A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POET AND PATRON DURING THE AUGUSTAN AGE

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR PRINCIPAL PERIODICALS AND AUTHORS

A.J.Ph.	American Journal of Philology
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History
Commager	S.Commager.The Odes of Horace.Yale 1962
C.Ph.	Classical Philology
C.Q.	Classical Quarterly
C.W.	Classical Weekly
Fraenkel	E.Fraenkel.Horace.Oxford 1957
Hermes	Hermes.Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
H.S.C.Ph.	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
L.E.C.	Les Etudes Classiques
Macleane	A.Macleane.Quinti Horati Flacci Opera Omnia.London 1853
Page	T.E.Page.Q.Horatii.Flacci Carminum Libri IV.London 1959
Palmer	A.Palmer.The Satires of Horace.London 1959
Phoenix	The Phoenix.The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada
P.P.	La Parola del Passato
R.E.C.	Revue des Etudes Classiques
Rh.M.	Rheinisches Museum
Shuckburgh	E.Shuckburgh.Augustus.London 1963
T.A.P.A.	Transactions of the American Philological Association
Wight-Duff	J.Wight-Duff.A Literary History of Rome.London 1953
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PRINCIPAL DATES

B.C.	65	Birth of Horace.
	?50	Birth of Propertius.
	43	Birth of Ovid.
	42	Battle of Phillippi and defeat of Republicans.
	?38	Horace introduced to Maecenas.
	?35	Horace publishes Book I of *Satires*.
	31	Battle of Actium.
	30	Horace publishes Book II of *Satires*.
	?29	Horace publishes *Epodes*.
	?26	Propertius publishes Book I of *Elegies*.
	?24	Horace publishes Books I,II, and III of *Odes*.
	?20	Horace publishes first Book of *Epistles*.
	17	Horace writes *Carmen Saeculare*.
	?16	Death of Propertius.
	?14	Horace publishes Book IV of the *Odes*.
	?12	Horace publishes Book II of *Epistles* and *Ars Poetica*.
	8	Death of Horace.
A.D.	8	Ovid banished to Tomis.
	18	Death of Ovid.

INTRODUCTION

Literary history does not progress by fits and starts; it is essentially a process of continuous development. Thus while we may divide the history of literature into distinct phases this must be for the purposes of analysis only, since no phase can be independent of its predecessor, and while we may speak of features as belonging to a particular era, their foundations will inevitably have been laid by previous generations. The Augustan age, however, seems to be an exception to this rule, as far as is possible for such an exception to exist. We do have a few links between this period and the late Republican era, such as C.Asinius Pollio, a close friend of Vergil and Horace, who also appears while still young to have had some connection with the circle of Catullus[1]; the shadowy poet Gallus may possibly be another link.

Yet on the whole the Augustan age produced a brand new set of personalties in the sphere of poetry and a different attitude towards the poets. The age of Catullus and his circle was one of political disillusionment, when the poet turned his back on society and gave voice to his personal thoughts, thoughts intended for the ears of a few intimate friends. It is characterized by stirring independence and lack of any stable political affiliation. The death of the republic and the creation of the empire did usher in a period of relative tranquillity and a new optimism in political affairs. It

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[1]Catullus XII.

also introduced a new phenomenon of imperial patronage and we find that the poet now assumes a public role and gives expression to thoughts not intended for a private coterie but for the public at large or at least for the educated section of the public.

The exact nature of this imperial patronage was of paramount importance in determining the form which the literature of this period would subsequently take. It would seem at first sight natural that Horace and Vergil, being as it were 'agents' of the emperor and public poets par excellence would be more inclined to betray their art in the hope of winning favour from the ruling clique. Should we hope to find independent expression during this period we would be inclined to turn to the elegists who were for the most part concerned with their own private problems and took little interest in politics.

A study of the relationship between, on the one hand, Horace[2] and on the other Propertius and Ovid, and their patrons Maecenas and Augustus shows that this is not in fact the case. We find that it is Horace who stands out as an independent spokesman of his own beliefs who did not refrain from criticising the current political scene when he thought it his duty to do so. He appears not as an obsequious puppet of Maecenas and Augustus but as a sincere friend and admirer of the two powerful men. Propertius and Ovid on the other hand are found to be on much less intimate terms with their patrons and thus to have recourse to servile flattery to attain their ends since they could make no claims on ties of friendship.

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[2]In this study Vergil has been omitted since to deal adequately with this poet would require a thesis in itself.

I

HORACE AND MAECENAS

At the Battle of Philippi (42B.C.) Horace fought on the side of the Republicans. After their defeat the poet was one of the many who were pardoned by Octavian and thus he was able to return to Rome. We must assume from his words 'inopem paterni/et laris et fundi'[3] that Horace lost his estate when the land surrounding Venusia was expropriated for the veterans of Octavian's army. Accordingly he was forced to seek employment and we learn from the 'Suetonius' Vita that he became a 'clerk in the treasury'. His position did little to encourage the writing of poetry and his earliest attempts show unmistakable signs of his bitterness.[4] To be a successful poet in Rome during this period a man needed independent means or the support of a patron, there being no royalties or copyrights at this time. It was at this point, about 38B.C., that Horace came under the patronage of Maecenas. The latter was a rich Roman knight and supporter of Octavian, a man important enough to be left in charge of affairs at Rome whilst Octavian was absent at Naulochus and Actium. Thus the poor, insignificant treasury clerk came into contact with one of the most influential figures in Rome.

I intend to examine the relationship between Maecenas and Horace and to show how it developed from an ordinary client-patron relationship into a deep and lasting friendship. Then I shall

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[3] Ep.II.2.11.50/51.

[4] E.g.Sat.I.7,I.2.

consider whether or not this relationship allowed Maecenas to interfere directly in the scope of Horace's poetry and to what extent the poet while recognising his debt to Maecenas still managed to retain his independence. Once this has been dealt with I shall consider whether or not there is sufficient evidence to justify the assumption that a break occured between the two men in later life.

That Horace did become a client of Maecenas is borne out by the fact that he dedicates the first three books of the Odes to him.[5] We must realize of course that it was not unknown for a poet to dedicate a work to a friend[6] but it is doubtful whether he would have dedicated three whole books of his odes to any one friend, unless to express gratitude for some kind of support. After Horace came into contact with Maecenas and received the gift of his Sabine farm (circa 31B.C.), we must assume that he retired from his clerical position or at any rate that it became of very little importance.[7] This would suggest that Horace was now receiving financial support from Maecenas as a client.

Our poet frequently uses words which indicate friendship but which could, on the other hand, simply refer to the client-patron relationship. In Sat.I.6.62 Horace describes himself as being

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[5] I.1;II.20;III.16. It is to be noted that the dedication ode need not be first of the selection. Cf.Fraenkel ad. loc.

[6] Cf.Catullus Carmen I to Cornelius Nepos. Note however the emendation proposed by Bergk in 1.9.

[7] See Sat.II.6.36. Horace was now only expected to attend a meeting of the corporation when some extraordinary matter was under discussion.

counted among the number of 'amicorum' of Maecenas. Amicus readily denotes a friend but Horace uses the word several times where it could simply stand as a substitute for patron.[8] More significant are terms such as 'rex' applied to Maecenas.[9]

From the time of the 'Fabula Palliata' onwards 'rex' was used to describe a man who maintained a parasite.[10] The meaning 'patron' can easily be supplied in Epistle I.17.43. At any rate 'rex' no longer had the evil connotation which it certainly had for the Romans of earlier times.[11] Elsewhere Horace uses the words Praesidium[12] and columen[13] both of which suggest support of some kind beyond that of simple friendship.

Although the relationship between Maecenas and Horace must then have been one in which the poet received financial support from the hands of Maecenas, we can in fact clearly trace the stages whereby their association was gradually transformed into a deep friendship. We shall begin our study with Satire I.6., an early poem (circa 36B.C.) in which Horace describes his first meeting

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[8] Epodes I.2.;Ode II.18.2.

[9] Epistles I.7.37-8.

[10] Fraenkel,Plautinisches in Plautus.191ff.

[11] See Murray,C.J.1965.241-6.

[12] Ode.I.i.2.

[13] Ode.II.17.4.

with Maecenas. Vergil and Varius had been responsible for his introduction to Maecenas and after a period of nine months Horace was formally admitted into the circle of the great man's friends. A period of about eighteen months had elapsed between the meeting and its description and we can see that even in this short period the friendship has begun to deepen. By now Horace is the object of envy because of his position with the knight. This suggests that he has not remained a mere client. One scholar[14] in fact sees these envious people as others who merely enjoyed the conventional client-patron relationship, and this seems a reasonable assumption. Horace calls himself a convictor of Maecenas. The word implies close familiarity, one who is admitted 'within the inner circle of domestic life'.[15] It is possible to discern stages in the development of the friendship in two poems written during this eighteen-month period. Satire I.5 (38/37B.C.) describes the famous journey to Brundisium. There is no need in the present discussion to enquire into the political implications of the journey, but it is significant that Horace was among the chosen few who accompanied Maecenas on this important occasion. Maecenas is portrayed in affectionate terms but these are eclipsed by the description of Vergil, Varius and Plotius. It is obvious that they are by now on reasonably close terms but the association had not reached the point where Horace would address Maecenas in the glowing language which he applied to his social equals. Satire I.3 (37/36B.C.) seems

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[14] Noirfalise, L.E.C., XVIII(1950)289-303.

[15] Palmer, 198.

to indicate that Horace's association with Maecenas is now of some standing. He does not refrain from outspokenness to Maecenas (1.64) although he seems almost to apologize for the liberty which he takes.

We have seen that by 36B.C. Horace had ceased to be a mere client. The germs of friendship are already visible and from this point we shall see how the friendship was cemented and the relationship became one of great depth.[16]

One of the most interesting of Horace's poems in this context is Epode 3. We find Horace displaying flippant familiarity towards Maecenas, gently upbraiding him. Maecenas has somehow induced Horace to eat some garlic which he has placed in Horace's food for a joke. In response to this Horace threatens him jestingly. It is most unfortunate that we are unable to date this curious little poem. I personally would like to date it as late as possible before 29B.C. the probable date of the publication of the Epodes.

Satire I.9 (circa 35B.C.) contains an excellent description of the literary circle which gathered around Maecenas. Mention of the latter seems to provide the highlight of the satire. Horace indicates to the 'bore' that his position with Maecenas is one enjoyed only by a few select people. He is giving the intruder a hint that there is no use in his trying to force his way into the narrow circle. Fraenkel[17] claims that 1.49 domus hac nec purior ulla est... recalls

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[16] I shall trace this chronologically. There are some poems which cannot be dated. When an undated poem appears in the discussion its position is due solely to its significance in the context and does not indicate any chronological pattern.

[17] 116.

in its phrasing the description of Vergil and the others in Sat.I.5.41 animae qualis neque candidiores terra tulit... The sentiment in both is intended to be strong and if there is an echo here, as Fraenkel suggests, we can see how in the space of about two years the friendship of Maecenas and Horace merits a description in glowing terms such as were formerly used of Vergil and the rest.

Belonging to the same year as Satire I.9 (i.e.circa 35B.C.) is Satire I.10 and it will be worth our while to contrast this poem also with Satire I.5. Horace hopes to win approbation for his poetry from a select few only, the fit audience which he himself has found in Vergil, Maecenas, Varius and others. In this particular context Vergil and Maecenas are placed on the same footing and coupled together. This confirms the conclusion ~~on~~ which we reached in the preceding paragraph.

Satire II.6 (circa 31 or 30B.C.) contrasts the life of the country with that of the town. In his description of town life Horace noticeably dwells upon his connections with Maecenas as if to suggest that they were the mainstay of life in the town. His reply to the rude stranger in the crowd, that he delights to go to Maecenas, indicates this. In 40ff. Horace seems to be toning down his relationship with Maecenas. Possibly the friendship has become so strong that to boast excessively about it would be tantamount to a betrayal of privileges.

We have two Epodes which can be dated to approximately the same time as the preceding Satire. Both are interesting in a consideration of the relationship between the two men, yet they are

of greatly contrasting moods. Epode I illustrates the depth of Horace's devotion to Maecenas. Fraenkel[18] comments on the directness and intensity with which Horace's devotion to Maecenas is expressed. Perhaps the imminent danger to Maecenas, pictured about to go to Actium, is the reason for such intensity of expression, and the sincerity of feeling is evident. By way of contrast Epode IX shows Horace in a jolly mood, inviting himself over for a drink to celebrate Caesar's victory at Actium.[19]

We may now consider three Odes together--I.20,III.8,III.29. Only III.8 can be dated (30/29) but the similarity of subject--all are concerned with an invitation of some kind--makes it desirable to group the three together. The theme of an invitation to a patron to come to dinner is a familiar one in Latin literature.[20] We must not for that reason however assume that these poems merely rely on convention. Ode I.20 is not strictly speaking an invitation since Maecenas' answer is taken for granted. The principal aim of the Ode is to bring pleasure to Maecenas by reminding him of the wonderful reception which he received in the theatre after his recovery from an illness. In spite of the fact that all MSS read care in 1.4 many scholars follow Bentley in reading 'clare', which paints a vivid picture of Maecenas in the theatre. I see no reason for going against

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[18] 69.

[19] An excellent article has been written on the background to this Epode by Eric Wistrand. Acta Universtatis Gothenburgensis. Vol.64 1958.9.

[20] E.g. Philodemus to his patron Piso. A.P. XI.44. Catullus Car. XIII.

the MSS, care makes excellent sense as it stands and has a much more sincere ring about it. Odes III.8 and III.29 are invitations in the strict sense of the word. However they both contain words of concern for Maecenas' welfare. Both urge him to cast care aside for a short while and enjoy the pleasures of a simple life. As Heinze points out[21] Ode III.29 is a perfect monument both of Horace's outlook on life and of his devotion to Maecenas. The degree to which Horace could feel concern for Maecenas is brought out in Ode II.17. Here Horace is supporting Maecenas with his sympathy and understanding, straining all his efforts in an attempt to lift the latter from his obvious despondency. So great is our poet's desire to console his friend effectively, that he even ventures into the realms of astrology, a sphere which held little attraction for him[22] but one in which Maecenas had strong interests.

