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HORATIUS CALLIDUS

When Horace turned from *Sermones* and *Epodes* to the composition of lyrics, the task that he set himself was a complex one. Like Virgil, Horace accepted wholeheartedly the poetic ideals of careful craftsmanship and sophistication advocated by Callimachus and the Alexandrians and first represented in Rome by Catullus, Calvus and Cinna.¹ Nevertheless, the Alexandrian and neoteric programs were not enough for Horace and Virgil: both were deeply affected by the times in which they lived and were therefore determined to deal with contemporary affairs in their poetry. This determination eventually led Virgil to the "impossible" task of adapting the classical Greek form of epic to his own Roman world without falling into the difficulties inherent in the genre of Roman historical epic. Horace, on the other hand, had no ambitions to write on the grand scale. He chose instead a genre which would allow him the freedom to alternate between slight and elegant poems (*ludi*) and those of a more serious nature, whether political or philosophical. The Alexandrian forms could not offer him this freedom; nor could the *exigui elegi* of Gallus and his followers. Thus, he too turned to a classical form: lyric. This genre filled his needs admirably, for it was traditionally capable of enormous diversity: hymn, subjective love poetry, political, philosophical, and convivial poems all fell within its province. Furthermore, its metrical variety offered him ample opportunity to display his technical virtuosity.

Horace was fully aware of the complexity of attempting to knit these three diverse threads—an Alexandrian search for poetic perfection, a classical Greek form, and the need to fit them to the tastes and temper of Augustan Rome—into one whole. Like so many other poets, both ancient and modern, he turned over and over again, in the poems themselves, to con-

¹ This fact is evident to the critic who weighs Horace's actual words in his critical statements (in both *Odes* and hexameter poems) against his purported hostility to Catullus and the elegists. Excellent documentation of this view may be found in Steele Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (Indiana University Press 1967) 31-41.

temptation of the traditions within which he was writing and of his own poetic ideals and goals. In fact, almost a quarter of his *Odes* deal, at least in passing, with the question of his poetic role. One of his most explicit statements on the subject is in the closing poem of his first collection, in which he boasts that his poetry will live eternally in Rome and in his native Apulia, for he has been the first to set "Aeolium carmen ad Italos modos" (3.30.13-14). But it is not only by explicitly programmatic statements like this that Horace comments on the nature of his poetry; he also combines Greek and Latin verbal elements in his poems in such a way as to create *callidae iuncturae* (the "clever combinations" of words that he advocates in the *Ars Poetica*) which—by their own oxymoronic configuration—are meant to illustrate the paradox of undertaking to write poems which are at once both Greek and Roman.

The specialized vocabulary which Horace adopts for description of his lyrics is composed, in large part, of a set of Greek and Latin counterparts. Of the terms he uses for the lyre, four are Greek (*cithara*, *lyra* and *barbitos*; and *plectrum*, literally the instrument with which the lyre-strings are struck), and two are Latin (*fides* and *testudo*). For the Muses, he uses both the Greek words *Musa* and *Pieris* and the Latin *Camena*. The Greek term *poeta*, though it is common in his hexameter poems, is generally supplanted by the Latin *vates* in the *Odes*; it appears in them only twice (both in the late fourth book, at 4.2.33 and 4.6.30). By the regular pairing of Greek and Latin elements in his use of these terms, the poet creates oxymora (so typical of his diction in general) of three sorts:

1. the collocation of two words of contrasting Roman and Greek geographical reference: "Calabrae Pierides" (4.8.20), where the adjective calls attention to the geographical reference in *Pierides*;
2. the collocation of a word of Greek geographical reference with a Latin word, and vice versa: "Graiae . . . Camenae" (2.16.38); "age dic *Latinum*, *barbite*, carmen" (1.32.3-4);
3. the collocation of Greek and Latin words, with no explicit geographical reference, as in "lyricis vatibus" (1.1.35).

I shall defer discussion of the first type, since it does not appear in Horace's first collection of *Odes*, but only in book 4, and begin by discussing the second type of collocation. At the end of *Odes* 2.16, Horace makes a compact statement of his

goals in life—a statement in which philosophical and poetic ideals intertwine:

... mihi parva rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
spernere vulgus.

(2.16.37-40)

Philosophically, the lines contrast Grosphus's luxurious life with Horace's humbler desires and form a suitable conclusion to an ode on the values of a simple and unambitious life. But the stanza is also a statement of poetic ideals, couched in Callimachean critical terminology: the "small" domain (*parva rura*) that the poet seeks and his play on *parcus* in "Parca non mendax" ("a Fate who does not belie her name"—i.e. one who deals out goods sparingly) recall Callimachus's distaste for the large or overblown in poetry; *tenuis* is the Latin translation of Callimachus's catchword, *λεπτός*; and the esotericism of "malignum spernere vulgus" reflects Callimachus's hatred for *πάντα τὰ δημόσια* (*Ep.* 28.4).² The presence of the *Camena* in line 33, however, makes it clear that the passage is more than a simple statement of adherence to the spirit of Greek (specifically Alexandrian) poetry: the use of the Italian name for the Muse was bound to be striking, as a consideration of the word's history readily shows.

