spring comes to be responsive in the framework set up by the apostrophizing poet; it is not an independently existing subject, which would be more true in the case of a hymn to a deity.

[13]Meredith 1893.199.
[14]Frye in *Arion* (1970.132).
[15]Peyre in *Arion* (1970.130).
[16]Brophy in *Arion* (1970.129–30).

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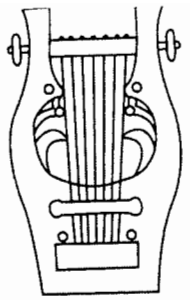

Tony Woodman

EXEGI MONUMENTUM
HORACE, ODES 3.30

In a meter which uniquely matches 1.1, the opening poem of this published collection of three books, Horace reaches a resounding conclusion, combining the autobiographical elements of the traditional closure with the Roman tradition of tomb inscriptions couched in the first person, as if the dead address the living. As Woodman nicely demonstrates in this essay, however, Horace's combination makes of this "funeral monument" an eternal commemoration of his deathlessness, his immortality. He has recounted his miraculous escapes from death threatened by the wolf of 1.22 and from the enemy swords at Philippi in 2.7; and he will have another escape to recount to us in Satire 1.9. He escaped because he was a poet, and the gods wanted to preserve him to produce poetry. Now that he has written these odes, he claims permanent escape from death, because what seemed like a funeral monument, composed of perishable, though tough, materials, is in fact the poems that have no tactile matter: they consist of images and verbal constructs that are timeless and invulnerable. So the personal "I" of the poet subtly turns into the voice of the poetry itself, which Horace boasts will last as long as Rome, little realizing that it would survive ancient Rome by more than 1500 years (already). He predicts that future generations, as though again reading his inscription and recalling his human fame, will in fact compare him to a triumphant general, perhaps even to the Princeps (13) Augustus, and record how he "colonized" Italy with Greek meters. These are proud words, but Horace evades the charge of pride by subtly bidding his Muse herself to take just pride in his work and to crown him with Apollo's laurel. He has ended in prayer. (Ed.)

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THE CONTEXT OF THE POEM

We have been made aware, especially in recent years, that an analysis of a Latin or Greek poem should take into account the category to which the poem belongs.[1] Does the poem have the form of a hymn, for example, and if so what kind of hymn? The category of poem to which *Exegi monumentum* belongs would seem to be clear from its position in the collection of *Odes* which Horace published in 23 B.C. It is the very last poem in the last book, an epilogue, occupying as important a position as the very first poem in Book I. Now a particularly favourite method of concluding a book of poetry in the ancient world was known as the 'seal' or *sphragis* (as

This essay first appeared in *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*, ed. Tony Woodman and David West (Cambridge University Press, 1974) 115–28.

it is technically called).[2] This would be a number of lines, or perhaps a complete poem, added at the end of a book of poetry and including some personal details of the poet's life or background, together with a mention of the poet's name. In this way a kind of 'copyright' was established. The last eight lines of Virgil's *Georgics* are an excellent illustration. Here in *Odes* 3. 30 we are admittedly given no reference to Horace's own name; but since we are given three lines dealing with his local territory and a hint of his successful career (*qua...ex humili potens*, 10–12), we may conclude that in this last ode of all Horace intended there to be some similarity to the *sphragis*-motif.[3]

These same three lines, however, have recently been subjected to a rather different interpretation. Epitaphs as found on tombstones conventionally mentioned the place of a person's origin and details of his career,[4] exactly as we see in lines 10–12; and it has been argued that this ode belongs to the category of epitaph poems, composed (as it were) for Horace's own grave.[5] A good case can be made for this thesis. It was also conventional for epitaphs to refer to the *merita* a man had performed during his life,[6] and these too we are given in line 15 (see below, p. 126). Yet such features on their own would not be conclusive in deciding whether this poem is indebted to the epitaph form; the opening of the poem is decisive. Horace calls his poetry a *monumentum*, more everlasting than bronze and higher than the pyramids. The two objects with which the *monumentum* is compared are both memorials to the dead: bronze plaques adorned the tombs of the dead in Italy, while the pyramids are of course the tombs of the Egyptian kings. It is thus likely that the *monumentum* is itself a memorial to the dead, especially since we know that one of the commonest meanings of the word is 'tombstone.' By means of a strong and vivid metaphor Horace sees his lyric poetry as the tombstone which will cause him to be remembered by future generations. Moreover, the first two words of the poem, *Exegi monumentum*, bear a striking resemblance to inscriptions commonly found on Roman tombstones, such as *hoc monumentum feci* or *hoc monumentum apsolui*.[7] Horace's *Odes* are his tombstone, and this final ode, the epilogue, is the epitaph inscribed upon them.

That Horace decided to write his epilogue in the form of an epitaph is not unexpected. On the one hand writers had long expressed a desire for literary immortality,[8] and this might occur naturally in an epilogue (thus in the epilogue to Book 2 of the *Odes*); on the other hand tombstone inscriptions conventionally proclaimed either that the tombstone was itself immortal[9] or that the words inscribed thereon would live for ever.[10] It was therefore inevitable that sooner or later poets would combine literary immortality and the writing of epitaphs, and this is exactly what we see in one or two poems in the Greek Anthology[11] and in Ennius' epitaph:[12]

> Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu
> faxit. cur? uolito uiuus per ora uirum.
>
> ["Let nobody honor me with tears or conduct my funeral with weeping. Why? I am flitting alive on the lips of mankind."]

But Horace is always full of invention and surprises, and this ode is no exception. In visualizing his poetry as his *monumentum* and the present poem as its inscription he has invented not only a new image but a completely new context for his claim to immortality.[13] We may also care to observe how, in his fusion of the epilogue and epitaph forms, Horace has produced a characteristic shock for his readers. Although we would be wrong to brand Horace a strict Epicurean, nevertheless one of the distinctive qualities of his poetry, and one which has appealed so much to generations of readers, is his popular Epicureanism. We might well have expected a hint of his philosophy to reappear in this epilogue, a natural place in which to sum up those aspects which have marked the poet's work as a whole. Instead, however, we are given five glorious opening lines describing Horace's pride in his *monumentum*, his metaphorical tombstone; this was the exact opposite of Epicurean doctrine, which held that the wise man will be indifferent to statues and will not concern himself with his tomb![14]

The ode concludes with a prayer to the Muse (lines 14–16), making this the third poetic form (along with those of the epilogue and epitaph) to be considered in an analysis of *Exegi monumentum*.[15] But our awareness of the form or category of a poem should not blind us (as it blinds some scholars) to even more important considerations, the words and imagery of which a poem consists.