We shall conclude this section by referring to the very first poem of the odes.[23] Fraenkel points out how this poem acts as a good preface since it contains many echoes doubtlessly deliberate, of later poems. In effect Horace says that Maecenas' pleasure in his lyrics is the height of his ambition. If we had not seen how deep their friendship had become, we might have suspected flattery in the last two lines. I hope that I have shown that we have no justification

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[21] Heinze(Kiessling's commentary re-edited)Odes and Epodes.7th. ed.1930.

[22] Fraenkel,218ff.

[23] I.e. in terms of arrangement, not of chronology: Ode I.1 can be tentatively dated circa 25B.C.

in making this assumption. I think that we can assume that they are sincere.

Our study has brought us down to the year 25B.C.[24] and we have seen how Horace grew from a simple client to one of Maecenas' closest friends. After this date the situation becomes somewhat hypothetical and I shall consider it in a later section.

Now that we have established that a deep friendship developed between Horace and Maecenas we must consider to what extent Maecenas interfered in the scope and content of Horace's poetry and how the poet reacted to the situation.

It has often been assumed that Maecenas was an agent of Augustus,[25] trying to compel his poets to eulogise the ideals and personalities of the new state.[26] This presupposes that Maecenas had this in mind from the very outset, when he first began to act as patron of the poets. Under the circumstances, the poets would realise that any patronage which they might receive would depend entirely on what their poetry portrayed. All the evidence in Horace suggests an out right denial of this thesis, for time after time Horace composed a poem as a recusatio to Maecenas to indicate polite denial of a request. Horace certainly has no fear that Maecenas will withdraw his support, if he fails to please him. Epode XIV, one of the earlier poems, at any

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[24] Assuming of course that our dating of Ode I.1 is correct and that none of the undated poems fall after this date.

[25] Syme, Roman Revolution. 253ff.

[26] See Dalzell, Phoenix, 1956, 'Maecenas and the Poets'.

rate dated before 29B.C., contains an apology to Maecenas for not completing and publishing the book of Epodes. He has obviously been urging Horace to finish the book quickly. We can practically detect a note of annoyance in 1.5 where Horace says Occidis saepe rogando. In Ode 2.12 we find our poet refusing Maecenas' suggestions to write poems on national themes. Horace states that his muse is best suited to lighter topics such as praise of Licymnia. Many believe that under the guise of Licymnia Horace is describing Terentia, Maecenas' wife. Thus Horace, although he has to refuse the knight's request, seeks to please him in a different way.

Epistle I.1, written much later, about 20B.C., is a recusatio to a further request from Maecenas. This is made evident in the first two lines, where Horace complains that Maecenas wishes him to write lyric poetry again. Possibly Maecenas wishes Horace to compose a panegyric on Augustus and his policy, since the latter had in 21B.C. journeyed to the East.[27] It is obvious that Maecenas would have liked Horace to devote himself to poetry on national themes, but it is also obvious that he could not assume that his requests would meet with automatic compliance.[28]

In Ode III.16 Horace evokes figures from the mythology and history of Greece to propound the thesis that contentment is man's

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[27] Wilkins,81.

[28] One should note at this point that Horace did in fact write poetry on national themes at a later period e.g.Odes 1-6,IV. Perhaps his eventual celebration of Roman themes and his approval of Augustus' policy were due in part to his affectionate loyalty to Maecenas, and not to any compulsion. On this point one should consult Reckford,T.A.P.A.,XC(1959).195-208.

greatest boon. Desire for material gain is a prime cause of unhappiness and dissatisfaction. The message of the poem is general, intended to guide his readers, yet at the same time it is particular and Horace applies it to his own situation. In doing so he may be subtly hinting to Maecenas that while he is grateful for his Sabine farm, he is not the type who can be persuaded by material gifts. Although the gold of Philip corrupted the statesmen of Greece and led them to betray their country's interests, yet Horace makes it clear to Maecenas that he will not be persuaded by gold to betray his own poetic craft.[29] The message is general, as I stated above, for so it had to be, since a direct refusal to Maecenas to compose poetry which would conform to the political aspirations of the ruling clique would cause offence and smack of ingratitude. It is also to Horace's credit that he can walk the golden mean and be grateful without being subservient.

Ode III.29, as we have seen before (p.8) is an invitation to Maecenas to visit Horace in the country away from the cares of Rome. Our poet, however, does not dwell long on this theme but quickly passes to a discussion of the Epicurean ideal of carpe diem. Fortune, he says, is a fickle creature. A man knows not what course she will take nor whither she will shift her favour next. As above, the moralising is of a general nature yet Horace again applies it to himself. Should fortune cease to smile upon him he will accept the situation and learn

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[29] T. Frank, C.Ph.1925.26-30 believes that III.16 is a veiled reply by Horace to Augustus' suggestion that he become his secretary.

to live with it. Horace will not bargain to improve and maintain his position in life. This again seems to be a subtle hint to Maecenas that no threat or coercion will induce him to abandon his own principles.

Line 54 of the preceding poem reminds us of I.34 of Epistle I.7.[30] In this Epistle Horace excuses himself to Maecenas for not returning to Rome as early as he had promised. The Epistle has posed problems to many scholars. It is either taken as a brutal declaration of independence on Horace's part or a cheerful expression of gratitude for Maecenas' generosity.[31] If the Epistle supposedly constitutes a reply to a real demand on Maecenas' part, we must point out that Horace makes no allusion to any demand, only to a promise which he himself had made--not to stay away from Rome too long.[32]

The story told about the patron Philippus and the client Volteius Mena serves to settle the state of relations between Horace and Maecenas. It is the parable of a relationship gone sour.[33] Horace is saying that this could be himself and Maecenas, but he knows it will not happen. It seems clear that however deep Horace's feelings for Maecenas went, he still remained firm in his decision not to

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[30] Ode III.29,154: resigno quae dedit.
Epistle I.7,34: Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno.

[31] See Reckford, op.cit.9, note 2.

[32] As noted by Noirfalise, op.cit.3, note 5.

[33] See Reckford, op.cit.9, note 2.

sacrifice any part of his personal independence. Rather than lose his independence he would prefer to return to his benefactor all that he has received from him. The warning however is only a veiled one. Horace wants Maecenas to understand the situation but the likelihood of it ever arising would appear to be remote. Maecenas' desire that Horace should return to Rome has however provided the latter with an opportunity to define matters clearly and precisely.

In the later poems critics have noticed a marked absence of references to Maecenas, and interpretations of the absence have been various. It could be argued that in effect Horace passed from the patronage of Maecenas to that of Augustus and therefore needed the former less and less. If, as I believe I have shown, the relationship between them went much deeper than a mere casual friendship of client and patron this is hardly likely to be true. On similar lines is the theory that the friendship between Horace and Maecenas gradually cooled, to the great profit of Augustus. We can bring forward two pieces of evidence to refute this. Ode IV.11 contains the only reference to Maecenas which can be dated after 20B.C., but its contents are illuminating. The theme is an invitation to a banquet. We can see that elaborate preparations are being made even though there seem to be only two people present. Yet note the reason for the banquet! It is to be held in honour of Maecenas' birthday. This surely dispels any possibility of coolness between the two. Besides Horace, as Fraenkel notes,[34] uses the expression Maecenas meus, an affectionate

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[34] 416.

term which he uses nowhere else.

Our second piece of evidence is the fact in his will Maecenas recommends Horace to Augustus in these words 'Horati Flacci ut mei memor esto'. This would hardly be the case if the two men had become estranged from each other.

Reckford[35] believes that Horace felt a gradual disillusionment as time passed by, and notes that in later life Horace begins to dwell more and more on the unhappy lot of a client. Since however by this time Horace was a client only in the loosest sense of the word, it can hardly be taken to refer to his own relationship with Maecenas.

More plausible is the suggestion of Noirfalise[36] that Horace ommitted Maecenas' name from his later works in order to act with impartiality towards Augustus who might compare unfavourably with Horace's dear friend. Indeed Horace may not have wished to place Maecenas in the second place, since he obviously could not occupy the place of honour in works 'requested' by Augustus.

Finally it is significant to note that according to the 'Vita' the bodies of Horace and Maecenas were buried in neighbouring tombs on the Esquiline. If any diminution in their friendship had been apparent, their friends would not have made a point of burying them closely together--friends in death as in life.

I have shown that Horace soon ceased to be a client of Maecenas

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[35] Op.cit.9, note 2.

[36] Op.cit.30, note 5.

and became a friend, probably his closest. Throughout this friendship which, as I have shown, lasted until their last days, Horace remained deeply grateful to Maecenas, yet managed to retain his independence. I would say that it is unlikely that Maecenas influenced Horace in the choice of themes for his poetry, either by material inducement or coercion, although it is possible that he indirectly influenced him, since Maecenas' own acceptance and support of the Augustan regime might by its very example have encouraged Horace to undertake the singing of its praises.

II

HORACE AND AUGUSTUS

The relationship between Horace and Augustus poses several problems which can be classed under two general headings. Firstly, by what stages was Horace won over to Augustus' cause, and secondly, what in fact was the exact nature of the relationship which developed between the two men? Theories concerning the relationship seem to fall into two opposing groups; although scholars generally agree that in his early career Horace was hostile towards the ruling clique, there are those who believe that at one specific point, early in his life, Horace suddenly began to support Octavian, and from then on this support was wholehearted and, what was more important, unquestioning. Others, however, maintain that Horace's support of the emperor developed gradually over a long period of time and became wholehearted only when it was based on a rational approval of the emperor and his policies. Towards the former view incline such scholars as Duckworth,[37] Shuckburgh[38] and Macleane.[39] Duckworth claims that Actium 31B.C. was the turning point and that henceforth Horace became an ardent supporter of Octavian. Macleane puts the change a little later and states that it was after Octavian had received the title of Augustus that Horace became one of his 'most hearty adherents'. Shuckburgh, although not

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[37] Duckworth, T.A.P.A., LXXXVII(1956)281-316.

[38] Shuckburgh. Augustus. London 1903.

[39] Macleane. Quinti Horati Flacci Opera Omnia. London 1853.

committing himself to any particular time of conversion, feels that Books I-III of the Odes reveal Horace's 'unbroken sympathy' with Octavian's career and policies.

Amongst those who believe that Horace was won over by a gradual process but never became a blind follower of the emperor we find Salmon[40] and Bolaffi.[41] Although both agree that the change in the poet's attitude was a lengthy process they disagree on details. Bolaffi distinguishes four phases in the evolution of Horace's political thought. The first phase falls before 39B.C., a phase of political invective against Roman government in general. This is followed by a rather more moderate period 39-31B.C., although even here Horace can at times display symptoms of his earlier strong hostility. From 31-27B.C. Horace begins to 'emerge from the nightmare'. It is not until after 27B.C. when Augustus begins his political reforms that Horace's confidence in the new regime begins to be more progressively confirmed, and to be transformed finally into deep approval for Augustus and his policies. Salmon, on the other hand, sees only three stages in the evolution of Horace's attitude towards Octavian. During the thirties his predominant feelings towards the latter and his policies are those of 'cool detachment', even though he is becoming more and more intimate with Octavian's close supporter, Maecenas. About 27B.C., his attitude becomes more favourable, but at the most

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[40] Phoenix, I(1946)7-14. Hereafter cited as Salmon.

[41] Latomus, III(1939)98-106.

he is only a 'half-hearted propagandist' of Augustus' policies. Salmon dates the important change in attitude to 23B.C.; it is at about this time that Augustus, to win over men like Horace, who were only luke-warm supporters of his policies, begins to carry out a new political settlement. From now on Horace's enthusiasm becomes gradually more marked, until 17B.C., when with the composition of the Carmen Saeculare, Horace enters into his role of panegyrist of the Augustan principate. Hereafter our poet wholeheartedly supports the regime.

The present treatment will be similar to that of Salmon and Bolaffi in that it will attempt to show that Horace's support was the outcome of a long process of development. Five separate stages are distinguished. The first stage covers the period from the battle of Philippi 43B.C. down to Horace's first contact with Maecenas, circa 38B.C. As Salmon and Bolaffi note this period is indeed one of bitterness and political invective. The second period extends from 38-31B.C., the battle of Actium. Although Horace's association with Maecenas gives him a brighter outlook on life, his attitude towards Octavian still tends to be critical or at best non-committal. Next we enter upon the third stage 31-27B.C. where we can see the first signs of a change in Horace. Perhaps he feels that there may be hope for Rome in Octavian, but he is still not certain. Although he no longer urges the people of Rome to make for the isles of the blest as he has done in the past, he still does not approve of life at Rome. Between 27 and 23B.C. when the first three books of the Odes were probably published, Horace begins to realize Augustus' real worth in the Salvation of Rome. Salmon seems to be a little harsh in his view

that during this period Horace still remains overtly critical of Augustus. We shall see that in the fifth and final section, from 23B.C. onwards, when Augustus' policies seem to be most in accord with Horace's own ideals, our poet does not refrain from extolling the Augustan principate. Their intimacy has reached a stage where Horace is not afraid to be thought a mere flatterer, a type of person whom, we learn, Augustus despises above all.[42] Our purpose is to show that Horace's enthusiasm and support of Augustus stemmed from a genuine and rational approval. It would therefore be illogical to maintain that Horace wrote Book IV of the Odes under the strict commands of Augustus.[43] It was his own enthusiasm for the Augustan regime which led Horace to compose the paeans of praise of Book IV.

Since Horace fought on the side of the Republicans at Philippi it is a reasonable assumption that he sympathised with their cause,[44] and that he too disapproved of what some considered the tyrannical rule of Julius Caesar.[45] It would be natural then that at the beginning Horace felt opposition, even hostility, towards Octavian, who openly claimed to be Julius Caesar's successor and insisted on the latter's

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[42] Suetonius. Augustus. 89.

[43] Suetonius. 'Vita'.

[44] Men fight either for a cause or for the stronger side. The republicans certainly did not have a superiority in strength.

