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A Poet's Request : Text and Subtext in Horace's Odes 1.1

Virginia C. Cook
cook186@marshall.edu

A POET'S REQUEST: TEXT AND SUBTEXT IN HORACE'S *ODES* 1.1

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Virginia C. Cook

Approved by

Dr. Caroline A. Perkins, Ph.D., Committee Chairperson
Dr. Christina E. Franzen, Ph.D.
Dr. E. Del Chrol, Ph.D.

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The *idea* of writing a thesis is much easier than the actual *process*. Nothing puts it into perspective quite like the act of starting. It is only when you attempt to depict your abstract ideas in a physical form, such as on paper, that you realize to what extent they do not make sense. I have learned countless times over that the writing process can be one of fickleness and flight. However, it is also one of the most liberating experiences I have had in my graduate career, and for this, I am grateful.

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ABSTRACT

A Poet's Request: Text and Subtext in Horace's *Odes* 1.1

By Virginia C. Cook

As the first poem within Horace's original publication of *Odes*, *Odes* 1.1 embodies aspects of theme and style representative of the poet's approach to the genre of lyric poetry. The *Odes* of Horace allow various interpretations by the reader based on construction, vocabulary and imagery. This thesis explores *Odes* 1.1 in its entirety through such approaches and focuses on the text and subtext incorporated by the poet. The first chapter sets the foundation needed in order to begin a study of Horace's lyric poetry, detailing the genre as a whole, the life of the poet, as well as the contradiction addressed in this paper. Chapter Two carefully examines the priamel through an in depth exploration of both philology and imagery. Next, Chapter Three examines the final seven lines of *Odes* 1.1, and closely studies Horace's request of Maecenas. The final chapter explores Horace's intentions as an author and the underlying meaning within not only *Odes* 1.1, but the entirety of Book 1 and the *Odes* in general. Through this detailed investigation of *Odes* 1.1, one can see the way Horace's work as a Latin lyric poet works towards the establishment of Latin lyric poetry, and the way in which the poet creates a strong foundation for such a genre.

CHAPTER ONE: THE POET, THE POEM, THE PROBLEM

I. An Introduction to Lyric Poetry and Latin Lyric

Lyric poetry was not a native verse to Latin literature during the time of Horace's writing. Rather, the genre developed in the Greek world starting in the first half of the seventh century BCE and expanding through the first half of the fifth century BCE (A. Miller, xi). The genre of lyric poetry focused on the range of human experience. Poems emphasize "erotic love (both hetero- and homo-sexual), politics, war, sports, drinking, money, youth, old age, death, the heroic past, the gods" (Miller, xii). Poets utilized such tropes in order to establish a bond between their work and their audience since lyric poetry was primarily composed for public presentation and was accompanied by a musical instrument. By the beginning of the third century BCE the Greek lyric canon was established. Alexandrian scholars selected works from nine poets which exemplified the ideals of the genre: (alphabetically) Alcaeus, Alcman, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Ibycus, Pindar, Sappho, Simonides, and Stesichorus. From these authors, modern scholars distinguish between two types of performance lyric: monody and choral lyric. The former is a solo song, which is written for a specific audience of those close to the poet. The poet is also expected to perform the work in his or her own person, which is why many monodists write in the first person. The latter type of lyric is composed primarily for a group of singers and dancers who performed during public festivals and events (Miller, xiii). There are three lyricists who are categorized as being primarily monodists: Alcaeus, Sappho and Anacreon. Of the nine Greek lyricists canonized, these are the three whose influence is most noted in the *Odes* of Horace.[1]

Horace calls himself the first to write Latin lyric poetry. He calls himself the *Latinus fidicen*/"Latin lyre-player" (*Epi*. 1.19.32-33), and as we will see later, takes credit for establishing Latin lyric (*Ode* 3.30.13-14). Of Roman authors, Catullus had dabbled in lyric meter before him;[2] however, Horace is noted as the first Latin lyricist by both ancient and modern scholars because of a technical

distinction between meters (Putnam, 2).[3] This conclusion relies on a very narrow definition of lyric poetry. Quintilian, in the latter part of the first century CE, noted the distinction between the two poets. The rhetorician places Catullus among writers of iambic verse because of his prominent use of iambic meters, especially in his poly-metric poems, 1-60 (Putnam, 2). When describing Horace, he says:

> At lyricorum idem Horatius fere solus legi dignus. nam et insurgit aliquando et plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae et varius figuris et verbis felicissime audax.
>
> But of the lyricists, the same Horace, entirely alone, is worthy to be read. For he both elevates himself at any time and is full of delight and charm and most happily bold in words.

In his book, Michael C. J. Putnam makes this distinction between Catullus and Horace, as well, by noting that if we are to follow the relationship between meter and genre within antiquity, both Horace and Quintilian are warranted in claiming that "Horace is unique among Roman writers of lyric verse" (3).

As Horace adapted lyric meter into Latin, some changes were made to this genre of poetry. For example, scholars generally agree that Horace's *Odes* were spoken rather than sung,[4] like in the traditional Greek context (Ancona, xxii). Therefore, the collection of *Odes* represents a milestone in the development of Latin literature; for Horace is adapting a Greek structure that no author before him had attempted to master. Unfortunately though, when the first three books came out in 23 BCE, Horace's *Odes* did not receive the praise and attention one might think. Rather, as V.G. Kiernan states:

> Conservative prejudice may have been stirred by the continual adoption of Greek culture, even though Horace was showing how the Greeks could be beaten at their own game (136).

Especially during a time when the familiar Roman political structure was changing, it is possible to understand why the Roman populace might be apprehensive towards adopting anything new and seemingly foreign. Horace was writing during a period of instability and unrest in Rome's history. At the time of the *Odes*, the Roman Republic was ending, making way for the new establishment of the Roman Empire. The emperor Augustus became the prominent political figure at this time. Today, scholars refer to his reign as the Augustan Age, a period of time which involved an end to civil strife and an embracing of the arts more so than had been done in previous years. The impact which the social and governmental shift from republic to empire had on Horace can be seen in his writings, and many scholars today note the tone of wariness apparent in some of his poems (Ancona, xviii). Even with such anxiety, Horace's work maintains consistent unity in theme. He incorporates strong Roman undertones throughout the Greek structure which he adopted as his own genre. In this sense, the *Odes* are a curious collection of poems because of the genre Horace chose to write in. Rather than adopt a Latin genre or join the ranks of the elegists, he decided to work within the boundaries of Greek Lyric poetry.

Horace carefully created an overarching structure throughout the original publication of the *Odes* under which the entirety of his collection fell. In her introduction to *The Odes of Horace*, a translation by Jeffrey H. Kaimowitz, Ronnie Ancona notes that:

> While each ode may be read individually, reading the *Odes* as a whole has a certain cumulative effect. Repetitions, recollections, and variations within the lyrics strengthen their impact (xxii).

Horace recycles themes, content, and meter which enables his poetry to transcend its initial appearance and to operate on an alternate level, linking his collection of works. His creation of thematic poetry which is connected throughout multiple poems and books is possibly the most defining factor in establishing Horace as a great poet. By demonstrating syncretism within his lyric, Horace emphasizes his

broad-ranging approach to the writing of a new type of poetry. He also shows his ability to manipulate various aspects of the genre, thereby unifying the "unwieldy tradition" (Harrison, 42) of lyric poetry.

The first book of the *Odes* is a strong example of the way Horace's poetry operates as an entire working unit, exemplifying traits of lyric and displaying the poet's manipulation of them. Horace writes Book 1 within the structure of "Archaic Lyric" which is composed of many dialects, meters and subject matters (Harrison, 40). Within the realm of lyric poetry, Lesbian poets Alcaeus and Sappho are the most read, and Horace is said to have adopted them as the paradigmatic structure on which he bases his own poetry (Harrison, 40). The poet proves his ability to mold the Greek structure for his Roman audience, while displaying his lack of wide-ranging ability as a Roman author. *Odes* 1.1-9 are each written in a different meter. *Odes* 1.1.9-23 mostly "begin from lines of, or otherwise conspicuously imitate, numerous poets: predominantly Alcaeus," and *Odes* 1.25-38 are primarily Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas (Harrison, 42). Horace summarizes lyric within *Odes* Book 1 and encapsulates the facets which define the genre within literature all within thirty-eight poems; and as an introduction to such a book, *Odes* 1.1 is, in itself, a purely Roman manipulation of the Greek genre.

II. The Poet

Quintus Horatius Flaccus, December 8, 65-November 27, 8 BCE, was born the son of a freedman and educated like the son of an Equestrian. Stephen Harrison (21) suggests that "he was the son of a south freedman, but presents himself as a model of worldly urbanity." Horace mentions his class status in Book 1 of his *Satires*,[5] yet continues throughout his poetry to represent an elitist viewpoint. Although taught in Rome and in Athens, Horace tends to manipulate the idea of his humble origin throughout his poetry rather than highlight his typically upper-class experience. He fought for the Republic as a *tribunus militum*[6] among the ranks of Brutus and Cassius but spent his time as a poet writing for Augustus or at least not writing *against* Augustus. It is commonly understood that Horace held his

allegiance to his patron, Maecenas, to whom *Odes* 1.1 is addressed and who purchased the author's beloved Sabine estate,[7] and Maecenas remains a consistent character throughout the works of Horace.[8] However, as Barbara Gold (126) discusses, as the poet's feelings of contentment in his life and security in his wealth increases, his reliance on the benefits of his patron decreases.

Horace authored many works, and it is assumed that he began writing the *Odes* around 35 BCE (Nisbet and Hubbard, xxviii). Unlike many poets, Horace was able to personally finance his lifestyle as a poet. He worked as a clerk to the *quaestors* in a position known as *scriba quaestorius*. This was the type of job that not only offered monetary support but was generally held for life, remaining a constant source of income for our poet (Ancona, xix). He was good friends with both Vergil and Varius, who happen to be the ones responsible for introducing Horace to Maecenas originally (Ancona, xx). Through this association, Horace befriended many other poets and other influential characters of the time, establishing himself among the social and political elite of his day.

To gain a clear perception of Horace as a man and as a poet is a difficult task. The truth lies somewhere between how he is depicted by other authors and how he depicts himself. Stephen Harrison summarizes Horace in a way that displays his many aspects as a man, a member of the ancient society, and a driving force in the literary community:

> He lacked roots in a community, but introduces to literature a new feeling for locality. He pretends to be lazy and unambitious, but shows practical ability in war and peace. He is hedonistic to an extent that his modern admirers are reluctant to admit, but proclaims to ideals of the Augustan state. His tolerant humanity had a long-term influence on European enlightenment, but he is the most brutally sexist of the Augustan poets. He assumes an air of openness, but calculates precisely how to please. Though it is wrong to regard him as unknowable, we must be very cautious that our knowledge of him is less than he would have liked us to think (21).

Through this description, we can see the many contradictory aspects of Horace that are depicted through his writings. Understanding Horace involves understanding a person, a poet and a poetic

character. Horace was no doubt a driving force in the establishment of Latin literature and poetry, as well as among his contemporaries in ancient Rome. Yet, for the modern audience, who he was as a person is conveyed primarily through the words of a poet; and the poetic approach to his literature holds more truth than we realize and more obscurity than we credit.

III. The Poem

The scholarly community generally accepts the idea that in *Odes* 1.1 Horace is entreating Maecenas to enroll him as the tenth member in the Greek lyric canon. Nisbet and Hubbard, along with Kenneth Quinn suggest this understanding in their extensive commentaries, as does Matthew Leigh in his article "The *Garland* of Maecenas." Nisbet and Hubbard point out that Horace mentions a diverse array of men's professions as an introduction to this request. These lines are part of the "priamel" which is classified by German scholars as being a dedication to one's own craft. "To one man *this* thing is the finest, another prizes *that* above all, another *that*, but to me it seems best to have (or be)…" (Fraenkel, 230). Sappho, a leading Greek lyricist, is commonly referenced as the parallel poetic structure to the priamel in *Odes* 1.1.[9] In his priamel, Horace lists his love for writing poetry at the end of an extensive list of other people's occupational preferences.

Like most authors, Horace is accused by scholars of using his poetry as a means for suggesting his own agenda to his audience. Such intention manifests itself in multiple poems, but especially in his introductory poem to the *Odes*, *Odes* 1.1. The first poem ranges in theme from every-day Roman experiences, to other generic topoi, and even to other-worldly images. Rather than bluntly stating his intention of writing *Odes* 1.1, Horace decisively sets the stage to prove that "his own way of life is not only justifiable but superior" (Nisbet and Hubbard, 1), and he shapes this conclusion in the form of an apology for his commitment to poetry rather than to other trades. Apologizing for the topics and themes that are to be found in an author's poetry, especially in the opening poem, is a common trope

exploited regularly by poets. By molding his work in a way that operates within the common structure of a poet's first, opening poem, Horace maintains the stylistic appearance of a Roman poet.[10] Although he is writing within a Greek structure and in a Greek meter, the poet presents his Romanness from the beginning so that there is no confusion of his intention. Horace undercuts the surface-level request to be included among the Greek lyricists with the Roman undertones throughout *Odes* 1.1.

IV. The Problem

Through his vocabulary, Horace proudly reveals his allegiance to his heritage, people, and culture. Although his poetic structure is adopted from the Greek, his message remains innately Roman. Horace demonstrates his love for lyric not only on the surface but on a parallel plane of understanding, and in doing so, he demonstrates his loyalty to the ideals of a Roman man. Many scholars[11] have noted that *Odes* 1.1 is a common patron/client request poem, in which Horace is attempting to convince Maecenas, to include him in the established canon of Greek lyric poets as the tenth member. In my thesis I argue that Horace's surface request is in fact not his intention in *Odes* 1.1; rather, that under the façade of lyric poetry, Horace cleverly interweaves his message, that no self-respecting Roman man would rather be a tenth member among Greeks when he could be first among Romans.

Although this ethnocentric message is ever present throughout *Odes* 1.1, Horace includes several underlying messages within the text itself which allude to the nine lyric poets. Upon praising the art of writing lyric, Horace suggests his desire to be associated with the lyric bards and asks Maecenas to include him among them. Nevertheless, there still remains a strong contradictory subtext underlying his surface request and the actual structure, language and imagery of his work. The poet's structure is a series of examples, each encompassing a common trope found in poetry, both Greek and Roman, as well as poetic manifestations of common Roman occupations. However, beneath these examples, Horace incorporates a suggestion alternative to the one most prevalently proposed on the surface

through his immediate language. Crafting *Odes* 1.1 with such intention standardizes his style as a poet as well as shapes his audience's expectation for his remaining collection of poetry.

