equitare: 'to prance, career'; cf. 2. 9. 24. For the dangerous Parthian cavalry cf. 1. 19. 11 n.

inultos: there seems to be deliberate contrast with 44 'Caesaris ultor'. The task of avenging Caesar has at last been completed; now Rome can turn her energies against the Parthians (cf. 29 n., 1. 35. 38 ff.).

52. te duce: for the ablative absolute referring to the subject of the sentence cf. K.–S. 1. 788. The word *duce* could be used, at least in poetry, in any military context (cf. 1. 7. 27 'Teucro duce'), but it particularly suits Octavian who enjoyed this semi-official title (E. Knierim, *Die Bezeichnung 'dux'*, Diss. Giessen, 1939, Syme, *Roman Revolution*, pp. 311 f., Béranger, op. cit., pp. 48 ff.). It was a convenient way of describing Octavian's status in the War of Actium (*res gest.* 25. 2), but its use here has no bearing whatever on the date of the poem; cf. *epist.* 1. 18. 56 (20 B.C.) 'sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit', *carm.* 4. 5. 5 (13 B.C.) 'dux bone'.

Caesar: first Horace has described Mercury with hints of Octavian; only in the last word does he explicitly state to whom he is referring. Of course the poem is not addressed to Octavian in the normal sense of the word.

3. SIC TE DIVA POTENS CYPRI

[J. P. Elder, *AJPh* 73, 1952, 140 ff.; G. L. Hendrickson, *CJ* 3, 1907–8, 100 ff.; F. Jäger, *Das antike Propemptikon und das 17. Gedicht des Paulinus von Nola*, Rosenheim, 1913; Pasquali 260 ff.; K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations*, 1963, pp. 239 ff.]

1–8. *Preserve Virgil on his voyage to Attica, O ship.* 9–24. *The first sailor was unnaturally fearless. God did not intend us to cross the seas.* 25–40. *Man's reckless daring leads him to ruin. Prometheus stole fire, Daedalus flew through the air, Hercules broke into Hades; we are like Giants assailing Heaven and provoking divine vengeance.*

This ode is addressed, though not directly, to Virgil, already by far the most important poet of the day. It occupies a prominent place in the collection, immediately after the dedication to Maecenas and the panegyric on Octavian. Its professed occasion is a voyage by Virgil to Greece, certainly not the fatal journey of 19 B.C., which came too late for our poem. Virgil was an old friend who had brought Horace to Maecenas's notice about 38 (*serm.* 1. 6. 54 f.), and showed discriminating approval of his poetry (*serm.* 1. 10. 81). In turn Horace wrote for Virgil an *epicedion* on Quintilius (*carm.* 1. 24) and probably an amusing invitation-poem (4. 12). He speaks in the

warmest terms of his brother-poet; cf. 1. 3. 8, *serm.* 1. 5. 41 f. Of course one cannot test the strength of the intimacy; the differences of background and temperament were considerable. It is perhaps worth observing, though the point need have no special significance, that the *Aeneid* was entrusted not to the eminently efficient Horace, but to two old Epicurean friends, Varius and Tucca.

Journeys in the ancient world were serious occasions. Absences were long, communications uncertain, and the sea strange and unpredictable. Hence the occasion for a 'sending-off' poem, or *propempticon*, as it was called. Elements of the genre are already found in early Greek lyric and elegy. See Sappho 5. 1 f. *Κύπρι καὶ] Νηρήιδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι / τὸν κασί]γνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθαι*, 94. 7 f. *χαίροισ' ἔρχεο κἄμεθεν / μέμναισ', οἶσθα γὰρ ὤς σε πεδήπομεν* (cf. 3. 27. 14 'et memor nostri Galatea vivas', Juv. 3. 318, Paul. Nol. *carm.* 17. 9), Theogn. 692 *καί σε Ποσειδάων χάρμα φίλοις ἀγάγοι*, perhaps Alcaeus 286 a and Pind. *O.* 6. 103 f. We are also told that Simonides mingled tears with his poetry '*Ἱέρωνα πέμπων ἐκ Σικελίας* (Himer. *or.* 31. 2).

The genre was taken up by the Hellenistic poets. Athenaeus quotes from a *propempticon* which he ascribes with some hesitation to Erinna (fr. 1): *πομπίλε ναύταισιν πέμπων πλόον εὔπλοον, ἰχθύ, / πομπεύσαις πρύμναθεν ἐμὰν ἀδεῖαν ἑταίραν*. More important for Horace was a poem by Callimachus of which the first two lines survive (fr. 400):

> *ἀ ναῦς ἃ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὶν τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς ζόας*
> *ἅρπαξας, ποτί τε Ζανὸς ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπω . . .*

This fragment has in common with our ode an Asclepiad metre, an address to a ship, a reference to a protecting deity, and a strong protestation of friendship; if more had been preserved no doubt other influences on the genre would be apparent. Theocritus in the Thalysia also includes snatches of the motif (7. 52 ff.): *ἔσσεται Ἀγεάνακτι καλὸς πλόος εἰς Μιτυλήναν, / . . . χἀλκυόνες στορεσεῦντι τὰ κύματα τάν τε θάλασσαν / τόν τε νότον τόν τ' εὖρον*. An epigram by Meleager was influenced by Callimachus, and in turn influenced Horace (8 n.). Parthenius wrote a *propempticon* of which nothing survives, unless indeed one should attribute to it the line *Γλαύκῳ καὶ Νηρῆι καὶ εἰναλίῳ Μελικέρτῃ* imitated by Virgil at *georg.* 1. 437. This poem may lie behind Cinna's *propempticon* in honour of the young Pollio (Morel, pp. 87 f.). It seems that Cinna preceded Horace and Statius in including a reference to St. Elmo's fire (2 n.), and other elements may be conjectured from their presence in later poets (see below). Horace himself in his tenth epode wrote a *propempticon* in reverse, wishing nothing but harm for Maevius (4 n.). The Galatea ode (3. 27)

also begins nominally in the form of a *propempticon*; the reference to the Adriatic and Iapyx (19 f.), as in our poem, suggests a common source in Cinna.

It is possible, though by no means certain, that the poem of Gallus alluded to in Virgil's tenth eclogue and imitated by Propertius (1. 8) was a *propempticon*. However that may be, Propertius's own poem is a blend of the traditional *propempticon* with love-elegy; it includes warnings of the terrors of the sea (5 'tune audire potes vesani murmura ponti?') and prayers for a safe voyage:

> sed quocumque modo de me, periura, mereris,
> sit Galatea tuae non aliena viae:
> ut te, felici praevecta Ceraunia remo,
> accipiat placidis Oricus aequoribus (17 ff.).

Ovid also wrote a love-*propempticon* (*am.* 2. 11) with conventional elements, some of which may go back to Cinna or even to Callimachus: he includes the folly of shipbuilding (1 ff., cf. Hor. 1. 3. 9 ff.), the dangers of Ceraunia (19), probably from Cinna (cf. Hor. 1. 3. 20 n., Prop. 1. 8. 19), prayers to the Dioscuri (29, cf. Hor. 1. 3. 2) and to Galatea (34, cf. Prop. 1. 8. 18), the 'praecipites Noti' (52, cf. Hor. 1. 3. 12 ff.). For a more formal specimen of the genre one may turn to Statius's facile effusion in honour of Maecius Celer (*silv.* 3. 2); in it he elaborates and sometimes adapts themes and phrases from Horace's more compressed lyric. Like Horace he appeals to the gods of the sea, in particular the Dioscuri (2 n.) and Aeolus (4 n.); he describes Maecius as part of his soul (8 n.), and uses the commercial metaphor of the *depositum* (5 n.); he bewails the folly of the first navigators (22 n.), and compares man's audacity with that of the giants (38 n.). No doubt minor versifiers kept the *propempticon* alive; at any rate in the fourth century Paulinus of Nola wrote 85 Sapphic stanzas to commemorate the departure of his friend Nicetas. The good bishop goes protected not by the Dioscuri but by the Cross of the mast: 'victor antemna crucis ibis undis / tutus et austris' (*carm.* 17. 107 f.). As a result he can face the monsters of the deep (presumably another traditional motif) with more equanimity than Virgil (117 ff.): 'audient Amen tremefacta cete / et sacerdotem domino canentem / laeta lascivo procul admeabunt / monstra natatu'. For the *propempticon* see further F. Jäger, op. cit., K. Quinn, op. cit., K.-E. Henriksson, *Griechische Büchertitel in der römischen Literatur*, Helsinki, 1956, pp. 35 f.