[45] Whether or not he approved of the drastic measure of assassination is a difficult question and one on which Horace gives no help.

deification at Rome.[46] Consequently in his early poems one finds indications of a pessimistic view of Rome's future while Antony and Octavian are in control. We shall see this pessimism in the apparently early Epodes, VII and XVI.[47]

Epode VII is addressed to the Romans on the horrors of civil war. Porphyrion sees a reference to the Perusine war of 41B.C. between Octavian and L.Antonius, but modern scholars in general prefer a later date.[48] Whether or not Porphyrion is correct is not really important for the present purpose. At any rate the epode reveals Horace's condemnation of civil war and therefore its instigators. To fight against one's fellow citizens is impious. Roman blood is being spilt not for the purposes of foreign conquest but to bring the city to its own downfall. He offers no sop to Octavian--both sides are condemned.

Horace's opposition in this period to those who govern the state culminates in Epode XVI where he advises the Romans to abandon the city, never to return. Here, as in Epode VII the poem is addressed generally to the Roman people. Whatever its relation to Vergil Eclogue IV, the message of the epode is obviously one of intense despair over

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[46] Salmon, op.cit., may be right in seeing Epicureanism as one of the prime causes of this hostility.

[47] These two Epodes cannot be dated precisely. For material on the difficult problem of Epode XVI and its relation to Vergil's Eclogue IV one should consult Duckworth's bibliographical surveys of Vergil, C.W., LI(1958)7 & C.W., LVII(1963-64)201.

[48] See Fraenkel, 56, note 3.

the situation of the Romans during this period. The first section dwells, like Epode VII, on the horrors of civil war. Rome, which has stood up to so many foreign attacks seems destined to be destroyed by her own people. There is only one way of escape from the present evils of Rome and that is in flight. But first, however the people must bind themselves by an oath never to return unless the laws of nature should be reversed. Their destination will be the Blessed Isles where life is idyllic. The picture which Horace paints of these islands obviously belongs to the golden age of mythology,[49] but although the situation is imaginary, the message is real. Life at Rome under its present rulers is unbearable and Horace longs to get away.

During the period which falls between Horace's first meeting with Maecenas (circa 38B.C.) and the battle of Actium (31B.C.) the poet's personal prospects brighten as does his outlook on Roman life in general, but his attitude towards Octavian and his policies is still very much one of hostility. One of the earliest poems of this period, Satire I.3,[50] reveals this opposition. The topic is charity in judging the faults of others. Our poet speaks first of the inconsistencies of one Tigellius, a singer who would never sing when asked but would not stop if he had not been asked. He was, according to Cicero,[51] a friend of Julius Caesar, and presumably was also acquainted with

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[49] M.E. Taylor, A.J.Ph., LXXXIII(1962)23-44.

[50] For the dating of this poem see Fraenkel, 86.

[51] Cicero, Ad.Fam.7.24.

Octavian. Indeed Horace mentions this fact at 1.5. It is in connection with Tigellius that Horace for the first time refers directly to Octavian, speaking of him merely as Caesar. Horace says that not even Caesar could make Tigellius act against his will, not even Caesar *qui cogere posset* 'who would have been able to compel him'. Palmer[52] sees in these three words a compliment to the power of Octavian. But it is more likely that the phrase contains undertones of contempt. Horace could in effect be pointing out that Octavian during this period shows signs of despotic inclinations, just as Julius Caesar had before.

Horace's concern for the state of affairs at Rome is well displayed in the early *Ode* I.14. This short ode cannot be reliably dated, but many scholars agree that it must have been written long before the time of Actium (31B.C.).[53] There is also considerable doubt as to the message of the poem. Horace is giving advice to a ship which is in danger of drifting out to the high seas again. Battered as it is already by the storms, Horace urges it to seek the shelter of the harbour. Quintilian[54] describes the ode as an instance of allegory where the ship stands for the Republic and the storms for civil war. Thus Horace is urging the state to seek peace.[55] Implicit in Horace's concern for the state's welfare is his criticism of Octavian's management

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[52] Palmer,176, note 4.

[53] See Fraenkel,158.

[54] Quintilian.*Inst.Or*.8.6.44.

[55] See Fraenkel,154.

of Roman affairs. The latter is in danger of leading Rome into renewed civil strife. It may also be that lines 12-13 contain a veiled reference to Octavian's illustrious family. Is Horace in fact saying that Octavian should not try to rest on these laurels but must prove his own worth to Rome? We can hardly agree with Duckworth who states that the ode in fact bears witness to Horace's conversion to Octavian's cause, claiming that nuper (17) refers to Horace's previous, and nunc (18) to his present attitude. Surely these lines should be interpreted as refering to the civil wars (17) and to the fact that they are threatening to break out anew (18).

In Epode II we find Horace praising life in the country in contrast to the excesses, luxury and vice of the city. This poem cannot be dated precisely but Fraenkel suggests that it was written about the same time as Sat.I.1 which can be given a tentative date of 35B.C. If this is so then it must have been written during the same period as Ode I.14. and the train of thought in both poems tends to confirm this. In Ode I.14 Horace perceived that Rome's existence was hanging in the balance, with the threat of civil war poised above it; so here in Epode II Horace is urging migration to the simple life of the country away from a city which brings nothing but distress. The two ideas seem to follow one another naturally and in Epode II, just as in Ode I.14, there is implied criticism of Octavian's Rome.

Throughout the Epodes and Book I of the Satires, written during this period, Horace is often quite openly critical of Rome under the domination of Octavian. Epodes IV and VI, of which only IV can be given a tentative date (37/36B.C.), describe the unpleasant characters met

in Rome at this time. The implication that these men are typical of contemporary Romans in the city does nothing to enhance Octavian's image. Jacoby[56] assumes that the concluding lines are aimed at Octavian and that therefore the whole Epode is intended to refer directly to Octavian personally. There is nothing however to indicate this.

A similar attack on Octavian's Rome is to be seen in Satire I.3. Horace speaks of the ill-feeling which exists in the hearts of contemporary Romans. A man who does no harm and tries to live unobtrusively is called false and sly. This is because envy and slander are rife and are inescapable evils in the city at this time.

Salmon sees a possible disrespectful reference to Octavian in Satire I.6.34. Horace has posed the question whether or not a man's value depends upon noble birth. In the first section he makes a number of attacks upon various individuals, but seems clearly not to be speaking of contemporary Romans. All would appear to be dead or even fictitious characters. Then comes the passage which with we are concerned:

> 'sic qui promittit ciuis, urbem sibi curae
> imperium fore et Italiam, delubra Deorum,
> quo patre sit natus num ignota matre inhonestus,
> omnis mortalis curare et quaerere cogit.'[57]

It seems clear from the example of one Novius, whom he goes on to describe, that Horace is merely speaking of a man of humble and unknown origins who has gained office. For Horace to have intended

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[56] Hermes, XLIX(1914)459.

[57] Sat.I.6.34-37.

in these lines a reference to a contemporary Roman, namely Octavian, is not very likely. In so short a time the Romans would hardly forget who Octavian's father, albeit adoptive, was.

We have now reached the third stage, which comprises the period between the battle of Actium (31B.C.) and 27B.C. when Octavian received the title of Augustus. We shall see how in this short space of time Horace's attitude towards Octavian undergoes a considerable change. Whereas previously he seemed to see no future possibilities for Rome under Octavian's guidance, and continually carped at the things in Rome of which he disapproved, we can now discern a glimmering of hope that after all Octavian may be the cause of Rome's salvation.

The battle of Actium seems to have engendered this change, and it will be fitting to begin our study of this phase with Epode IX which is concerned with this battle. Horace asks Maecenas when they will celebrate Caesar's victory. This Epode has caused a great deal of controversy in recent years over the circumstances in which it was written, but the question does not really concern us here.[58] The final outcome of the battle is obviously not yet clear and Horace indicates his doubt and uncertainty with such words as quando, moraris and curam metumque. The celebration of a success with wine reminds Horace of the time when Sextus Pompeius, whose forces largely consisted of slaves, was defeated in 35B.C. Talk of slaves reminds Horace further of the Romans who are now enslaved by the Egyptian Cleopatra and he dwells on

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[58] See Fraenkel,71 and E. Wistrand. Acta Universitatis Gothenburgensis, LXIV(1958)9.

the shamefulness of the situation. He speaks of the Gauls who have deserted Antony and come over to Octavian's side and this brings him once more to the concern for Caesar's victory. We can discern in this poem a more favourable attitude towards Octavian but his anxiety is more for the Roman cause than for Octavian as an individual. As their leader Octavian merely stands as a symbol of Roman success and even in the final stanza where Horace speaks of a 'curam metumque' he seems to be refering to Caesar as the leader of the Roman people rather than Caesar as an individual for whom he feels concern. Cassius Dio tells us that in 30B.C. the senate decreed that hymns of praise should be addressed to Octavian as a god.[59] Salmon suggests that Epode IX may have been one of these requested hymns. This would not be in keeping with Horace's temperament and, as we have seen, the poem does not prove to be so laudatory after all. Yet the gradual change in attitude is by now visible. 'With Actium he is formally enrolled on the winning side and becomes known to Octavian, but it takes a long gradual process of conversion for him to become convinced that Octavian deserves his inner allegiance'.[60]

Ode I.37, written in the autumn of 30B.C. celebrates the news of Cleopatra's death. This means that the Bellum Alexandrinum has ended with a full and complete victory for Octavian. We note with interest how Cleopatra is portrayed in much gentler and nobler terms

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[59] Dio.51.20.1.

[60] K.J. Reckford, H.S.C.Ph., LXIII(1958)524.

in the second half of the ode than she was at the beginning.[61] The Romans believed that a man ought not to humiliate his defeated enemy since by trying to degrade him he will in fact degrade himself.[62] Horace's glorification of Cleopatra in the second half of the Ode reflects an indirect glory on her conquerer Octavian. If Horace had continued to rail against the Egyptian queen, as he did in the first half, he would have detracted from Octavian's victory. Our poet obviously feels that Octavian deserves a worthy mention at this point but it is significant that his victory is described as being won over Cleopatra and that there is no direct mention made of Antony's part in the war.

To defeat one's own fellow-citizens is no cause for boasting. This is brought out in Satire II.1 written during the same year as Ode I.37. The Satire consists of a dialogue between Horace and the lawyer, Trebatius Testa. The latter suggests that instead of writing dangerous Satires Horace should compose an epic poem in honour of Octavian, or at any rate, a eulogy on his virtues. Horace replies that his muse is not fitted for epic poetry and as for Trebatius' suggestion that he should praise Octavian's wisdom, justice and bravery he simply replies:

> '.....haud mihi dero,
> cum res ipsa feret:nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
> verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,
> cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus.'[63]

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[61] See W. Grummel, C.J., XLIX(1953-54)359.

[62] See Fraenkel,160.

[63] Sat.II.1.17.

These lines seem to be full of tactful consideration for Octavian and to show the latter in a good light as a man who is not fond of hearing flattering praise. On the other hand, we can interpret these lines in a much more revealing way. The important phrase is 'haud mihi dero,/cum res ipsa feret.' 'I shall not be missing when the opportunity presents itself.' Instead of taking res as meaning 'opportunity' surely Horace in fact intends us to take the word in the sense of 'action'. What he is saying is that he will be quite willing to hymn Octavian's exploits when the latter actually achieves anything worthy of praise. Horace implies that up to this point this has not been the case. All the action in which Octavian has been so far involved has been civil strife (for which no man may claim a triumph) in which one might include Actium since this involved the defeat of a Roman citizen. Our poet then goes on to say that Octavian dislikes obvious flattery and that if he were to give him false praise he would see through it and reject it. The wrong time for Horace to praise Octavian is obviously when the latter will realise that he does not deserve it. Great credit is due here not only to Horace but also to Octavian in that the poet dared publish these lines. We shall see later that Horace kept his word and when he found Octavian 'iustum et fortem' he said so.[64]

At the end of the Satire Horace is driven to defend his works by saying that they have the approval of Octavian. The latter has obviously begun to show an interest in the poet and his work, though whether the two have actually met is doubtful. If Horace had by now

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[64] L.A. Mackay, A.J.Ph., LXXXIII(1962)168.

come into contact with Octavian and had begun to realise the latter's likes and dislikes, then the earlier passage may not be in fact so uncomplimentary. Perhaps Horace is simply stating the truth as he and Octavian know it and there may be no slight intended.

In this third period we must also discuss Ode III.24. The poem cannot be dated precisely, but because of its somewhat poor structure it seems to be one of the early Odes.[65] The theme is the uselessness of wealth when it is pitted against inevitable fate. Far better than the Roman's life of luxury and licence is that of the wild Nomads, a life that is virtuous and pure. The man who would save Rome must have the courage to curb the vice of the present day and so win fame in later ages, a fame which he will not receive in his own lifetime, for the Romans are loth to praise noble deeds. Firm control is needed to set things aright. The leader that Rome needs is described in general terms (25ff.), but it would appear that there is a reference to Octavian.

> o quisquis volet impias
> caedes et rabiem tollere civicam[66]

seems to be an obvious reference to the recent civil strife which culminated in Actium, and from which Octavian emerged victorious. Horace is now beginning to realise that Octavian may well be the saviour of Rome, and the poem may possibly display sympathetic feeling for the great task which confronts him.

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[65] Fraenkel, 240, note 2.

[66] Ode III.24.25-26.

We find a brief but significant reference to Octavian in the short Ode I.21., a hymn to Apollo and Diana.[67] Apollo when moved by prayer will ward off evil from the Roman people and their leader Octavian and turn it onto the Persians and Britons. The last two lines seem to contain elements both of approval and of criticism. The words principe Caesare tend to indicate Horace's acceptance of Octavian as the leader and guide of the Romans, but his references to the Parthians and Britons in the next line probably contain criticism of Octavian's failure so far to deal with either situation. We shall see later that Horace considered the Parthians to be a great threat to Rome and never ceased to urge Octavian to deal with the problem.

The final poem which we can place in this third phase is Ode II.15, composed 29/28B.C. This short Ode shows concern over the increasing number of large estates run by wealthy capitalists, and the consequent decline in the number of small holdings in Italy. Possibly Horace is referring to Octavian's attempts (as censor) to revive the rapidly failing virtues of early Rome. Page claims that the poem was written at Octavian's special request. This is not likely at this early period but in any case it appears that Horace is showing approval of his measures, and the poem could even be treated as a piece of propaganda.

