Time in the *Odes* of Horace

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Abstract

This dissertation explores Horace's engagement with time in the Odes, both as a concept and as a poetic device. It begins with a study of the language Horace uses to describe and characterize time, the words which form the basic building blocks with which Horace constructs the temporal world of his poetry. From there the scope widens to consider Horace's employment of seasonal imagery and how he uses seasons as similes, seasons within similes, and as the dramatic setting for individual poems to create a juxtaposition of linear and cyclical time. The third chapter investigates Horace's tendency to call for dated wines for his symposia, and how this makes wine into a *locus* for memory, and its consumption into a time for commemoration, either celebratory or reflective. I argue that Horace's use of temporal markers—words for time, temporal adverbs, seasonal imagery, dated wine, anniversaries, and the use of the Roman fasti—results in a poignant and persistent articulation of loss, and that the symposium becomes the locus for exploring that loss as well as the tensions between public present and private memory of the past. Horace's poetry is both a product of and commentary on the author's own time, as the Republic fades forever into Empire.

Acknowledgments

Breech birth might be an adequate description of this dissertation. Jenny Strauss Clay has been a heroic midwife. Every time it got turned around and stuck, she would, with expert hand, make it all right again. And if not for her guidance, it might never have seen the light of day. She has always believed in the project, even when I did not, and been encouraging and supportive of my abilities, despite my own haunting feelings of inadequacy. She has dealt with these afflictions of mine with, well, bluntness, but also her characteristic grace. The dissertation originated in her class on the *Odes*, and her insightful comments throughout have been absolutely indispensable. Beyond the dissertation, she has been a genuine mentor to me, and, I daresay, a real friend.

I have had the great pleasure to have taken several classes with Tony Woodman (one even on Horace) and therefore I have also had the great discomfort of having to write several papers for him (he did not much like my paper on Horace). Everyone knows how critical he can be, and knows as well just how valuable that criticism is. And over the years there has grown in my head a tiny Tony Woodman. Every argument I made in the dissertation, every sentence I wrote, I would always be wondering, "What's *he* going to think of this?" "What arguments will *he* raise here?" "How can I convince *him*?" When I turned things in, the real Mr. Woodman would give his valuable comments with astonishing speed. Before that, though, I tried to convince the tiny Mr. Woodman. I assure you, because of Mr. Woodman, and the one he helped create in my head, the dissertation is much the better, I am much the better. The one I will always carry with me, the other I hope will continue to be willing to chat (or fight) with me about Horace, or anything, long into the future.

John Miller was a diligent, careful reader of my finished chapters. His enthusiasm for the project, especially in the later stages, gave me much needed reassurance. It was in his didactics class my first semester that I first learned how to read, and to appreciate, Latin poetry as a scholar. Thanks are due as well to Mary McKinley whom I met in a little Horace reading group and who graciously agreed to be my outside reader.

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To all of you, then: this dissertation, *quidquid hoc libelli*, is really your triumph. And here I borrow, with minor adaptation, from Horace who, as always, said it best:

Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, vestrum est.

Contents

Chapter 1: Horace's Temporal World

Time is ever-present in Horace's *Odes*. It casts a shadow over the work as whole, and there is seldom an individual poem in which time does not make an appearance in some way. Temporal markers abound; *annus, dies,* and *hora* are not only remarkably common in the *Odes* but in the *Epodes*, *Satires*, and *Epistles* as well; common also are references to dates,[1] specific months,[2] and seasons.[3] Though we know that Romans marked the vintage of their wine on their *amphorae*, only Horace chooses to specify the vintage of the wine in his symposia by year, or by some event.[4] On a lexical level, as I will demonstrate below, time is frequently the agent of verbs, and plays an active role in Horace's poetic world, even in places where we might not expect it.[5] More broadly, Horace, throughout his poetry, advertises his own aging process, and the different stages in his own life are marked out emphatically through reference to time, or, as he writes more, to his own earlier poetry, giving the whole of his *oeuvre* an

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[1] E.g. *Odes* 3.8.1 *Martiis…Kalendis* (on the Kalends of March).

[2] E.g. *Epodes* 11.5-6: *hic tertius December ex quo destiti / Inachia furere* (this is the third December since I stopped going mad for Inachia).

[3] E.g. *Odes* 1.11.4-6: *seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam, / quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare Tyrrhenum* (whether Jupiter has granted you more winters or whether he has granted as your last the one which now wears out the Tyrrhenian sea on the opposing rocks).

[4] E.g. *Odes* 3.28.8: *Bibuli consulis amphoram* (an amphora from Bibulus' consulship); *Odes* 3.14.18: *cadum Marsi memorem duelli* (a cask that remembers the Marsian War). See ch. 3 below.

[5] E.g. *Odes* 4.15.4-5: *tua, Caesar, aetas / fruges et agris rettulit uberes*… (your age, Caesar, has brought back rich fruits to the fields). Although there is no denying the compliment to Augustus here, and it is the first attested use of the concept of an "Augustan Age" (see Breed [2004] 245), the phrase is not so simple. Breed *op. cit.* 246 says, "Horace's phrase *tua, Caesar, aetas* ascribes credit for the successes of the age individually to Augustus the man." But this is, on the face of it, plainly wrong; he attributes the successes to *time*, which, I think, is quite unexpected. Why did Horace *not* actually ascribe them to Augustus by making him the agent of both verb and change?

autobiographical quality.[6] No doubt some of this emphasis on time may be due to the fact that the *Odes* are lyric poetry. After all, lyric was written—at least it constructs itself as having been written—at a specific time and/or for a specific occasion, and there are plenty of precedents in Greek lyric for poets aging.[7] Though this may justify a tendency on the part of lyric poetry toward a wider use of time and temporal markers, it does not, I think, adequately explain the pervasiveness of them in Horace. And while Anacreon and others may portray themselves as aging, they do not do so with precise (and continuous) reference to their age, nor is there a sense of progression through the aging process such as we find in Horace. I could recount here many more idiosyncratic ways in which Horace inserts time and/or aging into his poetry—I will treat some of them in the following pages—but I offer one final example which, among other things,

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[6] I cite just a few. His birth-year is given at *Epodes* 13.6: *tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo* (you, bring out the wine pressed when my Torquatus was consul) and *Odes* 3.21.1: *o nata mecum consule Manlio* (o [wine jug] born with me when Manlius was consul). He assigns the writing of the *Epodes* to his youth at *Odes* 1.16.22-25: *me quoque pectoris / temptavit in dulci iuventa / fervor et in celeres iambos / misit furentem* (the anger of my breast tempted me too in my sweet youth and sent me raging into swift iambic verses) as well as his participation in the battle of Philippi at *Odes* 3.14.27-28: *non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa / consule Planco* (I could not have borne this as a hot-headed youth when Plancus was consul). At *Satires* 2.6.40.42 it has been almost eight years since he joined the circle of Maecenas: *septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus / ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum / in numero* (the seventh, nearly the eighth year has fled since Maecenas began to have me in the number of his friends). Horace is 40 years old at *Odes* 2.4.22-24: *fuge suspicari / cuius octavum trepidavit aetas / claudere lustrum* (stop being suspicious of one whose age has hastened to close its eighth *lustrum*), 44 years old at *Epistles* 1.20.26-28: *forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum, / me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembris / collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno* (if by chance anyone will ask you my age, let him know that I have filled up four times eleven Decembers since the year in which Lollius took Lepidus as colleague), and almost 50 at *Odes* 4.1.6: *circa lustra decem* round about ten *lustra*). On the autobiographical quality of the *Satires* see Gowers (2003), on Horace's portrayal of his poetic career, with some reference to the poet's aging, see Harrison (2010).

[7] Anacreon famously depicts himself as an aging lover, but other Greek lyricists also mention aging. See Falkner (1995) 108-152. Philodemus may be an important model for Horace in this regard, since he too speaks of himself as aging and in one epigram gives his precise age (Sider 4).

shows that this tendency already begins in some of Horace's earliest work. In *Epodes* 17 Horace suffers from the incantations of the witch Canidia; in lines 21-23 she makes the poet prematurely old, a power no other witches seem to possess.[8] Time is simply everywhere in Horace and it is important to him in a way that it was not to his lyric predecessors. This ubiquity points to a more thorough and complex interest in, and engagement with, time and temporality.

Given the ubiquity of time in Horace, it is surprising that there have only been a few studies devoted to this aspect of his poetry. In 2007 Giuseppe Broccia published a brief study of Horace's representation of time. He deals at some length with the frequent image of time's flight in Horace, and is particularly adept at bringing out the violent undertones to the ways in which Horace depicts time. It suffers from an overall lack of engagement with recent scholarship,[9] and his analysis might have been more systematic, an issue I will attempt to remedy somewhat here. Nevertheless, he has a

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[8] *fugit iuventas et verecundus color* / *reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida,* / *tuis capillus albus est odoribus* (my youth has fled and my bashful color has left behind (i.e. in its place) bones wrapped in a lurid hide, my hair is whiter from your odors). Shackleton Bailey prints *reliquor* for *reliquit*. Bentley's objection that *color* cannot quit the bones (see Watson [2003] *ad loc.*) is too pedantic; there is no problem if we understand *reliquit* as I have done. The picture here is no different from that described at *Odes* 4.10.4-5: *nunc et qui color est puniciae flore prior rosae* / *mutatus, Ligurine, in faciem verterit hispidam* ([when] the color, which is now superior to the bloom of the purple rose, has changed and will have turned into a bristly face, Ligurinus). Cf. Watson (2003) on line 23: "the notion of spells turning the hair white is unparalleled, but hair is sometimes singled out as the target of a *defixio*."

[9] There in no mention of Ancona (1994). Bettini (1991) in particular should have been consulted in his first chapter, "*La Fuga del Tempo*", which deals with the passage of time.

laudable grasp on how important time is for Horace,[10] and his insights are useful in reminding us how deft Horace can be in employing metaphor. As will be clear in the following pages, I am much indebted to his work.

Ronnie Ancona's 1994 monograph *Time and the Erotic in Horace's* Odes is well written and engaging, if dense, and makes many valuable observations regarding time in the *Odes*. In many places, however, the feminist approach Ancona employs and the conclusions that result from that perspective tend to compete with, if not at times wholly eclipse, a substantive focus on time itself. And by limiting the scope of her book to erotic odes she necessarily confines herself to one kind of time, or to one kind of use to which Horace puts time. Of course, to be fair, the focus of her book was not time itself, and within the limits she set she has provided some excellent insights into Horace's rhetoric and how he manipulates the temporality of his beloved; in doing so she has raised our awareness of the more sinister uses to which Horace puts time. But depictions of seasonal and cyclical time do not appear solely in the erotic odes; nor, for that matter, does the focus on age and aging, or questions about what is appropriate to an individual of a particular age—two of the main manifestations of time that often appear in the poems Ancona discusses. It is certainly worth asking whether seasonal time works differently when it is deployed by Horace in an erotic context than when it

[10] Cf. Broccia (2007) 53: "Il tempo…è uno dei temi ricorrenti in O. con maggiore frequenza: non sola nella poesia conviviale, in cui il pensiero del tempo che passa e della morte è tradizionalmente ovvio, ma in tutta l'opera…anche dove sono diversi i generi e i soggetti trattati."

is deployed in a moralizing tirade against excessive acquisition of wealth, or in poems where Horace is drinking with another male figure with whom he has no erotic relationship. That is, does the use of time, or its function in the much-celebrated Postumus ode, 2.14, or in 2.3, the Dellius ode, differ substantially from how Ancona sees it functioning in ode 2.5? And if it does, how? Reading Ancona's book, one gets the sense that she thinks there is a difference, but she seems nowhere to say so. For my part, I am not so sure.

Besides these two monographs there has not been much substantive work done on time in Horace. That said, since time is such a large feature of his poetry, nearly everything written on Horace engages with it to some degree. Anyone who has written about, or even simply mentioned in passing, any one of Horace's *carpe diem* poems, for instance, will have said something concerning time in Horace. It is therefore neither practical here, nor I think possible, to give a thorough picture of what scholars have said on the matter. Rather than attempt a composite view stitched together from various scholars' interpretations of particular poems, it will be easier to deal with individual views in my discussion of individual poems in the following chapters.

What I will try to do in this dissertation is to first give a somewhat systematic account of Horace's depiction of time. Some of this will rehearse points made by Broccia.[11] I will make extensive use of Bettini's anthropological work on Roman

[11] Broccia (2007).

conceptions of time as conveyed in the way they understand and describe its passage and localize events chronologically. To his observations I will add some remarks concerning the point of view implied by certain conceptions of time's passage, showing that Horace constructs his temporal world as one of ceaseless loss. Next I will explore Horace's use of cyclical time, particularly how he employs seasonal imagery and seasonal references to emphasize time's passage, transition (especially to a new "season" of life), and the loss involved in that transition. Finally, I will consider the possible effects of and reasons for Horace's idiosyncratic habit of providing a date (or otherwise temporally marking) the wine he consumes in particular sympotic poems.

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Although my focus will be time in the *Odes*, it will nevertheless be useful at the outset to make a general survey of time as it appears throughout Horace's work. While much of the material in what follows comes from the *Odes*, the *Satires* and the *Epistles* are an equally rich source. The main objective here will be to provide a brief overview of how Horace portrays time in his poetry as a whole.[12] The picture that will emerge is instructive and remarkable in its consistency. Moreover, the way time operates in

[12] Looking at time across Horace's poetry does not obscure the fact that any given depiction of time occurs in a specific context and is chosen to fit into or illuminate the poem in which it occurs. There is good reason, for example, why time appears as slipping away in the numerous *carpe diem* poems, but makes little or no appearance in rather conventional hymns such as *Odes* 1.21, or 1.30. This is not to say that time is irrelevant to *Odes* 1.21 or 1.30, but time is much more important to the argument and rhetoric of *carpe diem* poems.

Horace is an essential feature of how his poetry works, the foundation and framework upon which—at times in spite of which—Horace constructs his poems.

An underappreciated aspect of time as it appears in Horace's poetry, in addition to its ubiquity, is that time often appears as the agent of verbs: it does things. On the surface, this is not especially unusual, as commentators rightly note.[13] Citing parallels for this figure, however, only tells us that the figure is more or less common.[14] In this case it obscures under a cloud of normalcy two things which are in fact quite remarkable about Horace's use of this particular figure: its frequency and the kinds of actions in which time engages. Time as an agent may well be common, yet in Horace it seems unusually frequent. Words for time, as well as words which are not strictly speaking time words, but may be used as such (e.g. *senecta*, *ver*, *canities*), occur as agents (or are paired with an adjective that strongly suggests agency or personification)[15] some

[13] See N-R (2004) on 3.8.10 (the agent is *dies*) who refer us to Hedlam on Herodas 5.22 and Murgatroyd on Tibullus 1.7.3. Murgatroyd, however, calls the figure "unusual". See also Woodman on Tacitus' *Agricola* 7.1 where *annus* is the subject of a transitive verb.

[14] The problems associated with the amassing of parallels in commentaries is admirably discussed in Gibson (2002). See especially section 2.3 *Parallelomania III: Burying the Text in Conventions*.

[15] e.g. *Epistles* 2.2.172 *mobilis horae*. I have also included instances such as *Odes.* 3.29.29: *futuri temporis exitum* where the genitive *temporis* is clearly subjective.

68 times in 41 of Horace's poems— just over twenty-five percent.[16] Time is very much an active force throughout his various works, which suggests that the active nature of time is something more than a generic feature of lyric; its prevalence may point to something very real about how Horace perceived and experienced time. At the least it indicates how the poet wanted his audience to perceive and experience time in his poetry, and we would do well to pay closer attention to what time does in Horace, and how it does what it does.

Though time engages in a wide range of activities, those activities fall mainly into two broad categories: movement and giving/taking. Of these the first, movement,

[16] See Appendix 1 for the references. These figures are inevitably imprecise. I have, in general, disregarded cases where the temporal word is used to refer to a "generation" as at *Epistles* 2.1.41-2 (*veteresne poetas / an quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?).* I have, however, included *Epistles* 2.1.130-131: ([sc. *poeta*] *orientia tempora notis / instruit exemplis*) because the use of *tempora* to refer to a generation seems quite rare and because it is modified by *orientia* which participates in a metaphor (the rising of the sun) that is itself temporal (this is not incompatible with the position of Brink [1982] *ad loc.* that this is a reference to ἀκμή). It might be argued, however, that even when *aetas*, say, is used to refer to a generation, the sense of time is nonetheless present in a way that it is not with *posterus*; in other words, it places more emphasis on *time* than it does *people*. It is clearly one thing to say *poeta iuvenes notis instruit exemplis*, and quite another to say *poeta orientia tempora notis instruit exemplis*. Brink (1982) *ad loc.* argues, following Orelli, that *orientia tempora* here does not mean the coming generation, but instead refers to the boy's (*pueri* 126) aging, "as the boy grows". This may be right. There seems to be a clear sense of progression from 126-129 suggesting an increase in age: *os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat, / torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem, / mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis, / asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae* (the poet forms the tender and babbling mouth of the boy, and wrenches him even now from obscene chatter, presently it shapes his mind with gentle precepts, a corrector of harshness, envy, and anger). The question is, does this progression continue as Brink implies; if it does, then *orientia tempora* could denote a further stage of growth. But if the progression continues, how are we to understand what follows: *recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis / instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum* (he relates things done well and instructs the *orientia tempora* with famous *exempla*, he comforts the poor and the sick)? This last point strikes me as a generalization, and that is indeed how most tend to take it. That is, the poet comforts the poor and the depressed, as opposed to the poet comforts him (i.e. the growing boy) when he is poor and depressed. If that is correct, then this general rule feels oddly tacked on. It seems to me *orientia tempora* must mean "the young" or "the youth".

is the largest and most widespread. Time comes and goes; sometimes, in the case of anniversaries and seasons, it returns. More frequently, a verb or an adjective points not simply to movement, but to the way in which time moves, usually—though not always—emphasizing in some way the speed of that movement: *trepidare, fluere, brevis, pronus, labi,* and *fugere*. Time may come and go, but as often as not, it "flows", "slips away", or "flees"; *fluere*, *labi*, and *fugere*, for example, are thus, in the broadest sense, metaphorical; they link the poet's perception of time's movement to his (and our) perception of movement in other contexts, and words like *labi* and *fugere* bring something of those contexts with them. It may be pushing the metaphor too far or being overly literal to render *tempus fugit* as "time runs away in retreat", but to consider *labi* or *fugere* as mere "poetic" synonyms for *ire* is to miss an important feature of time as Horace wished to depict it. The use of a particular metaphor, commonplace or otherwise, almost always represents a choice on the part of an author. That choice is always significant, in the truest sense of the word.

According to Quintilian, an author uses metaphor for three reasons: *[sc. tralationem] facimus aut quia necesse est aut quia significantius est aut, ut dixi, quia decentius* (We make a metaphor because it is necessary, because the metaphor signifies more or

better, or because it is more decorative).[17] These reasons respond to, and clarify the earlier definition of metaphor he gives at 8.6.5: *transfertur ergo nomen aut verbum ex eo loco in quo proprium est in eum in quo aut proprium deest aut tralatum proprio melius est*. In this definition he gives two scenarios: metaphor results when "a noun or verb is transferred from the place in which it is appropriate to one in which either (1) the appropriate word is lacking or (2) the transferred word is better than the appropriate word." The first of the reasons for using a metaphor (*quia necesse est*) points to the first of Quintilian's scenarios in the earlier passage (*in quo aut proprium deest*). This type of metaphor, unless marked in some way, need not concern us.[18] The remaining two reasons Quintilian gives (*quia significantius est aut…decentius*) address his second

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[17] *Inst.* 8.6.6. As usual with grammarians, particularly those with a heavy debt to Aristotle, Quintilian creates discrete categories into which he places various usages of metaphor. These categories are, of course, arbitrary and ultimately false, insofar as they are treated as being mutually exclusive. On this point, see below.

[18] When a metaphor fills a gap in the language where no proper term exists, over time it simply becomes the proper term, and as such, does not represent a choice on the part of the author. As Quintilian himself says of *gemma* at 8.6.6: *necessitate rustici "gemmam" in vitibus (quid enim dicerent aliud?)* (out of necessity the country folk speak of a "jewel" (= bud) on vines (for what else could they say?)). Because Latin had no existing word for "bud", the word for "jewel" was transferred; but clearly, very early on, it simply became the word for "bud". That said, it is nevertheless true that even in the case of *gemma* ("bud"), Quintilian's example, the fact that buds are connected with gems tells us something about how Romans felt about buds. Quintilian later labels this use metaphorical *catachresis* (=*abusio*). See Lausberg (1998) § 562. It is also worth noting that though a word may no longer be felt as a metaphor, that does not by any means preclude poets from playing with the two meanings, thereby re-activating the latent metaphor. Consider Ovid's play at *Met*. 1.498-500: *videt igne micantes / sideribus similes oculos, videt oscula, quae non / est vidisse satis* ([sc. Apollo] sees [sc. Daphne's] eyes shining with fire like stars, he sees her little mouth, and it was not enough to have seen it) where Ovid plays the less common literal meaning of *oscula* against the much more common (and metaphorical) meaning "kiss". Romans do not seem to have engaged in this kind of play with *gemma* specifically, but one could easily imagine a Latin poet adding wordplay to our "money doesn't grow on trees" by rendering it as, *gemmae non in ramis nascuntur*. On ancient metaphor see Silk (1974); on "dead metaphor" specifically, see 27-56.

scenario (*in quo…tralatum proprio melius est*). A metaphor is better than an existing word because it signifies more or is more decorative. These two constitute a conscious choice by a given author, and, despite Quintilian's implication, the two categories are not mutually exclusive. A metaphor chosen because it is *significantius* may also be *decentius*; similarly, one chosen because it is *decentius* may at the same time be *significantius*. If, to use one of Quintilian's examples, Cicero speaks of "gales of meetings" (*contionum procellas*)[19] chiefly for the sake of embellishing his speech, the choice of this particular metaphor nonetheless indicates how Cicero intended his audience to understand these *contiones*. *contionum procellas* may indeed be more ornate, but it also signifies more or better in some way. For Quintilian, metaphors employed *significandi gratia* are in fact more appropriate than the appropriate words themselves:

> *iam "incensum ira" et "inflammatum cupiditate" et "lapsum errore" significandi gratia: nihil enim horum suis verbis quam his arcessitis magis proprium erit*.[20]
> Now, [we say] "on fire with anger" and "aflame with desire" and "having fallen in error" for the sake of signifying: for none of these will be more appropriate with the proper words than with these brought in ones.

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[19] Here Quintilian misquotes, but presumably he is thinking of *Pro Mil.* 5: *equidem ceteras tempestates et procellas in illis dumtaxat fluctibus contionum semper putavi Miloni esse subeundas* (I always thought Milo had to undergo the other storms and gales, at least in those storm-surges of public meetings), a passage he quotes correctly at 8.6.48. This same passage is quoted by Servius in his commentary on *Aeneid* 1.148.
[20] *Inst.* 8.6.7.

There is, in other words, something about the idea of being "ablaze with anger" that more accurately describes being angry than the words "being angry", or even "affected by anger".

Metaphor's ability to do this lies with the consequences of a given metaphor, the context that gets transferred along with the imported word. In large part, this is what makes a metaphor *significantius*; a metaphor "signifies more" because qualities of the vehicle—and these need not be expressed—get applied to the tenor. Thus *inflammatus cupiditate* likens desire to fire, and being desirous to being on fire; but the connection made between desire and fire relies on our experience and wider context of fire: it spreads quickly, it is uncontrollable, it is, or can be, destructive.[21] The result of connecting fire with desire is that these qualities shape our understanding of desire.[22]

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[21] Cf. Crowther (2003) 89 on the common metaphor of "falling in love": "Love…is an emotional state rather than a position in space, hence one cannot literally 'fall into' it. However, falling as opposed to jumping into or taking possession of something is fundamentally a non-volitional act. And this is one of the most basic and poignant facts about love. […] The terms involved play off against our actual experiences and description of falling, and our own experiences of, and knowledge by description of, love as an emotion. In the most immediate terms, 'falling' is literally incongruous. However, the very incongruity of the juxtaposition provokes us to project avenues of imaginative association which, in ranging across publically accessible and private experience, allow love and 'falling in' to be logically connected."

[22] The idea of consequences of a metaphor has resemblances to what Lausberg (1998) § 563 says of metaphor in general: "Since the single word occurs in the context of a sentence, the metaphor gives the entire sentence a more or less metaphorical color: so, for instance, in the example provided [*Cato allatrare Scipionis magnitudinem solitus erat*] not only is Cato's speech characterized as barking but correspondingly the person of Cato is characterized as a dog and the person of Scipio as a human, superior to dogs. Thus metaphor has the power to evoke allegory." Although Quintilian's discussion of metaphor, as in the Lausberg passage just cited, is concerned with instances of single word metaphor, the same qualities apply to metaphor that extends beyond a single word. See also Lakoff and Johnson (1980) on conceptual metaphor.

inflammatus cupiditate then is not merely a synonym for *cupio*, or *desidero*; it signifies more, it means more.

As we have seen, Horace has a marked tendency to employ metaphor in his descriptions of time. The movement of time in his poetry is frequently compared to the movement of water, specifically to the flow of a river. *fluere* is an obvious marker for this, but the metaphor is also surely to be felt in the opening of *Odes* 2.14 *eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume, / labuntur anni* (alas, Postumus, Postumus, the years in flight are gliding away downstream) and wherever else *labi* is used of time.[23] The same might be said when Horace uses *trepidare* of time since the verb is, like *labi*, used commonly of rivers.[24] We also find the movement of time connected to rivers in more complex structures where the action of time itself is not so described, but where the river appears in a simile, as at *Odes* 3.29.32ff. which likens the movement of time at length to a river: *cetera* [i.e. all that is not described by *quod adest* at any given moment] *fluminis / ritu feruntur* (the rest is borne away like a river). Sometimes river imagery may be found in the surrounding context, as at *Epistles* 1.2.41-3:

qui recte vivendi prorogat horam,
rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis: at ille

[23] On *labi* in 2.14 see N-H (1978) *ad loc.* "the verb suggests the continuous and deceptively silent gliding of a river…." Others, notably Broccia (on his reading, see below), prefer to see a military metaphor here. Both are readily defensible and, for my part, I see no need to choose between the two. One of the characteristic (and enjoyable) features of Horatian poetic technique is to allow for a proliferation of signification.

[24] Cf., e.g., *Odes* 2.3.12; *Epistles* 1.10.21.

> *labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.*
> The one who puts off the hour of living rightly is a bumpkin waiting for the river to drain away; but that river slips and will slip rolling on forever.

Here, despite the compression of thought, the *amnis*, through juxtaposition, clearly represents the ceaseless flow of time.

Comparing time to a river is of course by no means unique to Horace; the river of time has a long and rich tradition. Even so, the choice to depict time as a river remains a choice. It is worth considering, then, what is accomplished thereby, what qualities are transferred; in short, what is *significantius* about this particular metaphor? Surely the most obvious and salient feature is that this represents the movement of time as a linear, one-way movement. Time moves, as the water in the stream flows, in one direction, and it does so ceaselessly. There are other implications to this metaphor, but before addressing those further implications there remains an important point to make about Horace's predilection for depicting time in this way. Because time in motion is so common in his poetry—as it is in our own idiom—it is easy to forget that Horace could have expressed these things differently. To portray time as moving is only one way to represent the passage of time and our perception of

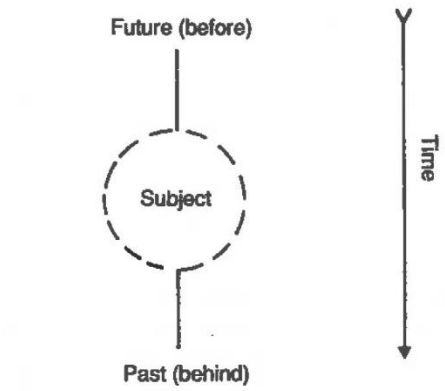

Figure 1

it. According to Bettini, Romans had two ways of representing the perception of time's movement.[25] Figure 1 is his representation of the paradigm that I have been discussing thus far.[26] Like all of our examples above, this model depicts a stationary individual with time moving in a linear direction toward that individual. Every occasion, and there are many in Horace, where time is the subject of a verb of motion, or a verb that implies motion (e.g. *ducere*), or is in some other way compared to something in motion, this is the paradigm used. But there is a second way to represent the same idea. This other model, represented by Bettini as figure 2, reverses the roles: the individual is represented as moving and time is represented as stationary, as the space through which that individual moves. It is this paradigm which we find, for example, at Seneca *de Brevitate Vitae* 3.2: *pervenisse te ad ultimum aetatis humanae videmus* (we see that you have arrived at the endpoint of the human lifespan). Here, Seneca depicts the subject as having been in motion (*pervenisse*) and having arrived at the last moment of his life as if it were a destination. So also at Juvenal 13.16-17: *stupet haec qui iam post terga reliquit / sexaginta annos Fonteio consule natus* (Is he astounded at these things, the man who, born when Fonteius was consul, has left sixty

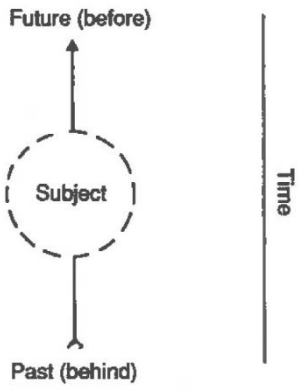

Figure 2

[25] Bettini (1991) 115-193.
[26] Figures 1 and 2 are reproduced from Bettini (1991).

years behind his back?); the implied motion inherent in the verb *reliquit* again points to an individual in motion; the span of time, 60 years, is represented as a space through which Calvinus has moved. These are the principal ways in which Romans describe their perception of the passage of time, and both models are quite common in all authors at all periods.

In light of this, we might reasonably expect to find many examples of this second paradigm in a poet as concerned with time and aging as Horace is. We might, for example, expect something similar to what Seneca tells Lucilius as *EM* 99.7: *…cogita brevitatem huius spatii per quod citatissimi currimus*…. As the context makes clear, Seneca is remarking on the swift passage of time, the shortness of a human lifespan:

> *respice celeritatem rapidissimi temporis, cogita brevitatem huius spatii per quod citatissimi currimus, observa hunc comitatum generis humani eodem tendentis, minimis intervallis distinctum etiam ubi maxima videntur: quem putas perisse praemissus est.*
> Consider the speed of time so swift, consider the shortness of this space through which we run very quickly, look at this throng of human beings heading to the same place, a throng separated by the smallest intervals—even when they seem longest: the one you think has passed away has in fact been sent ahead.

This passage shows, among other things, that the two paradigms describe the same phenomenon, and are essentially interchangeable. Seneca can employ the first paradigm, in which time has the active role (*respice celeritatem rapidissimi temporis*), and

then immediately restate the same idea using the second paradigm, in which the individual has the active role (*cogita brevitatem huius spatii per quod citatissimi currimus*). The injunction to "consider the shortness of the space through which we run so quickly" would be right at home in the *Odes*.[27] It is all the more surprising, then, that there are in fact very few, if any, real instances of this second paradigm in Horace's poetry. For whatever reason, Horace, in his numerous poems that address, bring up, or in some way allude to the brevity of life and the swift passage of time, never portrays an individual in motion through time; it is always time that moves.[28] In large part this is no doubt because, although they are in one sense interchangeable—that is, they each represent our perception of the same phenomenon—the two paradigms represent time in slightly (but significantly) different ways. The one places emphasis on the passivity of the individual, while the other stresses rather his activity. Bettini makes the

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[27] Williams (2003) frequently notes Seneca's debt to Horace in the former's conception and description of time. cf. 169: "…the smooth, regular movement of time is suggested by the series of five anaphoric pairings…and—in the wider context—by the recurrent evocation of Horatian imagery, theme and diction…." See also p. 183: "**fluit** 'slips by'; of time, a Horatian usage…introduced into prose by [Seneca]."

[28] Corbeill (1994/1995) 100 also notes this tendency in Horace. One could perhaps cite passages such as *Odes* 1.4.16-17: *iam te premet… / domus exilis Plutonia; quo simul mearis…* (soon the…House of Pluto will press upon you, and as soon as you go there…), or 2.3.17-19: *cedes coemptis saltibus et domo / villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit, / cedes…* (You will leave the glades you bought, and your house, and the villa that the yellow Tiber washes, you will leave them…), or 2.14.21-4: *linquenda tellus et domus et placens / uxor, neque harum quas colis arborum / te praeter inuisas cupressos / ulla breuem dominum sequetur*. (you'll have to leave behind your land, and your house, and your pleasing wife, and not one of those trees you tend will follow you except the hated cypresses, you their brief master.). Although death is a point in time, and conceived of as such here, in these passages the movement of the individual is not represented as movement through time, but as the movement from the realm of the living to that of the dead. The closest Horace gets is, perhaps significantly, at *Odes* 3.30.7-8: *usque ego postera / crescam laude recens* (I will grow continuously, fresh with the praise of posterity). *crescam* does not imply motion, but the passage is forward-looking, and implies continuous growth into the unforeseeable future.

intriguing suggestion that the two models "define two ways of life," and represent "two different ways of understanding schools in philosophy, genres in literature, life itself."[29] Be that as it may, it was evidently important to Horace that the individual always be passive in the face of time; as will become clearer, time in Horace is something one suffers.

Let us add one more observation to Horace's description of time's movement. Consider again the Juvenal passage quoted by Bettini to illustrate his second paradigm: *stupet haec qui iam post terga reliquit / sexaginta annos Fonteio consule natus*. In addition to representing the passage of time as a space through which an individual moves, it also provides a further detail which is otherwise absent from, though logically implied by, the other examples in the first paradigm, namely, point of view. If Calvinus has left 60 years *behind his back* (*post terga reliquit*), he is therefore facing the future. This is a perfectly natural outcome of describing an individual travelling through time—one generally faces where one is going. The future is usually located in front of the individual, according to Bettini, even in the first paradigm, where the individual is stationary.[30] This seems to be the case, for example, at *Epistles* 2.2.211: *lenior et melior fis*

[29] Bettini (1991) 132-133.

[30] Bettini (1991) 151-157 discusses the common reversal of this point of view, where the future is located *behind* the individual, and so the individual is portrayed as facing the past. As he shows, this shift accompanies a corresponding shift in focus; in these cases, the emphasis is on the unknowability of the future, not the passage of time. In other words, when the unknowability of the future is emphasized, the paradigm changes to depict the future as something we cannot see, as something behind us. This may well have bearing on the discussion below on the implied point of view in Horace's use of *fugere*.

accedente senecta (are you becoming better and more lenient now that old age is approaching?). Point of view is obviously related to one's perception of the passage of time, the movement being perceived by one's increasing proximity to future events. Here the passage of time is perceived in the approach, that is the increased proximity, of old age; and because time's movement is described as an approach, the individual is, presumably, facing old age as it approaches. In Horace, however, this way of perceiving the passage of time becomes complicated, particularly when the poet describes time's movement in terms of fleeing (*fugere, fugax*).

An important aspect of *fugere* is that it always describes movement *away* from something. One can of course flee toward a destination, but because the verb is incapable of expressing this idea by itself, a prepositional phrase is necessary to make that clear.[31] In other words, *fugere* carries an inherent deictic quality: it signifies a centrifugal motion, a movement away from a specified or implied point. When applied metaphorically to time, this centrifugal quality comes along as a consequence of the metaphor. So when Horace says at *Odes* 1.11.7-8: *dum loquimur fugerit invida / aetas* (while we are speaking, grudging time will have fled) the notion is that time will have fled away from Horace and Leuconoe *into the past*. The *fugaces anni* of *Odes* 2.14 are likewise slipping away (like a river) into the past. This centrifugal motion is important to bear in mind, and is present whenever time is described as "fleeing". Moreover, as

[31] As at Ovid *Met.* 4.100: *…fugit in antrum* (she flees into a cave).

we saw above, the river metaphor represents the movement of time as a linear, one-way movement; but in what direction does the water flow? The metaphor can admit either movement toward (i.e. movement from upstream coming to meet an individual) or movement away (i.e. movement away downstream). As the presence of the adjective *fugaces* in *Odes* 2.14 makes clear, however, Horace, in his use of the river metaphor seems to choose the latter.[32] That is, the poet, when comparing time to the movement of a river, perceives that movement not as movement toward, but as movement away. Thus, as with *fugere*, the river metaphor for Horace naturally depicts time as moving away, as gliding away downstream. This way of perceiving time naturally foregrounds loss, loss of time, loss of youth, loss of opportunity, etc. The water that has gone away downstream is gone forever.[33]

If time is perceived as moving away, the perception of that movement arises not from one's increasing proximity to future events, but rather from one's increasing distance from the past. This difference in the perception of time's movement entails a shift in point of view. In other words, when Horace uses *fugere*, *labi, decedere,* or *recedere*, he is facing the past. Nisbet and Hubbard have it right in their note on *Odes* 2.11.5 (*fugit retro* / *levis iuventas et decor*… quoted above):

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[32] cf. also *Odes* 3.29.32-41 where whatever is not *quod adest* is carried along in the manner of a river gliding down into the Etruscan sea (*fluminis ritu* / *…delabentis Etruscum* / *in mare* (33-6)); that is, *downstream*.

[33] The same image—and the same melancholic disposition—is seen in a line from Ezra Pound's translation of the Li Po poem, "The bridge at Ten-Shin": "Petals are on the gone water, and on the going…"

> the past seems to be running away as a landscape recedes from a moving ship…. Horace is adopting the common ancient posture of facing the past rather than the future…. Some interpret rather 'behind our backs', i.e. 'in the past'…, but this does not seem so natural with a verb of motion like fugit.[34]

Horace often represents himself as facing the past. When he does, he does so not to emphasize the unknowablilty of the future (though that may well be implied),[35] but rather to call attention to the loss involved in the passage of time, and to heighten the pathos of that loss. Time and again in the *Odes* Horace watches, or enjoins others to watch, as time, moment after moment, moves away into an ever-receding past. He watches, and makes us watch, what is being lost.

Loss over time is, I have tried to show, implicit in the very way Horace depicts time and its movement. That implication is given explicit expression in the second broad category of time's actions. Time does not only move; it can (and often does) engage in many other activities, the majority of which center in general on giving and taking: time brings things with it or, more often, takes things away.[36] The movement of time, however, is seldom uninvolved in time's other activities. The two actions—movement and giving/taking—are regularly combined through the use of a verb which

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[34] N-H (1978). Their own simile, however, confuses the issue; they have the ship (i.e. Horace) moving, not time.

[35] See note 30 above.

[36] Again, see appendix 1 for the references.

indicates giving or taking, but which also itself implies motion, as at *Odes* 4.12.13: *adduxere sitim tempora* (the times have brought on a thirst), or 2.17.8-9: *ille dies utramque* / *ducet ruinam* (that day will bring on our mutual ruin). Horace also combines them by pairing a verb with a participle, as at *AP* 175-176:

> *multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,*
> *multa recedentes adimunt*.
> the years bring many advantages with them as they come, many
> they take away with them as they depart.

Usually, as in this passage, motion is expressed by the participle not the verb.[37] Such an arrangement subordinates time's movement to the action expressed by the verb; so, for example, at *Epistles* 2.2.55:

> *singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes*.
> *eripuere iocos, venerem, convivia, ludum,*
> *tendunt extorquere poemata…*
> One by one the passing years rob things from us.
> They have snatched away the jokes, the sex, the dinner
> parties, the play, they are stretching out to wrench away my
> poems…

[37] cf. *Odes* 3.8.9-11: *hic dies anno redeunte festus* / *corticem adstrictum pice dimouebit* / *amphorae* (this festal day, now that the year is returning, will remove the pitch-smeared cork from the amphora) where the year's movement in the ablative absolute is clearly an inseparable part of how and why the *dies* will uncork this bottle of wine. See ch. 3 below.

the emphasis falls on the action described by *praedantur*: the years pass (*euntes*) but the main point is that they *rob* us bit by bit as they do so.[38] The *ioci*, the *venus*, the *convivia*, the *ludus*, all prey to the passage of time; and already time stretches out its hands to rob Horace of poetry itself. And yet, although the main focus here is on time's seizure, the presence of *euntes* should remind us that *praedari* describes an effect intimately bound up with the movement of time. Expressed as a participle, motion here becomes the means of the theft. In fact, motion is always an integral part of what time does in Horace. Even in cases where it is unexpressed, motion is usually present in the surrounding context in a way that connects it to time's activity. Take, for example, time's warning at *Odes* 4.7.7-8—one of the few instances that do not fit into the two broad categories: …*monet annus et almum* / *quae rapit hora diem* (the year warns, and the hour that snatches away the daylight).[39] Here the year and the hour—the rapacious hour, in fact—should warn us not to hope for immortality. Time as a thief (*rapit*) is often the result of its movement elsewhere, yet there is no reference at all to that movement here. The following four lines, however, describe the succession of seasons in a manner that emphasizes the speed of that succession.[40] Lines 9-12 are clearly meant

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[38] A marvelous line. The substantive *singula* reinforces the motion of the yearly round: every year H. loses something…

[39] For an explanation why I have rendered *almum…diem* as "daylight" here, see ch. 2, n. 157.

[40] *Odes* 4.7.9-12: *Frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas* / *interitura, simul* / *pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit; et mox* / *bruma recurrit iners*. (The cold grows mild with the West Winds, summer tramples spring, itself about to die as soon as apple-bearing autumn has poured forth its fruit, and presently motionless winter runs back). See chapter 2 for a discussion of this ode.

as an illustration of what the year and the hour warn, and how they do so. Thus the inexorable, swift movement of time is just as much a part of its warning in *Odes* 4.7 as it is a part of its preying on the joys of Horace's life in *Epistles* 2.2.

As in the passages cited above, time takes from and gives to a single individual; but Horace also depicts time as an entity that gives to and takes from two different people. This can often take on a rather financial ring as it does at *Odes* 1.9.13-14: *quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro / adpone* (put down in the ledger as profit, whatever days chance will give you). So too at *Odes* 2.5.14-15: [sc. *aetas*] *illi quos tibi dempserit / apponet annos* (time will give to her the years it will have taken from you).[41] Here time will give to one what it has taken from another. We will return to this second passage in greater detail in chapter 2; for now, I draw attention to an important fact: the exchange is not an equal one. The addressee and his underage *puella* do not receive mutual benefit; instead, time will make Lalage much more sought after even as it makes the addressee less so. What time takes from the addressee (to his detriment), it gives to his love interest (presumably to her betterment). In this particular exchange, time's giving is explicitly another form of taking. We see something similar at *Odes* 2.16.31-32: *mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit, / porriget hora* (perhaps the hour will offer me what it will have denied to you). Here the metaphor is not as openly financial in nature, but the idea is similar: time is a force that gives and denies. The gifts of time, then, often involve

[41] Cf. N-H (1978) on 2.5.14: "*apponere* has a ring of the balance sheet."

someone else's loss. A further consequence of Horace's depiction of time in these cases is that it bears a striking resemblance to the way in which he elsewhere characterizes Fortune. Consider *Odes* 1.34.14-16 and 3.29.49-52:

> *hinc apicem rapax / Fortuna… / sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet*
> rapacious Fortune…has lifted the crown from there and is happy to have placed it here
> *Fortuna… / transmutat incertos honores, / nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna*
> Fortune…shifts unstable honors, now kind to me, now kind to someone else

Here is the same image of taking from one and giving to another, except that it is Fortune, not time.[42] In portraying time as an entity that takes from one and gives to another, Horace makes it act very much like Fortune; time in his poetry can be just as fickle, and just as violent, as *Fortuna*.

Finally, it is important to register the violence of many of the words Horace uses of time. Again, this feature is often a result of, or otherwise connected to, time's swift movement: *Epodes* 17.25: *urget diem nox et dies noctem* (night presses hard on day, day on night), *Odes* 2.18.15: *truditur dies die* (day is trod underfoot by day), and 4.7.9: *ver proterit aestas* (summer crushes spring). In these examples time's movement results in the violent attack of one day upon the next, one season upon the next. Giuseppe Broccia

[42] Cf. also *Epistles* 1.11.20 where time and Fortuna are placed together: *dum licet et vultum servat Fortuna benignum* (while it is permitted and Fortune maintains a kindly countenance).

has rightly drawn our attention to precisely this facet of Horace's poetry. Particularly sensitive to metaphor, he emphasizes not simply the violence implied by *praedari* at *Epistles* 2.2.55-7[43]—pointing in addition to *eripuere* and the arresting *extorquere*—but also the underlying *military* tone of this and several other words that Horace applies to time. According to Broccia, *fugere*, for example, in some cases, seems to mean "flee in headlong retreat", especially in the presence of other words that also have military associations. Thus the *fugaces anni* of *Odes* 2.14.1-3 are not just moving quickly, but "retreating" in the face of an "attacking" old age:[44] *Eheu fugaces… / labuntur anni, nec pietas moram / rugis et instanti senectae / afferet…* (alas…the fleeing years are slipping away and *pietas* will not cause a delay to wrinkles and old age which presses on you). *instare* is frequently used in a military context where an attack is pressed upon fleeing soldiers, as it is at Livy 4.19.6: *Dictator legionibus fugatis instat et ad castra compulsos caedit* (The *dictator* pressed upon the legions who had been put to flight and cut them down when they had been driven to their camp).[45] So also at *Odes* 2.11.5-8:

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[43] *Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes; / eripuere iocos, venerem, convivia, ludum; / tendunt extorquere poemata…*

[44] This had already been noted by Quinn (1963) 102 and West (1973) 33. N-H (1978) 226 find the military metaphor incompatible with *labuntur*, which they think "suggests the continuous and deceptively silent gliding of a river" (227). Though others will no doubt disagree, I see nothing wrong with metaphors shifting and changing as one proceeds through the poem, or with some words exerting what one might call "interference" on the dominant metaphor. In other words, while I tend to agree with N-H that *labuntur* more immediately suggests a river, I do not see why *moram* and *instanti* cannot also exert suggestive force to complicate Horace's conception of time here. In short, why can't Horace be saying: "the years glide ceaselessly past like a river, but there's also something cruel and violent about it too, old age, upstream, drives them on like a routing army"?

[45] Broccia (2007) 34.

…fugit retro
levis iuventas et decor, arida
pellente lascivos amores
canitie facilemque somnum.
light-armed youth and beauty retreat as dry old age drives
away frisky loves and easy sleep.[46]

The presence of *retro* and the participle *pellente*, given their prevalence in military contexts, encourage us to impart a military force to the verb *fugit*.[47] Broccia notes several other places where he detects an underlying military metaphor. And although he is reluctant, perhaps rightly, to press his case in every instance, he is surely right about one thing: "it cannot be said that time as a personal agent behaves politely."[48]

Levity aside, the picture of time that emerges from this overview is not, in general, a positive one. Throughout his poetry, especially in the *Odes*, Horace constantly depicts time as moving, as active, as a force that gives and—much more frequently—robs us of things; it can be fickle at times, and often brutally violent. At every turn Horace has chosen to emphasize time's active role and magnify the passivity of individuals in the face of time. And very often, by manipulating the implied direction of time's movement and viewpoint of the individual in time, the poet

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[46] Broccia does not count *levis* as a military word, but it can mean light-armed; and though I think it may be taking his point too far, I have translated it as such to reinforce the overall military tone of this passage.

[47] Cf. *Odes* 3.4.26: *non me Philippis versa acies retro* [sc. *exstinxit*] (the battle line turned in retreat at Philippi did not kill me). In *Odes* 2.7.9-10 he describes the action specifically as a *fuga*: *Philippos et celerem fugam / sensi (*I experienced Philippi and the swift retreat).

[48] Broccia (2007) 35: *Non può dirsi che il tempo, la* persona agens *operi usando le buone maniere*.

heightens the pathos of these passages. This overview demonstrates just how much of Horace's poetry is about loss, about living in the face of inevitable and ceaseless loss. This is the temporal world of Horace's *Odes*. For Horace and those who inhabit that world, there is little they can do about it.

Little indeed, but not nothing. The main antidote, such as it is, will be to inflict on time the same sort of violent seizure it inflicts on us. If time takes years from us (e.g. *Odes* 2.5.13-14: [*aetas*] *illi quos tibi dempserit / apponet annos*), we can, in a very limited fashion, literally take time: *est qui nec ueteris pocula Massici / nec partem solido demere de die / spernit* (There are those who do not spurn cups of old Massic, nor breaking off a part of the full day; 1.1.19-21); in this case, take time to drink. In fact, it is within the context of the symposium, or the call for a symposium, that we most often encounter the injunction to "take time", and the words Horace uses are chosen, significantly, from the same semantic field as those which he uses of time. For example, *Epodes* 13.3-4, *rapiamus…occasionem de die* (let us snatch the opportunity from the day); *Odes* 1.11.8, *carpe diem*; 2.7.5-7, *Pompei, meorum prime sodalium, / cum quo morantem saepe diem mero / fregi* (Pompeius, first among my companions, with whom I often broke the tarrying day with wine) all call for a violent seizure or rupture of time.[49] As we shall see in chapter 3

[49] Though see Barchiesi (2007) 154: "[*carpere*] conveys not rushed pleasures but the attempt to slow down the present, as if by plucking or grazing." Görler (1995) argues that while *rapere* certainly is violent, *capere* and *carpere* are not. Maybe so; but even if Görler and Barchiesi are correct, and *carpere* or *capere* does not indicate a violent and rushed siezure, they nevertheless indicate taking something from time and as such represents a reversal of the norm. Moreover, there remains the clear implication that if one does not pluck the joys from the day, the day (which is speeding along) will take them away.

below, Horace constructs the symposium as the one place where he (and his guests) can exercise control, albeit a very limited control, over time; where time's flight slows, and where the past can in some measure be revived and relived, where present joys come to be possessions which time can never take away.

Before I turn to wine and the symposium, it will prove useful to investigate recurrent time as it appears in the *Odes*. There are instances in the *Odes* and elsewhere, when Horace depicts time as returning, where he emphasizes not the linear, one-way movement of time which has been the focus of the preceding pages, but calls attention rather to time's cyclical movement. The wheel of time revolves and seasons come and go, and come again; anniversaries mark the return of fixed points in time. The tension between cyclical time and linear time is one which Horace often exploits, again to foreground loss. But the interaction between linear and cyclical time is also what allows Horace to play games with sympotic time.