Throughout the Hellenistic period prose *propempticon* must also have been a regular form of literary exercise. A few flowery compositions of Himerius have survived (10, 12, 31, 36), but they throw no light on our poem. A chapter in Menander, the rhetorical writer

of the third century A.D., is more illuminating (3. 395 ff. Sp.). He comments on the *ἦθος ἐρωτικόν* of such poems; this would be impossible for Horace, but the vestiges appear in the phrase 'animae dimidium meae' (8 n.). The writer should include a reproach (396. 4 ff.): *σχετλιάσει πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτας, ὅτι μὴ συγχωροῦσι θεσμὸν φιλίας διαμένειν βέβαιον.* Most of the topics suggested by Menander are irrelevant to our poem: the common education of the two friends, the familiar scenes of Athens, and much panegyric of a sentimental sort. The conclusion is important to our poem more for its differences than its resemblances (399. 1 ff.): *ἐὰν δὲ διὰ θαλάττης ἀνάγηται, ἐκεῖ σοι μνήμη θαλαττίων ἔσται δαιμόνων, Αἰγυπτίου Πρωτέως, Ἀνθηδονίου Γλαύκου, Νηρέως, προπεμπόντων τε καὶ συνθεόντων τῇ νηί . . . ἡ δὲ ναῦς θείτω θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον ἄνδρα φέρουσα, ἕως ἂν προσαγάγῃς αὐτὸν τοῖς λιμέσι τῷ λόγῳ, καταστρέψεις δὲ εἰς εὐχὴν τὸν λόγον αἰτῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὰ κάλλιστα.*

Horace ends with none of the prayers enjoined by Menander. Nor like other writers of *propemptica* does he look forward to the drink and talk that will greet the wanderer's return (Ov. *am.* 2. 11. 49, Stat. *silv.* 3. 2. 133 ff.). Instead he turns to the folly of navigation and human inventiveness in general; only references to the Adriatic (15) and Acroceraunia (20) remind us that he is still thinking of a voyage to Greece. Presumably curses on the inventor of ships belong to the traditional *σχετλιασμός* enjoined by Menander (and natural also in epigrams on death at sea), but Horace carries his protests far beyond the normal limits; his remarks are not calculated in the least to console or flatter Virgil. In fact the poem should be regarded as a conflation of two quite different types, the *propempticon* proper, and the diatribe on inventiveness.

The folly of navigation is a theme already found in Hesiod, who comments on the absence of ships in the state of the just (*op.* 236 f.). The topic was elaborated by Hellenistic and Roman poets; cf. Arat. *phaen.* 110 f., Lucr. 5. 1004 ff., Virg. *ecl.* 4. 31 f., Hor. *epod.* 16. 57, Prop. 3. 7, Tib. 1. 3. 35 ff. The miseries and dangers of seafaring, which were very real in the ancient world, were conventionally exaggerated (cf. *RE* 2 A. 413, Mayor on Juv. 12. 58). Moralists argued that men sailed for reasons of avarice; the gods intended us to be land animals, and navigation is an inversion of the laws of nature (21 n.). Some of these themes are combined in an epigram by Antiphilus of Byzantium (*anth. P.* 9. 29):

> *Τόλμα, νεῶν ἀρχηγέ (σὺ γὰρ δρόμον ηὔραο πόντου,*
> *καὶ ψυχὰς ἀνδρῶν κέρδεσιν ἠρέθισας),*
> *οἷον ἐτεκτήνω δόλιον ξύλον, οἷον ἐνῆκας*
> *ἀνθρώποις θανάτῳ κέρδος ἐλεγχόμενον.*

ἦν ὄντως μερόπων χρύσεον γένος, εἴ γ' ἀπὸ χέρσου
τηλόθεν ὡς Ἀΐδης πόντος ἀπεβλέπετο.

The rhetoricians vied with the poets, and Nicolaus reiterates some of the trite topics of a *ψόγος ναυτιλίας* (1. 347 ff. Walz): *τὴν πονηρίαν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν χωρίων παιδεύεται . . . δύο περιπίπτει τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὀνείδεσι, θράσει καὶ δέει . . . κατεπιορκεῖ τῶν θεῶν ἐρῶσα τοῦ κέρδους, αἰτεῖ δὲ θεοὺς σωθῆναι σπουδάζουσα.* For further details see K. F. Smith on Tibullus 1. 3. 37–40, A. Oltramare, *Les Origines de la diatribe romaine*, Geneva, 1926 (see index s.v. *navigation*), A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, 1935.

Horace goes still further and turns to an attack on human inventiveness in general. The ancients by no means lacked appreciation of such enterprise; cf. Aesch. *Pr.* 459 ff., Soph. *Ant.* 332 ff., Lucr. 5. 1241 ff., Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 150 ff., *off.* 2. 13 ff., Virg. *georg.* 1. 129 ff. Yet poets and moralists regularly stressed the other point of view, not necessarily with any overwhelming conviction. Prometheus was too often the symbol not for man's conquest of nature, but for impious defiance of the gods (W. Headlam, *CQ* 28, 1934, 63 ff.). Particularly significant for our poem is a passage in the *Corpus Hermeticum* where Momus criticizes Hermes for encouraging man's audacity (fr. xxiii. 45–6): *τολμηρὰς ἐκτενοῦσι χεῖρας καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης, καὶ τὰς αὐτοφυεῖς ὕλας τέμνοντες μέχρι καὶ τῶν πέραν διαπορθμεύσουσιν ἀλλήλους . . . τὰ μέχρις ἄνω διώξουσι, παρατηρῆσαι βουλόμενοι τίς οὐρανοῦ καθέστηκε κίνησις . . . εἶτα οὐ καὶ μέχρις οὐρανοῦ περίεργον ὁπλισθήσονται τόλμαν οὗτοι;* Momus begins, as in our poem, with the audacity of seafaring; he then proceeds to an attack on scientific curiosity (Horace treats this in a more mythological way by the stories of Prometheus and Daedalus); finally both writers end up with an assault on heaven, described in terms of a literal battle (which must stand for spiritual impiety). There must have been much of this way of talking in Hellenistic ethical disquisitions; cf. Max. Tyr. 36. 2 b, Nemesius 40. 533 a Migne *τίς δ' ἂν ἐξειπεῖν δύναιτο τὰ τούτου τοῦ ζῴου πλεονεκτήματα; πελάγη διαβαίνει, οὐρανὸν ἐμβατεύει τῇ θεωρίᾳ, ἀστέρων κίνησιν καὶ διαστήματα καὶ μέτρα κατανοεῖ, γῆν καρποῦται καὶ θάλασσαν, θηρίων καὶ κητῶν καταφρονεῖ, πᾶσαν ἐπιστήμην καὶ τέχνην καὶ μέθοδον κατορθοῖ.* See further R. Reitzenstein, *SHAW* 8, 1917, 10. Abh., pp. 76 f., A. S. Ferguson in W. Scott, *Hermetica*, vol. 4, 1936, pp. 455 ff., J. P. Elder, loc. cit., p. 144 n. 11, Lovejoy–Boas, op. cit.