In the January of 27B.C. Octavian received the title of Augustus. It was after this point that he began his major programme of political reform, and throughout the poems composed between 27

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[67] Page, 183, favours a date of 28B.C. when the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated.

and 23B.C. we can for the most part distinguish a developing enthusiasm on Horace's part for the new regime. Augustus is treated now with respect and admiration, but still the Odes do not indicate any personal intimacy. This was to come later as we shall see. Horace by no means shows himself to be the court poet as some scholars would have us believe, nor on the other hand is he as critical of Augustus as Salmon would maintain.[68]

The first poem which must claim our attention is Ode I.2. upon which scholars have expended much time and energy. We must first of all try to establish the date. Scholars are divided between 29 and 27B.C. There are cogent arguments for both dates. Elmore[69] maintains that Horace wrote this Ode in honour of Octavian at the time when all Rome was rejoicing at the prospect of the latter's triumphant return from the East in 29B.C. and claims that unless we take the Ode as part of the general celebration we must assume that Horace remained silent during all this festivity, untouched by any of the proceedings, while it is hard to imagine that he would have failed to be caught to some degree by the spell of the occasion. Dio[70] tells us that a proposal was even made that the whole population should go out to meet Octavian, and amidst such enthusiasm Horace can hardly have been unmoved. A stumbling block to this theory is Ode I.37 which celebrates the victory over Cleopatra. Elmore attempts to evade this by claiming that Horace

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[68] Salmon, op.cit.

[69] C.P., XXVI(1931)258-63.

[70] 51.19.23.

displayed only slight enthusiasm in Ode I.37 and that the theme was the defeat of Cleopatra without any special honour being paid to Octavian. Elmore gives a 'terminus post' of 30B.C., the end of the civil wars, and none would deny this. His choice of 29B.C. as a 'terminus ante' is not so convincing. It is based on 1.51-2 where reference is made to the Medes. There was a general feeling at Rome that while Octavian was in the East with his powerful army he would settle the Parthians once and for all, and these lines, claims Elmore, refer to this expectation. However, throughout the Odes, as we shall see, Horace refers constantly to the menace of the Parthians and never ceases to urge Augustus to deal with them. The latter seems to have adopted a cautious foreign policy, especially towards Rome's Eastern foes, and possibly never seriously intended to fight them.[71] Hence we cannot state with certainty that this reference to the Parthians belongs to 29B.C.

Of great importance in the dating of this poem is the description of the storm, which must be significant since it occupies twenty out of the total of fifty-two lines which make up the ode. Dio[72] mentions two floods during this period, one occuring in 27B.C., the other in 22B.C.

Dio describes how in 22B.C. the city was flooded by the Tiber, statues were blown down, and a spear fell from the hands of a statue of Augustus. Italy in general was afflicted by plagues and famine. Dio says that it was popularly believed that the storm took place

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[71] See Oltramere, R.E.L., XVI(1938)121-38.

[72] LIII.20.1.
LIV.1.1.

because in this year Augustus was not consul. Ode I.2 however makes no reference to disease or famine, the emphasis being threefold-flood, storm, civil war. The stress on the last makes a date nearer Actium much more likely.[73] In any case the date of the publication of Odes I-III is generally accepted as being about 23B.C. and in this case it would be impossible for the description to refer to events of 22B.C.

The other flood described by Dio occurred in 27B.C. on the day when Octavian received the title of Augustus. The overflowing of the Tiber was popularly interpreted as an omen that Augustus' power would extend over the whole state. Mackay notes that although Dio makes no mention of hail or any other storm phenomena it is a reasonable deduction that the overflowing of the Tiber must have been preceded by extremely bad weather with plenty of rain. This would adequately account for the phrase iam satis of 1.1. This date[74] seems the most convincing, since those who support a date of 29B.C. must somehow account for the description of the storm. Porphyrion stages that the first four stanzas describe the portents which followed Julius Caesar's death. Thus we would have to assume that the portents have continued for fourteen years or so and, iam satis, have come to an end. This seems somewhat unlikely.

Closely allied to the question of the date is that of

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[73] See L.A. Mackay, A.J.Ph., LXXXIII(1962)168-78.

[74] It may well be that Dio did not describe all the storms of this period but only the two most severe. But it is likely that Horace is not describing an ordinary storm and there is a strong likelihood of it being one of the two described by Dio.

interpretation, and here again there is no easy solution. Bickermann[75] believes that the question posed by Horace is how to bring back concord with the gods, concord which has been ruptured by the impious civil strife in which the Romans have recently been involved. That civil war is the cause of the ruptured pax deorum can be seen, claims Bickermann, in lines 21-4 which follow immediately after the account of the portents which indicate the deities' hostility. Normal expiation in the form of sacred games is impossible in view of such great atrocities, and a society, which has soiled itself by committing a religious crime knowlingly, can expiate it only by an external mediator. Horace makes it clear that this mediator is to be Mercury. Such an interpretation of the poem points to a very pessimistic attitude on the part of Horace, an attitude which is not substantiated by Ode I.37 where Horace seems to indicate the end of misery with the news of Cleopatra's death.

Some scholars[76] take the poem as symptomatic of the poet's reconciliation to Octavian's rule.[77] Sellar[78] claims that the important phrase Caesaris ultor of 1.44 with which Horace describes Mercury, incarnate in Octavian, indicates that Octavian's first duty is to crush the remnants of the republican party. This is unlikely since Horace

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[75] Bickermann, P.P., XVL(1961)5-19.

[76] A list of these will be found in Commager, 176, note 31.

[77] S. Commager, A.J.Ph., LXXX(1959)37-55, considers the poem to be a palinode or apologia.

[78] W.Y. Sellar. Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. Horace and the Elegiac Poets. Oxford 1924. 153.

nowhere in his poems repudiates his republican friends.[79] Moreover although the emphasis upon crime, punishment and expiation (eg. vitium 23 and 47, scelus 29, and expiandi 29) might suggest that Horace is urging Octavian to take revenge, nevertheless they could suggest that enough of this sort of thing has gone on in the past (iam satis) and the Ode could just as easily be a request that Octavian should not take revenge on his former opponents. This latter interpretation would be suitable for a date of 29B.C. or 27B.C.

In 29B.C. when Octavian was on the point of returning from the East, the Romans, Horace among them, were still somewhat unsure what course he intended to take on his return.

In 27B.C. Octavian received the title of Augustus and ostensibly restored the republic. In later years Horace was obviously convinced that Augustus did not intend to be another tyrant but at this time there would be no sure way of knowing, and the poem could be a piece of advice not to take such a course. Augustus must lay aside the role of the victor of Actium and employ the force of Rome not against the Romans themselves, the fatal mistake made by Antony, but against the Parthians and other foreign enemies. The storm described, if it is portentous, is to warn against further excess of civil strife. Horace is now giving voice to the hopes which he now has in Augustus. His advice is to forget about civil war and bring about peace at home.[80]

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[79] See Commager, 186, note 55.

[80] Mackay draws attention to the use of republican titles such as 'pater' and 'princeps' which would fit in well with a date of Jan.27.

The most difficult problem is the role of Mercury. Porphyrion believed that Horace was flattering Augustus by saying that he was a god, but there is no evidence from elsewhere of any assimilation of Augustus and Mercury. We have no unambiguous testimony for any such identification.[81] We must also take into account Octavian's own attitude towards the subject of his divinity. He had made it clear while he was in the East that he did not wish to be recognised as a god[82] and would hardly have been pleased to learn that Horace had done so by claiming that he was Mercury. Nussbaum asks whether Horace is in fact referring to a statue.[83]

When a Roman talked of an Olympian deity his thoughts were often centred on a statue of the god placed in a temple in Rome. Is Horace in effect referring to a statue of Octavian with wings of Mercury, implying that while Octavian has done his duty in avenging Julius Caesar as the agent of divine punishment, his true character is far different. His role is essentially gentle and peaceful. This however would imply a cult of Octavian and Mercury which, as we have seen, cannot be substantiated.

It is more likely that the use of Mercury in this poem is literary rather than ritual. We remember how Pindar evokes the exploits of the heroes of old, and finds in them a pattern which the young

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[81] See K. Scott, Hermes, LXIII(1928)15ff.

[82] See Suet. Augustus 52. Dio, 51.19.6-9. H. Last, C.A.H.X.456f. L.R. Taylor. Divinity of the Roman Emperor.

[83] A.J.Ph., LXXX(1961)406-17.

aristocrats of Greece should strive to emulate. Horace's aim in this instance seems to be similar, but his approach is much more striking. The god whom Augustus must try to emulate is Mercury.[84] Horace, however, inverts the normal procedure. Instead of asking Augustus to act like Mercury he in fact asks Mercury to assume the role of Augustus. If this interpretation is correct, there is no hint of any deification.

We may ask why Horace uses the figure of the god and why he does not evoke one of the great figures of early Roman history as a pattern for Augustus to follow. The answer is surely evident. Had Horace chosen a mortal man for Augustus to pattern himself on, there may have been some risk of offence through the implication that men of early Rome were served by better rulers than those of Horace's own day. In choosing a god he could cause no offence.[85] So we see in fact that there is no real problem in the introduction of a god into this poem. Horace could not have done otherwise.

From the problematic Ode I.2 we now turn to others of no less difficulty, the so-called Roman Odes of Book III,1-6. In our study of the Roman Odes we shall see how Horace's independence frequently emerges and that although he gives expression to the great respect which he is beginning to feel for the emperor at this time he does not fail to criticise him occasionally. This makes it somewhat unlikely,

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[84] See Fraenkel,248 for the attributes which would make Mercury suitable for this role.

[85] Moreover we must note that Horace has not chosen one of the major Olympians. Mercury is constantly represented as being youthful and almost human, eg. his childish exploits in Ode I.10. Thus Horace does not give offence by going to the other extreme, which he would have done had he chosen, say, Jupiter as a figure to emulate.

although not impossible, that the Roman Odes were written at the special request of Augustus.[86]

Let us first consider Ode III.3. Horace tells us that integrity and steadfastness have won for individuals, such as Hercules and Pollux, fame and immortality, and by these virtues Rome has freed herself from the doom which Juno laid upon Troy. She will extend her empire far and wide. However she must bear in mind that she must not use the empire merely as a source of gain. Nor must she try to restore what has long been destroyed. In other words Horace seems to be saying that she must not try to restore the old republic and must reconcile herself to the new form of imperial government.

This ode represents a breakthrough in Horace's attitude. For the first time he seems to be renouncing his old republican ideals. We should also note the description of Augustus. Although it is unlikely that this represents any belief in apotheosis, but is more likely to be poetic fancy, nevertheless Augustus holds an extremely exalted position. Could it be that Augustus has at last begun to achieve something worthy of praise.[87] Perhaps at the time when he wrote this poem Horace had begun to realise that Augustus was showing signs of justice and resolution (he seems to have begun his attempts, albeit abortive, to restore the fading virtues of Rome at about this time). Norberg[88] thinks that this gratitude may be due to the fact that Augustus has

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[86] As is the view of Page (ad.loc.).

[87] Cf.Sat.II.1.

[88] Eranos,XLIV(1946)389-403.

brought peace to the Romans. He claims that the reference to Paris and Helen is meant to remind the reader of Antony and Cleopatra; just as Romulus brought an end to the disasters which fell upon the Romans from the beginning of the Trojan war through the wandering of Aeneas and the first settlements in Italy, so Augustus has brought an end to the disasters which fell upon the Romans through the recent civil wars.

Ode III.4 is the longest of the Roman Odes, indeed of all the Odes written by Horace. Its length helps to bring out the dignity of the subject matter.[89] Horace begins with an address to the Muses. He describes his own childhood as having been under their protection. In the same way the Muses will look after Augustus and bestowing upon him moderate counsel, they will direct his good government. With singular abruptness Horace then introduces a dramatic account of the Giants, which suggests immediately that Augustus on earth will in like manner be victorious over his foes. The tale of the Gigantomachy takes up such a large portion of the poem that the symbolism is obvious. Augustus had just emerged victorious from his struggle against Antony and Cleopatra, so naturally the struggle of Jupiter against the Titans would be compared to the contemporary struggle of West against East. The characteristics of brute force without intelligence have already been given by Horace to Cleopatra and her followers.[90]

Lines 37-8, it is generally agreed, refer to Augustus'

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[89] See Fraenkel,274.

[90] Odes,I.37.7. Commager,200, notes how Vergil Aen.8,702ff. and Propertius 3.11.41-42 also identify the Eastern forces of Antony and Cleopatra with strange and brutish gods.

settlement of his veterans after Philippi, but it is difficult to account for the occurence of the reference in this particular ode, unless it is meant to convey a hint of criticism, possibly with regard to Horace's own loss during the proscriptions which attended the settlement of the returning troops. Criticism however seems out of place in this poem which is otherwise a hymn of praise. Perhaps the disbanding of the veterans is meant merely to indicate that civil strife has been brought to an end.

Aymard[91] suggests that 66ff. contain allusions to Augustus' attempts to revive morality at Rome. The three examples of lack of restraint given by Horace, namely Orion as '*integrae temptator Dianae*' (70-71), Pirithous as the '*amator*'(79) and Tityos who attempted to violate Leto (77) were perhaps deliberately chosen to recall Antony's passion for Cleopatra, the real cause of the recent civil war.

Horace shows respect for Augustus in this poem especially by the prominent position he gives in the battle of the Titans to Apollo who was Augustus' professed patron god. In the actual myth Apollo did not hold this position. Horace has changed the details to suit his own purpose.

Some scholars, including Fraenkel[92] have remarked on the similarity of the concept of *Ode* III.4 and Pindar, *Pythian* I. The latter celebrates the founding of the city of Aetna in 476B.C. by Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse. Just as Pindar's ode primarily celebrates

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[91] *Latomus*, XV(1956)23-36.

[92] Fraenkel, 276-288.

the birth of a new city so Horace is in effect remarking on the new era which has begun under Augustus, and we should remember that Suetonius[93] tells us that at this time many saw in Augustus '*quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis*'. From *Ode* III.4 we now turn to *Ode* III.5 which must, together with *Ode* III.3, be placed in 27B.C. or after because of the references which it contains to the title 'Augustus'. Briefly, the poem states the Jove is king of heaven and Augustus his vice-regent on earth, as shall be evident when he has added Britain and Parthia to the Roman empire. How could the soldiers have stooped to capitulation? It was such a decay of the true spirit of national honour that Regulus foresaw and feared when he refused to assent to dishonourable terms. Horace here seems to be again reminding Augustus that he still has to deal with the Parthian question. The poet obviously did not agree with the latter's cautious foreign policy.[94]

Ode III.6 is addressed to the Roman people. 'The sins of the fathers will be visited upon the children until the crumbling temples of the gods are restored. To reverence for the gods we owe the rise of our empire, to our neglect of them we shall owe its ruin; let the defeats we have already suffered be a warning to us. Moreover immorality has spread over the nation and sapped the foundations of that simple

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[93] *Augustus*, 7.2.

