 'Silvanus Plautius' (2. 97 and 114, quoted in Dict. Ant.).

4. *usu* seems to apply primarily to the brightening of genuine metal by
Vivet extento Proculeius aeo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni;
Illum agit penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.
Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis

5. Vivet extento aeo, 'shall live beyond the term of life.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 10. 468 'brevi et irreparable tempus Omnibus est vitae; sed famam extendere factis Hoc virtutis opus.'

6. Notus animi, cp. probably the same construction Od. 4. 13. 21 'nota artium.' Horace uses the Greek gen. of relation to avoid the awkwardness of a preposition, 'notus propter' or 'ob.' With 'in fratres paterni' cp. Od. 4. 27 'paternus In pueros animus Nero-

7. Aget, 'will carry on his way,' will not allow him to fall, as he 'volitat vivus per ora virum.' The weight of MS. testimony and Acr., though not Porph., are in favour of the future as against 'agit,' and it is preferable also as suiting better with 'vivet,' and as not implying, what there is no reason otherwise to suppose, that Proculeius was dead at this time.

8. Metuente solvi, 'that daren't droop,' 'is shy of drooping.' Od. 3. 11. 10, 4. 20. Virgil had the expression first, G. 1. 246 'Arctos metuentes aequore tingi.'

9. Latius regnes. In the following stanza Horace is thinking of the Stoic paradox, that the wise man is king. Cp. Sat. i. 3. 125, 136, Epp. 1. 1. 107, etc., Sen. Thyst. 334 foll. 'Regem non faciunt opes,' etc.

10-12. 'Than if your property stretched into the far South and West, so as to unite in one sway Carthage and its Spanish colonies.' Gadus was one of these: see Cic. pro Balbo 14, Liv. 28. 87. The expression should be compared with Od. 3. 16, 31, 41 'Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae,' 'Mygodoniis regnum Alyatiae Campis continuem.' Horace is not speaking in either case of proconsuls, but of the 'latifundia' (see on Od. 1. 1. 9), which were one of the favourite means of investing and acquiring wealth. Seneca expands this as other Horatian metaphors, Epp. 89. 'Hoc quoque parvum est nisi latifundis vestris maria cinxistis: nisi trans Hadriam et Ioniun Aegaeumque vester villicus regnet...sit fundus quod aliquando imperium vocabatur.' In both passages of Horace the metaphor of royalty is suggested by the context—here by 'latius regnes' and the allusion to Phraates, in 3. 16 by 'dominus splendidior' and 'vectigalia.'
LIB. II. OD. 2.

Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
Serviat uni.
Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
Nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
Fugerit venis et aquosus albo
Corpore languor.
Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
Dissidens plebi numero beatorum
Eximit Virtus, populumque falsis
Dedocet uti
Vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
Deferens uni propriamque laurum,
Quisquis ingentes oculo inretorto
Spectat aceros.

II. et, 'and so.' Dill, draws attention to the consecutive force of 'et,' as almost equal to 'ita ut.' Cp. I. 3. 8, 4. I3. 10.
13. indulgens sibi, 'by indulging itself,' i.e. its own feverish thirst.
Hydrops, 'the dropsy.' It is properly the subject of 'crescit,' but it is made also the subject of 'indulgens' and 'pellit,' the actions of the sick man being attributed to his malady.
14. nec sitim .. languor, 'drinking increases the disease; it cannot quench the thirst till the malady which causes the thirst is gone, and with it the other symptoms.' The application of the analogy is evident. Cp. 3. 16. 17 'Crescetem sequitur cura pecuniam Maiorumque famum.' Ovid reproduces the comparison, Fast. I. 212 'quum possident plura plura petunt: Sic quibus intumuit suffusa venter ab unda Quo plus sunt potae plus sitiuntur aquae.'

Nisi .. venis. They speak of drinking as though it immediately filled the veins, Sat. 2. 4. 25 'vacuis committere venis Nil nisi lene decent'; of thirst as though it were felt in the veins, Virg. G 3. 482 'venis omnibus acta sitis.' So the meaning is, 'no pouring into the veins will cure the thirst; there is something that must be got rid of out of them—some inner malady in the recesses of the body.'
15. aquosus languor, 'the faintness caused by the water.'
17. redditum Cyri solio, cp. 3. 29. 27 'regnata Cyro Bactra.' It is the most distinct enunciation of that identity of the Parthian with the Persian monarchy which Horace assumes elsewhere. See on Od. 1. 2. 22. For the historical event referred to see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 8.
19. Virtus, the judgment of a virtuous man, as in Sat. I. 3. 42.
20. dedocet, 'would fain unteach the people to use names falsely.'
21. 22. tutum, propriam, predicative, a diadem and a laurel crown that cannot be taken away again.' Cp. 3. 2. 17-20.
23. oculo inretorto, 'who can see huge treasure-heaps, and never turn to look again.'
ODE III.

'Let the thought of death moderate both repining in trouble and exultation in prosperity. Enjoy yourself while you may, for death is at hand, for rich and noble as well as for poor and humbly born.'

Some little doubt hangs over the name of the person to whom these counsels of Epicureanism are addressed. The old Blandinian MS. gave it as 'Gellius.' Cruquius identifies him with L. Gellius Publicola, the brother (half brother through their mother Polla, or brother by adoption, according to different theories) of Messalla (Od. 3. 21. 7), and consul b.c. 36.

Dellius (as the other good MSS. and the MSS. of Acr. and Porph. write the name) would probably be Q. Dellius, who had changed sides so often that Messalla is said to have nicknamed him 'Desultor bellorum civilium.' He had deserted successively Dolabella, Cassius, and finally Antony on the eve of the battle of Actium. Gellius' character was not such that Horace would gain much by the substitution of his name for that of Dellius.

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem, non secus in bonis
Ab insolenti temperatam
Laetitia, moriture Delli,
Seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,
Seu te in remoto gramine per dies
Festos reclinatum bearis
Interiore nota Falerni.

1. aequam...arduis. There is probably some slight feeling of the verbal antithesis, 'when life's path is steep (δυσβρωμάτι) let your mind at least be on a level.'

3. insolenti, not that all joy is 'insolens'—'chastened from insolent excess of happiness,' from the ἀβρος, of which κόρος in the Greek tragedians was the parent.

5. seu, seu, depend on 'moriture,' 'for that thou must soon die, whether thy life has been sad or merry.' With the emphatic position of 'moriture' cp. Od. 1. 28. 6.


per dies festos, 'per' might denote either 'through the entire day' as 'per brumam,' Epp. 1. 11. 19, or 'on each holiday,' as 'per exactos annos,' Od. 3. 22. 6. It is opposed to the life of unbroken sadness ('omni tempore'), and means 'miss no opportunity of merriment.'

8. interiore nota, the brand of the innermost, and so the earliest-filled bin. The 'amphora' itself was branded or a label was attached to it with the name of the wine and of the consul in whose year it was bottled; 'patriam titulumque,' Juv. S. 5. 33. 'Cp. 'nota Falerni,' Sat. 1. 10. 24.
Quo pinus ingens albaque populus
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant
Ramis? Quid obliquo laborat
Lymphia fugax trepidare rivo?
Huc vina et unguenta et niumbre breves
Flores amoenae ferre iube roae,
Dum res et aetas et sororum
Fila trium patiuntur atra.
Cedas coemptis saltibus et domo
Villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,

9-11. quo... quid, 'to what purpose? why?' 'to what purpose but that you may make merry in the shade?' Dill's quotes, for the change of conjunction, Ov. Met. 13. 516 'Quo fereca resto? Quidve moror?' This is the reading of the oldest MSS, including V and B. A large number have 'quo...quo,' in which case the two clauses must be written without a note of question, as 'quo' will answer to 'huc,' 'hither to the spot to which the boughs stretch out and to which the stream is in such haste to hurry down.' The lemma in the MSS. of Porph. has in the second place 'quo,' but whatever he read, he interpreted it 'wherefore?' for he writes 'subaudiendum, si ea non utimur.' It must be allowed that this possibility of a double interpretation is in favour of 'quo.' Keller edits 'quo et,' which Bentley found in some MSS. The hiatus, if we retain 'quo,' must be classed with Epod. 5. 100.

9. alba, as 'candida populus,' Virg. E. 9. 41. The double contrast between the slighter poplar white in the wind and the gloom of the heavier pine is indicated, after Horace's manner, by one epithet with each of the pair of substantives, see on 3. 4. 46, 47, 3. 13. 7, 4. 4. 10. For his notice of colour cp. Od. 1. 21. 7, 8 'Nigris aut Erymanthi Silvis aut viridis Cragi'; 1. 25. 17, 18 'hedera virente...pulla myrto.'

10. hospitalem, Virg. G. 4. 24 'Obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbos.'
amant, rather on account of the charm of the place or for the pleasure of shading the revelers, than (as Orelli takes it) as though the boughs themselves were lovers, after the image of 'lascivae hederae,' 1. 36. 20. 'Amare' is used by Horace and other Graecising Latin writers in imitation of φάειν, but it rarely, if ever, attains the colourless or unconsciously idiomatic force of the original.

11. laborat trepidare, App. 2, § 1, 'frets in its haste to escape down its tortuous channel.' Contrast the water which (Epp. 1. 10. 21) 'per pronom trepidat cum murmur rivum.'

13. breves, accusative; Od. 1. 36. 16 'breve lilium.' Here the epithet is in point, for the roses are types of the pleasures of life that must be snatched quickly, so that it has the force of 'ere they be withered.'

15. res, 'patrimonium.' Schol. Probably so, rather than with Orelli, 'tota vitae conditio.' There is no fear, Orelli says, that Dellius' fortune should prove inadequate. But he may lose it, and, at any rate, it is only his for a short time, 'Cedet coemptis saltibus.'

aetas, Od. 1. 9. 17 'doncé virenti canities abest Morosa.' The three conditions are summed up in 2. 11. 16 'dum licet.'

17. coemptis saltibus, Epp. 2. 2. 177 'Calabris Saltibus adiecti Lucaini.' They are pasture grounds; see on Od. 1. 31. 5, and cp. 2. 16. 33.
domo, the city house, opp. to 'villa,' the house in the country or suburbs.

18. flavus, the habitual epithet helps the sense of 'use and wont,' 'you must leave all you know so well.'
lavit. Horace prefers this, the older form, in the Odes; cp. 3. 4. 61, 3. 12. 2, 7. 4. 6. 26. In the Epp. and Sat. he uses also the first conj., as Sat. 1. 3. 137, Epp. 1. 6. 61.
Cedes et exstructis in altum  
Divitiis potietur heres.  
Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho,  
Nil interest, an pauper et infima  
De gente sub divo moreris,  
Victima nil miserantis Orci.  
Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium  
Versatur urna serius ocius  
Sors exitura et nos in aeternum  
Exsilium impositura cumbae.

19. *exstructis in altum*, ‘piled up so high,’ constr. as ‘ad plenum,’ Od. 1. 17, 15.

20. *Inacho*. This mythical king of Argos seems to have stood as a representative of the most remote antiquity, cp. 3. 19. 1 ‘Quantum distat ab Inacho Codrus.’ ‘It makes no difference whether you pass your little span of life as a man of wealth and mythical lineage or in poverty and humble station, seeing that you are the doomed victim of Orcus, who shows no pity to any,’


24. *moreris*, as though every year of life was a delaying of the natural departure.

25. *victima*. For a fuller carrying out of the metaphor see Od. 1. 28. 20 n.

26. *cumbae*, dative after *impositura*, ‘to place us on board the bark for the banishment from which none returns.’ ‘Cumba’ is said to be the form preferred when the boat of Charon is meant.

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ODE IV.

‘No need to blush, Xanthias, though you love a slave girl. Achilles had his Briseis, and Ajax his Tecmessa; even Agamemnon, the conqueror of Troy, could not withstand Cassandra. Who knows but Phyllis too is some born princess: one so constant and so indifferent to money can spring from no vulgar stock. Nay, don’t suspect my praises, I am close on forty.’

We can hardly be wrong in supposing that, with the exception of her pretty face and figure, the praises of Phyllis are meant to be interpreted ironically. The mock heroic tone of the list of precedents (cp. Od. 1. 16, Introd., and Epod. 3), the ‘regium certe,’ and the contempt implied for her real birth, ‘scelesta plebe,’ might be merely playful; but considering the topics of praise, ‘sic fidelem, sic lucro aversam,’ there is hardly feeling enough in their expression, standing as they do between the levity of stanzas 4 and 6, to redeem the playfulness from the sting of irony.
And possibly the Ode refers to some real person, although the name be fictitious. The irony would be wasted on a shadow; and there is a definiteness both in the name of the ‘Phocian’ Xanthias and in the introduction of Horace’s own personality (stanza 6), which is more dramatic than is usual in the purely imaginary Odes. It is undoubtedly Horace’s way to add a local designation to fictitious characters: ‘Cnidius Gyges,’ Od. 2. 5. 20; ‘Liparaei nitor Hebri,’ 3. 12. 6. In some cases, as in ‘Thurini Calais filius Ormyti,’ 3. 9. 14, the appearance of complete identification is strongly in point, and in all the object probably was to give a greater semblance of reality. The purpose here is the least easy to imagine, from the fact that the name is addressed to Xanthias himself, not used by way of identifying him to others. If the lover of the Ode was a real person, there may of course be some play in the name, of which the point is lost to us. Orelli suggests that ‘Xanthias’ may be chosen to cover a Roman ‘Flavius,’ cp. Od. 3. 15. 11, where he thinks ‘Nothus’ may represent a real ‘Spurios.’ Ritter imagines a Greek resident in Rome, and, comparing Od. 1. 27. 10 ‘Megillae frater Opuntiae,’ ingeniously suggests that the person there rallied is none other than Xanthias, and that the ‘Phyllis’ of this Ode is the ‘Charybdis’ of that; see Introd. to 1. 27.

The composition of the Ode is fixed by v. 24 to the end of Horace’s fortieth year, b.c. 25.

NE sit ancillae tibi amor pudori, 
Xanthia Phoceu! Prius insolentem 
Serva Briseis niveo colore 
Movit Achillem; 
Movit Aiacem Telamone natum 
Forma captivae dominum Tecmessa; 
Arsit Atrides medio in triumpho 
Virgine rapta, 
Barbarae postquam cecidere turmae 
Theussalo victore et ademptus Hector

2. prius, ‘before you,’ ‘you are not the first.’

insolentem, according to the character assigned to him in A. P. 122 ‘Iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis;’ so he was less likely to stoop to a slave girl. Notice the antithetical placing of the words throughout, ‘insolentem serva,’ ‘captivae dominum,’ ‘fessis levora,’ ‘Pergama Grais.’


7. arsit. There seems to be a play in the word, ‘He was fired by her as he had fired Troy’; cp. Epod. 14. 13 ‘si non pulchrior ignis Accendit obsessam Ilium.’

8. rapta, ‘captive.’ Hom. II. 22. 62

vīdas τ᾽ ὀλυμπίνους ἐλκυσθέναι τε θύγατρας. Compare the scene in Virg. Aen. 2. 403 foll. ‘Ecce trahebatur passis Priameia Virgo Crinibus a templo Cassandra,’ etc. There is an antithesis between ‘medio in triumpho’ and ‘virgin rapta’; ‘capta victorem cepit.’ It is this feeling which gives its point to the next stanza. ‘When the warriors had fallen and the citadel of Troy was an easy prey to its foes, then a captive maid vanquished the great conqueror.’

10. Theussalo, as in Od. 1. 10. 15 ‘Thessalos ignes,’ i.e. the watch-fires of Achilles. victore is the abl. absol.; see on 1. 6. 1 and 2. 1. 12.

ademptus Hector, cp. 1. 37. 13 ‘minuit suorem Vix una sospes navis,’
Tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Grais.
Nescias, an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavae decorent parentes:
Regium certe genus et penates
Maeret iniquos.
Crede non illam tibi de scelestae
Plebe dilectam, neque sic fidelem,
Sic lucro aversam potuisse nasci
Matre pudenda.
Brachia et voltum teretesque suras
Integer laudo; fuge suspicari,
Cuius octavum trepidavit aetas
Claudere lustrum.

but the constr. which attributes the action more personally to Hector is intentionally chosen, as though by his death he was the very traitor who opened the walls of Troy to the foe. Cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 17 'Postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit.'

11. **leviora**, perhaps with a remembrance of Hom. II. 22. 287 καὶ κεν ἐλα-
fróteros πόλεμος Τρώεσι γένοιο Σεῖο
καταφθείνειο: but 'leviora' and 'tolli' probably match and make one meta-
phor.

**fessis**, 'even in their weariness,' Virg. Aen. 2. 108 foll. The dative goes grammatically either with 'tradidit' or with 'leviora tolli,' in feeling with the latter; for the constr. 'leviora tolli,' see App. 2, § 2.

13. **nescias, an**, an extension of the common 'nescio an,' which means, 'I am not sure, but nearly so.' It may be either potential, 'Possibly you may be able to say, nescio an,' i. e. 'Possibly though you know it not, auburn Phyllis has parents among the great, a wreath of glory to you their son-in-law,' or permissive, 'You may say, nescio an,' i. e. 'You may be pretty sure,' etc.

15. **regium genus**, after 'maeret.'
'Her tears are surely for some royal ancestry and the unkindness of her home gods,' who suffered her to fall in the world.

17. **de plebe**, a tertiary predicate with 'dilectam.' 'Believe that in her thou hast not loved one from the rabble crowd.' Bentley interprets 'dilectam' as = 'selectam.' It is true that here, as often, though not always, 'diligere' retains its force of 'to love pre-emi-
nently,' 'to choose for love'; 'dilectamCypon,' 'Cyprus of thy choice'; com-
pare Od. 2. 5. 17.

21. **teretes**, 'well-turned,' 'shapely.'
23. **trepidavit**, the stream has run quickly; cp. 'curret aetas,' Od. 2. 5. 13.

**octavum lustrum.** Horace's for-
tieth year ended on Dec. 8, B.C. 25.
The 'lustrum' was properly the sacri-
fee performed by the censor after com-
pleting the quinquennial census. Horace recalls, but avoids the tech-
nical phrase 'condere lustrum,' Liv. 1.

44. For the inf. 'claudere' see Ap. 2, § 1.
'Lalage is not old enough for your advances. Let her be a child a little longer. Have patience, she will come to you by and bye, and return the love greater than you ever gave to Pholoe or Chloris.'

'Incertum est quem alloquatur hac Ode utrum amicorum aliquem an se ipsum,' Acr. Even if it be a soliloquy, the poet may be addressing himself in an assumed character, as e.g. in Od. 3. 12. The Zurich MS, of the 10th century (r) has the inscription 'Ad Gabinium.' The Ode has nothing either to gain or lose by being supposed to have had reference to any real persons.

The main image of the ode is one, as Dill', says, 'in antiquitate usitata, a nostris moribus aliena.'

NONDUM subacta ferre iugum valet 
Cervice, nondum munia comparis
Aequare nec tauri ruentis
In venerem tolerare pondus,

Circa virentes est animus tuae
Campos iuvencae, nunc fluviis gravem
Solantis aestum, nunc in udo
Ludere cum vitulis salicto
Praegestientis. Tolle cupidinem
Immitis uvae: iam tibi lividos
Distinguet Auctumnus racemos
Purpureo variis' colore.

2. munia comparis aequare, 'to match the labours of a yoke-fellow,' cp. 'ferre iugum pariter,' Od. 1. 35. 28.
5. circa est, 'is occupied with,' cp. the Greek phrases εἶναι περί τι, ἔχειν ὄμφα τι.
6. fluviis, Virg. Aen. 7. 494, 495.
10. immitis uvae, ὄμφακος, according to the epigram (Brunck 3. 164) ὄμφας ὂν ἐπένευοι, ὦτ' ἡς σταφυλὴ παρεπέμψοι.

lividos, of the dull blue of the grapes just beginning to turn.
11, 12. distinguet ... colore. Is this merely the effect of Horace's collocation, 'streak the bunches with purple,' 'varius,' the epithet of autumn, 'the motley-coloured,' being placed between those words which most recall the character which the epithet expresses? or does he, while meaning 'distinguuet purpureo colore,' allow 'purpureo colore' as a matter of grammar and primary sense, to go rather with 'varius' as a description of personified Autumn 'streaked with purple dyes,' like Epod. 2. 18 'decorum mitibus pomis caput Autumnus agris extulit'?
Iam te sequetur: currit enim ferox
Aetas et illi, quos tibi dempserit,
Apponet annos; iam proterva
Fronte petet Lalage maritum:
Dilecta, quantum non Pholoë fugax,
Non Chloris albo sic humeris nitenis,
Ut pura nocturno renidet.
Luna mari, Cnidiusve Gyges,
Quem si puellarum insereres choro,
Mire sagaces falleret hospites.
Discrimen obscurum solutis
Crinibus ambiguoque voltu.

13. ferox aetas. 'Her time of life
makes her shy, and time is flying.'
To the rest of the sentence, 'aetas,' in
its general sense, alone is the subj.; the
epithet has no further relation to it.
Cp. Od. 1. 21, 7, 8 'nigris aut Ery-
manthii silvis aut viridis Cragi,' and
3. 23. 15, where 'parvos' is the epithet
of 'Deos,' so long as they are the subj.
of 'coronantem,' not when they are the
subj. of 'tentare.' Dill, however, follows
Mitsch. in taking 'ferox' of the flight of
time, 'like an unbroken horse,' as Ov.
Fast. 6. 772 'fugium freno non remo-
rante dies.'

14. dempserit, apponet, a ground
for not being impatient. 'If you are
losing the years fast, she is gaining
them as fast.' Each fresh year of life
is a year added or a year taken away,
according to our point of view. Com-
pare the double phrase by which
Horace expresses the lapse of time in
Od. 3. 30. 5 'annorum series et fuga
temporum.' So Seneca de Cons. ad Marc.
20. 'Quo quisque primum lucem vidit
iter mortis ingressus est, accessitque fato
propior; et illi psi qui adicietbantur
adolescentiae anni vita detrah ebantur.'
Cp. Soph. Aj. 476 παρ ἡμαρ ἡμέρα. Pro-
thoeis κάναθεια του γε καθανείν. To
the impatient lover time seems to be
robbing him of year after year, and to
be making no difference to Lalage, to
be 'galloping' with him while it
'crawls' or stands still with her, cp.
Epp. 1. 1. 20 foll. Such expressions as
A. P. 175 'anni venientes, recedentes'
(cp. Od. 2. 11. 5), Soph. Trach. 547
ὁρό μὲν ἡμαν τὴν μὲν ἔρημουν πρὸς
ηθ 52 φθηνοῦσαι are not in point.
They refer not to different ways of
viewing the same time, but to different
epochs of life. They suppose an δεμή,
a definite point to which life ascends
and from which it descends. Horace
does not mean here to represent his
lover as going down the hill of life.

15. proterva fronte, a return to the
metaphor of stanzas 1, 2.
17. dilecta, sc. 'a te.' 'Lalage,
whom you love with a passion you
never felt for any other.' His pre-
eminent love for Lalage is the measure
both of the happiness for which he is
bidden to wait and of the impatience
with which he waits for it.
Pholoë fugax, see on Od. 1. 3. 36
'asperam Phloën.' Her flight is one
which attracts pursuit, 'fugit ad salices
et se cupit ante videri.'
non, non, ve, cp. Od. 2. 9. 1-6 'non,'
'aut,' 'nec,' 'aut.'
19. pura, Od. 3. 29. 45 'sole puro,'
free from mist or cloud.
renidet, in what is its first sense,
'shines again'; Od. 2. 18. 2 'aureum,
renidet lacunar'; Epod. 2. 66 'reni-
dentes lares.'
22. mire, with 'falleret.'
hospites, strangers who came in.
ODE VI.

'Septimius, my dear friend who would accompany me to the ends of the earth, let me spend the end of my life at Tibur, or if not there, then at Tarentum. Let us go there together and live there till I die.'

Septimius has been naturally supposed to be the same person whom Horace introduces to Tiberius in Epp. 1. 9. The Schol. Cruq. further identifies him with Titius, the poet on the staff of the same Tiberius in Epp. 1. 3. 9 'Romana brevi venturus in ora, Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus.' It may probably be the same person who is named as the common friend of the poet and the emperor in Augustus' letter preserved in the Suetonian life of Horace.

This is one of the Odes which is assigned by several of Horace's chronologists to a date earlier than B.C. 31 (see Introd. to Books i—iii, § 2). We must not, perhaps, lay very much stress on the fact that the year 29 is the earliest time at which we know of public attention being called to the difficulty of subduing the Cantabri (v. 2); but the positive arguments for the early date seem slight. If the words 'lasso maris et viarum militiaeque' are to be pressed (see note on v. 1), they would carry the Ode back not only beyond 31, but to a time when Horace was really fresh from his campaign, and before he could well have become familiar with Tibur and Tarentum. Macleane justly remarks that the tone of the Ode is not that of a young adventurer freshly come to Rome to begin life. Nor is the argument stronger from the supposed incompatibility of his roving tastes with his possession of the 'unica Sabina,' which he obtained in B.C. 34. Cp. his language in Ep. 1. 7. 44 'mihi non tam regia Roma Quam vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum.'

Septimi, Gades aditure mecum et
Cantabrum inductum iuga ferre nostra et
Barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper
Aestuat unda;

1. Gades aditure. The beginning of the Ode is taken from Catullus, II. 1, 'Furi et Aureli comites Catulli, sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,' etc. Here this proverbial test of friendship is more specially in point, 'You are such a fast friend that you would go to the furthest and most dangerous places with me, much more will you come to Tibur or Tarentum.' Dilll. points out that the three places named represent distance ('remotis Gadibus,' 2. 2. 10) and danger, either of war or shipwreck. We may notice, perhaps, that they correspond also, though not in the same order, to the three things of which the poet professes to have had enough, 'maris, viarum, militiae.' This softens the difficulty of which Orelli complains, that Horace should speak of himself in mature life as weary of toils which he had long left behind him. The whole line of thought has been ruled by his imitation of Catullus. 'You would go with me anywhere, but don't let us put our friendship to such a test, we have had enough in our time of wanderings and fighting, we are growing old, let us go to Tibur or to Tarentum.'

3. barbaras Syrtes. The coast is
Tibur Argeo posuitam colono  
Sit meae sedes utinam senectae,  
Sit modus lasso maris et viarum  
Militiaeque!  
Unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,  
Dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi  
Flumen et regnata petam Laconi  
Rura Phalantho.  
Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes  
Angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto  
Mella decedunt viridique certat  
Baca Venafro;  
Ver ubi longum tepidasque praebet  
Iuppiter brumas, et amicus Aulon

given a bad name not only for its dangers (see on Od. 1. 22. 6, where there is the same conjunction), but for the savageness of its inhabitants. Virg. Aen. 4. 41 'inhospita Syritis.'

5. Argeo. 'Aργεῖος,' as 'Lesbous' instead of the Latin form 'Lesbium,' Od. 1. 1. 34. For the historical reference see on Od. 1. 7. 13.

7. maris et viarum, Epp. 1. 11. 6 'odio maris atque viarum'; so 'viator' is opposed to 'navita,' Od. 3. 4. 32. The genitive seems to go both with 'lasso' (as Virg. Aen. 1. 178 'fessi rerum') and with 'modus,' see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

10. pellitis, Varro de R. R. 2. 2 explains this epithet, 'ovibus pellitis, quae propter lanae bonitatem ut sunt Tarentinæ et Atticæ pellibus integuntur, ne lana inquietur.'

ovibus, dat. after 'dulce,' 'pleasant to the sheep.'

Galaesi, the 'niger Galaesus' of Virg. G. 4. 126, which flowed into the Gulf of Tarentum, a few miles from the city; see Liv. 25. 11.

11. regnata, Od. 3. 29. 27 'regnata Cyro Bactra'; Virg. Aen. 3. 14 'terra regnata Lycurgo.' The legend of Phalantus, who headed the insertion of the Parthenae, and after its failure was allowed to lead a colony of them to Italy, where he seized and ruled Tarentum, is gathered from Justin 3. 4. and Strabo 6. p. 278 foll.

13. terrarum, with 'angulus,' as 'angulus mundi,' Prop. 4. 9. 65. 'The corner of the world' gives the idea of retirement, 'secusus litus amoeni.'

14. ridet ubi. For the lengthening of the short syllable see on Od. 1. 3. 36.

15. decedunt, 'give way to,' 'are second to'; for a similar metaphor cp. Virg. G. 2. 97 'firmissima vina, Tmolus et assurgit quibus.' Cic. de Sen. 18 enumerates the compliments paid to old age, 'salutari, appeti, decedii, assurgi.' For the Tarentine honey cp. Od. 3. 16. 33 'Calabrae apes.'

certat, with the dat. as in Epod. 2. 20 'certantem uavm purpurae'; so 'pugnare,' Sat. 1. 2. 73; 'luctari,' Od. 1. 1. 15.

16. baca, Sat. 2. 4. 69 Pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae.' Venafrum was an inland city in the north of Campania, in the valley of the Vulturnus, and on the Via Latina. Cicero (pro Planc. 9) speaks of the neighbourhood as very populous, 'tractus celeberrimus.' It is classed by Horace with Tarentum, as one of the places to which a Roman would go for a holiday, Od. 3. 5. 55.

17. ver longum, a mild winter and a cool summer: 'quas et mollis hyems et frigida temperat aestas,' Stat. Silv. 3. 5. 83.

18. Aulon, 'felix vitibus Aulon,' Mart. 13. 125. 1; 'mons Calabriæ,' Acr. The name, which is a common one, suggests rather a hollow between
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Invidet uvis.
Ille te mecum locus et beatae
Postulant arces; ibi tu calentem
Debita sparges lacrima favillam
Vatis amici.

hills. It is perhaps preserved in the
name 'Melone,' still given to a slope
near the seashore, about eight miles
south-east of Tarentum, Dict. Geog.
amicus fertili Baccho. This was
clearly read by Statius, who writes,
Silv. 1. 2, 'Qua Bromio dilectus ager
collesque per altos Uritur et prelis non
invidet uva Falernis.' Bentley is dis-
pleased at the epithet 'fertili,' and ac-
cepting the reading 'fertilis,' which
is found in several good MSS, and in
Servius, on Virg. Aen. 3. 553, alters
'amicus' to 'apricus.' But for 'fertili'
= 'the giver of fertility,' cp. Ov. Met.
5. 642 'dea fertilis' of Ceres. Keller
retains 'amicus,' but adopts 'fertilis,'
in which case the two adjectives will be
= 'fertilitate amicus.'
19. minimum invidet, 'invidet enim
tantum qui inferior est,' Porph.
21. beatae, in the same sense as 'beata
arva,' Epod. 16. 41, = 'fortunatae.'
22. arces, 'loca excelsa,' Orell. It
may be doubted, however, whether
'axr' is ever used simply for 'a height'
without a conscious reference, literal or
metaphorical, to its use for purposes of
defence. Here, whether we take it for
the heights behind Tarentum or in its
usual Horatian sense of the city itself,
it is probably intended to suggest also
the idea of a 'safe retreat,' a fortress
that care cannot storm. Cp. his meta-
phor for his Sabine farm, 'ubi me in
montes et in arcam ex urbe removit,' Sat.
2. 6. 16, and possibly the same idea in
'igneae arces,' Od. 3. 3. 10. It was the
occurrence of the word in this passage
probably that suggested the false read-
ing 'Aulonisque arces' for 'Caulonis'
in Virg. Aen. 3. 553.

ibi, emphatic, repeating 'ille,' as 'tu
... amici' repeats 'te mecum.' 'There
we will live and there I will die.' 'Ele-
ganti figura Septimium sibi superstitem
fingit,' Porph.
calentem ... favillam, of the solemn
weeping at the pyre before the ashes
were extinguished by the pouring of
184-194, especially v. 191, and Tib. 3.
3, especially v. 25.
ODE VII.

'What, Pompeius at home again safe in limb and rights! Pompeius who shared with me the dangers and the snatched pleasures of the campaign under Brutus. After Philippi we separated. Mercury carried me off in safety, you were swept back again into the war. Surely you owe Jove a feast of thanksgiving. My lawn shall be the scene of the revel. Who would think of sobriety when a lost friend is found?'

'Ad Pompeium Varum,' Acr.; and so the Ode is inscribed in the oldest MSS. Nothing is known of Pompeius. He has been by some editors wrongly identified with Pompeius Grosphus, the rich owner of pastures in Sicily, Epp. I. 12. 21, Od. 2. 16.

At what point of the civil war Pompeius abandoned it and availed himself of an offered amnesty, or what interval had elapsed since then, there is no indication. Horace writes as if he had heard nothing of his old friend for some years, and he has by this time a lawn of his own on which he can entertain a guest. The name of Pompeius suggests that he may have followed, after the battle of Philippi, the fortunes of Sextus Pompeius, who maintained the war by sea against the Triumvirs till the year B.C. 35.

O SAEPE mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte Bruto militiae duce,
Quis te redonavit Quiritem
Dis patriis Italoque caelo,
Pompei meorum prime sodalium?
Cum quo morantem saepe diem mero

1. tempus in ultimum, Catull. 64.
151 'supremum tempus'; 169 'extre-
mum tempus,' 'utmost peril.' 'Tempus'
= καιρός, a crisis, time of special
import.
2. deducte . . . duce, perhaps (as Dill,
and Ritter think) with a slight play on
the two words, as though that were the
point to which Brutus' leadership led
them.
3. quis redonavit? merely a ques-
tion of wonder, 'how came you here'? not intended to be answered by 'Mae-
cenas' or 'Augustus.' This wonder at
seeing Pompeius safe again is the
thought which gives its unity to the
poem. 'A god saved me, but I saw
you carried back again into the stormy
sea; what can have rescued you? What
limits can we set to our gratitude or to
our rejoicing'? 'Redonare' is a word
only found in Horace. see Od. 3. 3. 33.
Quiritem, 'a full Roman citizen';
'capite non deminutum,' Dill', Orell.,
Ritter. Conington in his Translation
takes it as opp. to 'miles,' 'a man of
peace,' supporting it by the story of
Julius Caesar reducing the mutinous
10th legion to order by addressing them
as 'Quirites,' the term implying that
they were disbanded, Suet. J. C. 70.
5. Pompei. For the form cp. 'Vol-
eti' (dissyll.), Epp. 1. 7. 91.
prime, 'practicum,' Acr. Ritter
would interpret it 'earliest,' objecting
that Pompeius would not be ranked be-
fore Varus, Virgil, Mæcessas, etc.; but
Horace is thinking only of the old days
of their acquaintance in the camp, when
Pompeius may well have been the
chiefest of his companions.'
6. morantem fregi, see on 1. 1. 20.
Fregi coronatus nitentes
Malobathro Syrio capillos.
Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi relicta non bene parmula,
Cum fracta virtus et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.
Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
Denso paventem sustulit aère;
Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretis tulit aestuosus.

This can hardly have been during the actual campaign in Macedonia, but it is probable that Horace, while in Brutus’ army, was in Asia; see Milman’s Life of Horace, p. 17, and on Sat. i. 7, and Epp. 1. ii. 6.


10. non bene; there is the same irony in the dimin. ‘parmula,’ ‘my poor little shield’; cp. Epod. i. 16 ‘Imbellis ac firmus parum,’ and contrast Epp. 1. 20. 23 ‘Me primis urbis belli placuisse domique.’ That Horace should have been able playfully to impute cowardice to himself is enough, as Lessing pointed out, to prove that he had no fear that others would impute it to him. He is clearly thinking, as his Roman readers would have thought, of Alcaeus at Sigeum, Herod. 5. 95; see the lines of Alcaeus (Fr. 22 Bergk) conjecturally restored from Strabo 13. p. 600 κάρυς ἀγγείλων μὲν ἐμοὶ ἑτέρωιαν ἐν οἴκῳ Ἔως Ἀλκαίος Ἀρης, Ἔνυτεα δ’ ὕπ’ ἀνεύεικον ἀ δή κτέρας ἐς Γαλακτών Ἰππον ἀνεκρέμασαν Ἀττικοῖα. Similar self-accusations are quoted from Archilochus, Fr. 5, and Anacreon, Fr. 27.

II. cum fracta virtus. Of his own share in the campaign the poet professes to remember only the stolen holidays of carousing, the dropped shield and flight; but this gives greater force to the few words in which he speaks of the fall of the cause for which he fought. He seems to say, ‘What could I do when Valour itself broke, and those who threatened so high bit the dust in defeat?’ Horace heartily embraced Octavius’ cause, and put his muse at his patron’s service, but he was not expected to revile the party he had left, cp. i. 12. 35. Orelli suggests that there is a reminiscence of Brutus’ last words, Ο θάνατον ἀρετή, λόγος ἀρ’ ἥθε’, ἐγὼ δέ σε Ἡρων ἰδίκου, Dio C. 47. 49.

12. turpe, defeat is felt as disgrace, Od. 3. 2. 17 ‘repulsae sordidae.’ From another point of view the poet may say ‘dulce et decorum est,’ but here he is only speaking of the contrast between the hopes and the event.

tetigere mento, probably the Homeric πνημίες ἐν κοίνηθαν ὑδάς λαξάνωται γαῖαν, II. 2. 418, etc. Orelli, however, takes it of suppliants throwing themselves at the conqueror’s feet.

13. sed me, opp. ‘tecum,’ v. 9. The ‘sed’ contrasts the separation of Horace’s lot from that of Pompeius in this stanza with their union in the last.

Mercurius, the poet is a ‘Mercurialis vir,’ 2. 17. 29. Mercury carries him safely through the foe as he led Priam through the camp of Troy’s enemies, 1. 10. 13 foll. Horace is thinking of the escape of Paris, II. 3. 380, of Aeneas, 5. 344.

15. resorbens unda, the wave has thrown Horace high and dry, its down-draught carries back Pompeius into the deep water. See a similar image in Epp. 2. 2. 47 ‘Civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma.’

16. fretis aestuosis seems to be one of Horace’s ablatives absolute, see on 2. 1. 12, ‘in that boiling surf.’
Ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem
Longaque fessum militia latus
Depone sub lauru mea nec
Parce cadis tibi destinatis.
Oblivioso levia Massico
Ciboria exple; funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis. Quis udo
Deproperare apio coronas
Curatve myro? quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi? Non ego sanius
Bacchabor Edonis: recepto
Dulce mihi furere est amico.

17. ergo, 'now, then.' It draws the conclusion of the whole review, but specially refers to the reason for thankfulness just suggested in the 'freta aestuosa' in which he had been a second time immersed.

obligatam, properly 'obligari' is said of the person, as in the next Ode, v. 5.

18. latus, see on 3. 27. 26.

lauru mea. Probably with a certain play, 'my bay tree,' the bay being the appurtenance of poets (Od. 3. 30. 16; cp. 3. 4. 18) as well as warriors (Od. 2. 2. 22). 'You haven't found the bay on the battle-field, come and look for it in the poet's peaceful garden.'

21. Horace fancies the banquet preparing, and issues orders to the servants, 'exple,' 'funde,' 'quis curat'? as in 2. 11. 18 foll., 3. 19. 22.

levia, Epp. 1. 5. 23 'cantharus et lanx Ostendant tibi te.' The eye as well as the palate is remembered in Horace's feast, the graceful shape of the cups, their shining surface, the glistening parsley.

22. ciboria, a large cup made to imitate the pod of the Egyptian bean (colocasia).

exple .. capacibus, 'let there be plenty,' Epod. 9. 33 'Capacioreas affer huc, puer, scyphos.'

24. deproperare, 'to make with speed,' transitively, as 'properare,' Od. 3. 24. 62, Epp. 1. 3. 28, Virg. G. 4. 171.

25. curatve. For the position of 've' see on Od. 1. 30. 6.

Venus arbitrum dieot bibendi, see on 1. 4. 18 'regna vini sortiere talis.' 'Venus' was the highest throw of the four 'tali,' μηδενος αατραγαλου πεσουσες τω σχήματι (Lucian), as 'canis' (Prop. 4. 8. 45 'damnosi canes') was the worst, when all showed the same face. The 'tali,' originally knuckle-bones, marked only on four sides, are different from the six-sided dice ('tesserae,' κύβος), of which three were used, the highest throw being three sixes, τρίς ἵκος, Aesch. Agam. 33.

27. Edonis. He is thinking rather of the Thracian orgies ('bacchabor') than of their reputation for excessive drinking, (1. 27. 1), though the two things were really one.

28. furere, Od. 3. 19. 18 'Insanire iuvat'; 4. 12. 28 'dulce est desipere in loco.' They are probably from the Pseudo-Anacreon 3 θέλω θέλω μαρήναι.
ODE VIII.

'No, Barine, if you ever suffered in the least degree for forsaking yourself, I would believe your oaths now; but you thrive on it, and only become more beautiful and more popular. The gods who ought to punish you only laugh. Fresh lovers crowd to you, and the old ones, in spite of your faithlessness, will not forsake you.'

ULLA si iuris tibi peierati
Poena, Barine, nocuisset unquam,
Dente si nigro fieres vel uno
Turpior ungui,
Credere. Sed tu, simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput, enitescis
Pulchrior multo iuvenumque prodis
Publica cura.
Expedit matris cineres opertos
Fallere et toto taciturna noctis
Signa cum caelo gelidaque divos
Morte carentes.

1-5. Dillr. points out the art which is expended in the collocation of this stanza. The point is the contrast between the *little* he demands, brought out by the emphatic position of 'ulla,' 'unquam,' 'dente,' 'uno,' 'ungui,' and the *large* offer which he makes, brought out by the single unqualified 'credere,' the equivalent, in a single word, for the whole stanzaful of offered conditions. For a similarly balanced sentence, see 3. 3. 30-33.

1. iuris peierati, an expression apparently coined by Horace for a 'false or broken oath' to follow the analogy of 'ius-iurandum.' The Pseudo-Acron vouches for the phrase 'ius iuratum,' but it does not seem to be found anywhere.

3. uno, with 'dente' as well as with 'ungui,' see on 1. 2. 1.

4. turpior, in point of grammar, goes with both ablatives, in point of sense it has more duty to discharge to that to which it is attached, as 'dente' has its special kind of deformity named.

6. caput. From the habit of swearing by the head, Virg. Aen. 9. 300, etc. The 'vota' are imprecations on herself if her promises should not be kept.

7. iuvenum publica cura, 'to break the hearts of all our youth.'

prodis, 'go abroad' (Od, 3. 14. 6), to seek and win admiration.

9. expedit, sc. 'tibi,' not a generalisation. 'It is positive gain to you.'

10. fallere, 'to swear falsely by,' as Virg. Aen. 6. 324 'Di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.' For such oaths the commentators compare Prop. 2. 20. 15 'Ossa tibi iuro per matris et ossa parentis; Si fallo, cinis heu sit mihi uterque gravis'; Virg. Aen. 6. 458 'per sidera iuro, Per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub ima est.'

taciturna, the epithet seems meant to suggest the awfulness of night, Epod. 5. 52.

11. gelida morte carentes, sc. 'per deos immortales.' As they cannot die, it is dangerous to swear falsely by them.
Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
Simplices Nymphae, serus et Cupido
Semper ardentes acuens sagittas
Cote cruenta.
Adde, quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
Servitus crescit nova, nec priores
Impiae tectum dominae relinquunt
Saepe minati.
Te suis matres metuunt iuvencis,
Te senes parci miseraeque nuper
Virgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
Aura maritos.

13-16. The very goddess of love, from whom the injured lover might look for redress; the Nymphs, for all their own guilelessness; Cupid, usually so terribly in earnest in making lovers feel—all only laugh at Barine’s faithlessness.
15. ardentes, πυρφόροις.
16. cruenta, either ‘that makes them draw blood,’ or ‘reddened with the blood of former victims.’
17, 18. servitus crescit nova explains the tibi crescit of the first clause. ‘All that grow to manhood, grow to manhood to become thy slaves.’ This is separated into two clauses. ‘Servitus’ = ‘servi.’
21-24. iuvencis .. aura. Cp. Intro. to Od. 2. 5, and Virg. G. 3. 250. It is the same offensive metaphor.
ODE IX.

'The most continuous rains, the longest winters, end at last. Let not your grief for Mystes alone be unending, Valgius. Not even Nestor grieved insconsolably for the son of his old age, nor his parents and sisters for the blooming Troilus. 'Tis time to cease from wailings more womanly than theirs, and to sing of Caesar's triumphs.'

The Ode is addressed to C. Valgius Rufus, a poet whose elegies are referred to and quoted by Servius on Virg. E. 7. 22, and Aen. 11. 457. The scattered and doubtful hints which can be gleaned about him will be found in the Dict. Biog. He stands in Sat. I. 10. 82 with Varius, Maecenas, Virgil, and the other select few for whose literary approbation Horace cares. The Scholiasts speak of him as a 'Consularis,' and the name occurs in the Consular Fasti, B.C. 12.

The date of the Ode has been a subject of controversy. Vv. 19, 20 can hardly be unconnected with Virgil's lines, G. 3. 30 foll.:

'Addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten,
Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis,
Et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste trópaeae,
Bisque triumphatás utroque ab litore gentes.'

In both cases one set of interpreters see a reference to the year B.C. 20, when Augustus was himself in Asia, and Tiberius, under his orders, advanced into Armenia, and replaced Tigranes on the throne of that country, and alarmed Phraates into restoring the prisoners and standards taken at Charrae. It is impossible, however, in these poetical references to Augustus' exploits to disentangle anticipation from history or the hyperbolical dress of historical fact. Horace's language will be sufficiently accounted for by Virgil's, so that, if with Heyne we think it unnecessary to imagine that Virgil inserted the lines in question ten years after the composition of the Georgics and in the year before his death, we shall think it equally unnecessary to set aside, for the sake of this Ode, Franke's judgment, that the three Books were complete in B.C. 23. See Introd. to Books i-iii, § 2.

NON semper imbres nubibus hispidos
Manant in agros aut mare Caspium
Vexant inaequales procellae
Usque, nec Armenis in oris,
Amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
Menses per omnes aut Aquilonibus

1. hispidos, predicative: of the roughened and tangled look of the country after rains, opp. to Virgil's 'nitentia culta.'
2. 'roughening'; cp. 'inaequalis tonsor,' Epp. I. I. 94.
3. inaequales, 'gusty,' or, perhaps, 'stands stiff and deep,' iners, I. 22. 17 'pigris campis.'
Querceta Gargani laborant
Et foliis viduantur orni:
Tu semper urges flebilis modus
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi Vespero
Surgente decedunt amores
Nec rapidum fugiente Sōlem.
At non ter aevō functus amabilem
Ploravit omnes Antilochum senex
Annos, nec impubem parentes
Troïlon aut Phrygiae sorores
Flevere semper. Desine mollium
Tandem querelarum, et potius nova
Cantemus Augusti tropaea
Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten,

8. tu semper. The absence of any adversative particle to mark the antithesis is supplied by the emphatic use of the pronoun and the repetition of ‘semper’ from v. 1, see on 4. 4. 17. Notice also the emphatic position of ‘semper,’ v. 1, ‘usque,’ v. 4, ‘semper,’ v. 17.
9. urges, Prop. 4. 11. 1. ‘Desine, Paule, meum lacrymis urgere sepulchrum.’ ‘Urgere’ adds to some simple metaphor, such as ‘prosequi,’ the idea of perseverance.
10. surgente, used inaccurately of the stars coming into sight at night, as in Virg. Aen. 4. 352 ‘quoties astra ignea surgunt.’
11. rapidum, ‘striding,’ helps the metaphor of ‘fugiente.’ Horace probably had in mind Virgil’s ‘Te veniente die te decedente canebat,’ G. 4. 405.
12. ter aevō functus, ‘who lived life three times over,’ seems (like Cicero’s ‘tertiam [Nestor] iam acetatem hominum vivebat,’ de Sen. 10) to be an exaggeration of the Homeric ἡδή δυὸ μὲν γεναι μερόπων ἀνθρώπων ἐφιάτο .. μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοις ἀνάσας, which means only that the other princes were the grandsons of Nestor’s contemporaries. The old age of Nestor, which needed the support of a son, would have excused his grief, as would the ‘loveable’ character of his son. The story of Antilochus’ death, as he was defending his father, is told in Pind. Pyth. 6. 28 foll.
13. impubem. His youth is meant to add to the pathos. ‘Infelix puér atque impar congressus Achilli,’ Virg. Aen. 1. 479.
14. Troïlon. His death does not occur within the period of the Iliad: it is just mentioned by Priam, ll. 24. 257. Virgil (Aen. 1. 474 foll.) makes it the subject of one of the paintings which Aeneas saw in Dido’s hall.
15. Phrygiae sorores. This climax points to the exhortation which follows: If barbarian women dried their tears, perpetual lamentations may well be called ‘molles’ in one who may sing of the arms of Rome.
16. desine querelarum, after the model of the Greek genitive with παρέσωμα, λήγειν, so Virg. Aen. 10. 441 ‘desistere pugnae.’ Horace similarly copies the genitive with ἄπεξεοθαυ, Od. 2. 27. 69 ‘abstineo irarum,’ and with φθεοεῖν, Sat. 2. 6. 84 ‘Sepositi ciceris nec longae invidet avaece.’
17. rigidum Niphaten, ‘stiff frozen Niphates.’ The later Roman poets took it for a river: Lucan 3. 245 ‘volventem saxa Niphaten’; cp. Juv. 6. 409, Sil. 13. 765; and this is perhaps the most natural interpretation of Virgil’s metaphor, ‘pulsam Niphaten’ (cp. Aen. 11. 405 ‘retro fugit Aufidus’). The geographers, however, recognize only a mountain of the name in Armenia.
Medumque flumen gentibus additum
Victis minores volvere vertices,
Intraque praescriptum Gelonos
Exiguis equitare campis.

21. Medum flumen, the Euphrates. The expressions are very parallel to Virg. Aen. 8. 726 'Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,' where also the Geloni and the Armenian Araxes appear.

23. intra praescriptum, 'within the bounds that we have set them.'

Gelonos, see Introd. to Books i-iii, I. § 7.

24. exiguis is predicative, 'and find them all too narrow.'

O D E X.

'The wise sailor is neither tempted too far out to sea nor frightened on to rocks and shallows. One who has learnt to love the golden mean neither has a hovel with a roof falling in nor a palace that would attract the evil eye. The higher the seat the greater the fall. The wise man is prepared for fortune to change like everything else. Be brave and hopeful if things are against you, and so, too, do not spread all your sails because the wind chances to be favourable.'

Horace recommends moderation of life and manners. Professedly it is a mean that he praises; but it is clear throughout that it is excess that he deprecates; the danger of defect is not really before his mind. This is shown in the first part of the Ode by omission—the hypothesis would require a stanza corresponding to st. 3 to illustrate the danger of being too low, as that illustrates the danger of being too high,—in the second part by the stress laid on the alternative least contemplated, under cover of which the poet at last ventures to put plainly the lesson on which his heart is really set.

The person to whom the Ode is addressed is the same as the 'augur Murena' of Od. 3. 19. 11 (see also Sat. 1. 5. 38). He is variously called 'Lucius Murena' (Vell. Pat. 2. 91), 'Licinius Murena' (Dio Cass. 54. 3), 'Varro Murena' (Suet. Tib. 8), and he is said by Dio (I. c.) to have been the brother of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas. There is one of Cicero's friends who is called A. Varro (ad Fam. 16. 12, see note in Watson's Select Letters, p. 305) and Varro Murena (ad Fam. 13. 22). The friend of Horace has been sometimes identified with the friend of Cicero, sometimes taken to be his son. The double set of names must imply that their bearer, or, if there were two, the elder bearer of them, had passed by adoption from one 'gens' to the other.

The 'Murena' of Horace had been employed by Augustus in B.C. 25, in the subjugation of the Salassi, the inhabitants of the Val d'Aosta, and had been named as Consul Suffectus in 23. In 22 he was accused, εἰτ' οὖν ἄληθεν εἴτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς

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RECTIUS vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescitis, nimium premendo
Litus iniquum.

Auream quisquis mediocratatem 5
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invindenda
[Sobrius]aula.

Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus et celsae graviores casu
Decidunt turres serenique summos
Fulgura montes.

[Sperat infestis] metuit secundis
Alteram sortem bene praeparatum
Pectus. Informes hiemis reducit
Iuppiter, idem

1. neque...neque, not one any more than the other.
2. altum urgendo, steering on and on into the open sea.
3. nimium, with 'premendo,' 'hugging too close the dangerous shore.'
4. auream mediocratatem, the μέτριος, μέσος, so much praised in Greek γρήγορα, e.g. παντι μέσον τὸ κράτος θείας ὀπτασιν, Aesch. Eum. 529; παλλά μέσον μησοτα μέσος θείω ἐν πόλει εἰναι, Phocyl. ap. Arist. Pol. 4. 11. It is here both the mean estate and the moderation of mind which is content with it.
5. -8. In point of grammar, doubtless, 'tutus' belongs to the first clause, 'sobrius' to the second; 'he avoids the meanness of a ruinous hovel and is safe, is sober and avoids the palace that raises envy'; but in sense, 'sober and therefore safe' is the idea of the sentence, and neither adjective is confined to its own clause. The safety of moderation is dwelt on further in the next stanza, its prudence in the one following, which suggests the mutability of fortune.
6. invidenda, as Od. 3. 1. 45 'invidendis postibus,' in the same connection.
7. infestis, secundis, all in emphatic positions, 'for their height.' Cp. Herod. 7. 10 οράς τὰ ὑπέρχοντα ἡών ὡς κεραυνοῖ δ’ θεία οἶδ' ἐν φανταξομα, τὰ δὲ σμαρὰ οἴδ' ὡς κνίζειν ὡρὰς δὲ ἔστο ἐν οἰκήματα τὰ μέγεστα αἰεὶ καὶ βενθαρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα.
8. alteram sortem, 'a change of fortune.'
Summovet. Non, si male nunc, et olim
Sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
Suscitam neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.

- Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare; sapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimium secundo
(Turgida)vela.

17. male, sc. 'est,' Od. 3. 16. 43, Epp. 1. 1. 89, 'bene est.'
18. quondam, 'sometimes,' 'Quondam etiam victis redit in prae cordia
virtus,' Virg. Aen. 2. 367.
19. arcum, the bow with which he
inflicts death, plague, etc., as in Hom. II.
1. 49. 382, etc. Cp. Carm. Saec. 33
'Condito mitis placidusque telo.'

20. angustis, 'in straits of fortune.' This metaphor seems to suggest
the return to the metaphor of the
first stanza, good fortune being the
odpos before which we run fast and
free.
21. appare, 'show yourself.'
22. nimium, with 'secundo,' 'dan-
gerously favourable,' δυσόμιστου.

ODE XI.

'Do not trouble yourself with foreign politics, Quintius, nor with schemes of
business. Life wants very little, and it is flying fast: spring flowers die and moons
wane. Do not weary yourself over plans as if things remained for ever. Better
crown with roses our hairs already whitening with age, and drink and play while
we may.'

Nothing is known of Quintius Hirpinus; possibly he is the same as the Quintius
to whom Epp. 1. 16 is addressed.
The nature of the name 'Hirpinus' is not certain. It is very probably a local
name (as 'Marrucine Asini,' Catull. 12. 1), the Hirpini being a Samnite tribe, of
which Beneventum was the capital.

QUID bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
Hirpine Quinti, cogitet Hadria

1. bellicosus, Od. 2. 6. 2. 3. 8. 21, 4. 14. 41: cp. Virg. G. 3. 408 'impa-
catos Ilberos.' Notice that 'bellicosus'
really applies to 'Scythes' also, and
'divisus Hadria' suggests a parallel
divisus Tyrrenho mari' for the 'Can-
taber.' See on Od. 2. 10. 6. 8. 2. 15.
18. 20.
2. Hadria divisus, a reason for not
troubling ourselves about him, 'the
broad barrier of Hadria is between
us.'
Divisus obiecor, remittas
Quaeere nec trepides in usum
Poscentis aevi paucâ. Fugit retro
Levis iuventas et decor, arida
Pellente lascivos amorâs
Canitie facilemque somnum.
Non semper idem floribus est honor
Vernis neque uno Luna rubens nitet
Volto: quid acternis minorem
Consiliis animum fatigas?
Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
Pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
Canos odorati capillos,
Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
Potamus uncti? Dissipat Euius
Curas edaces. Quis puer ocius
Restinguet ardentis Falerni
Pocula praeterente unda lympha?

3. remittas, with infinitive, 'forbear,' as 'mittere,' Od. 1. 38. 3; 'omittere,' 3. 29. 11.
4. trepides in usum, as Orelli interprets it, 'anxie providas usui,' 'worry thyself about provision for life, which needs but little.' 'Trepidare' is used in the same sense in 3. 29. 31 'Ridetque si mortalis ultra Fas trepidat.' Orelli quotes Plat. Phaed. 68, C τὸ περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐπιγνώσαι. There is no need with Dill to join 'trepides aevi.' He compares Virg. Aen. 12. 589 'trepidae rerum.'
5. fugit retro, said of those who have passed the flower of youth, to whom its years are 'recedentes,' no longer 'venientes,' A. P. 175.
6. levis, opposed to 'rugosa,' 'arida' (v. 6), 'hispida' (4. 10. 5), which are epithets of 'senectus.' So 'levis Agyieu,' 4. 6. 28, of the ever-young Apollo.
9-12. 'Immortalia ne spes monot annus,' 4. 7. 7. 'Aeterna consilia' are plans for a life that is not to end. Compare the advice of 1. 11. 6 'spatio brevi Spem longam rescues.'
10. rubens nitet. This phrase for the brightness of the moon, which is not common (though Propertius uses it 1. 10. 8 'Et mediis caelo Luna ruberet equis'), is helped by the metaphor of 'vultu.' 'It is not with one and the same blushing face that the moon shines on us.'
11. minorem, ἱππον = 'imparem,' 'overtasked by them.'
12. consiliis. The ablative is constructed ἄν οὖνω with 'minorem' and 'fatigas.' See on 1. 3. 6.
13. cur non... vel hac, 'this very pine, without looking for another.'
14. sic = ólros, 'as we are.'
15. temere, elēq, with no preparation.' All express the easiness of the alternative which Horace proposes for Quintius' anxious scheming.
14. rosa odorati capillos = 'rosis bene olentibus coronati.' The singular (see on 1. 5. 1) seems to be usual.
16. dum lioet, 'while we may,' we shall soon be unable; 2. 3. 15 foll.
Assyria. There is no need to alter the gender. 'Nardus,' feminine, is the plant from which the oil was obtained, and is used for its produce as 'balanus,' 3. 29. 4; 'uva,' 1. 20. 10. 'Assyria,' probably = 'Syria'; see 3. 4. 32.
18. quis puer. For the form of issuing orders cp. 2. 7. 23.
19. restinguet, 'put out the fire of the wine.'
Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden? Eburna, dic age, cum lyra
Mature in ccumptum Lacaenae
More com. s religata nodum.

21. devium, probably with Ritter, predicative after 'eliciet,' 'enticre to our retreat.'
23. in ccumptum. Some good MSS. have 'inccumptum.' The editors who have retained this reading seem generally to have constructed 'noodum' after 'maturet,' 'make quickly her simple knot.' Cp. 3. 14. 21 'Dic et argutae properet Neaerae Mumrheum nodo cohi-

O D E X I I .

'No, Maecenas, my lyric style will not do for the great feats of Roman arms, any more than it would for the heroic myths. You will celebrate Caesar's glories far better in your prose history. I will content myself with singing the charms of your Licymnia and your love for her.'

With the Ode generally compare 1. 6.
The Scholiasts (on Sat. 1. 2. 64) give the tradition that Licymnia (or, as they write it, 'Licinnia,' probably a corruption to suit her relationship to the Licinia gens; see Introd. to Od. 2. 10) is a name invented by Horace to veil and yet to represent to the initiated that of Terentia, Maecenas' wife. For the practice both in Horace and in other poets, see App. 1.

Bentley pointed out that the mention of the public dance in Diana's honour, implies that the person imagined is not merely a 'libertina.'
The third stanza seems clearly (though Orelli doubts it, taking 'tu' generally 'you' or 'any one') to imply a hope or a wish that Maecenas may write some memoirs of the reign of Augustus. Servius (on Virg. G. 2. 42) vouches for his having done so; but the only older authority that can be quoted is a doubtful expression of Pliny, N. H. 7. 46.

NOLIS longa ferae bella Numantiae
Nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare.

1. nolis, either imperative, 'desire me not'; or, perhaps better, with Orelli, potential, 'you would not desire the old wars of Rome to be set to the lyre, any more than the fights of the Centaurs or the Titans.' The conclusion in either case is, 'no more ask me to set Augustus' exploits.'

longa ferae. The two adjectives answer to one another after Horace's
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
Aptari cithararum modis,
Nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero
Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris iuvenes, unde periculum
Fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni veteris; tuque pedestribus
Dices historiis proelia Caesaris,
Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias
Regum colla minacium.

manner; see on 1. 3. 10. Numantia was taken, after its long resistance, by Scipio Africanus Minor, in B.C. 133. Numantia, Hannibal, and the sea-fights of the First Punic War, stand for Roman wars generally.

2. durum, so the great majority of MSS. Bentley compares Virg. G. 3. 4 'Eurysthea durum,' and points out that there is a Horatian antithesis between it and the 'molles citharæ modi.' Orelli follows earlier editors in altering it on very slight MS. authority to 'dirum,' the epithet of Hannibal in Od. 3. 6. 32, 4. 4. 42, quoting Quintil. 8. 2. 9 'proprie dictum id est quo nihil inveniri possit significantius ut Horatius "acrem tibiam,'” 'Hanniballemque dirum.'

Siculum mare. This name, which is generally given to the sea to the east of Sicily, is used by Horace of the sea between its north coast and Italy; see 3. 4. 28 'Sicula Palimurus unda,' The chief victories referred to will be those of C. Duilius in B.C. 260 off Mylea, on the north coast near Messina, and of L. Lutatius Catulus in 242 off the Aegates Insulae, at the western extremity of the island.

5. nimium mero, 'overcharged with wine.' Cp. 'fiducia nimius,' Sall. Fr.; 'rebus secundis nimiri,' Tac. Hist. 4. 23. Cp. Od. i. 18. 8 'Centaura . . cum Lapithis rixa super mero Debellata.' Virgil names Hylaeus the Centaur 'Lapithis cratere minantem,' G. 2. 4. 56.

7. unde periculum, 'the danger of whose onset.' For 'unde' used of persons, see on 1. 12. 17.

8. fulgens domus = 'lucidae sedes,' 3. 3. 33; 'aetheria domus,' 1. 3. 29; the δαμάτα μαρμαρωτα of Homer.

contremuit, with accusative, as Virg. Aen. 3. 648 'sonitumque pedum vocem-que tremisco.' For the implied comparison of Augustus and his enemies to Jupiter and the giants see Od. 3. 4. So the 'fulgens contremuit' has point as expressing the greatness, magnificence, of the interests threatened.

9. tuque pedestribus. This gives a second reason why Horace should not attempt the theme. It would not suit his 'iocosa lyra,' and Maecenas will treat it better in prose. For 'que' in such a case see on 1. 27. 16. Notice the emphatic position of the words which imply the double opposition between Horace and Maecenas, lyric poetry and prose. Orelli remarks that Horace is the first of extant Latin writers to translate the Greek πείζον (Arist. Fr. 713, Plat. Soph. p. 237 Α πείζο τε καϊ κατα μετρον).

11. per vias, 'through the streets of Rome,' i.e. in a triumph.

12. colla, cp. Prop. 2. 1. 33 (the whole poem presents parallels to this Ode) 'Aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis, Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra via.' So Epod. 7. 7 'Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet Sacra cate
natus via,' minacium, so V; and most of the good MSS. have either this or, what is only a miswriting of it, 'minatium.' From this probably arose the corruption found in a few, 'minantium.' Bentley suggests as a parallel for that reading, Ov. Trist. 4. 2. 21 foll. 'Vinclaque captiva reges servavit gerentes Ante coronatos ire videbit equos: Et cernet vultus aliis pro tempore versos, Terribiles aliis immemoresque sui'; but he prefers the vulgar himself, and quotes Od. 2. 7. 11, where 'minaces' is used in just the same contrast; 'that just now threatened so high.'
Me dulcis dominae Musa Licymniae
Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
Fulgentes oculos et bene mutuis
Fidum pectus amoribus;
Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris
Nec certare ioco nec dare brachia
Ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro
Dianae celebris die.
Num tu, quae tenuit dives Achaemenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
Permutare velis crine Licymniae,
Plenas aut Arabum domos?—:
Dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
Cervicem aut facili saevitia negat,
Quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupet.

13. dulcis, the accusative. He praises Licymnia's sweet singing, bright eyes, and true heart.

dominae, 'your mistress.' 'Adolescentum more qui amatas 'dominas' vocant,' Acr. Horace would hardly (as Ritter supposes) call Terentia (if it be she) 'my mistress' because he calls Maecenas (not 'dominus,' but) 'rexque paterque,' Epp. 1. 7. 32. For 'domina,' used of a wife, Orelli quotes Ov. Trist. 3. 3. 28.

Licymniae. The name occurs in Virg. Aen. 9. 564 'serva Licymnia.'

14. Lucidum fulgentes, 1. 22. 23 'dulce ridentem.'

15. bene. Either 'wisely,' with 'fidum,' 'mutuis' giving the reason why her loyalty is wise; or only = 'valde,' as 'mentis bene sanae,' Sat. 1. 9. 44. a use which is found in Cicero, and to which Orelli traces the French 'bien.' In this case it may qualify 'fidum' or 'mutuis,' expressing the completeness either of her loyalty or of the reciprocity of their love. The former more likely, as from its position we want it rather to balance than to strengthen 'mutuis'; and also because the main topic is praise of Licymnia, not of Maecenas.


19. nitidis, in holiday dress.

sacro Dianae celebris die, 'the sacred day that fills Diana's temple.'

21. Achaemenes, the mythical founder of the Achaemenid family, and so standing for a Persian king; 3. 9. 4

'Persarum vigui rege beatior.' Horace uses the adjective 'Achaemenius' for 'Persian,' Od. 3. 1. 44, Epod. 13. 8.


26. facili, that yields easily.

27. poscente magis, 'more than you who ask for them.'

gaudet, occupet, are subjunctive because they give the reason for the epithet 'facili saevitia.' Bentley would read 'occupat' with a minority of the MSS, returning to the construction of 'detorquet, negat.'

28. rapere occupet, 'be the first to snatch.' For the infinitive see App. 2, § 1.
ODE XIII.

The thoughts suggested by the fall of a tree on his Sabine farm from which Horace narrowly escaped. For other allusions to the incident see Od. 2. 17. 27, 3. 4. 27, 3. 8. 8; and on the date of all the Odes which refer to it see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 8.

The poem begins with a burst of indignation, at least half humorous (comp. Epod. 3), at the unlucky tree and the wretch that planted it. Then, from the mention (v. 12) of the accident that had so nearly overwhelmed him, rises the thought, 'How little we guess the quarter from which danger really threatens us. We fix our eyes on some one risk and fear that only, but death comes to all the world from the quarter they do not expect.' Next, suggested by the *leti Vis rapuit rapietque,* comes the remembrance how very *near* to death he has been, 'how near seeing Proserpine and Aeacus on his seat of judgment and the separate abode of happy souls, among them' (here comes the last change) 'those whom the lyric poet would first look for, Sappho and Alcaeus. An admiring throng of shades is round both, but the larger and the more attentive round Alcaeus. What wonder if they listen, when even Cerberus is spell-bound, and Prometheus and Tantalus forget their pains, and Orion stays from his hunting to hear.'

**I.** illa et nefasto te positum die,
Quicunque primum, et sacrilega manu
Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
Perniciem opprobriumque pagi;

1. *illa et . . primum.* The object of Horace's indignation is the man that planted the tree, so that 'illa' stands fitly in the place of emphasis in both stanzas. 'Quicunque primum' has increased force for its parenthetical position; — 'I don't know who he was or how long ago it was (the tree had fallen from its age), but I can tell for certain the character both of the man and of the day of his deed.' The alteration to 'illum' ('illum et,' Heins.; 'illum o,' Bentley; 'illum,' Buttm.), which makes the whole sentence down to 'pagi' relative with 'quicunque' for its subject, 'illum' only anticipating the next stanza, really weakens instead of strengthening. There is no MS. authority for any change.

*nefasto,* 'of ill omen.' 'Nefasti dies' were properly the opposite of 'fasti,' 'days on which the Praetor did not sit,' unlawful days.' All days on which the courts were closed, were there-fore equally 'nefasti'; but by an error which A. Gallus notices (Not. Att. 4. 9), the epithet was vulgarly restricted to those which were interdicted for business as 'tristi omine infames.' In the poets and post-Aug. prose 'nefastus' came to be used as equivalent to 'nefarius,' as Hor. Od. 1. 35. 35.

2. *sacrilega,* generalised as often: 'impious.'

3. *produxit,* 'reared':—the verb is used of educating children in Juv. 14. 228: — or possibly merely 'gave existence to,' meaning the same really as 'posuit,' and only the vehicle for the second idea, which is to be looked for in sacrilega manu, just as the verb is varied again in v. 10 to 'statuit,' which has to carry 'in meo agro.'

in *perniciem,* 'to be the destruction,' as 'iuvenescit . . mea vota,' 'to pay my vow,' 4. 2. 56; 'in classem cadit omne nemus,' 'to form the fleet,' Luc. 1. 306.
illuminet parentis crediderim sui
Fregisse cervicem et penetralia
Sparisse nocturno cruore
Hospitis; ille venena Colcha
Et quidquid usquam concipitur nefas
Tractavit, agro qui statuit meo
Te triste lignum, te caducum
In domini caput immentris.
Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas: navita Bosporum
Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra
Caeca timet aliunde fata,
Miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum

5. crediderim, cp. Sat. i. 5, 44 'cons-
tulerim.' The subjunctive of the fu-
turum exactum (Madv. § 38o) used in
modest statements of possible things,
'I shall be likely to believe,' 'I could
well believe.'

6. fregisse cervicem, Epod. 3. i
'Parentis olim si quis impia manu Senile
gutur fregerit'; Sall. Cat. 55 'Fran-
gere gulam laqueo.'

8. Colcha, poisons such as Medea
used, Epod. 3. 9, 17, 35. The good
MSS. are divided between 'Colcha' and
'Colchica.' If we read the first it is
the only instance of the collision of a
short open vowel at the end of one
Alcaic stanza and a vowel at the com-
 mencement of the next. If the latter,
it is the only instance of synapheia
between Alcaic stanzas. Horace more
commonly prefers the gentle form to
the possessive, 'Maura unda,' 'Italo
caelo,' etc., see on i. 1. 28.

10. tractavit, for the slight zeugma
in 'tractare venena et nefas,' cp. i. 15.
12 'aegida currumque et rabiem parat.'

11. caducum, 'ea natura ut caderes,'
see on 3. 4. 44.

13. 'What special danger each should
avoid, man is never forewarned from
hour to hour as he had need be.'

15. Poenus. So the MSS. and the
Schol. without exception; but it is diffi-
cult to see the special relation between
'Poenus' and 'Bosporum.' 'Aut Bos-
porum pro quolibet freto dixit aut
Poenum pro quolibet nauta; multum
enim divisus est Poenus a Bosporo,'
Acr. The suggestion, endorsed by
Orelli, that 'Poenus' can be used for
'Phoenician,' i.e. 'Tyrian,' requires
proof. That the two words are etym-
ologically identical is an argument, as
Mr. Munro remarks, which would
equally show that 'Yankees' might
now be used convertibly with 'English,'
of which it was originally an Indian
corruption. Lachmann's correction
'Thynus' or 'Thoeum' is tempting.
Bithynian commerce is often mentioned
in Horace, Carthaginian never; and
the Bithynian sailor's first difficulty
would be the passage of the Bosporus.

ultra caeca. If he can once pass
that stormy strait ('gemens,' Od. 2. 20.
14. 'insaniens,' 3. 4. 30) he does not
fear dangers from any other quarter,
which are not less real because he does
not see them as plainly.

16. timet aliunde, for lengthening
the short syllable see on Od. 1. 3. 36.

17. sagittas et fugam. The Roman
soldier is said to fear just what the
Parthian is said to trust to, Virg. G. 3. 31
'Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque
sagittis,' 'arrows of the swiftly flying
Parthian.' Cp. Od. 1. 19. 11 'Versis
animosum equis.'

18. catenas et Italum robur, 'the
chains of an Italian prison-house.'
'Robur' was a name given to the 'Tul-
lianum' or lower dungeon of the Ma-
mertime prison by the Capitol, where
greater criminals were confined before
Horatii Carminum

Robur; sed improvisa leti
Vis rapuit rapietque gentes.
Quam paene furvae regna Proserpinae
Et iudicantem vidimus Aeacum
Sedesque discriptas piorum et
Aeoliis fidibus querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus,
Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcaee, plectro dura navis,
Dura fugae mala, durα bellis!
Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbrae dicere; sed magis
Pugnas et exactos tyrannos
Densum humeris bibit aure volgus.

Their execution (it is described in Sall. Cat. 55), and where Jugurtha was starved to death (Plut. Marius 12). The conjunction ‘catenas et robur’ makes this meaning inevitable, as in Lucr. 5. 1030 ‘verbera, carmifices, robur, pix’; Tac. Ann. 4. 29 ‘robur et saxum munitari.’ Didr. would take it in the simple sense of ‘the strength of Italy.’

19. improvisa, predicative.

20. rapuit rapietque, Od. 4. 2. 38 ‘nihil maius donavere nec dabunt’; Epp. i. 2. 43 ‘labitur et labetur’; i. 7. 21 ‘tulit et feret.’

21. gentes, used for ‘mankind’ as in i. 3. 28 ‘ignem gentibus intulit’; but specially appropriate here as Horace has been enumerating several nations who differ in their special fears, but all fall under this one sentence.

22. furvae, a word meaning apparently ‘dark,’ appropriated in use to the lower world and what belongs to it, the black victims sacrificed to the ‘Di inferi,’ etc., Fest. s. v., A. Gell. i. 18.

23. Proserpinae. This is the only place, except Sen. Herc. Fur. 548, in which the first syllable is shortened. Horace has it long elsewhere, Od. 1. 28. 20, Sat. 2. 5. 110.


25. discriptas. The MSS. vary between this reading, ‘descriptas’ and ‘discretas.’ The meaning is the same. Virg. Aen. 8. 670 ‘secretosque pios.’

26. Aeolitis, Od. 4. 9. 12 ‘Commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae.’

25 foll. The lyric poet would look first in the shadow-world for Sappho and Alcaeus, as Socrates (Plat. Apol. p. 41) imagines himself looking for Palamedes and Ajax and other victims of unjust judgments.

27. puellis de popularibus, ‘quod sibinon in amore responderent,’ as in Sapph. Fr. 43, etc.

28. sonantem, with accusative: so it is used in the passive, Epod. 17. 40 ‘sonarni voles.’

29. aureo plectro. Φόρμιγγ’ Ἀπόλλων ἐπιτήλωσον χρυσὸν πλήκτρα διώκων, Pind. N. 5. 24. For ‘plectro’ see on 2. 1. 40. The ‘golden plectrum’ is significant of the value of the poems. Cp. Quintil. 10. i. 63 ‘Alceas in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatus qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confort,’ etc. On the subjects of his poems see Od. i. 32.


29. sacro silenio, i.e. of the silence with which divine rites are received. Cp. 3. 1. 2 ‘Favete linguis: carmina... Musarum sacerdos... canto.’

30. magis, placed first as the antithesis to ‘utrumque,’ and to be taken with the whole ‘densum... volgus’: they crowd more thickly, and drink every word more greedily, where Alcaeus is singing.

31. tyrannos. Myrsilus, etc.

32. densum humeris, ‘pressing
Quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
Demittit atras belua centiceps
Aures et intorti capillus
Eumenidum recreantur angues?
Quin et Prometheus et Pelopis pares
Dulci laborem decipitur sono;
Nec curat Orion leones
Aut timidos agitare lyncas.

shoulder to shoulder.' 'Haeret pede
pes densusque viro vir,' Virg. Aen. 10.
361.

bit aure = avide audit,' Acr. The
sounds are poured, not as into a cup
which receives passively, but as into the
drinker's mouth.

33. illis carminibus, ablative with
'stupens,' as Sat. 1. 4. 38, 2. 2. 5.
Sappho's singing is included as well as
Alcaeus'. Compare with these stanzas
Od. 3. 11. 13-24, Virg. G. 4. 481-484.

34. demittit aures, contrast Epod.
6. 7 'aure sublata,' of a hound on the
scent.

centiceps, possibly to be explained
by 3. 11. 16 'Cerberus, quamvis furiale
centum Muniant angues caput eius,'
since the expression 'ore trilungui' (cp.
2. 19. 31) in the same place seems to
imply that there the picture is of three
heads. Sophocles calls Cerberus Ἀίθων
trikaravan σχύλα, Trach. 1098, Hesiod
'Aithew κυνα χαλκεοφανον πεντηκοντάκαρ
ρυγον,' Theog. 312; Pindar, acc. to
Interpr. Ven. on Hom. II. 8. 368 ἐκατοντάκαρ
ρυγον. These epithets may imply in the
Greek poets real variety of imagination;
but in a Roman poet they are echoes,
and there is nothing therefore to pre-
vent Horace giving Cerberus his Sof-
phoclean form in one Ode and his Pindaric
complement of heads in another, as
Virgil speaks at one time with the
Greek tragedians of 'agmina Eumenidum,'
at another with the Alexandrines of
Megaera, Allccto, and Tisiphone. For
a still more pertinent instance see

Conington on Virg. Aen. 6. 287 as
compared with 10. 565, and 6. 605
compared with 12. 845.

35. Aesch. Cho. 1048 πεπλεκτανη-
482 'implexae crinibus angues Eumeni-
des.'

36. recreantur, 'take rest.'

37. Prometheus. This form of the
legend, which makes Prometheus still
undergo punishment in Tartarus (cp.
Od. 2. 18. 35, Epod. 17. 67), is known
to no other extant author.

Pelopis pares. Tantalus, joined
with Prometheus in the two passages
referred to. For the legend of him see
Hom. Od. 11. 582.

38. laborem, so Keller edits, fol-
owing the Paris and Berne MSS, for
the Vulg. 'laborum.' In either case it
is an attempt to put the usual 'deciper
laborem' (Sat. 2. 2. 12 'studio fallente
laborem') into the passive, either re-
taining its accusative, as in such phrases
as 'suspensi tabulam loculosque lacerto,'
or taking instead of it the Greek geni-
tive of relation.

39. Orion. Τὸν δὲ μετ' Ἀρίωνα πελα-
ρον ελευθήσα Θήρας δύοι εἰκεῖντα κατ'
ἀσφόδελον λειμών, Hom. Od. II. 571.
Orion, like Sappho and Alcaeus, is
gained in the same pursuits as in life.
Virg. Aen. 6. 654, 'fuit vivis quae cura
... eadem sequitur tellure repost.'

40. Priscian, p. 689, quotes this line,
marking Horace's use of 'lyncas' as
masc.; Virg. G. 3. 264 makes it fem.
'lyncas Bacchi variae.'
ODE XIV.

'The years are flying; Postumus; no prayers will stay them; not three hecatombs a day will turn the heart of Pluto the tearless, the almighty, who hold Geryon fast, despite his three bodies, and Tityos, behind the Styx, aye, the Styx, which we must all cross alike, rich and poor. You may avoid all common risks, yet you must die. The treasures that you have hoarded your wiser heir will squander.'

The burden is the same as that of Od. 2. 3 and 11, and of 4. 7 'Life is short, let us enjoy it while we may;' but there is more of sadness in this Ode than in the others. The usual moral is hinted in the passing epithet 'dignior' bestowed on the heir who is to waste our store of choice wine; but the feeling of the stanza is not so much for his wisdom as for the additional bitterness which it adds to our labours to know that they may be all undone as soon as we are dead. 'We must leave it unto a man that shall be after us, and who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool?' Eccles. 2. 19. There is no clue to the person addressed. It has been suggested that he may be the Postumus to whom Propertius writes his Elegy (3. 12).

EHEU fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectae
Afferet indomitaeque morti:
Non, si trecentis, quotquot eunt dies,
Amice, places illacrimabilem
Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi

1. fugaces labuntur. We must not try to harmonize the metaphor, although both 'fugax' (Od. 2. 3. 12) and 'labi' (Epp. 1. 2. 43) are used of running water: —'the fleeting years slide by.' Words are accumulated which convey the idea of rapid and continuous motion, but the mind does not dwell on the form long enough to gain a distinct picture of the metaphor by which in each case the idea is conveyed to it.

2. pietas. Od. 4. 7. 24. Cp. Ov. Am. 3. 9. 37 'Vive pius, moriere pius; cole sacra, colentem Mors gravis a templis in cava busta trahet.' 'Pietas' is exemplified in the next stanza.

3. instanti, indomitae, the epithets which signify the nearness and the certainty of the end of our pleasures are divided between age and death.

5 non si, 'no, not if,' the negative referring back to the preceding sentence, as Virg. G. 2. 43 'Non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto; Non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum.'

trecentis, 'three hecatombs for every day that passes.' Ritter, offended at the hyperbole, would interpret 'trecentis' as a round number standing for the number of days in a year, 'three hundred bulls, one for each day that passes.' Many of the best MSS. read, against the metre, 'tricentis.'

6. places, 'try to appease,' illacrimabilem, 'that cannot be moved to tears.' It is used passively 4. 9. 26, see on 1. 3. 22.

7. ter amplum, τρισάμματος, Aesch. Ag. 870; 'tripectora tegernimi vis Geryonal,' Lucr. 5. 28; 'forma tricorporis umbrae,' Virg. Aen. 6. 289.

8. Tityon, 3. 4. 77, 3. 11. 21, 4. 6. 2.
Compescit unda, scilicet omnibus, 
Quicunque terrae munere vescimur, 
Enaviganda, sive reges 
Sive inopes erimus coloni. 
Frusta cruento Marte carebimus 
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae, 
Frusta per autumnos nocentem 
Corporibis metuemus Austrum: 
Visendus ater flumine languido 
Cocytos errans et Danai genus 
Infame damnatusque longi 
Sisyphus Aeolides laboris. 
Linquenda tellus et domus et placens 
Uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum 
Te practer invisas cupressos 
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur. 
Absumet heres Caecuba dignior 
Servata centum clavibus et mero

For his offence and his punishment see Hom. Od. 11. 576, Virg. Aen. 6. 595 foll. The purpose of these instances is to signalize Pluto’s power, as vv. 5, 6 signalize his inexorable sternness. 

tristi compesce unda, 2. 20. 8. 
'Stygia cohiebor unda,' Virg. Aen. 6. 438 'Fas obstat tristitque palus inamabilis unda Alligat et novies Styx interfusa coerert.' 

11. enaviganda. The preposition implies that the voyage must be complete and final. Cp. 2. 3. 27 'nos in aeternum Exilium impositura cumbae.' 
sive reges, cp. ibid. 21 'Divesene prisco natus ab Inacho,' etc. For 'reges' = 'divites,' cp. i. 4. 14; for 'coloni,' 1. 35. 6. 

13. 'No avoidance of danger or care of health will save us from death.' 
carebimus, cp. its use in 2. 10. 7, 3. 19. 8. It does not exclude effort to avoid. 
16. Austrum, Sat. 2. 6. 18 'plumbus Auster, Autumnisque gravis Libitinae quaestus acerbae,' cp. Æpp. 1. 7. 5. The dative 'corporibus' is governed ἅπα καυσοῖ by 'nocentem' and 'metuemus,' see on Od. 1. 3. 6. 

17. visendus, notice the antithetical position of 'linquenda,' v. 21. 
18. Danai genus, 3. 11. 25-32. 
19. damnatus laboris. This genitive is not unknown in prose, as Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 11 'damnare octupli.' It follows perhaps the analogy of the genitive with verbs of estimating, and signifies the equivalent at which the crime is assessed. 

21. Compare Lucret. 3. 907 foll. 'Nam iam non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor Optima,' etc. 
23. cupressos, 'funebres,' Epod. 5. 18; 'ferales,' Virg. Aen. 6. 216. They are used in the latter passage to ornament in some way the funeral pile. Orelli quotes Ovid, Met. 10. 141, where Apollo says to Cyparissus just changed into the tree that was to bear his name, 'Lugebere nobis, Lugebisque alios aedrisque dolentibus.' 

24. brevem, as 'brevis rosa,' 2. 3. 13, 'master on a short tenure,' cp. Æpp. 2. 2. 172. 

25. Caecuba, 1. 20. 9. The plural is of quantity, cp. 2. 1. 5. 
dignior, worthier, apparently, be-
Tinget pavementum superbo,
Pontificum potiore coenis.

cause he makes a wiser use of it; but there is a certain bitterness in the epithet. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 122 'Fillus aut ctiam libertus ut eebbat heres . . . custodis.'

27. tinget pavementum, Cic. Phil. 2. 42, of the splilt wine of a profuse and drunken banquet, 'Natabant pavementa vino, madebant parietes.'
superbo, 'lordly.' 'Pro "ipse superbus"; Hypallage figura,' Acr. Horace makes it the epithet of 'mero,' as though the wine itself showed lordliness—'generosity'—at once in its quality and in allowing itself to be so squandered. The asyndeton, 'superbo . . . potiorre,' indicates, as Orelli says, that the second epithet justifies the first.

28. Od. 1. 37. 2 'Saliaribus dapibus'; Mart. 12. 48. 2 'Non Albana mihi sit comissatio tanti, Non Capitolinae Pontificumque dapes.'

ODE XV.

'Our palaces and fish-ponds and ornamental gardens are supplanting the cultivation of corn and vines and olives. This is not the spirit of our sires. Their rule was private thrift, public magnificence; houses of turf, public buildings and temples of hewn stone.'

The Ode is in the same vein as the six Odes at the beginning of Book iii, especially the 6th, and belongs probably to the time (b.c. 28) when Augustus, having accepted the censorial power, set himself to the work of religious restoration and social legislation, see Merivale, ch. 33.

Compare with the Ode the letter of Tiberius to the Senate in Tac. Ann. 3. 53 foll., esp. such sentences as 'Quod primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere aggrediari? villarumne infinita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argentii et auri pondos? . . . At Hercule nemo refert quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempustatem quotidie volvitur. Ac nisi provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitis et agris subvenerint nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur.' See Sall. Cat. 12 'Operae pretium est quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbi um modum exaedicatas visere templae deorum quae nostri maiores religiosisissimi mortales fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant'; and ib. 13 'a privatibus pluribus subversos montes, maria constructa.'

IAM pauca aratro iugera regiae
Moles relinquent, undique latius

1. regiae, royal in magnificence; cp. the 'villarum infinita spatia' of Tiberius, Tac. l. c.
2. moles, 'piles,' 3. 29. 10 'molem propinquam nubibus' of Maecenas' villa.
latus extenta, etc., 'fish-ponds of wider extent than the Lucrine lake' (A. P. 65, Virg. G. 2. 161). The elder Seneca (Controv. 4. 5) speaks of 'navigabilia piscinarum freta,' and Cicero ridicules
Extenta visentur Lucrino
Stagna lacu, platanusque caelebs
Evincet ulmos; tum violaria et
Myrtus et omnis copia narium
Spargent olivctis odorem
Fertilibus domino priori;
Tum spissa ramae laurae fervidos
Excludet ictus. Non sua Romuli
Præscriptum et intinsi Catonis
Auspiciis veterumque norma.
Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum: nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton,
Nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
Leges sinebant, oppida publico

those who spent much money on this luxury, by the name of 'piscinarii' (ad Att. 1. 19).
3. visentur, they will be sights to see.
4. caelebs, for the metaphor see Od. 4. 5. 30, Epod. 2. 10. Cp. Quin[til. 8. 3. 8 (probably in allusion to this Ode) of a ego fundum cultiorem putem in quo mihi quis ostenderit lilia. et violas, et amonatas, fontes surgentes, quam ubi plena messis aut graves fructu vites erunt? Sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulnum et uberes oleas praeoptaverim?'
5. evincet, 'drive from the field.'
6. myrtus, fourth declension, as in Virg. G. 2. 64 'Paphiae myrtus.'
copia narium; 'narium' may be explained either by itself, after the analogy of the Greek use of ὑμαμ and ὧθαιαμ, 'the nostrils' = 'the fragrance perceived by them'; or, together with 'copia,' the genitive signifying not that of which there is abundance, but that in respect of which, to the gratification of which, the abundance exists, 'all the fulness of the nostrils' = 'the fulness of all that pleases the nostrils.'
9. laeora, the feminine adjective is rarely used, as here, for the bay-tree (cp. Liv. 32. 1), though often for the bay crown, as Od. 4. 2. 9.
10. iotus, βολας, 'radiorum iotum,' Lucr. 5. 612; so 'verbera,' 'tela,' etc. 'Fervidos' here supplies the place of a genitive, 'solis' or 'aestus'; cp. 3. 16. 11 'ictu fulmineo'= 'fulminis.'
11. intinsi='antiqui,' Od. 3. 21. 11 'prisci Catonis'; see on I. 12. 41 'incomptis Curium capillis.' Compare, as Maclean suggests, Od. Fast. 6. 263 'Tunc erat intinsi regia magna Numae' with Trist. 3. I. 29 'Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.' Cicero uses 'bar-batus' in the same sense, e.g. ‘aliquem ex barbatis ills, exemplum imperii veteris; imaginem antiquitatis,' Sest. 8. 19. Cato the censor died b.c. 149.
12. auspiciis='ductu,' and so 'example.'
14. commune=το κοινον, here 'the common stock,' 'public treasury,' cp. Thuc. 1. 80.
decempedis, 'measuring-rods,' the exact measurement being sunk in the general idea; cp. Cic. Mil. 27. 74: 'private' agrees with 'decempedis.'
15. metata, passive, as in Sat. 2. 2. 114; see on Od. 1. 32. 5.
16 porticus, a colonnade facing north to avoid the sun and catch the cool wind in summer. Contrast the winter dining-room in Juv. 7. 183 'algentem rapiat coenatio solem.'
17. fortuitum, τον ἐπιτυχόντα, 'the chance-cut turf' for building; 'tuguri congestum caespite culmen,' Virg. E. 1. 69.
18-20. Public buildings and temples alike would be built 'publico sumptu,'
and adorned 'novo saxo'; but in Horace's manner the qualifying words are divided between the two, see on 2. 10. 6, 2. 11. 1, 3. 4. 18, 4. 9. 29, Epod. 5. 37.