Horace's ode is an accomplished piece of versification, but little more. The poet may protest his affection for Virgil, but he shows none of his usual tact and charm; there is not a hint of Virgil's poetry, and it is wrong to argue, as some do, that the ode's sombre and religious tone is directed specifically towards the recipient. The second part of the poem is equally unsatisfactory; one expects a Horatian ode to veer widely, but here the trite and unseasonable moralizing seems out of place in a poem of friendship. The diatribe against enterprise has none of the universal validity which we expect from Horatian commonplaces, and though no more foolish than the conventional praises of poverty, it sounds particularly unconvincing to modern ears. Nor is the flatness of the thought redeemed by any special excellence in the writing. The poem is probably none the worse for lacking the *ἀβρότης* and *χάρις* which Menander Rhetor enjoins: Horace had no taste for the picturesque sea-scapes and cavorting Nereids of Hellenistic poetry. It matters more that we miss the Horatian virtues of brevity and incisiveness (cf. 12 ff.). The poem may have been written early, when Horace was still trying to surmount the technical difficulties of writing Latin lyrics; a voyage to Greece was a considerable enterprise, and there may well have been a long interval between this expedition and Virgil's last journey in 19.

Metre: Fourth Asclepiad.

1. sic . . .: 'so may Venus guide you, deliver Virgil safe'; that is to say 'as you hope for Venus's guidance . . .'. In English this idiom is more familiar in assertions ('So help me God, I did not steal the money'; cf. *OED* 'so' B 19). In Greek and Latin it is also common in petitions; cf. Milton, *Lycidas* 18 ff. 'Hence with denial vain and coy excuse: So may some gentle Muse With lucky words favour my destined urn'. See further J. E. Church, *TAPhA* 36, 1905, lv ff., H.–Sz. 331, Appel 152.

Our passage is unusual in one respect. Normally the boon proposed in the *sic* clause is a *quid pro quo* which is to operate on the fulfilment of the speaker's own request; according to this pattern Horace might have written 'so may all your voyages prosper, keep Virgil safe'. But in our passage he only mentions the voyage which is itself a prerequisite for Virgil's safe arrival. It is unlikely that this simple point escaped Horace's notice. Even his bargaining concessions are designed to promote Virgil's safety.

diva: it was traditional in a *propempticon* to invoke the gods of the sea. Aphrodite counted as one of these gods (1. 5. 16 n.), and was worshipped as 'Euploia' at Cnidus (Paus. 1. 1. 3). For her power to guide ships cf. Solon 7. 3 f. *αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ ξὺν νηὶ θοῇ κλεινῆς ἀπὸ νήσου / ἀσκηθῆ πέμποι Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος*, Anyte, *anth. P.* 9. 144. 1 ff., Lucian, *amor.* 11, Rut. Nam. 1. 156.

potens Cypri: cf. *h. Ven.* 292 *χαῖρε θεὰ Κύπροιο ἐυκτιμένης μεδέουσα*, 1. 30. 1 n. The genitive is often used in religious contexts; cf. 1. 5. 15 n., 1. 6. 10, 3. 25. 14, *carm. saec.* 1, Virg. *Aen.* 1. 80, Ov. *am.* 3. 10.

35 'diva potens frugum', Manil. 2. 60, Stat. *silv.* 3. 4. 19 f., *ILS* 3061 'Iovi o.m. Tempestatium divinarum potenti'.

2. fratres Helenae: for protection by the Dioscuri cf. 1. 12. 27 n.

lucida sidera: Horace is referring to 'St. Elmo's fire'. This is a dull blue glare ('point discharge' or 'corona discharge') that appears on the masts and rigging of ships, and was even observed by Sir J. J. Thomson on the pinnacles of King's College Chapel (Cook, cited below). It was associated with the Dioscuri, and regarded as a propitious omen during a storm. The name 'Elmo' has been variously explained as a corruption of 'Erasmus' and a sobriquet of S. Pedro González; cf. K. Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See*, Tübingen, 1907, pp. 64 ff., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 447.

Commentators assume without argument that Horace is talking about St. Elmo's fire, though his words by themselves could refer simply to a constellation in the sky. But though their reasoning is inadequate their conclusion is correct. The reader can assume that St. Elmo's fire is meant because this was a regular feature of the *propempticon*. It must already have appeared in Cinna; cf. fr. 2 'lucida cum fulgent summi carchesia mali' (note especially *lucida*). Statius's treatment may be regarded not simply as an elaboration of Horace but as a reflection of traditional motifs: 'proferte benigna / sidera et antemnae gemino considite cornu, / Oebalii fratres; vobis pontusque polusque / luceat; Iliacae longe nimbosa sororis / astra fugate, precor, totoque excludite caelo' (*silv.* 3. 2. 8 ff.). Statius is alluding to the legend that the single illumination of Helen was dangerous to shipping (Pliny and Cook, cited below). So when Horace calls the Dioscuri the 'fratres Helenae' he may be drawing on a source which referred explicitly to the menace of Helen's star.

For other allusions to St. Elmo's fire cf. Alcaeus 34(a). 7 ff. *ῥήα δ' ἀνθρώποις θανάτω ῥύεσθε / ζακρυόεντος / εὐσδύγων θρῴσκοντες .. ἄκρα νάων / πήλοθεν λάμπροι*, Xenophanes A 39 Diels–Kranz *τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων φαινομένους οἷον ἀστέρας, οὓς καὶ Διοσκούρους καλοῦσί τινες, νεφέλια εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ποιὰν κίνησιν παραλάμποντα*, Sen. *nat.* 1. 1. 13 'in magna tempestate apparere, quasi stellae solent velo insidentes; adiuvari se tunc periclitantes aestimant Pollucis et Castoris numine', Plin. *nat.* 2. 101, Lucian, *navig.* 9 *ἔφασκεν ὁ ναύκληρος . . . τινα λαμπρὸν ἀστέρα Διοσκούρων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπικαθίσαι τῷ καρχησίῳ καὶ κατευθῦναι τὴν ναῦν*, Shakespeare, *The Tempest* 1. ii. 96 ff. (Ariel speaks) 'Now on the beak, Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin I flamed amazement: sometimes I'ld divide, And burn in many places; on the topmast, The yards, and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly, Then meet, and join', Marvell, *First Anniversary* 269 f. 'While baleful Tritons to the shipwrack guide And corposants along the tacklings slide', Macaulay, *Battle of the Lake Regillus* 40. 15 f. 'If once the Great Twin Brethren Sit shining on the sails'. For further details see Cook, *Zeus* 1. 771 ff., T. H. Martin, *RA* 13, 1866, 168 ff., 14, 1866, 260 ff., J. P. Mahaffy, *RAL* 6, 1897, 93, Pease on Cic. *div.* 1. 75, 2. 77 and p. 597, P. F. Mottelay, *Bibliographical History of Electricity and Magnetism*, 1922, pp. 23 f. For technical discussions cf. J. A. Chalmers, *Report on Progress in Physics* 17, 1954, 109 ff. and *Atmospheric Electricity*, 1957, pp. 156 ff., L. B. Loeb, *Electrical Coronas*, 1965 (who provides a coloured photograph as his frontispiece).

3. ventorum . . . pater: in traditional Greek mythology Aeolus is the master of the winds, not their father. So *pater* seems to be used in the sense of *paterfamilias*; cf. *serm.* 2. 8. 7 'cenae pater' (= *dominus convivii*), Stat. *silv.* 3. 2. 42 (see next note), Juv. 13. 81 'pater Aegaei Neptune'.

4. obstrictis aliis: an epic phrase; cf. Hom. *Od.* 5. 383 ff. *ἦ τοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κελεύθους / . . . ὦρσε δ' ἐπὶ κραιπνὸν Βορέην*, 10. 20 (on Aeolus) *ἔνθα δὲ βυκτάων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κέλευθα*, Call. *h.* 3. 230, Virg. *Aen.* 1. 52 ff. 'vasto rex Aeolus antro / luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras / imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat'.

It seems to have been a conventional prayer in the *propempticon*, perhaps deriving ultimately from Cinna, that only the west wind should blow. Cf. Ov. *am.* 2. 11. 41 'ipsa roges, Zephyri veniant in lintea soli', Stat. *silv.* 3. 2. 42 ff. 'et pater Aeolio frangit qui carcere ventos / . . . artius obiecto Borean Eurumque Notumque / monte premat; soli Zephyro sit copia caeli'. In Horace's epode on Maevius the situation is reversed; Auster, Eurus, and Aquilo blow together, but there is not a word about Zephyrus (*epod.* 10. 3 ff.).