[94] According to Mackay, the Parthians in actual fact did not have the strength for sustained aggression on a large scale; but this might not have been so obvious in Horace's time. Possibly this is the one major flaw which Horace sees in Augustus' concern for the Roman state at this time.

household life in which were reared the early soldiers of Rome.'[95] The ode presents a problem of dating. It is generally agreed that the six Roman Odes form a close unit; but some feel that III.6 was composed in 28B.C. while the others must be assigned to 27 at the earliest.[96]

The placing of III.6 in 28B.C. is based on the first stanza:

> 'Delicta maiorum immeritus lues
> Romane, donec templa refeceris
> aedesque labentes deorum et
> foeda nigro simulacra fumo'.

This passage is recognised as referring to Octavian's restoration of the temples, begun in 28B.C., and confirmed by Octavian himself.[97] Horace, claim some, could not have written this stanza if the building operations were already underway. This is not necessarily so. If we assume that the poem was written before the restoration began, i.e. 28B.C., it would mean that Horace is in fact telling the Romans to start restoring their temple and be quick about it. This would be an indirect rebuke against Augustus. It is more likely that the poem was written in 27B.C. when the restoration of the temples had already begun, and that Horace is expressing his approval of Augustus' restoration policy by encouraging the Romans to hurry on their work.[98]

In the second half of the Ode we see Horace indirectly

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[95] Page, 328.

[96] For various reasons such as the reference to the title 'Augustus'.

[97] Res Gestae, 20.4.

[98] See Fenik, Hermes, XC(1962)72-96.

applauding Augustus' early measures to check the decrease in the number of marriages at Rome and the consequent loosening of morals.[99] In expressing his disgust at the debasement of Roman morals, Horace is in fact saying that he approves of what Augustus is trying to do in this sphere; but by showing his approval in this roundabout way, instead of stating the fact simply, he emphasises his respect and belief in the Augustan policy much more convincingly.

From the so-called Roman Odes we pass now to discussion of Ode III.25, a short poem dedicated to Bacchus. Horace represents himself as inspired by the god, but also suggests that his state of poetic exaltation is due to the fact that he is dwelling on Augustus' exploits, which he shall shortly celebrate with no mere mortal utterance, as he follows in the train of the god. The date of the poem can be tentatively fixed by l.7.[100] Dicam insigne recens adhuc/ indictum ore alio calls to mind the opening lines of III.1 carmina non prius/audita Musarum sacerdos/virginibus puerisque canto. In Ode III.25 the composition of the Roman Odes still lies in the future, hence dicam, but in Ode III.1 the poems have been composed or at any rate are in the process of composition, hence canto. It would be impossible not to connect the two phrases indictum ore alio and non prius audita. Ode III.25 must then have been written at a time when Horace had already decided on the cycle of six poems, therefore in or before 27B.C.

The Ode bursts with praise for Augustus. In lines 4-6 Horace

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[99] Cf. Propertius II.7.(on Augustus' marriage laws).

[100] See Fraenkel,259.

meditates on how to insert the eternal glory of illustrious Caesar amongst the stars. This is praise indeed from the poet who not many years previously refused to hymn Octavian's praises until he had achieved something which merited them. Horace in Satire II.1 showed us that he did not fear to criticise and just as we believed what he said there so we must also interpret this ode as being written with sincerity.

The approximate date of Ode I.35 can be deduced by the reference to a projected expedition to Britain. This expedition was planned for 26/25B.C., although in actual fact it was never put into operation.[101] We can say then that the poem was probably written early in 26B.C.

The Ode appears to contain a combination both of concern and advice. Horace begins with an address to Fortune, worshipped by all men, rich and poor alike. She is accompanied by necessity, hope and good faith. The poem continues with a prayer that Fortune will favour both Augustus, on the eve of his invasion of Britain, and the Roman armies, stationed in the East. Horace hopes that these wars against a foreign foe will expiate the sins of civil strife which have taken place. It seems that Horace in fact is trying to say that without the presence of Augustus future civil war is not an impossibility. We must remember that it was Augustus who brought an end to the last civil strife. 'At any rate it is from such morbid recollections that the prayer for Caesar's safety derives its full force.'[102] In spite of such praise, reference to the Eastern foes (and possibly even to the British expedition)

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[101] Collingwood, C.A.H.X.793f.

[102] Fraenkel, 253.

serves to remind Augustus of his still unconquered foreign foes.

The Parthian question is hinted at again in Ode I.12. It is difficult to determine the exact date of this Ode but lines 45-6[103] seem clearly to refer to the marriage of Marcellus and H.J. Pluess[104] dated the poem to 36B.C., stating that it was inspired by some national event, probably the defeat of Sextus Pompeius. If the poem must have its foundation in a cause for national rejoicing, the marriage of Marcellus to Julia is certainly adequate. At the beginning Horace asks what man, what hero, what god will be celebrated on the lyre. The candidates are given in reverse order. Horace mentions the deities Jupiter, Bacchus, Pallas, Diana and Phoebus. His heroes are Hercules, Castor and Pollux. The list of mortals encompasses some of the stock figures of Roman history, and at the end of the list the answer is given. Amongst all the mortals Caesar stands out, with the Julian star shining above his head. Horace however makes it clear that Caesar is subservient to Jupiter who reigns supreme 'secundo Caesare'. In fact our poet seems to touch upon a similarity of temporal and eternal rule only to emphasise the gap which remains between the two, and the emphatic pronouns of the last stanza are very forceful.[105]

> 'te minor latum reget aequus orbem
> tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
> tu parum castis inimica mittes
> fulmina lucis'[106]

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[103] 'crescit occulto velut arbor aevo/fama Marcelli'.

[104] H.T. Pluess, Horazstudien; Alte und Neue Aufsatze Über Horazische Lyrik. Leipzig 1882.

[105] Noted by Commager, 176.

[106] Odes I.12.57-60.

Even so this final prayer to Jupiter enables the poet to touch upon Caesar's greatness in dignified terms without eulogising him directly.[107] The relationship between the figures appearing in this ode and the statues of the Forum Augusti has been carefully studied.[108] It is possible that after having seen the latter Horace was inspired to write the poem. There is one marked omission in the Ode. Horace makes no mention of Mars Ultor. Possibly our poet, having seen the magnificent temple and Forum, built to give thanks for Philippi, shows by this subtle omission that he refuses to condemn the memory of his former fellow-republicans. Horace can afford to be so bold, for the fact that he ends the poem on a note of loyal sentiment prevents it from being regarded as a 'metrical critique' on this forum and temple. This is a possible interpretation and no doubt Horace was not uninspired by the temple and forum, but to interpret the whole poem as a declaration by Horace that he still holds republican sympathies seems unjustified.

By contrast we must look now at Ode III.14, composed some three years later, about 24B.C. when Augustus was preparing to return from his highly successful campaign in Spain. The expedition of Augustus is compared to the achievement of Hercules in the same country. Horace urges Augustus' wife Livia and sister Octavia to come forth rejoicing to meet the emperor. On this day Horace intends to hold a festival, for, while Caesar holds sway, our poet will fear neither disturbance nor death. He bids a slave bring out the perfumes and chaplets, and

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[107] See Fraenkel,296.

[108] Drew,C.Q.,XVIII(1924)159-164.

to speed on tuneful Neaera. He ends the poem on a personal note. If the porter does not let the slave in to see Neaera, the slave must return. There must be no quarrel. Horace is too old for that sort of thing now, although he would have done so in his younger days, when Plancus was consul. We must not overlook the last line of the poem. Plancus was consul in 42B.C. the year of Philippi, the turning point in the history of the republic. Horace recalls that at that time his spirit was eager to strive but that now he is more equable. This is an indication that Horace is now in the process of accepting the imperial regime. Although lines 15-16 are meant unmistakably as praise for Augustus there seems to be a hint of irony in the rest of the poem. In l.5 where mulier obviously refers to Livia Horace describes her as rejoicing in her husband alone. Perhaps the poet is introducing a little irony here; the ambiguous meaning of unicus must have reminded readers that Augustus was in fact Livia's second husband and that his courtship had been anything but edifying.[109] Salmon notes that the exploits for which Horace expresses admiration in Odes I-III are not those of the first rank[110] and thinks that Horace might be sneering at the emperor. We might point out however that Horace's references to Augustus' lesser victories might show deeper sincerity and admiration. Horace does not feel the need to eulogise the great successes of Augustus, which were well known to all, in order to show his respect

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[109] Suetonius. Tib. 4 tells us that Augustus had forced Livia, while still pregnant to divorce Tiberius Claudius Nero and marry him.

[110] E.g. the victories in Spain, as in this poem.

and approval; he can praise the emperor just as sincerely in less fulsome terms.

The last two poems of this section are both undatable, that is to say that we are not able to fix the actual year of their composition. However they must have been written before 23B.C., the probable date of publication of Books I-III of the Odes.

Odes I.6 and II.12 both constitute refusals to write poetry which has been specially requested. In Ode II.12 Horace refuses Maecenas' request to write about Caesar's wars and successes while Ode I.6 is addressed to Agrippa who had obviously asked Horace to compose a poem on his exploits. Horace explains that his muse cannot deal adequately with Agrippa's and Caesar's praise and so he must refuse. Yet in Ode III.14 we have seen that Horace did in fact write in Caesar's praise. What are we to make of this discrepancy? Is it that Horace has had a change of heart and ceased to approve of the Augustan regime? The answer possibly lies in the fact that in Odes I.6 and II.12 Horace is actually feeling trapped and harassed by the requests for poetical composition. He has already stated earlier[111] that, when the time comes when he feels that Caesar is worthy of praise, his muse will not be deficient, but he will praise Caesar in his own time and not when others make suggestions of this kind. Horace has not changed his attitude towards the emperor, but is merely giving voice to his own independence.[112]

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[111] Satires, II.1.

[112] Of course the two poems might come before III.14 in which case they would merely trace a stage in the development of his attitude towards Augustus.

After the publication of Books I-III of the Odes we see a marked development in Horace's attitude towards Augustus and a much more fervent approval of his policies, culminating in the Carmen Saeculare and the Odes of praise contained in Book IV. There may be more than one reason for this noticeable change. At about this time (after 23B.C.) Augustus entered on a phase of political settlement designed to gain the support of men like Horace who still held aloof to a certain extend.

Possibly the publication of the three books of Odes brought Horace into closer contact with Augustus.[113] It may even have been Maecenas who not long after their publication interested Augustus in these poems. As a result Augustus let the poet know that he would welcome a copy and Horace sent him the papyrus rolls and Epistle I.13 ostensibly addressed to Vinnius Asina but addressed in fact to Augustus. The Epistle shows how much the approval of the emperor and his encouragement now meant to Horace.

It is important to note the position which the name of the emperor occupies in the poem. The first line merely serves as an introduction and the poem really begins at 1.2 with the word Augusto. Similarly the last two lines form a kind of epilogue containing the farewell, and the poem actually ends at line 18 with the word Caesaris. We can summarise the advice given to Vinnius briefly. The poems are only to be handed over to Augustus if the latter is disposed to receive them; he must not be intruded upon. Horace would rather that Vinnius

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[113]There are of course the letters written by Augustus to Horace, excerpts of which are preserved in Suetonius 'Vita'. But these cannot be dated and in all probability were not written before 23B.C. See Fraenkel,355.

dropped the heavy burden than deliver it clumsily. Nor must the poems be carried in a casual way, tucked under the arm. The purpose of the journey must, as far as possible, be kept secret.

Although the letter is brief and humorous[114] it expresses at the same time Horace's deep respect for the princeps. The poet realizes the heavy responsibilities of Augustus and therefore impresses upon Vinnius that he must not make a nuisance of himself. This advice may recall Satires II.1.21 where Horace also warns against approaching Augustus at an inopportune time.

The light touch of the letter possibly indicates that Horace is at ease not only with Vinnius but also with Augustus and we may see in the letter traces of friendship between the poet and Augustus which hitherto had not existed. This is borne out by Horace's advice to Vinnius to keep the journey secret, for we saw, in the section on Maecenas, how friendship teaches discretion.

In the next poem Epistle I.3 we see that an interval of about two years has elapsed. The date of this Epistle can be fixed by line 1 to 20B.C. Julius Florus to whom the poem is addressed was one of the comites of Tiberius Claudius when the latter was sent by Augustus to place Tigranes on the Armenian throne in place of the murdered Artaxias.[115] Horace would obviously approve of the fact that Augustus is at long last showing signs of having some kind of a policy towards the eastern foe. We have seen in earlier odes how preoccupied he was with the

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[114] E.g. the play on Asina's name.

[115] See M. Cary. A History of Rome. London 1960, 497.

subject.

In 1.7 Horace poses the question to Julius Florus:

> Quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?
> Bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevom?

This is interpreted by Salmon[116] as refusal by Horace to hymn Augustus' exploits himself. The lines however seem to have been inserted rhetorically more as a reminder of Augustus' exploits than to express refusal on the part of Horace. In two apparently innocent questions Horace has adroitly managed to praise the emperor and in a way which would appeal to the latter since he disliked open flattery. That Horace can refer to Augustus in such simple terms seems to indicate a closer intimacy between the two. The respect is still there, but the tone is not quite so distant.

We now turn to Epistle I.12. Horace's pleasure in Augustan Rome and Italy is clearly marked in the last line. Themes of civil war and distress are now entirely absent and only allusions to fertility remain. This theme, as we shall see, reaches its climax in the Carmen Saeculare, but even in this poem Horace can be eloquent enough; e.g. 1.28-9:

> '.....aurea fruges,
> Italiae pleno defundit Copia cornu.'