20. **novo saxo**, from its position, seems intended as an antithesis to 'fortitum caespitem,' so that 'novo' must be almost equivalent to 'exquisito,' 'hewn on purpose.' Orelli compares, with the last two stanzas, Cic. pro Flacc. 12, 28 'Haec ratio ac magnitudo animorum in maioribus nostris fuit ut cum in privatis rebus suisque sumptibus contenti tenuissimo cultu viverent in imperio atque in publica dignitate omnia ad gloriam splendoremque revocarent.'

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**O D E X V I.**

'Peace is (at times at least) the prayer of all men, though they do not go the way to find it. Gold and purple will not buy it, Grosphus; neither wealth nor rank banish care; and meantime very little suffices for a happy life if the heart is free from fear and desire. Moderated desires, not hurrying from place to place, are the means to avoid care. Go where you will you cannot escape yourself. Care boards the best appointed trireme and keeps up with the fleetest horseman. Enjoy the present and don't think of the future. If troubles come, smile and be patient and they will be the lighter. Unmixed happiness is not to be looked for: Achilles had glory, but with it an early death; Tithonus a long life and the weariness of old age. What you lack I may perhaps have, as you have what I lack. You have flocks and herds and purple garments, and I have my little farm, my muse, and a heart to despise my critics.'

'Peace and happiness depend on ourselves, not on things outside of us.' 'Quod petis, hic est, Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus,' Epp. 1. 11. 29.

Grosphus is doubtless the person whom Horace commends to Iccius in Epp. 1. 12. 22-24:—

'Utere Pompeio Grospho, et, si quid petet, ultro Defer; nil Grosphus nisi verum orbit et aequum. Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid deest.'

We gather from this Ode that he was a man of wealth, and, from both Ode and Epistle, that his property was in Sicily.

**OTIUM divos rogat in patenti**

**Prensus Aegaeo, simul atrae nubes**

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1. Cp. 1. 1. 15 foll. 'Luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum Mercator me- tuens otium et oppidi Laudat, rura sui; mox reficit rates,' etc. The application of the first six lines is allegorical, although by the construction of v. 7 it is purposely made to appear that the 'otium' for which the trader and the
Conditit lunani neque certa fulgent
Sidera nautis;
Otium bello furiosa Thrace,
Otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grospho, non gemmis neque purpura ve-
nale neque auro.
Non enim gazae neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis et curus laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.
Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
Splendet in mensa tenui salinum,
Nec leves somnos timor aut cupidus
Sordidus aufert.
Quid brevi fortes iaculumur aevo
Multa? Quid terras alio calentes

Thracian sigh is the same which is the
true subject of the Ode. "The trader
prays for [bodily] rest, but it is only in
the moment of storm; the Thracian, the
Mede—but their hearts are in war; we
too wish for rest [of mind], but spend
our lives in the cares and hurry which
banish it."

2. prensus, καταληψεις, apparently
a technical word for 'caught in a
storm,' as 'depressus,' Virg. G. 4. 421.
3. certa, 'on which to rely,' not as
though there were some stars 'certa,'
others 'incerta.'
5. bello furiosa, Ἀρειανής, ' Ma-
vortia tellus,' Virg. Aen. 3. 13.
6. pharetra decori. Their very
adornment belies their prayer.
7. Grospho. The personal address
serves to point the separation of the
allegory from its application: 'for
peace, Grosphus,—peace, which gems,
etc., will not buy.'
non venale, οὐκ ὄφητον, Thuc. 3. 40,
etc. For the division of the word be-
tween the two verses see Od. 1. 2. 20,
1. 25. 11.
10. summovet, the proper word of a
lictor clearing the way for the consul,
'i, lictor, summovet turbam,' Liv. 3. 48,
etc. 'The tumultus of the mind is a
continuation of the metaphor.
11. Cares are represented as a flock
of ill-omened birds or harpies that fly
round and round under the panelled
roof of the rich man's hall.
laqueata, 2. 18. 2.

13. vivitur parvo bene, cui, sc. 'ab
illo cui,' "A happy life is his, though his
means be small, on whose modest board,
etc.; 'vivere parvo' occurs Sat. 2. 2. 1.
The silver salt-cellar (Pers. S. 3. 25
'reure paterno EST tibi far modicum
purum et sine labe salinum'), an heir-
loom of the house, is used as a test of
respectable competence. Poverty would
use a shell (Sat. 1. 3. 14 'concha salis
puri'). Luxury would not be content
with the one piece of old-fashioned
plate. 'Splendet' is antithetical to
'tenui.' It is the 'one ornament of the
modest board,' perhaps also like the
epithets 'purum,' 'puri,' it implies
cleanliness. 'Iamudum splendet focus
et tibi munda supellex,' Epp. 1. 5. 7.

15. leves somnos, 'untroubled,' 3.
1. 21 foll.
cupido, masculine, as always in Ho-
race where the gender is marked, Od.
3. 16. 39. 3. 24. 51, Sat. 1. 1. 61, Epp.
1. 1. 33.
17. fortes, like 'audax omnia per-
petit,' Od. 1. 3. 36; no trouble or dis-
appointment daunts us. 'Brevi' an-
wers to 'multa.' Life is too short for
many aims; the metaphor of 'iacula-
mur' is that of the Gr. τοξευειν, Soph.
O. T. 1196, etc.
domos et dulcia limina mutant Atque
Sole mutamus? Patriae quis exsul
Se quoque fugit?
Scandit aeratas vitiosa naves
Cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,
Ocior cervis et agente nimbos
Ocior Euro.
Laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est
Oderit curare et amara lento
Temperet risu; nihil est ab omni
Parte beatum.
Abstuil clarum cita mors Achilles,
Longa Tithonium minuit senectus,
Et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit,
Porriget hora.

alia quærant patriam sub sole iacentem, where Virgil uses 'muto' with the accusative of that which is surrendered; Horace uses it of that which is taken, but suppressing the other object of exchange. Compare the use of ἀλλὰττεον, as Soph. Ant. 944 οὐράνιον φός ('to quit'), Eur. Hec. 493 Ἀθάθαναμος ('to enter').

19. patriæ exsul, Greek genitive, as φυγας Αργεος, Theoc. 24. 127, imitated by Ovid, Met. 6. 189 'exsul erat mundi,' 3. 409 'exsum mentisque domusque.' For the sentiment cp. Lucr. 3. 1060-1070, Hor. S. 2. 7. 113 foll., Epp. 1. 11. 27 'Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt,' 1. 14. 15 'In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam.'

21-24. Cp. 3. 1. 37 foll. 'timor et minae Scandunt eodem quo dominus, neque Decedit aerata treirem et Post equitem sedet atra cura,' The image of the ship grows naturally in both passages out of what precedes. 'It is of no use running away to other lands (in 3. 1, to your seaside villa); care goes on board with you.' 'Aeratas naves,' 'Aerata treirem,' 'seem to hint that care might have been expected to stand in awe of a rich man's well-appointed trireme (cp. Epp. 1. 1. 93 'conducto navigio aequo Nausseat ac locuples quem ducit priva treiremis'). The same additional idea is probably contained in the 'turnitas equitum,' into which the simpler 'equitem' of 3. 1. 40 is expanded in this Ode. Horace probably had in mind Lucretius' account (2. 46) of the bold front with which 'cura.. sequaces... Nec metuunt sonitus armonium nec fera tela, Ausoniacae inter reuges rerumque potentes Versantur.' At the end of the stanza both images have merged in the general idea of the impossibility of flying from care which is fleeter than a stag or a storm-wind.

21. vitiosa, 'morbid.' The adjective rather interferes with the personification, but it is Horace's manner, see on i. 35. 21 'Spes et albo rara Fides colit Velata panno.'

25. 'When happy in the present let the heart shun all care for what is beyond; when the cup is bitter, sweeten it with the smile of patience.'

quod ultra est, τα πόρραω, 'the future.'

26. lento risu, Cic. de Or. 2. 190 'lente ferre'; Tac. Ann. 3. 70. 3 'lentus in suo dolore esset.'

29. Achilles had his choice; cp. Hom. Il. 9. 412 Ει μὲν κ' αὐθι μὲναν Τρόώων πολυν ἀμφιμαχώμαι, 'Πλετο μὲν μοι νόστος ἀτάρ κλέος ἀρφίον ἔσται Ει δὲ κεν οὐκαδικαί μοι φύλην εἰ πατρίδα γαῖαν, 'Πλετο μοι κλέος ἐσβλὼν ἐπὶ δηρὼν δέ μοι αἰών 'Εσσεται.


32. hora. Time in its course, one
hour if not another; cp. 4. 7. 8. Ritter takes 'tibi quod negarit' of life, as though it meant 'I may perhaps survive you.' But a more general sentiment is a better introduction to the next two stanzas; and it is the broad equality of men's lots that is in point, so that 'mihi porriget tibi quod negarit' would seem naturally to imply the converse also, that Grosphus will have what Horace has not.

33. Grosphus has large pastures in Sicily. For this form of wealth see on 1. 31. 5. Cp. Epod. 1. 27, Epp. 2. 2. 117.

33, 34 greges...mugient. If 'greges' is to be distinguished from 'vaccæ,' according to the common opposition of 'greges et armenta,' 'flocks and herds,' there is an easy zeugma in the use of 'mugient.' Possibly, however, 'greges vaccæque' = 'greges vaccarum' (cp. Epod. 2. 11 'mugientium greges'), the two being separated in order to give more emphasis to the numeral and adjective.

34. For the elision cp. 4. 2. 22, Carm. S. 47.

35. bis tinctae, δι' Βασιλικ. Epod. 12. 21 'Muricibus Tyrriis iteratae vellera lanae.'

Afro, Epp. 2. 2. 181 'vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas.'

38. spiritum Camenae, equivalent, as the commentators say, to the ἐσον πνεῦμον Μουβας of the epigram on Sappho (Anal. Brunck. p. 449) save that 'spirare,' and 'spiritus' have a special reference, which we do not know in πνεὺς, to the thoughts that breathe and words that burn of poetry. Cp. Od. 4. 3. 24 'Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tum est,' 4. 6. 29 'Spíritum Phoebùs mìhi, Phoebùs ætum Carminis nomenque dedit poëtas.' See also Sat. 1. 4. 42-47, where the name of poet is limited to the man, 'Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinar atque os Magna sonaturum,' and it is doubted whether comedy can claim to be poetry, 'quod acer spiritus ac vis Nec verbis nec rebus inest.'

tenuem has no doubt a close relation to 'Graiae,' and describes the polish and refinement of taste which Horace missed in the earlier Roman literature. Cp. A. P. 323, where there is the same antithesis as that hinted here between the delicacy of literary taste and the coarser Roman life with its love of wealth, 'Graïs ingenium,' etc. It is difficult to say how much feeling of the metaphor remains in either 'spiritum' or 'tenuem.' If this passage stood alone we should have no difficulty in interpreting 'tenuem' of the fineness and delicacy of the air, but 'tenuis,' like the Gr. λεπτὸς and corresponding words in many languages, is used widely of nicety of judgment or taste or expression. Horace gives it in this sense another metaphorical connection, Epp. 2. 1. 225 'tenui deducta poëmo filo.' The rival interpretation of 'tenuem spiritum' as = 'particulum aliquam exiguam spiritus' is not so good. Horace's farm is 'small,' but we do not want to continue the depreciation of his lot, but to enforce the doctrine of the fair balancing of fortune by contrasting his modest external means with the richness of his mental gifts.

Camenae, used without scruple of the Greek Μουβας. Cp. 'Pindaricae Camenae,' Od. 4. 9. 8.

39. non mendax dedit, Carm. S. 25 'veraces cecinis Parcae.' Fate assigned to me that lot in days gone by, and she has kept her word.'

malignum spernere volgus, either the same as Od. 3. 2. 23 '[Virtus] Coetusque vulgares et udam Spernit humum fugiente pena'; 'malignum' being = 'profanum' in 3. 1. 1, or more likely referring to the envy which his fortune and his rising fame brought with them, see on Od. 2. 20. 4-7.
ODE XVII.

'Kill me not, Maecenas, with your dismal forebodings. If you are going to die, I die too; so the gods will, and so I will. For myself, I could not survive the one half of myself: I have sworn, and will be true to my oath of fealty; where you go I will go, if the Chimaera or Gyas were to rise to prevent it. And the gods will it too. I know not whether I was born under a good star or a bad one, but my horoscope tallies wonderfully with yours. You recovered from dangerous illness just when I escaped the falling tree. Let us remember it, and in our several ways thank the gods.'

Maecenas was an invalid (Plin. N. H. 7. 54 'Quibusdam perpetua febris est sicut C. Maecenati. Eodem triennio suprema nullo horae momento contigit somnus'), and one that clung passionately to life, if we may trust his own lines preserved by Seneca, Epp. 101:—

'Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxa,
Tuber adstrue gibberum,
Lubricos quate dentes;
Vita dum superest, bene est!
Haec mihi vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine.'

He has been complaining of his health to Horace, and the poet would coax him out of his hypochondriacal fears by the expressions of affection, by the professions of his own strong belief that Maecenas' life is as good as his own, by recalling his previous recovery from illness and his flattering reception in the theatre, as memories likely to strengthen his confidence in his destiny and in himself.

The astrological part of the Ode is only an adaptation of the language of a popular superstition which Horace condemns in Od. 1. 11. Orelli points out that the language of stanza 5, 'seu Libra seu,' etc., forbids the idea that Horace had confidence in any calculation of his own horoscope. He tells us, Sat. 1. 6. 114, that he was fond of standing and listening to the astrologers of the circus. With the poet's professions of his resolution not to survive Maecenas cp. Epod. 1; on Maecenas' reception in the theatre, Od. 1. 20; and on Horace's own escape from the falling tree, Od. 2. 13.

Maecenas actually died in B.C. 8, a few months before Horace.

Cur me quereulis examinas tuis?
Nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
Obire, Maecenas, mearum
Grande decus columnque rerum.

2. amicum est, φίλον ἱστι. prius, sc. 'quam me'
4. Od. 1. 1. 2 'præsidium et dulce
Ah te meae si partem animae rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus aeque nec superstes
Integer? Illc dies utramque
Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,
Utreunque praecedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.
Me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae
Nec, si resurgat, centimanus † Gyas
Divellet unquam: sic potentii
Iustitiae placitumque Parcis.
Seu Libra seu me Scorpios adspicit
Formidolosus, pars violentior

5. partem animae, Od. i. 3. 8 'anime
dimidium meae.'
7. nec carus aequus, sc. 'mihi ipsi,'
as Epp. i. 3. 29 'Si patriae volumus si
nobis vivere cari.' 'I shall not love
myself as well as before: it will not be
my whole self that will be alive.' Cp.
Epod. 1. 5, 6.
8. utramque ducet ruinam, i.e. will
cause both to fall at once. Virg. always
uses 'trahere ruinam' of the thing which
falls.
non perfidum dixi, sc. 'I have
taken a soldier's oath, and will not
break it.' 'Dicere sacramentum' was the
technical phrase, Caes. B. G. i. 23. 5.
ibimus. Horace speaks in the
plural, keeping up the idea of soldiers
swearing to their general.
11. utreunque, 'whenever,' see on
Od. i. 17. 10, 3. 4. 29, Epod. 17. 52.
supremum iter, ταυ νεαται δεδυ.'
Soph. Ant. 807; 'via leti,' Od. i. 28.
16.
13. Chimaerae, 'triformi Chimaera,'
Od. i. 27. 24; cp. Hom. II. 6. 179 foll.
Orelli recalls the shadowy forms which
Virgil places in Aeneas' way at the en-
trance of Hades, 'variarum monstra
ferarum.' Et centumgeminus Briareus
flamisque armata Chimaera,' Aen. 6.
285.
14. si resurgat, 'if he were free to
rise,' for he lies, according to Horace
(Od. 3. 4. 69), buried in Tartarus.
† Gyas. The MSS. in 3. 4. 69 read
'gigas'; in this place they are divided
between 'gigas' and 'gygas,' Cruquius'
MSS. all having the latter. 'Gigas'
was read by Porph., Acr. (who inter-
pret it by 'Briareus de quo Virgilius
Aen. 10. 564'), and Priscian (17. 152). In
Ovid, however, the name of the hundred-
handed giant occurs in three places
where the metre excludes the proper
case of 'gigas,' Trist. 4. 7, Amor. 2. 1.
12, Fast. 4. 503. In the first of these
passages the MSS. vary between 'Gygen,'
'Gym,' and 'Gian.' In Hesiod, Theog.
149, 714, 734, where three brothers are
named Kòtòs te Bráρèus te Γύγης θ'
üpeřhçana τέκνα, the MSS. vary be-
tween Γύγης and Τύης. Apollodorus,
the mythologist, gives the name as Γύης.
Against the form Γύης must be counted
the fact that both in Greek (see Archilio-
chus, Fr. 21 ωο μοι τά Γύγεων τον πολυ-
χρωσου μῆλεν) and in Latin (Hor. Od. 2.
5. 20, 3. 7. 5) its penultima is lengthened.
On this evidence Keller writes here,
and in Od. 3. 4. 69, 'Gyas.' In itself a
proper name is more likely than the
general 'gigas.'
15, 16. 'Hoc et iustum est et decre-
tum a Parcis,' Ritter. Διην is sister to
the Μοίραι in Hes. Theog. 902. For the
position of 'que' see on Od. 1. 30. 6.
17. seu...seu...seu, see Introd. to
the Ode. Compare with the whole
passage Persius' imitation, Sat. 5.
45 foll. 'Non equidem hoc dubites, am-
borum foedere certo Consentire dies et
ab uno sidere duci: Nostra vel aequali
suspendit tempora Libra Parca tenax
veri, seu nata fidelibus hora Dividit in
Geminos concordia fata duorum, Saturn-
Natalis horae, seu tyrannus  
Hesperiae Capricornus undae,  
Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo  
Consentit astrum. Te Iovis impio  
Tutela Saturno refugens  
Eripuit volucrisque Fati  
Tardavit alas, cum populus frequens  
Laetum theatris ter crepuit somum:  
Me truncus illapsus cerebro  
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum  
Dextra levasset, Mercurialium  
Custos virorum. Reddere victimas

umque gravem nostro Iove frangimus  
una: Nescio quid, certe est, quod me  
tibi temperat astrum.' Compare also  
for the influence attributed to some of  
the planets and signs of the Zodiac here  
named, Propert. 5. 1. 83 foll. 'Felicesque  
Iovis stellas Marisque rapacis, Et grave  
Saturni sidus in omne caput; Quid mo-  
viesant Pisces, animosaque signa Leonis,  
Lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus  
aqua.' Each planet had a special  
relation to some sign of the Zodiac; Venus  
to Libra, Mars to Scorpio, Saturn to  
Capricornus.

adspicit, the present tense, as the in-  
fluence of the star which was in the  
critical position at the moment of the  
child's birth continues through his life.  
18. pars violentior, 'more stormy  
influence in the hour of birth'; Manil.  
4. 217 foll. 'Scorpions armatae metuen-  
dus cuspidæ caudæ . . . In bellum ardentes  
aminos et Martia corda Efficit et multo  
gaudentem sanguine Syllam.'  
19. tyrannus Hesperiae undae. cp.  
Propert. 1. c. Horace probably gives this  
title (cp. 'arbiter Hadriae,' 1. 3. 15) to  
Capricorn as the mid-winter sign. Cic.  
Nat. D. 2. 44 (from Aratus) 'Tum geli-  
dum valido de pectore frigus anhælans  
Corpore semifero magno Capricornus in  
orbe: Quem cum perpetuo vestivit lu-  
mine Titan Brumali flectens contorquet  
tempore currum.' The 'western waters,'  
as in Od. 1. 28, 26. Lord Lytton thinks  
in that suggesting Capricorn for their  
horoscope Horace is thinking of his  
narrow escape from shipwreck, Od. 3.  
4. 28.

22. impio connects the crimes of the  
mythological Saturn with the bad influ-  
ence of the planet which bears his  
name. Orelli shows from Manil. 2.  
434 and 4. 698 that 'tutela' was a  
technical term.

23. Saturno. Orelli and Dill, seem  
right in thinking that the dative feels  
the government both of 'eripuit' and of  
'refugens' in the sense of 'shining in  
the face of,' so as to counteract his in-  
fluence.

26. ter, indefinite, of several rounds  
of applause. The plural 'theatris'  
generalizes, 'the people in crowded  
théatres'; in Od. 1. 20, 3, where he  
refers to the event more particularly, he  
uses the singular. We need not press  
the fact that there was at the time  
apparently only one theatre in Rome.  
Ritter thinks it necessary to join 'laetum  
theatris' = 'quo gaudent theatra.' For  
the phrase 'crepuit somum' cp. Propert.  
4. 10. 4 'manibus faustos ter crepue re  
osons.'

27. truncus, Od. 2. 13 passim, 3. 4.  
27, 3. 8. 8.

28. sustulerat. The indicative is a  
rhetorical exaggeration, 'I was dead,  
had not Faunus stayed the blow,' cp.  
Od. 3. 16. 3 'munieranent . . . si non risis-  
sent'; Virg. G. 2. 133, Aen. 2. 55; see  
Madv. § 348 c.

Faunus, cp. 1. 17. 2, 13, the god of  
the country, here probably as there  
identified with Pan, for Pan was the  
son of Hermes. which may explain the  
connection of 'Mercurialium.' Horace  
attributes his escape in 3. 8. 7 to Bac-  
chus: the constant part in all his refer-  
ces to it is its ground, 'Dis pietas  
men Et musa cordi est.'

29. Mercurialium. 'Meruriales'

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Aedemque votivam memento:
Nos humilém feriemus agnam.

was the name of a 'collegium mercatorum' at Rome, which was associated with the 'cultus' of Mercurius, the god of traffic, Cic. ad Quint. Fr. 2. 5, Liv. 2. 21, 27: the word was thus familiar to people's ears as meaning 'favourites of Mercury.' Horace applies it in Sat. 2. 3. 25 to Damasippus, the connoisseur who could buy everything so as to make a profit, from old bronzes to estates; and here (Mercury being identified with the Greek Hermes) to himself, as under the special protection of the god who was 'curvae lyrae parentes,' Od. 1. 10. 6, 3. 11. 1, Epod. 13. 9, etc. Cp. also Od. 2. 7. 13.

ODE XVIII.

'I have no ivory couches nor gilded ceiling nor rare marbles nor palace nor crowd of retainers. Yet I have honour and wit and the respect of those richer than myself, and I am contented. You lay house to house as if you were to live for ever. The land is not large enough, you must build in the sea. Nay, you must pluck up your neighbour's landmark and drive out your own client to misery. Yet more surely than any house you are building the grave awaits you. Think of that limit—the grave, where you and your poor neighbours, oppressor and oppressed, are on an equality.'

Horace opposes two pictures: one, of himself, contented and happy with his farm and his poetry; the other, of some rich man so full of plans for building and increasing his property as to forget death and to commit wrong and robbery. Ode 15 complained of the great growth of the villas of the wealthy on the ground of the waste of ground which was wanted for agriculture. This Ode touches on another evil incidental to this passion, the unjust and cruel ejection of small owners from their ancestral properties. It is this which gives the special colour to the usual satire on the folly of leaving death out of our calculations. Death is not only more certain than all our plans—he is the great equalizer and redresser of wrongs.

With the picture of the grasping proprietor compare Sallust's expressions where he is tracing that alienation of classes which led to the civil wars, Jug. 41 'populus militia atque inopia urgebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant; interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum ut quisque potentiorem confinis crat sedibus pellebantur.'

The early part of the Ode is not unlike in expression a fragment (28) of Bacchylides:—

οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σῶματι, οἷτε χρυσά, οἷτε πορφύρωι τάπητε, ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενὴς
Μοίσα τε γλυκεία καὶ Βοιωτίασιν ἐν σιώφοιοιν αἶνος ἡδὺς.

Compare also Virg. G. 2. 461 f., and Hor. Od. 1. 31, 2. 16. 33-40.
HORATII CARMINUM

Metre—*Hipponactum.* See Index of Metres, 9.

**NON ebūr neque aureum**
Meā renidēt in domo lacunar,
Non trabes Hymettiae
Premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa, neque Attali:
Ignotus heres regiam occupavi,
Nec Laconicas mihi
Trahunt honestae purpuras clientae:
At fīdes et ingeni
Benigna vena est; pauperemque dives
Me petit; nihil supra
Deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
Largiora flagito,
Satīs beatus unīcis Sabinis.
Truditur dies die,

1. ebūr, used for furniture, as in Sat. 2. 6. 103 'lectos eburnos.' The Schol., however, are possibly right in taking the words as 'non eburnum neque aureum lacunar.' Cp. Cic. Parad. i. 4 'marmorea tecta ebore et auro fulgentia.'

2. renidēt, 2. 5. 19; cp. Lucr. 2. 27 'Nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet.'

3. trabes Hymettiae premunt, etc., probably slabs of white marble from Mount Hymettus in Attica, used for the architrave, to rest on columns of the 'giallo antico,' which was found in Numidia, 'flavis Nomadum metallis.' Stat. Silv. i. 5. 36.

5. Attali . occupavi. This seems only to mean 'nor has some rich stranger left me a palace;' 'the palace of an Attalus' being a way of saying 'a palace of enormous wealth,' see on Od. 1. 1. 12 'Attalicis conditionibus.' It is possible that the expression carried with it also the memory that the last Attalus, in default of natural heirs, had left his property to the Roman people.


8. trahunt, 'spin,' Juv. 2. 54 'vos lanam trahitis.'

honestae, well born.

clientae, a Plautine word, Mil. Glor.

3. 1. 193, etc. The two verses seem to couple two proofs of wealth, the 'maior turba clientium' of 3. 1. 13 with the 'purpurarum usus' of ib. 42. Acr. and Porph. talk of the clients' wives helping the 'matrona' to weave a 'laticlave' for the master 'in spem gerendorum magistratum,' but this looks like a picture of a simpler time than that described in the text.

9. fīdes, 'honesty.'

10. benigna vena, A. P. 409 'divita vena': the metaphor is from mining.

11. me petit, 'seeks my friendship.'

14. unīcis Sabinis, 'my single Sabine farm;' 'praedia' is often used in the plural for one estate. With the 'satīs beatus' cp. Epod. 1. 31 'Satīs superque me benignitas tua Ditavit.' Orelli observes that a Sabine farm did not rank very high in value, quoting Catull. 44. 1 'O funde noster, suo Sabine, seu Tiburs: Nam te esse Tiburtem autumant quibus non est Cordi Catullum laedere: at quibus cordi est Quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt.'

15. truditur dies die, 'day treads on the heel of day,' Epod. 17. 25 'urget diem nox et dies noctem'; Ter. Andr. 4. 4. 40 'fallacia alia aliam trudit.' Conington suggests that this thought refers back to what precedes as well as on to what follows. The flight of time
Novaeque pergunt interire lunae.
Tu seclanda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus et sepulcri
Immemor struis domos
Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges
Summovere litora,
Parum locuplès continente ripa.
Quid, quod usque proximos
Revellis agri terminos et ultra
Limites clientium
Salis avarus? Pellitur paternos
In sinu ferens deos
Et uxor et vir sordidosque natos.
Nulla certior tamen

and the nearness of death is that which
gives its point to the comparison of the two
pictures.
16. pergunt interire, as soon as
they are new they begin to wane; the
infinite after 'pergo' is found in
prose.
17. tu. He singles out an imaginary
subject for the second picture, and
addresses him (using the second person as
he has used the first for the sake of
vividness, though he is describing a
class) as though his crimes were acting
before our eyes. Cp. 3. 24. 1-8.
secanda, probably of cutting the
marble into slabs for the pavement,
walls, etc. This was looked upon as a
great invention of luxury, see Plin. N.
H. 36. 6 'Primum marmoreos parietes
habuit scena M. Scauri aedilis, non
dicare xferim sectos an solidis glebis
apositos: nondum enim secti marmoris
vestigia in Italia. Sed quisquis pri-
num invenit sceare luxuriamque divi-
dere importuni ingenii fuit.'
18. locas, enter into contracts with
the redeeptor, Od. 3. 1. 35, Epp. 2. 2.
72.
20. urges, for the common accusa-
tive, such as 'opus.' Hor. substitutes
the infinitive, of the work which is
pressed on with this perseverance.
21. summovere litora, to thrust the
shore back, bid it move further on.
22. 'Not rich enough to thy taste in
the possession of the shore of the main-
land.'
Rapacis Orci fine destinata
Aula divitem manet
Herum. Quid ultra tendis? Aequa tellus
Pauperi recluditur
Regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
Callidum Promethea
Revexit auro captus. Hic superbum
Tantalum atque Tantali
Genus coërcet, hic levare functum

greedy as himself. 'Destinata' agrees with an ablative 'aula,' understood. Conington points out that the phraseology, 'aula,' 'destinata,' 'rapacis,' is chosen so as to suggest a comparison between Death and the 'dives herus' himself (see on 3. 24. 5), 'Meantime Death more punctual than any contractor, more greedy than any encroaching proprietor, has planned with his measuring-line a mansion of a different kind, which will innfallibly be ready when the day arrives.'

30. Orci fine. Ritter takes this as a local ablative—'in finibus Orci,' quoting for the singular, Od. 1. 34. 11 'Atlanteus finis.' It is more probably instrumental, 'by the limit of Orcus' being equivalent to 'by Orcus, who sets a limit to all things.' 'Mors ultima linea rerum,' Epp. 1. 16. 79. There may be a remembrance of the Gr. τίλος δανάων. That it should interfere to some extent with the personification would not, in interpreting Horace, be a fatal objection (see on 1. 35. 21, 2. 16. 21), but perhaps the limit which Death sets to life and its plans may be allowed to stand for the measuring-rod with which he traces the place and bounds of the mansion which he prepares for the living. 'Destinare' is especially used of tracing out the site for a building. Bentley quotes the Culex 391 'Conformare locum capiti impiger hunc et in orbe dem Destinat.'

Other ways of taking the lines are: (1) to make 'destinata' agree with 'fine' in the sense of 'than the end of Orcus already traced for him'; (2) to take 'destinata' as a nominative with 'aula,' 'no house that he has planned awaits him more surely than the end of Orcus'; (3) with Bentley to understand 'certior' of the comparative certainty of death to the rich and the poor. 'Nulla certior (h. e. non certior) aula manet divitem herum [quam pauperem clientem] designata et descripta termino ipsius Orci (h. e. aequa spatiosa ac ipse Orcus).': All these sacrifice a good deal of the personification of Orcus, which seems to be implied in the remainder of the Ode, Bentley's most of all, so much so that he wishes to read 'capacis.' It is to be observed that his interpretation really necessitates this change, and this necessity is fatal to it. Death must, on his view, be represented as a boon, otherwise the sentence should have run 'non certior manet pauperem quam divitem.'

32. 'Quid ultra tendis' recalls the 'fine,' 'Death has set the limit, why do you try to overpass it?'

32-end. 'Nothing excludes and nothing exempts.' The equality is enforced in the first clause by the opposition, 'the pauper and the prince'; in the second by the accumulation of the qualities that might be expected to make a difference, 'no wit, no wealth'; in the third and fourth by the double contrast (which has a direct application to the oppressor) between proud Tantalus and his mythic race who would escape death if they could, and the poor man who looks to it as the end of his toils. The matter is clenched by the suggestion of the last line that even for the poor man it is no matter of choice.

35. Promethea, see on 2. 13. 37. We seem to have a fresh point added to the legend here. The 'satelles Orci' is Charon, as appears from the verb 'revexit.'

36. hic, Orcus. 'Vocatus,' etc., would hardly suit Charon.

38. levare, after 'vocatus.'
Pauperem laboribus
Vocatus atque non vocatus audit.

40. The form is like Thucyd. i. 118 αὐτὸς (Apollo) ἐφη ξυλῆσθαι 
καὶ παρακαλοῦμενος καὶ ἀκλητος.
Halm (in the third edition of Orelli) suggests that Horace was thinking 
of Aesop's fable of the old man and Death, though the point there is differ-
ent.

ODE XIX.

The poet imagines himself (vv. 1–4) to have come, while wandering in the hills, 
on Bacchus amidst the Nymphs and Satyrs. He describes dramatically (as though 
he felt them at the moment) the effects of the sight: the fresh terror (χαλεποὶ ὁ θεὸς 
φαίνοντα έναργεῖος, Hom. Il. 20. 131), the rush of inspiration; delightful, yet 
half painful, from its tumultuous excitement. Then he finds the way of relief.
He may sing the praises of Bacchus; of his power to bless those whom he loved 
and destroy his enemies; his power over inanimate nature, over noxious beasts, 
over the giants, over the monsters of Hades.

Compare Od. 3. 25. They both seem to be attempts to catch something of the 
inspiration of a Greek dithyramb. That Ode has a purpose; the present one is 
a mere study. There is no reason to believe that it is a reproduction of any single 
original. The art of its composition, the climax through which the celebration of 
Bacchus' triumph rises, and the studiedly quiet conclusion after the abrupt bursts 
of the beginning, as though the strained mind had found relief and the 'turbida 
laetitia' run itself clear, are Horatian rather than Greek.

Dill¹ suggests that Horace had been lately reading Euripides' Bacchae. That 
he had read it is pretty certain.

BACCHUM in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem—credite posteri—
Nymphasque discentes et aures 
Capripedum Satyrorum acutas.

1. remotis, absolute, 'far away from 
the ways of men.'
rupibus: he is a mountain god, Soph. 
O. T. 1105.
2. credite posteri, cp. Epod. 9. 11 
'posteri negabitis.'
3. aures acutas. The epithet is for 
the eye; 'the sharp-pointed ears.' That 
the Satyrs were listening is implied in 
the selection of their ears as the part 
which the poet saw. For the Nymphs 
and Satyrs in this conjunction see 1. 1. 
31 'Nympharumque leves cum Satyris 
chori.'
EUOE, recen^i mens trepidat metu
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Laetatur. EUOE, parce Liber,
Parce, gravi metuende thyro!*
Fas pervicaces est mihi Thyiadas
Vinique fontem, lactis et uberes
Cantare rivos, atque truncis
Lapsa cavis iterare mella;
Fas et beatae coniugis additum
Stellis honorem tectaque Penthei
Disiecta non leni ruina,
Thrasis et exitium Lycurgi.
Tu fle^tis amnes, tu mare barbarum,
Tu separatis uvidus in iugis
Nodo coerces viperino
Bistonidum sine fraude crines:

6. turbidum laetatur. Meineke compares an expression of Pherecrates, Fr. 2 γελώντα καὶ χαίροντα καὶ τεθωλομένου.
7. parce Liber. He prays the god to moderate the violence of the over-masteringἐνθυωσιμός, not to strike him with the terrible thyrsus, the blows of which inspired the Bacchic frenzy.
8. fas . . est. Bentley was dissatisfied with the boldness of this assertion following on the 'trepidat' and 'parce,' and wished to read 'sit.' But see what has been said in the Introduction to the Ode. It is the expression of joy at finding a vent for his overwrought feelings.
9. pervicaces, 'untiring.'
10. Thyiadas (from θύεν), a name of the Bacchantes.
11. truncis cavis. The resemblance to the passage just quoted from Eur. Bacch. makes it very probable that 'trunci' is used here of the hollow thyrsus. If it is of the trunks of trees, compare the golden age in Virg. E. 4. 30, when 'durae quercus sudabunt ros-cida mella.'
12. beatae, predicative. The song is to be of Ariadne's apotheosis, as well as of the transformation of her crown into a star.
13. honorem, her ornament, her crown, the 'Onosia ardentis stella coronae,' Virg. G. i. 222. See the story in Ov. Met. 8. 176. For the use of 'honos' cp. Virg. Aen. 7. 814 'regius ostro Velet honos humeros.'
16. This refers to his conquest of India. The powers of nature aided him in the enterprise; the Orontes and Hydaspes turned their streams at the touch of his thyrsus that he might cross them, and the sea grew calm before him. Nonnus Dionysiaca 13. 123.
17. fle^tis can only be used of 'mare' by a zeugma.
18. barbarum, sc. 'Rubrum vel Indicum.'
19. separatis, as 'remotis,' v. 1.
20. uvidus, opposed to 'siccus,' 4. 5. 39; βεβρεγμένος, μύθ βρεθέεις, Eur. El. 326.
Tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
Cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,
Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
Unguibus horribilique mala;
Quamquam choreis aptior et iocis
Ludoque dictus non sat idoneus
Pugnae ferebaris: sed idem
Pacis eras mediisque belli.
Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
Cornu decorum, leniter attertos
Caudam, et recedentis trilingui
Ore pedes tetigitque crura.


25. **quamquam**, qualifying what precedes, 'and yet.' 'Sed' is again adver- sative to this concession.

28. **mediusque**. The 'que' misplaced, as in v. 32; see on r. 30. 6. It is a question whether 'idem' or 'medius' is the main predicate. In the former case the verse will mean, 'Thou wast the same (i.e. equally vigorous and successful) in the midst of peace and in the midst of war.' In the latter we must interpret with Orelli, 'medius' = 'mid-way between peace and war,' meaning 'equally adapted for peace and war.' No real parallel has been quoted for the expression; the sense is the same as Virgil's 'pacisque bonas bellique ministras,' Aen. ii. 558, quoted by Orelli.

29. **insons**, without attempting to harm you.


31. **atterens**, wagging his tail, moving it from side to side on the ground—σταυρων—in pleased recognition at Bacchus' approach; or = 'atterens tibi,' of a dog rubbing itself against a master or friend. It is not the same action as Virgil's 'caudamque remulcens subiecit pavitantem utero' (Aen. ii. 812) of a wolf slinking away in terror.

32. **trilingui ore**, probably the tongue of each of his three mouths, as Virgil's 'latratu trifauci,' Aen. 6. 417. See on 2. 13. 33. For the intentional dullness of this stanza see Introd. and cp. the end of 3. 5.
ODE XX.

'Horace will stay no longer on earth; he will mount into the clear air of heaven and laugh at his detractors. He whom the envious world despises, but whom Maecenas loves, will not die the common death of men. Already he feels himself changing to a swan. All the world shall see him and hear his music: funeral rites have no meaning for him.'

The Ode may be described as an amplification of Ennius' epitaph on himself:

'Nemo me lacrymis decoret, neque funera fletu
Faxit. Cur? volito vivus per ora virum.'

Compare Virgil's imitation of the same (G. 3. 8):

'Tentanda via est qua me quoque possim
Tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.'

The Ode doubtless owes its place at the end of a Book to its general reference to Horace and his lyric fame; but it does not look as if it had been written for such a purpose, as Od. 3. 30, Epp. 1. 20. Its feeling seems really to lie in vv. 4-8.

NON usitata nec tenui ferar
Penna biformis per liquidum aethera
Vates, neque in terris morabor
Longius, invidiaque maior
Urbes relinquam. Non ego, pauperum'
Sanguis parentum, non ego, quem vocas

1. non usitata, 'quila primus Romanae fecit lyricae,' Orelli.

2. biformis, a poet and yet a swan.

3. liquidum, 'clear,' opposed to the damp and heavy atmosphere of earth.

4. invidiaque major, above the range of envy. It is to attain this that he will leave the throng of men. For the use of 'que' after a negative clause see on 1. 27. 16. 2. 12. 9.

5. urbes = the haunts of men.

6. pauperum sanguis parentum, the very words of the 'invidii' as Sat. 1. 6. 46 'Nunc ad me redeo libertinus patre natum, Quem rodunt omnes libertinus patre natum.' 'Sanguis,' as 'regius sanguis,' 3. 27. 65; 'sanguis deorum,' 4. 2. 13.

6. quem vocas dilecte, 'whom thou callest dear friend.' To the name given him by the envious crowd, he opposes that given him by the one whose judgment he most values. This is the interpretation of the Scholiast. Cp. (with Ritter) Maecenas' expression of affection for Horace in the epigram preserved in the Suetonian life of the poet: 'Ni te viscreribus meis Horati Plus iam diligo,' etc. It must be confessed that the separation of 'dilecte' from 'Maecenas' is harsh; and such passages as Ov. Am. 1. 7. 19 'Quis mihi non 'demen's,' quis non mihi 'barbare' dixit?' hardly reach the boldness of the vocative in this place. But this seems preferable to the alternative of making 'vocas' mean 'ad te vocas.' In all the passages quoted in which 'vocare' is really used absolutely in the sense of 'to invite,' it seems to be a colloquialism for 'to ask to dinner,' and Orelli allows that in this meaning 'sententia sane parasito quam poeta dignior foret.'
Dilecte, Maecenas, obibo
Nec Stygia cohibebor unda.
Iam iam residunt cruribus asperae
Pelles, et album mutor in alitem
Superne, nascenturque leves
Per digitos humerosque plumae.
Iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
Visam gementis litora Bospori
Syrtesque Gaetulas canoros
Ales Hyperboreosque campos.
Mē Colchus et qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi
Noscent Geloni, me peritus
Discet Hiber Rhodanique poror.
Absint inani funere neniae
Luctusque turpes et querimoniae;
Compesce clamorem ac sepulcri
Mitte supervacuos honores.

9. 'The skin roughens and shrinks to my legs, as they also shrink into the legs of a bird.' Notice the antithetical 'asperae...leves': see on 1. 36. 16.
11. superne. The e is short, as in Lucr. 6. 543 and 596: see Wagner's Plaut. Aulul. Introd. p. xxiii.
13. notior, so Keller edits, following the readings of B and A (though 'corrected' in the latter by a second hand to 'otior'). A large number have 'ocior.' The hiatus in that case must be defended by the same considerations as 'periret' in 3. 5. 17; the caesura separates two parts of an antapetate verse. Bentley proposed 'tutor,' and Lachmann follows him, not to avoid the hiatus, but on the ground that Horace would have felt the bare comparison of his flight to that of Icarus to be illomened. Cp. 4. 2. 2 foll. But it is not here as there an effort of his genius, which might be unsuccessful, of which he is speaking. He says that by his poetic fame he will be known to further regions (or that he will travel faster) than if he had the wings of Icarus. The fate of Icarus is not in question. 'Daedaleo,' not a needless patronymic: but i. q. 'ope Daedalen,' 4. 2. 2, 'Icarus, who had Daedalus to make wings for him.'
14. gementis, 2. 13. 14. 3. 4. 40. The names seem to be selected, as Dill remarks, in stanza 4 as those of strange and barbarous peoples, in stanza 5 for distance—east, north, west.
15. canoros ales. The 'white' (v. 10) and 'tuneful' bird is not named, but is clearly the swan. Cp. 4. 3. 19 'O mutis quoque piscibus Donatura cynici si libeat sonum'; ib. 2. 25 'Dircaena cyncum'; Virg. E. 9. 27.
17. qui dissimulat, fears, though he tries to hide his fear.
19. peritus. Orelli takes this proleptically, 'when he learns anything shall learn of me.' Ritter thinks there is a distinction drawn between the Spaniard and Gaul as already 'periti,' and the barbarous Colchian, etc.
20. Rhodani poror. For the form of expression see on 3. 10. 1; cp. 4. 15. 21.
21. inani funere, there must be no dirge, for there will be none to bury. See Ennius' epitaph in Introd.
24. supervacuos, 'unmeaning.' The word is not found before Horace; Cicero uses 'supervacaneus.'
L I B E R  T E R T I U S.

O D E  I.

'HEAR the teaching of the Muses, ye that are fit to receive it. All human greatness is bounded. Kings are above us, but Jove is above kings; men may differ in wealth and rank, but Death makes no distinction. To one who has the sword of Damocles above his head no feasts will taste sweet, no music bring sleep; yet sleep may be had in peasants' cots or on a shady river bank. Moderate your desires. It is not the desire for what is enough for life that puts the trader's happiness at the mercy of a stormy sea, or the farmer's at the mercy of the weather. The rich proprietor, weary of the sameness of the dry land, builds houses out into the sea; but fear and conscience and care are not to be escaped; marbles and purple and costly wines can't take away a pang. Don't ask me, then, to change my happy Sabine valley for a palace that will only bring on me envy, and wealth that only increases trouble.'

The exordium suits the beginning of a Book, and also indicates that the Ode or Odes which follow have some special dignity. The sequence of six Odes in the same metre, and dealing with the same general subject, is by itself sufficiently different from the poet's usual practice to attract remark. Diomedes, in his account of Horace's metres, treats them as one continuous poem, numbering Ode 7 as 2; and both MSS. and Scholiasts are inclined to press, beyond the bounds of probability, the connection between one Ode and another (see Introd. to Ode 3, and note on 4. 1). The unity, however, of general purpose is obvious. The ends social, moral, religious, political, which a good government would set before itself in Rome are reviewed, and it is more than once promised that Caesar's régime is to compass them. The Odes fall by their subject, as well as by resemblances of detail, into the same period as Odes 15, 16, 18 of Book ii, and Ode 24 of this Book.

The chief internal evidences of date are the references in Ode 6 to the still recent Bellum Actiacum (vv. 13-16: cp. 4. 37, 38) and to Augustus' exercise of the censorian power (B.C. 28: see Introd. to Od. 2. 15). The name of 'Augustus' in 3. 11, if it is held to fix that Ode after January, B.C. 27, when that title was conferred by the senate on Octavianus, will still leave it within the general period assigned to the others.

ODI proфанum volgus et arcco;
Favete linguis: carmina non prius

1-4. 'The crowd of men and women are beyond my teaching; listen to me, maidens and boys.' This idea is partly clothed in the language of a hierophant bidding the uninitiate avaunt at the commencement of mysteries. We must not,
Audita Musarum sacerdos
Virginibus puerisque canto.
Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis
Clari Giganteo triumpho,
Cuncta supercilio moventis.

Est, ut viro vir latius ordinet
Arbusta sulcis, hic generosior

however, look for the metaphor in every word of the stanza. It is the epithet 'profanum' that seems first to suggest it. As the mysteries are those of the Muses, the vehicle of their proclamation will be 'carmina.' The audience are to be 'virgines puerique,' not because the chorus that sang hymns in honour of a god (Carm. S. 6) must be so composed, for this would be to introduce a second metaphor; but because it was to the young and simple that the poet would address his precepts of moderate living, of courage, justice and piety. We seem to have an echo, and an interpretation, of the imagery of this place in Epp. 1. 19. 32 foll. 'Hunc [sc. Alceamen] ego non alio dictum prius ore Latinus Volgavi fidicen; iuvat immemorata ferentem Ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.' Verses 1, 2 contain the two proclamations customary at solemn rites, the first to warn away improper hearers, \\ἐκας ἐκας ἄτσις ἄητρός, Callim. H. in Apoll. 2, 'Procul O procul este profani,' Virg. Aen. 6. 258; the second enjoining a sacred silence on those that remained, Arist. Thesm. 39 εὑρημὸς πᾶς ἐστω λεῶς στῶμα συγκελίσας, Tibull. 2. 2. 1 'Dicamus bona verba... Quisquis ades lingua vir mulierque fave,' Virg. Aen. 5. 71 'Ore favete omnes.' Cf. especially Arist. Ran. 353 foll. Εὐφρημὸν χρὴ κἀκεῖσασθαι τοῖς ἡμέτεροις χροσίν | δυτικοὶ ἀπείροι τοιῶντε λόγων ἡ ὑφώμη μὴ καθαρέυει | ἡ γενεάς ὡργα Μονσάν μὴ· εἴδεν μὴ· ἐξώρεσεν κ. τ. λ.

non prius audita. The initiated are to receive a new revelation. The metaphor, if we are to interpret it, would seem to include the two ideas, that the Odes which follow are to be of a higher mood than their predecessors, and that the wisdom which they convey is strange to the age.

3. Musarum sacerdos, a natural description of a poet. Theoc. 16. 29 Μονισάων λεπον ὑποφήτας, Virg. G. 2. 175 'Musae quaram sacra fero.'

5. proprios, each over his own flock; i.e. his sway is limited.

greges, because kings are ποιμένες λαῶν. For the construction 'imperium est in greges' cp. 4. 4. 2 'regnum in aves.' Orelli quotes Plant. Men. 5. 7. 11 'Si quod imperi est in te mihi.'

7, 8. 'Of Jove, whose glory and power dwarf those of the greatest kings.'

8. supercilio, after Hom. Il. 1. 538 ἦ καὶ κανάδιαν ἕπε ὄφροις νευσα Κρονίων... μέγαν δ' ἐκέλεξεν Ὀλυμπον, Virg. Aen. 10. 115.

9-14. 'Men may differ in fortune during life. One possesses broad acres; another, if he is a candidate for office, can offer high birth; a third is a "novus homo," but has higher personal reputation; a fourth has a larger number of clients on whose votes he can reckon.'

9. est ut, 'it may be that,' as 'non est ut,' Epp. 1. 12. 2. It is needless with Bentley to alter to 'esto.' The concessions are balanced in the apodosis 'aqua lege,' etc.

viro vir, 'man than man,' but they do not thereby rise above the conditions of humanity. Cp. the same emphasis on ἀνήρ in Soph. O. T. 498 foll. ἐ μὲν οὖν Ζεύς ἐ τ' Ἀπόλλων ἢμετοκτ οι καὶ τὰ βροτῶν | εἰδότεις ἄνθρωπος δ' ἐ στί μάντις πλέον ἂ ν ἰδέσθαι | κρίσις οὐκ ἐστιν ἁλήθης σοφία δ' ἐν σοφίαν | παραμείπεις ἀνήρ.'

латиус, i. e. 'per ampliorem fundum.'

10. arbusta, the trees on which vines are to be trained. ordinet sulcis describes the usual mode of planting them. 'Pone ordine vites,' Virg. E. 1. 74. 'plantas deposuit sulcis,' G. 2. 24.
Descendat in Campum petitor, Moribus hic meliorque fama Contendat, illi turba clientium Sit maior: acqua lege Necessitas Sortitur insignes et imos; Omne capax movet urna nomen. Destructus ensis cui super impia Cervice pendet, non Siculæ dapes Dulcem elaborabunt saporem, Non avium citharaeque cantus Somnum reducent. Somnus agrestium Fastidit umbrosamque ripam, Non Zephyris agitata Tempe. Desiderantem quod satis est neque Tumultuosum sollicitat mare. Nec saeëus Arcturi cadensis Impetus aut orientis Haedi,

\[\text{HORATII CARMINUM}\]

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11. *descendat*, an habitual word with a Roman of rank for going from his own house, which would be on one of the heights, to the forum, the Campus Martius, etc. Cic. Phil. 2. 6 'Hodie non descendit Antonius.' Probably, also, with some feeling of the idiomatic use of 'descendere,' as καθιεῖν, κατελθεῖν, 'in aciem,' 'in dimicacionem,' 'apud Actium descendenti in aciem,' Suet. Aug. 56.

14. *Necessitas*, i. 35: 17, 3. 24: 6. 15. *sortitur,* 'casts lots about,' 'decides their fate by lot.' Virg. Aen. 3. 376 'sortitur fata deum rex.'


17. *super impia cervice*, see on 1. 15. 19 'adulteros crines.' The wicked man has, in his conscience, as it were a sword of Damocles hanging over his head which spoils all pleasure to him. The reference is to the acted parable by which, according to Cic. Tusc. 5. 21, Dionysius proved to his flatterer Damocles 'unhi esse ei beatum cui semper aliquid terror impendeat.'

18. *Siculæ dapes,* a banquet such as was set before Damocles': 'conquisitissimae epulae,' Cic. Tusc. 5. 21. Sicilian banquets were famed, Plat. Rep. 3. p. 404 D Συρακοσίων τράπεζον καὶ Σικελι-

19. *non elaborabunt,* for all the labour spent on them, they will not procure him the taste of sweetness.


21. *reducent;* as if sleep had fled from him and refused to return. *agrestium virorum,* the genitive seems, as Orelli says, to be constructed ἄνδ κουνidding *somnus* and *domos.* See on 1. 3. 5.


24. *Tempe,* for any valley, 'as, in a similar connection, Virg. G. 2. 469 'At frigida Tempe, Mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni.'

25–28. 'Nature wants little. He who limits his desires to that will not have ships on every sea, so that every storm should disquiet him; nor large vineyards and farms, so that hail or drought should ruin him.'

26. *Epop. 2. 6* 'neque horret iratum mare.'

27. *Arcturi impetus.* Virg. G. 1. 204 joins him with the Haedi, as marking a stormy time of year; 'IV Kal. Nov. Arcturus vespere occidit: ventosus dies,' Columel. 11. 2.
Non verberatae grandine vineae
Fundusque mendax, arbores nunc aquas
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sidera, nunc hiemes iniquas.
Contracta pisces, aequora sentiunt
Iactis in altum molibus; huc frequens
Caementa demittit redemptor
Cum famulis dominusque terrae
Fastidiosus. Sed Timor co Minae
Scandunt eodem quo dominus, neque
Decedit acerata triremi et
Post equitem sedet atra Cura.
Quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
Nec purpurarum sidere clarior

28. Haedi, Virg. Aen. 9. 668 'Quantus ab occasu veniens plurialibus Haedis Verberat imber humum.'

29-32. Cp. Epp. 1. 8. 5 foll. 'Hand quia grando Contuderit vites oleamque momorderit aestus,' etc. The farm has broken its promise of yield (cp. Epp. 1. 7. 87 'spem mentita seges,' and contrast Od. 3. 16. 30 'segetis certa fides'), and the fruit-trees are represented as always able ('nunc,' 'nunc,' 'nunc') to excuse themselves, and throw the blame on the weather.

32. sidera, the heat attributed to the Dogstar. Epod. 16. 61 'nullius astri Gregem aestuosa torrent impotentia.'

33. contracta pisces, etc. Variousy taken of the piscinae marinae in which the fish find themselves inclosed, and of the sea at large, which is represented as narrowed by the number of villas built into it. The latter is more probable, and the hyperbole is not greater than 3.

34. iactis molibus; cp. the description of the process in Virg. Aen. 9. 710 foll. 'Qualis in Euboico Cumaram litoro quondam Saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante Constructam pelago iactuit,' etc.

35. aucto into the space inclosed by the masses of masonry that have been let down into the water.

36. Caementa are the rough stones and rubble used for filling the cavities of walls in the foundations of buildings. Horace represents the builder ('redemptor'), with a large staff of assistants ('frequens'), the servants of the owner ('famulis'), and the owner himself, as all engaged in hurrying on the work.

36. terrae fastidiosus, like 'parum locuples continente ripa,' 2. 18. 22, except that here it is the sense of weariness, there of greed, that is prominent.

37. Minae, the forebodings of his own imagination.

38. scandunt, they can clamber into the villa built out in the water, by the same entrance as the master.

38. neque decedit, etc., the marine villa is lost in the general idea of the impossibility of flying from care. With the whole stanza cp. 2. 16. 21 foll. and see note there. The reminiscence of Lucretius (2. 47 foll.) is more evident in this place than in that. 'Timor et Minae' recalls 'metus hominum, curaeque sequaces,' and in the following stanza we may hear the echo of 'neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro, Nec clarum vestis splendorem purpurae.'

41. quodsi, etc. The application of the moral professedly to himself, really to those whose desires are not as moderate.

41. dolentem, in body or mind. Cp. Epp. 1. 2. 46 foll. 'Quod satis est cui contingit nihil amplius optet. Non domus et fundus non aeris acervus et auri Aegyrodomini deduxit corpore fabres Non animo curas.'

Delenit usus nec Falerna
Vitis Achaemeniumque costum,
Cur invidendis postibus et novo
Sublime ritu moliar atrium?
Cur Valle permutem Sabina
Divitias operiosiores?

43. usus, like other expressions of the Ode, seems to be due to Virg. G. 2.
466 'Nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi.' Conington (in loc.) points out that the two constructions are not exactly parallel. The 'wearing of purple' is the subject of 'delenit' in sense as well as grammar; but the hypallage which makes 'sidere clarior' agree with 'usus' rather than with 'purpurarum' (cp. 3. 21. 19 'iratos regum apices,' and Epod. 10. 12 and 14), is the same as that by which Virgil attributes to the 'usus olivi' the adulteration which happened to the oil itself.

44. Achaemenium, Persian. See on 2. 12. 21.

45. invidendis, 2. 10. 7 'caret invidenda Sobrius aula.'

novo ritu, 'after the modern fashion.'
Cp. Od. 2. 15. 10–20, 2. 18. 1–5. The 'atrium' was the reception room of a great house (cp. Epp. I. 5. 31 'Atria servantem postico falle clientem'), and the chief care was spent on its adornment; so that the ideas of the two lines will be exactly parallel to Virg. G. 2. 461–463 'Si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis Mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam, Nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes.'

47. permutem, for construction see on I. 17. 2 'Lucretilem mutat Lycaeo.'
ODE II.

A picture of the old Roman character for the imitation of the young. Compare with it Od. 4. 9. 34 to end. 'Hardness, to be learnt early in the school of actual warfare—courage—virtue, self-involved and independent of popular rewards—the power of silence.'

ANGUSTAM amice pauperiem pati
Robustus acri militia puer
Condiscat et Parthos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hasta
Vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat
In rebus. Illum ex moenibus hosticis
Matrona bellantis tyranni
Prospiciens et adulta virgo
Suspiret, eheu, ne rudis agminum
Sponsus lacessat regius asperum
Tactu leonem, quem cruenta
Dulce et decorum est pro patria-mori:
Mors et fugacem persequitur virum,

1. amice pati. An extension of the more common 'lente ferre,' 'clementer ferre,' Cic. 'Amice' is the reading of all the oldest MSS, including V. 'The words of Acron, 'Hanc oden ad amicos generaliter scribit' would not necessarily imply that he read 'amicum,' but that he took 'amice' for a vocative, and as an address not to a special friend, but to any that should read the Ode.

2. robustus, predicative, so that it = 'ita ut robustus fiat,' and the epithets 'robustus,' 'acri' answer to one another in Horace's manner. 'A boy should learn to bear and welcome the restraints of poverty, and grow hardy in the sharp school of warfare.'

4. vexet, 4. 14. 23 'impiger hostium vexare turmas.'

6. hosticis, for the form see on 2. 1. 'civicum.' For the picture of the wife and daughter looking from the wall on the combat cp. Hor. II. 3. 154 foll., 22. 492 foll., Virg. Aen. II. 475.

8. ultima, sc. 'nobilis.'

9. eheu, her sigh as she breathes the prayer 'ne,' etc.

10. sponsus regius, 'accipiendum de alius regis foederati filio, ut Corocbus (Virg. Aen. 2. 341) propter Casandram Trojam venerat,' Orell.

asperum tactu, 'dangerous to rouse,' 'aspera tigris,' 1. 23. 9.

11. cruenta, that makes its way in blood.

13. Tyr. 7. 1 Τεθναμεναι γαρ καλον ενι προμαξοις πεσοντας 'Andr' αγαθαν περι γα πατριδα μαραμενον.

14. mors, taking up the last word 'mori.' Death, the coward cannot escape, though he may refuse 'the death for his country which is sweet and beautiful.' The verse seems like a transla-
Horatii carminum

Nec parcit imbellis iuventae
Poplitibus timidoque tergo.
Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae
Intaminatis fulget honoribus,
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis aurae.
Virtus recludens immeritis mori
Caelum negata tentat iter via,
Coetusque volgares et udam
Spernit humum fugiente penna.
Est et fideli tuta silentio
Meres: vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum

tion of Simonides (§ 65, ed. Bergk) δ θυνατος μιξε και των φυγμαχων.
virum, used apparently with no emphasis, as 'agrestium virorum,' 3. 1. 21.
16. timido tergo, see on 1. 15. 19.
17-20. 'The virtuous man cannot know the disgrace of defeat; not merely he cannot be disgraced, he cannot be
defeated. And the honours (high offices) which he gains have no stain on them as is the case with those
 gained in the Comitia.' These two paradoxes are explained by the
'the consulship which he fills is neither taken up nor resigned in accordance
with the shifting wind of popular fav-'our.' In the same strain Horace tells
Lollius that his soul is 'Consl un non unius anni Sed quibus bonus atque fidus
Judex honesto praetulit utili,' 4. 9. 39.
He has clothed in Roman language the Stoic paradox that the wise man is
always a king, cp. Epp. i. 1. 107, Sat. 1. 3. 136, and see on Od. 2. 2. 9. Compare
the exposition of it in Cicero, Acad. Quaest. 4. 44, and the anecdote which
he tells, 'Albinium qui tum praetor esset, cum Carneades et Stoicus Diogenes ad
Senatum in Capitolio starent, iocantem Carneadi dixisse: Ego tibi praetor esse
non videor quia sapiens non sum... tum ille, Huic Stoico non videris.'
17. repulsae, the technical word for
losing an election.
18. intaminatis, a few MSS, read
'incontaminitis,' which Bentley is inclined to support. 'Intaminatis is an
ἀτατος λέγει, but formed naturally from the obsolete 'tamino' (Fest. s. v.), found in
'contaminare,' 'attamino.'
fulget, cp. 3. 16. 31 'Fulgentem im-
perio fertilitis Africae.'
20. popularis aurae, a common metaphor; 'ventus popularis,' Cic. Clu. 47,
'aura favoris popularis,' Liv. 22. 26.
In Virgil's 'gaudens popularibus auris,' Aen. 6. 817, the idea is of a favouring
wind, here it is of the changeableness of the wind. Compare the uses of
ντεμα and ντουν.
21. Compare the epigram of Si-
monides on those that fell with Leoni-
das (§ 98. ed. Bergk) Οδη τεθναι τα-
νιτες, ἐφι οφ' ἀρετη καθύπερθε Κυδα-
νου' ανάγει δαίματος εἰς 'Αδειον,' Virg.
Aen. 9. 641 'Macte nova virtute, puer;
sic itur ad astra,' 6. 130 'ardens eveyt
ad æthera virtus' (with Conington's note).
It is here at least only an immortality of fame that is promised.
Cp. 3. 30. 6 'Non omnis moriar,' 4. 8.
28 'Dignum laude virum Musa vetat
mori: Caelo Musa beat,' with the
verses before and after.
22. negata, 'pennis non homini
datis,' i. 3. 35. There is no way, but
Virtue makes one. Ovid, probably imi-
titating this, Met. 14. 113 'Invia virtuti
nulla est via.'
tentat iter, probably from Virg. G.
3. 8 'Tentanda via est qua me quoque
possim Toller humo,' as that is from
Ennius.
23. iudam opp. to 'liquidum aethera,'
2. 20. 2. etc.
25. The self-restraint that can keep
a secret is praised as one of the old
Roman virtues. Compare i. 18. 16
'arcani Fides prodiga,' Sat. 1. 4. 84
'commissa tacere Qui nequit, hic niger
et,' etc. and Volteius over Philippus'
wine, 'dicenda tacenda locutus,' Epp.
Volgarit arcanae, sub isdem
Sit trabibus fragilémve mecum
Solvat phaselôn; saepe Diespiter
Neglectus incesto addidit integrum:
Raro antecedentem scelestem
Deseruit pede Poena claudio.

1. 7. 72. The wording is apparently from the verse of Simonides (§ 66) ἐστι καὶ σφίξ ἀκίνδυνον γέρας, which Plutarch (Apophth. Reg. et Imp., Aug. 7) mentions Augustus as quoting. The mysteries of Ceres are used merely as an illustration.


29. Diespiter, see on 1. 34. 5. The archaic name is said to be specially appropriate here as having been used in solemn formulæ, as when Zeus ὄρκιος was called to witness treaties or vows.

30. incesto, 1. 12. 59 ‘parum castis,’ Carm. S. 42 ‘castus,’ of impurity contracted whether by ceremonial or moral faults.

32. deseruit, ‘has given up the pursuit.’

pede claudio. Retribution is ἔστερον, ἔστεροφόρος, in the Greek poets. Her ‘halting foot’ seems to be Horace’s own; possibly he had in his eyes Homer’s description of the θεύων who limp after the steps of ‘Ἀτη, II. 9. 503.

ODE III.

‘De Justitia et Constantia.’ Firmness of purpose is characterized in vv. 1–8. It is the virtue by which Pollux and Hercules, and Augustus and Bacchus, rose to heaven, by which Romulus overcame the opposition of Juno, and won immortality for himself and world-wide empire for Rome. Justice is not absent from the early stanzas of the Ode, for it is a just as well as a firm purpose which is glorified in them; but it is the keynote of Juno’s speech, vv. 18–68. She yields to the persevering purpose of Romulus and of Rome. Her wrath was against the ‘periura Priami domus,’ the ‘unjust judge,’ v. 19, the promise-breaker, v. 22, the violator of the laws of hospitality and of marriage, v. 25. They have been punished, and she is satisfied. As long as beasts of the field hide their whelps on the tombs of Priam and, Paris, the Capitol may stand in its glory. Rome may extend her sway over the world, only let her leave gold in the mine, send her citizens to the world’s end in search of empire, not of treasure. And let her beware above all things of the dream of rebuilding the doomed city of Troy. Troy rebuilt, Juno’s wrath will revive, and the second fall shall be as bad as the first.

The meaning of the last warning is not clear. Suetonius (Jul. C. 79) mentions among the various causes of Julius Caesar’s unpopularity a rumour ‘migraturum
Alexandriam (a town in the Troad) vel Ilium translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia defectibus et procuratione urbum amicis permissa.’ It has been suggested that this idea imputed to Caesar, and eventually carried out by Constantine, may have been in men’s minds, and that Horace, possibly at the inspiration of Augustus, sets himself to discourage it. His protest, however, is an empty one. The mythological argument could not be serious, and no other is brought forward. Dillenburger, with more likelihood, imagines that the poet’s purpose is to condemn Trojan manners, Asiatic perfidy and luxury, and that the rebuilding of Troy is an allegory, suggested perhaps by the rumour before mentioned of Julius Caesar’s design. Cp. Carm. Sec. 37 foll., etc.

The Ode is more in Pindar’s style than any that precedes it. The mythological part of it occupies a larger space, is handled with more freedom, and is left more completely to tell its own tale. Cp. 3. 11 and 3. 27.

Several MSS, including V and A (B omits Odes 2–6), wrote this Ode continuously with the Second; and Porphyrius, noticing the question, decides that they ‘manifeste cohaerent.’ The authority of the MSS. on the point (see Introd. to 1. 7) is weakened by the fact that the same ones join 2. 15 and 16, evidently wrongly. Ode 2 has no unity which would be injured by a closer connection with 3, and the topic of its last two stanzas is not alien to the praise of justice and constancy. Porphyrius is inclined to press too hard the connection between the six Odes; see on v. l. of Ode 4.

**IUSTUM et tenacem propositi virum**

Non civium ardo prava iubentium,

Non voltus instantis tyranni

Mente quotit solida neque Auster,

Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,

Nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis;

Si fractus illabatur orbis,

Impavidum ferient ruinae.

Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules

Enisus arces attigat igneas,


4. **mente** is the ablative of the part affected.

**solida,** ‘rock-like’; the metaphor is interpreted in Sen. de Consol. Sap. 3 ‘Quemadmodum proiecti in altum sculpit mare frangunt ita sapientis animus solidus est.’ Simonides’ τετράγωνος ὁδευ ψυγου, which the commentators, including Orelli, quote, is not in point, for it refers to the perfection, not as this does to the firmness, of the wise man’s mind.

5. **dux,** as ‘arbiter Hadriae,’ 1. 3. 15. **turbidus,** the captain is as disorderly as his crew.

7. **orbis** seems to mean ‘the round sky’; cp. 1. 16. 11 ‘ nec saevus ignis, nec tremendo Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu,’ Theogn. 869 Ὕν μοι ἔπειτα πλά-

5. σον μέγας ὀμφανὸς εἰρήν ὑπερθεν, Lucan. 2. 290, in the same connection as this, ‘Siderea quis mundumque velit spectare cadentem Expers ipse metus? quis quum ruit ardus aether . . . Complusas tenuisse manus?’

9–15. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 5–12 ‘Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,’ etc., where Augustus is ranked with the same mythological benefactors of mankind, but distinguished from them as having received his apotheosis in his lifetime, while theirs was delayed by envy till after their death. See also the
Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar.
Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
Vexere tigres indocili iugum
Collo trahentes; hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit,
Gratum elocuta consiliantibus
Iunone divis; Ilion, Ilion

comments passed (Tac. Ann. 4. 38) on Tiberius' refusal to accept divine honours, 'Optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere; sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos.'

9. arte, cp. 'vetere artes,' 4. 15. 12.
vagus, πολύπλυκτος, Virg. Aen. 6. 801 'Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,' where note that the travels of Hercules and Bacchus are mentioned to be compared with the progress of Augustus in the East.

10. enimus, so the best MSS. (including V) against 'innius.' It is the usual word for struggling upwards, as Virg. G. 2. 360, of the climbing vine.

arcos igneas, for the meaning of 'arces' see on 2. 6. 22: 'igneas,' 'starry,' as Horace calls the stars 'igneos,' Od. 1. 12. 47; Ovid's 'siderae arx,' Am. 3. 10. 21.

attigit, see on 1. 3. 10.

12. purpureo ore, as 'roseo ore' of Venus, Virg. Aen. 2. 593, though attributed to only one feature, it implies the halo of rosy light which surrounds the beauteous Augustus. 'Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi,' Virg. E. 5. 56. of the apotheosis of Daphnis.

bibit, al. 'bibt.' The MSS. are fairly divided. Of the Scholiasts, Acr. interprets the future. Porph., though his lemma has the present, does not indicate the tense in his interpretation. Either reading is intelligible. If we accept 'ibibt' Horace will represent a place as already prepared at the banquet of the gods and waiting for Augustus, as Virgil, G. 1. 24 foll. 'Tuque adeo quem mox quae sint habitura deorum Concilia incertum est,' etc. Virgil's 'mox' (see Conington in loc.) and 'Impridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar, Invicta,' G. 1. 503, may answer the objection raised to the future by Orelli, that the mention of death, even under the form of a promise of immortality, would not be a pleasing compliment. The stress is laid on the deification; death, as a necessary preliminary, is lost to sight. 'Bibit,' however, which makes Augustus a 'praesens deus,' already living on earth the life of a god, is more in accordance with Horace's usual language; see especially Od. 4. 5. 31-36, and the passage already quoted from Epp. 2. 1. 15 foll. 'Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores Iurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras.' It is more likely also to have been altered, as the more extravagant, especially to ears familiar with the Christian conception of life after death. But Horace's own transfiguration in Od. 2. 20, and the beatification given by the Muse to Romulus and Hercules and the Dioscuri in 4. 8 are metaphors of fame, not forms of a future life.

14. vexere, evidently, from the context, in his triumphant ascent to heaven. Compare Propertius' account (3. 17. 8) of the apotheosis of Ariadne, 'Lyncibus in caelum vecta Ariadna tuis.' The tamed tigers are not only an ornamental appendage, they are emblems of the civilizing labours, his 'just purpose firmly kept,' whereby he merited deification. These are recognized also probably in the 'pater,' although this was a common address to the Roman gods. Cp. Od. 1. 18. 6, Epod. 2. 22, Epp. 1. 16. 59, 2. 1. 5, and see Conington on Virg. G. 2. 4.

15. Quirinus. For the story of his translation see Ovid, Fast. 2. 481 foll.

17. The gods are represented as sitting in council on the question whether Romulus shall be admitted to their number. Juno, to the pleasure of all, assents.

18. Ilion, Ilion, 'It was Troy that I hated, and Troy is destroyed.'
Fatalis incestusque iudex
Et mulier peregrina vertit
In pulverem, ex quo destituit deos
Mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi
Castaeque damnatum Minervae
Cum populo et duce fraudulento.
Iam nec Lacaenae splendet adulterae
Famosus hospes nec Priami domus
Periura pugnaces Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit,
Nostrisque ductum seditionibus
Bellum resedit. Protinus et graves
Iras et invisum nepotem,
Troica quem peperit sacerdos,

19. fatalis (cp. Δόσταρας—Δόπταρας), 'doom-traught.' The two epithets are meant to have a close connection.

iudex, 'manet alta mente repostum Judicum Paridis,' Virg. Aen. 1. 26. The epithet 'incestus' is fitly applied to him as 'iudex,' inasmuch as his judgment was determined by Venus' promise, τὴν δ' ἤνη' ὁ οἱ πάντες μαχαλοσύνη ἀλεγνυν, Hom. II. 24. 30.

20. mulier peregrina. There is a scornful emphasis in the manner in which Juno refuses to name Helen or Paris.

vertit in pulverem, reduced to dust, Gr. ἃμαβευν, as Hom. II. 9. 593.

21. ex quo, construct 'damnatum ex quo,' etc. The sentence was passed at the time of Laomedon's fraud; it was executed in Priam's time; so the 'dux' of v. 24 must be Laomedon. For the story of his cheating Apollo and Neptune of their bargained wages for building the walls of Troy see Hom. II. 23. 442 foll.

22. mercede pacta, an abl. absol., 'promised them wages and then failed them'; or it may be as Forc. takes it, after the analogy of the ablative with 'fraudare,' e.g. 'praeda,' Liv. 2. 42.

mihi damnatum = 'addictum,' given over for punishment, as Virg. Aen. 4. 699 'Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.' Bentley wished to read 'damnatum' against the MSS, as 'obsessam Ilium' is found in Epod. 14. 14, and he is followed by Lachmann and Ritter. But we have 'Ilio superbo' in Od. 1. 10. 14, and 'Ilium' is a nom. in Od. Met. 6. 95.

23. castae, 'bene autem "castae," quia "incestus iudex" dixerat,' Acr.

24. fraudulento, the epithet is meant for people and prince alike. 'Laomedonteae periuria Troiae,' Virg. G. 1. 502, cp. Aen. 4. 541.

25-28. Paris, the cause of the war, and Hector, the bulwark of Troy, are dead.

25. adulterae, probably the dative with 'splendet,' 'adorns himself for the eyes of'; 1. 5. 4. 'cui religas comam.' With 'splendet' cp. Hom. II. 3. 392 κάλετε τε στιλβον και εἴμασιν.

26. famosus, 'infamous,' as in Sat. I. 4. 5.

hospes, the relation that gave its chief infamy to Paris' crime, ἡγουνεōν θεναν τραπέζων κλωπαίοι γυναικώς, Aesch. Ag. 401.


29. ductum, as 'trahere bellum,' Sall. Jug. 64; 'prolonged by our quarrels,' 'sedition' in the sense of στάσις.

30. protinus, 'this moment, and from henceforth.'

31. nepotem, Romulus is the grandson of Juno as the son of Mars; his birth is a fresh grievance besides the 'graves irae' against his Trojan ancestry.

32. Juno will not name Rea Silvia; see on vv. 19, 20. There is probably additional scorn in the close conjunction
Martí redonabo; illum ego lucidas
Inire sedes, ducere nectaris
Sucos, et adscribi quietis
Ordinibus patiari decorum.
Dum longus inter saeviat Ilion
Romamque pontus, qualibet exsules
In parte regnanto beati;
Dum Priami Paridisque busto
Insultet armentum et catulos ferae
Celent inultaes, stet Capitolium
Fulgens triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare iura Medis.

of 'peperit'—'sacerdos' ( = 'a vestal,' as in Virg. Aen. 1. 273 'regnà sacerdos Marte gravis'), and in the epitaph 'Troica,' as if it meant not merely 'of Trojan blood,' but 'a true Trojan.'

Marti occupies the place of emphasis as stating in one word the consideration which induces her to forego the resentment which had such full grounds. Compare the balancing of the sentence in 2.8.1-5 with note.

redonabo, a word only found in Horace, Od. 2.7.3. It is here used in the same sense as 'condonare' in Caesar, Bell. Gall. 1. 21 'Dumnorígem Divitíaco fratri se condonare dicit,' i.e. Dumnorigi ignoscere propter fratrem.

illum ego, both emphatic. It would not be strange that any other of the gods should consent to the admission of Romulus, nor that Juno should consent to the admission of any but one of that hateful parentage.

ducere, the variation of reading between 'ducere' and 'discere' is as old as the Pseudo-Acr. and Porph., the former of whom interprets 'propinare—potare,' the latter 'assuere sapori'bus nectaris.' A slight preponderance of MSS. is in favour of 'discere,' B omitting the Ode, and no testimony existing to the reading of V. 'Ducere' is the simpler; it is a common Horatian word, as with 'poca,' Od. 1. 17. 22, 'Liberum,' 4. 12. 14, etc.

adscribi ordinibus, 'ascribere civitati,' Cic. pro Arch., 'urbanae militiae,' Tac. Hist. 2. 94. It may be doubted how far any distinct metaphor is felt in 'ordinibus,' whether a muster-roll, or the

seats of the Council-hall.

quietis, a touch of the Epicurean doctrine of Sat. 1. 5. 101; cp. 'ea cura quietos sollicitat,' Virg. Aen. 4. 379.

37. longus, saeviat, imply that the sea which flows between them must be 'dissociabilis.'

38. exsules, the banished Trojans, and provided they do not break their banishment. 'Dictum sane videtur cum leni quadam despicentiae,' Orell. The emphasis is really on the one thing that she cares for, viz. that Troy and Troy's manners should have an end. This is brought out equally by the half contemptuous way in which she speaks of the fate of the 'exiles' in comparison with that of their old home, and by the grandeur of the destiny which she is willing to allow them if this one proviso is attended to.

40. Priami . . . busto. The Commentators remind us that according to Virgil, Aen. 2. 567, Priam did not actually receive sepulture.

41. insultet, ἐπισκυρτᾶ, ἐπιβρῶσε. Although the word is used in its proper sense, there is still a feeling of its tropical sense; to 'leap upon' a grave being a mode of 'insulting' the memory of its tenant, Hom. II. 4. 177 τῷμβῳ ἐπιβρῶσων Μενελάου κυβαλίμοιο. Compare with Juno's words the actual description of the Troad in Lucan 9. 966 foll.

42. Capitolium, the pledge and emblem of Rome's eternity, 1. 37. 6, 3. 5. 12, 3. 30. 8.

43. fulgens, with 'stet.' It seems to be opposed to the waste grass-grown ruins of Troy. Cp. Virg. 8. 348 'Ca-
Horrenda late nomen in ultimas
Extendat oras, qua medius liquor
Sitect Europen ab Afro,
Qua tumidus rigat arva Nilius,
Aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm,
Cum terra celat, spennere fortior
Quam cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.
Quicunque mundo terminus obstitit,
Hunc tanget armis, visere gestiens,
Qua parte debacchentur ignes,
Qua nebulae pluvique rores.
Sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus
Hac lege dico, ne nimium pii

pitolia... Aurea nunc olim silvestribus
horrida dumis.'
triumphantis, Virg. G. 3. 33 'tri-
umphantas gentes,' Aen. 6. 837.
possit, 'be mighty to.' Orelli quotes
Tibull. 1. 7. 3 'Aquitanas qui posset
fundere gentes.' It exalts the greatness
of the feat.
44. ferox, as it were, 'at the sword's
point'; but the two epithets 'triumph-
atis,' 'ferox,' are antithetical, contrast-
ing the attitude of the two peoples.
Cp. 'Latium ferox,' 1. 35. 10.
Medis, the peoples of the East, 2. 1.
31, but with special thought of the
Parthians; see on 1. 2. 22.
45. late, with 'horrenda,' as 'late
 tyrannus,' 3. 17. 9, 'populum late regem,'
46. medius liquor, 'the intervening
water,' 'venit medio vi pontus,' Virg.
Aen. 3. 417; the Straits of Gibraltar
are meant. They stand for the West
as the Nile for the East.
49-52. 'Only the gold unfound, and
so the better placed, let her fortitude be
shown in spurning rather than in gather-
ing with a hand that snatches for mortal
uses all that is sacred.'
50. fortior = 'dum fortior sit.' It is
a question whether this condition gram-
matically qualifies the 'extendat' of the
preceding stanza, or the 'tanget' of the
following one. It is better, perhaps, to
take it with the former, as the latter
matches more closely with the condi-
tion laid down in v. 57 foll. 'Let her
name be known in all shores from East
to West, only as the despiser of gold,
not as the greedy searcher for it. Let
her go to the world's end, to the tropics
and the pole, only not to Troy.' This
stanza seems to confirm the view that
Horace, under the talk of Troy, is think-
ing of real moral dangers of his country.
51. humanos in usus must be taken
with 'rapiente,' as it is antithetical to
'sacrum,' 'cogere' to 'spernere.'
53-56. 'Whatever bounds have been
set to the world she shall reach them
with her arms, and rejoice to see with
her own eyes in what quarter fiery heat
revels unchecked, in what quarter the
mists and dews of rain.' The great
majority of MSS. read 'tanget' as
against the vulg. 'tanget'; and there is
some force in Juno's grudging assent
passing into a distinct prophecy (cp.
'fata dico,' v. 57) of Rome's greatness,
provided only as before that her condi-
tion is observed.
54. visere, of seeing as a sight. Cp.
Od. 2. 15. 3.
55. debacchentur, see on 'decertan-
tem,' 1. 3. 13. For the description of
the torrid and frigid zones cp. 1. 22.
17 foll., and Virg. G. 234-236 'una
coruscus Semper sole rubens et torrida
semper ab igni, Quam circum extremae
dextra laevaque trahuntur Caerulea
glacie concretae atque imribus atris.'
57. belliosis, 'they will seek em-
pire by arms; the destiny which I have
announced is theirs on this condition.'
58. pii... fidentes, two motives may
induce them to forget her warning;
Rebusque fidentes avitae
Tecta velint reparare Troiae.
Troiae renascens alite lugubri
Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
Ducente victrices catervas
Coniuge me Iovis et sorore.
Ter si resurgat murus aeneus
Auctore Phoebo, ter pereat meis
Excisus Argivis, ter uxor
Capta virum puerosque ploret.
Non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae:
Quo, Musa, tendis? Desine pervicax
Refferre sermones deorum et
Magna modis tenuare parvis.

filial feeling towards their μυράως, overweening confidence in their own powers.

61. alite lugubri = 'malis auspiciis'; I. 15. 5 'mala avi,' 4. 6. 23 'potiore alite.'

62. iterabitur, 'the fortunes of Troy, if in an evil hour it is called to life again, shall be repeated in an overthrow as sad as before.' The hypallage whereby 'renascens' is made to agree with Troy's fortunes rather than with Troy, helps in point of feeling to make it more clear that any new life of the city would be but the old life repeated, and would end in the same catastrophe; in point of grammar it leaves 'iterabitur' without any proper subject, for it is the past destiny which can properly be said to be repeated, not the one which is reopened.

63. victrices, victorious before and to be victorious again.

64. Virg. Aen. i. 46 'Iovis . . Et soror et conjux,' Hom. ii. 16. 432. Her pre-eminent dignity is a second assurance that the armament will not be led in vain.

65. ter . . ter, Virg. G. i. 281, 283. aeneus, almost a proverbial phrase for great strength, Epp. i. i. 60, Aesch. in Ctes. § 84 χαλκοί καὶ ἀδαιμαντίνους τελευεν.

66. auctore Phoebo. A few MSS. read 'ductore,' which might be paralleled by 'potiore ductos Alite muros,' 4. 6. 23, but the vulg. is amply supported by Virg. G. 3. 36 'Troiae Cynthius auctor.' The expression might have been used to mean merely 'with the advice of Phoebus,' but it doubtless refers to the legend that Apollo himself built the walls of Troy; cp. Propert. 4. 6. 43 'murorum Romulus auctor.'

67. uxor . . virum pueros, the men slain, the women sold to slavery.

69. conveniet, the future suits the following 'Quo, Musa, tendis?' Horace would suggest that there is something left unsaid. With the end of the Ode cp. that of 2. 1.

72. tenuare, as 'deterere,' 1. 6. 12.
ODE IV.

'Calliope, aid me in my song. Is it a delusion, or am I already among the Muses, hearing and seeing them? I am their favourite. In my childhood the wood-pigeons covered me with leaves when I was asleep on the hillside, and through life the Muses have given me a special protection. For their love I escaped Philippus, and the falling tree, and shipwreck off Palinurus. And they are Caesar's solace and refreshment too. They give him gentle counsels, and he accepts them. We all know how Jove's bolt swept away the brutal Titans; for all their strength of arm, and piled mountains and uprooted trees, they could not stand against Pallas and the gods who ranged themselves around her. Strength without mind falls of its own weight; strength, tempered with moderation, the gods advance and protect. The giants are in Tartarus, and will never be released. Lawless lust is punished with endless chains.'

This Ode deals with the side of the imperial régime which probably did most to attract and hold fast such adherents as Horace himself. The Muses themselves 'gave gentle counsels to Caesar.' It was the régime of moderation, of refinement, of literary culture. Those who still continued to conspire against this gentle rule were as the giants trying to overthrow the Olympian gods, and restore the dominion of insane force and lawless lust. But force without wisdom was powerless.

Descende caelo et dic age tibia
Regina longum Calliope melos,
Seu voce nunc mavis acuta,
Seu fidibus citharave Phoebi.

1. descende caelo, for the Muses were Ολυμπιάδες, Hom. II. 2. 49: not, as the Scholiast thought, with reference to the last Ode and the 'sermones deorum.'

dic . . melos, see on 1. 32. 3.
tibia . . seu voce acuta . . . seu fidibus.
The construction is not quite perfect. There are not three choices offered, as might appear, the pipe, or the voice, or the stringed instruments, but (as Ritter points out) two. The voice will be used in any case; the alternative is between two tones of the voice and two several accompaniments which suit them. Horace asks first that the melody shall be on the pipe; he corrects this, and laying the emphasis on 'longum,' leaves it to Calliope (so long as in this respect it is such as he asks for) to decide whether it shall be 'voce acuta' (and so accompanied by the pipe) or 'voce gravi' (and so accompanied by the stringed instrument). There is the same choice given to Clio (1. 12. 1), 'lyra vel aceri (cp. 'acuta voce') Tibia'; and the two kinds of accompaniment for lyric poetry are common in Horace, as in Od. 1. 1. 33, where they are assigned respectively to Polyhymnia and Euterpe. Cp. also 4. 1. 22.

2. longum, 'sustained.' He is preparing for a longer effort than usual; 'maius opus movet.'

Calliope, see on 1. 1. 32, she is called 'regina' as a goddess, as ἀνασα, πότνα in Greek. The repetition of the vocative, and the separation which gives greater emphasis to each utterance of it, are intended to mark the earnestness of his appeal.

4. fidibus citharave. If, with the great majority of the MSS, we retain 've,' we must take 'fidibus' of the lyra. Such expressions as λεύρη καθαρίζειν (Hom. Hymn. ad Merc. 473), show that in early
times the two names belonged to the same instrument, but they were subsequently distinguished. The 'cithara,' whose invention was ascribed to Apollo, was like a modern guitar, its strings stretched over the sounding body; the 'lyra,' which remained the property of Hermes (Epod. 13. 9 'fide Cyllenea'), had its strings open on both sides like a harp. Bentley, and most subsequent editors, have altered 've' to 'que,' so that 'fidibus citharae' will be = 'fidibus citharae.' Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 120 'Threicia cithara fidibusque canoris.' 5. 'Is it a real sound that others too can hear, or is it a "fine fancy" of mine?' amabilis insania, an oxymoron; madness, but one of which I should not wish to be cured. Horace claims the επουνειαμύς, πανία (Plat. Phaedr. p. 245 A) of a poet.

6. pios lucos, not, as Acron interpreted it, of Elysium, but of the woods which the Muses haunt: Μουσάων νάςαου, Plat. Ion, p. 534 A. Cp. Od. 1. 1. 30, 3. 25. 2. 4. 2. 30. 4. 3. 10. 'Pios' either = 'sacros,' 'haunted by gods,' or because the 'profanum vulgus' is excluded from them, 3. 1. 1 foll.

9. me fabulosae. The emphasis on 'me' points out the connection with the preceding stanzas, 'no wonder that I should hear the Muses' voice, though you do not. I have been their favourite from my babyhood.

fabulosae, 'legendary.' 'De quibus fabulantur poetae.' They are the birds of Venus that draw her car; they carry ambrosia to Zeus himself (Hom. Od. 12. 62). The suggestion is that their action in covering the child-poet in leaves was, like their actions of which legends tell, 'non sine Dis'; and, as Conington remarks, the emphatic conjunction 'me fabulosae,' etc. is as much as to say, 'I, too, like other poets (as Stesichorus, Pindar, Aeschylus), have a legend of my infancy.'

Volture, now Monte Voltore, a mountain 4433 feet high, some five miles west of Venusia, near the point where Apulia, Samnium, and Lucania join.

10. nutricis, so Keller, with the oldest MSS; but it is hard to account for the variant 'altricis,' which divides the authorities with it.

extra † limen Apuliae. This is the reading of the great number of MSS, and apparently was found by Acr. and Porph. It is usually interpreted of part of Mt. Vultur, just beyond the border line. Horace dwells on the character of the neighbourhood as 'debateable land' on the frontier of the two provinces, Sat. 2. 1. 34 'Lucanus an Apulus anceps,' etc. There is, however, some reason for suspecting that this reading was an early corruption. The minuteness of the local description and its paradoxical form have no special point; and the instances quoted from other poets of variation of the quantity in such names as Italus, Italia; Priamus, Priamides; Sicanus, etc. are hardly parallel to the inversion of the quantity of two syllables in the same word, in the same part of two consecutive lines. It is doubtful, besides, whether the Roman poets ever shortened the first syllable of Apulia. The only instance alleged is the 'mare Apulicum' of 3. 24. 4, where the reading is at least as doubtful as the present one. Meanwhile, of the oldest MSS. (we have no testimony with respect to V) the Berne and the Paris A, in its first reading, have 'limina Pullie,' and the Scholiast on 7 reads the same, and explains it as the proper name of the nurse. Acr. and Porph. seem to have read 'Apulie,' but, oddly, to have interpreted it in the same way: 'Fabulosam nutricem appellavit quod haec fere alumnis suis narrare fabulas solent. Extra limen fabulosae Apuliae meae nutricis. Provinciae nomen possit pro nutritis,' Acr. So also on v. 19, Acr. 'extra casae limen.' 'Pollia' or 'Pullia' is a name that occurs in several inscriptions. It is barely possible then that we have here the name of Horace's nurse,
although it cannot be thought likely that none of his readers and imitators in antiquity should have preserved her memory. It is possible, again, that the word which completed the verse may have been lost early, the copyist's eye being caught by the conclusion of the preceding verse; and it may have been some adjective such as 'sedulae' (Bentl.) agreeing with 'nutricis.' It is possible, Ritter thinks, that 'Apuliae' was a gloss to explain some other name of the district, such as 'Dauniae.' Mr. Yonge's recent alternative suggestions, 'villulae' and 'viliaca' (= 'house-keeper'), both rest on their resemblance to the latter part of the MS. reading Apuliae: the first also on its agreement with Acron's gloss 'casae.' Mr. Munro refuses 'villulae' on the ground of the rarity of diminutives, and this would be a double diminutive, in Augustan poetry.

11. Hom. II. 10. 98 καμάτρις ἀδηνάκτης ἐδὲ καὶ ἕπυγ. For the position of 'que' see on 1. 30. 5.

13. mirum quod foret. The subjunctive expresses, if not a purpose, at least a result foreseen at the time of the action: 'to be the marvel of all that,' etc. Cp. Virg. E. 9. 48 'processit... Astra quo segetes gauderent frigibus.'