The *Camenae* were first adopted as Muses by Livius Andronicus in his translation of the *Odyssey*: "virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum."³ Later they are central figures in Naevius's epitaph, a piece of literary polemic directed at Ennius's adoption of Greek literary forms and inspiration—specifically his adoption of the Greek hexameter in place of Italian Saturnians and his pointed substitution of the Greek *Μοῦσαι* for their ruder Italian counterparts, the *Camenae*:⁴

² On *parvus* and *parcus*, cp. specifically *ἔπος τυτθόν* (*Aet.* 1.1.5), *ὀλίγη λιβάς* (*Hymns* 2.112), *ὀλιγόστιχος* (*Aet.* 1.1.9). For *tenuis* = *λεπτός*, see E. Reitzenstein, *Festschrift Richard Reitzenstein* (Leipzig 1931) 23ff. For esotericism, cp. *Aet.* 1.1.25ff., *Hymns* 2.110ff. Cp. discussion of this passage (*Odes* 2.16.37-40) in Commager, 37-38.

³ See *ThLL* s.v. They were originally water-nymphs and maintained an identity as such concomitantly with their role as Muses.

⁴ See Otto Skutsch, *Studia Enniana* (London 1968) 3-5, 18-21, for more detailed discussion.

"immortales mortales si foret fas flere / flerent divae Camenae Naevium poetam" (Morel, *FPL* 64.1-2). After Naevius, the Camenae more or less disappeared from Latin poetry until the Augustan age, when we glimpse them once in the *Eclogues* and then once in the first book of *Satires*.⁵ But it is with the publication of *Odes* 1-3 that the Camenae make a systematic return to Latin poetry, appearing once in each book as the sources of Horace's inspiration. It seems apt that the Italian Muses banished by Ennius in his original Grecizing movement should return to share the stage with their Greek counterparts in the Romanized *Aeolium carmen* of Horace. At any rate, this return of a term closely connected with an earlier literary polemic is certainly striking enough to rule out the view generally taken by commentators that *Camenae* here is simply an alternate word for *Musae*. When Horace adopted the Camenae as symbols of his own lyric inspiration, he did so to a definite purpose.

What is that purpose? The message of the phrase *Graiae Camenae* is a double one. Horace is saying that his inspiration is Greek: it comes from a Grecized Camena rather than from the rude Italian Muse of Ennius's predecessors. But it is still a Camena, and thus Italian: the Callimachean values espoused in these lines have been reshaped in the hands of an Augustan poet.

⁵ In extant literature after Naevius and before the Augustan era, they appear only at Lucilius 1028. Then, at *Ecl.* 3.59, Palemon introduces the contest of Menalcas and Damoetas by saying: "incipere, Damoeta; tu deinde sequere, Menalca. / alternis dicetis; amant alterna Camenae." This is Virgil's only reference to the Camenae; perhaps they seemed particularly apposite—as unsophisticated, native Italian Muses—to the rude form of contest here portrayed: the trading of abuse in song was characteristic of rural Italian festivals. It is probably with direct reference to this passage in the *Ecl.* that Horace first mentions the Camenae: "molle atque facetum/Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae" (*Sat.* 1. 10. 44-45). Virgil had revived the old Italian Muses in a context where they fit well, and Horace here acknowledges the nicety by using the Camenae ("gaudentes rure") to represent the *Ecl.* as a whole. These two references are linked together and do not represent a systematic return of the Camenae to poetry. In fact, Virgil never mentions them again, and Horace mentions them only here in his earlier works; on the other hand, *Musa* appears once in the first book of *Sat.* (1.5.53) and twice in the second (2.3.105, 2.6.17). But Virgil's single mention of these Italian Muses had planted in Horace's mind a seed which was to take root only years later, when it could help him deal with the question of the Romanization of Greek poetic ideals which was so much on his mind.

