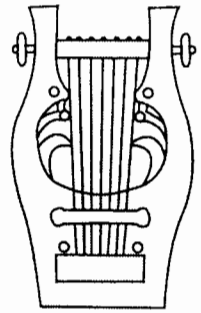

Arthur J. Pomeroy

A MAN AT A SPRING: HORACE, ODES 1.1

Horace's first Ode functions as an introduction to the entire collection, and its emphasis falls on the role of the lyric poet in ancient society and Horace's self-consciousness as such a poet. He adopts a rhetorical form familiar to Greek poets and orators and to their Roman admirers: we call it today a "priamel." It lists a number of choice goals or occupations that three or more groups prefer, in order to lead up to the particular choice that the speaker wants to stress. Pomeroy gives a good example from Sappho on p. 11. Horace however creates perhaps the longest priamel in ancient literature: the choices of others occupy lines 3–28, and only at 29 with *me* do we come emphatically to the poet's enthusiastic version of being blessed by the Muses. Pomeroy reviews the special way that Horace employs the priamel, with irony about the objects of other men's ambitions, for example, the Olympic victors of the chariot race in 3–6 ("collecting dust" and "grazing the pole with their wheel") and the successful candidates in Roman elections in 7–8 ("exalted by the fickle citizens"), but also irony about his own ideal ("hitting the stars with his head" 36), and he suggests that the poem operates on two levels. Using the simple structure of the priamel, Horace seems to exalt the role of the lyric poet over all other human pursuits. But by complicating his material with irony and with "a man at a spring" at 19–22, who strikes us as a version of the poet enjoying his creative leisure, he invites us in his audience to correct the initial impression of the priamel. Horace is really not an exception to the one-sided way we all regard our chosen careers: he is, and he will show himself to be so in subsequent poems, a man of recognizably human proportions. (Ed.)

The first poem in a new poetry book is of paramount importance. As the first that a reader—or browser—would see, it acted as a virtual preface by giving some indication of the content and style of the whole collection. While the initial poems in books of elegies and satires have often enough been examined for their 'programmatic' content, the function of the first of Horace's odes is less clear.

In the main, scholars have not been particularly impressed by or interested in the first of Horace's odes. Fraenkel's remarks on the poem may be taken as representative:

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> In the greater part of the ode Horace does not say anything especially original. What he wanted to put forward in this proem to his new songs was a bold, though not arrogant, statement of his own hopes and, preparatory to it, an elaborate variation of a theme that had often been treated before.[1]

The 'meaning' is clear – the poem is an introduction to Horace the poet, expressing 'the poet's desire to be included in the canon of classics.'[2] But in order not to be too forthright in the statement of this desire, Horace delays his wish by leading up to it through the familiar form of the priamel. Such was the interpretation of Pseudo-Acro:

> exponit varia esse hominum ingenia et non unas voluptates, ne sit arrogantiae quod sibi poeticam vindicare videtur, cum singulos quosque rerum aliarum diversus amor habeat.[3]
>
> Horace explains that there are various natural inclinations among men and no single pleasure, in case it should be taken as a mark of arrogance that he seems to claim poetry for himself when different desires for other things control each individual.

The poem is simple in structure, as in meter, then, and unpretentious in tone and theme.[4] If this were really true, *Odes* 1.1 would indeed be a dull poem, to be quickly read and passed over. Only the first two and last two verses would matter – the rest would be mere expansion. Yet if the priamel of lines 3–34 is taken as padding, it would be equally legitimate to excise the introductory and final lines as extraneous. And this is what G. Hermann did. Convinced that 1–2 and 35–36 were composed by someone who thought that the first ode ought to be dedicated to Horace's patron Maecenas, he excised them as *inepta et ridicule*.[5] While few have followed Hermann's lead, we should see in both modern criticisms and Hermann's excision the recognition of an important problem – does *Odes* 1.1 have a logical and artistic unity? Particularly troublesome is Horace's description of himself as already in the grove of the Muses *before* his request to Maecenas for inclusion amongst the great lyric poets.[6]

To some degree, our reading of the poem has been caught in a trap which denies this prefatory ode its proper status. For as Horace almost certainly wrote 1.1 after most of the other odes included in Books 1–3, in effect composing an epilogue rather than an initial statement, so the critic reads the first ode not as an introduction, but as a statement about the other poems and the poet himself. But by investigating the 'overture' in the wider context of a Horatian poetics, the critic denies the rhetorical value set on it by Horace as the introductory ode. Caught between aftersight and a desire to capture the effect of the original reading, we do not distinguish between Horace's methods of production and the effect of what he produces on his audience. So what exists is explained in terms of its existence,

not as a creation which continues to work in producing meaning as the initial statements are refined or corrected by new information, either as the poem progresses and 'explains' itself, or in terms of its relationship to the rest of the Horatian corpus. Perhaps it will be best to talk of the 'meaning' of the poem as consisting in the codes through which it is composed (in terms of references to ethical values, poetic norms, and social relationships, to name but a few of the possibilities). The 'significance' of the ode would need to be expressed in terms of other codes which link it to the rest of Horace's work. In each case the program of reading will remain open-ended as each reading will assign values to be examined in terms of a re-reading, just as the first ode is of dual significance as preface to *Odes* 1–3 and epilogue also.

As a critical strategy, it may be productive to attempt a 'naive' reading of this ode, a reading which will cooperate with the poet by accepting his vision of his methods in order to return to a critical re-examination of the text. In particular, this means an avoidance of any attempt to set up diagrammatic structures for the poem. Although there is no consensus on what the structure of the ode may have been,[7] I would not deny that Horace may well have had some plan in mind. But while the schemas which have been proposed could tell us something about the original method of constructing the poem, they do not correspond to the rhetorical processes of reading or listening. The process of reading (and, to a large extent, of writing too) is diachronic, not synchronic. New information continually revises the meaning of older information and so changes the 'meaning' of the poem as it is read. While earlier meanings are adjusted or erased, the reader is continually waiting for further information to complete the poem – a process which does not even stop at the end of the poem, but is merely in abeyance.