14. nidum Acherontiae, of a town nestling, where you would not look for it, on a ledge of a hill. So Cic. de Orat. 1. 44. 'Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis tanquam nidulum affixam.' Acrenza retains the name and site of the ancient town. 'It is built on a hill of consider-

able elevation, precipitous on three sides, and affording only a very steep approach on the fourth.'

15. Bantinos, on the borders of Lucania and Apulia, for Pliny speaks of it as belonging to the former, 'Livy to the latter. The name is preserved in the convent of St. Maria di Banzi.

16. Forenti. The name (Forenza) still remains in the locality, but is at present applied to a village on a hill. The Pseudo-Acron speaks of the ancient village having been deserted, in his time, 'nunc sine habitatore est.'

17. ut... ut, explaining the subject of their wonder, 'how it could be that I slept,' etc. Horace has 'mirabimur ut' in Epod. 16. 53.

18. sacra, the bay to Apollo, the myrtle to Venus; and so they are emblematic both of the future poet and specially of the poet of love. Collata,' like 'sacra,' is intended to cover both substantives. See 2. 15. 18-20 n.

20. non sine dis, οὔθέν άτεπ, οὔκ άθετι (Hom. Od. 18. 353). This is their explanation of the marvel: 'such bravery in a babe must come from the gods, and must be under their special protection.' 'And so it was,' Horace continues, 'I was under the Muses' care, and have been all my life.'

22. tollor, the Muses take him, as a god snatches a hero from the fight in Homer, and carry him up 'in montes et in arcem ex urbe' (Sat. 2. 6. 16). Cp. Od. 2. 7. 13.

23. seu... seu... seu. An apodosis
Vestris amicum fontibus et chorus
Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
Devota non exstinxit arbos,
Nec Sicula Palinurus unda.
Utcunque mecum vos eritis, libens
Insanientem navita Bosporum
Tentabo et uiretes arenas
Litoris Assyrii viator;
Visam Britannos hospitibus feros
Et lactum equino sanguine Concanum,
Visam pharetratos Gelonos
Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.
Vos Caesarum altum, militia simul
Fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,

must be applied to each supposition, or if Praeneste be my choice, or Tibur, or Baiae, ‘ibi vester sum,’ ‘co vester feror.’ The epiteths contrast the situations: the breezy hill-top (Praeneste is 2100 feet above the sea), the sloping hill-side (‘supinum’ must refer to the S. W. side of Tibur, where the hill slopes gently towards the Campagna), and the sea-shore.

25. amicium, the welcome guest in the haunts of the Muses. 1. 26. 1 ‘Musis amicus.’

fontibus et chorus, 1. 26. 6; Hes. Theog. 3 (of the Muses) καὶ τε περί κρήνης λοικλητίωσα αδελοφόως ὀργείεινα. 26. ‘Not the rout at Philippis,’ 2. 7. 13.

devota, sc. ‘dis inferis,’ and so ‘accursed.’ Epod. 16. 9.
arbos, 2. 13 passim, 2. 17. 27. 3. 8. 7. 28. Palinurus, the south promontory of the gulf of Velia, on the west coast of Lucania. Virg. Aen. 5. 833 foll., 6. 381. It is still ‘Punta di Palinuro.’

There is no other allusion in Horace’s poems to this escape from shipwreck, unless his remembrance of it is the source of the images of Od. 1. 28; see also on 4. 4. 43 and Introd. to Epod. 1. For ‘Sicula unda,’ see on 2. 12. 2.

29. utunque, ‘whencesoever.’ See on Od. 1. 17. 10.

30. insanientem, Virg. E. 9. 43 ‘insani feriant sine litora flucus.’

Bosporum, 2. 13. 4. 2. 20. 14.

32. Litoris Assyrii, probably of the Syrian desert, Assyrius being used loosely for ‘Syrius’ by the poets. See Od. 2. 11. 16, and cp. Virg. G. 2. 465. viator, opposed to ‘navita,’ ‘as viae’ to ‘mare,’ 2. 6. 7.


34. Concanum, a tribe of the Cantabri. Virgil attributes the mixing of milk with horse’s blood to the Gelonii (G. 3. 463), Statius to the Massagetæ (Ach. 1. 307). Silius (3. 360) joins the Massagetæ and the Concani.

35. pharetratos, Virg. Aen. 8. 725 ‘sagittiferosque Gelonos.’ All the localities have epithets to express the savagery of the inhabitants except ‘Scythicum amnem,’ where ‘inviolatus’ has the same effect by implying that others could not visit the Tanais with equal safety.

37. vos supplies the connection with the preceding stanzas, as if it were ‘vos caeder.’ The same Muses who protect the poet are the solace of Caesar, glad to have done with war and to listen to their gentle counsels.

altum, Sat. 2. 5. 62 ‘ab alto Demis-sum genus Aenea,’ Virg. Aen. 10. 875 ‘altus Apollo.’ Cp. Od. 1. 6. 11 ‘egregii Caesaris.’

simul = ‘simulac.’

38. abditt; this is the reading of A, and is the only one which has distinct support from a Scholiast, Acron interpreting it by ‘interius reconsiderit.’
Finire quaerentem labores

Pierio recreatis antro.

Vos lene consilium et datis et dato

Gaudetis, almae. Scimus, ut impios

Titanas immanenmque turman

Fulmine sustulerit caduco,

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat

Ventosum, et urbem regnaque tristia

Divosque mortalesque turbas

Cp. Epp. i. 1. 5 of the retired gladiator, 'latet abditus agro.' Orelli, following B, has 'addidit,' which is used in the same connection, as if it were the technical word, in Tac. Ann. 13. 31 'Coloniae Capua atque Nuceria additio veteranis firmatae sunt.' Bentley supports 'reddidit' (which also has respectable MS. authority) by Tac. Ann. 1. 17 'praetorius cohortes quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddidit.' In point of sense, 'abdidit' or 'reddidit' are much preferable to 'addidit,' as helping the general idea that the war is over. It is the soldiers, not the towns, that Horace is thinking of. 'Addidit' views the action from the side of the towns.

41. consilium, a trisyllable, the penult. being lengthened before i, and the semiconsonantal i = y. So in 3. 6. 6 'Hinc omne praeceptum.' Cp. Virgil's use of 'tenuia,' G. i. 397; 'fluviorum,' ib. 482, etc.

dato gaudetis almae. They not only give gentle counsels, but when they have given them they rejoice to further them; for in respect to them, as in all other respects, they are 'almae.' This epithet stands last, as summing up the beneficent character of the Muses, which has been the theme of the first half of the Ode, and as leading us by the association of contrast to the impersonations of brute and insensate force, whose vain efforts and doom are the subject of the latter half.

42. scimus ut, 'we all know how.' The preceding stanzas have been professedly addressed to the Muses. 'Scimus' reminds us that it is really a homily addressed to Horace's contemporaries, who had witnessed, so he hints, a repetition of the Gigantomachia. The same comparison is hinted in Od. 2. 12. 6-10.

43. immanemque, the 'que' adding only another designation of the same object.

If we must go by a mere majority of older MSS. we must read 'turbam' here, and 'turas' in v. 47. 44. caduo, kataβάτης κερανύς, Aesch. F. V. 358. Here, as in 2. 13. 11, the adjective has something of that sense of 'proneness to fall,' which Bentley (ad loc.) rightly holds to be proper to it. The bolt hung ready to fall: a touch launched it. The adjective heightens our feeling of the ease with which the Titans were swept away. Bentley condemns it here, as merely equivalent to 'cadente,' and would therefore alter it to 'corusco,' which would hardly be an epithet of sufficient point to occupy the emphatic place.

45-48. The universality of Jove's rule is indicated not only by the nouns 'terram,' 'mare,' etc. which describe his triple empire in earth, in Hades, in heaven, but also by the triple contrast of the epithets expressed or implied: the 'dull earth' (bruta,' 1. 34. 9) and the 'sea stirred by every wind,' the 'busy'-cities of the living and the sad realm of the shades, 'the [quieti ordinis of the] gods and the turmoil of mortal men.' However much they differ in all else, they are all alike subject to his sway. For Horace's manner of marking a contrast by giving an epithet to one only of the two things contrasted see on 2. 3. 9, 3. 13. 7, 4. 4. 10. Note also that the epithets actually given are all such as imply some difficulty or unlikelihood in the way of his rule. He can sway the earth, however insensate it be; the sea, however stormy; the sad shadow-world, as well as the world of men; the turmoil of earth, as well as the quiet gods.
Imperio regit unus aequo.
Magnum illa terrem intulerat Iovi
Fidens iuventus horrida brachii,
Fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo.
Sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrior statu,
Quid Rhoetus evolvisisque truncis
Enceladus iaculator audax
Contra sonantem Palladis aegida

48. unus, for all their variety they have one ruler.
aequo, calm and just. It is the keynote of the stanza; it heightens our idea of his power, and describes its nature. The construction is, ‘qui temperat terram et mare, et regit urbes regnacue,’ etc.

49. Newman criticised, not without justice, the inconsistency between this stanza and the last. ‘Magnum illa terrrem intulerat’ mars the effect of the picture of imperial calm. Jove, it would seem, was frightened; the ultimate victory was due to other gods. Horace almost seems to forget that he has localised the majesty of heaven in Jupiter. His object now is to exalt Pallas, the representative of mind. The power of heaven was cowed, but the mind was unshaken.

50. fidens brachii, χείρεσα πεποιθητες, Hom. II. 12. 135; but Horace intends, by the collocation of ‘horrida,’ to give the force of ‘fidens brachii quibus horrebant.’ It is of the hundred-handed giant and his fellows that he is thinking.

tendentes imposuisse. This is quoted by Madv. (L. G. § 407, obs. 2) with Virg. Aen. 6. 77 ‘si pectoris possit Exconsider deum,’ for the poetical use (‘like the Greek aorist’) of the perf. inf. for the pres. inf.; but they both seem to come under the regular use (which he distinguishes in his Opusc. Academ. 2. 119), in cases where there is definite reference to a completed action. The object in view was not only to place Pelion on Olympus, but to leave it standing there. This reference is clear in the old use of the perf. inf. after ‘volo’ in prohibitions (‘ne quis habuisse velt;’ Setum de Bacch. So Horace, ‘Ne quis humasse velt,’ S. 2. 3. 187; it is analogous in the perf. conj. in direct prohibition. This, and not any aoristic use, seems to be the explanation of ‘ne libeat iacuisse,’ in Virg. G. 3. 436. So also in the use after ‘nolo,’ Sat. 1. 2. 28; ‘malo,’ S. 2. 8. 79; ‘curo,’ Epp. 1. 17. 5, 1. 18. 59; ‘caveo,’ A. P. 168. So, again, in ‘veraces cecinisse,’ C. S. 25; ‘licet Dixisse,’ Od. 3. 29. 43; ‘gaudet pepulisse,’ S. 3. 18. 15; ‘gaudet possuisse,’ I. 34. 16; ‘iuvat collegisse,’ I. 1. 4.

opace Olympo, ‘frondosum Olympum,’ Virg. G. 1. 282; Πηλαν εινοαθυλαν, Hom. Od. 11. 304. Horace has returned to the Homeric arrangement of the mountains (omitting Osse), which Virgil had inverted. But in so doing he has left the epithet with what, in his arrangement, is the least appropriate substantive. In Homer and Virgil, the ‘nodding woods’ on the top add to the picture.

52. The labouring rhythm of the line is probably meant to be imitative.


55. Rhoetus, Hor. Od. 2. 19. 23.

56. Enceladus, Virg. Aen. 3. 578.

57. Palladis, see note on v. 49. The goddess of wisdom is the central figure. By her side (‘hinc .. hinc’) are ranged all the other gods; but of the three named to represent them if one is characterised by fiery zeal, the other two suggest queenly dignity and poetic grace.

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Possent ruentes? Hinc avidus stetit
Volcanus, hinc matrona Iuno et
Nunquam humeris positurus arcum,

 Qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
Crines solutos, qui Lyciae tenet
Dumeta natalemque silvam,
Delius et Patareus Apollo.

Vis consili expers mole ruit sua:
Vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
In maius; idem odere vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.

Testis meærum centimanus † Gyas
Sententiarum, notus et integrae
Tentator Orion Dianae,
Virginea domitus sagitta.

Iniecta monstris Terra dolet suis
Maeretque partus fulmine luridum
Missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
Impositam celer ignis Aetnam,
Incontinentis nec Tityi iecur

58. avidus, absol. as in Tac. Ann. i. 51 'avidæ legiones'; more usually with a genitive, as 'avidus pugnae,' Virg. Aen. 12. 430. Homer's ἀλατόμενος πολέμοιο.
60. 'Whom they could never hope to find unarmed and unprepared for battle.' The following stanza is intended to accumulate images of Apollo, his grace of form and his pursuits, which contrast with the 'uncouth and brutal Titans,' his haunts by streams and woodland, the fount of the Muses, the long hair of youth and of the bard (see on 4. 6. 26). We may note, also, in illustration of vv. 63, 64, that when Virgil would express Aeneas' beauty and grace of movement, he compares him to Apollo leading the dance in Delos, when he revisits it from Lycia (Aen. 4. 144).
61. lavit. For the form see on 2. 3. 18.
63. natalem silvam, Virg. i. c. 'maternam Delon.' For other notices of Apollo's migration between Patare and Delos see Herod. i. 82, Pind. F. i. 39.
65. Eur. Fr. Temen. 11 βόμη δέ γ' ἀμαθῆ πολλάκις τικτε βλαβην.
66. temperatam, 'under control'; possibly, as Conington suggests, with a reference to the use of 'temperare vinum'; 'tempered,' 'softened,' by the admixture of mind. Orelli points out how the repetition of 'vis,' 'vim,' 'vires,' marks the application of the preceding stanzas.
69. testis meærum sententiarum.
It is rather a rough and prosaic turn for Horace; but he is probably trying to be Pindaric. See on 4. 4. 18. On the variance of the MSS. between Gyas and Gigas see on 2. 17. 14.
70. integrae, i. q. 'intactae,' τῆς ἀεὶ παρθένου.
71. tentator, ἀναξ λεγ. from the Greek πειστήσις.
73. dolet, is still in pain.
suis, i. e. 'se natis.'
75. peredit, has eaten a way through, so as to set them free.
76. impositam, according to Pindar and Aeschylus, on Typhoeus; according to Virgil (Aen. 3. 578), on Enceladus; according to Callimachus (Hymn. in Del. 141), on Briareus.
oceler, for all its haste.
77. Tityi, 2. 14. 8. 3. 11. 21. 4. 6. 2
Reliquit ales, nequitiae additus
Custos; amanet trecentae
Pirithoum cohistent catenei.

78. additus, cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 90
nec Teuceris addita Juno Usquam aberit,
with Conington's explanation of it as a
slight extension of 'comitem se addere,'
'comes addi' (ib. v. 528).

80. Pirithoum, 4. 7. 27, for his at-
tempt to carry off Proserpine. Theseus,
who aided him, and for a time shared
his punishment, was released by Her-
cules.

ODE V.

'Jove's thunder proves him the sovereign of the sky. Augustus shall prove
himself a god upon earth by adding to the empire Britain and the hateful
Parthians—O shame to think of the disgrace not yet wiped away!—Roman
soldiers living as captives, forgetful of name and country, and country's gods.
This was the danger that Regulus foresaw if prisoners were allowed to hope for
ransom—"Let them die," he said, "and pity them not. I have seen with my
own eyes the sight of shame: Roman standards nailed up in Punic temples with
armour that was taken not from the dead but from the living:—Roman citizens
with their hands bound behind their backs—Carthage peaceful and busy:—the
work of our war undone. Will you buy those soldiers back again? It will be a
waste of money. The deer caught in the net does not fight again if you loose it,
nor does the man who has once feared death make a soldier again. He does not
know what war means." He put aside his wife and children, and hung his head
as one disgraced, till the senate listened to his advice; then he went back to tor-
ture and death with as light a heart as if he were going for a holiday.'

Another phase of Augustus' rule. He is to retrieve the deeply-felt disgrace of
Charrae, and to restore the healthy military spirit of ancient Rome. We have in
the story of Regulus at once a measure of the disgrace to be retrieved,—'It is the
very disgrace which he feared and foretold and went back to the torture in order
to prevent,'—and a picture of the true Roman spirit which is to be reawakened.

The whole sentiment of the speech may be compared with Liv. 22. 59-61.
The story of Regulus' mission to Rome is not found in Polybius, a fact which
has been held to throw doubt on its truth. It is summarized in the Epitome of
Liv. 18. With Cicero it is a commonplace. It is told at length in the De Off. 3. 27, a passage of which Horace recalls several turns of thought and expression.
'M. Attilius Regulus, cum consul iterum in Africa ex insidiis captus esset, duce
Xanthippo Lacedaemonio, imperatore autem patre Hannibalis Hamilcare, iuratus
missus est ad senatum ut nisi redditi essent Poenis captivi nobiles quidam rediret
ipsa Karthaginem. Is cum Romam venisset utilitatis speciem videbat; sed eam,
ut res declarat, falsam iudicavit: quae erat talis; manere in patria, esse domi suae
cum uxore, cum liberis; quam calamitatem accepisset in bello, communem for-
tunae bellicae indicamentem, tenere consularis dignitatis gradum. Quis negat haec
esse utilia? Quem censes? Magnitudo animi et fortitudine negat. Num locuple-
tiores quaeris auctores? Harum enim est virtutum proprium nihil extimisce re, omnia humana despiciere; nihil quod homini accidere possit intolerandum putare. Itaque quid fecit? In senatum venit; mandata exposuit; sententiam ne diceret recusavit; "quando iureiurando hostium teneretur non esse se senatorem." Atque illud etiam (O stultum hominem—dixerit quispiam,—et repugnante utilitati suae!) reddi captivos negavit esse utile; "illos enim adolescentes esse et bonos duces, se iam confectum senectute." Cuius quum valuisse auctoritas captivi retenti sunt; ipse Karthaginem rediit: neque cum caritas patriae retinuit nec suorum. Neque vero tum ignoravit se ad crudelissimum hostem et ad exquisita supplicia proficisci: sed iusiurandum conservandum putabat.'

Compare de Senect. 20, de Fin. 5. 27, pro Sest. 59, in Pis. 19 'M. Regulus quem Karthaginienses resectis palpebris illigatum in machina vigilando necaverunt.' It will be observed that the argument against ransoming Roman soldiers, as it appears in the Ode, is an addition to the story.

**CAELO tonantem credidimus Iovem**

Regnare: praesens divus habebitur

Augustus adiectis Britannis

Imperio gravibusque Persis.

Milesne Crassi coniuge barbarar

Turpis maritus vixit et hostium—

1. **caelo**, with 'regnare,' opposed to 'praesens.' Jupiter in heaven, Caesar upon earth, 1. 12. 51, 58.

credidimus, a perf., 'so much the world has already come to believe.'

2. **praesens divus**, opposed to the unseen gods of heaven; cp. 1. 2. 45 'serus in caelum redeas.' It suggests, perhaps, at the same time its more usual sense of 'present to bless'; cp. 4. 14. 43 'tutela praesens Italie:', Virg. E. 1. 43-45, where Augustus is the 'praesens divus' in both senses.

3. **Britannis.** Cp. 1. 35. 29, where Augustus is spoken of as meditating the same two exploits, 'Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos Orbis Britannos, et iunvenum recens Examen Eois timendum Partibus Oceanoque rubro.'

4. **imperio,** see on 1. 2. 26.

**gravibus Persis,** see on 1. 2. 21.

5. **milesne.** This burst of indignation, the more forcible for the conventional tone of the first stanza, is immediately suggested by the mention of the hateful Parthians. Augustus is subject them to the Roman sway. 'Can it be that Roman soldiers have borne to live, to marry, and grow old as their slaves? What a change from the old spirit, the spirit of Regulus!'

Crassi. M. Licinius Crassus Dives, the rival of Caesar and Pompey, and sharer with them in the league sometimes called the First Triumvirate, was defeated, B.C. 53, at Charrae in Mesopotamia, by Surenas, general of Orodes I; 20,000 Romans were said to have been taken prisoners, and 20,000 left dead, amongst whom was Crassus.

**coniuge barbarar.** Neither with 'turpis,' as Ritter takes it, nor necessarily with 'maritus,' as Dill', and Orelli, though they support it by Ov. Her. 4. 1. 34 'fratre marita soror'; but an ablative 'absolute' as much as 'te ducce,' etc. (see on 2. 1. 12), an ablative of the circumstance which justifies the whole appellation 'turpis maritus,' the collocation pairing, in Horace's manner, the correspondent words 'turpis,' 'barbara,' 'maritus,' 'coniuge.' The 'disgrace' the Commentators illustrate from Virg. Aen. 8. 688 'sequiturque (nem) Aegyptia coniux,' and Liv. 43. 3 'ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulleribus cum quibus connumerat non esset natos se memorantes.'

6. **vixit,** as its place shows, emphatic, 'has endured life,' has bough life at such a price.
Pro curia inversique mores!—
Consennuit socerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus,
Anciliorum et nominis et togae
Oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
Incolumi Iove et urbe Roma?
Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
Dissentientis condicionibus
Focidis et exemplo trahentis
Perniciem veniens in aevum,

7. pro curia, 'the senate,' as in 2. 1.
14 'consulentis curiae.' The force of
'inversi' is thrown back upon 'curia'
after Horace's manner: see on 1. 2. 1,
cp. 1. 5. 5. 'fideum mutatosque Deos.'
The senate is changed, and the whole
spirit of morals and discipline, of which
it was the guardian, is overset.' Compare
the part played by the senate in the
subsequent story of Regulus, v. 45.
8. socerorum, plural, as Hom. II. 3.
49 νυν ἄνδρων αἰχμητῶν, and Theocr.
24. 82 γαμφίδως ἄθωτών.
arms. So the MSS. with only one
exception, and the reading is illustrated
by Justin's account of the practice of
the Parthians, 41. 2. 5 'exercitum non
ut aliae gentes liberorum, sed maiorem
partem servitiorum habent,' and by the
story (quoted by Merivale from Flor. 4.
10; and Vell. Paterc. 2. 82) of the as-
sistance rendered to the expedition of
M. Antonius by a Roman in the Par-
thian ranks, 'qui clade Crassiani exerci-
tus captus . . . fortunam non animum
mutasset.' Canter's conjecture, 'arvis,'
was warmly supported by Bentley. It
has since been found in one MS. of no
great antiquity. There is force in
Bentley's argument, that Horace's in-
dignation is moved not by Romans hav-
ing borne arms against their country,
'quod falsum et inauditum,' but by
their consenting to live and marry
among their captors, 'obliti Romani
nominis.' The charge seems, vv. 25,
30, 31, 36, to be rather that they are
cowards than renegades. In the
presence, however, of the MS. testimony
he has not persuaded many of the
editors.
9. sub rege, 'invidiosum apud Ro-
manos nomen,' Orell.
Marsus et Apulus. The Marsi (cp.
2. 20. 18 'qui dissimulat metum Marsae
cohortis') are distinguished by other
writers, as Virg. G. 2. 167 'genus acre
virum Marsos.' The Apulian is named
as a fellow countryman of the poet; see
on 1. 22. 13.
10. anciliorum, as if the genitive of
'ancilium'; so 'vectigaliorum,' Suet.
Aug. c. 101. For a collection of similar
cases see Macrobr. Saturn. 1. 4. The
'ancile' was one of the pledges of the
eternity of Rome. For the legend
of its descent from heaven, and for the
meaning of the plural 'ancilia,' see Ov.
Fast. 3. 345-384.
nominis, sc. 'Romani.'
togae, Virg. Aen. 1. 282 'gentem to-
gatam.'
11, 12, 'As if Vesta's fire could be
quenched, or Jove's Capitol were le-
velled.'
13 foll. 'It was this danger which
Regulus had foreseen when he coun-
selled the senate not to ransom himself
and his fellow captives.' The danger
which he foresaw was, that if there
were the hope of ransom, Roman soldiers
would come to prefer captivity to a
brave death. Now they had come to
acquiesce in it, so much as even to
forget their own country.
15. trahentis = 'derivantis.' 'Trac-
ing the stream of ruin that would flow
to future ages from the precedent, if,' etc. No exact parallel for the phrase
'perniciem trahere' in the sense of 'to
trace the stream of ruin' has been
alleged; though the metaphor of the
stream is common enough, as 3. 6. 19
'Hoc fonte derivata clades In patriam
populumque fluxit'; but as we say of
one who points out a 'derivation' that
he 'derives,' so in Latin the idea of
actually drawing a stream passes easily
Si non periret immiserabilis
Captiva pubes. Signa ego Punicis
Adfixa delubris et arma
Militibus sine caede, dixit,
Derepta vidi; vidi ego civium
Retorta tergo brachia libero
Portasque non clausas et arva
Marte coli populato nostro.
Auro repensus scilicet acrior
Miles redibit.—Flagitio additis
Damnun: neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicate fuco,
Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus.

derepta Latinis.'

22. *retorta, so in the description of a triumph, Epp. 2. 1. 191 'Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis.'

terho libero, ablative of place; more usually 'post tergum.' 'A freeman's back'; see on 1. 12. 19 'adulteros crines,'

23. *portas, the gates of Carthage.

non clausas, the sign of peace and security; 'apertis otia portis,' A. P. 199.

Cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 27 'Panduntur portae, iuvat ire,' etc.

24. *Marte nostro, with 'populata,' 'the fields that our arms had ravaged again in tillage.'

27. *damnun, 'pecunia,' Porph. Ritter well quotes 'grandes rhombi patinaeque Grandó ferunt una cun damno dedecus,' Sat. 2. 2. 95. 'The money is wasted, for the ransomed soldier will be worthless.'

neque...nece...as not...so not. Compare the use of obre...obre in a simile, Aesch. Cho. 258-261 ob' aleti' géntbl' àpoftho'ras pálo' Pémpein e'xoi d' sý- má' éµnicht bróto'ne, Ob' árkhó's soi tás' 6' aánvei' nüµne' Bómio' ářié' boudótó'v ën éµasi.


fuco, any kind of dye. Properly a seaweed, used apparently for giving the first dye to stuffs which were to be dyed purple, Plin. N. N. 9. 38.

deterioribus, masculine; whether

17. *periret. The shortening of the short syllable is possibly justified by the caesura, see on 2. 20. 13. It is not parallel to 'caeca timet alinnde,' 2. 13. 16, and other cases in which the metrical accent falls on the lengthened syllable. Horace does not seem to have allowed a second trochee in the Alcaic, as Alcaeus himself did. No alteration is likely; 'periret' is doubtful in point of number, and 'perices' (Lachmann) is too rhetorical.

immiserabilis, unpitted as he deserves to be.

18. *signa has force as the first word of Regulus' speech, striking again the key-note of the Ode, recalling the bitter memory of Charrae, the loss of the standards. The twice repeated 'ego' is also emphatic. 'Listen to me —I can tell you what the captivity of Roman soldiers really means. I have seen it.'

20. *sine caede derepta. Contrast Virgil's (Aen. 11. 193) 'Spolia occisis

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Si pugnat extricata densis
Cerva plagis, erit ille fortis,
Qui perdis se credidit hostibus,
Et Marte Poenos proteret altero,
Qui lora restrictis lacertis
Sensit iners timuitque mortem.
Hic, unde vitam sumeret inscius,
Pacem duello miscuit. O pudor!
O magna Karthago, probrosis
Altior Italiae ruinis!
Furtur pudicae coniugis osculum
Parvosque natos ut capitis minor

it be the dative, 'to be restored to'; or the ablative, 'to be replaced in.' 'De-
terior a bono, peior a malo dicimus,' Schol.
31. si, 'when . . . then, and not till then,' etc.
33. perdis se credidit. Cp. 3. 27.
25 'doloso credidit.' 'Perdis' explains and justifies 'credidit'; although with-
out such an opposition, 'dedidit' or 'tradidit' would be, as Bentley shows,
the more usual verb. The 'perfidy' of the foes to whom he surrenders is in
point, both as showing by a side touch the folly of his cowardice, and also, like
the 'closeness' of the toils, as contributing to unman the soldier who has
once been in their power.
36. iners, like 'ignavus' = 'imbellis,' 'the coward.' 4. 9. 29. Compare Vir-
gil's uses of it, Aen. 4. 158 'Spuman-
temque dari pecora inter inertia votis
Optat aprum'; 11. 414 'dextras tenda-
mus inertes.'

timuitque mortem. Bentley connects
these words with the following
stanza, and reads 'timuitque mortem
Hinc unde vitam sumeret aptius, Pacem
et duello miscuit,' i.e. 'has shrunk from
the sword, which to a brave man is
the security of life, as though it were only
an implement of death.' 'Aptius' is
found in several MSS, and some of
value, but there is no trace of the other
alterations, 'hinc,' 'et,' which it seems
to necessitate. 'Inscius' is found in
the great majority of MSS, and was read
by all the Scholiasts, one of whom inter-
prets 'qui nesciret vitam viro fortis
potius de armis sperandum.' Bentley
objects to the vulg., that the last charge
'timuitque mortem' involves 'minorem
culpan quam en quae praecesserant.'
But it is quite in the old Roman spirit
to sum up the baseness of the captives
in the charge that they 'feared death.'
Compare the title δ τρεώας, affixed to
the Spartan who escaped at Thermo-
pylae, Hdt. 7. 231, and Tyrtaeus 8. 12
(Bergk), τρεσαντων δ' άνδρων πιος άνδρι-
αλ' ἀπετη.
37. hic, 'captum militem quasi
reum ad iudices ductum aggreditur,'
Kitter.

sumeret. The subjunctive has to do
double duty; for that mood would be
required if it were merely the indirect
question, 'ignorant whence he drew';
but it has a further potential force, 'igno-
rant whence he might draw,' 'would
draw if he tried.'
38. pacem duello miscuit, 'has for-
gotten the difference between peace and
war;' in the latter 'safety is to be won
only by the sword.
40. altior ruinis, 'lifted higher (in
appearance—relative height) by the fall
of Italy.' This is simpler than 'tow-
ering over,' as Orelli takes it.
41. furtur. Cp. 3. 20. 12: it is the com-
mon formula when the narrator would
throw the responsibility of his narrative
on hearsay or tradition. Possibly here
it is intended to call a momentary
attention to the contrast between the
spirit of Regulus and the spirit of mo-
dern Rome. 'Strange as it sounds, they
tell us.'
42. ut capitis minor, a poetical
form of 'capite deminutus'; the genitive
after the analogy of 'integer vitae,'
captus animi,' etc. 'Cepite deminutus
Ab se removisse et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse voltum:
Donec labantes consilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
Intérique maerentes amicos
Egregius properaret exsul.
Atqui sciebat quae sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet; non aliter tamen
Dimovit obstantes propinquos
Et populum retitus morantem,
Quam si clientum longa negotia
Diiudicata lite relinqueret,
Tendens Venafranos in agros
Aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.

est qui in hostium potestatem venit, 've Fest. It is in Horace's manner, by a slight alteration of the common formula, at once to recall and to avoid a technicality which, if literally reproduced, would be harsh or pedantic. See on 2. 4. 24, 4. 42, 4. 14. 1, and compare notes on 3. 27, 38, 4. 15. 9. He refused, according to Cicero, 'sententiam dicere,' to speak in his place,' quamdiu iureiurando hostium teneretur non esse se senatorem.'

44. Ar. Ran. 804 ἐβλεψεν οὖν ταυρηδόν ἔγκυσα κατώ.
45. donec . . firmaret. 'So long as he was striving to brace up the resolve of the fathers and to hasten his departure,' A contrast is intended between his stern sadness, so long as it was still doubtful whether the senate would listen to his counsel, and the light heart with which, his purpose accomplished, he set out on his return to torture and death.
46. auctor is opposed constantly to 'suasor.' Sometimes as one who brings weight and dignity to back his advice; sometimes as one who originates as well as urges a proposal. The senate acted 'auctore Regulo,' by the advice and under the influence of Regulus.'
47. egregius exsul, an oxymoron, as 'splendide mendax,' 3. 11. 35.
48. atqui sciebat. Cp. the last sentence of the passage quoted in the Introd. from the De Officiis, 'Neque ro tum ignorabat [Regulus] se ad crudelissimum hostem et ad exquisita supplicia profiscisci, sed iusurandum conservandum putabat.'
52. reditus, plural, as in Epod. 16. 35.
54. diiudicata lite. 'Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 76 'Rura suburbana indictis . . . are Latinis.' The advice and protection of clients is represented as one of the great burdens of the city life of the great in Rome. (Ep. 1. 5. 31 'postico-falle clientem,' etc.) Whether the 'lis,' which is now over, is one which the patron has heard and settled himself, or one in which he has been supporting his client in court, is a question decided autoritatively each way by about an equal number of commentators, but apparently on next to no evidence.
55. Venafranos, see on 2. 6. 16.
56. Lacedaemonium, 2. 6. 11 'regnata Laconi Rura Phalanto.' Venafrum and Tarentum are named as places to which a Roman would go for his holiday. Notice the quiet ending of the poem, the conventional epithet, raising no new picture, appealing at the most to distant historical associations, feeding not so much the mind as the ear, and even that with a certain sameness of sound. This characteristic of Horace's style is noticed in the Introd. to Books i-iii, § 11. 3, and on Od. 2. 19. 31, 4. 2. 57. It belongs partly to himself, partly to the poetic art generally. The passion in poetry which
gives pleasure is not unbridled passion, but passion felt to be measured and controlled by mind. This is the intellectual side of the pleasure added to poetry by the recurrences of rhyme and metre.

ODE VI.

'We are suffering for our fathers' sins. They let the temples go to ruin. They let the sacredness of marriage laws be tampered with. Our blood is poisoned, and we go from bad to worse. They sprang from different parents, and had healthier homes, who conquered Pyrrhus and Antiochus and Hannibal. Our sons will be worse than we are. Where is the remedy?'

This Ode is the complement of the last. It traces to its source the decline of the military spirit of which that complained, and includes in the arraignment Roman daughters and mothers. As that points to Augustus' plans of foreign conquest, so this points to his restoration of temples and religious ceremonial (cp. 2. 15) and his legislation on social questions (cp. 3. 24; 4. 5. 21 foll.; Carm. Saec. 17. 20). Cp. Suet. Aug. 30, and Merivale, ch. 33.

DELICTA maiorum imméritus lues,
Romane, donèc templa refeceris
Aedesque labentes deorum et
Foeda nigro simulacra fumo.
Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas:
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosae.

1. imméritus, not that Horace would say generally that the existing generation was innocent, but their punishment was not all for their own sins. In part they were 'paying for the sins of their sires in which they had had no share,' and would continue to pay for them till they undid them.

2. Romane, a general address to the people, Sat. 1. 4. 85; cp. A. P. 54. Virg. Aen. 6. 852.

templa . . aedesque, synonyms, the second substantive being only a vehicle for the epithet, like Virgil's 'Limen erat caecaeque fores . . . postesque reliicti.'

refeceris, the task that Augustus was engaged in, Suet. Aug. 30 'Aedes sacras vetustate collapsas aut incendio absuntas refecit.'

4. fumo, perhaps from the 'incendia' of which Suet. 1. c. speaks.

5. te minorem geris, cp. 1. 12. 57 'Te minor latum, reget aequus orbem.'

6. hinc, sc. 'est.' Liv. 45. 39 'maiores vestri omnia magnarum rerum et principia exorsi ab Dis sunt et finem statuerunt.' It is the forgetfulness of this which has constituted the 'neglect' of the next verse.

For the scansion of principium see on 3. 4. 41.

7. neglecti, 'because they were forgotten,' 3. 2. 30 'Diespiter neglectus.'
Iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus
Non auspicatos contudit impetus
Non Nostros et adiecss praedam
Torquibus exiguis renidet.
Paene occupatam seditionibus
Delevit Urbem Dacus et Aethiops,
Hic classe formalatus, ille
Missilibus melior sagittis.
Fecunda culpae secula nuptias
Primum inquinavere et genus et domos;
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.
Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo et fingitur artibus;

9. bis Monaeses et Pacori manus. Three defeats of Roman armies by the Parthians are recorded,—that of Crassus at Charrae by Surenas, B.C. 53; that of Decidius Saxa, legatus of M. Antony, in Syria by Pacorus the son of Orodés, and Labienus the republican renegade, in B.C. 40; and that of M. Antony in Media in B.C. 36. Pacorus himself had been killed in battle in B.C. 38. The only Monaeses known to history was the Parthian noble who, having fled, like many others, from the tyranny of Phraates IV (the son to whom Orodés I in his grief at the death of Pacorus had resigned the crown), instigated Antony to his ill-advised invasion of Parthia in B.C. 36. It has been suggested that Monaeses may have been the name of the general who defeated Crassus, 'Surenas' being not so much a name as a title, as it appears to have been certainly in later times: Σουρνας...ἀρχὴν δί τοῦτο παρὰ Πήρας θυμίας, Zosimus (A.D. 400-450). Estró would cut the knot by condemning the stanza. Probably Horace is thinking of the two greater defeats—of Crassus and Antony—and Monaeses and Pacorus' are merely representatives of the Parthians.

10. non auspicatos (in some good MSS. 'inauspicatos'). Bentley objected to the series of accusatives as prosaic, and would read 'nostris' or 'nosterum'; but 'non auspicatos' is not an epithet, but predicative: it gives the reason of the defeats and is the link with the last stanza. It was especially mentioned of Crassus' expedition that 'proficiscemt in Syriam diris cum ominibus tribuni plebis frustra retinere conati,' Vell. Pat. 2. 46.

13. paene, with 'delevit.' 'While we were intent on our civil wars the barbarians of north and south all but destroyed Rome,' a poetical exaggeration. For the Daci see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 7.

14. Aethiops represents the Egyptian fleet of Cleopatra; cp. Virgil's account of the rout at Actium, Aen. 8. 705 'omnis eo terrore Aegyptius et Indi, Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebrant terga Sabaei.'

17. fecunda culpae, for the gen. cp. 'ferax frondis,' 4. 4. 58. secula; it has been a gradual declension from age to age.

18. genus et domos, the young generation has vice in its blood, and sees examples of vice in its homes.

20. patriam populumque. If any distinction is intended, it is between the life and honour of the state as affected by defeat in war, etc., and the well-being of its individual citizens.

21. motus Ionicos, voluptuous Ionian dances.

22. artibus, instr. abl. as 'formatur,' 'eruditur artibus'; 'accomplishments'; 4. 1. 15 'centum puere artium,' though here with a less honourable meaning. A large number of good MSS. read 'artubus.'
Iam nunc et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui;
Mox iuniores quaerit adulteros
Inter mariti vina, neque eligit
Cui donet impermissa raptim
Gaudia luminibus remotis;
Sed iussa coram non sine conscio
Surgit marito, seu vocat institor
Seu navis Hispanae magister,
Dedecorum pretiosus emptor.
Non his iuventus orta parentibus
Infecit aequor sanguine Punico,
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;
Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta lignonibus
Versare glebas et severae
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes, sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras et iuga demeret.
Bobus fatigatis, amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru.
Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Aetas parentum peior avis tuit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem.

24. 'A teneris ut Graeci iunt unguiculis,' Cic. ad Fam. 1. 6. 2, ἐς ὄνυξον ἀναλών.
Cp. Prop. 5. 2. 38 with Paley's note.
33-36. The first Punic war, cp. 2. 12.
3 'Siculum mare Poeno purpureum sanguine.' The war with Pyrrhus b.c. 275.
That with Antiochus ended by the battle of Magnesia; b.c. 190. The second Punic war.
35. *ingentem*, perhaps with reference to his cognomen 'Magnus.'
36. *dirum*, see on 2. 12. 2.
37. 'The manly sons of country-bred soldiers.' Ritter would separate 'rusticorum' from 'militum,' taking the latter with 'proles,' as = 'militaris'; but the fathers are meant to have gone through the same training as the sons, 'utiles bello tuit ... saeva paupertas,' etc., 1. 12. 42.
38-44. 'To dig all day, and then when even the bullocks were tired out and loosened from the plough, to cut and carry fagots till a Sabine mother called "enough."'
38. *Sabellis lignonibus*, see on 1. 31. 9 'Calena falce.'
42. *mutaret umbras*, was making the shadows of the hills fall another way from that in which they fell in the morning. The whole stanza describes evening.
44. Horace probably felt some slight pleasure in the paradoxical form of 'agens abeunte curru.'
47. *daturos*, 'partu dabit Ilia, prolem,' Virg. Aen. 1. 274.
ODE VII.

'Don't weep, Asterie, for your absent Gyges. He will come back to you with the spring and bring a wealth of Bithynian merchandize. He will come back: he is only detained by the winter in the harbour to which he was driven on his way home. He lies awake at night thinking of you. It is all in vain that his hostess Chloë tries every art to win him, sends emissaries to tell him of her passion and to prove to him from mythology the folly of constancy; he turns a deaf ear to it all. Only mind you do as well. Your neighbour Enipeus is a brave young gallant, but don't open your window if he comes to serenade you.'

As Orelli characterizes it, 'εἰδώλαυν mercatorum vitam amoresque lyric describens.' The names are Greek, the life Roman. Ritter points out the effect of this Ode in relieving by its lightness and grace the seriousness of the preceding six. Compare the position of Od. i. 38.

Metre—Fifth Asclepiad.

QUID fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
Primo restituant vere Favonii
Thyna merce beatum,
Constantis iuvenem fide,
Gygen? Ille Notis actus ad Oricum
Post insana Caprae sidera frigidas
Noctes non sine multis
Insomnis lacrimis agit.

1-8. The first stanza gives the reasons why she should not weep for him: 'He will come back with the west winds of spring with the merchandize for which he sailed, and he will come back true to you.' The second stanza justifies the first prophecy, 'he is only detained by the weather'; and the second, 'even now he is pining to be at home with you.'

1. candidi, 1. 7. 15.
3. Thyna, Bithynian, 1. 35. 7, Epp. 1. 6. 33.
4. fide, an archaic contracted form of the genitive, as 'die,' Virg. G. i. 208. It appears for the dative in Sat. i. 3. 95 'commissa fide.' There is, however, some little doubt as to the form here, a considerable majority of MSS. reading 'fidel' as a dissyllable. Against this must be set the fact that in Sat. i. 3. 95 they are unanimous for 'fide.'
5. Notis, the plur. of continuous south winds, so 'Aquilonibus,' 3. 10. 4.

Oricum, an important haven on the coast of Epirus within the shelter of the Acroceraunian headland, into which ships making the passage from Greece to Italy might be driven by unfavourable winds. The idea is that Gyges has tried to cross late in the sailing season and has been driven into Oricus, where he must now wait till the spring opens the sea again. Cp. 4. 5. 9-12.

6. insana, as 'vesani Leonis,' 3. 29. 19, there as bringing heat, here storms.

Caprae, 'signum pluviale Capellae,' Ov. Fast. 5. 113, the brightest star of Auriga, to which also the Haedi belong. It is the mythical goat that suckled the infant Jupiter.
Atqui sollicitae nuntius hospitae,  
Suscipare Chloën et miseram tuis  
Dicens ignibus uri,  
Tentat mille vafer modis.  
Ut Proetum mulier perfida credulum  
Falsis impulerit criminibus, nimos  
Casto Bellerophoniti  
Maturare necem, refert.  
Narrat paene datum Pelea Tartaro,  
Mannessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinent;  
Et peccare docentes  
Fallax historias monet.  
Frustra: nam scopulis surdior Icari  
Voces audit adhuc integer.—At tibi

9. *atqui*, i. 23, 9, 3, 5, 49, Epod. 5, 67. It is strongly adverative, 'And yet.' 'He is sleepless and tearful for love of you, and yet he has strong temptations to inconstancy.' He is preparing for the moral, 'whatever are your temptations, mind you are as constant as he.'

10. *tuis ignibus*, 'a passion for one who is yours,' 'a passion which only you have a right to feel.' Cp. the use of 'ignes,' i. 27, 15.

11. *tentat*, as 'tentare precando,' Virg. Aen. 4, 115, 293, the idea of laying siege to a city, trying every approach; probably also a reference to the special meaning of *peipav*, 'tentator Dianae,' i. 4, 71.

12. *mulier perfida*. Antea, according to Homer; Stheno boea, according to others. The story of Bellerophon's refusal of Antea's advances and of her unsuccessful scheme for his destruction is told by Glauce, his grandson, in II. 6, 155 foll.

13. *perfida credulum*. She was treacherous and he was easy. Horace delight in such antithetical placing of adjectives, see on i. 3, 10, and comp. 3, 5, 33 'perfidis credidit.'


15. *maturare necem*, to hasten a man's death, i.e. to kill him before his time; see Cic. pro Clu. 61.

16. *frustra*; for the emphatic position cp. 3, 13. 6 'Frustra... nam gelidos,' etc. *scopulis surdior*, a common-place of the poets. Cp. Epod. 17, 53 'Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis'; Eur. Med. 28 ὡς δὲ πέτρων ἡ θαλάσσιος κλωνών ἀκοντα, with the same intended oxymoron as in 'surdior... audit.'


19. *Hippolyten*, Pind. Nem. 4, 56 foll., 5, 25 foll.; according to others her name was Astydameia. Peleus was accused by her to Acabas of assailing her honour, τὸ β’ ἵνα τοὺς ἑσσι. Acabas left him alone on Mount Pelion, having first taken away his sword, hoping that the Centaurs might find him and slay him; but he was saved by Chiron, and Zeus Xenius rewarded his virtue with the hand of Thetis.

20. *historias, μύθους*, as Prop. 2, 1, 16, 5, 1, 119. *monet*, 'calls to his mind;' 'movet' and 'monet' are so nearly alike that the preponderance of MS. authority in favour of the latter can hardly be conclusive. There is the same doubt in the text of Ov. A. A. 3, 651 'Quid iuvat ambages preeceptaque parva monere?', which would be the nearest parallel for this use of 'monere.' There are more abundant illustrations of 'movere,' 'factorum arcan.,' Virg. Aen. 1, 262, 'cantus,' ib. 7, 641.

21. *frustra*; for the emphatic position cp. 3, 13. 6 'Frustra... nam gelidos,' etc. *scopulis surdior*, a common-place of the poets. Cp. Epod. 17, 53 'Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis'; Eur. Med. 28 ὡς δὲ πέτρων ἡ θαλάσσιος κλωνών ἀκοντα, with the same intended oxymoron as in 'surdior... audit.'

*Icarus*, either 'of the island Icarus,'
Ne vicinus Enipeus
Plus iusto placeat, cave;
Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
Aeque conspicitur gramine Martio,
Nec quisquam citus aeque
Tusco denatat alveo.
Prima nocte domum claude neque in vias
Sub cantu querulae despice tibiae,
Et te saepe vocanti
Duram difficilis mane.

the island round which the Icarian sea breaks, or less likely 'of Icarus,' sc. the son of Daedalus, as if the sea might be called 'mare Icari' as well as 'mare Icarium,' and then the rocks that border it the 'rocks of Icarus.' For the 'mare Icarium' see on 1. 1. 15.
22. adhuc, 'to this hour,' not, as 'hactenus' would, implying any doubt of his continuing so.
integer, 2. 4. 22.
at tibi, by its emphatic position strikes the key-note of the remainder of the poem.
23. Enipeus, the name taken from a

river of Thessaly, compare 'Hebrus,' 3. 12. 6. Compare the same Ode for the accomplishments likely to win a lady's heart, 'simul unctos Tiberinis,' etc., and notice there also the combination of Greek names with all the circumstances of Roman life.
28. Tusco alveo; Virg. G. 1. 499 'Tuscum Tiberim.'
denatat, óπαξ λέγ.
29. neque, Madv. § 459, obs.
30. sub, 'at the sound of,' as ὑπό, e. g. Soph. El. 711 χαλκῆς ὑπαί σάλπιγγος ἀν.
ODE VIII.

The Ode is written for an expected or imagined visit of Maecenas, on the first anniversary of the poet's narrow escape from the falling tree (2. 13, 2. 17, 27, 3. 4. 27). The festival of March 1 was the Matronalia. Maecenas is supposed on his entry to wonder what can be the reason that a bachelor's home shows preparation for sacrifice on such a day. The answer is, that the poet is paying a vow to Bacchus, which he had made at the time of his miraculous preservation. 'The best wine is to be brought out,' and so the Ode passes into an invitation to Maecenas to enter into the spirit of the time—to forget the troubles of State. 'All is going well; the Dacians are checked, the Parthians quarrelling among themselves, even the Cantabrian subdued at last, and the Scythians unstringing their bows; Maecenas may enjoy a little privacy and immunity from care.'

On the questions raised as to the date of the Ode see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 8.

1. Martiis Kalendis, 'feminea Kalendae,' Juv. 9. 53. The origin and nature of the Matronalia are told in Ov. Fast. 3. 233 foll.

2. flores, part of the rites of the day. 'Ferte deae flores: gaudent florentibus herbis Haec dea: de tenero cingite flore caput,' Ov. i. c.


4. docte sermones, 'for all your skill in the lore of either tongue.' 'Sermones,' λόγοι, will include literature, antiquities, and mythological and ritual knowledge.


6. voveram. The plpft., because he is explaining the antecedent ground of a past action, viz. of this preparation of the altar, flowers, etc. 'dvloes epulas, 'a dainty feast'; cakes were offered as well as the victim. Mart. 9. 91. 15 foll. 'Sic Martis tibi serviant Kalendae Et cum ture meroque victima-que Libetur tibi candidas ad aras Secta plurima quadra de placenta.'

7. Libero, see on Od. 2. 17. 28. Bacchus would interfere to preserve him as one of the gods of poetry.

8. caprum, a goat, as the fitting offering to Bacchus. Virg. G. 2. 380; 'white', because he is one of the 'Di superi'; black victims were offered to the 'inferi.'

9. funeratus, 'brought to my grave.' The word in this metaphorical sense is Horace's own.
HIC DIES ANNO REDEUNTE FESTUS
CORTICEC ADSTRICTUM PIECE DIMOVEBIT
AMPHORAE FUMUM BIBERE INSTITUERIT
CONSULE TULLO.
SUME, MAECENAS, CYATHOS AMICI
SOSPITIS CENTUM ET VIGILES LUCERNAS
PERFER IN LUCEM: PROCUl OMNIS ESTO
CLAMOR ET IRA.
MITTE CIVILES SUPER URBE CURAS:
OCCIDIT DACI COTISONIS AGMEN,
MEDUS INFESTUS SIBI LUCTUOSUS
DISSIDET ARMIS,
SERVIT HISPANAE VETUS HOSTIS ORAC
CANTABER SERA DOMITUS CATENA,

9. hic dies, etc. 'this day a holiday in each returning year.'
10. In order to ripen the wine sooner, it was customary to construct the 'apo-
theca' in such a place as to be exposed to the smoke and hot air of the bath
furnaces. This rendered it more necessary carefully to protect the cork (as here with a coating of pitch), lest the
flavour of the smoke should penetrate to the wine. See Dict. Ant. s. v. 'vinum.'
11. bibere institutae, 'which was
7. taught the lesson of drinking.'
12. console Tullo, probably L. Volcatius Tullus, who was consul in
b.c. 66, the year before Horace's birth. Cp. 3. 21. i 'O nata mecum Consule
Manlio.' This was not an extreme age (cp. 3. 14. 13 'Cadum Marsi memorem
duelli,' i.e. 'as old as b.c. 88'), and the occasion demands the oldest wine in the
cellar. Another L. Volcatius Tullus was consul with Augustus in b.c. 33.
13. amici, the genitive of the person
in whose honour the cup is drunk. Cp. 3. 19. 9 foll. 'Da lunae prope
nova, Da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris
Murenae.' The custom and the
construction are Greek. Theoc. 14. 18
\[\text{ἔδω\, ἐπιχείσθαν ἄκρατον \text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright}ωτίνος ἅβελ\textquoteright\text{\textquoteright} ἐκαστος, ἐδε \μνον \ωτινος εἰπ'ν.}\]
Orelli quotes also Antiph. in Athen. 10. 21
καθους θεῖω τε και θεανίων μυρλως. This illustrates also 'centum' for an indefinite number. Maclean, referring to the
custom mentioned in Ov. Fast. 3.
331 foll. ('Sole tamen vinoque calent, annosque precantur Quot sumunt calices, ad numerumque bibunt. Invenies illi
qui Nestoris ebibat annos, Quae sit per
calices facta Sibylla suos,'), thinks it is
equivalent to saying, 'wish me a hundred
years of life.'
14. vigiles, to keep the banquet up
all night; 1. 27. 5, 3. 21. 23 'vivae
lucernae'; Virg. Aen. 9. 338 'Aequasset
nocti ludum in lucemque tulisset.' Orelli
contrasts the expression of Ov. Her. 19.
195 'iam dormitante lucerna.'
15, 16. 'It shall be a sober and peace-
ful merrymaking'; no 'impius clamar,' 1.
27. 7; no 'male ominata verba,' 3.
14. 11. The purpose is apparently to make more alluring to Maecenas the
contrast from the tumults and troubles of the city. Perhaps also to give some-
thing of a religious air to the banquet of
thanksgiving.
17. civiles = 'domesticas,' opposed to
the foreign questions of the following
lines.
super urbe; Virg. Aen. 4. 233 'Nec
super ipse sua molitur laude laborem.'
For the reference see Introd. to Books
i-iii, § 8.
18. Daci Cotisonis; see Introd. to
Books i-iii, § 7.
19. Medus, 'the Parthian'; see on
1. 2. 22. The point that the Mede's
whole offensive power is exhausted on
himself in intestine quarrels is brought
out by the position of 'sibi' standing
where it seems equally open to be
governed by 'infestus,' 'luctuosis,' and
'dissidet.' See on 1. 3. 6.
Iam Scythae laxo meditabantur arcu
Cedere campis.
Neglegens, ne qua populus laboret,
Parce privatus nimium cavere:
Dona praesentis cape laetus horae et
Linque severa.

21. vetus hostis; Od. 2. 6. 2. 4. 14.
23. laxo arcu; Virg. Aen. 11. 874,
   of retreat, 'laxos referunt humeris lan-
guentibus arcus.' The Scythians are
thinking of retiring from the plains
which they have been accustomed to
harry. Cp. 2. 9. 23.
25. neglegens, 'Be careless for a
time; be a private citizen: spare thy
over-anxiety lest in any way the people
should take harm.' 'Ne laboret' seems
to be constructed, in Horace's manner,
do\' n\' vo\' with 'neglegens' ('non
curans') and 'cavere.' Orelli, Ritter,
and Dill\' take 'privatus' as='quum
sis privatus,' 'since you are,' etc.; but
surely Horace would not undervalue
the public character of Maecenas' offices,
however informal and unknown to the
law they might be. He would not after
saying 'you have on your shoulders the
whole weight of home and foreign
policy,' add, 'after all you are only an
"eques," it is nothing to you if public
affairs go wrong.' Bentley is equally
unsatisfactory; he thinks that 'privatus
cavere,' 'to be anxious for your private
interests,' answers to the 'public care'
of the preceding verse.
27. et. B, and most of the tenth cen-
tury MSS, omit the copulative; A has 'ac.'

ODE IX.

The reconciliation of two lovers who have quarrelled; one is 'Lydia,' the other
is not named. The form of the Ode is like the amoebean eclogues of Theocritus
and Virgil.

We may note the dramatic propriety of the feelings throughout.
His the pride of possession, hers the pride of being first in his eyes.
His the attraction of Chloë's accomplishments, hers the happiness of love that is
returned.
His the lordly relenting that offers to cast off Chloë and open the gate again to
Lydia, hers (with one little womanly hit in the implied comparison of his beauty
with that of Calais) the passionate-delight, for all his fickleness and bad temper, to
live and die with him.

Metre—Third Asclepiad.

DONEC gratus eram tibi
Nec quisquam potior brachia candidae

2. potior, a preferred rival, as in Epod. 15. 13.
Cervici iuvenis dabat,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.
Donec non alia magis
Arsisti neque erat Lydia post Chloën,
Multi Lydia nominis
Romana vigui clarior Ilia.
Me nunc Thressa Chloë regit,
Dulces docta modos et citharae sciens,
Pro qua non metuam mori,
Si parcent animae fata superstiti.
Me torrent face mutua
Thurini Cala'ts filius Ornyti,
Pro quo bis patiar mori,
Si parcent puero fata superstiti.
Quid, si prisca redit Venus
Diductosque iugo cogit aeneo,
Si flava excutitur Chloë
Reiectaeque patet ianua Lydiae?

4. Persarum rege; 2. 12. 21. A comparison of 2. 2. 17 will show that, though the 'happiness' of a 'Persian king' is proverbial, and Greek rather than Latin, yet Horace so completely identifies Persians and Parthians, that he would hardly have understood his commentators when they say that he is referring here, not to the Parthians, but to the old Persian monarchy.
5. alia arsisti; 2. 4. 8 'arsit virgine.'
7. multi Lydia nominis, not as though literally the world knew her name; but she felt as proud of his preference as if she had a fame equal to that of Ilia. Ritter, identifying the lover with Horace, would make it mean, 'your poems were full of Lydia, and gave her a fame as great as Ilia's.' For the genitive 'nominis' see Madv. § 287.
8. Romana, the ancestress of Rome (as the mother of Romulus, according to one form of the legend; cp. 1. 2. 17). The epithet indicates the source and the extent of her fame; possibly it is further intended to adapt the comparison to the mouth of a Greek.
10. citharae sciens; 1. 15. 24 'pugnae sciens.'
12. animae, 'her life,' Orelli; probably better with Ritter, 'my life,' i.e. Chloë. Cp. 'Meae partem animae,' 2. 17. 5 and 1. 3. 8.
14. Thurini filius Ornyti; see Introd. to 2. 4. The fulness of the designation is probably, as Ritter points out, as much as to say, 'He is a real person. I can tell you all about him if you wish, as well as you can tell me of Chloë and her charms.' Cp. 3. 12. 6. Thurii seems to be selected for its old reputation of wealth and luxury; the others are mythological names, chosen 'ut poetica et sonora,' Orelli. 'Ornytus' is used by Virg. Aen. 11. 677.
16. puero. It is not quite easy to see the point of Lydia's variation from 'animae.' It may be merely for variety's sake. Possibly, however, 'animae,' taken in connection with the early lines of the stanza, which had not touched a very deep chord, might have seemed conventional, and have provoked the simpler and more personal, and so more feeling 'puero.'
18. iugo aeneo, 1. 33. 11, of its strength; 'irrupta copula,' 1. 13. 18.
cogit, 'brings together.' Virg. Aen. 7. 639 has 'ad iuga cogit equos.'
19. excutitur, is dislodged from her influence over my heart. Virg. Aen. 5. 679 'excussaque pectore Iuno est'; or,
Quamquam sidere pulchrior
Ille est, tu levior cortice et improbo
Irascundior Hadria,
Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

as Bentley thinks, 'from my house,' so as to correspond with 'patet ianua Lydiae.' It is hard to be sure of the exact metaphor felt in 'executit,' or even whether it and 'patet ianua' are either or both of them metaphorical.

20. Lydiae, the dative, not the genitive, as it has been taken.
21. sidere pulchrior; 3. 19. 26 'Puro te similem, Telephe, vespero.'

Astyanax in Hom. II. 6. 401 is ἐναλίγνος δότερι καλφ;
23. irascundior. His levity and his passionate temper have both been shown in the quarrel which is being made up. If we were to identify the interlocutor with Horace himself, we might remember his description of himself Epp. i. 20. 25 'Irasc celerem, tamen ut piacabilis essem.'

Hadria; i. 33. 15.

ODE X.

What the Greeks called a παρακλαυσίδυρον. Other specimens may be seen and compared in Theoc. 3. 23 foll., Propert. i. 16. 17 foll. Cp. also Horace, Od. i. 25. 6-8, 3. 7. 29 foll.
The poet personates a lover singing under his mistress' window on a frosty night, and appealing to her pity to let him in. 'Venus will resent and punish your pride; you have no right from your origin to give yourself the airs of a Penelope. Though no human feelings—gratitude, pity, jealousy—will make you love me, yet as a goddess be merciful. O, hard and cruel heart! there are limits to your lover's patience.'
Compare with the Ode 4. 13, which seems to be the revenge which is here threatened.

Metre—Fourth Asclepiad.

EXTREMUM Tanain si biberes, Lyce, Saeco nupta viro, me tamen asperas Porrectum ante fores obiicere incolis Plorares Aquilonibus.

1. Tanain si biberes, 2. 20. 20 'Rhodani potor'; 4. 15. 13 'qui Danubium bibunt.' The form of expression is as old as Hom. II. 2. 825 παντετε υδρο μελαν Αλιγτυου. 'If you were a Scythian, with a husband as stern as husbands are there.' Cp. 3. 24. 20-25 peccare nefas aut pretium est moi.'

Lyce's husband is of a different kind, v. 15.
2. asperas, morally, 'shut in my face.'
3. incolis, 'native,' sc. to Scythia. Horace suggests, though he does not say, that the north wind to-night is as cold as that of Scythia.
Aidis quo strepitu ianua, quo nemus
Inter pulchra satum tecta remugiat
Ventis, et positas ut glaciet nives
Puro numine Iuppiter?

Ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
Ne currente retro funis eat rota.
Non te Penelopen difficilem procis
Tyrrenhus genuit parens.
O quamvis neque te munera nec preces
Nec tinctus viola pallor amantium
Nec vir Pieria pellice sauciis
Curvat, suplicibus tuis
Parcas, nec rigida mollior aesculo
Nec Mauris animum mitior anguibus.

5. nemus. This is usually taken of the few trees which in a large house were planted within the ‘peristylium’; see on Epp. 1. 10. 23 ‘inter varias nutritur silva columnas.’ Ritter contends that Lyce is not in the rank of life to which such an appendage of a palace would be appropriate, and takes it of some public plantation, perhaps the ‘duo luci’ (Liv. 1. 8), between the two tops of the Capitoline.

6. inter pulchra tecta. ‘Though we are not in the Scythian wilds, and though you are comfortably lodged, yet the wind howls outside as loudly and the frost bites as keenly.’

7. ventis. Bentley wished to alter to ‘sentis,’ in order to avoid the double ablative ‘strepiuus,’ ‘ventis,’ and the rather harsh zeugma by which ‘audis’ is constructed with ‘ut glaciet nives.’ But compare 1. 14. 6 and Virg. Aen. 4. 490 ‘mugire videbis Sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus oinos.’

8. puro numine. ‘Numen’ is divine power in exercise; ‘numine glaciet nives,’ as Virg. Aen. 4. 269 ‘caelum et terras qui numine torquet,’ ‘Puro,’ of clear sky, as ‘lupitteruvius,’ ‘frigidus,’ etc. The ancients had observed that cold is greater with a cloudless sky.

10. ‘Lest rope and wheel run back together.’ Clearly a proverbial expression, though the origin is uncertain. The best illustration that is quoted from Lucian: σο δι’ πάνω χαλεπή αυτή τῷ αυθρόπου γεγένησαι, καὶ ὅρα μὴ κατὰ τὴν πορομίαν ἀπορρήσουμεν πάνω τείνασαι τῷ καλόδιον. This would seem to give the image of lifting weights by a pulley. If the rope be drawn too roughly or too far it will break, the wheel will spin round the wrong way, and the weight fall back again. Lyce must not overdo her coyness, or she will exhaust the patience of Venus and of her lover.

12. ‘Your father was a Tuscan; you are no Penelope to resist suitors.’ For the form cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 42 ‘non me tibi Troia Externum tulit.’

14. tinctus viola pallor, generally interpreted like Virg. E. 2. 48 ‘pallentes violae,’ of the yellow violet. It appears to have been taken so by Calpurnius (Ecl. 9. 40) of an unhappy lover, ‘Pallidior buxo violaeque simillimus erro.’ But the words themselves more naturally suggest Ritter’s interpretation, ‘sublividus,’ of a pale face scored with dark lines under the eyes.

15. Pieria, from the borders of Macedonia and Thessaly, as ‘Thressa Chloë.’

17. rigida aesculo, seems to be a continuance of the image of ‘curvat,’ ‘You are as hard to bend as an oak bough.’
Non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquae
Caelestis patiens latus.

19. aquae caelestis; Epp. 2. 1.
20. latus, he represents himself as

lying on the doorstep, 'porrectum ante fores.' Cp. Epod. 11. 32 'Limina dura quibus lumbos et infrungi latus.'

ODE XI.

O Mercury and my lyre, teach me some strain that will win the obdurate ear of Lyde. She is like a young unbroken colt; but music has made tigers and forest trees and rivers stay to listen. It has tamed Cerberus, and beguiled the pain of Ixion and Tityus and the Danaids with their leaking pitchers. Let Lyde hear their tale—how they slew their husbands, all save one—their punishment, and Hypermnestra's undying glory.

Lyde is warned not 'placito pugnare amori' by the story of the Danaids and their punishment, and the noble exception of Hypermnestra. The application of the story is not very close. The form of the Ode seems to be a nearer imitation than usual of the construction of an Ode of Pindar; the commencement by an invocation of Mercury and the lyre; the accidental way in which, through the recountal of the feats of music, the Danaids are introduced; the myth told at length, but left to be applied by the reader's wit. Compare 3. 3 and 3. 27.

For the story of the Danaids read Aesch. Pr. V. 853-869 and Ov. Her. 14 ' Hypermnestra Lynceo,' which contains frequent reminiscences and expressions of passages in this Ode. Compare vv. 3, 4 ' Clausa domo teneor gravibusque coercita vincis: Est mihi supplicii causa suisse piam,' etc. with vv. 45, 46 of the Ode, vv. 35, 36 with 41 foll., vv. 73, 74 'Surge age, Belide, de tot modit fratibus unus; Nox tibi, ni properas, ista perennis erit,' with vv. 37, 38, and vv. 127-130 with v. 51, see note.

Ritter suggests that the story would be especially familiar to the Roman public at the time when Horace was writing these Odes, from the fact that a group of the Danaids formed a chief feature in the portico of the temple of Apollo on the Pala- tine, which Augustus dedicated in B.C. 28 (see Od. 1. 31). Prop. 3. 23. 4, Ov. A. A. 1. 73, id. Am. 2. 2. 3.

MERCURI,—nam te docilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo,—

1. Mercuri. Mercury is coupled with the 'testudo,' χλευ (Hom. Hymn. Merc. 47 foll.), of which he was the mythical feature. The whole tortoise-shell was used as a sounding bottom, the horns (πυξις) rising from its end and supporting the γυνα, from which the strings were stretched to it. See Dict. Ant.

nam te, etc. gives the reason for
Tuque testudo resonare septem
Callida nervis,
Nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc et
Divitum mensis et amica templis,
Dic modos, Lyde quibus obstinatas
Applicet aures,
Quae velut lassis equa trina campis
Ludit exsultim metuitque tangi,
Nuptiarum express et adhuc protervo
Cruda marito.
Tu potes tigres comitesque silvas
Ducere et rivos celeres morari;
Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
Janitor aulae, 
Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput eius atque
Spiritus teter saniesque manet
Ore trilingui.
Quin et Ixion Tityosque voltu
Risit invito, stetit urna paullum
Sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
Carmine mulces.
Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
Virginum poenas et inane lymphae
Dolium fundo pereuntis imo,
Seraque fata,
Quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco.
Impiae,—nam quid potuere maius?
Impiae sponsos potuere duro
   Perdere ferro!
Una de multis face nuptiali
Digna perurum fuit in parentem
Splendide mendax et in omne virgo
Nobilis aeum,
Surge, quae dixit iuveni marito,
Surge, ne longus tibi somnus,
   unde Non times, detur;
socerum et scelestas
Falle sorores,

potuere, repeated with a play on the double sense of 'posse,' to be able in respect of physical power, and to be able in respect of heart and will; the first = ἐνενήθησαν, the second = ἔτλησαν. For the second sense cp. Epod. 9. 14 'miles spadonibus Servire rugosis potest.'
31. duro. For the meaning of the epithet cp. v. 45 'saevis catenis,' and see on Epod. 5. 30, Od. 4. 4. 57.
34. periurum, because he had betrothed his daughters to the sons of his brother Aegyptus, and now bade them slay each her bridegroom.
35. splendide mendax, an oxymoron already familiar to poetry and poetical rhetoric. Aesch. Fr. 273 ἀπάτης δικαιας ὅπι ἄνοοται, Soph. Ant. 74 δὼν παν-ουργήσαι, Eur. Bacch. 334 καταβεβοῦν καλός, Cic. pro Mil. 27 'mentiri glorioso.'
Quae velut nactae vitulos leaenae
Singulos cheu lacerant: ego illis
Mollior nec te feriam neque intra
Clausta tenebo.
Me pater saevis oneret catenis,
Quod viro clemens misero peperci;
Me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
Classe releget.
I, pedes quo te rapiunt et aurae,
Dum favet nox et Venus, i secundo
Omine et nostri memorem sepulchro
Scalpe querelam.

41. 'Like lionesses that have come on a herd of calves, are rending, ah me! each her own.' She imagines what is even now passing in each chamber. 'Lacerant' continues the image of the lionesses; the simile passes into a metaphor.

45-47. me, me, 'I don't care for myself, if I can save you; my father may load me with chains, if you go free from the prison-house.' The antithesis is the same as in the epitaph quoted on v. 51.

46. clemens miser. For the relation of the adjectives see on i. 3. 10.

49. pedes et aurae. The two are alternatives, for she means 'fly either by land or sea,' as it is put more fully in Epod. 16. 21 'Ire pedes quoquuncunque ferent, quoquuncunque per undas Notus vocabit'; so that this must be added to the many instances in which the Latin (and Greek) poets put conjunctively, as possibilities united in the fact of their being offered at the same time, what we should put disjunctively as alternative possibilities which cannot be realized at the same time. See on Od. 1. 3. 9, 3. 27. 5, Epod. 2. 13; compare Virg. G. 2. 25 'Quadrifidasque sudes et acuto robore vallos,' which describes two alternative modes of treating the 'stirpes' of the preceding verse; and Virg. Aen. 2. 645 'miserebitur hostis exuviasque petet,' of the different motives, one or other of which will induce some enemy to kill Anchises.

rapiunt, has the inceptive force of the present, 'are waiting to snatch thee away.'

51. nostri = 'mei,' as 3. 27. 14 'Et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas.'

sepulchro, 'on my tomb'; perhaps a cenotaph, as the 'Hectoreus tumulus' of Virg. Aen. 3. 304. Ovid (Her. 14. 127) understands it of a request that he will actually bury her, and imagines the full epitaph which he is to inscribe, 'Exsul Hypermnestre, pretium pietatis iniquum, Quam mortem fratri depulit ipsa tulit.'
ODE XII.

This Ode seems to be rightly taken by Orelli and Dill¹ as a soliloquy put into the mouth of Neobule. 'She is one of the unhappy maidens who can neither give free play to their love nor forget it over the wine cup without the dread of an uncle's fierce tongue. She cannot attend to her womanly work for the thought of Hebrus' beauty,—Hebrus, as he comes fresh from his swim in the Tiber after his morning's exercise, for he is the best of riders, boxers, runners, huntsmen.'

The older theory made it all an address of the poet to Neobule. But in his mouth the contrast of the lot of men and women is not very graceful, nor the connection between vv. 1-3 and the remainder of the Ode very clear, nor the recital of Hebrus' accomplishments very appropriate. Ritter, allowing the whole to be put into Neobule's mouth, makes vv. 4-12 the 'patraue verbata linguae' which she imagines to herself. The uncle, however, would hardly spend the greater part of his scolding in praising her lover.

Gesner follows Acron in taking the whole as ironical, 'Sotadico versu.' The idea seems to have arisen from an attempt to interpret the names, 'Hebrus' (cp. i. 25. 20) as 'Vetulus quidam et odiosus'; 'Liparaeus' as 'blear-eyed,' 'Vulcan-like.' There are no other indications of such a meaning in the Ode.

The verse which Hephaestion quotes, to illustrate the Ionic metre, from the beginning of a poem of Alcaeus, ἐμὲ δελαν ἐμὲ παισὰν κακοτάτων πεδίχοισαν, reads as if Alcaeus' Ode had been in some way the original of this one, and it favours also the view that Neobule is speaking in this Ode of herself.

Metre—*Ionicum a minore.* See Index of Metres, 10.

MISERARUM est neque amori dare ludum neque dulci
Mala vino layere, aut examinari metuentes
Patruae verbata linguae.

1. dare ludum, 'to humour,' 'to give its pleasure to'; 'desidiae dare ludum,' Plaut. Bacch. 4. 10. 9.

2. mala vino lavero. The coarseness to our taste is explained by Dill¹ as belonging to 'Graeci mores'; by Orelli as parallel to 'sapias, vina liques,' 'multi Damalis meri,' etc., and as implying that Neobule was a 'libertina.' Perhaps it may be better mitigated by observing that the contrast in Neobule's mind is not so much between one girl and another as between the lot of women and that of men. The latter have the choice of indulging their love or forgetting it in wine. 'Poor women' cannot do either.

ant. The alternative is, *either* not to do either of these things or, if we do them, to feel the terrors of an uncle's tongue. Cp. 3. 24. 24 'pecare nefas aut pretium est mori.'

3. patraue, 'an uncle's tongue' was proverbial. Sat. 2. 3. 88 'ne sis patruus mihi'; Cic. pro Cael. 111 'qui i in reliqua vita mitis esset... fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus, censor, magister.'
Tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas
Opérosaæque Minervæ studium auffert, Neobule,
Liparæi nitor Hebri;
Simul unctos Tiberinis humeros lavit in undis,
Eques ipso melior Bellerophonte, neque pugno
Neque segni pede victus:
Catus idem per apertum fugientes agitato
Grege cervos iaculāri et celer alto latitantem
Fruticeto excipere aprum.

4. qualum, a wicker basket of any kind, here the basket which held the wool: ‘calatham μετωπυκίων προ λαν-
fificio dicit;’ Acr. Comp. for the idea Sapph. Fr. 91 γλυκεια ματερ, ουτοι δυνα-
μαι πρεκεια των ισχων των δημεια παιδοι
βραβιαν δι' 'Αρρόδιαν.
5. operosae = Εργάης, an epithet of Pallas, especially as the patroness of
women’s work, see Lidd. and Scott s. v.
6. Liparæi Hebri, see on 3. 7. 23
‘Enipeus.’ ‘Liparæi,’ from Lipara, the
largest and only inhabited island of the
Acoliac Iæ between the coasts of Sicily
and Lucania. For the local designation
see on 2. 4. Introd. The special place
seems to owe its selection to the
metrical convenience of its name. The
same is the case with ‘Neobule’; see on
‘Leucône,’ 1. 11. 2.
nitor, bright, fresh beauty. ‘Gly-
ceride’ nitor,’ 1. 19. 5.
7. simul, when he comes fresh from
bathing after exercise of the kinds pre-
sently named.
unctos, cp. Ov. Trist. 3. 12. 19 foll.,
which Orelli quotes, ‘Usus equi nunc est, levibus nunc luditur armis; Nunc
pilia, nunc celeri volvitur orbe trochos.
Nunc ubi perfusa est oleo labente
iuventus Defessos artus Virgine tingit
aqua.’ It would seem from this that
they used the oil after exercise and
before bathing. It has been otherwise
taken of the anointing before some
taken, such as wrestling (Od. 1. 8. 8),
and as implying such exercises; ‘with
the wrestler’s oil still on them.’
8. eques, in app. to ‘Hebri nitor,’
taken as i. q. ‘Hebrus nitidus.’ Cp. Sat.
2. 1. 72 ‘Virtus Scipia et mitis sapi-
entia Laeii.’ The exercises named had
preceded his bath in the Tiber.

Bellerophonte, the mythical rider
of Pegasus. The last syllable is long,
the nominative being Bellerophontes.
98.
9. segni pede, so that we must
supply ‘segni’ or some similar adjective
to ‘pugno,’ ‘for slowness of hand in
boxing or foot in running.’
10–12. Skilful where good aim was
wanted, quick of hand and foot where
quickness was wanted.
11. alto. Some of the best MSS.
read ‘arto.’ Either reading admits of
many parallels; βαθεὶς ἐκ ξυλόχου, 
Hom. II. 11. 415, ‘stabula alta fe-
rarum,’ Virg. Aen. 6. 179, ‘alto luco,’
ib. 7. 95. On the other hand, ἐν δόξη
πυκνῇ, Hom. Od. 19. 439, ‘artis obsitum
12. excipere, to receive the boar
with the spear as he breaks from the
covet.
ODE XIII.

'BANDUSIA Sabinensis agri regio est in qua Horatii ager fuit,' Acr. The Ode itself certainly suggests such a locality. The poet seems to be at home at the spring. The surrounding objects are too familiar to obtrude themselves on the picture. The spring, now called 'Fontana degli Oratini,' on the hill-side between the two suggested sites for Horace's farm, answers well enough to the description. It gushes out suddenly at the bottom of a small face of rock, crowned now, not by ilex, but by a fig-tree, and its rush of cold water, the crystal clearness of the basin which it forms, and then the life with which it starts to bound and prattle down the steep slope to the valley are quite enough to wake a poet's enthusiasm. On the other hand, it has been shown that as late as the 12th century there was a church standing on a site which can be identified about six miles south of Venusia, which is named in ecclesiastical documents of the time as 'Eccl. SS. MM. Gervasi et Protasi in Bandusino Fonte apud Venusiam.' If this evidence be held conclusive we must either suppose that Horace writes from an affectionate memory of the Bandusian spring, such as he elsewhere shows of Mount Vultur, the nestling village of Acherontia, and other spots near the home of his boyhood; or, if 'cras donaberis' seems too definite for a mere address of fancy, we must conclude that at some period in his life he revisited Venusia. The fact, however, that he does not himself indicate the locality of the 'Fons Bandusiae' may have caused topographers to make various guesses in early times as well as late, and the Venusian claimant of the name need not be the genuine one. Verses 2–8 are probably interpreted of the Fontanalia, a festival on Oct. 12, named by Varro, Ling. Lat. 5, 'in fontes coronas iaciunt et puteos coronant.'

Metre—Fifth Asclepiad.

O FONS Bandusiae, splendidior vitro,  
Dulci digna mero non sine floribus,  
Cras donaberis haedo,  
Cui frons turgida cornibus  
Primis et venerem et proelia destinat;  
Frustra : nam gelidos inficet tibi

1. vitro, Virg. Aen. 7. 759 'vitrea Fucinus unda.'  
2. mero, floribus, haedo. These seem to be three distinct offerings. For the flowers see the account of the Fontanalia quoted above. For the wine and the sacrifice cp. Ov. Fast. 3. 300 foll. 'Huc venit et fonti rex Numa maclat ovem, Plenaque odorati disponit pocula Bacchil.'  
3. frons, etc., cp. 3. 22. 7 foll., 4. 2. 55 foll. Here the immediate purpose is to describe the age of the kid. Granted that a deity (and the spring is

divinized) desired a sacrifice, he would be pleased by the details of the promised ceremony as well as by its ritual exactness. Perhaps we may add that as the victim was after all for the eating, not of gods, but of men, the religious ceremony being not much more than a 'grace before meal,' the offerer would take an interest in the delicacy of the offering, and would moralize with more complacency on the irony of its fate.

5. destinat, 'promises,' 'points to.'  
6. frustra: nam, cp. 3. 7. 21.  
gelidos, rubro, a double antithesis is
Rubro sanguine rivos
Lascivi subolés gregis.
Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae
Nescit tangere, tu frígus amabile
Fessis vomere tauris
Praebes et pecori vago.
Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
Me dicente cavís impositam ilícem,
Saxis, unde loquaces
Lymphae desiliunt tuæ.

intended, Horace, after his manner (see on 2. 3, 9, 3. 4. 46, 4. 4. 10), indicating the contrast in each case by putting an epithet to only one of the two substantives, 'the cold [clear] stream,' 'the [warm] red blood.'

9. hora, 'season,' as A. P. 302 'sub verni temporis horam.'
Caniculae, the name given by the Romans to Sirius, the brightest star in the constellation of the 'Great Dog.' On the history of the term 'dies Caniculares,' our 'dog days,' see Smith's Dict. Ant. s. v. 'Astronomia.'
12. vago, tired with wandering.

ODE XIV.

Written on the return of Augustus, in B.C. 24, from his campaign in Spain, the last few months of which he had spent in sickness at Tarraco. The Ode is not in Horace's best manner. It may be compared for its subject with 4. 2 and 5.

'Caesar is coming back a conqueror, like Hercules, from his dangerous expedition to Spain. Prepare a public "supplicatio." His wife Livia, his sister Octavia, mothers who are recovering their sons-in-law or sons, the sons themselves and their young wives, all have their parts to play. I shall keep my private holiday too, for I feel the peace and security of Caesar's rule. Unguents, boy, and a garland, and a cask of the oldest wine, and go and call Neaera. If you can't get admittance to her, come away; we shall enjoy ourselves without her, though I should not have been so easy seventeen years ago.'

With the end of the Ode compare that of 1. 36 and 2. 11. The point of the last stanzas lies in the words 'eximet curas,' v. 14. The reason is given and then the feeling is exemplified.
HERCULIS ritus modo-dictus, o plebs,
Morte venalem pettisse laurum
Caesar Hispana repetit penates
Victor ab ora.
Unico gaudens mulier marito
Prodeat iustis operata divis,
Et soror clari ductis et decorae
Supplice vitta
Virginum matres iuveniumque nuper
Sosipitum. Vos, o pueri et puellae
Iam virum expertae, male ominatis
Parcite verbis.

1. Herculis ritus, a favourite mythical prototype of Augustus; cp. 3. 3. 9.
2. 36. Virg. Aen. 6. 802 'Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit.' But here there is special reference to Hercules' journey to Spain after the oxen of Geryones.

modo . morte, 'a moment ago our thoughts were all on the danger of his expedition, now they are on the triumph of his return.'

plebs. No exact parallel is quoted for this use of 'plebs' for the whole Roman people with no tinge of the old contemptuous tone. There are plenty of passages which show that a Roman could use 'populus' and 'plebs' at this time without any feeling of the old distinction (cp. 2. 2. 18 'Dissidens plebi numero beatorum Eximit virtus, populumque falsis Dedocet uti Vocibus), but they rather lower 'populus' to a level with 'plebs' as a synonym for the 'many,' when contrasted with the 'few,' whether of wealth, birth, or intellect.

2. morte venalem. Macleane well quotes Aesch. in Ctes. § 160 aifnuot iotiv ti aregvi ovi: 'morte' meaning here, as aifnuot there, not necessarily the shedding of one's blood, but the risk of shedding it; cp. *mortemque volunt pro laude pacisci,' Virg. Aen. 5. 230.

5. unico gaudens marito, 'whose whole joy is in her husband'; so Orelli, as though in identifying Livia the poet intended to compliment her as a Roman matron of the old type of conjugal loyalty. He objects to Ritter's rendering of 'unico' as * egregio,' that this would anticipate and reduce to a bathos the epithet 'clari ducis.' That the reference is to Livia, not to faithful wives generally, is clear from the mention of Augustus' sister in v. 7.

6. operata, probably to be taken as 'solata' in Virg. G. 1. 293 (see Conington's note) as a present participle, 'come forth and sacrifice.' For 'operari' in this technical sense, like 'facere,' 


divis. This was the reading of Acr. and Porph., who interpret *iustis divis,* sc. 'qui Caesari victoriem et redditionem merenti derentur.' The balance of older MSS. is in favour of 'sacris,' which Orelli and Ritter retain. Bentley shows that both constructions of 'operari' are equally legitimate. *Iustis sacris' would mean 'duly performed,' and, if we take 'unico gaudens marito' with Orelli, must be connected with those words; *mulier pudica atque igitur propter ipsam castitionem digna quae votum pro reditu mari solvat sacris iustis, sc. legitimis.'

8. supplius vitta; Virg. Aen. 4. 637 'ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.' This seems distinct from its ordinary use, by freeborn maids and matrons, to confine the hair.

9. 10. virginum .. puellae, of young wives, cp. 2. 8. 22, 3. 22. 2. The matrons are bidden assist Livia and Octavia in the religious rites. The returning soldiers and the young wives to whom they are returning are bidden ephymevn, to keep a sacred silence, or not to interrupt the ceremony by too noisy delight.

11. male ominatis, *dorofhmos.* This was the reading of V, and apparently of the original text which Acr. and Porph. interpreted ('ne incaute loquentes verbis omina facerent'), although 'nominatis'
HORATII CARMINUM

Hic dies yere mihi festus atras
Eximet curas; ego nec tumultum
Nec mori per vim metuam tenente
Caesare terras.
I, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas
Et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem
Fallere testa.
Dic et argutae properet Neaerae
Murrheum nodo cohibere crinem;
Si per invisum mora ianitorem
Fiet, abito.
Lenit albescens animos capillus
Litium et rixae cupidos protervae;
Non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa
Consule Planco.

(the reading of B) stands in their present
sent. It seems to be true, as Bentley
argues, that no other instance can be
quoted of a hiatus between a short and
a long vowel when there is no natural
break in the line (unless we retain
and argue upon the generally abandoned
reading 'horriblesque ultimosque Brit-
annos' of Catull. II. 11), and such
compounds as 'suaveolens,' 'graveolens,'
etc., usually lose the 'e' in scansion. On
the other hand, while the temptation
would be strong to remedy an obvious
blot, and the insertion of 'n' would easily
suggest itself, we lack any authority for
the use of 'nominatis' in any appro-
priate sense. Of professed conjectures,
Bentley's 'inominatis' is the most plaus-
oble. In that case 'male' must mean
'with evil effect,' like 'fraude mala,' Od.
1. 3. 28.
14. eximet, 'banish.'
15. mori metuam, not in the sense
of 3. 9. 11, but in the less usual sense
of 'ne moriar metuam.' With the
sentiment cp. 4. 15. 17 foll. 'Cus-
tode rerum Caesare non furo Civillis,'
etc.
18-20. 'A cask of wine of the date
of the Marsic or Social War (B.C. 90-
88), if one has possibly (qua is an abl.,
as Virg. Aen. 1. 18 'si qua fata sinant') escaped the roving bands of Spartacus
(in the Servile War fifteen years later).'
So the wine would be sixty-three years
old; see on 3. 8. 12. Juvenal's 'Calca-
tamque tenet bellis Socialibus uvam,' 5.
31, is most likely a reference to this
passage rather than a real date of wine
which was drinkable in his time. Ritter
points out that the reference to the suc-
cession of civil wars has probably a
secondary purpose as heightening the
feeling of the last stanza, the peace
and security conferred on the world by
Caesar's rule.
21. argutae, 'clear-voiced,' for she is
a singer.
22. murrheum, fragrant with myrrh.
Virg. Aen. 12. 106 'crines .. murra
madentes.'
cohibere crinem, i.e. to adorn her-
self for the purpose of coming to my
house; cp. 2. 11. 12. There is no need
with Bentley and Meineke to make the
verbal resemblance more perfect by
reading 'cohibente.'
25. albescens; as he calls himself
ty years afterwards, 'praecanum,' Epp.
1. 20. 24. Horace was now in his
fortieth year.
27. ferrem, for the tense see Madv.
§ 347, obs. 2.
28. Planco. L. Munatius Plancus
was consul in B.C. 42, the year of Phili.
pi. The date is probably not quite without
a meaning. The times have quieted
down, and Horace has tamed down also
since then.
The subject is the same as that of 1. 25 and 4. 13, the odiousness and ridiculousness of the desires and ways of youth kept on when youth itself has departed. The spirit is rather that of the Epodes (‘Archilochio felle,’ Mitsch.) than of the Odes; possibly a real person may be pointed at. Meineke suggested that the name ‘Nothus,’ a name unknown to extant Greek literature, was the poetical representative of the common Latin ‘Sparius,’ see Introd. to 2. 4.

Chloris is warned that she is at once old and poor. ‘It is time to give up her wanton ways. What suits her daughter Pholoë does not suit her. She is the wife of a poor man. Let her take her wool and spin. That will be more becoming to her than the harp and the wine-cup.’

Metre—Third Asslepiad.

UXOR pauperis Ibyci,
Tandem nequitiae figē modum tuae
Famosisque laboribus:
Maturo propior desine funeri
Inter ludere virgines
Et stellis nebulam spargere candidis.
Non, si quid Pholoën satis,
Et te, Chlori, decet: filia rectius
Expugnat iuvenum domos,
Pulso Thyias uti concita tympano.
Illam cogit amor Nothi
Lascivae similem ludere capreae:
Te lanae prope nobilem
Tonsae Luceriam, non citharae decent
Nec flos purpureus rosae
Nec poti vetulam facec tenus cadi.

3. famosis laboribus, infamous as compared with ‘lanificium.’
4. maturo, ripe, for which you are ready.
6. To spoil the look of their company as a cloud does a starry sky.
9. expugnat domos. The editors quote Sen. Nat. Q. 4, praef. ‘Crispus Passiens saepe dicebat, adulationi nos opponere, non claudere ostium, et qui dem sic quemadmodum opposi amicae solet, quae, si impulit, grata est, gratior, si effregit.’
14. Luceriam, an important town in the interior of Apulia. It is called ‘nobilem,’ as famous for its wool, Plin. H. N. 8. 48. She is to think now only of getting the best wool. The editors compare an anonymous epigram, Brunck, An, 3. p. 116 ‘Η το πριν αυχήσασα πολυ-χρύσοις την ἐραστή της Νέμεαι δεινήν οὐχ κύσασα θεάν, Μισθαί νῦν σπαθίοις πενχροις πηνάσματα κρούει: ’Οψι γ’ Αθηναίη Κυπριν ἐλπίσατο.
16. vetulam. The better MSS. are in favour of ‘vetula’; the Comm. Cruq. and one half of Porh.’s scholium in favour of ‘vetulam,’ non decet acetatem tuam in convivio multum potare? Vetulā would be easily altered by omitting the mark of the m, and the distance of ‘te’ would tempt a copyist to assimilate the adjective to the nearer substantive ‘facec.’
ODE XVI.

'Gold is all powerful, and powerful for harm. Mythology and history prove it. And with the growth of wealth care grows and the thirst for greater wealth. I take example by you, Maecenas, and shun eminence. The more we deny ourselves the more the gods give us. I am prouder and happier in my poor little farm, its clear stream, its wood, and unfailing crops, than the man who owns all Africa. I have no superfluous luxuries, but I never feel the pains of penury. Reduced desires give a larger revenue than the widest "latifundia." Who seek much want much. Happy the man who has, though little, yet enough.'

The Ode is on Horace's common theme, the praise of contentment and the *aurea mediocritas* of fortune.

Metre—Fourth Asclepiad.

**Inclusam Danaen turris aenea**

Robustaeque fores et vigilum canum
Tristes excubiae munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris,
Si non Acrisium virginis abditae
Custodem pavidum Iuppiter et Venus
Risissent: fore enim tutum iter et patens
Converso in pretium deo.

