and Rome as too powerful to deign to recognize the political claims of the Indian states whose ambassadors arrived in the Roman world. In fact the evidence for Indian embassies to Augustus derives from sources which portrayed Rome as superior to all of its neighbors. Perhaps the Indian "embassies" were in no way official, but simply Indian or Greek entrepreneurs posing as diplomats to promote commerce.

In any event, it is safe to infer that the arrival of Indian embassies in the Roman world was the direct result of the Roman annexation of Egypt and the attack on South Arabia ([61]). Rome, a newcomer to the Erythraean Sea region, had to establish itself quickly as a power to be reckoned with. These accounts of Indian and South Arabian embassies to Rome suggest that the Indian and South Arabian monarchs recognized Rome as an Erythraean Sea power which could indirectly – in the case of India – or directly – as demonstrated by the Gallus expedition to South Arabia – alter the political and economic *status quo* of the area.

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(61) SCHMITTHENNER, *op. cit.*, p. 104-105.

Horace's Judgement on Sappho and Alcaeus

In the course of a study ([1]) of the structure of some Horatian Odes and the relation of the structure to the meaning of the poems my colleague Dr Y. Nadeau drew attention to the references to Roman political issues that are to be detected in *Od.*, II, 13. Nadeau argues that Horace is drawing a series of parallels between his own poetry and that of Alcaeus. Then, recognizing that the phrase *pugnas et exactos tyrannos* (line 31) not only refers to the poetry of Alcaeus but also unmistakably recalls 'the rallying cry proclaimed by Brutus', Nadeau asks whether, since the tyrant in question was Julius Caesar, Horace, as the Roman Alcaeus, is not 'inviting disgrace and death by writing thus under the *diui filius*' ([2]). Has Horace's self-identification with Alcaeus betrayed him into apparent approval of the ideals of the liberators ? Since it is unthinkable that a craftsman such as Horace could be so inept as to fail to appreciate the contemporary significance of the Alcaean motif Nadeau suggests an alternative explanation. 'The purity of the ideal transcends all. *pii* and *impii* are in admiration. That Horace should, in the court of Augustus, recall his past allegiance to the tyrannicide Brutus (cf. II,7) redounds to the regime's glory, and *clementia Caesaris* is seen to extend to all men of high principles (cf. I,2 ; I,12 ; II,7 ; II, 15).' Nadeau's view is, therefore, that II,13 demonstrates the freedom to allude to past ideals which Horace enjoys and that this freedom is itself a tribute to Augustus' broad-mindedness.

On the general question of how far Horace was prepared to press Augustus' tolerance of apparently approving allusions to Horace's past support for republican ideals a comparison with Odes II,7 is perhaps instructive. There *clementia Caesaris* is indeed the main theme. Horace, however, makes the point abundantly clear. Stanza 1 asks who restored Pompeius, stanza 5 reminds Pompeius of the need to give thanks to Jupiter 'alias Octavian' and *Mercurius* (line 13) possibly refers to Octavian also ([3]). Moreover in referring to the republican allegiance of Pompeius and himself Horace prefers to concentrate on the rout of Philippi rather than the

(1) Y. NADEAU, *Speaking Structures* in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History II*, ed. C. DEROUX, Brussels, Collection Latomus vol. 168, p. 177-222. I am grateful to Dr Nadeau for his helpful criticisms of the present article.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 206.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 194.

ideals for which he and his friend fought ([4]). Pompeius is invited to drink deeply of the wine that brings forgetfulness (*obliuioso*). That is a tactful hint that the past is best forgotten. Thus the emphasis in II,7 is firmly on the restoration of Pompeius through Octavian's generosity. Octavian's name is never mentioned. That is not necessary. The praise of his *clementia* is still positive and unmistakable. This is quite unlike the by no means easy conclusion which Nadeau believes the reader is expected to draw in II,13 – that Horace's recollection of his past adherence to the ideals of Augustus' opponents (couched in terms which scarcely make it clear that these ideals are now abandoned) is to be taken *per se* as a tribute to the magnanimity of Augustus himself. The muted and discreet references to Horace's past allegiance to Brutus in II,7 show that Horace is focussing his attention on the present, not the past. A similar message comes across in Odes II,1 – Pollio's history of the Civil War is opening old wounds to no point. Better not to sing the old dirges again ([5]). Rather Horace prefers to concentrate on lighter themes in the Dionaean cave. Is it likely, then, that in *Od.*, II,13 Horace should so blatantly disregard his own advice ? Had Horace wished to praise *clementia Caesaris* he would surely have referred to it openly and not merely allowed it to be inferred from the fact that he makes, and gets away with making, declarations suggesting former republican sympathies. He would surely, at the very least, have given some clear, positive indication that he recognized that the present was preferable to the past.