THE POEM ITSELF

In the long and impressive first sentence, which stretches into the second stanza through the medium of an ascending tricolon,[16] Horace says that his *monumentum* is

> aere perennius
> regalique situ pyramidum altius.

What does *situ* mean? The noun *situs* can mean either 'site' or 'decay.' Here the word is usually taken to mean 'site.' The commentators admit that the usage is unusual, but the expression can be defended on two counts. There would be little point if Horace compared his *monumentum* to a decayed ruin, and besides he may have wanted the unusual noun *situs* = 'site' to stick in our minds and evoke thoughts of the common sepulchral inscription *hic situs est*.[17] Such a suggestion would be in harmony with the epitaph form discussed above. Some critics, however, have maintained that *situ* means 'decay.'[18] Horace would be using the word in a proleptic sense, 'higher than the pyramids which themselves must soon decay'; and the adjective *regali* provides a pleasing oxymoron 'royal decay.' If 'decay' is the right meaning, Horace's lines gain added lustre by recalling Simonides' famous poem on the dead at Thermopylae (lines 2–5):[19]

> εὐκλεὴς μὲν ἁ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,
> βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ'

οἶκτος ἔπαινος·
ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον τις εὐρώς
οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.

Theirs is a glorious fortune and a noble lot:
for grave they have an altar, for mourning remembrance,
for pity praise. Such a burial decay shall not darken,
nor time the all-conquerer.

Simonides contrasts the heroes' metaphorical burial (ἐντάφιον) with physical decay (εὐρώς) in much the same way as Horace contrasts his metaphorical *monumentum* (his poetry) with physical decay. Scholars have long debated which meaning *situ* must have in Horace's poem;[20] but surely the truth is that the word's meaning changes as our reading of the poem progresses. We initially take it to mean 'site,' for the reasons given above; but as we remember Simonides and see the references to destruction in lines 3–5, the meaning 'decay' is activated.[21] Horace's lyric poetry is full of such ambiguities, this ode more than most.

In lines 3ff. Horace proceeds to prophesy the future of his *monumentum*: it will survive rain and wind. An American critic, writing on the Pindaric style of Horace, has said that here he 'undoubtedly had in mind' Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 6. 7–14:[22]

ὕμνων θησαυρός...
τὸν οὔτε χειμέριος ὄμβρος ἐπακτὸς ἐλθών,
ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας
στρατὸς ἀμείλιχος, οὔτ' ἄνεμος ἐς μυχοὺς
ἁλὸς ἄξοισι παμφόρῳ χεράδει
τυπτόμενον.

A treasure-house of songs....,
which neither the rain-storm from abroad,
that relentless army of shrieking cloud,
nor the wind with its swirls of dust will strike
and drive into the corners of the sea.

In Pindar both rain and wind are depicted in terms of violence: his adjectives (ἐριβρόμου, ἀμείλιχος, παμφόρω, 'shrieking,' 'relentless,' 'carrying-everything-along-with-it') provide the background to this idea, an idea which is pictured most vividly in his verbs (τυπτόμενον, ἄξοισι, 'struck,' 'drive'). In Pindar these actions are common to both the wind and the rain – by their sheer force they will attempt to sweep away the treasure-house of songs into the sea. Horace, however, is different. His verb, *diruere*, like Pindar's ἄξοισι, refers to both wind and rain; but whereas Pindar's

ἄξοισι is a precise action ('drive'), Horace's *diruere* ('destroy') is not. We are left to discover from elsewhere in Horace's sentence the *manner* in which his wind and rain attempt their destruction. The clue lies in his use of adjectives. Horace's wind is violent (*impotens*), like Pindar's; but his rain is *edax*, an adjective which implies the gradual gnawing-away of the rain, not its violence. When the ancient commentator on Horace's poem, the third-century Porphyrio, remarks 'conrumpens *ui* tempestatis,' he has not looked closely at the words used by the poet. Gnawing rain is the potential destroyer of bronze memorials and the pyramids; to appreciate the full force of Horace's poetry, we must examine the interaction of these three elements more closely.

What happens when *imber edax* gets to work on the pyramids? Over a long period of time (the *innumerabilis | annorum series* of 4–5) it gnaws gradually at the stone. Now the wearing away of stone by water is an extremely common motif with a long heritage in classical literature, but as far as we can judge, no writer before Horace had used this particular image to illustrate mortality or immortality.[23] The first readers of this poem must have been struck by what was a novel application of a familiar idea. Next, what happens when 'gnawing rain' gets to work on bronze? When water comes into contact with *iron*, the iron rusts away. Propertius uses the image of water on stone to illustrate the way he wears down his loved one, and to it he joins the image of iron which eventually rusts; forty years later Ovid also linked the two ideas to describe his exile at Tomi on the shores of the Black Sea.[24] Now bronze, of course, is not the same as iron and does not actually rust; but it does decay in much the same way, and such technical writers as Columella and the elder Pliny use the word *robigo* ('rust') of bronze as well as of iron.[25]

Horace thus has two precise ideas before his mind, quite different from anything in Pindar: water wearing away a stone memorial and 'rusting' a bronze memorial. His own *monumentum*, however, will be able to withstand both these fates. The idea appealed to Ovid, who years later coupled two similar images to contrast with the immortality of his poetry (*Amores* I.15.31–2, 41–2):[26]

ergo cum silices, cum dens patientis aratri
  depereant aeuo, carmina morte carent...
ergo etiam cum me supremus adederit ignis,
  uiuam, parsque mei multa superstes erit.

["Therefore, although flints and the tooth of the long-suffering plow may waste away in time, poems are deathless... So even when the final funeral fire has consumed me [my body], I shall live and a large part of me will survive."]

Also *Ex Ponto* 4.8.47-51:

> carmine fit uiuax uirtus, expersque sepulcri
> notitiam serae posteritatis habet.
> tabida consumit ferrum lapidemque uetustas,
> nullaque res maius tempore robur habet.
> scripta ferunt annos...

["Through poetry virtue becomes long-lived, and, exempt from the tomb, it occupies the attention of posterity. Old age wastes and consumes iron and stone, and no material thing has strength to withstand time. But writings survive the years..."]