**Aurum per medios ire satellites**

Et perrumpere amat saxa potentius

**Ictu fulmineo: concidit auguris**

**Argivi domus ob lucrum**

2. *robustae*, probably with Ritter, 'of oak.' Cp. i. 3. 9 'robur et aet triplex.'

3. *tristes*, δυσκολοι, 'surly.' *munierant*; see on 2. 17. 28 'sustulerat nisi...levasset.'

6. *pavidum*, from his fear of the oracle which had predicted that a son of his daughter should slay him.

7. *fore*. For such an introduction of the orat. obl. cp. Virg. Aen. i. 444 'Effodere loco signum quod regia Iuno Monstrarat, caput acris equi; nam sic fore bello Egagiam et facilem victu per secula gentem.'


9. *aurum*. Notice the emphatic positions of 'aurum' and 'lucrum,' as of 'muneribus' and 'munera' in the following stanza.

10. *perrumpere saxa*, 'munitiones expugnare,' Acr. *amat = 'gaudet,' 'gestit,' an imitation of ϕιλεῖν, but see on 2. 3. 9.

11. *auguris*. Amphiaras the seer went to the Theban war, though he foresaw its issue, at the persuasion of his wife Eriphyle, who had been bribed by Polynices with a necklace; ὄλερ' εὖ θηβαῖος γυναῖκαί εἶνα κόραν, Hom. Od 15. 247; cp. ib. ii. 325, Soph. El. 837 foll.
Demersa exitio; diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos
Rages munerebim; munera navium
Saevos illaqueant duces.
Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
Maiorumque fames. Iure perhorruit
Late conspicuum tollere verticem,
Maecenas, equitum decus.
Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
Ab dis plura feret: nil cupientium
Nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum
Partes linquare gestio,
Contemptae dominus splendidior rei,
Quam si quidquid arat impiger Apulus

13. demersa, possibly, as the Schol. thinks, an allusion to the legendary form of Amphiarus' end—the earth opened and swallowed him. Find. Nem. 9. 25.

14. vir Macedo, a proverbial instance from history. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 1. 16 'Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat in quas modo asellus onustus auro possit ascendere.' Plut. Vit. Aem. Paul. 12 ἐρήθη γονὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέων αἱρεῖ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὗ Φιλίππος ἄλλο τὸ Φιλίππου χρυσὸν. He is said (in the collection of proverbs of Diogenianus) to have received an oracle from the Pythia, ἤργῳιας λόγως μάχου καὶ πάντα κρατήσει. So Juvenal. 12. 47, calls him 'callidus emptor Olynthi,' and Val. Max. 7. 2. 10 'Mercator Graeciae.' The 'urbes' are such as Olynthus, Pydna, Potidaea, Amphipolis. In 'diffidit' and 'subruit' ('undermind') we have a continuous of the metaphors of the last stanza.

15. aemulos reuges, such as his rivals for the throne, Pausanias and Argaeus; the Thracian Cesareleptes, etc.

16. navium duces. Horace is generally supposed to be taking an instance from contemporary history, and to aim at Menas or Menodorus, the freedman of Sextus Pompeius and chief captain of his fleet, who twice deserted him to serve under Octavius, and once deserted Octavius to return to him. See Introd. to Epod. 4, which has been taken by some to refer to him.


18. conspicuum, prolept. = 'ita ut conspicuum fiat.'

20. equitum deus, 'the lesson which you preach to us, Maecenas, by being content to be the pride of the equestrian order instead of accepting any office which would qualify you to become a senator,' see on 1. 20. 5.

23. nudus. To join the army of the 'nil cupientes' he must be, like them, 'nudus'; he must strip himself of the gifts of fortune which he no longer wants, and be content with the cloak of which he speaks in 3. 29. 54. The metaphor of the camp hardly begins till 'castra.' Orelli points out that the second clause, 'transfuga...gestio,' is an amplification of the first, and one which brings out more clearly, though it does not create, the inexactness of the original metaphor. To satisfy it completely, Horace must have been a rich man who gave up his wealth. All he really means is, that he would choose a modest competence in preference to great wealth.

25. contemptae, 'which wealthier men despise.' 'Satis beatus unicus Sabinis.' Bentley takes it as 'contemptae
Occultare meis dicerer horreis,  
Magnas inter opes inops.  
Purae rivus aquae silvaque iugerum  
Paucorum et segetis certa fides meae
Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae
Fallit sorte beatior.

Quamquam nec Calabrae mella ferunt apes
Nec Laestrygonia Bacchus in amphora
Languescit mihi nec pinguia Gallicis
Crescit vellera pascuis,

a se ipso,' and so as = 'non possesse,' making it an oxymoron answering to 'inter opes inops'; the poor man possessing all things though he has nothing, the rich man a pauper in the midst of his riches.

26, 27. For the mode of expressing the height of wealth see on I. 1. 9 'si proprio condidit horreo Quicquid de Libycis verritur areis.'

26. quiequid arat, the fruits of his ploughing. Strabo (6, p. 284) speaks of the plains of North Apulia as πυρ- 

φοροί τε καὶ πολύφοροι, but we hear of them chiefly as used for pasture. Possibly Horace, in want of the name of a corn-growing Italian district, might insert Apulia without weighing its pretensions very nicely (see on I. 22. 13.). He singles out the industry of the husbandman rather than the fertility of the soil. For the lengthening of the last syllable of 'arat' see on I. 3. 36.

impiger, Epod. 2. 43.

28. Cp. the similar oxymoron in Sat. 2. 3. 142 'Pauper argenti positi intus et auri.'

29. Cp. the description of his farm, Sat. 2. 6. 1 'modus agri non ita magnus, Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons Et paulum silvae super his.' So also Epp. I. 16. 1-14.


31. Constr. 'fallit beatior sorte (λαν- 

θανέα διασπορία οὖσα) fulgentem fertilis Africae imperio,' 'is a lot happier than his, though he cannot see it, who glitters in the lordship of fertile Africa.' This seems to be a hyperbolical way of describing a man who owns wide com-

lands in Africa, as another is said in v. 41 to 'join in one sweep the kingdom of Alyattes to the broad plains of Phrygia.' Cp. 2. 2. 10-12 'si Libyam remotis Gadibus iungas et utere Poes-nus Serviat uni,' and read with this the note there. Ritter takes 'fertilis Africae' with 'sorte,' comparing 'Sors Asiae' = 'the proconsulship of Asia,' Tac. Ann. 3. 58 and 71, 'is a happiness beyond the proconsulship of rich Africa, though he cannot see who is in the dazzling light of power' ('fulgentem verum latere facilius potest dignitatis splendor oculos praestrixit'). But in this rendering, if stress is to be laid on the glory of power, we lose the force of the epithet 'fertilis' and of the direct comparison with the poet's few acres and certain crops. If we emphasize 'fertilis,' as implying that the proconsul of Africa has the opportunity of enriching himself, 'fulgentem imperio' loses much of its meaning. The metaphors grow to a great extent out of the context. 'Ful- 

gentem imperio' is an echo of 'dominus splendidior': 'regnnum Alyattæ,' etc., as an exemplification of 'vectigalia porri- 
gam' is suggested by the proverbial wealth of Croesus.

33 foll. Cp. the enumeration of the forms of Roman wealth in I. 31. 3-12.

Calabrae apes, 2. 6. 14.

34. Laestrygonia, from Formiae. Cp. 1. 20. 11, and see Intro.to the next Od. For the local epithet given to the 'amphora,' instead of the wine cp. 1. 9. 7 'Sabina diota.'

35. languescit, 'mellows'; 3. 21. 8 'languidiora vina.'

pingua = 'spissa.' Pliny distinguishes the white wool of Cisalpine Gaul, 'Circumpadanis nulla praefertur,' H. N. 8. 48.
Importuna tamen pauperies abest,
Nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.
Contracto melius parva cupidine
Vectigalia porrigam,
Quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattee
Campis continuem. Multa petentibus
Desunt multa: bene est, cui deus obtulit
Parca, quod satis est, manu.

39. 'I shall better increase my little revenues by narrowing my desires.' This interpretation is simply proved by Horace's use of 'vectigalia' in Sat. 2. 2. 100, and the current Stoa aphorism (Cic. de Rep. 4. 7, Parad. 6. 3) 'magnum vectigal parsimonia.' For 'porrigere' = 'to extend,' cp. Sen. Epp. 89 'Quousque arationes vestras porrigetis'? Ritter follows Acr. in interpreting 'parvus possessor minora persolvam tributa.'

41. Alyattei, the son of Croesus. The wealth of the kings of Lydia was proverbial, 2. 12. 22. 'Alyattei' is the genitive of 'Alyatteus,' as 'Achillei,' 'Ulysei,' Epod. 17. 14 and 16. It is a certain correction of Bentley's, the MSS, old and new alike, being hopelessly puzzled by the unusual name. 'Halyatti,' 'halyathii,' 'halialyti,' 'aliat thi,' etc.

ODE XVII.

Compare Introduction to i. 26. The purpose of this Ode can only be guessed. The introductory passage seems very much as if it was playful. It traces Aelius Lamia's pedigree to Lamus, the Homeric king of the Laestrygones (Od. 10. 81 'Εβδομάτη δ' ἱκώμεθα Λάμον αἰών πτολείρου Τηλέπτου Λαυστρυγονίνην. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 2. 15 'si vero in hanc τηλέπτου veneris Λαυστρυγονίνη, Formias dico, qui fremitus hominum!''), whose locality was fixed by the Romans in the neighbourhood of Formiae. Possibly, although he throws it on the public voice ('ferunt,' v. 2), Horace may be inventing a mythical ancestry for Lamia, as Virgil does for the Julii, Sergii, Cluentii, etc., as Cicero does playfully for himself (Tusc. 1. 16 'regnante meo gentili,' sc. Serv. Tullio), and as was done on a large scale in Varro's lost work, De Familis Troianiis. The Lamiae, though not famous in the ages of the Republic, seem to have been a prominent family under the Empire. Juv. Sat. 4. 154 'Hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti,' in allusion to L. Aelius Lamia Aemilianus, put to death by Domitian. Cp. ib. 6. 385.

Horace writes the day before a holiday, possibly to Lamia at some country house which belonged to him near Formiae. This would give an additional point to the mention of the sea-shore and to the genealogical introduction, as if the poet
had meant to say, 'You are a great man at Formiae at least, in the home of your heroic ancestor.' He professes to foresee a rainy day, and bids Lamia use the dry weather to house his wood and prepare for to-morrow's festival. The connection of thought we may compare with 1. 9. That Ode will show that it is not necessary, from the mention of the sea, to suppose that Lamia was at Formiae. In both probably the stormy weather, if not actually allegorical, is used to enforce a moral beyond that which appears on the surface. The one other certain reference to Lamia in Horace's poems (Od. 1. 26), and another probable one (Ep. 1. 14. 6), suggest to us that he was a man before whom his friend would desire to set the sunny side of life.

Vv. 2–5 have been condemned by many critics with no support from external evidence; but the Introduction which their omission would leave would not be more free from difficulties than the uncuttitled one. Peerlkamp more consistently condemns the Ode.

AELI vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,—
Quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
Denominatos et nepotum
Per memores genus omne fastos;
Auctore ab illo ducis originem,
Qui Formiarum moenia dicitur
Princeps et innantem Maricae
Litoribus tenuisse Lirim
Late tyrannus:—cras foliis nemus
Multis et alga litus inutili

2. 'Since the world has it that it was from him that the Lamiae of old days took their name, as well as the whole race of their children's children whose memory lives in Fasti, he doubtless is the founder to whom thou tracedst thine origin.' In other words, 'Since all the Lamiae, ancient and modern, are descended from him, doubtless you are.' The omission of 'tu' before 'ducis,' although the person is emphatic, is paralleled in Od. 2. 17. 30. 'Cp. I. 1. 35. 4. 2. 33. 'Ducit,' constr. as the verb after 'genus omne,' is an emendation of D. Heinsius (1580–1658) strongly advocated by Bentley. It has no MS. authority, but has been received by several editors (Keller and Mr. Munro amongst them), and has the merit of making the parenthesis run more smoothly.

hinc, 'from him.' Orelli quotes Virg. Aen. 1. 21 'Hinc populum . . ven turum.' Cp. the use of 'unde,' Od. 1. 12. 17.

memores fastos; 4. 14. 4. The MSS. vary between 'fastos' and 'fastus,' a form which was also in use. Lucan. 10. 187 'Nec meus Eudoxi vincetur fastibus annus.'

5. auctore, of the founder of a family; 1. 2. 36, Virg. Aen. 4. 365.

7. innantem Maricae litoribus, refers to the marshes near Minturnae, at the mouth of the Liris (Garigliano), known in history as the place where Marius was for a time concealed. Marica was a nymph worshipped at Minturnae, identified by some with Circe.

9. late tyrannus, εφυμπρεσάτω, Virg. Aen. 1. 21 'populum late regem.'

10. inutili, not, as Dill*, complains, an epithet quite without bearing on the context. It helps to make us feel the dreariness and odiousness of the storm out of doors, which is to contrast with the cheer which there may be within. Its work is purely destructive; it brings down the leaves which are of use, and strews the shore with seaweed which is of no use.
Demissa tempestas ab Euro
Sternet, aquae nisi fallit augur
Annosa cornix. Dum potes, aridum
Compone lignum: cras Genium mero
Curabis et porco bimestri
Cum famulis operum solutis.

12. aquae augur; 3. 27. 10 'imbrium divina avis imminentum.'
potes, so the majority of good MSS.
'Bentley prefers 'potis,' the reading of a few, as a word which, though admissible (cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 671), is yet rare, and therefore unlikely to have been substituted for an easier one.
15. curabis. The future seems to have the force of 'of course you will.'

‘Curabis Genium’ is an extension of the common ‘curare se ipsum,’ ‘curare corpus.’ When the Genius was viewed more distinctly as something external to and separate from the person whose spiritual double it was, it was said rather ‘placari,’ ‘piari floribus et vino.’
Cp. A. P. 210, Epp. 2. 1. 144.
16. operum. For genitive cp. 2.
9. 17, 3. 27. 69, Madv. § 261, obs. 4.

ODE XVIII.

A HYMN TO FAUNUS: cp. 1. 17. 1-8. Horace prays that the visits of the god to his lands may be kindly, and promises that the due kid and wine and incense shall be offered at the Faunalia on the nones of December, the holiday of cattle and of villagers, the day of peace, when even the wolf strays harmlessly among the lambs; when the trees shed their leaves to strew Faunus' path, and the ditcher revenge himself on the ground which has worked him so hard, by dancing on it:

FAUNE, Nympharum fugientum amator,
Per meos fines et aprica rura
Lenis incedas abeasque parvis
Acquus alumnis,

1. Nympharum amator. Faunus is identified with the Greek Pan; see on 1. 17. Perhaps (as Ritter thinks) the words imply also that it is in pursuit of his flying loves that Faunus is supposed to cross the different homesteads.

4. alumnis, probably 'younglings' of cattle; 3. 23. 7. The Scholiast took it as 'vemulis,' young slaves bred on the farm, whom Faunus was supposed to frighten; Ritter, of the young trees and plants which in his hot pursuit he might trample. Our interpretation is supported, both in this place and in 3. 23. 7, by the words which follow. Faunus must be kindly to the flock, because it pays tithe duly to him.
Si tener pleno cadit haedus anno,
Larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
Vina craterae, vetus ara multo
Fumat odore.
Ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
Cum tibi Nonae redeunt Decembres;
Festus in pratis vacat otioso
Cum bove pagus;
Inter audaces lupus errat agnos;
Spargit agrestes tibi silva frondes;
Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram.

5. *pleno anno*, when the year is nearly full, in December; or, perhaps, only like 'per exactos annos,' 3. 22. 6 = 'quotannis,' at intervals of a full year.

6. *Veneris sodali craterae*, 'the bowl, Venus' mate.' Orelli quotes an address to a flagon, Βάκχου καὶ Μοντίαων πλατήν Λάτρη καὶ Κυδηρίης. Perhaps it is thus characterized as fitting the title given to Faunus in v. i. Ritter makes 'craterae' the genitive with 'vina,' 'wine in the bowl,' some particular bowl known to be set for Faunus, and takes 'Veneris sodali' of the god himself.

7. *vetus* implies that these rites have been duly performed during many generations. Macleane puts a full stop at 'craterae,' and makes the general description of the Faunalia begin here.

12. *pagus*. There is a curious variant in some of the best MSS, 'pardus,' the origin of which Bentley ingeniously traces to some monkish copyist, who had in mind the prophecy of Isaiah, 11. 6 'Habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum haedo accubabit.'

14. *spargit frondes*. That the leaves were still falling in December, see Epod. 11. 5 'December . . . silvis honorem decuit.'

agrestes, 'a woodland carpet' of leaves.


pepulisse. For the perf. inf. with 'gaudet' see on 3. 4. 51; he finishes off each triple beat with a flourish, as though he were dancing on an enemy.

fossor; Virg. G. 2. 264 'labefacta movens robustus iugera fossor.'

16. *ter*, of triple time. Cp. 4. 1. 28 'In morem Salium ter quotient humum.' Perhaps Horace is offering an etymology of 'tripudiare.'
ODE XIX.

'Come, Telephus, enough of your antiquarian lore; attend to the more practical question where and when we are to sup this cold night.' Then, with a sudden change, he fancies the banquet already prepared (cp. 2. 7. 21 foll., 2. 11. 18 foll.): 'We have to drink the new month, and our friend Murena, the newly-elected Augur. Strike up with pipe and harp; no grudging, scatter the roses. Let morose old Lycus hear our riot next door, and his ill-matched young wife. We are better matched here, Telephus and Rhode, I and Glycera.'

Telephus is a mythological name which Horace used before in 1. 13 (see Introd. to that Ode), and uses again in 4. 11. 21. It is of course possible that a real person is intended in this case, though it is hard to see why his name should be concealed. Ritter hits upon the rhetorician Heliodorus, the companion of Horace's journey to Brundisium ('Graecorum longe doctissimus,' Sat. i. 5. 3), with whose profession such antiquarian questions would suit, and whose name he fancies to be etymologically played on in 'Telephus' (τῆλε φῶς).

For Murena see on 2. 2. 5 and 2. 10 Introd.

Metre—Third Asclepiad.

QUANTUM distet ab Inachō
Codrus pro patria non timidus mori,
Narras et genus Aeaci
Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio:
Quo Chium pretio cadum
Mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus
Quo praebente domum et quota
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.

1. distet, the chronological distance between the first king of Argos and the last king of Athens.
3. genus, the pedigree of the Aeacids.
4. pugnata; Epp. 1. 16. 25. So 'militabitur bellum,' Epod. 1. 23, Madv. § 223, obs. 4.
sacro, after Homer's 'Τῶν ἑρήμων, Il. 4. 41, etc.
5. Chium cadum; see on 3. 16.
34.
6. mercemur. Horace contemplates a feast to which each was to contribute. They are to buy the wine, and yet the question is at whose house it is to be drunk.
aquam temperet, usually taken of the bath which would precede the banquet. The Scholiast took it of warming the water to be mixed with the wine. See Dict. Ant. s.v. 'calida.'
7. quota, 'at what hour may I hope to warm myself with supper, and so be quit of the cold which is worthy of the Peligni,' a people in the heart of the Apennines, north of Samnium. Ovid, who was a native of Sulmo, one of their towns, gives it the epithet 'gelidus,' Fast. 4. 81.
Da lunae propere novae,
Da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris.
Murenae: tribus aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
Qui Musas amat impares,
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates; tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia
Nudis iuncta sororibus.
Insanire iuvat: cur Berecyntiae
Cessant flamina tibiae?
Cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?
Parcentes ego dexteras
Odi: sparce rosas; audiat invidus
Dementem strepitum Lycus
Et vicina seni non habilis Lyco.

9. lunae novae; Od. 3. 23. 2 'nascen'c luna,' where see note. The 'new moon' means apparently the first of the month, on which a feast was usual, as in Greek νουμηρία was transferred by usage so completely from the first of the natural lunar month to the first of the calendar month, that the 'real' new moon was expressed by νουμηρία κατά τήν σελήνην, Thuc. 2. 28. For the genitive see on 3. 8. 13 'cyathos amici sospitis.'
10. noctis mediae; 3. 28. 16.
11. Horace assumes the function of 'arbiter bibendi' ('Dict. Ant. s.v. 'symposium'), and proceeds (not to give orders to the servants, so there is no need with Rutgers and Bentley to alter 'miscentur' to 'miscentor,' but) to announce to the guests the proportions in which the wine and water are mixed. It is a disputed point whether 'cyathus' was a name of the ladle used for mixing; cp. Sat. 1. 6. 117. In any case it was a measure of capacity, the twelfth of the sextarius, which was nearly equal to our pint. The meaning will therefore be, that the wine and water may be mixed in the proportion of 9 to 3 or 3 to 9.
12. commodis is rendered by Orelli 'integris;' 'plenum modum habentibus,' after Plautus 'commodas minus,' i.e. of full weight; but it is perhaps better taken by Ritter as an adjective for an adverb, 'to suit the taste of the drinkers.' 13-17. It is a question whether this is a double description of the two classes of drinkers spoken of in vv. 11, 12, the 'rapt poet, with his love for the Muses and their uneven number,' who ask for nine parts of wine, and those who think rather of the Graces and their decorous fears of quarrels, and therefore keep to three; or a further statement about the one class who prefer the stronger mixture, 'They are moved by two motives, their love of the nine Muses, which makes them ask for the full nine parts of wine, and their regard for the decorous Graces, which restrains them from taking the additional three which would make the liquor "merum".' In the first case 'tres supra' (for their order cp. 3. 3. 11 'quos inter') must mean 'more than three'; in the latter case 'three further.'
16. rixarum metuens; 3. 24. 22 'metuens alterius viri'; Madv. § 289 a.
Gratia iuncta sororibus = 'tres Gratiae iunctae'; so 4. 7. 5.
Berecyntiae; 1. 18. 13, 4. 1. 22, Epod. 9. 5. 6.
24. vicina, 'our neighbour.' Others take it as 'his neighbour, who will not listen to his passion'; and Orelli quotes Boscha, as suggesting that the person
LIB. III. OD. 20.

Spissa te nitidum coma,  
Puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero,  
Tempestiva petit Rhode:  
Me lentus Glycerae torret amor meae.

meant is the Rhode of the next lines,  
'She doesn't care for Lycus, but she  
will soon be here to look for Tele-  
phus.'

24-26. Dill remarks how the repeti-  
tion of 'Lycus' and of 'te' serves  
the purpose of emphasizing them, the one  
by way of scorn, the other of compli-  
ment.

26. puro, as 'sole puro,' 3. 29. 45,  
shining in a clear sky. Cp. 3. 9. 21  
'sidere pulchrior.'

27. tempestiva, suited in point of age.

28. lentus; 1. 13. 8.

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ODE XX.

'Beware, Pyrrhus; you are robbing a lioness of her cubs. She will come to  
reclaim Nearchus, and you must expect a battle royal; and all the time Nearchus  
doesn't care for you or for her.'

NON vides, quanto moveas periclo,  
Pyrrhe, Gaetulae catulos leaenae?  
Dura post paullo fugies inaudax  
Proelia raptor,  
Cum per obstantes iuvenum catervas  
Ibit insignem repetens Nearchum,  
Grande certamen, tibi praeda cedat  
Maior an illi.

2. Gaetulæ; see on I. 23. 10.  
3. post paullo = 'paullo post' even in  
prose. Dill points out the antithetical  
arrangement of the words 'dura.. inau-  
dax,' 'inaudax raptor;' the last has the  
force of an oxymoron. 'Inaudax' is an  
invention of Horace from the Gr. ἀτολ-  
μος.

6. insignem, easily found among  
them all.

7. grande certamen. We need not  
understand 'est' or 'erit'; it is rather  
a cognate accusative characterising the  
action of the last sentence by giving its  
result, a construction common enough  
in Greek. Dill collects some other  
instances of it in Latin: Sat. 1. 4. 110,  
Epp. 1. 18. 49, Virg. Aen. 6. 223 (where  
see Conington's note), 8. 683.

praeda . maior, not 'who should  
win more of the prey,' for the prey was  
one; but 'who should rather win the  
prey.' Cp. Epod. 5. 29. It is a not  
uncommon confusion of language; see  
Madv. § 300 c, with foot note. We  
may compare the use of 'multus' for  
'multum' (Sat. 1. 7. 28 'multo  
fluenti'), and such expressions as Virg.  
Aen. 1. 181 'Anthea si quem Iactatum  
pelago videat' = 'if he could see any-
Interim, dum tu celeres sagittas
Promis, haec dentes acuit timendos,
Arbiter pugnae posuisse nudo
Sub pede palmam
Fertur et leni recreare vento
Sparsum odoratis humerum capillis,
Qualis aut Nireus fuit aut aquosa
Raptus ab Ida.

thing of Antheus.' There is no need at all to accept, with Orelli, Peerlkamp's prosaic alteration 'tibi praeda cedat, Maior an illa,' 'whether the prey shall fall to you, or she prove the stronger,' II. posuisse, with a present force, 'to have placed,' and so 'to be keeping' there. See Conington's notes on Virg. G. I. 25, Aen. 2. 257.

12. palmam, the palm of victory for which they are contending. The attitude at once displays his foot and expresses his lordly indifference to the issue of the quarrel. 'Palmam' has also been taken (see Orelli) of the palm of the hand; of one leg thrown over the other and held in the hand,—a mere picture.

13. fertur, perhaps = 'they tell me;' a common way of indicating the strangeness of what we report, as though we hardly ventured to vouch for it. See on 3. 5. 41.

recreare, possibly with a fan, 'flabellum,' Prop. 3. 15. 11; possibly, as Orelli thinks, only by letting the wind play on his shoulders.

15. Nireus; see Epod. 15. 22 'Formaque vincas Nirea.' In both cases the MSS. read unanimously 'Nereus,' 'Nerea.' The Scholiasts had the true reading, for they quote or refer to Homer's description. II. 2. 673 Nireis, de κάλλιστος ἄγρ ὑπὸ Ἰλιον ἡθεν Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μὲτ' ἄμυσων Πηλεῖων.

aquosa, 'many - fountained' Ida, πολυτιδας, πιθήκων.

16. raptus, sc. Ganymede. For the participle used substantivally = ἀρτασθεῖς cp. 4. 15. 24 'Tanain prope flumen orti.'
ODE XXI.

Written in anticipation of entertaining M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. Dill bids us compare with this Ode Epp. 1. 5.

'Cask of Massic, as old as myself, your potent contents were kept for some happy occasion, and they shall be broached to-day for Corvinus. He, philosopher as he is, will not despise you. Old Cato, they tell us, did not object to a cup of wine. You make genius flow; you give fresh hope to the anxious and courage to the poor. With your help, and Liber and Venus and the Graces, we will keep the banquet up till daylight.'

Corvinus (the 'Messalla' of Sat. 1. 6. 42, 1. 10. 85, A. P. 371 'diserti Messallae') was, like Pollio, at once distinguished in the political and the literary world. He had belonged to the senatorian party, and turned Octavius' flank in the first day's fighting at Philippi. He subsequently joined Octavius against Antony, and commanded the centre of his fleet at Actium. After the settlement he retired from active life, and devoted himself to oratory and literature. He was the great friend and patron of Tibullus.

With the fourth and fifth stanzas should be compared Ovid's imitation, A. A. 1. 237 foll.:—

'Vina parant animos faciuntque caloribus aptos;
Cura fugit, multo diluiturque mero.
Tunc veniunt risus, tunc pauper cornua sumit;
Tunc dolor et curae rugaque frontis abit:
Tunc aperit mentes aevo rarissima nostro
Simplicitas, artes excutiente deo';

and the fragment of Maecenas' 'Symposium,' which Ritter quotes from Servius on the words 'faciles oculos' in Virg. Aen. 8. 310: 'Hoc... etiam Maecenas in Symposium cui Vergilius et Horatius interfuerunt, cum ex persona Messallae de vino loqueretur, ait: idem humor ministrat faciles oculos, pulchriora reddit omnia, et dulcis iuventae reducit bona.'

O NATA mecum console Manlio,
Seu tu quereelas sive geris iocos

1. Epod. 13. 6 'Tu vina Torquato move Consule pressa meo.' The date implies that Corvinus is promised not merely old wine (it was of the vintage of B.C. 65, when L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta were cons., and therefore must have been at least 35 years old), but also wine which carried with it personal reminiscences of the poet's own life, and which therefore it is a proof of friendship to offer. Cp. the dating of the Sabine wine which is offered to Maecenas in l. 20.

2-5. The point of imagining these possible effects of the wine on different tempers, seems to lie in the expression of its potency, 'it must have some great effect, whatever that be'; and the stress is really laid rather on the last of each pair of alternatives 'seu... sive'; 'seu... seu.' This is shown by the insertion of 'pia testa' in a place where it is intended to exert its influence on the whole stanza, and by the repetition, after that 'quocunque nomine' has again reopened the question of the tendency of the wine, of the commendation 'moveri digna bona die.'

2. quereelas; Epod. 11. 18 'Querebar... Simul calentis inverecundus deus
Seu rixam et insanos amores
Seu facilem, pia testa, somnum,
Quocunque lectum nomine Massicum
Servas, moveri digna bono die,
Descende, Corvino iubente
Promere languidiora vina.
Non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
Seronimus, te negleget horridus:
Narratur et prisci Catonis
Saepe mero caluisse virtus.
Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
Plerumque duro; tu sapientium

Fervidior mero arcana promorat loco.'
The two pairs seem to be (1) of talk, the outpouring of passionate complaints or of mirth; (2) of feelings, bitterness or passion on the one side, peaceful slumber on the other.

4. pia testa, 'gentle wine-jar.' The epithet apologises for the calumnious suppositions; contrast 'impius clamor,' 1. 27. 6, and the tone of 1. 18.

5. quocunque nomine, 'to whatever end,' (it sums up and repeats the preceding suppositions) 'the Massic grapes were gathered whose juice thou guardest.' 'Nomen' meant the heading under which an item was entered in an account, and so seems to have been used for a 'ground,' 'purpose,' 'tendency.' Tac. Ann. 14. 59 'Decretae eo nomine supputationes,' 'on that account'; Cic. de Am. 25 'multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum,' 'on many accounts,' 'under many heads.' Bentley complained that these and similar instances hardly reach (as indeed they do not) the use in this passage, and conjectured 'numine,' which has since been found in the Bern. MS.

Massicum: 1. 1. 19.
6. moveri, as in Epod. 13. 6 'vina... move,' to disturb it, open the bin.
7. descendere, from the 'apotheca,' where it was exposed to the smoke. See on 3. 8. 10; similarly 'deripere horreo,' 3. 28. 7.
8. promere, constr. after 'iubente.'
languidiora, in a good sense, 'mellower'; 3. 16. 35.
9. madet = 'imbutus est'; but as Mr. Munro (on Lucr. 4. 792) observes, there is a play on the literal and metaphorical meaning. The sponge is so full of philosophy, that there might be supposed to be no room for the wine.
10. sermonibus, not merely the Dialogues of Plato and others in which Socrates is an interlocutor, but talk on the same model.

negleget. The MSS. and the Schol. vary between the present and future, with the usual additional variety between 'negligere' and 'neglegere.' If not in this stanza, at least in the next one, 'tu lene,' etc. the particular cask has been generalised into the representative of wine in its enlivening effects. The future helps to soften the transition.

horridus, 'he will not be so much of a cynic as to despise thee.'

11. Catonis, the censor. 'Priscus' is used of him almost as an addition to his name; see Plut. Cat. Mai. 1. Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 116 'priscis memorata Catonibus.' It has also been taken less well of 'Cato Uticensis,' 'prisci' being interpreted 'old fashioned,' 'stern.' Cic. pro Cael. 14 'severe et graviter et prisci agere.'

12. virtus Catonis, as Sat. 2. 1. 72 'Virtus Scipiaedae et mitis sa entia Laeli,' 'Cato for all his virtue'; see on 1. 3. 36.

13. lene tormentum. The meaning seems to be settled by the parallel Epp. 1. 5. 19 'Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum'? As the rack makes the unwilling witness speak freely, so wine makes the wit which is usually stiff and taciturn become free and talkative, and yet love the torture which is thus applied to it.
Curas et arcanum iocosos
Consilium retegis Lyaeo;
Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis,
Viresque et addis cornua pauperi
Post te neque iratos trementi
Regum apices neque militum arma.
Te Liber et, si laeta aderit, Venus
Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae
Vivaeque producent lucernae,
Dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus.

16. retegis Lyaeo. The name of 'Lyaeus' is used (as in Epod. 9. 38 'curam metumque...Dulci Lyaeo solvere') with reference to its etymology, *Δελιος*, so that the whole sentence is = 'arcana consilia retegendo curas solvis.' Cp. Epp. 1. 5, 16 'operta recludit.' The cares of grave people that seemed heavy burdens when brooded over alone, seem subjects for mirth when confessed over wine.'

18. cornua, imit. by Ovid; see above. They are the symbol of strength and of pugnacity, Ov. Am. 3. 11. 5 'venerunt capitii cornua serra mero'; perhaps also with allusion to the fact that Bacchus himself was represented with horns, *ταυρόκεφος*; see on Od. 2. 19. 29.

19. post te; 1. 18. 5 'post vina.'

iratos apices = 'iratorum'; see on 1. 15. 19. But there is an equal hypallage in making 'apices' the object of 'trementi.' The 'apex' (see on 1. 34. 14) represents the state and power of an eastern king.

21. laeta, έκούσα = πρόβυμος, and so, 'with goodwill.'

22. nodum, sc. of clasped hands, or of the concord which they express. 'Gratia iuncta sororibus,' 3. 19. 16. Seneca, interpreting the characteristics with which they appear in paintings, describes the Graces, Benef. 1. 3 'mani- bus implexis.'


producent 'te,' an extension of the ordinary 'producere coenam,' 'comissationem.'

24. dum...fugat, 'whilst he is putting to rout,' as though he were all night striving to do so, and only victorious in the morning. Cp. the tense in Virg. E. 9. 23 'Tityre dum redeo, brevis est via, pasce capellas.'
ODE XXII.

An inscription (or a poetical dedication which would have served for an inscription) for a pine-tree which overhangs the Sabine farm, and which the poet dedicates to Diana, to be honoured by him henceforth with the yearly sacrifice of a young boar.

MONTIUM custos nemorumque, Virgo,
Quae laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis adìmisque leto,
Diva triformis,
Imminens villae tua pinus esto,
Quam per exactos ego laetus annos
Verris obliquum meditantis ictum
Sanguine donem.

1. montium custos; i. 21. 5 foll. With the enumeration of Diana's attributes cp. Catull. 34. 9 foll. 'Montium domina . Silvarumque virentium . Tu Lucina dolentibus luno dicta puerperis.'

3. ter. The number three has constantly mystic and ritual associations; see, inter al., Od. 1. 28. 36, Epp. 1. 1. 37. Here it can hardly be entirely unconnected with the triple character of the goddess, 'triformis'; Virg. Aen. 4. 54 'Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virgins ora Dianae.' She was Luna in heaven, Diana on earth, Hecate in Hades.

6. per exactos, annos, as each year comes round.

7. meditantis; see on 3. 13. 4. The participle seems to imply that his tusks are just growing to the fit size,—he is thinking of using them, but has not yet done so,—and so points his age.

8. donem, subjunctive of purpose; 'quam donem' gives the full meaning of 'tua esto.'
ODE XXIII.

'Pray duly at the new moons, O country housewife, and offer to the Lares frankincense and corn and a pig, and your wines and your crops and your flocks shall be kept safe. Costly sacrifices are for the "pontifices." Put your garlands of rosemary and myrtle on the little images of your gods, and there is no need for more. Without any gifts but the salted cake you may win their favour, as much as by a sumptuous victim.'

'The gods accept the humble offerings of humble people. Moderation, simplicity, thrift, content with our own station, have place in religious observance as well as in other phases of life.' This is all the doctrine of the Ode. The name Phidyle (Gr. fem. of Φίδυλος) is clearly chosen to characterise a 'thrifty' Sabine housewife.

CAELO supinas si tuleris manus
Nascente Luna, rustica Phidyle,
Si thure placaris et horna
Fruge Larès avidaque porca,
Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
Fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges
Robiginem aut dulces alumni
Pomifero grave tempus anno.

1. caelo = 'ad caelum'; 'it caelo clamor,' Virg. Aen. 5. 451.
supinas, ιντιδάμασιν χερᾶς, Aesch. P. V. 1005, Virg. Aen. 3. 176 'tendoque supinas Ad caelum cum voce manus.' The hands were held open with the palms upward. 'Supinas ferre manus' might be = χειπας δρακειν, and be a common way of saying 'to pray': possibly, in combination with the other particulars, 'nascente Luna,' 'thure,' 'horna fruge,' etc. it helps the idea of punctual ritual performance.

2. nascente Luna, on the first of the month; see on 3. 19. 9, Cato de R. R. 143 'Kalendales . . coronam in focum indat; per eosdemque dies Lari familiari pro copia suppletur.' Cp. Tibull. 1. 3. 34 'Reddereque antiquo menstrua thura Lari,' and read the same poet, 1. 10. 15-28, where many expressions of this Ode find a parallel.

3. horna fruge, the firstfruits of the year's corn; 'spicea sarta,' Tibull. l. c.

4. porca, 'Hostia erit plena rustica porcus hara' ib., 'immolet aequis Hic porcum Laribus,' Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 165. Why 'avida'? Ovid, speaking of sacrificing a pig to Ceres (Fast. 1. 349), makes its greediness the ground of its fate: 'Nam sata vere novo teneris lacentina succe Rerut setigerae comperit ore suis.' But the pig does not offend the Lares in this way. The epithet is intended probably to help the feeling of the familiarity of the object, and so the simplicity of the offering.

7. alumni; see on 3. 18. 4.

8. grave tempus, 'the sickly time when the year bears its fruits.' For the ablative see 2. 7. 16 'fretis aestuothis.' With 'pomifero anno' cp. 'annus hibernus,' Epod. 2. 29; for the sickness of autumn cp. Od. 2. 14. 15, Sat. 2. 6. 19.
Nam quae nivali pascitur Algido
Devota quercus inter et illices
Aut crescit Albanis in herbis
Victima pontificum secures
Cervice tinget: te nihil attinet
Tentare multa caede bidentium
Parvos coronantem marino
Rore deos fragilique myrto.
Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia

9. pascitur, 'is even now feeding.'
   Algido; see on I. 21. 6, where
   'gelido' is possibly the same as 'nivali'
   here. Cp. 4. 4. 57.
10. devota, already destined for
   the destination of the different calves
   is settled immediately on their birth:
   'Aut aris servare sacros aut scindere
   terram.'
12. pontificum, i.e. at public sa-
   crifices; opposed to simpler home
   rites.
13. nihil attinet, οὖδεν προσήχει, 'there is no need.'
14. tentare, as it were 'to lay siege
to' their goodwill. Cp. A. P. 405
   'gratia regum Pieris tentata modis,'
   and Virgil's 'animam tentare precando,
   Aen. 4. 113. 'Deos' is constructed are
   koivou (see on I. 3. 6) after 'tentare'
   and 'coronantem'; 'parvos' is properly
   an epithet of the images, not of the gods
   themselves, and therefore belongs to
   'Deos' as the object of 'coronantem',
   rather than as the object of 'tentare'
   (see on 2. 5. 13); at the same time it is
   antithetical to 'multa caede,' so that it
   cannot be severed from 'tentare,' but
   serves rather as a link between the two
   clauses, as though he said 'your very
   gods are small (i.e. in their representa-
   tive images): adapt your offerings to
   them.'
15. parvos, as Tibull. I. c. 'exigua
   ligneus aede deus.' Cp. with all this
   Juv. 13. 87, 88.
   marino rore, rosemary.
16. fragili, 'easily plucked,' a sprig of
   myrtle, opposed to more elaborate and
   expensive garlands; so 'simplex myrtus'
   (1. 38. 5) opposed to 'nexae philyra
   coronae.'
17-20. 'Though thy hand when it
   was laid on the altar held no gift, it has
   softened the displeasure of the Penates
   with the pious offering of meal and
   crackling salt, and could please no more
   with [i.e. if it brought] a costly victim.'
   'Si' = 'etiam si'; 'non blandior' = 'non
   blandior futura,' 'non gratior is futura
   per sumptuosam hostiam,' Lambin.
   The Scholiasts Acr. and Porph. make
   'immunis' = 'immunis scelerum,' the
   sentiment being then general, not spe-
   cial to Phidyle: 'if the hand that is
   laid on the altar be exempt from crime,
   it softens,' etc., and the majority of
   editors follow them. The common mean-
   ing of 'immunis' is 'exempted from
   some public duty or tax.' It was used
   metaphorically, but with a genitive case
   of that from which exemption was
   claimed: Virg. Aen. 12. 559 'immunem
   belli,' and, to come nearer to the present
   case, Ov. Her. 14. 8 'immunes caedis
   habere manus.' But it is hard to see
   how 'immunis' could have meant 'peace-
   ful' in Virgil or 'pure from blood' in
   Ovid, if the genitives had been omitted.
   On the other hand, Horace uses the adj.
   in two other passages (Od. 4. 12. 23
   'non ego te meius Immunem meditor
   tingere pocusi,' and Epp. 1. 14. 33 'im-
   munem Cinarae placuisse rapaci') in
   the sense of 'without gifts,' adapting the
   word, after his fashion, to the Greek
   άδοπος. Orelli, giving up the theory of
   an ellipsis, tries, not very successfully,
   to bring the word round to the Schol-
   iasts' meaning of 'guiltless,' by ex-
   plaining it 'quae nihil praestare debet,'
   'which owes no gift,' I.e. which brings
   what it brings freely, not as a due to
   expiate any crime. But the whole at-
   tempt to force this meaning on 'im-
   munis,' seems to be founded on a mis-
   conception of the stanza. The moral
purity of the hand which offers the acceptable gift may be assumed by the poet, but it is not expressed. The doctrine is simply that the gods do not look for costly offerings from humble worshippers. If 'immunis' meant 'immunis scelerum,' it would be the most weighty word in the Ode, and Horace would not have left his readers to make up the distinctive part of its meaning by conjecture. The three last lines of the stanza have been construed variously. The interpretation given above is that followed by Orelli, Ritter, and Dill. Bentley took 'sumptuosa hostia' as a nominative, defending the a either as lengthened by the following 'bl,' or as the parallel of 'si non periret immisera-bilis,' 3. 5. 17, q. v. 'A costly victim does not soothe the displeasure of the Penates more winningly than,' etc.

19. mollivit, not an aoristic, but a regular perfect, as is shown by the conditional clause to which it answers: 'if the offering has been made, the gods are satisfied.' Several of the best MSS. have 'mollibit' [and it is so quoted by Servius], but the perfect is supported by Stat. Silv. 1. 3. 130 'deis... Caespes et exiguo placuerunt farra salino,' Tibull. 4. 1. 14 'Parvaque caelestes placavit mica' (both quoted by Keller), which seem like imitations; and we may probably follow Bentley in refusing to admit what would be a solitary instance in Horace of this form of the future in a doubtful reading, and against the silence of the old grammarians, who are quick to notice any such varieties.

20. A periphrasis for the 'mola salsa,' 'fruges salae,' Virg. Aen. 2. 133. The commentators say, but scarcely prove, that the crackling of the salt in the fire was taken for a good omen. If so, the two epithets will really characterise both substantives, and mean, 'duly offered and kindly received.' The expression is imitated Ov, Fast. 4. 409, Tibull. 3. 4. 10.
ODE XXIV.

'Riches and luxurious abodes can stay neither care nor death. The Scythians live more wisely, with no settled homes, no stores of wealth. They have not the vices of civilized life. Their women do not poison their step-children, nor rule their husbands, nor break their marriage vows. Who would be known as the saviour and father of his country? Let him check the licence of the time. He may be hated by his contemporaries, but he will be glorious to all ages. It is no good to complain:—punish the offenders:—no good to make laws, while our lives give the lie to them, while we scour sea and land for the sake of money, and think poverty the one shame. Let us get quit of our wealth: root out the evil if we are really tired of it, and train our sons in a manlier school. Let them hunt instead of playing with the Greek hoop and the dice, while their fathers are cheating to heap up money for them, their unworthy heirs. That is the way wealth grows; and it is an endless business, for it never can keep pace with desire.'

The Ode travels over the same ground as Odes 1-6 of this Book, which seem in fact expansions of texts from this one. It must have been written about the same time, though probably before them. We may note also how many of its expressions recur in the Odes (especially 5 and 15) of Book iv, which celebrate Augustus' acts as accomplished.

Metre—Third Asclepiad.

INTACTIS opulentior

Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae
Caementis licet occupes
† Tyrrenenum omne tuis et mare † Apulicum,

1. intactis, 'virgin,' 'unrifled.'
2. Arabum, i. 29. f.
3. caementis, 3. i. 35.
4. †Tyrrenenum, †Apulicum. So I have printed, not from any confidence in the text, but rather that, in default of conclusive evidence on the subject, this reading seems to have acquired a certain right of possession from the favour of several generations of editors. 'Apulicum' has but slight MS. authority; it does not explain the variants, and there is the difficulty of the quantity of its first syllable, which is never found certainly short, unless in the disputed passage in Od. 3. 4. 10. The chief var. lect. are (1) 'Ponticum,' which is found in B, A, and λ, and is accepted by Ritter. Keller thinks it a 'Mavortian' alteration. The whole expression then would mean, 'the sea from end to end of the civilized world, from Rome to the Euxine.' (2) 'publicum,' which was the reading of V, and is found in π, τ, γ. It must mean 'the common property of all,' as in Ov. Met. 6. 351 ['usus communis aquarum est. Nec solem proprium Natura nec aera fecit, Nec tenues undas; ad publica munera veni.' The difficulty in its way is that it seems to carry with it the necessity for the alteration of 'Tyrrenenum.' No local name will correspond to it. Lachmann (on Lucr. 1. 360) conjectured 'terrenum,' which occurs in the sense of 'land' in Liv. 23. 19, and Keller and Mr. Munro (though the latter grudgingly) accept it. The name 'Tyrrenenum' appears as 'Tirrenenum' in several good MSS, though this is not more misspelling than is to be looked for with proper names. The Schol. of Acr. and Forph. is favourable to the conj. 'invehitur in luxuriam omnia profanatem et acediisctis non terrans
Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clayos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedes caput.
Campestres melius Scytheae,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt et rigidí Getae,
Immetata quibus iugera liberas

5-8. The image in this place is not clear. We may perhaps compare 2. 18. 29. In both cases Horace is pointing the irony of fate, which allows a man to begin to build what he may not live to finish. In both cases 'Orcus' or 'Necessitas' are represented under images borrowed from the employment of the rich man himself. In 2. 18 he is busy planning his palace. Death has his measuring rod too, and is planning a home for him which he shall yet more surely tenant. Here he is laying the foundations of his palace deep in the sea; but who knows that Fate may not snatch his hammer from him and 'drive the last nails into the gable-top' herself. He will have the toil, but he will not finish the work himself. Death will stop him. We may remember that 'nails for building,' 'clavi trabales,' are already a recognised implement of 'Necessitas,' 1. 35. 18; so that Horace would say, 'You are building. Fate is a builder as well as you, and she may finish your house for you.' The plural 'verticibus' may be explained as generalising,—'the tops of your palaces,' for he is building in every sea,—or of the different points to which the roof rises. Two other explanations have been given to 'summis verticibus.' (1) Bentley's—of the nails, 'up to their heads'; (2) that of most of the older commentators—that of the heads that tower highest, are 'too conspicuous,' Od. 3. 16. 19; or more definitely still, 'of the top of the head' of the human proprietor into which Doom is pictured as driving her nails. Professor Robinson Ellis has suggested to me as parallel for this last view, Theog.
Fruges et Cererem ferunt, 
Nec cultura placet longior annua, 
Defunctumque laboribus 
Aequali recreat sorte vicarius. 
Illic matre carentibus 
Privignis mulier temperat innocens, 
Nec dotata regit virum 
Conium nec nitido fidit adultero. 
Dos est magna parentium 
Virtus et metuens alterius viri 
Certo foedere castitas; 
Et peccare nefas aut pretium est mori.

13. Fruges et Cererem, ν τι διδα δυοίν, probably like 'gemmas et lapides,' v. 48; the double substantive is meant to express universality, 'fruits of the ground of every kind.' 
14-16. This is best illustrated by Caesar's description (B. G. 4. 1) of the Suevi, from whom it is possible that Horace has transferred it to the Scythians. 'Suevi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui qui domi manœrinent se atque illos alunt. Hi rursus invicem anno post in armis sunt, illi domi remanent. Sic neque agricultura nec ratio atque usus belli intermititur. Sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est; neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet.' 
14. nec cultura placet, etc., seems therefore possibly to include the two ideas that no individual was employed in tillage for more than a year together, and that the same piece of ground was not tilled for more than a year. 'None cares to till the soil for more than a single year, and when one has fulfilled his toil a successor relieves him on the same terms of service.' 
16. aequali sorte, sc. for a year's turn. 
vicarius, as Cicero calls Murena, the consul elect, 'vicarium diligentiae meae,' Mur. 37. 
17, 18. 'Holds her hands from harming her motherless step-children.' For the use of 'temperat' cp. Cic. Verr. 3. 59 'Te putet quisquam sociis temperasse?' Ritter takes it, after the Schol., as = 'pocula temperat,' 'innocens' implying that she mixes no poison in the cup. 'There is no authority for the absolute use of 'temperare' in this sense. 
19. dotata, on the strength of her dower. Plaut. Men. 5. 2. 16 'Ita istaee solent quae viros subservire sibi postulant dote fretae feroces.' Id. Aulul. 3. 5. 61 'Nam quae indotata est ea in potestate est viri; dotatae maecant et malo et damno viros.' It is constr. with 'regit,' but not with 'fidit'  cp. 2. 5. 13, 3. 23. 14, 
regit, fidit, the point is the inversion of lawful relations. 
21. 'The ample dower they bring is their parents' worth,' the pure blood and healthy traditions of virtuous households. Contrast 3. 6. 17 foll. 
22. metuens alterius viri; the gen. as 'rixarum metuens,' 3. 19. 16. q. v. 
23. certo foedere; i. 3. 18 'irrupta copula.' It is one of Horace's abl. absol. (see on 2. 1. 13), neither exactly the abl. of the ground of the action with 'metuens' nor the abl. of the quality with 'castitas'; it adds a circumstance which completes and explains both substantive and participle, 'the marriage bond was inviolable'; 'foedus,' of the covenant of marriage; cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 339 'neque haec in foedera veni.' 
24. 'They dare not sin, or if they sin they die,' Conington. For the constr. of 'nefas... aut' cp. 3. 12. 1, 2. A few MSS. read 'pretium mori,' one 'pretium emori.' If this were adopted we might still take it as above. Bentley, and after him several editors, make 'nefas,' etc. a continuation of the 'dos,' το ἀδέματον εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. 'the fact that
O quisquis volat impias
Caedes et rabiem tollere civicam,
Si quaret PATER URBIUM
Subscribe statuis, indomitam audeat
Refrenare licentiam,
Clarus postgenitis: quatenus—heu nefas!—
Virtutem incolunem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.
Quid tristes querimoniae,
Si non supplicio culpa reciditur,
Quid leges sine moribus
Vanae proficiunt, si neque fervidis
 Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi nec Boraeae finitimum latus
Duraeaeque solo nives
Mercatorem abigunt, horrida callidi

they dare not sin,' etc.; but the Latin is awkward.

pretium, pothj. The word does not necessarily imply either reward or punishment. Iuv. Sat. 13. 105 'Ille crucem sceleris pretium tuit, hic diadem.'

25. It appears from Porph. that in his time some copies marked the beginning of a new Ode here, for he condemns such a division. See on Od. 1. 7. 15 and Epod. 2. 23.

26. civicam, 'of citizens against citizens.' See on 1. 2. 21 'audiet cives acuisse ferrum.'

27. Pater urbiwm. It is impossible to doubt that Horace had in mind the historic title of great patriots, 'Pater Patriae,' which, though it had not yet been conferred on Augustus by the Senate, may yet have been currently given to him by his partisans (see on 1. 2. 50); but the form 'Pater urbiwm' is taken rather from the more special designations given to their benefactors by particular towns. Orelli quotes an inscription to Augustus from Jadera, a colony in Illyria, IMP. CAESAR. DIVI F. AUG. PARENST COLONIAE MURUM ET TURRES DEDIT. Cicero bids his brother (ad Q. Fr. 1. 1) deserve the title of 'prenes Asiae.' This general benefactor is to be recognised as such from city to city, to have in each his statue with the memorial of his public services.

28. subscribi, i. e. to have his name inscribed at the bottom of the statues.

29. refrenare licentiam, cp. 4. 15. 9, where Horace proclaims that Augustus has accomplished this task, 'ordinem Rectum evaganti frena licentiae Iniecit.'

30. quatenus, 'since,' Sat. 1. 1. 64, 2. 3. 76, Juv. 12. 102; not found before Horace.

31, 32. For the sentiment cp. 2. 1. 10—14, and the verses attributed to Menander: Δενοι γαρ ανθρωποι ειμιν ευκλεις Τουτε φθονοσαι καθαρντα δαινεσαι.

32. querimonus, potebvnen, 'requirimus,' 'we look for without finding.'

invidi goes with both clauses; it is the clue to the apparent inconsistency.

33. querimoniae, lamentations in the senate, in society, in literature, over the evils of the time.

35. leges sine moribus, cp. 4. 5. 22, where Augustus is represented as having touched both springs of reformation: 'Mons et lex maculosum edomuit nefas.'

37. inclusa, 'fenced in,' as if the heats were intended to bar it from human intrusion. 'Terra domibus negata,' ibid. Virg. Aen. 7. 227 'si quem ... dirimit plaga, solis iniqui.'

39. solo, ablative of place.

40 foll. The whole passage is an echo
Horatii

Vincent aequora navitae,
Magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet
Quidvis et facere et pati
Virtutisque viam deserit arduae?
Vel nos in Capitolium,
Quo clamor vocat et turba fuentium,
Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile,
Summi materiem mali,
Mittamus, scelerum si bene poenitet.
Eradenda cupidinis

of parts of Od. 1. 3. Cp. v. 43 with 'audax omnia perpeti,' etc. The 'mercator' is always Horace's type of the eager pursuit of wealth. Od. 1. 31. 10 foll., Epp. 1. 1. 45 foll. To cross the sea is to fly in the face of the 'prudens Deus,' who put that barrier between land and land.

callidi; cp. Soph. Ant. 335 foll., summing up the triumph of man's wit: τοῦτο ηατο ποιοι θέους πυθον χειμερων νύτη χωρεί...περιπαθῆς ἀνήρ. The apodosis to the whole sentence is the original 'Quid leges...proficiunt?' 'Horrida...navitae' and 'magnum...arduæ' are both constructed after 'si.' The asyndeton serves to point out that the two last clauses are not fresh instances of that general thirst for wealth, which belies sumptuary laws, but two explanations of the merchant's boldness: if the sea is rough the seaman is cunning (for the relation of the two adjectives see on 1. 3. 10) to overcome its difficulties, and in any case there is the prevailing motive behind, the dread of the one great shame, poverty.

42. magnum opprobrium; Sat. 2. 3.
43. Creditit ingens l'aurentium vitium.'
44. arduæ, pred. That the hill is steep is the reason why men turn out of the path.

45–50. Orelli well compares with this burst Epod. 16. 17 'Nulla sit hac potior sententia,' etc. The emphasis of position and repetition is shared between vel and nos; 'vel 'vel' emphasising the indifferencce of the smaller consideration, 'anywhere that you please,—give it to the gods or throw it into the sea;': and so the importance of the greater one, 'only get quit of it once for all'; 'nos,' 'nos' singing out the poet and the audience whom he addresses from the rest of the world; 'let us at least,' the 'melior pars' of Epod. 16.

45. in Capitolium. Ritter sees in these words proof that the poem was written at the time of Augustus' triple triumph in a.c. 29, but the words need not imply more than that Horace already imagines the triumphal procession in which, amid the popular joy, the mischievous gold will be conducted to the capitol. Its destination was probably suggested by the gifts which Augustus had made, or was about to make, to that temple. Suet. Aug. 30 'in cellam Capitolini Iovis sedecim millia pondo auri gemmasque ac margaritas quingentes H. S. una donatione contulit.' Cp. generally Od. 3. 3. 49–52.

48. gemmas et lapides. For the same distinction the editors quote Ov. de Med. Fac. 20. 21 'Conspicitiam gemmis vultis habere manum: Induitis collo lapides oriente petitos'; Mart. 11. 50. 4 'Gemma vel a digito vel cadit aure lapis.' One might fancy from these lines that 'gemma' meant specially a stone set and graven; and passages are quoted in which 'lapis' is used specially of a pearl. In any case the double substantive will mean 'jewels of every kind'; see above, v. 12.

49. summis mali, 'dictum ut summam res publicam, summam salutis,' Orelli, 'the occasion of the chief offending.'

50. bene = 'vere,' 'to any good purpose.' Cp. the uses of 'male,' 'male sanus,' etc.

51. eradenda...elementa. If any full metaphor is felt, it would seem to be of rubbing out the characters on a waxed tablet. The στοιχεῖα, rudiments, alphabet, of avarice must be effaced, the
Pravi sunt elementa et tenerae nimirum
Mentes asperioribus
Formandae studiis. Nescit equo rudis
Haerere ingenue puer
Venarique timet, ludere docteur,
Seu Graeco iubeas trocho
Seu malis vetita legibus alea,
Cum periura patris fides
Consortem socium fallat et hospitem
Indignoque pecuniam
Heredi properet. Scilicet improbae
Curtae nescio quid semper abest refi. 

mind must become once more ἡπάρδες

cupidinis, masc., see on 2. 16. 15; here, as there, it is the desire of money.

54. rudis, with 'nescit'; it is antithetical to 'docteur'; 'knows not, for he has never been taught this lesson.'

57. Graeco. For the comparison of true Roman sports to the more fashionable Greek ones cp. Sat. 2. 2. 9 foll. 'leperem sectatus equove Lassus ab indomito vel si Romana fatigat Militia assuetum Graecari, seu pila velox . Seu te discus aget,' etc. The 'trophus' was a hoop; see Dict. Ant.

58. vetita legibus; Ov. Trist. 2. 470 'Haec [alea] est ad nostros non leve crimèn avos'; Cic. Phil. 2. 23 'Liciniam Denticulam de alea condemnatum.' The definite laws are not known.

59. cum . . fallat, seems to give the reason of the foregoing facts. You cannot wonder at it when the father himself is engaged as he is.

periura fides; cp. i. 18. 16 'Arcani fides prodiga.' You trust his honour, you find it forsworn.

60. consortem socium, 'the partner of his fortunes.' 'Consors' was used for a 'coheir,' as 'sors' for 'patrimonium,' Fest. s. v. It seems to be more widely used for those whose fortune is in the same bottom.

62. properet, trans. as 'deproperare,' Od. 2. 7. 24, 'festinare,' Epp. 1. 2. 61. scilicet, 'this is the end of the whole matter.' The thirst for money, which can never be satisfied, is the cause to which Horace traces the cheating of the father and the gambling of the son, and in it he returns to the lesson of the Ode, of the first line as of the last.

improbæ; not to be confined to 'crescunt,' for it describes the nature of wealth, which for ever grows, yet comes no nearer to satisfying: it is like a pitcher of the Danaids: τὸ μὲν ἐδ Πάσσεσ ἄνιπόστον ἐφ’ πᾶσι βροτοῖς.
ODE XXV.

In this Ode, as in 2. 19, Horace has tried to catch the inspiration of a Greek dithyramb. In that one he professes to recall the effects which the sight of Bacchus had upon him: in the present one he is actually under the influence of the afflatus. 'He is hurried away, whither he knows not: his eyes are opened on strange caverns and river-banks and woods. His tongue will be loosed in a moment to sing no humble theme, and in no common strain, the glories of Caesar: he follows the god, for he must, and it is delightful, but it is fearful too.'

The glory of Caesar is only mentioned as the subject of the coming burst of song; but the place of honour given to it is in effect the celebration which is promised. See 1. 6, Introd.

Metre—Third Aeslepiad.

QUO me, Bacche, rapis tui
Plenum? quae nemora aut quos agrin specus
Velox mente nova? quibus
Antris egregii Caesaris audiar
Aeternum meditans decus
Stellis inserere et consilio Iovis?

1. tui plenum; 2. 19. 6 'pleno Bacchi pectore.'

2. For the omission of the preposition with the first substantive cp. Epp. 2. 1. 25. 'Vel Gabiiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,' Virg. Aen. 6. 602 'Quas ego te terras et quanta per aequor veiculum Aspicio.' It was a Greek licence; cp. amongst others Soph. O. T. 734 ἄχουσθη ἡ' ὕδως ἑστὶ γεγενέναι δειλών καὶ δαιμόνια ἀγεί. 3. velox mente nova. The inspiration so alters him that he can hardly recognize his soul as his own, and it endows him with the swiftness of thought.

quibus antris, local ablative.

4-6. The constr. is 'audiar, meditans inserere.' Horace already 'meditatur inserere,' etc. The question is where his dreamings will find voice and an auditory.

4. egregil, 1. 6. 11.

5. aeternum is pred., 'to set Caesar's glory as a new star in the skies for ever.'

meditans = μελετῶν, 'planning,' 'practising.' Possibly also it suggested the idea, which it often conveys, of poetical composition as the means of conferring the promised glory: 'meditari' is used in the sense of 'composing aloud' in Virg. E. 6. 82 'Omnia quae Phoebi quondam meditante beatus Audii Eurotas.'

6. consilio Iovis, 'the council board of Jupiter.' Virgil's 'quem mox quae sint habitura deorum Concilia,' G. 1. 24, is hardly as high a compliment to Augustus' wisdom. Bentley would follow a minority of MSS. in reading 'concilio' here also; but Orelli points out that as 'concilium' means only a 'gathering,' 'concilium deorum' is a natural expression, 'concilium Iovis' scarcely so. The general terms in which Caesar's apotheosis is spoken of are the same in the two passages. In both he is at one moment to be a god, at another a star.
DICAM INSIGNE RECENS ADHUC

INDICTUM ORE ALOI. NON SECUS IN IUGIS

EXSOMNIS STUPET EUIAS

HEBRUM PROSPICIENS ET NIVE CANDIDAM

THRACEN AC PEDE BARBARO

LUSTRATAM RHODOPEN, UT MIHI DEVIO

RIPAS ET VACUUM NEMUS

MIRARI LIBET. O NAFAUDUM POTENS

BACCHARUMQUE VALENTIUM

PROCERAS MANIBUS VERTERE FRAXINOS,

NIL PARVM AUT HUMILI MODO,

NIL MORTALE LOQUAR. DULCE PERICULUM EST,

O LENAEE, SEQUI DEUM

CINGENTEM VIRIDI TEMPORA PAMPINO.

7. The subject of his song is to be something notable, something new, something which no tongue has sung of before him.

recens implies that the events are fresh.

8. non secus, etc. As the Bacchante who has been carried by her frenzy to the top of Haemus (cp. Lucan. i. 673 "vertece Findi Edonis Ogygio decurrirt plena Lyace") gazes in rapt astonishment on the plain of Thrace before her, the Hebrus watering the middle of it, Rhodope its western boundary,—so the poet, carried he knows not where (‘devio’), looks with delighted wonder on river-banks and woodland. The two points of comparison are the unexpectedness of the sight, and its effect in rousing further the Bacchic or the poetical ἵθους εἰμί. Thrace is sacred land to the Bacchante, the woods and streams to the poet, 3. 4. 5 foll., 4. 3. 10.

9. exsomnis; Soph. Ant. 1552 θυ-λειαστ ας ει μαντάμεναι πάννυχι Χωρείναι. The epithet indicates her excitement. Bentley, objecting that the Bacchae are spoken of by Euripides (Bacch. 682) and other poets as sleeping, and that ‘iugis’ requires an epithet, needlessly alters ‘exsomnis’ to ‘Edonis,’ and he is followed by Meineke, Haupt, and Dill. 

10. pede barbaro. The point of the epithets is the desolation or savagery of the view; they correspond to the ‘vacuum nemus,’ cf. v. 13: there is room there for the god and for the muses.

12. ut, constr. after ‘non secus.’ Bentley, doubting the possibility of this constr. and yet wishing to connect the two sentences (others take ‘ut’ as exclamatory), would read with a few MSS. ‘ac’; but Horace uses ‘ut’ where ‘ac’ is more usual; cp. i. 16. 7, 9 ‘aeque ... ut.’

14. NAFAUDUM POTENS, I. 3. 1.

15. valentium; Eur. Bacch. 109, 1064, 1098. A comparison is evidently intended between the supernatural strength given to the Bacchantes by the possession of the god and the power to sing ‘nil parvum nil mortale,’ which the same inspiration gives to the poet.

17. humili modo, ταρενώς. ‘Modus’ does not seem to have been actually used in a musical or poetical sense in the singular.

18. mortale, ‘of mere man’s utterance,’ Conington.

20. tempora, the god’s own temples, as appears from 4. 8. 33 ‘ornatus viridi tempora pampino Liber.”
ODE XXVI.

The poet professes himself foiled in his addresses to Chloë, and recognises the meaning of the failure: 'He has made his conquests in his time; but his campaigns are over. Here in Venus' temple he will hang up the instruments of gallantry for which he has no more use. May Venus (we expect, 'grant him peace at last, 'spare him further love troubles') make Chloë feel one little smart of her lash.'

The conclusion points the irony of the beginning. Compare 4. 1. Introd.

On the position of the Ode see Introd. to Books i—iii, § 11. 1.

VIXI puellis nuper idoneus
Et militavi non sine gloria;
Nunc arma desunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit,
Laevum marinac, qui Veneris latus
Custodit. Hic hic ponite lucida
Funalia et vectes et arcus
Oppositis foribus minaces.
O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive,

1. vixi, implying that that life is over (cp. 3. 29. 43 'Vixi: cras vel altra,' etc.), although 'nuper idoneus,' which qualifies it, implies that it is only just over.

idoneus; 4. 1. 12.

3. The arms of the warfare which he abandons (cp. 4. 1. 16 'militiae tuae') are to be suspended in the temple of Venus, as the 'gladiator emeritus,' Epp. 1. 1. 4., affixes his 'Herculis ad postem.'

4. barbiton. The lute implies that his love-songs are over as well as his loves.

5. The wall of the temple of Venus Anadyomene which her statue has on its left hand. Ritter thinks that the particular description shews that Horace is referring to a special temple, at Velia or elsewhere, familiar to himself. Most editors say that the left wall is chosen because the left was (according to Cic. de Div. 2. 39) the side of good omen to the Romans, though the poets, copying the Greeks, often reverse its character.

6. ponite, addressed to the attendants; the 'pueri' who are named in the similar 1. 19. 14.

7. funalia; Virg. Aen. 1. 727. They were apparently tapers of a large size, ropes smeared with wax, here used to light the lover-to his mistress' door.

Cp. Prop. 1. 3. 10, 4. 16. 16 and Theoc. 2. 128 Εί δ' ἄλαξ μ' ἀθείτε καὶ ἀ βία εἴ-
χετο μόχλω Πάντως καὶ πελέκεις καὶ λαμ-
πάδες ἵψον ερ' υμέας.

et arcus. 'Quibus ianitores ter-
rent is the gloss in the valuable MS. in
Queen's College (Oxford) Library. Cp. 3. 14. 23. It is an odd weapon for the purpose, and, as Bentley complains, the 'oppositae fores' would have protected the porter. He alters 'et arcus' boldly to 'securesque'; Keller adopts the rather strange conjecture 'ascias,' a rare word for an axe. Other meanings have been suggested for 'arcus,' such as 'catapulls' or 'levers,' but they are unsupported.

9. 10. It is common to preface prayers by recalling various titles and sacred
Regina, sublimi flagello
Tange Chloën semel arrogantem.

places of the god who is addressed. 'Cyprus' is the well-known seat of Venus' worship; see i. 3. 1. Why 'Memphis' is named is not so clear. Hdt. (2. 112) and Strabo (17, p. 1161) mention a temple of Αφροδίτη ξενή there. A line of Bacchylides (37, Bergk) has been preserved: τῷ δύειμαυτόν τη Μέμφι καὶ δονακᾶθα Νέλον, of which possibly an echo is heard in the epithet of Memphis here; but the connection of the verse is not known. Probably, as Dill' and Ritter think, 'carentem nive' is an appeal to Venus against the icy heart of Chloé: 'Etenim frigus ut in rerum natura ita in hominum pectoribus odiosum est Veneri.' Dill'.

Sithonia; i. 18. 9.
11, 12. Venus is for the moment armed with the lash, which belongs rather to the Furies, to punish offences against herself. 'Sublimi,' 'lifted high for the blow.'

ODE XXVII.

'Eum omens are for the evil. - If I fear for you, I will at least wish you all good omens. Go, if you must go, and be happy wherever you are; and think of me sometimes, Galatea. Only remember the season. I have reason to know what a stormy passage of the Adriatic is like; may no friend of mine ever experience it! Europa didn't know on what she was embarking, till she found herself on the seas and saw nothing but sky and water. Then she repented bitterly, till Venus consoled her.'

It is possible that the conclusion of Europa's story loses its immediate point from our not knowing the circumstances of Galatea's journey. Was she too, as has been suggested, to find consolation in the wealth and greatness of the companion of her travel? There is no passion, though there is tenderness and kindness, in the poet's feeling towards her. The Ode contrasts in this respect with the similar poems of Propertius (1. 8) and Ovid (Am. 2. 11).

In any case Horace meant people to read his Ode who knew nothing of Galatea, and the story of Europa makes an artistic whole, even if, as is so often the case in Pindar's mythological episodes, it only touches at one point the subject with which the Ode begins. The story of Europa is told in Ov. Met. 2. 847 foll.

IMPIOS parrae recinentis omen
Ducat et praegnans canis aut ab agro

1. parrae. Probably the common owl, called still in local Italian dialects 'parranza.'

recinentis, repeating its note; i. 12. 3, Epp. i. i. 55.

2. ducat, πέμπω, 'go with them on their way,' i.e. attend their setting forth. The talk is of ένόδιοι σύμβολοι, Aesch. P. V. 487.
Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino,  
Fetaque volpes.  
Rumpat et serpens iter institutum,  
Si per obliquum similis sagittae  
Terruit mannos: ego cui timebo  
Providus auspex,  
Antequam stantes repetat paludes  
Imbrium divina avis imminentum,  
Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo  
Solis ab orut.  
Sis licet felix, ubicunque mavis,  
Et memór nostri, Galatea, vivas,

3. rava, 'ravus -color dicitur niger mixtus cum fulvo,' Acr.  
decurrens Lanuvino. Lanuvium,  
now Civita Lavigna, was on a hill about  
a mile to the right of the Via Appia (cp.  
Cic. pro Mil. c. 10), by which Galatea is  
starting, like Horace in Sat. 1. 6, for Brun-  
disium and the passage to Greece.  
5. rumpat et. There is no incon-  
sistency, as Bentley objects, between the  
wishes of the first and second stanzas.  
They are really alternatives, though put,  
after a common fashion, conjunctively,  
like the Homeric εἰδ᾽ ὥραλες ἄγονός τ᾽  
ἔμεναι ἄγαμός τ᾽ ἀπολέοντο: see on 3.  
ii. 49. 'Let evil omens attend the set-  
ting forth, or stop the journey of the  
wicked.' Both things may, happen to  
them, though not to the same people on  
the same occasion. 'I,' he continues,  
'if with my knowledge of augury I am  
anxious for a friend, will at least do  
my best to procure good omens for her.  
Go, Galatea, where you like best, and  
good omens go with you.' Keller and  
Mr. Munro follow Bentley in adopting  
the reading 'rumpit,' which is found  
in a few MSS. of value, and in the best  
MSS. (not in the interpretation) of Acr.  
and Porph. This alteration gives a  
different colour to the whole passage.  
All three stanzas will then, though under  
varied forms, be really direct statements  
of the omens which stop, or ought to  
stop, persons from setting out on a  
journey. 'Only those who think no-  
thing of religion would start in spite  
of the hooting of an owl (the form is  
optative or permissive, 'let the omen of  
an owl, etc. go with the wicked');  
even if the journey is begun, it is  
broken off if a snake darts across the  
road: I shall pray, when I am anxious  
for a friend's safety, for the omen of a  
croaking crow in the east, instead of  
that of the raven flying away to the  
pools.' The transition from this to  
stanza 4 is very awkward, unless, with  
Bentley and Munro, we complete the  
sense by adopting, in v. 15, the conjec-  
ture of Lambinus, 'vetat'; so that will  
mean, 'in your case, Galatea, there are  
none of these bad omens.' The 'que'  
in v. 15 is awkward in that case, and  
the direct enumeration of the omens  
must have owed its point, if it had any,  
to circumstances which we do not know.  
7. cui timebo, 'for one for whom';  
the dative has to do double duty. 'Cui'  
is the reading of the Bland. Vet. and  
the other best MSS.: it was corrupted  
to 'cur,' and then to 'quid.'  
8. providus auspex. He will not  
only wait for the omens and judge them  
when they come, but will look forward  
to them, and try to procure good ones.  
10. imbrium divina avis, as 3. 17.  
12 'aqua augur annosa cornix,' of  
the same bird. Both 'stantes paludes' and  
'vaga' seem to refer to the same sign of  
bad weather as that mentioned by Virg.  
G. i. 388 'Tum cornix plena pluviam  
vocat improba voce Et sola in sicca  
secum spatiatur arena.' Horace will pray  
that the omen of good weather may  
anticipate and prevent the omen of bad.  
11. oscinem, 'to give an omen by  
its voice,' according to the division of  
birds of omen given in Virg. Aen. 3. 361  
'Et volucrum linguis et praepetis omina  
pennae.'  
13. licet, sc. 'per me,' 'I would not  
hinder it.'  
14. nostri; 3. ii. 51, 3. 28. 9.
LIB. III. OD. 27.

Teque nec laevus vetet ire picus
Nec vaga cornix.
Sed vides, quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus
Pecet Iapyx.
Hostium uxores puerique caecos
Sentiant motus orientis Austri et
Aequoris nigri fremitum et trementes
Verbere ripas.
Sic et Europe niveum doloso
Credidit tauro latus et scatentem
Beluis pon tum mediasque fraudes
Palluit audax.
Nuper in pratis studiosa florum et
Debitae Nymphis opifex coronae
Nocte sublustri nihil astra praeter
Vidit et undas.

15. laevus picus; see Conington on Virg. G. 9. 15. He points out that the appearance on the left or on the right of particular birds seems to have affected, not the goodness or badness of the omen, but its credibility.
16. vaga, see on v. 10.
18. pronus = 'devexus,' 1. 28. 21.
Cp. Epod. 10. 9. 15. 7. 'Amidst what commotion Orion hastens to his setting.'

ego novi. Horace had made the passage himself on his way to Athens, and home from the war after the battle of Philippi.
quid sit, etc., 'what Hadria's gulf is when it blackens, and the treachery of Iapyx for all his white skies.'
20. Iapyx (1. 3. 4) is the favourable wind for crossing from Brundisium. It is usually 'albus' (see on 1. 7. 15), but capable of occasionally deceiving those who trust it. For the verbal antithesis of 'ater,' 'albus,' see on 1. 21. 7. 8.
21. hostium; 1. 21. 13 foll. If these horrors must fall on some one, may it be on our enemies. Virg. G. 3. 513 'Di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum.'
caecos, 'blind,' in the sense of 'mysterious,' of which the effect is perceived before the cause; cp. ἄν ὅτε πορφόρ
πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κορφῆ 'Οσσόμενων
λεγέων ἀνέμων λαβηρά κέλευα Αὔτως,
Hom. II. 14. 16: or possibly only 'unexpected,' as 'caeca fata,' 2. 13. 16.
24. ripas, of the shore of the sea, as in 2. 18. 22.
25. doloso credidit; 3. 5. 33 'perfidis se credidit.'
26. latus. The picture is of her lying along on the bull's back, as in 2. 7. 18 'latus Depone sub laur,' of Pompeius lying at length on the grass.
et. Bentley would read 'at,' but 'et' is preferable, even apart from the MSS. The parallel ('sic et Europe') consists in the confidence before the danger was seen, followed by terror when it became apparent. The contrast between these two is evident enough, without an adversative particle to emphasize it: it is their union in one person which is in point.

cusatentem beluis; see on 1. 3. 18.
27. medias fraudes. She did not discover the deception till she was in the thick of it ('ἐν μέσω ἀπειράτοις'), and then she 'turned pale at the sight, for all her boldness.'
28. palluit, with accusative, as in Epp. 1. 3. 10.
30. debitae; i. 36. 2, 2. 7. 17.
Quae simul centum tetigit potentem
Oppidis Creten: Pater, o relictum
Filae nomen, pietasque, dixit,
Victa furore!
Unde quo veni? Levis una mors est
Virginum culpae. Vigilansque ploro
Turpe commissum, an vitiiis carentem
Ludit imago
Vana, quae porta fugiens eburna
Somnium ducit? Meliusne fluctus
Ire per longos fuit, an recentes
Carpere flores?
Si quis infamem mihi nunc iuvencum
Dedat iratae, lacerare ferro et
Frangere enitar modo multum amati
Cornua monstri.

33. centum oppidis; Epod. 9. 29.
The Homeric εκατόμωλην, II. 2. 649.
34. Pater, o relictum filiae nomen,
'My father! oh name thy daughter
may no longer speak.' It is probably
best to take the words 'Pater o nomen
(sc. patris) filiae (sc. a filia) relictum.'
She calls on her father, but the name
reminds her that she has left behind her
the privileges as well as the duties re-
called by it. Bentley compares Ariadne's
confession, Ov. Her. 10. 69 'Nam pater
et tellus iusto regnata parenti Prodita
sunt facto nominâ cara meo.' The other
possible construction, 'filiae (gen. case)
nomen relictum (sc. a me),' seems, as
Bentley argues, to require 'O pater! O
relictum,' etc., as they then become
separate exclamations.

Europa's father was, according to
Homer, II. 1. 321, Phoenix; according
to Ovid, Met. I. c., Agenor.
35. pietas victa furore; cp. Ov.
Met. 1. 149 'Vica iacet pietas.' This
is better than with Acron, to take
'victa fureore' with 'dixit,' as a descrip-
tion of Europ.
37. unde quo. The two questions
run together after the Greek fashion.
τις ποιέον γείως; Eur. Alc. 213. 'Asyn-
deton convenit commoto loquentis
animo,' Ritter. Mitsch. compares Vir-
gil’s expression of Turnus’ bewilder-
ment. Aen. 10. 669 'Quo fero? unde
abi?' quae me fuga quemve reducit?
This is perhaps consistent with the feel-
ing that if she answered her questions,
the answer would be, 'from a happy
home to shame and danger'; but in the
first instance the picture seems to be of
bewildernent, expressed by a rapid suc-
cession of contradictory thoughts, though
they settle down at last into self-reproach.

38. virginum culpae. Orelli points
out (against Markland, who wished to
read 'virginis') that the plural softens,
by generalising, the truth. She feels
the special application, but is likely to
shrink from expressing it. Similarly,
Bentley injures the delicacy of the pas-
sage by changing 'vitiiis' to 'vitiio.' The
reasons which he gives for the change—
the generality of the plural and the tech-
ical use of the singular as almost=
'stuprum'—really indicate Horace’s
purpose in preferring 'vitiis.'
41. porta eburna; Hom. Od. 19.
562 foll., Virg. Aen. 6. 894.
42. somnium ducit, 'the fancy
brings a dream,' i.e. comes in a dream.
47. enitar, I would use all my strength';
it contrasts with 'multum amati.'
48. monstri. Some good MSS. have
Impudens liqui patrios Penates,
Impudens Orcum moror. O deorum
Si quis haec audis, utinam inter errem
Nuda leones!
Antequam turpis macies decentes
Occupet malas teneraeque sucus
Defluat praedae, speciosa quaerо
Pascere tigres.
Vilis Europe, pater urget absens:
Quid mori cessas? Potes hac ab orno
Pendulum zona bene te scuta
Laudere collum.
Sive te rupes et acuta leto
Saxa delectant, age te procellae

tauri,' but, as Orelli observes, this reading was probably a gloss, helped to usurp the text by v. 72. Europa has called it, in v. 45, 'infamem iuvencum,' but she has learnt long ago that it was not merely what it seemed. It should be noticed that Horace imagines the bull to have vanished the moment he has landed Europa on the Cretan shore. She is then alone, conscious that she has been brought there for a bad purpose, but thinking (vv. 63-65) of some earthly ravisher, such as Paris, etc., till Venus appears to reconcile her to the honour intended for her by Jupiter.

50. Impudens. She repeats it, as though she had now found the clue to her conduct, 'shameless' from beginning to end.

Orcum moror, 'keep Death waiting.'

51. si quis audis. The second person of the verb is used by a kind of attraction, as the doubt 'si quis' cannot be addressed to a single person. 'O dii, si auditis,' or 'O deus, si quis deorum audit.' Dill*, compares Virg. Aen. 4. 684 'Exorire aliiquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.'

53-56. The point of this stanza is not quite obvious. Orelli thinks she deprecates a tedious death, and quotes Soph. Ant. 817 foll. oüте φθινάν πληγεία νό

50 for death, but with the same reservation, фεύ τίς ἐν ἐν τάχει μὴ περιώδους μὴ τε δεμιοτθήσει μόλις, κ. τ. λ. But probably the thought is rather that she would make haste and let her young beauty, the hated cause of her present condition, gain her a death before it too vanished. It may at least be of some use if it makes her a dainty morsel for a tiger. She loathes her beauty: it is not that she would spare it from withering, or herself from seeing it wither.

58. hac ab orno, 'you need not look far.'

59. bene = 'opportunе'; cp. Aesch. Suppl. 457 foll.

60. laedere, 'to break;' more usually 'elidere,' a conscious μείωσις. Cp. Soph. Ant. 54 πλεκταιον ἀρτάναι λαβήσαι βλον. It is a common mode of self-destruction in the heroic legends. Cp. Jocasta (Ant. l.c.), and Antigone herself, ib. 1221 τήν μὲν κρεμασθήν αὐξέ

61. leto, the dative of the purpose with respect to which they are sharp. Dill*, points out the bitterness of 'delectant.' The only reason the father for the moment can imagine why she should not hang herself, is that she is caught by the charms of some other form of death.

62. procellae, the swift 'stormwind. The idea seems to be that she is to trust herself to the wings of the wind, which will carry her quick to the bottom.
Crede veloci, nisi herile mavis
Carpere pensum,
Regius sanguis, dominaeque tradi
Barbarae pellex. Aderat querenti
Perfidum ridens Venus et remisso
Filius arcu.
Mox, ubi lusit satis: Abstineto,
Dixit, irarum calidaeque rixae,
Cum tibi invitus laceranda reddet
Cornua taurus.
Uxor invicti Iovis esse nescis:
Mitte singultus, bene ferre magnam
Disce fortunam; tua sectus orbis
Nomina ducet.

64. carpere pensum; Prop. 4. 3. 15
tristes sua pensa ministrae Carpebant,
medio nebat et ipsa loco,' of maidens
 carding their 'weighed portions' of wool
for the mistress to spin.
65. sanguis; 2. 20. 6, 4. 2. 13, C. S.
49.
66. barbarae, 'foreign,' as though a
Greek, and not a Tyrian, were talking.
The 'pellex' will be at the command of
the native queen, as Cassandra at Cly-
temnastra's in the Agam.
67. perfidum ridens; 1. 22. 23, 2.
12. 14, 2. 19. 6. Her 'smile of trea-
chery' is partly at the success of the
device which has beguiled Europa;
partly (the emphasis being rather on
'ridens,' which comes to some extent
παρὰ προσδοκίαν), with a more playful
meaning, at Europa's misplaced grief,
which she is about to allay. Cupid has
his bow unstrung, to show that his
work is over.
69. abstineto irarum; see on 2. 9.
17.
71. cum, 'since.' Venus repeats
Europa's words in vv. 45 foll.: 'You
shall see him who was the bull again,
and you shall have the power to tear
his horns as you wished, if you still
desire it.'
73. uxor esse nescis. Either the
Greek construction for 'uxorem te esse
nescis'; or, as Orelli prefers, = 'tanquam
uxorem te gerere nescis,' 'you know not
how to play the wife.'
75. sectus orbis, 'half the world.'
76. nomina, plural, as 4. 2. 3 'da-
turus nomina ponto.'
ODE XXVIII.

The poet represents himself as about to celebrate the 'Neptunalia' by a carouse, in company with Lyde a 'psaltria.' Cp. 4. 11. 'What can he do better on such a day?' He bids her 'bustle about and bring out the old Caecuban; their sobriety will need a good deal of storming. There is no time to lose; the day is already waning. They will sing in turns: he of Neptune and the Nereids, she of Latona and Diana; then both together of Venus and of Night.'

The Neptunalia were held on July 23. Festus mentions the custom of celebrating the day by erecting booths of boughs called 'umbrae' along the bank of the Tiber.

FESTO quid potius die
Neptuni faciam? Prome reconditum
Lyde strenua Caecubum
Munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae.
Inclinare meridiem
Sentis ac veluti stet volucris dies,
Parcis deripere horrêo
Cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram.
Nos cantabimus invicem
Neptunum et virides Nereidum comas;
Tu curva recines lyra
Latonam et celeris spicula Cynthiae,

2. reconditum, put safely away in the inner bins: cp. 'interiore nota,' 2. 3. 8.
3. strenua, with 'prone,' 'be vigorous and bring'; it almost begins the metaphor of the next verse, 'show vigorous generalship.' The Caecuban is the artillery that must be brought to bear against the strong entrenchments of their seriousness.
Caecubum; on 1. 20. 9.
5. inclinare meridiem, in prose, 'sol meridie se inclinavit,' Liv. 9. 32, 'the noon has passed its full.' There, if anywhere, the 'day might be expected 'stare.' It need not imply any very early hour.
7. horrêo, a 'store' generally, having lost its original meaning of a store of grain; 1. 1. 9. Here it is = 'apotheaca'; see on 3. 21. 7.
8. cessantem, as though it were the fault of the wine that it came no quicker.
Bibuli. C. Calpurnius Bibulus, cos.

21. recines, of an answering song, as in 1. 12. 3 of an echo. The correspondence of the songs is indicated by the metrical correspondence of vv. 10 and 12.
HORATII CARMINUM

Summo carmine, quae Cnidon
Fulgentesque tenet Cycladas et Paphon
Iunctis visit oloribus;
Dicetur merita Nox quoque nenia.

13. quae. What is the antecedent? 'eam,' sc. 'recines' or 'cantabimus'; or 'ea,' sc. 'dicetur'? In any case, probably, it is not intended to limit to Lyde the song addressed to Venus.
15. oloribus. For Venus' car drawn by swans see 4. i. 10.
nenia, not necessarily a mournful song, as we see from Epp. i. 1. 63 'puerorum nenia.'

ODE XXIX.

The Ode begins with an invitation to Maecenas to visit the poet apparently at his Sabine farm. 'Everything is ready for his reception. Why does he delay, look out of his window on the distant country, yet stay amid the grandeur and discomforts of the city? Change is pleasant, even from luxury to simpler life. It smooths the brow of care. The dog-days are beginning; in the country they are thinking only of getting into the shade and to the river-banks. Maecenas is still full of his cares for home and foreign politics.' Here Horace takes a wider sweep, and expresses with some dignity his philosophy of life, such as it is. 'The future is purposely hidden from us. Live in present; make the best of it, you cannot control or foresee anything else. This is abrâpteâ, and happiness. If you have really tasted life to-day, you may defy Jupiter himself to rob you of that pleasure. Fortune delights in changing men's outward condition: the philosopher is independent of her. If his outward happiness is shipwrecked, he can get ashore unharmed himself.'

On the place of the Ode in the three Books see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 11. 2; on its probable date see ibid. § 8.

TYRRHENEA regum progenies, tibi
Non ante verso lene merum cado

1. Tyrrehena regum progenies; see on i. 1. 1. The correspondence is perhaps not accidental, but intended to help the feeling that he comes back at the end of his task to the theme with which he began it—his patron: 'prima dictus, summa dicendus, Carmen.' See Introd. to Books i-iii, § 11. 2 note. That Maecenas was proud of his Tuscan ancestry, and that his friends were in the habit of setting it in relief against the self-chosen humility of his rank in Rome, are the explanation of Horace's selecting this special form of expressing his friend's state and greatness. 'My great friend' is the natural address, when the poem is an invitation to him to exchange the weary pomp of his city life, for the humbler country pleasures of the poet's home. For the hypallage cp. 'Graia victorum manus,' Epod. 10. 12.

2. verso. The 'cadus' or 'amphora' had to be tipped to pour its contents into the 'crater' which was set on the table.
4. tuis, 'expressly for you': in the same way 'non ante verso lene merum cado,' wine which has not been opened, but left year after year to grow mellow, is paired with 'tibi': it was kept for you, and is good enough for you.

5. iamdudum, antithetical to 'morsae,' as 'me' to 'te.' My part is done long ago; the delay is on your side.

6. nec. The good MSS. are nearly divided between 'nec' and 'ne,' with an odd variant 'non.' If we have 'ne' it is final—that you be not for ever looking etc.' 'Nec' is quite Horatian; cp. I. 9. 15. I. 11. 2. 21. 4. 3. 7. 29. Difficulties have been felt about the present subj. 'contempleris' as contra-vening the rule laid down by Madvig (§ 386; cp, his Opuscula, vol. 2. p. 104) that in prohibitions addressed to a definite person the perfect subj. is used. He allows an exception in Sat. 2. 3. 88 'ne sis patruus mihi,' and he might have added Od. 2. 11. 4. 'nec trepides.' A slight further anomaly is perhaps found in the close conjunction of imperative and subjunctive 'eripe' 'contempleris': but there is a corresponding shade of difference in tone, the command drops a little towards advice or entreaty; cp. the changes of mood in I. 11, also addressed to a definite person, 'ne quaesieris, 'sapias,' 'carpe.' A question has been raised whether 'semper' should be taken with 'contempleris,' be not for ever content to see the fair country view from your windows'; or (as Ritter prefers) with 'udum,' 'Tibur never dry,' the 'uda mobilibus pomaria rivas' of I. 7. 13. 'contempleris' having in this case a somewhat stronger force thrown on it; 'Don't stay to gaze at it, come to it.' The first is the simpler. The places named are all such as we view from Rome. Missing this obvious sense, Lachmann altered 'nec' to 'hic,' and others have suggested 'ut'; but did they suppose that Horace had residences at all these places, or that they were visible from his farm in the Sabine hills, or that he was inviting Maecenas to a tour about Latium?