The present tense defundit tends to suggest that the time of writing was the late summer of 20B.C., since the previous lines, 26-28 refer to Roman successes in the East and Spain which were achieved in this

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[116] Salmon, op.cit.

year.[117] The references to the successful mission against the Parthians are not brought in until the end of the poem but the importance of the news to Horace should not be underestimated. At last he approves of Augustus' eastern policy even though this turned out to be a policy of 'peace with honour' and not of conquest and subjugation.

It was probably in the same year, 20B.C.[118] that Horace wrote Epistle I.18 in which explicit mention is made of the revenge for the disaster suffered by the Romans at Carrhae. The recipient of this somewhat lengthy letter is Lollius. Horace gives him detailed advice on his behaviour towards a rich patron. Lollius must guard against an excessive desire for money, for this will sour his relations with his patron.[119]

Above all he must not risk the loss of dignity through grovelling servitude. A sure sign of such degradation is flattery and, as Horace says (1.4) a flatterer is not a friend. It is tempting to interpret the advice which Horace gives to Lollius, as springing, to a certain extent, from his own experience and probably with reference to Augustus, since he could never hope to be on the same terms with the emperor as he was with Maecenas, and, although their relationship might grow progressively deeper, it would always remain at the client-patron level.

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[117] Commager, 225, places it in 19-18B.C. because it seems in its motive of fertility to be a precursor of the Carmen Saeculare of 17B.C.

[118] The present refugit(1.50) points to 20B.C.

[119] Norfalise, op.cit., L.E.C., XX(1952)358-63.

The first three books of the Odes which Horace published (about 23B.C.) did not meet with any great success at Rome and Horace, annoyed by their cool reception gave vent to his anger in Epistle I.19, addressed to Maecenas. As time went on however he resigned himself to the situation and resolved never to write lyrics again.[120] His resolution was broken in 17B.C. when he was called upon to compose a hymn for the Ludi Saeculares to be held that year.[121] With the composition of the Carmen Saeculare Horace becomes the sincere panegyrist of of the Augustan principate. Indeed Augustus' encouragement in respect to this particular poem was probably instrumental in bringing Horace back to the writing of lyric poetry.[122]

In this work he reveals, point by point, how his own ideas are in the process of being fulfilled by Augustus. The first four stanzas are addressed in turn to Apollo, Diana, Sol, Ilithyia. The last named is the goddess of Childbirth and this leads Horace to a prayer that the goddess might protect the new marriage laws. These laws were passed in 18B.C. in an attempt to stem the strong tide of immorality. According to Commager the catalogues ring wooden and dutiful as Horace celebrates the laws which he himself evaded.[123]

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[120] See Epistles I.1.10ff. Ars Poetica 304-6.

[121] It was the constant endeavour of Augustus to revive the old Roman spirit. As part of this effort he reinstituted in 17B.C. the Ludi Saeculares, a solemn festival celebrating the preservation of the state and supposed to be held only once in a period of 100-110 years.

[122] See Fraenkel,382.

[123] Commager,op.cit.,229.

This assumption is somewhat unjustified. Even though Horace himself remained single, this does not prove that he was not sincere when he praised this piece of Augustan legislation. He no doubt supported the principle of the laws which Augustus brought forward, namely the attempt to revive failing public morality, even though he himself was not affected by them. Horace could not fail to follow Augustus whole-heartedly here. How often in his early poems did he castigate the vice and evil which threatened to sap Rome's strength.

At line 29 Horace refers to the present fertility of Italy now that the land is prolific in crops and herds. This would remind the Romans of the time when all was not fertile, before Augustus put an end to civil strife.

In the form of a prayer to the gods Horace notes the signs of re-established civil order and although there is no mention of Augustus, it is hard to believe that Horace did not have him at the back of his mind when he wrote lines 45-8. He speaks of upright ways for the youth, ease for the older Romans, prosperity, offspring and glory for the whole race of Romulus.

In such a hymn of praise for Augustan rule, Horace could not fail to mention Augustan success over the Parthians, as he does here in lines 53-4 where he states that the Mede fears the hands of strength, and the Alban axes, symbols of Roman power.

From the Carman Saeculare we turn now to the fourth and final book of the Odes. Suetonius[124] states that Augustus enjoined Horace

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[124] Vita Horati.

to write the Carmen Saeculare and then goes on to say 'sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere'.[125]

That Horace was chosen to write the Carmen Saeculare and afterwards the two poems in praise of the victories of Tiberius and Drusus is rightly adduced as evidence of the high esteem in which his odes were held by Augustus. Scholars have noted similarities between the Fourth Book of the Odes and the text of the Ara Pacis set up by the senate in 13B.C. on the Campus Martius to honour Augustus on his return from Spain and Gaul. If we assume that Book IV was written at Augustus' command this would also lead us to assume the same of the Ara Pacis. It is hardly likely that Augustus would give orders for his own honours from the Roman people.

Our study begins with Ode IV.2 probably written in 16B.C.[126] Augustus had found it necessary to go to Gaul in order to safeguard the northern frontier from possible invasion from certain Germanic tribes, which had already inflicted a serious defeat on Lollius, one of Augustus' generals. Apparently Julius Antonius, to whom this Ode is addressed, had suggested that Horace write a 'Pindaric' poem to celebrate Augustus' expected triumph. The Ode forms Horace's reply. Our poet apparently feels compelled to refuse the request but has to

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[125] Suetonius uses the word coegerit but this need only be taken as 'encourage'. Even if we do give it a stronger meaning we must remember that Suetonius was writing from his own standpoint in the court of Hadrian.

[126] Norberg, Eranos, XLIV(1946)389-403 and J.M. Benario, T.A.Ph.A., XCI(1960)339-352.

give a convincing reason for his refusal. Hence the first part of the poem is devoted to the dangers into which a man who dares to imitate Pindar may fall. To soften his refusal Horace suggests that a fit person to hymn Caesar's praises in Pindaric style would be Julius himself. It is at this point however that Horace appears to carry out what he has refused to do, namely, to praise Caesar with great warmth and sincerity. There is no contradiction in reality. The key lies in the manner in which he now sings Caesar's praises. Horace was well equipped to hymn the emperor in Pindaric style, but did not wish to have recourse to this mode of eulogy. The gratitude, admiration and even affection which Horace had come to feel for the emperor had no need of great artistic embellishment. Horace could praise Augustus much more sincerely and with more feeling in the ordinary language of the people. Simplicity of style and language would evoke much more sincerity than the great Pindaric Ode.

It is also interesting to note that in this Ode Horace makes no mention of the fact that Augustus' journey to Gaul in 16B.C. was occasioned by the defeat of one of his generals.[127] His loyalty is such that he forbears to allude to any disasters of the regime.

Ode IV.4 was composed by Horace in 14B.C. to celebrate the victories of Drusus, Augustus' stepson. There is no direct reference to Augustus in the Ode but it is made obvious that Drusus' success is due to the excellent guidance of his stepfather. There are indirect

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[127] In actual fact Horace was ready to advocate a second Consulship for the ineffectual Lollius (Odes IV.8.39f.).

references to this fact throughout the poem.[128] Horace is evidently proud of what Augustus and his family have accomplished for the Imperium Romanum. Not only does he praise contemporary leaders but the heroes of former days, the builders of the empire, are also honoured. Hence Ode IV.4 also sings of Drusus' ancestors who won the battle of the Metaurus River in 207B.C.

The Ode in honour of Drusus has its counterpart in Ode IV.14 in praise of Tiberius. Unlike the former which had no particular addressee this Ode is addressed directly to Augustus. Horace asks how the senate and the Roman People will worthily immortalise the emperor's exploits. Just lately the Vindelici have learned the might of Augustus, for with his troops and under his auspices his stepson Drusus won a victory. This was followed by Tiberius' success over the Rhaeti. The latter's success is due to the fact that Augustus furnished the forces, the forethought, and the favour of the gods. For it was fifteen years from the day when Alexandria yeilded to Augustus that this crowning glory was added to the emperor's past campaigns. The whole world now lies beneath his sway, and Italy and Rome enjoys his guardianship and prescence.

Ostensibly the Ode is in praise of Tiberius' success, but it must be clear from the synopsis given above that Tiberius is only a secondary figure. The image of Augustus looms large. When we read in Ode 14 of the conquests which the Romans had made under Augustus and how far the Roman Empire had spread her dominions, we are perhaps

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[128] E.g. lines 25-9 and 33-4.

meant to recall Horace's advice in Ode I.2, where our poet urged Augustus to turn Roman arms away from civil strife and direct them against a foreign foe. Noticeably absent from these later poems is any reference to civil disorder; all is peace and plenty under the established rule of Augustus.

Ode IV.5 written in 13B.C., just before Augustus' anticipated return from Gaul, expresses deep anxiety for the emperor's welfare. In this poem Horace expresses his own feelings and those of his fellow citizens producing 'one of his most perfect poems'.[129] After a solemn invocation the poet states (1.2) 'abes iam nimium diu'. These four simple words are in effect the theme of the Ode. The serenity which Horace evokes in the central part of the Ode is in itself a quiet eulogy of Augustus' rule.[130] Horace was obviously impressed by the material abundance and prosperity of the Augustan age in Italy; nor is the reader allowed to forget this fact. Lines 17-18 bring it out splendidly:

'tutus bos etenim rura perambulat
nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas.'

Possibly the prefix per-- of perambulat implies that the herds roamed freely as if they sensed their security (tutus).

Horace mentions in this ode also the attempts by Augustus to improve Roman morality. Thus line 21 refers to the renewal of the purity of married life and in line 23 there is encouragement for the

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[129] Fraenkel, 440.

[130] Commager, 233.

propogation of legitimate offspring. These lines would be in harmony with the general tendencies of Augustus' social policy especially the Lex Julia de Adulteriis.[131]

In line 34ff. Horace refers not to Augustus' deification but to the worship of the Lar of Augustus as a genius. Augustus himself had forbidden, at Rome at least, the cult of the Caesars and Horace was not likely to have risked offence by flouting him thus in this poem.

The last Ode with which we are concerned is Ode IV.15. This poem placed at the end of Book IV is the latest of Horace's dateable Odes.[132] It was probably written soon after Augustus' return from the west in 13B.C. As in Ode IV.5, Horace dwells on the abundance and fertility which Augustus' rule has brought to Italy. In the emperor's time Horace has seen the supreme symbol of peace--the closing of the doors of Janus, marking a period of peace throughout the Roman Empire. Roman revenge on the Parthians is once more mentioned and Augustus' endeavours to revive morality in Rome. Augustus is praised as the preserver of internal and external peace and as protector of the frontier. At the end of the Ode Horace turns from the theme of defence to the celebration of Caesar's safety in an ordinary citizen's home. Fraenkel[133] notes the use of the personal pronoun "we" in this last

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[131] See C.A.H.X.441.

[132] Fraenkel,449 suggests that it may even be the latest of all his poems.

[133] Fraenkel,453.

section. At last Horace sincerely feels that he can be the spokesman of the common people. He had earned this right 'by subjecting himself to a long and severe discipline and by listening all the time to the voice of his own true self'.[134]

In 13B.C. Horace composed Epistle II.1; the circumstances of its composition have been faithfully recorded by Suetonius in the 'Vita'. Suetonius tells us that after Augustus had complained that certain Epistles which he had read made no mention of him, Horace accordingly wrote the Epistle of which the beginning was 'cum tot sustineas .....tua tempora, Caesar' (i.e. Epistle II.1). Suetonius tells us further that Augustus 'expressit' the Epistle but as we have noted earlier[135] Suetonius is judging the relationship between Augustus and Horace from his own standpoint and from the conditions prevailing at the court of Hadrian.

Horace would undoubtedly at this time be very pleased with the wish which Augustus puts so engagingly and by the interest which he took not only in Horace's writing in general but also in his discussions of problems concerning Roman poetry. Epistle II.1 indeed shows Horace perfectly at ease. He begins by saying that Augustus alone of mortal heroes received honours while he was still on earth. In all other respects Romans are blind to contemporary merit and praise only what is ancient. It is impossible however to draw a fixed line between the old and the new. The old poets are praised merely because of their

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[134] Fraenkel, 453.

[135] Page 49, note 125.

age. A good critic however can see faults also. Even Greece, which provided literary models for Rome, never censured what was new. Everybody at Rome has taken up writing, no one thinks himself too ignorant to write verses. It was acquaintance with Greek literature that changed the early courses of Latin poetry but now the pleasure of the audience, not quality, is the main concern. Consequently let Augustus give his patronage to other good poets too. His encouragement is vital. For great merit should be celebrated only by the great poets. Vergil and Varius belong to the class of those who are worthy of Augustus' estimation. Horace, however, much as he would like to sing in epic style, finds that his muse fails him; he fears to write in this manner lest he make his august theme, as well as his own person, ridiculous. It must be obvious even from such a cursory glance at the contents of the epistle, how subtly Horace has woven Augustus' praise into the general theme of poetry-writing. It is also clear from the first seventeen lines in which Horace dwells on 'laudes Caesaris' that our poet did not feel that he could plunge straight into a discussion of poetry, as he perhaps might have done with anyone else.[136] It would seem then that though the two men were on easy terms, there was still a gulf between poet and princeps. In line 228 Horace uses the word '<u>cogas</u>' of Augustus in his dealings with the poets. This has been interpreted as implying compulsion on Augustus' part,[137] that the poets were actually compelled to write poetry according to their

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[136] Fraenkel, 386.

[137] Dalzell, <u>Phoenix</u>, X(1950), 'Maecenas and the Poets'.

patron's whims. But we must take note also of the context in which the word is used. It is only after the poet has begun to write that the patron summons him and gives him encouragement to continue. Cogas is being used here in the wider sense of 'encourage' not 'compel'. Horace is not saying that Augustus or any one else forced him to write on certain topics. It is a mark of Horace's independence that in conversing with Augustus he is not afraid to oppose him in certain things. Hence he criticises early Roman comedy even though he must have known that the emperor took particular pleasure in these ancient plays.[138]

We have now traced Horace's attitude towards Augustus from the early period of the poet's life, when he frequently expressed his bitterness and hostility towards the ruling clique at Rome down to the final years of his life, by which time he had become a firm and loyal supporter of the emperor, not because it would further his own ends but because he sincerely believed that Rome owed her peace and prosperity to Augustus.