But in Ovid water is not mentioned specifically: it is *aeuum* or *uetustas* (admittedly *tabida*) doing the damage. Horace is superior for his immediacy and vividness, a point to which we shall return below (pp. 216-7).

The reason why Horace's *monumentum* will not be destroyed by the violence of the wind or the rusting of the rain is that the *monumentum* is only metaphorical: the *monumentum* is his poetry, which in literal terms can clearly neither rust nor be blown away. But we must remember that rust and the blowing wind have metaphorical applications too. Catullus and Ovid use the metaphor of 'rust' to describe something which has fallen into disuse,[27] while Tacitus uses it to describe an obsolete style.[28] Horace is perhaps indicating that his verses will never 'rust' in as much as they will be continually read and their style will appear forever fresh. We see this idea repeated later in the poem with the words *usque ego postera | crescam laude recens* (7-8), where the adverb *usque* (as some, but not all, of the commentators remark) qualifies *recens* as well as *crescam*. Similarly when Horace refers to the wind attempting to destroy the *monumentum* which is his poetry, he perhaps had in mind the motif of a person's words being scattered on the wind. The motif is extremely common in ancient literature to express the idea of 'speaking in vain'; but this will not be the fate of Horace's poetry.[29] With lines 6-14 we move into the second section of the poem, which is again formed around an ascending tricolon (balancing that in lines 1-5): (a) *non...moriar...uitabit Libitinam* (1½ lines), (b) *usque...pontifex* (2½ lines), (c) *dicar...modos* (4½ lines). Within this second section, lines 6-9 are important in forging a link between the first five lines and the latter portion of the ode. For the sequence of thought in these fourteen lines is as follows: 1-5 I have completed a *monumentum* which will be indestructible; 6- 9 however (a contrast, since the building of a *monumentum* implies death), I shall not all die (*non omnis moriar*, a negative statement) but rather I shall grow in acclaim (*crescam*, a very positive assertion); 10-14 my claim is one of originality.[30] It will be noticed how in lines 1-5 Horace is talking about his poetry, but in line 6 says *multaque pars mei* and in line 7 *ego* (placed in an emphatic position). Almost imperceptibly Horace has changed ground to become

identified with his own poetry. The change is intentional. A tombstone, however durable, carries only the name of its dedicatee:[31]

> sepulcri similis nil nisi nomen retineo.

["Like the tomb, I keep nothing except a name."]

But in Horace's poetry it is the essence of the poet himself which lives on.[32]

The sequence of thought analysed in the previous paragraph calls to mind a similar progression of ideas in the fifth book of Lucretius, lines 306-37. In the first part of this section Lucretius is discussing the mortality of monuments and, if any reliance can be placed on the notoriously corrupt line 312, is comparing their mortality to the mortality of man (306-7, 311-12):[33]

> denique non lapides quoque uinci cernis ab aeuo,
> non altas turris ruere et putrescere saxa...?
> denique non monumenta uirum dilapsa uidemus,
> quaerere proporro sibi sene senescere credas?

["Finally, don't you see that stones are overcome by age, that tall towers collapse and rocks rot?... Lastly, don't we see the tombs of men fall apart; do you believe that they seek for themselves an old age like human beings?"]

Both monuments and man, he concludes, are equally susceptible to decay and death. He then attempts to prove that the world is in fact still young, and he introduces events which preceded the Trojan Wars but which had no poet to immortalize them (328-9):

> quo tot facta uirum totiens cecidere neque usquam
> aeternis famae monumentis insita florent?

["Where all men's deeds have utterly perished and nowhere, grafted into monuments of eternal fame, do they flower."]

The process of culture and civilization, says Lucretius, is still developing; the nature and system of the world have only recently been discovered, and he himself is the first to describe them in Latin (335-7):

> denique natura haec rerum ratioque repertast
> nuper, et hanc primus cum primis ipse repertus
> nunc ego sum in patrias qui possim uertere uoces.

["Finally this understanding and explanation of things has only recently been discovered, and I am the very first to be able to translate it into our native Latin."]

When Horace wrote *Odes* 3.30 he may well have had in mind this passage of thirty lines from Lucretius.[34] The similarities are unmistakable, but Horace, as so often, tempers and alters the rigid doctrine of Lucretius to suit his own more realistic view of the world. Whereas Lucretius, if we may trust line 312, compares the mortality of monuments to the mortality of man,[35] Horace compares the mortality of monuments to his own *im*mortality. Horace's claim gains added weight if we allow for a 'corrective' allusion to Lucretius. Lucretius picks up the literal use of *monumenta* in 311 by a metaphorical use of the word in 329, *aeternis famae monumentis*. His subject now is poetry and its power to make men immortal, and we may wonder whether the coincidence of this particular metaphor and idea here provided the germ of Horace's first few lines – although Lucretius' metaphor lacks the immediate impact and brilliantly original context of Horace's confident claim *Exegi monumentum*.[36] It is true that when Lucretius moves on to talk of his own originality (336-7) he is simply repeating a claim often heard elsewhere in ancient poetry,[37] and we have no need to assume that Horace in lines 10-14 is alluding to Lucretius; yet the sequence of thought in both poets is so similar that we may like to think that when Horace wrote his claim to originality he had an eye on Lucretius also.

In lines 10-14, the third section of the poem, Horace defines his claim to immortality. He begins by stating the locale where he expects his claim will be remembered (10-12):

> dicer, qua uiolens obstrepit Aufidus
> et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
> regnauit populorum...
>
> *I shall be spoken of where the violent Aufidus roars*
> *and where Daunus, poor in water,*
> *reigned over his wild people...*

He is referring to the territory of Apulia, where he was born, through which the River Aufidus runs, and which in ancient legend was ruled over by king Daunus. The king is called 'poor in water' because Apulia was famous for its poor water-supply: Horace calls the region *siticulosa* ('thirsty') at *Epodes* 3.16. But why does Horace stress the aridity of Apulia in this way when he has already pointed out that the territory is blessed by a river which is both violent (*uiolens*) and noisy (*obstrepit*, in counterpoise to *tacita* in line 9)? These two features of Horace's native landscape seem at first sight paradoxical, but the paradox is there to stimulate our imagination. Horace intends to emphasize the river, to make it stand out: it is a force of nature to be compared with the forces of nature in line 3. There the gnawing water and violent wind were attemptive destroyers of his *monumentum*, whereas here the violent rush of water in the Aufidus symbolizes the locale where above all Horace and his poetry will be preserved. The contrast is helped by the echo of *impotens* (3) in *uiolens* (10): the violence of

nature in the second half of line 3 is destructive, in 10 it is preservative. And we may also like to see in *regnauit* (12) an echo of *regali* (2):[38] the lofty royal pyramids will eventually crumble, but Horace will live on in a place which has its own proud royal heritage, preserved in legend and in Horace's own poetry.