Aefulæ, evidently on the slopes of the hills near Tibur; its exact position is not known. It has been identified with Monte Afliano, two miles S. E. of Tivoli. Livy (26. 9) names the 'arx Aefulæ' as one of the strongholds garrisoned on the approach of Hannibal; and Pliny (3. 9) mentions it as one of the cities of Latium which had ceased to exist before his time. There is a doubt as to the form between Aefula and Aesula.

8. Telegoni iuga; Epod. 1. 20 'Tusculi Circaea moenia.' Legends assigned its foundation to Telegonus, the son of Ulysses by Circe, who unwittingly slew his father. Arist. Poet. 14.

9. fastidiosam, act. which causes 'fastidium,' 'which tires.'

10. molem; cp. 2. 15. I 'regiae moles.' Perhaps the 'domus alta' (Epod. 9. 3) of Maecenas on the Esquiline. Conington, quoting as parallel Virg. Aen. 1. 421 'Miratur molem Aeneas magalia quondam, Miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum,' prefers to take 'molem' of the buildings of Rome generally.

11. beatae, Æbias; cp. 1. 4. 14. Often used, as here, for a happiness vouched for by public opinion, rather than by the speaker. Cp. Sat. 2. 8. 1 "Ut Nasidiænæ juvit te coeni beati?"

12. fumum et opes strepitumque,
Plerumque gratae divitibus vices
Mundaeque parvo sub lare pauperum
Coenae sine aulaeis et ostro
Sollicitam explicuere frontem.
Iam clarus occultum Andromedae pater
Ostendit ignem, iam Procyon furit
Et stella vesani Leonis,
Sole dies referente siccos:
Iam pastor umbras cum grege languido
Rivumque fessus quaerit et horridi
Dumeta Silvani, caretque
Ripa vagis taciturna ventis.
Tu, civitatem quis deceat status,
Curas, et Urbi sollicitus times,
Quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors.

the elements which, Horace would say, make up that 'happiness' of Rome which as a whole Maecenas is supposed to admire. The point is the mixture of magnificence and annoyance; but Horace, as he indicates by the collocation, would count the magnificence among the annoyances. For 'strepitum' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 72 foll.

13. vices, a change of life.
14. mundae, the meaning of the adjective is well defined in Sat. 2. 2. 65 'Mundus erit qua non offendat sordibus atque in neutram partem cultus miser.' Cp. Fyrhra in Od. 1. 5. 5 'simplex munditius.'

15. aulaeis. These are explained to be an awning between the roof and the table. At Nasidiens' supper they fall and bring down the accumulated dust with them on the table; Sat. 2. 8. 54. Cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 697 with Conington's note.

ostro; ib. 700 'stratque super discumbitur ostro,' of the purple coverings of the couches.

16. explicuere; Sat. 2. 2. 125 'Explicit vino contractae sera frontis.' The tense is regular, 'have often ere now,' etc. As Madvig points out (Opusc. Acad. 2, p. 114), the so-called 'aoristic' use of the perfect is its use without 'plerumque' (which is present here) or some word of similar generalising force, as though such a word had been present; see Od. 1. 34. 16.

17. clarus is predicative, 'shows brightly the fire he had hidden before.'

Andromedae pater, Cepheus. According to Columella, this constellation rose in the evening on July 9.

18. Procyon, in Latin 'Antecanem' or 'Antecanis' (Cic. N. D. 2. 44), and sometimes 'Canicula,' the Little Dog, which, on the same authority, rose in the morning on July 15.

19. stella Leonis. The Lion, the sign of the Zodiac, into which the sun passed on Aug. 1, Columel, I. 2, § 51. The loose use of 'stella' for a constellation is found in Virgil also, as G. 1. 222.

20. horridi = 'hirsuti.' The epithet serves to recall his image, and perhaps also to suggest the depth of the forest 'where the 'uncouth' inhuman wood-god lives.'

21. status; cp. Cicero's division, Mur. 11 'omnia quae sunt in imperio et in statu civitatis,' almost =foreign and home politics.

22. Seres; see on I. 12. 56.

regnata Cyro Bactra, for construction cp. 2. 6. 11 'regnata Laconi rura Phalanto.' 'Bactra' is used for the Parthian empire, as are 'Persia' and 'Media'; 'Cyro' as 2. 2. 17 'Cyri solio.'

23. Tanais discors. The Tanais (hod. Don) stands for the Scythians (cp.
Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit deus
Ridetque, si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat. Quod adest memento
Componere aequus; cetera fluminis
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
In mare, nunc lapides adesos
Stirpesque raptas et pecus et domus
Volventis una non sine montium
Clamore vicinæque silvae,
Cum fera diluvies quietos
Irritat amnes. Ille potens sui
Laetusque deget, cui licet in diem

3. 10, 1. 4. 15. 24), and the reference is probably to the part taken by them in the quarrels of Phraates and Tiridates (see Introd. to 1. 26). Bentley asks how the 'quarrels on the Tanais' could harm Rome. But, as with Virgil's 'infidos agitans discordia fratres,' G. 2. 496, Horace is only colouring by a particular reference the general 'politics of the East, and their possible effects on Rome.' In 3. 8. 19 he uses these quarrels as a ground of reassurance for Maecenas, 'Medus infestus sibi lactuosus Dissidet armis,' and Mitsch. thinks that the 'discors' standing in the place of emphasis, may have this force here, 'Fear them not, for they are quarrelling among themselves.' Bentley himself wishes to substitute 'discors,' to which he gives the rather far-fetched sense of 'neque ad Europam nec ad Asiam pertinens, inter utramque medius, et quasi extra sortem positus.'

29. prudens; I. 3. 22.
32. trepidat; 2. II. 4.
33. componere aequus = 'aequo animo ordinare.' The editors quote from Suidas the words of Cratinus: ἄνδρα σοφοὺς ἔχρην τὸ παρὸν πράγμα εἰς δύναμιν βέθαι καλῶς. 'Componere,' however, has more distinctly the idea of 'reducing to order' (as in 'componere lites,' and in less matters 'componere togam'); it has reference to the coming metaphors.

'The present, if you yourself are equal, may be kept in some order: the future is like a rushing river,—it may be calm in its strength; it may be flooded and carrying everything before it.' The vagueness of 'quod adest' and 'cetera,' suggests that they include nearness and farness of place as well as time, and so form something of a link between vv. 25-28 and what follows. 'You, Maecenas, are scheming about the distant and the future; but the present in all senses is all that we can control.'

34. alveo. Some good MSS. have 'aqueor,' which Orelli adopts as the less common word, and the less likely therefore to have been substituted by a copyist. He refers to Virg. Aen. 8. 86 and 96, where 'aqueor' and 'placidum aqueor' are used of the surface of the Tiber. But there they distinctly mean the 'level surface'; here this meaning is barred by the epithet 'medio.'

35. cum pace; Madv. § 257, obs. 2.
36. adesos, worn or broken by the stream; οὐ τι κυλίνδοι χειμάρρου ποταμοῖς μεγάλαις περιέξετε δίναις. Mitsch. compares 'levia saxa,' i. 17. 12.

39. clamore, as Virg. Aen. 3. 566 'Ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere,' and Hom. II. 17. 165 ἡ δένες βοῶναν.

40. diluvies; 4. 14. 28. A poetical word for the usual 'diluvium.'

41. amnes, the rivers generally, or possibly the lesser streams that feed the river of which we are speaking.

potens sui, ἔγκρατης εὐανός, αὐτάρκης.
42. in diem, as Bentley pointed out, with 'dixisse,' not with 'vixi.'
HORATII CARMINUM

Dixisse Vixi: cras vel atra
Nube polum Pater occupato,
Vel sole puro; non tamen irritum,
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet neque
Diffinget infectumque reddet,
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.
Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc aliis benigna.
Laudo manentem; si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quae dedit et mea
Virtute meinvolvo probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quaero.
Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miserar accecos
Decurrere et votis pacisci
Ne Cypriae Tyriaequc merces
Addant avaro divitias mari:
Tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae

43. *dixisse*, a simple perfect; see on
3. 4. 51. It is the net result when each
day is summed up.

vixi; Virg. Aen. 4. 653. Seneca
(Ben. 5. 17) seems to put the two pas-
sages together, 'Quis extremo die dicere
audet: Vixi et quem dedaret cursum
fortuna peregrī?' 'The idea is that to
have lived in the full sense, to have felt
the pleasure of life, for one day, makes a
man independent of the future; he has
had the delight which cannot now be
taken from him.

47. diffinget, 'alter'; see on 1. 35.
39. For the sentiment cp. Agathon in
Ar. Eth. N. 6. 2 μόνον γὰρ αὐτόν καὶ
θεῖα στερισάται ἄγεντα ποιεῖν δοῦν ἣν
πεσαγμένα.

48. vexit, probably best, with Ritter,
'has brought'; Virg. G. 1. 461 'quid
vesper serus vehat.' 'Semel' is to be
taken with 'vexit,' the hour flies, but
what it has brought abides for ever.
Orelli makes 'vexit' = 'avexit.'

50. ludum; 2. 1. 3 'ludum Fortu-
nae.'

54. resigno. Festus vouches for the
use of 'resignare' as = 'rescribere';
and 'rescribere,' as we see from Sat. 2.
3. 75 (cp. the opp. 'scribe,' ibid. 69),
had the sense of 'to pay back,' 'to
cancel a bond by payment.' Horace
uses the same word again in Epp. 1. 7.
34 'Hac ego si compellari imagine cuncta
resigno'; but no other Roman writer is
quoted for this use of it, which has
passed into modern languages.

55. virtute me involvo. He has
given up the external gifts of Fortune;
sor far he is 'nudus' (3. 16. 23), but she
cannot rob him of what is internal, and
so his own. The expression is parallel
to Plato's ἀρέτην ἀντί ἑμιαν ἀμφιέσον-
rais of the women of his state, Rep. 5. p.
457 A.

56. quaero, seek as my bride.

58. miserar, 'abject.' Juv. 3. 276
'votum miserabile.'

59. decurrere; Virg. Aen. 5. 782
'preces descendere ad omnes,' Hdt. 1.
116 καταβαίνειν εἰς λιπόν.

62. biremis, not a ship with two
banks of oars, but = 'duorum scalmorum
navicula,' Cic. ad Att. 10. 10. 5, a little
two-oared boat attached to a larger
vessel. The two stanzas are metaphorical.
Tutum per Aegaeos tumultus
Aure feret geminusque Pollux.

'If my fortune fails me, I am not like the merchant who in a shipwreck wastes his time in abject prayers for his cargo; I can get ashore with all I care for.'

64. geminus Pollux. 'Pollux, the twin-brother,' is as much as to say, 'Pollux, with his twin-brother Castor.'


ODE XXX.

'The task is done; the monument is built which will immortalise my name. While Rome stands men will tell how one born by the Aufidus rose from a humble rank to greatness: the first Roman lyric poet. Melpomene, give me the crown which I have earned.'

See Introd. to Od. 1. 1. The Ode is paraphrased by Ovid, Met. 15. 871 foll.

Metre—First Asclepiad.

EXEGI monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.
Non omnis moriar multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium

1. exegi, 'finished.'
aere = 'aereis status.'
2. situ, 'construction,' an unusual sense of the word, as it is generally used of the site of a building, not of its erection. Dillr. quotes Tac. Ann. 3. 38 'Philippopolim a Macedone Phillipo sitam.'
4. fuga; cp. 2. 1. 41, and see on 2. 5. 13. Ritter points out that there is the suggestion of a double metaphor of the destructive effects of time, 'si quidem memoria annorum aut annorum serie

obruitur aut fuga temporum abripitur.'
5. multa, as Ovid in the same connection, 'parte...meliore mei.'
6. que; see on 1. 27. 16.
7. Libitinam; Sat. 2. 6. 19, Epp. 2. 1. 49. Not merely 'death,' but 'the funeral rites.' Cp. Od. 2. 20. 21 foll.
8. crescam laude, as 'secundis laboris' crevit,' 4. 4. 45.' recens, 'ever fresh,' not half-forgotten. Epp. 2. 1. 54 'Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret Paene recens?'
9. dum Capitolium, etc, 'as long as Rome stands,' which to a Roman is as much as to say 'for ever.' The
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.

Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
Et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
Regnayit populorum, ex humili potens
Princps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam
Quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

'virgo' is doubtless a vestal, the singular number probably having reference to the 'Virgo Maxima.' The special ceremony referred to is thought to be one which took place on the Ides of March, when prayers were offered in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus for the salubrity of the coming year, and other rites were performed under the superintendence of the Pontifex Maximus and the Virgo Maxima, or chief of the Vestals. The fact rests mainly on a statement in the fragment 'De Mensibus,' of Jo. Lydus (a Byzantine writer of the 6th century, quoted by Preller, Römische Mythologie, p. 320). 10 foll. It is a question whether 'qua violens,' etc., qualifies 'dicar' ('many shall say of me on the banks of my native Aufidus, that I was the first,' etc.) or 'principes deduxisse' ('I shall be spoken of as one who by the banks of Aufidus was the first to,' etc.) The last is the more likely. Horace wishes his birthplace to be remembered in his own fame, 'longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum,' 4. 2; but he is claiming worldwide fame, not merely to be remembered in his birthplace. There is a further question as to the construction of 'ex humili potens.' Most editors have taken it of Horace himself, 'raised from humility to glory,' comparing Epp. 1.

20. 20 'Me libertinonatum patre et in tenui re Maiiores pennas nido extendisse.' Bentley prefers to refer the words to Daunus, as describing his rise. The story made him an Illyrian exile, who became King of Apulia. If it be taken so, Horace must still be thinking of himself, and seeing a likeness of his own fortunes in those of Daunus.

10. violens obstrepit, 'longesonans,' 'acer,' Sat. 1. 1. 58. Cp. Od. 4. 14-25. The Aufidus is within ten miles of Venusia, and Horace must have seen it in flood. 'Like most of the rivers of Italy, it has much of the character of a mountain torrent,' Dict. Geog. For the absol. use of 'obstrepit' cp. Epod. 2. 27.

11. pauper aquae; Epod. 3. 16 'sticulosaee Apuliae.'

12. regnayit populorum, a Greek gen. ἡρξε λαῶν.

13. Aeolium carmen, etc., 'to have made the lyric poetry of Aeolia at home among Italian measures.' The use of 'deducere' seems akin to that of 'deducere coloniam.'

15. Delphica='Apollinari,' Od. 4. 2. 9.

16. volens, 'of thy grace,' ἥλιον, ἑκοῦσα; it is common in prayer, but gen. with the addition 'propitiusque,' Liv. 7. 26. 4.
INTRODUCTION TO BOOK IV.

There is no reason to doubt the account given by Suetonius of the origin of this Book. The occasion and general date of it are fixed clearly on its own evidence. With the exception of Ode 6, which is manifestly written at the same time as the Carmen Seculare, i.e. in B.C. 17, all the Odes that can be dated refer immediately to two events, viz. (r) the return of Augustus to Rome in B.C. 13, after three years' absence in Gaul, whither he had gone in the year 16, on the news of the defeat of Lollius by the Sygambri; (2) the double campaign of Drusus and Tiberius in Raetia and Vindelicia, which occupied the year 15.

The general tone of the Book, as well as its particular references, suit the period thus assigned to it. Its opening bears witness to the interval which separates it from Horace's last essays in lyric verse. Cp. Epp. i. i. 1-10 and 2. i. iii. That interval has brought marked changes in the poet's fortunes, as well as in the political world. The contrast of 4. 5 or 15 with 1. 12 or 3. 24, is hardly more striking than that of 4. 3 with 1. 1. The sons of Livia have taken the place of Marcellus; the military triumphs, and the moral and social reforms which in the earlier Books were prophecy, are now, if we may believe Horace, history; the Cantabrian, 'non ante domabilis,' is no longer a cause of disquiet; the Parthians have restored the standards of Charrae, and Phraates and his quarrels are forgotten; the vague alarms about the Dacian, or projects of conquest in Britain, have given place to real dangers met on the Rhine, and substantial victories won in the Eastern Alps. The position of one name in the Book marks more clearly still the contrast between the two epochs, both in respect of the outer world and of Horace's own life. Maecenas, whom even in B.C. 19 he addressed as 'prima dicte mihi summa dicende camena,' is mentioned but once in this Book. His birthday is the occasion of Ode 11, and he is spoken of in terms
INTRODUCTION TO THE

of the old affection; but (1) we have no hint now of his being still interested in politics, a change which tallies with the date assigned by Dio (54. 19) to his loss of Augustus' favour and retirement from public affairs in B.C. 16; and (2) he is no longer the patron to whose praise Horace looks as his highest reward. The three Books of Odes have been published for some time, and the verdict anticipated in 3. 30 has been accorded to them. Their author is now the intimate of Augustus. He has been selected to compose the hymn for the Secular Games, and the public voice ratified the emperor's choice. He is now writing, not in the hope of winning a name for himself, but at Augustus' desire, and because his praise will confessedly give lustre to the emperor and his family.

It may be added, that the versification of the leading Odes gives some witness to the lateness of their composition; the Sapphic Odes in the frequency of the hexemimeral caesura, which assimilates them to the Carm. Sec.; and the Alcaic in the greater strictness with respect to the structure of v. 3 of the stanza, and the complete exclusion of the short anacrusis in vv. 1, 2, 3 (see Index of Metres).

It has been said before (p. 8) that Book iv exhibits more proofs of artistic purpose in its arrangement than any other collection of Horace's poems.

1. The most obvious instance, perhaps, is the disposition of the four Odes for the sake of which we may say the Book was composed. They stand in two pairs (evidently not on any chronological ground, for Ode 6 must be at least two years earlier than any of them) at the beginning of the Book (after a prelude, which will be noticed presently) and at its end. Each pair is divided between Augustus and one of the young princes; so that any praises of the latter may seem to lead up to and merge themselves in the glory of the former.

2. Scarcely less noticeable is the sequence of thought expressed or suggested in the three Odes which precede the main theme. It has been remarked before (p. 9) that a somewhat similar relation may be traced in the first Ode of Book i; but the prelude here is more elaborate, and the irony is more conscious. He has been asked to take up his lyre again to sing the glory of the emperor and his stepsons, and he begins as usual with 'denial vain and coy excuse.' 'He will take his lyre, indeed, but it is at Venus' bidding, to renew under her compulsion the bitter-sweet themes which he hoped he had laid aside.' Ode 2 is to the same purport, though it carries us a little further by the end. 'He is no swan of Pindaric song, such as is needed for so high a task. Some greater poet, Antonius himself,
may sing of Augustus returning in triumph with the Sygambri at his chariot wheels, and of the people's joy. It may be, in the rapture of that happy day, even he too may find a voice and sing his best, and shout with the shouting people, and make his humble offerings.' And yet—the tone changes in Ode 3—he remembers that 'he is a poet, set apart from his birth by the Muse from common ambitions and glories, recognised as such by the voice of Rome; and so, though all the glory is the Muse's, not his own, he will venture, and somewhat loudly sweep the string.'

3. The middle of the Book is occupied with the expansion of the same theme as that of Ode 3, the only theme besides the triumphs and blessings of the empire which seems to wake him to any of his old lyric fire, the consciousness of his own poetic power, and the immortality which he can confer on others as he has secured it for himself. Odes 6, 8, 9, like Ode 3, while they express Horace's inmost feelings, lead also directly to the main purpose of the Book. In his own words he gives Augustus the panegyric for which he had asked, and 'pretium dicit muneri.' They are divided by Ode 7, which enforces the lesson that no other immortality must be looked for; high blood, eloquence, piety, are alike powerless to save from the ending of all mortality—a handful of dust and a shadow. They are followed by the Ode to Ligurinus, a forced tribute to the professions of Ode 1, and with reference to it. Then he finds a place not too conspicuous for his private friendship for Maecenas. Two more Odes in his old character as a poet of wine and of love, the second manifestly a companion and sequel to an Ode of Book iii, complete what he thinks necessary to give the relief of variety, and he returns to Tiberius' victory and, what he values more, the domestic peace of Augustus' reign.

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORICAL EVENTS REFERRED TO IN THE BOOK.

1. In B.C. 16 M. Lollius was in command on the left bank of the Rhine as legatus of the emperor, when an important irruption occurred of some German tribes, of whom the most formidable were the Sygambri, a name which is supposed still to survive in the river Sieg,

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1 We must remember the great importance which Horace always attaches to this metaphorical 'immortality,' the only immortality apparently in which he believed. Cp. Od. 2. 20, 3. 30. 6 foll. and see on 3. 2. 20 and 3. 3. 12.
which joins the Rhine opposite Bonn. Lollius met them and suffered a defeat, which, though Suetonius makes less of it (‘maioris infamiae quam detrimenti,’ Aug. 23) is ranked by Tacitus with that of Varus (Ann. 1. 10). At any rate it was sufficient to make Augustus set out in person from Rome. Before, however, he reached the frontier, the Sygambri, finding that Lollius was rallying his forces, and that reinforcements were on their way from Rome, made a hasty peace, and retired again beyond the Rhine. See Dio 54. 20. Augustus remained in Gaul during the whole of the two following years, and did not return to Rome till the July of B.C. 13.

2. In the meantime, in the year 15, an important and permanent conquest had been effected by Tiberius and Drusus, the sons of Livia, by her former husband Ti. Claudius Nero. Merivale recounts (vol. iv, ch. 34, p. 142) the operations by which secure possession was gained by Rome in Augustus’ reign of the western passes of the Alps, the Corniche Road, the passes that lead from France to Turin, and the St. Bernard passes into the Val d’Aosta. The work of Tiberius and Drusus was directed to the similar object of obtaining military command of the more eastern passes into the valleys of the Rhine and the Inn, which were still unsafe for the armies of Rome or her allies, and from which the mountain-tribes even issued from time to time to plunder Italian soil. Drusus forced what is now known as the Brenner pass, meeting and overthrowing the Rhaetians in the valley near Tridentum, now Trent. In the meantime, or as soon as Drusus’ success was assured, Tiberius was detached from Augustus’ army in Gaul, with the purpose of taking the enemy in the rear. He ascended the Rhine valley to the Lake of Constance, where he launched a flotilla of boats, and entering at once several of the valleys which open on the lake, ‘penetrated the gorges of the Upper Rhine and Inn in every direction, so that at the conclusion of a brilliant and rapid campaign, the two brothers had effected the complete subjugation of the country of the Grisons and the Tyrol.’ ‘The free tribes of the Eastern Alps appear then for the first time in history, only to disappear again for a thousand years.’ Merivale, vol. iv, ch. 35, p. 222. Dio 54. 22, Vell. 2. 95, Strab. 4. 6, p. 206.
Again a summons to arms, Venus! No, spare me; it is not with me in my tenth lustre as it was in the days of poor Cinara. Away, then, to the house of Paulus Maximus. High-born, and handsome, and eloquent, and accomplished, he will bear thy colours more worthily, and, when the victory is won, will pay thee richer honour. I am too old to love, to drink, to play. Yet what am I saying? my heart gives the lie to my words.'

On the meaning which this Ode acquires from its place at the beginning of this Book see Introd. p. 258.

Metre—Third Asclepiad.

INTERMISSA, Venus, diu
Rursus bella moves? Parce, precor, precor.
Non sum qualis eram bonae
Sub regno Cinarœ. Desine, dulcium
Mater saeva Cupidinum,
Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Iam durum imperiiis: abi,
Quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces.

1. The language of this Ode answers to that of 3. 26, in which Horace declares his love-campaigns at an end. In both places the image is not of Venus attacking the heart of a lover, but of a warfare carried on with her weapons and under her auspices, in which the poet has once served, and is now called to serve again. intermissa, sc. bella.

3. non sum qualis; cp. Epp. 1. 1. 4
‘Non eadem est aetas, non mens.’
bonae. Perhaps, as Dill' thinks (quoting Lucr. 3. 1037 ‘bonus Ancus’), the epithet implies that she has been some time dead.

4. sub regno; see on Od. 1. 36. 8, and compare especially 3. 9. 9 ‘me nunc Thressa regit Chloë,’ 2. 8. 18, 19 ‘servitus,’ ‘dominae.’
For Cinara see Appendix I ‘on the unknown names in the Odes.’

5. mater saeva Cupidinum. This line is intentionally repeated from 1. 19. 1. There Venus is invoked at the outset of the love-campaign; here, after it was or should have been closed. It is the ἀρχετε βωκολικάς and the λύγετε βωκολικάς, the altered refrain of the whole. ‘Dulcium,’ ‘saeva,’ imply that he is balancing the bitters and sweets of the old life.

6. circa, of time, ‘hard upon my fiftieth year.’ The metaphor of ‘flectere’ is of breaking horses. He is too old and hard-mouthed now for the soft guidance of Venus’ rein. Cp. for the expressions Virg. G. 3. 188 ‘det mollibus ora capistris Invalidus,’ etc., and ib. 165 ‘Dum faciles animi, iuvenum dum mobilis actas,’ etc.

8. revocant, ‘call you back,’ as to your proper place.
Tempestivius in domum
Pauli, purpurcis ales oloribus,
Comissabere Maximi,
Si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum:
Namque et nobilis et decens
Et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis
Et centum puer artium
Late signa seret militiae tuae,
Et, quandoque potentior
Largi muneribus riserit aemuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
Ponet marmoream sub trabe citrea.

9. tempestivius, 'you will be a more timely guest there.'

in domum. A rival reading with good support is 'in domo'; but her 'car of swans' implies that 'comissari is used rather in the Greek sense of κώμος, a moving band of revellers or serenaders (Theoc. 3.1 κωμόδιον ποτί τών Αμαρωλίδων), than in its more usual Latin sense of a stationary revel. The reading 'comissabere' is quite certain, but the unusual word makes great havoc among the copyists. Some of the best MSS. are at fault. 'Comis habere,' 'commabere,' 'commutabere,' etc. For the future tense see on Od. 1.6.1.

10. Pauli Maximi. Two persons are suggested, one or other of whom may possibly be intended. (1) Paulus Fabius Maximus, consul B.C. 11, who would now be, unless he were made consul long before the regular age, about forty years old; (2) his son or nephew, Ovid's patron, an intimate of Augustus, who was consul twenty years afterwards. It is a question whether it is least improbable that Horace should call his middle-aged friend 'puer,' making the most of the ten years between them, or that the younger man should be spoken of in such terms when a mere boy.

purpurcis ales oloribus, 'on the wings of lustrous swans,' i.e. in a chariot drawn by them. Od. 3.28.15. For 'purpurcis' see on 1.13.2 'rosem cervices,' Virg. Aen. 1.590 'lumenque juventae Purpurum.'

12. iecur; 1.25.15.
13. decens; 1.4.6.

14. 'No tongue-tied champion of trembling prisoners.' Cp. 2.1.13 'insigne maestis praeidium reis.'

15. centum artium, the descriptive genitive; Madv. § 287, with obs. 3. It seems to have been almost a proverbial expression. 'Omnium artium puerulos,' Cic. Rosc. Am. 41.

17. quandoque, usually = 'aliquando'; but Horace uses it as = 'quandoque.' Cp. Od. 4.2.34. A. P. 359.
potentior seems to some degree to continue the metaphor of 'militiae tuae.' 'So soon as he shall laugh triumphant over the presents of his open-handed rival.' His rival can give richer presents; Paulus fights and vanquishes him with arms which Venus lends him—beauty, youth, etc. 'Muneribus' is the ablative of comparison after 'potentior.'

19. Albanos ... lacus, where Paulus, it is implied, had a villa. The title includes the Lago d' Albano and the Lago di Nemi.

20. ponet marmoream; cp. Sat. 2.3.183 'aeneus ut stes,' and the promise in Virg. E. 7.31 'Si proprium hoc fuerit legi de marmore tota ... stabis.' χαλκὸν τινα λοτάναι is a common expression in Demosth., as Fals. Leg. 425.1.
citrea. The reading 'Cypria' found in a few good MSS. seems to be due to the copyist's reminiscence of Od. 1.1.13, where the connection is wholly different. The 'citrus' is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 13.16) as much used in temples on account of the durability of the wood. What it was is not so certain; apparently some kind of cypress or cedar; certainly different from the citron, the 'Medicum malum' of Virg. G. 2.126.
Illic plurima naribus
Duces thura; lyraeque et Berecyntiae
Delectabere tibiae
Mixtis carminibus non sine fistula;
Illic bis pueri die
Numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
Laudantes pede candido
In morem Salium ter quatient humum.
Me nec femina nec puer
Iam nec spes animi credula mutui,
Nec certare iuvat mero,
Nec vincire novis tempora floribus.
Sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
Manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
Cur facunda parum decoro
Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
Nocturnis ego somniis.
Lam captum teneo, iam volucre
Te per gramina Martii,
te per aquas, dure, volubiles,

22. It is difficult to be certain about either the reading or the exact meaning. A majority of the older MSS, have ‘lyrae,’ ‘tibiae,’ but the Bland. Vet. is among those which read ‘lyra,’ ‘tibia.’ In that case they are ablative, constructed probably with ‘delectabere,’ though they also may be taken after ‘mixtis.’ Against the ablative, there is the unpleasantness, to our ears at least, of four verses out of five ending with a long ‘a.’ If we read ‘ae,’ there is still a question both of construction and sense. Are ‘lyrae,’ ‘tibiae’ genitives after ‘carminebus,’ ‘mingled strains of harp and flute’; or datives, as Orerelli thinks, after ‘mixtis’? And in this last case does ‘carminebus’ mean the joint strains mingled, as we should rather say ‘of’ than ‘with’ the harp and flute, or are ‘carmina’ the voices of singers to be added to the instrumental music? More probably, perhaps, the former, as he is speaking now of the music at a sacrifice (Od. i. 36. 1); the hymns of praise are mentioned in the next line. For the ‘lyra’ and ‘tibia’ see on Od. i. 1. 32, i. 12. 1, 3. 4. 1, Epod. 9. 5. 6.

24. fistula is the Gr. ὀφύξε or Pan’s pipe.

25. bis die, morning and evening.

28. in morem Salium; see on 1.36.12. ter; see on 3.18.16.

30. ‘The fond hope of finding a heart to answer mine.’

33. cur, ‘Why, if all I have said is true?’ Compare the unexpected turn of Od. i. 26. 11.

34. rara lacrima; 1. 13. 6. For the fits of silence cp. Epod. 11. 9.

35. A hypermetric verse, as Od. 3. 29. 35. 4. 2. 22.
ODE II.

'As vain for any of us to imitate Pindar as to soar on wings of Icarus; Pindar rolls down strong and deep, as a river in flood, supreme alike in dithyrambs, hymns, ἐνυίκα, θηρυο. He soars on the winds, the swan of song; I fly from flower to flower, like the bee of my native Apulia, and roam from wood to wood gathering my little store of poetic honey. Some day, Antonius, when Caesar comes home, some greater poet such as you must sing his triumph,—Caesar, the best and greatest gift which heaven ever gave to earth, even in the golden age, our joy at receiving him back, our games, our holiday. Even I may find a voice then amid the happy multitude. We will all shout and rejoice and offer incense; you will offer a lordly sacrifice, as befits you, I a home-bred calf.'

Julus Antonius was the son of the Triumvirs by Fulvia, and was educated by his step-mother Octavia. Through her protection he was spared when his brother Marcus Antyllus was slain, and rose eventually to high favour with Augustus, and was married to Marcella, Octavia's daughter, after her divorce from Agrippa in B.C. 21. Horace's Ode is the only ancient authority for his having been a poet; but the Pseudo-Acron vouches for his having written an excellent Epic poem in twelve Books, called the Diomedea, some years afterwards. He was made praetor in B.C. 13, and consul in B.C. 10. In B.C. 2 he was condemned to death on the charge of adulterous intercourse with Julia.

On the bearing of the Ode see Introd. p. 258. It does not follow, of course, that the Ode was written after the later Odes. It may well be, as Franke thinks, that the omission of any reference to the successes of Tiberius and Drusus makes it improbable that it was written after the year 13.

With the form of the Ode, refusing praise in word, yet granting it in the act of refusal both directly and indirectly, comp. i. 6, and i. 12.

PINDARUM quisquis studet aemulari,
Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea nititur
Nitetur pennis vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto.

2. Iule. The use of the praenomen was a mark of familiarity (Sat. 2. 5. 32) which Horace would be likely to avoid. In this case, however, it would be felt as a compliment, as the name (not properly a 'praenomen,' but family names were used as praenomina at this date; cp. 'Paulus' in the last Ode) had been given him (possibly by Octavia) to mark the connection of his family with the Julian house, through his grandmother Julia, the mother of Marc Antony. In v. 26 we have the gentile name alone. Cp. Epp. 1. 10, where the same person is addressed as 'Fuscus' in v. 1, 'Aristius' in v. 44.

ope Daedalea, with 'ceratis,' or perhaps with the whole 'ceratis nititur pennis,' 'he has got some Daedalus to help him.' Probably, as Ritter thinks, there is in the expression the idea of the audacity of the enterprise ('Exper- fhus vacuum Daedalus aera Pennis non homini datis' 1. 3. 34), as well as its danger.

3. nititur; Virg. Aen. 4. 252 'paribus nitens Cyllenius alis.'

4. nomina, for plural cp. 3. 27. 76.
L I B. IV. O D. 2. 267

Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
Quem super notas aluere ripas,
Fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindaros ore,
Laurea donandus Apollinari,
Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
Verba devolvit numerisque fertur
Lege solutis;
Seu deos regesque canit, deorum
Sanguinem, per quos cecidere iusta
Morte Centauri, cecidit tremenda
Flamma Chimaeræ;
Sive quos Elea domum reducit
Palma caelestes pugilemve equumve

Compare with the stanza the way in which Horace speaks of the enterprise when it is undertaken by a friend, not offered to himself, 
Epp. r. 10 [Titius] 
‘Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus Fastidire lacus et rivos ausus aperitos.’
6. quern aluere. This seems to be the certain reading, though the old 
Blund. is among a few MSS. which have ‘cum saliere.’ The vulg. was the reading interpreted by Acr. and the 
Comm. Cruq.

7. 8. ‘Boils and rushes in a fathomless flood of words.’ As so often in Horace, the interpretation of the simile is clothed still in language almost metaphorical and borrowed from the simile itself, see on Od. r. 35. 19, 2. 2. 1. 4. 4. 59. ‘Ore’ belongs more to the poet than to the river, ‘profundo ore’ being the analogue of ‘ore rotundo,’ A. P. 323, 
‘magno ore,’ Virg. G. 3. 294, of varieties of poetical style. The epithet, on the contrary, belongs primarily to the river, and even ‘ore’ is a word which was probably felt to be capable of an interpretation in the same connection, though neither ‘fountain head’ (Virg. 
Aen. r. 245) nor ‘mouth’ (Virg. G. 4. 293) is a meaning which would bear pressing here.

10. audaces covers, probably, boldness of treatment and of tropes, besides the two points afterwards named—vocabulary and rhythm.

nova verba, novel words, long compounds. τῶν δ᾽ οὐραμάτων τὰ μὲν διπλὰ μᾶλιστα ἁρμότει τοῖς ἑθυράμβους, Arist.

Poet. 22. 14.
11. devolvit, as the torrent rolls boulders down its bed.
12. lege solutis. Two technical expressions possibly contribute to the full force of this phrase: (1) ‘legibus solutus,’ said of any one exempted from the operation of any law (Cic. 
Phil. 2. 13), in later times of the emperor as above the laws (Merivale, vol. 
iii, p. 466); (2) ‘soluta oratio,’ the common designation of prose, as exempt from strict laws of prosody; so that the words of the text form a sort of oxy-
moron, ‘verse which is as free of law as if it were not verse.’
13. regeisque. The kings obviously of mythology—Pirithous, Theseus, Bel-
erophon, not the kings of Pindar’s day, He is speaking of Hymns and Pacans. ‘Que’ is the reading of all the best MSS, 
as against the vulg. ‘ve,’ and the change would hardly be necessary, even if it were clear that Pindar’s Odes on the 
mythical exploits of demigods were classed under a different name from those addressed to gods. Horace might 
rank them together.
17. Elea palma. The Olympic Odes are taken as representatives of the 
invina.
18. caelestes, ‘very denizens of heaven’; see on 1. 1. 6 ‘terrarium do-
minos evehit ad deos.’

equum, as Pindar makes mention of Phrenicus, Hiero’s horse, Ol. 1. 18, 
Pyth. 3. 74; but singing of horses may well mean of their riders.
HORATII CARMINUM

Dicit et centum potiore signis
Monure donat,
Flebili sponsae iuvenemve raptum
Plorat et vires animumque moresque
Aureos educit in astra nigroque
Invidet Orco.

Multa Dirceaeum levat aura cycnum,
Tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
Nubium tractus. Ego apis Matinae
More modoque
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
Carmina fingo.

19. potiore signis. Pindar makes the comparison himself, Nem. 5. 1 όις ἄνδραντοιος εἱμι . . . ἀλλὰ γιλεκὶ δοιδὰ στεῖχ' ἀπ' Ἀλγίνας, κ.τ.Λ.; so Horace, Od. 3. 30. 1, 4. 8. 1-12.
21. fēbili, 'tearful,' as 'flebilis Ino,' A. P. 123.
22. aureos is predicative, 'as all golden,' 'painted as golden'; cp. 1. 5. 9. The double contrast of the bright stars above, the gloomy shades ('all colours are alike in the dark') below, is indicated by the verb 'educit,' on one side, by the adjective 'negro' on the other.
23. educit in astra, as 'Musa vetat mori: Caeo Musa beat,' 4. 8. 27, of immortality in fame.
25. multa aura; there is no fear of his falling; the free and buoyant winds of heaven are beneath him as he soars into the upper air. Horace contrasts Pindar's higher flights and original inspiration with his own humble aims and laborious imitative method, 'gathering honey from flower to flower of Greek lyrics, and enshrining it in the 'curiosa felicitas' of his own poetical style'; in v. 29, 'circa nemus . . . Tiburis,' we get a slightly different idea, 'from wood to wood of his Sabine neighbourhood.' The simile was introduced to express the difference in genius and literary habits between Pindar and Horace, but it suggests to the poet his own wanderings in the valley of the Anio. The Matinian bee (save in its antitype, the poet of Venusia) has no business at Tibur.

Dirceaeum; Virg. E. 2. 24 'Amphion Dirceaeus' = 'Theban'; buta 'spring' will be specially germane to a 'swan.'

26. Antoni. As Orelli points out, the name is repeated to mark the summing up and the practical conclusion. 'You know,' Antonius, the difference between Pindar's powers and mine. You will treat this high theme yourself better than I can.'

27. Matinae; see Introd. to i. 28.
28. more modoque, a common formula. Cicero's fragment, Timaeus, seu de Univers. i 'Carneadeo more et modo.'

30. plurimum, probably with 'laborem,' and with a slight relation of antithesis, as its position shows, to 'grata.' Dill', after Bentley, joins 'plurimum nemus'; but the epithet would not be very forcible (Bentley wished to escape from it to 'foreum'), and 'nemus ripasque uvidi Tiburis' is a thoroughly Horatian arrangement.

uvidi; 1. 7. 14. 3. 29. 6.
31. operosa parvus . . . fingo, probably not without some reference back to the first description of Pindar's poetry, its vast spontaneous rush, 'immensus ruat profundo ore.'
LIB. IV. OD. 2.

Concines maiore poëta plectro
Caesarem, quandoque trahet feroces
Per sacrum clivum merita decorus
Fronde Sygambros,
Quo nihil maius meliusve terris
Fata donavere bonique divi
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priscum,
Concines laetosque dies St Urbis
Publicum ludumque super impetrate
Fortis Augusti reeditu forumque
Litibus orbium.

Tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,
Vocis accedet bona pars, et, 'O Sol
'Pulcher! o laudande!' canam, recepto
'Caesare felix.

Teque, dum procedis, io Triumphe,
Non semel dicemus,'io Triumphe,'
derance of good authorities. 'Tuque' is found in some MSS. of secondary value, and adopted by Ritter; 'procedit' is found in the Berne MS., having been proposed, in ignorance of that fact, by Heinsius, and supported by Bentley. To whom does the pronoun refer? Only two answers worthy of consideration have been given. (1) To Antonius. In favour of this is the fact that 'te' at the beginning of the next stanza, undoubtedly belongs to him, and it is unlike Horace's finished workmanship to put the same pronoun in an emphatic place in two consecutive stanzas, when the subjects to which it refers are wholly different. Against it must be counted the necessity which it involves of accepting, on very slender authority, the reading 'tuque,' and the difficulty of putting any satisfactory meaning on 'dum procedis.' Newman thinks that Antonius would ride in Augustus' chariot as a member of the imperial family, by marriage with Marcella. Ritter, that he would take part in the procession as praetor (this would oblige us to postpone the date of the Ode to b.c. 13). Bentley seems really to dispose in advance of both suggestions. Antonius' place in the procession, if he had one, could hardly be important enough to bear the weight of this stanza. 'Dum procedis,' with no qualification or hint that the cries of triumph were not for him, could hardly be said of any person but the triumphing general. (2) To 'Triumphus,' the triumph personified. Thy name will we pronounce as thy procession passes by, Ho Triumph! again and again, Ho Triumph! This is the interpretation of Acr. and Porph. ('ad ipsum triumphum conversus haec dicit'), and of Orelli, save that he accepts 'procedit' from the Berne MS., and takes it of Caesar, 'as he passes along.' The only serious objection to it is the separation before noticed of the 'te' of this stanza from the 'te' of the next. Bentley objects, also, that we are taking 'io Triumph' in two different senses; in the first line as in the poet's mouth, in the second 'materialiter,' as the cry to be uttered by the people. But this is hardly true. The construction in both cases is 'te dicemus, io Triumph.' 'Io Triumph' is an invocation of the personified Triumph-god; it is also the actual cry uttered. Bentley ought equally to object to Virgil's 'Evoe Bacche fremens, solum te virgine dignum Vociferans,' Aen. 7. 389, where 'Evoe Bacche' is at once the actual cry of Amata and the vocative case which explains the 'te dignum' (not 'tu dignus es'), in which the poet, not Amata, is the direct speaker. For 'io Triumphus' as the cry raised as the procession passed along (it was an old cry, and not originally limited to triumphant processions, for it occurs in the Hymn of the Fratres Arvalis), cp. inter al. Ov. Trist. 4. 2. 51 'Tempora Phoebea lauro cingentur, Ioque, Miles, Io, magna voce, Triumphus, canent.' That it was held to involve a personification of Triumphus, appears from Livy's expression 45. 38 '[Milites] triumphum nomine cent, suasque et imperatoris laudem canentes per urbem incendunt.' But compare especially Hor. Epod. 9. 21 foll. 'Io Triumph, tu moraris aureos Curras et intactas boves? Io Triumph, nec Iugurthino parem Bello reportasti ducem,' etc.; see note there. Orelli's 'procedit' rather improves the stanza, by giving it a more continuous connection with the last. 'It is Caesar's triumph that will unlock my voice, as it will of that of all Rome'; and there is more obvious motive in the 'te,' helped by the corruption to 'tu,' for altering the third person to the second, than vice versa. Bentley, dissatisfied (and it must be admitted, after all, with some reason) with both these interpretations, cuts the knot by reading 'Ioque dum procedit,' of Caesar.

51. civitas omnis seems to add the climax to vv. 33-44 of Antonius' share in the rejoicings, and vv. 45-48 of Horace's own, and to prepare the way for the division again of their duties in the sacrifices. 'We will shout together in the shouting town, but when we come to offer our thank-offerings, we shall be as unequal as we were in our poetical offering, ten bulls and cows for you, and a little calf for me.'

dabimus thura, of altars by the wayside, on which incense was offered as the procession passed.
Te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
Me tener solvet vitulus, relicta
Matre qui largis iuvenescit herbis
In mea vota,
Fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
Tertium lunae referentis ortum,
Qua notam duxit, niveus videri,
Cetera fulvus.

53. te decem tauri; cp. 2. 17. 30
'reddere victimas Aedemque votivam
memento: Nos humilem feriemus
agnam,' and 3. 23.
54. solvet, sc. a voto.
55. iuvenescit, is growing to a
'iuvenescens'; the common use of the
verb is 'to grow young,' when one has
been old.
56. in mea vota, 'to pay my vow.'
57. 'Whose horns are like the moon
three days old.' The homely ending of
the Ode has been severely criticised;
'Desinit in vitulum... formosa superne.'
It is at least intentional on Horace's
part; see Introd. to Odes i-iii, § 11. 3,
and on 3. 5. 55. On the immediate
topic of the last six lines see on
3. 13. 4. In this place the detailed
account of the intended offering increases
the contrast of vv. 53, 54, and balances
to some extent, the inequality. 'You
will sacrifice animals brought by the
score from your "latifundia," I the calf
which I bred myself, whose birthday
and marks I know by heart.' It is like
his offer to Maecenas in r. 20. 1.4 q. v.
'common wine; but home-made, care-
fully stored, and with pleasant memories
about it.'
59. Perhaps from the horse in Hom.
II. 23. 454 "Os to μιν ἀλλο τόσον φοίνιξ
ν ἐν δὲ μεταπη Δεοντη σῆμα ἑτευκ-
το.

niveus videri, a Grecism; see App.
2, § 2.

ODE III.

'The poet is one set apart from his birth by the Muse's favour; neither his mode
of life nor his objects of ambition are the same as other men's. For them are the
training and the prizes of Grecian games—the life of a soldier and the triumph on
the Capitol; for him the woods and waters of Tibur and the glory of song. I, too,
am a poet. Rome, the mistress of the world, acknowledges me as such, and the
voice of envy is still. It is thy gift, O Muse; both the inspiration and the popular
acknowledgment of it.'

Compare with the Ode r. 1, when he looks to Maecenas' taste to give him the
rank which here he assumes as given him by the voice of Rome. There are many
parallelisms of thought and expression between the two Odes; there is the same
division of the objects of Greek and Roman ambition ('sunt quos curriculo pul-
verem奥林匹克'), the same description of the poet's life (v. 39 'me gelidum
nemus,' etc.), and of his hope to be ranked with the Greek lyris (cp. 'Lesboum...
barbiton,' 'lyricis vatibus inseris,' with 'inter amabilest vatum ponere me choris,' 'Romanae fidicen lyrae').

Metre—Third Asclepiad,

QUEM tu, Melpomene, semel
Nascentem placido lumine videris,
Illum non labor Isthmius
Clarabit pugilem, non equus impiger
Curru duceit Achaico
Victorem, neque res bellica Deliis
Ornatum folis ducem,
Quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
Ostendet Capitolio:
Sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt
Et spissae nemorum comae
Fingent Acolio carne nobilem.
Romae principis urbum
Dignatur suboles inter amabiles

dicera,' 'war and all that belongs to it';
its enterprises and victories.

Deliis, i.e. 'Apollineis.'

9. Capitolio, dative case. The

notation is of his being the central figure in
the procession seen slowly ascending
the Capitol, seen by the crowd on
the Capitol, or perhaps rather by Jupiter
Capitolinus himself.

praefluunt = 'praeterfluunt'; 4.

14. 26 'Auidus Qui regna Dauni praefluuit Apuli,' Liv. 1. 45 'infima valle praefluuit Tiberis.' 'Horace evidently

means that the scenery of Tibur contributes to the formation of lyric genius.
It is Wordsworth's doctrine in the germ;
though, if the author had been asked what it involved, perhaps he would not have
gone further than Ritter, who resolves it all into the conduciveness of a pleasant retreat to successful composition,'
Conington. Cp. Eff. 2. 2. 77 'Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,' where nothing but the prosaic explanation is attempted—the bustle and the business of a great town interfere with the poet's proper work.


principis urbum; 4. 14. 44 'dominae Romae.'

14. suboles, the sons of Rome. The idea added by this form is apparently
Vatum ponere me choros,
Et iam dente minus mordeor invido.

O, testudinis aureae
Dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas,
O mutis quoque piscibus
Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,
Totum muneris hoc tui est,
Quod monstror digito praetercuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae:
Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

the promise of the future: the young, the growing progeny.

15. vatum, like the 'lyrici vates' of I. 1. 35, the roll of poets, which as yet contained few, if any, but the Greeks.

17. testudinis aureae; Pind. Pyth. I. 1 χρυσα φόρμιν 'Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰο-
πλοκάμων σύνδικον Μοσᾶν κτέανον. As with 'auro plectro,' 2. 13. 26, it is a way of expressing the perfection of the music.

18. temperas, 'rulest'; I. 24. 14 'auditam moderere arboribus fidem,'

19. mutis quoque piscibus, and so even to him, unlikely as it might have seemed. Compare the way in which in the preceding Ode he professed to feel that, unfit as he was to sing of such themes, yet the happiness of Cae-
sar's return might possibly find him a voice.

22. monstror digito; cp. Pers. 1. 28 'At pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est.'

23. Romanæ lyrae; see on I. 1. 34, I. 32. 3, a Greek instrument played by a Roman. Cp. Epp. I. 19. 32 'Latinus fidicen.'

24. spiro, of the 'breath' of poetry; see on 2. 16. 38.
ODE IV.

'Like a young eagle that leaves the nest, tries his wings, then swoops down, first on sheep-folds, but soon on more dangerous foes,—like a young lion to the eyes of the unsuspecting hind, who is to be the first victim of his unfleshed tooth;—such has Drusus been in his campaign in Vindelicia,—noble by inherited excellence, noble also by his royal rearing. Rome's gratitude to the house of the Neros is summed up in the memory of Metaurus, the turning-point of the terrible Punic war, when Hasdrubal was routed, and the traces of war vanished, and Hannibal himself bore witness to Rome's vitality. "It is madness for us to pursue our enemy; more than enough if we can escape their pursuit. From the fires of their native Troy, from the hardships of the long voyage to Italy, they have but drawn strength and stubbornness, like the oak on Algidus which the woodman lops, or the hydra ever growing again to baffle the patience of Hercules. All hope is gone for ever, and buried with Hasdrubal." And the conqueror was an ancestor of the Neros. Jupiter protects the race, and Augustus directs their campaigns. What may we not expect from their arms?'

Nero Claudius Drusus, the younger of the two sons of Livia Drusilla, by her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, was born in Augustus' house, B.C. 38, three months after his mother's divorce and remarriage. He was by far the most popular of the two brothers. In B.C. 16, when Augustus set out for Gaul, taking with him Tiberius, who was praetor at the time, Drusus was appointed to discharge the duties of the office during his brother's absence (Dio 54. 19). Of his expedition in the following year against the Raetii, some account will be found in the Introd. to this Book. He died, six years afterwards, from the effect of a fall from his horse, while engaged in the last of three campaigns beyond the Rhine, which gained for him the posthumous title of Germanicus.

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,
Cui rex deorum regnum in aves vagas
Permisit expertus fidelem
Iuppiter in Ganymede flavo,

1. qualem, so v. 13 'qualemve'; the apodosis is in v. 17, 'talem' being suppressed. The purpose of the two similes is different: the first describes the birth and training of the young warrior prince, the second the astonishment of the enemy when they saw him, and knew instinctively that they were to be the first victims of his maiden sword.

ministrum fulminis; Virg. Aen. 5. 255 'Iovis armiger,' Stat. Theb. 3. 507 'vector fulminis.'

2. regnum in aves; Pind. Pyth. 1. 7 ἀρχὰν οἰωνόν, Ol. 13. 21 οἰωνὸν βασιλεῖα, and Aesch. Agam. 115 οἰωνὸν βασιλεῖα βασιλεῦσαι νεών. For the construction cp. Od. 3. 1. 5.

vagas, ἱεροφοίτους, 'fowls of the air'; perhaps with the feeling of 'truant,' 'wide wandering,'—of the extent and the difficulty of the sovereignty.

OLIM IUVENTAS ET PATRIUS VIGOR

5. olim seems to answer, as Ritter thinks, to 'iam,' 'mox,' 'nunc,' which mark stages in the young bird's progress; so that it will mean πάλαι, 'long ago,' and is defined by 'laborum insciun,' 'ere yet he knew life's labours.' It is otherwise taken as merely generalising—αλευον τυα, ποτε; see on Epod. 3. 1.

Iuventas et patrius vigor, 'his young blood and the force of his race.'

6. propulit. So Cruq. on the authority of two of his Bland. MSS, and it is accepted by all recent editors; the larger number of MSS. have 'profulit.' The time of the perfect tenses is that of the Greek aorist in similes.

7. verni. Bentley feels strongly the objection raised by Jui. Caes. Scaliger, that eaglets are not hatched till late in the spring, and would not be fit to fly far till autumn. He prefers 'vernis,' which has some MS. support, and which he judges to have been the reading of Acrön, from his illustration 'ut 'ruit imbrifera num ver.'" Probably 'nimbus remotis' is enough to account for the Scholiast's quotation; the sound and balance of the sentence are in favour of 'vernii.' We need not expect Horace to date the eaglet's growth with the accuracy of an ornithologist. He is more likely to use the epithet 'vernus' in a pleasing sense of the soft breezes, than in association merely with storms. 'Verni' need not mean the first days of spring, nor is the eaglet said yet to be fit for hunting; it is of the first stage in the art of flying. For a conj. alteration of Horace's text on somewhat similar grounds see I. 23. 5.

10. vividus impetus, of the actual rush, swoop, of his descent; 'demittit impetus aquilam' = 'aquila cum impetu defertur.' It has also been taken of his impetuous temper; but it suits Horace's economy of words, that the motive in this clause should be gathered from the 'amor dapis atque pugnae' (a dainty banquet, with the excitement of fighting for it) of the second clause, the mode of attack in that clause from the 'vividus impetu' of this, as the unresisting weakness of the sheep is left to be inferred from the epithet given to the serpents. See Od. 3. 2. 3. 9. 3. 4. 45. 3. 13. 6. 4. 3. 5.


14. fulvae matris ab ubere. Some awkwardness has been felt in this expression, as, if we construct it with 'depulsum,' either 'ab ubere' or 'lacte' would seem to be redundant (cp. Virg. E. 7. 17 'depulsos a lacte,' G. 3. 187 'depulsus ab ubere matris'), and various modes of treatment have been suggested. 'Ubere' has been taken as an epithet of 'lacte,' but this is to transfer the redundancy from the expression to the thought: or, again, 'fulvae matris ab ubere' has been referred to the hind (Ritter), but it is hard to see how this adds to the picture; the youth of the lion is in point, and the preoccupation of the hind, but we do not want in any way to undervalue Drusus' foes. Bentley led the way of conjectural emendation, 'iam mane' or 'iam sponte,' and has been followed by many others. The simplest method is to separate 'ab ubere' to some extent from 'depulsum,' and to take it in the sense of 'fresh from his mother's teats.' Cp. 'a matre pulli,' Colum., 'recens a vulnere,' Virg. Aen. 6. 450; the place of Virgil's 'recens' is supplied by the more definite 'lacte depulsum,'
HORATII CARMINUM

Iam lacte depulsum leonem
Dente novo peritura vidit:
Videre Raeti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici;—quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia securi
Dextras obarbet, quaerere distuli,
Nec scire fas est omnia;—sed diu
Lateque victrices catervae
Consilis iuvenis revictae
Sensere, quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutritas faustis sub penetralibus

16. peritura vidit, "looks up and sees a moment before she dies by his unfleshed tooth." The repetition 'vidit,' 'videre,' points the correspondence, and makes it easier to dispense with a more formal introduction of the apodosis; see on 2, 9, 9.

17. Raetis Vindelici. It is hard to say which is the adjective. Geographically Raetis is the larger name of the two, being used to cover Vindelicia (Raetia secunda) or the northern slopes of the Alps, from the Lake of Constance to the Inn, as well as Raetia prima, the southern part of the Grisons and the western Tyrol. Horace has the authority of Dio C. 54. 22, in giving the common name of Raeti to the tribes which Tiberius (Od. 4. 14, 14) and Drusus conquered. But it is certainly a perversion of the ordinary usage to assign the Vindelici, both here and in 4. 14, to the invader who approached from the south. The geographical difficulty is unaffected by the question of reading raised by Heinsius, Bentley, and others, as whether we read 'Raetis' or 'Raeti,' the two names will still be given to one locality, and that the scene of Drusus' victory. The MSS. and Acr. are in favour of the nominative. The ablative, distributing the two names between the mountains and the people, would be more in accordance with Horace's style, and it would avoid the awkwardness, however it be explained, of the double designation.

18–22. quibus ... sed. The digression is intended to elevate Drusus' victory, by suggesting an immemorial and legendary antiquity for his enemies. Its prosaic introduction, contrasting awk-

wardly with the smooth finish of Horace's style, is an intentional, if not very successful, imitation of Pindar. Cp. a slighter instance in 3. 4. 69. Many critics (Lambinus, Buttmann, Meineke, amongst them) have been tempted, by the fact that their excision would cause little or no disturbance of the metre, to condemn the lines as an interpolation, supposing the sentence to have run 'Vindelici diu' or 'Vindelici et diu.' But the faults of the verses are such as the poet is much more likely to have been guilty of than an imitator. They formed part of the text in the time of Servius (on Virg. Aen. 1. 243).

19. per omne tempus, 'through all time,' historically.

20. Amazonia, such as the Amazons used; 'securigerae puellae,' Ov. Her. 4. 117. Horace would suggest apparently in this word that there is some mythical reason for their carrying the weapon. There need not have been any definite legend, such as Porph. imagines, that they had fought with the Amazons, or as Servius, that they traced their descent to them.

21. obarmet, 'arms for offence,' a rare word, found in an epigram (25) of Ausonius.

22. The termination of the digression in a moral saying, with a rapid return to the straight course of the narrative, is after Pindar. 'Sed,' like ἐκ ὀπίου in the Greek tragedians, implies a return to the thread of the story; however that may be.

24. revictae, 'conquered in their turn;' answering to 'victrices.'

25. mens, rather 'of the intellect; indoles of the temper and dispositions; rite, faustis, penetralibus, are all
Posset, quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones.
Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
Est in iuventis, est in equis patrum
Virtus, neque imbellum ferores
Progenerant aquilae columban;
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant;
Utcunque defeceris mores,
Indecorant bene nata culpae.
Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus;
Testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
Devictus et pulcher fugatis
Ille dies Latio tenebris;

words with religious associations. The editors are divided on the question whether the sentence should be stopped, as in the text, the construction being ‘quid mens rite nutrita . . . quid indoles rite nutrita. . . posset’; or with the comma after ‘mens,’ so that the construction would be ‘quid mens posset, quid indoles rite nutrita,’ etc., a distinction being made between their mental gifts, which were all their own, and their dispositions, which needed the good training of Augustus. Sense, rhythm, and the balance of the verse are alike in favour of the former. For ‘posset,’ ‘nutrita,’ with two subjects, see on 1. 3. 10.

29. fortibus et bonis, the ablative with ‘creantur,’ as with ‘naschi,’ etc. ‘Fortis et bonus’ is almost a formula; Epp. 1. 9. 13 ‘et fortum crede bonumque,’ Kitter draws attention to the conjunction ‘Nerones fortis,’ etc., as meaning, ‘remember they were Neros to begin with,’ the name Nero being, according to Suetonius (Tib. 1), a Sabine adjective signifying ‘fortis ac strenuus.’ Notice also that ‘Nerones’ is the climax—Augustus’ care, care fatherly, care spent on such a good stock. The thought is, ‘It is true that scions of a good stock must be good in men as well as in animals, but yet education improveyes the native gift.’ Bentley points out that a misunderstanding of the first line of the stanza, as though the point was that given good children you may be sure they had good parents (instead of as it is, that given good parents you may be sure of good children), led to the false punctuation of many MSS. and editions, which put a comma after ‘fortibus’; so that ‘bonis’ becomes an epithet of ‘iuventis,’ and the sentiment of v. 30, instead of being general, ‘good blood tells in bullocks and in horses,’ is narrowed to ‘good bullocks and horses owe their good qualities to their sires.’ As Bentley observes, if this were right, the eagles and the doves ought to change cases, for the important fact then would be, that a dove did not breed eagles, not that eagles did not breed doves.

30. est, ‘survives,’ is something real.

35. When there is a collapse of public manners (so that good education becomes impossible), good birth is no protection against the taint.

35. utcunque = ‘simulac’; see on 1. 17. 10.

37. indecorant. The MSS. vary between this word and ‘dedecorant.’ The Scholiasts support ‘indecorant,’ which, as the rarer word, was the least likely to be substituted. It is found in a fragment of Accius.

38. Metaurum flumen, as ‘flumen Rhenum,’ A. P. 18. The battle of the Metaurus (a river of Umbria) was fought in B.C. 207, by the consuls C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator (both ancestors of Drusus, one through his father, the other through his mother, Livia), against Hasdrubal, who was bringing reinforcements to his brother Hannibal; Liv. 27. 45 foll.

39. pulcher dies; 4. 2. 46 ‘O sol pulcher!’ The daylight is at once literal and metaphorical.

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Qui primus alma risit adorea,
Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas
Ceu flamma per taedas vel Eurus
Per Siculas equitavit undas.
Post hoc secundis usque laboribus
Romana pubes crevit, et impio
Vastata Poenorum tumultu
Fana, deos habueré rectos,
Dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:
Cervi, luporum praeda rapacium,
Sectamur ultró, quos opimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus.

41. qui primus, the first day of brightness and victory since Hannibal began his campaign in Italy. There might have been victories before, as that of Nola gained by M. Claudius Marcellus in B.C. 215; but this was the first decisive victory, the turning point of the war. Appian (p. 344. De Bell. Annib.) speaks of it as lovostráum [77 émi Kávarus drýxíq].

adorea. The recognised meaning of 'adorea,' was 'glory won in war,' and it was derived from 'ador = 'corn.' 'Gloriam . . . a farris honore adorem appellabant,' Plin. N. H. 18. 3. The original connection is more doubtful. Pliny explains it of the donative of corn given to the soldiers after a victory, N. H. 2. 18. Festus, s. v., refers it, like such words as 'pecunia,' to an agricultural age: 'adorem laudem sive gloriam dicebant quia gloriosum eum putas, esse quí farris copia abundaret.' Servius on Virg. Aen. 10. 677, has a still wilder derivation for it, from 'adoro.'

42. dirus; see on 2. 12. 2.

ut, 'ever since,' as in Epod. 7. 19, Cic. Brut. 5 'ut illos libros edisti nihil at postea accepmus.'

43. ceu. This is the only place where this word is used by Horace. The images are of the speed and victoriousness of Hannibal's progress: 'like fire through a pine-forest, or the east wind sweeping the Sicilian sea.'

44. Siculas; see on 2. 12. 2. Horace may be referring to his own experience (see 3. 4. 28), but it is also possible that both the 'Sicilian' waters and the metaphor of 'equitavit' are due to Eur. Phoen 209 περιβότων ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων

pediton Σικέλιας Ζεφύρων πυγάς ἵππει- 

45. secundis laboribus crevit, grew ever more and more successful in its enterprises; the ablative as in 3. 30. 8 'crescam laude.'

46. impio, because they affronted Roman gods.

47. Poenorum tumultu. A 'tumultus' was a sudden and dangerous war on or within the borders, usually a Gallic or Italian one. Cicero explains its nature in Phil. 8. 1. Cp. especially, 'Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicium quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae finitimis, praeterea nullum tumultum nominabant.' The expression, then, in the text is almost an oxymoron, 'a war with Carthaginians, but yet a war in our own borders.'

48. deos rectos, of the images thrown down by Hannibal, and now set on their pedestals again.

49. The speech of Hannibal is founded on the saying actually attributed to him by Livy on learning of Hasdrubal's defeat and death: 'tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu, agnoscore se fortunam Karthaginis fertur dixisse,' Liv. 27. 51.

perfidus. It was the stock charge against him. Livy speaks of his 'perfidia plusquam Punica,' 21. 4.

51. ultró, aggressively, needlessly.

opimus triumphus, 'a rare triumph,' a phrase coined by Horace to the model of 'spolia opima.'
Gens, quae cremato fortis ab Ilio
Iactata Tuscis aquoribus sacra
Natosque maturosque patres
Pertulit Ausonias ad urbes,
Duris ut ilet tonsa bipennibus
Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido,
Për damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.
Non hydra secto corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem cœtiv in Herculem,
Monstrumve submisere Colchi
Mainus Echioniae Thebae.

53. gens. 'These armies that we have
been provoking are to us as wolves to
deer. Remember the story and character
of the Roman people generally.' The
stanza is a résumé of the story of the Aen-
cremato fortis ab Ilio. Grammatically
'ab Ilio' answers to 'ad urbes
Ausonias,' and 'fortis' qualifies 'pertu-
lit;' but the collocation which pairs
'fortis' with 'cremato,' and makes 'ab
Ilio' follow closely and 'apparently
depend on 'fortis' ('stepping forth in
strength from the ashes of Ilium'),
is meant to suggest the idea of the next
stanza, that their very calamities only
gave them fresh heart and vigour. They
rise like the Phoenix from its pyre.
Vv. 53, 54 contrast the perils of fire and
of water.

54. inactata, probably agreeing with
'gens;' 'for all their tossing on the Tuscan sea.' 'Multum ille et terris iactatus et alto,' Virg. Aen. 1. 3.
saera; Virg. Aen. 1. 68, 2. 293
56. pertulit, of perseverance through
difficulty, and of success.
57. duris; see on 3. 11, 31, Epod. 5. 30.
58. nigrae; 1. 21, 9. See there also
for M. Algidus; its holm-oaks are cele-
brated in 3. 23, 10.
fierci frondis, as 'secunda culpae
secula,' 3. 5, 17; cp. C. S. 19.
59. 60. The subject of 'ducit' is 'gens,'
but here, as commonly in Horace (see
on 1. 35, 19, 2. 2, 1, 4, 2, 7, the
interpretation cannot shake itself clear of
the language of the allegory. 'For
every bough it loses, for every cut the
knife gives it, aye, from the very edge of
the steel itself, draws fresh power and
spirit.' 'Opes' and 'animus,' or 'animi,'
were joined in this way almost proverbially,
Virg. Aen. 2. 799, Caes. B. G. 7, 76. A
few MSS. read 'animos' here, but Horace
seems purposely to vary the termination.
61. The stanza has been pronounced
an interpolation by Meineke and other
critics, on the ground of its introduc-
tion of mythological lore, which seemed
to them frigid, and such as we find
rather in Propertius and in the Alexan-
drine poets. Horace possibly had in
mind the saying of Pyrrhus recorded by
Florus, 1. 18 'Video me (inquit) plane
Herculis sidere procreatum, cui quasi ab
angue Lernaeo tot caesa hostium capita
de sanguine suo renascantur,'

firmior. The adjective is more ap-
propriate to the resolution of the Roman
people, and the firm front of their legions,
than to the Hydra; but, in reference to
it, it would seem to be antithetical to
'secto corpore,' and to mean 'sounder,'
when he slashed its body it faced him
in a moment entire as before.
62. vinci dolentem, 'chafing at the
foil,' Conington. It is the measure of
the unexpected persistence of the foe.
63. monstrum, of the armed warriors
that sprang from the dragon's teeth,
sown by Jason in the furrows which the
fire-breathing bulls had ploughed
(Ov. Met. 7, 121 foll.), or by Cadmus
at Thebes (Ov. Met. 3, 24 foll.) So new
soldiers seem to spring from the earth
for Rome.
submisere; Lucr. 1. 8 'tellus sub-
mittit flores.'
Colchi, of the country, as 'Sabini,' 3.
4, 21, etc.
64. Echioniae, in reference to the
Merses profundo: pulchrior evenit:
Lucteæ: multa proruet integrum
Cum laude victorem geretque
Proelia coniugibus loquenda.
Karthagini iam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos: occidit, occidit
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri
Nominis Hasdrubale interempto.
Nil Claudiae non perficiunt manus,
Quas et benigno numine Iuppiter

particular story, for Echion was one of
the five of the Sparti who survived the
mutual slaughter; Ov. Met. 3. 126.

65. merses, 'plunge it if you will.'
For the construction cp. Epp. 1. 10. 24.
Some good MSS. (including Bern.) have
the corruption 'mersus,' which, as Bent-
ley points out, is impossible, since 'gens'
must be the subject. Ritter thinks this
line and the next have a definite his-
torical reference to the disasters of the
Romans by sea in the First Punic War,
and on land in the Second, and their
subsequent recovery in each case. With
the thoughts of the stanza compare the
sayings attributed to Hannibal by Livy
(27. 14), 'cum eo nimimur hoste res est
qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam
potest. Seu vicit, feroxiter instat victis:
seu victus est instaurat cum vicipris
certamen,' and by Justin. 31. 6 'cum
Romano seu occupaveris prior aliaqu
seu viceris tamen etiam cum victo et
iacente luctandum esse.'

eventit, so all the good MSS. 'Exiit,'
which Orelli accepts from very little
MS. authority, in order to harmonise
with 'proruet' and 'geret,' is a form
of the future unparalleled in any clas-
sical writer. There is more MS. au-
thority for converting the other verbs
into presents; but this only shows that
the difference of tense was felt as a
difficulty.

66. multa cum laude, 'amid loud
applause,' of a feat in a wrestling match.
It is also taken with 'integrum,' 'with
all his laurels.'

integrum, 'fresh,' 'with all his powers
unbroken.' We have to understand
from 'integrum victorem,' that the sub-
ject of the sentence, on the contrary, has
just been thrown.

68. coniugibus loquenda. It is
hard to say whether this is to be taken,
with Orelli, of their own wives, 'for
their wives to tell of,' i.e. in priæ; or,
with Ritter, of the Carthaginians' wives,
'which only wives will live to tell of,'
the husbands being all slain. The latter
gives a more definite climax to the
stanza; but it must be allowed that if
this is the meaning, we should have
expected some word to imply either that
the 'wives' would be widows, or that
their 'talk' would be by way of moun-
ing. Catullus puts the idea more dis-
inctly, 'Illus egregias virtutes claraque
facta Sæpe fætebuntur gnatorum in
funere matres,' 64. 349.

69. iam non . . . superbos, as after
Cannae. Cp. Livy's account of Mago's
mission to Carthage to announce that
victory, and carry the proof of it in
three bushels of gold rings taken from
Roman knights, 23. 12.

72. Hasdrubale interempto; Liv.
28. 12.

73-76. It is a question whether the
stanza is a continuation of Hannibal's
speech or the poet's summing up. The
latter seems more likely. A quiet ending
of the Ode is part of Horace's art (see
Intro. to Books i-iii. § 11. 3), but he
would hardly put into Hannibal's mouth
a dull prophecy of the glories of the
house of Nero. It is pretty certain, also,
that Ritter is right in supposing that
the 'curae sagaces' belong to Augustus.
Cp. 4. 14. 16 and 32 'Te copias, te con-
silium et tuos Praebente Divos.' Ho-
race's intention is to unite the praises
of the emperor with those of the young
Neros. Here the compliment is intensi-
fied by the conjunction of his protec-
tion and that of Jupiter. This is the
only interpretation which will give the
last line and a half sufficient weight to
Defendit et curae sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli.

balance the line and a half which prece
ded.

73. perficiunt. This is the reading of Bla
d. Yet, though most other good MSS. have 'per
cient.' When once the stanza was taken as a prophec
y, there was an obvious motive for altering the
tense to the future.

76. acuta belli, the difficulties, anxieties of war. Cp. 'aspera belli,' Liv. 6. 32. Perhaps there is an image of a ship threading the sharp rocks which beset a channel. For the use of 'expe
diunt' cp., Virg. Aen. 2. 632.

O D E V.

'Too long already, Augustus, art thou absent from thy trust. Return, then, remembering thy solemn promise. Thy face is spring to the year and brightness to the day. As a mother watches for her sailor-boy's return, so Rome for her Caesar. To thee we owe security by land and sea; peace and plenty; the restoration of honesty and of pure morals. No fear of Parthian or Scythian, of German or Spaniard. From morn-till night a man works in his own vineyard, and then goes home to thank thee among the gods to whom he pours libations after supper. Long be the happy holiday that Italy enjoys under thy auspices; such is our prayer in the morning as well as in the evening.'

For the occasion and length of Augustus' absence see Introd. to the Book.

DIVIS. orte bonis, optime Romulae
Custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;
Maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
Sancto concilio redi.
Lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae:
Instar veris enim voltus ubi tuus

1. divis orte bonis, 'whose birth was the good gift of heaven.' Cp. 4. 2. 38: opposed to 'iratis natus dis,' Sat. 2. 3. 8; the ablative absolute, not the abla
tive with 'orte.'
Romulae; Carm. Sec. 47, Virg. Aen. 6. 877 'Romula tellus'; see on Od. 1.

15. 10.
2. custos; 4. 15. 17 'custode rerum Caesare.'
4. sancto concilio. The epithet is an habitual one of the senate; Virg. Aen. 1. 426 'Iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.'
Affulsit populo, gratior it dies
Et soles melius nitent.
Ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido
Flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora

Cunctantem spatio longius annuo
Dulci distinct a domo,
Votis omnibusque et precibus vocat,
Curvo nec faciemi litore dimovet:
Sic desideris icta fidelibus
Quae rit patria Caesarem.
Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
Nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
Pacatum volitant per mare navitae,
Culpari metuit Fides,
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
Laudantur simili prole puerperae,
Culpam poena premit comae.

7. affulsit, like sunshine.
It, as 2. 14. 5 'quotquot eum dies', 'passes.'
9. quem Notus, etc. Compare the picture of Asterie waiting for Gyges in 3. 7. The young sailor may be supposed to be in Egypt or Syria. Navigation was suspended from early in November to early in March; so that, having failed to get away in the autumn, he has to stay into the following year. The 'mare Carpathium' is the sea east of Crete; 'spatium annuum' is the sailing time of one year.
13. ominibus. Her impatience is shown by frequently consulting omens.
16. quaerit, from longing for the absent, as 3. 24. 31 'Virtutem incolument odimus, Sublatam ex oculis quærimum invidi.'
17. etenim. The results of Caesar's happy reign are felt all round us, and therefore we wish to have him back again.
rura perambulat, of grazing cattle; more likely than of ploughing, as Ritter takes it. 'Perambulat' implies that he 'stalks about' as if he felt his security. The repetition of 'rura' is intentional, but it has offended many critics. Tan. Faber proposed 'prata perambulat'; Bentley 'nutrit farra,' objecting to the phrase 'nutrire rura.' It is, however, imitated by Silius, 12. 375 'Arva... Ceres nutrita favore.'
18. Faustitas, an Epigr. ley. = 'Fausta Felicitas' = the personification of Good Fortune, and especially of Plenty. Felicitas is represented on medals with the cornucopia.
19. pacatum, freed from pirates. Suet. Aug. 99 'Vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina Augusto acclamarunt, per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.'
20. volitant, Virgil's 'pelago volumus,' the frequentative giving the idea of number and frequency.
22. mos et lex, 'opinion,' — 'fashion,' — 'habit'; and 'positive law;' the union that was desiderated in 3. 24. 23 'Quid leges sine moribus Vanae proficiunt?' The reference is to the 'Lex Iulia de Adulteris coercedis' passed in B.C. 17; Dict. Ant. s. v. 'adulterium.'
23. simili prole; Hist. 'Epy. 23, 23, τίκτουσι δὲ γυναικὲς δοικότα τέκνα γονέων.
Quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen, 
Quis Germania, quos horrida parturit 
Fetus, incolumi Caesare? quis ferae 
Bellum curet Hiberiae? 
Condit quisque diem collibus in suis; 
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores; 
Hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris 
Te mensis adhibet deum; 
Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero 
Defuso pateris et Laribus tuum 
Miscet numen, uti Graecia 'Castoris 
Et magni memor Herculis. 
Longas o utinam, dux bone, ferias 
Praestes Hesperiae! dicimus integro 
Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi, 
Cum Sol Oceano subest.

26. Germania. The reference is to 
the Sygambri: see Introd. to the Book. 
horrida, in reference both to the 
forests and their rude inhabitants. 
parturit. The form of the verb 
seems to imply 'breeds in swarms'; 
'nunquam contenta est pariendo.' Cp. i. 
7. 16 'neque parturit imbres Perpetuo.' 
27. ferae Hiberiae; 4. 14, 50 'Du-
ræ.. tellus Hiberiae.' For allusions 
to the long resistance of the Cantabri see 
Introd. to Books i-iii, § 6. They had 
been finally subdued by Agrippa in B.C. 
19; Epp. i. 12. 27. 
29. condit.. diem, 'sees the sun 
down.' Virg. E. g. 81 'cantando .. con-
dere soles.' There is emphasis on 'suis.' 
He is not disturbed in his occupations by 
war, nor in his possessions by violence. 
30. viduas. For the metaph. cp. Od. 
2. 15. 4, Epod. 2. 9. 
31. ad vina, he goes back with a 
light heart to make merry at home. 
alteris, as 'mensae secundae,' Virg. 
G. 2. 101, where also perhaps the 
custom of commencing the second course, 
or that with which drinking began, by 
libations, is alluded to. 
32. For adhibet cp. Virg. Aen. 5. 62 
'adhibete Penates .. epulis,' 'invoke, 
'invite their presence'; see Conington, 
in loc.

34. Laribus. 'This worship of Au-
gustus, or rather, perhaps, of the Lar of 
Augustus, as a demigod or genius, is to 
be distinguished from the later cult of 
the Caesars as deities, which Augustus 
himself interdicted at least in Rome,' 
Merivale, vol. iv, ch. 33, p. 75. See ib. 
for the account of Augustus' restoration 
of the chapels and worship of the Lares, 
and compare with him Ov. Fast. 5. 145 
'Mille Lares geniumque ducis qui tradit 
illos Urbs habet.'

35. Castoris. The gerundives were 
probably felt to be dependent both on 
'numen' and on 'memor.' If we must 
choose between them, doubtless Orelli 
and Dill are right in preferring 'memor'; 
'like Greece in her pious recollection of 
Castor,' etc.

37. 'The reign of Augustus will be 
a perpetual holiday; may it be a long 
one!'

38. integro die, 'while the day is 
fresh, unbroken.'

39. sicci; Od. 1. 18. 3, Epp. 1. 19. 9. 
vidi, bespereymenoi. The whole = 'at 
all hours and in all conditions'; perhaps 
with a remembrance of such sayings as 
that of the Persians, who, according to 
Herodotus (1. 133), deliberate on every 
important matter twice, μεθυσκόμενοι 
and νηφοντες.
ODE VI.

'Apollon, terrible to thine enemies, as Niobe, Tityos, and great Achilles felt; yet even in thy wrath the friend of Rome, for if Achilles had lived Troy would have perished, not, indeed, by treachery, but in open war, which would have left no remnant to fly to Italy;—Apollo, whom we know teaching the cithara on Parnassus, and bathing thy locks in the Xanthus;—uphold to-day the honour of the Daunian Muse. Aye, it is Apollo that inspires, teaches, selects me. Listen to me, boys and maidens of the chorus; take time from me, as you sing in turn Apollo and Diana and their kindly offices to man. Some day the matron will tell her children proudly "when the last Ludi Seculares were held, I took my part in them, and sang the strains which the poet Horace taught me."

The Ode is, on the face of it, a sort of prelude to the Carmen Seculare; a poetical expression of the pride of the poet in his selection to write the Hymn, and of his anxiety that it may receive justice in its public performance. His professed purpose is to claim the good offices first of Apollo, the powerful god to whose intervention Rome owed her very existence, the god of Greek song; and then, when this aid is assured, of the chorus of performers.

DIVE, quem proles Niobeae magnae Vindicem linguae Tityosque raptor Sensit et Troiae prope victor altae Phthius Achilles, Ceteris maior, tibi miles impar, Filius quamvis Thetidis marinae

1. Apollo is invoked first by virtue of his sterner attributes as an avenger of ὕππος. Three instances are given from mythology (according to the well-known formula of Greek poetry), the last being skilfully turned into a glorification of him as a θεὸς αὐτήρ, the saviour of the Aeneadae, whose inveterate foe he thus removed.

magnae linguae, 'a vaunting tongue'; Soph. Ant. 127 Κείτε γὰρ μεγάλης γήλωσις κόμπους ὑπερεχθαίρει. The boast of Niobe was that she had given birth to more children than Latona. The story is told in Hom. Il. 24. 602.

2. vindicem is grammatically limited to the first clause by its connection with the genitive 'linguae'; but to be extended in sense to the other two, the kind of ὕππος, of which he was the avenger, being expressed in the first by the epithet of 'Tityos raptor,' in the second by the fuller account of Achilles' bearing towards the vanquished.

Tityos; 2. 14: 8, 3. 4. 77, 3. II. 21, Pind. P. 4. 90. His offence, an assault on Latona, and his punishment in Tartarus, are told in Hom. Od. 11. 576.

3. prope victor, 'before he could complete the victory which, by slaying Hector, he had all but won.' The death of Achilles is treated by Homer (in Hector's prophecy, Il. 22. 358) as the joint work of Paris and Apollo; Virgil follows him, Aen. 6. 56 'Phoebe, graves Troiae semper miserate labores Dardana qui Paridis directi tela manusque Corpus in Aenacidae'; Sophocles attributes it directly to Apollo, Phil. 334 τέθνηκεν, ἀνδρὸς ὁδήγησα, θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ τοξευτὸς Ὑλέτου ἑκ Φαῖσσον δαμάεις.

altae. The Homeric ἰλιον αἰσθεάσῃ.

4. Phthius. Phthis is Achilles' country in Homer, Il. 1. 155, etc.
Dardanas turres quateret tremenda
Cuspidie pugnax.
Ille, mordaci velut icta fero
Pinus aut impulsa cupressus Euro,
Procidit late posuitque collum in
Pulvere Teuco.
Ille non inclusus equo Minervae
Sacra mentito male feriatos
Troas et laetam Priami choreis
Falleret aulam;
Sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas! heu!
Nescios fari pueros Achivis
Ureret flammis, etiam latentem
Matris in alvo,
Ni tuis victus Venerisque gratae
Vocibus divom pater annuisset
Rebus Aeneae potiore ductos
Alite muros.

Doctor argutae fidicen Thalieae,
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,
Dauniae defende decus Camenae,
Levis Agyieiu.

Spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
Carminis nomenque dedit poëtae.

21. victus. The Old Bland, stands alone in reading, apparently from a gloss, 'flexus.' The Comm. Crvq. himself had read 'victus,' and interprets it by 'flexus.'

22. annuisset; Virg. Aen. i. 257 'Parce metu, Cytherea; manent immota tuorum Fata tibi: cernes urbem et promissa Lavini Moenia.'

23. rebus Aeneae, the fortunes of Aeneas and his house, as 'res Asiae,' Virg. Aen. 5. 1, 'res Troiae,' Aen. 8. 471.

potiore alite; i. 15. 5.
ductos, either 'carried along,' 'built,' or only 'traced.' See Conington on Virg. Aen. 1. 423 'pars ducere muros.'

25. argutae, argaeas, predicative. She learnt her clear singing, as well as her harp-playing, of Apollo. Some MSS. of inferior value have 'Argivea,' which was intended to be antithetical to 'Dauniae' = 'Latiae'; see note on v. 28.

26. Xantho. The Lycian, not the Trojan, Xanthus; 3. 4. 62. Virg. Aen. 4. 143 'hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta Deserit.' For the practice of introducing into prayers the names of the sacred haunts of the god addressed cp. i. 30. 1, 3. 26. 10. Apollo's long hair is at once the sign of his perpetual youth (as in v. 28 'levis,' i.e. 'imberbis') and part of the costume of the bard; see Virg. Aen. 1. 740 'crinitus Iopas.'

27. Dauniae, in the first place, doubtless, Horace's own Muse (cp. 3. 30. 10, and 'Calabriae Pierides' of Ennius, 4. 8. 25), as is shown by the immediate transition to himself, 'spiritum Phoebus mihi,' etc. But it is not a purely local designation. Horace would not have said here 'Venusiae Camenae.' He speaks of 'Daunian blood' for Roman or Italian in Od. 2. 1. 34, and uses the Apulian as the typical representative of all Roman virtues (Od. 3. 5. 9, 3. 16. 26, Epod. 2. 42); and so here the 'Daunian Muse' is the 'Italian Muse,' though he would remember the special appropriateness of the local name, when the chosen representative of Roman poetry is a Daunian born.

28. Agyieu. 'Argaveos was a Greek name of Apollo as guardian of streets, a–yveia, Aesch. Agam. 1081, Arist. Vesp. 875. Ritter explains the choice of the title by the fact that the Carmen Seculare would be sung 'sub dio.' This seems far-fetched. The associations of the name were to Horace, probably, purely literary, and his purpose, as in the first two lines of the stanza, is mainly to make it clear that it is the Greek god in all his attributes whom he claims as the protector of his Daunian Muse (the antithesis is present, though we need not in v. 25 read 'Argavea,' to make it too obtrusive); and to this end the thoroughly Greek name contributes. Cp. the force of a Greek form i. 1. 34. The unusual name makes great havoc among the copyists. The Old Bland. has oddly 'Laetus Agyiea.'

29, 30. These verses form the transition to the last part of the Ode. He has prayed to Phoebus, the Greek god of poetry, to defend from disgrace, through failure of the poet or performers or audience, the honour of the Italian Muse. 'Yes, it is Phoebus that inspires him; that teaches him his art; that gives him the fame which has caused him to be selected for this great task.' Strong in that persuasion, he calls on the chorus to obey and learn of him.

spiritum; see on 2. 16. 38.
Virginum primae puerique claris
Patribus orti,
Deliae tutela deae fugaces
Lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,
Lesbium servate pedem meique
Pollicis ictum,
Rite Latone puerum canentes,
Rite crescentem face Noctilucam,
Prosperam frugum celeremque pronos
Volvere menses.
Nupta iam dices: Ego dis amicum,
Seculo festas referente luces,
Reddidi carmen, docilis modorum
Vatis Horati.

31. Carm. Sec. 6. The chorus consisted of boys and girls, all of patrician houses, and with both parents alive.

33. tutela, passively = 'qui in tutela Dianae estis.' The use is found in Propertius 4. 8. 3. Diana is the patroness of chastity. Cp. Catull. 34. 'Dianae sumus in fide Puellae et pueri integri.'

34. cohibentis = 'sistentis,' 'who stays in their flight.'

35. Lesbium servate pedem, i.e. observe the ictus of the Sapphic metre. mei pollolis, of the thumb of the poet beating time in his capacity as χοροδιδάσκαλος. The Scholiasts take it of his striking the lyre in accompaniment; but Horace would not accompany his chorus.

37. rite, according to the traditional ceremonial of the Ludi Seculares. The repetition emphasizes the equality of the alternate addresses.

38. crescentem face, 'with her crescent light.' For the ablative cp. 4. 4. 46 'secundis laboribus crevit.'

39. Noctilucam; Varro, L. L. 5. 68 'Luna . . . dicta Noctilucae in Palatio.'

40. prosperam frugum = 'prospectantem fruges.' It is the same Gr. gen. of relation as 'fertilis frugum,' Carm. Sec. 29.

celerem volvere; App. 2, § 2.

41. nupta iam, 'some day when you are a wife.' He imagines himself addressing one of the girls in the chorus.

42. seculo; see Introdn. to Carm. Sec.

festas luces, the three days of the festival.

43. reddidi, 'rendered,' 'performed.'

docilis modorum; 1. 15. 24 'sciens pugnae.'
ODE VII.

'Spring has returned to earth, and with it foliage and light and warmth. It will not last for ever: this is the lesson of revolving seasons. Only they pass to return again: we, when we pass where the great and good are gone before us, are dust and nothing. To-day may be your last; who knows? Take your fill of enjoyment. What you spend on yourself is at least so much the less for your greedy heir. When once you are dead and passed Minos' grand tribunal, neither race, Torquatus, nor eloquence, nor goodness, will restore you to the light. Think of Hippolytus and Pirithous, and learn this lesson from their fate.'

Torquatus is the same person, doubtless, whom Horace addressed in Ep. 1. 5, to much the same purpose as in this Ode; but more than that it is difficult to say, notwithstanding the many guesses that have been offered on the subject. The two most plausible ones are, (1) that of Estré, who identifies with him the Aulus Torquatus mentioned in Corn. Nep. Atticus, as amongst those who were compromised by their share in Brutus and Cassius' campaign. This would give an occasion for Horace's acquaintance with him, though the prominence which is given to him will hardly suit a man of Horace's own age or rank. (2) That of Weichert, who thinks that he was no member of the Manilia gens, but the C. Nonius Asprenas mentioned by Suetonius (Aug. 43 and 56), the intimate friend of Augustus, who had assumed for himself and his family the cognomen of Torquatus by permission of the emperor, and in memory of a golden 'torques' with which Augustus had presented him on the occasion of his injuring himself by a fall while performing in the Ludus Troiae. His assumption of the name has been held to prove, what there are no other facts to disprove, that the old family of Torquatus was extinct.

The Ode is remarkably parallel to 1. 4; so much so, that Maclean is inclined to think that it was omitted on this account from the first three Books, and only published under the necessity of making up a respectable number to meet Augustus' requirement of a fourth Book. There is nothing to indicate its date.

DIFFUGERE nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
Arboribusque comae;
Mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
Flumina praetereunt;

1. diffugere, 'like an army defeated,' as Wordsworth paraphrases it.
3. mutat vices = 'mutationem annuam patitur'; 'vice annua' (cp. 'grata vice veris,' I. 4. 1, 'benigna vice,' Epod. 13. 8) 'mutatur,' 'is passing its orderly change.' 'Mutat conditionem' would not express the orderly succession of the conditions. 'Vices patitur,' 'peragit,' Ov. Met. 15. 238, would not express the complete change which that orderly succession is at this moment bringing about.

terra is probably the 'dry land,' in which case 'mutat terra vices' sums up the changes of the two preceding lines, as the next line and a half deal with the 'streams.'

4. praetereunt, 'flow past (i.e. within) their banks,' instead of pouring over them.
Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros.
Immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alnum
Quae rapit hora diem.
Frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas
Interitura, simul
Pomiser Auctumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
Bruma recurrit iners.
Damna tamen celeris reparator caelestia lunae:
Nos, ubi decidimus,
Quo pater Aeneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra sumus.
Quis scit, an adiiciant hodiernae crastina summae
Tempora di superi?
Cuncta manus avidas fugiunt heredis, amico
Quae dederis animo.