Two facts stand out. First it should be noted that, while difference of station made it impossible for the men to become close and intimate friends, the relationship was as deep as was possible in the circumstances. Secondly it is evident that Horace never considered himself obliged to flatter and fawn upon the powers that be. Throughout his life he maintained a strong spirit of independence.

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[138] Suetonius. Augustus 89.1.

III

PROPERTIUS, MAECENAS, AND AUGUSTUS

We have studied in the previous two chapters the nature of Horace's relationship with both Maecenas and Augustus. We saw that while there developed between Maecenas and the poet a deep and lasting friendship based upon affection, the relationship between princeps and poet remained to some extent a formal situation, in which there was no possibility of friendship on an equal basis. Between the first citizen in Rome and the humble poet the gulf was bound to remain and we may perhaps feel that Horace gave Augustus his head but not his heart. A contemporary poet who came into contact with both Maecenas and Augustus was Sextus Propertius. The latter was composing and publishing his poetry at roughly the same time as Horace although it is probable that he died about eight years before Horace.[139]

In the opening years of Octavian's appearance on the Roman scene Propertius suffered a fate similar to that of Horace and Vergil in that he lost part of his ancestral estate during the confiscations of land for Octavian's veterans after the battle of Philippi. Elegy 1 of Book IV provides our only clue to this fact. In 1.120ff. Propertius has his own early history recounted to him by the astrologer Horos. At one time many steers tilled Propertius' land, but then the pitiless measuring rod robbed him of his wealth of ploughland. It is needless to say that, if this refers to the confiscations of 41B.C., such an act would hardly attract Propertius to Octavian and his policy. This

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[139]The date is only tentative, but after 16B.C. no more poetry was published and it is likely that Propertius died about this time.

fact is borne out in his early poems where we find only two references to events at Rome, neither complimentary to Octavian's regime.

The first poem I.21 is not strictly speaking confined to the city of Rome itself, since Propertius in fact dwells on the horrors of the Perusian wars. It was in this war, in 41B.C., that Octavian defeated L.Antonius. Just as we observed how Horace deplored the impiety of civil war, we can see in this short Elegy that the horrors of war left a deep impression on the mind of Propertius.

He refers to it again in the next Elegy, the last of Book I where he gives Tullus an account of his birthplace. He describes Perusia here as the scene of death in the dark hours of Italy, when civil discord maddened the citizens of Rome.

> 'Si Perusina tibi patriae sunt nota sepulchra,
> Italiae duris funera temporibus,
> cum Romana suos egit discordia civis.'[140]

In II.7 Propertius seems to refer to a law of Caesar concerning marriage. It is difficult to determine to which law Propertius is referring. We know of two laws concerning marriage which were passed during Augustus' rule. The first was the Lex Julia of 18B.C.[141] and the second the Lex Papia Poppaea of 9A.D., neither of which are early enough to be the laws in question. The reference must be to earlier legislation of Augustus probably in 28B.C. during his sixth consulship and his sphere of office as Censor. We can therefore give it a tentative date of 27B.C. TheElegy rejoices at the annulment of this law which, it seems,

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[140] I.22.3-5.

[141] Dio 54. Horace.Carmen Saeculare,17-20.

would have parted Propertius from Cynthia. The contents of the law, then, must have been similar to the Lex Papia Poppaea which placed strict penalties on celibacy. Propertius rather disparagingly says that Caesar's might lies in his armies and that in the field of love this counts for nothing. The line 'sed magnus Caesar in armis' may even be intended to recall with irony Octavian's part in the earlier civil wars, against L.Antonius, Sextus Pompeius and possibly even against Antony at Actium. The whole poem smoulders with defiance, although we must not forget that the law had in fact been removed (as line 1 indicated), and whatever Propertius says will not really matter now. The second half of the poem brings out with full force how Propertius hated all war, and the recollection of the Perusian one could not be far from his mind when he wrote the last lines.

It is generally accepted that with the publication of Book I of his Elegies (about 26B.C.) Propertius attracted the attention of Maecenas, and under the patronage of this great man his political conversion took place.[142] It has been suggested by Lucot[143] that the whole purpose of Book I of Propertius' Elegies was to attract the attention of Maecenas and thereby gain admission into the literary circle. The theory rests on the interpretation of two poems in Book I. Elegy 2, addressed to Cynthia begins with the words

> 'Quid iuvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo....
> ...teque peregrino vendere muneribus
> Naturaeque decus mercato perdere cultu....'

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[142] Wight-Duff, ad.loc.

[143] Lucot, R.E.L., XXXV(1957)195-204.

It is possible that Propertius is recalling an Elegy of Maecenas supposedly addressed to Augustus' sister Octavia in which the knight praised Octavia's simplicity, especially the simple adornment of her hair. Following the example of Maecenas, Propertius feels compelled to give a lesson in simplicity to the wayward Cynthia. Thus the affection of Cynthia would be set against the simplicity of Octavia. Propertius may have unconsciously picked up phrases from Maecenas' Elegy and used them for his own purpose, but the Elegy as a whole seems, strictly speaking, not a lesson in simplicity but a song in praise of Cynthia's beauty which needs no adornment. Propertius is not telling Cynthia that she dresses too elaborately; he is subtly exclaiming that her beauty relies upon the endowments of nature.

Lucot claims that the book closes with an appeal of Maecenas. In Elegy 22 Tullus asks Propertius the name of his country of origin and is told that it is Umbria. The central part of the poem recalls two things: (a) the horror of the siege of Perusia, and (b) the mourning for the loss of his parent whose body lies without burial on Etruscan soil. It is by this motif that this poem is linked with the previous 'pathetic' Elegy. Elegy 21, as we have seen, represents the words of the dying relative of Propertius who fought at Perusia and escaped death only to be assassinated by unknown hands. In the two elegies the name Etruria is mentioned insistently. The adjective Etruscus occurs three times in the two poems; Propertius uses it twice elsewhere and in both cases with reference to Maecenas.[144]

The question is whether we can rightly assume that the

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[144] II.1.29; III.9.1.

repetition here in two adjacent poems of the word 'Etruscus' constitutes an appeal to the Etruscan Maecenas. Propertius is emphasising that his native Umbria lies close to Etruscan Perusia which in turn is not far from Arretium, Maecenas' birthplace. It is the Etruscan land which holds Gallus unburied, Etruria which is cruel above all to Propertius. What then could be better than that Maecenas, an Etruscan himself, should give Propertius consolation and reparation with a little protection and favour? The theory is ingenius, but the message, if we are to understand one here, would hardly win the favour of Maecenas. Such a theory would be tantamount to verbal blackmail on Propertius' part. It is as if Propertius had said openly to Maecenas, 'your country has given me a lot of distress, it is your duty to make up for it'. It is true that Maecenas' attention and favour was drawn to the poet by the publication of Elegies Book I, but we ought not to scruitinize the poems for concealed references. It is a reasonable assumption that Propertius' poems would attract Maecenas by their own merit.

Although it is certain that Propertius did in fact gain admission to Maecenas' literary circle, the poet, unlike Horace, addressed only two poems to the knight.[145] At the beginning of Book II Propertius has Maecenas' protection, and the latter thought enough of his talent to try to engage him in the composition of national poetry. Elegy II.1 constitutes Propertius' reply and takes the form of a recusatio, a common theme amongst the poets, as we saw earlier with Horace. Propertius states that if he had the power to write epic poetry, his

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[145] II.1 and III.9.

theme would be the deeds of Caesar, and with this theme he would couple Maecenas' name. His muse however has not the power of epic verse, but only that of love. The tone of the elegy is of a diplomatic refusal to Maecenas' request. The poem itself gives no indication of any close relationship between Maecenas and the poet. There are none of the intimate touches such as are revealed in Horace's works. It is essentially the dedication poem of a client to a patron. Although the Elegy is placed first in Book II there is no indication in the poem that it was written first, and we can only say that it was written between the years 26 to 23B.C. (the probable publication date of Book II). Often the dedicatory poem was written after the rest had been composed. It is tempting to date this poem as late as possible, since it would then show that the relationship of Propertius and Maecenas had not progressed very far from the formal client-patron relationship whence it had first started.

Elegy III.9 tends to confirm the view that there was never any close friendship between Maecenas and Propertius. Propertius begins again with a refusal to comply with a request of Maecenas. He points out that all men are not proficient in everything. Maecenas himself provides a good example of the best way to live. Humility is the best course to follow. Maecenas' resolve will make him famous and his loyalty will be the true trophy of triumph. Propertius closes the poem by saying that with Maecenas' guidance and encouragement he will try to compose poetry on national legends. He finishes on a note of praise for Maecenas

'Mollis tu coeptae fautor cape lora iuventae
dexteraque immissis da mihi signa rotis.

Hoc mihi, Maecenas, laudis concedis, et a te est
Quod feror in partes ipse fuisse tuas.'[146]

This is the most familiar tone employed by Propertius with reference to Maecenas, but it is enough for us to see that Propertius never really became intimate with Maecenas to the extent that Horace did. The words contain an overtone of flattery which we cannot disregard.

It is probably true that Propertius, being a sensitive poet, felt acutely the difference between his relations with Maecenas and those of Horace and the knight. There is indeed some evidence of enmity between the two poets, the cause of which may be jealousy on Propertius' part. The latter never mentions Horace by name although he does mention Vergil. Some see a possible satirical portrait of Horace in IV.1 in the person of the astrologer Horos.[147] The rivalry between Propertius and Horace may possibly have caused him to feel rather cool towards Maecenas as Horace grew closer to the knight. Evidence for any breakdown in relations between Maecenas and Propertius rests solely on the interpretation of one Elegy in Book IV, which may contain a hidden reference to Maecenas.

Lines 21 to 46 of IV.2 are, according to Lucot, a portrait of Maecenas beneath the traits of Vertumnus. The traits of Vertumnus which Propertius underlines--effeminacy, loose tunic, too much wine, all reappear in Epistulae Morales 114.4, an attack on Maecenas by Seneca. If the Elegy does contain a hidden reference to Maecenas it

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[146] II.9.

[147] Horace probably refers disparagingly to Propertius in Epistles II.2.87ff. where he refers to the poet Callimachus. Propertius considered himself to be a second Callimachus.

is surprising that Propertius felt no fear, in publishing it, of repercussions from Maecenas or Augustus. Lucot does however point out the fact that from 23B.C. onwards relations between Augustus and Maecenas had somewhat deteriorated because of the latter's friendship for Murena, who in 23B.C. was accused of conspiring against Augustus. There is also the rumour that Augustus was paying too much attention to Maecenas' wife Terentia. Propertius may possibly even be referring to the Murena affair in lines 35-6 where he describes Vertumnus as the vaulting rider whose art was the symbol of inconsistency. The disguise of Vertumnus would privide him with a cover and it is likely that his adherion to Augustan ideals, of which Book IV gives evidence, must have assured him, or at least given him hope, that Augustus would protect him in the case of any repercussions. This theory is not without possibilities. Propertius seems to be a poet of unstable temperament and would probably be bitter if things did not turn out to his liking.

Relations between Propertius and Augustus seem to have always been strictly formal. There are no indications in the poems of any personal intimacy. We have already dealt with the two poems which preceded Propertius' conversion to the Augustan policy. We shall now look at the poems written after this period in which reference is made to Augustus.

Elegy II.31 refers to the opening of the temple of Apollo by Octavian the emperor in 28B.C. There is a brief mention of the emperor in line 2 where Propertius gives him the adjective 'magnus' although the rest of the poem is concerned with a description of the

temple. In spite of the fact that the Elegy was probably written before the publication of Book I of the Elegies (about 26B.C.) and therefore before Propertius came under the patronage of Maecenas, the poem is not uncomplimentary to Augustus, and possibly represents the beginning of a change in Propertius' attitude towards the government of Rome.

Elegy II.16 has as its main theme the present faithlessness of Cynthia who has taken another lover. Propertius says that shame should free him but love is ever deaf. In the same way Antony fell at Actium; it was love for Cleopatra which made him flee from battle and seek flight. At this point without any preamble Propertius inserts the lines

> 'Caesaris haec virtus et gloria Caesaris haec est;
> Illa, qua vicit, condidit arma manu.'

Here is an instance of gross flattery on Propertius' part. The couplet is wholly irrelevant to the subject of the elegy, yet the opportunity to flatter Augustus proves too tempting for the poet. The two lines amply illustrate the absence of any intimacy between Augustus and Propertius. The latter consistently felt constrained to flatter the princeps whenever the opportunity occurred. We might point out that this elegy was amongst the first written after Propertius had joined Maecenas' circle, but the attitude shown to the princeps here is, as we shall see, similar to that in the rest of the Elegies.

Propertius, like Horace, constantly refers to the Parthian foe in his Elegies, though not in the same spirit as Horace. The latter felt the need to remind Augustus constantly of the still unsettled Parthian question, whereas Propertius is usually predicting what will become of them. In effect he praises Augustus' conquest of the

Parthians long before the Parthian expedition of 20/19B.C. He never presumes to give Augustus advice, but always considers their conquest a foregone conclusion. Thus in Elegy II.10 Propertius speaks of the Eastern conquest which was not to occur for another three years. His theme in this Elegy is the change from poems of passion to poems of war and especially of Caesar's conquests. Propertius speaks of Caesar as 'his leader', a somewhat flattering term. From line 13ff. Propertius refers to the enemies of Rome and predicts their defeat. He mentions the Parthians and Arabians first and then goes on to include any land on the Earth's perimeter. The last two lines possibly refer to the Britons whom Augustus twice planned to attack, though he never actually carried out the plan. Propertius writes with assurance that they too will come under Augustus' sway. Lines 21ff. again contain gross flattery by their comparison of Augustus' exploits to a great statue at the feet of which bouquets are laid, since the head towers too high above them. So Propertius' muse cannot hope to gain the heights of Caesar's glory. Such words coming from a poet who had no mean idea of his own worth cannot help but have a hollow and flattering ring.

Elegy II.4 also takes as its main theme the intended expedition against Parthia. The expedition actually took place in 20B.C. but preparation began much earlier. The Elegy can probably be dated between 23 and 21B.C. In the first line Propertius addresses Augustus as 'deus'. It is strange that Propertius should be so open, since Augustus had made it clear in Rome that the people must only associate his name with that of the genius of Rome and seemed to resent personal addresses as a god. We can only consider it an outburst of untimely flattery.