In the previous paragraph we translated the repeated *qua*-clauses as if they qualified *dicar* ('my reputation in Apulia will be to have introduced Greek poetry into Italy'); but most of the commentators take these clauses with *deduxisse* in line 14 ('my reputation will be to have introduced Greek poetry into Italy from my homeland Apulia'). If we translate this latter way, Horace is describing not his proposed fame but his actual achievement, which must be seen in terms of his humble birthplace. There is a very similar idea to this in the first stanza of a later ode, 4.9 (and compare too *Epistles* I.20.20-1, quoted below, p. 215):

> Ne forte credas interitura quae
> longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
> non ante uolgatas per artis
> uerba loquor socianda chordis.
>
> ["Do not believe that those words will perish which I, born by the far-sounding Aufidus river, by arts which have not yet been trivialized, speak to the accompaniment of the lyre."]

But how, on this interpretation, do we explain the paradox of lines 10-11 which seemed to throw so much emphasis on the river? We must remember that in the ancient world water was frequently a symbol of literary inspiration: the Greeks had their fountains of Hippocrene and Castalia, while Horace himself could address his Muse as one 'quae *fontibus integris* | gaudes' (*Odes* I.26.6-7).[39] Horace appears to be saying that he took his inspiration from the river which ran through his native territory. King Daunus, despite the region's natural resources, was helpless (11-12): he could not utilize the river and himself remained *pauper aquae* (a metaphorical way of saying that he lacked poetical inspiration), while his people remained uncultured (*agrestium*). Horace, on the other hand, was able to draw inspiration from his local river. As a result he is now *potens* (12) – and here we may see another echo of *impotens* in line 3. In its immediate context the wind is 'violent' (like the wind in Pindar's ode and like the Aufidus itself); but now it comes to have its other meaning of 'impotent' (as in *Odes* 2.1.26). Horace has become *potens, and* the forces of nature are 'powerless' to resist him.

Thus we can no more settle upon a definite, static meaning of *impotens* in line 3 than we could of *situ* in line 2 (above, pp. 207f.); nor can we be conclusive as to the exact reference of the *qua*-clauses in lines 10-12. We must just assume that Horace knew what he was doing and intended these ambiguities to give his compact ode a wealth of extra meaning lying beneath the surface.[40]

In the last three lines of this third section (12-14) Horace eventually specifies his poetic claim, although the language which he has used to express himself simply confirms the pervasive equivocalness of the whole poem:

ex humili potens
princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos.

What does *deduxisse* mean? Is it a metaphor from founding colonies, from a victorious general celebrating a triumph, or from the spinning of fine thread? Each of these possibilities has been canvassed by scholars,[41] but one of them seems immediately attractive. In the last two lines of the poem Horace appears to see himself as a victorious general being crowned by the Muse (see below, pp. 215–6). The technical term for taking to Rome for a triumph is *deducere*, as in *Odes* 1.37.31–2 '*deduci superbo* | non humilis mulier *triumpho*.'[42] Horace would be saying: 'the first to have brought Aeolian song (that is, the lyric poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus, who both wrote in the Aeolic dialect) to Italian music in triumph.'[43] We are thereby neatly prepared for the more explicit triumph-image in lines 15-16. At the same time it is impossible for us to forget that Horace, like the so-called 'new poets' of the previous generation (of whom Catullus was one) and like his famous contemporaries Virgil and Propertius, was strongly influenced by the early third-century Greek poet Callimachus, who had insisted that poetic style should be λεπτός (the Latin equivalent is *tenuis*).[44] This style was achieved only through a continual process of perfecting and refinement, and a metaphor which came into fashion with Callimachus' Latin followers to describe this process is *deducere* = 'spin,' found in Virgil's *Eclogues*, Propertius, and elsewhere in Horace's own work.[45] In the context of the poem itself we take *deduxisse to* be part of the triumph-image, but our knowledge of the literary background to which Horace belonged means that we cannot exclude the notion of 'spinning' (that is, producing finely wrought work) from our minds.

The Callimachean language of *deduxisse*, if we accept it, confirms other hints of Callimachean technique elsewhere in the poem. We agreed (above, p. 206) that the opening words *Exegi monumentum* strongly resemble tombstone inscriptions, but the verb *exigere* also became fashionable with the Augustan poets to describe the same process of poetic refinement as *deducere*: the usage *is* found in Propertius, Horace's *Epistles*, and in Ovid.[46] We can now also see the phrase *ex humili potens* (12), about which a little has already been said (above, p. 206), in sharper focus, with the help of another famous ode, 2.16. In the fourth stanza of that poem Horace describes a characteristically simple outlook on life, saying that frugal living *is* essential for inner happiness:

uiuitur paruo bene cui paternum
splendet in mensa tenui salinum.

He lives well on little whose family salt-cellar
gleams on a sparely laid table.

The following stanzas elaborate this theme by contrast and example in a typically Horatian manner until we reach the final stanza of the ode, where Horace claims to be content with his own small lot because he has his poetic powers:

mihi parua rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
spernere uolgus.

But to me Fate is consistent,
in giving me a little farm, the spare spirit
of the Greek Muse, and a taste
for rejecting the common crowd.

The adjectives *parua* and *tenuem* in the final stanza clearly echo *paruo* and *tenui* in the fourth: Horace is drawing an analogy between his mode of living (which is *tenuis*) and his poetic principles (which are also *tenues*). Horace regularly portrays himself as a devotee of the simple life, and the *tenuitas* of Callimachean style is practiced throughout his work:[47] here in *Odes* 2.16 the two themes have become fused into one, his way of life is mirrored in his poetic technique. This fusion of ideas is found elsewhere in the *Odes*,[48] and we may like to see it also in the phrase *ex humili potens*. Horace, though *potens*, is still *humilis* (or *tenuis*) in both his life and poetic technique.[49] This is a note we might well expect to be sounded in an epilogue poem, comparing the last poem in the first book of Horace's own *Epistles* (lines 20–1):

me libertino natum patre et in tenui re
maiores pennas nido extendisse loqueris.

["You will say that I, son of an ex-slave, in modest situation, have spread from my nest larger wings."]

The final section of the poem (lines 14–16) is a prayer to Horace's Muse, the function of which can only be understood if we appreciate the climactic tone of the section just ended: *princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos | deduxisse modos*. Knowing that many other poets had claimed their work to be original (see above, p. 212 and n. 37), we may tend to dismiss Horace's claim as merely conventional, especially since in some respects his *Odes* had been anticipated by earlier Latin poetry such as that of Catullus. But we must remember that there is one respect at least in which Horace's *Odes* are almost completely original, their metres.[50] Modern poetry tends to disregard

the importance of formal versification, but to the ancients regular metre was an essential feature of poetic craftsmanship. The difficulty of adapting the heavier vocabulary of the Latin language to the lighter metres of Greek lyric poetry must have been a supreme test of sustained effort and poetic competence, and for this one achievement alone Horace could feel justifiably proud at the result.[51]

Now that Horace has come to the end of his three books of lyric poetry and they are about to be published, his pride shows itself (14–15): *superbiam | quaesitam meritis*, 'the pride which has been won by my own merits.' The commentators differ as to whose *merita* are being referred to, Horace's or the Muse's, but the whole tone of the poem indicates that these are Horace's *merita*, nor must we forget that epitaphs commonly referred to the *merita* of the dead person (see above, p. 206). Since this poem is Horace's epitaph, there would seem to be no question that these are his *merita*. If, on this interpretation, we sense that Horace's attitude is overbearing, he tempers it by offering his newly won pride to the Muse: *sume superbiam*. The verb contains the notions of 'putting on' (a crown or cloak, for example) and 'taking for one's own.'[52] The Muse must assume Horace's *superbia* and make it her own; in return, meanwhile, she must garland Horace's head with a Delphic laurel (*cinge*, 16, activates the latent sense of 'putting on' in *sume*). The crowning of the poet's head with laurel recalls the procedure of Roman triumphs;[53] Propertius too was soon to see himself as a victorious general (3.1, especially lines 19–20 for crowning).[54] The image is grand and majestic, but here again Horace does not permit extravagance to creep in: he addresses the Muse as *uolens* (16), a word which, as the commentators point out, belongs to the respectful language of prayer-ritual. Indeed the prayer as a whole is 'a perfect antidote to the expression of personal pride' and 'seems formally to close a whole period of the poet's work.'[55]

THE FAME OF THE POEM

When Horace published his first three books of *Odes* in 23 B.C., *Exegi monumentum* had an immediate impact. Propertius concluded the second elegy of his third book with a passage which is clearly influenced by, and probably written in rivalry of, Horace's poem (lines 17–26).[56] Later there was Ovid too (see below), then Seneca, St Jerome, Shakespeare possibly, Ronsard, Herrick, the eighteenth-century writers Klopstock and Derzhavin, Pushkin, and a whole host of others.[57] We may briefly consider the case of Ovid to emphasize by comparison the quality of Horace's ode.

Ovid's most well known aspirations to poetic immortality occur in the epilogue to his *Metamorphoses*, where the language is clearly borrowed from this ode of Horace (15. 871–9):[58]

> iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ire nec ignis
> nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere uetustas.
> cum uolet, illa dies, quae nil nisi corporis huius
> ius habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat aeui;

> parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
> astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum,
> quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
> ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
> siquid habent ueri uatum praesagia, uiuam.

["Now I have completed a work which cannot be destroyed by the anger or lightning of Jupiter or sword or the rust of time. When it wants, that day, which has the power only over this body, can put an end to my uncertain life; still, with a better part of myself, eternal, I shall be lifted above the high stars, and my name will be indestructible. Wherever Roman power extends its domination on earth, I shall be read by the lips of people and through all the ages, if poets' predictions have any validity, in fame I shall live."]

Ovid does not specify what he imagines his immortal construction to be, *opus* being a weak word commonly used of any literary composition. This lack of precision is not improved by the assortment of objects which might attempt to destroy the *opus*. *Iouis ira* (presumably 'lightning') and *ignis* are consistent enough, but what about *ferrum* and *edax uetustas?* It is hardly a compliment to himself if Ovid says that a mere sword (*ferrum*) will not destroy his *opus*.[59] And in describing age as *edax* Ovid is returning to a metaphor he had used several hundred lines earlier in this book of the *Metamorphoses* (234-6):

> tempus edax rerum, tuque, inuidiosa uetustas,
> omnia destruitis uitiataque dentibus aeui
> paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte.

["Time that eats away at things and you, envious old age, you destroy everything, and, when you have weakened them with time's teeth, you gradually devour all things in a slow death."]

He looks at time and old age in human terms (he even addresses them), as if they were a man with sharp teeth who attacks monuments and the like.[60] Horace, on the other hand, has chosen from the start a single metaphor, *monumentum*, which he imagines as being attacked by the immediate, natural forces we should expect, rain and wind. It is only when we have reached this stage of the image that Horace predicates the metaphors *edax* and *impotens*. Cecil Day Lewis once wrote that in his opinion 'image-patterns must in fact *be* patterns and not random assemblages of word pictures.'[61] The consistency of detail in Horace's opening metaphor presents a much more imaginative and compelling picture than the imagistic fragmentation of Ovid.

Horace was proud of his lyric poetry, and rightly so. He saw fit to end *Odes* 1-3 with a poem about his poetry which in its depth, grandeur, delicacy and suggestiveness surpasses even the finest odes he had already

written. When in the latest standard commentary on the *Odes* we read, 'Poetry is not the best subject for poetry and Horace's greatest odes are not written simply about themselves,' *Exegi monumentum* will refute this judgement every time.[62]

Notes

The most recent full discussion of this poem is that of Pöschl (1970), 248–62; earlier there was Fraenkel (1957), 302–7. Individual aspects of the ode are treated by Korzeniewski (1968 and 1972) and Hulton (1972). I have also consulted a large number of Horatian commentaries, although references to them in the notes are severely restricted. I think it only fair to say that I had completed a final draft of this essay before I saw the extremely thorough work of Suerbaum (1968), especially 325–9.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge friendly criticism I have received on various points from Mr R. G. G. Coleman, Mr A. G. Lee and Professor D. A. West.

[1]G. Williams (1968 and 1969), Nisbet-Hubbard (1970) and Cairns (1972) are especially concerned with the categories into which Horace's lyric poems fall.

[2]Cf. Kranz (1961), and Curtius (1953), 515. With reference to Horace cf. Fraenkel (1957), 362–3.

[3]This is also the conclusion of Paratore (1959), 181–2.

[4]For place of origin cf., e.g., *CLE* 1318.2 *uixi Lucrinis*, ["I lived at the Lucrine Lake."] 856.1 *Tibur mihi patria* ["my native land is Tibur"]. For details of career cf., e.g., 372.1 *natus sum summa in pauperie, merui post classicus miles* ["I was born in the worst possible poverty, but later I served as a soldier in the fleet"], and see especially how Trimalchio demands that on his tombstone there be inscribed the motto *ex paruo creuit* (Petronius, *Cena* 71.12): this is very close to Horace's *ex humili potens*. Further examples in Korzeniewski (1968), 33–4, (1972), 386.

[5] Pasquali (1920), 320–4, saw that this ode is an epitaph poem but his discussion is only of the most generalized nature; Korzeniewski (1968 and 1972) pointed out just how many details Horace's ode shares with epitaphs proper. Neither scholar, however, seems to have appreciated fully the metaphorical terms in which Horace is talking.

[6]E.g. *CLE* 1103. 5–6 *dicite qui legitis solito de more sepulto:* | *pro meritis, Pylades, sit tibi terra leuis* ["You readers, say in customary manner to the buried: as you deserve, Pylades, may the earth lie softly on you"]. Also *IG* 4.800; Korzeniewski (1968), 34, (1972), 387.

[7]Cf. Kiessling-Heinze (1964) ad loc., Korzeniewski (1968), 32, (1972), 384.

[8]E.g. Sappho 55 and 193 Lobel-Page; Plato, *Symposium* 209D; cf. Curtius (1953), 476.

[9]E.g. *CIL* 1².1319 *haec est domus aeterna...hoc est monumentum nostrum* ["This is my eternal home...this is my tomb"], *IG* 12.9.285. Further examples in Korzeniewski (1968), 32, (1972), 385, and also Lattimore (1942), 167 n.78, whose work is a rich mine for those interested in epitaph poetry.

[10]E.g. *CLE* 1278 *quodque meam retinet uocem data littera saxo,* | *uoce tua uiuet quisque leges titulos*, ["because the letter inscribed on the stone preserves my voice, it will live by your voice, whoever reads this inscription"] *CIL* 8.7156 *hic ego qui taceo uersibus mea uita demonstro* ["I who am silent here give information about my life in verse"].

[11]*Anthologia Palatina* 7.715 = lines 2535–40 Gow-Page: 'Far from the land of Italy do I lie... but the name of Leonidas has not been forgotten; the Muses' gifts proclaim it till the end of time.' Two other poems are similar in theme but not strictly epitaphs: 7.12 'The fine work of your poetry, Erinna, cries out that you are not dead but join in the Muses' dance'; 7.713 = lines 560–7 Gow-Page: 'Erinna has written few verses and her songs have few themes, but she has been assigned this brief epic by the Muses. Therefore is she remembered and is not confined by the shadowy wing of black night.'

[12]Ennius, *Varia* 17–18 Vahlen. See again Pasquali (1920), 320–4.

[13]No poet before Horace has used the metaphor of a tombstone to describe his poetry, and the only certain example I have found after Horace is the fourth-century A.D. writer Themistius (*Orationes* 4.59d ἠρία τῶν ψυχῶν τὰς βίβλους, 'books are the tombs of the spirit'). Horace's vocabulary is of course quite different from such expressions as *litterarum monumenta* (Cicero, *De Inuentione* 1.1, *De Officiis* 1.156 etc.) or *annalium monumenta* (*Pro Sestio* 102, Livy, 7.21.6 etc.), where *monumenta* has its commonest meaning of simply 'monuments.' For *monumentum* used without qualification of literary productions cf. Catullus 95.9, Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 12.18.1, *Ad Familiares* 5.12.1. For less sceptical remarks than mine on the word *monumentum* see Suerbaum (1968), 327–8.

[14]Cf. De Witt (1939), 129, who rightly sees a 'pointed interpretation' of the opening of this ode. Hulton (1972), 501–2, even observes that for true Epicureans poets were people *in quibus nulla solida utilitas omnisque puerilis est delectatio* ["in whom there is no definite usefulness and all delight is childish"](Cicero, *De Finibus* 1.72).

[15]For a *sphragis*-poem ending with a prayer see the 'seal' of Posidippus in Lloyd-Jones (1963), 80–1, 92–3, 96.

[16]The ascending tricolon is (a) *aere perennius*, (b) *regalique...altius*, (c) *quod...temporum*. ✧ ✧ ✧

[17]G. Williams (1969), 150, following Kiessling-Heinze (1964) ad loc., goes so far as to translate *situs* here as 'grave.'

[18]The usual parallel is Martial 8.3.5–7 'et cum *rupta situ* Messalae saxa iacebunt | altaque cum Licini marmora puluis erunt, | me tamen ore legent.'

[19]Simonides 531 Page. In line 4 I have adopted an emendation by M. L. West (1967), 133. The exact meaning of Simonides' verb ἀμαυρώσει is doubtful (cf. Lloyd-Jones (1965), 243n.) but is used frequently of time (cf. Pfeiffer (1949) on Callimachus, *Iambus* 12.67, Borthwick (1971), 431 n. 2). On the question of whether Simonides' ἐντάφιον is metaphorical or not compare M. L. West (1970), 210–11, and Page (1971), 317–18.

[20]For a survey of scholarly opinion cf. Pöschl (1970), 251–3, who himself strongly favours 'decay.' Korzeniewski (1968), 31–2, strongly favours 'site.'

[21]This is also the view of Plessis (1924) ad loc.: 'Ici, malgré la plupart des commentateurs, n'écartons pas l'idée de ruine: la dégradation est justement un témoignage d'antiquité; et ne négligeons pas la suite des ideés: grammaticalement, *situ pyramidum* ne dépend que de *altius*; mais, dans la pensée du poète, il dépend aussi de *perennius*. ...*situ* doit donc, de toute manière, faire allusion à la fois à la longue stabilité des pyramides et à leur commencement de décrépitude.' ["Here, in spite of most commentators, let us not set aside the idea of ruin: decay is indeed evidence of antiquity; and let us not ignore the consequence of the idea: grammatically, *situ pyramidum* depends only on *altius*; but in the thought of the poet it also depends on *perennius*. ...Thus, *situ* should unquestionably allude at the same time to the prolonged stability of the pyramids and to the beginning of their disintegration."]

[22] Highbarger (1935), 251. This is the usual tradition, cf., e.g., Macleane (1853) ad loc., 'What follows seems to be imitated from Pindar.' To his credit Pöschl (1970), 253–4, notices the differences between Horace and Pindar but does not even begin to consider their implications and does not go into any detail.

[23]The motif is at least as old as Aristotle, *Physics* 8.3 (253b). Some, but by no means all, of its occurrences are listed by Smith (1971) on Tibullus 1.4.18, a passage which is an instance of the image's commonest function, illustrating the way a lover gradually wears down the loved one. For the image used to illustrate mortality

or immortality *after* Horace cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 4.10.1–7, Sulpicius Lupercus, *PLM* 4.107.7.

[24]Propertius 2.25.15–17 *sed tamen obsistam. teritur robigine mucro | ferreus et paruo saepe liquore silex: | at nullo dominae teritur sub limine amor...* ["Nevertheless, I shall persist. The blade is worn down by rust and the flint often by a little water: but love is worn down at no mistress' door"]; Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 1.1.67ff. *non igitur mirum, si mens mea tabida facta | de niue manantis more liquescit aquae. | ... aequorei scopulos ut cauat unda salis, | roditur ut scabra positum robigine ferrum* ["So it is no wonder if my mind pines away, melting like water running off snow... as the wave of the salt sea hollows out cliffs, as buried iron is rotted by scaly rust"].

[25]Columella, *De Re Rustica* 7.5.12 *aeris robigine*, Pliny, *Natural History* 7.64 *aes etiam ac ferrum robigo protinus corripit* ["Rust quickly consumes bronze as well as iron"], 34.99 *aera extersa robiginem celerius trahunt quam neglecta* ["Polished bronze contracts rust more quickly than when it is neglected"] (Pliny here also tells us that bronze was used on *monumenta* to make them more durable).

[26]Compare also *Amores* 1.10.61–2 *gemmae frangentur et aurum; | carmina quam tribuent fama perennis erit* ["Gems and gold can be broken; the fame which poetry provides will be eternal"].

[27]Catullus 68.149–52 *hoc tibi, quod potui, confectum carmine munus | pro multis, Alli, redditur officiis, | ne uestrum scabra tangat robigine nomen | haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia* ["This gift composed in such poetry as I could compose is given to you, Allius, in return for your kindness, that no day, now or any time in the future, may touch your name with scaly rust"]; Ovid, *Tristia* 5.12.21–2 *adde quod ingenium longa rubigine laesum | torpet et est multo quam fuit ante minus* ["In addition, my talent injured by long rusting is dulled and much less effective than it once was"].

[28]Tacitus, *Dialogus* 22.5 *nullum sit uerbum uelut rubigine infectum* ["Let there be no word that is so to speak rotted by rust"]. Compare also Quintilian 10.1.30; and Curtius (1953), 411.

[29]For words being scattered on the wind cf. Nisbet-Hubbard (1970) on *Odes* 1.26.2. It is possible that we are meant to understand *altius* (line 2) metaphorically too. *altus* is a familiar term for describing the kind of poetry, with elevated themes, which Horace believes many of his *Odes* to be. He might be declaring a belief in the seriousness of his poetry; it is not simply a collection of *nugae*. Such a belief would sound natural in a poem of this type, although on other occasions of course Horace can look upon his poetry as light and even trivial: for this apparent paradox see Hulton (1972).

[30]Lines 1–14 thus form a climax, followed by a concluding prayer. For a different, rather eccentric, view, cf. Collinge (1961), 69–70, who sees these lines as a three-part *anti*-climax, and the final prayer as a return to the 'opening bravado' of lines 1–5.

[31]Laberius, *Prologue* 124 Ribbeck. For further exs. of this idea cf. Suerbaum (1968), 326, adding *CIL* 6.9604.

[32]This notion is thus not exclusively 'the conceit of a later age,' as Hulton (1972), 499, says.

[33]The reading of line 312 here adopted is that of Munro (1873). The line has caused a great deal of discussion, e.g. D. A. West (1965).

[34]But Lucretius 5.306–37 is quoted by none of the Horatian commentators I have seen, nor by Merrill (1905). It is, however, quoted by Suerbaum (1968), 328.

[35]An idea which became quite common, e.g. Florus 1.6.11, Lucian, *Charon* 23, Ausonius, *Epigrams* 35.9–10, Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu* 1.409–14.

[36]For a discussion of Lucretius' metaphor see D. West (1969), 2–3.

[37]For poets' claims to originality see Nisbet-Hubbard (1970) on *Odes* 1.26.10.

[38]So too Huber (1970), 126 n. 3.

[39]See Nisbet-Hubbard (1970) ad loc., with further references.

[40]A reading of *Exegi monumentum* should make us sceptical of the remark that 'The mature poet of the *Odes* was in the habit of producing unambiguous constructions' (Fraenkel (1957), 251 n. 6). On pp. 304–5 Fraenkel discusses the repeated *qua*-clauses and unhesitatingly takes them with *dicar*; more realistic, it seems to me, is the comment of Quinn (1960), 40: 'It is most unlikely that Horace was unaware of the perils of an ambiguously related relative clause, or inadvertently committed one in a poem written with such obvious care for so prominent a place in the collection.'

[41]For a brief survey of this debate see Pöschl (1970), 257–9, who himself favours spinning.

[42]See Nisbet-Hubbard (1970) ad loc.

[43]The best parallel is Virgil, *Georgics* 3.10–11 'primus ego in patriam ... | Aonio rediens *deducam* uertice Musas.' Cf. also Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.156 'Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit,' Greece taking Italy captive. In Horace's ode I take the word *modos* to mean 'music,' or 'rhythms,' or more generally 'poetry,' as at *Odes* 2.1.40 *quaere modos leuiore plectro*, 2.9.9–10 *urges flebilibus modis | Mysten ademptum*, 2.12.3–4 *modos | aptari citharae modis*, 3.3.72 *magna modis tenuare paruis*, 3.9.10 *dulcis docta modos*, 4.6.43–4 *reddidi carmen docilis modorum | uatis Horati*, *Epistles* 1.3.12–13 *fidibusne Latinis | Thebanos aptare modos studet*. I do not think that Horace here uses the word *modos* = 'metres' (as he does on some occasions, e.g. *Epistles* 1.19.27) since his *metres* could in no sense be called 'Italian'; but this is not to deny that Horace's debt to the Greek lyric poets was above all a metrical debt: see above, p. 215–6 and nn. 50–1. A rather different interpretation is given by G. Williams (1969), 151.

[44] ✧ ✧ ✧ For Callimachus and Horace cf. Wehrli (1944), Wilkinson (1968), 118ff., Brink (1963), 288 (index), and Newman (1967), 303ff.

[45]Virgil, *Eclogues* 6.5 *deductum dicere carmen*, Propertius 1.16.41 *at tibi saepe nouo deduxi carmina uersu*, Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.225 *tenui deducta poemata filo*. Further instances in Pöschl (1970), 258.

[46] Propertius 3.1.8 *exactus tenui pumice versus eat* ["Let the verse go forth finished off with light pumice"], Horace, Epistles 2.1.71–2 *sed emendata uideri | pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror* ["But I am surprised that they [verses] seem emended and handsome and little short of finished"], Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.871 *iamque opus exegi* ["Now I have finished a work"].

[47]There is a further Callimachean feature in the final stanza of *Odes* 2.16, that of rejecting the common crowd. See Callimachus, *Epigrams* 28.4 Pfeiffer, Nisbet-Hubbard (1970) on *Odes* 1.1.32.

[48]See Mette (1961), 138 'Wahl des Bios und Wahl der Gattung fallen für Horaz in eins. Gattung und Bios sind aufeinander zu stilisiert.' ["Choice of life and choice of genre unite into one for Horace. Genre and life are stylized mutually on each other."]

[49]The paradox between *potens* and *humilis* (or *tenuis*) is only superficial: see Hulton (1972), 499, 'In the last analysis we are confronted...by simply another example of the well-known Horatian "dualism" or "ambivalence."'

[50]Of *Odes* 1–3 71.5% are written in the two Aeolian metres, the Sapphic stanza (26 poems) and the Alcaic stanza (37 poems). A glance at the statistics in Raven (1965), Appendix B, will show that in composing lyric poetry in Aeolian metres Horace had virtually no rival. No one, so far as we know, had written Latin Alcaics before, and there were no Latin Sapphics before Horace with the exceptions of Catullus 11 and 51. But scholars have usually decided (e.g. Williams (1969), 151) that Catullus' two poems hardly impair the justice of Horace's claim. Even so, when he came to write *Epistles* 1.19, Horace narrowed his claim to exclude any originality as far as the Sapphic stanza was concerned (lines 32–3).

[51]So too Wilkinson (1968), 13, 'His pride at having introduced Aeolian lyric to Italy is very likely due, not to the phrases or ideas, nor even to the small amount of

spirit, which he derived from Alcaeus and Sappho, but to his success at mastering and adapting their metres.' It is quite wrong to say that 'Horace is not primarily interested in metre as such,' as does Newman (1967), 343.

[52]The opposite phrase is *ponere superbiam*, as at *Odes* 3.10.9; for *ponere* and *sumere* as opposites cf. *Odes* 3.2.19.

[53]Cf. Versnel (1970), 57.

[54]For the contemporary popularity of the *triumphator* motif see Galinsky (1969), who discusses Propertius 3.1 at pp. 88–9.

[55]G. Williams (1969), 152 and (1968), 153.

[56]Cf. Solmsen (1948), especially 106. Also Flach (1967), 97ff.

[57]Seneca, *Epigrams* 27 and 28; Jerome, *Epistles* 108.33 *exegi monumentum aere perennius quod nulla destruere possit uetustas;* for possible influences upon Shakespeare see Leishman (1961), 27–91; Ronsard, *A sa Muse* in Laumonier (1914), 2.152; Herrick, *Pillar of Fame* and stanzas 5 and 6 of *His Poetrie his Pillar*; Klopstock, *An Freund und Feind*, last three stanzas, in Schleiden (1954), 110; for Derzhavin and Pushkin see Bayley (1971), 302ff. I am very grateful to Cesca Thompson for the reference to Klopstock and to Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths for the references to Derzhavin and Pushkin.

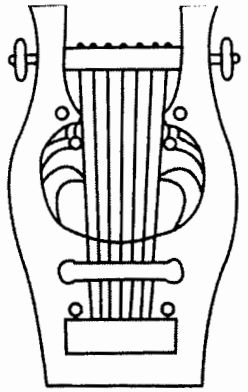
[58]Correspondences of language are conveniently set out in parallel tables by Bauer (1962), 17–18, but he regrettably uses Ovid in an attempt to disparage Horace.

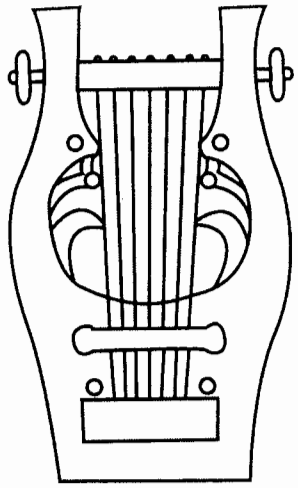
[59]It is interesting to note that Shakespeare (*Sonnet* 55), in his allusion to the Ovidian passage, tried to strengthen this weakness but in so doing fell into loose writing elsewhere in his couplet: "Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn | The living record of your memory."

[60]For the teeth of time see Simonides 75 Diehl; Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* 5.1; Phineas Fletcher, *Purple Island* 1.15 in Boas (1909), 2.15; W. B. Yeats, *The New Faces*. For the teeth of death cf. Lucretius 1.852; Seneca, *Hercules Furens* 555. For other personifications of time and age cf. Leishman (1961), 134–42.

[61]Day Lewis (1947), 74.

[62]Nisbet-Hubbard (1970), on *Odes* 1.26, introductory note.





William S. Anderson

Why Horace?

A Collection of Interpretations

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