Yet the allusion in line 13 to the slogans of the tyrannicides seems unmistakable. We must therefore consider the context to see whether Horace perhaps does more than merely 'recall his past allegiance' to the cause of Brutus. I shall argue that in fact he makes his condemnation of those who cling to such slogans quite obvious.

In stanza 6 Horace declares that he nearly set eyes on *sedes piorum*, the abode of Sappho and Alcaeus. There Sappho sings love lyrics *puellis de popularibus*. Alcaeus however strikes a more serious note, singing of *dura nauis, dura fugae mala, dura belli*. These themes are, Horace observes, *sacro digna silentio* and the shades marvel that Sappho and Alcaeus should sing in this way. It is hard to catch the precise tone of *mirantur* (line 30). Nisbet-Hubbard ([6]) translate 'are enthralled that they say' and deny that the shades are surprised by something unexpected. While certainly a reverential awe is implied in *mirantur* I am inclined to think that Horace is indicating that there is something out of the ordinary in the two performances.

(4) The bare reference to the breaking of *uirtus* at Philippi (II,7,11) may well have somewhat wry overtones. See NISBET and HUBBARD, *A Commentary on Horace Odes Book II*, Oxford, 1978, ad loc. N.-H. comment (p. 109) on the "disrespectful irony" with which Horace treats Brutus and suggest that the "whimsicality of his treatment may be attributed not just to the frivolity that covers hurt but to political discretion".

(5) "We are watching ... a point by point refusal to write like Pollio", D. A. WEST, *Horace's Poetic Technique in the Odes* in *Horace*, ed. COSTA, Henley-on-Thames, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973, p. 31.

(6) N.-H., ad loc.

sacro digna silentio carries, as the editors note, a clear suggestion of the language of religion ([7]). The audience of Sappho and Alcaeus are expected to keep holy silence, just like Horace's own listeners in *Od.*, III, 1, 2 where Horace solemnly announces that he is about to sing *carmina non prius audita*. Why are the songs of Sappho and Alcaeus worthy of this same reverential attitude ?

The answer, I think, lies in a comparison of *Od.*, II, 13 with *Od.*, III, 1. In the 'Roman Odes' Horace delivers a political message to the rising generation of Rome who are uncontaminated by the Civil War. The serious note is struck in III, 1 with the indications of a new lyric theme, the audience of *uirgines* and *pueri*, and the warning to the *uulgus* – the polluted generation – to keep away from the religious rite. Jupiter and the allegorical victory over the Giants follow in the second stanza to make the political point unmistakable. A consideration of II, 13 suggests that the two themes of *puellae populares* and *dura nauis, dura fugae mala, dura belli* deserve *sacrum silentium* for precisely the same reason – they too carry a solemn political message.

Sappho's songs of *puellae populares* may well, as Nadeau observes ([8]), parallel Horace's own love poetry – the 'light' lyric which ensures his protection as a *pius poeta*. Thus it is because he is singing of Lalage that he is able to escape the wolf (I,22) and it is that activity which shows that he is *integer uitae scelerisque purus*. Elsewhere there are clear suggestions that innocent love poetry is preferable to other literary genres and in some passages it seems fairly clear that there are political considerations involved. Thus in II,1 Horace clearly indicates that Pollio might do better to stick to tragedy rather than write a history on the dangerous topic of the Civil War. Horace clearly sets Pollio's rash venture into historiography against his own prudent *ioci* in the Dionaean cave with its connotations not only of love poetry but also of Augustan favour ([9]). In I,32 Alcaeus himself, in spite of being *ferox bello*, still sings *inter arma* of lighter themes such as love – appropriate for the lyre as *laborum dulce lenimen*. In that poem the emphasis put on Alcaeus' lighter verse perhaps suggests that it is that kind of lyric which makes the lyre *dapibus supremi grata ... Iouis* (I,32, 13-14) – where we are surely meant to think of Horace's own reception at the court of Augustus. The same idea of music as a solace after *labores* occurs again at *Od.*, III, 4, 37-40 with reference to Augustus himself ([10]) and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Horace is paralleling the refreshment afforded to Alcaeus after his *labores inter arma* by lighter – and especially amatory – lyric themes with that afforded by the same material to Augustus in similar circumstances. Thus in II,13 Sappho's innocent love poetry may be seen as representing a suitably inoffensive model for those who wished to retain Augustus' favour and to steer clear

(7) E.g. KIESSLING-HEINZE, ad loc. "*sacro*, als wäre es eine heilige Handlung".

(8) NADEAU, *ibid.*, p. 205.

(9) NADEAU, *ibid.*, p. 181.

(10) N.-H., ad I, 32, 15.

of the hazards of more controversial political topics such as the past civil war. The message no doubt was equally applicable both to writers and to politicians.

The lighter nature of Sappho's lyric is emphasised by means of the contrast with Alcaeus *sonantem plenius aureo ... plectro.* In II,1 Horace himself directs his Muse to seek *modos leuiore plectro.* Yet in II,13 Alcaeus' songs about *dura nauis, dura fugae mala, dura belli* are no less worthy of being greeted with holy silence. The reason is obvious. The motif clearly refers back to the themes of stanzas 4 and 5 which, as Nadeau argues, are themselves to be understood as referring to the civil war. Here however, in the song of Alcaeus, there is no glorification of the war, no suggestion that the losing side was motivated by high idealism. Only the miseries and hardships are stressed through the thrice-repeated *dura.* Thus the message to the shades and to Horace's audience is clear – they should be grateful that the horrors of the war are over. This is Horace's own comment on the reality of the war.

Thus far Horace's point seems clear. Stanza 7 refers to themes which would be acceptable to the Augustan regime. What however of the other songs – *pugnas et exactos tyrannos* – which Horace describes as appealing particularly to the *uulgus* who prefer them to the previously mentioned themes ? The significance of this is clear from III,1. The *uulgus* is *profanum* ([11]). It bears the guilt of the civil war and stubbornly clings to the old, useless slogans. Such people cannot grasp Horace's message and cannot see the real meaning of Sappho's love poetry or Alcaeus' songs about *dura ... belli.* They prefer instead other themes of Alcaeus which seem more in accordance with their own misguided political notions. Whether Alcaeus' war poetry could in fact be neatly divided up in this way with some *carmina* on *pugnas ... tyrannos* and others on *dura ... belli* is perhaps debatable. What matters for Horace is the varying moods in Alcaeus' poetry where no doubt emphasis was sometimes put on the glories of war and at other times on its miseries ([12]).

The significance of the last two stanzas of the poem has not been understood by the commentators. E. Dönt ([13]), realizing that the *uulgus* is 'derb und plebeisch',

(11) N.-H. in their note on II, 13, 32 do not refer to III, 1 and seem to stress implications of the word *uulgus* which seem less important. K. Quinn in his commentary (London, MacMillan, 1980) strangely comments on *uulgus* here "*Contrast* III.1.1-2." The point however is that there is no contrast – the two passages are closely parallel. Ultimately, no doubt, the idea of the contrast between the tastes of the *uulgus* and those of a more sophisticated audience goes back to Callimachus. It is tempting to speculate whether *pugnas et exactos tyrannos* is intended to resemble the familiar *reges et proelia* (Virg., *Ec.*, VI, 3) – both being themes which the Callimachean poet would reject.

(12) It will be apparent that I do not think there is any justification for seeing a straightforward *σύγκρισις* between Sappho and Alcaeus in this poem. Nor do I see any evidence for "a literary judgement in favour of Alcaeus's style" (N.-H., II, p. 205). Horace is concerned here with content, not style, and the preferences of the *uulgus* are not to be identified with those of Horace himself.

(13) E. Dönt, *Horaz II.13* in *Arktouros, Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M W Knox*, ed. Glen W. Bowersock et al., Berlin, 1979) p. 413-418.

attempts to contrast their preoccupation with the *contents* of Alcaeus' songs with the reaction of the mythological characters of stanzas 9 and 10 who are moved by the *power* of the poetry. Dönt, however, fails to distinguish between the two 'songs' of Alcaeus, and talks of the *uulgus* as seeing in *dura ... belli* 'Mittel zum Zweck, Trost für persönliches Ungemach, nicht Zweck' thereby showing their lack of 'Einsicht in die Macht der Dichtung selbst'. Thus, apparently, the creatures of myth get closer to the true nature of Horatian poetry than the *uulgus.* Yet Horace carefully distinguishes between on the one hand the reaction of the *umbrae* to Sappho's songs and Alcaeus' *dura ... belli* songs (they realize that both kinds of songs should be greeted with *sacrum silentium*) and, on the other hand, the preference of the *uulgus* for *pugnas et exactos tyrannos.* Though a comparison with III, 1 makes it clear that the songs 'worthy of holy silence' would be beyond the understanding of the *uulgus,* Horace does not, I believe, attempt to suggest that the *uulgus* misinterprets, or fails to grasp the full meaning of, these songs for any particular reason. Horace concentrates on their liking for republican sentiments, not on the reasons for their limited appreciation of the first two kinds of songs.

Horace makes it clear that the reaction of Cerberus, the snakes of the Eumenides, Prometheus, Tantalus and Orion to the theme of *pugnas et exactos tyrannos* is the same as that of the *uulgus.* Indeed *stupens* (33), *recreantur* (36) and *decipitur* (38) perhaps suggest that they are moved even more than the *uulgus.* The reaction of the mob is explained *a fortiori* by that of the creatures in the last two stanzas. We should not be surprised that the *uulgus* eagerly listen to such songs when Cerberus and the rest respond as they do. Stanzas 9 and 10 can only be understood when it is realized that *illis carminibus* refers only to *pugnas et exactos tyrannos,* not to the *dura ... belli* theme ([14]) and when we grasp the sinister character of the creatures mentioned. Prometheus, Tantalus and Orion are all guilty of impiety. Orion, indeed, features prominently in *Od.*, III, 4 in a context with obvious political overtones. He is there clearly to be associated with the opponents of Augustus. More importantly that poem owes much to Pindar, *Pyth.*, I ([15]) with its contrast between, on the one hand, the power of music, its effect on the eagle of Zeus and its ability to pacify Ares and soothe the minds of the gods and, on the other hand, the distraught reaction of Zeus' enemies such as Typhos when they hear the Muses. Horace's corresponding balance in III, 4 is between himself together with Augustus, who are loved by the Muses, and, on the other hand, the monstrous opponents of Jupiter and the gods who appear in the second half of the poem. We are clearly meant to realize that these impious beings correspond to Pindar's Typhos. They are enemies of the Muses by virtue of being opposed to the gods, even though Horace does not make the point directly. That such godless beings should be seduced by the theme *pugnas et exactos tyrannos* is not surprising. It is not, however, to be interpreted as a recommendation for songs

(14) N.-H., on *quid mirum* (33). N.-H. however appear to see *illis carminibus* as referring to Alcaeus in general rather than to *pugnas et exactos tyrannos* alone.

(15) E. Fraenkel, *Horace*, Oxford, 1957, p. 276 ff.

on such themes. Those with some political sensitivity will have grasped Horace's point.

It is however in his account of the reaction of Cerberus and the snakes of the Eumenides that Horace shows most clearly that he is here presenting us with something more than merely the stock motif of the power of music to soothe even the creatures in the Underworld ([16]). Editors have long been troubled by *recreantur* (line 36) to describe the response of the snakes ([17]). Yet if *pugnas et exactos tyrannos* alludes to the fiery slogans of Brutus and Cassius it is easy to see why the snakes should be filled with new vigour. Virgil (*Aen.*, VI, 280) placed the Eumenides between the figures of War and Discord at the entrance to the Underworld. The juxtaposition has obvious contemporary point. In Horace the reinvigoration of the snakes at a warlike song clearly resembles Augustus' reinvigoration in the Pierian cave at *Od.*, III, 4, 37-40. As Augustus being refreshed by the Muses after war symbolizes peace after discord, so the reviving of the snakes by the rallying cry of Brutus symbolizes the reawakening of war.

Cerberus reacts to the music in a somewhat different manner. Indeed at first sight the pacification of Cerberus might seem to argue against the interpretation of *pugnas et exactos tyrannos* as an incitement to violence. Might not Cerberus be expected to be roused to fury instead of lowering his ears ? The clue lies in Horace's periphrasis for Cerberus – *belua centiceps*. Unlike the snakes of the Eumenides Cerberus is not a symbol of war. Horace here makes use of the Pindaric tradition ([18]) of the hundred heads of Cerberus in order to point to the similarity between Cerberus and the *uulgus* which at *Ep.*, 1, 1, 76 he describes as *belua multorum capitum* ([19]). In that passage Horace is making the point that because the *belua* has many heads one cannot and should not follow its tastes and opinions. Cerberus makes the same point in *Od.*, II, 13. He too is a *belua* of many heads so inevitably his tastes and those of the *uulgus* will coincide. He, like the *uulgus*, is charmed by seductive slogans. Horace himself – both as a writer appealing to a sophisticated public and a man who understood political realities – is more discriminating. As Nadeau comments (on II, 1) Horace is aware that 'the time has come to forget the civil wars and enjoy the pursuits of peacetime' ([20]).

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(16) For examples of that motif see N.-H., on *stupens* (33).

(17) N.-H., ad loc. QUINN translates 'relax' without comment. The contrast with VIRGIL, *G.*, IV, 481 ff. is perhaps pointed – though not simply because Alcaeus is "a more invigorating poet than Orpheus" as N.-H. suggest. The song which revives the snakes is surely sinister as well as stimulating.

(18) PINDAR, fr. 249 b.

(19) There is more than "number play" (WEST, *op. cit.*, p. 56) involved here. The large number of heads is important. I am grateful to my colleague Mr J. G. HOWIE for initially suggesting (though unaware of the parallel in *ep.*, 1,1) that a link might exist between Cerberus and the *uulgus*.

(20) NADEAU, *ibid.*, p. 181.

À propos de l'exil d'Ovide ... et de la succession d'Auguste

Qui peut se vanter avec quelque apparence de raison d'avoir levé un coin du voile recouvrant les causes de l'exil d'Ovide ? A l'abondante littérature suscitée par cet irritant mystère, D. Porte vient d'ajouter une contribution d'un extrême intérêt ([1]). Selon elle, la cause essentielle de la disgrâce terrible du poète est cachée derrière *F.*, II, 371-380, où, contre l'ensemble de la tradition, Ovide donne, dans la course des Luperques, le beau rôle à Rémus qui, arrivé vainqueur, dévore entièrement les *exta* ... d'un sacrifice dont nul, à part lui, ne nous parle ! Contre Romulus-Auguste, dit-elle, «le véritable élu du destin, *c'est Rémus*» (p. 289), qu'au terme d'une enquête serrée, elle identifie, de la manière la plus plausible, avec Germanicus (-15 - +19), fils de Drusus Nero Germanicus (frère de Tibère) et d'Antonia Minor. Rapprochant le récit ovidien d'une vieille tradition des *Octauii* ([2]), D. Porte estime qu'Ovide s'est rendu coupable d'un «détournement de rituel» en transposant sur Rémus-Germanicus une cérémonie propre aux *Octauii*, dont l'acteur aurait dû être Romulus-Auguste. Probablement même, estime-t-elle, sur la foi des allusions du poète à un *nefas* dont il aurait été témoin ([3]), Germanicus a-t-il procédé, peu après le désastre de Varus (dont le passage des *Fastes* serait une cruelle parodie), à une cérémonie de manducation rituelle des *exta* pour transférer sur sa personne l'*omen* des *Octauii*. Optant pour une chronologie situant l'exil d'Ovide peu après l'annonce du désastre de Teutoburg ([4]), D. Porte voit dans ce pamphlet, que constituerait *F.*, II, 371-380, contre le règne terni d'Auguste et pour le «candidat» Germanicus, la cause véritable de l'exil du poète et de son maintien par Tibère.

Certains trouveront que, malgré la prudence avec laquelle avance D. Porte, en étayant son argumentation d'un faisceau convergent d'indices, sa thèse n'a pas le caractère définitif d'une démonstration. A quoi l'on répondra que si la cause de l'exil d'Ovide pouvait se démontrer «mathématiquement», il y a belle lurette que cela aurait été fait. Pour notre part, elle a emporté notre adhésion, et l'objet de nos remarques présentes est d'apporter à son édifice quelques pierres supplémentaires, quitte à l'amender sur certains détails.

(1) *Un épisode satirique des Fastes et l'exil d'Ovide* dans *Latomus*, 43, 1984, p. 284-306.
(2) SUET., *Aug.*, 1.
(3) *Trist.*, III, 5, 47 sq ; IV, 10, 101.
(4) Cf. OV., *Pont.*, II, 5, 75 sq ; IV, 8, 23.

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