Iapyga: Iapygia was the 'heel' of Italy, and Iapyx the WNW. wind that blew ships from Brindisi to Greece. Cf. 3. 27. 19 f. 'albus . . . Iapyx', Virg. *Aen.* 8. 709 f. (Cleopatra after Actium) 'illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura / fecerat Ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri', Serv. ad loc. 'vento qui de Apulia flans optime ad Orientem ducit', Gell. 2. 22 (a discussion of this and similar names), *RE* 8 A. 2299 f.

5. creditum: imitated by Stat. *silv.* 3. 2. 5 f. 'grande tuo rarumque damus, Neptune, profundo / depositum'; cf. also 1. 24. 11, Val. Fl. 2. 292 'talin possum te credere puppi?', Dioscorides, *anth. P.* 12. 171. 1 f. *τὸν καλόν, ὡς ἔλαβες, κομίσαις πάλι πρός με θεωρὸν / Εὐφραγόρην, ἀνέμων πρηύτατε Ζέφυρε*. One is meant to think of a valuable object deposited with a friend for safe keeping; cf. Juv. 13. 15 f. 'sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus / depositum' (with Mayor's note), Plin. *epist.* 10. 96. 7 '(the Christians swore) ne depositum adpellati abnegarent'.

6. finibus Atticis: Porphyrio comments 'ambiguum utrum *debes finibus Atticis* an *finibus Atticis reddas*'. The second explanation is the right one; the dative to be understood with *debes* is not *finibus* but *mihi*. Besides, on the first interpretation the sentence straggles.

8. animae dimidium meae: the lineage of this and kindred phrases makes an interesting chapter of literary history. Perhaps its origin is to be found in Aristophanes's speech in Plato's *Symposium* (189 c–193 d); yet see 205 d *καὶ λέγεται μέν γέ τις, ἔφη, λόγος, ὡς οἱ ἂν τὸ ἥμισυ ἑαυτῶν ζητῶσιν, οὗτοι ἐρῶσιν* (cf. Empedocles B 63). The idea was developed by Callimachus in an influential epigram (41. 1 f.): *ἥμισύ μευ ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον, ἥμισυ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' / εἴτ' Ἔρος εἴτ' Ἀΐδης ἥρπασε, πλὴν ἀφανές* (cf. Gow–Page 2. 158, Gow on Theoc. 29. 5). Callimachus was imitated by Meleager, *anth. P.* 12. 52. 1 f. *οὔριος ἐμπνεύσας ναύταις Νότος, ὦ δυσέρωτες, / ἥμισύ μευ ψυχᾶς ἅρπασεν Ἀνδράγαθον*. Horace conflates Callimachus's Asclepiads (above, p. 41) with Meleager, but he gives up the sentimentality of the Hellenistic *propempticon* for a note of sober friendship (cf. 2. 17. 5 'te meae . . . partem animae'). Here he may be influenced by a less erotic range of expressions; cf. Eur. *Or.* 1045 f. *ὦ φίλτατ', ὦ ποθεινὸν ἥδιστόν τ' ἔχων / τῆς σῆς ἀδελφῆς ὄνομα καὶ ψυχὴν μίαν*, Arist. *eth. Nic.* 1168^{b}6 f. *καὶ αἱ παροιμίαι δὲ πᾶσαι ὁμογνωμονοῦσιν, οἷον τὸ "μία ψυχή"*, Otto 25 f. For the similar idea that a friend is an *alter idem*, cf. Arist. *eth. Nic.* 1166^{a}31, Diog. Laert. 7. 23, Cic. *Lael.* 80, F. Lossmann, *Hermes Einzelschrift* 17, 1962, 33 ff., F. A. Steinmetz, *Die Freundschaftslehre des Panaitios*, 1967, pp. 138 ff.

Later Latin writers imitate Horace freely; cf. Ov. *trist.* 1. 2. 44, 4. 10. 32 with de Jonge's note, Pers. 5. 22 f. Statius ingeniously combines a reference to our passage and to 2. 17. 5: 'animae partem super aequora nostrae / maiorem transferre parat' (*silv.* 3. 2. 7 f.). For later developments cf. Rut. Nam. 1. 426 with Helm's note, Aug. *conf.* 4. 6. 11, ps.-Sen. *anth. Lat.* 445. 9, Ven. Fort. *carm.* 6. 10. 48, Shakespeare, *sonnet* 39. 2 'When thou art all the better part of me', 74. 8, Milton, *P.L.* 4. 487 f. 'Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee claim My other half', 5. 95 'Best image of myself and dearer half'. Finally comes the Victorian vulgarism 'my better half', which can be traced back to Sidney, *Arcadia* 3. 280 (*OED* s.v. 'better', 3 c).

9. robur et aes triplex: in early poetry a metal heart was a mark of toughness, insensitivity, or cruelty; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 489 f. *οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν, / φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη*, 24. 205 *σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ* (of Priam going to Achilles), Hes. *th.* 764 f. *τοῦ δὲ σιδηρέη μὲν κραδίη, χάλκεον δέ οἱ ἦτορ / νηλεὲς ἐν στήθεσσιν* (see West's note), Pind. fr. 123. 4 f. *ὃς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος / ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν* (for further material

cf. B. A. van Groningen, *Pindare au Banquet*, 1960, p. 56, Otto 4, 134, R. Hildebrandt, *Philologus* 70, 1911, 52 ff., Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4. 366). For wood cf. Cic. *Lucull.* 100 'non enim est e saxo sculptus aut e robore dolatus' with Reid's note, *Lael.* 48 with Seyffert–Müller, pp. 331 ff., Ach. Tat. 5. 22. 5 *ὁ δὲ σιδηροῦς τις ἢ ξύλινος ἤ τι τῶν ἀναισθήτων ἦν ἄρα πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις τὰς ἐμάς*, Hildebrandt, loc. cit., pp. 55 f., 61, West on Hes. *th.* 35. In view of these parallels Horace may be suggesting insensitivity as well as fearlessness; cf. especially Tib. 1. 1. 63 f. 'flebis; non tua sunt duro praecordia ferro / vincta, nec in tenero stat tibi corde silex'.

Horace was imitated by Herrick, *Hesperides* 106. 75 f. 'A heart thrice wall'd with Oke, and Brasse, that man Had, first, durst plow the Ocean'. The expression 'heart of oak', on the other hand, refers primarily to the hard centre of the oak-tree; cf. anon. (1760) 'Heart of oak are our ships, Heart of oak are our men', *OED* 'heart' 19 b. But often the meaning of 'heart' is misunderstood, perhaps under the influence of such passages as our own; cf. Tennyson, *Buonaparte*, 'He thought to quell the stubborn hearts of oak'.

10. truci: cf. Catull. 4. 9 'trucemve Ponticum sinum'. In Horace the word is pointedly placed next to *fragilem*. Paulinus's imitation is less terse (*carm.* 24. 27 f.): 'Narbone solvit per trucem ponti viam / fragili carinae credulus'.

12. primus: the first ship was traditionally Jason's Argo, though there were conflicting claims (Pease on Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 89). For disparaging remarks on the inventor of ships cf. Prop. 1. 17. 13 f. 'a pereat quicumque rates et vela paravit / primus et invito gurgite fecit iter', Ov. *am.* 2. 11. 1 f. 'prima malas docuit mirantibus aequoris undis / Peliaco pinus vertice caesa manus', Sen. *Med.* 301 f. (modelled on our passage) 'audax nimium qui freta primus / rate tam fragili perfida rupit', Plin. *nat.* 19. 6 (on the inventor of linen sails) 'nulla exsecratio sufficit contra inventorem . . . cui satis non fuit hominem in terra mori, nisi periret et insepultus', Val. Fl. 1. 648 f., Stat. *silv.* 3. 2. 61 ff. 'quis rude et abscissum miseris animantibus aequor / fecit iter, solidaeque pios telluris alumnos / expulit in fluctus pelagoque immisit hianti / audax ingenii?' (*abscissum*, *immisit*, and *audax* are influenced by Horace), *Ach.* 1. 64 f., Opp. *hal.* 1. 354 *ὦ πόποι, ὃς πρώτιστος ὄχους ἁλὸς εὕρατο νῆας*, Claud. *rapt. Pros.* praef. 1 ff., especially 9 'praeceps audacia'. Some of these passages refer specifically to the Argo; the topic was no doubt encouraged by Eur. *Med.* 1 ff. on the disasters that followed from the Argo's voyage.