In this thesis, I explore the priamel of the poem through the concluding lines of *Odes* 1.1 in order to demonstrate how Horace's text and subtext carries understanding and meaning beyond the words on the page. His language and imagery work to dispute his surface context, supplying his poetry with an underlying meaning much more laden with Roman undertones than generally assumed. Chapter Two carefully examines the priamel through an in depth exploration of both philology and imagery. This close study of language and allusion demonstrates Horace's contradiction to his surface-level request. Building on this foundation, Chapter Three examines the final seven lines of *Odes* 1.1, and closely studies Horace's request of Maecenas. These lines contain both philological and pictorial contradictions, and ultimately display the conclusion to Horace's artificial wish: that he has no honest desire to be among the canonized Greek lyricists. The final chapter explores Horace's intentions as an author and the underlying meaning within not only *Odes* 1.1, but the entirety of Book 1 and the *Odes* in general. Through this detailed investigation of *Odes* 1.1, one can see Horace's intentional approach to the establishment of Latin lyric poetry, and the way in which the poet creates a foundation for such a genre. Although he is adapting a Greek genre within not only *Odes* 1.1, but the collection as a whole, Horace incorporates enough Roman undertones and subtleties that his work becomes a Latin piece designed for a Roman audience. In doing so, Horace establishes himself as a highly influential craftsman and author of a new genre, embedding himself in the history of Latin literature and within the eventual canon of Latin lyric.

CHAPTER TWO: EXPLORATION OF THE PRIAMEL

I. An Introduction to the Priamel of *Odes* 1.1

The idea that Horace has no intention of being admitted into the canon of Greek lyric poets is supported throughout the priamel of *Odes 1.1*. Although modern scholars accept the poet's request for inclusion at face value,[12] in this thesis I explore Horace's Romanization of the Greek lyric structure in order to show that he is, in fact, not asking for such a thing. Rather than demonstrate his ability to write Greek poetry, our poet is taking a Greek poetic genre and using such heavy Roman imagery, both apparent and underlying, with the result that the poem becomes a Latin work. He is counteracting lyric's inherent Greek structure with Roman undertones such as vocabulary, geography, history, mythology and vivid imagery. Within the first twenty eight lines of the poem, Horace describes nine occupations that men held within the ancient world. As he details this list of professions, Horace maintains strong Roman undertones within each example of male virtue. Although *Odes* 1.1 appears to be a common introductory apology poem, Horace is writing an entirely new genre for Latin poetry and demonstrating his superiority in comparison to those who came before him. Like Vergil with his epic, Horace creates Latin poetry from the original Greek structure in a way that facilitates its embrace as a part of Latin literature. Horace stays true to his Roman heritage and thereby harnesses the emotion of his audience as they find themselves able to relate to his poetry.

II. The Charioteer

The charioteer is the first occupation detailed by Horace in the priamel of *Odes* 1.1 in lines 1.1.3-6. Although this character, a common Greek trope, personifies the Greek Olympic Game competitor, Horace places him in a definitive Roman context.

Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum

collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis

evitata rotis palmaque nobilis

terrarum dominos evehit ad deos;

There are those men whom it pleases to gather Olympic dust on their racing chariot, and, avoiding turning posts with fervid wheels, and the noble winner is brought forth to the gods as the master of the lands;

This occupation appears to be a Greek example, and the audience would recognize it as such because the Olympic Games were the most well-known and famous of those in Greece. Also, "the glory of an Olympic victory was a regular feature in the 'catalogue of occupations' found in Greek lyricists like Pindar" (Nisbet and Hubbard, 5). However, Horace's audience was familiar with games as well. The strong Roman undertones are present in the imagery of the chariot racer. The circus was popular since Rome's earliest history. These Roman games, known as the *ludi*, are alluded to in lines 1.1.3-6, specifically with the use of chariot racing which was one of the most popular events of the public games.[13] During the time of Horace, Augustus dedicated Egyptian obelisks at the circus, which demonstrates the importance and popularity of both the games and, specifically, the chariot races to the Roman people. The *ludi* continued to be highly cherished by the Roman people and by the 4th century CE, 177 days out of the year were dedicated to games (Shelton, 330).

In the first occupation listed in the priamel, Horace references Greek imagery but immediately follows it with Roman allusions. The only instance of Horace using any form of the adjective *Olympicum* throughout all of his works occurs in *Odes 1.1*. Never again does he reference the Greek games by name. By supplying the image of *pulverem Olympicum*/"Olympic dust", Horace brings the Greek custom to mind. However, there are several aspects at play in the occupation of a charioteer. The first is that by beginning his priamel with the Olympic winning charioteer, Horace is emulating a common Greek feature in the familiar catalogue of occupations (Nisbet and Hubbard, 5). Beginning in a similar fashion

to the Greek lyricists, our poet establishes himself as their equal and just as capable of detailing such themes. The Greek imagery conveyed through Horace's usage of *pulverem Olympicum* is weakened because by the time of his *Odes*, the Olympic Games, once a strong facet of Greek culture, was no longer as highly glorified. Nisbet and Hubbard (5) suggest that "at the time when Horace was writing […] Olympic chariot races were not important." Therefore, Horace replaces the predictable Greek theme from the beginning, regarding both context and structure. He highlights the Romanness of the chariot racer rather than the expected Olympian, and he also creates his Latin poem atop a Greek poetic structure.

Horace builds upon a Greek structure for the remainder of the poem and finishes off his first occupation with yet another Roman reference found in line 1.1.5: *palmaque nobilis*/"the noble palm." Although these words suggest the Olympic winner within the context of the poem, the underlying implication is present, for Romans adopted the custom of placing a palm branch in the hands of a victor in 293 BCE (Garrison, 200).[14] By the time of Horace's *Odes*, Romans were so familiar with this custom that it was most likely not viewed solely as a tradition taken from the Greeks. By waiting to incorporate direct Roman imagery until line 1.1.5, the poet attaches Rome itself, rather than Greece, to victory, and thereby to glory and virtue in the same way the *palmaque nobilis* elevates its receiver. The introduction to the priamel appears Greek in context and style beginning in the first phrase, but Horace includes multiple examples of Roman imagery, which work to remind his audience that he is indeed a Roman author. Rather than writing Greek poetry, he is manipulating a Greek genre so that it displays ultimately Roman customs and ideals.

III. The Politician

The next occupation in lines 1.1.7-8 of the priamel of *Odes* 1.1 is the politician, a character that Horace shapes to be inherently and blatantly a Roman example.

Hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium

certat tergeminis tollere Honoribus

It pleases this man, if the crowd of fickle citizens strives to elevate him

with triple honors.

The political realm of Roman society was highly valued by the people, and Horace utilizes a dramatic transferred epithet in these lines which not only vivifies his example but also represents to an extent his personal viewpoint. Rather than refer to the *turba*/"mob" as *mobilium*, as expected, he associates the adjective with *Quiritium*. *Quiritium* is a word unique to Rome's history, defining the people who came after the union of the Sabines and Romans. Quinn (119) notes in his commentary how this politician appears to be a "demagogue exhilarated by the support of the mob at election time, rather than a member of the great families, who tended to regard the senior magistracies as their ancestral right." Horace was known for being against popular politics and all of its influences, especially the traditional political mindset and the fickle mob (Garrison, 200).[15] His choice of adjective in this case must be intentional because it is the only time Horace utilizes *mobilis* in association with the mob in any of his works; usually it describes an aspect much more fleeting such as a river, the truth and expressions of time.[16] Even then, he is not technically using it to describe the mob directly because he transferred the epithet to *Quiritium.* The fickle mob is not an unfamiliar topic of discussion throughout Latin literature.[17] In fact, this viewpoint, although perhaps appearing to be anti-Roman, is in fact the opposite, at least for the upper classes. Horace is operating from an elite point of view, pointing out the inconsistency and unreliability of the masses.[18]

Forms of *Quiris/itis* are found in each book of the *Odes,* including Book 4 which was written almost ten years later. In each case, they represent a Roman citizen. *Quiritem* appears in *Odes* 2.7.3, an anonymous welcome home poem, meaning a citizen who "has been restored to full civic rights and

privileges" (Garrison, 268). Similar meaning is demonstrated throughout the other uses in Books 3 and 4.[19] The emphasis placed on *Quiritium* in these lines strongly connects Horace's *Odes* as a whole. Even though uses of *Quiritium* come to the audience much later than those of Book 1, the duplication demonstrates Horace's intention as an artist. He links the books together through vocabulary, placing linguistic rarities where they have the ability to be most beneficial for aiding the audience's recognition of his stylistic vocabulary. Horace utilizes the underlying understanding he has developed with his audience in order to add emphasis to his later books as well as to demonstrate his ability as a writer. Not only that, but by employing *Quiritium* to begin with, this meaning only transfers throughout Horace's writings; each time he references the word after Book 1, it maintains remnants of the previous usage in *Odes* 1.1, while still fulfilling its role in the immediate context of other poems.

When describing his politician, not only does Horace's reference to the fickle mob call to mind Roman literary themes found in oratory,[20] but he solidifies his character's Roman association with *tergeminis honoribus*. In describing the political system, triple honors are very much a Roman concept. The three part make-up of the government are the positions of the curule aedile, praetor and consul (Quinn, 119).[21] By establishing his politician as strictly Roman, Horace continues to demonstrate the way his Greek poetic structure ultimately operates as a Roman one. The Greek meter becomes laden with Roman imagery as Horace continues to mold and shape it. He is manipulating lyric so that it resembles stylistic aspects of the earlier Greek writers, but more so, it encompasses all aspects of Roman life: characteristics valued in society and respected public positions, both of which so far establish the foundation for a society. Horace has thus far demonstrated Rome's rule, an empire built solidly on victory and politics.

IV. The Trader/Importer

As Horace's examples of masculine occupations continue throughout his lyric verse in *Odes* 1.1,

he maintains thematic Roman undertones by offering a depiction of a trader/importer in lines 1.1.9-10:

> illum, si proprio condidit horreo
>
> quicquid de Libycis verritur areis
>
> And it please that man, if he has stored away in his personal granary
>
> whatever is being brushed from the Libyan threshing ground

The language of lines 1.1.9-10 portrays a character who is very ingrained in the Roman business world and who is very conscious of market value and sale rates (Garrison, 200). The author then creates a spectrum between his adjacent examples which demonstrates the separation between the politically ambitious and the business-driven man (Nisbet and Hubbard, 8). Although, as Quinn (119) points out, Horace demonstrates aspects within each occupation that most excites the man doing it; in this example, the trader most enjoys seeing his warehouse full.

Within the Latin, Horace does set up a contrast between the politician and the trader. To begin his contrast between these occupations, Horace uses the demonstrative pronouns *hunc* and *illum* when introducing his examples. These pronouns are sometimes used in sequence within a list to denote specific groups. In this case, the fact that Horace uses *hunc*, the accusative of *hic*, when referencing the trader/importer rather than the politician deserves attention. *Hic* is used to reference the realm of the speaker rather than something outside of that. [22] Perhaps this choice of demonstrative usage is related to the fact that Horace does not come from a politically inclined family, nor necessarily from an elite family. Horace's father was a *praeco* and a *coactor* (an auctioneer and creditor) who made a profitable income and who was able to send his child to private school in Greece (Harrison, 7). However, Horace was not taught in school to be a leading politician, nor was there pressure on him for such training. Therefore, Horace was not imbedded in the political workings of Rome or necessarily among its participants. Our author was subjected to the world of commerce and of money, along with the need

others have for money.[23] It makes sense that he would identify with a world in which a man works to make profit for himself and his family rather than for the people as a whole (although there is literature suggesting that many politicians participated in greedy ventures which profited themselves rather than the masses).[24] So when looking at the demonstratives chosen by Horace for the politician and the trader, while also taking into consideration the fact that they are capable of denoting an understood personal reference (first and third), we can see an aspect of the poet himself within *hunc* and within the entire character of the trader/exporter.

The locative ablative is used in line 1.1.9 without the preposition *in*, *proprio…horreo*/"personal granary," which according to Daniel Garrison's (200) commentary suggests a private granary, specific to the trader, rather than the granary of the state. Also, Quinn (119) suggests in his commentary that "Horace represents him as exhilarated- not by the deal he has just pulled off, but by the sight of the grain stacked in his warehouse (thus equating him with the miser who gloats over his accumulated wealth)." The poet had also previously used a similar description of traders in his *Satires* 1.1.46-53.[25] By demonstrating the trader's allegiance to his own profit rather than to that of the greater whole, Horace references the workings of the Roman trade industry,[26] as well as the stereotype applied to businessmen within the society.[27] Also, as Garrison (200) stresses in his commentary, the verb *condidit*/"has stored away" strongly denotes the action of the character, which thereby informs the audience of the type of trader he is, "a commodities trader, acquiring large supplies of grain and holding it until the market price is high," a man who is very familiar with the workings of business. Further Roman references remain throughout the trader/exporter example in the descriptive and geographical adjective *Libycis*. Libya is metonymically representing Africa as a whole, the land from which Romans typically received their grain imports.

Line 10 continues the Roman imagery within the example of the trader: *verritur areis*/"is being brushed from the [Libyan] threshing grounds." This phrase denotes the actual process the harvesters

had to undergo before the grain could be sent to Rome for purchase.[28] Horace is referencing one of the most vital acts in the process of harvesting grain, and this same process can still be seen in Greece today (Garrison, 201). Here there is a similarity between this description of grain harvesting and Horace's work as a poet, in that the raw resource of both grain and poetry is manipulated by its "master" so that it becomes applicable to a specific region or audience. The trader takes up a product such as grain from a foreign source and makes it appealing to his customer base. The poet takes a poetic structure and fashions it so that it becomes relevant and admired; in this case Greek lyric is being shaped by Horace. Both the trader and the poet must shape their *goods* in such a way that they are appealing to the masses. Poetry, like grain, must be worked and refined in order for it to be valued by the people; and this parallel in process heightens the way in which Horace the poet is more similar to his trader rather than to his politician.