Chapter 2: Seasonal Time

We have seen that Horace has a tendency to depict time in motion and to do so in a way that foregrounds the sense of loss over time. The previous chapter focused on how Horace accomplishes this on a purely lexical level, by making time the agent of verbs of motion, of violence and theft. Here we will consider how Horace accomplishes the same end by setting poems at moments of transition, and by contrasting linear time with cyclical time, most often by invoking seasonal imagery. To begin, it is instructive to consider how Horace's approach to time differs from that of his immediate predecessor, Catullus.

Season as Metaphor: *Odes* 1.25, 4.13, and 4.10

In his study of Horace's reception of the Catullan corpus, Putnam has drawn attention to a pair of poems, Catullus 58 and *Odes* 1.25, that establish a relationship to one another through their shared use of the rare word *angiportum/-us*.[1] Catullus 58 is a meditation on the fate of the poet's beloved Lesbia:

> *Caeli, Lesbia nostra—Lesbia illa,*
> *illa Lesbia, quam Catullus unam*

[1] Putnam (2006a) 11-46. The word appears only once in their respective collections, Catullus 58.4 and *Odes* 1.25.10 (both at the end of an eleven-syllable line). That this is a *hapax* in each poet, that it occurs in similar contexts, and the fact that both poets employ this word to emphasize the complete reversal in Lesbia's and Lydia's lives respectively, all serve to ensure a connection. Commager (1962) 248 also notes the correspondence, but at 248 n.11 stops short of calling it a direct allusion: "It is interesting that Horace's attack on Lydia should echo, whether intentionally or unintentionally, Catullus' attack on Lesbia, just as Horace's first love poem to Lydia (*C.* 1.13) echoes Catullus' description of his love at first sight for Lesbia (51)." Cf. also Johnson (2003/2004) 123.

plus quam se atque suos amavit omnes—
nunc in quadriviis et angiportis
glubit magnanimi Remi nepotes.
Caelius, our Lesbia, that Lesbia,
yes that Lesbia, whom Catullus loved—his one and only!—
more even than himself and his family, all his flock,
now in the four-ways and backalleys
peels the cocks of greathearted Remus' stock.

The poet gives us a glimpse into the past and juxtaposes that past with a very different present. In the past (*amavit*), Catullus loved Lesbia more than himself, more even than his own friends and family. Catullus contrasts this past sharply with Lesbia's present behavior (*nunc*): now she prostitutes herself to all of Rome in the narrow alleyways of the city. The magnitude of the difference between then and now is underscored in the first instance by the poet's insistence that it is the *same* Lesbia (*Lesbia nostra*, *Lesbia illa*, / *illa Lesbia*), but also by the emphatic and repeated use of the distal deictic *illa*.[2] Catullus thus refers to what is temporally distant (the Lesbia of the past) by employing *ille* which indicates spatial distance, and yet she is clearly the same person: *nostra/illa Lesbia…<u>nunc</u>…*.[3] The conspicuous repetition, suggestive perhaps of the poet's incredulity, reinforces the fact that the Lesbia of the past and the Lesbia of the present

[2] Spatial deictics can be either "distal" (pointing to something farther away from the speaker, as *ille* "that one (there)" and *illic* "there") or "proximal" (pointing to something closer to the speaker, as *hic* "this one (here)" and *hic* "here".

[3] For another, similar use in *Odes* 4.11, see below p. 48-49.

are the same,[4] even as the change in word order looks ahead to the difference which Catullus is about to describe. Just as the arrangement of *Lesbia illa* is reversed, so Catullus depicts the change in his relations with Lesbia through a series of pointed contrasts and reversals. The poet's own singular devotion (*unam*) to Lesbia in the past—a devotion unmatched by his devotion to his own family (*plus quam se atque suos amavit omnes*)—is juxtaposed with Lesbia's present hyper-sexualized lust (*glubit*) for *all* the descendants of Remus, a point poignantly brought out by the placement of the two accusatives at line end (*unam*, 2; *nepotes* 5).[5] Lust and sexual depravity replace love and a devotion that bordered on the familial.[6] Catullus' love for Lesbia alone surpassed that for his family, Lesbia's love for Catullus is (presumably) now surpassed by an all-encompassing lust depicted in familial terms (*Remi nepotes*). Every detail in this tightly constructed little poem serves to emphasize the vivid and striking contrast between past and present.

> *Parcius iunctas quatiunt fenestras*
> *iactibus crebris iuvenes protervi,*

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[4] See Quinn (1980) *ad loc.* The sharp difference in behavior is a common feature of Catullus' poetry. Compare the similar stress given to the sameness and use if *ille* to emphasize the difference of Suffenus' character in poem 22, where the *same* man (*idem*, 3, 14), witty and clever and urbane, becomes a backcountry hick when one reads his poetry: *haec cum legas tu, bellus ille et urbanus / Suffenus unus caprimulgus aut fossor / rursus videtur* (when you read these things (sc. his poems) that charming and urbane Suffenus becomes one goat-milker or ditch-digger; 9-11).

[5] Note too the jingle of the homoeoteleuton *omn**es**...nepot**es***. This also serves to emphasize the difference between the plurality of Lesbia's love and the plurality that Catullus' love for Lesbia surpasses.

[6] Cf. also Catullus 72.1-4: *dicebas quondam solum te nosse Catullum, / Lesbia, nec prae me velle tenere Iovem. / dilexi tum te non tantum ut vulgus amicam, / sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos* (Once you used to say, Lesbia, that you loved Catullus only, and that didn't even hold Jupiter before me. I loved you then not so much as the common man loves his girlfriend, but like a father loves his sons and sons-in-law).

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?'
In vicem moechos anus arrogantis
flebis in solo levis angiportu,
Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
lunia vento,
cum tibi flagrans amor et libido,
quae solet matres furiare equorum,
saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum,
non sine questu
laeta quod pubes hedera virenti
gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto,
aridas frondes hiemis sodali
dedicet Euro.

More rarely do they rattle your closed panes
with repeated peltings, the rash boys,
and they don't rob *you* of sleep; the only loving
is what the door gives the doorjamb.
Used to be a revolving door, before, easy
hinges. Less and less now you hear,
"While I, your beau, am lovesick the long nights—
Sleep, Lydia? Really?"
In turn, the arrogant paramours

you'll mourn them, an old bag, a trifle
in a lonely backalley, while the north wind rages
    all the more as the moon wanes,
when feverish love and the proverbial lust,
that makes wanton the mothers of horses,
runs savage around your ulcerous liver;
    you bet you'll complain
that the cheerful youth take their pleasure
rather from green ivy, from verdant myrtle;
dry leaves they dedicate to the East Wind,
    winter's companion.

In *Odes* 1.25, Horace uses the Catullan image of alleyways to paint a similar picture of Lydia, but one with significant differences. The context seems to be that Lydia has rejected the poet and he responds by saying she will one day she will become undesirable and sorry that she rejected Horace.[7] Here, the aging Lydia is told that she will, in the not too distant future, find herself as sex-crazed as we imagine Lesbia to be, though unsuccessful, wandering the alleyways alone. Just as Catullus had emphasized the contrast between Lesbia's past and present through pointed reversals or inversions, so here Horace contrasts Lydia's past sharply with her future. Young men used to come to her, rattle her windows and sing outside her closed door; Lydia used to be an object of desire and could choose from among them as she liked. In the future Lydia

[7] See N-H (1970) 289.

will be the one outside, alone, wandering the streets in the dark, sleepless and looking for love that will not be returned. The reversal is complete—in effect, Lydia will go from being an *inclusa amata* to being an *exclusa amatrix*[8]—and the contrast is as pointed as any in Catullus 58. But Horace's poem differs from Catullus' in significant ways. First, Horace locates the *nunc* of his poem at an earlier moment than Catullus does; put simply, Catullus 58 draws a contrast between "then" and "now" (*amavit* > *nunc*), while the *nunc* of *Odes* 1.25 occupies a moment between and therefore draws a contrast between "then" and "soon". By choosing this moment, the poet can look both backward to Lydia's sexually successful past as well as forward to the future powerlessness of her raging sexual desire.[9] Lydia is thus depicted at a point between two extremes, love in her past, lonliness and sexual frustration, as yet, in the future. Horace, then, is not merely interested in the difference between "then" and "soon", but he is also interested, perhaps even more so, in the moments between these two temporal points. Moreover, Horace's *nunc* is here dominated by temporal adverbs: the eager young men are (now) knocking on her window *more sparingly* (*parcius*, the ode's first word) than they used to; *previously* the door used to move *a lot* (*prius* and *multum*, 5); *less and less now* she hears the boys singing… (*minus et minus iam*, 6).[10] The inclusion

[8] See Henderson (1973) 58 and Davis (1991) 217.
[9] See also Esler (1989) 173.
[10] *Parcius* and *minus* are not generally temporal, but they are used temporally here insofar as they point to a present and continuing diminution of past activity.

of so many adverbs that function temporally places Lydia in a time that is *moving*.[11] Putnam nicely sums up the difference between the two poems: "whereas Catullus makes a clear, abrupt distinction between time past and time present, Horace brilliantly poises us at a moment of transition…giving us a sense of time actually passing."[12] Indeed, the phrase *audis minus et minus iam* captures in miniature Horace's conception of Lydia's *nunc*: the temporal *iam* gains emphasis from its position at the end of the line; but the "now" so emphatically announced—even if that "now" is understood more broadly as "these days"—is undermined by the continual, day-to-day, moment-to-moment diminution implied by *minus et minus*. Lydia's *nunc* is well on its way to becoming the future. Just as important, these adverbs all point to the decreasing frequency of amatory activity in the present. In this way the past becomes an important factor in the present moment of the poem.[13] Because the adverbs take their reference from a past time when Lydia was much sought after by young suitors, the emphasis is solely on what Lydia has lost and continues to lose.

I have begun with a comparison between Catullus and Horace not because, like Putnam, I am interested in comparing the two poets, but because this particular comparison illustrates something valuable and important about Horace and his poetry.

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[11] See Ancona (1994) 22-44 for the temporal quality of *parcius* here, and for Horace's pointed use of temporal adverbs elsewhere.
[12] Putnam (2006a) 13.
[13] So too Catlow (1976b) 815: "The scenario is conceived historically (*parcius, nec, minus et minus iam*) because it is in light of past experiences that the present is significant."

To be sure, Catullus is interested in change, and the loss implied by that change; and while time has passed since Catullus loved (*amavit*) Lesbia, who is now (*nunc*) in the alleyways of the city, time's role in this change is decidedly downplayed. For Horace, the seemingly unstoppable movement of time, and the change and loss that inevitably come with that movement, is central in a way that it simply is not for Catullus. Of course all change involves time, but Horace lingers on the passage of time, on transition, and so emphasizes the relationship between time and change, between time and loss. Put simply, the focus in Catullus 58 is on what has changed, what has been lost; *Odes* 1.25—and many other odes—is rather about what *is changing*, what *is being lost*.

Before we leave 1.25, it will be useful to spend a little more time with the final lines of the poem. We have seen how Horace has drawn a sharp contrast between what Lydia has experienced before in the past and what she will experience in the future. And we have seen that Horace uses temporal adverbs, or adverbs that contain some clear temporal force (*parcius*), to locate Lydia between past and future to emphasize the imminence and inevitability of that future. At the very end of the ode, Horace couches Lydia's imagined complaint of her future situation in imagery that evokes the world of nature and its cyclical and seasonal rhythms:

…non sine questu,
laeta quod pubes hedera virenti

gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto,

aridas frondes hiemis sodali

dedicet Euro. 1.25.16-20

Now the youth, who once so eagerly knocked on her windowpane and sang outside her door, will discard Lydia, here pictured as a crown of dry leaves, to the winter wind even as they once presumably left crowns of ivy and myrtle on her doorposts.[14] Now the youth delight in the green foliage of spring.[15] In this final stanza Horace has refigured Lydia's temporality in seasonal terms, and in doing so introduces another facet to the movement of time.[16] Horace gives us a glimpse of Lydia in her winter, or as

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[14] The use of *dedicare* here surely plays with the familiar topos of the elegiac lover leaving his crown on his mistress' door posts. See N-H (1970) *ad loc*.

[15] Cf. Commager (1962) 248. I cannot agree with critics (cf. N-H [1970] *ad loc*., Ancona [1992] 30, 152 n. 22) who read *magis atque* as standing for *magis quam*. *atque* for *quam* following a comparative is colloquial and as such is common enough in the *Satires*, but this would be the sole example in the *Odes*. And while, as Mayer (2012) *ad loc.* acknowledges, there might be some justification for its occurrence in this arguably less lofty, more satirical ode, a comparison between ivy and myrtle misses the point. If *pulla…myrto* is supposed to imply an age distinct from and inferior to that described by *hedera virenti*, then Lydia's complaint is irrelevant to her situation. It is clear that the *aridas frondes* refer to Lydia; therefore it makes little sense if Lydia (in the future, as an old women) complains (1) that young men prefer young women to, say, middle-aged women and (2) that they discard old women. So also Stinton (1977) 170: "It is nothing to her [sc. Lydia] whether her unresponsive gallants are pursuing girls rather than women in their prime; her complaint is that they are not pursuing *her*" (emphasis in original). Strictly speaking, myrtle and ivy are evergreen, but as *aridas frondes* are a sign of winter (*hiemis*, 19), the greenness of the plants evokes the greenness of spring.

[16] We have been prepared for this in the first instance by Horace's use of the phrase *in vicem* (9). Horace uses the word *vicis* of the change from one season, or temporal unit, to another (cf. *Odes* 1.4.1: *grata vice;* 4.7.3: *mutat terra vices*). But there is also the hint of a natural metaphor in the third stanza where Lydia is imagined as weeping in the Thracian wind, *sub interlunia*, "as the moon wanes" (cf. *sub noctem*, "just before nightfall", "as night approaches"). This is not mere scene painting; the waning moon (and thus the growing darkness) suggests Lydia's own waning life. Even the wind itself seems to be a natural reflection of her own behavior: it rages more (*magis*) as the moon wanes even as Lydia becomes more wildly passionate the older she gets (cf. *Odes* 3.15.10 where Horace compares a woman in love to a Bacchant). See also Commager (1962) 248, where he—all too timidly, to my mind—posits a possible metaphorical reading of *sub interlunia.*

a withered autumn leaf on the cusp of winter; her life thus becomes equivalent to a linear progression through the seasons. In using the seasons as a metaphor, Horace implies that this progression is at once natural and utterly inevitable. But the use of seasonal imagery also reminds us that time is cyclical as well as linear. The point is subtly made, and Horace uses the imagery here to juxtapose human time, perceived as linear, though depicted in terms that are natural and seasonal, with the cyclical and seasonal time of nature which those very terms evoke. To imply that Lydia will be like dry leaves cast into the winter wind evokes a time when she was once green herself and full of verdant beauty—she too was once the *hedera virens* in which the youth took their delight; it also reminds us that for Lydia, no green will come again: there will be no new spring. This in itself, however, is not really the worst part. As Lydia's future complaint shows, it is the fact that youthful spring will continue to recur, in the young men and in the green foliage in which they delight, but it will become a season Lydia can no longer enjoy. When transferred from the natural world, the cyclical quality of seasonal time allows for a pathetic juxtaposition that is impossible in nature. In the natural world, spring comes only after winter has passed; when Horace applies this imagery to Lydia, he can confront her with a "springtime" that burgeons before her very eyes, before she

has passed, and in which, as she approaches her own "winter", she no longer has a role. She becomes displaced.[17]

Horace uses this technique over and over again in the *Odes*: to locate the present of the poem at a moment of transition, to place an addressee, or himself, in a time that is moving between two temporal points, and then, with greater or lesser subtlety, to introduce seasonal imagery that emphasizes cyclical time. As in the final lines of *Odes* 1.25, the introduction of seasonal and cyclical imagery serves to draw attention to what one loses over time and to show how others come to enjoy what another has lost. Even when he does not set his poem at a moment of transition, and sets up a contrast between "now" and "then" like Catullus, Horace nevertheless employs seasonal imagery to the same effect, and still emphasizes time's role in the change.

Odes 4.13

Audivere, Lyce, di mea vota, di
audivere, Lyce: fis anus; et tamen
vis formosa videri
ludisque et bibis impudens
et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem 5
lentum sollicitas. ille virentis et

[17] Note that this is the third poem in *Odes* 1 that is addressed to a Lydia (cf. 1.8, 1.13). If we are to understand these as references to the same Lydia (and I see no reason why this should not be the case. Cf. Johnson [2003/2004] 126 and n. 37; Doyen [2004]), then this too would give us a sense of time's passage. Note as well that in a later poem (3.9) Lydia has apparently indeed been displaced by a Chloe, whose name suggests greenness and youth. On the relationship between *Odes* 3.9 and 1.25, see Johnson (2003/2004).

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
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 Cinarae brevis
annos fata dederunt,
servatura diu parem
cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen,
possent ut iuvenes uisere fervidi
multo non sine risu
dilapsam in cineres facem.

They've heard my prayers, Lyce, the gods have, the gods have heard, Lyce: you're becoming an old woman;
and yet you still want to be seen as beautiful
and you flirt and you drink shamelessly
and when drunk you try to seduce an unresponsive Cupid

with quavering singing. But he lies down on the fair
cheeks of budding Chia
who's taught to pluck the cithara.
For rudely he flies right past dry oaks
and runs from you because yellow teeth,
because wrinkles and snows of the head
disfigure you.
Neither purple silks from Cos, nor precious stones
bring back to you now the time that the swift day
has locked up once and for all, storing it away
in the familiar calendar.
Where has your charm gone? Alas! Where the complexion?
Where the graceful movement? What do you have of that girl
that girl who used to exude attraction
who had stolen me from myself,
a beauty successful after Cinara and renowned
for the pleasing arts? But the fates gave
few years to Cinara;
Lyce they intend to preserve
for a long while an equal to the ancient crow in years
so that the hot-blooded young men can see her
amid lots of laughter
as a torch sunk down into ashes.

Odes 4.13 has much in common with 1.25; though the poem does not appear to be set at a transitional moment, the change in tense from the perfect *audivere* to the present *fis* helps to create a past narrative. The gods *have* already heard Horace and *have* acted on

his prayer, because Lyce *is becoming* old. Like 1.25, this poem looks both backward to a prior time (encompassing Horace's prayer and his reasons for making it) as well as forward to Lyce's old age. Like the use of *parcius* in *Odes* 1.25, the movement from perfect to present tense here creates an imaginary past not explicitly described in the poem. We may even be encouraged, as Porphyrio was, to see this past as creating an intratextual link with *Odes* 3.10.[18] As he had with Lydia, Horace gives us a sense that Lyce was once attractive and much sought after. Indeed, her beauty used to exhale attraction and she had even once stolen the poet from himself (19-20). Lyce, while not explicitly out in the alleyways prostituting herself to any and every one, like Lydia in her old age, certainly takes the sexually aggressive role. Despite her age she drinks and plays, and in her drunkenness tries to stir up reluctant love (4-6). Cupid plays the part of the young men here, but the idea is precisely the same: Lyde tries to stir up Love, but he prefers the young Chia.[19]

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[18] Porphyrio: *ad Lycen loquitur, de cuius superbia in tertio qu[a]estus est in illa ode, cuius initium est: extremum Tanain si biberis Lyce* (he is speaking to Lyce about whose arrogance he complained in that ode, the beginning of which is: *extremum Tanain si biberis Lyce*). So Thomas (2011); N-R (2004) 143 seem to hedge.

[19] Chia, "the girl from Chios". As Thomas (2011) *ad loc.* points out, the name was common enough. He draws an interesting connection to the substantive *Chia* (sc. *ficus*) where *ficus* = *culus* in pederastic contexts. It is hard to see how this is relevant here, unless we suppose that Horace is not generalizing (Cupid prefers the young), but talking specifically and about himself (my love is now for young boys (i.e. Ligurinus)), but I find this unlikely.

ille virentis et
doctae psallere Chiae
pulchris excubat[20] *in genis.*
But he [sc. Cupid] lies down
on the fair cheeks of budding Chia
who's taught to pluck the cithara.

As commentators readily note, this passage is modelled on Sophocles' *Antigone* 781-784: Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, / Ἔρως, ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπ- / τεις, ὃς ἐν μαλακαῖς παρει- / αῖς νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις (Eros invincible in battle, Eros, you who fall upon the wealthy, you who sleep on the soft cheeks of a young girl). In contrast to Sophocles, Horace specifies a particular girl, and so makes the situation more concrete; it is not just any young girl who has caught Cupid's attention, but specifically Chia. Moreover, Horace employs a seasonal metaphor describing Chia as *virens* which here carries the same natural and seasonal connotation it did at 1.25.17.[21] The placement of *virentis* immediately following Cupid (*ille*) emphasizes the fact that he favors Chia in large part because of her youth. The seasonal implication of *virens* finds its match in the contrasting description of Lyce which follows, where Horace again employs seasonal imagery:

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[20] Horace's use of *excubo* is unusual, and may perhaps call to mind the elegiac image of lying down outside the door of one's beloved. Cf. Ovid *Amores.* 3.11.9-12: *Ergo ego sustinui, foribus tam saepe repulsus, / <u>ingenuum dura ponere corpus humo</u>? / ergo ego nesciocui, quem tu conplexa tenebas, / <u>excubui</u> clausam servus ut ante domum?* (Did I, rejected so often from your doors, really put up with laying my tender body on the hard ground? Did I really lie awake on watch before your doors as a slave for some worthless piece of trash you were embracing?).

[21] Commager (1962) 299-300 renders *virens* as "blooming".

importunus enim transvolat aridas
quercus et refugit te, quia luridi
dentes, te, quia rugae
turpant et capitis nives.
At rest in no harbor he flies past dry oaks
and flees you because yellow teeth,
because wrinkles and snows of the head
disfigure you.

The phrase *aridas quercus* clearly recalls the *aridas frondes* of 1.25.18, and plays the same role as it did in that poem: it describes Lyce in seasonal terms, as a tree on the cusp of winter. The approach of Lyce's "winter" is made all the more clear by the bold and striking phrase—so bold that Quintilian judged it too harsh[22]—*capitis nives*.[23] Cupid, like the *laeta pubes* of 1.25, wants nothing to do with dry leaves, with Lyce, and instead prefers the "green" Chia; as in 1.25, the contrast is between *virens* and *aridas*/*hiems*. Here too, Horace emphasizes the presence of springtime green, even as Lyce is withering, and again he portrays spring as a season now enjoyed by others, in this case, the young Chia.

Horace is perhaps alluding in these lines to Callimachus 31 Pfeiffer, even as he had alluded to Sophocles in the previous stanza: χοὐμὸς ἔρως τοιόσδε· τὰ μὲν

[22] *Inst.* 8.6.17: *sunt* [*tralationes*] *et durae, id est a longinqua similitudine ductae, ut "capitis nives"* (There are also harsh metaphors, that is, those drawn from too far a resemblance, as "snows of the head.").
[23] As Thomas (2011) *ad loc.* subtly suggests: "Does snow-peaked Mt. Soracte…come to mind?" He was preceded by Catlow (1976b) 819. Wilkinson (1946) 130, reads from 4.13 back to 1.9. For a reading of the Soracte ode, 1.9, as an autumn poem, see Clay (1989).

φεύγοντα διώκειν / οἶδε, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσσῳ κείμενα παρπέταται (Such is also my Eros: he knows to pursue things that flee, but the things lying to hand he flies right past). This is an epigram Horace himself translated at *Satires* 1.2.107-108: *meus est amor huic similis; nam / transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat*.[24] While the allusion may imply that Chia, being young, is *fugiens*, and Lyce, aging and desperate (cf. lines 4-6), is *in medio posita*, Horace emphatically changes the focus of epigram through his use of seasonal imagery from spatial to temporal, from behavior to age. Horace makes the displacement of Lyce by Chia a seasonal displacement: Chia displaces Lyce as spring displaces winter. As if to illustrate this displacement, Horace first alludes to Sophocles and then to Callimachus, thereby enacting through allusion a similar kind of generational displacement.[25]

Horace follows this seasonal imagery with a gnomic statement that is quite remarkable and unusual, even for Horace:

> *nec Coae referunt iam tibi purpurae*
> *nec cari lapides tempora quae semel*
> *notis condita fastis*
> *inclusit volucris dies.*

[24] López-Cañete Quiles (2001). The gist of the two passages is similar: love flies past the available, easy-to-get girl and prefers the one hard to get; love flies past the old (and therefore easily gotten) and prefers the young. *transvolo* occurs only at *Satires* 1.2.108 and *Odes* 4.13.9 in Horace's poetry; this suggests a connection.

[25] For Horace's use of seasonal metaphor in the context of literary "generations" see *AP* 58-72, where he reemploys Homer's metaphor of the "generation of leaves" (*Iliad* 6.146-150) in the context of old and new words, old and new authors.

> Neither purple silks from Cos, nor precious stones
> bring back to you now the time that the swift day
> has locked up once and for all, storing it away
> in the familiar calendar.

The idea that nothing Lyce does will bring back the time that has passed is a commonplace in Horace's poetry, and in Greek lyric as well, but mention of the *fasti* here adds a complexity to the *topos*. For one, by including a reference to the *fasti*, a decidedly Roman instrument, Horace puts a specifically Roman twist on this idea.[26] More importantly, the predominant imagery here is that of "locking up" (*inclusit*) and "putting away in storage" (*condita*), with the clear implication that Lyce no longer has access to days that have gone by. As such, Horace employs the *fasti* in a linear way, much as he uses the progression of the seasons as a metaphor for the linear "year" of an individual's lifetime. And yet this too, like the reference to seasons, may remind us that the *fasti* do indeed renew themselves, and do, in some sense, bring back time. In fact, the peculiar power of the *fasti* as a time-reckoning tool—a power that was, at the time Horace was writing, growing and used with increasing frequency—lies precisely in its ability to mark the linear passage of time, while also preserving the memory of times past so that the past could be remembered, relived, and perhaps even reperformed on

[26] Even if, as suggested by N-R (2004) on 3.17.3-4, the *fasti* there and in this poem refer to some sort of private records and not the consular *fasti*, the presence of *notis* assimilates them closely with the latter. They are *public*. See Thomas (2011) *ad loc.*

the same day in another year.[27] This power of the *fasti* to prompt memory is perhaps what causes the poet to recall the past in the following stanza:[28]

> *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?*
> Where has your charm fled, alas, where the complexion,
> where your graceful movements? What do you have left of that one, that beauty, successful after Cinara and known for the pleasant arts, that used to exude sex, that had snatched me away from myself?

Hitherto the poem has seemed to proceed in the same vein as *Odes* 1.25 with Horace mercilessly gloating over a woman who rejected him in the past who now finds herself no longer desired. It turns out to be something quite different: Horace is recalling a past love and how Lyce's past beauty—now a thing of the past—had affected him. The gemination of *illius* underscores the pathos Horace now feels at Lyce's loss. The use of the distal deictic is key: like the repetition in Catullus 58, *Lesbia illa, / illa Lesbia*, which

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[27] On this aspect of the Roman calendar, see Feeney (2007) 161ff., Beard (1987) 9. Cf. Horace's anniversary celebration in *Odes* 3.8.9: *hic dies anno redeunte festus*. For a discussion of Horace's own use of temporal markers and the calendar to relive his own past, see chapter 3 below. This power remains even if, as N-R (2004) 215 argue, the *fasti* mentioned here (and at *Odes* 3.17.3-5 to which their note refers) are more generally "records".

[28] Horace often represents the *fasti* as a prompt for memory; cf. *Odes* 3.17.4: *per memores…fastos*, 4.14.4: *memoresque fastos*, as well as his use of the calendar in the reckoning and celebration of anniversaries.

we noted above, the gemination of *illius* illustrates the utter difference between the Lyce that was and the Lyce that now is: she is still Lyce, to be sure, but she has become, in a sense, a totally different person, almost unrecognizable.[29] Again, whereas Catullus' poem focuses on the change in Lesbia, the difference between then and now, Horace makes explicit *time's* role in Lyce's change. Her transformation is depicted in seasonal terms and the *volucris dies* is responsible for that seasonal transformation.[30]

Finally, in this stanza Horace seems to realize that Lyce's loss is somehow also his own. Scholars are right to sense a change in tone and a widening of perspective.[31] Of course Horace is speaking primarily of Lyce here, yet the way in which he does so is critical: this is all his own memory. Lyce has had an important place in the poet's own past. In a sense, Horace here writes Lyce into his own *fasti*. Cinara had come first (*felix post Cinaram*), a woman Horace only—and only late in his career—associates with his younger days, always in a context involving his own lost youth.[32] But Lyce had been attractive and had herself once held Horace in her power. Seeing her now causes him to remember with some wistfulness their shared past. Her disfigurement, however much he may have wished for it in the past, seems somehow less a cause for celebration,

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[29] Adjacent gemination of demonstratives, while fairly common in Cicero, is exceptionally rare in poetry of the Augustan period and earlier; see Wills (1996) 76. Putnam (1986) 225 also connects the repeated *illius* with Catullus 58. Compare Seneca's failure to recognize a former slave boy from his youth because he has grown old (*EM* 12.3).

[30] For a list of the many words connected to time, movement, and change in the poem, see Esler (1989) 177.

[31] Fraenkel (1957) 416, Commager (1962) 302, Putnam (1986) 225, Esler (1989) 176, Thomas (2011).

[32] *Odes* 4.1.4, *Epistles* 1.7.28, 1.14.33.

rather a cause for lament (*heu*, 17). Just as she is not what she once was, neither is Horace what he once was: *non sum qualis eram bonae / sub regno Cinarae* (I am not what I used to be, during the reign of good Cinara; *Odes* 4.1.3-4).[33]

Odes 4.10

Odes 4.10 represents yet another variation on aging lovers and Horace's use of seasonal imagery. Like *Odes* 1.25 it begins with an adverb that functions temporally, *adhuc*, which speaks to an action begun in the past and continuing up to the present. In this case it looks directly back to the end of *Odes* 4.1, where Horace chases the unwilling Ligurinus in his dreams.[34] And like *nondum* in *Odes* 2.5.1 or *parcius* in 1.25.1,[35] *adhuc* makes the present moment redolent of change and thus perhaps hints at the transition which this poem will prophesy: *up till now* he has been attractive and cruel, *but* a lonely old age awaits Ligurinus, who has rejected, and continues to reject Horace. Once again, Horace describes Ligurinus' aging process in seasonal terms.

> *O crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,*
> *insperata tuae cum veniet* †*pluma*† *superbiae*
> *et quae nunc umeris involitant deciderint comae,*

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[33] With good reason Fraenkel (1957) connects this poem with 4.10 and sees both as pervaded by Horace's recognition of his own lost youth. Cf. 414: "If the reader is sensitive to the tone of the concluding sentence [of 4.10]…he will hear in it not only the anticipated complaint of Ligurinus but also the voice of a man who cannot help looking back on the time when he was young himself."; 416 (on 4.13.17-21): "the scorn and its wretched victim are almost forgotten, and all that seems to matter is the regret for the lost land of youth, the poet's youth and…[the reader's] youth as well."

[34] 4.1.37-40: *nocturnis ego somniis / iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor / te per gramina Martii / campi, te per aquas, dure, volubilis* (in my nighttime dreams at times I hold you caught, at times I chase you [sc. Ligunrinus] over the field of the Campus Martius, through the eddying water, cruel one).

[35] On 1.25.1 see above p. 35-36; on 2.5.1 see below p. 66.

nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae
mutatus, Ligurine, in faciem verterit hispidam, 5
dices, "heu", quotiens te speculo videris alterum,
"quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?"
Still cruel and powerful in the gifts of Venus,
when the †plume† will come unexpected by your arrogance,
and the hair which now flits upon your shoulders will have fallen
and the color, now superior to the bloom of the purple rose
has changed and will have turned into a bristly face, Ligurinus,
then you'll say, "alas!" whenever you see yourself in the mirror
as a stranger, "The disposition I have today, why was it not the same
for me as a boy, or why don't the cheeks return unscathed
to the disposition I have now?"

There are a few textual problems with this poem; first is the MSS reading *pluma* in the second line. Shackleton Bailey obelizes the word in his Teubner edition, but the reading is defended by Thomas.[36] The other is whether we follow the manuscripts' reading of *Ligurinum* in line 5, or the vocative, *Ligurine*, of the *codices deteriores*. As Thomas acknowledges, the accusative is readily intelligible, [37] but since this poem has an addressee, and he is already addressed with vocatives (*crudelis, potens*), it seems best to

[36] Thomas (2011).
[37] Thomas (2011) *ad loc.*

read the vocative here.[38] The problematic *pluma* is another matter: it ought to refer to the first downy hair of a beard, but this makes little sense with line 5, *faciem…hispidam*, which seems to suggest a much more bristly beard than that implied by *pluma*.[39] Part of the problem has been in deciding precisely what changes Horace intends. Asztalos sums it up nicely:

> Critics have never been able to determine satisfactorily whether Ligurinus changes into an adolescent (taking *pluma* to refer to the first downy beard and *deciderint* to refer to the long hair of a boy being cut off), an adult man (as suggested by *faciem hispidam*) or an old man (taking *pluma* to refer to the white, soft beard or hair of an old man and *deciderint* to refer to the loss of hair accompanying old age).[40]

The ubiquity of the *topos* in Hellenistic epigram of boys reaching puberty and losing their pederastic attraction might point in the direction of a change from young boy to adolescent.[41] Horace's use of seasonal imagery will, however, show that Ligurinus transforms into an old man. The phrase *deciderint comae* almost certainly refers to hair

[38] Though see Asztalos (2008) who argues that Horace is addressing himself. Accordingly, she retains the accusative.
[39] Thomas (2011) argues, on the basis of this ode's similarity to pederastic epigram, that *pluma* here refers to the pubescent growth of hair on the thighs.
[40] Asztalos (2008) 293.
[41] See especially Thomas (2011) who argues at length for this interpretation.

falling out rather than the cutting off of long hair upon transition out of boyhood.[42] It is also subtly seasonal; both words appear in *Odes* 4.7, a poem very much concerned with the juxtaposition of cyclical time and linear time: *diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis / arboribusque comae* (1-2). In this passage "hair" returns to the trees with the coming spring (cf. 4.10.8 *cur…incolumes non redeunt genae?*).[43] This is a common metaphor, but it has real point here. The personification of nature which begins in the very first line—of which "hair" returning to trees is perhaps the most striking example—is part of how the poem conveys its message: that the natural world renews what it loses, whereas we do not. Later in 4.7, in direct contrast to the trees and their regrowing "hair", when we mortals fall, there is no reflorescence, we are dust and shade: *nos ubi decidimus / …pulvis et umbra sumus* (14-16). As scholars rightly note, the verb suggests the falling of leaves, and probably alludes to Glaucus' famous simile equating generations of men to successive generations of leaves in the woods.[44] In addition to indicating hair falling out, *deciderint comae* thus also reminds us of leaves falling in winter, which, as we have seen above, is a standard Horatian image for a figure who has grown old. Lines 4-5 contain a further seasonal metaphor: Ligurinus'

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[42] *pace* Thomas (2011) *ad loc.* Lucretius 3.644-645, which he cites, makes the cutting clear: *…id quod / decidit abscisum….* Furthermore, his citation of *TLL* s.v. *cado* 23.9-24.58 is misleading. *cado* can = *caedi*, but the other verbs listed in the entry help shape the sense of *caedi* here: *mori* and *interfici* (to die and to be killed). Indeed, nearly every instance given in the *TLL* refers to dying, most often on the battlefield where cutting can be readily inferred; here there is nothing to suggest a barber's scissors.

[43] Also noted by Bentley *ad loc*.

[44] *Il.* 6.146-149. See Sider (2001) 276-280 for Horace's reception of this simile.

rosy complexion will one day become a briar patch. Rosy complexion is of course a commonplace in ancient literature, but here Horace extends the metaphor into the future when the rosebush will have lost its blooms and become a briar. The conceit is nicely paralleled by Thomas who cites *AP* 11.53:[45] τὸ ῥόδον ἀκμάζει βαιὸν χρόνον· ἢν δὲ παρέλθῃ, / ζητῶν εὑρήσεις οὐ ῥόδον, ἀλλὰ βάτον (The rose blooms for a short time; and if you pass it by, when you come looking for it, you will find not a rose, but a bramble).[46] This and other parallels make Nisbet's *filicem* and Thomas' *fruticem* attractive proposals for *faciem*, which is far less striking.[47] And while the presence of these parallels might initially point to a loss of pederastic attraction, Horace portrays the change that Ligurinus will undergo, as we have seen in 1.25, and 4.13 above, as a *seasonal* change, and the metamorphosis of rose to bramble parallels the change experienced by Lydia and Lyce, from spring green (*virens*) to dry autumn leaves (*aridas frondes* / *aridas quercus*). In the earlier examples that seasonal change represented the transition into old age and out of the period of erotic activity. As such the transformation described in 4.10 ought to be from a young man into an old man. What is more, the rose/briar imagery is not exclusive to pederastic contexts. Ovid employs

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[45] Thomas (2011) *ad loc.* He also adds Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 2.115-118, and *Fasti* 5.353-354. The parallel at *AP* 11.53 was cited by Nisbet (1986b) 615 (who quotes only the last four words) in his review of Borzsák's Teubner edition.

[46] Cf. also Rufinus *AP* 5.28.6: ἀντὶ ῥόδου γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν βάτον οὐ δέχομαι (I don't take a rose in place of a briar).

[47] Nisbet (1989) 269, Thomas (2011) *ad loc.* For other parallels, see the preceding note and the Ovid passage discussed below.

the same contrasting images, rose and briar, at *Ars Amatoria* 2.115-118 to contrast youth and old age:

> *Nec violae semper nec hiantia lilia florent,*
> *Et riget amissa spina relicta rosa.*
> *Et tibi iam venient cani, formose, capilli,*
> *Iam venient rugae, quae tibi corpus arent.*
> Violets don't bloom forever, nor do open lilies,
> and a thornbush is left once the rose has fallen.
> Soon to you too, pretty boy, will come white hair,
> soon will come wrinkles to furrow your body.[48]

The loss of the bloom and in particular the bramble left behind by the fallen rose are here connected not with the arrival of the first downy beard and hair on the thighs, but with the coming of white hair and wrinkles (*cani…capilli, rugae*). Finally, Ligurinus' transformation from a boy to an old man is supported by his own lament when he sees himself in the mirror as something wholly *other*: *dices, "heu", quotiens te speculo videris alterum…* This emphasis on Ligurinus' otherness is similar to Lydia's total reversal of behavior at the end of 1.25 (*inclusa amata* > *exclusa amatrix*), and points to the same unbridgeable difference we noted between the young Lyce and the old Lyce, there emphasized by the pathetic repetition of the distal deictic *illius, illius* at 4.13.18. The

[48] Cited by Thomas (see n. 25 above).

change from young to old suits Ligurinus' realization that he has become *alter*.[49] In fact, in *Odes* 4.1—the very poem to which this one looks back—Horace had come to the selfsame realization. Now grown old, and passing out of the season for eroticism,[50] Horace also describes himself as an *other*: *non sum qualis eram* (I am not like what I used to be; 3). Fraenkel too saw that the words Horace claims Ligurinus will utter were once the poet's own: *non eadem est aetas, non mens*.[51] In light of this, and given the ode's seasonal imagery and Horace's evident fondness for it in contexts of aging lovers, Bentley's conjecture *bruma* for the problematic *pluma* of line 2 deserves serious consideration.[52] I am not prepared to press the matter, but it would fit well in this poem which, like 1.25 and 4.13, envisions a transformation from young to old, from spring to winter.

In these poems, Horace applies seasonal imagery to his addressees. Each addressee is depicted between two temporal points, points which are initially marked,

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[49] It also makes more sense with the opening line of the poem. Ligurinus is still *Veneris muneribus potens*, a phrase which can certainly refer to pederastic attraction, but it also, and perhaps even more so, applies to heterosexual attraction. If Horace intends us to see Ligurinus' transformation as a loss of pederastic attraction, then the phrase is ambiguous: adolescents remain "powerful in the gifts of Venus" well into manhood; cf. Paulus Maximus in *Odes* 4.1 who is surely not a pre-pubescent.

[50] 4.1.4-8: *desine…circa lustra decem flectere mollibus / iam durum imperiis: abi / quo blandae iuuenum te revocant preces*.

[51] Fraenkel (1957) 415 citing *Epistles* 1.1.4.

[52] Withof's conjecture, *poena*, has been approved by some, and while it makes good sense here, it is entirely unnecessary. The poem does indeed imply that what will happen to Ligurinus is a "punishment" for his *superbia*; and yet *Odes* 1.25 is also clearly just as much a prediction of future punishment for a rejection in the present. Lydia's future "winter" is her *poena*, but Horace feels no need to spell it out in that poem. The same may be said for *plaga* (blow/misfortune). *ruga* (wrinkle) is also perhaps too explicit, but for rather different reasons.

or later become marked, as seasonal: Lydia's imagined future complaint casts her as a wreath of dried leaves the boys toss to the winter wind, Lyce is likened to a dry oak which Cupid flies right past, Ligurinus' once rosy face will turn into a bloomless, leafless briar. Moreover, in his use of adverbs and verb tenses Horace places these addressees into a time that moves. In this way Horace emphasizes the imminent loss to these figures, and suggests (openly in the case of 1.25 and 4.13, though implicitly in 4.10) the eventual replacement of the addressees by a younger generation.

Seasons in Similes: *Odes* 1.23 and 2.5

In the previous poems the force of the seasonal metaphor was applied directly to an individual and so quite clear. In other poems, however, Horace uses seasonal imagery in a subtler way by inserting it into similes and metaphors. As we will see, Horace embeds seasonal imagery in the source of the simile or metaphor, where its presence is either unnecessary or downright problematic, to imply something about the target. Because he does not explicitly apply this imagery to the target, this use is often overlooked.

Odes 1.23

Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe,
quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
matrem non sine vano
aurarum et silvae metu.

nam seu mobilibus veris[53] *inhorruit*
adventus foliis, seu virides rubum
dimovere lacertae,
et corde et genibus tremit.
atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo frangere persequor:
tandem desine matrem
tempestiva sequi viro.

You shun me like a fawn, Chloe,
seeking its worried mother in the pathless mountains
filled with the groundless fear
of the breezes and the wood.
For whenever the coming of spring sets
the moving leaves a-shudder, whenever green lizards
push aside the brambles,
it trembles in heart and knees.
But I am not chasing you to crush you,
like a violent tiger or a Gaetulian lion;
just stop following your mother:
you're ripe for a man.

[53] Here I differ from Shackleton Bailey. He follows Muretus and prints *vepris…ad ventum*, as does West (1995). *vepris* was also proposed by Gogau and Salmasius. Bentley favored this reading and argued at some length for it. Among those persuaded by Bentley are Brink (1985) 70-71, Nisbet (1986) 229, Delz (1988) 497 (though he prefers the paleographically easier *ad ventos* proposed by Keller). Among those in favor of the MSS reading are Lee (1965) 185-186, Baker (1971), Mankin (1988) 274, Renehan (1988) 320-324, Fredricksmeyer (1994); Edmunds (2011) 354. Nisbet (2002) proposes *veris…adflatus*. This is an interesting choice in that it defends *veris* and instead emends *adventus*. Nisbet, however, supports this reading by citing Pliny *NH* 15.13 (*non ante favonii adflatum*) who uses (here and elsewhere) *favonii adflatum* to mark the *arrival* of spring.

As Chloe is compared to a fawn, the terrified fawn is the source and Chloe the target and many details from the simile have their imagined analogue in the source: both fawn and Chloe are afraid, the fears of both are groundless, and so on. But why does Horace set his simile in the spring? It seems rather unnecessary. In fact, scholars have seen spring as problematic and argued against reading *veris* in line 5.[54] Porphyrio's text supports the reading of the MSS, and he defends *veris…adventus* as an example of hypallage: *est pro 'veris adventu folia enata inhorruerunt' id est: commota sunt ac tremuerunt*. ("the hypallage is standing in for 'the sprouted leaves have shivered at the approach of spring' that is: they are stirred up and have trembled").[55] Bentley, however, was troubled by the fact that leaves are not yet on the trees at the advent of spring, nor have lizards yet emerged from their winter hiding. He also felt the alternatives in lines 5-7—leaves rustling at the approach of spring and lizards parting the brambles—were absurd. Because of this Bentley proposed *vepris* for *veris* and *ad ventos* for *adventus*, and many scholars have followed suit.[56] N-H agree that the MSS reading involves the awkward coupling of an immediate cause for alarm (lizards moving in the bushes) with a more remote one (the coming of spring). But such couplings are not without parallel

[54] See the thorough discussion in N-H (1970) *ad loc*.
[55] Edmunds (2011) 354 is persuaded by Porphyrio's explanation.
[56] See note 53 above.

in Horace.[57] In any case the subtle mention of the season is entirely Horatian. Moreover, as Commager rightly notes, the emendation "ignores the Ode's controlling metaphor, which is a seasonal one."[58] As we have already seen, Horace repeatedly applies seasonal imagery to addressees directly in order to indicate their age or the point at which they transition out of the "season" for love. The whole point of this ode is that Chloe—whose very name suggests early spring[59]—is now ready for a man. Horace, as so often, emphasizes time's role in the first instance by calling Chloe *tempestiva*, a word which has its own strong ties to seasonality. Bentley's pedantic arguments about the leaves not yet being on the trees at the beginning of spring, the proper breeding time and habits of does, and when lizards begin to emerge from hibernation are quite beside the point.[60] Horace sets the simile in the spring—an unnecessary, and perhaps jarring, detail for the simile to be sure—to suggest that Chloe is at the advent of her own metaphorical "spring", and like the fawn, she is afraid of its advent. Chloe is of a type we frequently see in the *Odes*, like Lalage in *Odes* 2.5, or Lyde

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[57] Cf. e.g. 1.13.9-12: *uror, seu tibi candidos / turparunt umeros immodicae mero / rixae sive puer furens / impressit memorem dente labris notam* (I burn whenever quarrels, out of hand with wine, disfigure your white shoulders, or a passionate boy presses a reminding mark with his teeth on your lips). The first cause of bodily harm, *rixae*, is more remote than the second, *puer*.

[58] Commager (1962) 238.

[59] Lee (1965) 185; Ancona (1994) 72.

[60] As far as spring foliage goes, cf. *Odes* 4.7.1-2: *diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis arboribus comae* (the snows have fled, grass is returning to the fields, "hair" to the trees): *comae* hardly means "buds".

in *Odes* 3.11, all girls who are not quite, or only just, ready for sex.[61] She has now come to the age of erotic activity and it is precisely the fact that her own "spring" is arriving, or has already arrived, that makes Chloe *tempestiva*.[62] That she fears (even if we side with Horace that it is an empty fear (*vano…metu*; 3-4)) spring's arrival is in itself a nice touch; she is somehow aware of the frightening characteristics of Horatian time, and perhaps aware as well of what she is losing. The focus on transition and the relationship of that transition to time that *veris…adventus* brings out is critical to this ode and itself virtually guarantees the MSS reading. As we have seen, many odes focus on a transitional moment and that is what gives these poems their sense of urgency. Nisbet has recently proposed *veris…adflatus*,[63] which retains the reference to spring. *adflatus*,

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[61] On 2.5 see p. 62-75 below. While it does not contain seasonal imagery, in *Odes* 3.11.7-12 Horace is precise about the age of the mare to which Lyde is compared: *Lyde…quae uelut latis equa trima campis / ludit exultim metuitque tangi, / nuptiarum expers et adhuc proteruo / cruda marito* (Lyde, you who, like a three-year-old mare plays exultantly in the wide fields and fears to be touched, having no experience of weddings and still unripe for a headstong husband). Lyde's situation here is precisely the same as Chloe's. It is no accident that, according to Varro, mares began to mate at the age of three, *DRR* 2.7.1: *horum equorum et equarum greges qui habere voluerunt…primum spectare oportet aetatem, quam praecipiunt sic. Videmus ne sint minores trimae, maiores decem annorum* (those who want to have a herd of horses ought first to see to the age that people recommend. We see to it that they are not less than three years old and no more than ten).

[62] This move is similar to West's "unilateral correspondences" in similes in the *Aeneid*, where a detail embedded in the simile is to be supplied also in the narrative (West [1969] 41-42). Mankin (1988) 274 has it right: "[Shackleton Bailey] joins a distinguished but misguided company (Bentley, Mueller, Brink) in failing to realize that *veris. ..adventus* moves outside of the metaphor to suggest Chloe's fear of reaching maturity." Renehan (1988) 320-324 vigorously defends the MSS reading and rightly notes that *veris…adventus* can mean (as Bentley *et al.* have clearly taken it) *primum ver,* the very beginning of spring (as opposed to later stages of the same season); but it can also (and often does) mean simply springtime (i.e. any point in spring as opposed to the preceding winter). Horace's "spring poems" (on which see p. 99-125 below) seem clearly not set right at the beginning of spring, and yet no one, I think, would doubt that they take as their occasion the *adventus veris*.

[63] See note 53 above.

however, is unattested with a noun such as *ver*, while the the phrase *adventus veris* is paralleled in Columella.[64] If wind is what we want, and we surely do (*non sine vano / aurarum…metu*; 5-6), I think, *pace* N-H, that *adventus veris*, particularly in the context of rustling leaves (*inhorruit foliis*), would immediately suggest *adventus Favonii*. The advent of spring is always marked by the advent of the Zephyr.[65] *adventus* nicely hints at the transitional moment that Chloe has entered; *adflatus* misses the point and destroys this fundamental emphasis on transition, both seasonal and sexual.

Odes 2.5

Nondum subacta ferre iugum valet
cervice, nondum munia comparis
aequare nec tauri ruentis
in venerem tolerare pondus.
circa virentis 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 autumnus racemos
purpureo varius colore;
iam te sequetur (currit enim ferox

[64] 10.80: *veris et adventum nidis cantabit hirundo*.
[65] No one can read Varro or Columella without noting the simultaneity of advent of spring and the advent of the Zephyr. Cf. Horace, *Odes* 1.4.1: *solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favonii* (bitter winter is dissolving with the pleasing turn of spring and the Zephyr).

aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit
adponet annos) iam proterva
fronte petet Lalage maritum,
dilecta, quantum non Pholoe fugax,
non Chloris albo sic umero nitens
ut pura nocturno renidet
luna mari Cnidiusve Gyges,
quem si puellarum insereres choro,
mire sagacis falleret hospites
discrimen obscurum solutis
crinibus ambiguoque voltu.