It was a widespread conviction in antiquity that all arts and artefacts must have been invented by somebody. Already in Aeschylus, Prometheus appears as the inventor of writing and arithmetic,

yokes and ships, and the popular basis of such attitudes emerges from many colloquial allusions in comedy and elegy. In particular, imprecations on an inventor were a common theme; cf., for instance, Aquilius, *com.* 1 f. 'ut illum di perdant primus qui horas repperit / quique adeo primus statuit hic solarium'. Philosophers attempted to put the discussion on a more scientific basis: Aristotle, Theophrastus, and others wrote *περὶ εὑρημάτων* (Clem. Alex. *strom.* 1. 16. 77. 1), and Posidonius revealed some interest in the problem (cf. Sen. *epist.* 90. 7). See further Plin. *nat.* 7. 191 ff., F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, ed. 2, 1912, pp. 152 ff., M. Kremmer, *De catalogis Heurematum*, 1890, A. Kleingünther, *Philologus* Suppl. 26. 1, 1933, K. Thraede, *RhM* 105, 1962, 158 ff. and *RLAC* 5. 1191 ff., Pease on Cic. *nat. deor.* 1. 38 and 3. 45; a list of references in the Augustan poets is supplied by Boucher 419.

nec timuit: cf. Arist. *eth. Nic.* 1115^{b}26 ff. *εἴη δ' ἄν τις μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος εἰ μηδὲν φοβοῖτο, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε κύματα, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς Κελτούς.*

praecipitem Africum: in the Mediterranean the *καταιγίς*, or swooping squall, was a constant danger (*RE* 8 A. 2305). See, for instance, Hom. *Il.* 2. 148 *λάβρος ἐπαιγίζων*, Leonidas, *anth. P.* 7. 273. 1 *αἰπήεσσα καταιγίς*, Virg. *georg.* 2. 310 f., 4. 29 'praeceps . . . Eurus', Ov. *am.* 2. 11. 52 (his *propempticon*) 'nec te praecipites extimuisse Notos', *epist.* 10. 30, *met.* 2. 185, 11. 481. Perhaps it might be suggested that *praeceps* refers to a wind in Juv. 1. 149 f. 'omne in praecipiti vitium stetit: utere velis, / totos pande sinus'.

13. decertantem . . .: 'the most forbidding feature of the Mediterranean is the frequency of its winter gales, which change direction rapidly and create incalculable cross-seas in confined waters' (M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, 1929, c. 2 § 1). Hence the frequent allusions in the poets to the battle of the winds; cf. Hom. *Il.* 16. 765 *ὡς δ' Εὖρός τε Νότος τ' ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλοιιν*, *Od.* 5. 295 f., Aesch. *Pr.* 1085 ff., Enn. *ann.* 443 ff., Pacuv. *trag.* 415, Virg. *georg.* 1. 318, *Aen.* 1. 84 ff., 10. 356 ff., Prop. 3. 15. 32, Ov. *met.* 11. 490, Sen. *Ag.* 474 ff., Sil. 12. 617 f., Pope, *ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ, or, Of the Art of Sinking in Poetry*, 1727, c. 15 'Take Eurus, Zephyr, Auster and Boreas, and cast them together in one verse . . . Brew your tempest well in your head, before you set it a-blowing'. Aristotle takes a more sensible view (*meteor.* 364^{a}27 ff.): *οὕτω δὲ τεταγμένων τῶν ἀνέμων δῆλον ὅτι ἅμα πνεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἐναντίους οὐχ οἷόν τε (κατὰ διάμετρον γάρ· ἄτερος οὖν παύσεται ἀποβιασθείς), τοὺς δὲ μὴ οὕτως κειμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδὲν κωλύει* (cf. Sen. *nat.* 5. 16. 2). See further *RE* 8 A. 2241 f., and for literary storms 1. 14. 3 n.

14. Hyadas: a cluster of stars in the constellation Taurus. Their

morning setting (November) and evening rising (late October) were supposed to indicate rain; their name was rightly or wrongly connected with *ὗειν* (though the Roman word *Suculae* suggests a derivation from *ὗς*, 'a pig'). See especially Pancrates, *anth. P.* 7. 653. 1 f. *ὤλεσεν Αἰγαίου διὰ κύματος ἄγριος ἀρθεὶς / λὶψ Ἐπιηρείδην Ὑάσι δυομέναις*, Tiro ap. Gell. 13. 9. 4 'et cum oriuntur et cum occidunt tempestates pluvias largosque imbres cient', Virg. *Aen.* 1. 744 and 3. 516 'pluviasque Hyadas', Ov. *fast.* 5. 165, Tennyson, *Ulysses* 10 f. 'Thro' scudding drifts the rainy Hyades Vext the dim sea'. See further W. Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* 1. 219, 232 (a very clear summary of the evidence on risings and settings of constellations), *RE* 6. 2430, 8. 2615 ff., Pease on Cic. *nat. deor.* 2. 111.

15. arbiter: cf. 2. 17. 19 f. 'tyrannus / Hesperiae Capricornus undae', 3. 3. 4 f. 'Auster / dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae', Petron. 114. 3 'Italici litoris aquilo possessor'; on the same lines the French *mistral* is the 'master-wind' (*magistralis*). The storms of the Adriatic were and are notorious (*RE* 1. 418).

16. tollere seu ponere: cf. Hom. *Od.* 10. 21 f. (on Aeolus) *κεῖνον γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε Κρονίων, / ἠμὲν πανέμεναι ἠδ' ὀρνύμεν ὅν κ' ἐθέλῃσιν*, *Aen.* 1. 66 'et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento'. The winds are sometimes said in ancient poetry to still the sea; cf. Soph. *Ai.* 674 f. *δεινῶν τ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε / στένοντα πόντον*, Virg. *ecl.* 2. 26 'cum placidum ventis staret mare', *Aen.* 3. 69 f., 5. 763.

17. quem mortis timuit gradum: presumably this simply refers to the approach of death; cf. below, 33, Luc. 2. 100 'quantoque gradu mors saeva cucurrit', Stat. *silv.* 5. 1. 75 'venitque gradu fortuna benigno'. Yet these expressions are fairly vivid; Lucan in particular suggests *μακρὰ βίβας*. In Horace, on the other hand, the general form of the phrase blurs the picture.

Ps.-Acro seems to interpret 'degree of death' ('ac si diceret genus mortis'). Some consideration has to be given to this explanation, as on this sort of point a scholiast's knowledge of the language may be of value. One would have to assume that different deaths are of different 'degrees' according to their unpleasantness; yet the notion is not easy to illustrate. There is an apparent but misleading parallel at Auson. 159. 7 f. 'quae Numa cognatis sollemnia dedicat umbris / ut gradus aut mortis postulat aut generis'; in fact he must be referring to the rank of the dead man. Some editors explain 'aditum ad mortem', but this is impossible.

18. siccis oculis: cf. Aesch. *Th.* 696 *ξηροῖς ἀκλαύτοις ὄμμασιν*, Prop. 1. 17. 11 'siccis . . . ocellis'; Bentley adds further parallels. Ancient southerners showed their emotions much more freely than modern

Englishmen (Elizabethans were different). In particular they were readier to scream during a storm; cf. *epod.* 10. 17 'et illa non virilis eiulatio', Lucian, *peregr.* 43 ἐκώκυε μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, Synes. *epist.* 4 p. 641 Hercher ἀνδρῶν οἰμωγή, γυναικῶν ὀλολυγή. Even today voyagers in the Aegean can recount surprising behaviour.