V. The Farmer and The Sailor

The next two occupations depicted in 1.1, the farmer and the sailor, are set up in contrast to each other, thereby giving Horace the opportunity to incorporate strong Roman undertones when portraying both characters. These occupations are prominent examples within the makeup of the ideal Roman, and Horace utilizes this aspect to vivify the effect of his words.

> Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
> Agros Attalicis condicionibus
> Numquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypria
> Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.
> Would you dislodge the man, who is delighting in separating his father's fields with a light hoe under the terms of an Attalis, so that he, as a trembling sailor, carves the Myrtoan Sea with a Cyprian oar.

By beginning his description of the farmer with the participle *gaudentem*, Horace establishes from the beginning the emotion that is associated with his character. The farmer is enjoying his work; he finds delight in it and pleasure. He is not angry with his farm chores, or melancholy about his duties, or depressed and anxious for something better or more sophisticated. The farmer is also not bothered by the fact that he has a relatively small piece of land rather than a large business.[29] *Gaudentem* specifically suggests the farmer's pure and sincere satisfaction in what he is accomplishing on his land, the land he inherited from his father. Nisbet and Hubbard (9) remark that *gaudentem* offers a "sympathetic sketch, drawn without satire." There is no sarcasm or cynicism in this depiction. Horace is not creating a joke out of his character or undermining his importance, both societally and historically.

Through this occupation, we can see how much Romans valued their rural heritage within their immediate family and within their "Roman" family. In the beginning, Rome was established as an agricultural community which over time then grew into an imperial nation. However, the qualities that were necessary and expected of a thriving farmer in the early days became the traits which made up the "Roman virtues": "diligence, determination, austerity, gravity, discipline, and self-sufficiency." These virtues then became the standard for a Roman man, as well as the "national self-image/character" (Shelton, 2). Men were held to these expectations by the fathers of the state, always keeping this image present within the lore of the people. Horace is utilizing this ideal Roman character in order to create an inherent emotional and cultural bond between his audience and his work. In doing so, he also establishes, yet again, the Roman undertones in his Greek lyric.

Horace creates another inherently Roman undertone through his reference of the *Attalicis condicionibus*/"under the terms of an Attalis" in line 1.1.12. Although the Attalids were a Hellenistic group of kings of Pergamon from Asia Minor (Garrison, 201), several factors make this reference more Roman than Greek. As Nisbet and Hubbard (9) point out, there are strong Roman literary themes in this phrase through a connection to Plautus. The ancient comic playwright had a character, Attalus I of

Pergamum, in one of his comedies that represented Asiatic wealth. Commentators suggest that this character would not have been in the Greek original and is therefore a Roman invention (Nisbet and Hubbard, 9). The final way in which Horace encompasses a strong Roman feature in this phrase is through a historical reference. In 133 BCE, Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, leaving his luxury and wealth to people; this happened at a time when trends were shifting and Roman tastes were becoming more and more lavish and exaggerated (Garrison, 201).[30] This Attalid bequest is posited as beginning the Roman revolution, a significant historic event for the Romans, because Tiberius Gracchus took this opportunity to propose new agrarian laws. This proposal was a direct attack on Senatorial power because it "struck a blow at the Senate's traditional (though not legally established) control of foreign affairs and finance" (*OCD*, 3). Tiberius was killed on the Capitol, marking the introduction of violence into the Roman political system, as well as pointing out to the public the weaknesses of the ruling oligarchy. Horace triggers these memories through this occupation, and even in just two words, one can see how fundamentally Roman this occupation and this poem is. Although it appears to be structured in the Greek framework, through the meter choice and the common Greek tropes, Horace utilizes Roman reference after Roman reference, which allows his audience to relate to his words as well as for him to show off his poetic manipulation of a Greek composition (Shelton, 150).

After the farmer is introduced to the audience, Horace follows up his description with a hypothetical rhetorical question introduced by the subjunctive *dimoveas*. There is a vocabulary issue with this verb. Scholars debate whether it is *dImoveas* or *dEmoveas*. Nisbet and Hubbard (9) use *demoveas* and translate it as "dislodge" stating that "the word suits the shifting of a firmly-rooted object. The variant *dimoveas* should not be accepted in classical Latin in this sense." Garrison (201), however, chose *dimoveas* for his text and suggests it be taken as to "pry loose, turn away." Both interpretations work to the same effect: a man is being forced from the life which he enjoys and knows; and now he is required to suffer as a sailor, a realm in which he has no prior experience and feels

nothing but fear. In creating this comparison between the two occupations, Horace is posing a question to his audience and to literature as a whole: perhaps, would the happy farmer be better off as a timid sailor (*pavidus nauta*); is it better to be poor or scared? Judging by the values Romans had in place and the amount of historical gravity associated with being a farmer, the answer would be no, life as a content farmer is more desirable by far. Horace demonstrates the implied negative answer on the grammatical side as well by using the independent Potential Subjunctive. This subjunctive expresses doubt and the impossibility of things being accomplished, and the action is represented as merely considered or achievable but not as desired or real (Allen and Greenough, 443-445), which works to demonstrate the contrast between the occupations of a farmer and a sailor as well as Horace's bias towards the farmer.

In these lines, the dedicated farmer who is working with his own hands on his father's field is compared to the sailor who is miserable, on an untamed ocean, and using tools that he is unfamiliar with. These images are very powerful and resonate with the lore of the people. Horace intensifies the unfamiliarity that the farmer, who has been forced to become a sailor, has with his new occupation through very specific allusions. In lines 1.13-14, *trabe Cypria*/"with a Cyprian oar," Horace creates a vivid image through his manipulation of metonymy and synecdoche (Garrison, 201). In addition to his literary constructions, the poet references Cyprus' well-known reputation for being exceptionally skilled in shipbuilding in the ancient world and for their wood in general (Nisbet and Hubbard, 9); thereby he geographically places his character on a figurative map. By noting a different city, particularly an island far separated from Rome, Horace demonstrates the sailor's removal from his accustomed land. He is not near anything that would or could be familiar to him.

Likewise, *Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare*/"the trembling sailor carves the Myrtoan Sea" suggests a similar aspect of distance from the sailor's home. At the same time, the author presents his reader with a vivid word picture in which the sailor is completely enveloped by the sea on either side of

him (*Myrtuom nauta mare*). Rome was not particularly known for being a port city, although Romans did have an active harbor in Ostia. This fear of the ocean and unfamiliarity with the duties of a sailor may perhaps stem from the general societal discomfort and ignorance towards maneuvering on the sea. The intensity of the character's circumstance as well as that of the occupation as a whole is heightened by placing the timid and frightened sailor in the midst of an untamable force. The sailor then becomes a character to pity while carrying out an occupation to dread, unlike that of the farmer. In this comparison of the content and respected farmer who becomes the frightened and untrained sailor, Horace harnesses a deep-rooted archetype that carried with it the emotion, dedication and essence of the Roman state. He then throws this respected character into a hypothetical situation where he is inexperienced and unskilled, demonstrating the understood, accepted and preferred occupation among Roman society. The farmer and the sailor only receive a few lines in this poem, but their image is so vital to the effect *Odes* 1.1 can have on an audience that those few lines still carry very weighty influence in signifying Horace's creation of an incredibly Roman work.

VI. The Merchant

Horace uses this comparison as a gateway into another occupation heavily connected to the sea, that of the merchant in lines 1.1.15-18. Cicero also joins the three occupations of farmer, sailor and merchant in his work *De Officiis* when he describes a trader moving into the country upon returning from the sea. "As a harbor literally provides security and relief from the stormy sea, so too rural life and land ownership figuratively provide security and relief from the stormy life of business and harbor trade" (Shelton, 126). In the Roman world, there was a sense of occupational fluidity between a man who owns rural land and acts as a sailor through the profession of a merchant, which is what Horace captures in these lines.

Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum

Mercator metuens otium et oppidi

Laudat rura sui; mox reficit rates

Quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.

The merchant-man, fearing Africus, wrestling with the Icarian tides, praises the idleness and the countryside of his own town; as he soon reconstructs his shaken raft, untaught to endure poverty.

Although these lines seem to stray from the Roman connotations that have been underlying Horace's work thus far, our author quickly brings them back into the overall Roman realm. For example, line 1.1.15 is teeming with Greek imagery from the mythology to the grammatical construction. Grammatically, Horace creates this line within the confines of a Grecism (Garrison, 201). *Luctantem*/"wrestling" is taken with the dative, *Icariis fluctibus*/"the Icarian Sea," creating a common Grecism (Garrison, 201), which coincidentally contains a very Greek mythological reference. *Icariis fluctibus* is related through legend to the Greek tale of Icarus, the son of Daedelus who fell into the Aegean Sea when he melted his waxen wings by flying too close to the sun (Bulfinch, 156-157).

By structuring his introduction to the *mercator* primarily within a Greek context, Horace verbally and grammatically separates this occupation from the inherently Roman ones mentioned thus far. He isolates this character within the Greek realm the first chance he gets. What this means is that Horace manipulates lines 1.1.16-18 to represent his own opinion on merchants, one that the speeches and writings of other Roman authors also state, and one that he expresses again in later works, both in the *Epistulae* and *Sermones*.[31]

Although merchants were necessary in the ancient world, the writers were skeptical of this particular occupational choice. They were wary of men whose sole purpose it was to make profit for themselves. As Horace notes, merchants were *indocilis pauperiem pati*/"untaught to endure poverty," men who had no knowledge of life without money. This stigma stems from popular philosophy and can

be traced back to Plato and Aristotle (Nisbet and Hubbard, 10). It was a common trope among the Roman authors as well,[32] which the ancient audience would likely be more familiar with. However, by exploring the merchant within his list of occupations, Horace manages to leave the Greek connections intact, thereby keeping it separated from the Roman examples he has offered thus far. Since throughout Latin literature merchants have a negative stigma attached, Horace structures this example within the Greek context mentioned above using grammatical constructions and content. No other occupation mentioned thus far has been held in disdain by the collective opinion of the people. The occupation of the sailor was not as revered as that of the farmer. However, it was not because the occupational choice was regarded as a representation of the person's character, whereas, being a merchant speaks about the kind of person, the kind of man, and the kind of Roman one is, or in this case, is not. The actions of the merchant are driven by his own desire for profit and success, and here, Horace manipulates the overarching Roman opinion of such a man while placing him within a grammatically Greek line of poetry in order to draw the grave distinction between what is and is not a Roman ideal.[33]

VII. The Idle Man

In lines 1.1.19-22, Horace details qualities of a character often found in the lines of his contemporaries, such as Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid; he details a man who takes part in no activity, but rather, chooses to remain idle and at leisure. [34] However, rather than placing him in an elegiac meter, Horace entwines his character among the structure of his lyric.

> Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
>
> Nec partem solido demere de die
>
> Spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
>
> Strtatus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.

> There is the man who neither rejects the cups of old Massicus, nor rejects to withdraw for the entire business day; now here he is, stretched out with respect to his arms under the green strawberry tree, and with his smooth head near the sacred water.

In these lines, Horace does not depict images of a politician, a farmer, an athlete or a merchant; rather, he lists a man who does not work at all, a man who would rather be idle all day. This pseudo-activity is placed mid-Ode, beginning in line 19 of a 36 line poem, which stylistically causes it to stand out from the others. By placing the inactive man in the center of the poem, Horace provides a turning point within his work, dividing the contents both by topic as well as by lines. An aural audience would not necessarily know that this example fell at the mid-point of the poem; however, they would receive a verbal signal once the words *est qui*/"there is the man who" were spoken. This phrase calls to mind line 1.1.3, *sunt quos*/"there are those whom," which began this entire list of occupations in the first place. Using a similar phrase, a form of *esse* plus a relative pronoun, may suggest to an audience that the list itself is only halfway finished. However, by narrowing his scope, using the singular now rather than the plural, it is possible that this strategy would suggest a winding-down within the work as a whole.

Along with being mid-poem, true to form, Horace manipulates the imagery in these lines to hold significant Roman undertones. The audience first experiences the poet's Roman reference in line 1.1.19 with *veteris Massic*/"old Massicus," another example of synecdoche like the one found in line 1.1.13 above. In these lines, Horace is detailing an Italian wine famous for its grapes. Massician wine grew in the Mons Massicus which are located in northern Campania (Garrison, 201). By beginning the first example in the second half of the Ode with a geographical reference, Horace locates his audience once again in the Roman world. He brings them back from the Greek mindset that may have lingered slightly after his account of the merchant previously. In doing so, Horace maintains his underlying thread that ultimately establishes his work as a Roman poem.

In setting the scene for his audience fully, Horace shows how long the inactive man is lounging. *Solido de die*/"for the entire business day" (Garrison, 202),[35] sets the timeline for his idleness. This construction of the ablative with the preposition *de* is a familiar idiom in the ancient world. Caesar was known to use this construction in order to describe from which time something started (Colebourn, 153). In this sense, Horace utilizes the inherent meaning of the grammatical construction along with the literary understanding of its use to demonstrate how long the man is at leisure, as well as during what time of day. If he does not work during business hours, then it is assumed that he is not working at all. This occupation, or lack thereof, is in stark contrast to every other one mentioned thus far; all of the previous men were working in some fashion and exerting themselves to some extent. But in this example, Horace details a man who is not only lazy, but he is lazy during the culturally expected time for work. The lounger is negating societal norms that have been established thus far and acting unlike the occupations mentioned in the priamel. Although he appears to be un-Roman in his behavior as a man, Horace's idle man can be characterized among Roman lovers, closely fitting the common poetic representation of the elegiac lover. The lazy man drinks during the day, rejects the accepted work hours and relaxes with his head outstretched under the shade tree, often times daydreaming of his beloved.[36] Nisbet and Hubbard (11) respond to this imagery with the comment that "the indolence will seem to some peculiarly Horatian,"[37] because such ideas are referenced in several of Horace's other works.[38] By harnessing a popular literary motif, the poet provides a larger framework for his character. At this point, he calls to mind all of the experience that his audience may have had with the elegiac lover and presents it back to the people laden with Horatian connotation.

VIII. The Soldier

The following occupation in Horace's list can be found both denying and embracing the realm of love; the depiction of the soldier in *Odes* 1.1 represents the Roman world through rather emotional

depictions. In lines 1.1.23-25, Horace emphasizes this unusual view of military life by focusing on aspects that one might not think of first when describing such an occupation.

> Multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
> Permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
> Detestata;
> For many, military life brings pleasure along with the sound of the
> trumpet mixed with the bugle, as well as the wars, which are hated by
> mothers;

At first glance, mention of the two musical instruments which were used within the military seems an odd way to summarize an occupation. However, what the modern audience does not know which the ancient would is that these two instruments were particularly associated with attack, primarily utilized by the cavalry (Nisbet and Hubbard, 12). So, although the music of the trumpet and the bugle may not seem to carry the intensity of the military life, to the ancient audience, the message is clear: the active military life, one full of fighting and marching, is revered by many men. This understood connotation is also in stark contrast to the occupation previously mentioned. A soldier is in no way inactive, especially if he is attacking or being attacked. Horace is demonstrating a common dispute between these two "occupations," a clash that the elegists often manipulated for their works.[39] The quarrel between the men who fought hard to protect the Republic and the men who wrote about not wanting to do so was a common poetic trope during the time of the *Odes*.

Horace also includes a Roman theme within the phrase *bellaque matribus detestata*/"wars which are hated by mothers." In this phrase, he encompasses the general atmosphere of warfare and of the life of a Roman soldier. Rome grew from the agricultural community mentioned above into a militaristic community as the quest for expansion became ever more prevalent. The Roman army was

initially comprised of landowning citizens with the addition of allies, and men were called in to serve as needed for specific campaigns. "However, since Rome was frequently at war, men eligible for service were called upon year after year. And many died while in service" (Shelton, 243). From this description, the life of a soldier was not an easy or inactive one; rather, it was rigorous and dangerous, and men often sacrificed their lives for it. Although we do not have a personal account from a specific mother of a soldier, the idea of a frightened parent was a very common theme within Latin literature (Nisbet and Hubbard, 12).[40] By utilizing this theme in reference to military occupation, Horace exploits the very personal Roman undertone present within these lines. The likelihood that a mother, or father for that matter, of an active solider was sitting in the audience is great. So by incorporating this line about how mothers hate the wars their sons fight in and possibly even die in, Horace is capturing the emotions of his audience, both the collective emotion of the *populus* who exists daily within a militaristic community, and also the personal, individual emotion of the families sitting before him. Out of his priamel, this occupation may be the one that most encompasses the undertones of the immediate Roman community, not the lore of the people or the current trend in literature, but the actual, raw emotions of his audience members at that moment.

IX. The Hunter

The final occupation Horace lists is that of the hunter, and continuing his Romanization of lyric, many aspects suggest the underlying Roman aspect of this example. In lines 1.1.25-28 Horace details the activities of a man who is out on a hunt, either for personal gain or occupation. In the ancient world, hunting expeditions were not only a necessity for rural families but also a needed respite from the demands of farm life. However, the elite took part in the sport for the sheer pleasure of it, having the ability to purchase meat at the market rather than relying on hunting as their primary source (Shelton, 320). Horace's hunter is depicted outwardly as neither a rich man nor a poor. However, there are a few

defining characteristics about the author's description of his ninth occupation which suggest the intrinsic aspects of the hunter.

> Manet sub Iove frigido
> Venator tenerae coniugis immemor,
> Seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
> Seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.
> Under cold Jove, the hunter, unmindful of his delicate wife, waits; If a deer is seen by his faithful hounds, or if a Marsian boar bursts through his close-twisted hunting nets.

Nisbet and Hubbard (12) remark that the hunter and the soldier "belong to the same type," because the examples are connected grammatically by a semicolon rather than a full period before *manet*. This relation is strictly one applied by modern scholars because punctuation as we know it was not invented during the time of Horace's writing.[41] However, by referencing a grammatical link between the soldier and the hunter, we can perhaps see the hunter and sailor's similarity in tasks. The soldier's job is to protect his hearth (that of the state's) and kill the enemy. The hunter is charged with protecting his hearth (that of his family's) by providing food which he killed. The motions are similar, even though the tasks appear different.

Although within the lines Horace does not specify the social status of the hunter or suggest the reason he is taking part in the sport, the poet does include certain implications within his vocabulary choices. *Venator*/"hunter" comes from the deponent *venor*/"to hunt." From this word also comes the noun *venatio* which means "hunting" or "the chase." *Venatio* was a common pursuit specific to the Roman upper classes (Nisbet and Hubbard, 12); it was generally viewed as more of a sport than a survival method. However, the inherent definition of "the chase" contrasts with the actual image that

Horace is depicting, for the hunter is not chasing anything. Either his hounds catch sight of a deer or a boar runs itself into his woven nets, but the hunter is actually not taking part in much activity. Surprisingly, "the ancient *venator* was not only a noisy enthusiast clattering about the countryside but sometimes a patient stalker, ready to lie all night in a thicket to secure his prey" (Nisbet and Hubbard, 12). Lines 1.1.25-26 provide a nice vocabulary/word-placement picture in order to suggest this very point. *Manet*/"[the hunter] waits" can also encompass a much more specific and huntsman-esque aspect when taken as "to pass the night."

At this point, Horace manipulates the word order to demonstrate a delay in time because the *venator* is separated from his act of waiting. Not only is he waiting through the night as demonstrated by *manet*, but he is also sleeping under the open sky, *sub Iove frigido*/"under cold Jove" which by metonymy means in the cold weather.[42] Horace actually places the hunter in the line below and thereby physically below the sky both in context and in the structure of his words. Although the audience would not benefit from this intentional picture, the reading audience certainly does. Likewise, Horace demonstrates, yet again, his talent and skill as a poet by creating his poetry on multiple levels of understanding and vividness.

Similar to previous occupations, strong Roman connotations are prevalent within these lines which distinguish the hunter as taking part in the Roman way of hunting; lines 1.1.27-28 specifically carry such undertones. *Catulis*/"by [his faithful] hounds" implies the type of hunting that is happening. As mentioned above, the dogs are chasing his prey into a net rather than the hunter himself actively seeking his victims. Hunting with dogs was a very common Roman approach, and one that many audience members could relate to. Also, by attaching the epithet *Marsus* to *aper/*"the wild boar," Horace utilizes synecdoche to emphasize a geographical location. *Marsus* is a poetic form of *Marsicus* which denotes the Marsi people who lived in a heavily forested part of central Italy. This district was near Rome and a chosen locale in which to hunt wild boar (Garrison, 203)[43] because *aper*/"boar" was a

prized meat within the ancient world (Garrison, 202), and as a result they were frequently hunted. *Rupit*/"bursts" also denotes the Roman hunting practice; once a boar ran into the *teretes plagas*/"close twisted hunting-nets" a group of hunters would pierce them. "Pig-sticking was a favorite Roman blood-sport" (Nisbet and Hubbard, 12). Modern scholars[44] have spent time breaking down the structure of Roman hunting and detail the pleasure they found in watching the kill.[45] Although Horace does not garishly detail the kill, he allows the audience to envision it for themselves and thereby maintains the theme of his poetry thus far while harnessing a very strong Roman aspect.

Within this description of a Roman occupation, Horace includes a deliberate aspect of his hunter; that he is *tenerae coniugis immemor*/"unmindful of his delicate wife." By describing his character in such a way, Horace interweaves multiple meanings within a three word phrase. To begin with, the hunter's actions continue the common literary trope of the quarrel between love and game. The idea of a Roman man leaving behind his beloved in order to hunt is one capitalized on by many elegiac poets, as well.[46] Horace is not the first to suggest this, and by doing so, he only emphasizes the Roman aspect of his character. There is a certain type of pleasure that one might gain from experiencing Horace's description of the hunter. Although the character is neglecting his wife, he is partaking in an indulgence, a break from professional work of any kind. In this sense, the imagery associated with the hunter, both the neglect of his wife and the game he catches, emphasizes an idea of wish-fulfillment present within the culture as a whole. The pastoral world was a theme present in literature stemming from Greek works and transferring over to Latin, primarily upon Vergil's publication of the *Bucolics* in 39 BCE. Vergil mimicked the genre of Greek author Theocritus in order to write a "nostalgic and learned reconstruction of a traditional pastoral world, a sight intended for the taste of an urbanized, cosmopolitan public and court society" (Conte, 264). Upper-class citizens had the ability to hunt for leisure and to use this activity as a break from work, a vacation; it makes sense that they would

long for the opportunity to go. Horace is portraying a longing for the countryside similar to that of Vergil, capitalizing on desires that the (male) audience members might also be experiencing.

Horace's vocabulary in this phrase, *tenerae coniugis immemor,* is laden with further undertones relevant to the realm of literature. *Tenerae* can be translated to mean "soft, delicate, tender, and yielding," as well as "young and youthful," while at the same time also including the idea of being "effeminate." By choosing such an adjective to describe the hunter's wife, Horace is perhaps also suggesting something else altogether. It is possible that an underlying aspect prevalent in this occupation is a reference to poetry. Recent scholars working with Latin poetry have suggested the idea of the elegiac pair of lover and beloved actually representing the poetry itself. Maria Wyke and Ellen Greene both detail how Cynthia becomes poetic *materies* in Propertius' poetry.[47] Likewise, Elizabeth Sutherland (57) discusses how Horace similarly manipulates the beloved in *Odes* 1.13, going so far as to say that "bodies in this poem become the pages on which our lyricist communicates." Understanding these approaches aids in an alternate reading of Horace within his phrase *tenerae coniugis immemor*. *Tenerae* is a heavily poetic word; it is used throughout this literary genre by authors such as Vergil, Ovid, and of course Horace, who uses it eight times within the *Odes* alone. By incorporating such a word, Horace is perhaps suggesting that due to hunting, his character has abandoned the act of writing poetry, that he is unmindful, or forgetful, of his poetic duty. In this case *coniunx, iugis* represents an obligation, such as the responsibility a husband has to and for his wife, or the responsibility a poet has to writing poetry.

The connection that the act of writing has to hunting is in fact not an obscure and unfounded one throughout ancient literature, continuing even after Horace's time. In fact, one of Pliny's letters to Tacitus details just that:

> Mirum est ut animus agitatione motuque corporis excitetur; iam undique silvae et solitudo ipsumque illud silentium quod venationi

> datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt. 3 Proinde cum venabere, licebit auctore me ut panarium et lagunculam sic etiam pugillares feras: experieris non Dianam magis montibus quam Minervam inerrare
>
> The woods on all sides and the solitude and the very silence itself which hunting demands are also great inducements to creative thinking. And so, the next time you go hunting, take my advice and take along with you […] your waxed tablets certainly. You will discover that Minerva roams the mountains as much as Diana (1.6).[48]

Minerva was characterized as the patron goddess of literature, while Diana was of hunting. Horace incorporates the same idea within his poem which Pliny suggests in his letter, that the two mingle more often than one might suspect. By his deliberate choice of vocabulary, Horace captures a pre-existing assumption found within ancient society. The Roman structure which he has been building upon from the first line is only continued at this point.

By breaking down these occupations in order to expose the heavy Roman undertones, one can see how Horace strips his Greek model of its previous structure in order to recreate lyric poetry that is innately Latin. Each occupation encompasses aspects of the ancient society through vocabulary, theme and reference. Horace ensures that his poem, although written in a Greek meter, connects with his Roman audience. He pushes his artistic license to a new level, one that incorporates endless undertones and suggestions within the evolving genre of Latin lyric. Each occupation in itself represents a very Roman aspect whether through association or comparison; and collectively, they demonstrate a very prominent idea of the ancient society's values. Horace utilizes his verse within these first twenty-eight lines for the purpose of creating a platform on which to build the remainder of his poem. The nine occupations discussed thus far are merely a stepping stone for the poet's climactic culmination. The intention in the author's writing is apparent as each line is translated. The Romanness of this poem is

not an accident, but a deliberate representation of not only valued ideals, but also of Horace's proposed reputation as not only a lyric poet, but as Roman lyric poet. In structuring his priamel in such a way, Horace sets up a strong foundation on which the rest of his work builds considerably. The next chapter further explores the aspects of the poet within *Odes* 1.1, demonstrating Horace's continued manipulation of imagery, the inner-workings of vocabulary, and the Roman undertones present throughout his poetry.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ROMANNESS OF HIS GREEKNESS

I. An Introduction to the Remainder of *Odes* 1.1

As Chapter Two discussed, the priamel of *Odes* 1.1 is composed within the structure of Greek lyric poetry which Horace alters to represent the Roman world through vocabulary and underlying connotations. It is at the end of this list that the focus of the poem shifts, and the poet mentions himself. In doing so, Horace includes himself within the priamel and names the poet as the final occupation. Chapter Three examines the remaining lines of *Odes* 1.1, from Horace's description of the poet to his request of Maecenas. The climax of the poem is Horace's entreaty to be included among the established canon of Greek lyric. Yet, this request demonstrates that Horace believes he is indeed a lyric poet which would make him a Roman lyric poet. With Horace as a Roman lyricist, the *Odes* become the first *corpus* of Latin lyric. This distinction then creates a new lyric canon, a Roman canon, of which Horace is the first member.[49] There are nine occupations in the priamel, with the addition of the poet as the tenth. The Greek lyric canon was made up of nine poets,[50] and if we are to take Horace's request at face value, he would be the tenth member if admitted. This chapter will explore the concluding lines of *Odes* 1.1 in order to demonstrate the contradiction inherent within the poem, which suggests that in actuality, Horace's intentions are far from desiring admittance into the Greek lyric canon.

II. It Is All About the Poet

Before Horace's bold request for admission into the canon in later lines, he prefaces his role as a poet in lines 1.1.29-34 by drawing many striking parallels between Greek and Latin lyric. In doing so, he interweaves the two genres while maintaining strong Roman undertones. Leaving one's love of poetry for the end of a list of other people's preferences is a climactic literary tactic also seen in Sappho (Nisbet and Hubbard, 2).

me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
dis miscents superis, me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
secernunt populo, si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
Me, ivy, privilege of learned brows mingles with the highest gods; the cool grove and the light-footed band of Nymphs and dancers with satyrs separate me from the crowd, if neither Euterpe withholds her reed-pipe nor Polyhymnia refuses to tune her Lesbian lyre.