Not yet does she have the strength to bear the yoke
with conquered neck, not yet strong enough to match
the duties of a yoke-mate, nor to endure the weight
of a bull charging into sex.
The mind of your heifer is all concerned with the green
fields, now easing the heavy heat in the streams
now quite eager to frolick amid the moist
willows in the company of calves.
Put an end to your desire for the unripe
grape: soon autumn, variegated
in purple hue, will mark out the deep
blue clusters for you.
Soon she will follow you (for defiant time
runs on and the years it will have taken from you
it will give to her) soon with a forward demeanor
Lalage will seek a husband,

she, loved as much as hard-to-get Pholoe is not,
as much as Chloris is not, radiant though she is
with her white shoulders, like a full moon
beaming on the sea at night, or Cnidian Gyges;
if you were to put him into a chorus of young girls,
the difference would escape the notice of strangers,
amazingly perceptive though they be, with his hair let
down and his ambiguous features.

Equally subtle is *Odes* 2.5. The poem has suffered for several reasons, most notably for what some see as Horace's vivid and visceral crudeness in his description of Lalage as a young cow. There is also the question of addressee, with some arguing for an unnamed addressee, others for an internal soliloquy.[66] For my part, I incline toward the latter view, but this particular issue is, as Sutherland rightly puts it, a red herring.[67] It matters little to the interpretation of the poem as a whole whom Horace addresses here (especially if, as is universally accepted, both Horace and his addressee are past their prime), and makes no difference whatsoever to what Horace is saying. But what is Horace saying? As is often pointed out, in its imagery the poem owes something to Anacreon 72 P.[68] But as Macleod notes, in its structure, it resembles two Hellenistic

[66] Scholars in favor of self-address: K-H (1960), N-H (1978), Macleod (1979b) 96, Jones (1983) 34 ("for convenience"), Ancona (1991). Those in favor of an unnamed addressee: Jocelyn (1980), Quinn (1980), Sutherland (1997), West (1998).
[67] Sutherland (1997) 25. This charge is removed from the 2005 version.
[68] See N-H (1978) on this poem.

epigrams, one by Philodemus (*AP* 5.124) and one by Asclepiades (*AP* 12.162). Though he alters his view in the end, Macleod initially states that the latter poem is the more similar to our poem because both poets seem to be waiting for a future time when the lover will be mature and "they can begin their courtship and lead it to success."[69] This is a feeling shared by many critics. One assumption behind this view is that we are meant to supply a second-person pronoun in lines 15-16: *iam (te) proterva* / *fronte petet Lalage maritum*, soon she will seek *you* as her husband. N-H feel that this is necessary to maintain the balance of the tricolon (*iam tibi* 10, *iam te* 13). Perhaps; but the triple anaphora of *iam* and the three verbs in the future tense are certainly enough to establish a balanced tricolon, a fact that makes the absence of *te* all the more conspicuous. The notion that the two will end up happily married has been rightly challenged. In fact, the relationship between Horace and Lalage is doomed from the start, and it is doomed by time. To understand why, we may begin by exploring a bit more the structure of Philodemus' poem:

οὔπω σοι καλύκων γυμνὸν θέρος, οὐδὲ μελαίνει
βότρυς ὁ παρθενίους πρωτοβολῶν χάριτας.
ἀλλ' ἤδη θοὰ τόξα νέοι θήγουσιν Ἔρωτες,
Λυσιδίκη, καὶ πῦρ τύφεται ἐγκρύφιον.
φεύγωμεν, δυσέρωτες, ἕως βέλος οὐκ ἐπὶ νευρῇ·
μάντις ἐγὼ μεγάλης αὐτίκα πυρκαϊῆς.

[69] Macleod (1979b) 99.

Not yet is your crop bare of its husks, nor is the grape cluster
darkened and shooting forth its first virginal charms.
But already the young Erotes are sharpening their swift arrows,
Lysidike, and a fire smoulders hidden in the ash.
Let us flee, ill-starred lovers, while the missile is not yet on the string.
I am the prophet of a great fire coming presently.

Both this poem and *Odes* 2.5 begin with the same word. In her discussion of *Odes* 2.5 Ancona noted that *nondum* points in two directions: it refers to the situation of the present, but it also looks decidedly to the future.[70] "Not yet" speaks to a present state, but holds out the possibility—or inevitability—of a change sometime in the future. Thus, as we saw in 1.25, the temporal adverb here locates Lalage between two points: a time when she is not sundued and not strong enough and the time (readily implied by *nondum*) when she will be subdued and strong enough. Thus the two-fold glance of *nondum* naturally indicates a temporal progression, and places Lalage at a transitional moment, and therefore into a time that is moving. And the rest of the poem illustrates this progression with the movement from the repeated *nunc…nunc* (6, 7) to the repeated *iam…iam…iam* (10, 13, 15) and the corresponding shift to the future tense (*distinguet* 11; *sequetur* 13; *apponet* 15; *petet* 16). The same is true of course with οὔπω in Philodemus' poem, where the temporal progression comes through in the Erotes sharpening their arrows, and the poet's prediction of an imminent fire.

[70] Ancona (1994) 32, following K-H (1960).

But Horace's ode shares more with this poem then simply its first word (*nondum* = οὔπω); it also borrows the image of an unripe grape (though soon to be ripened) applied to a young prepubescent girl.[71] Moreover, Philodemus' exhortation to flee while there is still time finds its analogue in Horace's advice to cease desiring the unripe grape (*tolle cupidinem* / *immitis uvae* 9-10). Each poem also envisions the girl's future desirability. For Philodemus, it comes in his prophecy of the great fire to come, but is also readily felt in the image of the Erotes whetting their arrows and arrow not yet fitted to the bow string (it soon will be). In Horace's poem, we get a vision of Lalage's desirability in lines 16-24 where she is compared favorably with three other obviously desirable figures. The allusion to Catullus should be felt,[72] but I think Porphyrio is correct that *dilecta* should be taken to apply to anyone; everyone will desire Lalage, not only Horace.[73] In this Horace's prophecy resembles that of Antiphilus (*AP* 5.111.1-4) more than Philodemus:

> Εἶπον ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν, ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι φίλτρα Τερείνης
> νήπια· "Συμφλέξει <u>πάντας</u> ἀεξομένη."
> οἱ δ' ἐγέλων τὸν μάντιν. ἴδ', ὁ χρόνος, ὅν ποτ' ἐφώνουν,
> οὗτος·
> Even before, when the charms of Tereine were yet those of a child,
> I said, "She'll set us all aflame when she grows up."

[71] The emphasis in each on color as a sign for ripeness is striking.
[72] *dilecta quantum non*, cf. Catullus 8.5: *amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla* ([Lesbia] loved by us as much as no girl will be); so also 37.12 and 87.1-2.
[73] *dilecta generaliter accipe: a quocumque qui eam viderit dilecta* (take "*dilecta*" generally: loved by whoever will have seen her). Cf. Ps-Acro: *dilecta: amabilis omnibus* (*dilecta*: "attractive to all").

They used to laugh at their prophet. But look, this is the time
about which I spoke before;

Horace's poem shares much with Philodemus' both in imagery and in structure; but it also, I think, shares the notion that the relationship will be ill-fated. Philodemus explicitly says as much; for it is not so much the fire he fears, but that he knows that he and the girl will be δυσέρωτες. The sense here is not, as some take it, "obsessive in love". The word may well indicate an obsessive love, but it also implies, as it often does, that the object of Philodemus' love is in some way unattainable.[74] One possible reason for this may be the poet's age; like Horace, Philodemus tends to portray himself in his erotic epigrams as an aging man.[75] In this poem, his age might well be suggested by the fire smoldering in the ash (πῦρ τύφεται ἐγκρύφιον, 4).[76] Be that as it may,

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[74] See Sider (1997) *ad loc.* He follows Barrett on *Hippolytus* 191-197. For a discussion of the word used of unattainability of the object desire in question, see Williams (1969) 122-123.

[75] See Sider 4, 5, 6, 19.

[76] Cf. Sider 4.6: καὶ πῦρ ἀπλήστῳ τύφετ' ἐνὶ κραδίῃ (a fire smoulders in my heart). There the poet is explicit about his age: Ἑπτὰ τριηκόντεσσιν ἐπέρχονται λυκάβαντες, / ἤδη μοι βιότου σχιζόμεναι σελίδες· / ἤδη καὶ λευκαί με κατασπείρουσιν ἔθειραι (1-3) (Seven years are coming upon thirty, already the papyrus columns of my life are torn away; already too white hairs are scattered over me). ἐγκρύφιον and related words are often connected to embers and ash. See LSJ s.v. ἐγκρύπτω; ἐγκρυφίας (cited by Sider *ad loc.* of loaves baked amid the ashes); ἐγκρύψις. Ashes are an oft-used metaphor for a person too old for love. Cf. *AP* 12.41: οὐκέτι μοι Θήρων γράφεται καλὸς, οὐδ' ὁ πυραυγὴς / πρίν ποτε, νῦν δ' ἤδη δαλὸς Ἀπολλόδοτος. / στέργω θῆλυν ἔρωτα· δασυτρώγλων δὲ πίεσμα / λασταύρων μελέτω ποιμέσιν αἰγοβάταις (No longer is Thero written as fair in my eyes, nor Apollodotus, fire-bright before, but now a burnt-out torch. I'm content with a female love; let pressing on hairy-assholed fuckboys be a care for goat-mounting herds). *AP* 12.48: Κεῖμαι· λὰξ ἐπίβαινε κατ' αὐχένος, ἄγριε δαῖμον. / οἶδά σε, ναὶ μὰ θεούς, καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρειν· / οἶδα καὶ ἔμπυρα τόξα. βαλὼν δ' ἐπ' ἐμὴν φρένα πυρσούς, / οὐ φλέξεις ἤδη· πᾶσα γάρ ἐστι τέφρη (I'm done; trod on my neck with your foot, fierce god. I know you, yes by god, and that you're heavy to bear; I even know your fiery arrows. Though you cast your torches upon my heart, you will no longer burn it, for it is completely ash). Cf. also Horace *Odes* 4.13.24-28: [sc. *fata*] *servatura diu parem / cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen / possent ut iuvenes visere fervidi / … / dilapsam in cineres facem*.

Philodemus seems here a prophet not only of Tereine's forthcoming beauty, but also the fact that, for all her future desirability, he will not find success. Where Philodemus is explicit that he and Tereine are δυσέρωτες, and not explicit about the reason, Horace is (more or less) explicit about his age, but not that he and Lalage are δυσέρωτες. Horace also, in a way that Philodemus does not, emphasizes time's role in Lalage's maturation and change; the poet does not simply indicate this with the mere change between "now" and "soon", but explicitly makes time the agent of the change, both within and outside of his metaphor (*iam…*<u>*distinguet*</u> <u>*autumnus*</u>*…*10-12; <u>*currit*</u> *enim ferox /* <u>*aetas*</u>*…et…*<u>*apponet*</u> 13-15). Lines 9-16 deserve a closer look, as they are often misunderstood:

tolle cupidinem
immitis uvae. iam tibi lividos
distinguet autumnus racemos
purpureo varius colore,
iam te sequetur; currit enim ferox
aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit
apponet annos. iam proterva
fronte petet Lalage maritum

Crucially, Horace introduces time's role together with the rather remarkable introduction of a second metaphor; hitherto Lalage has been pictured as a heifer, not yet

ready for the bull, now Horace compares her to an unripe grape.[77] The grape metaphor has a long history,[78] but Horace adds something not found in any extant example: the season in which the fruit ripens. In this way, the grape metaphor becomes a seasonal metaphor. Horace complicates the traditionally simple juxtaposition between unripe and ripe, immature and mature, by including the time involved in this process: the grape is not yet ripe, but autumn, a seasonal change, will make it so. Switching from heifer to grape metaphor thus allows Horace to incorporate seasonal time into this poem, and this happens precisely in a passage metaphorically describing Lalage's future change.

We should note also that the tricolon links three statements, all of which are thus equivalent: *iam…autumnus distiguet racemos*, *iam te sequetur*, *iam petet Lalage*. The first and third items are clear enough; soon the grape will ripen, soon Lalage will be ready

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[77] West (1998) 36 calls it "astonishing". Sutherland (2005) 123 calls it "abrupt, even awkward." N-H (1978) *ad loc* conclude on the basis of *Odes* 3.11.11, Catullus 17.14-16: *cui cum sit viridissimo nupta flore puella / et puella tenellulo delicatior haedo, / adservanda nigerrimis diligentius uvis* (Though he has a young wife in the greenest flower of youth, more delicate than a dainty little goat, a wife to be guarded more diligently than the bluest of grapes) and Theocritus 11.19-21: Ὦ λευκὰ Γαλάτεια, τί τὸν φιλέοντ' ἀποβάλλῃ, / λευκοτέρα πακτᾶς ποτιδεῖν, ἁπαλωτέρα ἀρνός, / μόσχω γαυροτέρα, φιαρωτέρα ὄμφακος ὠμᾶς (O fair Galatea, why do you reject one who loves you, you whiter than goat cheese to look upon, softer than a lamb, more skittish than a calf, more bright than an unripe grape?) that the switch from animal to grape metaphor was traditional. Maybe so; but *Odes* 3.11.11 has only the slightest hint at a grape metaphor (*cruda*), and the other two parallels are lists of descriptions involving comparisons. Horace has been employing a bovine metaphor for two whole stanzas, and suddenly shifts the metphor for one stanza, only to return once again to the bovine metaphor. This seems to me altogether different. A. J. Woodman, however, draws my attention to *Epodes* 6, where Horace likens himself in the first part (1-10) to a hound, then (11-12) to a bull. The shifting imagery there is no less surprising and has been much discussed; see Watson (2003) 253.

[78] Alcaeus 119 L-P, Philodemus *AP* 5.124 (quoted above); Honestus *AP* 5.20. See also N-H (1978) on line 10.

for a man. But what are we to make of *iam te sequetur*? Because of its inclusion in the tricolon it must happen at the same time as the other two actions, Lalage's maturation and her change in behavior. Traditionally this has been taken as a clear allusion to Sappho 1.21: καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει (and if he flees, soon he will pursue). On the surface, *iam te sequetur* looks like a fair translation of ταχέως διώξει, but is it? *sequetur* can mean "pursue", but unlike Sappho's διώξει, it can also mean "to follow", i.e. "to come after/later".[79] As we shall see, though some ambiguity may be intentional, this must be the sense here; for Horace follows this with an explanation signaled by *enim*: *currit <u>enim</u> ferox / aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit / apponet annos* (13-15). These lines give the grounds for which Horace makes the claim *iam te sequetur*, and therefore they also help to guarantee that the word means "come after" here. But precisely what Horace means to say with these lines has proved problematic to understand.

> The consolation we expect would be that in twelve months the girl will be a year older. If any comparison were to be made, we would expect to hear that they will each be older, but the year will make more difference to the girl than to the mature man. This is strikingly not what Horace says. On the face of it what he does say is false, 'Time will give her the years it takes away from you', thus making you younger.

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[79] Ancona (1994) 34. Cf. also Reckford (1959a) 28 and Boyle (1973) 180. Cf. Seneca *EM* 77.13, speaking of death where the verb carries, as here, both senses (i.e. follow you to where you are going, and follow you in time): *quantus te populus moriturorum <u>sequetur</u>, quantus comitabitur!* (How great a multitude will follow along after you, how great a multitude will go with you!).

> We cannot entertain this nonsense and are therefore driven to the only possible sense, that every year added to the girl's tally will take a year away from the tally of years that the man *will* live.[80]

West's emphasis on the number of years ("every year added") almost shades into reading *quot…annos*, an emendation Bentley considered; but *quos…annos* has a qualitative feel which is absent from any reading that strictly emphasizes numerical amount. As Porphyrio saw rightly, there is a richer sense to *annos* here: *annos hic pro viribus et flore aetatis. Sic enim se habet sensus: Quantum tibi vergente iam iuventate virium decesserit, tantum illi nunc cum maxime florescente accedet* (Read *annos* here as standing in for strength and the flower of youth. The sense is as follows: as much strength will accrue to the one who is just now blooming as will have left you, your youth now reaching its end). This makes sense of what Horace has written. True, *apponere* and *demere* are terms used in accounting; this may imply some indication of numerical reckoning going on; the emphasis, however, is not strictly on the number of years, but rather what the transfer of years means.[81] West is certainly correct that every year added to Lalage's tally detracts from the years that Horace will live, but that is not Horace's main concern here, nor is it what he says. In any case the same is true of the girl as well: every year added to her tally is also one less year she herself will live. It

[80] West (1998) 37-38.
[81] Why, we might ask, did Horace not write *quot*?

might be said that the poet seems to reckon in two different directions: the years subtracted (*demere*) are seen from the point of view of the man's death, whereas those same years are added (*apponere*) and viewed from the point of view of the girl's birth; the girl will be less young, while the man will have less time to live.[82] This is a rather strange way to reckon; if proximity to death is Horace's chief point, it remains true that, since that the girl will be less young, she will also, like the man, have less time to live. What seems clear is that Horace wants to portray his temporal losses as somehow a gain to Lalage. The only sense in which the years can be understood as a loss to the one and a gain to the other is if they refer, as Porphyrio saw, to Horace's movement out of, and Lalage's movement into, the "season of eroticism". There may indeed be a "reminder of age and death",[83] but *dempserit* does not indicate primarily the subtraction of years from Horace's *total* (though this may well be implied secondarily through the general notion of subtraction); rather it refers to the loss of a period of Horace's life, a

[82] I owe this observation to A. J. Woodman.
[83] West (1998) 38.

period that will simultaneously be gained by Lalage.[84] Horace has in mind an exchange here; the period in which he now finds himself, will come to the girl as well, but only when it has come to an end for him. Lalage will not likely pursue Horace; but she will certainly follow him in time (*iam te sequetur*).

Now we can grasp the reason for and the significance of Horace's jarring shift from heifer metaphor to the grape metaphor. As I said above, Horace includes—uniquely—a seasonal reference in his grape metaphor, thereby allowing him to incorporate seasonal time into his poem. Since the presence of *autumnus* in the grape metaphor is quite an unnecessary detail to include—everyone knows grapes ripen in autumn—it is tempting to see here the same phenomenon we observed in *Odes* 1.23,

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[84] This point seems to me to argue in favor of Cruquius' and Wakefield's transposition of *fugax* and *ferox*, approved by Housman (I.143) and Brink (1971) 22. Time, moving away from Horace, will bring the youth it takes from him to Lalage. I do not understand the comment by N-H (1978) 87: "Horace is emphasizing what the years will bring Lalage, not what they will take away from himself." This seems plainly wrong. The point raised by Woodman (1981) 163, that *fugax* and *currit* are tautologous, is, strictly speaking, untrue (*currit* speaks to the swiftness of time's movement, *fugax* to its direction; see chapter 1). In any case a similar tautology is used by Horace most notably at 2.14.2: *fugaces labuntur anni*. Orelli tried to have it both ways, glossing *ferox* as, "*indomita intractabilis illa aetas, qua puellae viros fugere solent*" (that untamed, intractable age when girls are accustomed to flee from men). As N-H (1978) rightly point out, however, *aetas* cannot refer here to a "period of life", hers or his. But Orelli's confusion highlights the fact that *ferox aetas* is ambiguous; it can of course mean "defiant time", but as a phrase it might more readily suggest "the time of life characterized by *ferocitas*", so adolescence. For *aetas* in this sense see *OLD* 2. For *ferocitas* as especially characteristic of adolescence, cf. Cicero *de Senectute* 33.15: *suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum, et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis…* (to each part of an age is given its own seasonable quality: the weakness of boys, the *ferocitas* of youth, the seriousness of the settled age); see Powell (1988) *ad loc.* for bibliography on the stages of life; Sallust *BC* 38.1: *homines adulescentes…quibus aetas animusque ferox erat* (adolescent men whose age and spirit were *ferox*); Livy 3.70.10: *ibi Agrippa, aetate viribusque ferox* (then Agrippa, *ferox* in age and strength); 6.23.3; 10.28.6; 28.21.9; Tacitus *Histories*. 4.68.17. Transposing *fugax* and *ferox* does away with this ambiguity. Housman notes the similarity of Pholoe *aspera* (*Odes* 1.33.7) and Pholoe *ferox*. Curiously, N-H, in their note on *Pholoe fugax*, also point to the reluctant Pholoe in 1.33, but surely *aspera* (and *ferox*) refer to a different kind of reluctance than *fugax*.

where the mention of spring, again unnecessary in the simile, looked outward metaphorically to Chloe herself. In this case, the mention of autumn looks outward to Horace. The poet and Lalage are in different "seasons" of their lives, a point which becomes increasingly clear as the reader progresses through the poem. This is what makes them, like Philodemus and Tereine, δυσέρωτες. Lalage's sexual ripeness will come at the expense of Horace's own; she will be ready for a man when autumn comes to Horace.[85] They will never be ripe together.

Season as Setting I: *Odes* 1.9 and 3.17

Horace often employs seasonal and other temporal markers to indicate the temporal setting of several odes. Seasons, holidays, anniversaries, and particular dates serve as an indication of a poem's purported occasion. As we shall see, however, they do much more than that; like placing a seasonal reference inside a simile (rather than applying seasonal imagery directly to an individual), this too is a subtle way to bring temporality into a poem. For the sake of unity, I will focus my attention here on seasonal poems. The so-called "spring odes" are a classic example of poems with a seasonal setting and I shall discuss them separately below. Before turning to them, I will first consider how the seasonal setting affects *Odes* 1.9 and 3.17.

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[85] One might object that autumn is not so somber in the eyes of Greeks and Romans as it is for us (see Günther (2013) 344-345). Autumn in the Mediterranean is warm, fruitful, and quite pleasant indeed. True enough; but Horace knew quite well that winter follows autumn, and makes much use of this transitional quality of autumn elsewhere in his poetry; see p. 94-99 below on *Odes* 3.17.

Odes 1.9

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
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 fervido
deproeliantis, nec cupressi
nec veteres agitantur orni.
quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et
quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
adpone, nec dulcis amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas,
donec virenti canities abest
morosa. nunc et Campus et areae
lenesque sub noctem susurri
composita repetantur hora,
nunc et latentis proditor intumo
gratus puellae risus ab angulo
pignusque dereptum lacertis
aut digito male pertinaci.

Do you see how Soracte stands white with snow on its summit,

how the woods no longer hold up their burden,
    though they labor, and how the rivers stand
    stuck with sharp ice?
Thaw the cold, lavishly placing wood on the hearth
and pour out more generously, Thaliarchus,
    the unmixed wine, four-year-old vintage,
    From the Sabine jug.
Leave the rest to the gods; as soon as they have laid low
the winds battling it out on the stirred up sea,
    neither the cypresses, nor the aged
    ash trees are shaken.
Stop asking what tomorrow will be
and whatever days Fortune will grant you
    mark down as profit, and you, while a young man,
    spurn neither sweet loves nor choruses,
 while devouring white hair is absent from you in your
youth. Now, at the quiet hour, as night approaches,
    let the Campus and the parks
    and the gentle whispers be remembered;[86]
now too the welcome giggle from an inner
nook, revealing the girl hiding there,
    and the pledge snatched from an upper arm
     or a hardly-resistant finger.

[86] See p. 90-94 below for an explanation for my translation here.

Besides the "spring odes", *Odes* 1.9, the Soracte Ode, is perhaps the most obvious example of a poem set at a particular season. In the last century it has seen a veritable barrage of treatments, and although my principal aim in this section will be to consider the role of the seasonal setting, it is necessary to clear up some of the difficulties posed by this poem along the way. Critics of the poem generally fall into two camps: those who read the setting literally, and those who read it symbolically. The question of whether or not Horace could have actually seen Mt. Soracte from Rome, his Sabine farm, or some other countryside location is irrelevant to any understanding of the poem *qua* poem.[87] Scholars agree at least that the presence of snow on the mountains is a seasonal reference, though precisely which season Horace intends has been a matter for some debate, with most arguing for a winter setting, some for a spring setting,[88] others still for a seasonal progression (winter to summer);[89] Clay has made a case for an autumnal setting.[90] Those arguing for a season other than winter do so in an attempt to fix what has been the main stumbling block for critics, as Fraenkel put it: "*nunc et campus et areae* and what follows suggest a season wholly different from the severe winter at the beginning."[91] His reaction is the literalist's reaction, and those who argue

[87] This does not mean that the question is not worth asking; merely that its answer has no bearing on what the poem says, does, or means.
[88] MacKay (1977).
[89] Campbell (1924), Cunningham (1957), Sullivan (1963).
[90] Clay (1989).
[91] Fraenkel (1957) 177.

for a change in season implicitly follow this line of reasoning, trying each in their own way to bring the temporal setting of the beginning in line with the implied temporal setting in the final stanzas. Wilkinson attempted to solve this problem by reading the opening scene as "a fiction symbolic of old age".[92] The reasoning behind this approach seems to imply that the setting of the poem is a purely symbolic one, and so no real tension arises between the implied seasons of the first and last stanzas. Moreover, as scholars have since noted, the *nunc* in lines 17 and 20, need not refer to the precise moment of the speaker's utterance, but rather to Thaliarchus' time of life: now (i.e. when you are young). The ode's point is nicely summed up in the juxtaposition in line 16 of *virenti* and *canities*, youth and old age, or more specifically, greenness of youth and white hair. The fact that *candidum* (1) is cognate with *canities* has suggested a link between the old age, which is still far from Thaliarchus, and snowy Soracte. In general I incline toward this view, and in one form or another it seems, thankfully, to have won

[92] Wilkinson (1945) 130.

the day.[93] That said, there are problems with both approaches: the symbolist reading tends to downplay the setting of the poem and the natural reading of *nunc* in lines 17 and 20, while the literalists seem strangely unwilling to accept some wider implication to the winter setting.

It may be that symbol is the wrong term; at their worst poetic use of symbols can often be ham-fisted and Horace is more subtle than that; and reading symbolically can often lead to the most outlandish claims.[94] Mt. Soracte is not simply a symbol of old age—at least not in the sense that when Horace describes the snowy mountain we

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[93] Cf. Nisbet (1995) 415: "Twenty-five years ago…I was far from clear that the mountain conveyed hints of old age. […] Now I have changed my mind." I remain baffled that this was ever at issue. Curiously, many scholars who profess to reject the symbolic interpretation seem to sneak it in the back door: So Moritz (1976) 175: "[I]t is no breach of poetic unity to use a playful city spring scene full of movement, dominated by the recollection of the still counrtyside of wintery Soracte, as a universally significant poetic picture of the joys of youth made poignant by the reflection that every day in our lives may be the last and that the only certainty about our human future…is *the winter of old age that knows no spring*" (emphasis mine). Where does this metaphoric winter come from if not from the snowy mountain (which is not to be taken as a symbol of old age)? Connor (1988) 108: "Although with Pöschl I have opposed the symbolist interpretation as such, it remains to be explored what symbolism is deployed by the speaker of the poem." Even Pöschl (1991), despite strenuously arguing against such interpretations, falls prey: "In der Soracteode…ist der Winter wirklich Winter, die Stürm aber Gleichnis für die Widrigkeiten des Lebens." (36) Surely the difference here between Sinnbild and Gleichnis is not great. Other scholars, who reject symbolism here, are happy to find it elsewhere in Horace. So, e.g., West (1967) 114 sees no symbol here, but readily says of 1.7.5-7 (*sunt quibus unum opus est intactae Palladis urbem / carmine perpetuo celebrare et / undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam* (there are those for whom the only work is to celebrate the city of virginial Pallas with perpetual song and the place upon their brow the olive plucked from all over)) that *olivam* = Attic myths and *undique* = in the obscurest of Attic writers.

[94] Cf. Striar (1989) 207, to whose approach, in general, I am sympathetic: "I propose that *onus* has the capacity to suggest not only snow but also leaves and/or ripening, immature fruit.... *Nec iam* (2) is very important here, for though it is not inconsistent with the traditional interpretation of snow, it suggests also that the leaves or fruit (youth) are the burden and that the coming of winter (age) has relieved the branches of that burden." That *onus* might suggest leaves or fruit is an interesting idea, and one perhaps worth consideration, but the further point that old age relieves the burden of youth is in no way supported by the poem, nor is it an idea one finds in Horace.

understand old age generally or specifically an aging Horace instead.[95] After all, it is winter outside.[96] At the same time, however, it will not do to say that this seasonal setting has no bearing on the poem as a whole. Horace tends to use winter and winter imagery in a way that emphasizes its terminal role in the year.[97] In these cases the purpose is to juxtapose natural, cyclical time with an individual's lifetime. In the odes we have seen thus far, Horace has often used this seasonal imagery in erotic contexts to demarcate what Ancona has termed a "season of eroticism".[98] His use of spring and autumn/winter imagery often juxtaposes not simply youth and old age, but the time during which one can persue amatory relations and the time during which one cannot.[99] *Odes* 1.9 concerns itself with the juxtaposition of youth and old age, and what one should and should not do, *while one is still young* (*donec virenti canities abest* / *morosa*; 16-17), the implication being that these activities will cease when one is no longer *virens*. The wintry setting, then, makes excellent sense since it is opposed to the springtime

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[95] West (1967).

[96] Rudd (1960) 387 had it right: "The winter scene remains as real as ever, but it has taken on symbolic overtones."

[97] To be sure, winter marked the end of the year for all Romans. As Dehon (1993) 151-152 points out, however, Horace seems more predisposed to see winter as an end; after all, his birthday fell in December. So the ending of the calendar year also poignantly marks an end to his own year. Cf. *Epodes* 11.5-6: *hic tertius December, ex quo destiti* / *Inachia furere, silvis honorem decutit* (this, the third December since I stopped raging for Inachia has shaken the dignity from the woods) where the specificity of reckoning time from December emphasizes that it has been two *complete* years. For a thorough discussion of Horace's use of winter in general see Dehon (1993) 94-165. See also below on 1.4 and 4.7.

[98] Ancona (1994) 61.

[99] One's age and one's erotic season are of course interrelated. *canities* is not a seasonal metaphor, but nevertheless, the juxtaposition *virenti canities*, participates in the same structure as those we have already seen (*virens hedera* / *aridas frondes*; *virenti Chiae* / *aridas quercus*, *capitis nives*; *rosa* / *hispida facies* (*or frutices*)).

implications inherent in *virenti* and is itself suggestive of ending. In this way, the seasonal setting of the odes takes on greater significance. The same may also be said of the winter setting of *Odes* 1.11.[100] As winter marks the *finis* of the year, it is thus no accident that Leuconoe's thoughts should be on endings: *tu ne quaesieris…quem mihi, quem tibi* / *finem di dederint* (do not ask what end the gods have given to me, what end they have given to you; 1-2). In 1.9, the appearance of snow on the mountain indicates the poem's temporal setting, but it also plays an important role in the poem's overall engagement with time and temporality.

permitte divis cetera, qui simul
stravere ventos aequore fervido
deproeliantis, nec cupressi
nec veteres agitantur orni. 9-12

This stanza has proved a stumbling block. The reference to storms here has led many to imply that the weather outside is stormy, though Horace has given no such indication. On the contrary, the image of the snowy mountain seems altogether motionless.[101] Some, acknowledging the lack of motion in the winter scene, look to the perfect tense of

[100] The winter setting is guaranteed by lines 4-6: *Seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,* / *quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare* / *Tyrrhenum* (whether Jupiter has granted you more winters or whether the one which now weakens the Tyrrhenian sea with opposing rocks). Even here Horace's use of the verb *debilito*—an odd choice to describe what a winter storm does to a body of water—seems to hint at a relationship between winter and old age. Cf. *Aeneid* 9.610-611: *nec tarda senectus* / *debilitat viris animi mutatque vigorem* (nor does slow old age weaken our strength of spirit and change our vigor). Numanus' boastful words are clearly a reversal of the norm: old age is normally debilitating, but not for his own hardy countrymen.

[101] Cf. N-H (1970) 117: "Horace implies, even if he does not state, that a storm is raging (9 n.); this is inconsistant with the clear, cold day at the beginning of the poem."

stravere and claim that the storm outside has already passed.[102] Campbell and Cunningham see in Horace's sudden insertion of a storm a signal that the poet is progressing temporally in his mind; the reference to storms becomes for them a reference to spring. But West reminds us that *simul* with the perfect tense verb and a present tense verb in the main clause expresses a general law in Latin, not a description:

> Horace says sententiously, 'When winds stop blowing, trees stop shaking', meaning of course that unpleasant things do not last forever. This could be said of a plague of locusts or a broken ankle or a professor with tenure. It does not mean that the wind is blowing.[103]

West rightly insists that Horace expounds a general law here, but he is mistaken about what that law means. N-H sense the difficulty, but ultimately take the third stanza as West does:

> Horace's advice to Thaliarchus also contains some confusion. First of all he seems to imply 'The storm will blow over soon, and with it our troubles' (9 n.). However, in the last three stanzas he advises: 'Enjoy yourself while you can; you will not always be able to'. He has included two themes of Greek poetic moralizing which on close inspection seem inconsistent.[104]

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[102] Quinn (1980), Clay (1989).
[103] West (1995) 42. So too Rudd (1960) 388; Pöschl (1991) 33; Mayer (2012) 112-113.
[104] N-H (1970) 117.

In fact, Horace has only included the latter theme. The desire to see in these lines a reference to a real storm no doubt arises from Alcaeus 338 V. (seen by most as Horace's chief model for this poem) where there is a storm outside.[105] The tendency to use *Epodes* 13 (which is much closer to the Alcaeus fragment in sense if not in language) as a guide perhaps causes similar problems.[106] These poems advocate drinking in the face of bad weather, a point explicitly made at the beginning of each. In each poem the weather seems to be (though this is debated) symbolic, or at least suggestive of, some other external or otherwise internal disturbance.[107] In the epode Horace equates storm and troubles stating that they both may blow over: *cetera mitte loqui: deus haec fortasse benigna / reducet in sedem vice* (leave off speaking of the rest: a god will perhaps, with a kindly turn, return these things to their proper place; 7-8). Although Horace appears hesitant here (*fortasse*), the idea that "the storm [may] blow over and with it our troubles" is very much present in this poem. In *Odes* 1.9, by contrast, *there is no storm*. Horace gives no indication of bad weather; he simply describes a cold and altogether motionless winter. Moreover, though one could imply mental disturbance on Horace's (or Thaliarchus') part, he nowhere mentions it.[108]

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[105] Lines 1-2: ὗει μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἐκ δ' ὀρανῶ μέγας / χειμών. (Zeus rains down, and I see a great storm)
[106] So N-H (1970) *ad loc.* enlist the epode as support for Horace's mention of the storm. Pöschl (1991) 36.
[107] Pöschl (1991) 36. For a discussion of this poem, see ch. 3 below, p. 173-190.
[108] So Pöschl (1991) 36. See above, n. 93.

An important facet of this ode often overlooked in discussions of this stanza is the poem's erotic focus. The activities Horace advises Thaliarchus to engage in have clear erotic overtones.[109] The general advice given to Thaliarchus in lines 14-18 implies, that he should *engage in amorous activity* because he will not always be able to. There will come a time when erotic activity will cease. I have already proposed that the winter setting suggests the end of erotic activity. This stanza carries that same idea, but in a slightly different way. Love compared to a storm wind, while arguably uncommon, can be found in two prominent places; the first is Ibycus 286:

ἦρι μὲν αἵ τε Κυδώνιαι
μηλίδες ἀρδόμεναι ῥοὰν
ἐκ ποταμῶν, ἵνα παρθένων
κῆπος ἀκήρατος, αἵ τ' οἰνανθίδες
οἰναρέοις θαλέθοισιν· ἐμοὶ δ' ἔρος
οὐδεμίαν κατακητος ὥραν.
†τε† ὑπὸ στεροπᾶς φλέγων
Θρηίκιος βορέας,
ἀίσσων παρὰ Κύπριδος ἀζαλέ-
αις μανίαισιν ἐρεμνὸς ἀθαμβὴς
ἐγκρατέως πεδόθεν †φυλάσσει†
ἡμετέρας φρένας.

[109] Though see N-H (1970) 123: "Editors generally assume that the associations [of the Campus Martius] are exclusively erotic…. Yet it may be doubted whether in our context *Campus* can be interpreted so narrowly."

> In Spring, the Cydonian quince trees, watered by the streams of rivers, where there is the uncut garden of the maidens, bloom, and the vines with their vine leaves: but for me love rests in no season. Burning with lightning, the Thracian North wind, darting from the Cyprian, dark with parching madnesses, fearless, utterly †guards† my senses from the ground.[110]

Ibycus explicitly connects his love with the stormy Thracian Boreas.[111] Crucially, this poem too is interested in erotic "seasons", since there is such a strong contrast between the mention of springtime in the first line (ἦρι μὲν; 1) with the poet's own depiction of love resting at no season (ἐμοὶ δ' ἔρος / οὐδεμίαν κατακητος ὥραν; 7). Because ὥρα can mean both "season" and "period of life", commentators tend to interpret Ibycus' complaint as one about age and the proper "season" for love.[112] In other words, Ibycus contrasts the erotic "spring" of youth with the fact that he has fallen prey to Eros out of season, when he is older.[113] Of some importance for our purposes is that Ibycus not only likens love to a storm, but perhaps even depicts himself as a tree. The MSS reading of φυλάσσει in line 12 is undoubtedly wrong and several conjectures have been

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[110] Text and translation from Wilkinson (2012).
[111] ἄθ' is the preferred emendation for the impossible τε in line 8 where it begins a sentence.
[112] Wilkinson (2012) 222: "The ἐμοὶ δ' clause of 6-7 suggests by contrast with what precedes that the springtime Ibycus describes is the proper season for love, since for him love rests at no season; that is, in an ideal world, erotic desires should be over once one has passed the period of youth and become an adult."
[113] The implication of lines 6-7 is surely that Ibycus is not in his "spring".

made.[114] I favor Naeke's τινάσσει, but whatever reading one prefers must take account of πεδόθεν.[115] While not particularly common, the adverb is readily used of mountains and trees in the sense of ἐκ ῥίζης, from the roots/roots and all, and quite at home in situations where something is smitten or shaken (τινάσσει).[116] The context of the storm wind might well be enough to suggest this sense here especially if Ibycus knew (and expected his audience to know) Sappho 47. If πεδόθεν hints at an underlying tree metaphor, then we have two points of contact with *Odes* 1.9.9-12. Sappho 47 also likens love to a storm wind and in this case we find an explicit reference to trees.

῞Ερος δ' ἐτίναξέ μοι
φρένας, ὡς ἄνεμος κὰτ ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέτων.
Eros shook my senses,
as a wind falls upon the oaks in the mountains.

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[114] Naeke proposed τινάσσει, which was adopted by Campbell (1982); Herman proposed φλάσεν; West (1966) propsed λαφύσσει; Tortorelli (2002) proposed φλάσει. Giangrande (1971), Gentili (1988), and Cavallini (1997) defend the MSS reading.

[115] This is the agreed upon reading for the corrupt παιδ' ὀθεν. It is hard to see, for example, how either φυλάσσει or λαφύσσει could be sensibly construed with this word. φλάσεν and φλάσει are perhaps better, in that the verb is often found in situations where something strikes a person or a thing, it really means "crush" and it is likewise difficult to see how one can crush somone "from the gound/bottom/root". One way out is to follow Giangrande who favors the MSS reading φυλάσσει and therefore proposes πάντοθεν instead, a word which goes much better in sense with a verb like φυλάσσει.

[116] Cf. *Theogony* 679-680: ἐπέστενε δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς / σειόμενος, πεδόθεν δὲ τινάσσετο μακρὸς ῞Ολυμπος (the broad heavens, shaking, groaned, and great Olympus is shaken from the roots); *Argonautica* 1.1199-1200: πεδόθεν δὲ βαθύρριζόν περ ἐοῦσαν / προσφὺς ἐξήειρε σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχμασι γαίης (gripping [the tree] he tore it out from the roots together with clods of earth, deep-rooted though it was); cf. line 1196: τινάξας. Bowra (1936) 262 takes it as a tree metaphor.

That love shakes Sappho's senses as a wind shakes trees connects the poet's φρήν with trees, in this case oaks (δρύσιν). It is a short leap from this specific instance to Horace's general rule; "when the winds stop, trees are not shaken (agitantur = τινάσσονται)".[117] Sappho and Ibycus help point the way to an understanding of the third staza of *Odes* 1.9. If lines 9-12 mean, as most take them, "bad weather passes as will our troubles", we have a general law that is incongruent to the situation and message of the poem. If, however, the storms refer to erotic passion, and their ceasing to the end of an erotic "season", then the stanza fits nicely. In this way, the motionlessness of Horace's description of the wintry setting finds its analog in the calming of the storm.[118]

In fact, although he expresses lines 9-12 as a general rule, it is possible that Horace has a particular time in mind for the ending of the storm in this stanza, one which binds it to the seasonal setting. As noted above, some scholars see a reference to the spring storms around the vernal equinox here, but this is unlikely.[119] The odd shift in focus to the sea might suggest that, rather than being simply part of an artistically combined polar expression,[120] the emphasis on the calm sea is an important detail. While calm seas are a periodic and random occurrence throughout the year, there is one

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[117] That Sappho's simile contains a reference to mountains might help to explain Horace's use of *ornus* (= mountain ash).

[118] Striar (1989) arrives at a similar conclusion, though for him, the calming of the storm is seen as the relief of passions one finds in old age. While old age as a relief from youthful passions is a *topos* at least as old as Sophocles (as Cephalus relates it in Plato's *Republic* 329c), this is not generally a position adopted by Horace.

[119] See Pöschl (1991) 37-38.

[120] So Mayer (2012) *ad loc.*

time that, at least in the ancient mindset, the sea is predictably calm: the Halcyon Days.[121] Almost unanimously, ancient sources locate them around the winter solstice and all emphasize the calmness of the sea.[122] So the cessation of the storm on the sea in the third stanza may well be a reference to the Halcyon Days which fall in the dead of winter; in other words Horace may, in effect, be suggesting to Thaliarchus, "leave all else to the gods; as soon as the your Halcyon Days come, the days of your erotic adventures will be over."[123]

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[121] N-H in their comment on *stravere* cite Theocritus 7.57-58: χἀλκυόνες στορεσεῦντι τὰ κύματα τάν τε θάλασσαν / τόν τε νότον τόν τ' εὖρον (and the halcyons will lay low the waves and the sea and the Notos and the Eurus), but make nothing of the reference to the Halyon Days in that passage. Clay (1989) 105 does refer to them as part of her argument for an autumn setting, but she is mistaken about the dates.

[122] cf. e.g. Pliny *NH* 2.125: *ante brumam autem VII diebus totidemque post eam sternitur mare alcyonum feturae, unde nomen hi dies traxere* (for seven days before the winter solstice and the same number after it, the sea is calmed for the Halcyons' breeding, whence these days have taken their name). 10.90: *fetificant bruma, qui dies halcyonides vocantur, placido mari per eos et navigabili, Siculo maxime. faciunt autem VII ante brumam diebus nidos et totidem sequentibus pariunt* (They breed in mid-winter, the days that are called the Halcyon Days, since during these the sea is calm and navigable, especially the Sicilian sea. They make their nests for seven days before the solstice and give birth on the following seven days). Varro *LL* 7.89: *haec hieme quod pullos dicitur tranquillo mare facere, eos dies alcyonia appellant* (since it is said that these birth their young iin winter when the sea is calm, they call these days Halcyonia). Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11.745-749: *perque dies placidos hiberno tempore septem / incubat Alcyone pendentibus aequore nidis. / tunc iacet unda maris: ventos custodit et arcet / Aeolus egressu* (during the seven calm days in winter the Halcyon lays down on nests hanging upon the sea. At that time the sea waves lie still: Aeolus keeps watch over the winds and prevents their exit). Silius Italicus 14.274-276: *et strato Gaulum spectabile ponto, / cum sonat alcyones cantu nidosque natantis / immota gestat sopitis fluctibus unda* (Gaulum is a sight worth seeing when the sea is calm, when it resounds with the Halcyon's singing and the unmoving water carries their floating nests after the waves have been put to sleep). For more sources see Thompson (1936) 48-51.

[123] Although Horace's use of the Halycon Days as an analog for the cessation of erotic pleasures (or pleasures in general) is novel, their use in metaphors begins in Latin literature at least as early as Plautus. cf. *Casina* 25-26 of the quiet in the forum during the games: *ludi sunt…tranquillumst, Alcedonia sunt circum forum* (there are games, it's quiet, there are Halcyon Days round the Forum). *Poenulus* 355-356 attempting to make an upset woman calm: *iam hercle tu periisti, nisi illam mihi tam tranquillam facis / quam mare olimst, quom ibi alcedo pullos educit suos* (so help me god I hope you perish if you don't make that woman as calm for me as the sea is when the Halcyon births its young). In Simonides fr. 3 G-P they are used in what appear to be a simile.

But if the setting of the ode is winter, what are we to make of the second half of the poem, which appears to have Horace advising Thaliarchus to brave the weather and go seeking erotic liaisons in the cold (*nunc*)? One explanation, noted above, has been to understand the *nunc* of lines 17 and 20 as refering to Thaliarchus' youth, "now, when you are young", thereby expanding on *donec virenti canities abest* / *morosa*. While this is certainly possible,[124] if we accept this reading the final stanzas become redundant. A full four phrases would then be equivalent: *puer* (15), the *donec* clause (16-17), and *nunc* (17 and 20) all mean "while you are young".[125] This seems excessive. *nunc* instead seems to signal a return to the present moment of the poem, rather than continue to reiterate the vague and general temporal span described by *puer* and the *donec* clause.[126] But this leaves us with Thaliarchus in the snow. Cameron, however, has proposed an elegant solution. He argues that *repetantur*, a word which has given commentators no end of trouble,[127] stands for, as it often does, *repetantur in memoria*.[128] Not only does this

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[124] Cameron (1989) 151 is unreasonably dubious about the possibility of this meaning.

[125] Cf. N-H (1970) *ad loc.*: "16. puer: 'while you are young'; 18. nunc: the word means of course not 'today' but 'while you are young.'; Rudd (1960) 387: "The two *nunc*'s mean 'now while you're young,' not 'now while it's spring.'

[126] As indeed it does in *Epodes* 13 where a *dum*-clause denotes the general time of life, as here, (3-5) *rapiamus, amici, / occasionem de die dumque virent genua / et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus* (let us take, my friends, our opportunity from the day, and, while our knees are green and it is fitting, let old age be released from our furrowed brows), and *nunc* returns us to the present moment (8-10): *nunc et Achaemenio / perfundi nardo iuvat et fide Cyllenea / levare diris pectora sollicitudinibus* (now it is helpful to be drenched with Persian nard and to lighten our hearts of their dire worries with the Cyllenean lyre).

[127] Cf. N-H (1970) *ad loc*. "the prefix means 'according to compact' rather than 'repeatedly'. The force of the verb carries on into the next stanza, though there it is less appropriate." Mayer (2012) *ad loc*. gives no less than four separate *OLD* definitions for each different subject.

[128] *OLD* 6. See *OLD* 6c for examples without *memoria* (*vel sim.*).

have the virtue of doing away with having to take the verb in several very different senses, it allows *nunc* to refer to the speaker's present. Moreover, *nunc* itself is then further defined by the phrases *sub noctem* and *composita hora*; this last phrase, according to Cameron, means not "at the agreed upon hour", as the traditional interpretation has it, but rather "at the quiet hour".[129] Understood in this way, the phrase carries several connotations that resonate with the rest of the poem: "at the quiet hour of the day" (i.e. the evening), "at a quiet hour of year" (i.e. winter, the setting of the poem), and "at the quiet hour of life" (i.e. old age). The injunction to *remember* these things is then not directed at Thaliarchus, but at Horace himself.[130] And indeed the intense focus in the final lines of the poem on a single striking and specific incident has suggested to one scholar at least that Horace is recalling a memory of his own past:

> The more specific mention of evening assignations is the prelude of a subtle and important change, for in the last stanza Horace concentrates on a single incident, where the detail and intricate word order suggest his growing absorption with the scene he is describing. But why this

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[129] Cameron (1989). *sub noctem* and *composita hora* are thus mutually explanatory. *sub noctem* is sometimes taken closely with *lenes…susurri*; so Quinn (1980) *ad loc.* "whispered conversations at dusk". While word order might normally suggest this, that is not necessarily the case here. Compare *Epistles* 2.2.168-169: *emptis / sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat aenum*, which, despite the word order, certainly does not say, "he heats his bronze kettle with his bought-during-the-cold-dusk wood. Instead the phrase must go with the verb. In addition to the parallels cited by Cameron, we could also note Statius, *Thebiad* 3.415-416: *nox subiit curasque hominum motusque ferarum / composuit*.

[130] As Cameron (1989) 152 notes, the shift in syntax from the second-person imperatives *fuge, adpone,* and *sperne*, to the passive third-person jussive subjunctive *repetantur* means that the verb "is no longer pinned down specifically, as the imperatives are, to Thaliarchus." In fact, the emphatic *tu* of line 15 might well indicate contrastive force; that is, "*you*, do X, I'll do Y".

> sudden movement from general advice to a particular incident? The reason, I think, is that Horace has forgotten philosophy and fallen into recollection; turning from his role as mentor, escaping from the cold winter outside, he relives a vivid memory from the summers of his youth, becoming increasingly absorbed in details which are irrelevant to his didactical purpose.[131]

In the main I think this is right; the emphatic details Horace provides give this the feel of a personal memory, but I am not convinced that this is irrelevant to the didactical purpose. An aging Horace advises the young Thaliarchus to have amorous adventures while he still can; the poet, too old for such things, must content himself with the memory of past adventures.[132] The call to memory thus may be seen to parallel Horace's earlier orders to break out the wine, heap wood on the fire—all meant to dissolve the cold (*dissolve frigus*). For Horace, one antidote to the approaching cold rests in wine and the memories of past erotic adventures. As will become clear in the following chapter, Horace links wine and memory; consumption of wine is one way to remember and recall the pleasures of youth. But of course—and this too is surely part

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[131] Catlow (1976a) 78-79; he does not, however, take the cue from *repetantur*.