Composed during the same period were Elegies III.11 and III.12. In the former Propertius begins by describing the heroines of the past who have won the love of great men. He passes from these to a long description of Cleopatra, although he never actually mentions her by name. The city of Rome is afraid of a woman. Propertius urges the city to take its triumph and, once saved from doom, implore long life for Augustus. It is at 1.55 that the real panegyric of Augustus begins. He pays a subtle compliment to the emperor by the use of the word civis. It was Augustus' desire to be regarded as first citizen rather than master of Rome. Propertius goes on to say that while Augustus is safe Rome should not even fear the wrath of the gods. The last two lines of the poem contain a theme that we find later in Horace. Propertius reminds the sailors that Caesar has made the sea free from fear, whereever they sail.[148]

Elegy III.12 is addressed to a certain Postumus who has set out on the expedition to Parthia. The Elegy must have been written about 21B.C. Even here the poet speaks already of success over the Parthians when he asks Postumus if glory from the spoils of Parthia is worth so much to him.

In the fourth book of the Elegies, published about 16B.C. there are indications of the beginning of a 'Fasti' like that of Ovid--a record of events in Roman history. To the 'Fasti' belong those elegies which take as their theme Vertumnus, Tarpeia, the Ara Maxima, Jupiter Feretrius, the Spolia Opima and the description of Actium. Propertius

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[148] Cf. Horace Odes IV.5.19 'pacatum volitant per mare navitae'.

probably wrote these elegies in obedience to a request of Augustus who on Propertius' death transferred the task to Ovid.

That Propertius never approached the task of historic elegy wholeheartedly, or even with the liveliness and versatility with which Ovid afterwards handled kindred topics in the Fasti emerges from the manner in which he abrubtly cuts short the early history of Rome in IV.1. Though Propertius did not refrain from open flattery of the princeps he may have disliked being compelled to write poetry on prescribed themes.

All references to Augustus in Book IV still follow the complimentary tone in which Propertius first began. There is a short reference to the emperor's conquests in IV.3.7-10. To the enemies of the east who have been conquered Propertius adds the Britons. It would appear from the Elegy that Augustus had defeated the latter also yet we know that the expedition planned against Britain did not in actual fact take place.[149]

Elegy IV.6 deals with the Battle of Actium. In this poem we learn how the gods favoured the cause of Augustus. His sails were filled through Jupiter's blessing and Phoebus Apollo instructed him to conquer. At 1.56 he is given the honour of shooting the first arrow after Apollo, and Propertius remarks that the victory of Actium offers proof of Caesar's divine blood.

After mentioning once more the Parthian victory Propertius speaks of Augustus' grandsons, asking the princeps to same some

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[149] See Cary, op.cit., 499.

trophies for them. The boys were the children of Agrippa and Julia, Gaius and Lucius Caesar who in 17B.C. just about the time of the composition of this elegy had been formally adopted by Augustus. A reference to the boys would be sure to meet with Augustus' approval.[150]

In this elegy we should note that throughout the battle it is Octavian's own personal exertions which are stressed and placed in the foreground, while Agrippa and his contribution to the victory are not mentioned. Propertius is concerned with praising Augustus and tends to overlook anyone else's efforts.

The last poem in which Augustus is mentioned by the poet is Elegy IV.11, in which the dead Cornelia speaks to her husband from the grave, and laments her misfortune at having died so young. Those who lament at Rome for her give glory to her name. They include Caesar himself who mourns that his daughter Julia lost in Cornelia a worthy sister.[151] Speaking of Augustus' grief Propertius makes Cornelia say that thus the Romans could see that even a god could weep.

Here again we observe an example of Propertius' subtle compliments by making Cornelia the mouthpiece for his own thoughts. Thus once more he refers to Augustus as a god.

It is obvious, even from this brief survey of Propertius' work how great was the difference between him and Horace in the respective attitudes towards their patrons Maecenas and Augustus. With

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[150] See Cary, ibid.,514 for the regard which Augustus had for the boys.

[151] Cornelia and Julia were half-sisters in that they had the same mother Scribonia, Octavian's first wife.

Maecenas Horace had a close and intimate friendship whereas Propertius seems only to have had a somewhat formal relationship, which as we have seen earlier may even have terminated abruptly at a later stage. Both poets stood rather more aloof from Augustus but even here there is an obvious difference in that Horace, gradually realizing Augustus' true worth at Rome, speaks of him later with sincerity, and feels free at times to offer advice. Propertius on the other hand always feels it his duty to praise continuously, and, once brought over to Augustus' side thereafter never dares to utter words of criticism or advice.

IV

OVID, MAECENAS, AND AUGUSTUS

It has been shown that the relationship between Propertius and Maecenas and especially Augustus was formal and strained in comparison to that of Horace, and that he never managed to attain the intimacy enjoyed by the latter. This is even more the case in regard to Ovid. His allusions to Augustus are not those of an intimate acquaintance but of an admiring subject, and his compliments at times reach the grossest proportions.

Ovid, born the year after Julius Caesar's death, was quite young when Augustus was gaining power, and there is no indication that he came forward until Maecenas and his circle had disappeared. If he attracted any attention from Augustus in his early days it is not likely to have been favourable considering the nature of his earliest works. These poems, comprising the Amores, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris and Heroides were spicy poems of passion and would hardly appeal to Augustus, who was, during this period, endeavouring to bring back some semblance of morality at Rome. Ovid paid for his tactlessness when he was banished to Tomis in 8A.D. The exact reasons for his relegatio are not clear. Ovid himself only hints that his banishment was because of a poem and an 'error'.[152] That the poem in question was his Amores is generally accepted by scholars but interpretations of the error vary. Amongst those put forward is the suggestion that Ovid was in some way

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[152] Tristia.II.207.

connected with the excesses of Augustus' profligate daughter Julia and that this, together with the poems published some years before, led Augustus to deal severely with the poet.[153] R.C. Zimmerman[154] suggests that Ovid was implicated in the plot to free Agrippa Postumus and that he was made a scapegoat by Augustus as a warning to the rest.

The subject-matter of Ovid's earlier writing gave little opportunity for the propagation of Augustan ideals. Hence we find in the Amores, the Ars Amatoria and the Remedia Amoris only a handful of references which directly concern Augustus. Following in the steps of Horace and Propertius Ovid also emphasises Augustus' conquests especially those over the Eastern foe, the Parthians. But like Propertius Ovid speaks only of conquests as having been achieved or predicts a Parthian defeat. There is no suggestion of such advice as we found in Horace.

Amores I.2.51 speaks generally of Augustus' treatment of his vanquished enemy:

> 'aspice cognati felicia Caesaris arma;
> qua vicit, victos protegit ille manu'.

This praise of Augustus' clementia is an effective compliment to the princeps, and a climax for the poem.[155]

Ars Amatoria I.171 contains a complimentary allusion to Augustus

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[153] G.H. Hallam. Ovid Fasti. London 1882.

[154] Rh.M. (1932) 263-74.

[155] Cf. Horace. Odes III.4 where Augustus is described as having vis and lene consilium.

in the description of the 'Naumachia' or representation of the Battle of Salamis, given by Augustus in the flooded Nemus Caesarum in 2B.C. Much more flattering is the passage which begins a few lines later. At l.177 Ovid introduces an abrupt digression suggested by the idea of a triumph as a suitable occasion for courtship. The triumph is that of Caesar's predicted conquest of Parthia.[156] The approaching mission of Gaius Caesar to the East is described and Ovid refers to his title of Princeps Iuventutis. Such allusions to Gaius would be sure to please Augustus who had adopted the two sons of Agrippa and Julia.[157]

At l.203 Ovid invokes Mars and Caesar to watch over Gaius on his expedition. The first of these is a god and the second is destined to be a god. Our poet here refers for the first time to Augustus' future deification. The statment is plain and unadorned and the subject is not introduced in a concealed way or with hesitation.

Although Ovid's early works were in fact poems of love with immoral overtones, not at all in keeping with Augustus' endeavours to restore the old Roman morality, the poet seems to have managed to incorporate in the Ars Amatoria a reference to Augustus' marriage laws. We find this possible allusion to the social legislation in III.614 where Ovid writes

'.....rata sit custodio nuptae;
hoc decet, hoc leges iusque pudorque iubent.'

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[156] I.e., in 4B.C., not to be confused with the expedition of 20B.C.

[157] Cf.Propertius III.12.

These two lines are somewhat incongruous with the rest of the advice given, and were probably only included out of deference to Augustus. Even Ovid, however, could not have thought that such a scant reference to Augustus' legislation would make up for the rest of the 'immoral' treatise.

Another possible reference to Augustus' social legislation can perhaps be seen in VI.637 where Ovid describes the demolition of the house of Vedius Pollio. Pollio stood for the excesses and vice which Augustus was trying to eliminate.

Even in the Remedia Amoris, a treatise of some 800 lines Ovid managed to include a reference to Augustus. Once again the allusion is complimentary. Ovid speaks of the Parthian in flight, a fresh cause for a great triumph, when he sees Caesar's arms in the plain. It was a popular belief of the time that Augustus contemplated a further Parthian war.[158]

It was in the composition of the Metamorphoses and the Fasti that Ovid's real contribution to Augustan propaganda could find a voice.[159] Even in the Metamorphoses, unpromising as it was in its theme, Ovid found an opportunity to sound the national note especially in the last part of Book XV which the poet apparently composed in exile in 14A.D., when he heard of Augustus' death. The epilogue provides an excellent example of flattery for its own sake and one tends to

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[158] In 20B.C. diplomacy had resulted in the return of the Roman standards but in 4B.C. another expedition under Gaius had been found necessary to re-establish Roman ascendancy.

[159] See Allen, A.J.Ph.(1922)251.

doubt the sincerity behind the words. Lines 843ff refer primarily to Julius Caesar's deification. Venus takes his slain body from the Senate House where it lies and turns it into a star. From the sky Julius Caesar thus beholds the glorious deeds of his son and grants that they surpass his own.

Here the panegyric of Augustus begins. Ovid speaks of Augustus' reluctance to take first rank in Rome. It is fame which compels him reluctantly to receive the homage due.[160] The predomiant idea behind these lines is that Augustus has surpassed his father Julius Caesar. Hence Ovid goes on to speak of several other heroes who proved even greater than their fathers--Theseus and Aegeus, Achilles and Peleus, even Jupiter and Saturn. Mention of Jupiter brings Ovid to a comparison between Augustus and the latter. Whereas Jupiter rules the realms above, the earth is subjected to Augustus.[161] We must note the flattery here in the use of 'terra' denoting all the earth as being under Augustus' sway, not merely the Roman Empire.

In l.860 Ovid's words 'pater est et rector uterque' recalls even more closely Horace Odes III.5. The climax of the passage comes when Ovid ends with a prayer:

> 'tarba sit illa dies, et nostro serior aevo,
> qua caput Augustum, quem temperat orbe relicto,
> accedat caelo: faveatque precentibus absens.'

Augustus' deification and divine attributions receive even

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[160] Augustus it is true desired to remove any suspicion of despotism such as had brought about Julius Caesar's downfall, and liked to be regarded as first citizen of Rome.

[161] Cf. Horace Odes III.5, where Jupiter rules the heavens and Augustus is his viceregent on earth.

fuller and more complimentary treatment in the Fasti. The subject-matter of this book was peculiarly in line with the emperor's own purpose at Rome.[162] Ovid stresses above all religious and sacred experiences and festivals, affairs in which Augustus took special interest.[163]

In Book I.510 Carmentis speaks prophetically of the new gods which the Italian land is destined to render up to heaven. Ovid obviously refers here to Augustus' deification; this is more explicit ten lines later where Carmentis alludes to the Julian Gens and prophesies that the sacred rites of Vesta will some day be performed by a god in person. This is surely an allusion to Augustus in his office of Pontifex Maximus. But here Ovid refers not to a future apotheosis in heaven but to deification whilst Augustus is still on earth. We know that on the death of the emperor Ovid apparently revised Book I of the Fasti and rededicated it to Tiberius' hier Germanicus. Perhaps the gross flattery of Augustus here was introduced in the hope of winning Tiberius' favour and of bringing about Ovid's recall.

Throughout the books Ovid mentions Augustus' various titles[164] but it is in Book II.127, with the mention of the title 'Pater Patriae' that the poet offers a most effusive eulogy. To celebrate the

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[162] This is rightly noted by Allen, op.cit.

[163] The book's appropriateness as a work devoted to the princeps' ends is more convincing, as Allen notes, when we remember that the present form of the Calendar was substantially the achievement of Julius Caesar.

[164] E.g., I.609, II.142, IV.675.

anniversary of the bestowal of this title properly would require the soul of Homer and the help of hexameter verse. Indeed Augustus is not only Pater Patriae but 'Pater Orbis'.

In the Second Book also Ovid indirectly compliments Augustus on his policy of temple restoration.[165] Thus he speaks of the far-seeing care of their sacred chief whose shrines do not feel the touch of time. Augustus would be flattered by this compliment since he prided himself on the care with which he repaired and restored the temples of Rome.

Ovid, like Propertius and Horace before him, stressed Augustus' military achievements. Even in the Fasti there are references to military affairs. Thus in IV.627 Ovid subtly mentions the battle of Mutina; and in VI.467 through the mouth piece of Vesta the restoration of the Roman standards from the Parthians is once more predicted. In the earlier Book V (587) this has already been accomplished.

Of all the poets Ovid seems to deal most fully with the question of Augustus' divinity. Throughout the six books of the Fasti we find scattered references. We have already noted some instances in the revised Book I. Book V.145 refers to the city worship of the Lares Augusti while in IV.605 by an excess of courtly flattery Ovid describes how Venus, ancestress of the Julian Gens and therefore of Augustus, hastened on the setting of the sun's chariot on the 15th of April that it might rise sooner on the 16th when Augustus was hailed Imperator for the first time. Similarly in IV.869 the transference

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[165] Bk.II.60.

of the Vestal fire to the palace of Augustus is described as being a transference to a kinsman's threshold '*cognati limine*'.

Thus we can see even from this brief survey how Ovid represents a further stage in the development of the poets' attitude towards Augustus. Augustan poetry has come a long way since the time when Horace first raised his voice in criticism of the civil wars in the years following Julius Caesar's death.