Robin Seagar (28) suggests that the "real subject" of *Odes* 1.1 could be the supremacy of poetry over other pleasures and pursuits. These lines represent *otium,* a lifestyle of leisure, whereas the priamel denotes strict *negotium*/"work" until mention of the idle man in lines 1.1.19-24. Horace capitalizes on the imagery in these lines in order to emphasize his agenda, to add gravity to his position as a poet, as well as to signify the importance of his role as the first Latin lyricist. The imagery that Horace captures in these few lines is some of the most vivid and Greek throughout the entire Ode, but each notion is heightened by intentional placement and reference within its context.

Lines 1.1.29-30 indicate Horace's occupation as a poet, through vocabulary and inference. For example, Nisbet and Hubbard (13) detail the common usage of *doctarum* to objectively represent the poet, his beloved and even the Muses themselves. A person who was highly educated in philosophy, art and/or letters was called *doctus*; Catullus was even described as this after his death (Garrison, 202). It is also a heavily loaded word to use in this section because it has strong associations with elegy rather than lyric poetry. *Docta*/"learned" is an attribute given to the elegiac beloved in the writings of

Propertius, Ovid and Tibullus, among others. Sharon James discusses the role of the *docta puella* in great detail, describing her as an elite woman who is well versed in the poetry of Greek as well as Roman poets.

> The elegiac *puella*, then, not only receives learned, showy poetry but reflects it back. To court her is to boast of one's own poetic prowess" (219).

Therefore, she is sought out by elegiac poets not only for her knowledge but also in order to gain access into her bedroom, "and even when the poetry is refused and the sex denied […] more poetry is generated anyway" (James 219). In Horace's case, his usage of *doctarum* carries meaning from the elegists, suggesting the transfer of knowledge, not from a woman, but from the ivy, which is associated with the gods.

Hederae/"ivy" is strongly connected with both Bacchus and Apollo[51] and is also associated with the poet; in fact, it is possible that Augustan poets actually wore garlands while performing their poetry (Quinn, 120). Through this connection, one can see that there is a direct link between poetic inspiration and the gods, and in this line, Horace associates this connection with himself as the poet. *Praemia*/"privilege" draws a distinction between the poet's status as compared to the previously listed occupations. Since the idea of a privilege or prerogative is immediately following an epithet of two prominent deities, Horace is demonstrating the connection a poet has to the gods. This elevates his profession beyond earthly tasks which lack godly inspiration. *Frontium*/"brow" brackets the line with the first word, *me*. In doing so, the poet's brow, on which the garland is placed, becomes Horace's brow, since the personal pronoun begins the image. The poet is thereby directly elevated by his association with ivy because it is placed on his own brow; this bond also places Horace is the same realm as Bacchus and Apollo. The first line of the last occupation is crafted intentionally so that every word in the line describes a poet, and reveals that poet to be Horace himself, going back to the personal

pronoun *me*. Since writing poetry operates as the tenth occupation within the priamel, and since Horace is claiming the poet's superiority, the imagery must be strong and powerful. Horace achieves this type of emphasis through his vocabulary directly representing poetry and demonstrating the uninterrupted line between Horace and the deities.

III. The Seclusion of Poetry

Lines 1.1.30-34 maintain a distinct Roman tone which emphasizes Horace's counter-request, yet contain the most explicitly Greek references within the entire *Ode*. The *gelidum nemus*/"cool grove," along with the *antris*/"caves" from 3.25.4, are "traditional poetic haunts" (Quinn, 120). Roman poets[52] borrow this imagery from Alexandria and use it symbolically to represent the rare and inaccessible aspects of pastoral poetry (Nisbet and Hubbard, 14). Poets tend to write when they are secluded, removed from the exasperating crowd, and fully receptive of inspiration.[53] Horace manipulates this poetic preference in order to introduce the following few lines, which are strongly Greek in context. The characters in line 1.1.31, *Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori*/"the light-footed band of Nymphs and Satyrs," are found in the thiasus of Dionysus, who as we saw above as Bacchus, is strongly associated to the poet (Nisbet and Hubbard, 14) and is commonly found influencing him either by divine inspiration or merely by wine. Quinn (120) points out that "the order of Horace's symbols of poetic activity suggests a progressive retreat from reality into the fanciful." By mentioning the *gelidum nemus* first, Horace propels his audience into the realm of the poet, locating them in a setting that facilitates total encapsulation and enthrallment by his words. Both Nymphs and Satyrs are pastoral symbols throughout poetry and mythology, and the poet's exploitation of them in this line propels his poetry into another realm of experience.

However all of this encompassing wordplay is undercut from the beginning of the image by Horace's use of *me*. He begins his detailed description by inserting himself first, suggesting his

ownership of these lines both within the context and within the creation. Introducing himself stakes the poet's claim on the cool grove and its happenings. Although Horace invites the audience to join him through his dramatic description and imagery, it remains very much his. The distance of *me* from its verb *secernunt*/"separates [me]" physically demonstrates on the page the poet's figurative separation within the poem. He is seven words away from the action of the line and eight words away from the thing which he is being separated from, the *populo*/"crowd." The Greek imagery of *Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori* as well as the cool grove separates Horace from the crowd, all the while being bracketed by Horace and the crowd. He is surrounding the Greek descriptions with two Roman entities while utilizing them to separate him, the poet, from the larger population of Roman people. Not only is he demonstrating his ability to manipulate the Greek realm, he is also showing through word order the distance he perceives to be between himself as a poet and the culture for whom he writes.

IV. The Greek Muses and Lyric Instruments

The following lines (1.1.32-34) blend Latin vocabulary with predominantly Greek ideas causing several lines of mixed imagery. Greek imagery shines forth when Horace names two muses from Greek mythology, Euterpe and Polyhymnia, and places both within a conditional clause expressing his hope for their ongoing inspiration to him (Nisbet and Hubbard, 14). Euterpe and Polyhymnia are muses of music and poetry, especially associated with lyric poetry (Garrison, 202).[54] In *Odes* 1.1, the depicted muses represent lyric poetry within their mythological context as well as through their instruments, the *tibias*/"reed-pipes" and the *barbiton*/"lyre." Also, if someone should play these instruments, they too develop a connection not only to music and poetry, but also to the muses themselves, and in this case, to lyric poetry. *Odes* 1.1 is rare because typically Horace does not utilize a muse within the realm of literature she is primarily associated with (Garrison, 219). Instead he applies various external aspects to

her in order to designate her purpose within *his* poetry, not necessarily within literature as a whole. Horace demonstrates this type of emphasis in *Odes* 1.12.1-2.

> Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
> Tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
> What man do you undertake to celebrate, Clio, either with the Heroan
> lyre or the shrill reed-pipe?

Here, the muse Clio, who is commonly associated with history (Garrison, 219), is represented with the same instruments that Euterpe and Polyhymnia are in *Odes* 1.1.33. By using a different Muse but repeating the same musical instruments, Horace demonstrates poetry's reliance on musical accompaniment, as well as the importance of having a muse associated with one's poetry. A muse within the text validates a poet's craft and makes it a work of the deities, as well as of the poet himself.

Greek and Roman imagery become mixed throughout lines 1.1.32-34 when Horace suggests his mastery over lyric poetry. The musical instruments in the line before imply their cultural and poetic affiliation. "The lyre implies the Greek tradition, the reed-pipe the Roman" (Garrison, 219). Cicero details the Roman use of the *tibia* in his *Tusculanae Disputationes* 4.3:

> Ut […] canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes atque virtutes; ex
> quo perspicuum est et cantus tum fuisse discriptos vocum sonis et
> carmina.
> That they sang the praises and virtues of brilliant men with the tibia;
> from which, it is clear then that both song and poetry were composed
> with a sounding voice.

Since the *tibias*/"reed-pipes" are already a Roman concept, Horace does not need to further relate the term to his audience. Also, rather than use *lyra* in *Odes* 1.1.34, like he does in 1.12.1, to describe the lyre, Horace uses *barbiton*. The phrase *Lesboum barbiton*/"Lesbian lyre" is a direct description of Sappho and Alcaeus,[55] the two Lesbian poets whose influence is most noted in Horace's work;[56] and also shows a strong distinction in the type of poetry he is writing, lyric poetry. But by asking Polyhymnia to tune (*tendere*) the Lesbian lyre (*Lesbuom barbiton*), Horace takes command of the instrument himself, as the poet, proving that "he may address it, commanding it to produce a Latin poem […] He is glancing at an emerging preference in the possibilities of his own lyric" (Feeney, 47). In this phrase, Horace is not relying on the Greek aspect of the lyric genre to secure his position as a noted poet; rather, he is making the Greek merely a description of the Latin idea. In this regard, Horace pays homage to his predecessors while demonstrating his individuality and initiative. The word and imagery in 1.1.32-34 combine the two realms within which Horace is working, demonstrating the way he takes the intrinsic Greek understandings and alters them in order to create a Roman poem.

V. The Request for Canonization and the *Lyricis Vatibus*

In the final two lines of *Odes* 1.1 Horace finally expresses the reason for his poem and makes his request to Maecenas, to be included in the Greek lyric canon.

> Quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
> Sublime feriam sidera vertice.
> But if you insert me among the lyric poets (vates), I will graze the stars
> with my dignified head.

It seems that Horace is opening his book with a dedication and a hope, that his patron will find enough reason to include him among the established canon of the Greek poetic genre. However, after

examining the previous lines, laden with Roman undertones, could he be genuine in this request? Scholars[57] have done significant philological work with the phrase *lyricis vatibus* in these lines, and their findings may shed light on Horace's sincerity.

Although the phrase is typically and easily translated as "lyric poets", Paul Allen Miller (158) explores this translation in his book *Lyric Texts and Lyric Consciousness* and states:

> Such a rendering fails to capture the phrase's real significance because while *lyricus* is derived directly from Greek, *vates* is an exclusively Latin word which is not strictly equivalent to the Greek *poeta*, but implies a mythical prophetic power rooted in the deepest recesses of early Italic religion and culture.

Here we can again see how the poet finds a way to undercut the Greek connotations inherent in his words with Roman meaning. In fact, *vates* were not respected in early Latin, and it was not until the Augustan period that "the word was ennobled […] to describe the poet in his inspired aspect."[58] Horace chooses a word combination that not only carries with it traces of generic shifting, but also mixes two societies together; he chooses a phrase that represents him: a Roman *vates* manipulating the Greek *lyricus*. Also, utilizing a word such as *vates* that does carry with it such strong implications of Roman history and lore, Horace establishes his stance, yet again, as a Roman poet, operating in the realm of Latin literature and Italian history. Matthew Santirocco notes this vocabulary choice in his scholarship on Horace, stating that:

> In both cases the choice of a specifically Latin word over an available but not quite identical Greek one has social and aesthetic implications. […] The image of insertion (*inseres* 35) into a fixed canon can mean […] either that one of the original nine lyric poets must be replaced or else the canon must be enlarged to accommodate another poet […] Horace's achievement is such that it not only differentiates him from predecessors, but also actually alters the tradition itself (22-23).

By choosing *vates* over the Greek *poeta*, Horace reinforces the Romanness of his Greekness. He characterizes the poet not as an architect but as a priest and prophet, and doing so "points to the distinctly Roman side of the *Odes*" (Santirocco, 22-23). If Horace is turning all of the Greek examples into Roman thus far, would he actually wish to be a member of the Greek lyric canon? Or is this poem, the *Odes* as a whole, an attempt to turn the entire lyric genre Roman? By associating himself with the *lyricus vates* Horace is naming himself a competitor, proving himself worthy of the canon from the beginning of his poetry; and by placing his request at the end of his priamel, he is allowing for dramatic effect as well as significant comparison.

The priamel sets the stage for Horace's request to be placed in the canon; rather than bluntly state his intention of writing *Odes* 1.1, Horace decisively sets the stage to prove that "his own way of life is not only justifiable but superior" (Nisbet and Hubbard, 1). He shapes this conclusion in the form of an apology for his commitment to poetry rather than to other trades. Apologizing for the topics and themes that are to be found in an author's poetry, especially in the opening poem, is a common trope exploited by poets.[59] By molding his work in a way that operates within the common structure of a poet's opening poem, Horace maintains the stylistic appearance of a Roman poet. Although he is writing within a Greek structure and in a Greek meter, the poet represents his Roman allegiance from the beginning so that there is no confusion among the audience of his intention. The surface understanding that Horace is requesting to be the tenth among Greeks is counteracted once the strong Roman undertones of *Odes* 1.1 are recognized.

VI. *Inserere* in the *Odes* and the Notion of Worth

Much of Horace's Romanization of Greek lyric meter in *Odes* 1.1 is found in the underlying implications regarding word order and word choice. The main point of Horace's request to Maecenas is within the verb *inseres*/"insert." Yet, it is in large part because of this verb that the structure and

meaning of line 1.1.35 becomes pregnant with allusion and insinuation. The primary definition of *inserere* is "to put or thrust in, insert, introduce;" and the fourth option from the most used definitions means "to plant." Matthew Leigh explores Horace's request, that he be a part of the Greek canon, through the use of philological comparisons between Greek and Latin word choice, focusing heavily on *inseres*. "The verb *inserere* is taken to be the Latin equivalent for the Greek *egkrinein* and to refer to the act of judging a writer worthy of membership of the canon" [60] (Leigh, 269). In his book, Philip Hill (41) discusses this inherent meaning of *inserere*, and he also suggests an underlying idea that goes one step further. According to Hill, not only does the use of *inserere* in 1.1 suggest the desire to be admitted into an established canon, in this case the Greek Lyric canon, it also demonstrates Horace's desire to be established as a public exemplum of Latin literature.[61]

We can see in the *Concordantia Horatiana* (Echegoyen, 1990) that Horace utilizes forms of *inserere* seven times throughout his writing career in the *Odes*, *Sermones*, and the *Epodes*; three of these times are within the Odes, Books 1, 2 and 3, one time in each book. If what Leigh and other scholars are suggesting is true, then Horace is carrying the understood intention of *inserere* throughout each book. He is harnessing the underlying meaning of the verb in 1.1 and stretching it throughout each book in order to remind his audience that he is worthy of being admitted into the Greek canon. However, going back to *inserere*'s definition of "to plant," we can see Horace's actual desire to establish a new canon of Latin lyric. The verb entails the idea of planting a seed and allowing it to grow bigger. Horace is creating a new genre with the hopes that it will grow and expand as he adds more and as others do as well.