Bentley proposed *rectis oculis*. He argued that tears are not natural in the face of danger: it is therefore absurd to emphasize the bravery of the man who remains dry-eyed. But tears were a conventional property in a variety of literary situations, notably in epic (Schol. B on *Il.* 1. 349, Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4. 449) and history (Kroll 342 n. 25). Fear is given elsewhere as a cause of weeping; cf. Hom. *Il.* 13. 88 f. τοὺς οἵ γ' εἰσορόωντες ὑπ' ὀφρύσι δάκρυα λεῖβον· / οὐ γὰρ ἔφαν φεύξεσθαι ὑπὲκ κακοῦ, Caes. *Gall.* 1. 39. 4 (some of Caesar's soldiers on hearing of the valour of the Germans) 'neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant'. In particular there are other instances of weeping at sea; cf. Simon. 543. 5 (Danae adrift) οὐκ ἀδιάντοισι παρειαῖς, Ov. *met.* 11. 539 'non tenet hic lacrimas', Phaedr. 4. 18. 4, Val. Fl. 1. 633, Ennod. *carm.* 1. 5. 44 (modelled on our passage) 'nec siccis oculis respexi marmoris iras', Shakespeare, *3 Henry VI* v. iv. 7 f. 'like a fearful lad With tearful eyes add water to the sea'.

monstra natantia: cf. 3. 27. 26 f. 'scatentem / beluis pontum', 4. 14. 47 f., Albinov. *carm.* 5 ff., Val. Fl. 5. 481 f., Tac. *ann.* 2. 24. 6 'monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas, visa sive ex metu credita', Milton, *Lycidas* 157 f. 'Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world'. See further Plin. *nat.* 9. 2 ff., Mayor on Juv. 14. 283, K. Shepard, *The Fish-Tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art*, New York, 1940, A. Lesky, *Thalatta*, 1947, pp. 138 ff., Bühler on Moschus, *Europa* 115–24.

19. vidit: 'endured to see'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 431 f. 'informem vasto vidisse sub antro / Scyllam', Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 3, Aesch. *Pers.* 100 ff. ἔμαθον . . . ἐσορᾶν πόντιον ἅλσος.

turbidum: cf. 3. 3. 5 'dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae', Lucr. 5. 1000 f. 'turbida ponti / aequora', Ov. *epist.* 18. 7 f., 18. 172, *trist.* 1. 11. 34, Sen. *Herc. O.* 456, Avien. *Arat.* 656, 850, 1458, 1761. The variant *turgidum* is a less conventional adjective, though cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 230 (of the Thracian sea) οἴδματι θυίων, Hes. *th.* 109, 131, Arat. *phaen.* 909 οἰδαίνουσα θάλασσα (before a storm), Sacerd. *gramm.* 6. 533. 17 'lapides mare turgidum eluens', Avien. *Arat.* 307 'glauci vada turgida ponti', Prud. *perist.* 5. 475 f. 'quae turgidum quondam mare / gradiente Christo straverat'. Either word is tolerable, but *turbidum* describes a present danger more forcibly; *turgidum* rather refers to the swell before a storm. Moreover, *turbidum* can be paralleled much more convincingly from important Latin poets. Champions

of *turgidum* regard it as more interesting and less trite; but in cases of this kind 'facilior lectio potior' is the wisest maxim.

20. infamis: cf. Liv. 21. 31. 8 'infames frigoribus Alpes', Sen. *epist.* 14. 8, Stat. *Theb.* 3. 121, *Thes.l.L.* 7. 1. 1340. 44 ff. Of course Acroceraunia was not yet notorious at the time of the first voyage, but Horace is looking at the situation from Virgil's point of view. For the mannered word-order cf. Ov. *epist.* 4. 171 'montanaque numina Panes', *met.* 2. 616 'temeraria tela sagittas', Norden on Virg. *Aen.* 6. 7, Housman on Manil. 2. 23, H.–Sz. 409.

Acroceraunia: the Ceraunian range (Maj'e Çikës) in N. Epirus (S. Albania) reaches a height of 5,300 feet within two miles of the sea; as it is situated at the place where the Adriatic is narrowest it is a notable landmark to travellers from Brindisi. Some modern authorities state that Acroceraunia (as opposed to Ceraunia) was the name of the promontory to the north (Glossa, Linguetta, Gjuhëzës), rising to 2,800 feet at the southern entrance to the gulf of Valona. This is very doubtful; the *acropolis* is the top part of a city, not the far end, and Acrocorinthus the top part of Corinth. A more decisive argument comes from Plin. *nat.* 4. 4 'in Epiri ora castellum in Acroceraunis Chimera'; this refers to the modern Himarë, which is situated well south of the promontory.

The mountains derived their name from their frequent thunderstorms; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 3. 506 'Ceraunia sunt montes Epiri a crebris fulminibus propter altitudinem nominati: unde Horatius expressius dixit Acroceraunia propter altitudinem et fulminum iactus', Virg. *georg.* 1. 332 f. 'aut alta Ceraunia telo / deicit', Macaulay 'And the great Thunder cape has donned His veil of inky gloom'. The area was dangerous to shipping; cf. Caes. *civ.* 3. 6. 3, Ov. *rem.* 738, *RE* 11. 268 f. Octavian lost some ships there after Actium (Suet. *Aug.* 17. 3). Ceraunia may well have figured in Cinna's *propempticon* (above, p. 41); his poem referred to Corcyra (cf. fr. 5), which is only a little to the south.

21. abscidit: 'In vain did Nature's wise command / Divide the waters from the land' (Dryden). 'abscidit . . . oceano . . . terras' probably means 'divided land from ocean', not 'separated the lands with the ocean'. The former interpretation involves a more exact use of *abscindere*; and as the reader reaches *oceano* before *terras* he naturally understands the ablative as separative. There is strong support for this view in Ovid's account of the creation (*met.* 1. 22): 'nam caelo terras et terris abscidit undas' (note the plural *terras*, as in Horace). See also Statius's imitation of our passage (*silv.* 3. 2. 61 f.): 'quis rude et abscissum miseris animantibus aequor / fecit iter?'; by the dative *animantibus* Statius suggests more explicitly than Horace

that the sea is out of bounds; both writers presumably remembered Arat. *phaen.* 110 *χαλεπὴ δ' ἀπέκειτο θάλασσα* (of the Golden Age). Cf. further Sil. 11. 455 '(canebat) deus ut liquidi discisset stagna profundi'. On the other side it must be admitted that *abscidit* is used with an accusative plural of the separation of two lands; cf. Val. Fl. 2. 616 ff. 'has etiam terras . . . Neptunia quondam / cuspis et adversi longus labor abscidit aevi', Claud. *rapt. Pros.* 1. 144 f. 'rupit confinia Nereus / victor et abscissos interluit aequore montes'. *abscidit* is also used with an accusative and ablative of the separation of one land from another (Virg. *Aen.* 3. 417 f. 'venit medio vi pontus et undis / Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit').

Horace is alluding, not altogether seriously, to a doctrine of the early Greek philosophers, who described the creation of cosmos out of chaos by the separation of the elements; cf. W. Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter*, 1959, pp. 107 ff., G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 1962, pp. 32 ff., F. Lämmli, *Vom Chaos zum Kosmos*, 1962. The theme was taken up by the poets; cf. Ap. Rhod. 1. 496 ff. *ἤειδεν δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα, / τὸ πρὶν ἔτ' ἀλλήλοισι μιῇ συναρηρότα μορφῇ, / νείκεος ἐξ ὀλοοῖο διέκριθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα*, Virg. *ecl.* 6. 35 f. 'tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto / coeperit', Bömer on Ov. *fast.* 5. 11. It is particularly relevant that Seneca alludes to the topic in a diatribe against navigation which contains other reminiscences of our poem (12 n.); cf. *Med.* 335 ff. 'bene *dissaepti* foedera mundi / traxit in unum Thessala pinus / iussitque pati verbera pontum / partemque metus fieri nostri / mare *sepositum*'. Horace and Seneca are simply elaborating the theme that sailing is a violation of the laws of nature; cf. Colum. 1 praef. 8 'an bellum perosis maris et negotiationis alea sit optabilior ut rupto naturae foedere terrestre animal homo ventorum et maris obiectus irae fluctibus pendeat?'