As *Odes* 1.1 begins, the first two lines define the recipient of the verse (Maecenas) in opposition to the speaker, the first person implied by *meum*. In contrast to epic, where the narrator is generally hidden and the audience unmentioned, the participants in the act of communication are immediately revealed and also the relationship between them: given the added expectations aroused by the Asclepiadean meter, *Odes* 1.1 can only be read in the lyric mode. Since it is such a regular feature of Horace's poetry to introduce a second participant in the ode, the addressee (for instance, Augustus in the second ode, Vergil in the third, Sestius in the fourth, etc.), we can quickly dismiss Hermann's scissors-wielding 'solution' to the problems of the poem. However, we should note that the recipient is not only Maecenas, but also the general listener. If in epic the listener remains permanently an onlooker, in lyric he becomes an active participant, not a mere eavesdropper. From Maecenas, we pass to the general second person (*numquam demoveas*, 13: 'one/you would never move') and by the end of the ode, the wish expressed by *inseres* is no longer confined to the stated addressee, but can be taken as the ideal second person singular of the

future.[8] In this way the reader becomes the patron to allow the poem to achieve its goal – indeed the wish is stated as realized in *Odes* 4.3.13–15:

> Romae principis urbium
> dignatur suboles inter amabilis
> vatum ponere me choros.
>
> The youth of Rome, the prince of cities, thinks it right to
> place me among the lovely choruses of bards.

In such a fashion, then, the poem revises its meaning as it progresses. If Maecenas is transformed into the general reader, this likewise must alter our reading. The reader becomes the defender of Horace's poetry by the very act of reading, but the meaning of *dulce decus* ('sweet glory') is altered too. Instead of Horace taking pleasure in the reflected glory of Maecenas, the man descended from Etruscan kings, it is the reader who becomes the source of glory for the obscurely-born Horace.[9] Although this may seem fanciful, the latter use of *praesidium* ('protection') and *decus* seems more natural. This is illustrated by Lucretius' account of the Great Mother teaching men to defend and so bring glory to their parents: *praesidioque parent decorique parentibus esse* (2.643: 'that they ready themselves to be a source of protection and bring glory to their parents'). Thus Horace's apparently simple language in line 2 is not as innocent as it appears, but almost 'overcharged' as he varies from his poetic model. Even the unpoetic *praesidium* can be taken as not merely defence, but livelihood *(praesidium vitae)* as well, to return to its more usual meaning later.[10] And while the poem begins with the proper names of Maecenas and a grandiloquent description of his descent and function in regard to Horace, at the end of the poem it is the signature *Horatius* inserted into the list of lyric bards which dominates.

If we have dwelt at length on the role of the reader in the production of meaning in this ode, it is because the relationship of author to reader is of the utmost importance in linking the narrative section of the poem (the priamel of 3–34) with its conclusion (35–6). It has long been recognized that the description of man's varied pursuits is a standard topos.[11] The various lives described by Horace seem to form a synecdoche for the inexpressible list of the occupations of mankind. But the rhetorical description here is not merely incomplete – there appears to be a logical difficulty in offering illustrative examples of man's pursuits in order to contrast the general with the specific pursuit of the poet. In what way is the poet removed or excluded from the generality of mankind? It is this question which must be faced before we can ask 'precisely in what ways does the delight of the poet surpass the delights of others?'[12] In a 'typical' example, from Libanius, the topos implies a union of mankind through the diversity of its interests: the speaker, the warrior, the farmer, the sailor, the miser, and the glory-hunter are all united by their singular obsession with their life to the exclusion of other pursuits.[13] Even when a Euripidean character

contrasts his personal desires with those of others, he describes his hope as only one out of many possible.[14] Nor do the schemes of *bioi* ('life-styles') offered by the philosophers help us out of this difficulty. La Penna,[15] especially, has done good service in pointing out how the philosophical constructs may have influenced Horace. For instance, Lucretius 2.1–13, which contrasts the life of the philosopher with those of other men, is a fine parallel. But it is difficult to see a close connection between the usually tripartite schemes of lives offered by the philosophers and Horace's apparently irregular series of lives culminating in the description of himself.[16]

Closer to Horace's usage are the well-known lines of Sappho:

> Some say a force of horsemen, others of infantry, others
> of ships is the finest thing over the black earth; but I say it
> is whomever one loves.
>
> (fr. 16 LP 1–4)

While others take pleasure in the assemblage of horsemen, infantry, and ships, Sappho does not accept this male-oriented, collective delight. Rather, she sets up a personal definition of the most beautiful: the person whom each loves. There is no attempt to sympathize with the general view, but a lyric, personal statement of Sappho's own desire, reinforced by the mythological example of Helen.[17] Desire is not socially set, but considered as an individual phenomenon whose value must be fixed by each.

In the priamel of *Odes* 1.1, it is clear that the poet as master of words sets the values of his community. Although all may find pleasure in what they do, value is not assigned by the tokens of Olympic victory nor by the exchange of patronage between the political leader and the crowd (3–8). Poetic evaluation resides in the poet's description of these pursuits. Without this dual vision, provided by the poet's assessment of the activities in which men find pleasure *(iuvat)*, we would be left puzzled by the use of 'irony' or 'satire' in the poem, and perhaps forced to agree with Schönberger who denies that there is any real judgment by the poet on his characters because of the apparently 'unironic' pictures of the farmer and the man at the spring.[18] But once we accept the two different judgments at work, there is little difficulty with the method of description adopted by Horace.

Initially we are introduced to Olympic victors gathering clouds of dust in the race (*curriculo pulverem Olympicum/collegisse iuvat*, 3–4: 'some delight in raising the Olympic dust with their chariots') and in courting death as they brush the turning-post (*metaque fervidis/evitata rotis*, 4–5: 'the turning-post narrowly avoided by the fiery wheels'). In recognition of their achievements, the token of the palm carries these men off to the gods. Yet the palm is seen as a conventionally set (*nobilis*: 'renowned/noteworthy')[19] object which amusingly functions as a magical broomstick in carrying (*evehit*) its recipients on earth off to heaven. The uncertainty of this accomplishment is increased by line 6: *terrarum dominos evehit ad deos* ([The palm wreath] 'carries them off to the gods as masters of the lands,' or 'carries them off

to the gods, the masters of the lands'). While the masters of the lands may be carried off to the gods, there is also the suggestion that these are no divinities of philosophical type, but ones who lord it over or on the earth.[20] The gods are then cast in the same mould as their emulators. The scene may recall Pindar, but there is no Pindar here to establish the permanent renown of the victor in the minds of men.

So too the politician does not control, but is the object of the fleeting attentions of the Roman populace. The *Quirites* ('Roman citizens') are not *nobiles* ('noble') but *mobiles* ('mobile') as they vie with one another to carry off the politician with 'triplet' honours (*certat tergeminis tollere honoribus*, 8). The connection between the picture of the charioteers and the politician is quite clear. Apart from the linking theme of contest, there is an excellent Roman parallel in Cicero, *Tusc.* 2.41: *sed quid hos, quibus Olympiorum victoria consulatus ille antiquus videtur?* ('But what about those men, to whom that consulship of old seemed like an Olympic victory?'). Horace is restating the theme of the first life in a revised form, substituting a Roman for a Greek example, but we should also note that this leads to a reassessment of the introductory lines. Maecenas is not merely Horace's patron, but a symbol of fixed values (*atavis edite regibus*, 1: 'offspring of ancestors who were kings') which can shield the poet. He is already on the way to becoming a fixed symbol of human beneficence to poets, a proper name with common significance.[21]

If the first two examples are rejected as unsatisfactory, the next portrait of the wealthy man who is not reliant on public recognition, but rejoices in making his own whatever comes his way (*[iuvat] illum si proprio condidit horreo/quidquid de Libycis verritur areis*, 9–10: 'that man rejoices if he stores in his own granary whatever is swept up from the Libyan threshing-floors'), is no improvement. He sets a personal valuation on his goods, but one which is limited to him alone and indiscriminate as he bursts his granary with heaps of wheat, and so it lacks true significance in a social context. The man is virtually burying (*condidit*) his wealth and, by hiding it, takes away its circulation and meaning. Indeed Horace makes his image explicit in a later ode (3. 16. 25–29):

> contemptae dominus splendidior rei
> quam si quidquid arat impiger Apulus
> occultare meis dicerer horreis,
> magnas inter opes inops.

> I am prouder as the owner of a despised property than if I were said to be hiding in my granaries whatever the diligent Apulian produces with his plough—then I would be a poor man amid great riches.

The following two examples, syntactically linked by *gaudentem* (11: 'rejoicing') and *luctantem* (15: 'grappling'), develop the idea of commerce introduced with the wealthy man. But here we have private citizens. The

farmer, labouring to cleave his native soil with his hoe (*gaudentem patrios findere/sarculo agros*, 11–12), can be taken as an archetype of the Roman yeoman, a humbler reflection of a M'. Curius Dentatus or a Gaius Fabricius. Yet while he is willing to split the earth with hard labour, he will not slice through the seas of adventure at any price. Even an inheritance such as accepted from Attalus by the Roman people will not induce him to venture sailing the ship of Venus (*trabe Cypria*)[22] and test the sea of Myrtilus (*Myrtoum...mare*).[23] He is rigidly attached to his ancestral soil and the life of the past. 'You would never separate him from this' (*numquam demoveas*, 13), Horace declares; given the imagery of cutting and cleaving in these lines, it is amusing that a number of the manuscripts give this as 'you would never split him away from his land' (*numquam dimoveas*), a reading which is undoubtedly incorrect but draws to our attention the possible punning quality of Horace's language.[24] In contrast, the merchant wavers in his desire for the homely life when caught by a southerly gale in the sea which received the body of the all-too-daring Icarus (*luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum*, 16: 'the African wind grappling with the Icarian waves').[25] He may praise leisure (*otium et oppidi/laudat rura sui*, 16–17: 'he praises the leisure and countryside of his home town'), yet he also fears it. The initial reading *mercator metuens otium* ('the merchant fearing leisure') will be corrected by the reader to conform with syntactical necessity, but the impression remains: the merchant soon returns to his trade, a man who cannot be taught to endure the humble life (*indocilis pauperiem pati*, 18).[26] While the farmer doggedly clings to early Roman values and refuses Greek gifts, the merchant rejects the Roman values of *otium, oppidum* and *rus* ('leisure,' 'town,' 'countryside') for the Greek waters of the sea of Icarus.

By geographical selectivity, Horace has given the impression of not only portraying the social roles of great and small, but even showing them throughout the Roman world. We have passed around the Mediterranean, to Greece (*pulverem Olympicum*: 'Olympic dust'), Rome (*turba Quiritium*: 'the crowd of citizens'), Africa (*Libycis...areis*: 'Libyan threshing-floors'), Asia Minor (*Attalicis condicionibus*: 'the terms of an Attalus'), Cyprus (*Cypria trabe*: 'Cyprian ship') and the Greek seas (*Myrtoum...mare; Icariis fluctibus*: 'Myrtoan sea'; 'Icarian waves'). Although the mention of *otium* (16) provides a bridge to the next figure, the poem also seems to restart half-way through, since *est qui* (19: 'there is one') corresponds to the introductory *sunt quos* (3: 'there are those'). The three lives that follow can be characterized as extra-social; that is, they are marked off from the earlier types by their position outside the normal structure of society. The man at the stream enjoys his *otium* alone by a gently murmuring spring of sacred water (*ad aquae lene caput sacrae*, 22), while others enjoy the blare of clarion and trumpet (*lituo tubae/permixtus sonitus*, 24),[27] delighting in hated war (*bella...matribus detestata*, 24–5). The hunter's joy comes from the yelps of his young hounds chasing a doe or the destructive crash of a boar breaking his fine-woven nets (*teretes...plagas*, 28). Since he ignores the attractions of his comely wife, he is appropriately cold-shouldered by Jove (*sub love frigido*,

25: 'beneath a frigid Jove'/ 'under a cold sky'). These last two types particularly well demonstrate the poet's voice correcting their views of their activities. The soldier rejoices in war, but Horace interposes *bella...matribus detestata* ('warfare hated by mothers'). The huntsman's voice is heard in the affectionate description of the *catuli fideles* ('faithful hounds').[28] In opposition to this, Horace sets a value more important to the lyric poet – the man has mistakenly left unattended his *tenera coniunx* ('tender wife').

Horace appears to define his own role against these lives, both social and extra-social. Twice in his description of the poetic *locus amoenus* Horace emphasizes his uniqueness with emphatic *me* and in the concluding prayer too he posits *quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres* (35: 'but if you will enter me among the lyric bards'). Initially we may suppose that the pleasance is the embodiment of the poet's achievement.[29] Crowned with Bacchus' ivy, signifying his glory as a poet of the light lyric genre (*doctarum hederae praemia frontium*, 29: 'ivy, the reward for learned brows'),[30] Horace is in the cool grove of poetry, escaping the dusty heat of the chariot race. He is isolated from the rest of mankind and under the patronage of the Muses. The scene is undoubtedly inspired by Greek poetry and foreshadows Horace's 'future' efforts – the odes which follow in his collection. Interestingly, the ancient commentators took this scene as a type of metapoetry. Pseudo-Acro states that Horace sets the very material of his poetry as an object of glory,[31] and Porphyrio comments that Horace reveals he has obtained great glory through his subject matter, since groves, fountains, and the like are the staple of lyric.[32] While Horace's poetry is hardly as limited in subject-matter as the commentators might have us believe, the scene is certainly replete with images of poetic power. We are led to believe that poetry has the ability through its metaphors to meditate on its own being, that Horace's act of writing and its referent can be identical. So the scholiasts have their point: composing poetry is glorious in itself.

Finally, the poet asks for something more – to be included amongst the *lyrici vates* ('lyric bards'). Horace will join the select company of Greek forerunners and also have a particular place in Roman society as a *vates*, an oracular, shaman-like figure of mysterious magical power.[34] His *carmen* is not merely a poem, but also an incantation.[35] According to this reading, Horace has placed himself on a level with or even above his dedicatee by creating his own ancestry. He has the glory of the charioteer or politician, but owns it personally and independently. Rather than associating with the divine lords of the earth, he is in a state of repose with the *di superi* ('the gods above').[36] The poet enjoys an atemporal utopia where the music of flute and lyre contrasts with the military uproar of trumpet and clarion or the noise of the hunt. He is *doctus* ('learned'),[37] in contrast with the *indocilis* ('uneducable') merchant, and surrounded by fleet-footed (*leves*) nymphs, not a fickle crowd of vying citizens (*mobilium turba Quiritium*, 7). The poet's world is full and apparently lacking nothing, where, without being sought, his pleasure is freely bestowed by the presiding divinities. The garden is complete and self-contained.[38]

So we might initially read *Odes* 1.1. But the very emphasis on the uniqueness of the poet, stressed by the threefold *me*, raises suspicions. A reexamination of the carefully composed lines 19–22[39] calls into question the apparent simplicity of the ode:

> est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
> nec partem solido demere de die
> spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
> stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.
>
> There is one who does not spurn cups of vintage Massic,
> nor taking off part of the day, sometimes stretching his
> limbs under a green arbute, sometimes by a gentle spring
> of sacred water.

We may choose between the names attributed to the figure: *philēdonos*,[40] *l'epicureo*,[41] *otiosus*,[42] *Geniesser*,[43] lazy drinker,[44] idler,[45] gentleman,[46] or man of leisure ('he seems to be the owner of some shop [or shops]; at any rate, he is self-employed since he apparently can take time off from the business day').[47] Such a desire to denominate the actor shows an unwillingness on the part of the critic to accept Horace's rhetorical construct in this ode, where the emphasis is on the evaluation of the action, not its nominal agent. What is important is that the figure here in many ways resembles the poetic narrator in his attributes and activities.[48] The vintage Massic wine suggests Bacchic inspiration;[49] the *locus amoenus* of the arbute-tree and the gentle spring of sacred water recalls the repose and sacredness of poetic creation.[50] And the man's solitude (since *est qui* contrasts with the priamel's introductory *sunt quos*) indicates the internalized world of the poetic imagination. Furthermore, the position of the characterization is, on a rereading of the poem, found to be emphasized by its placement at the center of the ode.[51]

Of course it would be a matter of some concern to identify the man at the spring with Horace. How can the poet be part of his list of occupations and simultaneously external to it? So Nisbet and Hubbard attempt to dispel this view: 'the indolence will seem to some peculiarly Horatian...in fact the scene is sanctioned by poetical convention as well as the needs of a hot climate.'[52] But ordinary workers do not drink vintage Massic. While the water and shade are common enough in poetry, the addition of wine occurs only here and in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 592–596, where it is the reward in store during the summer for the farmer's earlier labours. An 'off-duty' Horace would fit the picture, and this is reinforced by *Epistles* 1.14.32–36, where Horace describes himself:

> quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli,
> quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci,
> quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,

cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba.
nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere iudum.

The man who you know was well-suited by togas and gleaming hair, who was able to please greedy Cinara without any gifts, who is drunk on pure Falernian at mid-day – he likes a snack and sleeping on the grass by the river bank. There's no shame in playing, only in not stopping.

In particular, lines 34–35 are highly relevant, since Horace preserves the ambiguity of the outsider's picture of himself – *scis bibulum esse* ('you know I am drunk') is perhaps a more natural reading of the line than *scis bibulum fuisse* ('you know that I used to be drunk'). So the poet's description of himself and that of the man at the spring are very close.

The passage from the *Epistles* also gives a key to the meaning of *partem solido demere de die* (*Odes* 1.1.20). Sample explanations of this are 'breaking into the working day'[53] and, enigmatically, *'solido* i.e. *integro.'*[54] But we should recognize a commercial metaphor as the oftcited parallel from Seneca, *Epistles* 83.3, shows:

hodiernus dies solidus est, nemo ex illo quicquam mihi eripuit; totus inter stratum lectionemque divisus est; minimum exercitationi corporis datum, et hoc nomine ago gratias senectuti: non magno mihi constat.

Today is totalled up and no one has stolen any of it away from me; it is columned into resting and reading. A tiny amount has been expended on exercise, and I thank old age on this account: it doesn't cost me much.

The man drinking Massic is willing to subtract (*demere*)[55] a part from the sum total (the *solidus dies*).[56] So too in Seneca, the day's accounts are in order, columned up into rest and reading without any entry subtracted for an outsider. While the metaphor seems to have been perceived by past translators,[57] its importance should be stressed. As *Epistles* 1.14.32–36 shows, the pleasures of mid-day, where time seems to cease, are after all temporary. The temporal ordering of the lives is significant: the first examples occur sometimes during the day; the man at the spring is in a mid-day setting, as *Epistles* 1.14 and earlier examples of the topos indicate; the hunter ends the list of lives, spending the night *sub love frigido*; and Horace's position in the grove of the Muses seems to be outside temporal references. So not only is mid-day only apparently outside the changes of time, but the impermanence of momentary joys at the spring is suggested by the emphatic *nunc...nunc* ('sometimes...at other times,' but literally 'now...now'). The description of the arbute as *viridis* ('green,' 'flourishing') is also suggestive of the fragility of this pleasance – the colour of the leaves will change soon enough.'[58] Hence we can see that the man at the spring must soon balance his books and turn away from *otium* to *negotium*.

The poet's world too is vulnerable. Horace may enjoy the ethereal zones, marked off from the common crowd by the sign of the ivy wreath. Yet the *gelidum nemus* ('cool grove') is obtained at a cost of warmth and life[59] – not Horace, but only his poetic *persona* can inhabit this ambivalent pleasance. The poetic world of nymphs and amorous satyrs must invite in the poet. If Euterpe stops (*cohibet*) the pan-pipes or Polyhymnia does not tune the lyre to the correct high pitch, the poet will no longer be divine.[60] He will rejoin the rest of mankind striving continually toward the uncertain goal of glory and happiness.

This leaves the final prayer (35–6). Here Horace rejects the fantasy and even sterility of the unstable world of the imagination. If instead his reader places his name amongst those of the mystic writers of lyric, he will span heaven and earth and strike his head against the stars.[61] The use of the verb *feriam* ('strike') in an otherwise clichéd expression gives comic overtones to the wish.[62] The comic use does not deny the validity of Horace's aspirations, in the way that irony might function, but creates a meaning in between the positive and negative extremes. The desire for reputation remains, but Horace cannot pronounce on its complete accomplishment. That is in the hands of the reader who will judge *after* this poem ends and *after* reading the poetry that follows.

But by this concession to his reader, Horace has substantially changed the form of his priamel. So far the list has been considered as functioning synecdochally: each portrait seems to be part of a picture of mankind's desires, with each being erased and replaced by other exemplars. Yet this last item, the poet in the grove of Muses, cannot be totally independent from the rest of mankind. It too is a temporal phase. The portrait of the self-sufficient poet is undermined from within by Horace's indications of the vulnerability of the pleasance and finally contradicted by the poet's address to the reader. The synecdochal reading now fails because the portrait of the self-sufficient poet is at odds with the introduction of the audience – the last is not to be subsumed into the general picture of mankind so far drawn, but acts to evaluate the whole construct, including the poet, from outside the rhetorical frame. So we have turned away from types to the unexpressed judgement of the readers and this no longer fits our tropical construction for the ode.

In order to try to preserve a rhetorical logic in the poem (and surely that is what is meant by poetic 'unity'), we should consider treating the lives as metonymical, rather than read each item as synecdoche. That is, the list does not express a whole, but instead emphasizes the congruence of each item. To use a trivial analogy, this is the difference between a grocery bill (which can be totalled) and a shopping list (where the relationship is the existence of the series itself). Or perhaps a better example would be a writer's manuscript, where a succession of words may have been deleted before the final choice is made. The congruent feature in this list is

the element of excess in the desires which is indicated throughout the descriptions. This allows each item to be successively replaced and culminates in the description of the poet. Rather than indicating a whole, the metonymy serves simply to unify the series. Yet the privileged portrait of the poet in the sacred grove does not simply erase the earlier pictures, but, because it owes its meaning to its relationship to the others, brings them back into play as alternate possibilities. Horace too longs for glory, the peace of his Sabine farm, or the pleasure of *otium* by a cool stream. The priamel is not merely illustrative of mankind (synecdoche) but, while aiming at a definition of the poet, links him with the other lives (metonymy).

The problem of the rhetorical form both aiding the poet's expression of his character and frustrating his desire for individuality can be seen as the reason for the final two lines. They should be taken as no mere addition, but the poet's acceptance that by himself he cannot create his own uniqueness. It is up to his partner in the act of communication to reply and assert that Horace really is a poet. Yet the order of the last two lines is significant. Horace expresses his desire to depend on his reader, then reminds that reader that he was the one who began the discussion in the first place. It is a serious matter – which should not be taken too seriously, Horace intimates. As understatement (the litotes of *nec spernit*) rescued the banal in the description of the man at the spring, so the exaggeration in the final line of short-statured Horace butting the stars with his head keeps the poem from becoming too self-important. The poet needs his audience, but it must remember that only he can express that need in poetry.

A further consideration of the ode may help to draw the threads of our analysis together. Fraenkel, noting the echoes in other odes of lines in 1.1, suggested that the poem was intended as the poetic equivalent of a musical overture.[63] That is questionable – we may wonder if the reader would recognize the parallels from the first ode when reading the later poems, and it is hard to see how many of the correspondences function in the fashion of musical themes. But Fraenkel was right in showing that 1.1 is virtually a sample of Horatian poetry. It may be duly retorted: 'What else could an Horatian poem be?' Yet the frequent echoes not only in the *Odes*, but also in the *Satires*,[64] the *Epistles*,[65] and the *Epodes*,[66] mark the opening ode as a very Horatian poem – Horace displaying how Horace the poet writes, not as an overture, but in an attempt to define Horace the author of the *Odes*.[67] It would be too large a task and too tangential to treat the problem of self-quotation that these echoes raise. Yet it seems reasonable to view such quotations as lending a monumental, fixed quality to the words, almost marking them as 'true' through their repetition. But, as we have seen, the 'truth' is very debatable in *Odes* 1.1: the repetitions instead reinforce the impression that the poet cannot define himself as producer of poetry, but only as a product of his own verse, as Horace the poet-figure, not Horace the poet.

This need to introduce an outside observer (the reader) into the poem to truly assess Horace's worth, accounts for the form of *Odes* 1.1. We do not have two pieces linked merely by their common denominator in Horace. The framing wish, setting forth the necessary relationship between the poet and reader, acts as a critique of the poetic wish to define and evaluate the world while somehow making the poet external to that world. To give a proper evaluation, the valuator must escape the system which he investigates. But Horace cannot escape his own rhetoric in his description of himself. The idea of externality is part of the poetic fantasy – as the desires of mankind are fragile and almost futile, so the poet's place outside that world is a fancy which cannot be maintained. Instead of being separate, Horace the poet is but another type with similar aspirations to those of the others in the priamel – and the very element of aspiration in the picture of the poet is what makes it impossible to separate that portrait from the others in the poem. Hence the Horatian appearance of the types that are chosen for the list. Horace's interesting novelty of emphasizing the relationship between the producer and consumer of poetry is what finally rescues the apparently archaic and naive form of the priamel and changes it into something fresh, complex, and ambiguous. The introduction of the reader does not reduce the poet's desire for permanence (as recognized by the very existence of a list of lyric bards), but its realization can only be in terms of what might be expressed, in further forms of the wish, not as a simple statement. Taking *Odes* 1.1 as the first of a line of poems which aim to produce Horace the lyric writer, culminating in *Odes* 3.30, we may see its ultimate role as introducing the possibility of writing poetry without as yet stating its achievement.[68]

Notes

[1]E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 232.

[2]R. G. M. Nisbet, M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horoce: Odes, Book I* (Oxford 1970) 1. Hereafter *N&H* with reference to comments *ad loc.* unless otherwise noted. The following discussions of *Odes* 1.1 will be cited by author's name only: J. V. Cody, *Horace and Callimachean Aesthetics* (Coll. Latomus 147, Brussels 1976) 45-71; H. Musurillo, 'The Poet's Apotheosis: Horace, *Odes* 1.1,' *TAPA* 93 (1962) 230-239; O. Schönberger, 'Horatius, carm. 1.1,' *Gymnasium* 73 (1966) 388-412; H. J. Shey, 'The Poet's Progress: Horace, *Odes* 1.1,' *Arethusa* 4 (1971) 185-196; H. P. Syndikus, *Die Lyrik des Horaz*, Band I (Darmstadt 1972) 23-27; K. Vretska, 'Horatius, Carm. 1, 1,' *Hermes* 99 (1971) 323-335.

[3]Ps. Acro *ad* 1.1. *N&H* 1: 'Horace [in expressing his aspirations] goes a long way with a description of other people's varied occupations.'

[4]*N&H* 3.

[5]G. Hermann, *De Horati primo carmine dissertatio* (Berlin 1842): reprinted in Hermann's *Opuscula* 8.395-401. Only Nauck followed Hermann's suggestion – and often received the blame for the former's idea (e.g. in T. E. Page, *Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum Libri IV* [London 1895] 131). Hermann's view is discussed at length and rejected in J. C. Orelli, *Q. Horatius Flaccus*, revised by J. G. Baiter and W. Hirschfelder (Berlin 1886) vol. 1, 12-13.

[6]Hermann would have a good point if it were fully correct to say 'as a poet Horace comes closest to the gods by his special contemplative vision of life...even

before Maecenas can pay him the honour of counting him among the great lyric poets of antiquity' (Musurillo 23).

[7]For such schemas see: N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes* (London 1961) 108–9, who also records earlier structures; Musurillo 232–3; Schönberger 410 n. 61; Vretska 334–5; Shey 185; A. Ghiselli, 'Lettura dell' Ode 1, 1 di Orazio,' *Lingua e Stile* 7 (1972) 115–8.

[8]For this ideal second person singular future, see S. A. Handford, *The Latin Subjunctive* (London 1947) 109 n. 1. So too in English, 'you see' may be specific, referring to the addressee or a general audience ('one sees'). It is important to recognize this ideal type; for instance, in *Odes* 2.12.9–10, *latius regnes avidum domando/spiritum*, it is unlikely that Horace is directly warning his recipient, Sallustius Crispus ('one rules more widely by taming one's greedy instinct'). This movement from specific address to the general reader is frequent in Horace's poetry. For example, *caelum ipsum petimus stultitia* (*Odes* 1.3.38: 'we seek heaven itself in our stupidity') clearly has wider significance than to Horace and Vergil alone.

[9]Ps. Acro: *decus – quia magna laus est placere meliori* ('because it is a great glory to win the approval of a superior'). But Maecenas can also glory in Horace (cf. *Odes* 1.32.13: *o decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi grata/testudo Iovis;* 'lyre, the glory of Phoebus and delight for the feasts of highest Jove'). For Horace's glory from his readers, see *Odes* 3.30 (the concluding ode of the collection), especially 7f.: *usque ego postera/crescam laude recens* ('I will eternally grow, renewed by the praise of posterity').

[10]For *praesidium* as 'unpoetic,' see B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund 1945) 98; the 'unpoetic' word is here introduced by the grandiloquent *o* to produce a typically Horatian *callida iunctura*. For *praesidium vitae* ('livelihood'): Petronius 116.4.

[11]For instance Solon 1.43ff. (Diehl); Pindar fr. 221; Bacchylides 10.38–45. Musurillo (235–7) has shown interesting Egyptian and Semitic parallels for the *topoi*. Yet there is no evidence that this was a Roman commonplace: Horace transforms the Greek *topoi* into Latin novelties.

[12]Shey 185.

[13]Libanius, *Decl.* 30.31 (Foerster).

[14]Euripides fr. 659 (Nauck) 1–10: 'We have all types of desires for our lives...Yet I do not want to obtain any of these, but would like to have a reputation for good repute.'

[15]A. La Penna, *Orazio e l'ideologia del principato* (Torino 1963) 203–224.

[16]The philosophical scheme of the lives first appears in Plato, *Rep.* 581c; the numerous variations thereafter are examined by La Penna. Yet we may do well to keep Fraenkel's (above n. 1) very sensible evaluation of Horace's 'sources' in mind: 'Horace probably remembered many Greek passages similar in matter and form and used them freely. Nor was he influenced by poetry alone. The discussion of the various types of *bioi* and their relative merits played a great part in the treatises of Hellenistic popular philosophy with which Horace was familiar' (231–2).

[17]See G. M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody* (Ithaca 1974) 104–8; in contrast is Pindar's defense of communal values through the priamel form in *Nem.* 8. 37–8.

[18]Schönberger 397 n. 20.

[19]*N&H* appositely gloss *nobilis* as *arignōtos* ('renowned') – there is a clear tension between the epinician vocabulary and the poet's evaluation here.

[20]Ps. Acro pronounces *terrarum dominos* to be *amphibolicos dictum* ('ambiguous'). O. Skutsch, 'Rhyme in Horace,' *BICS* 11 (1964) 76, argues that it should be taken in apposition to *deos*, since rhyme normally expresses a syntactical relationship in the lesser Asclepiad. The same view is held by Schönberger 393 n. 14. *N&H* hold out for agreement with the charioteers. I do not believe that the Roman reader could definitely resolve the ambiguity, so both meanings should be left operative.

[21]*O.L.D.* s.v. *Maecenas* 2; the first recorded generic use of 'Maecenas' is *Laus Pisonis* 238.

[22]Porphyrio oddly takes this as a reference to the bronze (*cupreus*) nails used in building ships. Ps. Acro is puzzled: either *Cypria* is used synecdochally (*abusive*) for any wood or wood was stronger on Cyprus. The usual modern explanation is that Cyprus was famous for its woods and ship-building (Ammian. 14.8.14). But in a lyric context Cyprus would probably recall the worship of Venus Cypria (Tib. 3.3.34).

[23]Kiessling-Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus, Oden U. Epoden* (Berlin 1930) *ad loc.* Ps. Acro, perhaps influenced by *Cypria*, offers an interesting alternative: *a Venere propter mirtum* ('with reference to Venus because myrtle is her tree'). Cody 51 suggests that Horace is painting a word-picture of a man surrounded by the waters:

Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.

But we know too little about the audial/visual effect of Latin poetry to judge – the image could just as well be of a man cleaving through the sea.

[24]*dimoveo* can only mean 'split/cleave' – see *O.L.D.* Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.513: *agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro* ('the farmer splits the earth with his curved plough').

[25]There is some irony in the Homeric language used here to describe the storm (cf. *Il.* 2.144–6).

[26]Cody 60 notes this ambiguity, the existence of which is strengthened by the efforts of Ps. Acro to unravel the syntax into an unambiguous word-order.

[27]For the onomatopoeia in more extreme form, cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 140 V.: *at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit* ('But the trumpet with terrible tone roared taratantara').

[28]While we logically translate *catuli* as 'hounds' it can hardly mean other than 'cubs': cf. *Odes* 3.3.41, 3.20.2 ('cubs' of wild animals), and *Epist.* 1.2.5–7: *venaticus ex quo/tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula/militat in silvis catulus* ('the hunting-dog's puppy serves in the woods after it barks at the deerhide in the courtyard').

[29]On this *Musenhain*, see I. Troxler-Keller, *Der Dichterlandschaft des Horaz* (Heidelberg 1964) 32–47.

[30]*N&H* note the link between lighter poetry and Bacchus, comparing Prop. 4.1.61–2.

[31]Ps. Acro: *materiam ipsam carminis pro laude posuit* ('he sets down the very matter of his poetry as an object of praise').

[32]Porphyrio: *per ea se egregiam gloriam dicit consequi, de quibus canit; fere enim lyrico carmini materia de nemoribus ac fontibus est et si qua sunt his similia aut proxima* ('he says he is gaining great glory from the things he sings about; for generally the subject matter for lyric poetry is comprised of groves and fountains and things similar or close to these').

[33]Presumably Horace wishes to be listed in the canon of Greek lyric poets (Porphyrio: *'Graecis' utique intellegendum. nam nondum erant Romani* – 'For certain, "Greek" lyric poets must be understood; for there were no Roman lyric poets yet').

[34]On *vates* see *N&H*; J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels 1967); G. Lieberg, 'Horace et les Muses,' *Latomus* 36 (1977) 974–6.

[35]For *carmen* as poem/spell, see Cody 47 n. 11, 48 n. 12.

[36]For the Callimachean rejection of popular taste here, see *N&H*. Horace's readers may also have seen a rejection of the epic mode in the exaltation of the *vates*, since Ennius *Ann.* 214 V. had set up a polemical opposition between the learned epic poet and the rustic *fauni vatesque*. Cody sees a close connection between the *gelidum nemus* ('cool grove') and the Callimachean *genus tenue* ('slight style'). C. O. Brink reviewing Cody's book (*Gnomon* 51 [1979] 60–62), rightly denies that the two symbols can be so easily related. Still, even if Cody exaggerates the 'Callimachean' and especially the 'Socratic' element in 1.1, there are Alexandrian literary symbols interacting in the poem (e.g. the 'learned' poet and the rejection of the common crowd).

[37]See Shey 195 n. 14 for *doctus* as both the 'learned' poet and the man who has learnt the lessons of life. Such play on the literary and social codes is typically Horatian. Not only does the poet have the *sophia* of the Alexandrians (*N&H*), but also the thoroughly political wisdom of Rome, as illustrated by *Epodes* 16.36, where all Romans will leave for the Isles of the Blest – or at least the part of the populace better than the ignorant crowd will (*aut pars indocili melior grege*).

[38]Cody 52: 'all the descriptive details embellishing the would-be *vates*...and his poetic apotheosis create a unified, ethically positive portrait. Horace's own poetic values are favorably presented without dissenting ethical judgment...' Cody (64–6) sees bucolic repose (*autarkeia*) as Horace's ideal in his portraits of the poet and the man at the spring.

[39]The particular artistry of these lines has been well revealed by M. O. Lee, *Word, Sound, and Image in the Odes of Horace* (Ann Arbor 1969) 10, 14.

[40]*N&H* 3.

[41]Ghiselli (above n. 7) 119.

[42]Vretska 334.