The way *inserere* is used in Book 2 has significant differences from *Odes* 1.1.35, but also encompasses a few similarities which heighten the understanding of the verb as a whole and as a link between books. A form of *inserere* is used in *Odes* 2.5.21 towards the end of one of Horace's subtlest poems about love (Quinn, 205); *Odes* 2.5 is "built around a series of vignettes, beginning with a girl who

is not yet a woman and ending with a boy who is not yet a man" (Garrison, 265). Within this piece, the poet compares a young bride to a heifer who is not yet ready for the yoke, meaning the girl is not yet ready for a husband. The poem is written in Alcaics, which is the most common meter in all of the *Odes*, used in nearly one-third of the anthology.

> Quem si puellarum insereres choro,
> Mire sagacis falleret hospites
> Discrimen obscurum solutis
> Crinibus ambiguoque vultu.
> Whom, if you placed him in a crowd of young girls, then, with unbound hair and with an androgynous face, the obscure distinction would amazingly escape the notice of his acute enemies.

The similarities in these lines are apparent to lines we have seen before. Stylistically, this line calls to mind lines 1.1.3 and 1.1.19, *sunt quos*/*est qui*; the phrase is translated similarly, even though a form of *sum* does not introduce it. Also, *insereres* operates as the main verb in the protasis of a conditional sentence in both *Odes* 2.5 and in 1.1;[62] however, *si* is attached to *quod* in *Odes* 1.1, rather than standing alone. In both poems, *inserere* shares the same meaning of placing one among an established group. If the underlying understanding of the verb is present within this context, a strong connection between *Odes* 1.1 and 2.5 occurs. Commentators suggest that in *Odes* 2.5.21 Horace is referencing the story in which young Achilles was placed among the daughters of Lycomedes for safety from the Trojan War by his mother Thetis.[63] In this case, *insereres* denotes the way the boy is included within the group of *puellarum* among whom he is placed. Like in *Ode* 1.1, the verb encompasses an aspect of total inclusion, with unnoticeable separation. In both cases, the subject strives for his inclusion to appear natural, and in both cases, he strives to be worthy of such inclusion.

The idea of worth links the two instances of the verb in Books 1 and 2. In *Odes* 1.1 Horace deems himself worthy of being admitted as one of the *lyricis vatibus* and hopes that Maecenas sees this worth as well. In *Odes* 2.5, the character Gyges has been deemed worthy by the narrator to be counted among a choir of young girls. Perhaps Book 2's instance of worth is not as positive as Book 1's hopes to be; however, worth, like fortune, only assumes a positive connotation in more modern understandings of the word. Also, in both instances within the *Odes*, the subject's worth is placed by an outside source, such as the patron, the narrator and ultimately, the audience. The audience, in 1.1, eventually ends up being the ones who determine whether an author's work lives on, either in an established canon or not; and in 2.5, they are the party who validates the narrator's statement or disregards it, thereby disregarding the entire poem. Within these two examples of *inserere*, it is the notion of *dignus* that forms a bond between understandings. The idea of one being worthy of an action happening both within the realm of the poem and within the realm of the audience encompasses the same understanding and requires a similar type of judgment. Horace deems himself worthy of the Greek Lyric canon and judges Gyges worthy of admittance into the established realm of young girls.

The third instance of *inserere* is found in Book 3; this usage also encompasses the idea of worthiness as seen in *Odes* 1.1 and 2.5, as well as another prominent theme from Book 1: the placement of one's worth. In *Odes* 3.25.3-6, Horace captures the traditional notion of a *vates* as he details a poet who is *inspired* by Bacchus to write, while incorporating several additional undertones.

> Quibus
> antris egregii Caesaris audiar
> aeternum meditans decus
> stellis inserere et consilio Jovis?
> In what caves will I be heard, about to place the eternal worth of eminent Caesar amidst the stars and at the counsel of Jove?

Odes 3.25 continues the idea of *inserere* working closely with the idea of worth, and, for the first time, the word is specifically referenced within the lines, *aeternum decus*/"eternal worth." Horace, the inspired poet, is describing the intention of his newest work, to honor Caesar's glory. *Meditans* typically suggests the act of practicing lines[64] which is what Horace is suggesting he will be doing in the caves, away from the public ear. By creating poetry that will honor Augustus, Horace is deeming him worthy of being included, and by choosing this verb to describe the action, he exploits an understanding of the verb which has already been incorporated in his *Odes* twice before. He is suggesting that the emperor is worthy of admittance into an established structure, but he does not offer a clear example of such a structure. Therefore, it must be understood through context.

This understanding lies within lines 3.25.5-6, which locate the realm in which Caesar's worth will be placed, *stellis* […] *et consilio Jovis*/"amidst the stars and at the counsel of Jove." Commentators note that these lines suggest the deification of Augustus.[65] Wishing to place him within the ethereal realm, the poet emphasizes, on the surface level of his work, the importance of Caesar and the grandiosity of his worth. However, this passage also encompasses strong undertones that the poet's audience would be familiar with: Horace's request from *Odes* 1.1, that *he* be placed among the stars. Beneath the perceived topic of *Odes* 3.25, Horace is reinforcing the idea of his own worth, as a poet, not Caesar's glory. Leading up to these lines is a series of rhetorical transformations forming a tricolon crescendo which represents "the onset of poetic frenzy" (Quinn, 285). In this case, Horace is also utilizing this type of literary technique because he feels that his intellectual awareness is vulnerable (Quinn, 285); he is undercutting the emperor's glory in order to praise himself. Thus, Horace maintains the attention on himself, despite what the words in the lines suggest. He appears to be highlighting Augustus, although structure and syntax suggest otherwise. Rather, they suggest that he is inspired, as any good *vates* would be, and he is again proving his talent and ability as a poet, also, to prove his worth as a poet. Horace deems himself plenty worthy of admittance into the Greek lyric canon, and in using *inserere*

again, he demonstrates his cleverness as a craftsman while incorporating the underlying definition and intention of the verb throughout yet another book of *Odes*.

Also, based on the underlying understanding of *inserere* as noted by Leigh and Hill,[66] when Horace claims his ability as a poet to place Caesar amidst the stars in lines 3.25.5-6, he is essentially claiming that he has the ability to place him within a canon. Not only does this understanding come from the implications within the infinitive alone, but also from the context of being among the stars, among the deities; both of which could be the noted poets of the time, inspired by deities and elevated to a status of immortality through a canon. In this sense, Horace is acting in *Odes* 3.25 like he wishes Maecenas to act in *Odes* 1.1; doing so, he is claiming his patronage over Augustus, establishing the emperor's immortality through his verse, rather than Augustus doing it himself. Taking this notion and extrapolating back to *Odes* 1.1 demonstrates how it is likely that Horace's request in the first *Ode* is indeed not actually to be admitted into the Greek Lyric canon. According to the information we receive in *Odes* 1.1 as the audience, if he were to be a member, Maecenas would have to *inserere*/"insert" him. Horace appears unable to claim such a position for himself. Therefore, he is, in part, sharing his immortality with his benefactor, sharing his worth. One thing that Horace demonstrates through this work is the pride he takes in his own poetry and the intention he places in each *Ode*. It does not seem likely that he would share this with another; not when he can claim immortality and recognition for himself by establishing a new canon of Latin lyric.

After reviewing the multiple examples of *inserere* throughout the *Odes*, the idea that Horace does not in fact wish to be inserted among the Greek lyric canon is demonstrated by word order. Within line 1.1.35, the poet acknowledges his true feelings on the matter, but this aspect is only noticeable in comparison with the other instances of the verb. In both *Odes* 2.5 and 3.25, Horace places the verb form of *inserere* within or among which the subject is being included.

For example, in *Odes* 2.5.21:

Quem si puellarum ***insereres*** *choro*

And in *Odes* 3.25.6:

Stellis ***inserere*** *et consilio Jovis?*

In both cases where *inserere* is used, the verb is literally placed in the middle of the result its action causes: Gyges is inserted among one of the girls in the chorus, and *insereres* is inserted between *puellarum and choro*; the works of Caesar are to be placed amongst the stars and the gods which is where *inserere* is located in the line. The lines create a vivid word picture, describing the action of the verb through context while heightening its effect through visuals. Considering the fact that these are the only two other *Odes* which use forms of the verb, their similarity in respect to placement in significant. Likewise, Horace's manipulation of the verb in *Odes* 1.1 weighs heavily on the sincerity of his request.

In *Odes* 1.1.35, Horace undermines his verbal request by the placement of *inseres* within the line, using the verb to intensify the truth behind his words. If Horace intended to be inserted among the lyric bards within the Greek canon, then he would have manipulated the word order in this line to suggest as much. The Latin represents the written intention of the poet better than a coherent English translation would.

Quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres

[Which, when following the word order, is literally translated as:]

But if **me** among the *lyric poets* you **insert**

Not only is *inseres* not placed between the things among which the poet hopes to be included, the *lyricis vatibus*/"lyric poets," the direct object, *me*/"me," is utilized in order to bracket the entire idea. Therefore, the verb form does not demonstrate the anticipated result through its placement, rather the

counter-request is intensified, undermining the surface understanding of the poem. With *me* emphatically operating with *inseres*, Horace demonstrates the opposite of his request. Instead of wishing to be included among the lyricists, he is including them among his structure. Following the trend seen later in the *Odes*, in order for the verb to carry out its intention fully, the line should read:

Quodsi lyricis ***me inseres*** *vatibus*

Because *me* and *inseres* are bracketed by the bards within the line, the sincerity of Horace's request is questionable. Following First Asclepiadean meter, the line can be written either way, because the "i" in the penult of *lyricis* is short, and in both line options, it falls on a short syllable. Therefore, it is evident that Horace is demonstrating his envelopment of not only the lyric poets but of the lyric genre. He does not need to become one of them if he can master them and beat them. This trick within his word placement is highly emphasized on paper, more so than if an audience experienced it aurally. However, if Horace were to be a part of a canon, his work would be published, in a physical book. Therefore, the word picture would gain validity and recognition; his true desire would be more apparent. Line 1.1.35 demonstrates Horace's lack of earnest aspiration to be a member of the Greek lyric canon. It shows his manipulation of the Greek structure and the way he shapes it to become Latin. This small detail in arrangement challenges the entire surface level of Horace's request, shedding light on the poet's true intention in compiling his *Odes*. Horace is well aware that he is establishing a new genre of Latin poetry, lyric, as well as the beginning of a canon in which he is the first member.

VII. Nine Greek Lyricists, Nine Occupations: Horace the Poet as Tenth of Both

Regardless of whether he is attempting to prove himself worthy of the lyric canon or establishing a new one altogether, there are certainly references to the nine lyric poets operating under the structure of his language. Horace describes *nine* occupations in the poem with reference to the

poet, himself, being the *tenth*. This is an aspect of *Odes* 1.1 that scholars have not looked at in detail. Horace places his occupation as a poet in direct opposition to the acceptable ones of society, and in doing so, he becomes a character and the poet becomes a profession among those listed in the priamel, equaling a total of ten occupations.

1. The Charioteer: 1.1.3-6
2. The Politician: 1.1.7-8
3. The Trader/Exporter: 1.1.9-10
4. The Farmer: 1.1.11-13
5. The Sailor/Seaman: 1.1.13-14
6. The Merchant: 1.1.15-18
7. The Idle Man: 1.1.19-22
8. The Soldier: 1.1.23-25
9. The Hunter: 1.1.28
10. **The Poet: 1.1.32-36**

The act of self-inclusion makes the poet, who in this case is Horace, the tenth occupation, which makes him the tenth in a list that ultimately ends up praising lyric poetry. The fact that nine occupations come before the lyric poet is no coincidence. The nine in the priamel represent the realm of men; likewise, the nine poets in the Greek canon constitute the lyric genre. Horace addresses both of these aspects when he lists himself as number ten in the poem and asks to be in the canon.

Horace suggests an alternative lifestyle in *Odes* 1.1, embodying a way of life which is inherently opposite to culturally accepted "men's work." By becoming the tenth listed, Horace embraces his occupation and demonstrates his preferred lifestyle, separating himself from the majority of Roman men. Underlying this facet, Horace establishes himself as not only equal to, but better than the Greeks who embody lyric. His occupation as poet is better than the nine before him. Likewise, when compared to the *nine* within the Greek lyric canon, he is also superior. For, Horace has demonstrated his ability to manipulate the meter, as well as to take an entire Greek structure and strip it of its signifiers in order to create a work that represents the Roman ideal. No longer is lyric a Greek meter; Horace has adapted it to encompass the Roman world. Though Horace is not attempting to gain inclusion into the Greek

canon itself, in *Odes* 1.1, he is suggesting that his poems are deserving of such status, and by becoming the tenth in a list, he parallels the act of inserting himself among the nine lyricists. R.O.A.M. Lyne (71) states that "anyone, especially a Latin poet, who envisaged admission into the canon fixed since Alexandrian times was stretching self-esteem to a most extraordinary point,"[67] and Horace is indeed stretching his self-esteem, while demonstrating the utmost confidence in his ability as a Latin lyric poet.

VIII. *Odes* 3.30: The Conclusion of *Odes* 1.1

When Horace includes himself as the tenth example of occupations in 1.1, the entire poem becomes one large priamel, one large description of the things people do. In this sense, the second half of the poem which would generally follow the priamel is found at the end of the *Odes* in Book 3, which encapsulates the original publication of the *Odes* into one extensive and cohesive unit. Within the first three books of the *Odes*, only two poems are written in First Asclepiadean meter: *Odes* 1.1 and 3.30.[68] *Odes* 3.30 is often called a *mirror poem* to 1.1, as it was intended to be the last in the collection.[69] The similarities between 1.1 and 3.30 go beyond merely their placement in the books and demonstrate the intentional composition of the *Odes* as a collection while reinforcing Horace's influence in establishing the Latin lyric genre.

As a mirror-poem, *Odes* 3.30 completes the early ideas posed by the poet in 1.1; what is uncertain in *Odes* 1.1 is a proud success by *Odes* 3.30: Horace's role as a poet. The appearance of result, Horace's victory as a poet, from *Odes* 1.1 to 3.30 links the two poems together, establishing *Odes* 1.1 as the strong beginning and *Odes* 3.30 as the end of his fight for recognition. Both *Odes* 1.1 and 3.30 address the theme of poetic immortality.[70] In 1.1, Horace wishes to be placed among the lyric bards so that his head may graze the stars, which ultimately suggests that he be classed among the immortal. Two realms of immortality are referenced by such a request. One is the immortality available to a poet through his writings. Poetry is often used as a way for authors to immortalize themselves[71] or their

beloved, and the lyricists were already immortalized within the Greek canon because of their own poetry. The other realm of immortality referenced by Horace is with the immortals, the deities. The gods were said to dwell among the stars, as was previously noted in *Odes* 3.25: "*stellis* [...] *et consilio Jovis*/'amidst the stars and the counsel of Jove.'"