[132] There is nothing really strange in Horace claiming to be too old for love. Scholars generally assume, rightly, that Horace is older, but some, arguing against the suggestion, snowy Soracte = old, grey-haired Horace, adamantly insist that Horace could only have been, at the most, 43 years old (assuming it was a late composition), so not *that* old. But Horace often in *Odes* 1-3 depicts himself as older and on the verge of, if not already, being too old for love affairs. Cf., e.g., the last stanza of 2.4 where he claims (no doubt facetiously) to be too old to elicit suspicion. This is a familiar *topos*, borrowed mostly from Anacreon, but it is quite common elsewhere. Philodemus claims to be too old for love (and acquiring grey hair) as young as thirty-seven (Sider 4).

of his didactical purpose—we must have taken the time to do the things that become the memories with which we will comfort ourselves.[133] Thus in this poem, Horace gives advice to Thaliarchus to enjoy youth, and then shows him why that is so important.

To sum up, let me return to the season at the beginning of the poem. As I said above, the difference between Alcaeus 338 and *Epodes* 13, on the one hand, and this poem, on the other, is significant. The two poems advocate drinking as a response to the weather, setting up the common equation storm = troubles; in *Odes* 1.9 Horace urges drinking as a response to the season. As the winter scene he describes is altogether still, motionless, and quiet, Horace cannot be setting up the equation, winter = troubles; instead he sets up the equation, winter = end, as he does frequently elsewhere. It is from this terminal, quiet, inert season that Horace draws his lesson for Thaliarchus: engage in erotic affairs while you are young and in your "spring"; you will not always

[133] The notion is likely an Epicurean one. Cf. fr. 138 Usener: ἠδη δὲ τελευτῶν γράφει πρὸς Ἰδομενέα τήνδε ἐπιστολήν "τὴν μακαρίαν ἄγοντες καὶ ἅμα τελευταίαν ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου ἐγράφομεν ὑμῖν ταυτί. στραγγουρικά τε παρηκολούθει καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείποντα τοῦ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς μεγέθους. ἀντιπαρετάττετο δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν χαῖρον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γεγονότων ἡμῖν διαλογισμῶν μνήμῃ. (as he was dying [Epicurus] wrote the following letter to Idomeneus: passing this blessed and at the same time the last day of my life I am writing this to you. Strangury and dysentery pain were hounding me omitting none of the excess of their magnitude. Arrayed against all these was the delight in my soul at the memory of the discussions had by us.)

be able to.[134] It also, in its way, finds its analog in the Halcyon days alluded to in the third stanza, and resonates with the phrase, *composita hora* at the end. Snow-covered Soracte thus acquires symbolic force and participates in the temporal message of the poem; it stands as a grim reminder of Thaliarchus' (and Horace's as well) future "winter".

Odes 3.17

Aeli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
denominatos et nepotum
per memores genus omne fastos
auctore ab illo ducit[135] *originem,*
qui Formiarum moenia dicitur
princeps et innantem Maricae
litoribus tenuisse Lirim
late tyrannus: cras foliis nemus
multis et alga litus inutili
demissa tempestas ab Euro
sternet, aquae nisi fallit augur
annosa cornix. dum potes, aridum
conpone lignum. cras Genium mero

[134] As he does for Torquatus at *Odes* 4.7.7-12: *immortalia ne speres, <u>monet annus</u> et almum / quae rapit hora diem. / frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas / interitura, simul / pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit; et mox / bruma recurrit <u>iners</u>* (The year and the hour that snatches the daylight away warns you not to hope for immortal things. The cold grows mild with the Zephyrs, summer trods spring underfoot, itself about to perish as soon as apple-bearing autumn has poured forth its fruit; and presently motionless winter runs back in). On these lines see below p. 111-118.

[135] Here I follow N-R (2004) against Shackleton Bailey's *ducet*.

curabis et porco bimenstri 15
cum famulis operum solutis.

Aelius, of noble birth from ancient Lamus—since they say that the early Lamiae take their name from this man, and the whole line of descendants through the all-remembering calendar, take their origin from that progenitor who is said to be the first to have held the walls of Formiae and the Liris, which washes against the shores of Marica, ruling far and wide—tomorrow a storm sent down from the east will strew the grove with many leaves and the shore with useless seaweed, if the aged crow, augur of the rain, does not deceive me. Gather dry wood while you can; tomorrow you'll celebrate your birthday with wine and a two-month-old pig together with your slaves who have been released from labor.

Let us look at one further example of a seasonal poem. As Cairns has rightly insisted, *Odes* 3.17, addressed to Aelius Lamia, is a *genethliakon*, a birthday poem, and the occasion of the ode must naturally be Lamia's birthday.[136] Noting that pigs are born twice a year (in February and July) Cairns argues that the reference to the *porco bimenstri* in line 15 must point to a date in September. An autumn setting fits with the fact that the storm which Horace predicts in lines 9-12 will strip the leaves from the trees (*cras*

[136] Cairns (2012) 412-440. So also Quinn (1980) 275 and West (2002). N-R (2004) do not think that the reference to Lamia's *Genius* in line 14 indicates a birthday celebration. For them the occasion is the foul weather.

foliis nemus / *multis… / demissa tempestas ab Euro* / *sternet*).[137] Cairns goes on to posit a precise date, the fall equinox, as Lamia's birthday; as the equinoxes were traditionally stormy times, "this is why Horace can without hesitation predict the weather of *cras*."[138] This may be correct, but it seems to me too early. The ode appears to begin what some see as a clearly marked series of odes forming a temporal progression moving from this poem through the Nones of December to New Year's Eve.[139] Though this in itself does not exclude an equinoctial date, Horace elsewhere uses the falling of leaves to indicate the transition from autumn to winter.[140] In any case, for my purposes it suffices that Horace seems to indicate an autumn setting.

Like *Odes* 1.9, the autumn setting of 3.17 has real point; this poem too is very much concerned with time. We need no further proof of this than that Horace includes an element apparently foreign to *genethliaka*, but quite at home in *carpe diem* poems: *dum*

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[137] So too N-R (2004) 218.

[138] Cairns (2012) 427.

[139] Verrall (1884) 109-110 argues that much of *Odes* Book 3 comprises a two-year cycle of the seasons. The occasion of 3.18 may well be the Faunalia (cf. line 10: *cum tibi Nonae redeunt Decembres*). In 3.19 is a celebration of Murena's appointment to the position of augur, an office which would have begun on the first of January. In this context, lines 9-11 point to midnight on the *kalends* of January: *da <u>lunae</u> propere <u>nouae</u>, / da <u>noctis mediae,</u> da, puer, auguris / Murenae*.

[140] Cf. *Epodes* 9.5-6: *hic tertius <u>December</u>, ex quo destiti / Inachia furere, silvis honorem decutit* (this third December since I stopped raging for Inachia has shaken out the grace-giving leaves from the woods). This is closely modelled on Virgil (who may have it from Varro Atacinus (See Servius *ad loc.* and Courtney *FLP* 241-242)) *Georgics* 2.404: *frigidus et siluis Aquilo decussit honorem*. Porphyrio seems also to have understood it this way: *[Lamiam] ideo hortatur apud focum epulari. sic enim solent rustici <u>hieme</u>, cum feriati* (He encourages Lamia to dine by the hearth. For the countryfolk are accustomed to do thus in winter, when they rest from work).

potes, aridum / compone lignum (13-14).[141] Although this particular instance does not involve drinking or taking it easy, and though the action called for here looks uncharacteristically toward the future, nevertheless, the injunction to take action while time allows clearly points to a *carpe diem* theme. Indeed, it is such a strong marker of that theme that some critics treat this poem as a straight *carpe diem* ode.[142] The rest of the poem also abounds in references to time and temporality. One need not go so far as Davis to recognize that the temporal adjectives *annosa* and *bimenstri*, neither strictly necessary, participate in the poem's overall engagement with time.[143] Moreover, the ode begins with the lineage of Horace's addressee, and whatever encomiastic or parodic purpose it may serve, the extended discussion of Lamia's ancestry also introduces time and the succession of generations into the poem at its very outset.[144] The mention of two distinct groups reinforces the image of an unbroken series of descendants from ancient Lamus down to Aelius Lamia: *quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt / denominatos et nepotum / per memores genus omne fastos, / auctore ab illo ducit originem*; 2-5.[145] Mondin has argued that this focus on Lamia's lineage evokes thoughts of generations, and in the

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[141] For a list of *topoi* appearing in extant *genethliaka*, see Cairns (2012) 431-434. The prevalence of *dum potes* (or *licet*) in *carpe diem* poems needs no justifying.
[142] Davis (1991), Johnson (1995). Though they do not treat this ode as a *carpe diem* poem, N-R (2004) *ad loc.* acknowledge the presence of the theme in these lines.
[143] Davis (1991) sees in the adjectives a contrast between longevity and the brevity of human life.
[144] For the serious view, see Wiseman (1974), Cairns (2012) 416-421. Those arguing for a parodic reading include Davis (1991), Johnson (1995), Mondin (1998).
[145] N-R (2004) *ad loc.* rightly take *nepotum* as indicating "the remoter descendants of Lamus, as opposed to the *priores Lamias*."

context of autumn and falling leaves he connects it to Homer's famous simile comparing the generation of men to leaves. This is an attractive idea, not least because Horace subtly alludes to this simile elsewhere and even employs it in the *Ars Poetica* to portray the process by which words fall into and out of favor.[146] Be that as it may, the ode is clearly as much about time and its passage as it is about anything else.

As is often the case when Horace foregrounds the passage of time in his poetry, he here positions Lamia at a moment of transition. The coincidence of the autumn storm and Lamia's *dies natalis* (*cras…tempestas…sternet…. cras Genium…curabis*) in fact marks the moment as doubly transitional. The storm probably evokes the transition from autumn to winter, and birthdays are themselves necessarily transitional, signaling as they do the end of one year and the beginning of the next. Horace thus allows for a convergence of transitional images; the following day will see the end of Lamia's past year and the end of the past year's generation of leaves. Even if the onset of winter here will provide a brief respite for Lamia and his slaves, it also may serve to remind him that, now that he will be one year older, his own winter is also one year closer. Like those many countless generations of Lamiae before him, he too will pass away, another generation of leaves.

Now, it is a coincidence that Lamia's birthday falls in the autumn. Even so, we should note that Horace was under no obligation to compose a birthday poem of this

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[146] *AP* 60-62.

sort. Horace could have written a very different poem for Lamia, one which did not include a seasonal reference at all, or one which did not invest its seasonal reference with any larger significance. While the transition from autumn to winter here need not indicate that Lamia is in his "autumn" any more than Mt. Soracte indicates that Horace is old, it does, however, like snowy Soracte in *Odes* 1.9, play a crucial role in the project of the poem; it evokes the passage of time and the loss that passage entails.

Seasons as Setting II: The "Spring Poems", *Odes* 1.4 and 4.7

One notable fact about Horace's "spring odes" (1.4, 4.7, and 4.12)—a fact sometimes forgotten in treatments of them—is that they are not at all about spring. They differ remarkably from the spring poems persistently adduced as parallels. How utterly different they are in tone from, say Meleager's epigram, *AP* 9.363! After extolling the beauty of spring for a full 18 lines Meleager then asks the rhetorical question:

> εἰ δὲ φυτῶν χαίρουσι κόμαι καὶ γαῖα τέθηλεν,
> συρίζει δὲ νομεὺς καὶ τέρπεται εὔκομα μῆλα
> καὶ ναῦται πλώουσι, Διώνυσος δὲ χορεύει
> καὶ μέλπει πετεεινὰ καὶ ὠδίνουσι μέλισσαι,
> πῶς οὐ χρὴ καὶ ἀοιδὸν ἐν εἴαρι καλὸν ἀεῖσαι;
> If the trees' hair rejoices and the earth has bloomed,
> if the shepherd plays the syrinx and the well-fleeced sheep makes merry,
> and the sailors set sail, if Dionysus dances,
> and the birds sing and the bees labor,

How should a singer not also sing a pretty song in spring?

To be sure, there are several points of contact between this epigram and Horace's spring poems; even in these lines Meleager mentions the return of vegetation, the return of the time for navigation, and the dancing of divine figures. In their discussion of 1.4, Nisbet and Hubbard identify an epigram by Leonidas as one possible source for Horace's poem.

> Ὁ πλόος ὡραῖος· καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν
> ἤδη μέμβλωκεν χὠ χαρίεις ζέφυρος·
> λειμῶνες δ' ἀνθεῦσι, σεσίγηκεν δὲ θάλασσα
> κύμασι καὶ τρηχεῖ πνεύματι βρασσομένη.
> ἀγκύρας ἀνέλοιο καὶ ἐκλύσαιο γύαια,
> ναυτίλε, καὶ πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐφεὶς ὀθόνην.
> ταῦθ' ὁ Πρίηπος ἐγὼν ἐπιτέλλομαι, ὁ λιμενίτας,
> ὤνθρωφ', ὡς πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην.[147]
>
> The sailing is seasonable; for the chattering swallow has already come and the pleasant Zephyr; the meadows blossom and the sea shaken with swells and a fierce wind has grown silent. Draw up the anchors, sailor, and and loose the cables, and set sail raising the whole cloth. I, Priapus of the Harbor, give these orders so that you may sail for all manner of trade.

[147] *AP* 10.1; N-H (1970) also refer readers to 10.2, 4-6, and 14-16.

Beyond the superficial similarity of the descriptions of spring in these epigrams, they have nothing in common with our poems; they are wholly celebratory in tone.[148] Even Catullus 46, to which Horace clearly alludes in *Odes* 4.12, differs in significant ways.[149] The tone of Horace's poems is poles apart from these "models". More fundamentally—though we shall see that this point is very much related to the previous one—spring provides the setting for Horace's poems, but not (primarily) their subject.[150] In fact, they resemble much more closely the two odes I have just discussed in that a season provides the setting but is not their primary subject. If nothing else, this fact alone should prompt us to realize that the seasonal setting plays an altogether different role in these poems than it does in other spring poems.

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[148] One possible exception is Alcaeus 286 V., but not enough of the poem survives to be at all sure of the relationship between it and *Odes* 1.4. In spirit, Horace's poems have more in common with Philodemus' lovely spring epigram, AP 9.412:

῞Ηδη καὶ ῥόδον ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκμάζων ἐρέβινθος
καὶ καυλοὶ κράμβης, Σωσύλε, πρωτοτόμου
καὶ μαίνη σαλαγεῦσα καὶ ἀρτιπαγὴς ἁλίτυρος
καὶ θριδάκων οὔλων ἀφροφυῆ πέταλα.
ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτ' ἀκτῆς ἐπιβαίνομεν οὔτ' ἐν ἀπόψει
γινόμεθ' ὡς αἰεί, Σωσύλε, τὸ πρότερον·
καὶ μὴν Ἀντιγένης καὶ Βάκχιος ἐχθὲς ἔπαιζον,
νῦν δ' αὐτοὺς θάψαι σήμερον ἐκφέρομεν.

[149] Putnam (2006a) 98-101.

[150] Catullus perhaps approaches Horace. Poem 46 is also set in the spring, but not really about it. In fact, the tone of Catullus' poem may not be as jovial as it has often seemed. Since the poet often overlays his journey to Bithynia with myth, specifically myths surrounding the Trojan war, we might be encouraged to see the final lines of this poem as a nod to the *Nostoi*: *o dulces comitum valete coetus / longe quos simul a domo profectos / diversae varie viae reportant* (Farewell sweet band of companions, whom different paths will carry home in different ways, though we long ago set out from home together). Virgil may have seen this in Catullus' poem, for he alludes to two separate Catullan lines at *Aeneid* 6.335-6, where Aeneas sees Orontes and Leucaspis in the Underworld (they had died during the storm in Book 1 (113-117) while on the way from Troy to (eventually) Italy): *quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos / obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque* (cf. Catullus 101.1: *multas per gentes et multa per aequora vectus*; and 46.10: *longe quos simul a domo profectos*). See Hardie (2012) 223 and Tracy (1977) 21-22.

Like many of his odes, and indeed most of the odes with seasonal imagery I have been discussing, the spring poems are set at a transitional moment. In their case, that moment is the transition from winter to spring. With its opening words, *solvitur acris hiems*, *Odes* 1.4 positions us right at the moment when winter is just loosening its grip. The phrase *grata vice* emphasizes the cyclical nature of the season's temporal movement, while also perhaps hinting at the inevitable transience of the coming spring. The ensuing description of the onset of spring focuses largely on the renewal of activity on both the divine and the human plane:

> *Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Fauoni*
> *trahuntque siccas machinae carinas,*
> *ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni,*
> *nec prata canis albicant pruinis.*
> *iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,*
> *iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes*
> *alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum gravis Cyclopum*
> *Vulcanus ardens visit*[151] *officinas.*
> Bitter winter is dissolved by the welcome succession of
> spring and the West wind, and the winches are dragging dry
> boats to the shore, and neither the plowman nor his flock
> now rejoice in fire and stable, and the grass is no longer

[151] Shakleton Bailey prints *versat*, following Wade (who read *urit*) and citing Seneca *Phaedra* 191: *qui furentis semper Aetnaeis iugis / versat caminos* ([the god] who turns over his forges that are ever burning along the ridges of Aetna; 190-191). But *visit* makes more sense here since the context is one of renewed activity: Venus and the Graces, now that spring has come, can begin to dance, and Vulcan goes to work in his forges again. See Bernays (2005); Mayer (2012) *ad loc.*

white with white frost. Now Cytheraean Venus leads
choruses under a full moon, and the Graces in company with
Nymphs strike the earth with alternating footstep, while
fiery Vulcan visits the weighty workshops of his Cyclopes.

Ships are being dragged out of dry dock and down to the sea, agricultural activity resumes, Venus dances, and Vulcan returns to his forges. But Horace makes us feel the transitional nature of this time of year in the very way he describes it. Line 2, while hinting at the long repose of ships in winter dry docks, does so by describing a present activity that points forward to the renewal of the seafaring year; line 3, while surely hinting at the renewal of the agricultural year still to come, does so by looking backward toward the inactivity of winter, and the joy (*gaudet*) felt by farmer and flock alike. The advent of the Zephyr was traditionally assigned to early February, and the *dies natalis* of Faunus' temple on the Tiber Island, to which Horace perhaps alludes in line 12, fell on the *Ides* of that same month.[152] Such a date would make it clear that spring is only just beginning, but there is no need to be so precise. The main emphasis falls on the transition between winter and spring, an emphasis also brought out by the

[152] Cf. Varro 1.28: *primi verni temporis ex a. d. VII id. Febr*…. That spring begins with the blowing of the Zephyr is ensured by the fact that just after this Varro treats it as a marker for spring in his discussion of the lengths of the seasons: *primum a favonio ad aequinoctium vernum dies XLV…ab hoc ad brumam dies LVII, inde ad favonium dies XLV*. Columella 11.2.15: *VII Id. Febr. Callisto sidus occidit, Favonii spirare incipiunt.* Pliny, NH 2.122: *ver ergo aperit navigantibus maria, cuius in principio favonii hibernum molliunt caelum sole aquarii XXV obtinente partem. is dies sextus Februarias ante idus.* Faunus' festival occurs on the *ides* of February. See Defourny (1946) who argues that Horace points to a particular and specific time here. Barr (1962), while himself arguing for a very specific date (the *Ides* of February), does much to show that the apparent specificity of the dates given in some sources for the advent of the Zephyr and the opening of the sea to ships, for example, is by no means followed with any regularity by poets, nor indeed by other prose authors.

repetition of *iam*: *ac neque iam…gaudet pecus aut arator* / *nec* [*iam*] *prata …albicant….* / *iam…choros ducit Venus…* / *iunctaeque…Gratiae…terram quatiunt* (1.4.3-6). Horace employs the same repetition of *iam* in *Odes* 4.12.1-3: *iam veris comites…* / *impellunt animae lintea Thraciae;* / *iam nec prata rigent nec* [*iam*] *fluuii strepunt* (now the Thracian breezes, companions of spring are driving on the sails, no longer is the grass stiff [with frost] nor do the rivers resound). Here again, he is interested in transition.

Odes 4.7 has much in common with 1.4 (and indeed with 4.12). Even on a lexical level the two poems share many similarities.[153] Horace also makes use of many of the same techniques he had used in ode 1.4, beginning 4.7 with the transition from winter to spring. The first two words (*diffugere nives*), however, have encouraged at least one scholar to imagine that Horace intends to depict a later point in the season than the one we see in ode 1.4.[154] It is true, of course, that the verb, *diffugere*, is in the perfect tense, whereas in earlier ode the same scenario was portrayed in the present tense, *solvitur acris hiems* (1). Nevertheless, Horace still represents spring as a transitional moment. The snows may have fled, the rivers may no longer be raging beyond their banks swollen from the thawing snow, but it is not necessarily the picture of spring "well advanced"[155].

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[153] See the chart in Thomas (2011) 174.

[154] Quinn (1980) 311-312: "in 1.4 spring is just beginning; it is the moment of the thaw; in 4.7, the thaw is over, spring is well advanced." Thomas (2011) 174 seems to agree: "it is spring, late spring given the last detail [in lines 1-4]." And yet just before this he says that both 1.4 and 4.7 begin "with winter dissolving into spring."

[155] See preceding note.

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
arboribusque comae;
mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
flumina praetereunt.
Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
ducere nuda choros.

The snows have fled, now grass is returning to the fields,
and leaves to the trees;
the earth changes its changes and the rivers, still decreasing,
are flowing within their banks.
A Grace together with the Nymphs and her two sisters dares
to lead choruses naked.

The transition from winter to spring is clearly implied in the present tense of *redeunt* (1) and made explicit by *mutat terra vices* (3); but it is also felt in the participle *decrescentia* (3) and *audet* (5) as well.[156] Grass is just returning to the fields, the rivers, though now keeping within their banks, are yet swollen, and the fact that the Graces *dare* to dance nude may imply some lingering winter chill.[157] In other words, they describe the nascent spring with a glance back at winter as do several of the images in 1.4. Here again, describing a precise point in spring (late or early) is not Horace's concern; the emphasis falls, as it does in all the spring odes, on the transitional quality of spring.[158]

[156] As Rudd (1976) 195 says, Horace emphasizes the *process*.
[157] Levin (1958/1959) n. 11 thinks this strains the interpretation.
[158] See Clay (1989) 105.

So Horace invokes spring for its transitional quality, but he also does so for some of the same reasons he invoked seasonal imagery elsewhere. As we saw above, Horace uses seasonal imagery to juxtapose human/linear time with seasonal/cyclical time, to place an individual into a time that is moving, and above all to emphasize the loss to that individual over time. Often in the poems discussed above, I noted the juxtaposition of youth and old age, spring and winter, and at times the subtle suggestion of a younger generation enjoying what has been lost to the older. Many of these themes are present also in the spring poems. Indeed, if we have been sensitive to Horace's use of seasonal imagery, we should not be surprised, as was Landor, by Death's sudden intrusion into *Odes* 1.4 at line 13:

pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turris. o beate Sesti,
vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
et domus exilis Plutonia ; quo simul mearis,
nec regna uini sortiere talis
nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet iuventus
nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

Pale death with an equal foot knocks at the paupers' huts
and the kings' palaces. O happy Sestius,
the brief sum of life forbids us to embark on long hope.
Soon night will press upon you, and the Manes of fable,

> and the meager house of Pluto; and as soon as you will have travelled there, you will not allot the control over the wine with the dice, nor will you look with wonder upon tender Lycidas, for whom all the youth are now hot, and for whom presently the unmarried girls will grow warm.

Much of the scholarship on this poem, at least since Campbell first quoted Landor's famous marginalia, has centered on refuting Landor and showing that there is in fact some explanation for Death's entrance into the poem at this point.[159] But the move is entirely Horatian; death has everything to do with it. After locating this poem at the advent of spring, the poet looks forward to Sestius' future death and the activities in which he will no longer take part. This shift from present to future here is a common feature of many of the odes that employ seasonal imagery, as is the focus on loss. In *Odes* 1.25, we will recall, Lydia was positioned between two temporal extremes; the amatory success of the past and the inevitable future when she will no longer be able to participate in the joys of youth (and youths). In this poem, when he goes down to the house of Hades, all the sympotic and amatory pleasures will be lost to Sestius. What is more, just as Horace inserted spring imagery into the final lines of 1.25, contrasting

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[159] "*pallida mors* has nothing to do with the above." Commager (1962) 268 thinks the entrance is meant to be sudden and jarring: "The abruptness of line thirteen acts as a kind of shock treatment…." For some attempts to minimize the jarring effect, see Woodman (1972) who brings out the dark and ominous overtones in Horace's description of spring in lines 1-12. Both Barr (1962) and Babcock (1961) emphasize the presence of Faunus. Barr points to the temporal contiguity of Faunus' festival with the start of the *Parentalia*, a festival of the dead; Babcock to Faunus' mythological role as a god of prophecy and argues that lines 13-14 "are indeed the response of the oracular Faunus to the sacrificant of 11-12" (17).

Lydia's personal "winter" with the "spring" enjoyed by the youth she can no longer entice, so here he transfers the springtime setting of the beginning of the ode to the young men and women at the end of this poem. As the world of nature is warmed by the onset of spring described in lines 1-8—with the coming spring and the warm Zephyr, the snows have fled, the grass is no longer white with frost, the farmer and beast of burden no longer need the warmth of fireplace and stable—so too the young men are "warm" (*calet*) for the lovely Lycidas, and soon enough the young women will begin to "grow warm" for him (*tepebunt*).[160] The coming sexual maturity of the young man and women, as well as Lycidas' own growing maturity, his transition to the age of heterosexual activity, his coming "spring", as it were, marks the end of Sestius' ability to enjoy the young boy's affections. But because the shift in the final lines from present (*quo calet iuventus / nunc omnis*) to future (*mox virgines tepebunt*) resembles the shift from Sestius' present (*nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto / aut flore*) to his future death (*iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes / et domus exilis Plutonia*), Lycidas' coming spring eerily evokes Sestius' coming winter.[161]

For Corbeill, the shift in emphasis from Sestius to Lycidas and the youth in the final lines of the poem represents, in some sense, a positive counterweight to *pallida*

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[160] Woodman (1972) 775-776 argues that *tepebunt* is ambiguous; it can also mean "to cool off", and therefore may suggest that "Lycidas will lose his appeal and the *virgines* will lose interest" (776). It seems better to me to see *tepebunt* as continuing the spring imagery, but it hardly matters for my purposes. Regardless of what stage in his amatory life *tepebunt* is intended to evoke, Lycidas' spring is represented as a time that is already moving.

[161] For winter imagery in Horace's depiction of *pallida Mors* here, see Woodman (1972) 775.

Mors. "The closing images of *Carmen* 1.4 celebrate cyclical recurrence in the private life of love and propagation."[162] In his view, the fact that love goes on and that amatory life is continued by Lycidas is meant as some consolation to Sestius. Remarkably, his argument puts Lycidas in the position of the heir, a role that is, as Corbeill himself concedes, often viewed negatively in Horace. Lycidas, however, "displaces the generic and impersonal *heres* and, in so doing, erases the potential pessimism at the ode's end."[163] But such a reading misrepresents both the sense and the grammar of the final lines. Lycidas is not the *heres* in this poem. Rather, he becomes *inherited*; he will be the object of affection of nameless group of *virgines* just as he is now for Sestius. As such he is representative of the joys that Sestius will one day leave behind for the enjoyment of others if he does not take time to enjoy Lycidas while he can. Lycidas is parallel to, say, Postumus' Caecuban wine at the end of *Odes* 2.14. Horace, then, gives Sestius a view of the future not unlike the one he gave to Lydia in 1.25, where the spring imagery, although not, as here, used as a temporal setting for the poem, was brought into the end of the poem to emphasize the fact that the spring enjoyed by others will soon be out of reach for the aging Lydia. The tone of 1.4 is certainly different, less menacing and vituperative, but it shares with 1.25—for all that poem's venom—a melacholic air, one we also noted in several of the seasonal poems.[164] Sestius too, like Lydia, like Lyce, will

[162] Corbeill (1994/1995) 103.
[163] Corbeill (1994/1995) 103.
[164] I agree with Woodman (1972) 769 that critics often overlook the sadness of this ode.

soon find spring beyond his reach. He will soon find that others will enjoy what he now enjoys—or should enjoy.

If the intrusion of Death in *Odes* 1.4 caused discomfort among critics, *Odes* 4.7.17-20 have caused even greater discomfort. The feeling that these lines do not quite belong in the poem is grounded in a misunderstanding of what Horace is up to. Partly, this is due to the fact that scholars almost invariably read this poem together with 1.4, understandably, since the similarities between the two are undeniable, and it may well be that the "point" of each poem, if one may call it that, is the same. But they are different poems, and the way each one works is different.

It begins, as I have said, with the transition from winter to spring, and many of the details Horace includes have parallels in 1.4. If the phrase *grata vice* of 1.4 evoked the cyclical nature of seasonal time, and therefore hinted at a sense of the mutability of the present spring, that sense pervades 4.7. Indeed, Horace emphasizes and intensifies this sense with his use of the plural *vices* at 4.7.3.[165] In lines 7-12 Horace widens his view and makes explicit the notion that his depiction of spring is very much in motion:

> *immortalia ne speres, monet annus et almum*
> *quae rapit hora diem.*
> *frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas,*
> *interitura simul*

[165] The notion of change is somewhat overdetermined in *mutat terra vices* insofar as *vicis* already suggests the change implied in *muto*. This plural reappears again, albeit for a slightly different reason, in the *lunae* of line 13.

pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit; et mox

bruma recurrit iners.

Don't hope for immortality, the year warns and the hour
that snatches the daylight[166] away: Cold weather grows mild
with the Zephyr, summer tramples down spring, itself soon
to perish as soon as fruit-bearing autumn has poured forth
its fruits, and presently motionless winter runs back.

These lines may leave nothing to the imagination,[167] but they are wonderful all the same. As Feeney has well noted, "the frames of time alluded to by Horace here capture the recurrent cyclical rhythms of hourly, daily, monthly, seasonal, and annual time, all of them squeezing on the individual's forward movement toward death."[168] Lines 7-8 give the year, day, and hour; lines 9-12 paint a picture of the year's succession of seasons (one line for each season, and in their proper order), and the plural *lunae* in line 13 may suggest lunar months.[169] Moreover, Horace has given us a clear sense of the speed of time's passage not only through the use of the violent verb *rapio* (8) (the

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[166] I have translated *almum diem* as "daylight" so that two points come across: 1) as Thomas (2011) rightly notes, the adjective is "used of day with particular reference to the *light* of day and its nourishing effects" (emphasis in original). He cites, among others, Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.64-65: *si nona diem mortalibus almum / Aurora extulerit* (is the ninth Dawn has brought forth the nurturing day to mortal men; cf. also R. D. Williams' commentary *ad loc.*), and *Eclogues* 8.17: *nascere, praeque diem ueniens age, Lucifer, almum* (come now, Lucifer, arise, coming before the nourishing day). 2) Horace's use of this adjective, common though it may be, is intentional; the phrase *almum quae rapit hora diem*) indicates nightfall, the setting of the sun. On this point see below. Ancona (1994) 54 sees Horace's use of *almus* as eroticizing the day; this suggestion is rather attractive given what we have seen above and Horace's frequent association of nightfall/winter with the loss of eroticism. This poem, however, seems more focused on death rather than loss of eroticism.

[167] So Woodman (1972) 757.

[168] Feeney (2007) 213-214.

[169] Thomas (2011) 180 concludes that *damna…caelestia* indicates seasonal rather than monthly change.

violence of which is made all the more striking by the mimetic syntax),[170] but also in the way he depicts time's relentless march toward winter. Spring is still in the process of making the winter chill mild (*mitesco*)[171] when summer tramples (*proterit*) it underfoot,[172] its own passing immediately made clear by the following word (*interitura*). Summer's demise is joined (*simul*) to the advent of autumn fruit, whose abrupt end in turn is hinted at by the use of the epithet *pomifer* together with the future perfect tense of *effuderit.* In other words, if "fruit-bearing" autumn has already "poured forth" its fruit by the time it appears, its end is swift to follow. Horace caps this flurry of seasonal motion with a deafening thud: *bruma…iners*, "motionless" winter.[173] Commager draws out the full emphasis given to the word through its placement in the catalectic line: "the double weight, followed by sudden quiet, that falls upon *iners* (12) makes it lie upon the page heavy as a gravestone."[174]

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[170] So Ancona (1994) 54. Reckford (1997) has drawn our attention to Horace's fondness for puns involving his own name and *hora*; there seems to be an example here: the *annus* warns Torquatus not to hope for immortality and *Hora(tius)* who seizes the day does as well. He addresses this passage (p. 602-603) but does not appear to notice the pun.

[171] Horace's use of the inchoative has real point here.

[172] The verb *protero* carries with it a sense of speed and is frequently used of chariots overrunning lines of infantry.

[173] Note Horace's paradoxical juxtaposition of *recurrit*, indicating swift movement, and *iners*, indicating lack of movement. As I see these lines as metaphorical (on this point see below), *recurrit* emphasizes the speed with which our winter comes.

[174] Commager (1962) 278.

Horace's use of *tamen* in line 13 has puzzled some.[175]

damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae:
nos ubi decidimus
quo pater Aeneas, quo diues Tullus et Ancus, 15
pulvis et umbra sumus.

nevertheless, the swift moons recover their celestial losses.
When we fall
where father Aeneas, where wealthy Tullus and Ancus fell

As Woodman rightly points out, *tamen* indicates a strong contrast. The problem, as he sets it out initially, is that line 13 "refers to a natural phenomenon in no way different from that described in 9-12"; just as the moon wanes and then waxes, so too the seasons go and return again.[176] But the overwhelming emphasis in lines 9-12 is on the swift

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[175] Peerlkamp was so troubled by it that he proposed emending to *etiam*. See Woodman (1972) 759-761 for a good discussion of the problem. Thomas (2011) considers it an example of *tamen* anticipating a following adversative (*OLD* 4, where the entry says concessive, not adversative). It is an odd entry; two examples (Cicero *Clu.* 22 and *Catil.* 3.10) ought instead to be listed under *OLD* 6, as they appear in relative clauses that are in effect parentheses or explanatory. In others, (Plautus *St.* 99; Terence *Eun.* 170) the *tamen* seems rather to mark a participle as concessive, perhaps after Greek practice (see Smyth § 2082). Some seem more or less consistent with the description, e.g. Cicero *Div. Caec.* 47*: est tamen hoc aliquid, tametsi non est satis*. It is hard to see, however, how the *tamen* at *Odes* 4.7.13 fits into this category. Gaskin (2013) 49 argues that this is also an "anticipating" *tamen,* though he has a slightly different notion as to what that is. He instead seems to invoke a use of *tamen* which Housman noted (see Gaskin *op. cit.* 230 n. 17-20), and gives as an example Virgil *Eclogues* 1.27: *Libertas, quae sera tamen respexit inertem*, where, according to this usage *tamen* indicates that *sera* = *quamvis sera*. I have doubts about this as a special use of *tamen* which there is no need to express here. The important thing is that the *tamen* at 4.7.13 is not an example of this kind. *tamen* used as it is in the *Eclogues* passage, and in the other passages cited by Housman, all involve particples or adjectives. *damna*, however, is a noun and not in apposition. Even if it were possible to construe the Latin in this way, the phrase would not say, as Gaskin would like, "*though* the sky has suffered losses, *yet* swift moons repair them" (emphasis original). Following the *Eclogues* passage, *tamen* would indicate either (1) that *caelestia* = *quamvis caelestia*, "although the losses are heavenly (i.e. in the sky), nevertheless the swift moons repair them", which is surely not correct, or (2) *damna* = *quamvis damna*, where *caelestia* becomes substantive: "nevertheless the swift moons repair the heavenly things, though *they are losses*."

[176] Woodman (1972) 759.

succession of seasons as they rush inexorably toward winter.[177] Because Horace begins this succession with winter chill warmed by spring breeze, and ends it with the return of winter (*recurrit*), critics import a cyclical reading of these lines. *iners* clearly signals an end to the preceding flurry of movement and gives the sequence an eerie finality not normally associated with seasons.[178] As Woodman notes, any real sense of the *renewal* of the yearly cycle is downplayed, and winter's return carries with it a sense of finality and loss.[179] This is cirical; only with line 13 and the adversative *tamen* is the renewal of that cycle brought in. Woodman argues that the *tamen* marks "a suppressed antithesis between loss and recovery" and that is basically right.[180] In my view, however, the antithesis is not suppressed, but quite bald. Formally *tamen* contrasts a succession of seasons depicted in a linear way in lines 9-12 with the fact that the actual seasons of nature renew their cycle each year. The antithesis between loss and recovery arises naturally from Horace's antithesis of linear and cyclical time. This contrast of linear time (significantly represented as a succession of seasons) with the cyclical nature of seasonal time should encourage us to read lines 9-12 as a kind of elaborate metaphor.[181]

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[177] So also Reckford (1997) 608.

[178] This is why Horace begins and ends in winter. If Horace intended lines 9-12 and line 13 to describe the same thing (seasons return; so does the moon), it would make better sense to begin and end with *spring*.

[179] Woodman (1972) 759.

[180] Woodman (1972) 760.

[181] Cf. Ovid's description of his own old age at *Tristia* 4.8.3: *iam subeunt anni fragiles et inertior aetas* (now the fragile years are come upon me and a more inactive age). See also Woodman (1972) 759 n. 2. He seems to imply that the succession of seasons here is not a metaphor, but his parallels suggest otherwise: "We get the flavour of line 12 if we remember to compare two lines of Ovid, *Ex P.*, 1.2.26: *quod iners hiemi continuatur hiems*, 1.5.44: *mors nobis tempus habetur iners*."

Horace has already pointed the way: *immortalia ne speres, monet annus et almum / quae rapit hora diem* (7-8), the *year* is supposed to warn Torquatus not to hope for immortal things. This is nonsense if lines 9-12 refer openly to seasonal renewal. Lines 9-12, then, a single year's succession of seasons emphasizing linear movement, are an illustration of precisely what Horace means: Torquatus is urged to view his lifetime as a succession of seasons ending in *hiems…iners*. Real seasons, however, come around again; not so for us. Horace continues and emphasizes this equation of linear seasonal time with the human lifespan by employing a seasonal metaphor to describe our death: *nos ubi decidimus…puluis et umbra sumus* (14-16). As is often mentioned by scholars, Horace, by his choice of the verb *decidere*, may well be alluding here to Homer's famous simile equating generations of men with successive generations of leaves in the forest (*Iliad* 6.146-149).[182] Others have seen instead a reference to the stars and their setting.[183] I prefer the former reading, but whatever the case, the crucial point is that Horace intends *decidere* to function as a seasonal metaphor, either by equating our death with the falling of leaves, or by the setting of constellations.

Horace, then, urges Torquatus to think of his life as a single year. But we should remember that in lines 7-8, not only was the year to serve as a warning, but also the hour; and not just any hour, but the hour that snatches the daylight away: *immortalia ne*

[182] See Cataudella (1928), Sider (2001).
[183] Becker (1963) 150, Collinge (1961) 111.

speres, monet annus et almum / quae rapit hora diem. Grasping this is crucial to Horace's plan for this poem, and it helps to explain some of the difficulties posed by lines 17-20.

> *quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae*
> *tempora di superi?*
> *cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico*
> *quae dederis animo.*

These lines have troubled many. Becker thought the shift so jarring that he considered it an interpolation.[184] Woodman agrees in spirit but instead concludes that it is simply one more example out of many in this patchwork and cliché-ridden poem that Horace has not incorporated as well as he might.[185] The main problem seems to be that the theme of enjoying the short time we are given intrudes into the poem without any warning. On its own, this is not so problematic, but in Becker's opinion the poem should have ended with that; instead Horace returns to the solemn tone and theme which had been the subject of the poem heretofore.[186] Nevertheless in his comparison with 1.4, Becker makes an important observation:

> Die Gedanken waren in c. 4,7 von Anfang an in anderer Richtung gegangen als in c. 1, 4. Schon bei *nos ubi decidimus* (14), nicht erst bei Vers 21, war der Punkt des *quo simul*

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[184] Becker (1963) 152. See also Dilke (1963) 584-585 in his review of Becker.

[185] Woodman (1972) 766: "We need not go to this length [sc. calling the stanza an interpolation], because by now we realise that a lack of structure is the primary fault of the poem. The stanza represents two further aspects of the death-theme which Horace has incorporated into the ode no more successfully than *quae rapit hora, lunae,* or *dives Tullus*."

[186] Becker (1963) 152. This sentiment was already voiced by Rudd (1960) 383: "it is one thing to conclude a poem with a whole stanza of satire like *absumet heres* (II, 14), but quite another to introduce a greedy *captator* and then relapse at once into profound melancholy."

> *mearis* erreicht; was in c. 1, 4 hieß: *iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes*, heißt hier: *pulvis et umbra sumus*. Horaz hat das frühere *quo simul mearis* in c. 4, 7 in doppelter Form ausgenomen: er hat es einmal auf die bedeutendsten Verstorbenen, auf Männer wie Aeneas bezogen (entsprechend dem *pauperes—reges* c. 1, 4, 13 f.), das andere Mal auf den Angeredeten (dort auf Sestius, hier auf Torquatus). Die Aufforderung zum Genuß aber ist in c. 4, 7 von Anfang an beiseitegedrängt.[187]

The exhortation to enjoy life while we are able may not have been openly present in the poem up to this point, but Davis is surely right that the exhortation need not be explicit; the illocutionary force of Horace's poem, its focus on time, change, and endings, is precisely to encourage Torquatus take some enjoyment while he can.[188] We should, however, note Becker's observation that Horace has given us two versions of *quo simul mearis*: *nos ubi decidimus* (14) and *cum semel occideris* (21). This doubling is odder than Becker lets on,[189] but again, if we listen to Horace, he has given us everything we need. The year was to serve as a warning, but so also was the hour that snatches the day away; two different temporal units provide the same warning. The doubling of the

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[187] Becker (1963) 154.

[188] Davis (1991) 161; he is speaking of 1.4, which also has no explicit exhortation to enjoy the present.

[189] Becker (1963) 154 n.17: "Daß der *cum*-Satz rasch auf *nos ubi decidimus* folgt, wäre bedenklich nur, wenn sich die beiden Aussagen deckten; aber erst ist *nos* betont: die Menschen im Gegensatz zur Natur; dann geht es um das Totengericht…." He is mistaken here. The only difference between the two is that one is generalizing and the other pertains specifically to Torquatus. But both clauses say the same thing: once we die, we do not return.

sentiment *quo simul mearis* here simply follows naturally from what Horace had said earlier: lines 9-16 provide Horace's lesson using the year as the paradigm; lines 17-28 do the same using the day as the paradigm.[190] As he had done with the year, signaling his point by describing our death using a seasonal metaphor (*decidere*), so here Horace chooses *occidere*, the *mot juste* for the setting of the sun. Lines 17-20, far from being "extraneous", are integrated into the thought structure of the poem and very much a part of what the poem is about.[191]

In fact, a very specific Epicurean lesson lurks behind this poem, and generates its structure. For this, we must turn to Seneca. Letter 12 to Lucilius describes Seneca's visit to his villa, where he finds that everything has grown old and decrepit and he is forced to confront and accept his old age. In response to a hypothetical objection by Lucilius that it is awful to have death always before your eyes, Seneca devotes the rest of his epistle to this objection.[192] He begins with the argument that all units of time can be conceived of as larger or smaller circles (12.6):

> *tota aetas partibus constat et orbes habet circumductos maiores minoribus: est aliquis qui omnis complectatur et cingat - hic pertinet a natali ad diem extremum -; est alter qui annos adulescentiae excludit; est qui totam pueritiam ambitu suo*

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[190] The emphasis on sunset (see note 166 above) naturally implies the day paradigm.
[191] The description comes from Collinge (1961) 111. He too finds these lines suspect and would prefer them gone.
[192] 12.6 *'molestum est' inquis 'mortem ante oculos habere.'* See Ker (2002) and Richardson-Hay (2006) for a good discussion of this letter.

> *adstringit; est deinde per se annus in se omnia continens tempora, quorum multiplicatione vita componitur; mensis artiore praecingitur circulo; angustissimum habet dies gyrum, sed et hic ab initio ad exitum venit, ab ortu ad occasum.*
>
> The whole of a lifetime consists of parts and has larger circles drawn around smaller ones: there is one which embraces and encircles all of them—it stretches from the day of our birth to our last day; there is one which encloses the years of our adolescence; one which encompasses the whole of our boyhood in its circuit; then there is the year which by itself contains all times within itself, and by the multiplication of these a life is composed. The month is enclosed by a narrower circuit; the day has the narrowest circle, but even this journeys from beginning to an end, from sunrise to sunset.

Seneca here depicts what most consider a series of concentric circles embracing the various temporal units.[193] The first three involve life stages (the whole lifespan, boyhood, adolescence), while the rest are more properly time-reckoning units (the year, the month, the day). This intense focus on and dense employment of temporal units in this passage should remind us that *Odes* 4.7 begins with a similar intense engagement with time. Lines 7-13 include hourly, daily, monthly, seasonal, and annual time; as

[193] See Habinek (1982), Richardson-Hay (2006) *ad loc.* Edwards (2014) 325-326. Ker (2002) 99 provides a diagram. He also discusses other passages in which authors use an image of concentric circles (99-108). It seems to me that concentric circles do not work with this model. In the other examples Ker cites, there is a clear center point around which the circles are drawn. But what is that center when we are talking about a human lifetime?

Feeney notes, "virtually every unit of time that affects the individual is here."[194] Along with the shift from life stages to time reckoning units Seneca introduces a new idea, that the year (and, as he will go on to argue, the day) contains all time within itself: *est deinde per se annus in se omnia continens tempora*. This idea prepares the way for Heraclitus' statement that one day is the equivalent of every day (*'unus' inquit 'dies par omni est'*) which, Seneca tells us, people have interpreted in two different ways.[195] Seneca himself seems to favor the second interpretation which claims that a single day is equal to the sum of all of them in likeness: *alius ait parem esse unum diem omnibus similitudine; nihil enim habet longissimi temporis spatium quod non et in uno die invenias* (another says that one day is equal to all the days in likeness; for the longest span of time has nothing that one cannot also find in a single day).[196] If a day is equal to a lifetime in likeness, then, according to Seneca, it should become the microcosm through which we come to understand the proper disposition toward life and death; we should live every day as though it were the last: *itaque sic ordinandus est dies omnis tamquam cogat agmen et consummet atque expleat vitam* (and so every day must be arranged as if it brought up the

[194] Feeney (2007) 214.
[195] 12.7.
[196] 12.7. The first interpretation is that every day consists of the same time period, 24 hours; even if the daylight is shorter at one point, the night takes what the day has lost.

rear and rounded out and filled up a life).[197] The ability to reckon every day as the last has two important effects: it allows us to view each new day as a gift and it empowers us to live without anxiety: *crastinum si adiecerit deus, laeti recipiamus. ille beatissimus est et securus sui possessor qui crastinum sine sollicitudine exspectat; quisquis dixit 'vixi' cotidie ad lucrum surgit* (If a god will have added tomorrow, let us take it happily, that man is most blessed and in secure possession of himself who can await tomorrow without anxiety; whoever has said daily "I have lived" awakes to profit).[198] Seneca here seems to look directly back to Horace for inspiration; at *Odes* 3.29.41-43 he had said the very same thing: *ille potens sui* / *laetusque deget cui licet in diem / dixisse: 'vixi'* (that man has power over himself and lives happily to whom it is permitted to have said every day, "I have lived").[199] As Ker puts it, *vixi* "is a one-word speech act which gives structure to the speaker's life: a life securely past, a state of present completion, and thus also an independence from the future."[200]

Without being explicit, Horace offers the same lesson to Torquatus that he had earlier offered to Maecenas in *Odes* 3.29 and which Seneca offers to Lucilius in *Epistles*

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[197] 12.8. Cf. *EM* 74.27: *utrum maiorem an minorem circulum scribas ad spatium eius pertinet, non ad formam…. honestam vitam ex centum annorum numero in quantum voles corripe et in unum diem coge: aeque honesta est* (whether you draw a larger or smaller circle it pertains to its size, not its shape…. Take an honorable life from a hundred years and contract it however much you like, contract it to a single day: it is equally honorable).

[198] 12.9.

[199] See Ker (2002) 112; Richardson-Hay (2006) *ad loc.* See also N-R (2004) *ad loc.* and West (2002) 254, both of whom connect *Odes* 3.29.41-43 with Seneca's letter.

[200] Ker (2002) 112.

12. The same Epicurean principles underlie Seneca's letter and *Odes* 4.7: the challenge to view one's lifetime through the lens of a single year, through a single day, and to order every day as though it were the last.[201] That is why Horace offers two paradigms for his warning in lines 7-8, and why he makes his point once using a seasonal metaphor to describe our death (*nos ubi decidimus* (14)), and then a second time using a solar metaphor (*cum semel occideris* (21)). Horace's rhetorical question in lines 17-18, *quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae / tempora di superi?*, both marks the shift to the day paradigm, and is itself an implicit exhortation to consider today as the *summa vitae*. Lines 17-18, then, do not primarily address the imminent proximity of death (though that thought is surely in the background), but instead urge the adoption of a particular disposition.[202] If the gods are not adding tomorrow to Torquatus' lifetime, then he would do well to enjoy what he has today; otherwise it goes to the greedy heir. In fact, this same basic structure underlies *Odes* 1.11: the setting of the poem is clearly winter, the end of the year; I have already suggested above that the significance of the setting lies in its terminal nature. Leuconoe's *spes longa* (7) looks beyond the end of the current year (*ut melius, quidquid erit pati / seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam, / quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare / Tyrrhenum!* 3-6). The movement in the final lines then

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[201] Cf. N-R (2004) on 3.29.41-43 speaking of Seneca *EM* 12: "There, despite some Stoic colouring, Seneca seems to depend on Epicurus." See Hadot (1995) 222-230 for the similarities between the Stoic and Epicurean emphasis on the present.

[202] Cf. the similarity between *quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae / tempora di superi?* and Seneca 12.9: *crastinum si adiecerit deus, laeti recipiamus.*

shifts, as in 4.7, to the day; this is the *spatium breve* to which she must prune back her hope (6-7): *carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero* (pluck the day, trusting as little as possible in the future). Again we could look to Seneca: *id ago ut mihi instar totius vitae dies sit; nec mehercules tamquam ultimum rapio, sed sic illum aspicio tamquam esse vel ultimus possit* (I live as if a day for me is equal to my whole life; I don't snatch at it as though it were the last, by god, but I look at it as though it were, or at least could be the last).[203] We may fault Horace for being inexplicit, but he does not need to be explicit; Torquatus, steeped in Epicurean philosophy, would have recognized the advice.[204]

But what, we may ask, does all this have to do with spring? Why did Horace choose to set these particular poems in spring? First, as I said above, the emphasis Horace places on the transitional quality of spring draws attention to the basic underlying theme that time is always passing. Spring's arrival in Horace's poems, however, is not a cause from celebration—certainly not in the way it is for Meleager or Leonidas, or any of the authors of spring poems in the *AP*; it is not even primarily a cause for a celebratory symposium.[205] Though there may well be an implied exhortation to enjoy the present by having a symposium, Horace significantly does not say, "spring has come; the weather is fine and the girls and boys are beautiful; let's

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[203] *EM* 61.1.

[204] On Torquatus' Epicureanism see especially Eidinow (1995) and Feeney (2010).

[205] As it seems to be in Alcaeus' poem, cited by Athenaeus 430b: τοῦ δ' ἔαρος: ἦρος ἀνθεμόεντος ἐπάιον ἐρχομένοιο. καὶ προελθών· ἐν δὲ κέρνατε τῶ μελιαδέος ὅττι τάχιστα κρατῆρα ([Alcaeus drinks in the season] of spring: "I feel flowery spring coming on" and proceeding on: "mix me a *crater* of honey-sweet wine as quick as can be).

drink." Instead Horace's spring is always a harbinger of winter, which is already very much well on the way; it always suggests the addressee's inevitable displacement by the young, the heirs of what is left unenjoyed.

Ovid, when writing his own melancholic spring poem, begins it in a very Horatian way, by starting with a "motto", though his line comes not from Alcaeus, but from Horace himself. *Tristia* 3.12 begins with a clear allusion to *Odes* 4.7.9: *frigora iam Zephyri minuunt* (*frigora mitescunt Zephyris*).[206] What follows is a description of spring and the joys that are available now that spring has arrived. The description shares certain similarities to the celebratory spring poems of the *AP*. And yet in lines 13-16, a discordant note begins to sound as the hexameters speak of vines and trees bursting with buds, while the pentameters return a melacholic refrain: these joys are far from Tomis.

quoque loco est vitis, de palmite gemma movetur:
nam procul a Getico litore vitis abest;
quoque loco est arbor, turgescit in arbore ramus:
nam procul a Geticis finibus arbor abest.
Wherever there is a grapevine, a bud is stirred from the shoot:
but the vine is far from the Getic shore;
wherever there is a tree, the fruit swells on the tree:
but trees are far from the Getic land.

[206] See Kenney (1965) 43 and Nagle (1980) 42 and n. 47. What follows Ovid's opening may in fact point us to the fact that this is not the first line of Horace's poem, but rather the first line of his headlong run through the seasons: *frigora iam Zephyri minuunt, annoque peracto / longior antiquis visa Maeotis hiems…*

Ovid then makes clear what is by now obvious: the lovely spring with its flowers and budding trees and songbirds and sun, that is somewhere else, *istic* (17), there, in Rome. Thus Ovid writes a poem which is not only set at the advent of spring, but which begins with a clear reference to Horace's spring poem. Significantly, Ovid seems to have understood the essential nature of Horatian spring, but he substitutes Horace's sense of approaching temporal displacement for his own present spatial displacement. The joys and activities of spring are now enjoyed not by the younger generation (though that may be implied) but instead by those in Rome, at place to which, like his youth, Ovid can no longer return.

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Horace's employment of seasonal imagery complements the picture of Horatian time that we saw in the first chapter: the emphasis on transition and the transitional moment places Horace's addressees (and the poet himself) into a time that is in motion between two temporal points, between "then" and "soon" or "now" and "soon". This emphasis on transition provides Horace's poems with a sense of inevitability as well as a feeling of urgency. Furthermore, Horace often represents these poles in seasonal terms: *virens*/*ver* and *aridae frondes*/*hiems*, spring and winter. I have explored at some length the variety of ways in which Horace manipulates seasonal imagery in the *Odes*. He can apply these terms directly to his addressees, as in 1.25, 4.13, and 4.10, or incorporate them into similes where they are suggestive of the movement of time and

imminent seasonal change of an addressee outside the simile, as in 1.23 and 2.5. Finally, Horace often sets his poems at a particular moment: spring in 1.4 and 4.7, winter in 1.11 and 1.9, autumn in 3.17. In these poems Horace uses the seasonal setting to draw a lesson for his addressee, a lesson which, at its most basic level, is that time is passing, winter is coming.

Chapter 3: Wine and Time

In his 1957 article, "The Function of Wine in Horace's Odes," Commager noted that, "many of the Odes are less instructive as a tribute to wine than as an example of how wine becomes an attribute of a poem's imaginative structure."[1] In the opening paragraph he draws a sharp distinction between his own New Critical approach, and that of his predecessors, who seemed to view Horace's wine through the lens of the social historian rather than through the lens of the literary critic. Reacting against this approach, Commager goes so far as to say that wine represents "not so much a subject as a symbol in Horace's thought."[2] What is especially useful in his approach comes across in the title of the paper itself: the notion that, however valuable the details about wine and wine drinking may be for our understanding of contemporary Roman practice and culture, wine has a function, a poetic function, in the *Odes* of Horace. What I wish to do here is investigate one function that wine has in Horace, or rather, the function of one kind of wine and how that function is related to time.

The most ubiquitous element in sympotic poetry is, naturally enough, wine. One cannot, after all, have a symposium without wine, and as such its presence is the most important of several topoi which mark a given poem as sympotic. But in many of Horace's sympotic poems the presence of wine and drinking does much more than

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[1] Commager (1957) 68.
[2] *loc. cit.* Cf. also Nisbet (1984) 17: "Not enough attention has been paid to the wines, which as usual in Horace have a symbolic significance."

serve as a generic marker. This is apparent from the details which Horace frequently adds to his wine; he does not often call for any old wine. Poets, and Horace among them, certainly spoke generally about drinking wine without including any further information:[3] in the *carpe diem* ode, 1.11.6, the poet simply says *vina liques*, strain the wine, and in *Odes* 1.7 there is mention of *merum* (19) and *vinum* (30). In such cases the poet attaches no specific details to the wine.[4] But among Augustan poets and prose authors there is a tendency to specify wine of a particular region. On the one hand, this reflects the contemporary reality of wine production; the first century BC saw the emergence of a few wine regions, predominantly located in Campania, which by that time had achieved a reputation for superior wine,[5] and references to wines from those regions (Falernian, Caecuban, Massic, etc.) abound in late Republican and Augustan authors alike.[6] On the other hand, in poetry at least, to specify a wine from one of these regions points immediately to the quality of the wine, and thus may suggest some special occasion. Then, as now, those who could afford to drink Falernian would probably not have done so daily; the average "house red" of the Romans will probably have been a local, cheaper wine, such as the *vile Sabinum* of *Odes* 1.20. It is one thing for

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[3] Athenaeus says of Alcaeus, Horace's chief model, that he took any opportunity he could to drink: κατὰ γὰρ πᾶσαν ὥραν καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν πίνων ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος εὑρίσκεται (for this poet is found drinking at every season and in every situation). He then goes on to quote fragments of Alcaeus' poems, many of which later became "mottos" in Horace's poetry. These fragments show the poet drinking in the winter, summer, spring, in joy, in misery, and upon the death of the tyrant Myrsilus.

[4] Though an adjective may occasionally accompany the wine, as at 1.7.19 (*molli…mero*).

[5] See Purcell (1985) and Tchernia (1986) and (1995).

[6] See the very helpful appendix in Tchernia (1986).

Horace to say, "let's dispel our cares with wine," and another to say, "let's dispel our cares with a bottle of Châteaux Lafite Rothschild or Penfolds Grange." So, while nondescript wine certainly appears in the poetry of the Augustan age, when an author specifies the appellation of the wine he intends to drink, it becomes more than mere generic trapping; it imparts an element of quality to the wine.

Another way for a poet to underscore the quality of a wine is to mention its age. Greek poets and Latin poets occasionally do this: Theocritus has four-year-old wine (τετράενες δὲ πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ, 7.147; Βίβλινον… / …τετόρων ἐτέων σχεδὸν, 14.15-16), Catullus calls for *vetuli…Falerni* (27.1), Tibullus for *veteris…Falernos* [sc. *cados*] *consulis* (2.1.27-28). In *Odes* 1.9.7-8 Horace himself calls for a four-year old wine *quadrimum…merum*. Of course all wine is aged, but when a poet specifies its age, he emphasizes the quality (or, relatedly, the expense) of the wine, or lack thereof (as is perhaps the case with Horace's four-year-old Sabine wine). Whatever Pliny the Elder or Galen might say regarding the peak drinking age of a particular regional wine, then, as now, a twenty-year-old wine was generally assumed to be superior to a four-year-old wine.[7] One need only consider how Roman authors parody the *nouveaux riches* for their misguided selection of wine. With ignorance akin to Catullus' Arrius, a Trimalchio, a

[7] On Falernian see Pliny *NH* 23.20.34. For a list of wines and their maturation times see Athenaeus citing Galen, 1.26C – 27D. It is worth noting the context for these passages. Pliny is certainly not, and Galen probably not, concerned with the peak age for a wine's drinkability as it pertains to taste and wine connoisseurship, but rather for the peak time for a wine's medicinal benefits. While these times may overlap, they need not necessarily do so.

Virrus, or a Quintus might well serve up fake or (if genuine) truly horrible-tasting wine simply because it is an old vintage.[8] The joke works because these hosts have merely taken an already well established mark of sophistication and wealth and carried it to an absurd extreme. Even though it may cease to hold in extreme cases, for Roman authors the quality of a wine was tied to its age. Thus, to mark the festive celebration depicted in elegy 2.1, Tibullus demands wines from the best regions (Chian and Falernian) and makes explicit that the wine should be an old one (*veteris…proferte Falernos* [sc. *cados*] *consulis* (2.1.27-28)). A special day calls for a special wine.[9]

To emphasize the quality of their wine, poets could refer to its appellation, its age, or both, as Tibullus does. Horace, however, takes this process one step further. While he is, as we saw above with *Odes* 1.9, content to give the age of a particular wine in years, often he chooses to indicate its age by reference to the precise year of its vintage, dated by consular year, or to a specific event. That the former was the common practice we know from the epigraphic evidence found on many *amphorae* and *dolia*. The name of at least one of the two eponymous consuls was marked on the container to

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[8] Cf., e.g., Petronius 34, where Trimalchio offers his guests Opimian wine: *verum Opimianum praesto*; Juvenal 5.30-31, speaking of the wine Virro the patron will drink: *ipse capillato diffusum consule potat / calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uuam* (he himself drinks wine bottled in the days when a consul had long hair and has a wine pressed during the Social War); Martial 3.62.2-5: *quod sub rege Numa condita uina bibis… / …haec animo credis magno te, Quinte, parare? / falleris: haec animus, Quinte, pusillus emit* (since you drink wine bottled when Numa was king…do you think these things furnish you with magnanimity? You're deceived, Quintus, a pusilanimus man buys these things). For Opimian wine see especially Schnur (1957), Baldwin (1967), Bicknell (1968), and Schmeling (1970). These articles concern themselves mostly with the question of whether or not Trimalchio could in fact have possessed such a vintage and what the quality of that wine is likely to have been.

[9] cf. 2.1.29: *vina diem celebrent*.

indicate the year in which the wine was produced. Sometimes a second, later date might be added to specify when the wine was transferred to a smaller container, which might then be placed in the *apotheca* where the smoke would enhance its flavor.[10] Commentators helpfully cite *ILS* 8580 which gives both dates: *Ti Claudio P. Quintillo cos.* [13 BC] *a. d. xiii k. Iun. vinum diffusum quod natum est duobus Lentulis cos.* [18 BC] *autocr.* (the wine which was born when the two Lentuluses were consul was rebottled 13 days before the kalends of June when T. Claudius and P. Quintillus were consuls).[11] As now, there were good and bad years, and also a few great years. Indeed, one vintage in particular was so superb it became known only by its date, regardless of the region in which it was produced: Opimianum, pressed in the year 121 BC when Lucius Opimius was consul.[12] The passage from Tibullus 2.1 quoted above shows that poets did occasionally give a nod to this real-life practice. But the phrase *veteris…Falernos consulis* is unspecific; no precise consulship is given. So while this passage reflects contemporary reality, the emphasis falls solely on the age of the wine as an indicator of its quality or cost.

Among his predecessors and contemporaries, only Horace has a tendency to give the precise consular date of the wine he drinks. Providing the consular date does not

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[10] Cf. 3.8.11-12: *amphorae fumum bibere institutae / consule Tullo*. For the custom and process see N-R *ad loc*. and Murgatroyd (2006) on Tibullus 2.1.27.
[11] N-H (1970) and Watson (2003).
[12] See note 8 above.

merely indicate the age and quality of a particular wine. Nor, I might add, is it simply a way to add a "prosaic" touch to Horace's lyric verse;[13] dating wine by consular year, or some other historical event, has a fundamentally different function. For just as there is a difference between drinking a bottle of wine, and drinking a bottle of Penfolds Grange, it is one thing to drink a seventy-eight-year-old wine and quite another to drink a 1944 Bordeaux.

When Horace gives a wine a precise date, or fuses a wine with a specific event, he introduces a detail which is not, or not solely, a marker for the age and quality of the wine. Instead, the insertion of the date introduces time into the poem. The date recalls the past to the present of the poem, for commemoration or contemplation. To illustrate my point it will be instructive to look at *Odes* 1.20. While the wine in this ode is not given a consular date, it is nevertheless dated by a specific event, and what that date adds is of critical importance both for the poem itself and for illustrating how dated wines work in the other poems I shall discuss.

vile potabis modicis Sabinum
cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
conditum levi, datus in theatro
cum tibi plausus,

[13] N-R (2004) on 3.21.1: "The formal dating exemplifies the Roman organization of chronology…, and with its prosaic associations makes a stylistic contrast with the hymnal invocation."

c<l>are, Maecenas, eques, ut paterni
fluminis ripae simul et iocosa
redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
montis imago.

Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno
tu bibes uuam; mea nec Falernae
temperant uites neque Formiani
pocula colles.

You will drink a cheap Sabine
from modest cups, which I myself sealed with pitch
and stored away in a Greek jug, when applause
was given to you in the theater,
Maecenas, famous equestrian, such that the banks
of your paternal river and the jesting echo
of the Vatican Hill together resounded
the praise back to you.
Caecuban and the grape tamed in the Calenian
press you can drink (at home); neither Falernian
vines nor Formian hills temper
my cups.

As is commonly acknowledged, this poem falls into the genre of the *vocatio* or invitation poem.[14] Chief among its models is almost certainly *AP* 11.44, an invitation poem by Philodemus to his patron L. Calpurnius Piso to join him on the anniversary of Epicurus' death.[15] These two poems—as do most of the poems of this type—stress the contrast between what each host can offer his patron, and those things which one might expect to be provided, or which the patron is perhaps more accustomed to enjoy. In this case,

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[14] Though see Race (1978) who regards the poem as a *recusatio*. Fraenkel (1957) 214 sees the invitation as having occurred and Maecenas' presence as given. Horace, then, is not inviting Maecenas here, but rather informing him of what he will expect in the way of wine. So too Quinn (1980) 163: "The ostensible status of the ode is not that of an invitation…but that of a dramatic monologue…in which we hear H. talking to his guest, who has already arrived." Both Fraenkel and Quinn, as well as N-H, while unwilling to call this poem an invitation in a strict sense, nevertheless continue to speak of it as such, and cite as parallels poems such as *AP* 11.44, and Catullus 13 which fall squarely in the genre of the *vocatio*.

[15] See N-H (1970) 244-246, Gigante (1985), and Cairns (1992) 90.

Αὔριον εἰς λιτήν σε καλιάδα, φίλτατε Πείσων,
ἐξ ἐνάτης ἕλκει μουσοφιλὴς ἕταρος
εἰκάδα δειπνίζων ἐνιαύσιον· εἰ δ' ἀπολείψῃς
οὔθατα καὶ Βρομίου χιογενῆ πρόποσιν,
ἀλλ' ἑτάρους ὄψει παναληθέας, ἀλλ' ἐπακούσῃ
Φαιήκων γαίης πουλὺ μελιχρότερα·
ἢν δέ ποτε στρέψῃς καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ὄμματα, Πείσων,
ἄξομεν ἐκ λιτῆς εἰκάδα πιοτέρην.

Tomorrow, to his humble hut, dearest Piso,
Your Muse-loving companion will draw you
at three o'clock, holding the annual feast of the Twentieth.
If you should leave behind the sows' udders
and your drafts of Chian born wine, nonetheless
you will see true companions, nonetheless
hear things more honey-sweet than the land of the Phaiacians
But if ever you should turn your eyes upon us as well, Piso,
Instead of a humble celebration, we would celebrate a richer Twentieth.

Horace cannot offer Maecenas the *grands crus*,[16] but he will instead serve a "cheap" (*vile*) Sabine wine.[17] Yet this is no ordinary Sabine wine; it was laid up by Horace himself on a significant date: Maecenas' first public appearance upon his recovery from a near-fatal illness.[18] Horace very skillfully describes the wine in temporal terms using *paronomasia* to emphasize the simultaneity of his action and that of the crowd: the proximity of the compound *conditum* (3) to the simple *datus* (3) activates the literal meaning of the compound, reinforcing the temporal connection between the storage (*con*ditum) of the wine and the giving (*datus*) of the applause. In this way the wine comes to embody, as it were, that very moment in time when the applause was given. In the lines that follow, that public praise for Maecenas is immediately echoed by the Tiber and the Vatican Hill (lines 5-8), and the echo is expressed by a second compound of *dare*

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[16] In this I side with the majority of critics who interpret the *bibes* of line 10 as a concessive future, "you may drink" i.e. at home. Cairns (1992), argues that the future *bibes* in line 10 is, as *potabis* in line 1, a future of invitation (cf. Catullus 13.1: *cenabis*). In other words, Horace will not only serve Maecenas his *Sabinum vile*, but he will also have Caecuban and Calenian wine for his patron as well. These are top-shelf wines, or very nearly so. This, however, destroys the form of the typical *vocatio* as we know it. In Philodemus' poem, Piso will get good company and pleasant talk, but no Chian wine and no delicacies such as sow's udders. Catullus 13 offers nothing but perfume. *Odes* 4.12, perhaps reversing the Catullus poem, requires fine perfume in return for a good wine. Sidonius Apollinaris in *Odes* 17 will provide nothing at all; instead Jesus will provide everything they need. For a list of *vocatio ad cenam* poems, see Cairns (1972) 286. His list includes *Odes* 2.11, which does not quite fit the pattern where the host explains to the guest what he will eat or drink.

[17] Not wishing to see in the offer of a *vinum vile* an insult to the poet's patron, Cairns (1992) takes *vile* as an antonym for the Greek εὐγενής. That is all fine and good, but I do not see how a "non-noble" Sabine wine escapes the fact that it would indeed be "cheap."

[18] The incident is alluded to here: *datus in theatro* / *cum tibi plausus* (3-4) and expounded upon at 2.17.22-26: *te Iovis impio* / *tutela Saturno refulgens* / *eripuit volucrisque Fati* / *tardavit alas, cum populus frequens* / *laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum* (Zeus' protection, shining back, rescued you from wicked Saturn and slowed the swift wings of Fate when the populace crowding around cried out three times a joyful cry in the theater). See N-H (1970) *ad loc.* on 1.20 and (1978) on 2.17.

(*redderet*, 7). In serving this wine, then, we may see Horace giving to Maecenas yet another echo of that first applause, and ensuring that the memory of that day will continue to resurface as long as wine remains in the jug.[19] But because the poem also commemorates Maecenas' recovery and the praise he received from the people, the wine and the poem overlap. Commager, nearly eliding the two, went so far as to suggest that we should see the poem as the real gift and that the significance of the *Graeca…testa* (2) rests in Horace giving Maecenas a Greek poem with Roman content.[20] Despite Nisbet and Hubbard, the suggestion is not ridiculous.[21] If Horace's mention of a *Greek* jar suggests an attempt at preserving an otherwise short-lived wine,[22] the same may be said of the poem itself: insofar as it is in Aeolic meter and therefore Greek in form, the poem is, in a sense, a Greek vessel; but, more importantly, it represents an attempt, even as the *Graeca testa* does via the wine it contains, to preserve an event. It is a weak objection to argue that if the wine in the first stanza has a symbolic meaning, then so must those of the last stanza.[23] The genre of the *vocatio* urges us to pay attention to the contrast between Horace's wine and the other wines. Falernian, Formian, Chian,

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[19] For a different reading of the *paronomasia* here, see Macleod (1979a) 23 and Cairns (1992) 96 n. 78.
[20] Commager (1962) 326.
[21] N-H (1970) 248: "Commager hints at a symbolic significance… [Horace] is pouring new Latin themes into old Greek forms. This kind of interpretation ought to be rejected without hesitation." Commager's general notion has since been defended by Race (1979), and Cairns (1992). Cf. Putnam (1969). See also the excellent discussion in Miller (1994) 155-157 on the *Sabina diota* of ode 1.9.8, as well as other similar phrases where Horace intentionally, indeed programmatically, joins Greek and Roman terms when speaking of his own poetry (e.g. 1.1.35: *lyricis vatibus* and 3.30.13: *Aeolium carmen*).
[22] See N-H (1970) *ad loc.*
[23] N-H (1970) 248.

and Caecuban are top-shelf wines; they keep longer, they are more valuable and of a higher quality, and so befit a guest of Maecenas' station much more than any Sabine wine. Yet Horace has infused his Sabine with significance by linking it to a meaningful event; and he has ensured its longevity, both by putting it in a Greek jar, and by including it in his poem. Thus, as the anagram makes clear, by the very act of laying up his wine (*conditum levi*), Horace transforms an otherwise "cheap" (*vile*) Sabine into a truly valuable gift, much more valuable and more lasting than the average Falernian.[24]

Because Horace gives the wine in *Odes* 1.20 no specific vintage, it is a good place to begin to understand some of the ways in which a temporally marked wine functions in Horace's poetry. Had Horace provided a specific date, it would be all too easy to see its age merely as a marker for quality, as many do in poems which contain dated wines.[25] But the date of the wine in *Odes* 1.20 clearly places less emphasis on the age of the wine than on the event from which it takes its birth.[26] In other words, *what* Horace and Maecenas are to drink is less important than *when* it was made or bottled; and that in turn is only important not because of its age, but because of *what was happening* when the wine was made or bottled. Thus the vintage of a wine in Horace's poetry is rather a

[24] Cairns (1992) 96 notes the anagram, but not its significance.
[25] For example, in *Odes* 3.8 there is a debate about whether the wine dates from 66 BC or 33 BC. Scholars misunderstanding Horace's purpose in dating a wine argue for the former date since the older wine would be more valuable and therefore more appropriate for Horace's guest, Maecenas. On this poem, see below.
[26] It may be that what Horace refers to here is not the wine's vintage, but the year in which he transferred it from a *dolium* to the smaller *amphora* and set it up in the *apotheca* (see above, n. 10).

marker for an event, a time past that has been bottled up and stored away. In this ode, Horace's commemorative bottling, as it were, gives the wine much of its poetic significance. But the poem is not in fact about commemorative bottling, but about commemorative *drinking*. The point is not that Horace has bottled his wine on a significant date—though that is surely critical for an understanding of the ode—but that he has invited Maecenas to *drink* that wine with him in the present. By doing so Horace makes this poem at least as much about the past as it is about the present. Serving up this wine and drinking it allows Horace to bring the past, represented by the bottled wine itself, into the present of the celebration and in some sense to relive that past, if only for a moment. For, whatever else Horace and Maecenas might do or think or say at the imagined symposium, this particular wine will ensure that their revelry begins with the memory of Maecenas' miraculous recovery and public acclamation.

One further consequence of the way Horace dates this particular wine is that it has caused some scholars to conclude that the dramatic date for *Odes* 1.20 occurs on the very anniversary of Maecenas' recovery and public ovation.[27] Admittedly, Horace never explicitly says this, yet in the *Odes* temporally marked wine tends to occur in tandem with other dates, most often the dramatic date or occasion of the poem. So, for example, the wine of *Odes* 3.28 dates from Bibulus' consulship, but the party is

[27] Ensor (1902) and Cairns (1992). I discuss Ensor's suggestive article below.

happening, according to most, on July 23rd during the Neptunalia. *Odes* 3.8, to which we will presently turn, pairs a wine from Tullus' consulship (either 66 BC or 33 BC) with the Matronalia on the Kalends of March. True, in *Odes* 1.20 Horace only provides us with the "date" of the wine. To read this as an anniversary poem is not a far leap to make. Philodemus' poem, Horace's likely model, is itself an invitation to a *cena* to be held on the anniversary of Epicurus' death. If drinking this particular wine is a way of bringing the past into the present and reliving that past, then it makes good sense that Horace should be remembering this significant event on its anniversary.

But there is more than just good sense that underpins the feeling that *Odes* 1.20 marks an anniversary. The main support, first noted by Ensor, begins with *Odes* 3.8, and involves reading backward through *Odes* 2.17 and 2.13.[28]

Martiis caelebs quid agam Kalendis,
quid velint flores et acerra turis
plena miraris positusque carbo in
caespite vivo,
docte sermones utriusque linguae? 5
voveram dulcis epulas et album
Libero caprum prope funeratus
arboris ictu.
hic dies anno redeunte festus
corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit 10

[28] Ensor (1902).

amphorae fumum bibere institutae
consule Tullo.
sume, Maecenas, cyathos amici
sospitis centum et vigiles lucernas
perfer in lucem: procul omnis esto
clamor et ira.
mitte civilis super urbe curas:
occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,
Medus infestus sibi luctuosis
dissidet armis,
servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae,
Cantaber, sera domitus catena,
iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu
cedere campis.
neglegens ne qua populus laboret
parce privatus nimium cavere et
dona praesentis cape laetus horae,
linque severa.

Do you wonder what I, a bachelor, am doing
on the Kalends of March? And what the flowers are for?
and the censer full of incense and the coal
placed on living turf?
You, who have been taught the speech of each tongue?
I had vowed sweet feasts and a white
goat to Liber when I was nearly sent to my grave
by the blow of the tree.
This festal day, now the date is returning

will unplug the cork stuck with pitch
from the amphora taught to drink up the smoke
when Tullus was consul.
Raise, Maecenas, one hundred glasses
to your saved friend and the wakeful lamps,
draw them out till daybreak; let anger and shouting
all be far away.
Send away your civil cares for the city;
the battle-line of Cotiso the Dacian has fallen,
the Mede, hostile to himself, fights in disagreement
with sorrowful arms.
Our old enemy in Spain, the Cantabrian,
tamed late by the chain, is enslaved,
Scythians, with bow unstrung contemplate
leaving the field.
Don't trouble yourself that the populace struggles
in any way; as a private citizen, don't worry too much
and happily take hold of the gifts of the present hour,
leave serious matters.

At the beginning of *Odes* 3.8 Horace provides us with a clear and specific dramatic date for the occasion of his celebration: the kalends of March (*Martiis…Kalendis*, 1). The poet is holding this celebration, as he tells us in lines 6-8, because he had pledged a sacrifice to Liber after nearly being killed by a falling tree, an event which Horace has already related in *Odes* 2.13. Scholars universally agree that the celebration Horace holds in 3.8 occurs on the anniversary of the poet's brush with death. The emphasis on the day and

the year's returning both support this reading: *hic dies anno redeunte festus* (9). So we learn from this poem that the incident described in 2.13 must have occurred at least one year earlier on the 1st of March.[29] Moreover, in *Odes* 2.17, Horace connects his own brush with death to Maecenas' near-fatal illness and subsequent recovery to which he had previously referred in *Odes* 1.20.[30] It is less relevant for my discussion here whether or not Horace is claiming that the two escapes from death happened on the same day of the same year. It is enough that he has connected the two events temporally. Consequently, Horace's celebration in 3.8 on the kalends of March, though he nowhere explicitly says so in the poem, in fact celebrates a double anniversary.

In addition to providing a specific date for his celebration in 3.8 (thus fixing the tree incident in real time), Horace also supplies the vintage of the wine to be consumed: *amphorae fumum bibere institutae* / *consule Tullo* (11-12). The phrase *consule Tullo*, however, can refer either to consulship of L. Volcatius Tullus (66 BC) or to that of his son of the same name (33 BC). While most scholars have tended to see a reference to the former, Ensor argued for a reference to the latter, claiming that the more recent

[29] Quinn (1980) 260: "the natural inference is that this is the first anniversary of H.'s escape and that he proposes to celebrate the anniversary every year (not necessarily with the same wine)." But cf. N-H (1970): "The date of 3.8 is probably about 25 B.C. …perhaps eight years after the event it described (*anno redeunte* in no way implies a first anniversary)."

[30] *Odes* 2.17.17-32. See N-H (1978) 201, 272, 280-283.

consul would occur to readers more readily than his father.[31] Moreover, he stresses the similarity of Horace's description of the wine in this poem, with that of 1.20:

> *vile potabis modicis Sabinum*
> *cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa*
> *conditum levi, datus in theatro*
> *cum tibi plausus…* 1.20.1-4
>
> *hic dies anno redeunte festus*
> *corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit*
> *amphorae fumum bibere institutae*
> *consule Tullo.* 3.8.9-12

Although strictly speaking there is little verbal correspondence between these passages, Horace in each passage does make reference to the practice of smearing the cork with pitch to aid in preserving the contents of the amphora. And it is not simply the reference to coating the cork with pitch that connects these two wines, but the fact that Horace provides this detail solely in connection with these two wines. Furthermore, while Horace, as we shall see, often describes his wines at some length, these two wines are notable for Horace's stress on his own actions to preserve the wine, and also the date from which he began to do so. Only in these two poems do we see Horace himself placing wine aside on a specific date. Finally, we should note how tightly the wine of ode 3.8 is bound up with the very day of the celebration itself: *hic dies anno redeunte*

[31] Ensor (1902) 210.

festus / corticem…dimovebit. *This* day, the kalends of March, will uncork the wine jug. Horace's use of the day as an agent here, while not that uncommon, is significant. It fuses a particular vintage to a particular day; *this* day opens *this* bottle.[32] The addition of the phrase *anno redeunte*, while making clear that this is an anniversary occasion, also perhaps acquires a slightly more literal meaning, "because the year is returning". The year returns in the form of a celebration that is meant first and foremost to evoke the memory of that earlier time. We see a similar process in Tibullus' birthday poem for Messalla, 1.7. There the poet establishes a complex but nonetheless clear link between the date of Messalla's victory with the patron's *dies natalis*:

> *hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes*
> *stamina, non ulli dissoluenda deo,*
> *hunc fore, Aquitanas posset qui fundere gentes,*
> *quem tremeret forti milite victus Atur*.[33] 1.7.1-4
> The fates sang of this day, weaving the fateful threads
> threads that can be unraveled by no god,
> that it would be the day that would throw down
> the Aquitanian tribes, the day at which the Atur, conquered
> by strong soldery would tremble.
>
> *huc [sc. Osiris] ades et Genium ludis Geniumque choreis*
> *concelebra et multo tempora funde mero*, 1.7.49-50
> Come hither and celebrate the Genius with games, celebrate the Genius

[32] *pace* Quinn (1980) cited in n. 28 above.
[33] I have followed the commentators in printing Scaliger's *Atur* for the MSS *Atax*.

with choruses and shower the head with much wine.
at tu, Natalis, multos celebrande per annos,
candidior semper candidiorque veni 1.7.63-64
But you, birthday to be celebrated for many years,
come always brighter and brighter.

Messalla may indeed have celebrated his triumph over the Aquitani on or near his birthday. But the conflation here between birthday celebration and triumphal festival (ordinary Romans did not celebrate their birthdays with *ludi* and *chorei*) coupled with the address to *Natalis* (who is earlier addressed as *hodierne* (53), "spirit of this day") as something to be celebrated for many years to come, suggests that from this birthday forward, at any rate, Messalla's birthday will become a time to celebrate and remember this particular birthday. The phrase *anno redeunte* in *Odes* 3.8 seems similarly to suggest that the year of the tree incident is itself, in some sense, returning. Moreover, Horace has probably signaled the "returning year", the year in which the memory to be celebrated occurred, with the very wine he serves: *consule Tullo*. The fact that Horace describes the amphora as having been taught to drink the smoke (*amphorae fumum bibere institutae*) from that date suggests the origination of a practice and so points perhaps to the sort of commemorative bottling we saw earlier in *Odes* 1.20.[34] Thus what we have in 3.8 is a variation on what we saw in 1.20: in the earlier poem we were given the date of the wine (in the form of a datable event), which in turn suggested an anniversary

[34] N-R (2004) *ad loc.* "[T]he verb implies not only teaching but the institution of a continuing activity."

occasion for the poem, whereas here, the anniversary is certain and the commemorated event is certain, but the date of that event is provided by the wine, the date from which it was placed in the *apotheca* to imbibe the smoke. The jump in the former is from wine to occasion, and in the latter from occasion to wine. If this seems plausible, then the wine cannot date from 66 BC, as Horace was not yet alive; instead it must date from 33 BC and it is entirely likely, then, that Horace's arboreal escape happened on March 1st of that year.

In his article, Ensor went so far as to argue that the wines of *Odes* 1.20, and 3.8 (and perhaps also 1.9), were in fact, the very same wine. From what we have seen thus far, this is not so unreasonable. Both wines are described as having been preserved with pitch-covered corks and in each case Horace provides us with a specific date (or datable event, in the case of 1.20) on which that preservation and storage began. Furthermore, as we saw above, Horace himself connects Maecenas' recovery and laudation with his own brush with death in *Odes* 2.17 in astrological, and therefore also temporal, terms. If Horace's escape from death and Maecenas' recovery happened at or around the same time, as Horace surely implies, then it must mean that they both happened at or around March 1st in the year 33 BC. Nisbet and Hubbard called Ensor's article "ingenious though inevitably speculative".[35] It is certainly speculative; but his

[35] Though by "ingenious" they clearly mean that it is too clever, and therefore unpersuasive.

argument is also ingeniously suggestive and shows precisely the kind of sensitivity to time and temporal terms necessary to appreciate fully what Horace is doing with wine in his poetry. It is not, as Nisbet and Hubbard imply, absurd to think about wine in this way, and the fact that commemorative bottling may be a literary convention should only serve to draw our attention to it all the more.[36] To link the wines of these two poems, while admittedly speculative, adds something to each poem. If nothing else, it gives us a *reason* for Horace's choice of wine in *Odes* 3.8 that is not in some way reductive. Those critics who, like Quinn, contend that the wine dates from 66 BC do so because they mistakenly see the age of a particular wine as a marker only for the quality of a particular wine.[37] Since Maecenas is a high-ranking guest, he should be given a special, higher-quality (i.e. older) wine. But Horace's wine is never special because of its age *per se,* as *Odes* 1.20 shows; the date of a given wine makes that wine representative of a past event, or a past time, a time which is therefore brought into the present of the poem. Dated wine in Horace is special because of its commemorative power.

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[36] N-H (1970) 244: "Yet already we are in danger of exaggerating the element of literal truth in Horace's poem…. The whole business of commemorative "bottling" may be no less of a literary convention; in that case it is absurd to debate whether the wine of the two invitation poems [sc. 1.20 and 3.8] is or is not the same." There is no question of literal truth here; it matters not at all whether Horace actually served this wine in reality, but that he depicts himself as so doing *in his poetry*. This view seems softened at N-R (2004) 128.

[37] Quinn (1980) 260: "[E]ither L. Volcacius Tullus *cos.* 66 or his son *cos.* 33 is meant, more likely the former (i.e. a very special wine)." It is a special wine, but not because it is old.

Before I proceed further, it will be helpful to draw some conclusions about what the preceding discussions of *Odes* 1.20 and 3.8 have shown us about Horatian wine.

1) Wine may be temporally marked by the consular year in which it was pressed, or re-bottled and set in the *apotheca* to enhance its flavor. But it may also be temporally marked by the mention of an event that occurred at the time of bottling of the wine, or in the year that the wine was "born", or even by fusing the wine to a particular occasion that has already come or is yet to come.
2) Dated wine is frequently paired with a second date (or datable event) which provides the occasion for the poem. So in *Odes* 3.8, a wine from 33 BC is served on the Kalends of March. There we saw that the two dates worked in tandem: the one (33 BC) giving us the year of the commemorated incident, and the other (March 1st) supplying the day. In such cases it is worth looking for some connection between the date/event attached to the wine and the date/event which serves as the occasion. In other words, why *this* wine on *this* day?
3) To discover the full significance of a temporally marked wine, it is sometimes necessary to read backwards from later in the collection, or from a later work. For example, it is not until *Odes* 2.17 that we learn that two important events, Horace's escape from the tree (2.13) and Maecenas' recovery (1.20), events mentioned earlier in the collection, are temporally linked. And we only find out still later in the collection (3.8) that the two events occurred, if not in the same

year, probably on the same day, March 1st. Information gained from later poems, therefore, can help illuminate earlier ones, and there is every indication that Horace intends us to re-read earlier poems in light of later ones.[38]

Bearing these points in mind, I will begin with *Epodes* 9, the first occurrence of temporally marked wine in the Horatian corpus:

Quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes
victore laetus Caesare
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,
minatus urbi vincla quae detraxerat
servis amicus perfidis?
Romanus, eheu (posteri negabitis)
emancipatus feminae
fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
servire rugosis potest
interque signa turpe militaria
sol aspicit conopium.
at huc frementis verterunt bis mille equos

[38] This is similar to phenomenon Williams' calls anticipation by synecdoche *ex sequentibus praecedentia* (see Williams [1980] 102-121), though his examples deal with the phenomenon as it occurs with a single poem. This occurs across poems, and at times, across separate works.

Galli canentes Caesarem
hostiliumque navium portu latent
puppes sinistrorsum citae.
io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos
currus et intactas boves?
io Triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem
bello reportasti ducem
neque Africani quo super Carthaginem
virtus sepulcrum condidit.[39]
terra marique victus hostis Punico
lugubre mutavit sagum.
aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus,
ventis iturus non suis,
exercitatas aut petit Syrtis Noto
aut fertur incerto mari.
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.

When will I drink the Caecuban put away for festal days,
happy that Caesar is victor,
when will I drink with you in your lofty home (may it please Jove),

[39] I have adopted the reading (and translation) of Courtney (2006) 178-179.

blessed Maecenas,
with the lyre sounding out a song mixed with the flutes,
Dorian mode the one, Lydian the others,
as we did recently when the Neptunian captain, led from the straits,
fled, ships all burned,
though he threatened the city with the chains he'd taken off
the faithless slaves he was friendly to?
Alas Roman soldiery—you will deny it, posterity!—
enslaved to a woman
carries arms and stakes, and can bring itself to serve
wrinkly eunuchs,
and amid the military standards the sun spies
a shameless mosquito net.
But to this side they turned their groaning horses, two thousand of them,
Galatians singing Caesar,
and the ships of the enemy fleet, swift to the left,
take shelter in the port.
io Triumph! Are you holding back the golden chariot
and the sacrificial bulls?
io Triumph! You didn't bring back a comparable captain
from the Jugurthine War
nor in the war in which the valor of Scipio erected
a tomb over Carthage.
The enemy, conquered on land and sea, has doffed his general's cloak
for a mournful soldier's:
about to go with winds he didn't wish for, he heads for Crete
famous for its hundred cities

> or seeks the Syrtes stirred up by the Southerlies, or is borne
> on some uncertain sea.
> Bring here, boy, larger cups and Chian wine, or Lesbian,
> or, better yet,
> measure out for us a Caecuban wine which can hold in check
> our stomach-churning nausea.
> It helps to dissolve our cares and fears for Caesar's affairs
> with sweet wine.

Epodes 9 contains the first occurrence of a temporally marked wine in Horace's poetry. Although we are given no consular date, as in *Odes* 3.8, nor does Horace provide us with any event associated with it when it was pressed or when it was laid up, as in *Odes* 1.20, it is nevertheless temporally marked insofar as Horace links its consumption to a specific event. As such it exhibits some of the same features that we have seen above. Most importantly, the wine from *Epodes* 9 will make a significant reappearance later in Horace's first collection of odes.

Much of the scholarship on this poem concerns itself with when (before, during, or after Actium) and where (at Rome, at Actium, or at Brundisium) the poem was

written, or depicts itself as being written.[40] I will sidestep some of these issues because they have little bearing on what interests me here, but a few words should be said at the outset about when the poem presents itself as being written, as much of what follows depends on it. Those who argue for setting the poem during the battle fall to one side or the other of the *end* of the battle. For example, Wistrand, who argues at length for Horace's presence at Actium, thinks that it was written "just before Octavian's victory", but "after the initial successes."[41] Others argue that it was written during Actium but in

[40] Related to these issues is the question of whether or not Horace and/or Maecenas were present at the battle. This seems an unsolvable problem. Those who argue for their presence one way or the other will always find some way to do so. The sources, however, remain ambiguous or altogether silent. The historians at best only indicate that M. was definitely in Rome following Octavian's victory, but say nothing definitive about his whereabouts leading up to, and during the battle (see Wistrand [1972] for a thorough discussion of the historical sources). The only unequivocal statement comes from the suspect *Elegia in Maecenatem*; but that, if indeed we may rely on it, only explicitly supports M.'s presence; H.'s presence is inferred from the assumption that he would naturally have gone with his patron. The epode itself is often enlisted as proof in this matter, but that seems rather dubious since it hinges on reading *at huc* for the difficult *ad hunc* (17) (Housman's *at nunc* makes just as much sense). It also means accepting that *sinistrorsum* (a word which has yet to be satisfactorily explained) indicates an actual movement to the left as seen from Caesar's battle line, or from shore in Caesar's camp. Arguments invoking *Epodes* 1 are similarly problematic. The first poem of the collection strikes me as a variant of, say, *Odes* 2.6. The expression of friendship and loyalty conveyed in terms of being willing to go wherever another goes seems a social convention for the Romans, one on which Catullus 11 could depend for ironic effect. *Ibis* (*Epodes* 1.1) may mean that M. was going to Actium; but if we take that for fact, we ought to put the same stock in *iussi* of line 7, which says M. ordered H. to stay behind. Du Quesnay (2002) argues that H. has convinced M. to allow him to go by the end of the poem. Nothing in the poem indicates this at all. H.'s resolution to join M. is nothing more than a proof of friendship and loyalty; i.e. this is H.'s way of showing M. that he is *paratus omne Maecenatis periculum subire suo*, and cannot be used to prove definitively that H. did in fact go with him. Consider also the similar claims made in *Odes* 2.17.1-12; again this is a further indication of friendship and loyalty. No one, I imagine, assumes H. would actually have killed himself if M. died before him.

[41] Wistrand (1972) 322.

the immediate aftermath of victory.[42] What is really at stake, then, in the debate about the time of composition is: was it written before or after Octavian's *victory*? It seems to me that any argument for a pre-victory poem founders on lines 21-24. While one might argue that the first part of the address to Triumph, *io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos / currus et intactas boves*, restates in different terms the impatient opening question, *quando…bibam*, implying that Horace eagerly awaits the outcome of the battle, it is hard to see how the second address, *io Triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem / bello reportasti ducem / neque Africani quo super Carthaginem / virtus sepulcrum condidit*, can be so construed. The comparison to other *victorious* generals loses its point, and in fact becomes dangerously presumptuous, if Caesar has not yet been, at least in some sense, victorious. Moreover, the perfect tense of *reportasti* is critical.[43] The point of comparison is not just victory, but the repatriation of the victor—and in a military context *reportasti* must mean this—and the tense should indicate that Caesar has already been brought home.[44] If Horace's point were merely that Octavian is a better general than Marius or Scipio, then at best

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[42] There are also those who prefer to have the best of both worlds. Nisbet (1984) 16 and Watson (1987) 121 call the poem "a running commentary": "It is wrong to refer the *whole* poem to the time after Actium, still more to ascribe it wholesale to the period *before* the battle" (Watson [1987] 121, emphasis original). Cf. also Wilkinson (1946) 68. Such interpretations posit a temporal progression for which I see no grounds. True, lines 11-20 may well form a commentary of the preliminary operations and/or even the battle itself. In this case the poet has moved *backward* in time from the opening moment, not forward, as Watson implies when he claims that the poem takes "the reader through the run-up to Actium (1-18), the battle itself (19-20), and its immediate aftermath (21-38)." For a good discussion of the various scholarly views, see Gurval (1995) 137-140.

[43] Nisbet (1984) 15 senses the problem.

[44] See also note 57 below. Discussion of lines 21ff. is conspicuously absent from the otherwise exhaustive treatment of Wistrand (1972).

the notion that Triumph has not brought (or did not bring) back an equal general confuses the sense. The better solution is to acknowledge that the poem is set at some time after Caesar's victory, indeed at some point after Caesar has returned.

This is an important point, because the wine with which the poem begins is bound up with Caesar's victory. A significant feature of this poem is that it begins with wine, and in the very first line we learn a good deal about the wine. First and foremost, Horace calls for a Caecuban that has been laid up for a celebratory feast (*repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes*). At the outset Horace links the wine to an event. The opening interrogative *quando* locates that event in time, and the *bibam* of line 4, in turn, situates that time in the future. Remarkably, unlike the majority of the wine we see in his poetry, Horace does not portray the drinking of this festal Caecuban as imminent, but rather as deferred to some unspecified future time. In fact, the simple question "when will I drink the festal wine?" soon becomes more complicated, for what follows elaborates upon *festas dapes* and specifies precisely what occasion Horace means by this phrase. As was the case in *Odes* 3.8, he devotes a significant amount of space linking the wine and the event which occasions the drinking of that wine. The first ten lines, for all the other information they convey about the present situation of the poem, are in fact only telling us more about the wine: when and under what circumstances it may be consumed. It has been put away for a special feast to happen when Caesar is victorious (2), and it will be drunk with Maecenas in Rome at his house (3), and there will be

music (4-5). The drinking of this particular Caecuban is thus contingent upon several circumstances, chief among which must be Caesar's victory.[45]

That some sort of victory has been achieved is not only suggested in lines 17-20, but guaranteed by the apostrophe to Triumph in lines 21-24 and the current plight of the *hostis* (27-32). The enemy has been beaten, and he drifts on the open sea heading for some hiding place.[46] Moreover, Horace links this situation with a previous one: Octavian's *ovatio* for his victory over Sextus Pompey in 36 BC (*ut nuper… cum… Neptunius / dux fugit,* 6-7), when Horace and Maecenas drank (the same wine?) in celebration, presumably at the latter's house.[47] Thus the celebration after Naulochus becomes here the paradigm for the future one. This point is often overlooked in discussions of the poem. Horace apparently expects some victory celebration, and he is at pains to depict the victory at Actium in similar terms to that at Naulochus, which had

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[45] Williams (1968) 215 points out the inherent ambiguity of the opening question: "[Horace] can mean (i) 'When, joyful as I am at the victory, shall I drink…"' just as well as (ii) 'When shall I be joyful at the victory and (consequently) drink…?'" A. J. Woodman *per litteras* adds a third possibility: 'Although Caesar has been victorious and we are enjoying a celebratory drink, when will we be doing so in Maecenas' house?' This last interpretation raises the question of the dramatic setting of the poem. This is an issue that has dominated scholarship on this poem for many years. See above, note 40, and below, note 57.

[46] This remains true even if, as Cairns (1983) and (2012) 149-157 proposes, the phrase *victus hostis* continues the *exemplum* of Scipio and refers to Hannibal, not Antony, a suggestion I find rather appealing. He argues that this does away with the problems raised in lines 27-32 if the *hostis* is Antony: that Antony was not defeated on land, did not go to Crete or the Syrtes, and was not uncertain about where he was headed. Hannibal, however, was defeated on land, did go to the Syrtes, and on his second flight he went to Crete and was uncertain where he would end up from there. A reader, he claims, would more readily connect the *victus hostis* with the preceding *exemplum* rather than Antony, who has not been mentioned. He also argues that the connection between Antony and Hannibal was well known from Cicero.

[47] So also Mankin (1995) 160.

earlier occasioned the celebratory drinking of festal Caecuban (7-10).[48] Each involved primarily a sea battle. Sextus Pompey's army was made up of slaves (*minatus Vrbi vincla, quae detraxerat* / *servis amicus perfidis*; 9-10), and Antony's soldiers (or he himself) are slaves to Cleopatra and her eunuchs (*Romanus eheu… / emancipatus feminae* / *fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus* / *servire rugosis potest*; 11-14). Though Horace does not mention it here, many of Antony's ships were burned (cf. *Odes* 1.37.13: *vix una sospes navis ab ignibus* (scarcely one ship saved from the fires)) as were Pompey's (*ustibus navibus*; 8). Pompey escaped the battle and fled (*fugit*, 8) to Mytilene and from there to the East, as did Antony (29-32).[49] Both generals were reported to have removed their general's cloak following defeat.[50] So the victory over Sextus Pompey becomes the lens through which Horace here views Actium.[51] If what counted for a victory at Naulochus has happened at Actium, as Horace seems to stress, then he appears to have every

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[48] See Watson (2003) 319-320, 332.

[49] The similarity is strengthened if, as Du Quesnay suggests (cited in Cairns (1983) 91 n. 28), *portu latent* (19) is a bilingual pun hinting at the Greek *ναυλοχέω* "to lie or lurk in harbour" (> Naulochus).

[50] For Pompey, see Dio 49.17.3, Appian 5.122; for Antony see lines 27-28: *terra marique victus hostis Punico* / *lugubre mutavit sagum*.

[51] Romans had a tendency to view recent events as repetitions of older ones; most notably Pharsalus and Philippi. See Griffin (1985) 183-197. For overlap between Actium and Naulochus we may look to Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the depiction of the battle of Actium on Aeneas' shield Agrippa is shown wearing the naval crown: *tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona* (8.684). The right to wear this crown, an unprecedented honor at the time (cf. Dio, 49.14.3), was awarded to him following the victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus. Surely Agrippa did not go to war wearing this decorative honorific crown, but Virgil nevertheless depicts him wearing it. Its presence here reminds the reader of that earlier victory. Consider also that Virgil portrays the battle of Actium as a second sea battle: *arva nova Neptunia caede rubescunt* (695). *nova…caede* here suggests that it is all happening *again*, as it does, say, at Lucan 7.853: *ante novae venient acies.* Here, following his (non)narration of the battle of Pharsalus, Lucan apostrophizes the place itself looking ahead to Phillipi "new battle lines will advance", i.e., armies will come again to these fields for civil war.

reason to expect a victory celebration. That celebration, however, like the wine, is to be put off (*moraris*, 21).

Some scholars, however, have argued that the drinking depicted in lines 33-38 represents the realization of the celebration called for in the opening lines, implying that the Caecubans are the same.[52] Nisbet and Watson, while admitting that the wine must not be the same, nevertheless see the end of the epode as a celebration.[53] To be sure, the fact that Horace asks the slave boy for larger cups (*capaciores…scyphos,* 33*)* might well indicate a celebratory symposium already well underway.[54] But this cannot be correct; neither the celebration (if that is indeed what it is) nor the wine at the end are what Horace wished for at the beginning. For one thing, it renders the address to Triumph unintelligible; why should Horace ask about the *delay* of the victory celebration if they are in fact engaged in that very celebration? Moreover, this does injustice to the final lines of the poem; Horace's request for larger cups—even if it does imply that he has been enjoying a celebratory drink—does not stike me as a particularly happy request. It is hard to see how lines 27-28, *curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat / dulci Lyaeo solvere* can possibly be squared with the situation Horace gives us in the opening lines, *quando repositum Caecubum ad festas dapes / victore laetus Caesare*. Contrary to Williams, lines 37-38 must mean that concern over Caesar's affairs continues; Horace does not use wine to

[52] Williams (1968) 217. So too Lyne (1995) 41.
[53] Nisbet (1984) 17. Watson (2003) 336.
[54] So Fraenkel (1957) 73, who takes *capaciores* as a true comparative.

dispel cares that do not exist.[55] Nor does Horace use wine to dispel cares that some other event has already dispelled as is the case, for example, in *Odes* 3.14: a drinking party accompanies Augustus' safe return from Spain and Horace will no longer be plagued by black cares. In this poem it is the day of Augustus' homecoming, not the wine, that dispels those cares: *hic dies vere mihi festus atras* / *eximet curas* (13-14).[56] Every other occasion in which wine is explicitly used to remove or assuage someone's cares, the person clearly seems to have them.[57] Two issues have caused confusion on this point. The first rests in the fact that the poem has always been read as the Actium Epode, Horace's tribute to that famous battle. It has been unthinkable to the majority of critics that the poem could be anything but a celebratory piece of propaganda.[58] As such it has been paired with the other great Actium poems by Horace's contemporaries who celebrated Octavian's victory over Antony and Cleopatra in triumphant and lofty verse. One need only compare Vergil's account at *Aeneid* 8.678-723, where Anubis and

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[55] Williams (1968) 218: "The final phrase need not mean…that worries about Octavian's situation continue, any more than the final stanza of *Odes* iii. 8 means that Maecenas need really have cause to worry (after Horace has been explaining how peace prevails in the Empire)." Whether or not Maecenas actually has or should have cause to worry is irrelevant; Horace depicts Maecenas as having cares, so they do exist from the point of view of the poem and wine can certainly be used to dispel them.

[56] Note too Horace also has fears that are similarly removed without wine: *ego nec tumultum* / *nec mori per vim metuam tenente* / *Caesare terras* (14-16).

[57] *Odes* 1.7.29-31, 2.11.16-17, 3.8.13-16, 3.21.14-16, 4.12.19-20. In 3.29 there is clearly the implication that the wine mentioned in line 1 will help with the cares Maecenas has in lines 25-8. Note too *Epodes* 13, where, although not explicitly stated, the wine is a part of the relief of Horace's anxiety.

[58] There are, of course, undeniably propagandistic elements in this poem; see Watson (1987). We may note especially Horace's portrayal of Sextus' men as slaves (most were not) and the suppression of any explicit mention of Antony. There are also, nevertheless, indications that the poem is more than mere propaganda.

the gods of Egypt are arrayed against the Roman pantheon, or Propertius 4.6 where the forces of the world rush upon one another, and Apollo empties his quiver into the Eastern host, sinking ten ships with each arrow. Horace's tribute (if we may call it that) to Actium differs remarkably from these other treatments. It may be argued, of course, that the epode belongs to an earlier time than the *Aeneid* and Propertius Book 4 and that Actium has yet to take on the almost mythological significance it later would. Nevertheless, the influence of those later treatments has encouraged critics to read into the epode a celebratory tone and a sense of relief that the poem itself does not really support. This is not to deny an acknowledgement of some kind of victory in the poem, indeed the poem depends on it; but Horace evidently longs for something more, for that which his wine represents. That has not yet come.

The other issue which has caused confusion rests with *fluentem nauseam* in line 35. This has been taken several different ways: Bücheler's revolutionary discussion, which argued for an Actian setting aboard ship,[59] takes it literally as seasickness;

[59] Bücheler (1927) 320-321. This view still has many supporters. I myself find it unconvincing, not least because I take Horace's nausea to be metaphoric. The emphasis Horace places on Maecenas' house is curious, and may indeed imply that Horace, at least, is not in Rome (though it could equally well mean that Maecenas is away and so Horace cannot be at his house). But all this is speculation. More damaging to Bücheler's argument is the oft overlooked *reportasti* of line 24 (see above). In general I am not sure that pinning down a precise setting for this poem is critical to our understanding of it. If pressed, however, I admit a certain inclination to the seemingly forgotten suggestion of Ritter (1856) 449 that Horace went to Brundisium, as did many others to meet Caesar on his return to Italy following the battle of Actium. He did not proceed to Rome, but remained at Brundisium and set out for Egypt after a brief stay. Note Dio's claim that the *equites* all seem to have gone to meet Caesar with the senate: ἡ ἱππὰς τοῦ τε δήμου τὸ πλεῖον καὶ ἕτεροι…πολλοὶ συνῆλθον (51.4.4).

Fraenkel and Williams see it as proof that the celebration is in full swing and that Horace is perhaps intoxicated to the point of vomiting;[60] La Penna thinks Horace has overeaten.[61] Yet each of these views misses the point of the parallelism between lines 33-36 and lines 37-38. In the first passage Horace calls for wine to be brought in larger cups and he gives a list of wines which will do, preferably (*vel*) Caecuban *quod fluentem nauseam coerceat…Caecubum* (35-36). Critics often interpret it as one of purpose, meaning that Horace is actually suffering from *nausea* (whether sea-, wine-, or food-induced) and so he calls for the Caecuban to alleviate it. Lines 37-38, however, also clearly indicate that Horace wants to drink the wine in order to alleviate his concern and fear for Caesar's affairs: *curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat / dulci Lyaeo solvere*. The poet surely does not mean to say that he suffers from two things at once as critics sometimes imply.[62] Rather the logic here seems to be that because Caecuban is the sort of wine that can alleviate nausea, Horace thinks it will also alleviate that from which he is suffering, namely *cura metusque Caesaris rerum*. The final couplet thus glosses the

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[60] Fraenkel (1957) 75, Williams (1968) 218.

[61] La Penna (1995) 267.

[62] cf., e.g. Watson (2003) 316: "The closing lines picture an impromptu symposium on shipboard, at which the same wine, Caecuban, features, but now serves a very different purpose, as an antidote to seasickness." 317: "…a Roman note is again sounded, since the anxieties to be thus bibulously dispersed are for 'Caesar and his cause'." Macleod (1983) 221: "the one Caecuban is proper to a triumphal banquet…the other is for checking nausea." 222: "it is Horace and his fellows who are drinking hard, to wipe out the traces of anxiety."

preceding one, revealing its role as a metaphor.[63] Something about the *res Caesaris* creates a feeling of queasiness.[64]

But to what, then, is the cause of the *nausea*? As Watson points out, there were "plenty of reasons for Horace's *cura* and *metus.*"[65] For him, the anxieties arise from the fact that Antony has escaped and managed to carry off his war chest. Since Watson believes the poem depicts the moments immediately following the battle, other cares also present themselves: the remaining ships might attempt to break out again, and Antony's land forces might yet attack (they did not surrender until some days later). These last cares rest on the assumption that the poem depicts the immediate aftermath of Antony's flight, an interpretation far from secure. More importantly, by the poem's own logic, Antony's flight should not be a cause for anxiety, however much it may

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[63] The metaphoric use of *nausea* is common enough and should not surprise us. Perhaps the most apt example comes from the opening of Seneca's *De Tranquilitate Animi*. Serenus suffers from a wavering of mind: *haec animi inter utrumque dubii…infirmitas qualis sit* (what sort of sickness this is of a mind in doubt between two things at once; 1.4). Although he asks Seneca what his sickness is, *dicam quae accidant mihi; tu morbo nomen inuenies* (I'll tell you what's happening to me, you find the name of the illness), he finds the name for it himself: *ut uera tibi similitudine id de quo queror exprimam, non tempestate uexor, sed nausea* (to express the thing about which I'm complaining with an apt simile, I'm not tossed in a storm, but am plagued by seasickness; 1.18). This is the name he gives to a sickness he feels involves mental fluctuation: *rogo itaque, si quod habes remedium quo hanc fluctuationem meam sistas* (therefore I'm asking if you have a remedy to check this fluctuation of mine; 1.18). Cf. Horace's own metaphorical use of *fluito* at *Epistles* 1.18.110: *neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae* (so I don't waver back and forth, hanging on the hope of an uncertain hour).

[64] Salmon (1946) understands this, glossing *fluentem nauseam* as "qualms" and *curam metumque* as "anxious fear". Mankin (1995) *ad loc*. points out that *cura* + genitive usually denotes care on behalf of someone and yet *metus* + genitive usually means fear of someone. In this case, Horace's own feelings perhaps pull in opposite directions, yielding a feeling of seasickness. On this, see below.

[65] Watson (1987) 120.

actually have been at the time.[66] As I have argued above, the outcome of the battle of Naulochus provides the paradigm for the consumption of the festal Caecuban here. Antony has been defeated and has fled just as Sextus Pompey was defeated and fled. Pompey's flight apparently caused no obstruction for celebration; in fact, we know from Appian that, after arranging various affairs, Octavian at once returned to Rome, celebrated an *ovatio*, and emphatically declared peace.[67] It will surely have been around this time that Horace and Maecenas drank the special Caecuban as suggested by lines 1-10 (*quando…bibam…ut nuper*). So why or how is the battle of Actium different; why are the wine and celebration to be deferred? These questions, or perhaps the answer to them, may well be what lurks behind Horace's *nausea*. Mankin makes the attractive suggestion that *curas metusque Caesaris rerum* is deliberately ambiguous; *cura* + genitive means "care/concern for someone/something" whereas *metus* + genitive nearly always

[66] There was not, in any event, an immediate drive on Caesar's part to pursue him.

[67] Cf. Appian *BC* 5.130: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν, ἐτήσιόν τε ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καθ᾽ ἃς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος ἐν ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἑστάναι…. καὶ ἕστηκεν ἡ εἰκών, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα, ὅτι "τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν." Of the honors voted him, [Octavian] accepted the *ovatio*, that there be a yearly festival during the days he conquered, that a golden [image] be erected in the agora on a pillar…. And the image stood bearing an inscription saying that "he restored peace, long disturbed by factions, on land and sea." Caesar would later claim, no doubt for political reasons, that his purpose in not pursuing Sextus was to spare him. Cf. Dio 51.1.4: Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐκείνῳ [ἐπεκάλει] ὅτι ἄλλα τε καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μὴ λαχὼν εἶχε, τόν τε Σέξτον ἀπεκτόνει ˙αὐτὸς γὰρ ἑκὼν πεφεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε (Caesar was bringing charges against [sc. Antony] that he was in possession of others, but especially Egypt, though he didn't receive them by lot, that he had killed Sextus, for he said that he himself had spared him…).

means "fear of someone/something".[68] In other words, Horace has both concern for, and fear of Caesar's affairs. For Mankin, Horace wants the affairs to turn out well, but there is now some doubt as to how Caesar will proceed from this situation. Will he attack the remaining troops (Romans) or capture them; will he lead them in a triumph?[69] Mankin's suggestion is an appealing one not only because it points in some ways to how and why Actium is different from Naulochus, but also because, as we shall see, when we read *Odes* 1.37 one thing Horace wants us to remember is the celebration he expects in this poem.

The *cura metusque Caesaris rerum*, then, are real; the drinking in the final lines is certainly less than festive; therefore, the Caecuban of line 36 cannot be the Caecuban of line 1. Yet the repetition is surely intentional and significant, inevitably creating a ring-structure of sorts. But ultimately it is a failed ring-structure, and that is perhaps the point. Horace wants to drink a particular Caecuban at Maecenas' house as they had done after Caesar's victory over Sextus Pompey. The parallelism Horace creates between Naulochus and Actium produces a situation in which he seems to have every reason to expect it. That, however, will not happen anytime soon, and we know it will not happen for two more years. The call for larger cups to dispel his cares and fears, I

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[68] Mankin (1995) *ad loc.* "Fear for someone" is nearly always done with the prepositions *de* or *pro* + ablative, and even then seems rare. *OLD* 3 lists only this instance, and Velleius 2.113.3 with an objective genitive in this sense. Woodman (1977) *ad loc*. notes a single instance in prose pointed out to him by G. B. A. Fletcher: *Pan. Lat.* 2.25.3.

[69] Mankin (1995) on lines 21-26 and 33-38.

suggest, is Horace's reaction to the realization that the celebration will not be forthcoming. Initial joy at Antony's flight gives way to the let down that more fighting is to come; the sudden shift in mood might well be thought of as emotional *nausea*.[70] Since the Caecuban in the opening of the poem comes to represent an end to civil strife, the conscious repetition of Caecuban in the final lines underscores the longing for that end, while simultaneously forcing us to recognize that not all Caecuban is the same, not all victories are the same. If Horace will not get to drink the festal Caecuban with which they celebrated Caesar's defeat of Sextus Pompey, although the present victory may look like that one, what kind of victory are they waiting for? And what kind of victory celebration? Whether or not one agrees with Mankin, the fact that civil strife is not yet over provides the general basis for Horace's fear and concern. Despite how it would later be portrayed, the battle of Actium was not a decisive victory, nor was it the end of civil strife; victory would come nearly a full year later, and validation of that battle as an end to civil strife, in the form of Octavian's triple triumph, would come a year after that. The question with which the epode begins remains unanswered, the celebratory

[70] This works nicely with Mankin's point (noted about) that *curas metusque Caesaris rerum* might indicate concern for, but also fear of, Caesar's affairs. Cf. Valerius Maximus 3.1.ext: *sed viderint Athenae utrum Alcibiadem lamententur an glorientur, quoniam adhuc inter execrationem hominis et admirationem dubio mentis iudicio fluctuatur* (Let Athens see whether they should rue Alcibiades or take pride in him, since still the mind's judgment is adrfit in doubt between execration and admiration for the man); Suetonius *Claudius* 4.4 (Augustus writing to Livia about what to do with Tiberius*): habes nostras, mea Livia, sententias, quibus placet semel de tota re aliquid constitui, ne semper inter spem et metum fluctuemur* (You have my opinion, dear Livia, with which it would please me that something be decided once and for all about the whole matter, so that we are not always adrift between hope and fear).

wine remains unconsumed, not only at the end of the poem, but even at the close of the collection. *quando…bibam* hangs in an uncomfortable silence until it is finally answered in the opening line of *Odes* 1.37: *nunc est bibendum.*

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 †dementis† ruinas
funus et imperio parabat
contaminato cum grege turpium,
morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
sperare fortunaque dulci
ebria. sed minuit furorem
vix una sospes navis ab ignibus
mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
redegit in veros timores
Caesar ab Italia volantem
remis adurgens, accipiter velut
mollis columbas aut leporem citus
venator in campis nivalis
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis
fatale monstrum; quae generosius
perire quaerens nec muliebriter

expavit ensem nec latentis
classe cita reparavit oras,
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.

Now we must drink, now the earth must be struck
with unrestrained foot, now is the time
to decorate the couch of the gods
with Salian feasts, my friends.
Earlier it was forbidden to bring out the Caecuban
from ancestral cellars, while the Queen prepared
senseless ruin for the Capitoline
and a death for our empire,
she with her contaminated flock of men, foul
with disease, she crazy enough to hope
for anything and drunk on
sweet fortune. But barely one ship
safe from the fire diminished her fury,
and Caesar reduced her mind, besotted in Maerotic
wine, to genuine fear
as she flew from Italy

he pursuing her with his oars just as a hawk
does the gentle doves or a swift hunter does the hare
in the fields of snowy Thessaly,
to bind in shackles
the fatal monster. She, though, seeking to die
more nobly, neither feared the sword, as women do,
nor did she gain shores to hide in
with her swift fleet;
she dared to look upon her kingdom lying in ruin
with a serene face, and to handle bravely scaly snakes
to drink deep in her body
their black poison.
Having decided on death she was more fierce
clearly begrudging the savage Liburnians
and to be led as a private woman to proud
—no lowly woman she—triumphs.

It was suggested as early as Ritter that the opening of *Odes* 1.37 looks back to the opening of *Epodes* 9 and answers the question posed there (*quando…bibam?*) with a resounding *nunc*.[71] Here at last we have the celebration which Horace expected in *Epodes* 9. Ritter's remark, however, is not found on the opening line, but rather under the lemma for *Caecubum* in line 5. Significantly, although he sees the opening statement,

[71] Ritter (1856) *ad v.* 5 *Caecubum*: "Respicit a sese anno ante scripta in Epod. 9 1: *Quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes –, beate Maecenas, bibam?* Quod tunc optavit, id iam evenit." The connection is repeated by Fraenkel (1957) 159, Syndikus (1972/1973) 331, Macleod (1983) 222, Pöschl (1991) 78.

nunc est bibendum, as answering the epode's opening question, Ritter in fact connects the two poems through the wines, perceiving them as the same. In other words, the fact that the opening of *Odes* 1.37 answers the opening question of *Epodes* 9 is only realized through, and guaranteed by, the reappearance of Caecuban wine. And the two wines share more than simply their appellation. As in the epode, Horace devotes a considerable amount of space to describing the Caecuban:

> *antehac nefas depromere Caecubum*
> *cellis avitis, dum Capitolio*
> *regina dementis ruinas*
> *funus et imperio parabat*
> *contaminato cum grege turpium*
> *morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens*
> *sperare fortunaque dulci*
> *ebria.*

Again, despite the fact that much of the information provided in these lines is important for establishing the situation of the poem (the defeat of Cleopatra, Augustus' triumph), they serve first and foremost to describe the wine. In the epode, lines 1-10 laid out when and under what conditions the wine had been (after Naulochus) and would be (after Caesar's victory) consumed; here lines 5-12 define the time period and conditions during which the wine could not be consumed in the past. The two temporal markers *antehac* (5) and *dum* (6) indicate the time and circumstances: "before this day it was *nefas*

to take the wine from storage" and this prohibition continued "so long as Cleopatra was still preparing ruin for Rome." The duration of this prohibition significantly includes the earlier battle at Actium (and so also the time of the epode) as well as the time period following the battle.[72] Since the *dum*-clause and *antehac* describe the same time and are therefore in some sense redundant, we may see in the adverb an intertextual reference which not only directs us backward in historical time, but also backward in literary time to *Epodes* 9.[73] The chief conditions for the drinking of the Caecuban given in the epode (*quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes / victore laetus Caesare…bibam*? (9.1-4), paralleled in the delayed triumph (21-22), *io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos currus et intactas boves*?), are all revisited in 1.37.1-4: (*Nunc est bibendum…nunc Saliaribus…tempus erat dapibus* and 31-32: *superbo…triumpho*). As in the epode, Horace fuses wine and event in such a way that the Caecuban comes to represent that event; in this case it is the *same* event that the Caecuban in *Epodes* 9 represented. Since both wines are Caecuban and both clearly represent the same general event, we may reasonably infer, as Ritter rightly

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[72] I do not understand why Hardie (1976) 121-122 translates *antehac* as "once" and argues that it has "no application to the period between Actium and the present time." It may be, as he claims, that *antehac* opposes *sed minuit* and not the opening stanza, but since this is clearly the first time since the aftermath of Actium that Horace and company are allowed to drink this wine, it certainly amounts to the same thing.

[73] This same trick, essentially an Alexandrian footnote, is at work at *Metamorphoses* 1.486-487: "*da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime," dixit, / "virginitate frui! dedit hoc pater ante Dianae*" ("grant it to me, dearest father," she said, "to enjoy perpetual virginity! Her father gave this to Diana before). On the surface, the temporal *ante* refers strictly temporally to an earlier mythological moment when Zeus allowed Artemis to remain a virgin; but it also activates the allusion present in lines 486-487: Daphne's request, "*da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime…virginitate frui!*", is a near-literal translation of Callimachus *Hymn* 3.6: δός μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάσσειν…. The *ante* therefore refers also to an earlier *literary* moment. See also the famous example at *Fasti* 3.471, where the adverb *iterum* prepares us for the Catullan quotations to follow.

implies, that the two wines are also the same.[74] This is also strengthened by Horace's choice of the temporal *dum* over the causal *nam*.[75] The contents of the *dum*-clause, as Lowrie notes, are essentially explanatory—they explain the grounds for the prohibition of the Caecuban—and *nam* would have been right at home in this context; but *dum*, in keeping with Horace's tendencies elsewhere, puts the focus on time and, as I have noted above, creates a temporal link back to the earlier occasion. And again I would stress the role that the wine plays in the poem: as in the epode, precisely because Horace has fused wine and event, we understand the circumstances of and occasion for the poem through the wine. The same logical sequence governs this poem, namely, first we learn that it is now time to drink, consequently it is time for a victory celebration and so there has been a victory.[76]

By linking these poems in this way, Horace accomplishes two things. First, in focusing on the temporal duration of the prohibition against drinking the festal Caecuban (*dum*), the poet draws attention to the gap in time between the battle of Actium and the celebration for Octavian's victory over Antony and Cleopatra. This holds apart two events subsequently fused together in later representations of these same events. That Octavian wished the naval battle at Actium to mark the moment of

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[74] See also Syndikus (1972) 331 n. 1: "v. 5f. nimmt epo. 9, 1f. sehr genau auf… Mit dem "antehac nefas" bestätigt also Horaz sein damaliges Urteil."
[75] See Lowrie (1997) 147.
[76] Lowrie (1997) 147: "As often when short poems narrate, the full story is told backwards: here the celebration, logically subsequent to Cleopatra's death, takes a prior position."

his victory and the end to decades of civil war is clear not only from Propertius and Virgil, but also from numerous inscriptions and monumental buildings commemorating the battle. But at the time—and surely this is one thing the epode stresses—the end of civil strife was far from certain. Antony and Cleopatra both escaped, and while they left behind many men and lost a large number of their ships, they took with them their war chest and made for safe harbor in Alexandria, where they could—and did—raise new forces to continue the fight. Horace's representation of the battle of Actium in no way resembles those of Vergil or Propertius. Far from being a momentous event, in Horace's 9th epode Actium was a battle that deferred victory. Because he revisits the wine—and therefore also the epode—in *Odes* 1.37, Horace underscores precisely this point, the gap between Actium and victory, a gap made all the more prominent by the fact that victory comes not at the end of the collection of epodes, but in his *Odes*; and not even at the beginning of the collection, but at the *end* of the first book.[77]

Second, by having *Odes* 1.37 answer the question posed in the epode and by drinking the victory Caecuban, Horace brings the context of the epode into the ode; he wants us to remember *Epodes* 9.[78] In this way Horace invites us to contemplate the

[77] The relationship between the epode and the ode maintains this gap even if Horace compresses the two events in the ode.

[78] Syndikus (1972) 331: "Horaz erinnert in unserer Ode an das zögerende Abwaren der Epode, wenn er sagt, vorher habe man den Sieg noch nicht feiern dürfen."

difference between the two contexts. For while the wine may be the same, the celebration envisioned in the epode is not what we find in *Odes* 1.37. In the earlier poem, the Caecuban was to be brought out at Octavian's victory, and Horace would enjoy it in good company at Maecenas' house. In other words, it was to be a private party. And we should recall that the expected celebration was given an historical precedent: the celebration after Octavian's *ovatio* upon his defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36 BC. *Odes* 1.37, by contrast, seems to imply a public party; indeed it may well be the triumphal celebration itself.[79] If Mankin is right that part of what may be troubling Horace at the end of *Epodes* 9 is how Caesar would handle his victory (triumph or ovation), this poem may be read in some ways as a comment on how he did handle his victory. The ode replays and reimagines the Actian victory and subtly raises again the question why there was no celebration after Actium of the sort Octavian had enjoyed after Naulochus. Again, Horace makes clear that it was *nefas* to drink the victory Caecuban before, and is specific about the duration of the prohibition: so long as Cleopatra was plotting Rome's ruin (5-12). Horace emphatically marks the ending of that period: *sed minuit furorem* / *vix una sospes navis ab ignibus* (12-13). The threat seems over. And this is a point the similes of lines 16-20 seem also to stress, not least by the rather odd tension created by the juxtaposition of the *molles columbae* and the *lepus* to

[79] Though see Pöschl (1991) 76-78, who argues that it is a private party intended to sound like a public party.

which Cleopatra is assimilated, and the way Caesar perceives her, *fatale monstrum*.[80] The emphatic reassertion of her gender with the connecting relative *quae* (rather than taking as its antecedent the neuter *monstrum*) also serves to undermine the monstrosity of Cleopatra and her present threat. The same may be said about the historically untrue claim that she did not attempt to escape to some hiding place with her fleet (23-24).

If we allow that Horace may have felt uneasy about the prospect of a triumph, or more broadly about what victory might mean, this might also help to explain one of the persistently striking aspects of the poem: that what begins as a celebration of victory turns out neither to be a celebration of victory, nor even of the celebration of the death of the enemy,[81] but of *how the enemy died*. In the end, as many have noted, the poet focuses his attention not on the triumph of Octavian over Cleopatra, but her explicit begrudging refusal to be triumphed over; a deed some have considered her triumph over Caesar.[82] Indeed, not a few scholars have seen in her suicide an echo of the *Catonis nobile letum*.[83] But it is not just that both Cleopatra and Cato killed themselves; the similarity is all the more striking given that Cato's suicide was itself famous as a

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[80] On the possible ambiguity of these similes, see Mensch Jr. (1972). On the precise meaning of *fatale monstrum*, still a vexed question, see Luce (1963), Verdière (1968), N-H (1970) *ad loc.*, Mensch Jr. (1972). Hendry (1992/93) 143-146 argues that it is a quotation either from Cicero *de Divinatione* 1.98 or to the source Cicero himself may be quoting; his speculation is that it might well derive from some Roman tragedy by Ennius, Accius, or Pacuvius, perhaps applied to Medea or Clytemnestra.

[81] *Pace* Quinn (1980) 192: "An ode celebrating the victory over Cleopatra and her death."

[82] Cf. Wilkinson (1946) 133, Commager (1958) 48-49, Feldherr (2010) 231

[83] *Odes* 1.12.35-36 (cf. 1.37.21-22: *quae <u>generosius</u> / perire quaerens*). See Commager (1958) 49, Syndikus (1972) 338, Feldherr (2010) 229

begrudging refusal to be spared, which would redound to Caesar's glory.[84] Like Cato, the main motivation for Cleopatra's suicide is to begrudge (*invidens*; 30) Octavian his glory. The similar focus on *invidia* joins these two deaths and the Stoic coloring of the phrase *voltu sereno* (26) only strengthens this similarity.[85] Epode 9 ends with anxiety over the deferral of a celebratory *ovation*, this poem ends with striking praise for the emphatic refusal to participate in a *superbus triumphus.*

In the end, this is a civil war poem. To be sure, it celebrates the fact that civil strife, with the death of Cleopatra (and Antony), is now over. It may even encompass in its ambit several points of Octavian's propaganda, of which even the striking praise of Cleopatra's begrudging suicide may be a part.[86] But, for all that the poem eschews direct reference to the conflict as internal, it also deeply engages with the memory of civil war.[87] The wine serves as a reminder not only of Actium, but also of Horace's earlier poem about Actium, a poem that does not eschew the mention of Roman soldiery (*Romanus…miles*; 11-13), a poem where the same wine served as a reminder of

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[84] Cf. Caesar's apostrophe at Plutarch *Cato* 72.2: Ὦ Κάτων, φθονῶ σοι τοῦ θανάτου: καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ τῆς σαυτοῦ σωτηρίας ἐφθόνησας (Cato, I begrudge you your death, for you begrudged me your salvation). Cf. also Val. Max. 5.1.10: *Catonis quoque morte Caesar audita et se illius gloriae invidere et illum suae invidisse dixit* (Caesar, when he'd heard about Cato's death, said that he begrudged that man's glory and that that man had begrudged him his own). There is also no doubt a hint of this at Sen. *Contr*. 8.4.1: *sumpsisti hoc ferrum, Cato, et quam invidiosum, quod Catonem occideris!* (you took up this sword, Cato, and, how invidious since you killed Cato!).

[85] Cf. Commager (1962) 92. Lowrie (1997) 154.

[86] Either because raising the stature of the enemy naturally elevates the stature of the victor (cf. Fraenkel [1957] 160, Davis [1991] 233-242) or, more interestingly, that this very image of Cleopatra has direct roots in Octavian's propaganda (cf. Johnson [1967])

[87] See also Lowrie (1997) 138-164; Feldherr (2010).

the war against Sextus Pompey, yet another civil war.[88] The loss of all Cleopatra's ships by fire—a gross exaggeration—also recalls Sextus (who did lose nearly all his ships), as does her factually inaccurate flight from Italy.[89] The Alcaean motto with which the ode begins would surely have reminded readers of the Alcaean original, which celebrates the death of Myrsilus, and it would not have been lost on them that the context of the original was civil strife, *stasis*. Finally, the poem ends, as we have seen, with the remarkable, very Roman, suicide. A death eerily evocative especially of Cato, though behind it we may hear echoes of others: Brutus, Cassius, Antony.[90]

Epodes 13 and *Odes* 3.21

The recurrence of the wine from *Epodes* 9 in *Odes* 1.37 and Horace's use of the wine to import the context of the epode is critical to the interpretation of each poem, especially the ode; and it is also important for our understanding of wine and its relation to time in Horace. But it is not the only occurrence of repeated wine in his poetry; the wine from *Epodes* 13 reappears in *Odes* 3.21.[91]

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[88] *Neptunius dux* (7-8) may be a sneer, but it certainly points to a Roman.

[89] 1.37.13: *vix una sospes navis ab ignibus*; *Epodes* 9.8 *ustis navibus*. Cf. Feldherr (2010) 229: "Cleopatra's flight from Caesar makes her another Pompey, or indeed two other Pompeys, father and son." The connection with both is strengthened by her flight *from Italy* (*redigit in verso timores / Caesar, ab Italia volantem / remis adurgens*; 15-17). Even if we understand the phrase as "away from the direction of Italy", this remains an odd way to describe a retreat *from Greece* (however close to Italy Actium may be) to Egypt.

[90] Antony's suicide is similarly depicted as redemptive at Velleius 2.87.

[91] As noted above, Ensor (1902) argued that the wine of *Odes* 1.20 and 3.8 (as well as 1.9) were the same wine. The notion is certainly attractive, but speculative. That the wine of *Epodes* 9 and *Odes* 1.37 are the same I hope is no longer in doubt. The repetition of the wine in *Epodes* 13 and *Odes* 3.21 has never been in doubt. It is the only example of a repeated wine that is, in each case, dated by consular year.

Horrida tempestas caelum contraxit et imbres
nivesque deducunt Iovem; nunc mare, nunc siluae
Threicio Aquilone sonant. rapiamus, amici,[92]
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
perfundi nardo iuvat et fide Cyllenea
levare diris pectora sollicitudinibus,
nobilis ut cecinit grandi Centaurus alumno:
'invicte, mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,
te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida †parvi†
findunt Scamandri flumina lubricus et Simois,
unde tibi reditum certo subtemine Parcae
rupere, nec mater domum caerula te revehet.
illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
deformis aegrimoniae, dulcibus alloquiis.'

A frightful storm has contracted the heavens, and rain
and snow lead down Jove; now sea, now wood
echo in the Thracian North Wind. Let's take, friends,
opportunity from the day, and while our knees have spring
and it's fitting, let old age be loosed from furrowed brow.
You, move the wine pressed when my Torquatus was Consul.

[92] Shackleton Bailey follows Housman in printing *Amici*.

Stop talking of all else: perhaps a god will, with beneficent
turn, lead these to their proper place. Now it helps
to be bathed in Achaemenid nard, and with Cyllenian lyre
to lighten our hearts of their dreadful uneasiness,
just as the noble Centaur sang to his great student:
"Invincible, mortal child, born of the goddess Thetis,
you the land of Assaracus awaits, which the frigid rivers
of a †small† Scamader cleave, and the sinuous Simois.
Your return from there, with their unerring thread, the Fates
have broken, nor will your sea-blue mother convey you back home.
In that place, every evil lighten with wine and song,
sweet consolations for distressing anguish.

The wine of *Epodes* 13 is the first instance in the Horatian corpus of a wine dated by consular year, and it is significant that it is the first. Horace calls in line 6 for wine dating from the consulship of Lucius Manlius Torquatus (*tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo*), or 65 BC, the year of Horace's birth. Scholars sometimes question whether Horace actually possessed such a wine, or would be in a position to call for such a wine, but this is irrelevant; as a poet, he was free to have any wine he wished in his poetry. The occurrence of a particular vintage marks a choice by the poet to serve his poetic purposes, not to document as accurately as possible the wine actually drunk at any real-life symposium. Horace could have chosen any year, but he chose his birth year, and

any interpretation of this poem—or any poem which contains a dated wine—must attempt to account for that choice.[93]

Before attempting to do that, however, we must consider the difficult matter of the dramatic setting and occasion of the poem. As we have already seen, poems with dated wines often occur in poems which are also dated. The dramatic date of *Odes* 3.8 was the 1st of March, while the wine was pressed in 33 BC. There the dramatic date of the poem and the date of the wine play off one another and help to establish when Horace was nearly killed by the falling tree.

Regarding the dramatic date of *Epodes* 13, scholars generally fall into two camps: one places the dramatic date sometime late in 42 BC around the battle of Philippi, the other, sometime around 31 or 30 BC, either before or after Actium.[94] Proponents of the later date point out that the poem offers no concrete details that might allow us to fix the dramatic situation of the poem at Philippi. The vagueness of the poem's setting, however, is not in itself an argument against an early date, nor is the fact that the poem is placed in a collection in which Actium plays a crucial role an argument for a late

[93] So also Schmidt (2002) 249.
[94] For the former group see Kilpatrick (1970), Bradshaw (2002); for the latter see Setaioli (1981), Mankin (1995), Watson (2003). Lyne (2005) 7 sees no concrete setting.

date.[95] Admittedly the poem is elusive and sparse in its details, yet a few things may be said about what it does provide.

The *horrida tempestas* with which the epode begins is rightly at the heart of most interpretations of the poem. The storm as a literary topos has a long history in both Greek and Latin literature, and the most often cited parallels for *Epodes* 13 have been Archilochus frag. 105 W:[96]

> Γλαῦχ' ὅρα, βαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται
> πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἵσταται νέφος,
> σῆμα χειμῶνος· κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπτίης φόβος.
> Look Glaucus, the deep sea is already being stirred up by the waves, and about the heights of Gyrae a cloud stands tall, a clear sign of storm; fear of the unexpected approaches.

And Alcaeus frag. 338:

> ὔει μὲν ὁ Ζεῦς, ἐκ δ' ὀράνω μέγας
> χείμων, πεπάγαισιν δ' ὐδάτων ῥόαι ...
> κάββαλλε τὸν χείμων', ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις
> πῦρ ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως
> μέλιχρον….

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[95] Watson (2003) 418 (who nonetheless favors a late date) suggests that the "technical mastery" of the poem is "the only convincing argument" for a late date, as well as the fact that it is more like the *Odes* in its outlook. Although critics sometimes conflate them, the dramatic date of a poem and the date of its composition need not be the same.

[96] Anacreon 6 may well be the closest: μεὶς μὲν δὴ Ποσιδηίων / ἔστηκεν †νεφέλη δ' ὕδωρ / < > βαρὺ δ' ἄγριοι / χειμῶνες κατάγουσι. Bergk's critical conjecture, νεφέλας δ' ὕδωρ / βαρὺ<νει, Δία> τ' ἄγριοι / χειμῶνες κατάγουσι, is taken from Horace. His conjecture is therefore circular, though attractive, not least because the date of Anacreon's poem, Poseidonion (= December), might suggest that Horace's ode is a birthday poem.

> Zeus rains down and a great storm comes from heaven, and
> the streams have frozen… Defy the storm, light a fire and
> mix sweet wine unsparingly

In addition to the mention of Zeus, this fragment of Alcaeus parallels Horace's exhortation to use the storm as a pretext for holding a symposium. The Archilochus fragment, while not as close to Horace's poem in language, comes from Heraclitus, who claims that Archilochus' storm is to be read allegorically:

> Ἀρχίλοχος μὲν ἐν τοῖς Θρᾳκικοῖς ἀπειλημμένος δεινοῖς
> τὸν πόλεμον εἰκάζει θαλαττίῳ κλύδωνι λέγων ὧδέ
> *All. Hom.* 5
> …Archilochus, terrified in the Thracian disasters, likened the
> war to a storm at sea saying the following

As a result, some scholars have wished to see in the *horrida tempestas* of *Epodes* 13 a similar allegory or metaphor for some political or martial upheaval.[97] They are further prompted in this reading by reference to *Odes* 1.14, the "ship of state" ode, about which Quintilian says: *navem pro re publica, fluctus et tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit* ([Horace] writes "ship" for "the republic", "the waves and storm" for "civil wars", and "the port" for "peace and harmony").[98] From the testimony of Quintilian and Heraclitus it is clear that some ancients read storm scenes as

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[97] Bowra (1940) 127.

[98] 8.6.44. Coincidentally the next example of allegory Heraclitus discusses after the Archilochus fragment, is Alcaeus' own "ship of state" poem, the supposed model for *Odes* 1.14. Quintilian and Heraclitus aside, precisely what Horace is representing allegorically in 1.14—and whether the poem is even allegorical at all—remains hotly contested.

allegorical, and these storm scenes in particular, specifically as allegorical or metaphorical representations of *war*.

Neither Quintilian nor Heraclitus makes any reference to *Epodes* 13; and yet it seems natural to read Horace's *horrida tempestas* as somehow more than just a bit of bad weather. This, as so much else in Horace, is the result of the very language he uses to describe the storm. For comparison, we need only consider how conventional Archilochus' language is. Indeed, if the fragment had come down to us without Heraclitus' comment, what in the surviving lines would prompt us toward an allegorical or metaphorical reading of the storm?[99] By contrast, Horace's description of the storm abounds in language that is itself boldly metaphorical and suggestive. The opening lines, *horrida tempestas contraxit caelum et imbres* / *nivesque deducunt Iovem*, while perfectly clear and intelligible, are a strange way indeed of describing the onset of a storm. As Mankin rightly notes, the "supposed parallels…underline the violence of H.'s expression";[100] a violence which earlier suggested to him "a supernatural assault, like that of Typhon."[101] Without doubt the phrase, *imbres* / *nivesque deducunt Iovem*, not

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[99] Cf. Clay (1982) 201: "there appears to be nothing inherently allegorical in the verses cited, nor anything to connect them to the 'Thracian troubles'." She goes on to locate the generation of the allegory in the phrase "ἄκρα Γυρέων" seeing an allusion to the fate of Locrian Ajax. Of course, Heraclitus had the full text of the poem, and what was lost might well have contained additional details that would make an allegorical reading more certain. If Clay is right, both Horace's poem, and Archilochus' contain a mythological allusion which helps encourage an allegorical reading.

[100] Mankin (1995) *ad loc.* The parallels are: Alcaeus 338 L-P (quoted above, p. 180-181) and Virgil *Eclogues* 7.60: *Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri* (greatest Jupiter will descend with happy rain). In each case the god comes down himself; he is not led down.

[101] Mankin (1989) 135

only suggests violence, but a reversal of the natural order: Jupiter normally sends down rain and snow, here the rain and snow lead down the god himself.[102] It is worth noting here that Silius Italicus pairs a sudden storm and upheavals of nature with the appearance of Mars on the battlefield:

> *fertur ab immenso tempestas horrida caelo*
> *nigrantisque globos et turbida nubila torquens*
> *involvit terras. quatitur Saturnia sedes*
> *ingressu tremefacta dei, ripasque relinquit*
> *audito curru fontique relabitur amnis.*
> A terrible storm is borne from the immense heavens
> and, whirling black vapors and stormy clouds,
> it covers the lands. The Saturnian land shakes,
> set a'tremble at the approach of the god, and the river,
> when it hears the chariot, leaves its banks
> and slides back to its fount.

Rudd has noted that Horace's use of *contraxit* and *deducunt* is reminiscent of—and no doubt modelled on—the familiar idioms *frontem contrahere* and *supercilium deducere*.[103] In describing the storm, Horace employs language which is elsewhere used to describe facial expressions of seriousness, anger, and displeasure. As if to draw attention to this, the poet goes on to describe his own mood and that of his companions with a

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[102] It is hard not to hear in the phrase *deducunt Iovem* the sense that they have led him to a triumph (cf. 1.37.30-32 of Cleopatra: *invidens deduci superbo, non humilis mulier, triumpho*.
[103] Rudd (1960) 384.

reference to their facial expressions: *obducta solvatur fronte senectus* (Let old age be released from our furrowed brows; 5). Horace's use of *senectus* here is odd: the poet and his friends are decidedly not old, for he has just encouraged them to drink "while their knees are spring-green" (*dumque virent genua*; 4). Porphyrio must surely be right in his comment on *obducta*:

> *id est: in rugas contracta, ac per hoc severa et tristis. sic ergo et senectutem pro gravitate ac severitate accipe*.
> That is: contracted into wrinkles and, through this, serious and sad. Similarly, therefore, also read "old age" as standing in for "heaviness" and "seriousness".

Here *senectus* stands for seriousness and care, the physical symptom of which is manifest in the furrowed brows (*obducta…fronte*) of Horace and his friends. The ancient commentator may even grasp Horace's verbal play here, for he glosses *obducta* with the verb normally found in the frowning idiom, which Horace had earlier applied to the storm: *contracta*. Furthermore, *obducta* itself is frequently found in descriptions of cloud-cover.[104] Horace, then, has given us a double metaphor: the *horrida tempestas* takes on a frowning, brooding aspect, while the brooding expressions of Horace and his friends suggest brows cloudy with storm. In this way, external storm and internal mood become inextricably linked. But there is more; after giving the customary orders for a

[104] Fraenkel (1957) 66; Rudd (1960) 384; Lowrie (1992) 417; Mankin (1995) *ad loc.*; Watson (2003) *ad loc.*; Lyne (2005) 7 n. 29. See also *OLD* s.v. *obduco* 5c. and 6b.

symposium (*tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo.* / *cetera mitte loqui*; 6-7), Horace adds the following justification: *deus haec fortasse benigna* / *reducet in sedem vice* (perhaps some god, with some kindly turn of events, will return these things to their proper place, 7-8). With the phrase *reducet in sedem*, Horace has given us three compounds of *duco* in rapid succession:

> *imbres* / *nivesque deducunt Iovem* (1-2)
>
> *obducta solvatur fronte senectus* (5)
>
> *deus haec fortasse benigna* / *reducet in sedem vice* (7-8)

The paronomasia connects the storm, the internal mood of the poet and his companions, as we have seen, and now the mysterious *haec*, the source of the poet's somber mood.[105] That the demonstrative, and therefore also *cetera* (to which *haec* surely refers), must indicate something other than the storm is ensured by the uncertainty with which the claim is made (*fortasse*).[106] Storms come and go (as do seasons),[107] a fact about which there can be no doubt, and which Horace exploits elsewhere as an illustration of the mutability of nature and as something with which to persuade an addressee to alter

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[105] Note too that the phrase *reducet in sedem* may also participate in the weather metaphor; cf. *Aeneid* 1.124-56 where Neptune calms the (unnatural) storm caused by Aeolus (at Juno's behest) sending the winds back to their "*domos*" (140) and leading the sun back to its proper place (*solemque reducit*, 143). It may be no coincidence that the simile which ends that passage involves civil strife (148-156). More generally, the phrase *reducet in sedem* provides yet another instance of out of place things: Jupiter being led down from the sky, old age on young men's brows, and *haec* out of their proper place.

[106] *pace* Rudd (1960) 385.

[107] Dahon (1993) argues that the storm is in fact a manifestation of winter. The weather, or in this case, the season, cannot be what is troubling Horace and his friends. Consider the very similar phrase at *Odes* 1.4.1: *solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni* (*deus haec fortasse benigna* / *reducet in sedem vice*). Seasonal (or meteorological) change may be pleasing or benign, but not uncertain.

his mood.[108] The storm, overlapping as it does with the symposiasts' mood, is instead an elegant example of the pathetic fallacy. I do not mean to suggest that the storm is unreal—a claim which is sometimes implied in, though not a result of, an allegorical or symbolic reading. Like snow-covered Soracte in *Odes* 1.9, the storm here is certainly real within the context of the poem; but Horace has also made the storm into an external reflection of the internal mood of those present, as well as a meteorological manifestation of the looming *haec* which trouble the poet and his companions.

Admittedly, none of this necessarily points to a military context for the poem. Just such a context, however, is not merely suggested, but in fact guaranteed by the relationship between the main part of the poem and the *exemplum*. Horace claims that drinking and singing will alleviate the *sollicitudines* of his companions, and he validates this claim with a reference to the advice given by Chiron to the young Achilles. Chiron's advice, however, is for a future time, when Achilles will be fighting at Troy, as *illic* makes clear.[109] *illic* has a temporal, as well as a spatial, aspect: Achilles is to lighten

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[108] Cf. *Odes* 1.7.15-19: *Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo / saepe Notus neque parturit imbris / perpetuo, sic tu sapiens finire memento / tristitiam vitaeque labores / molli, Plance, mero* (As the white Notus often clears the clouds from the covered sky and doesn't give birth to rains perpetually, so you too, being wise, remember to put an end on the sorrow and labors of life, Plancus, with soft wine); 1.9.1-2: *non semper imbres nubibus hispidos / manant in agros* (not always do rains pour down from the clouds onto the bristly fields) where the change in nature is contrasted with Valgius' monotonous mood, *tu semper urges flebilibus modis / Mysten ademptum* (you're always pressing the point in weepy verses that Mystes was taken; 9-10).

[109] Critics tend to overemphasize this difference. Chiron is speaking of a future time, and therefore his speech is indeed prophetic, yet it is not wholly so; it is also, like Horace's speech, parainetic. The point of contact is precisely the *advice*. That Achilles' fate is fixed (*certo subtemine*; 15) while Horace's is not (*fortasse*; 7) is also overstated. Horace's fate is just as fixed as Achilles', but he does not know what it is.

his cares with wine and song *then* and *there*, years later, at Troy. The centaur does not issue a blanket statement about drinking every now and again to take a break from one's labors no matter where one happens to be (as, for example, in *Odes* 1.7, to which this ode is often compared);[110] rather it is a call to drink in a clearly specified situation. This is true of Horace's advice as well;[111] his *nunc* is the counterpart of Chiron's *illic*; it is as much spatial (or circumstantial) as it is temporal: *here* and *now* as opposed to *there* and *then*. Drinking wine is helpful *now* in this situation just as (*ut*) Chiron said it would be for Achilles in the future, at Troy. The weight of the mythological parallel rests in the analogous circumstances inscribed by *illic* and *nunc*.

The similarity between Horace's situation and the future situation of Achilles is further strengthened by the wealth of verbal responsion between frame and exemplum.[112] There are possible Iliadic echoes in the phrases *dumque virent genua* and *obducta…fronte senectus* which bind the world of Horace's *nunc* to Achilles' Homeric

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[110] 1.7.17-21: …*sic tu sapiens finire memento / tristitiam uitaeque labores / molli, Plance, mero, seu te fulgentia signis / castra tenent seu densa tenebit / Tiburis umbra tui* (As the white Notus often clears the clouds from the covered sky and doesn't give birth to rains perpetually, so you too, being wise, remember to put an end on the sorrow and labors of life, Plancus, with soft wine, whether the army camp, glittering with standards, holds you, or if the deep shade of your Tibur will hold you).

[111] So Schmidt (2002) 270 n. 13: "Horaz qualifiziert hier nicht Sorgen allgemein, sondern spricht von besonderen quälenden Ängsten, auf deren Gegenstand die Epode als ganze und insbesondere das Achill-Exempel deutet."

[112] See Rudd (1960) 385-386; Watson (2003) 420-421.

illic.[113] The verb *levare* in line 10 is repeated in line 17 (*levato*) and the *omne malum* that Achilles will lighten responds to *diris…solicitudinibus* in line 10. The idea of homecoming implied in line 8, *reducet in sedem*, is paralleled in line 16: *nec mater domum caerula te revehet*. *aegrimoniae* in line 18 looks back to the *sollicitudines* of line 10, while the adjective, *deformis*, points also to the physical manifestation of the anxiety seen in Horace and his friends, *obducta…fronte senectus*. Even on the level of language the frame and the exemplum are bound together and this reinforces the parallel between Achilles' future situation at Troy and Horace's own situation in the present.

Since Chiron's advice to lighten cares with drink and song pertains to a specific military context (even if the precise moment is vague), and since the two halves of the poem are so closely linked, it is reasonable to suppose that Horace's advice also pertains to a military context.[114] Three such contexts are possible: Philippi, the campaign against Sextus Pompey, and Actium. Of the three, Horace's direct involvement in the first is well known and attested by several passages in his own poetry. Arguments for Horace's involvement in the campaigns against Sextus Pompey comes from *Odes* 3.4.26-28 where the poet lists three brushes with death: *non me Philippis versa acies retro, / devota*

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[113] Watson *ad loc.* The cloud metaphor latent in *obducta* may invoke *Iliad* 17.591 and 18.22: τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα (a black cloud of pain covered him); and the reference to knees may well point to the Homeric notion that knees are the site of youthful strength, e.g. 9.609-610: εἰς ὅ κ' ἀϋτμὴ / ἐν στήθεσσι μένῃ καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ and 22.338: ζωοῖσιν μετέω καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ, or perhaps a refernce to πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς (Rudd (1960) 385 and Watson (2003) 421). The nearest parallel is Theocritus *Idylls* 14.70: ποιεῖν τι δεῖ ἅς γόνυ χλωρόν, where Thyonichus is urging Aeschines to enlist in Ptolemy's army.

[114] That is how Porphyrio understood it: *hortatur contubernales* (Horace is encouraging his fellow soldiers).

non exstinxit arbor, / nec Sicula Palinurus unda (at Philippi the battleline turned backward in flight did not kill me, the cursed tree did not kill me, nor Palinurus witih its Sicilian wave). The last of these has been taken to refer to the loss of many of Octavian's ships in a storm off Cape Palinurus in 36 BC.[115] I have already discussed the evidence for the poet's participation at Actium above.[116] It seems likely that Maecenas was present for the shipwreck in 36 and it is certainly possible that he was present at the battle of Actium in 31. None of this, however, says anything at all about *Horace's* presence. The claim that the poet would have accompanied his patron is pure conjecture, made more problematic by the further assumption that accompaniment indicates *military involvement*.[117]

Since we cannot say with any certainty that Horace fought in any of these later engagements, we may reasonably conclude that Philippi lies behind this poem. More to the point, if it is right to see a debt to Archilochus, as most scholars do, then Horace draws inspiration from a poem that, according to Heraclitus, has a Thracian setting (ἐν τοῖς Θρᾳκικοῖς…δεινοῖς). Horace may in fact indicate as much for his poem by specifying the northwest wind as specifically Thracian (*Threicio Aquilone*), an adjective

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[115] See Wistrand (1972) 304-305; N-R (2004) *ad loc.*

[116] See note 40.

[117] See the excellent discussion in Bradshaw (2002) 3-6. Arguments could be made with reference to *Satires* 1.5, in which Horace accompanies Maecenas and others on an important diplomatic mission. Debate remains as to which negotiations Horace refers in this poem (see Gowers [2012] 183 for the three candidates as well as some bibliography); but no one, to my knowledge, has ever suggested that Horace played an active role in those negotiations.

made all the more conspicuous by the hiatus. It may be "stretching credibility to detect in the 'Thracian' north wind…an allusion to the winds that blew in Macedonia in the month of October."[118] That the adjective need not indicate a Thracian setting is not a sufficient argument against its doing so. Of course the notion that the north wind comes from Thrace was traditional, but Horace does not usually pad his verses with conventional modifiers for no reason.[119] Moreover, a Thracian setting might help to explain the puzzling *parvus* in line 13. The main objection to the MSS is that Horace could not have called the Scamander "small", particularly since Homer calls it μέγας.[120] Consequently several conjectures have been made. Of these, the best is *flavi*, glossing as it does the river's other name, Ξάνθος, but it is hard to see how this would have become corrupted to *parvi*, and at such an early stage.[121] Those who retain *parvi* have put forth various explanations in defense. But nobody seems to mention that *parvi* is without doubt the *lectio difficilior*. All the reasons scholars regularly cite as objections would surely have exerted pressure to correct *parvi* to something more "sensible". The "smallness" of the Scamander here, however, is not the only oddity; *frigida* seems just as

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[118] Watson (2003) 418 arguing against the views of Kilpatrick (1970).
[119] Cf. *Odes* 1.25.11-12: *Thracio bacchante magis sub inter- / lunia vento*. The specification of *Thracio* indicates that the wind is cold, but also it exerts it influence on the participle *bacchante*; if any wind rages like a bacchant it would be a Thracian wind.
[120] *Iliad* 20.73. Cf., e.g. Lyne (2005) 1: "[T]he manuscripts describe Homer's 'great', deep-eddying', 'fair-flowing' Scamander, which gives Achilles such a tremendous battle…, as 'small', *parvi*, and nothing can defend it."
[121] *Parvi* was already read by Ps. Acro, who also appears to acknowledge the variant *pravi*.

odd.[122] A reference to one of the two springs of the river (one hot and one cold) at *Iliad* 22.151-152 is unlikely, as is an allusion to Hephaestus saving Achilles by "boiling" the river.[123] The rivers are part of the landscape here and in no way allude to the μάχη παραποτάμιος. But why *frigida*? It is true that rivers are often so characterized, but usually only when they are located in cold climates, or to highlight their pleasant qualities, as common in descriptions of a *locus amoenus*.[124] It seems unlikely that Horace's Chiron comments here on the pleasant coolness of the river, but it might also be thought incongruous to the climate of the Troad. I suggest, then, that Horace intentionally wrote the phrase *frigida parvi…Scamandri flumina* to bring his *exemplum* into closer alignment with his own situation in Thrace.[125] In other words, he employs in this *exemplum* a well-established technique of similes and *exempla*, whereby details are inserted into the simile or *exempla*, or altered in some way, so that narrative and simile, frame and *exemplum*, are brought into tighter responsion.[126]

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[122] Apparently, the only editor troubled by this was Campbell (1945), who adopted Oberdick's *ravi* and also emended *frigida* to *turgida*.
[123] Mankin (1995) under the lemma for *parvi*.
[124] Cf. *Epistles* 1.16.12-13 which exhibits both. Horace is comparing his spring to the river Hebrus in Thrace: *fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec / frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus* (there's even a spring fit to give its name to a river, such that neither a colder nor purer Hebrus wind through Thrace).
[125] Kilpatrick (1970) 140 seems to come to a similar conclusion: "That the highly formalized poetic description of the Trojan rivers might represent the scene at Philippi is appropriate." For a description of the plain of Philippi and its rivers and marshes, see Appian 4.105-106.
[126] For similes see West (1969); for *exempla* see Willcock (1964), Braswell (1971). At *De Ira* 3.15, Seneca changes the details of Herodotus' account of Harpagus to correspond better to his previous *exemplum* and the context of his argument; see Roller (2015) 92 n. 22.

At long last we may return to the wine; why should Horace call for a wine that dates from his birth? For Lowrie, it participates in the poem's overall engagement with mortality.[127] Lyne, partly mistaking age for quality, thinks that, since the wine is so old, it must be a great vintage, implying therefore a guest of "grand status"; moreover, as it dates from the poet's birth, this suggests a special relationship between poet and his guest.[128] Mankin makes an initial intriguing suggestion that it might provide a date for the poem, Horace's birthday, December 8, 31 BC; but then goes on to say that "its main function seems to be to anticipate the *exemplum* by identifying H. as an ordinary, adult Roman, that is, no centaur or *puer* from mythological times."[129] None of these is particularly satisfying, especially given what we have seen thus far regarding Horace's use of dated wine. Kilpatrick pointed out some years ago that the occasion of the poem might be a small dinner held by Cassius on the eve of the first battle of Philippi, also coincidentally the eve of Cassius' birthday; he would die the following day.[130] The poem, according to Kilpatrick, is addressed to Cassius, and represents Horace's attempts to console his anxious mind. As it was the eve of Cassius' birthday, Horace serves him a wine from his own birth year. Though I will not defend them here, I find Kilpatrick's arguments somewhat compelling, and they are all too often dismissed out

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[127] Lowrie (1992) 416: "The storm's universality points beyond the poet's particular mood first to the topic of mortality, which is made explicit by *senectus* (5), by the reference to the particular year of the poet's birth (6), and later by the exemplum of Achilles."
[128] Lyne (2005) 5. He concludes that the *amice* (a reading he defends) must be Maecenas (18-19).
[129] Mankin (1995) *ad loc.* He thinks the poem was written around Actium.
[130] Kilpatrick (1970). See his article for the argument and precise references.

of hand. His explanation for the wine is the most intriguing (and, to my mind, most Horatian) that has yet been put forward. We might, however, try a different tack, one suggested in fact, by Kilpatrick himself.[131] As I have shown above, the frame and *exemplum* are joined by the situation and advice which Chiron gives to Achilles; but when does Chiron give this advice to Achilles? It is generally assumed upon his arrival on the threshold of manhood.[132] Though there is no mention of this in the tradition surrounding Achilles, it is possible Horace imagines this taking place at his birth; *puer* in no way points against this. Statius at *Silvae* 2.7.36ff. has Calliope take Lucan on her lap and utter a prophecy of the boy's future poetic greatness (and short life). She addresses him as a *puer* (41-42): "*puer o dictate Musis / longaevos cito transiture vates*." As the context makes clear, this *puer* is a new-born infant (36-38): *natum protinus atque humum per ipsam / primo murmure dulce vagientem / blando Calliope sinu receipt* (Calliope took him in her lap, newly born and crawling around on the ground with his first sweet murmur). It may also be that the prophecy Horace received concerning the boor at *Satires* 1.9.29-34 happened at his birth: *namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella / quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna: / "hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis / … / …loquaces, / si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit aetas."* (for the sorrowful fate is upon me

[131] Kilpatrick (1970) 140: "And is it merely a coincidence that the parting conversation between Chiron and Achilles might be taking place conventionally on *Achilles*' birthday?" (emphasis original). He offers no evidence for this particular claim.
[132] So, e.g., Lyne (2005) 10.

which the old Sabellan woman, having shaken the divine urn, prophesied to me as a boy: neither dire poison, nor enemy sword will carry off this one… if he's wise, let him shun chatty fellows a soon as he is older"). Prophecies and prophetic advice is well-suited to birth contexts.[133] Birth was also a natural time for consulting a child's horoscope.[134] If Chiron's prophecy is understood as occurring at Achilles' birth, this would be yet another way that Horace, rather than distancing himself from the mythical *exemplum*, as Mankin sees, brings his situation into closer alignment. Horace's wine, dating from the poet's birth would then fit nicely with Chiron's advice to Achilles at his birth, the same advice that Horace is also bestowing on himself and his company.[135]

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[133] The notion that the Moirai/Parcae outline one's fate at birth is as old as Homer. For verbal prophecies given at birth cf. Tibullus 1.7.1-2: *Hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes / stamina* (the Parcae, spinning the threads of fate, prophesied this day); [Tibullus] 3.11.3-4*: te nascente nouum Parcae cecinere puellis / seruitium* (when you were born the Parcae prophesied a new servitude for girls); Ovid *Met.* 8.451-456: *stipes erat, quem, cum partus enixa iaceret / Thestias, in flammam triplices posuere sorores / staminaque impresso fatalia pollice nentes / "tempora" dixerunt "eadem lignoque tibique, / o modo nate, damus." quo postquam carmine dicto / excessere deae* (there was a log which, when Althaea was lying in childbirth, the three Sisters placed into the fire and, spinning the threads of fate with pinched thumb, had said: "O son recently born, we grant the same amount of time to you and this wood." After saying this prophecy, the goddesses departed.). The context is unclear, but the prophecy in *Eclogue* 4 addressed to the unnamed *puer* may also be at his birth: *tu modo nascenti puero, /…/ casta fave Lucina* (8-10).

[134] This is the implication of Barton (1994) 198. Cf. the astrologer Nigidius' astological prophecy concerning the future of Augustus on the day of his birth at Suetonius *Augustus* 5: *quo natus est die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur in curia et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius affuisset, nota ac vulgata res est P. Nigidium comperta morae causa, ut horam quoque partus acceperit, affirmasse dominum terrarum orbi natum* (On the day [Augustus] was born, since the conspiracy of Catiline was being discussed in the senate and Octavius had arrived quite late on account of his wife's birth, it was known and made public that Nigidius, having discovered the reason for the delay, after he had heard the hour of the birth, affirmed that the boy just born would be the leader of the world.).

[135] Note that the birth prophecy given in both Tibullus 1.7 and [Tibullus] 3.11 (quoted above, n. 133) are mentioned in birthday contexts: both are *genethliaka*.

3.21

O nata mecum consule Manlio,
seu tu querelas sive geris iocos
seu rixam et insanos amores
seu facilem, pia testa, somnum,
quocumque lectum nomine Massicum
servas, moveri digna bono die,
descende, Corvino iubente
promere languidiora vina.
non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
sermonibus, te negleget horridus.
narratur et prisci Catonis
saepe mero caluisse virtus.
tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
plerumque duro; tu sapientium
curas et arcanum iocoso
consilium retegis Lycaeo;
tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis
virisque 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.

Born with me when Manlius was consul—
whether you bring quarrels or jokes
    or brawls and excessive love,
    or easy sleep, my holy wine jar—
under whatever title you preserve the choice Massic,
descend, worthy to be moved on a good day,
    since Corvinus bids me to bring out
    a more relaxed wine.
He will not, though steeped in Socratic talk,
overlook you (as if he were a bearded philosopher).
    It's said of even old-fashioned Cato
    his valor was often warmed with wine.
You provide a gentle torture to a temperament
often harsh, you uncover the cares
    and secret plans of the wise
    with fun-loving Bacchus,
you bring back hope to anxious minds
and you add horns and strength to the pauper;
     after you he fears not the angry crowns
    of kings nor soldiers' arms.
You it is that Liber and Venus (if she's happy)
and the Graces, slow to break their bond,
   and the living lamps will prolong
  till Phoebus, returning, routs the stars.

Since Norden's justly famous reading of this poem,[136] discussion has largely centered on the tone of the poem, which itself is generated by the tension between the formal hymnic elements of the ode and its content, the fact that it is not a hymn to a god, but to a wine jar. This is not just any wine jar, however, but one which contains a very special wine.

Although we must wait to learn that the addressee of this ode is a *pia testa*, its age is announced at once in the first line. Like the wine of *Epodes* 13, it is dated from Horace's birth year. As we have already seen with the Caecuban of *Epodes* 9 and *Odes* 1.37, Horace sometimes links poems through the use of a particular wine. In the previous case, he provided just enough information for us to figure out that the wines were the same; here the connection is unmistakable, the wines share the same consular date. What has been overlooked is how the wine—this wine in particular—and its reappearance here affects the poem as a whole.

Putting aside the significance of the date for the moment, let us take a closer look at the effects Horace attributes to the wine. The wine is a fine Massic (*lectum…Massicum*), which may bring with it *iocos, rixam, insanos amores,* or *felicem somnum*, and it is *languidius*. While these are traits common to all wine and are frequently the result of drinking, it is a mistake to see the addressee as wine in general.

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[136] Norden (1913) 143-163.

Horace is at pains to keep repeating the addressee, that is, *this* wine (*te*, 10; *tu*, 13; *tu*, 14; *tu*, 17; *post te*, 19; *te*, 21). This emphatic repetition is characteristic of the hymnic form, to be sure, but hymns are almost always addressed to a specific deity or deities, often with a specific set of powers, even if some of those powers might also belong to all deities in general. For instance, in another odd Horatian hymn, the powers attributed to the *fons Bandusiae* in *Odes* 3.13—that it is always cool and provides refreshing relief to tired beasts (*te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae / nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile / fessis vomere tauris / praebes et pecori vago* (the fierce season of the Dog Star does not know how to touch you, you offer up a pleasant coldness to the bulls worn out from the plow and the wandering herd; 9-12))—are common powers of water in any *locus amoenus*. And yet it is clear that Horace is addressing a specific spring, not simply any clear, cool water. Moreover, it is precisely this spring which Horace, by addressing it in his poetry, will make famous. Every *tu* and *te* in 3.21, then, is an invocation of this particular wine, pressed when Torquatus was consul, and the effects attributed to it belong to it alone. Müller observes that each of the four possible traits given in lines 2-4 can be found in Horace's poetry as activities attributed to youth:[137] *rixae* belong to his youth at 3.14.26-27, *facilem somnum* to the *levis iuventas* of 2.11.6-8; and at *Epistles* 2.2.56 the years have taken what may amount to a complete list of the topics of the poetry Horace had written in his earlier years: *eripuere iocos, venerem, convivia, ludum*. For Müller, the heart

[137] Müller (2001) 271. See esp. n. 14.

of this poem, as in so many others, rests in the juxtaposition of youth and old age. He rightly notes the incongruity of the youthful activities which the wine may produce with Messalla's wish for *languidiora vina* (8): "was Horaz seinem Gast kredenzt, steht mit dessen Wunsch ganz und gar nicht im Einklang."[138] In Müller's view, Messalla, himself now rather old (and so more mellow, (*languidior*)), orders a wine which is also old and quite mellow, and yet, while the wine which Horace provides is old, it also carries with it activities which are associated with youth, activities which are anything but those of mellow old men. Why then would Horace serve this wine and what do these qualities have to do with Messalla? Some clues may be found further into the poem.

Lines 13-20 elaborate upon, or rather add to, the earlier list of the wine's effects. Nisbet calls these effects "commonplaces" and some of them "humorously inappropriate" because Messalla "was not afraid of Eastern kings."[139] True enough, but again, as the repeated second-person pronouns remind us, Horace is still addressing this very special wine, and this "aretalogy" must have some relevance for Horace or his guest or both. Nisbet also sees in these final stanzas a possible reference to Maecenas'

[138] Müller (2001) 275.
[139] Nisbet (2002b) 88.

Symposium, a dialogue that included, among others, Virgil, Horace, and Messalla.[140] A fragment survives in Servius' note on *Aeneid* 8.310:

> *Maecenas in symposio, ubi Vergilius et Horatius interfuerunt, cum ex persona Messallae de vi vini loqueretur, ait, idem umor ministrat faciles oculos, pulcheriora reddit omnia et dulcis iuventae reducit bona*.
>
> Maecenas said in a symposium, where Virgil and Horace were present, when he spoke about the power of wine in the persona of Messalla, "the same liquor provides favorable eyes, renders all things prettier, and brings back the good things of sweet youth."

Servius quotes this passage to elucidate Virgil's use of the phrase *faciles oculos*. But what is important for us is that, according to Messalla, wine "brings back the good things of sweet youth." This is precisely the function of the wine both here and elsewhere in the *Odes*; it has a way of temporarily reversing the flow of time. This power of wine has already been suggested in lines 2-4. The *pia testa* may bring back the *facilem somnum* and *lascivos amores* of his *levis iuventas* (*Odes* 2.11.6-8), or the *dulcis amores* that Thaliarchus is urged not to spurn at *Odes* 1.9.15, or the *iocos* that the passing years have taken from Horace at *Epistles* 2.2.56. And it may bring with it the *rixae* of 3.14.26 for which the poet

[140] Nisbet (2002b) 86.

was so eager in his youth, a time which he there signals with a date: *consule Planco*, the year of the Battle of Philippi.

If Messalla's exposition of the power of wine as portrayed in Maecenas' *Symposium* is hinted at in lines 2-4, as seems clear, it is difficult to see how the traits listed in lines 13-20 constitute a further reference to that power. Müller argues for their relevance in seeing, if not a direct connection to, at least a subtle reminder of Philippi here:

> *Obgleich die* regum apices *und* militum arma *eher die aussenpolitischen Gefahren der augusteischen Gegenwart evozieren als die Bürgerkrieger der Vergangenheit, lässt wenigstens die Stimmung der Strophe vielleicht Erinnerungen aufkommen an eine Zeit, in der die beiden Teilnehmer an unserem Symposium noch gegen die Tyrannis fochten, in der das Militär noch Teil ihrer täglichen Erfahrung war, und in der sie…noch über Hoffnungen verfügten.*[141]

These lines may be seen as alluding to an event in which both Horace and Messalla participated in their youth, and which was profoundly significant for them, and perhaps even a source of pride. Yet a connection to Philippi was made at the beginning of the ode through the very wine that Horace will serve to Messalla.[142] The same wine

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[141] Müller (2001) 275.

[142] Nisbet (2002b) 83 notes that "*mecum* could evoke memories of shared experiences at Athens and Philippi."

of the same vintage occurs in *Epodes* 13 whose setting I have argued is a military one and probably Philippi. The choice to drink the *same* wine in this poem necessarily brings to mind that earlier poem and its situation. We have observed the same kind of interplay already between *Odes* 3.8 and 1.20, and between *Odes* 1.37 and *Epodes* 9, another *Epodes*/*Odes* pairing. The connection here is arguably even stronger; it is the sole example of a repeated wine with a consular date in Horace. If the setting of the epode is Philippi, then Horace is calling for the same wine that he (and Messalla?) drank around the time of that most famous battle. Moreover, the powers attributed to the wine in lines 13-20 look back to the very situation described in *Epodes* 13. The *sapientes* (14) here, who are, as N-H note, "not philosophers, but serious people",[143] may remind us of the serious demeanor of Horace's companions (*obducta solvatur fronte senectus*, 13.5). Wine returning hope to anxious minds (17) may evoke the wine's earlier ability to alleviate the *dirae…sollicitudines* which were assailing his friends (13.10). And finally lines 19-20 may recall the military setting for the epode: *post te neque iratos trementi / regum apices neque militum arma.*

What makes these kinds of connections possible is the explicit reference to the same wine. Horace here suggests that consumption of this wine allows the past to be, in some sense, revisited. In short, the poet is inviting Messalla to reminisce and relive a

[143] N-R (2004) *ad loc.*

little of their youth. Horace's choice of date for the wine plays a large role in this, not simply by referring to Horace's (and possibly also Messalla's)[144] birth year, but even more so by repeating a wine from his earlier poetic collection; a collection which Horace, significantly,—even as he does with Philippi at 3.14.26—attributes to his youth at ode 1.16.22-25:

> *…me quoque pectoris*
> *temptavit in dulci iuventa*
> *fervor et in celeres iambos*
> *misit furentem.*
> …the angry passion of my heart
> incited me as well, in sweet youth
> and sent me raging into
> swift iambics.

The *celeres iambos* obviously stand for his *Epodes*. So Horace assigns the same period of his life, his youth, both to his earlier poetic collection and to Philippi. Furthermore, the phrase *dulcis iuventa* occurs only here and in the fragment of Maecenas' *Symposium* quoted above. This suggests a close relationship between the poetry of Horace and Messalla's views on wine (at least as Maecenas chose to represent them). Horace, then, will serve Messalla a wine particularly suited to him, not only because it was bottled in

[144] See Nisbet (2002b) who argues that Messalla may well have been born, as was Horace, in 65 BC rather than 64 BC, the now commonly accepted date. If he is right, then the wine is even more apt; Horace would be calling for a wine that was "born with him" to serve a friend who was also "born with him."

his (possible) birth year, or because it is a Massic wine,[145] but because it evokes, recreates, and renders present a time past, certainly Horace's poetic past, and possibly even a past which the two men shared on the fields of Philippi.[146] Such an interpretation gives a fuller sense to *languidiora* in line 8: the wine is not simply, "on the languid side",[147] but it is *more* languid than it was the last time (i.e. in the epode) they drank this wine; as are Horace and Messalla. Thus the drinking of this wine here is a reminder, as in the ending of *Odes* 3.14 as we shall see, that their rebellious fighting days of their youth are well over, but they should remember them while they can.[148] And it is precisely through drinking this wine that they are able to remember those days and all the other good things of their sweet youth.

Odes 2.7

O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum
deducte Bruto militiae duce,
quis te redonavit Quiritem
dis patriis Italoque caelo,
Pompei, meorum prime sodalium,[149] 5
cum quo morantem saepe diem mero

[145] See N-R (2004) *ad loc.*
[146] So too Bradshaw (2002) 7.
[147] Nisbet (2002) 85.
[148] Cf. lines 23-24: *vivaeque producent lucernae, / dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus*.
[149] Shackleton Baily prints a question mark here and a period at the end of line 8. I think it makes better sense to continue the question through the end of line 8.

fregi coronatus nitentis
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 hostis Mercurius celer
denso paventem sustulit aere;
te rursus in bellum resorbens
unda fretis tulit aestuosis.

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 myrto? quem Venus arbitrum
dicet bibendi? non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis. recepto
dulce mihi furere est amico.

Led with me often to the brink of death
when Brutus was leader of our army,
who returned you as a citizen

to your native gods and Italian sky,
Pompey, first among my friends,
with whom I often broke the tarrying day
in wine, garlanded, hair shining
with Syrian perfume?
With you it was I felt Philippi and the swift retreat
(my little shield I left behind to my discredit)
when our valor was broken
and the menacing men bit the dust.
Me Mercury raised up and through the enemy ranks
bore me (I was terrified) in a dense cloud;
you the riptide sucked back to war and
bore you away in seething straits.
So render the obligatory feast unto Jove
and your body, weary from long soldiering,
lay down beneath my laurel and don't
go easy on the casks I've marked out for you.
Fill to the brim the smooth cups with a Massic
that makes you forget, pour out perfume from
large vessels; whose job is it to hastily
prepare garlands of pliant parsley
or myrtle? Whom will Venus designate
as the *magister bibendi*? No more sanely
will I revel than the Edoni, Thracian Bacchants:
it's sweet to me to rage since I welcome back a friend.

It might seem odd to discuss *Odes* 2.7 in the present context since it does not contain a dated wine; yet it is worth treating here because the poem presents, in a much clearer way than 3.21, a reliving of Philippi, and because, on the face of it, the wine here seems to have the exact opposite effect of that which I have been arguing for: it creates forgetfulness, not memory.[150] The ode is addressed to an otherwise unknown Pompeius, who had fought with Horace at the battle of Philippi, celebrating his homecoming with a private party.[151] As we learn in the pivotal central stanza, whereas Horace abandoned the fight after Philippi, Pompeius remained with the Republican remnants, in all probability ending up in the camp of his relative, Sextus Pompey. Almost certainly the homecoming to which Horace refers here was made possible by Augustus' amnesty. Thus most scholars see this as a poem about reconciliation, and accordingly they place strong emphasis on the fact that the wine is called *oblivioso*:[152] "The emphatic position of *oblivioso*…suggests that it is not merely a stock adjective, but rather a hint that the time has come for Pompeius to forget, or at least forgo, his militant Republicanism, as Horace himself had done."[153] The adjective is important, but it does

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[150] *oblivioso…Massico* (21). Thus this wine often becomes the foil for the *cadum Marsi memorem duelli* at *Odes* 3.14.18. Oliensis (1998) 148 is representative: "a wine 'that remembers the Marsian War'…is especially striking; elsewhere in Horace wine is an aid to forgetfulness, not memory. One pertinent example is *Odes* 2.7, where Horace welcomes home a former comrade-in-arms, the beneficiary of an Augustan amnesty (an official act of forgetting), with cups full of 'forgetful Massic'… a vintage inducing oblivion of the troubled days of…Philippi." So too O'Gorman (2002) 91, N-R (2004) 188.

[151] Pseudo-Acro claims this is Pompeius Varus as does one family of manuscripts in the title of the poem. This view is followed by Schmidt (2002) 272-273. Some think it is rather Pompeius Grosphus (addressed in *Odes* 2.16). N-H (1978) seem dubious about the former and reject the identification with the latter.

[152] Frieman (1972) 87-88, Commager (1962) 171.

[153] Commager (1962) 171.

not hint at Horace forgetting his Republican past. Despite the comparatively little Horace says about it, the wine plays a large role precisely in *remembering* Philippi.

Some scholars break up the structure of the poem as 2 + 2 + 3.[154] This is by no means unreasonable; the question with which the ode begins (*quis te redonavit*? 3) ends at line 8 creating a sense of closure to what many see as the ode's first part. The following two stanzas then deal with the battle of Philippi and its immediate aftermath. In the final three stanzas Horace describes the party supplies and encourages his friend to join him for some serious drinking. Dividing the poem in this way, however, robs it of its full force and, moreover, misinterprets the very logic of the poem. The first three stanzas form a unit focused on the companionship of Horace and Pompeius as is evident from the beginning of each stanza: *saepe mecum* (1), is picked up by *cum quo* at the start of line 6, and, though the opening question ends at line 8, the companionship of the two men is once again stressed with *tecum* at the beginning of the third stanza. The fourth stanza at once announces its divergence from the preceding three with the conjunction *sed* and briefly outlines their differing fortunes after the disastrous battle. Their separation is elegantly underscored by the division of the stanza into two halves, the first beginning with *sed me* (13) and the second with *te* (15).[155] Line 17, *ergo obligatam*

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[154] So Quinn (1980) 210 and N-H (1978) 117.

[155] This separation is emphasized also by their difference in fortunes highlighted through the compound-simplex repetition in *sustulit…tulit.* See Wills (1996) 443-451 for the variations and the uses to which poets put these repetitions.

redde Iovi dapem, looks to the previous stanza even as it looks back to the beginning of the poem and the present situation which has allowed this reunion. Jupiter here is presented as an answer to the poem's opening question, *quis te redonavit Quiritem*, and the reason for the celebration is that Pompeius has been repatriated. But that reason is itself meaningless without the fourth stanza. *ergo* puts emphasis on and gives the reason for what the poet has just said; as such it points to the ultimate source of Horace's joy: his *reunion* with Pompeius. To be sure, Horace wants to celebrate because his friend has been granted an amnesty and has returned home (this is why there is a reunion in the first place), but even more because the time of separation described in the fourth stanza is now over (this is why he wants to celebrate).[156]

Thus the poem moves from the past to the present, from togetherness through separation to reunion. Important here is the *continuity* Horace establishes between the past and the present.[157] Everything he and Pompeius used to do when they served under Brutus is neatly brought back into the present: *Massico* (21) looks back to *mero* (6),

[156] The Structure 3 + 1 + 3 is recognized by, among others, Davis (1991) 94-95. He also notes the emphasis on companionship and the sundering of that companionship in the fourth stanza. On this very common Horatian structure in odes with an uneven number of stanzas where the central stanza serves as a "bridge" or a "turn", see especially Marcovich (1980) and Harrison (2004). Harrison (2004) 88-89 curiously locates the "turn" of this poem at line 17, the beginning of the fifth stanza, suggesting rather a structure 4 + 3.

[157] Frieman (1972) also notes the continuity.

unguenta (23) to *malobathro* (8), and *coronas* (24) to *coronatus* (7).[158] Horace's proposed party creates the feeling that nothing has changed except for the fact that they are no longer soldiers[159]—though even this difference seems downplayed in the final lines as Horace brings the *furor* of war and the location of Philippi into his description of the proposed party.[160] The two men will celebrate their reunion by remembering their past, recreating it in the present.[161] This poem deals extensively with memories, and it invites an old fellow soldier to relive, as it were, a part of their shared past, a past wrapped up in the end of the Republic. In such a context Horace cannot be using *oblivioso* to suggest a forgetting of, or freedom from, that past.[162] Rather the adjective points to that period of separation; that is what Horace wishes to forget here, as the very structure of the poem indicates. Here the poem itself recovers and recreates a shared past, but the wine also has a role to play. The adjective points to the wine's ability to ensure an erasure of

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[158] I cannot understand the claim of Moles (1987) 69 that this party is somehow qualitatively different from the earlier ones: "the *coronae* of v. 24 are now simply the normal accoutrements of symposiasts, not, as in v. 6, decoration suggestive of misguided pride, and there is a further contrast between the simplicity of the garlands and the *luxus* of the earlier symposia."

[159] As Horace's use of *Quiritem* in line 3 makes clear. The word is applied, in general, to any Roman citizen, yet its use as a term of reproach for cowardly soldiers implies its specific sense of citizen in a peacetime capacity as opposed to one in a military capacity. See *OLD* s.v. 1c.

[160] *Non ego sanius / bacchabor Edonis. recepto / dulce mihi furere est amico* (26-8). *furo* and its nominal form *furor* are often used by H. in military settings: cf. 1.37.12-13 of Cleopatra: *sed minuit furorem / vix una sospes navis;* 4.15.17-18 (here specifically of civil war)*: custode rerum Caesare non furor / civilis aut vis exiget otium* (now that Caesar is the protector of our affairs, neither civil frenzy nor violence will take away our leisure). The *Edoni* were a people who lived in Thrace in the lands around Philippi and were known for their worship of Bacchus. In a context that is so clearly concerned with Philippi, the use of *Edoni* here is not likely to be arbitrary.

[161] So rightly, Feldherr (2010) 226-227.

[162] *pace* Commager (1995) 171 and Oliensis (1998) 148.

the time when the tides of civil war separated the two companions, and it allows them to reconnect with and relive their shared past.

In light of Horace's sustained reflection on and reliving of his youth during the Philippi campaign in this poem, it may not be arbitrary that the wine is a Massic wine. The wine of *Odes* 3.21 was Massic (*lectum…Massicum*, 5) and one that had previously appeared in *Epodes* 13, two poems which, I have argued, recall in one way or another the battle of Philippi. It is conceivable that we are to understand this *obliviosum Massicum* as that same wine, born with the poet and consumed in *Epodes* 13 and again in *Odes* 3.21. It is true that the wine of the epode is not specified as Massic, yet such additions of information are sometimes necessary in Horace. As we have seen, we learn in ode 1.20 of Maecenas' recovery and in 2.13 of Horace's brush with the tree. *Odes* 2.17 implies that these two events happened on the same day, and perhaps in the same year, though Horace had said nothing about it earlier. By the time we get to 3.8 we know that the events are linked, and yet Horace makes no mention of Maecenas' recovery in that poem. Such a process might be required here. The striking recurrence of a wine dating to Horace's birth year surely invites the connection between the wines of the *Epodes* 13

and *Odes* 3.21. Here the jingle of the opening of odes 2.7 and 3.21 might also suggest a relationship between the two: *o saepe mecum* and *o nata mecum*.[163]

3.14

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte venalem petiisse laurum,
Caesar Hispana repetit Penatis
victor ab ora.
unico gaudens mulier marito
prodeat iustis operata sacris,
et soror clari ducis et decorae
supplice vitta
virginum matres iuvenumque nuper
sospitum. vos, o pueri et puellae ac
iam virum expertae, male nominatis[164]
parcite verbis.
hic dies vere mihi festus atras
eximet curas; ego nec tumultum
nec mori per vim metuam tenente
Caesare terras.
i, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas

[163] Cf. Nisbet (2002b) 95 on the opening of *Odes* 3.21: "*mecum* could evoke memories of shared experiences at Athens and Philippi." Indeed. Compare also the jingle in the final line of *Odes* 2.6 (*vatis amici*) and *Odes* 4.6 (*vatis Horati*), where the context of the earlier poem (Horace's imagined funeral) becomes activated by the repetition suggesting what Horace means in the final lines of 4.6: when the young girl looks back, as a married woman, she will remember with pride her role in the *carmen saeculare*; by that time Horace will be dead.

[164] I see no problem with the manuscripts here. For discussion, see N-R (2004) *ad loc.*

et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem
fallere testa.
dic et argutae properet Neaerae
murreum 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.

Caesar, o plebs, recently said to have sought
the laurel won in death, after the fashion of Hercules
seeks again his home and household gods, a victor
from Spanish shores.
Let the woman, rejoicing in her one-and-only husband
process forth, having performed the just sacrifices,
so too the sister of the famous leader, so too, beautiful
with suppliant fillet,
the mothers of virgins and young men recently safe;
you, young boys and girls now having relations
with men, refrain from speaking
ominous words.
This festal day will indeed take away my black cares;
no civil disturbance will I fear, nor will I fear dying
violently while over all the lands
Caesar is master.

Go, boy, seek out perfume, and garlands, and a wine cask
that remembers the Marsian War, if anywhere a jug
has managed to escape the clutches of
    wandering Spartacus,
and tell clear-voiced Neara to hasten to me
tying up her myrrh-hued hair in a knot;
if a delay will occur from the begrudging doorman,
    come quickly away.
My hair, growing white now, softens my spirit
once desirous of quarrels and brash brawls;
this I could not have borne as a hot-headed youth
    in Plancus' consulship.

Odes 3.14 is perhaps the most complex of the poems containing a dated wine. As the opening stanza makes clear, the occasion for the ode is the return of Augustus from his campaign against the rebellious Cantabri in northern Spain sometime in 24 BC.[165] Historically, the ode has seemed problematic to scholars, not least because of what

[165] Particularly on the basis of line 8, *supplice vitta*, scholars often argue that the occasion is rather a *supplicatio* performed upon receiving news of Augustus' victory. It may be, as N-R (2004) 181 suggest, that we need not choose between *supplicatio* and *adventus*, but the latter seems much more likely given *repetit penatis* (3), and the interpretation of Nisbet (1983) that *prodeat* stands not simply for *prodeat domo* but *prodeat obviam*. Apparently he changed his mind, but still seems to want it both ways (see N-R [2004] *ad loc.*): "here there is no *obviam* and no indication of place, and Livia's immediate purpose is to offer sacrifice…. Even so, '*prodeat* (*domo*)' balances '*repetit Penatis*'; so a meeting in the near future is implied." Surely the very near future.

many perceive as an inherent disunity.[166] In the first half of the ode Horace seems to take on the role of some public crier, addressing the plebs directly as a whole—the only example of such an address in extant literature.[167] The poet proceeds to urge the plebs and other classes of the citizen body to process out and welcome the returning Augustus. In the second half, however, Horace drops this seemingly public role and makes preparations for what will be, to all appearances, a private (and perhaps only loosely related) party. On a purely structural level, unity is beyond question: there are a number of verbal and thematic links between the first three stanzas and the final three.[168] What has caused trouble is precisely how the two halves—public and private—fit together.

In addition to the differences in the role of the poet and the tone of the two halves, two critics have recently have recently drawn attention to the ode's overall intense engagement with time and the differences in that engagement in each half of the

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[166] On the extreme end is Lehrs (1869) 115, who ends the poem at line 16 presumably (his text misprints it as line 35). Peerlkamp (1834) seems to incline towards this view, but is persuaded by the fact that the last verse is treated as genuine by Servius on *Aeneid* 5.172. Of the last two stanzas he says, "*quibus cachinnis hodiernum poetam exciperemus, si talia scriberet*!" More recent critics have been less troubled by the differences of the two halves. This takes, in general, two forms. Some critics seek to downplay the differences between the two halves of the poem or to reconcile them in some way. In this camp are, among others, Doblhofer (1964) 327-336, Cairns (1972) 182-183, Syndikus (1972/1973) 145-146, West (2002) 124-131. Others rather stress the differences, feeling that precisely the tension between the two halves is important. Of these, some see criticism, or an undermining of the first, "Augustan" half; others that Horace makes no judgment on the matter but rather holds up these two viewpoints, or voices, up for our contemplation. See Kienast (1971), Brink (1971) 460-461 (cf. Brink [1982] 540-543), Dyson (1973), Lyne (1995) 169-173, Putnam (1996), Oliensis (1998) 145-150.

[167] The direct address has puzzled most. The public role Horace plays here, though, as some note, has a parallel in *Epodes* 7 and 16, as well as several of the Roman Odes.

[168] For a good discussion of these links see Putnam (1996) 455-456.

poem. Putnam notes how the two halves of the poem differ spatially as well as temporally. As the poem represents a call for a procession, he notes several allusions (not all of which I support) to significant landmarks that mark out spatially the route of that procession: the temple of Victoria to the west of Augustus' house (to which he is returning: *Caesar Hispana repetit penatis / victor ab ora*; 3-4), the temple of the Magna Mater, the *clivus Victoriae* (the likely route for Augustus' returning home), postulating a starting point for this route in the Forum Boarium near the *Ara Maxima Herculis Invicti* and the temple of Hercules Victor.[169] While the first half focuses on Rome the city, and the Palatine in particular, we move, in the second half, from Horace's house to Neaera's, from Rome to central Italy (the arena for the Marsian war), to Capua (the arena for Spartacus' slave revolt), to Thrace (the site of Philippi).[170]

Putnam also observes that the first half concentrates on a central moment in time, Augustus' return, and in the list of the participants of the procession Horace focuses primarily on their familial relationships and therefore also their age.

> Time…is frozen into timeless groups which embrace many major moments of human development except old age. We find a husband and wife, brother and sister, mothers with their marriageable daughters and soldier sons, virginal girls and boys. We do, to be sure, watch our categories progress backward in time from maturity to incipient marriage to,

[169] Putnam (1996) 445-447.
[170] Putnam (1996) 453.

> finally, those chaste young…. Nevertheless the passage of time itself is suppressed as temporality's great occasions do combined service to this one moment in its singular setting.[171]

The second half, however, opens out to embrace time's progress and its effects on the individual life of the poet in his transition from youth to old age as well as its effects on the Republic as a whole.[172]

Mankin has also drawn attention to the ages of the procession's participants.[173] Beyond the *princeps*, his wife, and his sister, Horace includes 5 groups: 1) mothers of 2) virgins and 3) young men recently saved, 4) boys and 5) girls now having experienced a man (*virginum matres iuvenumque nuper sospitum. / Vos, o pueri et puellae ac / iam virum expertae* 9-11). Every age major age group appears here, with the exception of old age, and each seems paired: *the princeps* with his wife (and sister), the recently saved soldiers with the women recently having experience of a man, and the virginal girls with the

[171] Putnam (1996) 447.
[172] Putnam (1996) 452.
[173] Mankin (1992) 380. Cf. also Willams (1969) 93.

boys.[174] Making this observation, Mankin points to a striking omission: where, he asks, are the husbands of the *matres*? The only adults mentioned are the *princeps* and his family and the unnamed mothers, and Augustus the only adult male. Horace, in Mankin's view, stands for this omitted group, a group familiar as the recipients of several odes in books 1-3: Pollio, Dellius, Messalla, Plancus, Pompeius, Sestius; all these men, like Horace himself, lived through the civil wars and had at some point fought against Octavian and later joined his side. Horace's party, emphatically separate and distinct from the public festivities with which he began, Mankin implies, represents the

[174] These lines have tended to cause difficulty unnecessarily. The problem lies chiefly with the MSS reading *puellae ac / iam virum expertae* (11). One explanation is that the groups of boys and girls listed represent in fact two, not four groups *virgines* = *puellae ac / iam virum expertae*; *iuvenumque nuper sospitum* = *pueri* (so, e.g., Alexander [1943] 163). But this is surely not correct; it would be needlessly redundant, and, as N-R (2004) *ad loc.* note, *pueri* does not suit victorious soldiers. As they say earlier, "If the transmitted text is right…, one has to assume that the girls who were *virgines* when their fiancés arrived at the end of 25 were now married women (like Julia) when Augustus arrived in 24." This is not so unreasonable if, as they themselves claim, Julia and Marcellus (and their wedding) are indirectly alluded to here. I have followed the rather elegant solution of Mankin (1992) in taking the groups as arranged chiastically (females males males females) but paired in parallel (females A males B males A females B). It may be objected that the joining of *pueri ac puellae* is more natural as a phrase especially in ceremonial contexts (see N-R *ad loc.*), but Horace seems clearly to signal the joining of the two recently married couples by temporal adverbs: *iuvenumque nuper sospitum*; *puellae ac / iam virum expertae*. This emphasis on the recent transition from one life stage to another seems at once perfectly Horatian, and undeniably at home in this poem which, in many ways is about change and loss of youth (see below).

very different, slightly aloof celebration the men of Horace's generation might well have held, if in different guise.[175]

Not all Mankin's or Putnam's observations are tenable, but they are suggestive, and their emphasis on Horace's engagement with time in this poem is salutary. Not only do their arguments point to yet more striking differences between the two halves of the poem, but they are a reminder of how much of this poem is about time. One of the most conspicuous features of this is the wine Horace calls for: it "remembers" the Social War, and has escaped the notice of Spartacus during the Slave Revolt: *i, pete… puer… / …cadum Marsi memorem duelli, / Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem / fallere testa* (17-20). In Mankin's favor, we might realize that the generation omitted from the procession would, at its oldest limit, date from the same time period. More broadly, of course, the date of the wine serves to mark the beginning of that generation of civil strife, much like the opening of *Odes* 2.1: *motum ex Metello consule civicum*. Thus for Schmidt, who feels the wine must pre-date the Social War, "*begrüsst Horaz in seiner Ode mit dem alten Friedenswein den neuen Frieden*."[176] Possibly, yet Horace emphasizes not

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[175] As Mankin (1992) 381 puts it: "Their private celebrations would not necessarily include wines whose vintages delicately recall the days of civil strife… and it is difficult to think of Pollio sending for 'sweet voiced Neaera.'" Marks' objection ((2008) 83 n. 17)—that Mankin's view does not explain the absence of adults who supported Augustus all along and so cannot explain the absence of adult males in general—seems misguided. True, Mankin certainly implies that it is a party for those who formerly opposed Augustus, but the end of his argument seems to open out and embrace all the civil war dead: "Horace does not explicitly mention the dead, but he has not entirely forgotten them. Besides the *matres*, the only participant in the ceremony lacking a mate is the *soror clari ducis*, Octavia, the widow of M. Antonius (Mankin [1992] 381).

[176] Schmidt (2002) 252.

that the wine remembers the peace before the Social War, but the Social War itself. For whatever reason, on this particular day—a day which will take away Horace's cares, a day on which he will no longer fear death by force or civil tumult—Horace wants a wine that "remembers" civil strife. One might argue that the importance of the wine rests in the fact that it has *survived* through this long period of civil unrest, as has Horace.[177] But that still leaves us with the memory of civil unrest. As Oliensis aptly notes, "[i]t is the day of Caesar's return which will 'banish black cares'…and Horace's wine which brings care back into the picture."[178]

Perhaps the most conspicuous temporal element in the poem is Horace's striking reference to Philippi in the final line, *consule Planco*. If including a wine that remembers civil strife on a day that banishes the cares of civil strife was shocking, the reference to Philippi here is just as much, if not more so. Most remarkable is the context in which it appears:

> *lenit albescens animos capillus* 25
> *litium et rixae cupidos protervae;*
> *non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa*
> *consule Planco.*

It is a marked insertion, like the mention of the Social War and Spartacus, of a public event in a private context. Its significance lies in the temporal context. Horace here

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[177] This is implied by Schmidt (2002) 252, *"[der Wein] ist auch heil durch jene beiden Bedrohungen hindurchgekommen*", but he seems to change his mind later (see above).
[178] Oliensis (1998) 148-149.

dates his youth to the year of the battle of Philippi. This makes explicit a feature of Horace's poetry in general: Horace maps his own private life onto the wider, public narrative of Rome. This is an important feature and one to which I shall return in the final chapter. For the present I want to note that Horace uses the reference to Philippi in order to point up the fact that he has grown old: we are made to consider how Horace has changed since that battle. But because he has mapped his life onto public events, we are also meant to consider how Rome has changed. He no longer desires, or at any rate is less desirous of, *rixae* and *lites*, and he can now bear *hoc*, whereas he could not have done so in the year of Philippi. Presumably the *hoc* refers to lines 23-24, i.e. not putting up a fight with the *ianitor* if he imposes a delay. No doubt that is grammatically correct, but it opens up for contemplation what else the poet is presently prepared to put up with that he would not have in his youth. In the public sphere, as Horace himself points out, he (and everyone else) no longer has to fear death and civil unrest, and Caesar has become master of the world: *tenente* / *Caesare terras* (15-16). These two narratives exist simultaneously in a kind of tension; Caesar's public ascendancy—and the peace that came with it—is paired with Horace's narrative of individual aging. As Commager puts it, "Horace views his political shift in terms of a comprehensive decorum of age and natural change." Indeed, but, as he himself senses, "an almost wistful note" creeps in. As we will recall from the previous chapters, for Horace, aging is a process bound up with loss; so when he admits that he is no longer eager for tussles

and can now bear not having a girl at his party, these should not necessarily be understood as positive gains. The tone is not one of renunciation, but of resignation. Consider again the wine Horace chooses; even if it represents a safe survival through a period of civil strife, it nevertheless emphatically remembers that civil strife, as Horace does Philippi here. Consider also that the girl whose presence Horace requests is called Neaera; as N-R well note, her name means "young", and contrasts nicely with *albescens*.[179] So while the first half of the poem represents Horace's call for a public celebration for Augustus' safe return from Spain, and more broadly the *pax Augusta*, his private party marks a resignation of his lost youth, but also conjures up the memories of that youth.

Odes 3.28 and 4.11

As we have seen, temporally marked wine serves as a locus of memory in Horace's poetry. Wine is often dated in such a way as to elicit the memory of time past which the poet wants to recall in the present moment of his symposium. The purpose may be simply commemorative, as it is in *Odes* 1.20 and 3.8, or it may encourage thoughts about what has changed or what has been lost between the time represented by the wine and the present. We have also seen that on certain occasions the present moment of the symposium also occurs at a clearly specified time. When this happens,

[179] It may also be significant that the Neaera was one of Horace's lovers in *Epodes* 15, a collection, as we have seen, Horace assigns to his youth.

there seems to be a clear and intentional relationship between the date of the symposium and the date of the wine to be consumed. I will turn now to a pair of poems that contain dated wines paired with clearly dated occasions, but for which interpretive difficulties remain. I do not always have a satisfactory answer to those problems in each case, but will attempt here to show that a proper understanding of the nexus of time, wine, memory, and occasion should at least provide the basis for a way forward.

Odes 3.28

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 horreo
cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram.
nos cantabimus invicem
Neptunum et viridis Nereidum comas;
tu curva recines lyra
Latonam et celeris spicula Cynthiae,
summo carmine quae Cnidon
fulgentisque tenet Cycladas et Paphum
iunctis visit oloribus.
dicetur merita Nox quoque nenia.

What better thing
should I do on Neptune's festival day?
Fetch the stored-away Caecuban, Lyde,
on the double, and use force on fortified wisdom.[180]
You feel the midday declining
and yet, as if the winged day were to stand still,
you forbear snatching from the storehouse
the amphora from Bibulus' consulship sitting idly there.
We will sing in turn,
myself of Neptune and the green hair of the Nereids;[181]
you'll sing back with the curved lyre
of Latona and the arrows of swift Cynthia;
at the end of the song
we'll sing of the one who holds Cnidos and the shining
Cyclades,
who visits Paphos with yoked swans.
Night too will be sung with a well-deserved dirge.

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[180] I have followed the conventional understanding of this line. For my part, though, I find the phrase *munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae* problematic. The usual interpretation (see N-R [2004] *ad loc.*) is that the girl's (or Horace's) wisdom (or defenses) needs to be knocked down. The reference, as everyone notes, is to the fortress of wisdom (see Lucretius 2.7-8). In the world of Horace's *Odes*, however, drinking wine seems to be equated with the application of wisdom. Cf., e.g. 1.11.6-7: *sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi / spem longam reseces*; 1.7.17-19: *sic tu sapiens finire memento / tristitiam vitaeque labores / molli, Plance, mero*. I would be inclined to take *munitae…sapientiae* as a genitive, but the phrase *vim adhibere* is so common with the dative.

[181] So Wickham (1912) *ad* loc, Pöschl (1991) 189. N-R (2004) *ad loc.* think this understanding is hard to justify. Maybe, but the precise responsion between lines 10 and 12 (Proper noun (*Neptunum/Latonam*) + metonymic noun + genitive of the proper noun to which the metonymic noun points (*viridis…comas + Nereidum/spicula + celeris…Cynthiae*) is reminiscent of the kind of formal responsion one finds in amoebean song.

The dramatic occasion of the poem is a festival day to Neptune, though precisely which year and what festival Horace has in mind are unclear.[182] Horace has decided to use this occasion to drink and sing (and have sex?[183]) with one Lyde. The wine he asks her to bring out dates from the year 59 BC, the consulship of Gaius Julius Caesar and Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus: …*parcis deripere horreo* / *cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram*?[184] Recently two scholars have made appealing suggestions concerning Horace's choice of wine, and while I ultimately disagree with those suggestions, their approach is very much to be applauded. Schmidt, picking up on *inclinare meridiem* / *sentis* (5-6), has argued for a metaphorical reference to Lyde's middle age.[185] A wine from 59 BC would, given the traditional dramatic date of the ode as 23 or 24 BC, mean it is now around 35 years old, the precise midpoint of one generally accepted view on the average span of a human life, 70 years.[186] Although Lyde has reached her middle age, she yet hesitates to realize it, and hesitates to take out the wine of her birth year and have a drinking party with Horace. Her own hesitation, according to Schmidt, finds its analogy in the hesitation (*cessantem*) of the wine itself. This is an excellent reading; we have seen many cases already where Horace uses *dies* (and other temporal words)

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[182] N-R (2004) 338. The traditional answer is the Neptunalia, July 23rd, 23 BC. For a spirited rejection of this assumption, see Bradshaw (2002) 8-10 and below.
[183] Quinn (1980) 292; N-R (2004) p. 344.
[184] 3.28.7-8.
[185] Schmidt (2002) 223-229, 255-256.
[186] See Schmidt (2002) 256 n. 22.

metaphorically in this way, and such an interpretation gives a rich and meaningful significance to the wine and the way Horace describes it. But a few problems remain. First, Schmidt assumes that July 23rd (or any of the other possible dates that could reasonably be conveyed by the phrase *dies festus Neptuni*) marks her birthday (otherwise, why specify the day of the symposium?). While this is not, as we have seen in other cases, an unreasonable assumption to make, there is nothing in the poem that really points in that direction. More importantly, the poem represents itself (as Schmidt rightly understands[187]) as an answer to its own opening question. That question, however, is not what Lyde ought to be doing on this day, but what *Horace* ought to do: *festo quid potius die / Neptuni faciam?* This seems to imply that the wine and occasion ought to have more to do with Horace than with Lyde; after all *he* calls for this particular wine.

Like Schmidt, Bradshaw too sees the metaphor in lines 5-6, but applies it instead to Horace.[188] According to him, in 23 BC Horace will have turned 43 (counting inclusively), and so passed a significant climacteric.[189] 43 is also, according to some ancient divisions of the life cycle, the point at which one begins old age.[190] As it was no

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[187] Schmidt (2002) 225: "*die Antwort auf die rhetorische Frage ist der Inhalt der Ode: Das beste am Neptunsfest ist die Liebesfeier mit Lyde*."

[188] Bradshaw (2002) 8: "For the aging Horace the sun is already past its zenith, and he feels a desperate urgency as his own evening approaches."

[189] See Gellius 15.7.3 for a letter from Augustus to Gaius about his passing the age of 63, another significant climacteric.

[190] Censorinus 33; See Bradsaw (2002) n. 37.

less true for Horace than it is for us to have an increased sense of time's passage on birthdays and anniversaries, Bradshaw makes the brilliant suggestion that the occasion for the poem is Horace's 43rd birthday. He argues that the *festus dies Neptuni* does not in fact refer to the Neptunalia of the 23rd of July, but rather to the Greek festival day of Poseidon in the god's own month, Posedeion, thus making the date for the poem December 8th, Horace's birthday.[191] Again, this is a clever reading, and precisely the right kind of attention that should be paid to Horace's engagement with dates and time. But, although it has the advantage of relating both the wine and the occasion to Horace himself, Bradshaw's interpretation also has its problems. I agree with Nisbet and Rudd that the coincidence of days would not likely be known and that *festo die* more readily points to a Roman festival.[192] More importantly, Bradshaw's reading does not deal in any way with the peculiar choice of wine; even if we grant that Horace's audience would have known that his birthday coincided with an Athenian festival to Poseidon, what relevance has a wine from Bibulus' consulship to Horace's birthday? One might argue that if Horace intends us to recognize the reference to his passing the significant climacteric of 42 years, then Bibulus' consulship would have been the year he passed his first climacteric, but that seems unlikely. In any case it leaves the mention of Bibulus' consulship—and indeed the memory of that fateful year—hanging in limbo.

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[191] The 8th of every month seems to have been sacred to Poseidon (and Theseus); see Mikalson (1975) 19-20, 89.

[192] N-R (2004) 339.

Some scholars see in *Bibuli consulis amphoram* only a pun on the consul's name.[193] Nisbet and Rudd, for example, claim that "a reference to [Bibulus'] obstruction of Caesar would now be remote," and add that *cessantem* suits "any slacker."[194] But Bibulus' tactics were renowned, both positively and negatively, and even if events as much as 36 years in the past be deemed "remote"—certainly whatever Horace meant by *Odes* 2.1.1, *motum ex Metello consule civicum*, would have been just as remote[195]—the Romans in any case had a very long memory.

Here two sources are instructive; the first is Suetonius *Div. Jul.* 20.1-2:

> *…in eam coegit desperationem, ut, quoad potestate abiret, domo abditus nihil aliud quam per edicta obnuntiaret. unus ex eo tempore omnia in re publica et ad arbitrium administravit, ut nonnulli urbanorum, cum quid per iocum testandi gratia signarent, non Caesare et Bibulo, sed Iulio et Caesare consulibus actum scriberent bis eundem praeponentes nomine atque cognomine, utque vulgo mox ferrentur hi versus:*
> *non Bibulo quiddam nuper sed Caesare factum est:*
> *nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.*
>
> [Caesar] forced [Bibulus] to such a pitch of desperation that, up until he left office, having withdrawn to his house he did nothing but announce unfavorable omens by way of edicts. From that time Caesar managed everything in the republic alone and all to

[193] See Quinn (2005) and N-R (2004) ad loc.
[194] N-R (2004) p. 342.
[195] The reference is almost assuredly 60 BC, the establishment of the first Triumvirate. But for a series of other possibilities all of which a Roman might well call to mind in a first reading of the line, see Henderson (1996) 59-64, Woodman (2012) 133-142.

> his own liking, so that many men of wit, as a joke, whenever they put some seal down to certify a law, they wrote that it was done not when Caesar and Bibulus, but when Julius and Caesar were consuls, setting the same man down twice by name and cognomen. As a result, the following verses were soon spoken by the mob:
>
> Something happened recently—not when Bibulus, but when Caesar was consul:
> Nothing was done, I recall, when Bibulus was consul.

In Suetonius' account of his actions, Bibulus becomes the butt of a scornful joke: because of his inaction, the year 59 BC became, among Caesar's supporters and others, *Iulio et Caesare consulibus*. For some, *Bibulo consule* came to signify a time when nothing happened, a time that did not really exist.

Cicero, however, gives us a glimpse of the other side, where Bibulus' self-imposed house arrest became an act of heroism which placed him on par with Fabius Maximus: *Bibulus in caelo est nec qua re scio, sed ita laudatur quasi "unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*."[196] ("Bibulus' reputation is in the heavens and I don't really know why, but he is praised just as if he were the "one man who saved our republic by hesitating."). The quotation from Ennius links Bibulus to Fabius but also surely Bibulus' own tactics of inaction to the renowned tactics of Fabius Cunctator.[197]

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[196] Cicero *ad Att*. 2.19.2.
[197] *Annales* 370.

So Bibulus' action—or rather inaction—in the face of Caesar's growing power was famous and arguably the action for which Bibulus himself was most remembered. That Horace wants us to remember the events of 59 BC is evident from the very way in which he describes the wine: the wine itself deliberately recalls what Bibulus did, *cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram*. The wine is *literally* doing what Bibulus himself had done throughout much of 59, sitting around doing nothing.[198] Thus while Horace may well intend a pun on Bibulus' name, he also—and I would argue even more so—wants us to recall the consulship of Bibulus and what he famously did.

This ought to raise the question, why? Why does Horace, on a festival day to Neptune (whatever day that might indicate), want to drink a wine from Bibulus' consulship and therefore remember the events of that year? This is difficult to answer satisfactorily in part because what Horace means by *festo…die Neptuni* remains unclear. The traditional understanding is, as noted above, that Horace refers to the Neptunalia on July 23rd, but we know practically nothing about the festival, what exactly it celebrated, and what happened; nor is there any clear indication of why Horace would choose this particular festival.[199] Since the reference to 59, as I have argued, is unambiguous, one way to approach this problem might be to consider what an allusion

[198] So too West (2002) and Johnson (2004) 259, n. 46.

[199] For the little we do know, see Fowler (1899) 185-187; Scullard (1981) 168. Bradshaw (2002) 8: "The usual answer is that the festival of Neptune was on July 23rd, a hot time of year, so it provides an excuse for boozing—*adduxere sitim tempora*. This is weak to the point of inanity." Indeed.

to Bibulus might bring to the poem. Here I will make two tentative, perhaps mutually exclusive, suggestions. First, this ode has all the hallmarks of a *carpe diem* poem: the emphasis on the swift passage of time and the call for equally swift action involving an enjoyment of the moment through drink and song. The vigorous action implied by *strenua* nicely opposes the inactive wine cask (*cessantem*) but also Lyde's own apparent hesitation to act (*parcis deripere…amphoram*). Horace leaves the reason for Lyde's hesitation unstated, but he does imply that part of the reason is that she is not sufficiently aware of time's passage. She feels midday passing, and yet refrains from action as if time were standing still, *veluti stet volucris dies*. Time, however, does not stand still, nor is there anything one can do to make it do so. It is a lesson we learn from many *carpe diem* poems. In *Odes* 1.11, Horace urges Leuconoe to be wise and bring out the wine (*sapias, vina liques*, 6) because time will have fled away while they are talking (*dum loquimur, fugerit invida / aetas*, 7-8). Similarly, Postumus is urged to action in *Odes* 2.14—presumably to bring out the expensive Caecuban he has under lock and key[200]—because time is flowing away and there is nothing he can do about it (*eheu fugaces… / labuntur anni nec pietas moram / rugis et instanti senectae / adferet*, 1-4). So also in *Odes* 3.28 Horace urges Lyde to action in large part because her refusal to break out the wine cannot make time stand still. Bibulus' tactics, for all their fame, were ultimately

[200] I take this to be the force of lines 25-28.

ineffectual. The lesson for Lyde might be that her inaction is as ineffectual as Bibulus' in the face of the inevitable, unstoppable movement of time.

Another way one can make sense of the allusion to Bibulus is to recognize that his inaction, if ineffective, represents an implicitly political withdrawal from public life. *Odes* 3.28 takes as its occasion a known and very public celebration, but promptly veers away from that public celebration to a private, two-person symposium. It shares this structure with two poems treated above. Both *Odes* 3.8 and 3.14 are occasioned by public celebrations and in each cases Horace deliberately—albeit for different reasons—turns sharply from public festivities to his own private celebrations. In 3.8, the poet, being a *caelebs*, would not have taken part in the festivities anyway, as the Matronalia was a festival for married couples. Horace, however, has his own reasons for having a party on March 1st. In 3.14, after issuing orders for a public celebration for Augustus' return, Horace provocatively withdraws to the private sphere and gives instructions to prepare a separate private party in which he will serve wine that "remembers" a generation of civil strife; he himself is already thinking with nostalgia on his own lost youth during the Philippi campaign. It is not too far, as I have argued above, to see in this private celebration an implicitly political withdrawal. Moreover, the withdrawal in *Odes* 3.8 and 3.14 is meant to come as a surprise; the former, because Horace is celebrating on the Matronalia, though a *caelebs*, the latter because Horace takes no part in the public celebration he at first calls for. As I have said, we know almost nothing

about what happened at the Neptunalia, or any other festival involving Neptune, but Horace's audience surely did. The opening question, *festo quid potius die / Neptuni faciam*, depends upon that knowledge; and while we might, with N-R, conclude that Horace provides the "appropriate answer",[201] it is just as likely, if not more, that Horace's answer would have been a surprise.[202] A wine that recalls Bibulus' consulship will certainly have been part of this surprise.[203] So here too we have a surprise withdrawal similar to that in *Odes* 3.8 and 3.14, one that is in this case underscored by the reference to Bibulus' withdrawal. If Horace intends an allusion to Bibulus' political withdrawal, the *dies festus Neptuni* might have held some political significance. We do not know of any specific event associated with the Neptunalia, though it may well have increased in importance especially in the years following Actium. Certainly Agrippa's building complex in the Campus Martius, completed in 25 BC, featured Neptune and, as Dio says, was built specifically in honor of his naval victories, clearly Naulochus and

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[201] N-R (2004) 340.

[202] In any case, Horace does not seem to be taking any part in the public festivities, nor is there any indication that his symposium will be held under the leafy huts or tents (*umbrae*) which, according to Festus, were erected for the festival. See Scullard (1981) 168. Similar leafy huts are attested at the festival of Anna Perenna on March 15th, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.527-530: *sub Iove pars durat, pauci tentoria ponunt, / sunt quibus e ramis frondea facta casa est; / pars, ubi pro rigidis calamos statuere columnis, / desuper extentas imposuere togas*. The context there involves drinking and is clearly erotic (531-542). What, if anything, can be made of this similarity is hard to say.

[203] The fact that Horace devotes so much space specifying the wine should point in this direction.

Actium.[204] Whether or not their completion would have coincided with the festival or provided a cause for public celebration we do not know. Bradshaw momentarily considers other possible dates on which Neptune was honored with sacrifices, such as the anniversary of Actium and Augustus' birthday, but he discards these because, "this is essentially a personal poem: Horace is playing his own lyre not blowing the trumpet of state."[205] True enough, but 3.14, for all its public pomp, is also essentially a personal poem, and a large part of how that gets communicated in the poem is precisely the emphatic turn away from public celebration.

Odes 4.11

est mihi nonum superantis annum
plenus Albani cadus, est in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis,
est hederae vis
multa, qua crinis religata fulges; 5
ridet argento domus; ara castis
vincta verbenis avet immolato
spargier agno.
cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc

[204] Dio 53.27.1: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν στοὰν τὴν το Ποσειδῶνος ὠνομασμένην καὶ ἐξῳκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις. The public resonance of Neptune with the battle of Actium is clear enough and would have been the chief referent both for Agrippa's monuments and in the minds of the public. Dio's use of the plural ναυκρατίαις, suggests that they celebrated more than one naval battle. A reference to Naulochus might be remote, but it was important enough to include, however glossed over, at *Res Gestae* 25.1 and 27.3. Note too that as late as the *Aeneid*, an allusion to Naulochus can be seen in the depiction of the battle of Actium on Aeneas' shield, where Agrippa is shown wearing the *corona navalis*, an honor he received after his victory over Sextus Pompey; see above, p. 157 n. 51.
[205] Bradshaw (2002) 9.

cursitant mixtae pueris puellae,
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 affluentis
ordinat annos.
Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
non tuae sortis iuvenem puella
dives et lasciva tenetque grata
compede vinctum.
terret ambustus Phaethon avaras
spes et exemplum grave praebet ales
Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus
Bellerophontem,
semper ut te digna sequare et ultra
quam licet sperare nefas putando
disparem vites. age iam, meorum
finis amorum
(non enim posthac alia calebo
femina), condisce modos, amanda
voce quos reddas; minuentur atrae
carmine curae.

I have a cask full of Alban wine
which has survived ten years; in my garden,
Phyllis, there is parsley for weaving garlands,
    a large supply of ivy
with which you will shine, having tied up your hair;
the house beams with silver, the altar,
bound with chaste verbena, longs to be sprinkled
    with the sacrificed lamb.
Every hand hastens, hither and thither
girls mingled with boys run about,
the flames flit rolling sooty smoke
    in a whirl.
Yet, just so you know what good times you're
summoned to: you're to celebrate the Ides,
the day that divides April, sea-born
    Venus' month,
a day justly solemn for me, and more sacred
(almost) than my own birthday, since from that dawn
my dear Maecenas arranges in order
    his affluent years.
Telephus, the man you're interested in
(a young man not of your standing), a rich
and wanton girl has captured and holds bound
    with a fetter he enjoys.
Phaethon burned up terrifies greedy hopes
and Pegasus, weighed down by Bellerophon

the terrestrial horseman, offers up
    a weighty warning
to always follow things appropriate to you,
and to avoid the unequal by thinking it's wrong
to hope beyond what's permitted. But come now,
    last of my loves,
(for after I will not feel warmth for any other
woman) learn the rhythms you're to sing back
with your lovable voice: by song are black
    cares diminished.

Odes 4.11 is an invitation to Phyllis to a symposium and begins with a list of supplies she can expect when she arrives to celebrate with Horace; chief among these is a cask of ten-year-old Alban wine: *est mihi nonum superantis annum* / *plenus Albani cadus* (1-2). Most commentators pass over the age of the wine altogether, or deal with it only in a cursory manner.[206] Quinn, for instance, calls it respectable but not rare; Syndikus a good wine.[207] The best of these cursory treatments at least point to an emphasis on the passage of time.[208] Very few seem to have noticed that the age of the wine looks back to

[206] The wine goes unmentioned by Fraenkel (1957) 416-418, Commager (1962), Becker (1963) 160-164, Tränkle (1994) 210-213, Thome (1995) 148-150, Lieberg (2002) 324-326.
[207] Quinn (1980) *ad loc.*; Syndikus (1973) 391.
[208] Reckford (1959a) 30, quoting the opening two lines: "The beginning of the ode makes us immediately conscious of the passage of time." Traina (1998) 10: "*NONUM SUPERANTIS ANNUM*: prima occorrenza del tema del tempo."

the publication of *Odes* 1-3 ten years before.[209] One of the most important projects of *Odes* 4 as a whole, and one announced at the very outset with Horace's protest to Venus that he is not the man he used to be (*non sum qualis eram*; 4.1.3), is its sustained reflection on the passage of time, *Odes* 1-3, and what has changed or been lost in those intervening years. Phyllis' only other appearance was in *Odes* 2.4, where Horace confesses that he is 40 years old: *fuge suspicari / cuius octavum trepidavit aetas / claudere lustrum*; 22-24 (stop being suspicious of one whose age has hastened to close its eighth *lustrum*). We know from *Odes* 4.1 that the poet is now around 50 (*circa lustra decem*; 4.1.6).[210] By beginning his poem with a wine that has "survived its ninth year", Horace points immediately to this gap in time and announces that this poem is very much a part of the fourth book's project. Indeed, what has endeared this poem to most critics is the bittersweet sense of loss and resignation in the final lines:

> Even more than Ligurinus, Phyllis, the last of Horace's loves,
> incarnates a part of life that is flowing away from him. And

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[209] Murray (1985) 50, Thomas (2011) *ad loc*.: "Oddly specific; has it been waiting to be used since publication of *C* 1-3?" Schmidt (1980) 25, although mentioning the ten-year gap between *Odes* 1-3 and *Odes* 4, argues that the birthday to which Horace refers here is Maecenas' "second" birthday, his rebirth after being saved from his lethal illness, an event he concludes, solely on the age of the wine here, must have happened 10 years before. But this cannot be correct if, as I have tried to show above, Horace and Maecenas enjoy a wine in *Odes* 1.20 that Horace laid up upon Maecenas' recovery. Even if we could be sure that the dramatic date of that poem were as late as 23 BC, the recovery will certainly have happened some time before that. Ambrose (1995/1996) 51 connects the wine instead with another event that possibly occurred in 23 BC: the conspiracy of Murena and Maecenas' fall from favor. On this particular issue, see below.

[210] This is almost certainly meant to recall his age in 2.4; Horace seldom dates by *lustra*. See also Johnson (2004) 152. Line 5, just preceding his age, is a direct quotation of the first line of *Odes* 1.19.

> it is his awareness of that fact that gives the Ode its special quality.[211]

As Murray notes, this ode "is a poem for the lost world of the symposium, *à la recherche du temps perdu*", a thing this poem shares with the following poem, 4.12.[212] Phyllis will be the last of Horace's loves just as this will be the last of his erotic symposia.

But something else has changed since *Odes* 1-3, and this too adds to the sense of change and loss in the poem. The celebration to which Horace invites Phyllis is Maecenas' birthday, the Ides of April; and yet curiously, Horace gives no clear indication that he will be there; it will apparently be a party for two.[213] So Horace and Phyllis, who is to be the last of Horace's loves, will celebrate Maecenas' birthday, but he himself is conspicuously absent. Moreover, this is the only mention of Maecenas in *Odes* 4, and Horace does not address him directly.[214] Not only, then, is his absence at the celebration conspicuous, he is also basically absent from the fourth book as a whole. This is particularly odd given how Horace had addressed him in the opening of *Epistles* 1.1: *prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena* (sung by me in my first poetry, to be sung by

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[211] Commager (1962) 305. Cf. Fraenkel (1957) 418: "It is all gentleness and resignation. When the poem is over, we still hear one deep note, *meorum finis amorum---non enim posthac alia calebo femina*. Horace could not have said more in so few words, nor could he have spoken with greater simplicity."

[212] Murray (1985) 50. On the connections to 4.12 see below p. 243-244.

[213] So Oliensis (2007) 233-234, Thomas (2011) 216. Quinn (1980) 318 thinks Maecenas must be there on account of the extensive preparations.

[214] This is a significant difference from his other appearances in Horace's earlier works and one which is overlooked in Oppermann's statistics (1957) 102. Even if this difference can be overlooked, the low percentage of poems to Maecenas in *Odes* 1 (2 out of 38 as opposed to 1 out of 15 in Book 4) is arguably compensated for by the prominence placement of those two poems in the collection, a prominence this poem does not share.

me in my last). One might contend that *Camena* here refers to genre[215] as opposed to an individual work, and that, since *Odes* 4 is merely an extension of the previous lyric collection in which Maecenas is often addressed, his absence from *Odes* 4 does not contradict what Horace said in the epistle: Maecenas had already been sung with Horace's lyric *Camena* in *Odes* 1-3, so there was no need to do so here. But this seems unsatisfactory. Nor do I think it can be explained breezily away as some wish to do.[216] It is sometimes suggested that relations between Horace and Maecenas had cooled, and that is certainly possible, but the sentiment expressed in 4.11.17-20—particularly the affectionate *Maecenas meus*—points against this.[217]

So one change, and one that this poem also advertises, is that, though Horace's feelings toward Maecenas have not changed, Maecenas no longer commands the pride of place, or the honor of a direct address in Horace's new *summa Camena*. The clear link back to *Odes* 1-3 made by the wine throws this change into sharp relief. It is generally agreed that this was the result of Maecenas' fall from favor and loss of power, owing

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[215] This seems to be the implication of *OLD* 2a.

[216] Fraenkel (1957) 417: "Horace had often enough voiced the loyalty and gratitude he felt for Maecenas; so there was no need now to write a special poem in his praise. But since in the book which was to contain a number of eulogies of his friends and of certain eminent members of Rome's society he did not want to omit Maecenas altogether, he used the idea of an intimate celebration of his friend's birthday to say in a few affectionate lines what he felt for him." Reckford (1959b) 207-208: "If Horace dedicated Book 4 not to Maecenas but to Fabius Maximus, it was not because of some new preference for the aristocracy, but rather because his last group of odes were especially meant for the ears of youth. Fabius Maximus represents the future of Rome. It is as if, having dedicated books 1-3 to the patron whom he had regarded for so long as his spiritual father, Horace decided to dedicate book 4 to the younger generation who were his spiritual children."

[217] Fraenkel (1957) 416-417.

perhaps to his indiscretion regarding his brother-in-law Murena and his participation in the conspiracy of Fannius Caepio.[218] A few scholars have recently challenged this narrative, arguing that the evidence points rather to Maecenas' continuing favor with Augustus, and possibly his continuing influence in literary matters.[219] Yet this makes Maecenas' absence no less striking; and even if, as Williams argues, the absence reveals a change in patronage, and that this change in patronage was planned from the beginning, that does not explain why Horace could not have addressed Maecenas directly in *Odes* 4.[220] He assumes that Horace was ordered not to do so, a remarkable thing if true, and more remarkable that Horace felt free to violate the spirit of this command.[221] But while it might well make sense for Augustus to take the lead role as chief patron of letters—and indeed he clearly seems to have done so—what benefit would there have been in forbidding Horace from addressing his former patron at all?

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[218] The chief ancient source for Maecenas' fall from favor is Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.30. Most scholars have assumed, on the basis of Suetonius *Aug.* 66.3, a connection between his loss of power and his indiscretion. On the conspiracy, see N-H (1978) 151-155. For discussion of this issue see especially Williams (1968) 86-88, Brink (1982) 523-572, Williams (1990), White (1991), and Lyne (1995) 136-138.

[219] White (1991) argues against Maecenas' fall from favor. Williams (1990) changed his mind and argues instead that there was no change in Maecenas' relationship with Augustus, but there was a change in patronage and that an eventual change in patronage from Maecenas to Augustus when the latter's position became secure was planned at the outset.

[220] Williams (1990).

[221] Williams (1990) 268: "there is no reason to deny the likelihood that it was the astute Maecenas himself who advised Augustus the right time had come in 18 BC to take over literary patronage and who gave the two surviving poets the instruction to desist from addressing him in their work. (It would be typical of Horace to honor the letter of that instruction, but breach its spirit by the affectionate celebration of his friend's birthday—properly confined to the third person—in the center of *Odes* 4.11.)" This seems also the assumption of Murray (1985) 50: "The new patron of Horace may be forgiven for wishing the name of Maecenas to be absent from his collection."

After all, Horace addresses a number of others directly, and not always the younger generation. Such an order, if indeed it was made, would only make sense if Maecenas were no longer in the good graces of the Princeps.

But there remains another, albeit speculative, possibility: by the time Horace composed 4.11, Maecenas was no longer alive. Our only independent evidence for the date of Maecenas' death comes from Dio (55.7), who dates it to 8 BC. But Dio does not always recount events under the correct year.[222] Suetonius connects his death with Horace's: *decessit V Kl. Decembris C. Marcio Censorino et C. Asinio Gallo consulibus post nonum et quinquagesimum diem quam Maecenas obierat* (he died five days before the kalends of December when C. Marcius Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus were consuls, fifty-nine days after Maecenas had died). Bradshaw has recently cast doubt on the certainty of Suetonius' dating of Horace's death here (though he does ultimately accept it), pointing out the very real possibility that the tradition linking Horace's death to Maecenas' might well derive from Horace's own poetry—a well attested method of ancient literary biographers[223]—specifically *Odes* 2.17, where the poet claims that he will die when his patron does.[224] Bradshaw presumes that Maecenas' death will have been the more prominent and well-known, and thus "a biographer who knew the date of

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[222] Williams (1990) 261.

[223] See the classic treatment of the biographies of Greek poets by Lefkowitz (1981). Horace himself was well aware of this tendency (*Epist.* 1.19.6): *laudibus arguitur uini uinosus Homerus*.

[224] Bradshaw (2002) 14-16. See also Syndikus (1972) 460 n. 24. *Odes* 2.17.8-12: *ille dies utramque / ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum / dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus, / utcumque praecedes, supremum / carpere iter comites parati.*

Maecenas' death but not Horace's, recalling the promise made in *Carm*. 2.17, might have concluded that the deathday of the poet coincided with that of his patron."[225] But Maecenas' death would not necessarily be the more prominent, especially if he had indeed fallen from favor. In any case a connection made in the opposite direction is just as possible: a person who knew the date of Horace's death, and remembering *Odes* 2.17, might well have incorrectly concluded that Maecenas died in the same year to stress their close friendship. This is indeed precisely what the Suetonian *Vita* does; it begins and ends with Horace's relationship with Maecenas. This possibility brings with it certain advantages. First, it would explain more neatly why Horace does not address Maecenas in *Odes* 4. But more importantly, it would bring this poem into closer relation to the following poem, 4.12. The similarities between the two odes are sometimes noted,[226] and they are the only two sympotic poems in the collection. Clearly one purpose of 4.12 is to conjure up the memory of dead Virgil and the pleasant times they used to enjoy, but which *nigri ignes* of death have rendered no longer possible.[227] If Maecenas were also dead by this time, the pairing of these two poems acquires more

[225] Bradshaw (2002) 15-16.
[226] See, e.g. Porter (1987) 264, Thomas (2011) 216.
[227] This remains true regardless of the addressee, historically a vexed question. For my part I think it must be the poet. But even if the addressee is an unknown *unguentarius*, as some think, or an otherwise unknown relative of the poet, as Harrison (2014) 66 proposes, the wealth of Virgilian echoes in the poem ensures that Virgil and his poetry would be brought to mind. For a brief overview of the main points in the debate, see Thomas (2011) 226-227.

point: two final symposia in honor of dear friends whose company the poet can no longer enjoy.

The suggestion that Maecenas is no longer alive is admittedly quite speculative, and one which may not find much support. But dead or not, what Horace implies in this poem is that he cannot, for some reason, invite Maecenas to celebrate his own birthday. There is a hint, though, that he would like to, and that is also part of what this poem is about. The connection between the first and second halves of the poem, as so often in Horace, is left unstated. The second half begins with Horace telling Phyllis that the young man she wants to be with, Telephus, is happily detained with another woman. She is advised through the mythological exempla of Phaethon and Bellerophon that these hopes are greedy and beyond what she should expect. Instead she must make do with Horace and song. Telephus, whose name begins the second half of the poem, forms the formal and thematic bridge. Phyllis would like to be with Telephus, but that is impossible;[228] Horace is celebrating the birthday of Maecenas, who, unlike all the previous times in *Odes* 1-3, will not be present. In other words, as Oliensis

[228] In this context perhaps the young man's name is significant: the etymology of the second part of his name is disputed. The ancient etymology (see Maltby *Lexicon ad loc.*) derived it from ἔλαφον, deer. Cf. Hyginus *Fabulae* 99.22: [*nomen*] *imposuerunt Herculis filio Telephum, quoniam cerua nutrierat*. The accepted etymology seems to originate with Schimdt s.v. 'Telephus' in *Roscher* 5.292.4-48, and connects it with φάος, light: "far-shining". One might connect it to φύω, "born/arising far away". In any case, the first half Τήλε- points to distance, which might be relevant here.

has rightly seen, Telephus is to Maecenas as Phyllis is to Horace, and the two must find solace for their disappointment in each other and their shared song.[229]

* * *

Horace's use of dated wine as a locus of memory and time past is unique, and an integral part of his poetic technique. This is an important point; for it is almost axiomatic that Horace is the poet of the present, that his symposia are places where the poet and his addressees can revel, however briefly, in the present moment, forgetful of all else. But his use of dated wine complicates this picture. The symposia are still snapshots of the present moment, but in these poems, that present moment is shot through with the memory of time past so that the past exerts as much pressure on the poem as does the present. We have already seen that the temporal world of Horace's odes is a world in which one lives in the face of ceaseless and inevitable loss. The symposium becomes, for Horace, the place where times past, times lost, can be briefly recovered. At times this serves to point up the losses and the changes that have occurred; at others it serves to help the poet and guest relive or remember their youth or good times gone.

[229] Oliensis (2007) 234.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages I have explored in some detail three strands of Horatian time. I began first with lexical minutiae, the basic building blocks with which Horace constructs the temporal world of his poetry. How time moves, what it does, how it acts as a force in his and others' lives, how Horace seems to perceive its passage not as an increasing proximity to death, but rather as an increasing distance from youth—all these help to create a world where living in time is a constant process of loss. Next I considered how Horace employs seasonal imagery, and here the picture is similar: the cyclical nature of seasonal time is often juxtaposed with the individual experience of linear time, but as often, Horace expresses that linear time in seasonal, and therefore metaphorical, terms. This juxtaposition points up the loss to the individual, but the cyclical quality makes that loss more pathetic, both by holding out the suggestion that we could return to our "spring", and then by showing how the coming "spring" comes not for us, but for the younger generation. At times this can be quite obvious, such as in *Odes* 1.25, 4.10, and 4.13, where Horace explicitly links seasonal imagery with his addressee: Lydia will become dry leaves cast to the winter wind (*aridas frondes hiemis sodali / dedicet Euro*; 1.25.19.), Ligurinus' rosy complexion will leave behind a briar (*nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae / mutatus Ligurine in faciem verterit hispidam*; 4.10.4-5), and white-haired Lyce has already become dry oaks which Cupid flies right past (*enim transvolat aridas / quercus et refugit te… / ….te quia rugae / turpant et capitis nives*;

4.13.9-12). At other times this technique can be quite subtle, when, rather than apply the seasonal imagery directly, Horace inserts it instead into a simile, as in *Odes* 1.23 and 2.5, or uses a particular season as the setting of his poem. In most cases the seasonal imagery, applied directly or indirectly, emphasizes transition. *Odes* 1.4 and 4.7 are both set at the advent of spring, and *Odes* 3.17 in autumn on the cusp of winter; in *Odes* 1.23 the phrase *adventus veris* points to Chloe's own transition into the time for erotic activity, the advent of her "spring".

Finally, I attempted to show that Horace's idiosyncratic habit of dating, or otherwise temporally marking, the wine in his symposia amounts to much more than a way to sound a distinctly Roman note on his lyric lyre (by giving consular dates, say) or to advertise his lavish expenditures on important guests by specifying an old wine. Rather, a dated wine, in Horace's hands, becomes part of his overall engagement with time; it becomes representative of a time past and a site for memory. And the consumption of such a wine becomes a commemorative act: simply commemorative, as we saw in *Odes* 1.20 where Horace invites Maecenas to share a wine coeval with the latter's public laudation upon his recovery, a wine which serves as a reminder and yet another echo (*iocosa*…imago; 1.20.5-7) of the initial applause, or as a way of dredging up the past, for contemplation, as in *Odes* 4.11 when Horace celebrates the birthday of his absent patron with a wine that dates from the publication of *Odes* 1-3 ten years earlier, or to relive, if only in a very small way, some small part of his youth. Though Horace,

as a *calidus iuventa* (*Odes* 3.14.27), fought and lost at Philippi with his friend Pompeius, years later, that time now far in the past, he can uncork a cask of wine with his friend and remember those days. This, in the end, is one antidote to the ceaseless loss inflicted by the passage of time.

These are only three strands; there are certainly others. And though I have dealt with them here separately for the sake of convenience and clarity, it is important to realize that they do not exist in isolation, but work together and form part of a larger fabric out of which and into which Horace weaves his poetic tapestry. In other words, Horace's depiction and use of seasonal imagery depends upon what time does, as he chooses to express it. Similarly, seasonal time has its own resonances that, even if unexpressed, can be put in tension with Horace's depiction of the linear movement of time; seasonal time is, after all, cyclical. Moreover, Horace's use of dated wines, anniversaries, and Roman festival days plays off these two other strands. Part of what makes commemorative drinking possible in Horace is precisely the cyclical quality of time, the yearly return (*hic dies anno redeunte festus*; 3.8.9) of an anniversary, a festival, a birthday. But for all the commemorative power of Horace's wine (especially in conjunction with these kinds of occasions), for all their ability to allow the poet and his guests to relive a bit of their past, the anniversary, the date on the wine jug, point inevitably to linear time, to that ever increasing distance between past and present.

I will do no more than gesture in this direction here, but we should also realize that part of what makes all of this possible are larger structures of time in Horace, and how these relatively minor strands support and/or play off these larger structures. Much of how these effects are more broadly communicated stems from the overall autobiographical arc to Horace's poetry. This was clearly a conscious decision, and one, it is essential to note, he was by no means constrained to make; it is also clear that he made this decision very early on, and that he continued to do so throughout his works.[230] This is further heightened by two related points. First, that the albeit fragmented narrative of his own life and aging process he provides in individual poems is paralleled and reinforced by a poetic career that itself imitates this aging process, one that begins with the feisty poetry of his youth (the *Satires* and *Epodes*) through the mature, stately, and more public *Odes*, to the poetry of an older, retired, and philosophical Horace in the *Epistles*.[231] Second, Horace's poetry is intensely self-referential, *intra*textual; and most of these intratextual moments point up the passage of time, in both his actual, and textual life.[232] To cite just one example, at the beginning of

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[230] Cf. Gowers (2003) on the autobiographical nature of *Satires* 1.

[231] On Horace's poetic career, see especially Harrison (2010). He demonstrates that Horace's career has a "parabolic trajectory" as opposed to Virgil's "steady and continuous ascent" (58). But this parabolic trajectory maps onto, indeed is a result of, Horace's decision to dramatize his aging through his choice of genre.

[232] Of course these are one in the same, Horace being known through us only as he constructs himself through texts.

Odes 4.1 Horace announces that he is reluctant to resume lyric composition; he is not, as he tells us, the same man he once was:

> *non sum qualis eram bonae*
> *sub regno Cinarae. desine, dulcium*
> *mater saeva Cupidinum,*
> *circa lustra decem flectere mollibus*
> *iam durum imperiis*
> I am not the kind of man I used to be
> under the reign of kindly Cinara. Cease, savage Mother
> of sweet Cupids, controlling me, nearly fifty,
> now hardened, with your soft commands.

Horace, right after he claims that he is no longer the man he once was, quotes the opening line directly from *Odes* 1.19, *mater saeva cupidinum*. This is no oversight, nor is it laziness; Horace is saying that he is not the man he was when he composed *Odes* 1-3, and does so with a clear and pointed allusion to a poem from that collection.[233] Moreover, Cinara has only been mentioned as one of Horace's loves in *Epistles* 1, composed after *Odes* 1-3 and published before *Odes* 4, both times to make the same point: Horace is different now, different and older.

All this emphasis on time, and loss over time, might prompt us to ask, why? And more importantly, why *at this particular time*? To be sure, Horace lived through a

[233] A poem which has some similarities with this one: *Mater saeva Cupidinum* / *…iubet me…* / *…* / *finitis animum reddere amoribus* (the savage Mother of Cupids…orders me…to return my heart to a love that has ended; 1-4).

period of profound change; the Rome of his youth was very different from the Rome of his later years, and, as I am sure Horace became increasingly well aware, the Rome of his youth would never return. How Horace felt about this is hard to say, nor can it ever be answered with any certainty. It is a curious fact, and one that he occasionally makes explicit in his poems, that Horace juxtaposes his own individual narrative of aging and loss with the public ascendancy of Augustus and the spring-like rebirth of Rome.[234] This is not to say that Horace was in any way anti-Augustan, a term which does little justice to the more complex feelings a man of Horace's sensibility might have had. But Horace, like Virgil, may have felt keenly aware of this transition, keenly aware that this transition—as all transitions—would involve loss. Or perhaps, as Reckford once put it, Horace, "considered the Greek ὥριος, 'coming in due season,' 'seasonable,' to be part of his name *Horatius*, and of his destiny."[235] But these are questions for another *hora*.

* * *

If nothing else, what I hope to have accomplished in this dissertation is to raise awareness of how important time is to Horace, how thoroughgoing and complex his engagement with time is and just how subtle this can sometimes be. When Horace sets his claim to poetic immortality in *Odes* 3.30, he does so in a way that is more subtle—and decidedly more Horatian—than has been recognized.

usque ego postera

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[234] Cf. above on *Odes* 3.14.
[235] Reckford (1997) 610.

crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.
I will grow continuously fresh
with the praise of posterity, as long as the *pontifex*
climbs the Capitoline with the silent Virgin.

Horace claims that as long as Rome lasts, his poetry will last, and the claim is regularly compared to *Aeneid* 9.446-449:

Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo,
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.
Fortunate pair! If my songs have any power,
no day will ever banish you from time's memory,
as long as the house of Aeneas resides on the immovable rock
of the Captioline and a Roman Father holds the *imperium*.

Vergil, eulogizing Nisus and Euryalus, declares that his poetry will allow the two to live in our memory as long as Romans hold the Capitoline. On the surface, Vergil's claim is the same as Horace's, but there is an important difference. The fame of Nisus and Euryalus is coexistent with Roman habitation at the site of Rome. This is, in its way, metonymy for the existence of Rome as a whole. As we know from Camillus' speech at Livy 5.51-54 the site of Rome was critical to Romans' sense of identity. For Horace, his poetry is coexistent with a particular action involving the Capitoline. This too, in a slightly different way, is metonymy for the existence of Rome, and one could point to

the same speech in Livy where Roman religious practice is intimately bound up with the physical landscape of the city itself. But the difference is an important one. Horace's longevity is contingent not upon continuous occupation of a space, but the continuation of a particularly Roman religious act. Unfortunately, Horace is too vague or our knowledge too imperfect to detect in the *dum*-clause a reference to any specific ritual. But the occasion, or occasions, on which a *pontifex* climbed the Capitoline in the company of a Vestal Virgin must surely have been public and religious in nature, so we may at least assume that the *dum*-clause points to some public ritual or rituals, whatever it or they may have been. As parallels, commentators sometimes point to Varro *LL* 5.47: *Carinae pote a caerimonia, quod hinc oritur caput Sacrae Viae ab Streniae sacello quae pertinet in arcem, qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in arcem* (*Carinae* might be from *caerimonia* [ceremony], since from here the start of the *Via Sacra* begins, which stretches from the shrine of Strenia up onto the Captioline, by which every month sacrifices are brought up to the Capitoline). N-R include *de Mensibus* 4.49 describing a sacrifice to Jupiter led by the Pontifex Maximus and the head of the Vestal Virgins: ἡγουμένου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν κανηφόρων τῆς Μητρός. But in *Odes* 3.30, Horace is not simply "proclaiming himself the poet of Roman institutions".[236] Scholars focus on the idea of a procession up to the Capitoline, but they miss what is common to these passages—and to my mind what is most important about them in understanding Horace's point—namely, time.

[236] N-R (2004) *ad loc.*

The occasion according to John Lydus occurs on the Ides of March, every year, and Varro's passage refers to monthly sacrifices (*quotquot mensibus*). Roman religious practice was fundamentally connected to time (as is the case for most cultures); sacrifices and public rituals all took place at a fixed time on a fixed date. Whatever religious event is to be understood by *dum Capitolium scandet cum tacita uirgine pontifex*, even if it signifies any number of events, the action also points to time. The priest and vestals climbed the Capitoline at fixed points in the ever revolving year like the ticking of a yearly clock. Embedded in Horace's claim, then, is not simply the notion that his poetry will remain ever new as long as Rome stands, or as long as Roman institutions continue, but as long as Roman time keeps on ticking, ticking, ticking, into the future.

Appendix: time as agent in Horace

Movement (or lack thereof) and Speed

Epodes 17.21	*fugit iuventas* youth has fled
Sat. 1.5.14	*tota abit hora* a whole hour went away
Sat.2.2.83	*sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus* or if the year returning will have brought a festival day
Sat. 2.2.85	*accedent anni* the years approach
Sat. 2.6.40	*septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus* by now the seventh year—nearer to the eighth—will have fled
Sat.2.6.97	*aevi brevis* brief lifespan
Odes 1.11.8	*fugerit invida / aetas* grudging time will have fled
Odes 2.4.23	*cuius octavum trepidavit aetas / claudere lustrum* whose age has hastened to close its eighth *lustrum* (5 year period)
Odes 2.5.14	*currit enim ferox / aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit / apponet annos* for fierce time runs on and it will give to her the years it takes from you
Odes 2.7.6	*morantem…diem* the delaying day
Odes 2.11.6	*fugit retro / levis iuventas* gentle youth flees away

Odes 2.14.2 *fugaces…labuntur anni*
the fleeing years are gliding away

Odes 2.16.17 *brevi…aevo*
brief lifespan

Odes 2.18.16 *novaeque pergunt interire lunae*
the new moons hasten to perish

Odes 3.8.9 *anno redeunte*
with the year returning

Odes 3.28.6 *velut stet volucris dies*
as if the winged day were standing still

Odes 3.29.29 *futuri temporis exitum*
the outcome of time to be

Odes 3.29.48 *quod fugiens semel hora vexit*
once the fleeing hour has brought it

Odes 3.30.5 *fuga temporum*
the flight of time

Odes 4.2.40 *quamvis redeant in aurum / tempora priscum*
although the times return to their former gold

Odes 4.5.7 *gratior it dies*
the day passes more pleasantly

Odes 4.6.40 *pronos mensis*
the rushing months

Odes 4.7.7 *monet annus et almum / quae rapit hora diem*
the year warns us and the hour that snatches the day away (see context)

Odes 4.7.13 *damna...celeres reparant caelestia lunae*
the swift moons repair their heavenly losses

Odes 4.11.20 *affluentes* / *…annos*
the years flowing

Odes 4.13.14-16 *tempora, quae semel* / *notis condita fastis* / *inclusit uolucris dies*
the times which the winged day has shut up and stored in the *fasti* once and for all

Odes 4.13.23 *brevis* / *annos*
brief years

Epist. 1.1.21 *piger annus*
slow year

Epist. 1.1.23 *sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora*
thus the time flows slowly and unpleasant for me

Epist. 1.6.3-4 *decedentia certis* / *tempora momentis*
time departing in unwavering movement

Epist. 2.1.130 *orientia tempora*
the rising times (= generation)

Epist. 2.1.144 *brevis aevi*
brief lifespan

Epist. 2.2.172 *mobilis horae*
moving hour

Epist. 2.2.211 *accedente senecta*
now that old age is approaching

Epist. 2.2.55 *Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes;* / *eripuere iocos, uenerem, conuiuia, ludum;* / *tendunt extorquere poemata*
the years plunder things from us one by one as they go; they have snatched the jokes, the sex, the banquets, the play away; they are reaching out to wrest my poems away

Epist. 2.3.175 *Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda…* / *multa recedentes adimunt*
Many advantages the years bring with them when they come, many they take away when they depart.

Motion and Bringing

Sat.2.2.83 *sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus*
or if the year returning will have brought a festival day

Odes 2.5.14 *currit enim ferox / aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit / apponet annos*
for fierce time runs on and it will give to her the years it takes from you

Odes 2.16.32 *et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit, / porriget hora*
and maybe the hour will offer me what it will have denied you

Odes 2.17.8 *Ille dies utramque / ducet ruinam*
that day will bring on our mutual ruin

Odes 3.29.48 *quod fugiens semel hora vexit*
once the fleeing hour has brought it

Odes 4.12.13 *adduxere sitim tempora*
the times have brought on a thirst

Epist. 1.6.24 *in apricum proferet aetas*
time will bring it out into the sun

Epist. 2.1.34 *Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit*
si time (lit. day) renders poems better, as it does wine

Epist. 2.3.175 *Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda… / multa recedentes adimunt*
Many advantages the years bring with them when they come,
many they take away when they go.

Theft and Violence

Epodes 17.25 *urget diem nox et dies noctem*
night urges day and day urges night

Odes 1.9.17 *donec…canities abest / morosa*
while gnawing old age is absent

Odes 2.5.14 *currit enim ferox / aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit / apponet annos*
for fierce time runs on and it will give to her the years it takes from you

Odes 2.11.8 *pellente…canitie*
when old age presses on

Odes 2.14.3 *instanti senecta*
old age pressing the attack

Odes 2.16.30 *Tithonum minuit senectus*
Old age diminished Tithonus

Odes 2.18.15 *Truditur dies die*
day is trampled by day

Odes 3.14.13 *Hic dies vere mihi festus atras / eximet curas*
indeed this festal day will take away my black cares

Odes 3.6.45 *Damnosa quid non inminuit dies?*
what does the destructive day not diminish?

Odes 4.7.8 *quae rapit hora diem*
the hour that takes the day away

Odes 4.7.9 *ver proterit aestas*
summer teamples spring

Odes 4.9.10 *delevit aetas*
time has destroyed

Epist. 1.20.18 *(te) occupet…balba senectus*
bald old age will besiege you

Epist. 2.2.46 *dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato*
but hard times moved me from a pleasant place

Epist. 2.2.55 *Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes; / eripuere iocos, uenerem, conuiuia, ludum; / tendunt extorquere poemata*
the years plunder things from us one by one as they go; they have snatched the jokes, the sex, the banquets, the play away; they are reaching out to wrest my poems away

Epist. 2.3.175 *Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda… / multa recedentes adimunt*
Many advantages the years bring with them when they come, many they take with them as they go

Other Activities

Odes 2.4.33 *cuius octauum trepidauit aetas / claudere lustrum*
…whose age has hastened to close its eighth *lustrum*

Odes 3.8.9-10 *Hic dies...festus / corticem…dimovebit*
this festival day will remove the cork

Odes 4.7-8 *monet annus et almum / quae rapit hora diem*
The year warns, and the hour that snatches the bright day away

Odes 4.7.13 *Damna...celeres reparant caelestia lunae*
the swift moons repair their celestial loses

Odes 2.3.15 *dum...aetas et Sororum / fila trium patiuntur atra.*
while our age and the black thread of the three Sisters allows

Odes 4.13.16 *…tempora quae semel…inclusit uolucris dies*
…will not bring back the times, once the winged day has shut them up

Epist. 2.1.35 *scire velim chartis pretium quotus arroget annus*
I'd like to know how many years gives a book its price

Epist. 2.1.130 *orientia tempora*

The rising generations

Epist. 2.3.115 *florente iuventa*
when youth is in its flower

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