22. prudens: the word suggests the wise foresight of divine providence; cf. 3. 29. 29.

dissociabili: 'incompatible'; cf. Tac. *Agr.* 3. 1 'res olim dissociabilis miscuerit principatum et libertatem' (the prefix negatives as in *dissimilis*). The sea in a literal physical sense 'cannot be mixed'; Horace goes further than Ov. *met.* 1. 25 'dissociata locis concordi pace ligavit' (this line occurs in the creation myth which has already provided a parallel for *abscidit*). Also, from the moral point of view, the sea is a thing that men should have nothing to do with; Horace may be thinking of such Greek adjectives as *ἀκοινώνητος* or *ἀνεπίμικτος*. Cf. also Albinov. *carm.* fr. 21 f. 'aliena quid aequora remis / et sacras violamus aquas?', Ambr. *Hel.* 71 'cur separatioris elementi profunda rimaris?'

Many editors interpret *dissociabili* as active in sense, with the meaning 'separating'; *Oceano* would then be instrumental ablative. One may compare Lucr. 5. 203 'et mare quod late terrarum distinet oras', Stat. *silv.* 1. 3. 32 f. 'sic dissociata profundo / Bruttia Sicanium circumspicit ora Pelorum', Rut. Nam. 1. 330 'tamquam longinquo dissociata mari', Arnold, *Marguerite* (in a passage evidently modelled on our own) 'A god, a god their severance ruled, And bade betwixt their bounds to be The unplumbed, salt, estranging sea'. The poets sometimes use adjectives in *-bilis* in an active sense (see Munro on Lucr. 1. 11); in particular one may compare 2. 14. 6 f. 'illacrimabilem / Plutona'. Yet in a passage where there is real ambiguity one naturally expects the passive, especially as *dissociabilis*, *insociabilis*, and *sociabilis* always seem to be passive elsewhere.

24. non tangenda: the phrase suggests sacrilege; cf. 1. 35. 35, *epist.* 1. 3. 16. *transiliunt* suits a skimming boat, but also implies audacity; cf. Juv. 14. 278 f. 'nec Carpathium Gaetulaque tantum / aequora transiliet'. Shallows (*vada*) are particularly dangerous.

25. audax: *audacia* (*τόλμα*) is an impious self-assertion; cf. E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, 1963, pp. 24 ff.

omnia perpeti: to put up with anything was not in the ancient world a virtue; cf. 3. 24. 42 f. 'pauperies . . . iubet / quidvis et facere et pati'. For other instances of the phrase *omnia perpeti* see Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 291 (on 2. 26. 35).

26. per vetitum nefas: for *ruere per nefas* cf. Luc. 5. 312 f. 'ipse per omne / fasque nefasque rues?', *Octavia* 787, Prud. *perist.* 10. 515, *cath.* 11. 93, Mar. Victor, *aleth.* 3. 22 ff. For *vetitum* cf. Ov. *am.* 3. 4. 17, Claud. 20. 52, Orient. *comm.* 2. 49 'in vetitum ruimus cupimusque negata'.

27. Iapeti genus: Prometheus; the reference is one of several Hesiodic touches in the poem (see next note). For the grandiloquent *genus* (= 'scion') cf. *serm.* 1. 6. 12 'Laevinum Valeri genus', Catull. 61. 2 'Uraniae genus', Eur. *Cycl.* 104 *Σισύφου γένος*. From the Renaissance Iapetus was identified with the son of Noah; cf. Ben Jonson, *Underwoods*, 1641, *An Ode to himselfe* 27 ff. 'with *Japhets* line, aspire *Sols* Chariot for new fire, To give the world againe', Milton, *P.L.* 4. 616 f. For similarities between the two figures cf. West on Hes. *th.* 134.

28. ignem . . .: Prometheus stole fire from heaven; cf. Hes. *op.* 50 ff. (*Ζεὺς*) *κρύψε δὲ πῦρ· τὸ μὲν αὖτις ἐὺς πάις Ἰαπέτοιο / ἔκλεψ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς πάρα μητιόεντος / ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι λαθὼν Δία τερπικέραυνον*, *th.* 565 ff., Aesch. *Pr.* 7 f., 109 ff., West on Hes. *th.* 507–616.

fraude mala: the expression is similar to *dolo malo* but is not itself

a legal technicality. Cf. Plaut. *truc.* 298, Stat. *silv.* 3. 1. 32, Plin. *epist.* 7. 4. 6 (verse), Apul. *met.* 10. 27. 3.

29. post ignem . . .: as a consequence of Prometheus's theft of fire (note the emphatic repetition of *ignem*) Zeus sent Pandora to Epimetheus with a jar full of diseases. Cf. Hes. *op.* 102 f. *νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ / αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι*, Serv. *ecl.* 6. 42 'ob quam causam irati dii duo mala immiserunt terris, mulieres (v.l. macies) et morbos, sicut et Sappho et Hesiodus memorant. quod tangit etiam Horatius dicens "post ignem aetheria . . ." ', Shelley, *Prom.* 2. 4. 49 ff. 'For on the race of man First famine, and then toil, and then disease, Strife, wounds, and ghastly death unseen before, Fell'. For a Cynic rationalization of the myth cf. Dio Chrys. 6. 25 *τὸν μῦθον λέγειν ὡς τὸν Προμηθέα κολάζοι ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὴν εὕρεσιν καὶ μετάδοσιν τοῦ πυρός, ὡς ἀρχὴν τοῦτο καὶ ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μαλακίας καὶ τρυφῆς.*

Pandora is surprisingly little mentioned in classical literature; her 'box' was really a huge jar or *πίθος*, mistranslated by Erasmus in his *Adagia* as *pyxis*. Cf. J. E. Harrison, *JHS* 20, 1900, 99 ff., D. and E. Panofsky, *Pandora's Box*, 1956, pp. 14 ff.

aetheria domo: a grandiloquent expression; cf. the passages cited in 1. 28. 5 n.

31. incubuit: *ἐνέσκηψεν*; cf. Lucr. 6. 1143 '(mortifer aestus) incubuit tandem populo Pandionis omni', Lact. *inst.* 2. 1. 9 'si morborum pestifera vis incubuit', Pallad. 4. 15. 1, Macr. *sat.* 7. 5. 10.

cohors: diseases are to be counted in battalions; cf. Aesch. *supp.* 684 *νούσων . . . ἑσμός*, Sen. *epist.* 95. 23 'innumerabiles esse morbos non miraberis: cocos numera', Plin. *nat.* 7. 172 'morborum vero tam infinita est multitudo', Dio Chrys. 6. 23 (citing Diogenes) *νοσημάτων γέμοντας ἃ μηδὲ ὀνομάσαι ῥᾴδιον*, Juv. 10. 218 ff. 'circumsilit agmine facto / morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras, / promptius expediam quot amaverit Oppia moechos, / quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno'. Horace is imitated by Gray, *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* 81 ff. 'A griesly troop are seen, The painful family of Death'.

32. semotique prius: these words belong together. Before Pandora men died only of old age; cf. Hes. *op.* 91 f. *νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο / νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων αἵ τ' ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν.*

necessitas leti: cf. Hom. *Il.* 16. 836 *ἦμαρ ἀναγκαῖον*, Eur. *Hipp.* 1388 *Ἅιδου μέλαινα νύκτερός τ' ἀνάγκα.*

33. corripuit gradum: 'quickened her pace'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2. 142 f.

34. vacuum: cf. Pind. *O.* 1. 6 *ἐρήμας δι' αἰθέρος*, 13. 88, Virg. *georg.* 3. 109 'aera per vacuum ferri'.

Daedalus: no doubt criticism of Daedalus was conventional in the diatribe; cf. Sen. *epist.* 90. 14 'quomodo, oro te, convenit, ut et Diogenen mireris et Daedalum?'