5. Gratia cum geminis sororibus,
i.e. the three Graces. For the form cp.
3. 19. 16.
7. annus et... diem, the revolution
of the year, and the rapidity with which
sunny days fly past us. 'Hora,' not so
much the evening hour (which would
be to introduce a new image) as the
flight of time, the passing hours. Cp. 2.
16. 32. It is not night, but winter
which he sees approaching;
9. Compare the procession of the
seasons in Lucr. 5. 736.
proterit, caraparei, 'tramples before
it,' of the advance of a victorious army;
3. 5. 34.
effuderit, 'has scattered
broadcast.'
13. damna caelestia, 'all that is lost
in heaven'; primarily of the waning of
the moon itself; 'damna' being com-
monly used in this sense by Manilius
and others; but we are to understand
also the whole waste and damage of
the year as it passes back into winter.
With the whole thought cp. Catull. 5. 5
'Soles occidere et redire possunt: Nobis
quum semel occidit brevis lux Nox est
perpetua una dormienda.'
15. pater. The reading of V, though
a majority of MSS, read 'pius.' As
the more habitual Virgilian epithet, the
latter is the more likely to have been
substituted. The MSS. also vary be-
tween the order 'Tullus dives' and
'dives Tullus.' The epithet is intended,
probably, for both kings, princely wealth
being part of the traditions of the mon-
1. 6. 27 'Ire tamen restat. Numa quo
devenit et Ancus') is after Lucr. 3. 1037
'Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancus
reliquit,' that being from Ennius. Ann. 150.
16. pulvis et umbra, the conjunction
perhaps from Soph. El. 1158 antit pha-
t&t&ph&phi; moph&s spodόν τε καί σκιάν ἀο-
fel&.
17. adiiciant, 'may be adding,' in
their counsels.
hodiernae summae, 'the total of our
days, as it stands to-day.' The Bland.
V. (cp. the last Ode, v. 21) has, this
time in company with several other MSS,
'vitae' instead of 'summae,' which can
hardly be anything but a gloss. For
'summae' in this connection cp. 1. 4. 15.
19. manus avidas heredis. New-
man remarks on this and similar expres-
sions (as 2. 3. 20, 2. 14. 25), that the
state of feeling which they indicate be-
longs to the bachelorhood of the wealthy
Romans. 'Amico dare animo' is appa-
rently a translation of φιλη ψυχή χαρι-
ζεωμεν = 'genio indulgere'; Simonides.
§ 85, enforcing the same lesson from the
shortness of life, σι ναυτα μαθον
βιστον ποτι τέρμα ψυχή των ἀγαθών
τληθα χαριζουμεν.
Cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
Fecerit arbitria,
Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
Restituet pietas;
Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
Liberat Hippolytum,
Nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
Vincula Pirithoo.

21. splendida. The magnificence, stateliness, of Minos' court is transferred to the decrees he passes. Homer describes him Od. 11. 568 Δίδας Διών Χρίσαν σκηπτρον ἔχοντα θεματεύοντα νέκυσιν.

23. Torquake. The personal address implies that Torquatus possesses the gifts of which Horace speaks. With 'facundia' Orelli compares the hint in Epp. 1. 5. 9, 'Moschi causam,' that Torquatus was a forensic orator.

25-28. Two instances from mythology of the irrevocable nature of death. The emphatic words are 'pudicum' and 'caro,' and there is a certain antithesis between the two stories. Hippolytus, innocent and the victim of his chastity,—yet Diana, the goddess of chastity, could not save him; Pirithous the guilty one of the pair (see 3. 4. 79),—Theseus' love made him share Pirithous' enterprise, and for a time he shared his punishment; but when he was set free himself by Hercules, all his love could not free Pirithous also. In the story of Hippolytus as told by Virg. Aen. 7. 765 foll. and Ov. Met. 15. 479 foll., Diana's efforts are successful, for he is the person whom Aesculapius recalled to life; but this is unknown to the Greek legend as it appears in Euripides' Hippolytus, which Horace here follows.
ODE VIII.

'Under other circumstances, Censorinus, I would send my friends bronzes and pictures, and you should have the best of them. As it is I have none to give, and you would not care for them. Verse you will value and verse I can give; and hear now the value I set on the gift. Statues and inscriptions, the great feats of the Punic wars, do not throw such lustre on generals like the Scipios, as do the verses of Ennius. Would father Romulus have lived without a grateful posterity to tell of him? Would Aeacus have won the happy islands but for Pindar's Muse? The Muse gives immortality, and instals her favourites in a place in heaven; witness Hercules, the Tyndaridae, Bacchus himself.'

C. Marcius Censorinus was consul in B.C. 8, and died, amid general regret, a.d. 2. Vell. Paternarius calls him 'vir demerendis hominibus natus.'

Metre—First Aesopiad.

DONAREM pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
Donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
Graiorum, neque tu pessimam muncrum
Ferres, divite me scilicet artium,
Quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,

1. donarem. This reference is to the custom of exchanging presents ('strenae') on certain occasions, such as the Calends of March or the Saturnalia. Cp. the Pseudo-Tibull. 3. 3. 1 'Martís Romani festae venere Kalendae . . Et vaga nunc certa discurrunt undique pompa Perque vias urbis munera perque domos,' and read Stat. Silv. 4. 9. The condition is expressed partly in v. 5 'divite me,' etc., the construction having been in the meantime changed, so that the subject of 'donarem' appears in the abl. absol.; partly in the words 'grata commodus, which answer to one another, 'grata' meaning 'pleasing to their taste,' 'commodus' (cp. Epp. 2. 1. 227, A. P. 257) 'consulting their taste.' 'I would give . . if I had them, and my friends cared for them.'

2. aera, works in bronze, such as vases.

3. tripodas; see Dict. Ant. s. v.

fortium Graiorum, in reference to such passages as Hom. II. 23. 259, 264, etc. (cp. Virg. Aen. 5. 110, 9. 205), and to the use of a tripod as a prize at the Pythian and other games; Herod. 1. 144.

5. ferres, 'acciperes,' sc. 'a me;' Od. 2. 16. 22, Sat. 2. 1. 12, Epp. 2. 2. 14.
solicit exalts emphasizes the condition, the stubbornness of the 'if.' 'All this would happen supposing, you mark me, I were rich,' etc.

artium, 'works of art'; Epp. 1. 6. 17, 2. 1. 203. It goes somewhat beyond Virgil's use, 'clipeum . . Didymaonis artes,' Aen. 5. 359, which is after such expressions as Soph. O. C. 472 ἀρτηρέως . . ἀπὸ ἐχειρὸς τεχνῆ.

6. Parrhasius, a painter of Ephesus, a contemporary of Zeuxis, and therefore living about the time of the Peloponnesian war. Xenophon describes Socrates as paying a visit to his studio. Quintillian (12. 10. 5) calls him 'legulumato-rem' in the art of painting, and Pliny (N. H. 35. 36) praises him as the first who 'symmetriam picturae dedidit.'

Scopas, of Paros, belongs to the first half of the 4th century B.C., being an elder contemporary of Praxiteles, and with him at the head of the 'later Attic school' of sculpture, which is distinguished from the earlier school, of which Phidas was the representative.
Hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
Sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
Sed non haec mihi vis, nec tibi talium
Res est aut animus deliciarum egens.
Gaudes carminibus; carmina possumus
Donare et pretium dicere muneri.
Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis.

8. ponere, to 'represent,' properly of sculpture: to set up, to leave standing before you. Cp. A. P. 36 'Inflex operis summae, quia ponere totum Nesciet,' Od. 4. l. 20 'ponet marmoream,' Virg. E. 3. 46, and the correlative 'stare,' Sat. 2. 3. 183 'aeneus ut stes.' It is transferred to poetical representation Juv. 1. 155 'Fone Tigellinum.'

9. haec vis, either = 'facultas,' sc. 'donandi talia,' but it is hard to parallel the use, or = 'harum deliciarum copia,' as 'hederae vis,' 4. 11. 4. neo is the reading of V against the more common 'non.'

10. res . . animus, you are too rich to want such dainty presents, too simple in your tastes to care for them.

12. pretium dicere muneri, i.e. tell you how much it is worth. The construction as in Sat. 2. 3. 23 'Callidus huic signo ponemab milia centum,' Ter. Hecyra Prol. 41 'si nunquam avare pretium statui arti meae.' The remainder of the Ode is occupied in setting its value on the gift: i.e. in setting forth the 'deathless powers' that 'to verse belong.'

13. notis publicis, inscriptions graven, by order of the State. There seems to be an allusion to an act of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 31), who had erected in his Forum statues of the great generals of the Republic, with laudatory inscriptions.

13-20. The general meaning of these lines is clear, though the literature which they have occasioned is a sufficient proof that their expression is somewhat confused. 'No other record of great deeds, such as statues and inscriptions (which may be destroyed and obliterated), not the great deeds themselves (which may be forgotten), can confer immortality of fame as poetry can.' The expression begins generally as if he were going to talk of all great generals; the second clause narrows it to Scipio Africanus Major. The chief difficulty lies in v. 17.

Attempts have been made to explain that verse of the burning of the camp of Syphax by the elder Scipio, Liv. 30. 5, or the burning of the Carthaginian ships surrendered at the end of the Second Punic War, 'quarum conspectum repente incendium [tradunt] tam lugubreuisse Poenis quam si tum ipsa Cartagho arderet,' Liv. 30. 43; and if Ennius himself had used such a phrase, we might have explained it in one of these ways as a natural exaggeration; but, after the actual event, the 'burning of Carthage' in a Roman's mouth can hardly mean anything but its burning by Scipio Africanus Minor at the end of the Third Punic War, in B.C. 146, seventeen years after the death of the elder Scipio, and five years after the death of his friend the poet Ennius, who in his Annales wrote a poetical account of the Second Punic War. We cannot accuse Horace of confusing the two Scipios, and (as Bentley points out) the critical contemporaries who heard and read his poems, of tolerating the confusion. Nor are the conjectural emendations 'impendia' (Cunningham), 'stipendia' (Döring), 'in dispendia' (Hermann), likely or happy. Bentley condemns the line as a monkish interpolation, on metrical as well as historical grounds. and it is the first and most obvious victim of those who wish to reduce the Ode to conformity with Meineke's canon: see Index of Metres, § 6. It remains to interpret the lines as they stand, and the difficulties do not seem to be as great as they have been represented. If we wish (with Ritter) to make Africanus Major the subject of the whole comparison, then the burning of Carthage will be added, not as his act, but as the crown and completion by one of his name of his victories as something which might be supposed to revive and keep alive his fame. 'Not marble monuments, not his great feats of arms, not the completest posthumous success
Post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
Reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
Non incendia Carthaginis impiae
Eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque,
Si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
Mercedem tuleris. Quod foret Iliae
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
Obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeaecuni
Virtus et favor et lingua potentium
Vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:

of his policy and hereditary transmission
of his fame, win for him the glory that
Ennius' poetry wins for him.' The
truth, however, is perhaps that Horace
is (not confusing, but) consciously uniting
the two Scipios. 'What throws most
glory on the name of Africanus? Zama
and the destruction of Carthage, or
Ennius' poetry?' 'Eius qui...rediit', is
merely a periphrasis for the name 'Afri-
canus,' and Horace could have used it
apparently of the younger Scipio, as he
uses of him in Sat. 2. 1. 65 the peri-
phrasis 'qui Duxit-a-b oppressa meritum
Carthagini nomen.' Cp. the words
which Cicero puts into the mouth of
Scipio Africanus Major as addressed to
his grandson, 'Hanc [Carthaginem]
vertere, eritque cognomen id tibi per te
partum quod habes adhuc a nobis here-
ditarium,' Somn. Scip. 11. In favour
of this view is the fact already pointed
out, that the sentiment is really general,
'famous deeds' are specialised, after
Horace's manner, into 'the deeds of
the two Scipios,' and poetry is specialised
into the poetry of (or such as that of)
Ennius; but we may remember that
Scipio's exploits were only the last in
the long series of glories which formed
the subject of Ennius' poem. That it
stopped short of Africanus Minor is a
fact that Horace might ignore.

15. fugae...minae. The flight of
Hannibal from Italy, and the return on
his own head, by Scipio's invasion of
Africa, of the threats he had offered to
Rome by his invasion of Italy.

17. impiae; 4. 4. 46 'impio Poeno-
rum tumultu.'

20. Calabrae Pierides, from Rudiae,
a village of South Calabria, the birth-
place of Ennius.'

21. chartae sileant; cp. 4. 9. 31.
22 foll. Instances from mythology of
the immortalising power of poetry—
Romulus, Aeneas, Hercules, the Tyn-
daridae, Bacchus.

22. Iliae Mavortisque puer, i.e.
despite his royal and divine ancestry.

23. taciturnitas invida; cp. 4. 9.
33 'lividas Obliviones.' Verses are
quoted from Ennius in honour of Rom-
ulus; but the thought is not limited to
any particular poem. 'Rome itself, with
all its greatness and history, would not
tell us who Romulus was unless poetry
kept the legend alive.'

26. virtus et favor, generally taken
of the poet's power and good will; but
it is perhaps better to take them of
Aeneas: 'His virtue and his popularity,
and the poet's tongue.' 'Et...et,' will
imply that the last condition is at least
as necessary as the other two; its posi-
tion and its reinforcement by the epithet
'potentium,' 'who can do so if they
will,' give it pre-eminent importance.
Aeneas' merits, like Romulus' birth,
only heighten our sense of the poet's
power, in that without it even they
would have been powerless.

27. insulis, the local abl.: 'divi-
tibus,' Epod. 16. 42; ἀβίασ...μακάρων
νήσων.

28. He gathers the moral of the
HORATII CARMINUM

Caelo Musa ëbeat. Sic Iovis interest
Optatis epulis impiger Hercules,
Clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab inimis
Quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates,
Ornatus viridi tempora pampino
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

preceding instances. The Muse does not
only protect her favourites from death,
she also confers on them a place in
heaven. The illustrations are the same
as in 3. 3. 9-16; for the meaning, such
as it is, of the doctrine, see there in note
on v. 12.
29. sic, by the power of poetry.
30. optatis, he has attained his
wishes. 'Enisus arcès attigít ignes.'
33. This line has been suspected on
account of its similarity to 3. 25. 20
'Cingentem viridi tempora pampino';
but 'Liber' (as Orelli remarks) would
stand badly with no qualifying clause.
It means 'as a god,' 'in the insignia by
which we always recognise him.'

ODE IX.

'Do not despise the office of the lyric poet, Lollius. Pindar's poems live, unex-
tinguished by Homer's greater name; and so do those of Simonides, Alcaeus,
Stesichorus, Anacreon, Sappho. Before Homer sang, many a Helen loved, many
a Troy was besieged, many a Hector or Deiphobus fought and died for wife and
children. Why are they unwept, unknown? Because they had no inspired chroni-
cler; and, when once forgotten, what good is left of their heroism? It shall not
be so with you, Lollius, if I can help it. You have the mind of a statesman—clear
sighted, well balanced, proof against avarice, ruler of all things, because it rules
itself. Such is the one wise and happy man, who is independent of circumstances,
who can use prosperity well, and not shrink from poverty or death in a good
cause.'

Lollius ('M. Lollius M. F.') His cognomen is unknown; see on Epp. I. 2. 1)
had been consul b.c. 21 (Epp. I. 20. 28). For his temporary defeat by the Sygam-
bri in b.c. 16 see Introd. to this Book. His character stands very low with
other writers. Pliny, H. N. 9. 35. 58, and Vell. Paterc. 2. 9, accuse him specially
of avarice and venality. This is in strange contradiction to Horace's panegyric, in
which such stress is laid on his freedom from these particular vices. The public
voice can hardly, at the time Horace wrote, have endorsed the accusations, or the
boldness of meeting Lollius' calumniators on their own ground would have raised
ridicule rather than sympathy. Something no doubt must be deducted from Vel-
leius' testimony on the score of his partiality to Tiberius, whose enmity Lollius
had specially incurred (Suet. Tib. 12, 13), and Pliny would very likely have followed
Velleius. But Lollius, notwithstanding the failure of his German campaign, con-
tinued in the intimacy and confidence of Augustus, as is shown by the fact that he
was sent by him to the East as the companion and adviser of his grandson Caius Caesar in B.C. 2. The issue of Lollius’ campaign on the Rhine had not been unsuccessful; and it is likely enough that Horace would rush to the rescue of a friend of his own and of the emperor’s, against whom, in the moment of what may have seemed a single and undeserved failure, the world had begun to breathe graver charges, possibly such as were subsequently shown to be true, but such as his friends in Rome could still discredit.

NE forte credas interitura, quae
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
Non ante volgatas per artes

Verba loquor socianda chordis:
Non, si priores Maeonius tenet
Sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent
Ceaeque et Alcae minaces
Stesichorique graves Camenae;
Nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
Delevit actas; spirat adhuc amor

1. ne forte credas, not a direct prohibition, would rather say ‘ne credideris’ (see on 1.33.1), but as in Epp. 1.1.13 (‘Ac ne forte roges quo me duce quo lare tuter: Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri Quo me cuque rapit tempestas deferor hospes’; cp. Sat. 2.1.80), giving the negative purpose of the following statement. ‘To prevent your fancying, as perhaps you might, that my poetry will die, let me remind you of the fame of other lyric poets.’ The preamble serves to connect the discourse on lyric poetry with the stanzas about Lollius personally. ‘Lest you should undervalue an Ode from me, I will proceed “pretium dicere muneri”’. 2. longe sonantem; 3. 30. 10 ‘qua violens obstrepit Aufidus,’ 4. 14.25 foll., Sat. 1.1.58.
3. non ante volgatas per artes: the plural, of the rules of an art. ‘Volgatas,’ rather ‘known to the world,’ in its products, than ‘divulged’ as secrets to a special artist; but there is intended to be a certain mystical air about the words, a suggestion of the metaphor of 3.1.2, 3 ‘carmina non prius Audita musarum sacerdos,’ etc. The words qualify the whole clause ‘quae natus ad Aufidum . . . verba loquor,’ etc., ‘verba socianda chordis’ being merely a peri-

phrase for lyrical poetry, and there being the usual antithesis between his birth-place and his claim. It is Latin lyric poetry which he professes to have invented, or popularised, as he puts it, when he is speaking more responsibly in Epp. 1.19 ‘Ostendi . . . volgavi.’

5. Maeonius; 1. 6. 7, the adjectival form of ‘Maeonides.’ Tradition was divided on the question whether Homer was so called as literally a son of Maeon, or only as a Lydian.
6. Latent, are hidden from sight, forgotten.
7. Ceae; 2. 1. 38, the Muse of Simonides.
8. Alcaei minaces, the poems in which he attacked Myrsilus and other tyrants of Mitylene. ‘Pugnas et exactos tyrannos,’ 2. 13. 30–32.
9. Stesichori graves Camenae. To us who do not possess his poems, the epithet is best interpreted by Quintil. 10. 1. 62 ‘Stesichorum quam sit ingenio validus materiae quoque ostenderunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canement duces et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem. Reddit enim personis in agendo simul loquendoque debitam dignitatem.’
Vivuntque commissi calores
Aeoliae fidibus puellae.
Non sola comtus arsit adulteri
Crines et aurum vestibus illitum
Mirata regalesque cultus
Et comites Helene Lacaena,
Primusve Teucer tela Cydonio
Direxit arcu; non semel Ilios
Vexata; non pugnavit ingens
Idomeneus Sthenelusve solus
Dicenda Musis proelia; non ferox
Hector vel acer Deiphobus graves
Exceptit ictus pro pudicis
Coniugibus puerisque primus.
Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

**11. commissi**, confided as secrets. Sat. 2. 1. 30 'Ille velut fids arcana sodalibus olim Credebat libris.' She told her secret to the lute. And yet its chords with passion thrill,' Conington.

13 foll. Horace passes from the defence of lyric poetry as contrasted with epic, to the power of verse generally. He employs a variety of forms to express the central thought, viz. that the persons and deeds which are Homer's theme, had their counterparts in the age before him, as worthy of record as they, yet which all perished as though they had never been. 'Non sola,' 'primusve,' 'non semel,' 'non solus,' 'non primus.' Then the same thought is stated affirmatively in v. 25.

15-16. The construction is 'non sola arsit crines, mirata et aurum cultusque et comites,' 'que' coupling the things more closely connected, 'et . . . et' those which are more distinct, 'his dress and his suite.'

16. *Lacaena*. The epithet recalls the whole story of the Trojan war. It would not have been in place a stanza later; but here the complete identifica-

tion, as though he had said 'Homer's Helen,' helps the transition.


Cydonio, Cretan, a perpetual epithet, E. 1. 15. 17 'calami spicula Cnosii,' Virg. E. 10. 59 'torquere Cydonia cornu Spicula.' Cydon or Cypria was an important city of Crete; Herod. 3. 44, Thuc. 2. 35.

18. *non semel Ilios*, not referring, as Ritter and others have taken it, to any legend of two sieges of Troy, but meaning 'the siege of Troy was not unprecedented.' 'A Troy,' a city as great as Troy, has often stood as long a siege.

21. He passes from the gallantry of attack to that of defence; from Grecian heroes to Trojan.

26. *illacrimabiles*, 'where none can weep for them.' The adjective is used actively in 2. 14. 6.

27. *urgentur nocte*, as of a tomb lying heavy on them; 1. 24. 5.

28. *sacro*, he is .the favourite of Apollo, of Bacchus, of Mercury, the 'Musarum sacerdos,' who can confer immortality by his poetry; 'sacrae plectro,' 1. 26. 11, 'Caelo Musa beat,' 4. 8. 29.
LIB. IV. OD. 9.

Paullum sepultae distat inertiae
Celata virtus. Non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum silebo,
Totve tuos patiar labores
Impune, Lolli, carpere lividases
Obliviones. Est animus tibi
Rerumque prudens et secundis
Temporibus dubiisque rectus,
Vindex avarae fraudis et abstinens
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae,
Consulque non unius anni,
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus

29. foll. He sums up the moral of the preceding case of stanzas, and applies it to the special case of Lollius. 'The pre-Homeric heroes are dead and forgotten, and, being forgotten, what difference does it make whether they were heroes or cowards? We will not allow such a mistake to occur again now.' In the words paulum sepultae, etc., both the participles really belong equally to both substantives. 'If you hide them (i.e. do not give them fame through poetry), valour differs little from cowardice, so soon as they are both in the grave.' The appropriation of a participle to each substantive is only a poetical artifice to obtain point and preciseness in sound. We gain from it the additional suggestion of the equivalence of the two conditions. 'All colours are alike in the dark'; 'buried in oblivion, buried in the grave, there is little difference in the conditions, even if the things in question are as far apart as valour and cowardice.' - On Horace's practice of dividing between two subjects qualities which are meant to be attributed to both, see on 2. 10. 6, 2. 11. 1, 2. 15. 18, 20, 3. 4. 18, Epod. 5. 37. Bentley, missing this explanation, finds great difficulty in the text, complaining that 'sepultae' is superfluous. "Forgotten virtue differs little from baseness," but if you substitute "buried baseness," the point of the comparison is gone.' He ingeniously proposed to remedy it by reading 'inertia,' ablative, 'Virtue, if concealed by [the poet's] remissness, is as though it were buried.'
inertiae, 'cowardice'; see on 3. 5. 36. 31. silebo; cp. 4. 8. 1. Some good MSS. read 'sileri.' There is a similar variance between 'perire' and 'peribit' in v. 52.

33. impune, without an effort to resist it.

carpe re is not inappropriate, as describing the action of 'obliviones;' 'wearing away,' 'obliterating feature after feature'; but it is intended specially to recall the 'tooth of envy.' Od. 4. 3. 16, Epod. 6. 15, Epp. 1. 18. 82, Cic. pro Balb, 26 'maledico dente carpere.'

lividas obliviones; cp. 'taciturnitas invida.' 4. 8. 23, but it implies here that if Lollius is forgotten, it will be the result of envious detraction.

34 foll. On the general relation of the remainder of the Ode to Lollius' historical character see Intro.

35. rerum prudens. This and the following verse seem to imply 'the qualities of a commander,' and to have special though delicate reference to Lollius' military disaster. 'Foresight, and a mind not to be thrown off its balance either by success or temporary failure.'

37. 'Quick to punish greed and wrong in others, and proof itself against the universal temptation.'

abstinens pecuniae, the Greek relative genitive for the Latin ablative, as 'scleris purus,' 1. 22. 1.

39. consul non unius anni. Cp. 3. 2. 17 foll. 'Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae Intaminatis fulget honoribus, Nec sumit aut ponit secures Arbitrio popularis aurae'; see note there. It is, in a Roman metaphor, the Stoic paradox that the wise man is always a king, and it has the more point that Lollius had
HORATII CARMINUM

Iudex honestum praetulit utili,
Reiecit alto dona nocumentum
Volte, per obstantes catervas
Explicit sua victor, arma.
Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum: rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti
Duramque callet pauperiem pati
Peiusque leto flagitium timet,
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patria timidus periere.

actually been consul;—not that one year only, but always.' There is no difficulty, so far, in the substantives, 'vindex,' 'consul,' as applied to 'animus,' and not to the man himself; no more than in the passage just quoted, where 'virtue' = 'the virtuous man,' is said to be always consul. Bentley has collected a number of similar instances from all Latinity; 'animus lucis contemptor,' Virg. Aen. 9. 205, 'animus liberator,' 'carnifex,' 'proscriptor,' etc. But the expression becomes harsh and embarrassed when the mind is said to be a 'consul of more than one year,' by virtue of its behaviour as a judge. Ritter thinks that this was softened by a consciousness in the poet and his readers of the current etymology of 'consul' as = 'qui bene consult.' Varr. L. L. 5. 80. At any rate the harshness is softened by the distance of the words from 'animus.' With 'consul' we take up the notion of Lollius, himself the ex-consul, and cease to feel that we are speaking of his mind, not of him.

40-44. sed quoties...arma. 'Sed quoties' answering to 'non unius anni,' 'consul, not of one year, but in perpetuity, so often as,' etc., 'quoties' being understood before the second and third clauses. Orelli compares 3. 24. 40 foll. where 'si,' and 4. 8. 31 foll. where 'sic,' are similarly omitted. Of the Scholiasts Porph. alone takes the stanza in a different way, making 'explicit s...victor' the apodosis to 'quoties iudex...praetulit...'

reiecit.' 'So often as on the judgment-seat it resists the temptations of expediency and bribery, it is a conqueror as much as if it were scattering foemen in real battle.' The construction is not any easier, and the flow of the lines is less easy, than if 'sed quoties' gave at once the full antithesis to 'non unius anni,' and started us on a fresh thought; but Porph. seems to be followed, among recent editors, if we may judge from their punctuation, by Keller and Mr. Munro. The question is partly mixed up with the further doubt as to the reference of the whole stanza. Porph.'s construction is only admissible on the view (which Orelli supports) that it refers entirely to Lollius' civil life, his conduct as a 'iudex selectus' (Sat. 1. 4. 123), the last two lines being metaphorical. It must be allowed, however, that under the circumstances of Lollius, and seeing how lightly his military exploits would in that case be passed over, it would be a somewhat double-edged compliment to speak of him as 'a great conqueror,' with the tacit addition of 'metaphorically and in a moral sense.'

44. explicit s...victor, much like 'expeditum,' 'has carried safely through.' Livy has 'explicare fugam,' 1. 30.

45 to end. A picture of the ideal 'wise man'; cp. 2. 2. 17. Horace at once holds it out for Lollius' own contemplation, and suggests to his calumniators, that such had been Lollius' real bearing in his province.
ODE X.

'The day will come, Ligurinus, when your youthful good looks will pass away, and you will repent that you ever gave yourself such airs on the strength of them.'

See Introd. to this Book, p. 259.

Metre—Second Asclepiad.

O CRUDELIS adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,
Insperata tuae cum veniet pluma superbiae,
Et, quae nunc humeris involitant, deciderint comae,
Nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae,
Mutatus Ligurinum in faciem verterit hispidam,

Dices, heu, quotiens te speculo videris alterum:
Quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?

2. pluma, 'down,' of the first beard. No other instance of the use is quoted. Dacier understood as = 'penna,' 'when your youthful pride shall take to itself wings.' Bentley wished to read 'bruna.'

superbiae is the dative with 'veniet;' and probably, as the collocation shows, also with 'insperata,' 'shall come to thy pride, though it dreams not of it.'

3. deciderint, i.e. shall have been cut, the sign of manhood.
ODE XI.

'My wine is ready, and we are all astir preparing the feast; for it is the Ides of April, Maecenas' birthday. Come, then, Phyllis, and keep it with me; never mind Telephus. What are such ambitious loves to you? Come, thou last of my flames (it shall be so, I swear), come, and let us sing together.'

Compare 3. 28, where he invites Lyde to spend the Neptunalia with him. The point of this Ode seems to lie, not in the invitation to Phyllis, which is only an incident of the holiday-keeping, but in the occasion, Maecenas' birthday.

Whether the Ode was written at the time of the leading Odes of the Book is perhaps more than we can say; but it characterizes fitly the relations of the poet, and his early patron at that time.

See Introd. to the Book, pp. 257, 259.

EST mihi nonum superantis annum
Plenus Albani cadus; est in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis;
Est hederae vis
Multa, qua crines religata fulges;
Ridet argento domus; ara castis
Vincta verbenis avet immolato
Spargier agno;
Cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc
Cursitant mixtæ pueris puellae;

1. Alban ranked among the better Italian wines; Sat. 2. 8. 16. It was a strong wine that bore a good deal of keeping.

3. *apium*: 1. 36. 16, 2. 7. 24. For the dative of the gerundive see Madv. § 415.

4. *vis*, a 'quantity'; so in prose Cic. Tusc. 5. 32 'magna vis auri argentique.'

5. *crines religata* means 'with her hair bound in a knot' (1. 5. 11, 2. 11. 23); so that 'qua' must be constructed with 'fulges,' or rather, we must understand from 'crines religata fulges,' that the hair was to be garlanded as well as tied in a knot.

*fulges*, either the future of the archaic form 'fulgo-is,' Virg. Aen. 6. 827 'quem fulgere oernis,' or the present of the more common verb, meaning 'with which you always look so well.'

6. *ridet*, used of anything pleasant
and cheerful, to whatever sense it appeals. Catull. 64. 284, of a pleasant scent, 'Queis permulta domus iucundno
risit odore'; Ov. Met. 15. 204, of bright
colours, 'florumque coloribus almus
Risit ager'; Lucr. 5. 1003, of sparkling
water, 'ridentibus undis.'

*ara*, a temporary altar of turf; 3. 8. 3.


8. *spargier*, the only instance in the
Odes of this archaic form of the
infin.

9. *cuncta manus*, the slaves at the
Sabine farm.

10. *puellae*, it is noticed that the
word is not elsewhere used as = 'ancil-
lae,' slave-girls.
Sordidum flammae trepidant rotantes
Vertice fumum.
Ut tamen noris quibus advoceris
Gaudiis, Idus tibi sunt agendae,
Qui dies mensem Veneris marinae
Findit Aprilem,
Iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque
Paene natali proprio, quod ex hac
Luce Maecenas meus adfluentes
Ordinat annos.
Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
Non tuae sortis iuvenem puella
Dives et lasciva tenetque grata
Compede vinctum.
Terret ambustus Phaëthon avaras
Spes, et exemplum grave praebet ales
Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus
Bellerophonem,
Semper ut te digna sequare et ultra
Quam licet sperare nefas putando
Disparem vites. Age iam, meorum
Finis amorum—

11. trepidant, as though, for all their speed, they could not whirl the smoke up the chimney fast enough. Cp. 'obliquo laborat Lymph a fugax trepidare rivo.' 2. 3. 11.

12. vertice, ablative of the manner, 'in a whirling column.' It is otherwise understood as a local ablative, either = 'in vertice suo,' Ritter, of smoke 'on the top' of a spiral flame, or = 'in vertice aedium.' The genitive in this latter case could hardly be omitted.

13. ut noris, the purpose of the forthcoming statement; see on 4. 9. 1. tamen, 'so much your eyes will tell you; still, as you may not know what the cause of all the preparations is.'

15. Veneris marinae; 3. 26. 5, and cp. 1. 4. 5. Venus was associated with the spring ('it Ver et Venus'), and especially with the month of April (see Ov. Fast. 4, especially vv. 14, 60, 61, 85 foll.), the name of which was often wrongly derived from ἀφρός, ἀφροδίτη.

16. findit, with reference to the etymology of 'Idus,' 'the division' of the month.

18. ex hac luce, reckons from this day the years as they are added to his tale; counts them by this day; begins a new year on this day.

21. Telephum; see on 1. 13. 1. 3.

19. Introd.

22. non tuae sortis, 'not of your condition,' 'in a different rank to you'; it qualifies 'iuvenem,' not 'puella,' which has its own adjectives. 'He is out of your sphere, and he has found a love that suits his tastes.'

25. There is a half comic irony in the array of mythological instances of the folly of misplaced ambition. Cp. Od. 1. 16. 2. 4. Epod. 3. The practical moral drawn is the same as that drawn by the Chorus from Io's sufferings, Aesch. Pr. V. 890 τὸ κηθήσεαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριστεῖν μακρῶ.

27. gravatus = 'indignatus,' 'ill-brooking.'
HORATII CARMINUM

Non enim posthac alia calebo
Femina—condisce modos, amanda
Voce quos reddas; minuentur atrae
Carmine curae.

34. condisce, 'learn a song,' to sing when you come; or, more probably, as though she were already present, 'let me teach you.'

ODE XII.

'Winter is past, and Spring reigns again. The ice is gone, the swallow builds, shepherds sing their songs in the open air. Come, then, Virgilius, and inaugurate the thirsty season with a cask of the best wine I can get you. But you shall not come empty handed; you bring the ointment if I find the wine. Above all, come with a mind void of care, and prepared for free enjoyment.'

The chief interest of the Ode centres in the question to whom it was addressed. It is a playful letter actually sent by Horace on some occasion to the great poet, and published six years after his death, not so much for its intrinsic merits as for its reminiscences of their friendship? On this theory (and it is held by Dill. and was held by Bentley), we may expect there to be allusions in it which are now unintelligible, though they would probably be well understood by Maecenas and the many survivors of the literary circle in which Virgil and Horace met. Döring, who also takes this view, points out that the images of the first three stanzas have a special appropriateness as addressed to a poet, and the poet of the Bucolics and Georgics. The chief difficulties in the way of the theory, apart from the absence of any tradition on the subject (for the Scholiasts all imagine some other Virgilius to be intended), lie in expressions of v. 15 'iuvenum nobilium cliens,' and v. 25 'studium lucr.' Of course these can be disposed of as covering meanings to which we have lost the key; but it is rather hard to imagine any possible meanings. 'Pone moras et studium lucr.' is exactly the style in which Horace would address one of his ordinary friends engaged in the common pursuits of the day; but what can it mean addressed to Virgil? We cannot really refer it to the proposed exchange of wine for nard, and take it to mean, 'Don't haggle about the bargain.' 'Iuvenum nobilium cliens,' again, is natural enough and complimentary enough, when some special 'iuvenes nobiles,' as Drusus and Tiberius, are in Horace's poetical favour, when the fact of the dependency is notorious, and the point is the nobility, in the best sense, of the patrons; but at what period of Virgil's life could it have sounded like a compliment? Macleane is content with the Scholiast's suggestion that Augustus and Maecenas are the 'iuvenes'; but he can scarcely have really thought that the possibility of such an expression was proved by Horace's calling Augustus 'iuvenis' in 1. 2. 41. There is, perhaps, a small indication that
the Ode was written near the same time as the last, in the parallel expressions 'Ut
tamen noris quibus advoceris Gaudii,' 11. 13, 'Ad quae si properas gaudia,' 12. 21.
The use of 'gaudia' is sufficiently unusual to be noticeable, and to occur to a
writer's mind a second time, but less likely to have been repeated at a distance of
time. The Scholiasts and inscriptions of MSS. call Virgilius 'ungentarius,'
'mercator,' 'negotiator,' 'medicus Neronum.' All look as if they were inferences
more or less clumsy from words of the Ode itself; but the general impression, in
spite of the temptation to identify him with the only well-known Virgilius, that he
was a different and later person, is of some value.

The substance of the Ode is very parallel to one of Catullus (13), in which he
bids Fabullus come to supper, and bring with him all the materials save the
unguent, which he will supply himself, and which he promises shall be so delicious
that Fabullus will wish that he were all nose.

Metre—Fourth Asclepiad.

IAM veris comites, quae mare temperant,
Impellunt animae lineae Thracieae;
IAM nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
Hiberna nive turgidi.

Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens,
Infelix avis et Cecropiae domus
Aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
Regum est ulta libidines.

Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
Custodes ovium carmina fistula
Delectantque deum, cui pocus et nigri
Colles Arcadiae placient.

1. veris comites, the north winds,
as appears from the epithet 'Thracieae,'
the designation of the Greek poets for
the wind, which to them really blew from
Thrace; ἀνδρὸνον, Aesch. Agam.
192. Columella (1. 2. 21) speaks of
the north winds as blowing generally
for a month from Feb. 20, and as bearing
the name of 'Ornithiae,' 'tum et hirundo
venit.' Cp. v. 5.
temperant, 'calm' the sea, after its
winter disturbance.

6. infelix avis. It is difficult to say
whether the swallow (Epp. 1. 7. 13)
'Cum Zephyri . . . et hirundine prima')
or the nightingale (ἥρως ἀγγέλος λαυροφό
ςφωνον ἀνθών, Sapph. Fr. 42) is meant.
The legend is told in various ways,
some poets making Procne the mother
of Itys, and some Philomela; see Con-
ington, Virg. E. 6. 78. As Ovid tells it
at length (Met. 6. 444 foll.), Procne was
the daughter of Pandion, king of Athens
('Cecropiae domus,' v. 6), and married
to Tereus, a Thracian prince. To avenge
her sister Philomela, whom he had out-
raged, she served up to her husband the
flesh of their child Itys, and when he
would have taken vengeance on her, the
sisters were changed, one into a swallow,
the other into a nightingale, Tereus
himself into a hoopoe.

7. male, with 'ulta,' 'cruelly,' 'un-
naturally.'

barbaras regum. The plural gene-
ralizes, an act of lust such as barbarian
princes used to commit; the poetical
transference of the epithet from 'regum'
to 'libidines,' does not separate it from
the princes, but connects it more closely
with their acts. They were true barbar-
ians: their acts were those of barbarians.

11. deum, Pan.

nigri, covered with black woods;
nigris Erymanthi silvis.' 1. 21. 7. Ery-
manthus is one of the 'hills of Arcadia;' others are Lycaeus, 1. 17. 2, Maenalus,
Virg. E. 8. 22.
Adduxere sitim tempora, Virgili;  
Sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum  
Si gestis, iuvenum nobilium cliens,  
Nardo vina merebere.  
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,  
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,  
Spes donare novas largus amaraque  
Curarum elcuere efficax.  
Ad quae si properas gaudia, cum tua  
Velox merce veni: non ego te meis  
Immunem meditor tingere pocolis,  
Plena dives ut in domo.  
Verum pone moras et studium luceri,  
Nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium  
Misce stultitiani consiliis brevem:  
Dulce est desipere in loco.

14. pressum Calibus; 1. 20. 9.  
ducere; 1. 17. 22.  
15. iuvenum nobilium cliens; see  
Introduct.

17. nardi parvus onyx. ‘Onyx’ is  
properly a kind of marble or alabaster,  
so named from its resemblance in colour  
to the human nail; then a cup or box,  
first, of this material; lastly, it would  
seem, of any material. See Prop. 4. 10.  
22. ‘murreus onyx’; ‘ungueta optime  
servantur in alabastris,’ Pline N. H. 13. 3;  
cp. the ἅλαβοστρὸν μέρον νάρδου πιστι-  
κῆς of St. Mark 14. 3. ‘Dill’, who explains  
‘studium lucr i’ in v. 25, of the  
bargain between the wine and the nard,  
quotes the story in the Gospels, as  
showing the costliness of the nard (‘300  
denarii’ = between £9 and £10), for  
which he also refers to Pline 12. 26, 13.  
2, 16. 59.

18. Sulpiciis horreis. ‘Horrea’  
were ‘store-houses’ of any kind; see on  
3. 28. 7. Here the reference is either  
to vaults where wine was to be bought,  
or, less likely, to the store-houses in  
which, in later times, we hear of persons  
keeping their property of various kinds  
for which they had not room at home.  
The name ‘Sulpiciis’ would refer to  
the original erector of the buildings, or  
possibly, as Orelli thinks, to the pos-  
sessor, the produce of whose farm and  
vineyard was disposed of in this way.  
Orelli quotes an inscription which makes  
mention of some ‘horrea Galbana,’  
which would probably be the same as  
the ‘Sulpicia,’ since ‘Galba’ was a  
cognomen of the gens Sulpicia; and  
Porph. asserts that the name ‘Galbæ  
horrea’ belonged in his time to a  
certain store of wine and oil, etc. The  
form ‘Sulpiciis’ is, as Orelli points  
out, regular. Cp. ‘Corneliae, Iuliae,  
leges’; ‘Licinia atria,’ Cic. pro Quinct.  
3. 12.

19. donare largus; Append. 2, § 2.  
amara curarium, as ‘vanis rerum,’  
Sat. 2. 2. 25, ‘abdicta rerum,’ A. P. 49.  
21. gaudia; 4. 11. 13.  
22. merce, i. e. the nard.  
23. immurem = ὀσμοπολον; in Ter.  
Phorm. 2. 2. 25. ‘Ten’ asymbolum venire!’  
‘without bringing your share.’  
24. plena, as 2. 12. 24 ‘Plenas Ara-  
bum domos.’  
25. verum seems to draw attention  
to the last and most urgent request.  
studium lucr i; see Introduct.

26. nigrorum, of the fires of the  
funeral pile, as Virg. Aen. 11. 186  
‘ignes atr.’

28. in loco, in nroi; Epp. 1. 7. 57  
‘properare loco et cessare,’ the fitting  
time.
ODE XIII.

'The gods have heard my prayers, Lyce. I have my revenge. You are turning into an old woman, yet would fain hide it, and drink and play and love as ever. Love turns away from your wrinkles; nor will purple gauzes and jewellery bring back your youth. Where is the beauty that I remember, the charms which made you second only to Cinara?—Cinara, who died in her prime, while you live on for ever, for young men to moralize on and laugh at.'

The Ode is a sequel to 3. 10, in which he complained of Lyce's high airs, and warned her not to try her lover's patience too long.

Metre—Fifth Asclepiad.

Audivere, Lyce, di mea vota, di
Vis formosa videri
Ludisque et bibis impudens
Et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem
Lentum sollicitas. Ille virentis et
Doctae psallere Chiae
Pulchris excubat in genis.
Importunus enim transvolat aridas
Quercus et refugit te, quia luridi
Dentes, te quia rugae
Turpant et capitis nives.
Nec Coae referunt iam tibi purpurae
Nec cari lapides tempora, quae semel

2. *fis anus ... vis formosa*. There can hardly but be a play on the sound of the two antithetical words 'fis,' 'vis.'
8. *excubat in genis*, 'keeps vigil on her beautiful cheeks.' Probably a reminiscence of Soph. Ant. 782 "Ερείπει Μάρκας ἐν μαλακίαις παρειαῖς νεάνιδος ἐννευ-χείες: the metaphor there is sustained.
9. *importunus*, 'rudely,' 'ruthlessly,' very like 'improbus' in its uses.
aridas quercus, the metaphor is suggested in 'virentis Chiae'; cp. 1. 25. 19.
The oak is chosen as a long-lived tree.
10. *et*, as Dillr. points out, has a consecutive force, and shows the application of the metaphor 'and so'; cp. 1. 3. 8, 2. 2. 10.

*te ... te*. 'Te' in both cases has to do double duty, as the object both of 'refugit' and of 'turpant.'
12. *capitis nives*. Quintil. 8. 6. 17, gives this as an instance of a harsh metaphor: 'dura id est longinquia similitudine ducta translatio.' He is speaking of oratory rather than poetry, and the metaphor has a special appropriateness here, as giving another image of winter; but, as Macleane observes, it is sufficiently obvious to be current in all languages.
13. *Coae purpurae*; Sat. 1. 2. 102; see Paley's note on Prop. 1. 2. 2. A much-valued silk, of light gauzy texture, from the looms of Cos, one of the Spo-
Horatii

Notis condita fastis
Inclusit volucris dies.
Quo fugit venus, heu, quove color? decens
Quo motus? quid habes illius, illius,
Quae spirabat amores,
Quae me surpuerat mihi,
Felix post Cinaram, notaque et artium
Gratarum facies? Sed Cinararum breves
Annos fata dederunt,
Servatura diu parem
Cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen,
Possent ut iuvenes visere fervidi
Multo non sine risu
Dilapsam in cineres facem.

rades just S. W. of Halicarnassus. It is now called Stanchio, a corruption. It is said, of ἐς τὰν Κῶ, as Stamboul of ἐς τὰν νόλαν.
14. cari, 'precious,' 'costly'; Ov. A. A. 3. 120 'Vos quoque non caris aures onerate lapillis.' This is the reading of V and of Acr., who interprets 'gemmarum pretiss.' Some good MSS. have 'clari.'
15. notis condita fastis inclusit.
The words convey a double notion: the years which are gone are stored safely where they cannot be got back again, and where all can read the record of their number.
fastis, the calendar.
18. illius, illius, of the Lyce I remember. Cp. the use of 'Ligurinum' in 4. 10. 5.
20. surpuerat, a colloquial syncopated form of 'surripuerat'; cp. Sat. 2. 3. 283, 'surpite,' and see on Od. 1. 36. 8.
21. 'Who reigned in Cinara's stead, a fair, fair face, queen of sweet arts,' Conington. 'Felix = μάσαρις, 'quam ut divam ac dominam suspiciebam.' For Cinarum see Appendix I. 'Post Cinaram' may only mean 'after,' in order of precedence. as 'post Chloén,' 3. 9. 6. Bentley was the first to take 'nota artium gratarum' together, on the analogy of 'notus in fratres animi paterni,' 2. 2. 6. 'et' being = 'etiam.' It must be allowed that the particle is hardly needed. If we separate 'not a' from 'artium,' it must be taken more closely with 'felix post Cinaram'; they will combine the 'Persarum rege beatior' and 'Romana clarior Ilia' of 3. 9. 4. 8. In any case 'felix' agrees with 'quaer, sc. 'Lyce, not with 'facies,' which is only substituted for it in the last clause. Cp. Epod. 5. 73 'Vare . . O multa fleturum caput' with 'artium facies'; if it be so taken, cp. 4. 1. 15 'centum puer artium.' The 'artes' are well explained by the Comm. Cruq.: 'artium gratarum facies dictur quae oculis, nutu supeciliorum, cervicis volubilitate, capitis gratia, totius denique corporis motu placet.'
24. parem, 'to match the years' of the crow; 'annoa cornix,' 3. 17. 13.
26. fervidi, their hearts still warm with youth and passion, to heighten the contrast of the cold, burnt-out torch, that can no longer kindle love.
28. dilapsam. This seems to have been the reading of Acron, though the MS. authority is rather in favour of 'delapsam': the confusion is very common. As Bentley points out, the difference of the image is between a torch burnt down to a heap of ugly ashes ("consumpta in cinerem, Acr.,") and of one 'tumbled in the ashes';—what ashes it is not quite clear.
ODE XIV.

'How can senate and people worthyly honour thy virtues, Augustus, and transmit their memory to all time? The triumphs of the Nero brothers, of Drusus over the Vindelici, the Genauni and Breuni, of Tiberius over the Raeti, are all owing to thy auspices. How terrible was Tiberius in the pursuit; as the south wind on the waters, or as the river Aúdus when it pours in a torrent from the hills down on the plain. Thine were the plan and provision of the campaign, thine its divinely-ordered success, for the victory came on a day already noteworthy for thy happy fortune—just fifteen years after the capture of Alexandria. Thy reign has been a series of triumphs, and now all the world is at thy feet.'

For some account of Tiberius’ campaign in B.C. 15 see Introd. to the Book.

Quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium
Plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, virtutes in aevum
Per titulos memoresque fastos
Aeternet, o, qua sol habitabiles
Illustrat oras, maxime principum?
Quem legis expertes Latinae
Vindelici didicere nuper,

1. patrum . Quiritium. Horace analyses and gives a poetical form to the common formula for the authority by which such titles or honours would be conferred, S. P. Q. R.

2. plenis = 'iustis,' 'adequate.' No heaping upon him of offices and honorary titles will be sufficient for his merits. The force of the adjective must overflow on the other clauses, as the general thought is, 'how can we adequately honour you now, or secure you the immortality of honour which you deserve?' A genitive of the object with 'munus' is not common; but cp. I. 28. 3 'pulveris exigui munera.'

4. titulos, inscriptions on monuments and public buildings; 4. 8. 13. memores fastos; 3. 17. 4.

5. aeternet, an archaic word, found in a fragment of Varro.

qua = 'over the whole space in which.' Ov. Met. 1. 241 'qua terra patet fera regnat Erinnyes.' Virg. Aen. 7. 99 'nepotes Omnia sub pedibus, qua Sol urturnique recurrens Aspicit Oceanum vertique regique videbunt.'

habitatiles oras, a translation of ἡ οἰκουμένη.

6. maxime principum, not as though 'princeps' had yet become a general title for a ruler in any time or people, as we might say 'greatest of princes,' but only a hyperbolical form of 'maxime princeps.' It is himself and his own office that is generalized: Horace cannot conceive a greater than him in his own character. For the title 'princeps' see on 1. 2. 50.

7. quem . didicere . quid posses, a familiar idiom in Greek, Soph. O. T. 15 ὁρᾶς μὲν ἡμᾶς ἡλίκοι προσήμεθα, the subject of the subordinate verb being attracted into the accusative, as though it were the direct object of the leading verb. It is imitated frequently by Terence, as in Eun. 3. 5. 18 'me noris quam elegans siem,' Madv. § 439, obs. 1. The general expression 'didicere quid posses' answers to 4. 4. 23-28 'sensere quid posset.'
Quid Marte posses. Milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Deiect acer plus vice simplici;
Maior Neronum mox grave proelium
Commisit immanesque Raetos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis,
Spectandus in certamine Martio,
Devota morti pectora liberae
Quantis fatigaret ruinis;
Indomitas prope qualis undas
Exercet Auster, Pleiadum choro
Scindente nubes, impiger hostium

9. milite tuo; cp. v. 33.
10. Genaunos, Breunos, two Rhaetian tribes. The name of the first is thought to be still traced in the Val di Non which runs N. W. from the valley of the Adige at S. Michele, half-way between Trent and Botzen; the second in the name of the Brenner Pass itself, and the town of Brunecken.

implacidum, a word not found before Horace.

11. veloces, moving swiftly from place to place.

12. deiect, a word specially applicable to the forts built on the brink of precipices (v. 12); so that it has here something of the effect of a zeugma, though it is a usual word for 'dislodging' an enemy. Epp. 2. 2. 30.

plus vice simplici. 'Quia dupla quam dederant clade perculsi sunt,' Porph., 'with more than a bare requital ('vicem reddere'),' with heavy interest. It corresponds to 'sine clade,' v. 32. Lambins understood it as = 'more than once.' 'Plus '='plusquam'; cp. I. 13. 20 'suprema citius die,' 'sooner than on the last day.'

14. maior Neronum, Tiberius; see Introd. to the Book.

15. spectandus . . quantis,  a c u m e o r t o s . . . ον ν ες, a brachylogy less common in Latin than in Greek. For its effect in bringing the relative clause into closer relation with the leading clause we may compare I. 33. 1 'doleas . . . cur praeniteat'; for the method we may compare v. 7 of this Ode, inasmuch as the passive 'spectandus quantis,' etc., implies a possible active, 'spectare aliquem quantis,' etc. For the violation of the usual caesura see Index of Metres.

16. devota morti liberae = 'libere,' they gave themselves freely to death, stood to be killed; or = 'the death of freemen,' death in preference to bondage.

19. ruinis, 'shocks,' as of an earthquake.

20. indomitas, 'tameless.' The simile is double: the freedom and obstinacy of the waters, the fierce rushes and persistence of the south wind. We need not press the epithet contra a contradiction, as Bentley's too logical criticism does, as though it would require that Tiberius should not have conquered the Raetii. He would read (and one MS. supports him) 'indomitus.' The simile depends grammatically on what follows, the construction being 'qualis Auster exercet undas [ita . . . tali modo] impiger hostium vexare turmas,' 'impiger,' etc., grammatically again, qualifying 'fatigaret.'

22. scindente nubes, 'when they shine through the torn clouds.' The expression combines, in a vague way, the ideas of the date, 'when Pleiads are specially noticeable' (the time meant may be near either equinox; see Dict. Ant. Pleiades, s. v. Astronomia), and of stormy weather, 'when the sky is full of broken clouds.' Orelli takes 'scindente' of their opening the clouds, i.e. letting the rain fall.
Vexare turmas et frementem
Bitere equum medios per ignes:
Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui regna Dauni praefuit Apuli,
Cum saevit horrendamque cultis
Diluvium meditatur agris,
Ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
Ferrata vasto diruit impetu
Primosque ct extremos metendo
Stravit humum sine clade victor,

23. *vexare*; 3. 2. 3. For inf. see App. 2. § 2.
24. *per ignes*. Bentley, as usual, is far better than his critics. His way out of the difficulty, by substituting conjuncturally 'enses,' is not one in which we can follow him. But he disposes, in advance, of all the parallels which are still quoted on the view that the expression is metaphorical = 'per medium ardorem pugnae,' Com., Crq. One class, such as Virgil's 'medias acies mediosque per ignes,' Aen. 7. 296, indicate the direct opposite, for they refer to the literal fires of Troy; and Silius' imitations (14. 175 and 15. 41) are just the same—the fires are as literal as the swords. The other class, such as Horace's own 'per mare... per saura, per ignes,' Epp. 1. 1. 43, 'ignes Per medios flaviosque ruentis,' Sat. 2. 3. 59, establish the proverbial use of 'fire,' as one among many metaphors of extreme dangers or obstacles; but do not parallel the substitution of 'to ride his horse through the middle of the fire,' for 'through the hottest fight.' We have gone too far in the sentence with unmetaphorical language, to tolerate being pulled up suddenly by a bold metaphor. The fires may well be the burning villages of the Raeti through which Tiberius forced his way.

25. *sic volvitur*. The simile is Homeric: II. 5. 87. Horace particularly emphasizes the river of his own birth-place; see on 1. 22. 13.

*tauriformis*, according to the common representation of rivers in poetical language and in works of art (see Orelli's and Ritter's notes), Eur. Ion 1261 ἔν δὲ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφισοῦ πατρός, Virg. G. 4. 371 'Et gemina auratus taurino cornua volucri Eridanus,' Aen. 8. 77 'Cor-

niger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aqua-
rum.' It is a disputed question whether the original idea was of the horn-like branchings of a river, or of its violence, or of its roaring; ἡμικέφαλοι ταῖροι, Hom. II. 21. 237, of the Xanthis. Cp. 'longe sonant,' of the Aufidus, 4. 9. 2. But whatever was its origin, Horace probably feels the image suggested by the epithet through the following lines; so that there is almost a simile within the simile. Tiberius is like the Aufidus in flood: the Aufidus is like a bull charging down the mountain side.

*praefuit*; 4. 3. 10.
28. *meditatur*. The good MSS. are divided between this word and 'miniatu.' Porph. read 'meditatur,' though some little doubt is thrown on his testimony also by variance of MSS, and Servius quotes it to illustrate Georg. 3. 153. 'Miniatu.' is the most likely to have been a gloss. The true answer to Porph.'s criticism 'maledixit "meditatur" quia in ipso actu est nec debet cogitare aut considerare quod iam factum,' seems to be that the image is not of the river actually flooding the lowlands, but of the boiling waters of its upper course filling its channel to the brim, and threatening a flood to the lower levels.

30. *diruit*. This verb, more commonly used of laying buildings in ruin, is justified here, on the one side, by the image of the river, ὅς τ' ὄψα χρον ἐκδεικνύει γεφύρας (Hom. 1. c.); on the other, by the epithet of 'agmina'; the 'steelclad lines' are looked at as fortifications which were to be levelled.

31. *primos et extremos*; all alike; first rank and last rank.
*metendo*; Virg. Aen. 10. 513 'prox-
ima quaeque metit gladio.' In Hom. II.
Te copias, te consilium et tuos
Praebente divos. Nam tibi, quo die
Portus Alexandriae supplex
Et vacuum patefecit aulam,
Fortuna lustro prospera tertio
Belli secundos reddidit exitus,
Laudemque et optatum peractis
Imperiis decus arrogavit.
Te Cantaber non ante domabilis
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
Miratur, o tutela praesens
Italiae dominaeque Romae.
Te, fontium qui celat origines,
Nilusque et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,

11. 67 it is a complete simile: ol 8' ωστ' αμητήρες ἐνάντιον ἅλληλοισι π' Ομον ἑλαίνωσι, κ.τ.λ.
32. stravit humum, 'strewed the ground.' The ablative of the harvest with which he strewed it, is to be gathered from 'metendo,' etc.
33. sine clade, i.e. without loss of his own troops; v. 13. There is this force also in the preceding metaphors: the enemy went down before him like corn before a mower.
33. Horace returns to the praises of Augustus. With consilium cp. 4. 4. 75 'cura sagaces.' copias; see above v. 9.
34. divos; v. 16 'auspicis secundis.' The 'auspicia' belonged to the emperor: it was his 'felicitas' that was in question. Tiberius and Drusus were only his 'legati.'
tibi quo die, etc. The meaning is, that this war was brought to an end just fifteen years after Augustus' victorious entry into Alexandria. This took place on the Kalends of August, B.C. 30. Whether we are to press the words 'quo die' to mean on the very same day of the year, there is nothing to determine.
35. supplex; cp. 'genibus minor,' Epp. 1. 12, 26.
36. vacuum, the palace left empty by the death of Antony and Cleopatra; see 1. 37.
39. 'And has added to your past campaigns the fresh glory of this much-desired laurel.' 'Laudem et decus,' the second substantive is the vehicle for the qualifications 'optatum,' 'arrogavit,' which thus obtain more force than if they had to share the emphasis in a clause with the main substantive itself. 'Glory, even the one glory that remained to be added to thy triumphs.' That 'imperiis' refers to past campaigns, not to the commands of Augustus, which have been successfully carried out in this one, is evident from what follows. The succeeding stanzas are expansions of 'peracta imperia.'
41. Cantaber; see Introd. to Books i-iii, 1. § 6.
42. Medus, the Parthians; 4. 15, 6. Epp. 1. 18. They restored the standard in B.C. 20.
43. Scythes. Indus ... Scythes; Carm. Sec. 55, 56. Suet Oct. 21. Augustus is said to have received embassies and overtures of friendship from India and Scythia.
44. profugus; 3. 24. 9.
45. praesens; 3. 5. 2. Here, probably, the immediate contrast is between distant nations, who have to send from the ends of the earth to solicit Augustus' favour, and India and Rome to which he is an abiding presence of protection.
46. dominae; 4. 3. 13 'Romae principis urbiun.'
45. fontium qui celat origines. This applies of course primarily to the Nile, the sources of whose waters were a world-old problem (Herod. 2. 28); but the position of the copulatives seems to
LIB. IV. OD. 14.

Te beluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
Te non paventis funera Galliae
Duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae,
Te caede gaudentes Sygambri
Compositis venerantur armis.

show that the Danube is included. Hero-
dotus (2. 33) imagines it to be the exact
counterpart of the Nile, and the corre-
respondence was extended by others to this
special point. Sen. Quaest. Nat. 4. 1
'Danubium (Nilo) similem natura phi-
losophi tradiderunt, quod et fontis ignoti
et aestate quam hieme maior sit,' Auson.
Epigr. 4. 1 'Danubius penitis caput oc-
cultatus in oris.' The rivers stand for
their respective countries—Egypt, Dacia,
Armenia (Epp. i. 12. 26). The force of
the epithet 'qui celat,' etc., is to point
the distance to which Augustus' rule
extends. It spreads up rivers whose
source no traveller has explored.

47. beluosus; 3. 27. 26 'scatentem
Beluis pontum.' The adjective is found
in no other good author. It seems to
owe its formation to the Greek μεγα-
ητης, βασιλητης, etc.; cp. i. 3. 18.
There is possibly real reference in this
case to the whales of the northern seas.

Britain was not in the reign of Augustus
in any sense reduced, but the princes of
different tribes had sent embassies to
him with presents and professions of
friendship; Strabo, 4. 5. 3.

49. non paventis funera; Caes. B.
G. 6. 14, Lucan. i. 454 'quos ille timo-
rum Maximus haud urget, leti metus:
inde ruendi In ferrum mens prona viris
animaque capaces Mortis et ignavum
rediturae parcere vitae.' The variant
'paventes' is found in a few MSS, and
was read apparently by Porph. It is
preferred by Bentley, on the ground that
the variety 'Galliae (plur. nom. as in
Suet. Jul. 49 'Gallias Caesar subegit,' and commonly) non paventes, duraeque
tellus Iberiae,' is more Horatian than
two genitives dependent on 'tellus.'

50. audit, 'obeys.'

51. Sygambri; 4. 2. 36, Introd. to
Book.

52. compositis, 'laid to rest.'
ODE XV.

'Warlike victories, after all, are what Phoebus forbade me to sing of. The glory of Caesar's reign is not war; but peace, plenty, the standards recovered from Parthia, and the gate of Janus closed—morality and the old character that gave Rome her empire restored. While Caesar guards us, there is no fear that citizen will lift hand in civil war, or Dacian, Mede, or Scythian in foreign war. For us, every day over the cheerful family board, when the due libations have been made to the gods, we will sing, as our fathers sang before us, of the great captains of past time, and of the house of Anchises and Venus.'

We can hardly doubt that the Ode is intended as an epilogue to the Book, the final answer to Augustus' request. It has been supposed by many editors to carry internal evidence of having been composed as late as B.C. 10. The sole argument is the mention in v. 9 of the closing of the temple of Janus, which was taken to refer to the third closing in Augustus' reign, which has been placed in that year. Franke shows that the evidence even of this date is very doubtful, and in any case it is admitted that the gate was closed in 29 and 25, and there is no word in the Ode to fix the reference to a third closing.

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
Victas' et urbes increpuit lyra,
Ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
Vela darem. Tua, Caesar, aetas
Fruges et agris rēttulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Iovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus et vacūm duellis
Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem
Rectum evaganti frena licentiae

2. increpuit lyra, in the common sense of 'inrepare,' 'to reprove,' but with reference to its original meaning, 'to make a noise at,' 'thundered at me on his lyre.' This mode of taking the words is rendered certain by Ovid, A. A. 2. 493 'Haec ego cum canerem, subito manifestus Apollo Movit inauratae pollice fila lyrae, etc. All the Scholiasts took 'lyra' with 'loqui,' and Ritter, of modern editors, follows them. The general image is from Virg. E. 6. 3 'Cum canor em reges et proelia, Cynthia aurem Vellit et admonuit.'

3. Tyrrhenum, apparently of a large and wide sea. Virgil had before used the image of a poet's ventures, G. 2. 41 'pelagoque volans da vela patenti,' and Ovid follows, Trist. 2. 328 'Non ideo debet pelago se credere, si qua .Audet in exiguo ludere cymba lacu.'

5. The restoration of agriculture; cp. 4. 5. 18.

6. 'noster,' opposed to the foreign gods, in whose temples they have been hanging hitherto. The standards taken at Charrae were restored in B.C. 20; cp. Epp. 1. 18. 56.

9. Ianum Quirini. As Bentley shows, the usual name of this passage
Iniecit emovitque culpas
Et veteres revocavit artes,
Per quas Latinum nomen et Italae
Crevere vires famaque et imperi
Porrecta maiestas ad ortus
Solis ab Hesperio cubilli.
Custode rerum Caesare non furor
Civilis aut vis exiget otium,
Non ira, quae procedit ense
Et miseris inimicat urbes.

Non, qui profundum Danubium bibunt,
Edicta rumpent Iulia, non Getae,

and double gateway (Burn's Rome, pp. xxiv and 87), which was opened in time of war and closed in time of peace, was 'Ianus Quirinus,' 'Quirinus' being apparently an adjective, as in 'Ianus Genius,' 'Ianus Iunonius,' etc. It is open therefore to suppose either that the genitive was used indifferently with the adjective as 'of Ro'mulus' (to whom the worship of Janus was attributed), 'of Rome,' 'Roman,' or that Horace consciously varies the usual form, as he does technical expressions so often; see on 3. 5. 42.

12. *artes*; 'Imperium facile artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est,' Sall. Cat. 2. 4. They are the virtues of old Roman life celebrated in 3. 1-6. For 'artes' cp. 3. 3. 9 'Hac arte Pollux,' etc. As Kritz explains on the passage in Sallust, the word only 'studia ac mores,' and must draw its positive colour from the context. We need not think, with many of Horace's editors, of the possible etymological connection of 'ars' with *aperit*. If the end proposed were bad, 'artes' would be vices.
15. *ortus*. There is a v. l. of less authority, *ortum*. It is a case clearly where either singular or plural is admissible, and where variety is quite a sufficient motive to account for their interchange. Bentley quotes Sall. Cat. 36 'cum ad occasus ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent.'
18. *exiget*, in its simple sense, 'drive out,' as 2. 13. 31 'exactos tyrannos.' B has 'exigit'; V, unmetrically, 'exe-

'get.' Some form of the verb was certainly read by Porph., who interprets 'excludet, quasi έγρι αγί, ut Terentius: spectandae an exigendae.' There is good MS. authority also for 'eximet,' which is preferred by Ritter, Keller, and Mr. Munro; and it is a common Horatian word, Od. 2. 2. 19, 3. 14. 14, Epp. 1. 5. 18, 2. 2. 212, though this is hardly an argument for it here.

20. *miseras*, 'proleptically, 'to their misery.'

*inimicat*, 'sets at variance,' a word, apparently, as Porph. tells us ('fictum verbum est'), coined by Horace.

21. For the form of expression see on 3. 10. 1; cp. 2. 2. 20 'Rhodani potor.' The peoples meant may be either the Vindelici (4. 4. 18), against whom 'Tiberius had won some victories, or the Daci (3. 6. 13, Virg. G. 2. 497 'coniurato descendens Dacus ab Istro'), who used to be spoken of as dangerous in the early years of Augustus' reign.

22. *edicta Iulia*. We must no more look for a technical meaning in 'edicta,' than for exact historical facts to correspond with the general statement. 'Edictum,' though limited very much in use to the praetor's edicts, was a general term for any command issued by a magistrate. The form of the phrase is intended to recall 'leges Iuliae,' the name which covered the domestic legislation of Augustus as well as Julius. The substance, so far as it had any which can be realised, would be terms of peace, which Augustus has imposed on the various nations.

*Getae*; see Intro. to Books i-iii, 1. § 7.
Non Seres infidive Persae,  
Non Tanaīn prope flumen orti.  
Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacrīs  
Inter iocosi munera Liberi  
Cum prole matronisque nostrīs,  
Rīte deos prius apprēcatī,  
Virtute functos more patrum duces  
Lydis remixto carmine tibīs  
Troiamque et Anchisen et almae  
Progeniem Veneris canemus.

23. Seres; see on 1. 12. 56. infidī Persae; Epp. 2. 1. 112 'Parthīs mendaciōr.'


29. nosque, 'and for us, we,' etc.

28. apprēcatī, only found in this place, and twice in Apuleius.

29. virtute functos, 'who have lived their lives like men.' Horace adapts the use of 'functus vita,' 'functus laboribus,' 'whose labours are over,' 2. 18. 38, of the dead, substituting a character of the life and its employments. Compare the prose expression in Cic. Tusc. 1. 45 'nemo parum diu vixit qui virtūtis perfecto functus est munere.'

more patrum, with 'canemus.' Cïcero twice (Tusc. 1. 2 and 4. 2) quotes the authority of Cato's 'Origines' for such a custom in earlier generations: 'solitos in epulis canere convivas ad tibi-cinem de clarorum virorum virtutibus.'

30. Lydis. Possibly only a poetical epithet helping 'more patrum,' by suggesting the antiquity of the instrument; but in Epod. 9. 6 Horace seems to lay emphasis on a distinction of the Dorian and Phrygian modes, so that here he may designedly speak of the Lydian as the one most suitable for this occasion. In that case it may harmonise with the 'iōcosi munera Liberi,' being classed by Plato (Rep. 3. p. 398) as one of the μαλακαὶ καὶ ξυμποτικαὶ ἀρ-γυρναῖ.

remixto; A. P. 151. The word is only found besides in two passages of Seneca.

32. progeniem Veneris; cp. C. S. 50 'Clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis.' So that their topics correspond to those of Od. 1. 12 (cp. 1. 12. 13 with v. 28 of this Ode): the gods, the heroes of Roman story, the Julian house, and Augustus its crowning glory.
Among the antiquarian and religious revivals of Augustus, Suetonius (Aug. 31) mentions the 'Ludi Seculares'; Dio (54. 18) fixes the date to the consulship of C. Furnius and C. Silanus, B.C. 17, but beyond this and the fact that it professed to be their fifth celebration, he tells us nothing. No full account of them is found earlier than Censorinus (de Die Natali, c. 5 'de Seculo'), the writer on astrology in the second half of the 3rd century, who is supplemented by Zosimus (2. 5), the historian, in the middle of the 5th century.

Tacitus (Ann. ii. 11) mentions their repetition in the reign of Claudius, A.D. 46, but declines to describe them, on the ground that he has already given in the Histories (in one of the Books now lost) a particular account of their celebration under Domitian, on which occasion he had had the fullest cognizance of their details, as being himself one of the 'quindecimviri' and a praetor.

The games of which they professed to be the revival went under the Republic by the name of Tarentini (or Terentini) and Taurii, the former name being connected by all writers with the 'stagna Tarenti' or 'Terenti,' a spot at the north edge of the Campus Martius, near the river, once a swamp, and probably a warm spring (see Burn's Rome and the Campagna, p. 300), the locality of some of the ceremonies even in Augustus' celebration; the latter variously derived,—by Servius (on Virg. Aen. 2. 140), from the 'taureae,' or sterile cows which were sacrificed.

Their origin according to some of the authorities, according to others their second celebration, was ascribed to Val. Publicola. All
agree that they had only been celebrated four times before the age of Augustus. There is no trace of the name ‘Seculares’ before that date, and what is said of the different celebrations goes to show that they were called forth by special emergencies, not by any recurrence of epochs. Still, there would seem to have been some tradition of such recurrence to justify Augustus’ revival. On the dates of the celebrations Censorinus’ authorities differed. ‘The length of the ‘seculum’ itself was diversely given at 110, as by Horace, and 100 years, as by Val. Antias, Livy, and Varro, whom Censorinus quotes.

The historical performances are at varying periods, but all with some reference to an intended secular date. Merivale writes, ‘The emperor Claudius repeated the games in the year A.U.C. 800, disregarding those of Augustus as irregular. Claudius was disregarded in his turn by Domitian, who renewed the celebration in 841, anticipating in his impatience, by six years, the period prescribed by Augustus. To the Augustan computation Severus conformed precisely, and repeated the solemnity in 957, after two intervals of 110 years each. Philippus, however, returned once more to the precedent of Claudius in the year of the City 1000. This was the last celebration.’

The occasion of Augustus’ revival or institution of these games was the close of what may be considered the first decade of the empire, the renewal to him (though professedly only for five years more), at his own request, of the ‘imperium,’ which in B.C. 27 he had, apparently with difficulty, been persuaded to accept for ten years.

The ‘quindecimviri’ (see on v. 70, and cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 73), the custodians of the Sibylline Books, found in them the requisite instructions. Ateius Capito, a great jurist and antiquarian, was appointed to settle the ceremonies, and Horace to compose the hymn. Some doubt has been entertained whether this was to be performed in the temple of Apollo Palatinus on the third day of the festival (see below, extract from Zos. l. 33), or during the sacrifices at the Tarentum on the first night (ib. l. 21).

**Account of the Ceremonies from Zosimus.**

Τοιοῦτος δὲ τις ὁ τρόπος ἀναγεγραπται τῆς ἑορτῆς. Περιώντες οἱ κήρυκες εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν συνηνά πάντας ἐκέλευν ἐπὶ θέαν, ἣν οὐτε πρότερον εἶδον, οὐτε μετὰ ταῦτα θεάσονται. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὄραν τοῦ θέρους, πρὸ ἡμερῶν ὁλίγων τοῦ τῆς θεωρίαν ἄχθιναι, ἐν τῷ Καπετῳλίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον οἱ δεκαπέντε ἄνδρες ἐπὶ
βήματος καθήμενοι τῷ δήμῳ διανέμουσι τὰ καθάρσια· ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ δόξαι καὶ θείου καὶ ἀσφαλτος· δόθηκε δὲ τούτων οὐ μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἑλεύθεροι μόνοι. Ἔσυνελθότος δὲ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐν τε τοῖς ῥήσει τῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, δὲ ἐν τῷ 'Αουεντίῳ λόφῳ καθῆραντα, σίτου καὶ κρυῆν ἐκαστὸς φέρει καὶ κύμων. (Cr. Sibyll. v. 27.) Καὶ ταῖς Μοῦραις ἄγουσι παννυχίδας μετὰ σεμνότητος ἐν (ἐννέα Heyne) νυξί. Ἡ ἐνστάσις δὲ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἐφορίας, ἢν ἐν τριὰν ἡμέραις ἐν τῷ τοῦ 'Αρεως ἐπιτελοῦσι πεδίῳ, καὶ ταῖς ίσαις νυξί, καθιεροῦτο τὰ τελούμενα παρὰ τὴν ὅχθην τοῦ Θύμβριδος ἐν τῷ Τάρατι. Ὀνύσει δὲ θεοὺς, Δι' καὶ Ἡρα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ προσετέ γε Μοῦραις καὶ Εἰλευθέραις καὶ Δήμητρι καὶ 'Αἰδή καὶ Περσεφόνη. Τῇ δὲ πρῶτῃ τῶν θεωρίων νυκτὶ δευτέρας ὥρας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν ὅχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν παρασκευασθέντων βουμῶν τρεῖς ἄρνας θύει μετὰ τῶν δεκαπέντε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τούς βουμοὺς καθαμάτας ὅλοκαυτοὶ τὰ βῆματα. Κατασκευασθένης δὲ σκιηθὲς δύκην θεάτρου φῶτα ἀνάπτεται καὶ πυρά, καὶ ὄνομα ἔδειται νεωτὸς πεποιημένος, θεωρίαι τε ἐπιτρηπεῖς ἄγουσιν. Κομίζοντι δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦτε μισθὸν τὰς ἀπάρχας τῶν καρπῶν, σίτου καὶ κρυῆς καὶ κυμῶν· αὐτὴ γὰρ, ὅσ εἰρηταὶ μοι, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παντὶ διανέμουσιν. Τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτην ἡμέρα εἰς τὸ Καπετόλιον ἀναβάντες κανταῦθα τὰς νεομισμένας θυσίας προσαγαγοῦσαν, ἐνεθύθη τιτ ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασμένον θεάτρον ἠλεύριες τὰς θεωρίας ἐπιτελεύσας Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι. Τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτην ἡμέρα γυναῖκες ἐπίσημοι κατὰ τὴν ὄραν, ἢν ὁ χρησμὸς ὑπηγόρευσεν, εἰς τὸ Καπετόλιον συνελθοῦσα λυπανόουσι τὸν θεού καὶ ὑμνοῦσι ὅσ θεῖς. 'Ημέρα δὲ τρίτῃ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ Παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνας ἱερῷ τρίς ἐνενέα παίδες ἐπιφάνειες μετὰ παρθένων τουστῶν, οἱ πάντες ἀρμαθίλες, ὄπερ ἐστίν, ἀμφότερος τοὺς γυναῖκες ἔχουσε περιοῦν, ὑμνοὺς ἡδονή τῇ τε Ἐλλήνην καὶ Ῥωμαίων φωνὴ καὶ παίανας, δὴ ὅσ ὁ Ῥωμαίοις σώζονται πόλεις· ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν ὕφηγημένον παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τρόπον ἐπράττετο, δὲν ἐπιτελεύσαντες ἐξεμείνεν ἡ ἀρχὴ Ῥωμαίων ἀλάβητος. Ὄς καὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἐἶναι πιστεύσωμεν, αὐτὸν παραθέσομαι τὸν Σιβύλλης χρησιμὸς, ἦδη πρὸ ἡμῶν παρ' ἐτέρων ἀνενημέρουν. Ἀλλ' ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν μήκιστος θηρίων ἀνθρώπων

Ζωῆς, εἰς ἐτέρων ἐκατον δέκα κύκλον ὄθεν, 
Μέμηνα, δ' Ῥωμαῖος, καὶ οὐ μάλα λήστει αὐτῶν
Μεμηθοῦσα τάδε πάντα. Θεοῖς μὲν ἀθανάτουσι

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INTRODUCTION, ETC.

'Ρέξεως ἐν Πεδίω παρὰ Θύμβριδος ἀπλετον ὠδωρ, "Οππη στεινώτατον, Νῦξ ἡνίκα γαῖαν ἐπέλθη, Ἡελίων κρύφωστο καὶ νάφος ἔνθα σὺ ἰάτειν Ἐρά ποντωγόνοις Μούραις ἀρνας τε καὶ αὐγας. Κυναγάς θ' ἐπὶ ταΐς Εἴλειθυλας ἀρέσασθαι Παιδοτάκους θυέσσων, ὅπη θέμι. Ἀδὴι δὲ Γαϊὴ
Πληθομένη χοῦρος τε καὶ ὃς ἱεροῖο τέμελα. Ζάλευκοι ταῖροι δὲ Διώς παρὰ βωμὸν ἄγεσθων Ἤματι, μηδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ θεόται γὰρ οὔρανοις Ἰμερίους πέλεται θυέων τρόπος ὅς δὲ καὶ αὐτῶς Ἰρεύειν ἀμάλης δὲ βοὸς δέμας ἀγλαῶν Ἡρης Δεξάσθω νηὸς παρὰ σεῦ. Καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, Ἔστε καὶ Ἡέλιος κυκλήσκεται, ἵσα δεδέχθω Θύματα Λητώδης καὶ ἀειδόμενοι τε Λατώνιος Παιᾶνες κοῦροις κούρησι τε νηὸν ξιοεῖν Ἀθανάτων χωρίς δὲ κόραι χορὸν αὐταὶ ξιοεῖν Καὶ χωρίς παιῶν ἄρσην στάχυς, ἄλλα γονίων Πάντων ξώστων, οἷς ἀμφθαλῆς ἐτί φύλη.
Αἰ δὲ γάμου ξεύγλαιας δεδημέναι ἥματι κεῖνω Γνὺς Ἡρης παρὰ βωμὸν ἀοίδιμον ἐδριώσαι Δαίμονα λιστέσσωσαν. Ἀπασὶ δὲ λυματα δοῦναι Ἀνδράσου ἤδε γυναῖξι, μάλιστα δὲ θηλυτέρησι. Πάντες δ' ἐξ οἴκου φερέσθωσι, ὅσα κομίζειν Ἐστι θέμις θητοῖσιν ἀπαρχομένοις βιότου, Δαίμονι μελιχοίσων ἰλάσσατα καὶ μακάρεσσων Οὐρανίδας τὰ δὲ πάντα τεθησαυριζέναι κείσθω, Ὄφρα τε θηλυτέρησι καὶ ἀνδράσων ἐδριώσωι Ἐνθεν ποροῦνθης μεμημένους. Ἡμασὶ δ' ἐστω Νυξί τ' ἐπασσαυτέρησι θεοπρέπτους κατὰ θάκους Παμπληθῆς ἄγνυρις' σπουδὴ δὲ γέλωτι μεμίχωث.

Ταῦτα τοι ἐν φρεσὶ σήμιν αἰεὶ μεμημένους εἶναι, Καὶ σοι πάσα χθῶν Ἰταλῆ καὶ πάσα Λατίνη Ἀλὲν ὑπὸ σκῆπτροισιν ὑπαυχεύνοις ζυγὸν ἔδει.
PHOEBUS and Diana, grant the prayers duly offered at this sacred season (v. 1-8).
O sun, ever changing yet ever the same, let Rome's pre-eminence be as changeless (v. 9-12).
Diana, birth goddess, guard our mothers (v. 13-16).
Bless our new marriage laws to the increase of our people, that each "seculum" may find us still celebrating this festival (v. 17-24).
O Destinies, fulfil the happy oracles, and add future to past blessings; fertility of earth and cattle; seasonable rain and pure air (v. 25-32).

If Rome is your creation, the remnant saved from Troy for Aeneas' piety, give our youth Aeneas' manners, and our old men his happy old age. Give Rome all blessings (v. 37-48).
And grant the prayers now offered by Aeneas' great son. He has subdued the Mede, the Scyth, the Indian. He has restored peace and virtue and plenty (v. 49-60).

Phoebus, pleased with his Palatine temple, promises another lustrum and increasing years of prosperity (v. 61-68).

That there was some division of parts between the male and female singers seems probable on the face of the Ode, and the Sibylline verses (v. 20) seem to speak definitely of such a division. It is not so easy to see what the division was. Steiner arranges the Ode as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Str. 1. 2, proodus, boys and girls together.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Str. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Str. 9 mesodus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vv. 1, 2 boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3, 4 girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Str. 16-19, epodus, boys and girls together.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phoebus, feliz, 3, 4 potens Diana, Lucidum caeli decus, 0 colendi

For this attribute of Aen. 9. 405, etc., Catull. 34. 9 foll.
Semper et culti, date, quae precamur
Tempore sacro,
Quo Sibyllini monuere versus
Virgines lectas puerosque castos
Dis, quibus septem placuere colles,
Dicere carmen.
Alme Sol, curruntitido diem qui
Promis et celas aliusque et idem
Nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma
Visere maius.
Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres;
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari
Seu Genitalis.
Diva, producas subolem patrumque
Prosperes decreta super iugandis.

5. Sibyllini versus. The books which were reported to have been bought of the Sibyl by Tarquin had been destroyed in the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, B. C. 82; but a fresh collection of Sibylline prophesies had been made. Augustus had caused them to be examined, and many that were deemed spurious to be burnt. The remainder were deposited by him in two gift cases at the base of Apollo’s statue in his temple on the Palatine (Suet. Aug. 31). They were in the keeping of the ‘quindecimviri’ (see on v. 79), who alone were allowed to read them.

6. Both epithets apply to each substantive; see on Od. 3. 4. 18, 4. 9. 29. For the principles of the selection see extract from Zosim. I. 30 foll., and cp. Od. 4. 6. 31 ‘Virginitem primae puerique claris Patribus orti.’

7. placuere. The perfect is regular: ‘in whose sight the seven hills have found favour.’ It is more definite and final than ‘placent.’

10. The connection between the description and the prayer seems to be, ‘unchangeable yourself, though you cause change and seem to change, give to the pre-eminence of Rome the same unchangeableness.’

13. rite, probably ‘after thine office’; cp. Virg. Aen. 3. 36. 10. 254 ‘aperire lenis’; see App. 2. § 2.

14. Ilithyia. The Greek goddess of birth, identified subsequently with Artemis. Horace offers two alternative Latin names: Lucina, ‘she that brings to the light,’ a name which Diana shared with Juno, though ‘Juno Lucina’ is sometimes treated as a name or phase of Diana herself, as Catull. 34. 13 ‘Tu Lucina dolentibus Iuno dicta puerperis’; and Genitalis, a title nowhere else given to her, though intelligible in itself, possibly a Latinised form of Genetuliis, a name given in this connection to Aphrodite and Artemis. Bentley wished actually to read ‘Genetylis.’ The choice of title offered to a god is common; cp. Catull. 1. c., especially v. 21 ‘Sis quocumque placet tibi Sancta nomine.’ The prayer to Ilithyia, as those to the Parcae (Moipai), vv. 25–28, and to Tellus (Tæa), vv. 29–32, were part of the prescribed ceremonial; see Zos. l. c. The relation of stanzas 3 and 4, is pointed by the epithet with which stanza 3 begins: ‘Alme Sol’; both deities are addressed as in different ways ‘life-giving’ powers. Rome’s greatness cannot be separated from the well-being and fruitfulness of Roman mothers. The male chorus (according to Steiner and Ritter) take up the maidens’ prayer, and apply it specially to Augustus’ legislative efforts to encourage legitimate marriage.

17. producas, ‘rear,’ as κοινοτρόφος, Hes. Theog. 452.

18–20. The reference is to the ‘Lex
Iulia de maritandis ordinibus, which appears to have been enacted in B.C. 18. Some uncertainty hangs over its provisions, for we do not know to what extent it was altered by the supplementary law which was passed in B.C. 9, in the consulship of M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppaeus Secundus, and which caused the whole measure to be cited as the 'Lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea.' It forbade marriage between persons of senatorial family and 'libertiae,' imposed penalties on celibacy (to the extent of the forfeiture of all bequests) and even on childless marriages in all ranks, and held out exemptions and rewards to the fathers of legitimate families. Dio briefly mentions its provisions 54. 16.; on the whole matter see Merivale, c. 33, vol. iv, p. 85 foll. For another reference to Augustus' legislation on this subject see Od. 4. 5. 21, and cp. Od. 1. 2. 24.

19. proliis ferae; Od. 4. 4. 58 'femci frondis in Algido'; cp. 3. 6. 17 and inf. v. 29 'fertilis frugum.'
20. marita, as an adjective, 'the marriage law'; so Prop. 4. 11. 33 'facibus maritis,' Ov. Her. 12. 87 'sacris maritis,'
21. certus . . . orbis, 'that so the cycle may be unbroken, and there may never fail a thronging people to celebrate the secural games in the hundred and tenth year' (see Introd.). The place of 'frequentes' shews that it is emphatic.
22. For the position of que see on Od. 1. 30. 6.
23. ter die claro, i.e. on three successive days.
25. veraces cecinisse; see App. 2, § 2. The perfect tense, because he is concerned, not with their prophecies generally, but with their prophecies of Rome's destiny; see on 3. 4. 51. Parcae; see on v. 14. Orelli reminds us that they would be the authors of the Sibyline prophecies.
26–28. The relative clause seems rightly taken by Ritter and Dill*, with 'bona iungite fata,' in a similar construction to 'quod felix faustumque sit,' etc., 'As once and for aye has been promised—and Time's landmark, that may not be removed, protect the promise—link happy destinies to those already accomplished.' In 'dictum est,' Horace is remembering the etymology of 'fatum.' In 'rerum Terminus' he is possibly thinking of the landmark of Roman empire that might never recede, and its pledge in the statue of Terminus, who would not give way even to Jupiter on the Capitol (Ov. Fast. 2. 667 foll.); but the metaphorical use occurs in Virg. Aen. 4. 614 'Et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret,' where we have reminiscences of Accius, Fr. 'veter fatorum terminus,' and Lucr. 1. 78 'alte terminus haerens.' Orelli reads 'servat,' after the Aldine edition (Lambinus praises, but does not print it). It has the slightest MS. support, and, as Bentley remarks, looks like a correction to suit the mood of 'est.' The sentence 'quod . . . servat,' would then be constructed as the object of 'cecinisse.'
26. semel; see on Od. 4. 3. 1.
27. peractis; Od. 4. 14. 39.
29. fertilis frugum; supra v. 19.
30. In reference to the ceremonies of
Nutrient fe tus et aquae salubres
Et Iovis aurae.
Condito mitis placidusque telo
Supplies audi pueros, Apollo;
Siderum regina bicornis, audi,
Luna, puellas:
Roma si vestrum est opus, Iliaeque
Litus Etruscum tenuere turmae,
Iussa pars mutare Lares et urbem
Sospite cursu,
Cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam
Castus Aeneas patriae superstes
Liberum munivit iter, daturus
Plura reliquis:
Di, probos mores docili iuventae,
Di, senectuti placidae quietem,
Romulae genti date remque prolemque
Et decus omne!

the Ambarvalia, the festival when the
sickle was to be put to the corn; see
the description in Tibull. 2. 1, and cp.
v. 3 'Spicis tempora cinge, Ceres.' The
Fratres Arvales wore as a badge of
office a chaplet of wheat-ears; 'Spicea
corona,' Plin. N. H. 18. 2.
32. Iovis, the god of the air; Od. I.
1. 25, etc.
33. condito telo; Od. 2. 10. 19
'neque semper arcum Tendit Apollo.'
His arrows carried pestilence (Hom. II.
1. 50 foll.), so that it is a condition of
the fulfilment of the prayer of the last
stanza. Maclean remarks that the
statues of Apollo Actacus, which Au-
gustus had dedicated in his new temple
on the Palatine, represented him in a
bard's dress and with a lyre, although
on the promontory of Actium he stood
274, 8. 704 with Propert. 3. 23. 5, 6 and
15. 16.
35. bicornis recalls her form as she
is represented on medals, etc., with the
crescent on her forehead.
37 foll. In the first clause the idea is
put simply, 'Rome is your handiwork';
in the following clauses the same idea is
suggested by the emphatic words 'Iliae'
(Rome is a colony of Troy, and Apollo
and Artemis were guardians of Troy),
'iussa,' 'sospite' (under divine safe-
guard), 'castus' (and so under the pro-
tection of the goddess of chastity).
Compare with the whole Od. 3. 3. 18 foll.
with Introd. There is the same con-
tраст between the 'remnant' preserved
and the guilty city destroyed: 'Castus .
patriae superstes'; the rest were 'incesti'
(see 3. 3. 19 and 23). That there is a
moral meaning here at least, is clear
from the petition in which this appeal
ends, 'Di probos mores,' etc.; the
character of Aeneas, not of Paris, and
therefore the old age of Aeneas, not of
Priam.
38. litus Etruscum; Od. 1. 2. 14,
Epod. 16. 40.
41. sine fraude; Od. 2. 19. 20.
44. plura reliquis, 'more than all
they left behind,' Rome instead of Troy.
45. 46. docili, placidae. Both are
predicative, but some variety is obtained
by their different relation to the accusa-
tive. The 'docility' is a condition of,
or at least a prior gift to, the gift of
'honest lives'; the 'calm' of temper
follows the gift of external quiet.
47. Romulae; see Od. 4. 5. 1, and
on I. 15. 10. For the elision of 'que'
at the end of the line cp. Od. 4. 2. 22, 23.
Quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis
Clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis,
Impetret, bellante prior, facientem
Lenis in hostem!
Iam mari terraque manus potentes
Medus Albanasque timet secures,
Iam Scythae responsa petunt, superbi
Nuper, et Indi.
Iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque
Priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
Audet, apparatque beata pleno
Copia cornu.
Augur et fulgente decorus arcu
Phoebus acceptusque novem Camenis,
Qui salutari levat arte fessos
Corporis artus,
Si Palatinas videt aequus aras,
Remque Romanam Latiumque felix

49. quae veneratur. 'Veneror' is used of prayer, as in Sat. 2. 2. 124, Virg. Aen. 3. 460; here, as in Sat. 2. 6. 8 'si veneror stultus nihil horum,' with an accusative of the thing prayed for. There is another reading of less authority, 'quique,' with 'imperet,' 'may he rule' (absol.), in v. 51.

50. sanguis; Od. 2. 20. 6. 3. 27. 65, 4. 2. 14.

51. bellante prior. This is part of the prayer, a picture of what Augustus desires to be, the picture drawn by Anchises in Virg. Aen. 6. 852 'Farcere subjicietis et debellare superbos.'

54. Medus. This is after the restoration of the standards in b.c. 20; cp. Od. 4. 5. 6. 4. 14. 42. Epp. 1. 18. 56.

Albanas secures, the fasces, the emblem of Roman rule. 'Alban' because of the connection of the origin of Rome with Alba. It is not quite the same as Virgil's 'Albanique patres,' Aen. 1. 7; see Conington in loc.

55. responsa. This would be the usual word for any reply given to an embassy sent with a request or reference, as in Liv. 9. 38 'sine responso legatos dimisit.' Standing here alone, without mention of the 'legati,' it is meant probably to draw a more poetical colour from its use of the answers of gods, oracles, etc.; cp. Virg. E. 1. 45 'Hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille potenti.' For the fact see on Od. 4. 14. 42. The visit of the Scythian and Indian ambassadors took place while Augustus was wintering in Samos, after Tiberius' progress in Armenia in b.c. 20. Some stories are told of the Indian embassy by Dio 54. 9.

60. cornu; see on Od. 1. 17. 16.

65. si, with the indicative apodosis (see on v. 68), must = 'if, as doubtless he does.'

aras. This was the reading of V, and was found by Porphyrius, who interprets 'si acceptas aras habet quae in Palatio dedicatae sunt.' It is given by Keller and Mr. Munro. B supports the vulg. 'arcas'; see on Od. 2. 6. 22.

66. felix, better taken with 'Latium,' as Dill, and Ritter, than with 'lustrum,' as Orelli. It is not Rome and Latium that Apollo will prolong, but 'the state and power of Rome and the happiness of Latium.' It is still very likely that, as Orelli suggests, Horace remembered the
HORATII CARMEN SECULARE.

Altem in lustrum meliusque semper
Prorogat aevum.
Quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,
Quindecim Diana preces virorum
Curat et votis puerorum amicas
Applicat aures.
Haec Iovem sentire deosque cunctos
Spem bonam certamque dołum reporto,
Doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
Dicere laudes.

conjunction of the words in Ennius' verses, 'Audire est opera prelitum, procedere recte Qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere voltis'; but even there 'Latiumque' is in its own clause, and not a bald addition to 'rem Romanam.'

67. lustrum; Od. 2. 4. 23. The period is named here clearly as the time for which nominally Augustus has accepted the 'Imperium'; see Introd.

meliusque, 'and for ages that grow ever better.'

68. prorogat. This, and the corresponding 'curat,' 'applicat,' are the readings of B and V, against the more common 'prorogat,' 'curet,' 'applicet.' It would almost seem that the Scholiasts read the subjunctive in the first case, but the indicative in the other two; for they explain that 'si,' from v. 65, must be repeated before 'curat' and 'applicat' (making them parallel with 'videt'), and the apodosis 'remque ... aevum' understood again. 'Prorogat' they interpret by 'prorogabit,' Acr. and 'melius secum futurum tribuet' (with a v. l. 'tribuet'), Porph. Their explanation clearly cannot stand; and, though Keller edits in accordance with their presumed reading, it is hard to see how the change of mood can be justified. The indicatives are accepted, among recent editors, by Dill', Ritter and Muaro. Bentley argues strongly for them, pointing out that the time for urgent prayer and expostulation is past. The chorus has now assumed the tone of confidence and promise (according to the stages named in Epp. 2. 1. 134 'Poscit opem chorus, et praesentia numina sentit'). The last stanza, 'Haec Iovem sentire,' etc., comes naturally to sum up and crown their assertions of Apollo's and Diana's goodwill; it would be abrupt if the prayer continued to v. 72.

69. Aventinum. The chief temple on the Aventine was that of Diana; see Burn, p. 204, cp. Liv. i. 45.

Algidum; see Od. i. 21. 6.

70. quindecim virorum. The 'xv viri sacris faciendis,' or 'sacrorum,' were the 'collegium' who had the custody of the Sibylline books, and the duty of superintending any religious ceremonies prescribed in them. The college at first consisted only of two. It was raised to ten about the year b.c. 367 ('decem-viri,' Liv. 6. 37. 42), and subsequently to fifteen, probably by Sulla. Aeneas is made to promise the Cumaean Sibyl the institution of the priesthood in Virg. Aen. 6. 72 'Hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata, Dicta meae genti, ponam, lectosque sacrabo, Alma viros,'

71. puerorum, both boys and girls, quite in accordance with the old use of 'puer' for either sex. Priscian quotes from Naevius, 'Proserpina puer Ceres,' from Livius, 'Saturni puer regia.'
GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE EPODES.

'Libeρ Epodon;' 'Libeρ Vitus qui Epodon inscriptur,' are the titles by which this Book is headed in MSS, and cited by the grammatical and metrical writers of the 4th and 5th centuries, Marius Victorinus, Diomedes, Fortunatianus. The separate poems are called Odae. The word Epode (ἐπώδος) was a recognized metrical term for the shorter verse of a couplet, which is as it were the echo (ἐπάδεται, 'accinitur') of the longer one, and, then συνεκδοχικὸς for the metre or poem (more properly 'carmen epodicum') in which such a sequence occurred. Elegiac verses are thus admitted as Epodic by Victorinus (p. 2500), but in common use the term was appropriated to the couplet metres of Archilochus and their Horatian imitations. It may be noticed that such metres are not peculiar to the so-called 'Epodes.' Two of the couplets known specially by Archilochus' name occur only in the Odes (1. 4, and 4. 7), the latter is the one example of an 'Epodus' quoted from Horace by Terentianus Maurus.

Horace's own name for these poems is 'Iambi' (Epod. 14. 7, Od. 1. 16. 3 and 24, Epp. 1. 19. 25), a term which implied their character at least as much as their metre (cp. the Greek verb λαμβίζειν, and see Arist. Poet. c. 4. 5, cp. Hor. A. P. 79 'Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo').

1 Terent. Maur, (end of first century), p. 2422, Hephaestion (second century), p. 133, (ed. Gaisford), Mar. Vict. pp. 2500, 2618 foll., Diomedes, p. 482, Fortunat. p. 2699. The correlative πρωδοῦς is applied sometimes to the first line of a couplet, as the Hexameter in Elegiacs, sometimes to the first line only when it is the shorter of the two, as in Od. 2. 18; but 'Epodus' is used often to cover such couplets as this. Various attempts have been made to find other meanings for the term 'Liber Epodon' as applied to Horace's poems. Scaliger (Poet. 1. 44), ignoring apparently the chronological difficulty, interpreted it to mean 'after Odes.' Torreνtius made the word a case of ἐπινοή, 'liber incantationum,' a general name given to the book from the character of two of its most important poems, Epod. 5 and 17.
All the indications of date to be discovered in the poems themselves fix them to the first period of his life as an author. Their references to current politics, both positively, as in the allusions to the war with Sextus Pompeius, and negatively, in the vagueness with which they deal with the general situation at home (see on Epod. 7 and 16), belong to the decade between the battles of Philippi and Actium. We notice in their style indications which point the same way—occasional harshnesses of construction, a redundancy of epithets, a tendency even in the best poems to poetical commonplace, we may add a grossness of subject and language, which his mature taste would have pruned away. The Epodes stand with the Satires at the opening of Horace's literary life—not unconnected with them in tone, nor in their literary antecedents, nor in their treatment in his hands. The Roman Satirist, he tells us, looked, for all but the poetical form of his composition, to Greek Comedy. In the Epode he has returned to the personal lampoon, the earliest use of poetry for purposes of attack and caricature, and that of which Comedy, according to Aristotle (Poet. 1. c.), was the development. It is in the taste which leads him for models to Lucilius and Archilochus, rather than in any bitterness of special poems, that we may trace probably his own description already referred to (Epp. 2. 2. 51; see Introd. to Books i–iii, § 1) of the personal motives that first drove him to write poetry. In any case it is characteristic of the man that his Satires should mellow and humanize into the Epistles, and that the Epodes should drop so early their ἡμερήσια ἰδέα, and soften and generalize into the Odes. The process in both cases is nearly complete before the name of the composition is changed.

Horace speaks himself (Epod. 14) of the Book as preparing for publication, and as having occupied some space of time in composition. The date of its publication is generally held to be fixed by the relation between Epod. 9 and Od. 1. 37, to the year B.C. 31–32.
HORATII EPODON LIBER.

EPODE I.

'You, Maecenas, are going to expose yourself to all the dangers of war for Caesar's sake—what think you I shall do, to whom you are as much as Caesar can be to you? I shall follow you to the world's end. Do you ask what good I can do? I shall be in less terror if I am with you than if I am absent. I have no selfish motive. Your bounty has made me rich enough already. I don't want more either to hoard or to squander.'

This Epode is usually referred (after the Scholiast) to the spring of B.C. 31, when Augustus, according to Dio (50. 11), before setting out to Actium, summoned the chief men of Rome—senators and equites, to meet him at Brundisium: τῶν μὲν ὅπως τι συμπάθωσιν αὐτῷ, τῶν δ' ὅπως μὴν ἔχοντες νεοχώρως, τὸ τε μέγιστὸν ὅπως ἐνδείξῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν Ρωμαίων ὄμογνω-μονὸν ἔχοι. It would be probable that Maecenas would go with the rest, although he must have returned to Rome and not gone on to Actium, as Dio (51. 3) speaks of his having been left in charge of Rome and Italy during the campaign. Mr. Dyer, however (in the Classical Museum, vol. ii. p. 20 foll., and in the Dict. Biog. s. v. Maecenas), argues strongly for the view that the Epode belongs to the war against Sextus Pompeius in the year B.C. 36, when there is reason (Appian, de Bell. Civ. 5. p. 729) to believe that Maecenas was in Sicily with Octavianus. He thinks that Horace actually accompanied him as he proposes to do, and that the otherwise unidentified escape from shipwreck in the poet's life ('Sicula Palinurus unda,' Od. 3. 4. 28 q. v.) belongs to this expedition.

IBIS Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula,
Paratus omne Caesaris periculum
Subire, Maecenas, tuo.

1. Liburnis, Od. 1. 37. 39, ships of a light build, modelled on the piratical vessels of the Liburni, a tribe on the Illyrian coast. They were the strength of Octavianus' fleet at Actium. Those who maintain the Sicilian reference of the Epode quote Appian, l.c., where Liburnian galleys are named among the ships of Octavianus which were lost in a storm during a campaign against Sextus Pompeius.

2. alta propugnacula. If the scene is Actium, these are the wooden towers (Plut. Ant. 66) on Antony's ships. Virg. Aen. 8. 691 'pelago credas innare revolnsas Cycladas aut montes concurrere montibus altos: Tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant.'

4. tuo, sc. 'periculo'; 'at your own peril.'
Horatii

Quid nos, quibus te vita si superstite
Iucunda, si contra, gravis?
Ut rumne iussi persequemur otium,
Non dulce, ni tecum simul,
An hunc laborem mente laturi decet
Qua ferre non molles viros?
Feremus et te vel per Alpium iuga
Inhospitalem et Caucasum
Vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
Forti sequemur pectore.
Roges, tuum labore quid iuven meo,
Imbellis ac firmus parum?
Comes minore sum futurus in metu,
Qui maior absentes habet;
Ut assidens implumibus pullis avis
Serpentium allapsus timet
Magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
Latura plus praesentibus.

5. si superstite. This was read by Porph., who notices the difficulty of construction, and gives the true explanation, viz. that 'sit' has to be understood both with 'te superstite' and with 'contra,' if it be spent in thy lifetime.' It is not harder than 'ni tecum simul' just below. A few MSS. omit 'si,' leaving the verse unmetrical, and some of the old editions have 'sit.' Ritter ex conj. 'si est.'

7. utrumne... an. Cicero has (pro Quint. 30) 'utrum possitne se... delende... an... addicatur,' where the usage is logically correct, 'which of the two things? this or that?' The coalescing of the two words is poetical, and does not appear in prose writers till the silver age. Horace uses 'ne' with interrogatives more freely than other writers, e.g. 'uterne,' Sat. 2. 2. 107, 'quine,' Sat. 1. 10. 21, 'quone,' Sat. 2. 3. 295, 'quantane,' Sat. 2. 3. 317.

iuissi, 'as you bid us.'

9. Best taken with Nauck, 'An hunc laborem [persequemur], laturi [eum] mette,' etc. He points out that 'Feremus' answers the question of 'laturi,' 'sequemur' (v. 14) of 'persequemur.' Others make 'laturi' = 'laturi sumus,' the verb of the sentence.

12. inhospitalem Caucasum, Od. 1. 22. 6.

13. sinum, Virg. G. 2. 123, 'extremi sinus orbis,' where see Conington. It would seem here to mean the last wind ing of the shore as it trends westward towards the Atlantic, so that it is the equivalent of 'Gades' in Od. 2. 6. 1.

16. See on Od. 2. 7. 10.

19. assidens, of the general time that she has a callow brood, for at the moment, ex hypothesi, she has left them.

21. ut adsit, 'even supposing she were present,' Madvig. L. G. § 440 a, obs. 4, sot Cic. pro Mil. 17, 'Ut enim neminem alium nisi T. Patinam familiarissimum sumum rogasset, seire potuit,' etc., and so also, if the subjunctive be read there, Mur. 34, 'si ut suffragentur nihil valent gratia.' Bentley, objecting to the tautology of 'ut adsit,' 'praesentibus,' would adopt 'uti sit,' 'non uti being = non quo,' 'not that she could give,' etc. This was the reading of one (it is not said the oldest) of Cruquius' MSS, and he draws support for it from the unmetrical 'ut sit' which is found in several MSS. amongst which are φ, ψ, τ, u. The vulg. was interpreted by Porph. Orelli suggests that the tautology is of a
Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
Bellum in tuae spem gratiae,
Non ut iuvencis illigata pluribus
Aratra nitantur mea,
Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
Lucana mutet pascuis,
Neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi
Circaea tangat moenia.
Satis superque me benignitas tua
Ditavit: haud paravero,
Quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,
Discinctus aut perdam nepos.

kind rather affected by Latin writers, e.g. Ter. Ad. 4. 5. 34 'cum hanc sibi videbit praesens praesenti eripi.'
23. militabitur bellum, as 'pugnata bella,' Od. 3. 19. 4. Epp. 1. 16. 25.
24. in spem, 'to further my hope,' as 'in honorem,' Od. 1. 7. 8.
25. gratiae is opposed to the more sordid objects which are repudiated in the following lines.
25-28. Compare the imagined objects of prayer in Od. 1. 31. 3 foll. 'Non opinmae Sardiniae segetes feraces Non aestuoseae grata Calabriae Armenta.' Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 177, in a similar connection, 'Calabris Saltibus adiecti Lucani.'
26. nitantur, 'struggle'; 'artratisinus poetice tribuitur qui proprie bom est,' Orelli.
mea. The best MSS. have 'meis,' but the copyists seem to have got into confusion between the terminations of 26, 28, and 30; 'pascua' dividing the older MSS. pretty equally with 'pascuis.' Sound and the balance of the adjective between 'iuvencis' and 'aratra' are in favour of the nominative which is given by Orelli, Dill', and Munro.
27. Orelli quotes Varro R. R. 2. 1. 16 'greges ovium longe abiguntur ex Apulia in Samnium aestivatum,' and ib. 2. 2. 9 'mihi greges in Apulia hibernabunt qui in Reatinis montibus aestivabunt.' For the construction of 'mutet' see Od. 1. 17. 2.
29. 'Nor that I may have a country house on the outskirts of Tusculum.'
superni describes its situation, crowning the Eastern summit of the Alban hills above the modern Frascati.
30. Circaea, as he calls the same hill in Od. 3. 29. 8 'Telegoni iuga parricidea,' q. v.
33. Chremes, apparently a miser of comedy, like the Euclio of the Aulularia, but the play or author is not known.
34. discinctus. The word is used literally or with no sense further than 'at one's ease,' in Sat. 2. 1. 73. It has got here, and in later authors, the sense of careless, loose, profligate—partly through the association of this mode of dress with idle and luxurious habits, partly through the metaphorical colour borrowed from the already established use of 'dissolutus.' The MSS. are divided between 'nepos' and 'ut nepos.' Ritter thinks the repetition of the 'ut' forcible, quoting Epod. 5. 9. 10.
EPODE II.

Horace gives a point to his praises of country life by putting them into the mouth of a money-lender notorious for his keenness in his trade. Cp. the saying attributed apparently to the same person, the 'fenerator Albìus,' by Columella (1. 7) 'vel optima nomina non appellando fieri mala,' 'that the best debtors become bad ones if you let them alone.' There does not seem to be any attempt to make the usurer speak in character through the poem; the pleasures named are those which any Roman poet would have named, cp. Virg. G. 2. 493 foll., Tibull. 1. 1. foll. It is the irony of the conclusion which turns an Idyll into an Epode. Its point is rather the strength of the 'ruling passion' (cp. the 'mercator' of Od. 1. 1. 16, who in the storm 'otium et oppidi Laudat rura sui: mox reficit rates Quassas') than, as has been suggested, the elaborate hypocrisy of a money-lender who makes his panegyric on a rustic life an excuse for pressing his debtors for repayment, while he means all the while to put the money out to interest again at the next settlement-day.

The diction of the Epode reminds us constantly of the Georgics.

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis,
Ut prisca gens mortàlium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
Solutus omni fenore,
Neque excitatur classico miles truci,
Neque horret iratum mare,
Forumque vitat et superba civium
Potentiorum limina.
Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos,

3. exercet, of continuous labour at anything, Virg. G. 1. 99 'Exercetque frequens tellurem.'
4. solutus omni fenore. He has nothing to do with usurers; his land came to him from his father; his bullocks were bred on his farm.
5. 6. He is not a soldier to have his sleep broken by the bugle, nor a trader to fear storms at sea.
9. ergo. 'And so,'—as he is free from these preoccupations, he can enjoy the simple tasks and pleasures of the country.

Propagine, the technical name for the young vine-plant grown from a layer, Virg. G. 2. 26 and 63.

9-13. aut. .. aut. .. que. Compare vv. 15, 16, 17 'aut,' 'aut,' 'vel.' The first triplet of alternatives describes the pleasant tasks of preparation, the second those of gathering the fruits. In each case the last of the three is marked by a change of the conjunction, cp. vv. 31, 33, 35 'aut,' 'aut,' 'que,' Od. 1. 12. 5. 6 'aut,' 'aut,' 've.' Several editors have followed Fabricius in transposing vv. 11, 12 and 13, 14, on the ground that the
pasturing of cattle seems out of place between the more cognate operations of transplanting vines and grafting fruit-trees. But it is scarcely possible that the mistake should have vitiated every existing MS. Bentley points out that the two operations are, after all, very distinct, and belong to different times of the year. The feeling of the passage is the great choice of pleasant tasks which the countryman enjoys, and the sense of this would perhaps be diminished rather than increased by sorting them too nicely.

10. altas answers to 'adulta'; the plants are now (in three years, Col. de Arb. 7) grown large enough to clamber a tree, which would have been too tall for them before. Ritter points out that 'altas' appeals to the eye, as does 'prospectat' in the next couplet. His labour is associated with pleasant sights and sounds. For the metaphor of 'maritat' cp. Od. 2. 15. 4. 5. 30.

13. que. It is better to take 'que' as disjunctive (see on Od. 1. 3. 9 and 3. 11. 49), than with Bentley to alter it here and in v. 63 to 've.'

14. feliciores, as Virgil, of the grafted tree, G. 2. 81 'Exit ad caelum ramis felicibus.'

16. infirmas. The Scholiast interprets 'unable to bear the weight of their wool'; but it is probably no more than an habitual epithet = 'molle pecus,' and only in point as helping the general idea of peacefulness, 'the unresisting sheep.'

17. vel, see on v. 9-12. Macl. rightly points out that the uses of 'vel cum,' in an elliptical construction with no apodosis (as in Virg. Aen. II. 406), although quoted by Orelli and others, are not relevant. Sat. 2. 7. 95 is a real parallel. The apodosis here is 'ut gaudet,' 'how here rejoices' cp. v. 61 'ut iuvat.'

19. gaudet decerpens, a Greek use of the participle, ἡβεταί δρέκων.

20. certantem purpuræ, 'rivalling the purple dye': for dative cp. 1. 1. 15 'luctantem fluctibus,' etc.

21. Priapus is to be paid as the protector of gardens. Virg. E. 7. 33. Catull. 20. Silvanus is not only, as in Od. 3. 29. 23, the wild forest-god, but also a patron of country life and pursuits, 'arvorum pecorisque deus,' Virg. Aen. 8. 601, and specially under the title of 'Silvanus orientalis,' like Terminus, a protector of the sacred 'landmark,' the symbol of property, Dict. Biol. s. v.

23. Some good MSS. (not B, nor, as far as appears, V) begin a new Epode here, and Acron supports them, writing at v. 1 'Laus vitae rusticae,' and here 'Introductur quendam feneratorem loquentem et laudantem vitam quietam nec tamen suum propositum deserentem.' Porph. gives no indication. See Introct. to Od. 1. 7.

24. tenaci seems to mean 'soft and deep,' that makes a couch from which you do not slip.
Labuntur altis interim rivis aquae,
Queruntur in silvis aves,
Fontesque lymphis obstreput manantibus,
Sonnos quod invitet leves.

At cum tonantis annis hibernis Iovis
Imbres nivesque comparat,
Aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multa cane
Apros in obstantes plagas,
Aut amite levì rara tendit retia,
Turdìs edacibus dolos,
Pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem
Iucunda captat præmia.

Quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,
Haec inter oblìviscitur?

25. *rivis*, the reading of V and B; though corrected in the latter by a second hand to 'ripis,' the reading of the majority of MSS. Compare against Orelli's objections to 'rivis,' Od. 2. 3. 11. 'Altis rivis' must apparently mean 'in brimming watercourses': 'altis ripis' has been variously rendered; Bentley, who prefers it on the ground that we are speaking of summer or autumn when streams are low, interprets 'with their banks high,' i.e. 'deep between their banks.' Orelli thinks it is not meant as a peculiarity of the time of year, but as a general characteristic of the streams which adds to their beauty and pleasantness, 'between high banks,' i.e. of foliage, rocks, etc. But a comparison of Lucr. 2. 362 (in the same connection as this) 'summis labentia ripis,' and Quint. 12. 2 'Ut vis amnium maior est altis ripis multoque gurgitis tractu fluentium quam tenuis aquae et objectu lapillorum resultantis' would suggest that if Horace wrote 'altis ripis' he meant rather 'high up its banks,' so that it comes to the same as 'rivis.'

27. *obstreput*, sc. 'audientibus,' see Od. 3. 30. 10. Markland founded on Prop. 4. 4. 4 'Multaque nativis obstrepet orbò aquis,' an ingenious conj. 'frondes' for 'fontes,' 'lymphis' being then the dative.

28. quod, sc. 'murmur quod.'

29-36. We pass to winter amusements.

32. *obstantes*, 'set to stop them.'

33. *levi*, prob. 'smooth,' though as 'ames' does not occur elsewhere in poetry, it is not possible to pronounce certainly on the quantity of its first syllable.

35. *laqueo*, a dissyllable, not an anaepæst, cp. Epod. 5. 79, 11. 23, and see Index of Metres.

37 foll. The 'malae amoris curae,' its follies and fancies and jealousies are left for the idle and luxurious life of the city. The 'pubica uxor' and the pleasures of home are more likely to be found in the country. Virg. G. 2. 523 ' dulces pendent circum oscula nati; Casta pudicitiam servat domus.' For the attraction which makes 'curas' agree with the relative, and leaves
Quodsi pudica mulier in partem iuvet
Domum atque dulces liberos,
Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Apuli,
Sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum
Lassi sub adventum viri,
Claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus
Distanta siccet ubera,
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio
Dapes inemptas apparat:
Non me Lucrina iuverint conchylia
Magisve rhombus aut scari,
Si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
Hiems ad hoc vertat mare;
Non Afr a avis descendent in ventrem meum,
Non attagen Ionicus

'malarum' without a subst., cp. Sat. 1.
4. 2 'alii quorum comedia prisca viro-
rum est,' Virg. Aen. 1. 573 'urbe-
quam statuo vestra est.'

39. quodsi. The apodosis begins at
v. 49 'non me.' If I can have all these
home pleasures I do not care for the
less luxurious diet. Haupt's alteration,
'quid si,' impairs the antithesis between
the 'pudica uxor,' etc., and vv. 37, 38.

in partem, ev µepe, 'for her share,'
iuvet, with a zeugma. It is the ap-
propriate verb only with 'domum,'
graces,' 'helps.' By uniting closely
the two substantives, 'the home with
its blooming children,' we can bring
'dulces liberos' into some recognisable
relation to it, but still the new sub-
stantive breathes into the verb a new idea
of 'helping to govern,' which does not
belong to it properly, and which was
not needed so long as it was only con-
structed with 'domum.'

41. Sabina, Od. 3. 6. 37 foll. Virg.
G. 2. 532.

42. pernicis = 'strenui'; 'impiger
Apulus,' Od. 3. 16. 26. The whole
passage is imitated by Statius, Silv. 5. 1.
122 foll.

Apuli, see on Od. 1. 22. 13 and 3. 5. 9.

43. exstruat, a natural asyndeton,
which Lambinus and others needlessly
fill up by reading 'sacrum et' or 'sa-
crumque.'

44. sub adventum, 'as her hus-
band's return draws near.'

45. laetum. as Virgil's 'laeta armenta,'
'healthy,' 'fruitful.'

47. horna, of the simplicity of his
rustic fare, 'wine of the year,' and so
drunk, as we should say, 'from the
wood'; never drawn off from the 'do-
lium' into 'amphorae' or 'cadi' for
storing.


49-60. Compare Sat. 2. 2, where a
pernis Apulus' discourses in favour of
plain living; most of the dainties named
here occur there also.

49. Lucrina, from the Lucrine lake;
Sat. 2. 4. 32 'Lucrina peloris.'

50. scari, Sat. 2. 2. 22.

51. intonata, of the noise of the
371 'Errique Zephyrique tonat domus.'
The deponent form is not found else-
where.

53. Afr a avis, Juv. 11. 142. Martial
3. 58. 15 calls apparently the same birds
'Numidicae guttatae.' They are com-
monly identified with our guinea-fowl.

54. attagen, Mart. 13. 61 'Inter sa-
pores fertur altium primus Ionicarum
gustus attagenarum.' It is said to be the
heathcock.
HORATII EPODON

Iucundior; quam lecta de pinguissimis
Oliva ramis arborum
Aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi
Malvae salubres corpori,
Vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus
Vel haedus ereptus lupo.
Has inter epulas ut iuvat pastas oves
Videre properantes domum,
Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
Collo trahentes languido,
Positosque vernas, ditis examen domus,
Circum renidentes Lares!

56. oliva . . lapathi . . malvae, cp. Od. 1. 31. 15, 16 'Me pascunt olivae, Me cichorea levesque malvae,' where 'leves' answers to 'gravi salubres corpore.'

59. His vegetable diet is varied with meat on rare occasions, on the festival of Terminus (Feb. 23, cp. Ov. Fast. 2. 639 foll.), or when a kid has been torn by a wolf but snatched from his mouth. Cp. Martial's Coenula (10. 48. 14) 'haedus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi,' and Plutarch's saying (Sympos. 2. 9), "la

55. Aut haec serva festis caesa Terminalibus.
56. Vel haedus ereptus lupo.
57. Has inter epulas ut iuvat pastas oves
58. Videre properantes domum,
59. Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
60. Collo trahentes languido,
61. Positosque vernas, ditis examen domus,
62. Circum renidentes Lares!
63. Haec ubi locutus fenerator Alfius,
64. Lam iam futurus rusticus,
65. Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,
66. Quaecit Kalendis ponere.

60. redegit. Bentley shows by a large collection of instances, chiefly from Cicero, that this was the usual word for calling in money that had been let or was otherwise due. A few MSS. and the earlier editions have 'relegit.'

Idibus . . Kalendis. The Kalends, Ides, and Nones were all days of settlement. Cic. Verr. 2. i. 57 'Nemo Rabonio molestus est neque Kalendis Decembris neque Nonis neque Idibus.' Compare for the Ides Sat. 1. 6. 75, where they are the monthly pay-day at schools, and for the Kalends Sat. 1. 3. 87 'Qui nisi cum tristes misero venere Kalendae Mercedem aut nummos unde extricat,' etc. Interest at Rome was calculated by the month.

70. ponere, to 'lend' it again. A.P. 421 'dives positis in fenore nummis.'
EPODE III.

A mock heroic invective against garlic. Horace has eaten some dish seasoned with it at Maecenas' table, and he treats it as a practical joke of his host's (v. 20 'iocose Maecenas'). 'Garlic should be substituted for hemlock in the punishment of parricides. What can the reapers' stomachs be made of? He has taken poison—viper's blood, some decoction of Canidia's—the very drug which Medea used to prevent the bulls touching Jason, and to destroy Creüsa. The heat of Apulia in the dog-days, of Hercules' fiery garment, was nothing to it. If Maecenas has the bad taste to have such a dish again, may he be rewarded by finding that he cannot get a kiss if he wishes it.'

Compare the commencement of Od. 2. 13.

PARENTIS olim si quis impia manu
Senile guttur fregerit,
Edit cicitis allium nocentius.
O dura messorum ilia!
Quid hoc veneni saevit in praeordiis?
Num viperinus his cruor
Incoctus herbis me fefellit? an malas
Canidia tractavit dapes?
Ut Argonautas praeter omnes candidum
Medea mirata est ducem,
Ignota tauris illigaturum iuga
Perunxit hoc Iasonem;

1. olim. The development, according to the context, from an original meaning 'at that time,' i.e. 'not at this time,' of the definite meanings 'at a past time' (as Od. 3. 11. 5 'nec loquax olim') and 'at a future time' (as Od. 2. 10. 17 'non si malo nunc et olim Sic erit'), as well as the colourless meaning 'any time,' 'ever' (as in this place; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 25 'ut puers olim dant crustula blandi Doctores,' Epp. 1. 16. 42, etc.), affords a good illustration of the general history of particles the most definite in their eventual meaning, such as 'dum,' 'nam,' and even the negatives; it also illustrates the various uses of the Greek aorist.

3. edit, an archaic form of the subjunctive; Sat. 2. 8. 90.

4. messorum, for it was a usual ingredient in their messes; Virg. E. 10 'Thestylos et rapido fessis messoribus aestu Allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes.'

6. viperinus cruor; Od. 1. 8. 9.

7. malas, i.e. poisonous; Virg. Aen. 2. 471 'mala gramina pastus.'

8. Canidia; see Introd. to Epod. 5 and 17.

9. ut, temporal, as Epod. 5. 11. praeeter omnes, with 'mirata est,' candidum, of young beauty, as 'candide Bassareu,' Od. 1. 18. 11.

11. ignota expresses the difficulty of the task; none had yoked them yet.
Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem
Serpente fugit alite.
Nec tantus unquam siderum insedit vapor
Siticulosae Apuliae,
Nec munus humeris efficacis Herculis
Inarsit aestuosius.
At si quid unquam tale concupiveris,
Iocose Maecenas, precor.
Manum puella savio opponat tuo,
Extrema et in sponda cubet.

13. pellicem. So Medea would call Creiisa or Glauce, feeling that she herself was his true wife; cp. Epod. 5. 61–66.
14. serpente alite, on her chariot drawn by winged serpents; cp. Od. 4. 1.
15. vapor, mist of heat.
16. siticulosae; Od. 3. 30. 11.
17. munus, the present of Deianira, the robe smeared with the blood of Nessus; Epod. 17. 31.
efficacis. Ritter points out that neither ‘humeris’ nor ‘efficacis’ are inert: ‘those shoulders that had wrought such miracles of strength, were not proof against Nessus’ poison.’

EPODE IV.

A violent attack on some freedman, who moved the wrath of Horace and of the citizens by his display and arrogance. ‘A little while ago flogged as a slave: now with a fine estate in Campania, a pony-carriage on the Appian way, and a seat at spectacles among the “equites”!’ With what face do we fit out fleets against Sextus Pompey and his runaway slaves, if we let a man of the same stamp hold the rank of “tribunus militum”?

We can hardly doubt that the Epode was aimed at some real person. The Scholiasts say Menas, or Menodorus, the freedman and friend of Sextus Pompeius (see on Od. 3. 16. 16), who, in b.c. 38, being then in command of a fleet and of the island of Sardinia, deserted to Octavianus, and was received by him with great honour: Dio C. 48. 45 ἐν τιμῇ μεγάλῃ ἤγαγε δακτυλίας τε χρυσίσι ἐκόσμησε καὶ ἐσ τὸ τῶν ἱππών τέλος ἐσέγραψε. Suetonius (Aug. 74) mentions him as the only ‘libertinus’ whom Augustus ever invited to his own table. In b.c. 36 he returned for a short time to the service of his old master, but again deserted to Octavianus, and was received, if not to confidence, yet to employment. He died in 35. Various difficulties have been felt in this identification. The absence of any
mention of the fickleness and treachery of Menas, has been thought to fix the date of the Epode, if it refers to him, to the period between his first desertion of Sextus Pompeius and his return to his service in 36. Yet during that time he was serving with the fleet which he had carried over to Octavianus' side; and, though he may have visited Rome, he can hardly have become as familiar a sight to the Roman populace as is implied by vv. 11–16. The office of ‘tribunus militum’ seems also a strange one to be selected (Horace would choose the highest that he filled) for the commander of a fleet. Several MSS, including B and A, head the Epode with the words ‘Ad Sextum Menam libertinum. Vedian Rufus ex servitute miratur usu-passe equestre dignitatem usque ad tribunatum militum,’ with no sign that the two inscriptions are inconsistent or alternative; a common mistake, which seems to lead us back to some common authority of greater antiquity. Of the two names offered, Menas was a likely guess to any one who knew the history of the time, and therefore carries with it less probability than the entirely unknown name of Vedian Rufus, to which there was nothing in the text or in the generally known histories to lead a copyist or annotator. Orelli shows from an inscription that Rufus is found among the cognomina of the Vedi.

LUPIS et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
Tecum mihi discordia est,
Hiberios peruste funibus latus
Et crura dura compede.
Licet superbus ambules pecunia,
Fortuna non mutat genus.
Videsne, Sacram metiente te viam
Cum bis † trium ulnarum toga,
Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
Liberrima indignatio?

1. Epod. 15. 7, a proverb for implacable hate; Hom. II. 22. 263 Οδή λύκου τε καὶ ἄρνες ἄμφοτερα θυμών ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυρχοῦν διαμετρέσσι ἀλλήλουσιν ἔτσι ὡς ἢ γίνεται ἣ μὲ καὶ σὲ φιλήμεναι.
sortito obtigit, a phrase of Plautus, Merc. I. 2. 24.
3. Hiberios, of Spanish broom; Plin. N. H. 19. 1 and 7. Quintillian (8. 2.) laughs at an advocate who spoke of ‘herbae Hibericae’ meaning ‘Spartum,’ though no one in court knew what he meant. Those who identify the object of the Epode with Menas, notice the connection of Sextus Pompeius with Spain, and also the appropriateness of the instrument of punishment to one who had spent his life on shipboard. In the army the centurion was armed with a ‘vitis.’

peruste; Epp. 1. 16. 47 ‘loris non ureris.’

7. metiente, walking from end to end of it. The ‘Sacra via’ was a lounge of men of leisure; Sat. 1. 9. 1.
8. trium, a necessary alteration it would seem of ‘ter,’ the reading which has vitiatd all the MSS. a:d the text of the Scholia. The sense of the true reading is given by Acr. and Porph., ‘cum sex ulnarum toga;’ but it is hard to see how ‘bis ter ulnarum’ could be a Latin form of expressing this. For the broad ‘toga,’ spread out by the elbows as a sign of importance, cp. Sat. 2. 3. 183 ‘Latus ut in Circo spatiere,’ Epp. 1. 18. 30 ‘Arcta decet sanum comitem toga,’ Cic. Cat. 2. 10 ‘velis amicti non togis.’
9. ora vertat, ‘make them turn away,’ Schol.; ‘make them turn to look,’ Ritter. If we may interpret Horace by himself, it will mean neither, but rather ‘make their countenances
HORATII EPODON

Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus
Praeconis ad fastidium
Arat Falerni mille fundi iugera
Et Appiam mannis terit,
Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques
Othone contempto sedet!
Quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
Rostrata duci pondere
Contra latrones atque servilem manum
Hoc, hoc tribuno militum?

change'; cp. Sat. 2. 8. 35 'vertere pallor
Tum parochi faciem.'

hoc et huc. In prose it would be
rather 'hoc et illuc'; cp. Epod. 2. 31
'hinc et hinc.'

10. liberrima; Epod. 11. 16 'libera
bilis,' 'finding free vent.' The remaining
verses represent the actual expres-
sion of the indignation. This is clear,
as Kitter points out, from the change
from the second person to the third.

11. triumviralibus; Dict. Ant. s.v.
'Triumviri capitales.' They had the
power of inflictingsummary punishment
upon slaves.

12. praeconis ad fastidium, 'till
the crier was tired.' What part the
crier played in the chastisement does not
appear. The editors say that he had to
go on proclaiming the culprit's offence,
but they allege no adequate authority.
Porph. 's note is 'donec...praeco cum
vellet desinere iubet.'

13. Falerni, some of the best land
in Campania. The Scholiasts remark
that in Italy the vines are trained on
trees, and the ground between them
ploughed and sown. The Appian way
is perhaps named as the road which he
would naturally traverse on his way
between Rome and his estate.

15. 'Sits grandly as a knight in the
front seats, and snaps his fingers at
Otho.' He has no fear of a prosecution
under Otho's law for taking a seat in the
fourteen rows reserved for the 'equites'
and persons 'equestri censu,' for he is
possessed of far more than the requisite
income of 400,000 sesterces; cp. Epp. 1.
1. 58, 62. For other references to this
law of L. Roscius Otho see Cic. Mur.
19. Juv. 3. 159, 14. 324. It would seem
from the allusion here, as well as from
other considerations, that the purpose
of the law was exclusive and aristo-
cratic.

17. quid attinet, 'what good is it?'
No exact parallel can be quoted for 'ora
navium rostrata' = 'ships with their
beaked bows'; but we need hardly alter
it with Bentley for that reason to 'aera.'
Perhaps we may compare Homer's νιτς
μυλτοπάρη, and Aeschylus' converse use
of πρόα and καλλίσπρος, of the human
face.

18. duci seems to imply that an ex-
pedition was at that time fitting out
against Sextus Pompeius and his 'gang
of brigands and slaves'; cp. Epod. 9.
9. 10.
EPODE V.

CANIDIA, with her crew of witches, Sagana, Veia, and Folia, is engaged in the task of drawing to her, by spells of magic, a miserable old man named Varus. vv. 1-10, the poem opens with the terrified prayers of a boy, who sees dimly that the hags have some dreadful intent, though he knows not what. 11-14, he is stripped and set in the midst to await their further purposes. 15-24, Canidia gives her orders for the brewing of the magic bowl. 25-28, Sagana sprinkles the house with water from Avernus. 29-40, Veia, meanwhile, is digging in the garden a hole where, if this spell proves insufficient, the boy is to be buried up to his chin, and left to starve, that his marrow and liver may be ingredients in a more potent philtre. 41-46, Folia plays her part in the incantation. What it was is left to our imagination; we are only told of her power—she could draw the moon and stars from the sky. 47-60, Canidia, half afraid already that her spells are not successful, appeals to the powers that witness her black arts, that her beloved (an old fop, on whom she is made to pour contempt in her very prayer) may come to her. 61-82, 'he comes not; what has happened? No herb has been omitted, nothing that could make him forget other charms. Aha! she sees it all. He is under the spell of some more skilful witch. He shall not get off, however. She has a stronger charm yet to try, and heaven and earth shall change places before she lets his love go.' 85-102, the boy understands her, and interrupts the scene with a burst of despair, in which he threatens his torturers with the vengeance of spirits and men.

The scene is laid in the interior of a house in Rome, apparently in the Subura; see on vv. 25, 30, 58. A misunderstanding of v. 43, led Porph. to lay the scene at Naples.

AT, o deorum quidquid in caelo regit
Terras et humanum genus,
Quid iste fert tumultus? et quid omnium
Voltus in unum me truces?

1. at, a common particle in exclamations. It implies of course a previous train of thought of which the speaker is conscious in himself, or which he imagines in another. The exclamation introduced by it is of the nature of an appeal ('provocatio ad deos'; cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 535 'At tibi pro scelere, exclamat, pro talibus ausis Di, etc., and cp. the use of ἀλλά ἂν, e.g. in Aesch. Cho. 306) or of an answer. Here, if with V and B and Porph., we read 'regit' (the majority of later MSS. have 'regis'), the actual address is not to the gods, but to the witches, the first two lines being an exclamation. 'At' introducing the adjuration, marks the change that has come over him. He can bear it no longer; he must know what they mean.

deorum quidquid; Sat. i. 6. 1 'Ly-
dorum quidquid.'

3. et quid. So apparently V, but the other MSS. are fairly divided between 'et' and 'aut'; Orelli, preferring 'aut,' compares Epod. 7. 1.

4. unum contrasts with omnium, 'so many against one.' With the construc
tion 'voltus in me' cp. Od. i. 2. 40 'acer
Mauri... carentum voltus in hostem.'
HORATII EPODON

Per liberos te, si vocata partubus
Lucia veris affuit,
Per hoc inane purpurae decus precor,
Per improbaturum haec Iovem,
Quid ut noverca me intueris aut uti
Petita ferro belua?
Ut haec trementi questus ore constitit
Insignibus raptis puer,
Impube corpus, quale posset impia
Mollire Thracum pectora,
Canidia, brevibus implicata viperis
Crines et incomptum caput,
Iubet sepulcri caprificos erutus,
Iubet cupressus funebres
Et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine
Plumamque nocturnae strigis
Herbasque, quas Iolcos atque Hiberia
Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis
Flammis aduri Colchicis.

5. te, singles out Canidia as the principal.
6. veris; cp. Epod. 17. 50. The words are doubtless meant in the boy's mouth to have an innocent meaning, 'if you really know what it is to be a mother.'

7. purpuræ, the 'toga praetexta'; 'sacrum illud praetexturum quo sacerdotes velantur, quo magistratus, quo infirmitatem puerorum sacram facimus ac venerabilem,' Quint. Decl. 340. It and the 'bulla,' a thin plate of gold hung round the neck (Pers. Sat. 5. 30, 31), are the 'insignia' which in v. 12 are snatched from him.

11. ut constitit, when, notwithstanding this appeal, he was stripped and set in the midst to await their further pleasure.

15. viperis, 'furiali habitu,' Schol. Canidia and her fellow witches are called Furies in Sat. 1. 8. 45.

17. caprificos, a common growth of cemeteries; Juv. 10. 145.

19, 20. The construction is 'uncta ranae sanguine ova strigis plumamque.' Compare a charm for a similar purpose in Prop. 3. 6. 27 'Ille cursus ranae portentia rubetae Et lecta exsuscis anguibus ossa trahunt, Et strigis inventae per busta iacentia plumae.' 'Strix' is the screech-owl; the 'rana turpis' is the 'rubeta,' a toad, so called because found in bramble-thickets; it was believed to be poisonous. Plin. N. H. 32. 5, Juv. 1. 69.

21. Ioleos, in Thessaly; cp. v. 45, and Od. 1. 27. 21 'Thessalis Magus venenis.'

Hiberia, strictly the country lying between the Caucasus on the north, Armenia on the south, Colchis, which separated it from the Euxine, on the west, and Albania, which separated it from the Caspian, on the east. Its inhabitants professed (Tac. Ann. 6. 34) to be descendants of the Thessalians who sailed with Jason; Virg. E. 8. 95 'Has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena.'

23. ossa, perhaps human bones, the dogs being those that prowled about a graveyard. Orelli quotes Apul. Met. 1, who mentions among the ingredients of a philtre, 'a skull torn from between
At expedita Sagana per totam domum
Spargens Avernales aquas
Horret capillis ut marinus asperis
Echinus aut currens aper.
Abacta nulla Veia conscientia
Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat ingemens laboribus,
Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terque mutatae dapis
Inemori spectaculo,
Cum promineret ore, quantum exstant aqua
Suspensa mento corpora;
Exsecta uti medulla et aridum iecur
Amoris esset polum,
Interinato cum semel fixae cibo
Intabuissent populae.

the teeth of a wild beast.' In any case they are appropriate to this 'desideri polum,' as typical of the rage of disappointed animal passion. Compare in this respect the more potent spell of vv. 37-40.

24. Colchicis = 'magicis,' such as Medea might have kindled.

25. expedita = 'succincta,' Sat. 1. 8.

26. Avernales, as the witch in Virg. Aen. 4. 512 'Sparsar et latices simulatoys fontis Avernii.'

28. currens. The epithet seemed out of place to Bentley, as the boar's bristles do not rise more when he is running, and he advocates Heinsius' conjecture 'Laurens.' But 'currens' is in point as completing the whole resemblance of the boar to Sagana bustling about. It has the more place, as we have had no definite verb to express her movements.

29. abacta nulla conscientia, 'not one whit deterred by her consciousness of what she was doing,' i.e. of its cruelty and wickedness. For the use of 'nulla' see on Od. 3. 20. 7.

30. duris, not quite an inert epithet, if we compare Od. 3. 11. 31. 4. 4. 57. The 'hardness' of the iron is in a way identified with the persistence of her purpose—she would dig till the iron was tired.

humum, the soil in the 'impluvium' of the house (v. 25) in which the scene is laid.

33. bis terque. So all the good MSS. and editors since Bentley, against the v. 1. 'bis terve.' He points out that the two readings differ materially in sense. 'Bis terque' = 'saepi,' cp. A. P. 440 'melius te posse negare.' Bis terque expertum frustra'; 'bis terve' = 'raro,' cp. A. P. 358.

34. inemori spectaculo, ivanovui-ovein ty beq. 'Inemori' is an ἄραጲ γεγεν

36. suspendo mento explains 'quantum exstant aqua,' 'as much as is above water of a swimmer's body, when it floats as though it hung by the chin.'

37. exsecta. This (or 'exacta') is the reading of V and B, and of the MSS. of Acr. and Porph. Bentley's objection that we require rather an epithet to correspond with 'aridum,' is very well answered by Ritter. We do not require one, for 'aridum' is intended to cover both substantives, as is 'exsecta' also; see on Od. 2. 10. 6. 2. 11. 1. 2. 15. 18. 20. 3. 4. 18. 4. 9. 29. The other MSS. offer many variants: 'exsucta,' 'exsuca,' 'exuta,' 'exerta.' Bentley preferred a conjecture of Heinsius, 'exesa.'

39. interinato, pass. part. of the usually deponent 'interinor,' a stronger word than 'interdicto,' 'forbidden with threats.'

semel with 'cum,' 'as soon as ever,' as 'ut semel,' Sat. 2. 1. 24.
HORATII EPODON

Non defuisse masculae libidinis
Ariminensem Foliam
Et otiosa credidit Neapolis
Et omne vicinum oppidum,
Quae sidera excantata voce Thessala
Lunamque caelo deripit.
Hic irresectum saeva dente livido
Canidia rodens pollicem
Quid dixit aut quid tacuit? O rebus meis
Non infideles arbitrae,
Nox et Diana, quae silentium regis,
Arcana cum fiunt sacra,
Nunc, nunc adeste, nunc in hostiles domos
Iram atque numen vertite!
Formidolosis dum latent silvis ferae
Dulci sopore languidae,

41. non defuisse, 'was not wanting to her part'; see argument. The mention of Folia of Ariminum (a town of Umbria on the Adriatic), apparently a real person, and the appeal to the gossip of Naples, are intended to give an air of truthfulness to the story.

43. otiosas, a town of Greeks and seaside loungers, who eis oddein etepon ev-
kalpoun ët légon ti kal ákouen kanvitépou:
cp. Liv. 8. 22 'gentem lingua magis strenuum quam factis.' The Comm. Cruq. says that Naples was also called 'fabulosa,' 'gossiping.'

45. sidera excantata; Epod. 17. 5 and 78, Virg. E. 8. 69.

47. irresectum, 'grown long'; Sat. 1. 8. 26 'scalpere terram Unguibus.' It is another attribute of the Furies; see on v. 15, and cp. v. 93.

dente livido, 'black from age,' to add to the repulsiveness of the picture; or like 'dente invido,' Od. 4. 3. 16, the passion of jealousy being attributed to the tooth. The action is intended to express her excitement as she awaits impatiently the issue of her spells.

49. quid dixit aut quid tacuit, a proverbial way of expressing want of restraint in speaking, whether, as here, from passion, or as in Epp. 1. 7. 72 'dicenda tacenda locutus,' from garrulity; cp. ënta árphnta τε.

50. Cp. Medea's invocation Ov. Met. 7. 192 foll. 'Nox, ait, arcanis fidissima... Tuque triceps Hecate quae coeptis con-
scia nostris Adiutrique venis,' Theocr. 2. 10. 12.

arbitrae, in Cicero's sense of 'wit-
nesses,' Off. 3. 31.

53. in hostiles domos, perhaps only the common formula for 'avert from my home'; cp. Od. 1. 21. 15 'in Persas atque Britannos,' 3. 27. 21. If special 'enemies' must be found, they will be her rivals in the love of Varus.

55. formidolosis. The MSS. vary between this reading and the nominative 'formidolosae.' B, A, and the Queen's Coll. MS. have the ablative. Bentley interprets the evidence as to V more fairly than Keller. Cruquius found, it appears, the ablative in all the Bland. MSS, and with it the annotation 'propter horrorem noctis et ferarum'; but inasmuch as there was also the contradictory annotation which he prints in the Scholia, 'timendae, quod timorem incitant,' he did not think it worth while, in a matter of slight importance ('quod parum inter-
esset'), and where the evidence of his authorities was thus divided, to alter the received text. If we read the ablative, it will have an active meaning, as Virg. G. 4. 468 'caligantem nigra formidine
silvam.' This is Horace's use of the adjective in Od. 2. 17. 18. If we have the nominative, it will have a passive sense, 'timorous,' as in Ter. Eun. 4. 6. 18, etc. In either case its force seems
Senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum
Latrent Suburanae canes
Nardo perunctum, quale non perfectus
Meae laborarint manus.—
Quid accidit? Cur dira barbarae minus
Venena Medae valent?
Quibus superbam fugit ulta pellicem,
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, tabo minun imbutum, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit.
Atqui nec herba nec latens in asperis
Radix feellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum.—
Ah ah! solutus ambulat veneficae
Scientioris carmine.

to lie, as the Scholiast implies, in its
suggestion of the 'awfulness' of night,
'now that your spell is on the woods
and their inhabitants.' The two verses
combine the ideas of the hour of mid-
night as the time when magic powers
are strongest, and of the lover awake
while all the rest of the world is asleep,
as Dido in Virg. Aen. 4. 525 'Dum
tact omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque
volucres,' etc.

57-60. The prayer of the next four
lines is not quite clear. Why does she
wish the dogs to bark? As a sign that
the scented old pop is coming to her
door? or to frighten him from the doors
of her rivals as he comes through the
Subura? The first view would be illus-
trated by the sign of Daphnis' approach
in answer to the spells in Virgil's Phar-
macuetria, E. 8. 107 'Hylax in limine
latrat.' The second, however, gives a
better explanation of 'quod omnes
rideant,' and of the care with which she
has herself prepared the perfumed un-
guent, which he uses in his vanity with-
out guessing its purpose. She is meant
to make him (and herself thereby) ri-
duculous to the reader; but she would not
wish him to be laughed at, except as a
means of keeping him to herself.

58. Suburanae. 'Subura' was the
broad hollow formed by the junction of
the valleys between the Quirinal, Vimi-
nal, and Esquiline hills, and opening on
the Fora. It was a busy part of Rome,
but has a bad name in the poets; Prop.
4. 7. 15. Mart. 6. 66. Juv. 3. 3. 5.
59. 'Of such sort as my hands could
never bring to greater perfection'; cp.
Sat. 1. 5. 41 'animalae, quales neque can-
didiores Terra tultit neque quis me sit
devinctior alter,' 'souls of such sort as
ever walked the earth more purely
white,' etc.

60. laborarint, potential. The read-
ing of V and MSS. of Porph., 'labora-
runt,' has also strong authority.

61. quid accidit? She perceives that
her spells have failed.
62. venena Medaeae, philtres such as
Medea's, as 'flammis Colchicis,' v. 24.
superbam is the reading of V, and
sound and sense support it. But 'su-
perba,' the reading of B, has almost
better authority, as it was found by
Acr., who interprets 'potens.'

67. latens asperis; 'I have not omit-
ted any herb of power, because it was
hard to find or grew in a difficult place.'

69. 70. The best interpretation seems
to be, 'the bed he sleeps on has been
smared with a drug to make him forget
all other mistresses.' It is a continua-
tion of her assurances to herself, that no
precaution has been omitted.

71. ah ah! The truth suddenly oc-
curs to her.
solutus; Od. 1. 27. 21.
ambulat, 'walks where he will'; i.e.
is not bound by the spell to come to me.
Non usitatris, Vare, potionibus,  
O multa fleturum caput,  
Ad me recurrens, nec vocata mens tua  
Marsis redibit vocibus:  
Maius parabo, maius infundam tibi  
Fastidienti pocolum,  
Priusque caelum sidet inferius mari,  
Tellure porrrecta super,  
Quam non amore sic nec flagres uti  
Bitumen atris ignibus.—  
Sub haec puer iam non ut ante mollibus  
Lenire verbis impias,  
Sed dubius unde rumperet silentium  
Misit Thyesteas preces:  
Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent  
Convertere humanam vicem;

75. nec vocata... vocibus, 'nor shall it be at the summons of Marsian spells that thy heart shall come back to me,' 'Marsi vocibus' corresponding to 'usitatris potionibus' in the last clause, both being answered by 'Maius parabo, maius infundam,' etc. This interpretation gives a more continuous sense than the old one, which Ritter still supports, 'nor shall thy heart go back again (i.e. from me), though summoned by Marsian spells.' The Marsi were famous in sorcery; Epod. 17. 29, Virg. Aen. 7.

77. maius parabo, sc. 'quiddam.' Only the second 'maius' goes with 'pocolum.' infundam, 'I will mix.'

79. inferius, the last two syllables coalesce; see on Epod. 2. 35.

82. atris, of the smoky flame of the burning bitumen. With these two lines cp. Virg. E. 8. 80-83.

83. sub haec, 'immediately on hearing this'; Sat. 2. 8. 83. Canidia's words have made him despair of life, but he will curse her before he dies. The editors compare the behaviour of Drusus towards Tiberius, in Tac. Ann. 6. 24 'ubi exspes vitae fuit meditatas compositasque diras imprecabatur.'

85. dubius unde, etc. His doubt was Dido's, Virg. Aen. 4. 371 'Quae quibus anteferam?'

86. Thyesteas, such as Thyestes might have uttered against Atreus, the murderer of his children.

87, 88. No interpretation more satisfactory on the whole has been offered of these hard lines, than that suggested by Lambinus, and adopted among recent editors by Dill', and in its main points by Munro. This makes 'venena,' in the sense of φαρμακεία, 'veneficia,' the subject of the sentence, and understands an affirmative 'valent' with the first clause. 'Sorceries may overset the mighty laws of right and wrong, they cannot overset the law of natural retribution,' i.e. you may disregard divine laws and kill me, 'but I shall have my turn yet, 'Diris agám vos.' The merits of this interpretation are that the particular expressions 'convertere fas nefasque' and 'humanam vicem' will harmonise naturally, the first with Virgil's 'fas versum atque nefas,' G. 1. 505, the second with Horace's own 'vices superbae,' Od. 1. 28. 32. We may notice the additional parallel of ib. v. 34 'Teque piacula nulla resolvent' to 'dira detes-tatio Nulla expiatur victima.' Bentley quotes also Ov. Trist. 3. 1. 167 'Humanaeque memor sortis quae tollit eodem Et premit, incertas ipse verere vices.' That the construction of the sentence, although it is perhaps harsh for Horace, is yet Latin, Lambinus shows from Cic. ad Att. 10. 1 'istum qui filium Brundisium de pace misit, me legatum iri non arbi-
Diris agam vos; dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victima.
Quin, ubi perire iussus exspiravero,
Nocturnus occurram Furor
Petamque voltus umbra curvis unguibus,
Quae vis deorum est manium,
Et inquietis assidens praecordiis
Pavore somnus auseram.
Vos turba vicatim hinc et hinc saxis petens
Contundet obscoenas anus;
Post inspeluta membra different lupi
Et Esquilinae alites;
Neque hoc parentes heu mihi superstites
Effugerit spectaculum.

Neither MSS. nor Scholia give any variations of the text, and none of the conjectures are attractive. Bentley (who offers it very hesitatingly) proposes 'magica,' 'non vertere,' Haupt 'maga non,' Keller 'humana invicem.'

92. Furor seems to be used as a masculine form of Furia. For the idea of the passage cp. Virg. Aen. 4. 385.

94. deorum manium, the spirits of the dead; literally, according to Curtius, Grundz. p. 294, the 'good' powers, 'manis' being the opposite of 'immanis.'

Cp. Cic. de Leg. 2. 9 'Deorum manium iura sancta sunto. Hos leto datos divos habento.'

100. Esquilinae, the birds of carrion that haunted the slopes of the Esquiline, still the 'miserae plebis commune sepulchrum,' Sat. 1. 8. 10. For the hiatus, the diphthong being shortened, cp. Sat. 1. 9. 38 'Si me amas inquit,' and such instances in Virgil as Aen. 3. 211 'Insulae Ionio,' etc.
EPODE VI.

You are like a watch-dog who flies at a guest but is afraid of a wolf. Turn your impotent attack on me: I have teeth; I follow my quarry to the death. You bark loud enough, but will turn aside for a piece of meat. Beware, I am a bull with sharp horns, and ready to attack those who deserve it, as ready as Archilochus or Hipponax. I will not take an insult.

In assailing the wrong use of the poetry of invective, Horace indicates its right use. The misuser of iambic verse attacks the innocent and defenceless, and is ready to buy off. What can we wish better than that he should provoke the true wielder of Archilochus’ weapon and be the object instead of the writer of an Epode?

The person intended is not known. Acron calls him ‘Cassium maledicum poetam.’ The Comm. Crug, further identifies him with Cassius Severus, an orator of name (Quint. 10. i. 177), but a libellous writer (Tac. Ann. 1. 74). He is known to have died A.D. 32, and it is perhaps hardly probable that he can have written lampoons such as to attract Horace’s anger (as this would oblige us to suppose) at the least sixty-three years before. Nor is there any hint elsewhere of his having been a poet. Ritter suggests Furius Bibaculus, who is elsewhere ridiculed by Horace (see on Sat. 1. 10. 37, 2. 5. 41), and who is classed with Catullus by Quintilian (10. i. 96) as a writer of bitter ‘iambi,’ ‘[iambi] cuius acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, non in Horatio reperietur,’ and who is named by Tac. Ann. 4. 34 as a lampooner of the Caesarian family.

QUID immerentes hospites vexas canis
Ignavus adversum lupos?
Quin hoc inanes, si potes, vertis minas,
Et me remorsurum petis?
Nam qualis aut Molossus aut fulvus Lacon,
Amica vis pastoribus,
Agam per altas aure sublata nives,
Quaequeunque praecedet fera:

1. Compare Cicero’s comparison of accusers to watch-dogs who are apt to bark at the wrong persons, pro Rosc. Am. 20. Cp. also Horace’s expression for well-directed satire, Sat. 1. 1. 84 ‘Si quis Opprobris dignum latraverit.’

3. There is high MS. authority (including V) for ‘verte’ and (although the reading of V is not so clear) for ‘pete.’ B has ‘vertis’ altered to ‘verte,’ and ‘petes.’ No MS. gives the transposition ‘verte si potes,’ which is necessary to make the imperative suit the metre. This seems to turn the scale in favour of the indicative. Either construction is lawful, Virg. E. 2. 71 ‘Quin . . paras,’ Aen. 4. 547 ‘Quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.’

6. amica vis pastoribus, ‘the shepherds’ sturdy friend’; ‘vis’ is taken (as Virgil’s ‘odora canum vis,’ Aen. 4. 132) from Lucretius’ ‘permissa canum vis,’ 4. 681, ‘fida canum vis,’ 6. 1222, an imitation of the Greek use of βία. The dogs of Epirus and Sparta are named in Virg. G. 3. 405. They are used there, as here, both for guarding the fold and for hunting.

7. again, sc. ‘feram quaequeunque,’ etc., the substantive appearing with the rela-
Tu, cum timenda voce complesti nemus,  
Proiectum odoraris cibum.  
Cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus  
Parata tollo cornua,  
Qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener  
Aut acer hostis Bupalo.  
An, si quis atro dente me petiverit,  
Inultus ut flebo puer?

Tive instead of in its more natural place as the antecedent, see on Epod. 2. 37.

8. quaequumque, whatever it be, even if it shall be you.

praecedet. Dill prefers the reading of a few MSS. 'procedet' (in the sense of 'obviam veniat,' just as 'proiectum' in v. 10 seems = 'objectum'), in order to soften still more the change of metaphor by making the hunting merely a part of guarding the fold, and chasing away of a wolf that comes near. But Horace is intent on the different points of contrast between the good and the bad writer of 'iambi,' and the metaphors change rapidly.


13. Epp. i. 19. 25–30. infido, inasmuch as he had promised his daughter Neobule to Archilochus and broken his promise.

14. hostis Bupalo. Hipponax, an iambic poet who used his art to revenge himself on Bupalus and Athenis, two sculptors of Chios, and brothers, who had caricatured his ugliness. Notice that each of the epithets 'infido,' 'acer,' is intended, after Horace's manner, to cover to some extent both cases. They strike again the keynote of the Epode. The masters of iambic verse whom Horace imitates were like him, unlike his opponent: they struck only at those who deserved it, and they struck home.

15. atro dente, the 'venomous tooth' of envy or malignity, Od. 4. 3. 16, Mart. 5. 28. 7 'rubiginosis cuncta dentibus rodit.'

16. The order is 'inultus flebo, ut puer.'
EPODE VII.

'Is civil war to be renewed, and Roman blood to flow again, not for the destruction of a foreign enemy, but to do the Parthian's work and destroy Rome itself? Even wild beasts do not prey on their own kind. Does anger blind you, or fate compel you, or is it mere wanton wickedness? Shame makes them silent, I will answer for them. It is the bitter heritage of fratricidal bloodshed which descends to us from the death of Remus.'

There is nothing to fix with precision the date of the Epode. It expresses horror at the prospect of some fresh outburst of civil war. It is of course possible, as the Scholiasts say, that it may express the first feeling with which Horace witnessed the renewal of the struggle after Caesar's death, although he was very soon to be involved in the war himself. More probably it refers to some later moment, the commencement, it may be, as Orelli thinks, of the 'war of Perusia' in 41; but a mere rumour of war is enough to account for such a poem. The idea of the conclusion is Greek not Roman. The explanation offered in it of the succession of civil strife is fanciful and literary, without the definite political meaning which underlies the mythological form of such poems as Od. 1. 2. Compare in this respect, as in others, Epod. 16, which belongs to the same period.

QUO, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
Aptantur ences conditi?
Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
Fusum est Latini sanguinis,
Non, ut superbas invidae Karthaginis
Romanus arces ureret,
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via,
Sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
Urbs haec periret dextera?

5-8. 'Not as our fathers shed their blood for foreign conquest, nor as we might shed ours to complete their conquests.'

7. intactus = 'integer,' Od. 4. 4. 66. 'non ante devictus.' Macleana thinks that both couplets refer to exploits already accomplished, 'to achieve such victories as Scipio or Julius Caesar.' But the conquest of Britain is to Horace even in the Odes a triumph still in the future. If we assign even the earliest date to the Epode, Caesar's invasion was long enough past for its small results to have been estimated, and there was no political reason for exaggerating them.

descenderet, to be explained in connection with the expression 'sacer clivus' in Od. 4. 2. 35, see note there. The triumphal procession descended by the 'Sacra via' into the Forum, through which it passed to the foot of the Capitoline hill. Before the ascent of that began the captives were led aside from the ranks. Cp. Cic. Verr. 5. 30 'Cum de foro in Capitolium currumfectere incipient illos duc in carcerem iubent;
Neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus
Unquam nisi in dispar feris.
Furorne caecus, an rapit vis acrior?
An culpa? Responsum date!—
Tacent et albus ora pallor inficit
Mentesque perculsa stupent.
Sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt
Sacer nepotibus cruor.

idemque dies et victoribus imperi et
victis vitae finem facit.'

9. *sua dextera*, Epod. 16. 2 'Suis et
ipsa Roma viribus ruit.'

11, 12. *feris* serves to explain 'hic mos,' as though it were 'ut feri essent,'
so that it shares in the general negation
and exception, 'this was never the
wont of wolves or lions to turn their
rage save on some other kind.' There
is no need with Bentley to read 'nun-
quam.' 'Dispar' is used by Cic. Tusc.
5. 13 for animals of a different species.
Bentley compares, for the sentiment,
Juv. 15. 159 foll., Plin. N. H. 7. 1
'leonum feritas inter se non dimicat.'
Sen. Epp. 95 'cum inter se mutis ac
feris pax sit,' and notices the growth of
humanity and logic in the interval;
'quo Horatius argumento utitur ne

Romanus contra Romanum eodem illi
philosophiatorum utuntur ne homo contra
hominem bella gerat.'

15. *tacent.* He turns from the
tongue-tied prisoners to the court be-
fore which he is arraigning them.

17. *sic est.* He gives the explana-
tion which most exonerates his country-
men. 'It is the power of *ārī,* an inter-
minable inheritance of unavoidable crime
dating from the first founder of the
state.'

*fata scelusque,* not two things, but
one.

19. *ut,* 'ever since,' see on Od. 4. 4.
42. For the thought cp. Lucan. 1. 95
'Fraterno prumi maduerunt sanguine
muri.'

20. *sacer,* 'ut piaculum luendus,'
Orelli.
EPODE VIII.

ROGARE longo putidam te seculo,
   Vires quid enervet meas?
Cum sit tibi dens ater et rugis vetus
   Frontem senectus exaret,
Hietque turpis inter aridas nates
   Podex velut crudae bovis.
Sed incitat me pectus et mammae putres,
   Equina quales ubera,
Venterque mollis et femur tumentibus
   Exile suris additum!
Esto beata, funus atque imagines
   Ducant triumphales tuum,
Nec sit marita, quae rotundioribus
   Onusta bacis ambulet.
Quid, quod libelli Stoici inter sericos
   Iacere pulvillos amant?
Illiterati num minus nervi rigent,
   Minusve languet fascinum?
Quod ut superbo provokes ab inguine,
   Ore allaborandum est tibi.
EPODE IX.

‘When shall we have our feast, Maecenas, to celebrate Caesar’s victory as we celebrated the defeat of Sextus Pompeius a little while ago? Oh, the shame to think of Roman soldiers in Cleopatra’s effeminate camp! Even Galatian horsemen deserted her, and her fleet would not fight. Why is not the triumphal procession already moving—the triumph of a captain greater than Marius or the younger Scipio? Our foe has changed his scarlet for mourning, and fled across the sea with no harbour to go to. Bring wine, boy, and the largest cups; we may forget all our anxieties for Caesar’s welfare.’

Compare Od. i. 37 Introd., Introd. to Books i-iii, § 1, and Introd. to the Epodes. This Epode is manifestly written on the receipt of the news of the battle of Actium, and before the subsequent fate of Cleopatra and Antony was known, when even the direction of their flight was a matter of conjecture, vv. 29–32.

QUANDO repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes
VICTORE laetus Caesar
Tecum sub alta—sic Iovi gratum—domo,
Beate Maecenas, bibam
Sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,
Hac Dorium, illis barbarum?
Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
Dux fugit ustis navibus,

3. alta domo, the palace of Maecenas on the Esquiline.
4. beate, ‘qui omnia ex vota cadunt,’ Orelli; ‘happy,—partly in all the splendour about him, an epithet to harmonize with ‘festas,’ ‘alta,’ etc., which express Horace’s anticipation of the banquet which is to match the occasion,—partly in the news of this crowning victory of his friend and his policy.
5. tibiis, lyra. The two instruments are used even at Homer’s banquets; II. 18. 495 αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγι καὶ βοῦν ἔχων. Cp. Od. 3. 19. 16-18. There is a doubt, however, whether ‘mixtum’ must be pressed to mean that they were used at the same moment, as the next verse would then imply not merely that the two instruments but the two ‘modes’ or ‘scales,’ ἡ δωριμεία and ἡ φραγμισία, could be played together (see Dict. Ant. end of Article on Greek Music). For the plural ‘tibiis’ see on Od. i. 1. 32.
6. illis, sc. ‘sonantibus,’ as though the construction had been ‘sonantibus mixtum carmen tibiis et lyra.’
barbarum, used instead of ‘Phrygium’ for the sake of the antithesis to ‘Dorium.’ The Phrygian mode and its appropriate instrument belong rather to orgies and revelry (Od. 3. 19. 16), the Dorian to martial music. This occasion calls for both.
7. nuper. Five years before, when Sextus Pompeius (in Sept. b.c. 36) was totally defeated by Agrippa off Nau- lochus in Sicily, and driven from the sea to take refuge in Asia.
Neptunius; he called himself the son of Neptune and the sea, Appian 5. 100, Dio C. 48. 19. In the same chapter Dio speaks of the multitude of runaway slaves who joined his fleet, cp. Epod. 4. 19.
Horatii

Minatus Urbi vincta, quae detraxerat
Servis amicus perfidis.

Romanus, cheu,—posteri negabitis—
Emancipatus feminae
Fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest,
Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol adsipicit conopium.

Ad hunc frementes verterunt bis mille equos
Galli, canentes Caesarem,

10. servis, atd kovou with 'detraxerat' and 'amicus,' see on Od. i. 3. 6.
11. posteri negabitis, Cp. Od. 2. 19. 'credite, posteri,' of something strange.
12. emancipatus, 'sold as a slave,' Cic. Phil. 2. 21 'venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum,' Plaut. Bacch. 1. 1. 59 'Nunc mulier tibi me emancipo; tuus sum, tibi operam do.' Emancipare' abs. is to free from 'mancipium,' with a dat. it came to mean 'to transfer from one 'mancipium' to another,' 'to sell.'
13. fert vallum et arma, i.e. 'is a Roman soldier still in discipline and endurance.' Compare Cicero's account of what a soldier carried on his march, Tusc. 2. 16 'Militiae nostri exercitus qui labor et quantum agminis, ferre plus didimiatu mensis cibaria, ferre si quid ad usum velint, ferre vallum! Nam ecum, galeam, gladium, in onere nostri milites non plus numerant quam humeros, laceratos, manus; arma enim membra militis esse dicunt.' 'Vallus' is a stake for palisading.

et spadonibus, see on Od. 1. 37-9. 'Et' from the context acquires the force of 'et tamen.'

14. potest, in the sense of πληρα, see on Od. 3. 11. 31.
15. sol adsipicit, a trope common to all nations, 'before all Israel and before the sun.'

conopium, a gauze curtain or tent to keep off mosquitoes. The Romans despised it as a sign of effeminacy; see Paley on Prop. 4. 11. 45 'Foedaeque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo.' Probably there is a special emphasis of scorn on the foreign name as in Juvenal's 'Rusticus ille tuus sumit trchedipna, Quirine, Et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.'

17. ad hunc frementes, 'chafing at such a sight'; 'hunc' = 'militem spadonibus servientem.' Compare perhaps the use of 'hic' in Od. 3. 5. 37. It has also been taken (like 'hostis' and 'ille' in 27, 49) of Antonius, whose name Horace avoids (see Introd. to Od. 1, 37), but who is sufficiently indicated in the foregoing verses. For the construction we may perhaps quote (with Bentley) Epp. 1. 19. 45 'Ad haec ego naribus uti Formido,' though it is a stronger support to his own reading 'ad hoc.' The general meaning is well given by Porph. '[Gallorum] ideo mentio facta est ut Romanos qui sub praepositis spadonibus aequo animo militaret magis onerat per comparationem Gallorum qui hoc designati ad Caesarem se contulerunt.' The sense is not altered, while the construction is made simple by Bentley's conjecture, 'ad hoc,' or Fea's 'at hoc,' adopted by Orelli and Dill'; but the MSS. give no encouragement to either. 'Ad hunc' is the reading which has the best MS. authority (but B omits most of the Epode, and there is no testimony to the reading of V), and it was interpreted by Acron. The other readings with respectable authority are 'adhic,' which must be taken with 'frementes,' 'up till this time neighing for the fight'; and 'at huc,' which was read by the Comm. Cruq., and interpreted by him 'but to our side'; cp. Vell. 2. 84 'Hinc ad Antonium nemo; illinc ad Caesarem quotidie aliquid trans fugiebat.' Neither seems to connect the lines with those that precede as well as 'ad hunc.'

18. Galli.' These were Galatians, who, with their prince Deiotarus, deserted to Octavius at the commencement of the battle of Actium, Plut. Ant. 63. canentes Caesarem, shouting his
Hostiliumque navium portu latent
Puppes sinistrorum citae.
Io Triumpha, tu moraris aureos
Currus et intactas boves?
Io Triumpha, nec Jugurthino parem
Bello reportasti ducem,
Neque Africanum, cui super Karthaginem
Virtus sepulcrum condidit.
Terra marisque victus hostis punico
Lugubre mutavit sagum.
Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbis
Ventis iturus non suis,
Exercitatas aut Petit Syrtes Noto,
Aut fertur incerto mari.

name as a war cry. The Scholiasts quote Virg. Aen. 7. 698 'Ilbant aequati numero regemque candeant.'
19, 20. These lines obviously describe some naval defection which is matched with the desertion of the Galatian cavalry. The meaning of 'sinistrorum citae' has not been fully explained.
Bentley suggested that 'puppim ciere,' = 'to put the stern in motion,' may have been a Latin equivalent of προσελώνειν, 'to back water,' and that 'sinistrorum' may have had some technical meaning as a completion of the phrase; or that Horace may be speaking as one who looks at the scene of war from the north, so that 'to the left' would mean 'eastward,' i.e. into the Ambracian Gulf.
21. Io Triumpha. 'Triumphus' is personified, as in Od. 4. 2. 49, see note there. There is an emphasis on 'tu,' 'It must be the Triumph-god himself that delays the starting of the procession, all else is ready.'
22. intactas, 'never yoked,' and so fit for sacrifice; 'intacta cervice iuvenes,' Virg. G. 4. 540, 'grege de intacito mactare iuvenes,' Aen. 6. 38.
25. Africanum, sc. 'reportasti parem ducem.' The 'monument which his valour built for him on the ruins of Carthage' is a metaphorical monument.
Vell. Patern. may have had these lines in mind when he wrote of Scipio Africanus Minor 'eam urbem funditus sustuliit fecitque suae virtutis monumentum quod fuerat avi eius clementiae.' The reading 'Africano,' sc. 'bello,' found in some good MSS. seems to have arisen from a desire to make the construction of the two clauses more symmetrical; 'sepulcrum condere bello' in the sense of 'finem facere bello,' is hardly an Horatian metaphor; and, as Bentley remarks, 'Africano' is not a distinctive epithet enough for the war, we need 'Punico.'
The Jugurthine war was equally in Africa. The Scholiasts interpret 'super,' 'over again,' and have a mythical story of an oracle desiring Scipio's bones to be removed from the Vatican hill (they would have been in the tomb of the Scipios on the Via Appia, not on the Vatican) to a tomb at Ostia, 'over against Carthage.'
27. punico, a less usual form of 'punico.' Either scarlet or white was the proper colour of the 'paludamentum,' or general's cloak.
28. sagum was the cloak of the common soldier on service, opp. to 'toga,' the dress of a citizen; as understood with 'punico' it loses its special sense. For the construction of 'mutavit' with the accusative of the thing taken, see on Od. 1. 17. 1.
29, 32. Three conjectures as to Antony's flight. He is gone to Crete or to Africa, or he is beating about on the sea. All these are qualified by words to express his helpless state. If he wishes to go to Crete he cannot command the winds: the Syrtes are 'still vexed' by the south wind: the sea drives him hither and thither.
31. petit governs 'Cretam' as well as 'Syrtes.'
Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos
Et Chia vina aut Lesbia:
Vel, quod fluentem nauseam coerceat,
Metire nobis Caecubum:
Curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat
Dulci Lyaeo solvere.

33. capaciores, cp. Od. 2. 7. 21–23.
35. Ritter explains after the Schol. 'nausea timetur quod multum vini et dulce, ut est Lesbium, bibetur.'
36. metire, 'mix in due proportions with water.'
Caecubum was dry, and tonic, ἐβρο-νυ, Att. 1. 18.
37. rerum, for the genitive case cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 462 'lacrimae rerum,' 2. 784 'lacrimas Creusae.'
38. Lyaeo solvere, with a clear reference to the etymology of ναυθ, see on Od. 3. 21. 16.

EPODE X.

'PROPÆPTICON INIMICO PÆTAE.' Contrast it with the beginning of Od. 1. 3. Very little is known of Maevius beyond the fact of his being the special enemy of Virgil as well as of Horace. 'Qui Bavium non odit amet tua carmina, Maevi,' Ecl. 3. 90. The few doubtful stories connected with him will be found in Smith's Dict. Biog. under the name of Bavius.

'Bad luck go with the ship that bears Maevius. May each wind play its part in wrecking it. May never a star show itself. Be the sea as rough as when Pallas sank Ajax on his way home from Troy. Methinks I see the storm—the sailors toiling and you pale and praying as the hull goes to pieces. May you be thrown on shore and feed the cormorants.'

MALA soluta navis exit alite,
Ferens olentem Maevium:
Ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
Auster, memento fluctibus!
Niger rudentes Eurus inverso mari
Fractosque remos differat;
Insurgat Aquilo, quantus altis montibus
Frangit trementes ilices;

3–8. Contrast Od. 1. 3. 4, 'Obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga.'
Nec sidus atra nocte amicum appareat,
Qua tristis Orion cadit;
Quietio nec feratur aequore,
Quam Graia victorum manus,
Cum Pallas usto vertit iram ab Ilio
In impiam Aiacios ratem!
O quantus instat navitis sudor tuis
Tibique pallor luteus
Et illa non virilis eiulatio,
Preces et aversum ad Iovem,
Ionius udo cum remugiens sinus
Noto carinam ruperit!
Opima quodsi praeda curvo litore
Porrecta mergos iuverit,
Libidinosus immolabitur caper
Et agna Tempestatibus.

10. qua, the antecedent is ‘nocte’; the night of Orion’s setting will be a stormy one on which the guidance of the stars would be welcome. Od. 1. 28. 21, 3. 27. 18, Epod. 15. 7.

tristis, as ‘tristes Hyadas,’ Od. 1. 3.

12. Graia victorum manus. For the position of the adjective we may perhaps compare 1. 29. 5 ‘Quae virginitum barbarar.’

13, 14. For the death of Ajax, the son of Oileus, see Hom. Od. 4. 502 foll., Virg. Aen. 1. 39 foll.

19. Ionius, the lower part of the Adriatic. Maevius is crossing to Greece.


22. iuverit. This is the reading of all the older MSS. and of Acron and Porphyryon. Many editors have received ‘iuveris’ on the authority of the Comm. Cruq., who explains it by ‘paveris.’ If we retain the third person, ‘praeda’ is the direct subject.

23, 24. The sacrifices usually offered for the preservation of mariners he vows if Maevius suffers shipwreck. Virg. Aen. 5. 772 ‘Tempestatibus agnam Caedere deinde iubet.’
EPODE XI.

'I have no heart for poetry. A different passion has smitten me. I am the victim of Love in a way that no one else is. Three years ago it was Inachia. I was the talk of the town: my moody ways, my loud complaints that she preferred money to merit, my resolutions to free myself, and my repeated return to slavery. Now it is another. Neither advice nor rebuffs will cure me. The only relief that I can look for is some new passion.'

Horace, as Ritter remarks, turns the sting of his iambic verse, in profession at least, upon himself. We know no more of his friend Pettius (or Pectius as some MSS. spell it), to whom the Epode is addressed.

Metre—Archilochium IIIa.

PETTI, nihil me sicut antea iuvat
Scribere versiculos amore percussum gravi,
Amore, qui me præcter omnes expetit
Mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere.

Hic tertius December, ex quo destiti
Inachia furere, silvis honorem decutit.

Heu me, per Urbem—nam pudet tanti mali—
Fabula quanta fui! Conviviorum et poenitet,
In quis amantem languor et silentium
Arguit et latere petitus imo spiritus.

Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
Paeris ingenium? querebar applorans tibi,

2. versiculos, the diminutive gives a touch of ironical contempt, as in Sat. I. 10. 58.

amore percussum, probably a reminiscence of Lucretius, i. 922 'acri Percussit thyrso laudis spes magna meum cor, Et simul incussit suavem mi in pectus amorem Musarum,' coloured perhaps by Virgil's imitation, G. 2. 476 'ingenti percussus amore'; so that 'amore,' made emphatic by its repetition, and explained in v. 4, has the force of a 'passion, vehement and irresistible, but not for the Muses.'

3. expetit urere, for the prose 'quem unat.'

6. honorem decutit, Od. 1. 17. 16

'Kuris honorum,' Virg. G. 2. 404 'Frigidus et silvis Aquilo decussit honorem,' see Conington's note there. Servius says that that line is borrowed from Varro Atacinus; if so, Horace may have taken it from the same source.

7. nam pudet, the reason for his exclaiming 'heu me,' etc., not for the fact which he states in his exclamation.

8. fabula, 'a topic of talk,' Epp. i. 13. 9.

10. arguit, the perfect tense.


12. applorans, 'wailing with some one to listen.' The word only occurs here and once in Seneca.
Simul calentis inverecundus deus
Fervidiore merô arcana promorat loco.
Quodsi meis inaestuet praecordiiis
Libera bilis, ut haec ingrata ventis dividat
Fomenta volnus nil malum levantia,
Desinet imparibus certare summotus pudor.
Ubi haec severus te palam laudaveram,
Iussus abire domum ferebar incerto pede
Ad non amicos heu mihi postes et heu
Limina dura, quibus lumbos et infregi latus.
Nunc gloriantis quamHbet mulierculam
Vincere mollitie Lycisci me tenet,
Unde expedire non amicorum queant
Libera consilia nec contumeliae graves,
Sed alius ardor aut puellae candidae
Aut teretis pueri longam renodantis comam.

13. calentis, the genitive depends on 'arcana,' 'had stirred from their concealment my secrets as I grew warm with stronger wine.'

inverecundus, 'destroying bashfulness.'

15-18. This is a continuation of Horace's own speech, begun in v. 11. 'Well, if only she angers me a little more you shall hear nothing further of these complaints. I will give up a struggle with rivals who are not worthy of me.'

16. libera bilis, 'liberrima indignatio,' Epod. 4. 10. 'If my anger once boil up and find vent.'

17. fomenta, 'useless bandages which give no ease to the aching wound,' i.e. such complaints as he has been uttering. The case requires more trenchant treatment. It is a τομῶν πῆμα (Soph. Aj. 582).

18. 'My modesty will vanish; I shall rate myself at my true worth, and refuse to continue a contest with rivals who are so far below me.'

19. severus, 'as one who would not relent.'

laudaveram, 'when I had boasted of these resolutions,' told them as something I was proud of.

20. iussus. You bade me go home, and think no more of her, but my feet could not keep the purpose, but went back to Inachia's door. Cp. Tibull. 2. 6. 11 'Magna loquor: sed magnifice mihi magna locuto Excultiant clausae fortia verba fores. Iuravi quoties rediturum ad limina nunquam Cum bene iuravi pes tamen ipse redit.'

22. Compare Od. 3. 10. 2 'asperas Porrectum ante fores,' etc.

26. libera, 'for all their plainness.'
Horatii Epodon

Epode XII.

Metre—Alcmanium.

Quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
Munera quid mihi quidve tabellas
Mittis nec firmo iuveni neque naris obesa?
Namque sagacious unus odoror,
Polypus an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
Quam canis acer, ubi lateat sus.
Qui sudor vietis et quam malus undique membris
Crescit odor, cum pene soluto
Indomitam properat rabiem sedare; neque illi
Iam manet humida creta colorque
Stercore fucatus crocodili, iamque subando
Tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit!
Vel mea cum saevis agitat fastidia verbis:
Inachia langues minus ac me;
Inachiam ter nocte potes, mihi semper ad unum
Mollis opus. Pereat male, quae te
Lesbia quae inter taurum monstravit inertem,
Cum mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,
Cuius in indomito constantior inguine nervus
Quam nova collibus arbor inhaeret.
Muricibus Tyriis iteratae vellera lanae
Cui properabantur? Tibi nempe,
Ne foret aequales inter conviva, magis quem
Diligeret mulier sua quam te.
O ego non felix, quam tu fugis, ut pavet acres
Agra lupos capreacque leones!
EPODE XIII.

'Ir is stormy weather; the occasion, if we will take it while we may, for the greater merriment within doors. Bring the old wine. Do not let us talk of any troubles. They will come straight again. Let us draw the conclusion the Centaur taught his great pupil to draw. "You are mortal. You will not come back from Troy. Enjoy life while you are there."'

Compare Od. 1. 9, and see Introd. to it. The poem is addressed to a circle of friends who seem to have some common care. In v. 6 the poet addresses the symposiarch. The advice of Chiron to Achilles is not found either in form or substance in any extant Greek poem. Compare the story of Teucer in Od. 1. 7, of Prometheus in 1. 16.

Metre—Archilochium II°.

HORRIDA tempestas caelum contraxit et imbris
Nivesque deducunt Iovem; nunc mare, nunc siluae
Threticio Aquilone sonant: rapiamus, amici,
Occasionem de die, dumque virent genua
Et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus.

Tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo.
Cetera mitte loqui: deus haec fortasse benigna
Reducet in sedem vice: Nunc et Achaemenio
Perfundì nardo iuvat et fide Cyllenea
Levare diris pectora sollicitudinibus;

1. contraxit, Dill, quotes Cic. N. D.
2. 40. 102 'Sol modo accedens tum autem recedens quasi tristitia quaquam contrahit terram, tum vicissim laetificat'; which looks as if the metaphor here were 'has made the heaven frown.' Orelli takes it to mean 'has narrowed,' sc. the clouds have hidden a great part of it.'
3. deducunt, Virg. E. 7. 60 'Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri.'
4. de die. This phrase seems to have come from 'early in the day,' cp. the opp. 'de nocte,' Epp. 1. 2. 32, and to have been used specially of beginning in the day-time occupations, such as feasting, which belonged to the evening and night; 'partem solido demere de die,' Od. 1. 1. 20, 'Vos convivia lauta sumptuose De die facitis,' Catull. 47: 5, Liv. 23: 8 'epulari de die.' Here it is perhaps more general in meaning, 'ere the day passes,' 'ere evening comes,' the evening of life as well as of the particular day.

virent genus, perhaps from Theoc. 14. 70 ποιημ τί διε ἄς γόνι τχλωρίν; 'virere,' of youthful vigour, is common; Od. 1. 9. 17 'Donec virenti canitiae abest Morosa,' so 'viridis senectus,' Virg. Aen. 6. 304. The knees are the seat of strength, as in Homer's γούνατα λίθων.

5. obducta, συνεφεί, 'clouded.'

6. Torquato, see on Od. 3. 21. 1 'O nata mecum consule Manlio.'
7. cetera mitte loqui, Od. 1. 9. 9 'Permitte Divis cetera.'

8. Achaemenio, Od. 3. 1. 44.
9. Cyllenea, i.e. Mercury's, see on Od. 3. 4. 4.
Nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumnō:
Invicte, mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,
Te manet Assaracī tellus, quam frigida parvi
Findunt Scamandri flumina lubricus et Simōis,
Unde tibi reditum certo subtemine Parcae
Rupere, nec mater domum caerula te revehet.
Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
Deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus alloquīs.

12. *invicte*, to be taken by itself, as in Virg. Aen. 6. 365 and 8. 293.
13. *manet*, 'you are fated to go there.'

Assaracī, the grandfather of Anchises, Virg. Aen. 1. 284.

frigida, Hom. II. 22. 151, of one of the fountains of Scamander (the other was hot), ἡ δ' ἐτέρη θέρει προφεί εἰκών χαλάζῃ ἢ χιόν ψαρῇ.

parvi, not the Homeric view, Il. 20. 73 μέγας ποταμὸς βασιλίνην ὑπὸ Ξάνθου καλόνοι θεοὶ ἄνδρες διὰ Ξάμανθον. But the Romans noticed the smallness of the streams of Troy, Luc. 9. 974 ['Caesar'] Inscius in sicco serpentin pulvere rivum Transierat qui Xanthus erat.' So far as it has any rhetorical purpose, and the epithets are sprinkled with a freedom which Horace's later style would have repudiated, it seems to carry a faint verbal antithesis to 'grande,' and to emphasise the 'smallness' of the lot of which, nevertheless, Chiron bids him make the best.

15. *certo*, as 'post certas vires,' Od. 1. 15. 35; the length of the thread is unalterably fixed.

subtemine, of the threads of life spun by the Parcae, Catull. 64. 327 'Currite ducentes subtemina, currite, fusī.'

16. *mater caerula*, Thetis, the sea-nymph, as 'Circe vitrea,' Od. 1. 17. 20.

18. *alloquīs*, seems to be used like the Greek παραμβία, παραγγεία, with a genitive case, 'the sweet solaces of grim sadness.' Bentley would insert 'ac' before 'dulcibus' and construct 'aegrimoniae' after 'malum.'
'You are always asking me why I am so forgetful of my promise to finish my Epodes. It is love that hinders me. I am not the first poet who has been the slave of love. You know the pain yourself. But you are a happy man compared with me.'

Metre—Pythiambicum I

MOLLIS inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
Oblivionem sensibus,
Pocula Lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos
Arente fauce traxerim,
Candide Maecenas, occidis saepe rogando:
Deus, deus nam me vetat
Inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos
Ad umbilicum adducere.
Non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Téum,
Qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
Non elaboratum ad pedem.
Ureris ipse miser: quodsi non pulchrior ignis
Accendit obsessam Ilion,

4. arente fauce, and therefore greedily, a large draught.
5. candide, Ep. 1. 4. 1 'Albi, nostrorum sermonum candidi index,' 'frank,' 'honest.' Horace implies that he will be equally 'frank' in his answer to the question; so the repetition ‘deus, deus’ corresponds to ‘saepe rogando.’
6. deus, sc. ‘Amor.’
nam, gives the reason of ‘occidis.’ 'It is wearisome to be asked, for I have only one answer to give.'
7. olim, better probably with ‘promissum’ than with ‘inceptos.’
8. umbilicum, properly the knob at each end of the roller, which was fastened to the bottom of the parchment when full, and on which it was rolled. The expression, therefore, means to prepare for publication and to finish.
9-12. This may possibly mean that Anacreon also had given his love as an excuse for not writing.
12. non elaboratum, of a free metre, 'numeris lege solutis,' Od. 4. 2. 11.
pedem, as in Od. 4. 6. 35 'Lesbium pedem.'
13. ignis. With the play on the double meaning of ‘ignis’ cp. Od. 2. 4. 7 note.
'You remember the night, Neaera, when you swore eternal love to me. It is unhappy for you that I am not as light-minded as you. Your beauty will not tempt me back to you again. And for you, sir, my successful rival, be you ever so rich and wise and beautiful, you will be deserted as I have been, and I shall laugh at you yet.'

Metre—Pythiambicum Im.

Nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
Inter minora sidera,
Cum tu magnorum numen laesura deorum
In verba iurabas mea,
Artius atque hedera procera adstringit 5
 fled,
Lentis adhaerens brachiis:
Dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion
Turbaret hibernum mare,
Intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos
Fore hunc amorem mutuum.
O dolitura mea multum virtute Neaera!
Nam si quid in Flacco viri est,
Non feret assiduas potiori te dare noctes,
   Et quaeret iratus parem,
Nec semel offensae cedet constantia formae,
   Si certus intrarit dolor.
Et tu, quicunque es felicior atque meo nunc
   Superbus incedis malo,
Sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit
   Tibique Pactolus fluat,
Nec te Pythagorae fallant arcana renati,
   Formaque vincas Nirea,
Eheu translatos alio maerebis amores:
   Ast ego vicissim risero.

14. et, after a negative clause, where we expect rather an adversative conj., as in Virg. Aen. 2. 94 'Nec tacui demens et... promisi.' See on Od. 1. 27. 16.
   parem, 'a true match,' one faithful like myself.
15, 16. 'Nor will my resolution yield to beauty which has once become odious to me, if the pain has once entered and fixed itself in my heart.'
15. offensae, literally, 'which I have stumbled against': so Cicero uses it, pro Sest. 58 'cui nos offensi invisique fuerimus.'
16. dolor, the pain of feeling deserted.
19. licebit, with very little difference from 'licet,' 'although.' Sat. 2. 2. 59 'licebit Ille repotia... celebret.'
21. arcana, esoteric doctrines, taught only to a few favoured disciples.
renati, Od. 1. 28. 10, referring to his doctrine of μετεμφύσεως.
22. Nirea, see on Od. 3. 20. 15.
EPODE XVI.

'A second generation is passing away in civil war. Roman hands are doing
what no foeman, in Italy or beyond it, has been able to do. The site of Rome
will be once more desolate; barbarian conquerors will ride over it, and scatter
with their horse-hoofs the bones of Romulus. Do you ask the remedy? Let us
fly like the Phocaeans—leave hearth and home, and fly—anywhere; only never to
come back again till stone swims and every law of nature is changed. Let us all
go—all, or all that have men's hearts in them. We shall find a home beyond the
Ocean. There are the Happy Islands, where the earth yields its fruit without
labour, where the powers of nature never injure, where commerce has never come
to taint man, nor plague to taint cattle. Jove set them apart for the good when he
turned the golden age to bronze—to bronze and then to iron. It is time for those
who are good to seek the offered refuge.'

See Introd. to Epod. 7. The two poems belong to the same phase of feeling.
They may have been written at any time when Horace had begun to sicken of the
aimless bloodshed of the civil war, and before he had seen or reconciled himself to
the practical remedy which Octavianus offered for it. At present the suggestion
of a mode of escape from it is not more than a poetical mode of expressing its
hopelessness. He cannot see its issue, any more than in Epod. 7 he can see its
causes.

The Pseudo-Acron quotes from a lost work of Sallust, to the effect that Sertorius,
after his defeat, thought of sailing into the Atlantic in search of the fabled islands
of the blest, 'ad insulas Fortunatas voluisse ire.' The genuineness of the quotation
is confirmed by Servius, who, on Virg. Aen. 5. 735, refers to Sallust as having
spoken of the μακάρων νήσου. Plutarch tells the same story in the life of Sertorius,
ch. 9. It is very possible that Horace may have heard it, and that it may have
suggested the conclusion of the Epode.

Compare the description of the Happy Islands both in thought and expression
with Virgil's Golden Age in Ecl. 4.

Metre—Pythiambicum IIm.

ALTERA iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit:
Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,

1. altera aetas; the first would be
the generation of Sylla and Marius.
teritur, 'is being wasted,' Virg. Aen. 4. 271.
2. Epod. 7. 10.
3-8. For the absence of chrono-
logical order in the list of national
dangers cp. Od. 1. 12. 33-44. 2. 12.
1-4. The arrangement, such as it is,
is geographical. 'No enemy however
near home or far away."
3. Marsi. The reference is to the
Marsic or Social war, n.c. 91-88, cp.
Od. 3. 14. 18.
5. Capuae. With special reference,
no doubt, to the revolt of Capua in the
second Punic war; but the popular
jealousy of Capua as a possible rival
Aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer
Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
Nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube
Parentibusque abominatus Hannibal,
Impia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas,
Ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.
Barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et Urbem
Eques sonante verberabit ungula,
Quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini,
Nefas videre! dissipabit insolens.
Fortae quid expediat communiter aut melior pars
Malis carere quaecritis laboribus:

of Rome lasted so late that Cicero
plays upon it in his two speeches, de

**Spartacus,** cp. Od. 3. 14. 19; the
Thracian freebooter who, having been
taken and sold as a gladiator, escaped,
and was for two years (B.C. 73–71) the
terror of Rome as the leader of the Ser-
vile war.

6. **novis rebus infidelis,** ‘the faith-
less ally of revolution’ (*rebus* is the
dative), in allusion to the part which
the ambassadors of the Allobroges
played in encouraging and betraying
the Catilinarian conspiracy, Sall. Cat.
41, Cic. in Cat. 3. The Allobroges
stand as the representatives of the Gauls
generally, and the point of the epiteth seems to lie in their faithless-
ness, of which it called to mind a signal
recent instance. Their territory lay be-
tween the Rhone and the Isère.

7. **caerules,** *‘blue-eyed,*' Juv. 13. 164
‘Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina,
flavam Caesariem.’ The reference is to
the incursions of the Cimbr i and Teu-
tones, which were finally checked by
Marius and Catulus in the battles of
Aquae Sextiae (B.C. 102) and Raudii
Campi (B.C. 101).

8. **parentibus abominatus.** Orelli
and Dill. take ‘parentibus’ as ‘our
forefathers,’ but the parallel, Od. 1. 1.
24 ‘bella matribus detestata,’ seems
conclusive in favour of the simpler
meaning. Compare the common epi-
thet, ‘dirus Hannibal’.

9. **devoti sanguinis,** the descriptive
genitive, Madv. § 287. The thought is
the same as that of Epod. 7. ‘There is
a curse on this generation. They draw
their crimes with their blood from their predecessors.’

10. **rursus,** ‘as before the city was
built.’

13. **ossa Quirini.** Porph. quotes
Varro as saying that there was a tomb
of Romulus ‘post Rostra’ (‘pro Ros-
tris,’ Comm. Crq.). And Orelli refers
to this a corrupt and obscure fragment
of Festus, ‘niger lapsis in Comitio lo-
cum funestum significat ut ali (?) Romuli
morti destinatum.’ Horace ignores the
legend of his apotheosis which he adopts
in Od. 3. 3. 15 foll. ‘Martis equis Ache-
ronta fugit.’

14. **nefas videre,** ‘sight of shame’;
Virg. Aen. 8. 688 ‘sequiturque, nefas,
Aegyptia coniux’; the infinitive for the
more usual supine ‘mirabile dictu.’
Grammatically, ‘nefas’ is an accusative
characterising the action of the ‘dissi-
pabir ossa.’

15. 16. ‘May be, with one voice, or,
at least, the better part of you, you are
asking what can help you to get quit of
your sad troubles.’

15. **melior,** explained by v. 37.
‘honestior ac dignitatis amantior;’
Orelli.

16. **carere,** ‘ad carendum.’ Bentley,
after Rutgers, objecting to the ambi-
guity of ‘quid expediat carere?’ which
might also mean ‘what is the good of
getting quit?’ would read ‘quod expe-
diat,’ taking it as equivalent to ‘quod
bene vortat;’ ‘quod felix faustum-
que sit.’ The reading has since been
found in the MS. of the tenth century at
St. Gall (σ).
Nulla sit hac potior sententia, Phocaeorum
Velut profugit exsecrata civitas
Agros atque Lares patrios habitandaque fana
Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,
Ire pedes quocunque ferent, quocunque per undas
Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus.
Sic placet? an melius quis habet suadere?—Secunda
Ratem occupare quid moramur alite?
Sed iuromus in haec: Simul imis saxa renarint
Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas;
Neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
In mare seu celsus procurrerit Apenninus,
Novaque monstra iunxerit libidine
Mirus amor, iuvet ut tigres subsidere cervis,
Adulteretur et columba miluo,
Credula nec ravos timeant armenta leones,
Ametque salsa levis hircus aquora.
Haec, et quae poterunt reditus abscondere dulces,
Eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,
Aut pars indocili melior grege; mollis et exspes
Inominata perprimat cubilia!

17. haec, sc. 'ire,' etc., v. 21.
Phocaeorum, Herod. i. 165.
18. exsecrata, 'having sworn an oath of imprecation.' It is used with
the accusative 'haec,' in v. 25. πονηρα-μένη λόγοις εξωράς, Hdt. I. c. The
construction is 'profugit agros atque
Lares... reliquit fana habitanda apris,' etc.
21, 22. 'To fly either by land or sea.'
Cp. Od. 3. 11. 49 'I, pedes quo te rapiunt
et aurae.'
23. sic placet, 'are you so agreed?'
'Placetne' was the usual form, as
Bentley remarked, of asking the assent
of the senate or any public body. Ho-
race varies the form, as is his way; see
on Od. 3. 5. 42.
secunda alite, 'in a happy hour,'
'silentiun contolios pro assensu accipit,'
Ritter. He answers that the omens are
favourable. 'Let us start at once while
we may.'
25. 'So soon as stones shall rise from
the water's bottom and float to the sur-
face, be it no sin to come back again,'
i.e. then and no sooner.
28, 29. 'Not till the geographical re-
lation of places are altered; till the Po
washes the hills of Apulia, till the
Apennines, which run down the middle
of Italy, push their chain out into the
sea.'
28. Matina, see Introd. to Od. 1. 28.
30-32. Virg. E. 8. 27 'Iungentur iam
gryphes equis.'
30. monstra iunxerit, 'make mon-
strous unions.' 'Monstra' is predic-
tive; the animals will become 'monstra,'
will forsake their nature, by mating with
other than their species.
32. miluo, a trisyllable, Epp. 1. 16.
51, and so usually in the poets; ep.
siluae, Od. 1. 23. 4, Epod. 13. 2.
33. ravos, see on Od. 1. 27. 3. This
is the reading of the Bland. Vet. and
the Berne. Many good MSS. have
'flavos,' while some read 'saevos' and
'fulvos.'
34. levis, predicative, as is 'credula'
in the last verse. The goat will become smooth like a fish.

38. inominata. The happy omens are with those that go, v. 23.

perprimat, 'hug to the end.' 'pre-
mere pergam.' He assumes their only possible motives, effeminacy, faint-
heartedness, laziness.

39. virtus, muliebrem, for the anti-
thesis cp. Epod. 15. 11.

tollite, Epp. 1. 12. 3 'tolle queralas.'

40. Etrusca litora. He describes the way in which they would start, sail-
ing along the coast towards the west.

41. circumvagus, of the ocean stream, which was supposed to flow all round the world. \(\textit{peri p\ddot{a}an \varepsilon \text{l}\text{i} \varepsilon \text{s}o-}
\mu\nu\nu \chi\ddot{o}\nu \d\acute{\i} \kappa \omega \mu\varepsilon \tau \rho \omega \text{\beta}\varepsilon \mu\nu\nu\text{\i}. \textit{\d\acute{\i} \kappa \nu \varepsilon \alpha \nu}, \textit{Aesch. P. V. 138.}

42. et, epexegetic.

46. suam arborem, they need no grafting. Contrast Virgil's 'non sua poma,' of the grafted apple.

pulla, of the dark colour of the ripe
fig.

50. amicus, 'for love'; without re-
sistance and without being driven.

51. vespertinus, adjective for adverb

of time; cp. Sat. 2. 4. 17 'Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes.'

52. alta, probably with 'intumescit,' the ground is not a heaving mass of vipers, Virg. G. 2. 153 'Nec rapit im-
mensos orbes per humum, neque tanto Colligit in spiram tractu se squameus
anguis.' Ritter makes 'alta' 'deep in
glass,' 'hydram . . . alta non vidit in her-
ba,' Virg. G. 4. 459; Orelli, 'of deep
soil,' \textit{\beta}\textit{\kappa\omega\nu\l\omega\l\i\u\s\i\s}, thinking it a reason for the absence of snakes, which like a rocky soil, where they can find holes to shelter in.

53. mirabilur ut. Od. 3. 4. 13-16.

56. utrumque. 'Either extreme'—
drought and excessive rain.

57-60. Compare this with the feeling of Od. 1. 3, 3. 24, 35-41, and of Virg. Ec.
4. 32 and 38. The Happy Islands have been spared the tainting effects of com-
merce. They have remained in the state of the Golden Age when commerce was
needless, for all the good gifts of nature were to be had without labour every-
where. The instances taken are of the longest voyages of which myth or his-
tory told.
Non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautae
Laboriosa nec cohors Ulixei.
Nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri
Gregem aestuosa torret impotentia.
Iuppiter illa piae secrevit litora genti,
Ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;
Aere, dehinc ferro duravit secula, quorum
Piis secunda vate me datur fuga.

57. 'Hither not the sturdy rowers of
the Argo brought their pine bark.'

58. impudica. Medea is so called
because she left her home to follow a
stranger; so Europa of herself, Od. 3.
27. 49 'Impudens liqui patrios Pe-
nates.'

59. Sidonii, the Phoenicians.
cornua, sc. 'antennarum,' Virg. Aen.
3. 549.

61, 62. Haupt condemns these verses,
and others have altered their place,
putting them variously after vv. 50, 52,
and 56. But 'contagia,' 'secrevit,' seem
to give the connection which makes
them appropriate here. Isolation pro-
tects their flocks and herds from disease,
as it protects men from moral con-
tagion.

62. impotentia, the 'furious dogstar's
rage'; Od. 3. 30. 3 'Aquilo impotens.'

64. Compare Ov. Met. 1. 89-127.
Horace has cut down the more usual
four ages to three, omitting the 'silver,'
Virg. G. 1. 120 foll. only recognizes two
stages.

65. aera, for the repetition cp.
above, v. 41; a few MSS. have 'aerea,'
but 'dehinc' is always in Horace a dis-
syllable.

quorum, with 'fuga,' 'an escape
from which.'
EPODE XVII.

Horace.—I yield, Canidia. I acknowledge your power; cease your spells. Achilles took compassion on Telephus, and gave back Hector’s body to Priam’s prayers. Circe restored Ulysses’ companions to their own form. You have punished me enough. I have lost the hue of youth; my hair is white; I cannot rest day or night. I deny the power of your spells no more, for I have felt them. Spare me! O earth and sea, I burn with the fire of Nessus’ poison or of Aetna. When is it to end? I will do anything you ask; offer a hecatomb; tune my lyre to falsehood, and sing of you as chaste and good. Stesichorus recovered his sight on his palinode. You don’t come of base parents; you never plundered graveyards; your heart is kind and your hands are clean; Pactumius is your true son.

Canidia.—You speak to sealed ears. Are you to escape scot free after divulging the mysteries of Cotyto and witnessing the witchcraft of the Esquiline, only to make it the talk of the town? If you do I shall have wasted my labour. You wish to die, but you shall live to suffer. Tantalus, and Prometheus, and Sisyphus would like to be set free from their punishment; but they are not. There is no escape. The sword shall not pierce you, the noose shall not choke you. I will ride in triumph on your neck. I can call the moon from the sky and raise the dead from their urns. Do you think I can’t deal with you?

Under the form of a recantation offered by himself and rejected by Canidia, he repeats and aggravates the attacks upon her of Epod. 5 and Sat. 1. 8. Her witchcraft is taken for granted by both speakers. New or more definite charges are made against her, though they are put in the form ‘you did not,’ etc. She allows every charge, and is angry only at their disclosure. The tone is more personal than before. It is no longer Varus or some unnamed victim of her spells, but Horace (see esp. v. 58), and it gives an interpretation to the other two poems. If they had stood alone we might have thought that it was a class, or a public folly, that he was assailing. But here we can hardly doubt that we have a personal enmity, involving more or less of real bitterness, and expressed under a form more or less allegorical. It is impossible to read the riddle completely. Horace doubtless dramatizes imaginary situations, but it is not in his way to sustain an imaginary character through three entire poems, besides making it the object of allusions in several others. Cp. Epod. 3. 8, Sat. 2. 1. 48, 2. 8. 95, and see Introd. to Od. 1. 16. This Epode is posterior to Epod. 5 and Sat. 1. 8, for it contains references to them; see vv. 47–52, 58.

IAM iam efficaci do manus scientiae,
Supplex et oro regna per Proserpinae,

1. do manus, ‘yield’; Cic. ad Att. 2. 22 ‘Aiebat illum primo sane diu multa contra, ad extremum autem manus desisse.’

2. Proserpinae . . . Dianae; Epod. 5. 51. They are the powers of night and the lower world, to whom witches might be supposed to pray.
HORATII EPODON

Per et Dianae non movenda numina,
Per atque libros carminum valentium
Refixa caelo devocare sidera,
Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris
Citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.
Movit nepotem Telephus Nereion,
In quem superbus ordinatam agmina
Mysorum et in quem tela acuta torserat.
Unxere matres Iliae addictum feris
Alitibus atque canibus homicidam Hectorem,
Postquam relictis moenibus rex procidit
Heu pervicacias ad pedes Achilles.
Setosa duris exuere pellibus
Laboriosi remiges Ulixet
Volente Circa membra; tunc mens et sonus
Relapsus atque notus in volutas honor.

3. non movenda; 'that may not be provoked'; Od. 3. 20. 'Non vides quanto moveas periculo, Pyrrhe, Gaetu-
lae catulos leaeae?'
4. carminum, of magic formulae; Epod. 5. 72, etc.. Virg. E. 8. 67 72.
5. refixa, pred., 'to draw the stars from the skies and bring them down'; Virg. Aen. 5. 227 'caelo ceu saepe refixa
Transcurrunt ... sidera.' Conington remarks that the stars are viewed as nails that stud the sky.
6. vocibus sacrís, 'mystic words';
Epod. 5. 76 'Marsis vocibus.'
7. retro solve, 'let it loose, that it may run back.'

Turbinem ἑκμὸν, the wheel, which was one of the instruments of a magician. Theocritus gives a meaning to its
spinning 2. 30 ἤν δινείν ὅπε ῶκμὸν ὅ χώλεσεν, ἣν Ἀρρ.Scitas 'Ὥς τήνος δινήτω
ποδ' ἀμετέρητοι βέρινον.
8. movit, 'moved to pity.'

Nepotem Nereion, as the son of
Thatis. Telephus had been wounded
by Achilles, and the oracle declared that
he only who had wounded him could
cure him.

11. unxere; Virg. Aen. 6. 218, of
the honours paid to the body of Misenus,
'corpusque lavant fragintis et unguunt.'
Some good MSS. have 'luxere'; but,
besides the preponderance of MS. au-
thority, 'unxere' answers better to 'ad-
dictum alitibus': it expresses more
definitely the fact which is the real
point. viz. that they recovered the body,
though Achilles had declared that they
should not have it. 'Luxere' would at
least involve an ambiguity, even if it
admits, as Bentley argues, the sense of
formal mourning over the body.

Addictum; II. 23. 182 'Εκτορα ὅ ὀστὶ
Δῶσο Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἄλα
κίνεσαν.'

12. homicidam, a translation of ἀνθρώπον, Hector's epithet in II. 1.
242 and elsewhere.

13. Hom. II. 24. 510, of Priam before
Achilles, καὶ ἀθίν : προπάραυθε ποίων
'Aχιλλε θλυνθείς.'

14. heu pervicacias; Od. 1. 6. 6
'cedere nesci.' The exclamation em-
phasises the epithet: 'We reprobat
obstancy even in him, yet he yielded.'
O eill takes it rather as-refering to
the whole sentence 'ad indignitatem facti,'
to the thought of Priam 'holding the
knees and kissing the hands,' ἄνθρωπον
ai ol ποιάς κτάνον νίας.

15-18. Kitter points out that the last
place is reserved for Circe, as coming
nearer home to the witch Canidia.

15. The construction is 'membra se-
tosa pellibus,' i.e. the shapes of swine,
'with bristles on their hard hides.'

16. laboriosi, genitive case; Epod.
16. 60. It is a translation of πολύτιλας,
πολυτλήμαν.

17. Circa. Some good MSS. read
Dedi satis superque poenarum tibi,
Amata nautis multum et institoribus.
Fugit iuventas et verecundus color
Reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida;
Tuis capillus albus est odoribus;
Nullum ab labore me reclinat otium;
Urget diem nox et dies noctem, neque est
Levare tenta spiritu praecordia.
Ergo negatum vincor ut credam miser,
Sabella pectus increpare carmina
Caputque Marsa dissilire nenia.
Quid amplius vis? O mare, o terra, ardeo,
Quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules
Nessi cruore, nec Sicana fervida
Virens in Aetna flamma; tu, donec cinis
Inurios aridus ventis ferar,

' Circce'; but the other form is sufficiently established by the express state-
ment of Val. Probus, 2. 1. 16 (a grammarian of uncertain date, but consider-
ably earlier than any existing MS of Horace), who, speaking of substantives
from the Greek in e, says. that as there is no ablative in Greek, they take in the
ablative the Latin a, ' unde est illud Horatii Vojente Circa.'

sonus, the power of speech.
18. honor; Virg. Aen. 1.591, 'beauty,'
20. multum, with adjective, Od. 1.
25. 5 'multum facilis.'
21. verecundus color, the blush of health.
22. ossa. Bentley, followed by Haupt
and Meineke, would alter the unanimous
reading of the MSS. to 'ora,' objecting
to the expression 'ossa reliquit color.'
But 'ossa atque pellis' were as habitual
a conjunction as our 'skin and bones'
Plaut. Aul. 3. 6. 28 'ossa atque pellis
totus est, ita cura macet, and 'ossa pelle
amicta' is equivalent to 'pellem ossa
amicentem.'

pele, not used of the human skin in
life and health; see Forc., s. v. 'cutis,'
and cp. Juv. 10. 192 'deformem pro
cute pellem.'

This line has been taken to show
that the Epode was written when Horace
was already 'praecanus'; Epp. 1. 20. 24.

_ cp. Od. 3. 14. 25 'Lenit albescens animos
capillus.' But it is no more real than
he other symptoms described. They
are all the effects of love in Theoc. 2.
88 foll. Kai mev x̂̂ ράς μὲν ὠμὼς ἐγκυνγο
πολλάκια δέιφνη 'Ερρενου ὣ ἐκ κεφάλας πά-
σοι τρίχες αὐτά ἰδέ λοιπα 'Οστί ἐτ ἣς καὶ
bérrα.

odoribus = 'unguentis magicis';
Epod. 5. 59 and 60.
25. Cp. Od. 2. 18. 15 'Truditur dies
die.'
neque est, obo' esti, obo' éjesti.
26. An amplification of the common
'respirare,' ὀρνυμεῖν, (sustaining the
metaphor by which he has, called his
mental distress ' labor'), 'to draw the
breath that would ease my strained
lungs.'
27. 'I am constrained to believe, to
my sorrow, what once I denied.'
28. Sabella; Sat. 1. 9. 29. The,
Sabinii. Marsi, and Peligni (v. 60), are
all spoken of as given to magical arts.
icrepare, 'ring through.' It is
used of a trumpet blast Virg. Aen. 9.
53. of a rattling peal of thunder Od.
Met 12. 51 'Juppiter atras Increpuit
nubes.'
31. Epod. 3. 17.
32. Join Sicana flamma . . . fervida
Aetna.
33. virens, 'ever fresh'; 'perpetua,
acris, non languescens,' Lambinus. Cp.
μανίης δεινών ἀνθηρήν τε μένος, Soph.
HORATII EPODON

Cales venenis officina Colchicis.
Quae finis aut quod me manet stipendium?
Effare; iussas cum fide poenas luam,
Paratus expiare, seu poposceris
Centum iuvencos, sive mendaci lyra
Voles sonari: Tu pudica, tu proba
Perambulabis astra sidus aureum.
Infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice
Fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
Adempta vati reddidere lumina.
Et tu, potes nam, solve me dementia,
O nec paternis obsoleta sordibus,
Neque in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
Novendiales dissipare pulvers.

Ant. 96o, possibly, as Bentley suggested,
with a reminiscence of Lucretius’ ‘flamm-
mai flore,’ 1. 898. Orelli takes it of
the green, sulphurous flame of a vol-
cano; but it does not appear that the
fire of Aetna has any colour which
would justify such an epithet, or that
the ancients attributed any such colour
to it. There is a variety of reading
among the later MSS, the i in ‘virens’
being scratched by a later hand in three,
‘urens’ being found in several, ‘furens,’
which Bentley preferred, in a few.

35 cales. The boldness of the me-
taphor attracted the notice of Porph.:‘ipsam mulierem officinam venenorum
diserte dixit.’ Canidia is a laboratory
of magic drugs, in which the fires will
not slacken till Horace is burnt to ashes,
which the wind can carry about and
make sport of.

36. stipendium, ‘composition,’ ‘pay-
ment in lieu of punishment.’ ‘When
will the end come, or how can I buy
myself off?’ Cp. Catull. 64. 173, of
the human tribute exacted by the Mi-
taur, ‘dira ferens stipendia tauro.’ It is
not uncommonly used of a tribute
imposed on a conquered country; ‘sti-
pendio multare,’ Cic. pro Balb. 18.

39. mendaci lyra, parallel to v. 20.
He must lie to praise her, but he will
lie if she pleases. Orelli thinks that it
is an equivoque, and that she might
have taken ‘mendaci’ to mean ‘which
lied before in reviling you’; but the
other meaning of the words would have
been the more obvious of the two. The

humour consists, not in any by-play
which Canidia is supposed to miss, but
in the offering as a palinode a lampoon
more bitter than that which it professes
to retract.

42. infamis = ‘infamatae,’ sc. ‘a Ste-
sichoro.’ For the story see Intro. to
Od. 1. 16, vice, ‘on behalf of.’ Orelli and
Dillr. follow Bentley in preferring
‘vicem.’ the reading which is found in
two MSS. of no great age; the con-
struction, then, as in Plaut. Rud. 3. 5.
34 ‘Vos respondetote istic istarum
vicem.’

46. obsoleta; cp. (with Orelli) ‘Virtus
. . neque alienis sordibus obsolescit,
Cic. pro Sest. 28; ‘of tattered reputation
from the meanness of your parentage.’
Horace uses it elsewhere of a tumble-
down house; Od. 2. 10. 6.

47. prudens, ‘well skilled.’ It is per-
haps with special reference to the em-
phatic ‘pauperum,’ as the Scholiast
suggests; she shows her wisdom in
choosing graves that were not guarded.

48. novendiales, ‘ninth-day ashes’
seem to mean ‘fresh buried.’ These
were held fitter for a wizard’s purpose;
Cp. Ov. Her. 6. 90 ‘certaque de tepidis
colligit ossa regis,’ etc. The adjective
‘novendialis’ properly means ‘continu-
inger for nine days’; and this is the com-
mon meaning of ‘novendiale sacrum,’
‘novendiales feriae,’ etc. But it seems
also to have been used of the special
ceremonies which, at Rome as well as
in Greece, took place on the ninth day
Tibi hospitale pectus et purae manus,
Tuusque venter Pactumcius, et tuo
Cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lavit,
Utcunque fortis exsillis puerpera.

Quid obseratis auribus fundis preces?
Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis
Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo.

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia
Volgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis,
Et Esquilini pontifex venefici
Impune ut Urbem nomine impleris meo?

Quid proderat ditasse Pelignas anus,
Velociusve miscuisse toxicum?
Sed tardiora fata te votis manent:

after death, τὰ ἑναρά. We are dependent for our information chiefly on the Scholiasts upon this place, upon Virg. Aen. 5, 64, and Terent. Phorm. 1, 1, 10, and they differ in their accounts of the employment of the intervening days. But all agree that the ninth day was the one on which the dead was finally put out of sight.

50. venter = 'partus.' The allusion is to the taunt in Epod. 5, 5.

Pactumcius Orelli shows to have been a Roman name. It occurs in the consular lists of the two first Christian centuries.

52. fortis exsillis, of her speedy recovery. Intended to retract the recitation.

56, 59. ut . . ut; Madv. § 353 obs. Of something not to be thought of, whether as improbable or as offensive; Cic. Cat. 1, 9 'Quamquam quid loquor? Te ut ualla res frangat. Tu ut unquam te corrigas.' It more often has an interrogative particle added; Hor. Sat. 2, 5, 18 'Ut ne tegam spurco Damae latus?'

56. riseris volgata, i.e. 'volgaveris et riseris.'

Cotyttia, licentious mysteries celebrated in Thrace, and later in Athens and Corinth, in the name of a goddess Cotys or Cotytto. Canidia gives this name to the dark rites described in Epod. 5, with their lustful purpose.

58. pontifex. A 'pontifex' had the right and duty of being present at all sacred rites, and of seeing that they were duly performed. Horace has acknowledged in Sat. 1, 8 his cognizance of Canidia's doings on the Esquiline. She turns the tables on him. He was there as a very master in the art, and yet has held her up to public scorn. Orelli quotes the title which Cicero gives Clodius on account of his unlawful presence at the rites of Bona Dea, pro Sest. 17 'stuporum saccrodotem.'

60-62. 'What profit, then, were it to me [i.e. if you could do this with impunity] to have made the fortune of Pelignian hags [i.e. to have paid for learning every secret of magic], and to have mixed the speediest poison? But [though I do not mean to let you off, and though I call my poison speedily] the fate that awaits you is all too slow for your desires.' The text is that of the Berne MS, and is defended by Bentley, Orelli, Ritter, and Dill', and it gives the best connection of thought. There is, however, good MS. authority for 'proderit' in v. 60, and for 'si' against 'sed' in v. 62. The question must then be removed to the end of v. 62, and the sentence will refer to Horace, not to Canidia. 'What will it profit you richly to have paid Pelignian hags (i.e. to find spells that might free you from me), or to have mixed the quickest poison (i.e. in order to kill yourself), if a fate awaits you too slow for your desires.'

61. velocius, sc. 'solito.'

62. tardiora answers verbally to 'velocius.'
Ingrata misero vita ducenda est in hoc, Novis ut usque suppetas laboribus.
Optat quietem Pelopis infidi pater, Egens benignae Tantalus semper dapis,
Optat Prometheus obligatus aliti, Optat supremo collocare Sisyphus
In monte saxum; sed vetant leges Iovis.
Voles modo altis desilire turribus,
Modo ense pectus Norico recludere, Frustraque vincla gutturi nectes tuo,
Fastidiosa tristis aegrimonia.
Vectabor humeris tunc ego inimicis eque,
Voles modo altis desilire turribus,
Modo ense pectus Norico recludere, Frustraque vincla gutturi nectes tuo,
Fastidiosa tristis aegrimonia.
Vectabor humeris tunc ego inimicis eque,
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Vectabor humeris tunc ego inimicis eque,
Voles modo altis desilire turribus,
Modo ense pectus Norico recludere, Frustraque vincla gutturi nectes tuo,
Fastidiosa tristis aegrimonia.
Vectabor humeris tunc ego inimicis eque,
APPENDIX I.

ON THE UNKNOWN NAMES IN THE ODES.

It is hardly necessary to read Estré's summary of the many and mutually destructive theories that have been proposed in order to perceive the futility of attempting to construct out of the Pyrrhas, Lalages, Lydias of the Odes a history of Horace's loves and disappointments. Whatever foundation any Ode may have had in the feelings or facts of the moment it is impossible now to distinguish shadow from substance; and there is much to indicate that Horace did not wish it to be otherwise. Whatever be their origin, he treats his love Odes as artistic studies. He arranges them not, we can feel sure, in any chronological order as remembrances of his own life, but where they will be most useful to relieve more serious poems or to stand side by side as companion pictures. We may see as much as this from the nature of the names which he employs. A certain number owe their selection obviously to their etymological meaning, such as Pyrrha in 1. 5, Chloë in 1. 23, Lyce in 3. 10, Phidyle in 3. 23 (cp. Sybaris in 1. 8; the list may possibly be extended by the names of Lalage in 1. 22, Leuconoe in 1. 11, and of Telephus 1. 13, etc. Horace is fond of playing on the meaning of names, 'Glycerae immitis,' 1. 33. 2, 'Bibuli consulis amphoram,' 3. 28. 8, 'Dulci Lyaeo solvere,' Epod. 9. 38). Some more are suspiciously well adapted to the metre of the special poem; Leuconoe has this reason at any rate for her existence, so has 'Asterie' in 3. 7, and 'Neobule' (cp. the name of her lover, 'Liparaeus Hebrus') in the Ionic a minore metre of 3. 12. With one or two exceptions the unknown male names in the Odes (the names of Horace's rivals, as in 1. 13, on any theory of a real Lydia) are Greek names, Telephus, Gyges, Calais; mythological names; sometimes the names of Greek rivers, Hebrus 3. 12, Enipeus 3. 7. We may add perhaps that where the designation is most full and precise we seem to see most definitely the purpose of giving momentary substance to an acknowledged shadow; see on 'Thurini Calais filius Ornyti' 3. 9. 14, an l cp. Introd. to 2. 4. In a few cases we seem to see the appropriation
of the name to a special character, as 'Cyrus,' i. 17. 25, i. 33. 6; 'Pholoe,' i. 33. 7, 9, 2. 5. 17, 3. 15. 7; 'Telephus,' i. 13. 1, 3. 19. 26, 4. 11. 21; 'Lyce,' 3. 10, and 4. 13; but this last instance (viewed in light of the general relation of Book iv. to the earlier Books) points to the explanation that it is in all cases a literary identity, a reminiscence of a previous poem, not of a living person. On the other hand, the same name is at times given to people of such different characters or ages, that those who would give them real existence are obliged to recognise more than one owner of the name; cp. the Phyllis of 2. 4 and 4. 11, the Chloris of 2. 5 and 3. 15, the Lalage of 1. 22 and 2. 5, not to say the Glyceria of 1. 30 and 1. 33. There are cases, doubtless, where a reality is given to unknown names by their being brought into close relation with real persons and events, such as 'Mystes,' the lost friend of Valgius, in 2. 9; 'Damalis,' who is to rival Bassus in draughts of wine at the feast on Numida's return, i. 36; 'Glyceria,' to whom Tibullus is supposed to write piteous elegies, i. 33. In this last case we note that Glyceria is not a name that occurs in Tibullus' extant elegies, which suggests the possibility that even in such instances as these, though the reference be real, the name may be fictitious. This is of course the ultimate refuge of those who would see in the heroines of the Odes real persons. The names they give up; but Horace, it is argued, may have concealed the true names, as tradition tells us (see 2. 12 Introd.) Catullus concealed the name of Clodia under that of Lesbia, Propertius that of Hostia under that of Cynthia, Tibullus that of Plania under that of Delia, etc.; and Horace himself, in the Epodes and Satires, the name of Gratidia under that of Canidia; it is even added (see ibid.) the name of Terentia, Maecenas' wife, under that of Liciymnia. The possibility cannot be denied, but the suggestion leaves us much where we were as to any canon by which to know true persons from imaginary ones. No tradition helps us, and Estré observes that the only instances of such concealment of real names for which any tradition vouches are instances where the true and false names were metrically equivalent, a requirement which makes havoc of several schemes of 'amores Horatiani.' We should still have to leave as the representatives of different persons names which suit almost every metrical foot of two, three, or four syllables.

There is one unknown name in the Odes, that of Cinara (Od. 4. 1. 4. 13. 21, 22, Epp. 1. 7. 28, 1. 14. 33), which is perhaps redeemed from this shadowy existence, both by the personal feelings
that seem to accompany its mention and by its recurrence among the reminiscences of the poet's own life in the Epistles. That a mere literary reminiscence, an echo of his amatory poems rather than of his feelings, is intended seems unlikely in the absence of the name from all his early poems. The exception, however, tells rather against than for the reality of the personages who are not similarly recalled; and Buttmann draws attention to the fact that this one unknown person who seems more than a shadow is the subject only of allusion, not of a substantive poem.

What has been said will obviously not apply with equal force to the Epodes, where, in idea at least, personality is the essence of the poem. The introduction of Horace's own name, as in Epod. 15, and the pursuance of his attack upon Canidia through three Epodes and three Satires seem to indicate more real and definite objects. But the use of poetical names for characters who have no existence save at the moment begins doubtless in the Epodes, as do other features of the Odes.

**APPENDIX II.**

**HORACE'S USE OF THE COMPLEMENTARY INFINITIVE WITH VERBS AND ADJECTIVES.**

1. *With Verbs.*

A *complementary, or, as Dr. Kennedy prefers to call it, 'prolative,' infinitive seems properly to have been allowed only to verbs whose idea was not complete without such a definition of their scope; whether the simple verbs that express power, duty, inclination, purpose, effort, beginning, etc., and the negation of any of these ('possum,' 'debo,' 'volo,' 'conor,' 'incipio,' 'nequeo,' 'nolo'); or again the simple verbs which express the allowing another, or influencing him, to do or abstain from doing something ('sino,' 'patior,' 'iubo,' 'doceo,' 'cogo,' 'veto,' 'prohibeo,' etc.). There is a tendency, however, even in the most classical prose writers to extend the first at least of these two classes by including verbs which do not properly require any such complement, and which therefore, if any further definition of their scope or purpose were needed, would in strictness have found it rather by means either of some subordinate clause or of one of those substantival forms of the verb which could indicate its...
special relation more exactly than is possible with the caseless infinitive. Thus we find with the infinitive, 'studeo,' Cic.; 'nitor,' Nep.; 'quaero,' Cic.; 'tendo,' Liv.; 'pergo,' Cic.; 'persevero,' Cic. Many verbs hesitate between the two constructions, 'statuo facere' or 'ut faciam,' 'prohibeo facere' or 'quominus facias.' The poets go beyond the prose writers in this extension, greatly because their diction substitutes more highly-coloured and metaphorical verbs for the simpler ones of prose, 'gaudeo,' 'gestio,' 'amo,' 'ardeo,' for 'volo,' etc.; but Livy and Sallust anticipate some of the boldest poetical applications of this liberty.

It seems useless to seek a full explanation of each case in the doctrine that the infinitive was truly a substantive, which involves the further difficulty that we must explain 'in what relation (or 'case') it stands to the leading verb (see Conington's note on Virg. G. i. 213). A Roman poet felt at once the influence of Greek usage, in which the infinitive never lost its substantival character, and of Latin precedents, which, if they may be traced ultimately to a similar source, had yet ceased to be coloured by any consciousness of it. That the infinitive is treated at times by Horace as a substantive is clear from such sentences as 'dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,' and from its conjunction with a substantive in the instances quoted below from Od. 2. 16. 39, Epp. i. 19. 9.

The leading instances in Horace are, besides such common verbs as 'valeo,' 'mitto,' 'parco,' 'fugio,'—

'certat tollere,' Od. i. 1. 6 (cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 64 'certant illudere').
'furit reperire,' Od. i. 15. 27.
'trepidavit claudere,' Od. 2. 4. 23.
'laborat trepidare,' Od. 2. 3. 11 (cp. S. i. 1. 112, 2. 3. 269, 2. 8. 19, E. i. 3. 2, i. 20. 16, 2. 2. 196, A. P. 25, 16, 192, 435).
'occupat rapere,' Od. 2. 12. 28 (so 'occupat in agrum Sabinum transire,' Liv. i. 30).
'urges summovere,' Od. 2. 18. 21.
'coniurata rumpere,' Od. i. 15. 7 (cp. Sall. Cat. 52 'coniuravere cives patriam incendere').
'dolens vinci,' Od. 4. 4. 62.
'invidens deduci,' Od. i. 37. 30.
'dedit spernere,' Od. 2. 16. 39 (cp. Epp. i. 16. 61, etc.).
'adimam cantare,' Epp. i. 19. 9.
'fingit equum ire,' Epp. i. 2. 64.
'vocatus levare,' Od. 2. 18. 40.
'impero procurare,' Epp. i. 5. 21.
'interpellet durare,' S. i. 6. 128.

In the following instances the leading verb seems to be still more complete in itself, and the sense of 'purpose' (which in prose would have been expressed by means of a gerundive or supine or final clause) to be thrown more entirely upon the infinitive:—

'te persequeor frangere,' Od. i. 23. 10.

'pecus egit visere montes,' Od. i. 2. 8.

'quem virum sumis celebrare,' Od. i. 123 (cp. 'res gestas sumis scribere,' Epp. i. 3. 7).

'tradam ventis portare,' Od. i. 26. 3 (cp. Virg. Aen. i. 319 'dede-ratque comam diffundere ventis').

'me expetit urere,' Epod. ii. 5.

2. With Adjectives.

It is this use which, though by no means confined to Horace among the poets (cp. Virg. E. 5. i 'boni inflare,' Aen. 6. 164 'praestantior ciere,' etc.), and not without precedent even in the best Latin prose (for Cicero uses 'paratus' (cp. Hor. Epod. i. 3) with an infinitive), is yet sufficiently frequent with him to form a noticeable feature of his style. The easiest cases are those of a participle (which passes into a verbal adjective) from a simple verb which would require or readily admit a complementary infinitive. Such are

'sciens flectere,' Od. 3. 7. 25, compared with 'nescius cedere,' Od. i. 6. 6.

'metuens tangere,' Od. 3. 19. 16, with 'timidus perire,' Od. 4. 9. 52; cp. 'audax perpeti,' Od. i. 3. 25.

'doctus,' as a participle, Od. 3. 6. 27 ('institutus,' Od. 3. 8. 11); as an adj. in 'docta psallere,' Od. 4. 13. 7, 'ludere doctior,' Od. 3. 24. 56. Then we have 'indoctus ferre,' Od. 2. 6. 2, 'indoctilis pati,' Od. i. 1. 18.

'dignus' (= 'qui meret'), with an active infinitive, Epp. i. 10. 48, with a passive, Od. 3. 21. 6, Sat. i. 3. 24, i. 4. 3, 25, i. 10. 72, A. P. 183, 283; 'indigna,' A. P. 231.

'idoneus dare,' Epp. i. 16. 12. 'Fruges consumere nati' (Epp. i. 2) is a step beyond this. 'Leviora tolli,' Od. 2. 4. 11, and 'cereus flecti,' A. P. 163, also belong here, the adjectives being only more or less coloured forms of 'facilis,' and the construction arising from the conversion of the impersonal 'facile est hunc flectere' into a personal 'hic facilis est flecti.' We may add, perhaps, 'vultus nimium lubricus aspici,' Od. i. 19. 8, = 'quem lubricum est aspicere.'
The following are the chief remaining instances:

'callidus condere,' Od. 1. 10. 7; 'resonare,' 3. 11. 4.
'cautus dignos assumere,' Sat. 1. 6. 51.
'catus iaculare,' Od. 3. 12. 10.
'prudens dissipare,' Epod. 17. 47.
sollers ponere,' Od. 4. 8. 8.
pertinax ludere,' Od. 3. 29. 53.
efficax eluere,' Od. 4. 12. 20.
'praesens tollere,' Od. 1. 35. 2.
celer sequi,' Od. 1. 18. 18; 'volvere,' Od. 4. 6. 59; 'irasci,' Epp. 1. 20. 25.
'fortis tractare,' Od. 1. 37. 27; 'fortior spernere,' Od. 3. 3. 50.
firminus pascere,' Epp. 1. 17. 47.
piger ferre,' Sat. 1. 4. 12 ('impiger vexare,' Od. 4. 14. 23).
'segnis solvere,' Od. 3. 21. 22.
dolosus ferre,' Od. 1. 35. 28.
durus componere,' Sat. 1. 4. 8.
veraces cecinisse,' Carm. Sec. 25.
blandus ducere,' Od. 1. 12. 10.
largus donare,' Od. 4. 12. 19.
lenis recludere,' Od. 1. 24. 17; 'aperire,' Carm. Sec. 13.
aeacutus fingere,' Epp. 1. 15. 30.
impotens quidlibet sperare,' Od. 1. 37. 10.
ridiculus absorbere,' Sat. 2. 8. 24.
utilis aspirare,' A. P. 204.

The broad resemblance holds between all these that the infinitive names the action in relation to which the adjective is applicable. There is room, however, for considerable difference in the closeness of the relation between them, and even in its character.

On the first point we may compare 'celer irasci' or 'praesens tollere' with 'blandus quercus ducere.' In either of the first two cases the adjective and the infinitive are essential to one another—it is a mere accident of language that the 'irascibility' or the 'power of lifting' is not expressed in a single word—but in the third case the idea of each is complete: the infinitive adds an illustration, almost a result, of the quality named by the adjective, it is almost = 'tam blandus ut ducat.'

On the second point we may notice the change in the relation of the infinitive (a) when the adjective to which it is appended is negative in sense. This is clear in such cases as 'indoctus ferre,' 'timidus
perire,' 'piger ferre': it may cause some ambiguity when the negative character of the adjective is less clear, or where it would have been equally open to the poet to regard it from its positive side, and to make the infinitive the complement of the whole, not merely of the positive part, viz. the attribute denied or disparaged. Contrast, e.g. 'ferre iugum pariter dolosi' with 'cautum dignos assumere,' 'callidum condere,' etc.; (6) in such cases as the last three given above, where the adjective and the infinitive seem to have changed places, where it is no longer an internal quality of the subject leading to some action, but an action which is the cause or ground of the attribute, no longer 'brave so as to conquer,' but 'famous because he conquers.'

'Niveus videri,' Od. 4. 2. 59 (like 'nefas videre,' Epod. 16. 14), seems to be more purely an imitation of a Greek idiom (λευκος δρασθαι, ἀθέμητον ἰδεῖν).

APPENDIX III.

INDEX OF METRES USED IN THE ODES AND EPODES.

§ 1. Asclepiads.
Under this system are included five systems, composed of the following verses singly or in various combinations:—

a. The lesser Asclepiad—
   \[ \text{Maecenas atavis edite regibus.} \]

b. The greater Asclepiad—
   \[ \text{Tu ne quaesieris scire nefas quem mihi quem tibi.} \]
In these two verses the caesura is carefully kept, in \( a \) after the first, in \( b \) after the second choriambus. The only exception in Horace's writings is Od. 4. 8. 17 'Non incendia Carthaginis impiae.' In 1. 18. 16 and 2. 12. 25, the preposition gives a quasi-caesura.

g. The Glyconic—
   \[ \text{Nil mortalibus ardui est.} \]
In two instances, in Od. 1. 15, 24 and 36, Horace returns to the
use of Catullus, and has a trochee as the 'basis,' 'Teucer et Sthenelus
sciens,' 'Ignis Iliacas domos.'

8. The Pherecratic—

--- O O ---

Grato Pyrrha sub antro.

Asclepiad I. employs a alone, Od. 1. 1, 3, 30, 4. 8.

II. employs β alone, Od. 1. 11, 18, 4. 10.

III. consists of couplets of a and γ, Od. 1. 3, 13, 19, 36, 3. 9,
15, 19, 24, 25, 28, 4. 1, 3.

IV. consists of four line stanzas, 3a + γ, Od. 1. 6, 15, 24, 33,
2. 12, 3. 10, 16, 4. 5. 12.

V. consists of four line stanzas, 2a + δ + γ, Od. 1. 5, 14, 21,

§ 2. The Alcaic stanza is found in 37 Odes:—

1. 9, 16, 17, 26, 27, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37.

2. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20.

3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 21, 23, 26, 29.

4. 4, 9, 14, 15.

It employs three kinds of verses:—

a.  - O O --- | O O - O  O

β.  - O - O | O - O

γ.  - O O - O O - O - O

a being repeated twice.

It is obvious that we have here variations of two movements;
verse β repeats and amplifies the movement of the first half of a,
verse γ repeats the dactylic movement of the second half, putting
the trochees after instead of before it. This consideration proves
that although to the ear the movement of β and of the first half of a
is iambic, it was in idea a sequence of trochees preceded by an
unemphatic syllable or 'anacrusis.' The anacrusis is as often short
as long in the fragments of Alcaeus and Sappho. In Horace it is
occasionally short, but more rarely in β than in a, and never in either
in Book iv.

Alcaeus had admitted a spondee in the place of the second trochee.
Horace made the spondee imperative, see on Od. 3. 5, 17, 3. 23. 18.

The division of the two halves of the line is marked by a caesura,
which is only violated twice, in Od. 1. 37. 14 'Mentemque lymphatam
Mareotico,' and 4. 14. 17 'Spectandus in certamine Martio.' There
are two other instances where a preposition at the beginning of a composite word gives a quasi-caesura, 1. 16. 21 ‘Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens,’ 1. 37. 5 ‘Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum.’ Horace seems to have paid great attention to the rhythm of verse β, excluding, and more carefully in his later poems, all conjunctions of words which did not by their accent counteract that natural sameness of movement which we find undisguised in Alcaeus, λαίϕος δὲ πάν ζάδηλον ἡδη, etc. No quadrisyllabic ending or beginning is found in Book iv, except of the forms of ‘Nomen beati qui Deorum’ and ‘Consulque non unius anni.’ Verses of the form of ‘Gaudes, apricos necte flores’ (1. 26. 7) are found only in 1. 16, 26, 29, 35, and 2. 1, 3, 13, 14, 19. ‘Hunc Lesbio sacrare lectro’ in 1. 26. 11 is unique. It was the occurrence of these two verses in 1. 26, and of the verse ‘Alaeae pectro dura navis’ in 2. 13, that called Lachmann’s attention to the wrong date assigned by Franke, on Justinus’ authority, to the quarral of Phraates and Tiridates, and consequently to these Odes, which thus became specimens of Horace’s later instead of his earlier handiwork, see Introd. to Books i-iii, § 8.

There is no synaphe between the verses of the stanza, but Horace twice allows an elision of a hypermetric syllable at the end of the third verse, 2. 3. 27 and 3. 29. 35. There is an analogous licence taken in the Asclepiad metre in 4. 1. 35, and Virgil allows it in the hexameter, Georg. 1. 295, etc.

§ 3. The Sapphic stanza is found in twenty-five Odes:—

1. 2, 10, 12, 20, 22, 25, 30, 32, 38;
2. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 16;
3. 8, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 27;
4. 2, 6, 11;

and in the Carm. Sec.

It employs two kinds of verse, the lesser Sapphic, which is repeated three times—

-ο-ις-ις-

and the Adonic—

-ο-ο-ο.

The materials of the rhythm in this are the same as in the Alcaic. It is a sequence of trochees and dactyls. This is obscured in Horace, (1) by his excluding the trochee absolutely from the second place, where it is often found in Sappho, and in her first Latin imitator, Catullus, aí δὲ μὴ φαλέτα ταξίως φαλάσετ, ‘Pauca nuntiate meae puellae’; (2) by his eschewing the break before the dactyl, φανεραί μοι κήρος ίσος.
The lengthening of the short syllable in 2. 6. 14, 'Angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto,' is perhaps a trace of the feeling that, as the first syllable of the dactyl, it had the metrical accent upon it.

The caesura falls commonly, in the first three Books, after the fifth syllable, 'Jam satis terris,' though it is found, from time to time, after the sixth, 'Quem virum aut heroa.' In the Carm. Sec. and the Fourth Book, Horace returns in this point to the use of Catullus and the Greek, and employs the second caesura frequently. In either the three Sapphic Odes of Book Four together, or in the Carm. Sec. alone, there are twice as many instances of it as in the twenty-one Odes of the earlier Books.

There is no synaphea, but hypermetric syllables are occasionally elided at the end of all the first three verses of the stanza (2. 2. 18, 2. 16. 34, 4. 2. 22, 23, C. S. 47). By Sappho the Adonic was treated as if it scanned continuously with the verse before, and this use is preserved in Horace to some extent, a word being at times divided between them (1. 2. 19, 2. 25, 11. 2. 16. 7). On the other hand, we find a hiatus at times, as in 1. 2. 47 'Neve te nostris vitius iniquum Ocior aura.'

§ 4. Iambic metres.

Of these two occur in Horace:—

1. The common Senarius or Iambic Trimeter (for the name see Ars Poet. 252) in Epod. 17.
2. Couplets of the Senarius and an Iambic Dimeter in Epod. 1–10.

Horace does not observe the law of the Greek Tragic Senarius in respect of a short syllable before a final cretic; see e.g. Epod. 1. 27 and 29.

Three instances occur of an apparent anapaest in the fifth place:
Epod. 2. 35 'laqueo,' 5. 79 'inferius,' 11. 23 'mulierculam'; but Meineke rightly explained them as instances of synizesis, or using e and i as semivowels, after the analogy of 'aurea' in Virg. Aen. 1. 698, and of 'consilium' and 'principium' in Od. 3. 4. 41 and 3. 6. 6.

§ 5. These metres account for 97 out of the 104 Odes (including the Carm. Sec.), and 11 out of 17 Epodes.

Of the remaining metres, one or at the most two or three specimens exist, which are to be viewed rather, as Mr. Munro remarks, as experiments.

5. Alcanium, Od. 1. 7 and 28, and Epod. 12.
INDEX OF METRES.

It is in couplets consisting of the common Dactylic Hexameter and a Dactylic Tetrameter.

6. The couplets named from Archilochus.

Archilochium 1\textsuperscript{num}, Od. 4. 7.

The common Dactylic Hexameter, followed by a Dactylic Trimeter Catalectic (half of an Elegiac Pentameter):—

\[ - O - O - O - \varphi. \]

Archilochium II\textsuperscript{num}, Epod. 13.

The Dactylic Hexameter, followed by an asynartete\textsuperscript{1} verse called Iambelegus, being composed of a Dimeter Iambic + half the Elegiac Pentameter:—

\[ O - O - \varphi - O \varphi | - O - O - O - \varphi. \]

Archilochium III\textsuperscript{num}, Epod. 11.

A common Iambic Trimeter, followed by a verse, also asynartete, called Elegiambus, composed of the same elements as the Iambelegus combined in a different order.

Archilochium IV\textsuperscript{num}, Od. 1. 4.

(a) A verse called Archilochius Major, consisting of a Dactylic Tetramer + three trochees. It is not in Horace asynartete, for the fourth dactyl is always perfect, and no hiatus is found; but there is a strict caesura between the two parts of the verse.

(\beta) An Iambic Trimeter Catalectic.

7. Two couplets called Pythiambic, from the name Πόδιος, given to the Hexameter as the metre of the Delphic oracles.

(1) The Dactylic Hexameter, followed by an Iambic Dimeter, Epod. 14, 15.

(2) The Dactylic Hexameter, followed by an Iambic Trimeter, Epod. 16.

The Iambic verse in this metre consists entirely of pure Iambics.

8. A couplet known as the Greater Sapphic, from the likeness of the rhythm of both verses to the Common Sapphic verse. The first line (which goes by the name of Aristophanes) is a Sapphic without the initial trochees. The second is a Sapphic, with a choriambus inserted before the dactyl:—

\[ - O - O - \varphi, \]

\[ - O - - O - O - O - O - \varphi. \]

\textsuperscript{1} διωκαρτητος, the term used for a verse of which the two parts are imperfectly joined together, where the last syllable of the first half is independent in scansion of the first syllable of the second half, e.g. Epod. 13. 8, 10, and 11. 6, 14. In this last case there is an actual hiatus.
It occurs in Od. 1. 8.

9. *Hipponacteum*, Od. 2. 18.

A couplet consisting of a Trochaic Dimeter Catalectic, followed by an Iambic Trimeter Catalectic:—

\[ \text{—} - \text{—} - \text{—} - \text{—} \text{—} \text{—} \]
\[ \text{—} - \text{—} - \text{—} - \text{—} - \text{—} - \text{—} \text{—} \]

10. *Ionicus a minore*, Od. 3. 12.

This is composed entirely of the foot called 'Ionicus a minore':—

\[ \text{—} - \text{—} - \text{—} - \]

The metre is described by Hephaestion, who takes as his type an Ode of Alcaeus, of which the first line, which he quotes, seems as if it may have been the original of Horace's Ode (see Introd. to Od. 3. 12). It is not, he says, as it may easily be taken to be, an unbroken succession of similar feet, but broken into periods of ten feet each. Bentley pointed out that Horace's Ode consists of forty feet, i.e. four such periods, and held that the arrangement in lines, which many editors debate, was merely a necessity of the writer or printer, and not to be elevated into a law of the metre.

§ 6. A few words may be added on what is called by some editors 'Meineke's canon.' He noticed that, with two exceptions, all the Odes of Horace contain a number of lines which is a multiple of four. Of these, 3. 12 has just been discussed. It has been arranged by some persons in stanzas of four lines (see Excurs. on it in Orelli's edition); but it might fairly be contended, either that the nature of the metre consisting not of verses, but of feet, exempted it from the common category, or that, inasmuch as it consists of four periods of ten feet each, it complies with the same conditions as other Odes. The other exception is Od. 4. 8, which contains thirty-four verses. It so happens that this Ode already lay under some suspicion, on account of the historical difficulty of v. 17. On this facts Meineke laid down the general law that all the Odes conformed to the type of the Alcaic, Sapphic, and third, fourth, and fifth Asclepiad metres, and were to be broken into four-line stanzas. Od. 4. 8 was to be rectified.

1 The law is not applied to the Epodes, the very name of which (see p. 327) probably implied an arrangement in couplets rather than four-line stanzas.

2 Bentley had complained of the same line, on account of the metrical irregularity of the caesura; see above, § 1.
by the necessary amount of excision, or by the supposition of some lines having fallen out. It will be seen, on examination, that the difficulties of 4. 8. 17 have been exaggerated; and, at any rate, in the absence of any indication of such a quaternary division, either in the pauses of the Odes themselves, or in the grammatical and metrical writers (who are usually keen-eyed for 'laws' in the greater poets), the chief recent editors have not thought it necessary to alter the Ode in obedience to the canon. Steiner pointed out that, whatever may have been the case with the Odes which are composed in couplets, there are but five other Odes besides 4. 8 (omitting, again, 3. 12) which are μονόστριχα, or of uniform metre, and that this is too small an area for such an important induction.
APPENDIX IV.

ODES, CARMEN SECULARE, AND EPODES.

COLLATION OF MS. IN LIBRARY OF
QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

'Seculo decimo conscriptum ut videtur.'
(Note on fly-leaf.)

CCII. Codex membranaceus, in 4to, ff. 161, sec. forsan X ineuntis, bene exaratus et servatus; ex dono Joannis Luidi, 12 Nov. 1595. Quinti Horatii Flacci opera, glossulis marginalibus interlinearibus instructa; scilicet,

1. Carminum libri iv, argumentis illustrati, fol. 4. Tit. 'Horatii Flacci Carminum [sic] liber i incipit.' Incip. gloss. 'In hac òòe Mecenatem alloquitur indicans alium alio.'

2. De Arte Poetica, fol. 65 b. Incip. gloss. 'Artem poeticam tractaturus Oratius ordine congruo.' In calce, 'Horatii Flacci de arte poetica explicit.'

3. Epodon liber, cum argumentis rubricatis, ubi notatur de Metris, etc. fol. 75. Tit. 'Incipit Epodon ad Mecenate.' Incip. Schol. 'Epodon, id est, epl.'


5. Sermonum libri duo, fol. 90. Tit. 'Incipit sermonum liber i ad Mecenatem.' Incip. Schol. 'Hic liber de sermonibus intitulatur, 'quia praesentibus loquitur.'


(Rev. H. O. Coxe's 'Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensi hodie adservantur,' 1852.)

The MS. is now numbered P 2.

[ODES.
BOOK 1.]

[I.]

Line 1. Mcenas¹. 2. O et presidium dulce decus meum. 3. olimpicum. 6. addeos. 7. sinobilium turba quirium (l. mobilium on margin). 9. siproprio... orreo. 10. delibicis. 12. atalicis

¹ u is written throughout for v, as 'atauis,' but this variation is not shown in the Collation. e is written in almost all cases for ae, but a distinctive mark is usually added when the diphthong is intended, perhaps by a later hand. The variation is shown in the Collation only when this mark is absent.
COLLATION, ETC.

15. icareis... africum. 16. opidi. 20. dedie. 26. inmemor.
29. premia. 32. sineque. 35. sime liricis. inseris (altered
to inseres).

[II.] Proseutice tetracolos ad Augustum.

Line 5. nerediret. 6. pyrre. 7. protheus. 12. dammæ.
14. Littore. 15. monimenta (altered to monumenta?). 17. dumse.
19... non probante. 20. Uxorius amnis. 26. Imperii.
33. ericina. 34. circumuolat. 38. uiuat. 40. inhostem.
42. intarris. 45. incelum. 48. otior.

[III.] Prophonetice bycolos Virgilii.

Line 1. Sicte. 2. sydera. 4. preter ia pyga. 6. Finibus
atticis debes Virgilium. 9. triplex. 12. africum. 14. yadas
... Nothi. 15. adiae. 18. occulis. 19. turbidum (om. et).
33. Loeti. 35. nonhomi ni. 36. Perrumpit (?). 37: ardui
(altered to arduum in same hand?). 38. Celum.

[IV.] Prophonetice dicrolos ad Sestium Quirinum de Verno
tempore.

Line 1. iemps... fauonii. 8. Vulcanus. 9. mirto. 11. in-
umbrosis. 12. hedo. 18. talis... uini.

[V.] Prophonetice tetracolos ad Pyram.

Line 1. inrosa. 2. urguet. 3. phyrra. 5. quotiens,

[VI.] Hypotetice tetracolos ad Agrippam.

Line 2. meonii. 3. cumque. 7. duplices... permare.
8. sevam. 10. inbessisque. 12. ingenii. 15. moerionem.
16. Titidem (i added by later hand). 17. contiuia.

[VII.] ——— ce (i.e. [Paraenet]ce) dycolos Plancno.

Line 1. Rodon... mitilenem. 2. Ephesus... corinti.
5. arces (for urbem). 8. iniunonis. 9. dicit aequis... micenas.

Ad Plancum hortatio bene vivendi.

26. osocii. 27. auspice tecro (a written over).
COLLATION OF

[VIII.]

Line 1. Lidia.  2. sibarim.  5. militares (perhaps altered from militaris?).  7. temperet.  8. Tyberim.  9. uiperino (letter erased between \(i\) and \(n\)).  12. transfinem . . . nobilis ille expedito.  14. tetidis.  15. ne (seems formed from nec by erosion of c).

[IX.]
PARANETICE TETRACOLOS AD THALIARCUM Puerum speciosum.

Line 7. Sabina (seems to have been originally Sabini?).  8. taliarcce.  11. Depreliantes.  13. querere.  14. dierumcumque.  17. canicies.  23. direptum.

[X.]
HYMNUS Mercurio tetracolos.

Line 6. quicquid.  11. faretra.  15. Tessalos.  17. laetis.  18. coherces.

[XI.]
PRAGMATICE MONOCOLOS AD Leuconoem Meretricem genesin per mathematicam requirentem.

Line 1. Tunequesieris . . . michi.  2. dii dederint (has been dederunt) babilonios.  3. Temptaris . . . quicquid.  4. ihemes.  6. Tirrhenum.

[XII.]
— CE TETRACOLOS YMNUS DE LAUDIBUS DEORUM ATQUE HOMINUM.

Line 2. sumis has been altered to sumes.  3. recinit.  5. inumbrosis eliconis horis.  6. inhemo.  13. parentum.  14. quires.  ac has been altered to atque.  15. Qui mare qui terras uariis mundum.  18. quicquam.  21. Praeliis.  22. Et sevis, etc.  31. Et minax quae sic (there has been an erasure on ac).  36. laetum.  37. Prodigum poeno superante paulum.  45. uel ut.  47. interignes.  55. Orientis horae.  58. curru (the second \(r\) has been tampered with) olimpum.  59. parem.

[XIII.]
CHEROTICE DICOLOS AD Lydim.

Line 1. lidia.  2. there has been an erasure between cerea and telephi.  3. ue.  5. Tunc . . . michi.  6. ingenas.  10. immodice.  12. impressit.  13. sime.  15. Ledentem.  18. inrupta . . . malus.

[XIV.]
PARANITICE TETRACOLOS AD Brutum Marcum.

10. dii. 11, 12. (as one line) 17. tedium. 19, 20. (as one line) cyclades.

[XV.] Ypotetice tetracolos ad Alexandrum.

Line 2. Ydeis helenem. 3. celeres altered from celeris (?).
7. conjurata rumpere tuas nuptias. 9. E heu (erasure between the words).
11. etegida. 13. nequiam. 15. Inbelli.
22. nonpilium nestorare spicis. 23. inpauidite Salaminius (the u not original).
24. Stenelus. 27. repperire. 28. Titides.
29. inaltera. 32. non (id added above) pollicitus tuae.
34. phrigum.

[XVI.] Palinodia Gratidiae.

Line 2. cumque. 4. adriano. 5. dindimene . . aditis.
6. incolapiithius. 8. coribantes. 11. saeuus (altered from
25. mitibus (two letters erased between i and t: has been mitibus?)
26. michi. 28. Obprobrisi.


Line 1. amoenum sepe. 2. liceo. 3. estatem capillis.
5. pernemus. 6. thima. 9. aediliae. 10. dulcitindari.
17. inreducta. 18. Vitabas (a altered above to i) estus Teia (a t?
introduced between e and i). 19. Dices (s introduced between i
and c) inuno. 22. subumbra. 23. thioneces. 24. Praelia.
25. cyrum (p introduced between y and r). 26. iniciat.
27. herentem. 28. inmeritam.

[XVIII.] Parinetice monodos ad Varum.

Line 1. sacra (altered from sacro). 2. catilli. 5. pauperiem
crepat (in added above). 6. bache. 7. nequis. 9. letus
euhyus (leuis above). 12. invitam (u above). 13. Seua tenecu-
dericinthio. 14. timpana. 15. nimio (last letter has
been altered). 16. archanique.

[XIX.] (Erotice) Erytice dicolos Gliceræe repetere se amore(m)
consilio Veneris ac liden in Gliceram meretricem.

Line 1. seua. 3. lasciua (erasure in last two letters). 5. gli-
cere. 8. uultus . . aspici. 9. Inme. 10. Scithas.
cespitem). 15. His at beginning of line. turaque. 16. lenius.
[XX.] Prospoheticus AD Mecenatem.

Line 1. modice (altered above to is). 3. in theatro. 5. Mecenas. 6. Fluminis ripae et jocosa simul. 9. proelo. 10. Tubibes . . . falerne (erasion between r and n).

[XXI.] Ymnos AD Chorum in Dianam et Apollinem.


[XXII.] AD Aristium Fuscum LAUS INNOCENTIAE.


[XXIII.] Lerche AD Cloen MERETRICEM FUGIENTEM.


[XXIV.] Threnus IN QUINTILVIRGILVAMANTEM.


[XXV.] Exprobratio IN MERETRICEM LYDIAM.

Line 5. om. multum (which is added above). facies (has been facilis). 6. minusiam. 7. Metu (erasure after the u). 8. Lidia. 10. insolo . . . angiportu (letter erased between p and o). 11. bach-ante. 13. uento (may have been uentu). 15. Seuiet. 17. uirenti. 18. puella . . . mirto.

[XXVI.] AD Musas DE Lamia Caelio.

Line 2. inmare. 3. arco (second letter altered: r above). 4. horae. 5. tyridaten. 9. Piplea. sine (seems to have been si me) temei.
[XXVII.] Ad Convivas Sodales suos de hilaritate.


[XXVIII.] Ad Architam philosophum genere Tarentinum arte geometrem expulsam de naufragis.

Line 1. numero (u above). 2. archita. 3. propeltus 4. quicquam : om. tibi (which is added above between nec and quic- quam). 5. temptasse. 8. Titonusque ... inauras. 12. nil. 14. Judicete nonsordidus atri tor (erasure of about three letters between i and i [auctor added above by same hand as notes]). 16. loeti. 22. Illirics Nothus. 23. nec parce. 25. quod cunque. 27. tesopite. 29. custo detarenti. 30. neglegis. 31. tenatis ... forsan. 33. Temaneant. 34. om. que 35. nonest.

[XXIX.] Ad Iccium loquitur.


[XXX.] Eutice ad Ve(ne)rem pro Glicera.

Line 1. Chnidi. 2. Cypronet. 3. Turete. 4. inaedem.

[XXXI.] Eutice ad Apollinem.


[XXXII.] Prophonetic ad Liram de carminibus suis.

Line 1. Poscimus squid. 2. inannum. 8. nauem. 10. herentem. 15. michi cumque.

[XXXIII.] Paraneetic ad Albium Bullum consolatur dolentem quod neglegatur a scorto.

Line 1. Albine. 2. Gliceræ. 4. Lesa prenitemat. 5. lico-rida. 11. enea. 12. seuo. 15. adriae.

[XXXIV.] Ad se philosophantem.

Line 10. horridus tenari (a above in old hand). 11. sede (s added in different ink). 12. concutitur; et valet, etc. 13. mu-
tare insignem et attenuat deus (deus written over deus). I4. in apicem (small c added after in).

[XXXV.] Proseutice Fortunam invocat quae colitur.


[XXXVI.] Eucharistice ad Numbam amicum Lamiae.

Line 1. ture. 4. Quinunc . . abultima. 8. pueritiae. 11. anphorae. 12. insalium sit requi es pedum. 13. dam malis. 14. treicia. uint amistide. 16. uiuax (x by a later hand: there has been erasure). 17. indamalim. 18. damalus (erasure between l and t?).

[XXXVII.] Prosponetice ad Sodales Augusti.


[XXXVIII.] Prosphonetice ad Puerum pro simplici apparatu convivil.

Line 2. philira. 5. nichil adlabores. 7. neque sub arta (om. me).

Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum Lib. I fin. incipit II.
[BOOK II.]

[ I. ] AD ASINIUM POLLIONEM.


[ II. ] DYCANE AD SALLUSTIUM CRISPUM.

Line 2. lammae. 6. infratres. 7. agit. 10. quamsilibiam. 17. prahaten. 18. plebis ... beatum.

[ III. ] PARANETICE IMMO SYMOLEUTICE DELLIO.


[ IV. ] AD XANTIAM SODALEM GENERE PHOECEUM PROSPHONETICE.


[ V. ] EUTICE AD SOBALEM (SODALEM) PER ALLEGORIAM VERO DICT OMNIA AD AD LALAGEN VIRGENEM.


[ VI. ] PROSPHONETICE SEPTIMIO.

Lines 3, 4. written as one line. 7, 8. written as one line. 9. parte (c above). 10. galesi. 11, 12. written as one line. 13. michi ... omnes (altered from omnis). 14. hymeto. 15, 16. written as one line. 17. prebet. 19. bacho nimium.
(but the old word has been erased). 19, 20. written as one line. 22. ubi tu. 23, 24. written as one line.

[VII.] Pragmatice ad Oratium Pompeium commilitonem.
Line 1. sepe ... inultimum. 5. Pompi. 7. Fregi comptus nitentis (e above). 12. Turbe solum (letter between l and m erased: u above). 13. hostis. 14. sustulit (two letters erased, the latter a b) eret aere. 15. inbellum. 22. Ciboria exple; effunde, etc. 23. quisudo. 27. Bachabor. 28. michi.

[VIII.] Prosagoreutice Juliae Barinae.
Line 1. sijuris. 3. sinigro. 3, 4. written as one line. 7, 8. written as one line. 11. celo. 11, 12. written as one line. 13. nympae (y erased). 15, 16. written as one line. 19, 20. written as one line. 22. misereque.

[IX.] Ad Algium consolatio.

Lines 3, 4. written as one line. 5. quiquis. 7, 8. written as one line. 11. tres (mark of abbreviation added above). 14. preparatum. 15, 16. written as one line. 17. summouiter (net above) nonsimale. 19, 20. written as one line. 23. Contra hesuento. 23, 24. written as one line.

[XI.] Ad Quintium Hyrnum.
Line (1). belicosus (l added above) ... scites. 2. cogitat adria. 4. inusum. 13. palatano (l added above before first a). 17. eu hius (letter erased before h, probably c: uh is written above). 18. otius. 20. limpha. 22. lira. 23. incomptum lacenae.

[XII.]
[XIII.]


[XIV.]

'Met. Alchaic' (note in old hand).


[XV.]


[XVI.]

Line 2. Pressus (erasure after first s: the second is later, probably has been in) egeo. 3. long gap between neque and certa: there has been an erasure, and part of neq is an addition. 4. (as a line by itself). 5. trace. 6. medifaretra. 7. Crosph. 8. written as one line. 10. Submovet. 11, 12. written as one line. 14. immensa tenuisalimn. 15, 16. written as one line. 17. jaculumu (r added). 19. patrie. 19, 20. written as one line. 23. otior. 24. otior. 23, 24. as one line. 25. impresens. 27, 28. as one line. 30. thitonum. 31. michi. 31, 32. as one line. 32. ora. 35. aequa. 37. lane michi. 40. uulgus.

[XVII.]

Line 2. diis . . . nec m te prius (m for mihi ?). 3. Mecenas. 4. columnque (letter erased between n and q). 5. A te sipartem. 7. super stes. 11. suppremmum. 13. chimerae. 14. gigas. 15. umquam. 17. scorpius aspicit. 28. ictum (the i erased and added above).
[XVIII.] Parameter alii Ypotione.

Line 3. hymetiae. 7. michi. 8. clientes. 9. ingenii.
11. nichil. 20. urges. 21. Summo uere littora. 25. LIMITEM.
27. Insinu. 28. Etuxor. 29, 30. written as one line.
31. Erum... aequa tellus. 38. cohercet. 40. nonuocatus.

[XIX.] Enthusiastic Libero.

8. tyrso. 9. tyadas. 14. pento... (last letter or letters erased).
15. non leui (marks of erasure). 17. tumare.

Q. Horath Flacci Carminum explicit II, III Lib. incipit.

[BOOK III.]

[I.] Pragmactice ad Indoctos.

Line 1. uulgus. 9. Estutuiro. 17. cui semper impia.
20. cytharæ. 24. Zephiris. 27. seuus. 28. hedi.
39. trireme (om. et). 41. phrygus (letter erased between h and r).
43. Delinet. 44. Uites Achemeniumque (a added above the e).
48. operotiores (s written above t).

[II.] De Instructione ad Amicos Loquitur.

Line 1. amice (o written above the m). 6. menibus. 10. la-
cesset (a written above the e). 13. deorum (c added above).
15. inbellis. 23. temptat. 23. uulgares. 27. archanae.
28. fragileaque.


Line 5. adriae. 8. inpauidum. 10. Innus. 13. bache.
22. michi. 23. dampnatum. 31. nepotem (seems to have
been nepotum). 34. discere. 49. inreperturn. 55. de-
bachentur. 57. fata (letter erased between a and t). 67. argis
(some letters erased at the end of the word).

[IV.] Ad Calliopem Musam.

Line 4. cytharae. 10. Altrici. 14. Acheruntiae. 19. conla-
taque. 20. diis. 22. michi. 26. me omitted: supplied above by
later hand. 27. arbor. 29. Utcumque. 30. bosforum. 
31. Temtabo. 32. assirii. 34. conchanum. 35. pharet-
tratas. 36. scithicum. 37. Cesarem. 38. redditas opidis.
39. querentem. 47. turmas. 48. equo. 52. Olimpo.
53. tipheus ... minas. 54. porphirion. 55. roethus.
57. aegyda. 59. omit et. 60. Et numquam. 62. litiae.
65. aegyda. 69. gigas. 71. Temptator.
74. meret partus fulminae luridum (om. que).
76. ethnam.
77. ticii. 80. Perithoum.

[V.] Ad divum Augustum.

Line 3. britannis. 12. Incolomi. 17. imiserabilis (erasure
before this word). 19. affixa. 20. cede. 21. Direpta uidi
53. clientium. 54. Disjudicata. 56. lacedemonium.


Line 1. inmeritus. 4. simulachra. 5. Diis. 9. monesis.
27. inpermissa. 29. Sed uisa coram (marks of erasion). 31. his-
piane. 32. praetiosus. 33. Non his orta juuentus orta paren-
45. Dampnosa.

[VII.] Ad Mecenatem.

Line 3. Thina. 4. fidei. 5. Gigen. ille nothis actus ad
13. pretum or praetum. 15. bellero fonti. 17. pene. 18. hi-
20. monet.

[VIII.] Ad Mecenatem.

Line 1. celebs. 2. turis. 3, 4. written as one line. 5. ser-
monis. 6. Uomeram ... aepulas. 10. astrictum. 11, 12. as
one line. consule Talbo. 13. catos (i' written above).
15. 16. as one line. 19, 20. as one line. 21. horae.
23. scithe. 23, 24. as one line. 27. letus.

[IX.] Antapodotice.

13. Quidsi prisca (barred) me torret, etc. 14. Turini ... Orniti.
15. patiar (letter erased between a and t). 16. pascent.
19. Cloe. 21. Quam sidere, etc. (corrected to quamuis above).

Line 2. seuo. 3. obicere. 6. situm...remugit. 7. claicet. 14. pelice.


Lines 3, 4. as one. 7, 8. as one. 11, 12. as one. 15, 16. as one. 19, 20. as one. 21. Tytius. 22. paulum 27, 28. as one. 45. seuis. 47, 48. as one. 50. om. i.

[XII.] Paranetice ad Neobulem1.

Miserarum est. neque amori dare ludum Neque (dulci above) mala uino lauere aut. Exanimari. metuentes patruae Verbera linguae; Tibi qualum cytherea puer ales. Tibi telas operosaque minervae Studium aufert. Neobule liparei nitor hebri; Simul unctos tiberinis humeros Lavit in undis. eques ipso melior Bellerofonti. neque pugno neque segni Pede uictus. Catus idem per apertum fugientes Agitato grege ceruos jaculari* et Celer alto latitantem fruticeto Excipere aprum

[XIII.] Proseutice in fontem Bandusinum qui est Sabinis.

Line 3. hedo. 7. riuos (letter (?) erased before the r). 9. ora. 11. erasure between fessis and uomere. 16. Limphee.

[XIV.]

Lines 3, 4. as one. hora. 7, 8. as one. uota. 11, 12. as one. 13. michi. 15. mo (e added above). 15, 16. as one. 19, 20. as one. 22. Mirreum. 23, 24. as one. 27, 28. as one.

[XV.] Mentice ad Chloridem.

Line 1. Ybici. 8. Et te decet Clore. 10. thias. 15, 16. are transposed. 16. faecenus (e inserted above).

[XVI.] Hypotetice ad Maecenatim (sic).


1 The punctuation of the MS. is here shown.
QUEEN'S COLLEGE MS.

26. quicquid. 31. Africæ. 35. michi. 36. uellara.
41. Migdoniis . . . alyathici.

[XVII.]
Line 13. potes (originally was potis). 15. bimenstri.

[XVIII.]
Line 1. nimpharum fugentium. 3, 4. as one. 4. nequus.
5. hedus. 7, 8. as one. 10. decembris. 11, 12. as one.
12. pardus (but erasure). 15. populisæ. 15, 16. as one.

[XIX.]
27. rode. 28. glicere . . . amae (erasure).

[XX.] Ad Pyrrum tentando quin Nearcus sollicitet.
Line 2. Pyrræ Getulæ . . . leenæ. 3. paulo . . . fugie sinaudax.
3, 4. as one. 7, 8. as one. predæ. 10. hec. 11, 12. as one.

[XXI.] Paranetice ad Amphoram.
15. archanum. 16. liæo.

[XXII.] Ymnus in Dianam.
Line 3. loeto. 3, 4. as one. 6. Quam per actos (ex added above).

[XXIII.] Proseutice monocolos Phillidae.
Line 2. phillide. 3. ture . . . orna. 5. affricum. 7. Rubiginem dulces alumpni (aut added above).
19. mollibit.

[XXIV.]
Line 4. Tyrrenæ . . . mare ponticum. 7. nonanimumumotu
38. boraee. 41. nautæ. 42. obprobrium.
43. second et omitted, and added above. 50. penitet. 52. aele-
menta. 62. improbe.
[XXV.] LIBERUM PATREM INVOCAT LAUDES CAESARIS DICTURUS.

Line 1. bache. 4. Cesaris. 9. exomnis (s added above) . . .
15. Bacharum. 17. nichil ... humile. 18. nichil. 19. lenee.

[XXVI.] AD VENEREM LOQUITUR QUOD NEQUE AMARE NEQUE
scribere possit.

Line 9. regis Cyrum et.

[XXVII.] PROSPHENAE AD GALATEAM SUI NON ESSE MEMOREM.

Lines 3, 4. as one. 7. quid timebo. 7, 8. as one. 10. im-
minentium. 11, 12. as one. 15. Te neque leuus. 15, 16. as
one 19, 20. as one. iapix. 23, 24. as one. 27, 28. as
one. 30. nimphis. 31. nichil. 31, 32. as one. 35, 36. as
one. 39. anuectus. 39, 40. as one. 45. michi. 47, 48. as
one. 51, 52. as one. 55, 56. as one. 57. europaes.
58. abono. 59, 60. as one. 60. Ledere. 61. laeto.
63. cerile. 63, 64. as one. 66. pelex. 67, 68. as one,
71. inuius omitted, and written above. 71, 72. as one. 75.
76. as one.

[XXVIII.]

14. paphum. 16. nenia.

[XXIX.] PROPHONETICE MECENATI.

Line 1. Tyrrena. 2. uersum. 3. meccenas (om. et). 4. Et
pressa. 5. aput ... eripe morae te. 6. esulae. 7. Declinum.
18. prochyon. 20. die (s added above). 34. medio alueo.
37. domos. 41. annes. 42. Letus. 48. Quo fugiens hora
semel uixit. 49. leta (om. et). 50. Et ludum, etc. 51. in-
cestos. 52. michi. 56. quero.

[XXX.] VICTURUM DICT APOTELESTICE SCRIPTIS SEMPER.

Line 1. per hennius. 2. piramidum. 12. Regnator (but

CARMINUM LIB. III EXPLICIT, INCIPIT IV.
[BOOK IV.]


Line 2. om. second precor. 5. seua. 10. ororibus (has been odoribus). 11. Comitabere. 22. tura ... berechintiae. 28. quatiunt. 37. Nocturnis te somniis. 40. uolubilis.

[II.]

Line 2. dedalea. 10. dytyrambos. 11, 12. as one line (om. fertur. 13. regesque. 21. sponse. 23. educet. 25. direcmeum ... cignum. 29. tyma. 36. Sicambros. 37. nichil. 43. Fortes. 45. si quod. 49. procedis ... triumphae. 50. omitted: written below in later hand. 52. Tura.

[III.]

Line 1. Melphomene. 4. inipiger. 8. contuderit (probably has been contunderit). 12. colio. 17. aureae (erasure between r and e). 20. cigni.

[IV.]


[V.]


[VI.]

[VII.]

26. hyppolitum. 27. laethea. 28. perithoo.

[VIII.]

Line 1. commodis. 6. parasius. 9. michi. 12. muneriis.
17. Cartaginis. 21. cartae. 25. Stigiis... eacum. 31. tin-
daridae. 34. bonas.

[IX.]

Line 4. cordis. 5. Meonius. 8. Tersi corine. 17. rega-
ulisque. 16. lacenae. 17. cydoneo. 19. Uexata est non, etc.
20. Stenelus. 22. dei phebus. 25. agamennona. 26. inla-
crimabiles. 29. saepultae. 30. caelata. 40. quotiens.
50. laeto.

[X.]

Line 3. in humeris. 4. colonem (?). 5. mutatus ligurinum
uertit in faciem hispidam. 6. te in speculo.

[XI.]

Line 1. michi. 3. Philli. 17. sollemnis michi. 18. Poene.
19. Mecaenas... affluentes. 25. phaeton. 28. Bellorophon-
tem. 29. Semper uitaue digna.

[XII.]

Line 2. throatae. 5. hytin. 7. obpbum. 12. Archadai.
23. tingure (e added above). 26. meror.

[XIII.]

Line 1. Audiure dii lice dœa uota dii. 2. ... fis anus; esse
20. michi. 22. om. breues. 23. Breues annos, etc.

[XIV.]

Line 5. om. O. 7. after quem two letters have been erased.
8. Vindelia. 10. inplacidum. 15. retos. 18. pectara (cor-
28. minitatur. 33. eus. 37. tertia (corrected to o above).
42. Scites. 46. hyster. 48. britannis. 51. cede... Sicam-
QUEEN’S COLLEGE MS.

[XV.]


[Here follows, without separate heading, the ‘Ars Poetica,’ complete to ‘hirudo.’]

HORATHI FLacci DE ARTE POETICA EXPLICIT. INCIPIT EPODON AD MECENATEM. METRUM IAMBICUM DICOLON, PRIMUS VERSUS EST EXAMETER SIVE DIMETER QUI ET EPODOS DICTUR ID EST UNO PEDE MINOR.

[EPODES.]

[I.]

Line 4. Mecenas. 5. om. si. 6. Jocunda. 12. erasure before et. 13. om. usque, which is supplied above. 15. laborem. 21. assit auxiliii. 22. presentibus. 30. Circe. 31. om. me. 34. ut supplied above before nepos.

[II.] VITAM AGRICOLARUM SUMMA TRANQUILLITATE RERUM EXORNATAM PERSEQUITUR.

Line 3. bubus. 5. excitatur (erasure between ex and c). 18. autumnu. 22. here follows a rubric (like the headings): ‘Metrum id ipsum quod supra.’

27. limphis. 28. somnos, etc. (omitted: supplied by another hand). 31. acris. 42. pernicis, etc. (omitted: supplied by another hand). 45. Lassi, etc. (omitted: supplied by another hand in margin). 47. omna. 49. conchilia. 52. Hiemps. 54. atagen. 55. Jocundior. 59. edus. 62. properantis. 63. inüsum.

[III.] EXECRATUR QUOD APUD MECENATEM ALLIUM EDERAT ET AESTU TORQUEBAT. METRUM QUOD SUPRA.

Line 13. pelicen. 15. umquam syderum.

[IV.]

Line 2. michi. 7. mentientе.
[V.] (Erasure).

Line 1. quicquid ... celo regis. 3. quod. 8. improbeau-
rum. 14. tracum. 15. illigata. 17. sepulchris. 18. cupressos
42. Arimenensem. 45. sydera. 46. diripit. 47. inresectum.
52. Archana. 55. cum. 60. laborarunt. 63. superba.
70. pelicem (altered to u above). 71. om. ah ah! 76. ridebit.
79. celum ... mare (altered to i above). 86. thiesteas.
93. ultus. 95. Et quietis (in added above). 97. uiacum (?).
98. contundat obscenas. 100. Aesquillinae.

[VI.]

Line 2. aduersus. 3. uerte. 4. pete. 5. molosus.

[VII.]

Line 5. Cartaginis. 7. britannus. 11. neque fuit.

[VIII.] PROSTITUTAM PUTIDAM ANUM SECTATUR VITIA CORPORIS EJUS
PROSCRIEBENS. METRUM QUOD SUPRA.

Line 12. Ducantur. 17. om. rigent (which is added above
before nervi).

[IX.] TERNARIUS I. B. C. AD C. MECEN. B. N. R. S. I. B. EPODICOS.

Line 1. repositum cecubum. 3. Mecenas. 16. aspicit
conopeum. 21. om. moraris (but erasure, and the word
is added above. 23. Jugurtino. 25. Cartaginem.
31. sirtes notho. 33. sciphos. 35. coherceat. 36. Cecubum.

[X.] INVISUM SIBI MEVIUM DEVOVET UT HORRENDIS PREMUR
TEMPESTATIBUS. METRUM UT SUPRA.

Line 2. olentum Meium. 7. quantus montibus altis. 13. ira.

[XI.] PETIO AMICO SUO INVISAM SIBI POETICEN ESSE IN CONCUBITUS
SUOS IRRUMPENTEM. METRUM PRIMO VERSV IAMBICUM TERNARI-
RIUS SECUNDUS E LONGA IAMBICUS SCANDIT ITA SCRIBERE VERSI-
CULOS AMORE PERCULSUM.

Line 1. Pecti nichil ... ante. 4. om. aut in puellis. 5. des-
tite. 8. penitet. 13. simul calentis, etc. (this verse is wanting:
it is supplied in margin). 14. archana. 17. om. nil.
21. michi portis. 24. licis. 27. om. ardur, which is supplied above.


Line 1. sima barris (seems to be by a later hand). 5. Polipus. 11. crocodilli. 18. michi chous . . amintas.


Line 1. celum. 9. cilleneia. 18. egrimoniae.

[XIV.] Metro primo versu heroicum, secundo iambicum dimetrum.

Line 3. letheos. 3. om. si (but erasure). 9. batillo. 15. nec. 16. phrine.

[XV.]


[XVI.] Alterna vice eroo alterna iambico scripta est verum Oratius deflet reipublicae fortunam primo versus heroicum secundo iambicum trimetrum.


'Metrum quod superius.'

56. Cocyria. 57. sacra. 58. ueneficii. 64. cruciatibus. 68. Sysiphus. 72. om. que . . gutturi innecis tuo. 73. egrimonia. 75. om. que. 79. curiosus nosti. 80. Desiderique. 81. nichil.

Vettivs Agorivs Basivs Mavortivs v. c. et inl (?) ex coi Q. Horatii Flacci don ex consordiñ legi et vt potvi emdavi conferens Epodon explic incip Carñi Seculare 1.

1 See Bentley's Preface to his Edition. The Rev. H. O. Coxe, who has kindly examined the MS, informs me that this note is not by the same hand as the Titles.
of the Odes, but by that of a scribe copying the characters of the Titles. He is further of opinion that the Titles of the Odes are probably as old as the book; that the earlier Scholia, which run through the book, are by two or three different hands, but all within a century of the writing of the book itself; and that the later Scholia, which are more copious, but confined to the Satires and Epistles, are by a later hand, probably of the sixteenth century.
Horatius Flaccus, Quintus
Opera omnia 2d ed.