The same sort of Greek-Latin blend can be seen in *Odes* 1.32, when Horace invokes his lyre: "age dic Latinum, / barbite, carmen."⁶ When Horace asks for Latin song from his lyre, there is contrast in the actual content of his request, since lyric song is new to Latin. But it is the verbal formulation of the phrase that is truly paradoxical. The force of the contrast between this Greek instrument (*barbitos*) and its proposed subject (*Latinum carmen*) becomes clear when we consider that not only was Horace the first Roman to speak of the *barbitos* (which was common in Greek lyric poetry), but the word apparently sounded so foreign to Latin that, unlike the other Greek words for "lyre," it never entered into common Latin usage. Horace uses it only three times (all in his first collection of *Odes*: here, at 1.1.34, and at 3.26.4); after him it occurs only twice more in classical Latin, once in the pseudo-Ovidian *Epistle of Sappho* (line 8) and once in Statius' *Silvae* (4.5.60). Furthermore, in these four latter uses—three in the accusative singular (*barbiton*) and one in the nominative singular (*barbitos*)—the foreign flavor of the word is emphasized by the fact that it retains the Greek inflexional endings *-os/-on* rather than appearing in the Latinized form *barbitus* (*-um*). The juxtaposition, then, of this new Grecism with the word *Latinum* was surely striking; it was meant to impress the reader once again with the novelty and paradox of Horace's role as Roman lyricist.

In both the phrases discussed so far the oxymoron has been fairly explicit, thanks to the appearance in each of a specific geographical reference: "*Graiae Camenae*," "*Latinum, barbite*." The next type of collocation that I want to discuss is the subtler combination of Greek and Latin words which have no specific geographical reference (the category listed third above). In his programmatic first poem, Horace tells us that his supreme ambition is to be included in the count of "lyrici vates." *Vates*, an old Latin word meaning "priest" or "prophet," had been revived in Augustan times to describe the role of the poet as the oracle of truth for his times and, perhaps more than any other single word, is descriptive of the Augustan

⁶ The boldness of this juxtaposition is not lessened by the fact that the adjective *Latinum* does not modify the vocative *barbite*, but is actually enhanced by the interruption of the phrase *Latinum carmen* by the Greek *barbitos*.

poetic program.⁷ *Lyricus* is not only Greek but also new to Latin. Its only appearance in extant literature before this passage is in the *Orator* (55.183), where Cicero speaks of the class of Greek poets "qui λυρικοί a Graecis nominabantur." The Greek letters demonstrate that the word was still thoroughly foreign. When Horace adopted it to describe his poetry, it was undoubtedly still felt as a strong Grecism, perhaps even more so since it was not only a foreign word, but a technical term which described (except for Catullus's two Sapphic experiments) a hitherto foreign genre.

A second collocation like *lyricis vatibus* is found in *Odes* 4.3, where Horace expresses his gratitude to the Muse Melpomene for his poetic success:

. . . Romae principis urbium
dignatur suboles inter amabilis
vatum ponere me choros.

(4.3.13-15)

The word *chorus*, in its literal meaning ("dance") and both its transferred senses ("chorus," then "crowd"), is very common in poetry; it is found in Cicero as well, in the transferred senses.⁸ We may conclude from its frequency that by Horace's time it was not felt as a strongly Greek word but had been effectively assimilated into the Latin poetic vocabulary. But when Horace connects it here with the Roman *vatum*, the fact that it is actually a Greek word is set in relief. The contrast of the two words is further emphasized by the boldness of his image, which presents us with a group of august Roman poet-priests dancing in a ring: the more neutral meaning of *chorus*, "troop" or "throng," never occurs in the plural, as Kiessling-Heinze have pointed out. The effect of the collocation is, then, to gloss, ever so subtly, the paradox of Horace's own poetic undertaking, and indeed of the whole Augustan poetic program: the poets of

⁷ See J. K. Newman, *The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry*, Coll. Latomus, vol. 88 (Brussels 1967). Newman (45) comments on the strong paradox of Horace's phrase. But whereas I am dealing with the contrast created by the phrase's verbal formulation, he is concerned with the contrast between the two words' meanings or connotations—the Augustan concept of *vates* (the poet as priest or prophet) connected with the concept of lyricism, which he labels Alexandrian.

⁸ See *L.S.*, s.v.

Rome at this time (at least those who were *amabiles*, in Horace's view) were "choruses" of Greek inspiration who had to adapt as well to their role as Roman *vates*.

Later in the same poem, Horace expresses his debt to the Muse:

. . . totum muneris hoc tui est,
quod monstror digito praetereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae.

(4.3.21-23)

Many critics have pointed out that the phrase *Romanae lyrae* reflects Horace's pride in having introduced lyric poetry to Latin. They have not, however, commented on the verbal contrast between the Italian geographical reference *Romanae* and the Greek word *lyrae*. Nor have they noted the collocation, within the same phrase, of *fidicen* (the player of the Latin *fides*) and the Greek *lyrae*.

We are so accustomed to the word *lyra* in Latin poetry that it doesn't occur to us to view it as a true Grecism, but the fact is that before Horace it occurs only twice in extant literature: once in Plautus (*Poen.* 137), where it is written in Greek, in a Greek proverb, and once in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, in a description of Themistocles (1.2.4).⁹ For Horace and his readers, then, the word undoubtedly retained more of its original Greek flavor than it does for us (who have read it over and over in later poets), so that for them its collocation with the adjective *Romanae* would create the same sort of oxymoron as the *Graia Camena* or *Latinum barbite*. Another, perhaps surprising, note on this collocation is that it is only with Horace (first at *Epp.* 1.19.33, then here) that the *fidicen* enters into the Latin poetic vocabulary. In its literal sense ("lyre-player"), this word occurs in Latin prose twice, both in Cicero, but Horace is the first to use it in a transferred sense (as "lyric poet").¹⁰ The novelty of this Latin word, then, would serve to emphasize the contrast

⁹ See *ThLL*, s.v. The element of *variatio* may enter into its choice in the Cicero passage, since just before Themistocles is viewed as rejecting the *lyra*, Epaminondas has been pictured playing on the *fides*—the normal Latin term for "lyre." Horace speaks of the *lyra* twice in the *Epodes* (9.5 and 17.39), then 8 times in *Odes* 1-3; 3:*Odes* 4; 2: *Epp.*; 1: *A.P.*

¹⁰ See *ThLL*, s.v.

between it and the Greek *lyrae*. The tautology of the phrase ("lyre-player on the lyre") further emphasizes the contrast between the Latin and Greek words which compose it, making of them a pair parallel to *lyricis vatibus* or *vatum choros*.

The conscious artistry of this triple collocation (*Romanae fidicen lyrae*) is highlighted by a comparison with the phrase in Horace's *Epistles* (1.19.32-33) where the *fidicen* first appears. There, in speaking of his achievement as lyric poet (in books 1-3), Horace takes Alcaeus as his lyric model, boasting: "hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus / vulgavi fidicen." The meaning of the two phrases (*Latinus fidicen* and *Romanae fidicen lyrae*) is the same; the words the poet chooses to express the idea are similar. But the configuration of the former (Latin geographical adjective plus Latin noun) is straightforward—and perhaps more suited to the diction and tone of Horace's hexameter poems. In the *Odes*, the introduction into the phrase of two types of Greek-Latin contrast has transformed it into a complex *callida iunctura* which forms a fitting climax to a poem in which the poet thanks the Muse for having granted him success in Augustan Rome as lyric poet.

In contrast with such subtle oxymora as *lyricis vatibus*, *vatum choros* and *fidicen lyrae*, the third form of collocation to be discussed (category 1 above) boldly joins explicitly contrasting geographical references. In *Odes* 4.8, a poem on the power of poetry to immortalize men, Horace uses the phrase *Calabrae Pierides* as a periphrasis for Ennius' poetry: Ennius was a native of Rudiae in Calabria, so his Muse was Calabrian. The juxtaposition of contrasting geographical references ("Calabrian Pierians") is striking, but has aroused almost no critical comment. In their joint commentary, Page, Palmer and Wilkins do note it, but then dismiss it as a flaw, saying, "Although *Pierides* ('dwellers in Pieria') had become merely = 'Muses,' yet the combination of the word with *Calabrae* is hardly happy" (ad loc.). But surely Horace is here using the paradox of the phrase to a definite purpose; implicit in it is a comment on Ennius's adoption of Greek epic meter and the Greek Muses to sing Roman themes. Ennius's role as the importer of Greek epic form to Rome is similar to Horace's role in lyric, as Horace here suggests by adopting the technique of *callida iunctura* which he uses in discussing his own poetry. *Calabrae Pierides* is the only

example of this type of collocation I have found in Horace. Since it occurs in the last book of the *Odes*, one may easily imagine that here Horace is consciously carrying to its logical extreme a practice established in his earlier books.

In passing, I want now to glance at a related phenomenon, which might be called the exception that proves the rule. Twice Horace couples two Greek terms, *Musa* and *lyra*, in the context of a *recusatio*. The first example is from *Odes* 1.6:

. . . dum pudor
imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni.

(1.6.9-12)

Horace's inspiration is here pictured (verbally, that is) as purely Greek: the Greek Muse (*Musa*) using a Greek instrument (*lyra*). There is no hint of the duality inherent in the *Graia Camena* or the *Romana lyra*. But this lack of duality is apposite in the context here: Horace pleads a Greek inspiration for his poetry to excuse his failure to sing Roman themes. The same two Greek terms are coupled, to similar effect, at the end of the third Roman ode, where the poet chides his lyre for having risen above itself in Juno's impassioned speech on Rome's past and future: "non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae: / quo, Musa, tendis?" (3.3.69-70). The conceit is contrived and ironical—an after-the-fact *recusatio*—but in it we again see the poet's carefully significant choice of Greek or Latin words.

So far I have been dealing with the collocation of single Greek and Latin terms. I want now to consider three poems in their entirety, in order to demonstrate that an analogous interplay of Greek and Latin elements is at work in the *Odes* on a broader scale.

In *Odes* 1.12, Horace begins his hymn to the gods and heroes of the Roman state with a "motto," or tag-line, from Pindar's second Olympian:

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
quem deum?

(1.12.1-3)

Horace's lines are a clear reminiscence of Pindar's "ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι, τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἦρωα, τίν' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν;" (*Ol.* 2.1-2). Critics have been quick to point out that the remainder of Horace's poem bears little relation to Pindar's epinician—except, perhaps, in triadic structure. One should also note the significant changes which Horace has introduced into his motto. Besides the reversal of the order (*virum-heroa-deum*), as opposed to *θεόν-ἦρωα-ἄνδρα*), there is the delay of *deum* to the third line and the addition of the instruments (*lyra* and *tibia*) on which the hymn will be celebrated. The effect of the first two changes is a distinct and slightly strange pairing of *virum* and *heroa*. The Greek *ἦρωας*, or demigod, was not a native Roman concept; the sort of heroes that Rome bred and admired were *viri*. Thus, although the question has the same surface meaning as Pindar's ("What man, what demigod?"), the phrase can also be seen as a pairing of Latin and Greek counterparts for the same thing: conceptually, the totally Roman *vir* is contrasted with the Greek idea of the demigod (*heros*); the contrast is reinforced verbally by the further contrast between the Latin word *vir* and the *heros*, a Greek word which follows a Greek declension. On the introduction of the *lyra* and *tibia* into the line, Kiessling-Heinze properly cite (ad loc.) a second Pindaric reference: "κλέονται [the heroes] ἐν τε φορμίγγεσιν ἐν τε αὐλῶν παμφώνοις ὁμοκλαῖς" (*Isth.* 5.27). Perhaps Horace is intentionally superimposing this second Pindaric allusion on the first. But even more notable is the fact that the words he has chosen for the two instruments form another Greek-Latin pair: *lyra* is Greek, *tibia* Latin. Their insertion thus creates a chiasmus of Greek and Latin terms—*virum* (Lat.): *heroa* (Gk.) / *lyra* (Gk.): *tibia* (Lat.)—which is emphasized by the structural parallelism of the two phrases and by their disposition around the main caesura ("virum *aut* heroa // *lyra vel acri* / *tibia*").

What would be Horace's purpose in creating such a chiasmus? It is possible that it was just an elegance, a verbal play which added nothing substantive to his theme. But it is more likely that the joining of Greek and Latin terms here, as elsewhere, serves as a gloss on the kind of poetry he is attempting. With this possibility in mind, let us examine the development of the poem.

After his opening three stanzas, Horace goes on to deal with the gods, again in three stanzas (13-24); he then cites the demigods Heracles and the Dioscuri in two stanzas (25-32). Finally, at line 33, he enters the realm of Roman history:

Romulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem an superbos
Tarquini fascis, dubito, an Catonis
nobile letum.

(33-36)

Questions raised by this stanza have puzzled critics for centuries.¹¹ First there is the issue of whether it is structurally a part of the preceding section on demigods (as the poem's overall triadic structure, seemingly copied from Pindar, would suggest) or with the following three stanzas on *viri*. Either interpretation offers difficulties: Romulus—son of a god and himself later deified—was a natural candidate for a Roman demigod, Numa only slightly less so: but the hated Tarquinius Superbus would certainly be out of place in such a list.¹² The further inclusion in a list of demigods of the younger Cato, a figure not of legend but of Horace's own time, would be exceedingly bold and, I think, un-Roman.¹³ On the other hand, if we accept the break in triadic structure and connect the stanza with the following three on *viri*, Cato is sorely out of chronological order, coming as he does between the kings and the next stanza's list of early Republican figures. (Bentley addresses the poet dolefully here—"Profecto non sat commode divisa sunt temporibus tibi, Flacce, haec"—and eliminates Cato from the poem with his emendation, "anne Curti.") And again, if the stanza is indeed a list of

¹¹ For a review of the scholarship, see R. G. M. Nisbet, Margaret Hubbard, *Horace: Odes, book 1* (Oxford 1970) ad loc.

¹² Tarquinius Superbus is, I would say, clearly the Tarquin indicated by "*superbos* Tarquini fascis." The search for an alternate explanation (e.g. that it refers to Tarquinius Priscus, who may have introduced the fasces to Rome), which began with the Scholiasts, results from what I shall try to show is a misconception—i.e. that the stanza must be a list of either demigods or Roman *viri*, neither of which fits Tarquinius Superbus.

¹³ This view that Cato is here identified with the figures of legend (Romulus, Numa, Tarquin) and that they all are listed as Roman demigods has, however, recently been endorsed, with hesitation, by Nisbet-Hubbard (144, and at line 35).

Roman heroes (*virī*, as opposed to demigods), we face the question of what Tarquinius Superbus is doing in it.

The stanza is, however, explicable in other terms. I would suggest that the poet, in beginning his praise of the Roman heroes (*virī*), starts with what might be thought of as a thumbnail sketch of Rome's early history: Romulus represents the founding of the city, Numa its refoundation in peace and law (*quietum regnum*).¹⁴ Tarquinius Superbus symbolizes the disintegration of kingdom. After the kings came the Republic, and, perhaps more than any other, Cato is a symbol of its strengths; further, the choice of him (rather than, say, L. Brutus, its founder) carries us one step further in history: implicit in the death of Cato is the death of the Republic. Thus the purpose of the ninth stanza is to sketch—by the mention of men who had come to be symbolic¹⁵—the history of the city which gave birth to so many *virī*. Once that is done, Horace turns to his actual list, proceeding from the great men of the Republic to one of his own time, Marcellus.

The effect of the ninth stanza, then, is to deflect the expectations raised in its readers by the earlier part of the poem. We expect the triadic structure established through the first six stanzas to continue, especially since the poem has opened with an allusion to a triadic ode by Pindar. When the poet begins the ninth stanza with the words, "Romulum post hos . . .," he seems at first to be continuing his demigod theme with a Roman example, but the development of the stanza soon forces us to change our focus, for in it we turn to a sketch of Roman history rather than description of the exploits or powers of a Roman demigod. It is as if the poet has become impatient with the Greek idea of the *ἥρωες* and broken his triadic structure to turn all the more quickly to the themes which interest him more: Rome and the purely human heroes (*virī*) it has bred—history, not myth.

¹⁴ The same idea of a dual foundation by Romulus and Numa is found in Livy's first book (1.19.1, 1.21.6).

¹⁵ Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 295, notes that after Romulus the poet names as his subjects not people but things ("Pompili regnum," "Tarquini fascis," "Catonis nobile letum"). This observation complements my interpretation of the stanza as a sketch of history rather than a list of *heroes* or *virī*—better, I think, than it fits with Fraenkel's own view that the stanza is connected with the preceding two on demigods.

The direction of the poem is now clear. Horace takes an ode which began with a Greek motto and Greek hymnic form and makes it resolutely Roman: first by a break with triadic structure, whereby the Greek *ἠρωες* are given short shrift (two stanzas), to the benefit of Rome and its *viri* (four stanzas); later by the continuation of Roman themes in the final triad, which is addressed to Jupiter (described by his Roman parentage as "orte Saturno") and devoted to the nation's greatest *vir*, Augustus. Finally, in his catalogue of Roman *viri*, Horace boasts that he will celebrate these men "insigni Camena" (39). Not only is the aptness of the *Italian* Muse as symbol for his poetry in this context striking, particularly since this is the first reference to the Camenae in the *Odes*, but the development of the poem from Greek beginning to Roman end is also glossed by the switch from the initial invocation of the Greek Muse Clio to the later appearance of the Latin Camena.¹⁶

In this light, let us look again at the beginning of the poem. I have argued that by the various changes he has made in his Pindaric motto, Horace has emphasized the contrast in the first line between the Latin *vir* and the Greek *heros*, so that within his literal question ("What man? What demigod?") there is another question implicit: Greek hero or Roman? When one considers the clear movement of the poem, it does not seem fanciful to say that Horace has answered his question with his content. The poem is yet another example of Horace's adaptation of Greek models to the interests and values of a Roman poet.

I have already discussed individual phrases from *Odes* 4.3, but the way they work in the poem as a whole must also be considered. This poem is a variation on the first poem of the first

¹⁶ A parallel phenomenon is seen in *Odes* 3.4. Again the poet begins with a Greek hymnic invocation—this time addressed to the Greek Muse Calliope, rather than Clio. He goes on to describe his own poetic initiation and, within that frame (5-8, 21-24), his special protection by the Muses (9-20). But Horace alters these Greek topics by setting them firmly in a real Italian landscape (see, e.g., Fraenkel, 275, on the "disturbing" effect of this transposition). When he concludes his initiation (*tollor*, 22) with an insistent dedication of himself to the Italian Camenae ("vester, Camenae, vester. . ."), we see that, as in 1.12, he has taken a Greek beginning and reshaped it to his ends as a Roman poet, culminating in his substitution of the Italian Camenae for the Greek Muse invoked at the beginning of the poem and paving the way for the Roman concerns which take up the second half of the poem.

book: it too contrasts the poet's ambitions with those of other men, by use of a standard Greek *topos*, the priamel; it differs from the earlier poem, though, in presenting the poet's ambitions (from the standpoint of the fourth book) as already achieved. And, as *Odes* 1.1 reaches its climax in the prayer that the poet might be included in the ranks of the *lyrici vates*, *Odes* 4.3 presents the fulfillment of that prayer by similar use of the technique of *callida iunctura* of Greek and Latin elements, not only in the phrases already discussed, but also extended throughout the poem.

The ode is addressed to the Greek Muse Melpomene, and throughout its first couplets the use of a traditional Greek *topos* is emphasized by the repeated use of Greek geographical adjectives: "labor Isthmius," "curru Achaico," "Deliis foliis." The references to the games in lines 3-6a set us in a Greek world, so that it comes as something of a surprise when the Delian leaves of line 6b turn out (after a delay of three lines) to be the prize not of the traditional Greek hero, but of a Roman general ("ostendet Capitolio"—9). The switch to a Roman context continues when, in line 10, the poet plants his poem firmly in the Italian landscape by naming the waters of the Anio ("quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt") as the waters of his inspiration. When he goes on to say that these Italian waters will make him "*Aeolio* carmine nobilem," we have our first hint of the sort of oxymoron of Greek and Latin terms that I have been discussing and that becomes so strong in the remainder of the poem. The poet's prayer in 1.1 to be counted among the *lyrici vates* is answered in 4.3 by his inclusion in the *vatum chori* (two parallel collocations, as I have shown). The poem reaches its climax in the similarly oxymoronic "Romanae fidicen lyrae." When we find between these two *callidae iuncturae* the Greek Muse (*Pieri*) playing on the Latin *testudo* (17-18), we may be justified in seeing something of the same Greek and Latin contrast there. These oxymora in the second half of the poem (13-24) are foreshadowed by and reflect back upon the delicate contrast of *Tibur* and *Aeolio* in the lines concerned with the poet's inspiration.

The movement of the poem is, then, as follows: like 1.1, it begins with a Greek *topos* (in which the Greek setting is further emphasized by Greek place names), thus suggesting the poet's non-Roman artistic inheritance. But before the topic is complete, the poet has begun to shift his locale, first by mention of

the Capitolium, then with his assumption of Roman waters and groves as sources of inspiration for his *Aeolium carmen*. When, in the second half of the poem, he turns to the actual fulfillment of the hopes articulated in his inaugural ode, he describes the signs of his success in a homely image set on the streets of Rome ("quod monstror digito praetereuntium"—22) and so emphasizes that it is as a Roman poet that he has achieved glory. But the repeated use of Greek-Latin *callidae iuncturae* throughout the section reminds us that this Roman success is the result of the poet's assimilation of the Greek background evoked by the poem's first lines.

Horace's hymn to Apollo, *Odes* 4.6, provides clear evidence of his concern to Romanize Greek lyrics (that is, not just to write lyrics in Latin, but to fit them to the time and temper of Augustan Rome). It begins with an address to Apollo, as yet unnamed but quickly identified by his attributes:

Dive, quem proles Niobea magnae
vindicem linguae Tityosque raptor
sensit et Troiae prope victor altae
Phthius Achilles. . . .

(4.6.1-4)

The next five stanzas deal with Apollo's victory over Achilles, but it is fair to say that they are more concerned with Achilles than with the god. Although the death of Achilles precedes the action of Aeneas's tale in book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, resonances of that book are strong here. When Horace speaks of the court of Priam just before the fall of Troy as "laetam . . . choreis" (15), we think of the Trojan youth joyfully escorting the fateful horse within the walls at *Aen.* 2.239 ("sacra canunt"), and Horace's picture of a city deceived into rest and unwatchfulness ("male feriatos"—14) recalls to us the Greeks' deceitful attack on a city "somno vinoque sepultam" (*Aen.* 2.265). And if the characterization of Achilles here as "captis gravis" (17) suggests to us a contrast with Anchises's injunction to his son at *Aen.* 6.853—"memento . . . parcere subiectis"¹⁷—this impression is bolstered by the next stanza, where Aeneas himself enters Horace's poem as a foil to Achilles: his greater fate—to

¹⁷ Cp. also Horace's description of Aeneas at *Carm. Saec.* 41-42 as "iacentem / lenis in hostem."

found Rome and thus to save the Trojan race from extinction—is contrasted with Achilles's desire to "burn" the children of Troy, even those unborn, and thus blot out the race entirely.

From line 5 to line 24, then, the subject of the poem has been *res Romanae*. Formally, these stanzas are that part of a hymn which is devoted to the narration and celebration of the attributes and exploits of the god to be sung. When, at line 25, Horace turns to the prayer itself, the focus of the poem shifts abruptly. Readdressing the god, this time in his capacity as patron of poetry, the poet prays:

doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae,
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,
Daunia defende decus Camenae,
levis Agyieiu.

(4.6.25-28)

The Greek god Phoebus, teacher of the Greek Muse Thalia, is asked to protect and sponsor the Latin Muse (Camena), whose Italian character is emphasized by the adjective *Daunia*, referring to Horace's native Apulia.¹⁸ The Greek-Latin contrast is made particularly strong by the Greek epithet *Agyieus* (which appears only here in Latin before Macrobius), given to Apollo immediately following the prayer to preserve the glory of Italian (specifically Horatian) poetry.¹⁹

¹⁸ Paul Shorey—in Paul Shorey, G. J. Laing, *Horace: Odes and Epodes* (Chicago 1919) ad loc.—appreciates the contrast between *Thalia* and *Camena* and even chooses the reading *Argivae* (with Bentley) for *argutae*, commenting: "The reading *Argivae* brings out more clearly the antithesis between the Greek *Thalia* and the Italian *Camena*. Horace is *Romanae fidicen lyrae* (4.3.23)." Shorey has briefly noted two more of the verbal contrasts between Greek and Latin terms that I discuss. He notes at 1.12.1: "*Lyra* is Greek, *tibia* Roman, but we need not press the distinction," and at 4.3.23 he comments tersely: "*fidicen* is Latin . . . ; *lyrae*: Greek." One might wish that he *had* pressed the distinctions and given us the benefit of his interpretation.

¹⁹ There may be a second contrast at work here as well. The description of Apollo, "qui Xantho lavis amne crines" (formally that part of a hymn which names the god's favorite cult-sites), recalls the setting of the first half of the poem in a Trojan scene, and in this light the use in the next line of *Daunia* may be meant to evoke the *Aeneid* yet again: *Daunia* was the ancestral land of Turnus, and the juxtaposition of a Daunian Muse with the Trojan Apollo is suggestive of the process of assimilation of foreign and native elements that Virgil pictures in the last half of the *Aeneid* (see esp. Aeneas's speech, 12.187ff., and the dialogue between Jupiter and Juno, 12.808ff.). Himself a native of Apulia, Horace may

The poet then turns to personal history:

spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
carminis nomenque dedit poetae.
(29-30)

From this general statement of inspiration, Horace turns to his specific role as the producer of the *Carmen Saeculare* at the great *Ludi* of 17 B.C.: addressing his chorus in honor of Apollo and Diana, the poet enjoins them to sing the praises of the two gods (31-40), then ends the poem with the boast:

nupta iam dices "ego dis amicum,
saeculo festas referente luces,
reddidi carmen, docilis modorum
vatis Horati."
(41-44)

The occurrence in the poem of both the Greek and Latin words for "poet" (at lines 30 and 44) is interesting. When Horace speaks of the *spiritum* and *artem* given him by the Greek god Phoebus, it is tempting to see the extraordinary use of the Greek term *poeta* (which occurs only one other time in the *Odes*, at 4.2.33) as particularly appropriate to this Greek inspiration. On the other hand, one might argue that for purposes of *variatio* Horace wanted an alternate term for the more usual *vates*, which occurs in the last line of the poem. Nevertheless, the particular disposition of the two terms is significant (certainly Horace could have avoided one of the terms for "poet" with a periphrasis, if he had wanted to). Horace calls himself *poeta* (the Greek term) when he speaks of his original inspiration, which was Greek, given by the Greek god (*Phoebus*); but now that he has exercised his role as *poeta* in his Roman capacity as composer and producer of the *Carmen Saeculare*, an official state poem, he has become a *vates*.²⁰ In 4.6, he speaks as a

have been deeply affected by Virgil's scheme and therefore prone (particularly in an age which had seen so much civil strife: cp. *Odes* 2.1.34-35) to make use of it on his own.

²⁰ This interpretation is served if we read *dedit* (30) as a simple past, "Apollo gave me the name of poet" (with the implication that what Horace has done with it since is a separate issue), rather than as "he has given . . ." (with its suggestion rather of a continuing and unchanging state).

Roman *vates* for the first twenty-four lines of the poem; then, by turning to description of his personal poetic credentials, he explains how it is that he has achieved this status. "Vatis Horati": the words form a resounding climax to the poem. Like the oxymora created by the collocation of Greek and Latin words (*Graiae Camenae*, etc.), and like the broader interplay of Greek and Latin elements in *Odes* 1.12 and 4.3, the development from *poeta* to *vates* pictured within this poem recapitulates the progress of the poet from simple Greek inspiration to the complex role by which he uses his Greek lyric meters and his Alexandrian poetic ideals to sing of *res Romanae* in Augustan Rome.

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