[43]Schönberger 397; Syndikus 26.

[44]Musurillo 233.

[45]Cody 49, who also gives 'wine-drinker' (63).

[46]K. J. Reckford, *Horace* (New York 1969) 15.

[47]Shey 180.

[48]Reckford (above n. 44): 'Is this Horace? The concept of "breaking off" a piece of time to accompany your drink is Horatian; the well-placed adjectives too, emphasizing the freshness, even sacredness of relaxation.' This identification with the poet is also made by Musurillo (233, 235), comparing *Epodes* 2.23ff. Similarly Vretska (329): 'In Ganzen erhalten wir hier das Bild eines Menschen, dem zur Identifizierung mit den Dichter nur das Dichten fehlt.' Cody (71) the figure as 'the archetype of the *vir beatus*, [who] by reason of his acceptance of the gifts of the present forms the very incarnation of *otium*.

[49]Wine and Bacchic inspiration are linked in *Odes* 1.18, 1.32, etc.

[50]Cf. Theocr., 1.15ff.; Lucr. 2.29ff; Tac. *Dial.* 12.1. Troxler-Keller (above n. 29) sees Horace's poetic grove as an intermediate stage between Vergil's Arcadia, filled with shepherd-poets, and Propertius' solitary grove of Callimachus (Prop. 3.1.).

[51]The description begins at line 19 of a 36 line ode, i.e. halfway through.

[52]*N&H ad* 1.1.22.

[53]Page (above n. 5).

[54]*N&H ad loc.*

[55]Cf. *Odes* 2.5.13–15: *currit enim ferox/aetas et illi quos tibi dempserit/adponet annos* ('savage time runs on and will give to him the years it takes away from you').

[56]Cf. Cic. *Att.* 6.1.3: *usura nec ea solida contentus est* ('he is content with the interest alone – and not the entire amount of that').

[57]E.g. Reckford (above n. 46) 15: 'to subtract part of the day's store.'

[58]There is also syntactical ambiguity in *nunc viridis arbutus* (apparently meaning 'a presently green arbute'), since the meaning of the first *nunc* has to be resolved into a temporal marker for *stratus* (hence, 'now stretching his limbs') only after the second *nunc* is read.

[59]In the famous *Fons Bandusiae* ode (3.13), the eternal coolness of the fountain is purchased at the cost of the warm life-blood of the amorous kid. This connection between the *gelidum nemus* ('cool grove') and *gelida mors* ('icy death') has been well explored by P. Pucci, 'Horace's Banquet in *Odes* 1.17,' *TAPA* 105 (1975) 259–281. Some dissatisfaction with the scene of the poetic grove is already apparent in Shey (188), who sees Horace wanting to state that his pursuits too are conventional. Syndikus (32–3) compares the *Musenhain* with ideal landscapes in

contemporary art – Horace then becomes an ideal poet-figure fastened in that landscape.

[60]G. Lieberg (above n. 34) 966 suggests that the Muses play their instruments for Horace, rather than give them to him to play. If so, this would reinforce the impression that Horace is here simply the object of divine activity (Vretska 330: 'Objekt einer Handlung die unpersönliche Subjekte, Efeukranz und kühler Hain, lenken'), not an active participant in the production of poetry. In the priamel, the men listed at least control their own actions. True seclusion in the poetic grove would break the writer-recipient formula which is such a part of Horace's poetry and exclude the essential human evaluation of that poetry.

It may be that Horace is again emphasizing his type of poetry by the unusual phrase *tendere barbiton* ('to tune the lyre'). The contrast would be between the high-pitched and shrill (*vox tensa*) and the deeper, fuller sound of a relaxed tone (Quint. *Inst. Or.* 11.3.42: *nam vox ut nervi, quo remissior, hoc gravior et plenior, quo tensior, hoc tenuis et acuta magis est* – 'the voice is like the strings of an instrument – the looser it is, the deeper and fuller the sound; the more taut, the finer and more high-pitched the sound').

[61]The thought of Horace's stature adds further incongruity – if by becoming a *vates* Horace acts as intermediary between god and man (Syndikus 36), by his growth in height, he turns this image into a physical conceit.

[62]On the cliché 'to touch (*psauein*) the stars with one's head,' see Vretska 331–4. It is as old as Sappho 52 LP. The substitution of *arassein* (*feriam*: 'to strike') for *psauein* adds a comic touch: cf. com. adesp. 531K. and Cic. *Att.* 2.1.7.

[63]Fraenkel (above n. 1) 230.

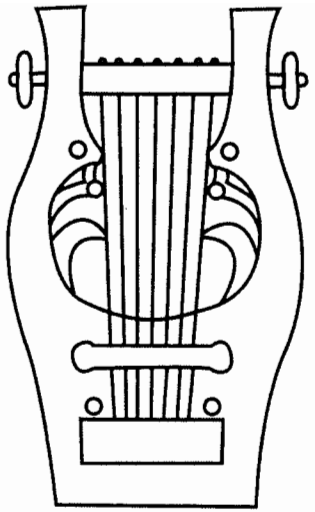
[64]Shey 190–1.

[65]See p. 43f. and Musurillo 232–3.

[66]Musurillo 232–3; Syndikus 25 n. 12. In particular, cf. *Epodes* 2.23–4: *libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice,/modo in tenaci gramine* ('it's pleasant to lie sometimes under an old ilex, sometimes on the matted grass'). The immediacy of the repeated *modo* functions similarly to the repetition of *nunc* when describing the man at the spring. Cf. also the urgent *nunc...nunc* of *Odes* 1.9.18–24.

[67]Schönberger and Vretska, in particular, have well illustrated the peculiarly Horatian use of language in this ode (e.g. *Lesboum tendere barbiton*: 'to tune the Lesbian lyre' – which is unusual in both vocabulary and syntax), so I need not repeat their findings here. Syndikus (25) similarly describes *Odes* 1.1 is as 'typical' Horace, not an overture.

[68]An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the 1978 meeting of the American Philological Association. I wish to thank Professors Fred Ahl and Pietro Pucci and the referees of *Ramus* for advice and encouragement which has substantially improved this article.



William S. Anderson

Why Horace?

A Collection of Interpretations

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