Odes 3.30 continues the idea of immortality, consisting of eternal praise and fame, within the first two lines of the poem.

> Exegi monumentum aere perennius
> Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
> I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze and higher than
> the regal pyramids

Horace expresses his satisfaction with the compilation of poetry he has now that the *Odes* are finished, finding them as significant as a statue or public record.[72] The poet believes he will live on in the words of his poems longer than any physical tribute will represent other great men. Philip Hardie (126) mentions the way that Horace is careful not to evoke actual monuments within his poetry "because he desires to establish his own words as an alternative, and superior, kind of monument;" a monument that must undergo neither rain nor wind, nor the wear of age and time.[73] Horace's monument, his collection of three books of *Odes*, remains eternal in comparison, especially since it is the first of its genre among Latin authors.[74]

Horace ties *Odes* 1.1 and 3.30 together yet again by specific imagery which he relays through his vocabulary choices. In both of these poems, the poet is praising his craft, not politics or love, but lyric poetry. As noted earlier, it is the *hederae*/"ivy" in line 1.1.29 around his head which mixes Horace with the gods. Because the imagery is so heavily laden with cultural and textual understanding and

emphasis, it acts as the caveat through which Horace claims his recognition. Likewise, in 3.30, Horace exploits an epithet of a deity in order to elevate his poetry and establish himself as a successful poet.

> Sume superbiam
> Quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
> Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.
> Accept the proud honor, won by your merits, and gladly wreathe my hair, Melpomene, with Delphic laurel.

Not only does Horace mention a muse,[75] yet again, he also references another type of garland which he wishes to have encircled around his head, the head of a poet. The *Delphica lauro*/"Delphic laurel" carries with it several underlying implications which add emphasis to these last two lines of the original corpus of *Odes*. Crowning the poet's head with a laurel wreath is a Horatian invention (Hardie, 128), but nonetheless, strongly represents poetry and distinguishes Horace as the one who brought lyric into Latin. Along these lines, it also signifies victory, relating to the Roman triumphator (Hardie, 128) which also connects back to the first occupation in *Odes* 1.1. Especially in these lines, Horace encompasses strong poetic reference with the adjective *Delphica*/"Delphic," which refers to Apollo who was not only the patron deity of the oracle at Delphi, but also the god of lyric poetry (Quinn, 297).

Horace is harnessing the same idea he presented in *Odes* 1.1 with the ivy. He is harnessing an image that inherently carries poetic, even strictly lyric, imagery in order to represent the realm he is attempting to master. According to Daniel Garrison's commentary, *hedera* in *Odes* 1.1 is strongly associated with the god Bacchus and *laurus* in *Odes* 3.30 with Apollo with the muses being connected to both. Andrew Miller (ix) notes that "lyric poetry is, along with epic and drama, one of the three major poetic 'kinds,'" and the two deities mentioned above are strongly connected throughout ancient literature as being in connection with these genres of art: the muses with poetry, Bacchus with drama,

and Apollo with epic. Not only is Horace firmly planting his poetry in the genre of lyric, but he is encompassing all poetic kinds. The First Asclepiadean meter links the patron deities of the poetic realm to Books 1 and 3 of the *Odes*, and thereby emphasizes Horace's intention as a poet through underlying connotations. His vocabulary choices not only emphasize the connection between *Odes* 1.1 and 3.30 but also highlight his ultimate desire, to establish a new, Latin, canon, in which he is the model.

Horace's verb choices regarding the garlands of ivy and laurel in *Odes* 1.1 and 3.30 further link the two *Odes* and add an additional understanding to the context. He depicts two different ways that a garland can weave itself as a distinguishing agent for a poet, particularly a poet who is establishing a new genre of poetry like Horace. In *Odes* 1.1.30 a form of the verb *miscere* is employed, which Horace uses to show the ivy "mingling" the poet with the gods, entwining him to the point of total unity. In *Odes* 3.30.16 the verb is a form of *cingere/*"to wreath or adorn" with a garland. Both verbs suggest a type of encircling action, either by surrounding the poet with a new realm or by encapsulating his head. Leigh's (270) article discusses garlands, stating that:

> The weaving of flowers is a common metaphor for poetic composition from the Greek lyric poets onwards. Writers were also accustomed to give collections of shorter poems titles that suggested a multiplicity of different flowers.

By suggesting multiple flowers and the act of weaving them together, a poet could demonstrate his ability to manipulate differing aspects of poetry. Horace particularly manipulates the common metaphor of flower weaving and poetic multiplicity in *Odes* 1.1 and 3.30, as well as in between these. The first nine *Odes* in Book 1 are written in different meters.[76] By doing this, Horace not only demonstrates his ability to exploit the Greek system, but he makes one voice, his voice, "encompass features distinctive of all nine members of the established lyric canon" (Leigh, 271). Thereby, he proves his mastery over lyric and emphasizes that he does not need to be a member of the Greek canon when he can write equally and form his own.

In fact, Horace claims in lines 3.30.13-14 that he has been the first to make Latin lyric. In this statement alone, he establishes a genre, knowing the chances are high that he will be a part of the Latin canon once it is established.

> Princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
>
> Deduxisse modos.
>
> As the first to adapt Aeolic poems to the Italian meters.

These lines boldly stake Horace's claim over the Latin lyric genre. He does not view any other Roman author as significant within the establishment of the previously Greek poetic form; yet he does pay homage to his Greek predecessors with the adjective *Aeolium*/"Aeolic," referencing the language and poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus (Quinn, 297). Just as in *Odes* 1.1, Horace incorporates tangled wordplay in order to show the adaptation of the Greek structure into the Roman. In this case, Horace could have more accurately displayed his point by saying that he was the first to adapt Aeolic *modos*/"meters" to Italian *carmina*/"poems."[77] In this case, the full reality of Horace's work is displayed. However, by structuring his word order in such a way and by choosing to modify *carmen* and *modos* as he did, Horace emphasizes his manipulation of both, and with the phrase *Aeolium carmen*/"Aeolic poems" he again diminishes the Greek influence in order to display the Roman.

By doing this in these lines, Horace's intention behind his use of *insereres* in *Odes* 1.1.35, as stated above, is emphasized. He would not wish to be a member of the Greek canon in one poem and take total claim of establishing an entire genre in another. As mirror poems, *Odes* 1.1 and 3.30 express relatively similar ideas. 3.30 shows Horace's distinct recognition of his influence over Latin lyric and his impact as the first, true Roman lyricist; 1.1 sets the stage for 3.30, preparing the audience for his impact on literature. After analyzing the last lines of 1.1 to see Horace's "request," and now breaking down lines 3.30.13-14 in order to see the poet's outwardly evolved opinion of himself, the relationship

between the two *Odes* is unmistakable. 3.30 answers the hypothetical request of 1.1 by acknowledging Horace's ultimate role as a poet, as well as what an accomplishment the publication of *Odes* Books 1-3 is. Although 3.30 mirrors 1.1, they can also be seen as a ring-composition, continuing together with consistent ideas. Viewing the poems in this light can offer a new understanding to Horace's request in 1.1.35-36. Rather than requesting that Maecenas admit him into the canon of *lyricis vatibus*/"lyric bards," perhaps Horace is requesting something from someone else, from himself, that *he* create a *monumentum*/"monument" worth being placed among the lyric bards. As one who writes lyric, Horace could be asking himself to finish a work worth noting, worth establishing a canon for. In this respect, what appears to be his desire to be admitted into the Greek canon is actually a hope that his finished product, *Odes* 1-3, will be deemed worthy of canonization, allowing for Horace to surpass those who came before him in order to establish the new Latin lyric canon, with our poet being the first within it.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SHIELD OF HORACE

In exploring *Odes* 1.1, we have seen the way that Horace approaches lyric poetry and how he begins to establish himself as the first Latin lyricist. He manipulates Greek topoi and structure in order to create an introductory poem which represents and is relatable to his Roman audience. This poem also sets the stage for all of those which follow in the remainder of Book 1 and throughout the *Odes* in their entirety. In paving the way for the Latin lyric genre, Horace pays homage to those who wrote lyric before him, building off of the Greeks and utilizing their strategies while still making his own poetry.

Chapter Two assessed Horace's underlying Roman imagery throughout the priamel, as well as his treatment of the Greek poetic structure. In doing so, many new aspects of the poem were brought to the surface, showing Horace's creation of a strong Latin lyric. This strategy demonstrates his straying from the Greek genre and the creation of a new one. Horace had no intention of becoming a Greek lyricist when he was proudly a Roman poet. As such, his underlying imagery and wordplay suggest his allegiance to Italian culture and literature. In Chapter Three, I examined the remaining lines of *Odes* 1.1, to continue and emphasize the idea that Horace's request of Maecenas is not one of sincerity and desire, but rather a poetic structure built into an introductory poem, merely a formality. Horace undercuts this literary custom with allusive metaphors, contradictory philology and a strong representation of poetry as a profession. The intentional craftsmanship throughout *Odes* 1.1 emphasizes the poet's desire to incorporate more than merely a surface-level request of being inducted into a canon. In all actuality, the undertones in the poem suggest that Horace desires to establish his own canon, in which he remains the first member, an example to all who follow, of what Latin lyric stands for.

Not only does *Odes* 1.1 establish a solid paradigm for the genre of Latin lyric, the priamel lists ten occupations which seem to include the entire spectrum of man's work in the ancient world. The

first nine reflect the professions of the crowd, while the tenth distinguishes Horace as the counter to these. Together, *Odes* 1.1 displays the spectrum of male professions in the Roman world. After observing such a distinction between occupations, is it possible that their combination plays a larger role than simply a list within a poem? Do these examples demonstrate the makeup of a successful society? In ancient literature there have been two significant times where a society was broken down and displayed as parts of a whole, the first in the *Iliad* on the shield of Achilles, and the second in the *Aeneid* on the shield of Aeneas. In Book 18 of the *Iliad,* lines 478-608, Homer's description of Achilles' shield is detailed to reveal wide-ranging aspects of civilization. There are famous descriptions of the earth, sky and sea, as well as two cities broken down to reveal: weddings, civil strife, soldiers led by deities, farmers plowing their fields, grain harvesting, a vineyard holding a young lyre player, herdsmen organizing their flock, and finally, Hephaestus included on the shield of Achilles a group of young boys and girls dancing among a chorus. The shield of Aeneas, in lines 8.617-731, is predominantly based on Homer's description; however, Vergil includes his own imagery as well. As Vergil describes, the shield details the future story of Italy. It shows the birth of Romulus and Remus, the establishment of Rome, the time of kings, wars, [in]famous Romans, chaste women, the dawn of the empire, the deities and imperial expansion.

The images on these two shields represent a culture and a people, strongly reflecting values and traditions, and the symbolic cultural representations on these shields are created so as to protect the carrier. Both Achilles and Aeneas are going into battle at the time they take up their shields. In doing so, they are carrying with them the people they are fighting for, the past, the present and the future of their world. As Vergil notes in lines 8.730-731, Aeneas has a realization upon taking up his shield.

> miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet,
>
> attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.
>
> Not knowing of the events (yet), he marveled and he felt joy in the

images, taking upon his shoulder the fame and fate of his descendants.

The shield acts as a reminder of what could be lost should the hero fail. For Achilles and Aeneas, it is not only their personal honor and glory at stake; they are fighting for the freedom, and the future, of their people. Much relies on the victory of these heroes.

Horace is creating a similar type of representation of a culture in his list of occupations in *Odes* 1.1. The priamel breaks down the society Horace stands for and, in a way, acts as the poet's shield. It is part of his preparation as he makes his way to battle, a war which in this case involves proving himself worthy of being admitted into the Greek canon on the surface, while maintaining the underlying intention of establishing his own canon. The battle Horace is preparing to fight is one of words and ideas rather than weapons and blood. He is preparing to fight the established mindset regarding literary prowess and the fixed idea of the lyric canon. Horace's poem can be seen as a challenge to the Greek lyric canon; he is introducing a competitor through his collection of *Odes*.

The priamel protects Horace before he claims himself as a poet worth noting; he lists the other types of occupations in preparation for his own. The occupations foreground his profession and set the stage for the battle. Horace's embrace of his status as a poet and his request for insertion within the canon are his fight. And like the shield of both Achilles and Aeneas, Horace's shield represents the people he is fighting for. He is writing poetry that will match Romans with the Greeks; he is enhancing Latin literary culture. Although in this case, the shield also represents the people Horace must fight against, the people whom he must convince to some extent of his value as a poet and his worthiness of being the first in the Latin lyric canon. The outcome is dependent on his audience's acceptance of him as a poet. The priamel creates the shield Horace takes up before the start of the battle, which is his establishment of the first corpus of Latin lyric poetry, a task previously not attempted to such an extent by his predecessors. As we have seen, Horace accomplished something, since years later, Quintilian ranked him first among Latin lyricists and to this day, Latin students pore over his words. The priamel

marks the past and the present for Horace during his time of writing; his sustained reputation today marks his future, one that has no end in sight and continues to gather glory for our poet as he lives in immortality on the pages of his poetry.

NOTES

CHATPER ONE: THE POET, THE POEM, THE PROBLEM

[1] For a detailed account of the three Greek lyricists' influence in Horace's *Odes*, cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, xii-xiii; Ancona, xxiii.

[2] Philip Hill (39) claims that there are only two poems of Catullus which are written in lyric meter, 11 and 51. Michael C. J. Putnam distinguishes that 11 and 51 are written in Sapphics, 30 in Greater (or Fifth) Asclepiadean, and 17, 34 and 61 are composed in "varying combinations of Pherecratean and Glyconic lines" (3).

[3] In *Odes* Book 1, Horace is shifting his metric form from the couplets of the *Epodes* to Aeolic stanzas. The Greek Neoterics were known for their use of Aeolic stanzas, although they employed simpler ones than Horace (Harrison, 41). The Neoteric poets of Rome, *poetae novi*, were the first Latin authors to play with Greek meters. Elizabeth M. Young notes this "new phase in Roman literary translation when poets from non-Greek speaking parts of Italy revolutionized Latin poetry using Alexandrian genres and styles" (84).

[4] The *Carmen Saeculare* is the only hymn of Horace's that we know was performed orally. It was written and performed in 17 BCE. Horace composed this work for the *Ludi Saeculares* (games that honor the end of an era) which the emperor Augustus had chosen to reinstate from the ancient tradition (Putnam, 1). The *Carmen* is a choral lyric, written to be performed by a chorus of young boys and girls. Lyric choruses originated in Greece and had multiple purposes in the ancient culture. "Poetry, either recited or sung, was the medium through which history was related, political realities and social status were armed, social sanctions were taught and upheld, and religious meaning was sought and found" (Ingalls, 372). Also, choral activity was used as an educational technique, teaching young children history and

mythology as well as how to be a part of a larger group, of a community, as an adult (Ingalls, 375-376). For the *Carmen,* Horace is the chorus leader, also called the *choregos* in Greek choral lyric, whose responsibility it is to lead and teach the chorus. He not only praises Rome and Augustus, thereby history and patriotism, but he also educates the children on how to be a part of Roman society. Horace is following his predecessors in using choral lyric to establish a structured community. For more on the *Carmen Saeculare* cf. Putnam (2000). For more on Greek choral activity cf. W.D. Anderson (1966); J. Herington (1985).

[5] *Satires* 1.6.8

[6] This military position may have carried the rank of Equestrian with it (Harrison, 8). Cf. Lyne, 1995.

[7] For a contrary opinion, Ronnie Ancona (xx) suggests that Horace and Maecenas had a relationship much more akin to close friends than to patron/client, and that there is little to no evidence suggesting that Maecenas bought Horace's estate.

[8] Maecenas is a key character and major poetic theme throughout Horatian literature. He is addressed not only in *Odes* 1.1, but also in the *Satires* and *Epodes*. When Horace mentions Maecenas in the *Odes*, he makes sure to put him in very specific locations. Horace mentions Maecenas in nine of the *Odes* in Books 1-4. "Three of the odes act as bookends opening the collection (1.1) or closing a book (2.20) or the entire collection (3.29, the poem immediately before the epilogue, 3.30)" (Gold, 224, fn 28).

[9] Οἰ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον οἰ δὲ πέσδων
οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖσ᾽ ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν
ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον ἔγω δὲ κῆν᾽
ὅττω τὶσ ἔπαται (Sappho, *fr*. 27a D, 16 L and P) (Fraenkel, 230; Nisbet and Hubbard, 2).

[10] Ovid also begins a collection of poems with an apology for the type of poetry he is writing. In the *Amores* Book 1.1.1-4, he claims that he wanted to write epic poetry, but Cupid stole a foot from each line, turning his meter into elegiac couplets rather than epic hexameter.

Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam

Edere, materia conveniente modis.

Par erat inferior versus: risisse Cupido

Dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.

[11] Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 1970; Quinn, 1980; Gold, 1987; Garrison, 1991; Barchiesi, 2007; Leigh, 2010

CHAPTER TWO: EXPLORATION OF THE PRIAMEL

[12] Cf. Introduction, pg. 6.

[13] Although chariot races were a wildly popular event in the *ludi*, the games also included gladiatorial games and theater productions (Shelton, 330).

[14] Cf. Livy, 10.47; *Epist*. 1.1.51.

[15] Cf. Hor. *Epist*. 1.19.37.

[16] For more on *mobilis* cf. *Odes* 1.7.14, *Odes* 1.23.5, and *Epod.* 2.3.157.

[17] Cf. Sen. *Her.Fur*. 170; Ov. *Trist*. 1.9; Stat. *Sil.* 2.2.

[18] Nisbet and Hubbard (8) discuss Horace's agreement with the popular mindset of the fickle mob, while at the same time offering a counter point. They note that successive victories do not suggest a fickle crowd, but rather suggest consistency. Therefore, in these lines Horace incorporates a contradiction which allows him to appeal to both sides of the societal opinion.

[19] Cf. Hor. *Odes* 3.3.57; *Odes* 4.14.1.

[20] Cf. *fn*6.

[21] Cf. Garrison, 200; Nisbet and Hubbard, 8.

[22] Allen and Greenough (297) discuss the demonstrative pronouns *hic* and *ille,* stating that *ille* was often used by authors to denote something far away from the speaker in both time and space. It is also called the "demonstrative of the third person," whereas, *hic* is used when specifying something or someone who is near the speaker in time, space and even thought and thereby called the "demonstrative of the first person."

[23] Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.

[24] Cf. Plin. *Epist.* 1.9

[25] *Satires* 1.1.46-53:

> on tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus: ut, si
> reticulum panis venalis inter onusto
> forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam
> qui nil portarit. vel dic quid referat intra
> naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an
> mille aret? 'at suave est ex magno tollere acervo.'
> dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,
> cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?

[26] The trade industry in Rome had experienced several changes by the time of Horace's writings which solidified Rome's need for trade as well as its reputation as an importing city. In 122 BCE, Tribune Gaius Gracchus set up a law in Rome that allowed Roman citizens to purchase grain at an unvarying price. This meant that the government would sell monthly grain rations from its public warehouses in Ostia. However, in 58 BCE, Tribune Publius Clodius Pulcher brought forward a law which allowed Roman citizens to acquire grain for free. This shift in grain regulation "has led scholars to describe ancient Rome as a 'consuming city' rather than a 'producing city'" while critics state that Romans were only

concerned with “bread and circuses,” “circuses” here meaning chariot races (Shelton, 132-133), which continues the explanation of the chariot racer within the priamel.

[27] Jo-Ann Shelton (7) details the way that elite men in Rome did not look kindly on businessmen, whose driving motivation for business was pure profit. However, this rising section of upper class members, called Equestrians, was unable to break into the political realm for employment and honor because “political positions were the jealously guarded monopoly of the older senatorial families.” Thus, businessmen were in some regards trapped in a situation which only perpetuated their stereotype within the ancient world.

[28] Romans imported the majority of their grain from Egypt, Sicily and Libya because it could not produce enough on its own for the populace (Shelton, 136). See fn. 13.

[29] Readers can gauge that the land is small by Horace’s use of the word *sarculo* which demonstrates the farmer’s ability to hand-work his fields using a small hoe rather than needing a team to plow it. The *sarculum* was also beneficial for working rocky-soil (Nisbet and Hubbard, 9), which also tells the audience that the farmer’s land wasn’t of the best quality dirt. However, Horace emphasizes the way in which this poor farmer was favored and respected more than other occupations, such as the merchant (Garrison, 201).

[30] Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 9.

[31] Cf. Hor. *Ser.* 1.4.29, *Epist.* 1.1.45.

[32] Plautus makes the *mercator* the center or ridicule in his work *Aulularia*. Tibullus also describes the negative image of the merchant in 1.3.39-40. Likewise, Cicero describes in *De Officiis* how the lust for profit is dangerous and not to be respected. He also details that “For all occupations from which profit is accrued, none is better than agriculture, none more profitable, none more delightful, none more suitable to a free man” (Shelton, 126).

[33] In these lines, Horace is perhaps also prefacing his opinionated dislike for merchants later mentioned in *Odes* 1.31.11, thereby linking his poems together through the repetition of theme and opinion.

[34] Cf. Tib. 1.1; Prop. 1.1; Ov. *Am.* 1.2

[35] Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.3.

[36] Cf. *fn*21

[37] This scene also harkens back to early Greek poetical conventions; however, Horace's audience is likely to have been much more familiar with the work being produced by the elegists around the same time of the Odes rather than ancient Greek lyricists.

[38] Horace incorporates the stretched out, idle man in many of his works: the *Odes* 2.3.6, 2.7.18, 2.11.13; the *Epodes* 2.23; and the *Epistles* 1.14.35.

[39] Cf. Tib. 1.1; Also, love is depicted by the Augustan elegists "as an equivalent of military service" (Hallet, 339). Cf. Tib. 1.1.75; Prop. 1.6.30, 2.7.15-18; Ov. *Am.* 1.9, 2.12.1, 2.18.2.

[40] Horace describes a parent's hate of the son's military life in the *Epod.*16.8. Cf. Cat. 64.348; Verg. *Aen*. 8.556.

[41] In the 15th century, William Caxton was the first to use punctuation in British printing. From there, printers in both the British Empire and the United States developed a clear and consistent "orderly system of punctuation" (Shaw, 7).

[42] Horace uses the deity to represent not only the weather and physical location of the hunter (outside), but also the length of time he is outside (for the day). The history of Jove's name also represents such things. *Iove* can be taken to mean *caelo* since Jupiter carries a synonymous history with being both a sky and weather deity. "The root *Iov*- (Indo-European *d(i)ieu-, Skt. *dyauh*) originally meant sky, light. Latin *dies*, day, is the same word; cf. *Diespiter*, archaic and poetic for *Iuppiter*" (Garrison, 202).

[43] Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 13.

[44] Cf. J. Aymard, *Les Chasses romaines,* 1951, pp. 297ff.

[45] Shelton (321) details how Romans preferred watching/performing the kill more than the actual hunt; so much so that a popular spectacle was one in which animals were let loose into the arena and actors playing hunters slaughtered them in front of the audience.

[46] Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.37; Prop. 2.19.17; Ov. *Rem*. 199

[47] The term is not found specifically in Propertius or Tibullus, but Ellen Greene notes that Propertius does subscribe to the idea of *puella* and *materies*" (Perkins, *fn.* 32).

[48] Translation by Shelton, 321.

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CHAPTER THREE: THE ROMANNESS OF HIS GREEKNESS

[49] Cf. Introduction, pg. 1-2.

[50] Cf. Introduction, pg. 1.

[51] *Odes* 3.25.1 also references Bacchus. This is yet another example of the connection between *Odes* 1.1 and 3.25.

[52] Cf. Horace 3.4.6; Propertius 3.1.1; Ovid *Am*. 3.1.1

[53] Often in Horace's poetry such imagery represents his own creativity as a poet (Garrison, 202).

[54] The muses were not technically fixed with specific functions during the classical period. In fact, it was not until the 4th century that Ausonius arranged the nine muses according to their functions (Lotspeich, 142). However, in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, the muses encompass the same attributes they retained during the predominance of Hellenistic culture (Hastings, 4).

[55] However, with the phrase *Lesboum barbiton*, the association to the Lesbian poets is more strongly connected to Sappho because *barbitos* is not found in extant works of Alcaeus (Woodman and Feeney, 53).

[56] The two most frequently used meters in Horace's lyric poetry are the Sapphic meter and the Alcaic meter (Garrison, 202).

[57] Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 15; Quinn, 121; Santirocco, 22.

[58] Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 15; Enn. *Ann*. 214; Verg. *Ecl.* 9. 33ff; Hor. *Epod*. 17.44, *Carm*. 1.31.2, *Epist*. 2.1.119.

[59] Cf. Ovid *Am*. 1.1

[60] Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 15; R. Pfeiffer, 182 f.

[61] The Greek lyric canon had been established about 150 years prior to Horace in the Library of Alexandria. Members of the canon were selected by Aristophanes of Byzantium, and the canon we have today was established in an epigram around 100 BCE (Feeney, 41). Also, the Palatine Library of Apollo had been established around the time of Horace's writing. Our poet, as well as his contemporaries, was aware of the fact that the works of the Greek lyricists were being published and shelved, even more so establishing them as representative of the lyric genre. They also realized that there was a section in this library waiting to be filled with Latin authors. In the Roman world, Greek and Latin literature were catalogued separately (Hill, 41), but Horace demonstrates a desire to "vault across the divide" (Feeney, 41).

[62] *Odes* 1.1 contains a hypothetical, simple present conditional, and 2.5 a past time conditional.

[63] Achilles was easily discovered when he eagerly took up the shield and sword from the gifts given to the king by Odysseus. Cf. Quinn, 207; Shorey and Lang, 261; Garrison 266-7.

[64] Cf. Horace's *Satires,* 1.9.2; Catullus 62.13.

[65] Cf. Garrison, 329-330; Quinn, 286.

[66] Cf. pg. 44

[67] This point was originally posed by Denis Feeney in *Horace 2000: A Celebration*.

[68] Although published separately from the first three, *Odes* 4.8 is also written in First Asclepiadean meter, being the third and last poem in the *Odes* to use this particular meter. In general, the poem references the importance of poetry and its ability to set me apart from the crowd. 4.8 also contains imagery relating to *viridi*/"green-vine" (4.8.33), similar to the ivy and laurel of *Odes* 1.1 and 3.30. However, the vine is not wreathed around the poet's head, but rather around Liber's (a deity associated with Dionysus) head. Also, *Odes* 4.8 references the muse as the source of poetry: *dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori*/"the Muse forbids men worthy by praise to die" (4.8.28); rather than the poet, like we have seen before. She is the reason the poet's reputation continues after death; as opposed to *Odes* 3.30, where the *monumentum*/"monument" of the three completed books of *Odes* offers the mode to immortality for the author.

[69] Originally, Horace published the first three books of the *Odes* together in 23 BCE; Book 4 became public in 13 CE. In between the two, Horace wrote the *Carmen Saeculare*, and published them in 17 CE.

[70] Cf. Santirocco, 151; Harrison, pg 28.

[71] Cf. Ov. *Am*. 1.15;

[72] Both statues and public records were made of bronze. Horace is referencing them in his comparison, and suggesting that his poetry will ultimately outlast both, regardless of how important they seem to be in that moment. Cf. Quinn, 295; Garrison, 337.

[73] Lines 3.30.3-5 :

> Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
> Possit diruere aut innumberabilis
> Annorum series et fuga temporum.

[74] Cf. Introduction, pg. 1-2.

[75] This reference to the muse, Melpomene the Muse of tragedy, continues Horace's stylistic practice of referencing muses who are not necessarily associated with lyric, or poetry in general for that matter (Garrison, 338).

[76] Not only are the first nine *Odes* written in different meters, 1.9-23 have beginning lines which imitate numerous poets, specifically: Alcaeus, Sappho, Pindar and Anacreon (Hutchinson, 42).

[77] *Carmina* also suggests "poems set in Italy and addressed to a Roman audience" (Garrison, 338).

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