36. perrupit: the long final vowel is an archaism. It is attested in Plautus and Terence in the third person perfect active, and *-eit* in some archaizing inscriptions (Sommer 576 f., A. Ernout, *Morphologie historique du latin*, 1945, pp. 336 f.). Horace allows himself this and similar licences when the syllable is supported by the beat of the verse, sometimes also by a pause in the middle of the line (p. xxxix). For similar phenomena in his hexameters see *serm.* 1. 4. 82, 1. 5. 90, 2. 1. 82, 2. 2. 47; for other poets see Nettleship's appendix to Conington's Virgil (vol. 3, pp. 469 f.), Norden on Virg. *Aen.* 6, pp. 450 ff., Austin on *Aen.* 4. 64.

Acheronta: not simply the river, but the abode of the dead. The usage is common in Hellenistic poetry (Gow–Page 2. 119), and became rooted in Latin at an early stage; cf. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, pp. 179 f.

Herculeus labor: the expression is reminiscent of the Homeric *βίην Ἡρακληείην* (*Od.* 11. 601); for this type of locution cf. K.–S. 1. 242. Of course Horace is referring specifically to the labours of Hercules, the last of which was the theft of Cerberus from the underworld. The same phrase is used in different ways by Sen. *Herc. f.* 1316, *Herc. O.* 1455, Sil. 1. 369.

37. nil mortalibus ardui est: *ardui* is more forceful than the variant *arduum* ('there is no such thing as difficulty' as against 'nothing is difficult'). Horace is presumably reflecting a Greek commonplace: cf. Opp. *hal.* 5. 2 f. *ὡς οὐδὲν μερόπεσσιν ἀμήχανον, οὐκ ἐνὶ γαίῃ / μητρὶ καμεῖν, οὐ κόλπον ἀν' εὐρώεντα θαλάσσης.* He is imitated in turn by *itin. Alex.* 34 'probat nihil ita mortalibus arduum cui non viam perfacile sapientia straverit'.

38. caelum: the climax of impiety; Horace is no longer thinking of Daedalus but of the giants (Hom. *Od.* 11. 315 f.). So more explicitly Statius's imitation (*silv.* 3. 2. 64 ff.): 'nec enim temeraria virtus / illa magis summae gelidum quae Pelion Ossae / iunxit anhelantemque iugis bis pressit Olympum'. Cf. also Pind. *P.* 10. 27 *ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὔ ποτ' ἀμβατὸς αὐτῷ*, *I.* 7. 44, Rhianus 1. 15 Powell *ἠέ τιν' ἀτραπιτὸν τεκμαίρεται Οὔλυμπόνδε*, Min. Fel. 5. 6 'caelum ipsum et ipsa sidera audaci cupiditate transcendimus'. Add Alcman 1.16.

stultitia: this word is avoided by the major Latin poets. Apart from Horace, it is found only in Lucretius (once) and Ovid (twice).

Horace uses it at 4. 12. 27 and often in the *Satires* and *Epistles*; here it suits the *διατριβή* style. See Axelson 100.

40. iracunda . . . fulmina: cf. Pind. *N.* 6. 53 *ἔγχεος ζακότοιο* (of Zeus), Prop. 2. 16. 52 'nec sic de nihilo fulminis ira cadit', Juv. 13. 226 'iratus cadat in terras et vindicet (iudicet *codd.*) ignis' (with Mayor's note). Dryden translates finely: 'We reach at Jove's Imperial Crown, And pull the unwilling thunder down.'

4. SOLVITVR ACRIS HIEMS

[W. Barr, *CR* N.S. 12, 1962, 5 ff.; C. Becker, *Das Spätwerk des Horaz*, 1963, pp. 147 ff.; E. Defourny, *LEC* 14, 1946, 174 ff.; Fraenkel 419 ff.; Pasquali 714 ff.; K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations*, 1963, pp. 14 ff.]

1–4. *The Zephyr has ended the winter, and activity is beginning again on sea and land.* 5–8. *Venus dances with the nymphs and Graces, while her husband is busy in his forge.* 9–12. *It is time to put on a garland and sacrifice to Faunus.* 13–20. *Death comes to all: remember, Sestius, not to hope far ahead. At any moment death may overcome you, and then you will no longer delight in the symposium or the love of the boy Lycidas, soon to become a young man.*

The coming of spring is a natural subject for poetry, which draws on universal human experience; cf. *Song of Solomon* 2. 11 f. 'For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land'. Yet, Augustan poetry being what it is, one looks for Greek literary antecedents to Horace's ode. Our poem may be influenced in the first place by a poem of Alcaeus (286), which survives in tantalizing scraps; cf. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, pp. 289 ff., W. Barner, *Neue Alkaios-Papyri aus Oxyrhynchos*, Hildesheim, 1967, pp. 3 ff. In successive lines one reads *πολυανθέμω* (presumably applied to spring), *κρύερος πάγος* (there is a marginal comment *τὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος διαλύεται*, which suggests Horace's *solvitur*), *ὑπὰ Τάρταρον* (the point is uncertain; an allusion to death's imminence could hardly come in so early), *[ἐπ]ὶ νῶτ' ἔχει* (the sea's back is meant, as is shown by the note *ἀντὶ τοῦ γαλήνη ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν*). It seems quite likely that Horace has drawn his opening, as so often, from Alcaeus; but the development of his theme depends on very different sources.

The most important of these, so far as the first part of the poem is concerned, was an influential and familiar epigram by Leonidas of

Tarentum, which was quoted several times by Cicero in the civil war (*anth. P.* 10. 1):

'Ο πλόος ὡραῖος· καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν
ἤδη μέμβλωκεν, χὠ χαρίεις Ζέφυρος·
λειμῶνες δ' ἀνθεῦσι, σεσίγηκεν δὲ θάλασσα
κύμασι καὶ τρηχεῖ πνεύματι βρασσομένη.
ἀγκύρας ἀνέλοιο, καὶ ἐκλύσαιο γύαια,
ναυτίλε, καὶ πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐφεὶς ὀθόνην.
ταῦθ' ὁ Πρίηπος ἐγὼν ἐπιτέλλομαι ὁ λιμενίτας,
ὤνθρωφ', ὡς πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην.

Leonidas's epigram was imitated in several others in the tenth book of the Palatine Anthology (2, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16); most of the poems are later than Horace, but no doubt continue an established tradition. Elements common to the group are the swallow (cf. Hor. *carm.* 4. 12. 5 ff.), the Zephyr, flowers, the calm sea, the opening of the navigation season, an allusion to Priapus; the word *ἤδη* recurs in several poems (5 n.), and sometimes a reference to the miseries of the past winter (3 n.). Some of the above features are also found in a hexameter poem by Meleager (*anth. P.* 9. 363). The motifs of the spring poem were taken over in Latin by Catullus (46. 1 ff. 'iam ver egelidos refert tepores, / iam caeli furor aequinoctialis / iucundis Zephyri silescit auris'), by Horace himself in 4. 7 and 4. 12 (in the latter case conflated with an invitation poem), and by Ovid in several passages (Bömer on *fast.* 1. 151); one may refer especially to a moving elegy from Tomi (*trist.* 3. 12), whose opening words ('frigora iam Zephyri minuunt') re-echo Horace 4. 7. 9.

Against his scenes from the countryside Horace sets another more imaginative miniature, reminding us of the contrasted world of field and castle in medieval books of hours. The dance of Venus and the Graces is derived from early Greek hexameter poetry (5 n.); but as a similar dance of the Graces occurs in the companion poem 4. 7 one may suspect a more immediate source in a Hellenistic epigram. Yet Venus is often associated with spring, notably in the proem of Lucretius's first book; this includes a mention of Favonius, flowers, and a calm sea. Even more relevant to our poem is 5. 737 ff.:

> it ver et Venus et Veneris praenuntius ante
> pennatus graditur, Zephyri vestigia propter
> Flora quibus mater praespargens ante viai
> cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus implet.

The third stanza with its rustic sacrifice to Faunus shows a considerable slackening of tension, and might be thought less impressive than the rest of the poem; yet it has the function of lulling the senses

A COMMENTARY ON
HORACE: ODES
BOOK 1

BY

R. G. M. NISBET

Fellow of Corpus Christi College
Oxford

AND

MARGARET HUBBARD

Fellow of St. Anne's College
Oxford

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS