A COMMENTARY ON SELECT 'EPISTLES' OF HORACE

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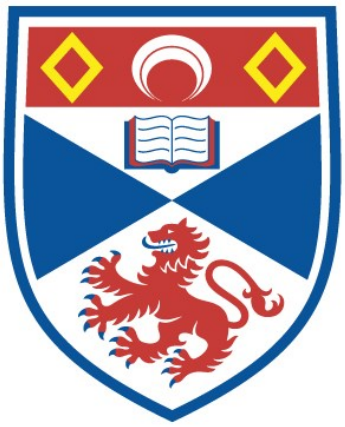

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Submitted by Graham D.F. Davidson
for the degree of M.Phil.,
University of St. Andrews.

December, 1987.

I Graham Donald Forbes Davidson hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately 40,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date 16 December, 1987. signature of candidate

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 on 6th January, 1986 and as a candidate for the degree of M. Phil. on 19th June, 1986; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1986 and 1987.

date 16 December, 1987. signature of candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate to the degree of M. Phil. of the University of St. Andrews and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

date 16 Dec 1987 signature of supervisor.

In fond memory of my Mother and with deep gratitude to my Father, to both of whom I owe so much.

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ABSTRACT

Horace's first book of Epistles comprise twenty poems which purport to be written by him to persons of varying ages and stations in life. They are not real letters, but rather are so shaped as to give the flavour of a letter. However, while they are artfully contrived, there is no reason to doubt that each addressee was a real person, and it is the clear personal element which is one of their most attractive features.

I have selected two epistles which well illustrate Horace's capacity to relate to other people, while at the same time revealing something of his own self. Epistle 1.4 shows his concern for his contemporary and fellow poet, Tibullus, and culminates in the *carpe diem* advice which Horace had expressed often in his Odes 1-3, published prior to the Epistles. His invitation to Tibullus recalls the sympotic motif familiar in many Odes where reflections on the shortness and precariousness of life lead to a summons to enjoy the present positively. Sociability and friendship will bring Tibullus out of himself. Repeatedly in the Epistles we see Horace stressing the value of friendship, and it is this aspect of human relations which reveals something of the poet's own sense of values and priorities.

In contrast to the whimsical and gently teasing tone of *Ep.* 1.4 (where Horace is dealing with a social equal and cultured figure from the literary world) *Ep.* 1.14 to his *vilicus* shows Horace as the master dealing with a recalcitrant slave who is dissatisfied with his posting to the country. Horace firmly encourages him to a more reasonable view of his

position and superbly shows his versatility in adapting his style and language to the level of a mere slave and social inferior. The theme of discontent with one's lot recalls several Odes, while the city versus country theme recurs in several Epistles, notably 1.7 and 1.10. It recalls one of his favourite themes of the 30's; cf. Sat. 2.6 and Epode 2 where Horace yearned for the countryside, and a life of leisured otium.

Both Epistles demonstrate the range of Horace's correspondence, and his prescription for bringing his addressees to an awareness of the best way to happiness and contentment.

EPISTLE 14

This epistle professes to be written to Horace's vilicus who formerly was employed in his town household, but who now finds himself in effective charge of his villa and farm. The position is one of considerable responsibility, since in his master's absence the vilicus had complete control over the slaves and even over free labourers in his master's service. Varro, R.R. 1.17 writes that foremen should be men who are experienced in farm operations, "praeterea potissimum eos praeesse oportere qui periti sint rerum rusticarum". Varro also stresses the fact that the vilicus has not only to give orders but also to take part in the work, and set a good example so that his subordinates may come to see that there is a good reason for his being set over them, "quod scientia praestet". Thus initiative and diligence were considered necessary prerequisites for the post; compare the account of stern old Cato, De Agr. 5.1-2 as he lays down the qualities expected of an ideal vilicus, "disciplina bona utatur. ---- Vilicus ne sit ambulator, sobrius siet semper, ad cenam nequo eat. Familiam exerceat, consideret, quae dominus imperaverit fiant. Ne plus censeat sapere se quam dominum." 5.4 "Opus rusticum omne curet uti sciat facere, et id faciat saepe, dum ne lassus fiat; ---- primus cubitu surgat, postremus cubitum eat." He makes him out to be a paragon of virtue, with high bodily and moral qualities. It is doubtful if any landlord ever succeeded in acquiring such a vilicus, but the emphasis in both Cato and Varro and later in Columella falls mainly on

diligence and responsibility necessary for such a post. Columella goes even further in stressing that an estate owner should not appoint a vilicus "ex eo quidem genere qui urbanas ac delicatas artes exercuerit", R.R. 1.8.1. Rather, he urges "eligendus est rusticis operibus ab infante duratus et inspectus experimentis". It is immediately obvious from these writers that Horace has made a colossal error of judgement in landing himself with a non rural type, since his vilicus craves the sensual pleasures of the town and the seamy side of life. Much of the interest and appeal of the epistle derives from the fact that he is the very opposite of what he is supposed to be - there is a piquancy here, which naturally must reflect somewhat poorly on Horace as an employer. Horace must himself share some of the blame for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

The transfer from town to country has resulted in resentment and discontent for the vilicus, and Horace purports to write this letter to give him a lesson on contentment with one's lot in life. He begins by giving us the facts of the situation clearly - the vilicus is bored with the country, whereas Horace, the master, is resentful of being detained in Rome. Thus both seem to be suffering from discontent with their place of residence. However, despite this superficial similarity, there is an underlying difference between them - it is pietas towards a close friend which prevents Horace from escaping from Rome, whereas the vilicus' residence in the country results from an ill-considered and rash choice of his own. He has, in effect, only himself to blame for his present plight. In lines 16-17 Horace points to his

own superiority in that he claims to be consistent, loyal to his preference for the country, whereas the vilicus is fickle, weak-willed, and vacillating. Despite his promotion to the rank of vilicus, he craves the pleasures of the city (15) its games and baths, and dens of debauchery (21). His tastes are low and sordid and Horace well succeeds in revealing how far removed his vilicus is from the "model" vilicus as sketched by Cato. His arrival in the country has been a deception - the work on the land is hard and unremitting, 26-30, entertainment is lacking, 24-6. The work-shy vilicus finds it all too much to cope with.

Horace in the body of the letter tries to win acceptance by the vilicus of his position and uses two arguments which neatly complement and reinforce each other - firstly, a principle, a rule of life, 11-13, that one who likes another's lot dislikes his own. Too much regard for another's position causes one to develop an aversion to one's own. Secondly, a concrete example drawn from the life that he once led in the city (31-6). Here Horace frankly admits that there was a time when he, too, was young and enjoyed the city's pleasures, but now that he is older he no longer feels like that. It is no shame to have once led a fast life, but the test is to recognise when to cut it short, and so guard against the charge of unbecoming conduct. It is perhaps significant that Horace passes quickly over the abstract argument of 11-13, but dwells on his own conduct at greater length, because an example from real life was more effective and more easily grasped by a slave.

Horace, as in Ep. 1.10 compares city life and country life to the disadvantage of the city. In the epistle to

Fuscus, a close friend, he contrasts Fuscus' attachment to Rome with his own love of the country, and presses home the moral superiority of life in the rus. The tone of Ep. 10 is warm and friendly. By contrast, in Ep. 14 his addressee is a mere slave, whom he does not even condescend to address personally by name. Instead of expounding at length and in lyrical vein (as in Ep. 1.10) on the delights of the countryside, Horace focusses rather on his vilicus, stressing his vulgar tastes and laziness. Conscious that he is a social inferior, Horace adopts a condescending and patronising tone - he is rather smug and self-assured in his own comparative superiority. He seems eager to expose the position of the vilicus as inferior and weak, although he at times tempers this by purporting to come down to his level, as when, for example, he selects imagery suitable to his job - "spinas animone ego fortius an tu/evellas agro", lines 4-5 - the challenge to a match is playful and the suggestion that Horace himself is in need of improvement is intended skilfully to soften the over-all patronising tone of the piece. In lines 21-22 Horace adopts a low style on purpose, suitable for depicting the vulgar tastes of the slave, showing that he can adjust his language to the level of his recipient. He well succeeds in depicting his trivial tastes with relish and verve, reminiscent of the Satires. Yet, beneath it all Horace seems to have nothing but contempt for the fellow and his attitude is at times bordering on the insufferable. It is difficult to agree with Becker who interprets Horace's attitude as "fast freundschaftlich" (Das Spätwerk, p.21) or with Fraenkel who thinks Horace speaks "gently and sympathetically", p.312; "the whole letter," writes

Fraenkel, "shows that the master, without condescension, and without betraying his own different views, looks sympathetically on the slave's desires and crude tastes", p.312. This is a complete misinterpretation of the poem's tone; Horace, the master, knows perfectly well that he has the upper hand and can dismiss the vilicus as and when he wants. Far from being gentle and egalitarian, the tone is rather hard-hearted and scornful. Horace has no intention of giving way to the latest whim of his vilicus; doubtless he regrets having ever listened to his entreaties before and now knows better. Firmly he makes it clear beyond any doubt at the close of the piece that the fellow will remain in his post, willing or not, and that the discussion is over. We see in lines 40-42 the same natural and frank vein which appeared in 21-26 - the slave of the town house who is sly and crafty, is all for exchanging his functions for those of the vilicus, whose perks Horace has laboured. However, the master decides by decree, as it were, that each should contentedly practise the trade he understands. In the last resort the vilicus has to do what his master tells him.

Although Horace himself was born free, his father had been a slave. He three times calls himself libertino patre natum, Sat. 1.6.6, 45, 46, and his tone is seldom sympathetic towards slaves; rather it seems to be hard-hearted. His attitude is very different from that of Seneca, who writes, in Ep. 47.1 "Servi sunt. Immo homines ---- Servi sunt, immo humiles amici". In the Iter Brundisinum, Sat. 1.5,he watches the entertainment of the lower classes with condescension; he treats the masses with contempt, as, for example, when he says he is unwilling for his books to be

put up for sale to be thumbed by the sweaty hands of the vulgus, Sat. 1.4.72; cf. Ep. 1.20.11. At Odes 2.16.39-40 he boasts of his scorn of the malignum vulgus, his confidence in himself leads him to show disdain for popular taste. Horace is always aware of his having come up in the world and boasts openly of consorting with the influential, Sat. 2.1.76, cum magnis vixisse; cf. Ep. 1.20.23, "me primis urbis belli placuisse domique". He values his own social success. Something of this snobbery and superiority emerges in Ep. 14. Horace knows perfectly well that he has been dealt the stronger hand and is free to engage in criticism of his slave, adopting a tone which seems censorious at times. Yet we have to remember that his tongue is in his cheek in as much as what the city means to his vilicus now, drink and sex, is simply a coarser version of what once it meant to Horace; in Sat. 2.7.39 his slave Davus accuses his master of being an idler and tippler, "imbecillus, iners, si quid vis, adde popino", and of chasing after other men's wives, line 46 "te coniunx aliena capit". Davus accuses him of being inconsistent and pokes fun at this, lines 28-9 "Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem/tollis ad astra levis". There is much in Ep. 14.32ff. which makes us smile, as we remember how in his epistle to Vala he appears as pre-occupied with the right brand of wine for drinking at the seaside, and with a ready supply of game and sea food - this is very far removed from the cena brevis of line 35, and the irony of this should not be lost on the reader. It is a mistake to seize on 32-36 as testifying truthfully to a new way of life. It just suits his purpose in this letter to masquerade as a devotee of the simple life - Courbaud is

naive in the extreme in writing of the poet's changed life style as being but the result of an inner change - "avec l'équilibre de l'âme il a trouvé le contentement de soi et la sérénité qu'il cherchait. La crise, qui remonte aux Satires et s'est developpé au cours des Épitres, est maintenant apaisée. Ce succes est dû à l'âge, au travail de la reflexion à l'effort de la volonté". This is to take Horace at face value, which is liable to lead to over generous interpretation of a sly and cunning writer. There is a measure of unfairness also in that while the country signifies hard, manual labour for the vilicus, for the master it means a chance to relax and enjoy its beauty.

There has been much debate as to whether this epistle is a real letter or not. Fraenkel writes, p.311 "a true letter, spontaneously written in circumstances which are still recognisable". He disputes the view of Wickham that it is a "sermon hung up on some arbitrarily chosen peg". In his introduction, Wickham writes, "under cover of a comparison between his own tastes and the bailiff's he ---- preaches his habitual sermon against restlessness and the desire for change". The conventional view is that the addressee was regarded as a poetical fiction, and the letter itself as a conventional sermon. Fraenkel challenges this opinion, arguing from lines 6-9 which, he claims, "bear the stamp of reality". It seems to me that the occasion which detains Horace in Rome is real enough; there is some reality behind the reference to Lamia. However, this fact does not necessarily mean that the letter is real - Horace could have used these lines to give the impression that he is writing a letter. There are real difficulties if we take it as a

real letter. The vilicus may well not have been able to read and write, although Varro did recommend that those in charge of slaves on a farm should have these rudimentary skills. Columella R.R. 1.8.4 writes "potest etiam inlitteratus, dummodo tenacissimae memoriae, rem satis administrare". A letter to him is just credible, but still we are perhaps meant to wonder at Horace's taking pains to debate with his slave instead of just giving him his orders. Courbaud labelled the vilicus "Un destinataire fictif". He continues, p.159, "Le poète a imaginé un cadre ingenieux, pour faire la leçon à tous les hommes déraisonnables, qui ne se contentent pas du lot qu'ils ont obtenu du sort". Fraenkel concedes that while the letter was written for the vilicus, yet Horace also has the readers of his book in mind as well, and that the epistle "shows a deliberate regard for the reader, any reader, in that it views a special and momentary issue as a typical instance of an error that at one time or another endangers the true happiness of most men". This is probably to take the letter too seriously.

It seems that Orelli grasped the essential point: "iam ioci causa fingit se servo isti nequam, moroso, bibaci, in urbem reverti cupienti hanc epistolam mittere, qua ruri ei manendum esse significat". Horace has cleverly given the epistle the form and impression of a familiar letter. It may well be that the starting point was his delay in Rome and his longing to return to his Sabinum. The thought of his dissatisfied and grumbling vilicus provided him with the opportunity to set out the basic difference between them with regard to living in the country, and it lets Horace work in the urbs versus rus theme which recurs frequently in the

Epistles. The desire to escape from Rome with all its exacting demands on his time and patience, and to seek a simpler life style in the country surfaces clearly in Ep. 1.7 to Maecenas, and is evident in Ep. 1.10 to Fuscus, and very evident in our epistle. Side by side with this theme goes the chance to score points over against the vilicus whose coarse and vulgar tastes are exaggerated probably in order to let Horace vaunt his own purported superiority. It is the contrast between two contrasting characters which makes the epistle amusing and dramatic.

1. vilice ------- agelli: The very first word of the letter brings before us Horace's addressee who is anonymous and an obvious social inferior. Horace does not condescend to address him by name (the first instance of this in the book). Contrast the warm tone of Cicero addressing his freedman in Fam. 16.10.2: "mi Tiro" and 16.7 "Tiro noster"; 16.6.2 "cura, cura te, mi Tiro".

The vilicus was the slave put in charge of the running of a farm or estate, an overseer, OLD s.v. 1 cf. Varro, R.R. 1.2.14 "vilicus agri colendi causa constitutus". He had general surveillance over and direction of the familia rustica, cf. CIL 10.3550 "vilicus et familia quae sub eo est". CIL 19.3028 "Hippocrati Plaut., vilico familia rustica quibus imperavit modeste". Columella, R.R. 11.1.3 "vilicum fundo familiaeque praeponi convenit". Although he was a slave, yet he held a respectable position of responsibility and trust. See Varro, R.R. 1.16. Clearly we can see why Columella expresses his contempt for landowners who did not trouble to select the best suited man for the post, and instead promoted a lower paid labourer, R.R. 1. praef. 12. Columella stated that he should be a man of the highest mental and moral character compatible with a slave temperament, R.R. 1.8.10, "animi, quantum servile patitur ingenium, virtutibus instructus". Cicero, pro Plancio 62, writes that in selecting a slave for the post of vilicus it is not technical skill that should be kept in view, but moral qualities such as honesty, industry and alertness. "nihil in eo nisi frugalitatem, laborem, vigilantiam esse curamus".

Immediately the reader asks how realistic it is that Horace should be writing to a vilicus at all. Could he even read the letter? According to Columella a vilicus did not necessarily have to be literate, although literacy and numeracy would have been normal, R.R. 1.8.4 "potest etiam inlitteratus, dum modo tenacissimae memoriae, rem satis commode administrare". A letter to him is just credible, but we are perhaps intended to wonder at Horace's taking pains to debate with a recalcitrant slave, instead of merely issuing orders.

Horace's estate did contain some woodland, silvarum. He writes at Sat. 2.6.3 of paulum silvae; cf. Odes 3.16.29 silva iugerum paucorum. The wood seems to have been small, and covered the higher part of the estate, giving him shelter from the cold of winter by breaking the force of cold winds, and from the oppressive heat of summer.

The bare genitive silvarum is followed by a further descriptive phrase which indicates Horace's feelings for his Sabine farm, "et mihi me reddentis agelli". The diminutive agelli is an endearing touch, cf. Varro R.R. 3.16.10 "agellus non maior iugero uno". The tone is tender and affectionate cf. Sat. 2.6.9 "o si angulus ille / proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum". In Ep. 1.16.5 he describes his farm as 'latebrae dulces et amoenae' since he finds physical and mental well-being there; cf. incolumem (16.16).

On the form of expression mihi me reddentis cf. Seneca, Brev. 8.5 "nemo iterum te tibi reddet". Horace himself advises young Lollius Ep. 18.101 to find in reading "quid te tibi reddat amicum". There is a discreet emotion in the phrase here. The emphasis is on relaxation, recreation, the

abandonment of cares and obligations to others. This is a theme which recurs in the Epistles, cf. Ep. 1.7.36 "nec / otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto", where Horace boldly asserts his own independence; complete freedom from external obligations is what he values more highly than all else, cf. Ep. 1.10.8 vivo et regno. He is his own master and not the slave of social conventions; he is free and in control. The phrase mihi me reddentis confirms for us what is suggested in so many of his Odes, namely that the countryside and especially his farm represent for Horace "not only a physical environment but also a local habitation and a name for certain ideal values". (Commager, The Odes of Horace 343)

The praise of the farm amounts to an expression of gratitude to Maecenas. This changed his economic circumstances completely, as he probably then gave up his employment as a scriba quaestorius or at least did not give it much attention. The cocooned, sheltered existence of the poet is deftly suggested by the words silvarum and agelli enclosing mihi me, where the emphatic collocation of personal pronouns foreshadows the highly personal nature of this epistle. Horace felt enriched by the gift of the farm, Odes 2.18.14 "satis beatus unicis Sabinis". cf. Epode 1.31-2 "satis superque me benignitas tua ditavit". He implies that it was the only property he owned, although he must have had a rented apartment in the city.

The thought in line 1 touches on the superiority of the withdrawn existence cf. Ep. 1.18.103 "fallentis semita vitae"; Ep. 1.17.10 "nec vixit male qui natus moriensque fefellit". One of the maxims of Epicurus was that the wise man will love the country, and Horace in the Epistles shows himself in large

measure as having turned his back on city life and embracing the hidden life in the country. In Epistles 1 the city-country antithesis is most obvious in Ep. 7, 10 and 14, with just hints of it in several others (Ep. 1.8; 1.15; 1.16). The use of this contrast recalls Sat. 2.6 and 2.7 as well as Epode 2, the themes of the thirties, when from his confinement in Rome he yearned for the countryside and when at last his patron Maecenas granted his wish by bestowing on him the Sabine farm.

2 quem ---- fastidis: the vilicus shows aversion to the Sabinum. Quem tu fastidis with their insistently heavy spondaic rhythm, and the emphatic use of the pronoun tu foreshadow nicely lines 18-21, where the vilicus' strong dislike of the country is elaborated. The terse, economical phrase contrasts well with the lyrical tone of line 1.

Immediately at the start of the epistle the reader senses that Horace's vilicus may well not be a rural type and that Horace has made a faux-pas in appointing him. Columella, writing of the chief recommendations on the selection of a vilicus stresses categorically that he should have a rural background, since city-life was thought to breed laziness, and diminish energy and initiative, R.R. 1.8.2 "eligendus est rusticis operibus ab infante duratus et inspectus experimentis".

Fastidis is a strong verb, almost synonymous with odit in 20. A whole association of ideas centres on fastidis - strong dislike, disdain, disgust, revulsion. Horace uses it eight times (only once in the Odes). It occurs only once in Virgil (Ecl. 2.73) and is a largely prosaic word, matter-of-fact in tone. See Thes. L.L. 6.309.74ff. The point is that the contrast in the respective attitudes of master and

slave toward the farm is clearly stated - for Horace the Sabinum is all he needs, whereas for the vilicus it is a bore.

2 habitatum ---- focis: "the scholiasts all treat habitatum as a proper past participle (aliquando, Acro; olim, Porphyrio) and explain it as describing the occupation of Horace's domain before it came into his hands - though it has been the dwelling place of five households, etc." (Wickham). Yet in our text there is no specific adverb of time such as olim and Orelli is almost certainly on the right lines when he takes the words as meaning that the Sabinum is the current dwelling place of five families. As Dilke comments, "the action of the past participle is timeless and may well extend to the present". Wilkins likewise favours this interpretation, arguing that it is more to Horace's purpose to refer to the present tenants than to past occupiers. Habitatum juxtaposed to fastidis has the force of a concession. Horace is at pains to stress that his estate, though small, is no contemptible one. In the repetition of quinque there could be a half humorous boasting. There is a note of proud and happy ownership as Horace mentions these friends after his own heart.

Focis stands by synecdoche for domus or familia, "intima et sacra pars domi, ubi Larum erat sedes", Thes. L.L. 6.988. The focus was the central point of the family worship of the Romans, and the embodiment of the physical well-being of the family. It is a rather homely touch - the fire can be a symbol of rustic paupertas, cf. Virgil, Ecl. 7.49ff; Tibullus 1.1.5-6. It suggests relaxation and ease. All these emotive associations would not be lost on Horace's readers. The firm

traditions of country life are perhaps being contrasted with the petty tastes and sensuous pleasures of the vilicus. We tend to think of the Sabinum in summer, whereas the countryman had to be there all year round, and thought equally of it in winter.

2-3. et / quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres: Orelli's note is the fullest and most satisfactory explanation of lines 2-3. He takes patres as the equivalent of patres familiarum, free men who work a part of the estate and pay to Horace a portion of the produce as payment in kind. They are free, responsible persons, probably Roman citizens, but tenants. Horace thus allows five free tenants and their families to make their livelihood. Presumably they farmed the outlying portions of his estate, while the villa with its home farm was managed by the vilicus who controlled the staff of eight slaves. They are like the rustic Ofellus of Sat. 2.2.115, "fortem mercede colonum", where see Lejay's detailed exposition. We know from Sat. 2.7.118 that Davus is threatened with being despatched by his master to the country, "accedes opera agro nona Sabino", referring to the home farm with its staff of eight labourers. The evidence points to the estate being divided up into two parts, one cultivated by slaves, the other subdivided among five tenants.

The leasing of parcels of land seems to have been a simple solution for a landlord to implement in the interest of better management, if the estate were considerable. Columella R.R. 1.7 writes of the master's relationship with his coloni or tenants on his estate, "comiter agat cum colonis facilemque se praebeat". He argues that while repeated letting of a

place is not good, a worse thing is the farmer who lives in town and opts to till the land through his slaves rather than by his own hands, R.R.1.7.4"operam dandam esse ut et rusticos et eosdem assiduos colonos retineamus, cum aut nobismet ipsis non licuerit aut per domesticos colere non expedierit". He points to the risks involved in slave labour only being employed, 1.7.6 "omne genus agri tolerabilius sit sub liberis colonis quam sub vilicis servis habere". In his day the colonus system was extensive and the norm on large estates.

Horace is thus the proud landlord of five coloni and his relations with them would be kept up through the agency of the resident vilicus. Orelli grasps this important point. With Horace away from the estate a lot, the vilicus had great responsibility on his master's behalf. Horace is at pains to stress this here, since the vilicus ought to be well satisfied with his lot "immo quinque familiis liberis tu, servule, praepositus es ad eorum opera rustica inspectanda ac regenda et ad rationes cum his patribus familias putandas" (Orelli).

Patres is an honourable term, expressing Horace's kindly appreciation of the poor but honest and independent countrymen. The scholiasts' view that patres equals decuriones was rightly ridiculed by Orelli, "satis ridicule Scholiastae de quinque senatoribus (sive potius decurionibus) Variam mittendis explicant". In Virgil, Aen. 12.520 a combatant slain is described as a poor fisherman of Lerna, "conductaque pater tellure serebat." In this phrase pater is a term of respect, an honourable quality term, referring to the man himself. He probably had a dwelling of some sort, a bit of land on which to cultivate vegetables. Virgil's point is

surely that even this was not his own, but rented from a landowner. Similarly in our passage. There is point in bonos which indicates their moral worth. It well accords with Horace's notion of the moral superiority of life in the country. It activates the contrast Horace seeks between their worth and the soon-to-be-revealed fickleness and unreliability of the vilicus. It could be just a trifle patronising, "worthy", in a rather weakened sense, perhaps even slightly ironical, cf. Terence, Adelphi 476, "ille bonus vir, nobis psaltriam, si dis placet, paravit quicum vivat". However, I take it as a genuine compliment, even if it does sound rather flat and banal. For the country as the repository of old-style virtus, see Virgil, Geo. 2.458ff.; cf. Ep. 2.1.139, "agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati".

Skilfully does solitum hint at a way of life which persists - the notion of tradition comes out. Established habits die hard among country people, but the vilicus with his city background cannot appreciate this.

Varia was a small town in Sabine territory where the Digentia joined the Anio, some eight miles from Tibur. The scholiasts supposed that the patres went there to meetings of the local senate in their capacity as members of the municipal council. This notion is dismissed by Orelli convincingly and all the more since Nissen has furnished good reason for doubting whether Varia was more than a subordinate hamlet of Tibur (Italische Landeskunds 2.615). As K.-H. comment, the patres go to Varia to buy and sell in the market. They would take the produce of the estate with them and buy in supplies there. Easy access to market was important, but eight miles to the ancients would be a fair distance.

Particularly effective in lines 2-3 is the feeling of tender affection, carried over from line 1 in the personification of the Sabinum. K.-H. comment on the pointed anaphora of quinque which "in the mind of the vilicus would serve to characterise the estate in contrast to the capital city Rome in all its splendour as just so much waste land". Yet to the master Horace it remains dear and of intrinsic worth. There is a similar double feeling about agelli in line 1 - "at once the 'snug domain' as it is to the poet, and 'the poor little farm' as the bailiff contemptuously calls it" (Wickham).

4-5 certemus ------- res: the verb certemus strikes a note of disarming frankness, following a hint of hurt feelings in line 2. Certare is often used with the implication of great exertion and strength, whether physical or not; cf. Ep. 1.18.31 'desine mecum certare'. It has a note of aggressiveness in it, and suggests a certamen. A spirit of keen rivalry seems to the fore, perhaps even slightly patronising on the part of Horace since he is the master, and has the upper hand, and can dismiss the vilicus summarily whenever he chooses.

Certemus, a molossus, followed by the caesura, has a heightened emphasis. K.-H. argue that this blunt challenge is not to be taken literally. McGann p.67 likewise argues there is no connection of thought between 4ff. and the later development of the epistle. This is, however, debatable, as the conflict of tastes of Horace and his vilicus is at the heart of the epistle, and it can convincingly be argued that Horace is rather subtly trying to outmanoeuvre his vilicus. Lines 4-5 draw attention to the certamen aspect, but I argue

that this is no quarrel between enemies; in essence the certamen is a friendly one. Horace puts himself and his slave on common ground - there is an obvious similarity in their positions, since each is where he does not choose to be. It is only with regard to their behaviour, and how they cope psychologically with their respective situations that their paths diverge. Otto Hiltbrunner, Gymnasium LXXIV, (1967) 300 argues that Horace wishes to prove his superiority over his vilicus: "zu lehren welche seelische Haltung die überlegene ist". The certamen does aim at this, but also, besides exposing the position of the slave as inferior and weak, Horace endeavours to help his erring vilicus through a form of psychotherapy. This view confirms the smugness of Horace's position as master.

The challenge is blunt enough, to see which of them works better and more successfully, Horace at moral self-betterment or the vilicus at tending the estate. Is Horace's soul in better shape, melior, than his property?

The language is picturesque - spinae are literally thorns or prickles, physical imagery as the vilicus would automatically take it. In enumerating the tasks which could be done on holidays Cato, De Agr. 2.4 writes "per ferias potuisse --- spinas eruncari", referring to the digging out of thorny shrubs. Fraenkel well comments on the "picturesque detail taken from the bailiff's daily work", as an example of Horace adjusting his language to suit his addressee. It is an effective, earthy comparison as he adapts an everyday activity of the vilicus to his purpose.

However, animo in pointed contrast to agro in 5, alerts us to the non-physical meaning of spinas, used of passions and weaknesses which penetrate the soul and hurt it; cf. Ep.

2.2.212 "quid te exempta levat spinis de pluribus una?", referring to the plucking out of one thorn, avarice, a moral fault, where Horace finds physical imagery for a moral issue. The use in our epistle is less bold than Ep. 2.2.212 in view of the use of agro which tends to soften it.

It is probably on purpose that Horace uses fortius in 4, because it well suggests the physical quality which should characterise an efficient, energetic and hard-working vilicus. This is what precisely typified the labourers of olden days, cf. Ep. 2.1.139 "agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati". They are sturdy and robust. Ofellus, the small farmer and tiller of the soil is described at Sat. 2.2.115 as "fortem mercede colonum". cf. Tibullus 2.2.14 "fortis arat valido rusticus arva bove". Orelli's suggestion that the vilicus is the very antithesis of this ideal, that he is lazy and a shirker, although belittled by Wickham, seems to me quite plausible in view of the later development of the epistle, cf. pigro in line 29. Horace here subtly works in an implicit criticism of him.

Pulling out choking undergrowth was one of the vilicus' tasks, requiring a determined effort and robust attack on the land. Evellas agro is a suitably heavy, spondaic rhythm, indicative of toil and exertion. Evellere is a strong verb, used literally of tearing out by the roots anything that is deeply embedded, cf. Cato, De Agr. 48.2 "si herbam duram velles, cupressos simul evelles". See Thes. L.L. 5.1009.66ff; for the use of evellere in farmer's language.

Cultura agri is the concern of the vilicus, whereas Horace's concern is correctio animi. Horace uses the emphatic contrast between the pronouns ego and tu to express the con-

frontation. Immediately certemus is out, there is a vibrant contrast between animo and agro and between ego and tu, in effective chiasmus. Moral self-betterment is Horace's goal, which he has recognised as his task in life. The matter of happiness is basically one of animus, of the mind, its disposition and feelings, and how it can best be cared for. Sound mental health is the precondition for enjoying one's lot in life; cf. Ep. 1.2.47-50. Jokingly Horace sets in parallel with his correctio animi the task of his vilicus, which is purgatio agri. Each ought to take up the struggle in his own sphere for acquiring the fame of greater competence and efficiency. The animus whose improvement is compared with the cultivation of a piece of ground, is first of all, as the words of line 5 leave beyond doubt, that of Horace himself. For a long time the poet has been busy with the task of correctio sui, improving himself morally, just as the vilicus has been struggling away with the weeds on the land. Still, the progress of the letter does not confirm the exclusive connection with Horace. Rather, it turns out to be the animus of the vilicus which the master wishes to provide with a cure. Initially, Horace points in a certain direction only later in the course of the epistle to give to the theme another turn.

For the moment, however, Horace appears more anxious over his spiritual condition than over his property (res is a particularly flat and banal expression for his farm, rather pejorative). He will give an exhibition of his powers as a practitioner of moral self-improvement. He thus palliates the slightly moralising tone by suggesting he has to improve himself. Horace is a proficiens, who believes any improvement in morals is commendable, cf. Ep. 1.1.32 "est quadam prodire

tenus, si non datur ultra". Each of us can proceed to a certain point, but only as far as that, since circumstances or one's individual disposition sets limits.

It has been suggested by Walter Wili, Horaz, 289, that Horace is here drawing on a passage in Cicero's Tusculans 2.4.13 where he writes that just as the most productive field could not produce a good harvest without care being lavished on it, so it is with a spirit which lacks education:

> Cultura autem animi philosophia est. Haec extrahit vitia radicitus et praeparat animos ad satus recipiendos eaque mandat iis et, ut ita dicam, serit quae adulta fructus uberrimos ferant.

cf. Ep. 1.1.39-40, "nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit/si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem."

Lines 6-9 concentrate on the reason why Horace cannot be in the country. Horace gives the reason why he is writing to the vilicus instead of appearing in person before him to discuss with him his search for a transfer. Horace is staying behind in Rome to fulfil his duty to his friend Lamia, to comfort him in his grief. He gives the impression of being there almost against his will.

Fraenkel argues that "these lines bear the stamp of reality. Horace's sympathy for Lamia has prevented him for the time being from returning to his Sabine farm. Otherwise he would not have written this letter but would have talked things over with the bailiff". (310-311). Horace states why he is being detained in Rome and such an explanation is readily appreciated in a letter of this type. It sets up the geographical separation of Horace from the vilicus. (Only here and in Ep. 15 does Horace write from the city to somebody in the country.) Thus, in lines 6-9 Fraenkel has found the chief support against the claim that the person of the vilicus

is simply fictive, invented by the poet to adapt in the form of an epistle the theme of Satire 1.1 on the basic discontent of men with their lot and their stealing an envious glance after the supposedly better lives of others.

This view of Fraenkel has been much disputed by subsequent interpreters. Gordon Williams argues that "the occasion which keeps him in Rome is certainly genuine; the very mention of it is a compliment to Lamia and a consolation. But this fact does not in the least prevent the lines also being an artistic device intended to mark the composition formally as a letter". (TORP 13). We can believe in some reality behind the reference to the person of Lamia, without actually believing in the reality of the epistle.

McGann similarly disbelieves Fraenkel's view that this is a real letter. "The passage can equally well be regarded as an indication of Horace's skill in giving the impression that he is writing a real letter" McGann,p.90.

Carl Becker argues that these lines are "no proof of the nearness to reality of the epistle" (Das Spätwerk, 21-3). He argues against the fiction theory from the evident warmth and sincerity in the lines on Lamia's grief. Yet this single trait does not necessarily mean that Horace has written his letter because he had to stay in Rome and did not have the chance to talk it over with the vilicus. Besides, he doubts whether a vilicus was sufficiently erudite to pick out from hexameter verse and ethical reflections the will of his master. Becker is sceptical as to whether Lamia's grief and bereavement coincided perfectly with the vilicus' discontent. There is a real dilemma here which he evades by arguing that it is immaterial anyway, "der Briefe will nicht in eine

bestimmte Lage eingreifen" (Das Spätwerk, 21-3). It cannot be determined what is real, and what is fictitious in the situation and in the conception of the letter.

It is probably wisest to assume that the starting point of the epistle was Horace's detention in Rome and his fervent wish to return to his farm in the country. Coinciding with this is the thought of the grumbling vilicus who bears a superficial resemblance to Horace in that he is not happy where he is at present staying. Horace successfully exploits this situation, enlarging on the theme of discontent, while proving his own superiority. The form of a familiar letter is superbly adjusted to the situation, prompted by the master's wish to escape from his temporary entanglement in Rome.

6 me ------- moratur: strikingly first word in line 6 is me, which stands outside the subordinate clause introduced by quamvis. The highly personal reference is picked up later by ego, tu in line 10, and by the tu: me contrast in 14, 16. There is here a studied antithesis, which develops that of line 4.

Horace is fulfilling the duty of a friend on the occasion of Lamia's bereavement. The naming of an actual contemporary suits well a genuine letter as well as being complimentary and honorific. The Aelii Lamiae were a distinguished family from Formiae in Latium. Cicero was on close terms with one L. Aelius Lamia, a wealthy banker, praetor in 43 B.C. (Ad. Fam. 11.16.2). He had two sons, Lucius and Quintus. Lucius was legate of Hispania Citerior in 24 B.C. and defeated the Astures and Cantabri (Cassiod. chron. min. 2.135; cf. Dio 53.29.1) and a contemporary of Horace. There was

apparently a third generation Lucius, son of the above, who became consul in 3 A.D., governor of Africa in 15 and died an old man in 32 A.D. as praefectus urbi. This distinguished administrator received warm praise from Tacitus in his epilogue on 33 A.D. Annals 6.27.2, "extremo anni mors Aelii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandae Syriae tandem exolutus urbi praefuerat. Genus illi decorum, vivida senectus; et non permissa provincia dignationem addiderat".

If we assume 20 B.C. as the year of publication of the Epistles, he must have been very young at this time. The stress on his excessive mourning perhaps fits well with his being so young. The important point is that the references to the family in the Odes show very close ties of friendship with Horace e.g. Odes 1.26.8 meo Lamiae is a fine tribute where Horace asks the Muse to weave a garland, that is, inspire a poem, for his friend Lamia. cf. Odes 1.36.7 dulci Lamiae, while Odes 3.17 is addressed to the noble descendant of Lamus in elevated language which displays a very close intimacy and friendship with his addressee. The brother in question is probably Quintus Aelius Lamia, who was a commissioner of the mint under Augustus, a triumvir monetalis. There are records of coins struck by him in 21 or 20 B.C. (British Museum Catalogue, Coins of the Roman Empire, Vol.1, p.35).

The language in 6 is emphatically solemn - pietas et cura is an expression often found in sentiments of mourning - compare Catullus' lament for his dead brother in poems 65, 68. The expression is redolent of sincere, deep affection. Pietas denotes an attitude of dutiful respect toward those to whom one is bound by any ties or obligations associated with amicitia. (See OLD s.v. 1). K.-H. argue that pietas

Lamiae is the friendship of Horace for Lamia, "whose grief caused him concern and anxiety, and not the grief of Lamia for his deceased brother, which in the following verse receives adequate expression". While it is the case that pietas can stand with an objective genitive, e.g. Naevius B. Punic. 3.1 "senex fretus pietate deum", yet here surely Orelli is correct in taking it of Lamia's affection for his brother, as a subjective genitive - "fraternus amor, quo Lamia erepti fratris recordatur, et aegritudo qua consumitur," Orelli. The pietas et cura belong to Lamia, and denote the love he felt toward his brother, and the acute sorrow he experienced on his death. Horace is in effect here raising a monument to the quality of Lamia's devoted, unselfish love as the words breathe a genuine, living warmth.

Moratur (simple verb instead of the usual compound) stresses well Horace's detention in Rome, to give moral support to Lamia. The verb should not necessarily be taken as suggesting unease and impatience on Horace's part, although cynical readers might feel this notion present as an undertone. One of the duties of friendship was consolation, cf. Aristotle, EN 9.11.2" Κουφίζονται γὰρ οἱ λυπούμενοι συναλγούντων τῶν φίλων."

Its value would naturally be greatest in the time of a bereavement, although it did extend to every type of human activity, cf. Seneca, Ep. 6.3 "sciunt enim ipsos omnia habere communia, et quidem magis adversa". In the Epistles friendship looms large as a prime ethical theme; "Again and again the Epistles represent the thoughtful and tactful regard in which the poet holds his friends", Ross Kilpatrick, "The poetry of Friendship", xix. Cicero acknowledged the divine origins of friendship, Am. 6.20, relating benevolentia, and

caritas to it, seeing virtue alone as greater. The Epicureans stressed the value of friendship as productive of peace of mind and satisfaction. Epicurus believed that friendship filled one of our greatest needs, K.D. 27 "Ὧν ἡ σοφία παρασκευάζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότητα, πολὺ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ τῆς φιλίας κτῆσις."

7-8 fratrem ------- insolabiliter: the rhythm in line 7 superbly evokes the notion of grief felt by Lamia. It is a solemn-sounding line, stately and grand, as the anaphoric phrases fratrem maerentis, de fratre dolentis throw great emphasis on fratrem, a first foot spondee, alerting us to the insistently heavy metre. Line 7 has four initial spondees; this is not a rarity in Horace's hexameters (there are 15 in the 270 verses of Ep. 2.1) but yet makes for a grave, stately pace. The assonance maerentis ---- dolentis is surely intentional, to evoke the continual repetition of wailing. Such disyllabic rhyme at the caesura and verse end occurs at Ep. 1.12.25 "ne tamen ignores, quo sit Romana loco res" and is perhaps rather unusual cf. Homer, Iliad 2.484, cf. Ovid, A.A. 1.59, "quot caelum stellas, tot habet tua Roma puellas", on which Hollis comments on the pleasant sound of the line. Perhaps Horace on purpose employs both maerentis and dolentis to reinforce Lamia's grief, which has two aspects, maeror and dolor cf. Cicero, Ad. Att. 12.28.2 "maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui nec, si possem, vellem". It seems as if maeror can manifest itself outwardly, whereas dolor denotes inner pain. Wilkins comments that maerere is to express grief, dolere is to feel it.

On rapto K.-H. comment "vom Tode geraubt, vgl. leti vis

rapuit rapietque gentis, Odes 2.13.20; 17.5-6, "a, te meae si partem animae rapit/maturior vis?" E.J. Kenney ICS 1977, 229-239 has posed the question "had Lamia's brother really died, or was Lamia merely carrying on as if he had?" Kenney suggests that his brother has been snatched away not by death, but by a dives amator. "Not the least powerful of the forces that may sweep a man away is love" (Kenney, 235). He cites Propertius 2.25.44 utraque forma rapit; Ovid, Am. 2.19.19 "rapuisti ------- ocellos". The ambiguity in rapto, he argues, is part of the playful effect of these lines where Horace's use of inflated language borrowed in part from Lucretius conveys "a strong hint of the essential triviality of the invisa negotia that kept the poet from his comfortable villeggiatura" (Kenney 235). To support this novel line, Kenney cites a parallel from Odes 2.9.9-12:

> tu semper urges flebilibus modis
> Mysten ademptum nec tibi vespero
> surgente decedunt amores
> nec rapidum fugiente solem.

Mystes is ademptum, snatched away, not by death, but by another lover. Quinn in his commentary supports this view, arguing from the tone of the rest of the poem. Valgius' grief is unnatural and Horace seems to disapprove of it in his Ode. To enhance the neurotic conduct of Valgius Horace cites examples from mythology - Nestor had lost his son Antilochus, Priam and Hecuba also had lost a son in battle, and their daughters a brother. Yet they did not weep for ever, whereas Valgius has lost merely someone he was in love with - a mere transfer of affection has taken place concerning his lover, Mystes.

The repetition fratrem ------- fratre is significant

here; the function, according to K.-H. is to stress the repetition of his grief. However, frater can be used as a euphemism for a partner in any irregular sexual association, see OLD s.v. 3b. There may be the sense of homosexual partner here, which fits Kenney's line well. cf. Martial, 10.65.14 "quare desine me vocare fratrem"; Petronius, 9.2. "tuus" inquit, "iste frater seu comes paulo ante in conductum accucurrit coepitque mihi velle pudorem extorquere"; Petronius, 129.8 "si triduo sine fratre dormieris".

Kenney argues that Ep. 14, like the Ode cited, is not a solemn composition. "The mood is the product of the desire to escape from entanglement, viewed half lightly," Morris, 102. Kenney argues that "there is precious little here that deserves to be called serious argument" (Kenney, 236). He believes a reference to a genuine bereavement must be thought a lapse of taste;"a jocular reference to the amours of a friend's brother however, would be quite another thing" (236). Lamia is carrying on as if his brother had come to an untimely end.

It remains to ask whether this interpretation is quite tasteless. There are good parallels for rapio so used of a sudden death in poetry and post-Augustan prose, cf. Livy 3.50.8 fato erepta. It seems to me that the language of line 6 is highly respectful and sincere - pietas is a thoroughly worthy Roman concept, idealised by Virgil in his hero Aeneas - and it seems inappropriate to make of Lamia a figure of comedy. The family was a very distinguished one, and while Horace does tease Lamia in Odes 1.26 for his unrealistic political anxieties, and similarly in Odes 3.17 adopts a jocular tone, yet in Ep. 14 the tone is rather one of solemnity and respect in lines 6-9. The danger about

Kenney's line (which does deserve serious consideration) is that it reflects poorly on Horace. If Lamia is actually making a fool of himself, with his undue, excessive mourning, why does not Horace return to the country and leave him alone?

The enjambment to insolabiliter in 8 is effective. The adverb is a coinage of the poet's own, on the model of Lucretius' insatiabiliter, 3.907. The very length of the six-syllable word superbly conveys the idea of a grieving which persists without end. The impression is that his grief cannot be assuaged, cf. Lucretius, 3.907-8 "insatiabiliter deflevimus aeternumque/nulla dies nobis maerorem e pectore demet". Kenney makes much of the fact that "Lucretius' tone in that passage is mordant and sarcastic" (Kenney, 234) and he tries to argue that Horace is making far too much of Lamia's grief, laying it on a bit thick, as he says. He feels it is hardly tactful of Horace to recall the Lucretian passage at this point if lines 6-9 were intended to appear as a serious reflection of Lamia's grief.

It is worth recalling Odes 1.24, addressed to Virgil, on the death of Quintilius, where Horace initially defends the right to weep unrestrainedly, but then proceeds to argue that mourning is pointless, death is irrevocable, and endurance is the only way to bear loss. Perhaps Horace is discreetly upbraiding the emotionally unrestrained Virgil and makes his conduct seem almost neurotic. He pleads for a sense of proportion. If we follow Kenney seriously, we can apply the same argument to Ep. 14, although it is manifestly unfair

of him to argue from the Lucretian context and to transpose its sarcasm into a passage which stands as a fine, sincere tribute to Lamia.

8-9. tamen ------- fert: following the strong caesura in 8, the rhythm becomes markedly dactylic, especially in 9. After speaking of the grief of Lamia in a subordinate clause which is stately and grand, the main clause follows in 8-9, building up to an impressively vivid picture.

Kenney notes that mens animusque is a "Lucretian tag" (233). Examples can be cited readily, e.g. Lucretius 3.398 "sine mente animoque"; 3.142 mens animusque. However, it is found in Virgil also, e.g. Aen. 6.11 mentem animumque, where Austin comments that the collocation of mens (understanding) and animus occurs as far back as Ennius, Sc. 237. Austin comments that "mens is intellectual only, animus includes the emotions". The phrase has an intensity of feeling in it. It may well belong to archaic poetry, modelled on the Homeric κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν. It is not a common collocation in prose (three times only in Caesar).

Horace's intense longing to escape from the confinement of the city finds memorable expression in line 9. Porphyrio commented "conatur erumpere velut quibusdam carceribus impedientis officii, ut cursum ad villam confecturus invadet. Spatiis obstantia claustra sunt carceres, et translatio ab equis circensibus facta". Similarly Orelli draws attention to the image drawn from the race course.

Following this line, Horace's mens and animus are race horses (a pair who operate as a team) which with an intensity

of longing wait for the signal to charge forth on the track. It is less probable that fert is to be taken as intransitive, with K.-H. Me (6) stands emphatically at the start of the entire sentence, and is best taken as the object of fert. The very wide separation of fert from me corresponds perfectly to the powerful tension and excitement which finds expression as the main thought in 9.

9. et avet ------- rumpere claustra: Kenney believes that Horace has in mind the race course image of Lucretius 2.263-5, cited by K.-H. -

> nonne vides etiam patefactis tempore puncto
> carceribus, non posse tamen prorumpere equorum
> vim cupidam tam desubito, quam mens avet ipsa.

Difficulty centres on the precise meaning of claustra. Claustrum can function as a military technical term, signifying a barricade or a bulwark used for warding off an enemy, e.g. Cicero, Verr. 2.5.32.84, claustra loci. It can mean a natural barrier, or boundary, e.g. Virgil, Aen. 9.758, "rumpere claustra manu sociosque inmittere portis". cf. Virgil Aen. 1.55-56 "illi indignantes .... circum claustra fremunt", where the unruly winds are penned up. They behave like race horses, and Aeolus curbs their strength and bridles them in. Horace uses the word in three passages including Ep. 1.14.9. Cf. Odes 3.11.44 "nec te feriam neque intra/ claustra tenebo"; cf. Ep. 2.1.255 "claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum". In the latter two passages the idea of imprisonment and restraint is to the fore, cf. Columella, R.R. 8.17.8 claustra patitur of submitting to confinement. Metaphorically examples abound in Lucretius e.g. 1.72, "arta portarum naturae effringere claustra", used of Epicurus

disclosing the secrets of nature. He embarks on a mental voyage of discovery round the cosmos, like a fearless pioneer. Alternatively, there could be a valid military image: he is a campaigner who is eager to burst open the tight-set bolts on nature's doors (by discovering her closely-guarded secrets). It is a powerfully effective image. Stégen, 75, is correct when he writes of Horace,"Son amitié pour Lamia n'empêche pas que cette ville où il s'attarde soit pour lui une prison". This gives a very natural sense to claustra which, as Kenney indicates, "is not a usual equivalent for carceres" despite K.-H. No example of this sense is found before Horace. See Thes. L.L. 3.1321, 8-9 for two examples only, Manilius 5,76 and Sidon. Carm. 23.331. Indeed, if claustra does not suggest carceres, there is no compelling reason to think of horses at all. Horace is simply seeking release from pent-up confinement in the city.

Préaux comments "la référence aux chevaux de course procède d'une imitation réussie et personnelle de Virg. Geo. 1.512-4, et de la tradition issue d'Ennius, Ann. 83, 95 and 514". (Marx). Ennius had earlier liked the image of race horses as a comparison. At Ann. 514 he describes a young horse which "vincula suis magnis animis abrupit", where the high spirit and vital energy of the horse is stressed. Horace may have had in mind Virgil, Geo. 1.512-4,

> ut, cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae
> addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
> fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas.

This is a vivid image from the race course of the Roman people careering without restraint on the way to ruin, likened to chariots which career along the course from the carceres, a technical term for the starting pens in chariot

races. However, this requires claustra to function as the equivalent of carceres for which there is no evidence. Préaux is thus on shaky ground. He argues that spatiis "désigne les tours de piste" citing Virgil, Aen. 5.316 "corripiunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt", where spatia denotes the extent of the course. It is true that spatium can mean the ground used for horse racing, a circuit or a lap of a race course e.g. Ennius, Ann. 374 "sicuti fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo vicit Olympia". However, it is best taken as the distance that separates Horace from his Sabinum, "distance", as against a technical term. The distance from Rome to Horace's country estate, north of Tibur, was about thirty miles.

Kenney's line that "Horace's longing for the country is so intense that it can only be conveyed in words that recall the daemonic urge that sent Epicurus on his mental voyage of discovery round the cosmos" is grossly overdone. The hyperbole would be truly comic in effect, which leads the reader to feel that Horace is making too much of it. Can we really take it seriously? Considered besides Epicurus' voyage of discovery, a distance of some thirty miles is tame indeed. The comparison is grossly overdone by Kenney.

What does stand out above all is the feeling of increasing momentum which adds to the urgency and gives emphasis to line 9. The enjambment between all verses in 6-9 is especially strong between 6-7 and 8-9, and furthers the effect of breathless speed.

Bentley conjectured avet instead of amat. He based his conjecture on Lucretius 2.263-5, where mens avet follows a description of horses starting a race. K.-H. and Fraenkel

follow Bentley. Préaux and Stégen argue in favour of amat. Préaux maintains that amat translates better than avet the Horatian search for equilibrium. Horace believed that he who has a craving for something or a fear of something has no real pleasure and is not even free, cf. Ep. 1.2.51-3; Ep. 1.16.65-6. The poet who finds his happiness in nil admirari, Ep. 1.6.1, could well have preferred a more modest verb such as amat, although avet admirably suits fiery, impetuous steeds. By comparison, amat is feeble and "spoils the tonal unity of the verses" (Kenney, 303 n. 23). The arguments of Préaux and Stégen do not carry much conviction.

10. Rure ------- beatum: there is a strong contrast in line 10 between the two pronouns, ego and tu, as well as between rure and urbe, where the assonance of ur is effective. The self-contained line has a fine balance in it, with the chiastic arrangement rure ego, tu urbe.

The adjective beatum placed at the end acquires added emphasis, and perhaps confers on the line the ring of a general truth. Horace cleverly plays on the double entendre in beatum. See Thes. L.L. 2.1917.31ff. for beatus used as equal to dives, locuples, applied to persons, and also used of outward, material prosperity as at Odes 3.7.3, "Thyna merce beatum Gygen". Its other meaning is felix, saepissime apud philosophos, Thes. L.L. 2.1909.32ff. e.g. Ep. 1.16.20 "neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum". Ep. 2.1.139 "agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati". Odes 2.18.14 "satis beatus unicis Sabinis" where beatus suggests partly riches, and partly spiritual well-being. cf. Epode 2.1-2 "beatus ille qui procul negotiis/ut prisca gens mortalium".

Horace repeatedly exploits the ambiguities of the word. At Odes 4.9.46ff. he says that the mere fact of possessing great wealth is not enough to qualify for the description beatus; rather, it is the real Stoic who can most accurately be so called.

K.-H. followed by Dilke take viventem as indefinite in a quite general sense, of him who lives in the country. Horace can apply it to himself as well. His reason for preferring the rus was that its tranquillitas and amoenitas appealed greatly to him. Bo, Lexicon Horatianum, defines rus as "locus extra urbem, ubi sunt agri, prata, silvae, villae". The city-country antithesis is one which figures prominently in Epistles 1. It signals a return to one of Horace's favourite themes of the 30's B.C., to the period when he was confined in Rome and yearned for the countryside. His wishes were at last fulfilled by Maecenas' present to him of the Sabine farm cf. Sat. 2.6.1-3 "hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus/hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons/et paulum silvae super his foret".

In writing to Aristius Fuscus Horace at the start of the letter declares himself an enthusiastic lover of the country, Ep. 1.10.2 ruris amatores, and later in the letter writes, in line 14 "novistine locum potiorem rure beato?"

Horace reveals a profound sense of awareness of the environment which was the background for his development as an individual and as a poet. In Ep. 2.2.65ff. he writes that life in Rome imposes too many personal obligations on him and the city is too noisy. He employs the city-country antithesis with reference especially to poetic composition. The antithesis is used also more generally for moralistic

purposes, in that the rus and the urbs with their inhabitants can be taken to represent various forms of life, and different values.

11. cui placet ------- sors: In line 10 Horace formed a comparison between himself and his vilicus - their wishes and inclinations drew each in a different direction. In line 11 the conflicting ideas which they have of the vita beata are cast in the form of a quite general sentence, while the malady is shown to be mempsimoiria. cf. Sat. 1.1.1-3

> qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
> seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa
> contentus vivat, laudat diversa sequentis.

In that satire the real reason for men's being dissatisfied with their lot lies in their pleonexia. "Avaritia is at the bottom of the misguided yearning after other men's lot," Fraenkel,p.91 . The way to overcome this failing is by becoming self-sufficient.

In Ep. 14, 11-13 discontent is applied to place. Fraenkel has drawn attention to a fundamental difference of composition with regard to the handling of the same material and theme in Sat. 1.1. Horace there began with a quite general sentence, whereas in Ep. 14 he proceeds from a concrete practical case, and then subordinates this to his general remarks in line 11. In the Epistle a real, human situation is in the foreground, arising from the vilicus's circumstances, as well as Horace's. Fraenkel writes,p.312 "This approach from the angle of a practical question - typical of the Roman attitude to moral philosophy - is a distinctive feature of Horace's epistles. It is this approach, above all, that makes them real letters - in the foreground there

is, not a thesis, but a human situation, a personal problem, arising out of another man's circumstances, or Horace's own, or both".

Discontent with one's lot was a favourite topos of moralists. See Lucretius 3.1057ff. 1082ff. The notion of being content with one's lot is a recurring theme in Horace, e.g. Ep. 1.10.44 "laetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi". Horace tells Grosphus that our animus should be content with what we have, Odes 2.16.25 "laetus in praesens animus". This is the way to become a sapiens, by accepting the present situation cheerfully. In Ep. 1.1.70ff. Horace writes that the populus is inconsistent in its preferences; everyone always wants something different. Similarly, in Ep.1.12 to Agrippa's procurator, Iccius, he touches on his discontent in spite of great plenty and prosperity in his fortunes. He withdraws into vain speculation and aggravates his discontent. Iccius craves for something he does not have, outright ownership of property, with all the advantages attaching to it. Yet Horace tells him bluntly that he has more than enough if he can use it recte, Ep. 1.12.5-6.

Line 11 has the ring of a sententia about it - nimirum lends weight, making the assertion seem indisputable. The tone is matter-of-fact, the language quite prosaic, while the final monosyllable sors produces an agitated close to the line, with marked conflict of ictus and accent in feet 5-6, where they normally coincide.

12. stultus uterque ------- inique: "each side gives, as a pretext for hating what falls to his lot, the place where he is (town or country) but that is unfair" (Dilke). Stultus

is a strong word of reproach. Epistle 1.1. to Maecenas stressed the importance of refuting false values, taking this as the first step on the path to wisdom, Ep. 1.1.41-2, "virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima/stultitia caruisse". It is possible to make progress in virtus and sapientia if one can eliminate the opposites. One's animus requires cultura to dispel its cares. Horace, as Fraenkel correctly points out, includes himself in the reproach of stultitia. "Nothing could be fairer than the phrase stultus uterque which refers, it is true, to representatives of a general type, but also to the two individuals from whom the discussion started, the vilicus and Horace" (312). Horace claims to have experienced the same malady in his own mind, and so confesses his own weakness - he, too, suffers from discontent with the place of his present residence, Rome, and longs for the country. We see from this that Horace is by no means the complete sapiens, who can no longer be adversely affected by external circumstances. His inclusion of himself in the reproach of stultitia is typical of his tact - it enables him gently to approach his wayward vilicus as one who is, at least in this respect, on a level with him. Horace is not pressing so far any claim to be morally superior.

Horace knows well enough that one's place of residence is really indifferent to the truly wise man, cf. Ep. 1.11.27 "caelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt". In Ep. 1.10 he champions the country as the place where contentment is best sought, but in Ep. 1.11 happiness appears as an inner state, not dependent on the place where one lives. Happiness, rather, is in the mind, and a mere change of place cannot alter this. It is ratio and prudentia which remove

worries; cf. Seneca, Ep. 28.1 "animum debes mutare, non caelum". A man whose mind is at peace with itself can find contentment anywhere. However, in Ep. 1.8 Horace did confess to his own inconsistency, styling himself ventosus, Ep. 1.8.12 "Romae Tibur amem, ventosus Tibure Romam". He freely confesses to his spiritual malaise, admitting that the trouble lies deep within himself, as he clings to a morbid self pity, and perverse conduct. His disgruntlement shifts the cause of his unease of spirit onto an innocent place. He suffers from the strenua inertia of Ep.1.11.28 "qui freine la conquête de l' εὐθυμία , garantie de la liberté intérieure, et du triomphe sur la fortuna". (Préaux)

13. in culpa ------- umquam: this line determines specifically the seat of the trouble as the mind, in culpa est animus. Compare Ep. 1.11.27. What he touches on there, as in our epistle, is the theme of restlessness of those who seek remedies for an inner dispeace. One's animus requires cultura to dispel its cares. The goal to aim at is aequus animus, which is quite independent of the place where one lives. It should come from within. Envy and unease are the products of a mind that is not aequus. At the close of Ep. 1.18 to Lollius Maximus Horace writes that one has to obtain an aequum animum oneself - it is emphatically not in the power of the gods to bestow it on anyone.

Kenney argues that the "third book of the De Rerum Natura was in Horace's mind when he wrote this letter". To justify this remark, he says that verses 12-13 "condense in a nutshell the thoughts of DRN. 3.1053-75", where Lucretius argues that men are unhappy and ill at ease because they cannot

grasp the root cause of their troubles. The restlessness which he portrays is the exact opposite of ataraxia, which it was the aim of the Epicurean system to attain: Lucretius 3.1058-9 "quaerere semper/commutare locum", but a mere change of situation solves nothing; cf. 3.1068-70

> hoc se quisque modo fugit, at quem scilicet, ut fit, effugere haud potis est, ingratis haeret et odit propterea, morbi quia causam non tenet aeger.

Horace exploits this notion in the Ode to Grosphus, Odes 2.16.18-20 "quid terras alio calentes/sole mutamus? patriae quis exul/se quoque fugit?" where the impassioned questions convey an urgency of tone which is lacking in the plain and unadorned statement of Ep. 14.13, which has the directness and point of a sententia.

Horace recognised this dispeace which sought to escape inner unrest by means of travel, but all to no avail, since the root of the trouble lay within the person. cf. Seneca, Ep. 28.2 "quaeris quare te fuga ista non adiuvet? tecum fugis". Analogous, but not parallel, is Aristotle, E.N. 9.4.9.

In the Ode to Grosphus Horace proceeds to say that despite frantic efforts to run away from ourselves, cura always catches up, a notion found in the proem of Lucretius' second book when he writes of curae sequaces, 2.48 Anxiety is a fundamentally unhealthy condition of the mind, vitiosa, Odes 2.16.21, which can nullify the most splendid enterprises. It is qualities of mind which produce harmony in life, and not a distancing of oneself physically from reality, cf. Seneca, De Tran. Animi. 2.15, "itaque scire debemus non locorum vitium esse quo laboramus, sed nostrum". cf. De Tran. Animi. 2.7 "sibi displicere; hoc oritur ab

intemperie animi".

14. Tu mediastinus ------- rura petebas: tu sounds a note of serious, earnest admonition. While there is a contrast with me in 16, there is also a reference back to me in 6. In lines 6-9 Horace spoke of the unpleasant situation he found himself in, detained in Rome, fulfilling his duty to his friend Lamia. Now, by contrast, he turns to the vilicus - whereas he had four verses (6-9) on himself, a mere couple (14-5) suffice for the slave.

Much is condensed into 14-5, as each word is worked hard. The five syllable mediastinus followed by the caesura, dominates the first half of the line, and imparts a mock-pomposity to it. Orelli comments ad loc.: "servus infimi ordinis, in medio paratus, nulli certo ministerio addictus, sed viliora munera obire solitus". Wickham comments that "the scholiasts made it a hybrid word, as though from medius and ἄστυ (astu is found in Terence) in order to find in it the notion of "in the city" which the context seemed to require". While he may be playing on the supposed etymology, yet Orelli seems to be nearer the mark.

Medius seems to be the root, while the suffix aster has its home in the lower level of popular speech, and seems basically to indicate approximate similarity or resemblance, mostly with a distinctly pejorative nuance. There is a collection of old-attested words of this type in Roman comedy, e.g. Terence, Adelphi 779, parasitaster, "a miserable parasite". cf. Plautus, Miles 54, peditastellus, "a wretched foot soldier" or tramp, a diminutive derived from peditaster in a derogatory sense. Lucian Mueller perceptively comments that

the word mediastinus is derived from mediaster which has in fact disappeared from use completely, and that it denotes a slave-of-all-work in the city. K.-H. follow him in commenting "den Sklaven, der für keine besondere Verrichtung geschult ------- und in der Rangordnung der Sklaven eine ziemlich niedrige Stufe einnahm". Dilke likewise "mediastini were unskilled slaves who were not allotted specific duties", cf. Columella, R.R. 1.9.3 "mediastinus qualiscunque status potest esse, dum modo perpetiendo labori sit idoneus".

In agriculture it appears that the mediastinus was under the control of the vilicus, just as other slaves, such as the arator and bubulcus. (See Columella, R.R. 1.9.2; also CIL 6.9102). In house service a mediastinus undertook all types of lower work, such as cleaning out the atrium, or tending to the stoves or ovens. See Ulpian, Dig. 4.91.5 cited by K.-H. It is the extremely lowly status that is stressed primarily, "esclave de rang inférieur, surtout urbain", as Ernout-Meillet comment.

Otto Hiltbrunner in Gymnasium LXXIV,1967,304-7 has painstakingly explored the meaning of mediastinus. Arguing from the fixed gradation of slavery in Rome and an established pecking order, he maintains that the mediaster would have been an upper slave, who acted as a middle man between his master and lower slaves, a "go-between". Such presumably would be the vilicus and the procurator. Since the latter designations were grander-sounding, the rather disrespectful mediaster fell from use. In the word as we have it, Hiltbrunner argues that the suffix inus shows the subordinate relation to a mediaster, and so reaches the conclusion of the Commentator Cruquianus, "paratus omnium ministeriis".

At any rate, it is probably safe to conclude that the word is a rare and technical term, "de couleur populaire", Ernout-Meillet. Horace is on purpose recalling his very lowly and humble state previously so as to let us gauge his rise in the hierarchy to the rank of vilicus. There is an intentional contrast between the two terms in 14-15, as they stand at the beginning and end respectively of their lines.

With silent pleading, tacita prece, he begged when in Rome to be sent off to the country. As K.-H. comment, he did not dare to articulate his wish. Yet, Horace, as a good and sensitive master, could see the telling look in his eyes, and granted his request. Behind these words Horace lets us glimpse his affection for the young slave. Yet Horace makes it clear that he has only himself to blame for his present plight. He ought to have known that service in the country was often imposed as a punishment for some misdemeanour. Slaves in a town establishment feared being despatched to the country where the life was disagreeable and harsh. At the close of Sat. 2.7 Horace threatens to send Davus off to the Sabine farm as a punishment, "ocius hinc te/ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino", 117-8. Horace means that Davus will become a fossor or caprimulgus as penalty for his protervitas, deprived of the sensual pleasures of the town.

Contrasts between the town and country slave are common in Roman comedy. In Plautus' Casina 98ff. Chalinus rebukes Olympio for being in town and away from his duties, "Quid in urbe reptas, vilice haud magni preti?".

15 nunc urbem ------- optas: the emphatic nunc and the

present tense optas contrast with the backwards glance of 14. The vilicus craves the centres of attraction in the city, ludos et balnea. His tastes are gross and sensual; he soon regrets having left Rome with its pleasures and entertainments.

By ludos Horace probably means the public games, held in the Circus or even gladiatorial contests. In early times slaves were not allowed to attend the games, cf. Cicero, Har. Resp. 12.26 "illi cum ludos facerent, servos de cavea exire iubebant". But in later times slaves did frequent the games, cf. Columella, R.R. 1.8.2 "socors et somniculosum genus id mancipiorum, otiis, campo, circo, theatris consuetum". The games were a major source of interest for the common people of Rome. In Tacitus' Dialogus 29.3 Messalla talks of the peculiar vices of the Romans, as conceived in the womb, "histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia, quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit?"

The balnea were the public baths, of which there were a colossal number in Rome, as Pliny testifies, N.H. 36.121 "et gratuita praebita clxx, quae nunc Romae ad infinitum auxere numerum". Most wealthy Romans would have had their own baths at their villas and town houses. See Pliny, Ep. 2.17.11. The public baths did vary in quality very much. Some were squalid establishments which operated as a virtual cover for brothels - an atmosphere of sensuality was often present, as some of Martial's poems show, e.g. 1.96.10-13, 1.59. They were places where male physique could easily and naturally be shown off, cf. Juvenal 6.375, "conspicuus longe cunctisque notabilis", of a well-endowed eunuch swaggering into the baths. Baths could function as a rendezvous for hetero-

sexuals; mixed baths were a good place for picking up girls, cf. Ovid, A.A.3639-40, "cum, custode foris tunicas servante puellae,/celent furtivos balnea multa iocos", and voyeurism figures in this connection. The baths were clearly an element in the life of pleasure, cf. Carmina Epigraphica, 1499, "balnea vina Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra/sed vitam faciunt balnea vina Venus".

Eating and drinking in the baths are often mentioned, e.g. Quintilian, 1.6.44 "in balneis perpotare" who lists it as a bad habit. Seneca, Ep. 56.2 gives a graphic description of the fiendish din around bathing establishments.

It is clear that Horace here is thinking of the rather low and vulgar tastes of the vilicus, since the less salubrious establishments would tend to foster moral delinquency. Frequent use of the baths was not reckoned to be conducive to physical strength, cf. Columella, R.R. 1.6.20 "neque enim corporis robori convenit frequens usus earum", recommending that farm-hands should go to the baths only on a holiday.

At A.P. 298 Horace writes of a good number of would-be poets who "secreta petit loca, balnea vitat", on which K.-H. comment on the crowds that throng the baths, the very opposite of the rarified atmosphere so liked by Horace. Perhaps Horace, the master, is being too condescending and snobbish in his rather patronising attitude to the vilicus' crude tastes. What stands out above all is that Horace's vilicus does not in the least conform to the model as laid down by Columella R.R. 1.8.1-2, who strongly advises any master not to employ an overseer from "ex eo quidem ordine qui urbanas ac delicatas artes exercuerit". City life was reckoned to breed laziness and impair initiative and energy.

The city-country contrast is felt here too. Generally a city slave had only contempt for the country, as we see from the start of Plautus' Mostellaria, where Tranio heaps abuse on Grumio, the servus rusticus, the cowherd, to which the latter retorts, associating city life with debauchery and licence, 15ff.

> tu urbanus vero scurra, deliciae popli,
> rus mihi obiectas? sane hoc credo, Tranio,
> quod te in pistrinum scis actutum tradier.
> cis hercle paucas tempestates, Tranio,
> augebis ruri numerum, genus ferratile.
> nunc dum tibi lubet, licetque, pota, perde rem
>
> dies noctisque bibite, pergraecamini.

16. me constare mihi scis: the pronoun me stands in emphatic contrast to tu in 14. Line 16 divides neatly into two equal parts, with the break in sense after scis. The first four words are highly egocentric, uttered with pride and self-assurance, as Horace claims consistency for himself. He can boast of safeguarding his constantia animi, while he remains attached to his Sabine farm, and positively loathes having to go to Rome. In effect, he claims he is superior to his vilicus who, after having fulfilled his dearest wish for a transfer to the country, promptly set about craving for the city.

However, Horace is not always consistent and it is clear that there is a measure of irony here. In Ep. 8 to Celsus in a different mood he describes himself as ventosus, changeable as the wind, fickle, Ep. 1.8.12, "Romae Tibur amem, ventosus Tibure Romam".

McGann, p.12 draws attention to Horace's concern with the quality of consistency, tracing it back to the Satires.

In Sat. 2.7 his slave Davus launches into a diatribe on steadiness and vacillation, and boldly lectures his master on his inconsistencies, lines 28-9, "Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem/tollis ad astra levis". Here the inconsistency is applied specifically to locality and place of residence.

In Ep. 1 to Maecenas he reproaches his patron with being indifferent to his friend's inner inconsistencies, while yet being quick enough to see the lack of harmony in any external matters such as his dress or hair, Ep. 1.1.94-6, and in 97-100 writes:

> quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum,
> quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
> aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,
> diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?

Horace's mind is in turmoil here, as he suffers from an inner disharmony and turbulence. Horace tries to impress on Maecenas how serious the scourge of inconsistency can be.

In Ep. 1.15 Horace says he professes a love for poverty while he is poor, but, as soon as he has any money, he has a different outlook, and is prepared for extravagance; this seems to be a blatantly unprincipled and opportunistic way of thinking. Horace had earlier used Maenius as an example of inconsistency at Sat. 1.3.21-3. Maenius rushes to extremes with every change of fortune and at the close of Ep. 15 Horace admits that he is Maenius, Ep.1.15.42, "nimirum hic ego sum", in the inconsistency of his judgements. Admittedly, all this is stated in a spirit of good-natured banter and irony at his own expense, just as in Ep.1.8 to Celsus the allusion to his own fickleness is made humorously as part of a strategy to deflate Celsus. Similarly, in

Ep.1.1 to Maecenas Horace is less than serious.

McGann,p.13 notes that "it is behaviour of this kind which Panaetius seems to have singled out as inimical to consistency" quam (aequabilitatem) conservare non possis, si aliorum naturam imitans omittas tuam, frag. 97 Cicero, De Officiis 1.111. McGann,p.12 argues that although a "concern with this quality is not new in Horace" it does acquire added significance in Epistles 1. However, McGann almost certainly over-estimates the indebtedness of Horace to the teaching of Panaetius - the Panaetian doctrine of τὸ πρέπον, "appropriateness" is seen as emerging in Horace's use of decens at Ep. 1.1.11, and "there was nothing in Panaetius' view of which πρέπον could more properly be predicated than consistency", McGann,p.12. However, this line can be challenged if in fact Horace is merely taking over the basic language of moral discourse and should not be pressed too hard on this - we should not necessarily expect logic from a poet such as Horace who can so easily tailor his attitude to the needs of a given recipient of his letter.

In the context of Ep. 14 Horace seems to be intent on taking on his vilicus and soundly beating him, although the reader's awareness of the references to his own inconsistency might well have the effect of making us see less criticism of the vilicus' inconsistency. Horace has his tongue in his cheek here.

16-17 et discedere ------- Romam: discedere stands in counter-point to constare which suggests fixity. Horace is now on the move; tristem, suggestive of resentment, is in point as recalling Lamia's grief, 6-7. It also looks to invisa

negotia in 17, the cause of his gloom. Invisa concisely states his unfavourable attitude to the tiresome round of negotia which compel him to go to Rome.

The language is highly coloured - trahunt is a strong verb, which well evokes the notion of grievous constraint and compulsion, cf. Sat. 1.1.11 "datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est". In his letter to Fuscus Horace says that he is his own master in the country, and not the slave of social conventions as in the city. His relief from the pressure of the city is expressed in Ep. 1.10.8 "vivo et regno". In the country he is free and in control, and has achieved his wish expressed so fervently earlier at Sat. 2.6.60-2:

> o rus, quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit
> nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis
> ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?

Controversy centres on negotia, "also Geldgeschäfte, keine officia", K.-H. Yet Horace's attendance on Lamia could be reasonably thought of as one of the invisa negotia which detain him in Rome, despite K.-H.'s denial. Préaux disagrees with K.-H., as does Stégen, who argues that his duties there cause him to lose time. His friendship with Lamia in no way prevents the place where he is delayed becoming a virtual prison for him, as lines 8-9 suggested. cf. Seneca, Brev. 3.2 "duc quantum ex isto tempore ---- abstulerit ---- officiosa per urbem discursatio".

Negotia is a largely prosaic word (Axelson, 107). It does not occur in Lucretius, Catullus or the Elegists. Horace uses it five times in matter-of-fact passages of his Satires and Epistles with the meaning "business affairs" cf. Sat. 1.7.4 "Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat";

Sat. 2.3.19 "aliena negotia curo"; Ep. 1.7.59 "post decisa negotia"; Ep. 2.1.1 "cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus". The word clearly has a business-like nuance about it, and Horace uses it to refer to various financial and personal occupations which men pursue in the city. Horace views them as distractions from happiness; he finds city life too involved and complex for his tastes, especially now that he is ageing. The gift of the Sabine farm from Maecenas lets him escape such disagreeable features of city life as e.g. Sat. 2.6.18 mala ambitio, and Sat. 2.6.19 autumnus gravis. In Ep. 1.7 to Maecenas he deals with a situation in which, before leaving for the country for a few days in August, he gave Maecenas his word that he would soon return to Rome. At the start of September, however, he has not come back and tries to give reasons for his extended absence by saying he fears the city in September (Ep. 1.7.3-13) and feels quite inadequate for the type of life which Rome demands owing to his advancing years and precarious health. At Ep. 1.7.8 he refers specifically to the officiosa sedulitas, the duties of civility due from clients and from citizens generally which are distasteful to him, as is the opella forensis mentioned in the same line.

In Rome he is under constant strain, cf. Sat. 2.6.33-4, "aliena negotia centum/per caput et circa saliunt latus" in the middle of a passage which presents scenes from a morning in Rome, showing how social life conflicts with his private wishes. He bitterly resents having to appear in court especially in winter; he has to force his way through the streets, and put up with envious jibes at his close relationship with Maecenas. Compared to the country, all

this is a bore and a waste of time and his Satire concludes with the fable of the town and country mice which helps to emphasise the contrast of otium rusticum and negotium urbanum.

At Ep. 2.2.65ff. he argues that life in Rome imposes on him too many personal duties, among which there is mention of visiting the sick (Ep. 2.2.68-9) which is akin to his being with Lamia to comfort him in his time of need. Horace is being brutally frank here in speaking the plain, unvarnished truth to his vilicus. At Stégen noted,p.75 "s'il ne disait pas la vérité à son esclave, comment pourrait-il lui reprocher de vouloir lui aussi revenir à Rome?"

Horace thus specifies in which respect he differs from his slave. He does not like Rome for itself, whatever business detains him there, but he remains loyal to his love for the country, whereas his vilicus, who had reasons for wishing to go there, now desperately craves a chance to return to the town.

18-19. non eadem --et te: Horace states bluntly that their tastes differ. He made much the same declaration à propos of Aristius Fuscus at Ep. 1.10.2-3, "hac in re scilicet una/ multum dissimiles", after designating Aristius as urbis amatores (1) and himself as ruris amatores (2). In that epistle Horace brings to light at the very beginning the only important matter in which two close friends disagree, namely the right place to live, which is what spoils a perfect friendship. For Horace the rus is the area in which the right way of living is fulfilled, whereas the urbs is the very opposite. cf. Ep. 2.2.58 "denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque", which is a commonplace, occurring in

form

various forms in Greek and Latin literature from Homer onwards e.g. Odyssey 14.228, "ἄλλος γὰρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργοις" . It is proverbial in "quot homines, tot sententiae", cf. A. Otto, Sprichworter, 166-7. Perhaps to us it sounds rather trite and hackneyed.

The verb miramur is an emotive one. At Ep. 1.6.1 Horace states that the philosopher practises nil admirari. It seems that far from realising this ideal, Horace actually had his likes and dislikes, and apparently does not conform to the ideal. In Ep.1.6 nil admirari had a practical side, implying the avoidance of excessive attachment to the goods of this world, the curbing of all debilitating emotions. Yet Horace does have his likes and dislikes, but, as Dilke comments, "his objects of hatred and his ideals are very different from the other's". We have to ask if it is fair to claim that Horace included himself alongside the vilicus among those who have not attained to the ideal of nil admirari. Horace is not admitting that it is wrong mirari things in the country. Yet his deft use of the first person plural form miramur tactfully suggests that he ranges himself alongside his vilicus.

In 16 Horace claimed to be steadfast in his views, while the slave was weak and vacillating; he shows a real weakness in his inconsistency as contrasted with his master. Horace doubtless feels he is superior and wiser, but does not go out of his way to foist this superiority on the vilicus; rather, he seems to look on him as an interlocutor on a level with himself here. With emphatic reserve and restraint he avoids bringing his opinion to bear as the reason of the wise man appearing with a higher claim. In line 20

he does not overtly say that he is sapiens who calls the estate beautiful, but rather simply mecum qui sentit "he who shares my views or feelings", without there being an expressly superior claim.

19-21 Nam quae deserta ------- putas: what the vilicus considers to be unredeemed barrenness, Horace thinks natural beauty. Following the second foot caesura in 19, Horace begins a new sentence explaining that the vilicus detests what he, Horace, likes, and vice versa.

The language here deserves especially close scrutiny. Much is compressed into the words deserta et inhospita tesqua, which represent the view of the vilicus. The adjectives are emotive - deserta means "empty of people", uninhabited, as applied to places. See Thes. L.L. 5.684.81ff. It carries our thoughts to a far-off, remote place. Inhospita means "not providing shelter or subsistence", OLD. See Thes. L.L. 7.1603.2ff, used de locis, e.g. Virgil, Aen. 4.41, inhospita Syrtis, where Servius comments "barbara, aspera". As Préaux comments, it is a poetic word, used only here in Horace (the normal word inhospitalis was unsuitable for use in hexameter verse). Silius uses the plural as a noun referring to inhospitable regions, 4.751, "tanta inter inhospita". cf. Silius 1.237 "terra Baccho inhospita" of land that does not bear the vine.

The fact of these two highly coloured adjectives helps to secure the "feel" of tesqua. The comment of Ps-Acro is "loca deserta et difficilia lingua Sabinorum sic dicuntur". Does this stand up to scrutiny? The OLD states that "it is an augural term, used by non-technical writers of a tract

of wild or desolate land". The word does occur in old augural formulae, according to Varro 7.11 who comments "loca quaedam agrestia, quae alicuius dei sunt, dicuntur tesca". Apparently, it is found in prose only in the language of augurs. All other references are in the high style of poetry, e.g. Lucan. 6.41 nemorosa tesqua; cf. Statius, Silvae 2.3.14. Before Horace it is found in Accius, trag. 554 and in Hostius, Bellum Illyricum, frag. 6. As for the occurrence in augural formulae, when augurs had to ascertain the boundaries between land which could be inhabited by men, and the wilderness areas which were taboo, the word templum was used in the sense of the fixed area of those inside the boundary, while tescum denoted the hostile wilderness outside. This idea goes back to an early stage of Roman religion, when people were allowed to move only within defined areas. What lay outside of this belonged to unknown, frightening powers which punished every incursion into their sphere. Any crossing of the divide brought disaster with it. Nothing had to upset the pax deorum existing between the dangerous powers outside and the people living in the ascertained safe area. Templum in its original, ancient sense was the fixed area of those inside, whereas tescum was the hostile wilderness area outside. It was only secondarily that these two concepts applied to the observation of signs from the gods - before beginning to observe signs, the augur marked out the piece of ground, templum. Signs which appeared within this area had validity for humans, whereas what happened beyond did not. For a full account see K. Latte, Philologus 97, 1948, 152-9.

Thus, tesquum is an archaic, augural term, and also a

poetic word. Ernout-Meillet write "appartient au vocubulaire religieux et poétique; rare et archaique". Lucian Mueller in his commentary comes close when he writes that tescum "oft in religiösen Formeln vorkam, und in diesem einsame, von der übrigen Welt abgeschiedene Orte bezeichnete".

The evidence clearly shows that it is really impossible to link the word with the sermo rusticus, since the words in 19 are in the high style of poetry. It seems that Fraenkel is quite wrong here in thinking it is an element of the local jargon which the vilicus has picked up through living for some time in the country. Similarly, K.-H. are wrong in saying that the word remained in the language of country people and Horace has adapted it to the vilicus' way of expressing himself, just as he deftly uses legal jargon in the epistle to Torquatus, the barrister.

Why does Horace put this rare, poetic word in the mouth of a probably illiterate vilicus? He may have chosen a solemn-sounding, lofty poetic phrase to put in his mouth for sheer amusement. The very incongruity of it cannot but make the reader laugh. Alternatively, with Hiltbrunner, we can argue that the vilicus, in his search for a transfer to the country, has deliberately chosen what he reckons Horace wants to hear, and that he is trying to impress his master by the choice of as solemn and lofty a tone as possible. Either way, it is effective and prepares for the complete about-turn in style in 21ff. where harsh reality intrudes.

To Horace such tesqua would have mysterious, romantic connotations, peculiar to well-wooded areas, so beloved by poets. cf. Odes 3.25.12-4, "ut mihi devio/ripas et vacuum nemus/mirari lubet", where the poet gazes on river banks

and lonely groves, places of poetic inspiration, where he can commune with nature. The loneliness there evoked is an essential feature, an essential ingredient in his mystical experience. Again, in the scene where the rustic Evander welcomes Aeneas to the site of the future Rome, Virgil exploits the same romantic, sacred connotations, Aen. 8.349ff.

> iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
> dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant
> "Hoc nemus, hunc" inquit "frondoso vertice collem
> (quis deus, incertum est) habitat deus ....."

Yet, in actual fact to a city dweller the Sabine territory could generally have appeared as a quite harsh, bleak environment, cf. Ep. 1.18.105, "rugosus frigore pagus".

The vilicus detests what is dear to Horace. cf. Ep. 1.7.45 "vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum", where Horace says that Rome is no longer suitable for him. For Horace, his Sabine farm is the very personification of amoenitas. The adjective amoena denotes that it is pleasing to the senses, charming, cf. Virgil, Aen. 6.638f "devenere ---- amoena virecta/fortunatorum nemorum" of lovely, natural scenery; Aen. 5.734f "amoena piorum/concilia Elysiumque colo", where Servius comments "amoena sunt loca solius voluptatis plena". See Thes. L.L. 1.1962.55ff. de locorum pulchritudine. Horace uses the adjective when describing country landscape of streams, mossy rocks and a grove Ep. 1.10.6-7, "ego laudo ruris amoeni/rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque", where the adjective amoeni well sets the tone of an ideal environment. In his epistle to Quinctius, writing of the farm he comments, Ep. 1.16.15 "hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae", where the quality of visual pleasure is suggested. For Horace no other country spot can be compared with the

natural beauty of his Sabinum. See Schönbeck, "Der locus amoenus", 158.

21-2 fornix tibi ------- urbis desiderium: Horace confronts the vilicus with the truth of his craving for the city. Outwardly and ostensibly, to judge from line 15, he liked Rome for its crowds, games and baths - seemingly innocuous enough, but Horace is not to be taken in by him. It is really the flesh-pots of the city that attract him.

There is a clear descent in tone from the lofty line 19 to the quite banal and crude. The places frequented by the vilicus are the very opposite of respectable. Fornix, 21, denotes a cellar used for prostitution. See Thes. L.L. 6.1126.56ff; de stabulo meretricum, lupanar. Ernout-Meillet comment that in the imperial period fornix has this specialised meaning of "voute souterraine, et chambre voutée, comme en habitaient le bas peuple, et notamment les prostituées". It is basically a word of the popular language, colloquial, very much in the low style of satire. cf. Sat. 1.2.30, "contra alius nisi olenti in fornice natam", where in his treatment of the victims of sensual indulgence and those guilty of adultery he touches on the man who confines his attention to the brothels. We see from Sat. 1.2.30 that brothels had a bad smell - olenti is used to refer probably to the stench of perspiration due to sexual excitement, a particular aspect of a brothel's filthiness, which perhaps reminds us of Lucilius 1075, "quis totum scis corpus iam perolesse bisulcis" writing of the swine-like odour of old whores. Similarly, Juvenal 6.132 refers to the brothel's generally bad smell "lupanaris --- odorem". In Sat. 2.7

Horace poked fun at his own tendency to licentious pleasures, as his slave Davus accused him of being a victim of his passions, 46ff. Horace is accused of being subservient to a meretrix, 88ff. To this extent, Horace is being rather hypocritical here in his insufferable attitude toward his slave.

A popina denotes a cook shop, a low class eating house, frequented by those of low status and dissolute character. Ernout-Meillet comment on its being borrowed from the Oscan, a word of popular language, quite unpoetic, belonging to the low style. Often such popinae were found in the neighbourhood of the baths, cf. Tacitus H.3.83 balineae popinaeque, and were associated with the seamy side of life, cf. Seneca, Dial. 7.7.3, "voluptatis humilis domicilium fornices et popinae sunt"; Ep. Mor. 51.4. "quemadmodum inter tortores habitare nolim, sic ne inter popinarios quidem, videre ebrios per litora errantes". The word occurs in connection with such activities as excessive drinking, gambling and prostitution, cf. Martial 5.84.4 "arcana raptus e popina udus aleator". Cicero, Phil. 13.11.24 "in lustris, popinis, alea tempus aetatis omne consumpsisse". Cicero has it in his invective against Piso, In Pis. 6.13 "taeterrimam popinam inhalasses". Compare the Schol. Horat. ed. Keller on Sat. 1.6.68 "lustra non solum ferarum cubilia dicuntur, sed et popinae, in quibus scorta et inlecebrae libidinum". See RE. 22.69ff. for full details.

The adjective uncta probably means "greasy", covered or saturated with oil or fat, as e.g. Sat. 2.2.68 unctam aquam. Slaves perhaps liked greasy food as a contrast to their meagre, dry rations. The adjective hints at what is unpleasant and

messy, although elsewhere it is used by Horace in the sense of luxurious or rich, e.g. Ep. 1.15.44, "verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius". Contempt is clearly implied here. It is these dens of debauchery which inspire in the vilicus a craving for the city - incutiunt is a strong verb which is more usually employed with metum, timorem as, e.g. Curtius, History of Alexander, 4.13.13, "illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam incussisse formidinem". In our passage it vividly characterises the desiderium as an intensely keen yearning, as K.-H. comment ad loc.; the vilicus' lowest sexual instincts are aroused.

Horace's vilicus with his propensity for sexual indulgence is the very antithesis of what Columella later set down as among the qualities of a good vilicus, R.R. 11.1.14, "tum etiam sit a venereis amoribus aversus". At R.R. 1.8.1-2 he advised any estate owner specifically against appointing a vilicus "ex eo quidem genere qui urbanas ac delicatas artes exercuerit. Socors et somniculosum genus id mancipiorum, otiis, campo, theatris, aleae, popinae, lupanaribus consuetum". Horace has landed himself with a non-rural type in appointing a city-bred slave as manager of his farm. This was a faux-pas on his part, since the skill and training of the vilicus, as well as his responsible attitude, determined largely the efficient and smooth running of the farm and thus its income. This mattered all the more if an owner was absent for much of the time, as Horace was.

Significant is the use of video in 22 "je le constate, emploi moralisateur du verbe, plus personnel que videlicet" comments Préaux. It is an all-important touch, imparting a liveliness to the sentence. Horace, the master, can easily

see through his slave.

22-3 Et quod/angulus iste ------- uva: with et quod at the end of line 22, where the monosyllable serves to tie the line closely with the following verse, and where the run-on is effective, Horace proceeds to tell the reader why the vilicus so detests the farm.

On angulus Orelli comments "quemadmodum tu contemptim vocitas praedium meum". Wickham writes that "the words seem to be an imagined quotation of what the vilicus himself has said - and either angulus is used here in a depreciatory sense "this out-of-the-way place", or else it is an answer supposed to have been given to Horace, "the corner you speak of" - some sunny corner which had been pointed out as fit to try vines in - will grow pepper as soon as the grape". Wilkins likewise takes it in a contemptuous sense used by the vilicus, "hole and corner".

Angulus is completely lacking in epic poetry (except Ovid, Met. 13.884). In Propertius 4.9.65 and in Horace, Odes 2.6.13 angulus occurs in the sense of a deserted, forsaken place, "secessus, remotus locus et infrequens", Bo, Lexicon Horatianum. The word is suggestive of remoteness and inconspicuousness at Odes 2.6.13, where it suggests Horace's affection for that part of the world near Tarentum which he wishes, second only to Tibur, as a place of retirement, a dear corner. In our passage angulus probably denotes an out-of-the-way sequestered spot. In his invitation to Tyndaris to come away from the city to join him on his Sabine farm where they can picnic in peaceful, idyllic surroundings, Horace speaks of his farm in reducta valle,

Odes 1.17.17, suggestive of remoteness from the world at large. While this was intended to be of appeal to Tyndaris, and part of the essential attraction of the Sabinum was to be remote from what others considered to be the blessings of civilisation, to the vilicus it suggests a miserable part of the world, and in his mouth it is certainly scornful. This interpretation is confirmed by iste, which is sneering in tone. Iste is a word of everyday, colloquial language, which is less common in the higher styles of poetry (Schmalz-Hofmann 477). It is employed by poets with a vulgar ring to it, occurring 40 times in Propertius, only 4 times in Tibullus, and not at all in the Odes. Axelson, 71, comments that in Lucretius and Virgil's Georgics "kein einziges iste sich findet", and he argues that till that time iste was mainly tied "an die du-Deixis", which presumably is the reason why in didactic poetry the poet has not much use for it. Préaux is correct in commenting "iste = tuus". Juvenal uses it with a clearly derogatory sense, where it is in the low style of satire, e.g. Juv. 1.139-40 "sed quis ferat istas/luxuriae sordes?". Contempt and disdain are felt in angulus iste, used detractingly of a little country seat, in contrast to the city. Although Horace was at pains to stress that though small his estate supported five households (lines 2-3), yet the vilicus is dismissive; cf. 'quem tu fastidis' (2).

The burden of his dissatisfaction is that the Sabinum will produce pepper and frankincense sooner than grapes. Pepper had to be imported to Rome from the East. Pliny writes that it had nothing to commend it in either fruit or berry, NH. 12.29 "huic nec pomi nec bacae commendatio est aliqua". Its pungency was its only pleasing quality, NH. 12.29, "sola placere amaritudine, et haec in Indis peti".

Yet, in Pliny's day it did prove to be in favour, which surprised him, NH. 12.29, "usum eius adeo placuisse mirum est". Its popularity is to be gauged from its frequent appearances in the recipes of Apicius, although it may be that at times piper is used in a generic sense of "spice". By Pliny's day it was less of an article of luxury than in Horace's day, (in 13 B.C. Horace refers to it as a rarity, Ep. 2.1.270), because Roman trade with southern India had opened up during the latter part of the first century A.D. The climate of Italy was unsuitable for the pepper tree, which needed a continuous, humid heat, although efforts were made to cultivate it, and Pliny does actually mention one type of pepper tree as being cultivated in Italy by his day, NH. 12.29.

A poem of Martial, 11.18, makes a point that bears comparison with our line. Martial has been given a farm near the city, but is dissatisfied, "in quo non magis invenitur herba/quam Cosmi folium piperve crudum", lines 8-9. This estate should be productive above all else, but pepper was as unlikely to grow in an Italian rus as was Cosmi folium. This is comparable to the complaint of Horace's vilicus. On pepper, see J.I. Miller, "The Spice Trade", 24, 80ff.).

The other exotic product is tus, "frankincense" which came from Arabia and there only in a limited area, Pliny, N.H. 12.51; see Miller, 102ff. It is probable that the vilicus had come across it since it was used in remedies given to sick oxen, Cato, De Agr. 70.1. cf. Columella, R.R. 6.42.

The point Horace is making is that piper et tus clearly are exotic produce, non-Italian, with which he contrasts uva, the familiar. His estate seems to have been of no use

for cultivating the vine, "nimis enim frigidum erat illius solum et opacum, quam ut vitium cultura ibi locum haberet", Orelli. Virgil, Geo. 2.346ff. gives instructions for preparing the soil for vines, where he strongly recommends good drainage, as well as a richly manured soil, Geo. 2.347, "sparge fimo pingui". The ground had to be well prepared and a fine balance was necessary between an excess of heat and an excess of moisture. "Vines require a greater degree of tendence and control of the environment than any other Mediterranean crop", K.D. White "Roman Farming" 229.

In his Ode to Varus, Horace urged him to plant the vine before all else, Odes 1.18.2 "circum mite solum Tiburis". Presumably, the climate at Tibur was milder than the mountain sides around the Sabinum.

It seems as if the vilicus is grumbling about the sterility of the soil which for him obviously would be a convenient pretext to return to Rome. He would have to buy his own wine, since none was produced on the estate; the vile Sabinum of Odes 1.20 was probably bought in by Horace and bottled by him.

24-5 nec vicina subest ------- tibi: there is no inn nearby to provide him with a drink - vicina and subest confirm the isolation of Horace's estate in the Digentia valley, some three or four miles from the nearest main road. Orelli ad loc. quotes from Varro R.R. 1.2.23, "si ager secundum viam et opportunus viatoribus locus, aedificandae tabernae diversoriae, quae tamen, quamvis sint fructuosae, nihilo magis sunt agri culturae partes". Varro suggests that a farmer whose property bordered on a main road could increase his

income substantially by building a taberna on the road.

The taberna is probably like the salax taberna mentioned in Catullus 37.1, a wine or eating shop used for immoral purposes, cf. Propertius 4.8.19 "turpis in arcana sonuit cum rixa taberna", where a similar place is mentioned as the resort of meretrices. cf. the famosa taberna of Copa 3. The connotations are unsavoury; sexual gratification would very likely follow on from drinking. The company would be of a low sort, uncultured and boorish; the revellery would degenerate into a raucous mêlée. The important point here is that such inns tended to be dirty, smoky places which anyone concerned with his reputation would shun. Horace is at pains to stress his vilicus' proneness to sensual delights and gratification. In this respect he is the antithesis of the ideal vilicus as characterised by Cato, De Agr. 5.2, "vilicus ne sit ambulator, sobrius siet semper, ad cenam nequo eat". Compare Columella R.R. 11.1.13, "vilicus somni et vini sit abstinentissimus; tum etiam sit a venereis amoribus aversus ---- sit frugalitatis exemplum"; again R.R. 11.1.23, "neque enim coloniae suae terminos egredi debet, nec absentia sua familiae cessandi aut delinquendi spatium dare". Columella stresses the need for his constant presence on the estate. He should be of the highest moral character compatible with a slave temperament, R.R. 1.8.10 "animi, quantum servile patitur ingenium, virtutibus instructus". Cicero, Pro Plancio 62 writes that in selecting a slave for the post of vilicus it is not technical skill that should be kept in view, but rather moral qualities, honesty, industry and alertness, "sin autem emimus quem vilicum imponeremus, quem pecori praeficeremus, nihil in eo nisi frugalitatem,

laborem, vigilantiam esse curamus".

25-6. nec meretrix tibicina ------- gravis: the nec picks up nec in line 24 - the double nec helps to emphasise how deprived the vilicus is of fun and entertainment.

There is no meretrix available for him. A meretrix was "mulier quae corpore quaestum facit" Thes. L.L. 8.827.55ff. cf. Ovid, Amores 1.10.21, "stat meretrix certo quivis mercabilis aere". Meretrices were often employed by low-class inns and it was natural for clients to go there in search of sexual gratification. Juvenal and Martial testify to the fact that such establishments were hot, smelly, sordid and filthy, catering for men of the lowest class, especially slaves, cf. Juvenal 11.172ff.

> audiat ille
> testarum crepitus cum verbis, nudum olido stans
> fornice mancipium quibus abstinet, ille fruatur
> vocibus obscaenis omnique libidinis arte.

cf. Juvenal 6.131ff. Horace at Sat. 1.2.30 writes of "olenti in fornice", which may refer to the stench of perspiration due to sexual excitement as a disagreeable feature of a brothel's filthiness. The meretrix may be a slave prostitute who is also a musical entertainer, tibicina. She earns her living by her accomplishments, which include flute playing as well as sex. Flute players were often prostitutes, cf. Juvenal 3.63-5:

> et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
> obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum
> vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas.

Music and prostitution often go together. There are references in Aristophanes' comedies, e.g. Clouds 996ff. which suggest that fellatio was a part of a flute girl's duties at a symposium, and this Greek-style life of pleasure

did surface in Italy from the early second century B.C. as Livy testifies, 39.6.8. At the taberna such girls would function as musical entertainers as well as lovers, who gave their services for a fee.

Meretrix is an unpoetical word, used nine times in the Satires, and the Epistles, but only once in the Odes, 1.35.25. Tibicina also belongs to the low style, cf. Juvenal 2.90; Martial 14.64.1.

Horace here probably wants to make the point that the vilicus is not faithful to his wife, assuming he had one. Columella strongly advised that a vilicus be given a woman companion to keep him within bounds, R.R. 1.8.5 "sed quali-cunque vilico contubernalis mulier adsignanda est, quae et continet eum". Her presence was expected to discourage him from gadding about to the neglect of his responsibilities. Horace's vilicus in this respect, as in others, is the very opposite of what he ought to be by tradition.

The tibicina produces strepitum, an expressive word, onomatopoeic, with its grating, rasping sounds - the tibia did produce a sharp, shrill sound cf. Odes 3.7.30 "sub cantu querulae tibiae", while the abundance of hissing 's' sounds in 26 helps the effect of a cacophany of noise, as Horace evokes the clumsy, heavy-footed cavorting of the vilicus.

There was little respectability about dancing which was reckoned to be soft and unmanly, regarded by the Romans as incompatible with gravitas. cf. Nepos, Epam. 1 "saltare etiam in vitiis poni". Cicero, attacking Calpurnius Piso writes, In Pis. 8.18 "cum illa saltatrice tonsa", while Sallust censures a Roman lady because she could dance more elegantly than became a decent woman, Cat. 25.1 "psallere et saltare

elegantius quam necesse est probae". The vilicus thus forfeits any claim to respectability by dancing; there is a fine glancing jab at him in gravis; deftly postponed to be the last word in the sentence. His character is the exact opposite of gravis - he is fickle and lacks the seriousness, the gravitas, on which the Romans so prided themselves.

There is a vivacity about lines 24-26 where the simple, down-to-earth joy of a simple rustic is painted superbly in a few lively strokes. The tastes of the vilicus are low and crude, his pleasures are trivial, yet Horace has succeeded in depicting them "with gusto", as Fraenkel comments. However, it is difficult to agree with Fraenkel's view that "without condescension Horace looks sympathetically" on his vilicus here; rather, he appears to look down on him, and implicitly to criticise him. Fraenkel draws attention to Sat. 1.5, the journey to Brundisium, and the "good-humoured amusement with which Horace watches the entertainments of the lower classes". However, Horace never forgets that in spite of himself being the son of a freedman, Sat. 1.6.45, "libertino patre natum", yet he did achieve fame and rise up the social ladder. Indeed, he did attach much importance to his social success, enjoyed the reflected glory of his distinguished friends, and became something of a snob.

26-7 et tamen urges ------- arva: the transition, as often in Horace, is difficult to interpret precisely. In lines 21-5 Horace has said that the vilicus lacks pleasures in the country. We naturally expect with the strong adversative et tamen some compensation. Dilke thus interprets "although pleasures are lacking, you have no compensation such as a

light job". Wickham comments that "these words are best taken as a continuation of the supposed complaints of the bailiff. He has none of the pleasures often found even in the country, and yet he has plenty of work". Wickham also draws attention to a "slight verbal play carried on from terrae gravis to urges arva" - he cannot make the ground feel in one way, but he has to make it feel in another way, to his own cost, in sweat and labour. The work is hard and demanding. This is a convincing enough argument and the language bears it out.

Urges is a strong verb which pictures the vilicus expending every ounce of his strength. The hardship of the farmer's task was proverbial, cf. Tibullus 1.9.8 "et durum terrae rusticus urget opus". The verb urgere, like instare (cf. Virgil, Aen. 1.504, instans operi) is often used of keen and laborious work. He exerts continuous pressure on the arva, disturbs them by his constant activity, cf. Virgil, Geo. 1.99 "exercetque frequens tellurem atque imperat arvis", where the military metaphor is obvious, as the farmer has to wage a battle with the soil, cf. Epode 2.3 "paterna rura bubus exercet suis". Unremitting toil is the notion conveyed. Is Horace, as Orelli deftly suggests, laying it on just a bit too much?

There could be a valid sexual image here. Horace uses urget in Odes 1.5.2 of the gracilis puer pressing on Pyrrha. Primarily, urget suggests a physical thrusting motion; the sheer physicality implies a certain arrogance on the vilicus' part which makes the arva appear the more captive. The earth was conceived as a goddess, sentient and feeling; it is on her that he ploughs his furrow. She is nontacta, a virgin.

Examples are available of tango used in a sexual or erotic sense, e.g. Ovid, Met. 10.343 "ut praesens spectem Cinyram tangamque loquarque". The verb can imply intercourse, e.g. Horace, Sat. 1.2.28 "sunt qui nolint tetigisse". cf. Terence, Adelphi 686 "virginem vitiasti quam te non ius fuerat tangere". As to arva, there is one use of it applied to the female sexual organs, Lucretius 4.1107 "in eost Venus ut muliebria conserat arva". In this example, however, the addition of muliebria helps to make arva function in the erotic sense, whereas in our passage the absence of an adjective works somewhat against taking arva sexually. Latin sexual language does have in it many images drawn from agriculture, e.g. both Lucretius 4.1272 and Virgil, Geo. 3.136 use sulcus of the female pudenda in association with the metaphors of sowing and ploughing, and although arva in our passage is unaccompanied by muliebria, it is just possible to feel the sexual nuance. The double entendre is especially apt in view of Horace's characterisation of his vilicus as a gross sensualist.

The significance of iam pridem non tacta is debatable, "laissés en friche ou mal entretenus", Préaux. The obvious meaning is that the land has lain neglected for a while and so now presents more difficulty in cultivating, as K.-H. interpret. Perhaps it had long been neglected when it came into Horace's hands as a result of the civil wars. The period of domestic upheaval during the civil wars had resulted, among other things, in the desecration of the countryside. Virgil gives a grim picture of the state of the countryside in Geo. 1.506-7, "non ullus aratro/dignus honos; squalent abductis arva colonis". This is the antithesis of the beauty of ordered nature and his Georgics were related to the urgent

desirability of restoring Italian agriculture. Horace may thus be obliquely touching on the revival of agriculture under Augustus, cf. Odes 4.15.4-5 "tua, Caesar, aetas/fruges et agris rettulit uberes". However, as Orelli comments, Horace had received the Sabine farm some ten years previously (circa 34 B.C.) and there was thus plenty of time to remedy the neglect caused by the civil wars. It is possible, with Orelli, to take the words in a more general sense. Perhaps the reference is to fields which were on the periphery of the estate and were now being brought into cultivation and cleared of choking undergrowth, cf. lines 4-5 "spinas evellas agro". The vilicus, aware of his master's frequent visits to the farm, has set about organising this "clean up", fearful of a rebuke from Horace. There is no need necessarily to think of the civil wars at all, since the words can quite satisfactorily be taken in a general sense.

Dilke interprets iam pridem non tacta as applying not "to all Horace's arable land, only to uncultivated parts". This means that Horace is having brought under cultivation land which has been lying fallow. Land which was not in cultivation was allowed to rest and recover - fallowing was necessary for the elimination of all weeds. The earth was repeatedly ploughed to prevent weeds from seeding. Most important of all, in areas of low rainfall "the cultivated fallow allowed for two years' precipitation to be available, instead of one, since there was no evaporation via surface growth" K.D. White, Roman Farming, 113. Fallowing was an accepted technique in farming. Virgil advises that it is at times desirable to leave fields fallow, and often desirable to rotate crops, Geo. 1.71-2, "alternis idem tonsas cessare

novalis/et segnem patiere situ durescere campum". In the light of this rather technical information, Dilke's interpretation will not really stand; iam pridem implies a long period of time. It is best, therefore, to take the words as applying to land which has for long been neglected.

To corroborate this view, I point to the mention of ligonibus. The ligo was a stout mattock "swung above the head so as to strike the ground with some force on the downswing" K.D. White, "Agricultural Implements of the Roman World", 38. It was used for uprooting and destroying weeds and scrub, and was used where the crust of the soil was thick. It is clearly connected with hard work, cf. Epode 5.30 "ligonibus duris humum exhauriebat. In his picture of the tough Sabine youth's unremitting toil Horace writes Odes 3.6.38-9 "Sabellis docta ligonibus/versare glaebas"; cf. Martial 4.64.32 "centeno ligone domare arva". Ligonibus has an earthy ring to it, recalling obliquely the glorification of labor which is a leitmotiv in Virgil's Georgics. The recall here of that poem on agriculture is significant - arva implies very practical, earthy considerations.

Horace stresses the hardness of the physical work - the insistently heavy spondaic rhythm in 26-7 reinforces this notion. Coupled with this is the recall of the toughness of Rome's hardy stock, which occurs in both Virgil and Horace, e.g. Geo. 2.531 "corporaque agresti nudant praedura palaestra". Odes 3.6.37-8 "sed rusticorum mascula militum/proles". Hard work and strict moral training is the secret of Rome's rearing a generation which made her great. The point of recalling this is precisely because Horace's vilicus is the opposite of this ideal; he has an urban background, which

essentially makes him unsuitable for his job, a fact laboured by Columella, R.R. 11.1.7 "quare, sicut dixi, docendus et a pueritia rusticis operibus edurandus, multisque prius experimentis inspiciendus erit futurus vilicus".

27-8 bovemque ------- exples: he has to look after the ox, disiunctum, when he is unyoked from the plough. The implication is that an animal such as the ox, the partner of man in his work, is better off than the vilicus in that at least it has rest and food when it has finished ploughing. Disiunctum is a technical term cf. Varro, R.R. 2.6.4 "marem non deiungunt ab opere", Columella R.R. 6.15.2 "opere disiunctis". See Thes. L.L. 5.1385.45ff. strictiore sensu, iumenta iugo absolvere. Such tasks as those referred to here would probably be carried out by the bubulcus, but still the vilicus has to keep an eye on him in a supervisory role. Curas suggests loving care and attention, and the idea is expanded in strictis frondibus exples - the fodder is leaves which have been stripped, as was the custom in wooded areas, stored away for use when there was no viride pabulum, Columella, R.R. 6.3.2. cf. Cato, De Agr. 30, "ulmeam, populneam, querneam, ficulneam usque dum habebis dato". Stringere is a technical term in this usage, brought into poetry by Virgil cf. Ecl. 9.61 "densas agricolae stringunt frondes"; Geo. 2.368 stringe comas.

Working oxen had to work regularly throughout the year, except for the period from the close of the sowing season in mid-December till the spring ploughing. From Cato's references to them, it seems that it proved difficult to keep them in good condition all year round. Cato stresses the very

useful and honourable place held by oxen in the scheme of work - the whole system of arable farming depended crucially on the oxen, hence Cato, De. Agr. 54.4 "nihil est quod magis expediat, quam boves bene curare".

29-30 addit opus ------- aprico parcere prato: the rain which brings a holiday from other tasks brings the vilicus fresh work. Doubt centres on the meaning of pigro. Is this a further dig at the vilicus? Lucian Mueller strongly denied this in his commentary, "hier nicht von dem Faulen, sondern von dem der einer Arbeit überdrüssig ist". Villeneuve took it as referring to laziness, "nouveau travail que le ruisseau donne à ta paresse". The vilicus is indolent and has an aversion to hard work. Columella writes of the need for briskness and application to work as among the desired qualities of a good vilicus, R.R. 11.1.16 "in agresti negotio dici vix potest, quid navus operarius ignavo et cessatore praestet". The most important quality in a vilicus was reckoned to be diligence and conscientiousness, in the display of which the vilicus could set a good example to those under him, cf. Cato, De Agr. 5.4 "opus rusticum omne curet uti sciat facere, et id faciat saepe, dum ne lassus fiat", 5.5. "primus cubitu surgat, postremus cubitum eat".

Horace's vilicus is the reverse of Cato's ideal. In this respect he contrasts with the typical countrymen or farmer whose life was one of hard toil, labor, which Virgil celebrates in his Georgics. Contrast the picture of Tibullus in elegy 1.1 where he depicts himself as a farmer, but also as the lover of a meretrix, and a man of inaction. Tibullus 1.1.57-8 "non ego laudari curo, mea Delia, tecum/dum

modo sim, quaeso segnis inersque vocer". cf. 1.1.5 "me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti". There seems to be a clear connection between inertia and erotic vices. The farmer whose life is extolled in the second Epode of Horace is a man of action who is not troubled by amor, 37-8, who is fond of his wife and children, 39-44. By contrast, Horace's vilicus has fallen for erotic vices (21ff.) and his being pigro as well fits neatly into Horace's characterisation of him as basically a townsman.

On rivus Orelli comments "praeterea rivus (Digentia) post imbres semper alta et firma mole aggeribus coercendus est, ne inundet prata adiacentia". Wilkins similarly understands rivus as the Digentia river, which flowed past Horace's villa, and joined the Anio about eight miles above Tibur, near the village of Mandela; cf. Ep. 1.18.104. Dilke comments that "in Italy the hill side fields had very little depth of earth. Hence it was important to prevent by diking or terracing with stone walls (and so levelling) soil erosion caused by rain or flooding". The reference is thus to the construction of a stone dike to protect the meadow land from the rain swollen stream (thus Dilke, K.-H., Wilkins, Wickham). K.-H. cite a passage from Cato, De Agr. 155 "cum pluere incipiet, familiam cum ferreis sarculisque exire oportet, incilia aperire, aquam deducere in vias et curare oportet uti fluat". This refers to the digging of cross ditches to direct the rush of water down the mountain sides after heavy rain. If this precaution were not taken, much damage could result to the crops. The cross ditches had to be kept clean since otherwise the lower ground would be flooded, cf. Columella, R.R. 2.8.3. The water has to be

drawn off the fields.

It can be seen from other passages that rivus can have a technical flavour. Préaux, inclined to favour this meaning, argues from docendus which implies a management technique. It is an effective personifying touch, in keeping with the sentient nature which is so much a feature of Virgil's Georgics. cf. Horace, A. P. 67 "amnis, doctus iter melius". Docendus echoes the comparison between agricultural and philosophical work made in line 4; on educational metaphors applied to agriculture, cf. Virgil, Geo. 2.51-2, 362-70. There are valid parallels from the Georgics which bear out the specialised meaning of rivus, e.g. Geo. 1.269-70 "rivos deducere nulla/religio vetuit", used of irrigation channels by means of which water is let in. Interesting is a reference in the Digesta 43.21.1.2 "rivus est locus per longitudinem depressus, quo aqua decurrat". cf. Virgil, Ecl. 3.111 "claudite iam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt", where rivos refers to irrigation channels. At Geo. 1.106-9 Virgil writes of water which runs in a banked up channel on a hillside being tapped by the farmer for the fields below,

> deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis
> et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
> ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
> elicit?

There is therefore a convincing case for taking rivus in a technical sense. Horace's fields have to be safeguarded against flooding from the cross ditches which can overflow and cause soil erosion. The words si decidit imber refer to the threat posed by a heavy down-pour of rain. This meaning colours our interpretation of multa mole, "double acception possible" as Préaux comments. I follow K.-H. in taking it as meaning "with much difficulty", moles ist hier wohl die moles laboris. K.-H. cite the Virgilian "tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem, Aen.

1.33. cf. Livy 25.11.17 "haud magna mole". This interpretation fits admirably with the suggested characterisation of the vilicus as a sluggard. Horace rubs salt in the wound. Compare Virgil's use of moliri as in Geo. 1.494, "agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro", where the word implies strenuous effort; cf. Geo. 4.331 "validam in vites molire bipennem". The other three Horatian uses of moles certainly point to the meaning "embankment", Odes 3.4.65; Odes 3.29.10 and Odes 2.15.2, in the latter two of which the word suggests massy bulk and construction. Yet this is no convincing argument for the word having the same meaning in our passage.

31. nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat, audi: "this fresh start suits very well with the view that we have been listening since v.19 to the bailiff's views". (Wickham). Horace began his letter by saying that his vilicus was bored with the country (quem tu fastidis, 2), while he, the master, is bored with having to stay behind in the town to comfort Lamia, lines 6-9. These are the two essential facts to emerge from lines 1-9. Neither Horace nor his slave is where he would like to be, and each unfairly blames the place where he is, lines 10-13. In this respect, Horace can claim to have experienced the same malady as his slave - he frankly confesses his own weakness - stultus uterque in line 12 makes this clear. Horace admits here that he too has suffered discontent with the place where he is staying - this shows some tact on his part, although it must be kept in mind that it is pietas toward a close friend which detains him in Rome against his wishes, and certainly not an ill-considered, rash

choice of his own, such as is responsible for the vilicus' present plight.

In line 10 Horace formed a comparison between himself and his slave - their wishes and inclinations draw each in a different direction. The clear opposition of the personal pronouns in line 10 picks up the contrast between ego and tu in line 4, pronouns which emphatically express a confrontation (cf. certemus, 4). Again, in 14, and 16 tu and me are strongly contrasted, as Horace quickly points out where he is superior to his slave in his being constant in his preference for the country, whereas the vilicus is inconsistent, always changing his mind. The vilicus has aspired to come to the country (14), yet, when he is there, he craves a return to the city. Horace is quick enough here to extract maximum advantage from what he sees as the fatal weakness in the vilicus' position - his inconsistency.

In line 18, non eadem miramur, Horace admits that their tastes differ and in 21ff. talks of the vilicus' sensual tastes, his being essentially work-shy - in the country the work is hard, and fun and entertainment are lacking. From line 21 we have in effect been listening to the complaints of the vilicus. Now in 31ff. we turn from the vilicus to Horace himself - the words quid concentum dividat in effect pick up disconvenit in line 18, where Horace had pointed out the differencebetween them. The pleasant existence of which the vilicus dreamed (i.e. a life-about-town) Horace admits in 32ff. that he had once enjoyed himself. It seems that Horace here anticipates the vilicus pointing a finger at him, even perhaps accusing him of being hypocritical. To meet this objection, Horace has to labour the point that he has in

fact given up the follies of his younger days. This is what separates him from his slave; this is the dividing line between them. The master, through the gift of the Sabine farm, can achieve the vita rustica, just as his vilicus can through his master's granting his request for a transfer from the city to the country. However, where they differ is that Horace claims to have undergone an inner change, so that his Sabinum corresponds to his new outlook - his soul needs the peace of the country which he describes in its outward aspects with the cena brevis (35) and the somnus in herba; the inner peace comes from being free from invidia, from the odium of his critics in the town. The vilicus has changed only the outward conditions of his place of residence without effecting an inner change. This is why they see things differently; the vilicus has not been able ludum incidere (36). Just as the real peace of the rus is quite removed from the hustle and bustle of the city, so is Horace, the master, removed in spirit from the outlook of his vilicus.

Line 31 is introduced by nunc age, a solemn sounding formula, an epic formula of transition which is taken over from the Greek didactic νῦν δ' ἄγε. Lucretius uses it often to indicate that he is embarking on a new and important topic, cf. Lucretius 1.921, "nunc age, quod superest, cognosce et clarius audi". Virgil uses it in the second prooemium of his Aeneid, 7.37. The words impart an earnestness to line 31, which is reinforced by the no-nonsense tone of the imperative audi at the close. Concentum occurs only here in Horace; its emphatic juxtaposition to dividat produces the effect of an oxymoron, since we have the union of opposite and contradictory terms. Master and slave are

prevented from singing the same tune because of their fundamentally different outlooks. The over-all effect of 31 is one of over-solemnity (K.-H. even suggest that Horace is parodying a quotation from loftier poetry) an effect which is enhanced by the heavy spondees in feet 2, 3 and 4.

32. quem tenues ------- togae, nitidique capilli: Horace has said in line 31 that there is discord between himself and his vilicus. He goes on to explain this by saying that, once, when he was young, he had relished a sophisticated life-about-town and his liaison with Cinara (33), but now that he is older and wiser he wishes only rest and moderation. What was once seemly (decuere) is no longer so. Horace has grasped the truth of this, that times have changed - the pleasures of the city are no more for him. It is precisely here that he is at variance with his slave, whose craving for a life of sensual pleasure Horace has so vividly sketched in 21ff.

Horace is at pains to stress that there was a time when he did enjoy the pleasures of the city; the pleasant existence of which his vilicus had dreamed Horace, his master, once enjoyed. "These lines with their emphatic repetition of the initial quem - hammering in, as it were, the identity - serve primarily as a foil to what follows - they emphasise the completeness of the change that has taken place in Horace's conduct of life". (Fraenkel, p.311).

In line 32 he talks of externals, such as tenues togae - fine-spun clothes, made of a finer, better quality wool than the ordinary toga, and worn by those who cared much for their dress; a certain foppishness and flaunting of expensive trap-

pings is suggested, perhaps some snobbery on the part of Horace. The tone is one of pride, calculated, perhaps intentionally, to show his own superiority as a free-born man, whose formal outer garment was the heavy toga, the outward symbol of Roman gravitas. The vilicus, as a mere slave, had to make do with only a tunic; cf. Columella, R.R. 1.8.9 "cultam vestitamque familiam magis utiliter quam delicate habeat munitamque diligenter a vento, frigore pluviaque, quae cuncta prohibentur pellibus manicatis, centonibus confectis vel sagis cucullis".

Nitidique capilli refers to hair that is well-oiled - nitidi evokes the sleekness and spruceness of youth, suggesting an elegant, stylish appearance as well as unguents for the hair, which might suggest some kind of festivity or celebration. Perfumes represent extravagant luxury, coming as they did from the East; Plautus, Mostellaria 43 talks of unguenta exotica, cf. Odes 2.7.7ff. "nitentes/malobathro Syrio capillos" in a context of a celebration; Tibullus 1.7.51 "illius et nitido stillent unguenta capillo", where nitido conveys a visual sensation. Attacking women's artificial beauty Propertius 1.2.3 condemns their custom "Orontea crines perfundere murra", but to attract his own beloved he uses, 2.4.5 "perfusa ----- unguenta capillis" himself, on which line Enk in his commentary writes "dicit amatores unguentorum odore placere velle moechae, cum ceteroqui sint habitu servili, Ovidius in A.A. 3.443". At A.A. 3.443 Ovid advises women to shun men who profess elegance and good looks and who arrange their hair in the proper place. A smart lover evidently took great pains with his own hair. In Ovid's Amores 1.6.38 a symposium is symbolised by "madidis

lapsa corona comis". Ovid at A.A. 2.734 describes his own hair as odoratae comae. Men who are over-elegant and dandified are distinguished by "coma ----- liquido nitidissima nardo", A.A. 3.443.

Horace thus suggests by nitidique capilli a symposium, with erotic associations, preparing the way nicely for love in 33. Fragrance from the perfumes used for anointing the hair has erotic implications, cf. Odes 3.24.20 nitido adultero. Horace describes a libertine in a slave's disguise, Sat. 2.7.55 as "turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacerna".

The phrase nitidique capilli points also to the sophistication of urban life, with its stress on the care of the skin and hair. In Ep. 1.7, describing Volteius Mena's transition from city to country, Horace writes, Ep. 1.7.83, "ex nitido fit rusticus", which is closely associated with this motif. When he returns from the country after failure as a farmer, Mena is "scaber et intonsus", Ep. 7.90, rough and unshorn. When he lived in the town Mena was adrasus (50) and Philippus encountered him for the first time "vacua tonsoris in umbra/cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguis", (50-51). In later descriptions of city life in Roman literature talk about barbers and their customers is frequently attested, e.g. Juvenal 3.186; 10.225-6; Martial 2.29.9-10. Compare also the picture Horace gives of his less than perfect hair cut and dress at Ep. 1.1.94, inaequali tonsore, the characteristic of the countryman. Maecenas, himself something of a fop, attached importance to matters which Horace considers now as being of no concern. This is a measure of how Horace claims to have changed with the passage of the years, cf. Ep. 1.1.4 "non eadem est aetas, non

mens".

33 quem scis ------- rapaci: even although Cinara loved money, and Horace brought her none, she was fond of him. This reference to Cinara, a love of his past, strikes a nostalgic note; Wickham observes that all references to her serve "to recall an epoch in the poet's life". Horace speaks of her at Odes 4.1.3-4 in warm-hearted, affectionate terms, "non sum qualis eram bonae/sub regno Cinarae", where Lucian Mueller explains bonae as meaning that she was not a spoil-sport; it is quite genuinely complimentary to her. K.-H. on Odes 4.1.4 comment that the name is not a pseudonym, but an actual name of a freedwoman, "Κινάρα eine Art Artischocke mit purpurner Blute, Columella, R.R. 10.237, vgl. Pliny 20.262". Odes 4 were most likely published circa 13 B.C., almost ten years after Odes 1-3 were published as a collection. There is a deep perspective of time past in the references to her in Odes 4. Horace writes of her being superseded as his mistress by Lyce, Odes 4.13.21-3. Recall of Cinara means recalling the past days of his youth; cf. Ep. 1.7.25ff. where she is called protervae and is clearly a thing of the past. Although he appears to have been saddened by her sad end, yet Odes 4.13 shows that he had replaced her quickly enough.

The point here is that Cinara is automatically associated with his youthful days. She is rapaci, emphatically last word in the line, with an expressive sound which vividly characterises her as grasping. Orelli comments ad loc.: "quae alios amatores emungere solebat, huic per memet ipsum etiam sine donis placui". K.-H. comment on her being avara,

just like such girls. Tibullus' Nemesis is called rapax, Tibullus 2.4.25. Nemesis is forever reaching out her hand and asking for money, and Tibullus pictures himself trying to appease her with tangible gifts - he blames Venus herself for giving him a greedy mistress. Propertius 3.13 criticises the avarice of Roman women, stating that women's avarice is caused by their love of luxury, 3.13.1 "quaeritis unde avidis nox sit pretiosa puellis". Avarice is the subject of complaint by Ovid too; at Amores 1.10.11 he gives as the reason why he has ceased to love Corinna "quia munera poscis". The mercenary nature of women is a conventional theme; it forms the basis of Propertius 2.16; 3.13; Tibullus 2.4. Ovid sets Corinna on a level with prostitutes and she is even more despicable than them because they have to obey the leno avarus, Amores 1.10.23. At Amores 3.8.22 Ovid calls Corinna avara. Along with unfaithfulness greed is the trait of which the elegists complain most. Horace is thus taking over a stock elegiac attribute of such girls.

Horace uses rapax of ravening wolves at Odes 4.4.50, "luporum praeda rapacium", of Harpies, birds of prey at Sat. 2.2.40 "Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus". Cinara is like these birds of prey, notorious for their rapaciousness; the word order effectively suggests Horace's being swallowed up by her, Cinarae placuisse rapaci, while the "a" sounds, which force the reader to open his mouth wide while reciting, constitute an effective objective mouth gesture. Cinara opens her mouth wide to devour her prey.

The elegists lament their showering of gifts on to their mistresses, cf. Propertius 2.8.11 "munera quanta dedi". Yet Horace claims he brought Cinara no gifts, immunem, emphatic

before the caesura in the third foot; the heavy spondaic rhythm through to the third foot lends emphasis and even solemnity. Horace did not pay his way, see OLD s.v. 3; cf. Thes. L.L. 7.505.47ff. for immunis as the equivalent of ἀσύμβολος . Immunis can be used as a term of reproach as at Plautus, Trin. 354 "is est immunis, quoi nihil est qui munus fungatur suom", used of a citizen who has no public spirit; cf. Virgil, Geo. 4.244 "immunis sedens aliena ad pabula fucus", of a drone which makes no contribution to the hive, and does not carry out its munus of labour. At Odes 4.12.23 Horace jokingly says to Vergilius that if he comes to him immunem, then he will not steep him in his cups. It is as if the dinner party were a business transaction, with Vergilius asked to bring his contribution.

So in our line immunem, probably taken over from the sphere of political life, points to Horace's shirking his obligations to Cinara, his beloved. Perhaps there is humour in the dry formality of immunem, used with a mock-seriousness. Love was regarded as a foedus or amicitia, with obligations on both parties. Any (political) alliance was based on mutual trust and had to bring practical benefits to each party. The vocabulary of political alliances can be applied to relationships between lovers, as in e.g. Catullus 76, where foedus is used in a situation where a strong degree of commitment is at issue. Just as treaties between nations, foedera, were "ratified by solemn oaths and to break them was perjury" (P.A. Brunt, "Amicitia in the Roman Republic", P C Ph S n.s. 11 (1965) 6) so a similar sanctity applied to other amicitiae, even relationships between lovers. Horace has not kept his part of the agreement with Cinara and ful-

filled his obligations. The word munus can be used of the services of either partner in a liaison, cf. Catullus 61.228ff. "at boni/coniuges, bene vivite et/munere assiduo valentem/ exercete iuventam"; cf. the use of munia at Odes 2.5.2 in the sense of obligations, used humourously of sexual or marital duties. There could be a valid secondary sexual implication in immunem, especially since placuisse has overtones of sexual gratification cf. Propertius 2. 7.19 "placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus", an effective euphemism. cf. Odes 3.7.22-4 "at tibi/ne vicinus Enipeus/plus iusto placeat cave", where Horace warns Asterie against becoming too interested in her neighbour while her lover is absent.

There is a tone of smug pride and self-satisfaction in 33, as Horace boasts of finding favour with Cinara despite being immunem. All-telling is the little monosyllabic scis which is full of significance; the vilicus is intimately involved as a witness in the past to his master's pleasure. Just as Horace, the master, had shared in his slave's feelings, so he claims to have allowed him a share in his own. It is evident from this that the vilicus has been in Horace's service for many years.

34 quem bibulum ------- Falerni: Horace indulges in wine of the best quality - bibulum means "fond of drinking", "eager to drink", OLD s.v. 1 cf. Ep. 1.18.91 "potores bibuli media de nocte Falerni". See Thes. L.L. 2.1968, "vox praecipue poetarum, inde a Lucr. (semel) Verg. (ter), Hor (bis) legitur apud Colum. et Plin. epist. singulis locis, Pliny nat. 5 ies". It is a very expressive adjective - Horace soaks up wine just as sand drinks up moisture. It may suggest deep drinking - he took great swigs of Falernian wine. The

bubbling "l" sounds are effective in painting the scene of relaxation. As Préaux remarks on bibulum "le thème est ici lié a celui du ludus (36)" cf. Ep. 2.2.214 "lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti". Horace joins drinking and sporting in his picture of the old hag Lyce, Odes 4.13.4 "ludisque et bibis impudens". She plays around and has a good time.

Falernian wine is referred to by Horace no less than fifteen times. The area in Campania from which it came at the foot of the Mons Massicus was lush and fertile. Pliny, N.H. 14.62 considered it second only to Setine, "secunda nobilitas Falerno agro erat et ex eo maxime Faustiano ----- Nec ulli nunc vino maior auctoritas. Solum vinorum flamma accenditur. Tria eius genera, austerum, dulce, tenue". At a Pompeian bar it actually cost four times as much as ordinary wine, CLE 931. Martial 11.36.5 refers to immortale Falernum - the excellence and nobility of the wine is his point. The philistine Tucca mixes a good old wine with an inferior new one at Martial 1.18.1-2 and later, 4-5 "scelus est iugulare Falernum/et dare Campano toxica saeva mero". This again proves the excellent quality of the wine. Horace's point therefore in specifying the brand of wine is to stress its quality - he is indulging in luxury. Nowhere does he speak of wine produced on his own estate - the vile Sabinum of Odes 1.20 which he offers to Maecenas was probably a light wine of medium quality, as N.-H. suggest in their commentary, where Sabinum is used on purpose to suggest lack of sophistication, simplicity and homeliness. At Odes 3.1.43 Horace lists Falerna vitis among the trappings of luxury which do not yet help a man when he is troubled.

The wine is liquidi "klar", K.-H. It was only the stronger wines, as Wilkins comments, which required straining. The purpose of straining was to remove impurities and sediment, cf. Columella, R.R. 12.38.4 "curandum est ut cum diffundis (vinum) liquidum et sine faece diffundas". A strainer of rush (colum) or a linen bag (saccus) was used for this purpose, and the process took place usually just prior to drinking, although sediment could be removed also by leaving the wine standing. See D.-S. 1.133.1ff.; also RE. 4, 591ff.

In his ode to Leuconoe Horace urges her, Odes 1.11.6, vina liques, as he calls her to carry out essential household chores - straining the wine perhaps symbolises a practical, positive step towards a measure of happiness which is desirable. Horace is aiming at visual impact in liquidi, but it is worth recalling also the sweet odour of this wine, described by Silius Italicus, Punica 7.191 "dulcis odoratis humor sudavit ab uvis", and the fine bouquet of Falernian wine is one of Martial's comparisons to illustrate the fragrance of kisses, 11.8.7 "amphora quod nigri, sed longe, fracta Falerni". This perhaps furthers the impression of elegance and luxury. Horace appears as something of a connoisseur as far as wine is concerned. We know that he dined regularly with Maecenas and he, being an epicure, had his own taste in drink, Vina Maecenatiana, Pliny, N.H. 14.67. Contrast the elegists' attitude to wine - Falernian for them is something which might be drunk in honour of a great patron, e.g. Tibullus 2.1.27 "nunc mihi fumosos veteris proferte Falernos", where the brand of wine serves to exalt the festive occasion; it was probably an object of fantasy as

far as his own life was concerned.

In view of his mention of love in 33, it is worth remembering the connection between love and wine. Terence's dictum at Eun. 732 is "sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus". At A.A. 1.244 Ovid puns "et Venus in vinis ignis in igne fuit", and the sentiment became a commonplace. Wine prepares the heart for love, removes all worries and inhibitions, and makes men behave in a completely natural way, A.A. 1.237-44. See A. Otto, Sprichwörter, s.v. Venus for the close connection between love and wine.

Drinking media de luce implies dissipation and excess. The clear implication is that this is substantially before the customary dinner hour which was the ninth, at the conclusion of the working day, cf. Ep.1.7.71 "ergo/post nonam venies" of Philippus inviting Mena to dinner; Martial 4.8.6 "imperat exstructos frangere nona toros". Horace depicts with relish his excessive indulgence in wine when young. Compare Sat. 2.8.3 "de medio potare die" where the use of potare points to the notion of debauchery and excess. A luxurious meal would begin early, just as a modest one (such as that to which he invites Torquatus in Ep. 1.5) began late, Ep. 1.5.3 supremo sole. It was considered unbecoming to dine and drink during the working day cf. Terence, Adelphi 965, "scortum adducere, adparare de die convivium"; Catullus 47.5f. "vos convivia lauta sumptuose de die facitis". In a context of active military service Horace wrote of himself as a young soldier Odes 2.7.6ff. "morantem saepe diem mero/fregi".

There is an emphasis also on release - the liberating effect of wine struck Horace forcibly. In his letter of

invitation to the barrister Torquatus Horace praises ebrietas, saying that a man should not be afraid to spend money on pleasure. Ebrietas is described as a liberating power, Ep. 1.5.16ff. Yet Horace does make the point indirectly that such indulgence is proper only on a fitting occasion, in this case, the birthday of the Emperor, which was a state holiday, and Torquatus would in fact be at work till the close of the day before.

Wine almost represents a symbol in Horace's thoughts, a symbol of release, and full-hearted commitment to the present. It can free a man from anxiety regarding the future as e.g. when rustic Ofellus smoothes worry from his brow with wine and delights in the pleasure of a simple meal, Sat. 2.2.124-8. Wine which is kept under lock and key in cellars is symbolic of the failure to enjoy the pleasures of the present, as exemplified in the case of the avarus at Sat. 2.3.115ff. who drinks vinegar although he has three hundred thousand jars of Falernian wine stored away. Such self-denial is simply improvidence, which only diminishes his life, since he neglects the present for a future which he may never see.

There is an intensity of feeling in lines 32-4. Horace uses the anaphora of quem (standing emphatically at the start of each of the lines) to generate strong emotion. It serves to reinforce the identity of the poet. It is worth comparing a passage in his epistle to Maecenas, Ep. 1.7. Horace has given reasons for his extended absence from Rome - he fears the city in September and feels himself inadequate now for the kind of life Rome demands owing to his advancing years and precarious health; Ep. 1.7.25-8:

> quodsi me noles usquam discedere, reddes
> forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos,
> reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum et
> inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae.

The youthful strength, and spirits which life with his patron in Rome demands are his no longer. A sharp sense of loss exists here alongside the self mockery of the unsuccessful lover. There is discernible a nostalgic note, a longing for the bygone days of his youth; a subdued emotion shows itself in the reddes placed symmetrically at the start of the three clauses. In the threefold anaphora of reddes there emerges regret for a youth that has vanished irretrievably. Horace mentions gifts of nature, such as youthful strength and spirits which he once enjoyed and which it is impossible to recover. He is aware that the bloom of youth has gone with the years; he has changed and become different, cf. Ep. 1.1.4 "non eadem est aetas, non mens".

However, in Ep. 1.14.32-4 he writes of externals, tenues togae, nitidi capilli which are still available to him, although now they would be unfitting. He is too old for that now. Ep. 7 shows him as out of favour with Cinara, unsuccessful - misfortune and sorrow in love are hinted at; he laments her disloyalty (fugam, Ep. 7.28). By contrast, in Ep. 14.33 he boasts proudly that he enjoyed her favours despite being immunem (33). This is in strong contrast to the reference to her being hard to get in Ep. 7.

In Ep. 7 Horace drinks wine to console himself for Cinara's betraying him (inter vina, Ep. 1.7.28), whereas in Ep. 14.34 he claims to have indulged in it excessively. All this was before he changed his life-style; the sensual pleasures which he once enjoyed are comparable to those for which the vilicus craves (21ff.). Horace has carefully selected just such details as a vilicus would be able to understand, although the reference to Cinara is very literary.

What is important is that the more refined and sophisticated aspects of his former life, the dulce loqui and ridere decorum which figure in the letter to Maecenas, receive no mention in the letter to his slave, perhaps because Horace felt that it was beneath the understanding of his vilicus to discuss such matters.

35 cena brevis iuvat: What pleases Horace now is a simple meal. As K.-H. comment ad loc. cena brevis is used, like mensa brevis, A.P. 198 in contrast to the feast and drinking media de luce, 34. Instead of a drinking bout following on from the cena, the poet claims to enjoy a light nap on the grass, which is reckoned to be among the simple pleasures of country life; cf. Ep. 1.10.18 "est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?"

Brevis is used in the sense of modest, as Lucian Mueller comments. Orelli comments "brevis - ac propter hoc ipsum simplex". It well suggests the style of life of Horace. There is a striking contrast to the type of meal described in Sat. 2.8 "Nasidieni cena beati", where Horace satirises the ostentation and vulgarity of the host. In the dinner invitation to the barrister Torquatus, Horace promises him Ep. 1.5.2 "holus omne", meagre vegetarian food, simple and plain, in keeping with the circle of ideas associated by Horace with his Sabine farm. In praise of vegetarian fare Horace writes at Odes 1.31.15-6 "me pascunt olivae/me cichorea levesque malvae". The motif does occur in earlier poetry, cf. Alcman 17.4ff. and in Ovid's story of Baucis and Philemon we see reflected stories where people of the archaic age welcomed gods or heroes to their modest board, Ovid, Met.

8.629ff. The wholesomeness of a bread and water diet was commended by Epicurus, Letter to Menoeceus, 131-2. cf. Cicero, Tusc. 5.89 "ipse (Epicurus) quam parvo est contentus. nemo de tenui victu plura dixit". Simple and healthy fare was associated with rustic life, especially that of the farmer, cf. Epode 2.49-60.

In his ode to Grosphus, Horace states that the essence of the good life and inner peace of mind is simplicity of life style cf. Odes 2.16.13 "vivitur parvo bene". The man who lives well has a modest table - the essence of the good life is not what the bon viveur supposes. Horace is not advocating abject poverty, but rather a little - the life which he advocates is simple and unacquisitive. This ideal of the simple life is one which he returns to frequently cf. Sat. 1.4.115ff. However, in his epistle to Vala Horace appears as a bon vivant, as he eagerly asks him about the availability of game and sea food at the sea-side - these are gourmet delights; a sudden interest in rich foods seems scarcely to accord with his supposed modest diet on the Sabine farm, or the plain food which he commends to Iccius, Ep. 1.12.7-8. His seemingly unshakeable devotion to rural simplicity cannot withstand the temptations of luxury when it comes his way. We should take this to be part of his fickleness which he delights in so much. In Sat. 2.7 his slave Davus remarks that Horace once loved Maecenas' good dinners Sat. 2.7.32-5.

Is it legitimate to read into cena brevis a veiled reference to the sumptuary laws? Suetonius writes, Augustus 34.1 "leges retractavit et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam -----". There had been repeated attempts to

regulate ostentatious hospitality - Suetonius, Divus Julius 43.2 refers to the latest attempt. According to Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae 2.24.14 Augustus' law provided for a normal limit on expenditure of 200 sesterces per guest, rising to 300 on the Kalends, Nones, Ides and certain other days, although it in fact became a dead letter, cf. Tacitus, Annals 3.54. The purpose of such efforts to check extravagance was that the tide of luxury might be restrained, Noctes Atticae 2.24.15 "ut his saltem finibus luxuriae effervescentis aestus coerceretur". Horace may indirectly have intended such a hit at the sumptuary laws, but more likely he wishes to show himself adhering to the ideal of the simple life. See R. Vischer, Das Einfache Leben, 147ff.

The language is simple and matter-of-fact; cena is unpoetic and according to Axelson (107) has a rather banal ring to it, as does the verb cenare (cf. Ep. 1.5.2) which is habitually avoided by poets and by Horace in his Odes, as it is essentially a word of colloquial speech. Similarly, the noun cena is not found in Virgil, Tibullus, Propertius, Lucan and Silius, although it does occur at Ovid, Amores 1.4.2. Axelson concludes that it is missing from the higher styles of poetry, but "den niederen Poesie-gattungen hingegen ist das Wort natürlich geläufig".

35 et prope rivum somnus in herba: the motif of sleep on a river bank is in the Epistles a sign of the withdrawn life, such as Horace claims to have lived in his maturer years. It is reckoned to be among the simple pleasures of life in the country. In Odes 3.1 the ideal of quiet country life is splendidly evoked in lines 21-23, "somnus agrestium/lenis

virorum non humiles domos/fastidit umbrosamque ripam". Horace has just said that rich men cannot sleep. Sleep instead, a symbol of freedom from care, comes to the poor, innocent man. This idea fits into Horace's ideal of a life of comparative poverty; the moral superiority of life in the country, so well demonstrated in Ep. 1.10 to Fuscus, is associated with peaceful, trouble-free sleep; cf. Odes. 2.16.15-16 "nec leves somnos timor aut cupido/sordidus aufert", in a context where he discusses the concept of the good life and inner peace. Examples abound, e.g. Odes 1.1.21-2 "nunc viridi membra sub arbuto/stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae" on which N.-H. cite parallels from Greek poetry, claiming that "the scene is sanctioned by poetical convention, as well as the needs of a hot climate"; cf. Hesiod, Op. 588ff. "ἀλλὰ τότ' ἦδη/ἐν πετρήϊ τε σκιῇ καὶ βιβλίνου οἴνου"; Virgil, Geo. 2.470 "mollesque sub arbore somni".

Richard F. Thomas, The Landscapes of Horace, 18 draws attention to the "presence of shade, conducive to sleep" (stated in Ep. 1.10.18). He associated shade with sleep, and makes a connection with the poet's vocation, citing as an example Odes 3.4.9-11 "me ----- ludo fatigatumque somno", of Horace himself at the scene of his own initiation; cf. Ep. 2.2.77-8 "scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem/rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra", where the enjoyment of sound sleep or sleep in a shaded spot is one of the blessings of life away from the vexations of the city. Horace invests the notion with a fervour which is partly moral, partly religious. This sleep, associated with the rus, and in antithesis to the urbs, is a vital prerequisite for writing verse.

Grass, herba, would be particularly valued in Italy with its hot, sultry climate - the connotations are of natural greenness and freshness, a conventional resting place, which presupposes the stream; cf. Epode 2.24 "modo in tenaci gramine", part of the farmer's leisure; Lucretius 2.29ff. "in gramine molli/propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae". A feeling for pastoral solitude is well evoked - the scene by the river is very Lucretian in the relaxation which it proposes, a scene of leisured otium.

The stream in question is probably a tributary of the Digentia, the small, clear stream which flowed through the valley to join the Anio. Horace at Ep. 1.18.104 describes it as refreshing him "me reficit ----- rivus". The Romans were sensitive to the joys of running water, and it is an essential ingredient in the depiction of such beauty spots; cf. Odes 2.3.9-12. Streams and springs were stock features of beauty spots, and the villas of important citizens often had water gardens attached to them; cf. Propertius 3.2.14 "non operosa rigat Marcius antra liquor".

36. nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum: Horace has just been saying that there was a time in the past when he did enjoy himself, but now circumstances have caused him to put an end to that. The thought is that there is a time for everything, which occurs in the Odes, e.g. when he urges young Thaliarchus not to reject love while he is still young, Odes 1.9.15-18.

> nec dulces amores
> sperne puer neque tu choreas,
> donec virenti canities abest
> morosa.

cf. Pindar, fr. 123.1 "χρῆν μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρώτων δρέπεσθαι, θυμέ, σὺν ἁλικίᾳ"; Euripides, fr. 897.9ff. "τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν προλέγω τοῖσι νέοισιν/ μήποτε φεύγειν." At Odes 3.15 Horace gives advice to a flirt, telling her it is time she retired, and ceased her misconduct which is unbecoming to her, 4-5, "maturo propior desine funeri/inter ludere virgines", where ludere perhaps carries overtly sexual overtones, apart from the general sense "play around". The ageing courtesan, Lyce, incurs Horace's ridicule by her attempts to defy her age and by behaving as if still young, Odes 4.13.3-4 "vis formosa videri/ludisque et bibis impudens". Her pathetic pretence in the hope of winning a lover stems from her indecorously refusing to face time and to conduct herself in accordance with its dictates. She would do well to retire. She lacks pudor, the fear of going too far and violating decorum. Similarly, Horace guards himself against the charge of impropriety by stressing that with advancing years he has abandoned ludum. It is clear that Horace feels the passage of time, cf. Ep. 1.1.4 "non eadem est aetas, non mens", and several times later in the Epistles he touches on the passing of his youth, e.g. Ep. 1.7.25ff; Ep. 1.15.21. Whereas in Odes 1.9 cited above there is a call to enjoy the present because youth passes quickly, here he implies that there are other joys which one has to learn to value, such as the commoda of line 37.

While the time for sport and fun has passed, there is no deep-felt regret here. The mood is rather one of a sensible and resigned acceptance of the changes which the years have necessarily brought. Contrast, for example, Odes 3.14.25-8 where there is articulated a genuine regret

for his lost youth and a clear tinge of melancholy.

K.-H. comment that the word pudet signifies that the change is a moral one. Forsaking the ludicra of past days, Horace now embarks on serious self-contemplation and absorption in moral issues. They argue that this inner change has nothing to do with repentance or remorse; there is nothing of the pedantic moralist here and in actual fact Horace does occasionally lapse into the mood of his earlier days. For example, in Ep.1.15 he eagerly chatters about his chances of success with a local girl at Velia, and has hopes of rejuvenation; all this is rather ironic in the light of his valeat to Cinara at Ep. 1.7.27-8. Fast, riotous living after the fashion of the notorious rake Maenius is what he opts for in Ep. 1.15 and the impression which has been studiously sustained throughout Epistles 10-14 of a man who prefers a quiet and frugal life in the country is now shattered. His self-denial can resist anything but temptation (Ep. 1.15.42-6) and the impression is one of deflation. Horace had seemed to be a proficiens making his way forward in quest of sapientia, but this is now dissipated abruptly in Ep. 1.15, where he superbly undercuts his apparently serious pose. We should not take very seriously at all his profession of line 36, just as his refusal to write poetry for Maecenas at Ep. 1.1.1-4 is in large measure ironic. He claims there to be too old for it, that he has lost his mental powers and is interested only in verum atque decens, Ep. 1.1.11. His new-found calling is philosophy, he claims.

On lusisse and ludum Orelli's note is worth quoting "non, cum tempus est, abrumpere et in perpetuum finire amores, conpotationes atque id genus alia". At Ep. 2.2.55-6

he writes "singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes/eripuere iocos, Venerem, convivia, ludum", where he lists the activities that befit the young. Cicero, Pro Caelio 42 had written that youth is allowed a little fun, "detur aliqui ludus aetati" (where ludus refers probably to erotic indulgence), "sit adulescentia liberior; non omnia voluptatibus denegentur". Yet Cicero goes on to caution that when a young man has granted a portion of time to such fun as suits his age, he should then recall himself to attend to serious matters. He concedes that love, ludus, may preoccupy a young man without doing lasting damage to him, Pro Caelio 28, but it is very much a casual diversion and an amusement which is tolerated only in the young; cf. Plautus, Bac. 129 "non omnis aetas, Lyde, ludo convenit".

The verb ludere can be used in an amatory context, of a lover amusing himself with his mistress, cf. Ep. 2.2.214 "lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti"; cf. Ovid, A.A. 2.389 "ludite, sed furto celetur culpa modesto". Ludere can mean to carry on an affair, and ludus and ludere are key words in Ovid's philosophy of love. The idea is of love as a game which can be enjoyed and the precise implications arise from the context. At Terence, Eun. 373 "cibum una capies, adsis, tangas, ludas", ludas "indicates physical play which falls short of intercourse", J.N. Adams, The Latin Sexual Vocabulary, 162. The meaning in Horace is probably amatory indulgence befitting the young. There is a season for everything cf. Ovid, A.A.361-2 "dum licet et vernos etiam nunc editis annos/ludite: eunt anni more fluentis aquae". Love is one of the ludicra which Horace is giving up. His affair with Cinara belongs to the past of which he is not ashamed,

but which it would be shameful to prolong. It is a matter of propriety. Parallels are numerous on the shamefulness of love in old age, e.g. Tibullus 1.1.71-4

> iam subrepet iners aetas, nec amare decebit
> dicere nec cano blanditias capite.
> Nunc levis est tractanda Venus, dum frangere postes
> non pudet et rixas inseruisse iuvat.

Tibullus has previously said that one should enjoy oneself while one can, a hackneyed idea in itself; cf. Tibullus 1.4.27 "transeat aetas quam cito", where there is an urgency lacking in Horace. Ovid gives expression to a similar idea at Amores 1.9.4 "turpe senilis amor" - youthfulness is an essential condition for the lover. Propertius 3.5.23-6 plans how he will spend his time when love is over for him, and he contemplates philosophy

> atque ubi iam Venerem gravis interceperit aetas,
> sparserit et nigras alba senecta comas,
> tum mihi naturae libeat perdiscere mores
> quis deus hanc mundi temperet arte domum.

Horace has arrived at the age at which it is no longer proper to have a mistress cf. Odes 2.11.6-8 "arida/pellente lascivos amores/canitie".

Epistles 1 were published circa 20 B.C. when Horace was forty-five years old, which to the ancients suggested the onset of senectus. He likens himself in Ep. 1.1.8 to a senescentem equum which might stumble and break down. Similarly, his comparison of himself to a retired gladiator at Ep. 1.1.2-3 suggests that he feels his years and lacks the resilience of youth.

37-8. non istic ------- venenat: in lines 31-36 Horace has written that he would be ashamed to hold on to his former

way of life in Rome. He has had his fling in his younger years, is not ashamed of having enjoyed himself, but would be ashamed not to put an end to it, 36. Turning from the city to the country he now says that the great advantage in the country where the vilicus is now, is that he finds peace and freedom there (istic), and is not subjected to envy. Nobody can impair his commoda with evil eye. He argues for the superiority of life in the country, already argued in his epistle to Fuscus, Ep. 1.10.

Belief in the evil eye was widespread among the Romans, as Dilke comments; cf. Virgil, Ecl.3.103 "nescioquis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos". Good fortune and prosperity was reckoned to attract the evil eye and the jealous φθόνος of the gods - hence the fear of excessive success and well-being cf. Odes 2.10.10-12 "et celsae graviore casu/decidunt turres feriuntque summos/fulgura montis"; Lucretius 5.1131f "invidia quoniam, ceu fulmine, summa vaporant/plerumque et quae sunt aliis magis edita cunque".

McGann,p.69 n.1 comments that "the envy to which the poet is subjected is a Hellenistic trait". He cites Callimachus, Hymn 2.105 " ὁ φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὔατα λάθριος ἕπεν" where " φθόνος is a malign demonic force which destroys what is good. One needs divine protection against its power", Williams, commentary ad loc. Envy occurs in a literary context in Ep. 1.19.43 where Horace's critic accuses him of despising the public and thinking only of Augustus. The cause of men's envy is Horace's originality. Doubtless renown as a poet aroused envy, but commoda embraces much more than this, applying also to his social standing, and close personal friendship with Maecenas, as noted by

K.-H. It is in the Satires that the theme of envy is most obvious. In Sat. 1.6 he writes that although Maecenas is of noble descent, yet he does not look down on him, as most do, because he is the son of a freedman father, Sat. 1.6.45-6 "nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum/quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum". He claims that he is resented because he has achieved fame and renown in spite of being a freedman's son. He has just said that there are dangers in ambition, and so should almost have come to expect this antipathy. Yet, he distinguishes between the two types of eminence he has attained: his commission in the republican army was one "of military and potentially political power. As such it was perhaps bound to excite envy. But all that is over" Niall Rudd, The Satires of Horace, 40. As for his friendship with Maecenas, as Rudd comments, ibid. 40, "being non-political, it gives him no power over his fellow citizens, and therefore it ought not to cause resentment".

What is significant is that Horace did have a certain social status as one of the select circle of Maecenas. Prestige did accrue to him which was undeniable, but he argues that this friendship was a purely private matter, a privilege which he won fairly and worthily, because Maecenas is "cautum dignos adsumere, prava/ambitione procul" Sat. 1.6.51-2. He boasts openly and with a certain smug self-satisfaction at Sat. 2.1.74-8

> quidquid sum ego, quamvis
> infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
> cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
> invidia, et fragili quaerens inlidere dentem
> offendat solido.

Although he prefaces his boast cum magnis vixisse with a

modest concession, yet it remains irritating. He implicitly acknowledges that Maecenas will support him if he is attacked. At Ep. 1.20.23 he claims to have pleased the great men of the day "me primis urbis belli placuisse domique". This may be a little less hard to take, since it appears as one detail in his self-portrait. He has, however, a claim to social success which is undeniable.

In Sat. 2.6 he describes his intimacy with Maecenas, and the envy and idle curiosity of others. He claims to have been the target of malicious jibes ever since entering Maecenas' circle, Sat. 2.6.47-8 "per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam/invidiae noster". The malice is shown in requests for information as he pictures himself being bombarded with questions. Such inquisitive impertinence riles Horace so much that he longs for the quiet seclusion of his farm. He is labelled Fortunae filius, Sat. 2.6.49, and a snippet of conversation between Horace and a passer-by well illustrates his being envied, ibid. 51-3 "o bone, nam te/scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet/numquid de Dacis audisti?" Horace comes so much closer to the gods. On deos K.-H. comment "Maecen und durch ihn die übrigen allwissenden Lenker der Geschicke Roms, Oktavian und Agrippa".

There are people such as the pushing and offensive garrulus of Sat. 1.9 whose crude self-seeking and interest in the latest gossip are distasteful to Horace. Clearly, he is conscious of the price he has to pay for intimacy with the ruling group of Rome. Yet, he does attach importance to his social success, enjoys the reflected glory of his friends in high places.

In Odes 2.20.4-5 he claims to be superior to envy "invidiae maior/urbes relinquam" and it is in cities that envy is most rife. Interesting by way of comparison are two lines from Virgil's eulogy of country life Geo. 2.498-9 "neque ille/aut doluit miserans inopem aut invidit habenti". Two extremes offered by city life are pity for the poor and envy of the rich. Virgil suggests that the countryman avoids both extremes.

The language in 37-38 is of interest. On obliquo Orelli comments "maligno et invido, sic λοξοῖς ὄμμασι προσβλέπειν, limis oculis". Obliquo means "having an oblique or slanting direction", OLD s.v. 2. Of glances it means 'sidelong', usually implying a lack of frankness, OLD s.v. 4 Préaux comments that Horace is drawing on an expression of Callimachus, Aetia, prol. 37-8 "ὄθματι μὴ λοξῷ", referring to the favourable regard of the Muses. There is a distinctly sinister colouring in obliquo - all is not straight, while the vague, indefinite, shadowy quisquam furthers the effect of ominous foreboding.

Limat stands deftly in enjambment at the start of 38, followed by a pause. As K.-H. comment, limo means "to detract from" "abfeilen, also von neidischer Missgunst gesagt". See Thes. L.L. 7, 1423,4ff. It is found from Livius Andronicus onwards, but is not in common use before Cicero. Dilke comments on the play of words between limo and limus, since limis oculis means the same as obliquo oculo cf. Ovid, Amores 3.1.33 "limis subrisit ocellis". The notion evoked is of "physical pain, a rasp on the skin," (Kilpatrick), while venenat, a rather contemptuous word, suggests

the deadly poisonous fang of a serpent - it has a pejorative nuance. Significantly, the adjective venenatus is applied to serpents by Lucretius 5.27 and by Ovid, Heroides 12.95. K.-H. comment that odio obscuro = occulto, the hatred is secret, just like the bite of a serpent which lurks hidden in the dark. The idea of the "tooth of envy" is a common one, cf. Sat. 2.1.77 "fragili quaerens inlidere dentem", where inlidere dentem picks up and intensifies the notion of rodunt at Sat. 1.6.46. To the ancients the serpent was an especially sinister creature, which lurked out of sight, hidden; it was devious and tortuous, a familiar hazard to country people. Virgil uses the death of the serpent to hint at the triumph of civilised order, when nature has no more deceptive snares for men, Ecl. 4.24 "occidet et serpens et fallax herba veneni". The serpent imagery is equally vivid in Ovid, Pont. 3.3.101-2 "livor, iners vitium, mores non exit in altos/utque latens ima vipera serpit humo".

In Ep. 1.1 Horace lists envy as a vice, line 38, which requires a cure, namely philosophy and reason. Similarly, in his epistle to young Lollius, Horace writes that the prosperity of one man can feed on another like a disease and cause him to become lean and thin, Ep. 1.2.57 "invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis". This is a common idea, cf. Lucretius 3.75 macerat invidia. As in Ep. 1.1. the remedy lies in the lessons of philosophy.

Envy is especially associated with the town and not the country. In his eulogy of life in the rus Horace, Ep. 1. 10.18 talks of the absence of invida cura, a care that grudges men sleep and robs them of it. Envious care applies torture, Ep. 1.10.18 divellat and is destructive,

but does not operate in the country.

Through such malicious talk as is suggested in 37-38, a drop of poison has trickled into what otherwise Horace was able to enjoy with uninhibited pleasure. There is an ominously dark, sinister colouring to the lines, with the emphatic anaphora of non at the start of each clause - this is a simple, rhetorical device, yet powerfully effective here. The marked alliteration of "o" sounds perhaps suggests the malice of a surly, snarling critic. The predominantly slow, laboured rhythm of line 38 suggests the drip, drip, drip of the deadly poison.

39. rident vicini ------- moventem: His neighbours smile at him as he busies himself with gardening chores. It is perhaps significant that Horace closes this section on himself (32-39) with mention of work on the land, exactly as the section on the vilicus closed in 29-30. Instead of continuing on from 37-8 seriously by saying that in the country he meets with trust and respect, he suddenly changes the standpoint and projects himself vividly toiling away with agricultural work - the heavy, insistently spondaic rhythm perfectly mirrors the unremitting toil of the poet. The stress falls mainly on the energy which he exhibits in his task which is measured by the good-natured laughter of the vicini - these are the same neighbours whose simple, unsophisticated company and yarns he enjoys, Sat. 2.6.77.

It is a rather comic pose that he adopts. "Horace has taken to gardening though the sight of this fat, stunted figure (Sat. 2.3.107) wielding the hoe with all the awkwardness of a novice, must well have moved the laughter of his

neighbours", D'Alton, Horace and his Age, 139. His farm was situated in hilly country. Soils which had a heavy clay content had to be reduced to a fine tilth which would have been a laborious task. The clods left after ploughing would be broken down, cf. Virgil, Geo. 2.400 "aeternum frangenda bidentibus". Large, heavy lumps of earth in which seed cannot germinate have to be made friable. Horace may have had in mind some lines of Virgil, Geo. 1.94-6.

> multum adeo, rastris glaebas qui frangit inertes
> vimineasque trahit crates, iuvat arva, neque illum
> flava Ceres alto nequiquam spectat Olympo.

The rewards for this hard work are rich as Virgil implies in line 96. The stress is on the hardness of the toil and perhaps Horace is deftly working in a sly crack at the lazy vilicus (cf. pigro, 29). Virgil, Geo. 1.94-9 end with a reference to the farmer imposing his will, "exercetque frequens tellurem atque imperat arvis". The battle with the soil is a constant one which the farmer must win. Could it be felt that Horace has more chance of imposing his will on nature than on his recalcitrant vilicus? This notion would lend a slightly ironic slant to line 39. Orelli's note well grasps the hardness of the work, as well as Horace's relative inexperience in it "tantummodo vicini, si quando dicis et ioci causa ligonem vel marram tracto, quamvis optimo in me animo sint, tamen subrident, quia non sine causa horum operum minus peritus iis videor".

There is an earthiness in 39, evocative of the hard, unremitting toil of the countryman, such as Horace evoked in his moving picture in Odes 3.6.37-41, where he succeeds in vividly bringing before our eyes the Sabine youth whose way of life is healthy, though hard in terms of physical labour.

They function as models of virile farming stock, far removed from the centres of urban corruption, Odes 3.6.37-9 "sed rusticorum mascula militum/proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus/versare glaebas". Horace is perhaps wanting us to associate himself with them, and the picture shows howfar removed he is in spirit and outlook from the vilicus, whose tastes are those of the city. The hard and rough side of the countryman's existence, the world of work, celebrated by Virgil in his Georgics, emerges in this epistle in lines 26-30 and in 39. However, in terms of reality the land for Horace personally is a place of peace and rest, relaxation and a kind of symbol of a life given over to wisdom and contemplation. The details in 39 should not be taken at face value at all, since Horace is pretending to play the role of a yeoman farmer; in actual fact, Horace probably did little more than dabble on his farm, his idea of country work being that of a dilettante. He is rusticus in a carefully defined sense, the country squire. The stern life of the Georgics is not for him.

Stégen, 80, sees a hidden meaning in 39. He cites the case of Amphion and Orpheus who by their singing caused stones to be built into walls, Odes 3.11.1-2 "nam te docilis magistro/movit Amphion lapides canendo". cf. A.P. 395 "saxa movere sono testudinis". This was a magical and civilising activity. Stégen argues from this that a neighbour on seeing Horace working the soil could have said with a smile, "saxa moves", addressed both to the cultivator of the soil, and to the poet. Thus Horace is indirectly recalling his profession as a poet, a brief and discreet allusion to his literary activity.

However, bearing in mind that the vilicus might well have been illiterate, and uncultured, this notion seems to me to be excessively far-fetched and almost certainly beyond his comprehension. It is more reasonable to stick to the obvious meaning, with a detail touching on the manual labour such as a vilicus could well be involved in.

40. cum servis ------- mavis: Horace has said in lines 37-9 that he is free from envy in the country. He can live independently and simply there. Yet, for his vilicus the country means only deprivation and hard work. His mind and thoughts are really fixed on the city.

Horace has by now made his case: the vilicus is wrong-headed and inconsistent in wishing to return to the city. Further, he is not as young as he was before and a slave's lot in the city is hard (40-2). These are robust and hard-hitting arguments, although the thought which they express is uncomplicated, such as a simple-minded slave can grasp.

Orelli comments: "vos, servi, homines leves atque inconstantes illud semper desideratis, quod procul a vobis est; tu mavis Romae degere et cum cetera mea familia urbana esse diaria". The urbana diaria are the daily rations which were measured out stingily to slaves in the city, a day's allowance of provisions; diaria is also applied to rations for soldiers, Cicero, Ad Att. 8.14.1, rations for prisoners, Seneca, Contr. 9.4.20. A slave's chief food was a corn called far, a coarse, dry and unappetising meal; at Sat. 1.5.67-9 Horace touches on a slave's food, "rogabat/denique, cum umquam fugisset, cui satis una/

farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo". Cato, De Agr. 56 fixes the usual rations of slaves in the country at from four to five modii per month for those "qui opus faciunt", but "vilico, vilicae, epistatae opilioni modios 3, compeditis per hiemem panis PIV, ubi vineam fodere coeperint, panis PV usque adeo dum ficos esse coeperunt, deinde ad PIVradito". Ernest Brehaut in "Cato the Censor on Farming", 78 n2 comments that "this is a liberal allowance even for a man at hard work". The wheat would probably be supplemented by vegetables from the hortus. Brehaut argues that "the rations of the slaves compared favourably with those of Roman soldiers, which consisted mainly of wheat served out, unground, at the rate of about one bushel per month. The liberal diet for the slaves was undoubtedly one reason why the labour system as described by Cato worked". Although the slave was considered to be a living tool (cf. Aristotle, E.N. 8.11.6-7, ἔμψυχον ὄργανον) he still had to be given ample rations of food and Cato does mention increased rations at times of extra physical exertion, De Agr. 56,57. This information from Cato lets us see that Horace is intent on pointing to the better material provision made for slaves in the country. The theme of the city versus the country thus surfaces again here - the vilicus just does not appreciate how well off he is on the Sabine farm.

The point of cum servis is that back in the city the vilicus was simply on a par with the rest of the slaves in Horace's town establishment, a mere mediastinus (14), a slave of all work; Horace thus reinforces his former lowly status, whereas in the country he is in a privileged position

of some authority and prestige as vilicus. The grim reality of his life in the city is the point of 40 - rodere is an expressive verb, which suggests that this was tough, limited food, a rather comic touch, "comice pro avide manducare", Orelli. The prominence of rasping "r" sounds in 40 well suggests the grinding of teeth on the tough rations.

41 horum tu in numerum voto ruis: in his wishes the recalcitrant slave rushes with a blind passion for the city, as K.-H. comment, drawing attention to the many varied expressions for "wishing" in this epistle. Voto ruis is a rather novel and striking expression. Horum is very emphatic, first word in the line, as was cum servis in 40 - K.-H. comment: "horum, nicht servorum, denn das ist der vilicus auch jetzt, sondern servorum qui urbana diaria rodunt". The reference must be explicitly to town slaves: "this is the company into whose number your prayers bear you amain" (Wickham). It is difficult to agree with Stégen, 81, who sees a scornful nuance in numerum, "ce mot numerus (v 41) implique sans doute aussi un jugement moral, comme dans 2.27: nos numerus sumus". In Ep. 1.2.27 numerus is used of men in the mass. The point here is that in the city one is worth as little as the others - they are an indiscriminate mass. Horace thus takes from his vilicus the illusion that even in Rome he could be classed in a higher category. The quick hurried rhythm of the first four feet in line 41 with the elision after tu well suggests his mad longing to be off. The vanishing of the syllable at the elision mirrors his imagined disappearance from the

country.

41-2. invidet usum ------- horti: Horace said in lines 40-41 that his vilicus is longing to go back to a lot which in fact is wretched in the city. He does not know when and where he is well off. He now elaborates this point by saying that in the city there is a calo argutus who envies him the perks he enjoys in the country, the use of fuel, flock, and garden produce. The calo is sharp enough to see that the vilicus would be much worse off by a return to the city. The calo is envious and wants to tempt the vilicus and lead him astray, motivated by his own desire to escape from the dreariness of the city. He sees life in the city from the same viewpoint as the vilicus once did: life in the city does not consist solely in sensual pleasures, fornices and unctae popinae (21); in fact it is one of hard work with few benefits attached. Horace seems to make the point clear to the reader that as the vilicus' wishes were conceded previously by his master arranging a transfer to the country, the vilicus may come to take it for granted that he will succeed again in having his way; if so, then he should know that his place will be very quickly filled by the calo, and thus he will have burned his boats. McGann, p.69, thinks that the warning is "friendly", but this is debatable; rather, it seems to me that the tone is strict, no-nonsense, and matter-of-fact. Already tu (41) sounded a note of serious, earnest admonition which is sustained to the close of the epistle. Horace, as the master, has really been dealt the stronger hand throughout the epistle - he can perfectly well dismiss the vilicus

whenever he chooses.

The calo is a low drudge, who lacks the privileges of the vilicus. Préaux interestingly speculates on a witty etymological and popular pun with lignorum; cf. Festus Paulus 54.19 "calones militum servi dicti qui ligneas clavas gerebant, quos Graeci κᾶλα vocant". As he remarks, elsewhere Horace has it closely associated with caballus, e.g. Sat. 1.6.103 "plures calones atque caballi". Calo properly denoted a soldier's servant, a servant in the army, cf. Caesar, B.G. 6.36; Livy 27.18.12. Ritter took it here as such, and supposed that the calo envied the vilicus the enjoyment of what he himself was unable to obtain in the camp. However, as Wilkins comments, the word came to mean not only a groom in general (as at Sat. 1.6.103) but any low servant or drudge; cf. Seneca, Ep. 110.17 "lectica formosis imposita calonibus". The adjective argutus means "shrewd" (Wilkins), sharp enough to grasp where he would be better off. His wits have been sharpened by life in the town, and presumably he has used all his arguments to persuade Horace. Villeneuve translates argutus by "à la langue bien pendue", which is perhaps an indirect way of saying that this calo is a townsman - Horace has already acknowledged the confident assurance of townspeople, cf. Ep. 1.9.11 "frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia" where he claims himself to have sacrificed his own pudor in the service of a friend and consequently incurred a reputation for forwardness; town-bred assurance is the cool, confident assurance of those accustomed to society as contrasted with rustic diffidence. Argutus may well carry a slightly depreciatory nuance, cf. Sat. 1.10.40 arguta meretrice of an artful

mistress. See Thes. L.L. 2.558.47ff.

The recurrence of the theme of envy is significant, invidet. In Ep. 1.2 to young Lollius Horace urges him to improve himself by avoiding such injurious passions as invidia, Ep. 1.2.57-9 "invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis/ invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni/maius tormentum". The prosperity of one man can feed on another like a disease and cause him to become thin and lean. It is a destructive passion and negative in its results. The vice of invidia is listed again at Ep. 1.1.38, as a form of madness which can be alleviated only by reason and cultura animi; cf. Ep. 1.14.11 "cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors"; P. Syrus, 28. Bickford, "alienum nobis, nostrum plus aliis placet"; Lucretius 3.1082-4

> sed dum abest quod avemus, id exsuperare videtur
> cetera; post aliud, cum contigit illud, avemus
> et sitis aequa tenet vitai semper hiantis.

cf. Seneca, Ep. 84.11 "vides autem, quam miser sit, si is, qui invidetur, et invidet".

The object of the envy of the calo is usum lignorum et pecoris et horti. Usum could have a valid quasi-legal flavour here. It could merely denote the act of using something, but may, as a legal term, denote the right to use what is actually the property of another person, which is tantamount to usus fructus; cf. Digest 7.1.1 "ususfructus est ius alienis rebus utendi fruendi, salva rerum substantia". Ususfructus was the right to enjoy property and take its produce - the best parallel passage is Ep. 1.12.4 "pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus". Horace is writing to Iccius, the steward of Agrippa's estates in Sicily. It is clear that Agrippa owns the land, while Iccius has acquired

the right of its usus or ususfructus. Horace uses only the term usus but probably implies that he has a wider meaning in mind (according to the Institutes of Justinian, 2.5.1 usus is more limited than ususfructus). He argues that if Iccius avails himself of the perks of his position, then he could not expect a greater abundance even from Jupiter. The man who is really poor is he who is denied the use of what is at his disposal, Ep. 1.12.1-4. Horace's message is that Iccius ought to enjoy what by its very name tells him it was intended to be enjoyed. The mention of fructibus, Ep. 1.12.1 and frueris, 1.12.2 suggest that Iccius probably had ususfructus, a right to the produce yielded by Agrippa's farm land and herds. On this whole issue see especially J.A. Crook, The Law and Life of Rome, 149-52; also Alan Watson, The Law of Property in the Later Roman Republic, 203-21: "Ususfructus and similar rights".

As vilicus, Horace's slave has the free use of wood, of flock and garden produce. As for lignorum, an abundance of fire wood was reckoned to be one of the advantages of life in the country cf. Ep. 1.10.15 "est ubi plus tepeant hiemes?" where Horace is thinking primarily of his Sabine farm cf. Xenophon, Oeconomicus 5.9 who asks where it is easier to spend a winter comforted by fires than on a farm. Compare Plautus' praise of the country, Casina 255 "ubi illi bene sit ligno, aqua calida, cibo". Horace's estate did contain some woodland, cf. Sat. 2.6.3 paulum silvae, Odes 3.16.29 "silva iugerum paucorum".

The vilicus probably had the privilege of running some livestock of his own for his own private use - this was apparently a common practice among landowners as a means of

maintaining a reasonably contented labour force and there are references to it in Varro, R.R. 1.2.17 "servis peculium, quibus domini dant ut pascant"; cf. R.R. 1.17.5 "praefectos alacriores faciendum praemiis dandaque opera ut habeant peculium". The more liberally they are treated, the more interest they will take in their work, according to Varro. Good will and kindly feeling toward their master ensue, at least in theory, from this enlightened attitude which Horace had adopted cf. Varro, R.R. 1.17.5 "eo enim fiunt firmiores ac coniunctiores fundo". Probably, the vilicus enjoyed more than just grazing rights; on pecoris Orelli comments "lac, caseum, etiam carnem agninam et haedinam cet. tibi praebentis". This peculium would be his personal fund, which was at his day-to-day disposal, although it technically belonged to Horace, his master, and remained part of his assets. See Crook, pp.188-9.

Horti refers to the kitchen garden, which was largely given over to the growing of vegetables, roots and greens being the staple diet. The associations of the word horti are those of a poor man's small holding, cf. Pliny, N.H. 19. 50-1; Cato, De. Agr. 8.2 "sub urbe hortum omne genus", where hortum refers to vegetables. McGann, p.74 wrongly associates poma (Ep. 1.16.3) as among the produce of the hortus - the pomarium or orchard was quite separate. See K.D. White, Roman Farming, 246-7.

The purely material considerationsof 42 perhaps serve to show the level of peasants' thoughts. Yet there were other advantages enjoyed by the vilicus which are not mentioned explicitly as arousing envy. There was the satisfaction of his being in charge of others, and a greater degree of freedom

which he enjoyed through his being distanced from his master more than if he were still in the town establishment. Nonius, 2.16 cites a fragment of Pomponius' Ergastulum which is interesting in this connection "longe ab urbe villicari, quo erus rarenter venit, non villicari sed dominari est mea sententia". Horace doubtless has this in mind, but has chosen to mention purely material factors such as would appeal instinctively to a slave - this shows good psychology on Horace's part.

43. optat ephippia bos piger optat arare caballus: "one of Horace's fables compressed into a sentence" (Wickham). McGann, p.69, comments that "this final turning away from direct address to an animal comparison is uncharacteristic of the epistle, which is outstanding among the longer pieces for the consistency with which Horace maintains himself en rapport with his correspondent".

Line 43 has been the subject of much discussion, as regards both meaning and punctuation. Orelli puts the comma after bos, followed by Wickham, Wilkins, Dilke, whereas K.-H. and Préaux and Villeneuve put it after piger. The strong caesura comes after bos in the third foot, which is cited by Orelli as his reason for taking piger with caballus, "piger propter caesurae vim iungo unice cum v. caballus" (Orelli). However, as K.-H. argue ad loc., the caesura, a break between words within a verse, is completely independent of style and sentence construction, and so it is only superficially that the verse is divided into two equal parts. Orelli's argument from metrics is flawed. There is an elegant bipartite division in the line for which parallels can be cited, e.g. Ep. 1.6.48 "hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas";

Ep. 2.2.75 "hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus". Horace can balance each word by one corresponding in the second division. The ornament of initial repetition (optat) is elegant, the strong verb standing prominently first word in each half of the line.

An animal is mentioned in each half of the line and it is here that the crux lies. A contrast is intended between the bos and the caballus. Caballus is a disrespectful term; Ernout-Meillet comment "cheval, spécialement cheval de travail ----- comporte souvent une nuance péjorative et appartient à la langue populaire". Martial 1.41.20 has it of a worthless, broken-down nag, "non est Tettius ille, sed caballus", referring to a man who jokes stolida procacitate - an obvious insult. It is clearly an undignified term - it occurs always at the end of a verse, is appropriate to satire from Lucilius to Juvenal, cf. Sat. 1.6.59 "me Satureiano vectari rura caballo"; cf. Ep. 1.7.88 and Ep. 1.18.36, in both of which passages it is derogatory.

The caballus longs to plough, arare. As Dilke comments, ploughing in Italy was carried out almost entirely by oxen and was a slow, steady and measured business. Usually a pair of oxen were employed for ploughing, and they were selected for their strength and trained to keep up a steady pace. Columella, R.R. 6.2.5ff writes that the oxen should be placidi et quieti. Writing of their desired characteristics, Columella says that the most suitable are those which are placid rather than excitable, R.R. 6.2.14ff. "mores huius pecudis probabiles habentur, qui sunt propiores placidis quam concitatis, sed non inertes". An oxherd is advised to keep his oxen in good physical trim, R.R. 6.2.15 "nervis et musculis robusta,

non adipibus obesa, ut nec sui tergoris mole nec labore operis degravetur". This well testifies to the hardness of the oxen's work, cf. Ep. 1.7.87 "bos est enectus arando"; Virgil, Geo. 3.50 "fortis ad aratra iuvencos". The whole system of arable farming depended on the working oxen and in Cato's opinion the ox held an honourable place, De Agr. 54.4 "nihil est quod magis expediat, quam boves bene curare".

In the light of this evidence concerning oxen, how can piger be applied to bos? Applied to living creatures, piger can mean "sluggish", "inactive", OLD s.v.1, cf. Virgil, Geo. 4.259 "(apes) contracto frigore pigrae". It can mean "disinclined to action", "lazy", OLD s.v.3, cf. Juvenal 12.12 "taurus ipsa mole piger", of a slow-moving bull. Since we cannot naturally think of the ox as a lazy animal, perhaps piger has here the sense of "slow-moving". The weight of the heavy plough slows him down, and it is natural for him to long for the much lighter ephippia. This is plausible enough, but perhaps takes piger in a rather forced, unnatural sense. While oxen as a whole were hard-working, there could of course be individual oxen which were not - Horace need not be making a generic point here. Thus, I incline to take piger with bos; whichever meaning it has, it can stand. Those who argue for piger with caballus have a difficult case to prove. Baldwin, Greece and Rome, 20, (1973), 122-3, argues a case for piger going with caballus. He cites an expression in Petronius, Sat. 134.2 "tamquam caballus in clivo", which may be proverbial for a person walking wearily. Lucilius, frag. 163 Marx has the phrase "taetri tardique caballi". Thus Baldwin argues that piger caballus could be an echo of Lucilius. However, even allowing for this, we are forced now to ask "why a lazy

nag would want to switch to ploughing, not a logical ambition for a lethargic beast", (Baldwin, p.123). Thus, this argument can be easily flawed as can that of Dilke: "the trotting horse imagines that he will have a softer job if he ploughs". This is patently not the case, bearing in mind the evidence from Columella.

A key to the significance of piger can be found in its application to the vilicus at line 29, a point noted by Lucian Mueller, although I disagree on his interpretation of it at 29, "hier wie v. 43 nicht von dem Faulen, sondern von dem der einer Arbeit überdrüssig ist". He punctuates with a comma after piger, but tries to argue that piger goes with both bos and caballus. The vilicus has been proven to be a sluggard who longs for the fleshpots of the town, just as the bos longs for the ephippia. Cicero, De Finibus 3.4 cites the word ephippium as one of those borrowed from Greek to answer to the needs of practical life. It was a distinctive harness of a riding horse. Varro, R.R. 2.7.15 mentions it as being a superfluous object, like the collars decked with precious stones which sometimes were put round the necks of horses. Nonius defines it as "tegimen equi ad mollem vecturam paratum" (p.108). Caesar, B.G. 4.2.5 writing of the Suebi tribe, mentions that they condemned the custom of using the ephippium, "neque eorum moribus turpius quidquam aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti". We see from this reference that it had connotations of softness and inferiority. See D.-S. 648-9 for a full account. The ephippia are outwardly resplendent, visibly attractive and compelling, even gaudy. This is why they appeal to the ox - he likes the outward look of them, just as the vilicus was depicted as craving the sensuality of the

town. The parallelism between the bos and the vilicus is close - both are motivated by pigritia, while conveniently ignoring reality - in the case of the ox, he longs to give up his pulling the plough which chafes him; he envisages the horse as relatively unencumbered, yet the horse in fact has to be spurred on to trot, "calcaria quibus ille pungitur non videt", as Orelli comments. The ox has only a partial view of the matter, seeing only the elegant harness.

The caballus corresponds to the calo in 42, motivated by envy. He envies the ox as he slowly and quietly pulls the plough, in contrast to his being spurred on to gallop. He sees the life of the ox as comparatively easy-going, but has only seen a part of the matter. It seems best, therefore, to punctuate as follows: optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.

44 quam scit uterque, libe ns, censebo, exerceat artem: Horace ends with a proverb which goes back to Aristophanes, Wasps 1431, "ἔρδοι τις ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην" The idea is that not all pursuits are for everyone; one has to take stock of oneself and know oneself, cf. Plutarch, De Tran. An. 13.472c where he says that one has to use one's self for that one thing for which Nature has fitted one, "εἶτα χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἓν ὃ πέφυκε" , and not do violence to nature by dragging one's self towards the emulation of now one sort of life, now another, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον ἄλλοτε βίου ἕλκειν καὶ παραβιάζεσθαι τὴν φύσιν." Plutarch then quotes a saying which goes back to Pindar "ἐν ἅρμασιν ἵππος, ἐν δ' ἀρότρῳ βοῦς" Cicero, Tusc. 1.41 renders the proverb as "quam quisque norit

artem, in hac se exerceat"; cf. Propertius 2.1.46 "qua pote quisque, in ea conterat arte diem".

The conclusion of the epistle shows Horace, the master, telling his slave effectively to grin and bear his lot; instead of envying one another, men would do better to practice willingly, libens, the job which each knows how to do and is trained for. It is as if Horace is issuing a decree - censebo perhaps serves to soften the categorical expression. Kilpatrick, n.163, p.149 argues that "the tone of censebo is one of studied ambiguity. Horace has almost implied that he may let the vilicus and calo change places. The aphorism is pronounced in such a way as to convey a "considered opinion", "recommendation", "formal opinion", or "last word on the matter" (see OLD: censeo). Yet, surely Courbaud is nearer the mark in arguing that at the close of the epistle Horace makes it clear beyond doubt that the discussion is over, and that the request of the vilicus is in effect being turned down. He will have to stay in the country, whether willing or not. There is a tone of firmness and authority in 44, "domini est sententia, quae eadem semper erit, cui pareat uterque, vilicus et calo, necesse est" (Orelli). This is not necessarily to envisage Horace as a hard and brutal master. Before the end he has tried to win acceptance by the vilicus in the body of the letter, using two arguments which complement and reinforce each other - firstly, a general rule of life, lines 11-13, one who likes another's lot dislikes his own - each is foolish, the mind is at fault - too much regard for another person's situation causes one to become averse to one's own. Secondly, he provided a vivid and concrete example drawn from the life

which he had formerly led himself, lines 31-39. He admits there that he did once have a good time, liked life about town, but has now changed.

The moral he points at is essentially that of Epp. 10, 11, 12 - one ought to be content with one's lot in life and should not wish for a change in one's situation. Libens is significant in 44. The idea of doing something with a ready will, with pleasure, is crucial. Followed by the main caesura, libens carries great weight. There is here a virtual request for greater zeal and enthusiasm. The vilicus has to accept his lot with equanimity and a cheerful resignation. Perhaps there is discernible here a subtle reproach to the vilicus; he is a slave and has to take his orders from his master.

EPISTLE 4

This epistle is addressed to an Albius (1) generally assumed to be the elegiac poet, Tibullus. Horace had written an ode to Albius, 1.33, and it is reasonable to take it that they are one and the same person. Certain objections have been raised against this identification by Postgate, AJPh XXX111(1912) 450ff. - he argued that there was a discrepancy between Tibullus' protestation of paupertas in his elegies, and Horace's attribution to him of divitias at Ep. 1.4.7. However, this can be countered convincingly by remembering that divitiae is a relative term, and in line 11 Horace nicely qualifies it as "mundus victus non deficiente crumina", where he hints at a modest, unpretentious standard of living. Postgate also thought that it was incredible that Horace should link him with an obscure and thirdrate poet such as Cassius of Parma, 3. However, Postgate has missed the tone of the poem as a whole, which is whimsical and gently teasing. His remark in line 3 is light-hearted and surely would not offend a poet of a settled reputation and standing in the world. There seems no validity in Postgate's attempts to deny the identification of Albius with Tibullus. Elsewhere, Horace addresses more than one poem to the same person, e.g. Iccius is addressed in both Odes 1.29 and Ep. 1.12, in both of which the tone is one of good natured banter; Maecenas is addressed in Odes 1.1; Odes 3.29 and Ep. 1.1, 1.7, 1.19.

In Odes 1.33 to Albius Horace urges him to cease lamenting the unfaithfulness of Glycera who has deserted him for

a younger lover. Horace adopts a firm tone, and points out the complexities of human relationships, where nothing is predictable. Tibullus ought to yield to life's variability and be reconciled to accepting the unexpected. The tone in Odes 1.33 is gently teasing.

The situation behind Ep. 1.4 seems to be that Tibullus has withdrawn from Rome to his country estate at Pedum (2), at the foot of the Sabine hills. Horace has heard nothing from him for a while and is thus eager to put questions to him as to what he is up to in his rural retreat. Is he writing or merely sauntering through the woods in contemplation? (3-5). Here Horace is probably not expecting his remarks to be taken very seriously - the comparison with a literary nonentity is meant to be laughed at - the tone is whimsical and teasing, the humour is gentle and good-natured. After the questioning, Horace passes to serious argument, to the core of the epistle, lines 6-11. Tibullus is not enjoying his real advantages - he has all he could possibly wish for, all the exterior graces, fame, health, and a modest affluence and the means of enjoying it. Horace exposes the reasons why his poet friend has every reason to be happy and well adjusted; this account of his personality and standing in the world makes a forceful impact on the reader. Fraenkel is rather naive in believing that Horace here is not raising his voice, but talking soothingly "as one would talk to a sick child". The tone in 6ff. seems rather to be one of earnest admonition, verging on reproach. Tibullus has everything necessary for bene vivere, it seems. Yet Horace proceeds in 12-14 to stress that without real peace of mind there can be no true happiness. Tibullus

should not allow his anxieties and irritations to cause him to forget to enjoy every hour as if it were his last. The advice tendered here is to the point and fitting, suited to the intellectual and moral needs of Tibullus. Hope and fear can be contained provided one has a proper, rational attitude to life, and admits that the future is a closed book. The tone here recalls the carpe diem theme of many of his Odes - it is not necessarily pessimism, but rather a sensible approach to life. Horace is concerned that Tibullus has withdrawn into himself and lost a real perspective on his many blessings in life; his being unsocial, his evasion of reality and his friends, his sheer escapism point to the need for remedial action to be taken. Horace proposes this in 15-16 with his informal invitation to come over to his place for a visit. Tibullus should return to the company of his friends with whom he will be forced to abandon his melancholy thoughts and ponderings. Horace is anything but a gloomy character, and to boost Tibullus somewhat he deliberately gives a humorous picture of himself in 15-16, exaggerating his own insouciance and detachment from things. He wants Albius to laugh at his own expense by his crude and gross depiction of himself as a porcus from out of Epicurus' sty.

The invitation in 15-16 recalls the sympotic motif familiar in the Odes. In Odes 2.11 Quinctius Hirpinus is urged not to worry over matters which are distant in space or time - Horace puts before him the shortness of life and the quick passage of time (lines 1-12). These thoughts give way in the second half of the poem to positive advice to enjoy the present, encapsulated in the imagined picnic

al fresco. This close connection of these two themes is found often in Horace, e.g. Odes 2.3; Odes 2.7.19ff; Odes 3.14.17ff. In Ep. 1.5 Horace urges the barrister Torquatus to do away with "levis spes et certamina divitiarum" (line 8). He should not show too much regard for merely material things. The alternative to all this feverish anxiety is fellowship and drink. While the invitation to Albius was vague - he is to come and see Horace whenever he wants a good laugh - in Ep. 1.5 the invitation is quite explicit - it is for the very next day. With Torquatus Horace is much more insistent and specific. Ep. 5 provides proof that in fact Horace is no Epicurean porcus after all - the meal will be a simple and meagre one, holus omne, line 2, served on modest plates. There is no mention of girls at the meal - hence the porcus of Ep. 4 is not a sensualist altogether.

It may well be that Ep. 4 was written to Tibullus when he was out of favour with his girl. The sadness which the epistle supposes could be merely superficial, occasioned by his latest tiff. He withdraws into himself - the impression gleaned from his verse is of a rather sensitive, dreamy type, hurt by the changes and chances of life. Horace, by contrast, is the opposite, and this difference of character and temperament lies behind the letter, as well as the ode. It is the sheer absurdity of the fuss which the elegist makes when deserted by his mistress that seems so silly to Horace. In Odes 1.33 Horace does not so much sympathise with Tibullus as concede that his experience is but a common one. The elegists cannot see things in perspective and have a distorted view of life. Corroboration of Horace's attitude to them comes in Odes 2.9 to the elegiac poet Valgius, a close friend

of Horace. He is severely taken to task for persisting in mourning the loss of Mystes - Horace parodies his sentimentality and rejects the conventions of love elegy. Continuous lamentation is contrary to nature itself and Horace is instinctively opposed to it, as he is to their narrow insulated views. Much of this lies behind Ep. 4 to Tibullus. Horace probably is not singleminded in the epistle - humour alternates with serious advice. "Simple billet de seize vers, mais billet charmant par la vivacité de l'affection, je dirai; presque touchant par la peine que prend Horace pour mettre un peu de gaieté dans une âme malade" Courbaud, p.89. There is much in this judgment that is commendable and sound, but we should not be blinded by the over generous interpretations of Fraenkel and Courbaud to the strictures of Horace who has a capacity to tell the truth with a smile.

1. Albi ------- candide iudex: the epistle begins with an immediate mention of Horace's addressee, Albi, standing emphatically first word in the line - a first foot heavy spondee. The start of the epistle is highly personal, as is the close (15-16) where attention focusses on Horace himself.

The almost invariable form of greeting in a Latin letter was the writer's name in the nominative and the addressee's name in the dative, often followed by some form of greeting, such as salutem dicit. Horace never employs this form, but rather the names of his addressees are in the vocative in all epistles except two (1.8; 1.10). Only in Epistles 3, 4 and 14 does the vocative stand first word in the opening line. Often it is postponed, standing either later in the first line as e.g. Ep. 1.2.1 Maxime Lolli; Ep. 1.6.1 Numici; Ep. 1.11.1 Bullati, or in a subsequent line as e.g. Ep. 1.1.3 Maecenas; Ep. 1.5.2 Torquate; Ep. 1.7.5 Maecenas, perhaps on occasion metri gratia.

How does Horace intend us to identify Albius? Albi, similarly first word in Odes 1.33, is generally assumed to be the gentile name of the poet Tibullus - this identification is supported by Horace's manuscripts, the scholia and the grammarian Diomedes. Further support comes from Odes 1.33 where Horace tries to console Albius for unrequited love of Glycera, Odes 1.33.1-4

> Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor
> immitis Glycerae, neu miserabiles
> decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior
> laesa praeniteat fide.

Horace's Albius wrote plaintive elegies (1ff). While Tibullus' own elegies do not reveal his nomen, he is actually

called Albius Tibullus in the manuscripts of his poems, in the ancient biography (derived from Suetonius), by the grammarian Diomedes (gramm. 1.484.26) and by Porphyrio and ps.-Acro on Odes 1.33. It seems unreasonable and perverse to assume that he is a different person from the addressee of Odes 1.33, although H.J. Izaac queries the identification with the elegiac poet, REL 4 (1926) 110-5. He points to Horace's Albius as accredited with divitias, Ep. 1.4.7, whereas in his elegies Tibullus insists on his paupertas cf. Tib. 1.1.5, but this need be no more than a stock elegiac attitude, and indeed paupertas is really a relative concept, denoting a simple sufficiency without surplus. Izaac sees a lack of tact and ineptitude in Horace's attitude; similarly, in crediting him with valetudo, Ep. 1.4.10 he sees an inconsistency in view of the delicate and precarious health of Tibullus as found in his poems. Further, Izaac seizes on Ep. 1.4.5 as a reference to "poésie morale", an absurdity if applied to the genre cultivated by Tibullus. However, this argument can be countered convincingly by a different interpretation of lines 4-5.

It seems that we are on sure ground in assuming that Horace is writing to a fellow poet. Horace himself was born in 65 B.C. "natus est VI Idus Decembris L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus"(Vita Horati). His Epistles were written in the years 23-20 B.C. when he was in his early forties. He is thus a poet of established reputation. Tibullus's birth-date rests somewhere between 60 and 55 B.C., if we take Ovid's list of elegists - Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius and himself as chronological, Tristia 4.10.51-4. He is thus several years younger than Horace. The two poems which

Horace addresses to him show a keen understanding of Tibullus as a human being. The impression gleaned from Odes 1.33 is of a person who takes himself too seriously and cannot appreciate the way the world of love works - he is rather inflexible and Horace writes to him in a spirit of good-natured banter. There is a frankness discernible also in our epistle where Horace tells us a good deal about Tibullus.

Horace compliments him as a frank and sincere critic of his sermones. The epithet candide denotes the fact that he is fair, disposed to think well of Horace, while not stooping to engage in gross flattery. A glance at other uses of candidus by Horace is instructive - Epode 14.5 candide Maecenas; Sat. 1.10.86 candide Furni, where "he is contrasting fair and unfair criticism of his Satires. It was there that he had been hurt and was sensitive" (Wickham). From Sat. 1.10 we know that the circle of Messalla, to which Tibullus belonged, had always supported Horace and his Satires, and Messalla himself is mentioned as one who approves of Horace's verses, as one whose praise Horace is eager to obtain, Sat. 1.10.81ff. Some of the many connotations of candidus include "attractive", "kind", "genuine", as well as "frank" or "outspoken", the latter being considered a virtue in a critic, A.P. 438-444. The professional literary critic has certain moral qualities, combining truthfulness and competence, A.P. 445-7. At Ep. 2.1.221-2 Horace reproaches his fellow poets for taking offence at criticism, "laedimur, unum/si quis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum". Criticism can be constructive and useful, and comes most naturally from fellow writers, and their judgment should be trusted for its fairness and genuineness. The apostrophe

in line 1 is on the face of it complimentary as Horace ranks Tibullus in the list of those persons on whose literary judgment he sets much weight. The fact that he is punning lightly on Albi -----candide need not necessarily detract from the genuineness of the compliment.

Norman W. de Witt in his article "The Parresiastic poems of Horace", CP XXX (1935), 312-9, relates the virtue of outspokenness (παρρησία) to the Epicurean ideal of friendship. Candidus takes on the meaning "frank", "unaffected". Candor signified "absolute frankness and openness of speech and conduct, without, however, implying the reproof and admonition that went with παρρησία " (De Witt, p.313). De Witt goes on to point out that Horace himself in Ep. 1.7 displays something of this quality in chiding his patron Maecenas rather sharply. Cicero, De Am. 25.95 defines the opposite of candour as "omnia fucata et simulata". At Sat. 1.5.41-2 Horace referring to Tucca and Varius writes "animae qualis neque candidiores/terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctior alter". Tucca and Varius belonged to a small Epicurean group which was pledged to be frank as well as friendly. Another member of this group was Quintilius Varus, who receives a warm and sincere compliment at Odes 1.24.7, where his virtues include "incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas". Veritas in this context carries the same implications as candidiores at Sat. 1.5.41. DeWitt argues convincingly that candidus used in this sense was "one of many minor legacies of Epicurean teaching". (314).

Horace's point is that there is a close bond of literary friendship linking him with Albius, and this perhaps makes it easier for the older poet to claim the right to talk of

Tibullus's affairs. Yet "the phrase puts the two into the position of two friends on a par, and the words which follow will not seem like the admonition of an older man, given only to be ignored", Ullmann, "Horace and Tibullus", AJPh XXXIII (1912) 155. Horace might seem to be currying favour with Albius by means of this generous compliment.

What does sermonum refer to? Does it refer to the Satires only, (Wickham, Dilke) or to the Satires and the Epistles? Satires 1 were published circa 33 B.C., some ten years before Epistles 1, and had attracted a fair amount of criticism. Satires 2 were published circa 30 B.C.. Orelli's perceptive note ad loc. suggests that on account of this mention of the Satires it is quite probable that Epistle 4 was written shortly afterwards, perhaps circa 25 B.C. since otherwise the reference to Tibullus' kindly criticism loses its point, "nam post sexennium fere nihil iam attinebat memorare benevolum illud iudicium". Orelli is probably correct in taking the reference to the Satires only; cf. Ep. 2.2.60 "Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro", where he qualifies it. It may be that the term sermones had a self-depreciatory meaning. At Sat. 1.4.39-48 Horace refuses the name of poemata for his works, and calls them sermoni propiora (42) poems on the level of common conversation. Dialogue plays a prominent part in all of his Satires. It is true that in Ep. 2.1.250 he seems to include the Epistles of book 1 together with the Satires under the title of Sermones. Probably they are included in the title Sermones in Suetonius' Life of Horace, where it is said that Augustus "post Sermones lectos" grumbled that there was none addressed to him. However, apart from these two instances, there is no

direct evidence for including the Epistles under the title Sermones - the MSS all call them Epistulae, and it is wisest to take nostrorum sermonum as referring to Satires only.

Line 1 is strikingly heavy and rather solemn-sounding, befitting the significance of the words, with the spondees lending weight. There is an effectively contrived word grouping, a neat chiastic arrangement. The line well stresses the individuality of the poet and his addressee, and foreshadows the highly personal nature of the Epistle.

2. quid nunc ------- Pedana: following the apostrophe in line 1 comes a question as Horace asks Tibullus what he is up to at present, nunc. Here is a clear epistolary formula, where the geographical separation of Horace from his addressee is made explicitly clear. In four other epistles Horace also specifies the location of writer and addressee - in Ep. 1.2.2 Horace is at Praeneste, while Lollius is at Rome, "dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi". In Ep. 1.7 Maecenas is in Rome, while Horace is in the country. In Ep. 1.12 Iccius is working the estates of Agrippa on Sicily, while Horace is in Rome. In Ep. 1.14 the vilicus is on the Sabine farm, whereas Horace is detained in Rome. In Ep. 1.10 Fuscus is probably in Rome, while Horace is near the shrine of Vacuna. Epistles 3, 8 and 9 are addressed to men in the East. The very fact of geographical separation gives the illusion that this is a real letter, which Horace in all probability has so shaped to have much of the form and tone of a genuine letter between friends.

It is very natural to seek out news of a friend whom

one has not seen recently. There is a note of puzzled curiosity in line 2, a strong personal element. There is a tact, even a delicacy, as Horace does not bluntly put the question before suggesting answers in lines 3 and 5. K.-H. comment on the colloquial turn of phrase in 2, less to put a direct question than to show that one is occupied with a question. Parallels are to hand in Roman comedy, cf. Plautus, Curculio 12, "nam quo te dicam ego ire?"; Captivi 533, "quo illum nunc hominem proripuisse foras se dicam ex aedibus?". This seems to be a rather stilted way of speaking, serving to stress the matter at issue. The tone is rather flat, matter-of-fact, redolent of the sermo cotidianus of comedy. It effectively deflates the pomposity of line 1. The question is largely rhetorical in form and substance.

Tibullus's address is in regione Pedana. Pedum was an old town in Latium, situated on a strategic height between Tibur and Praeneste, two of Horace's favourite places. Ogilvie on Livy 2.39.4 comments that it is probably the modern Gallicano, about 18 miles from Rome, at the foot of the Sabine hills. If Horace is writing the letter from his Sabine farm, then it would have been easy for Tibullus to make the short journey over to see him. Perhaps there is a faint note of geographical snobbery on Horace's part here - compare his use of the bleak and god-forsaken place Lebedus in Ep. 1.11.7-8; similarly, he uses Ulubrae at Ep. 1.11.30, a wretched, unprepossessing small town. A contrast is intended with the hustle and bustle of Rome, from which Tibullus has apparently withdrawn. The phrase alerts us to the peace and quiet seclusion of the Italian countryside, its woods and hills, which is one of the dominant inspirations of Tibullus'

poetry. What matters is the pleasantness of the countryside around his ancestral estate. The desire to live in the country is a recurring feature of Tibullus' poetry. He says that his ancestral estate had formerly been large and prosperous, 1.1.19 "felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri", but by the time he was writing it had been reduced in size, cf. 1.1.22 "nunc agna exigui est hostia parva soli". This may have resulted from the land confiscations of 42 B.C.. His roots lay in the country - he spent his boyhood there, cf. 1.10.15-6 where there is a delightful picture of Tibullus running around as a child. Although he doubtless had a house in Rome, the evidence from his poems suggests that he was never absent from his old home for long.

Tibullus' basic aspiration was to live in the country a life of simplicity and peace, a life of inaction, of care-free otium, with which he contrasts the life of a soldier in 1.1. However, he was frustrated in attaining his wish by the claims of war and of Messalla, his patron. Also his love for Delia intervened and took him necessarily to Rome, where he was attracted by the seductive pleasures of the city. Yet, as he came up against suffering and deception in love, as well as jealousy, he went back to the country, hoping to find there some peace and consolation. It is quite probable that Ep. 4 was written during one of his periods of withdrawal to Pedum. His friends in Rome are astonished to have no news of him - hence this letter asking Tibullus what has become of him.

Horace's whole point in the phrase in regione Pedana is to put Tibullus in comparative isolation and seclusion by himself in the rus. The words alert us to the value of the

hidden, withdrawn life, as stressed by Epicurus, frag. 551 Usener, λάθε βιώσας ; cf. frag. 570 Usener, = Diog. Laertius. 10, 120, τὸν σοφὸν φιλαγρήσειν. In the Epistles, Horace depicts himself as to a large degree withdrawing from Rome to the country, and enjoying there the vita rustica. The expectation, therefore, is that Horace implicitly approves of Tibullus' being in regione Pedana.

3. scribere ------- vincat: after putting the question of line 2 Horace proceeds to suggest two ways in which Tibullus may be passing the time at Pedum. Presumably he has not heard from him for some time and others among his friends are concerned too. Hence the reason why Horace writes to him. Fraenkel p.323 comments that "as Horace is writing to a fellow poet, and one considerably younger than himself, he at once asks in what kind of poetic work his friend is at present engaged". Similarly in his letter to Julius Florus he asks, Ep. 1.3.20 "ipse quid audes? quae circumvolitas agilis thyma?". However, there is an important difference in that Florus is one of a group and on the move as part of Tiberius' cohors in the East, whereas Tibullus is all alone. It is a very natural touch in a letter to a friend, but the reference is cursory as well as puzzling, although it was probably intelligible enough to Tibullus himself and Horace's readers.

Cassius is given the descriptive tag Parmensis to distinguish him from another Cassius, mentioned at Sat. 1.10.61 Cassius Etruscus, a bad poet, long since dead. The Cassius in Ep. 1.4 came from Parma, in Cisalpine Gaul. He had been one of the conspirators against Julius Caesar; he fought on

the side of Brutus and Cassius Longinus; in 42 B.C. he was in Asia, left there by the commanders with an army and fleet to collect money, Appian, Civil Wars, 5.2. Following the death of Brutus and Cassius he took charge of what was left of their ships and crew, and apparently supported Sextus Pompey in Sicily. On the latter's death he came under Antony's wing and protection and at Actium in 31 B.C. fought on his side, Appian, Civil Wars 5.139. One important point here is that he was an inveterate and bitter enemy of Octavian, whom he mercilessly pilloried in a scurrilous pamphlet, Suetonius, Augustus 4 "Cassius quidem Parmensis quadam epistula non tantum ut pistoris, sed etiam ut nummulari nepotem sic taxat Augustum "materna tibi farina est ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino: hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius". He sneers at Augustus as the grandson of a baker and money changer, a socially suspect calling. This conveys some of the venom which he showed to Augustus. He fled to Athens after Actium and on the express orders of Augustus was put to death there, Velleius, 2.87 "ultimus autem ex interfectoribus Caesaris Parmensis Cassius morte poenas dedit".

The reader has to ask why Horace mentions him here. To establish a satisfactory answer it is necessary to ask what he wrote. Putnam, CP LXVII (1972) 85 wrongly argues that this is immaterial, maintaining that it suffices that the opuscula were "satiric in tone and conservative in attitude". This, however, falls short. Porphyrio wrote that Cassius was a tragic poet, and Kiessling cautiously followed this line in his commentary, which Fraenkel endorses, adding that in fact we cannot be sure of what he wrote. A. Browers, "Horace et

Albius" in Études Horatiennes, builds on this and sees Albius as a tragic poet who imitates the plays of Cassius.) Courbaud regards this evidence from Porphyrio as corroborating his line that here Horace puts forward an alternative which is improbable and put there to amuse the reader, since Tibullus clearly did not have any pretensions to drama. Line 3 is humorous, light-hearted, and not to be taken at face value at all, according to Courbaud, who sees it as part of Horace's strategy in the letter to suppose situations pleasant enough, but improbable, in order to cheer Tibullus up. There is much in this line that is attractive. Acro wrote that Cassius was credited with elegy and epigrams as well as tragedy; he was a "poète à l'inspiration variée" (Courbaud). If we follow Acro, Horace asks Tibullus if he is trying to rival a predecessor who wrote in the same genre as himself, elegy - this is a literal minded interpretation, and opuscula does seem applicable to elegy. The diminutive is almost certainly expressive of derision, although Horace does use the word of his own works at Ep. 1.19.35. Orelli took it to signify "carmina minora, inprimis elegiae", citing a use in Pliny, Ep. 8.21, "liber fuit et opusculis variis et metris". A contrast seems intended with large-scale works such as epic which is stately and grand. Cassius' works are assumed to be small-scale, minor literary efforts of a rather obscure poet, something of a literary non-entity. Thus the reference would clearly be uncomplimentary. It has accordingly been argued by Izaac (in order to establish that Albius is not Tibullus) that Horace here shows a real lack of tact and sensitivity by referring to so mediocre a poet. However, it would scarcely be worthy of a friend such

as Horace to suppose before even seeing Tibullus' writings that his friend only had a wish to rival such a third rate poet as Cassius. Such sheer prejudice would be unfair.

It seems to me that the tone of the line is whimsical and teasing, a tone perhaps already hinted at in the opening line of the poem with its rather feeble pun. The insistently heavy spondees in Cassi Parmensis are in mock-solemnity. Horace engages in good-natured banter, supposing that Albius is writing elegy, perhaps in an effort to remedy his love and console himself. This hypothesis fits with the notion that to take to writing is the cure for troubles in love: cf. Callimachus, Epigr. 46.3-4; Ovid, R.A. 139, "otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus".

Brooks Otis, "Horace and the Elegists", TAPA LXXVI (1945) 177-90 argues that Horace's attitude to elegy was one of comparative disparagement. At A.P. 77 he alludes to it scathingly as exiguos (in contrast to hexameters it is slighter and less dignified) and for him it had a lowly rating in the hierarchy of genres. In Odes 2.9 Horace rebukes Valgius for persisting in writing elegies flebilibus modis for the lost Mystes - he refers to them disparagingly as molles (Odes 2.9.17) perhaps hinting at the sentimentality of Valgius' style. In his Ode to Tibullus, Horace urges him to give up his miserabiles elegos, Odes. 1.33.2-3, which he tediously reiterates. We glimpse briefly here an antipathy to elegy. Otis writes that elegy did not fit in with the moral utility of poetry, which was the function most acceptable to Augustus and Maecenas. "The elegists were unsympathetic to the Augustan programme; they offended both its literary and its moral ideals" (Otis, 185). To Horace,

"Tibullus' elegy was a blot on the scutcheon of a friend who might otherwise have been relatively congenial" (Otis, 188). Otis consequently sees the epistle "in the nature of an unmistakable but friendly reproof" (188). However, Otis almost certainly goes too far here, although it is the case that Horace's views on elegy were not very positive. We need not necessarily see disdain in opuscula, as the word can have a neutral sense of "poems".

Is Cassius' political stance relevant at all? F. Marx suggested that the reference should be connected with Tibullus' political attitude, RE. 1.1320. As a writer of elegy, Tibullus belonged to the circle of Messalla, which was noted for its tolerance of political opponents of the Augustan régime. Brooks Otis takes up this suggestion and argues that the reference to such a notorious enemy of Octavian could only embarrass those critics who think that the poem is wholly complimentary to Tibullus. It was precisely this difficulty which led Postgate to deny the identity of Albius and Tibullus. However, it is only secondarily that the reference to Cassius is to be associated with Tibullus' political attitude - Fraenkel actually dismisses its significance, p.323 n.6. The safest line is to assume that Horace is having a bit of fun at Tibullus' expense here, that the reference is to be taken at face value, that there is no actual need to try to interpret Horace as being complimentary to Tibullus at all. Line 3 is in the nature of a jest which may yet be intended for a purpose, to try to make Tibullus laugh and dispose him favourably for the rest of the epistle.

4. an tacitum ------- salubris: the alternative to writing

is set forth in 4, as Horace suggests that Tibullus may be deep in contemplation. McGann, p.43, comments that Horace considers this alternative preferable, since two lines are given to it. An normally excludes one alternative (see Gildersleeve and Lodge, Latin Grammar, sec. 458 n.4). I take lines 4-5 closely together and not separated, as Ullman construes them, with 4 showing "what is the matter with Tibullus" and 5 what he ought to do. Emphatically placed is tacitum, which "carries the idea of quiet, uninterrupted thought" (Wickham); cf. Ep. 2.2.145 "mecum loquor haec tacitusque recordor", of silent speech and reflection. Tibullus makes no utterance aloud. Ullman sees a sinister nuance here, "tacitum shows he is brooding, melancholy" but this is to read too much into it. It simply means that he is not given to talking aloud. He is in a deeply pensive mood; cf. Sat. 1.6.123 "aut ego, lecto/aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet, unguor olivo" for a similarly positive use. Perhaps tacitum takes some of its sense from line 3 - Tibullus is not outspoken as Cassius was. He shows a decent and respectable silence, and does not throw his weight about.

He creeps along, reptare, "sine certo consilio et tardo incessu perambulare," Orelli. It is mostly a poetic verb, which can be used equally of men and animals cf. Lucretius, 2.318 "lanigerae reptant pecudes", of sheep grazing on downs. It can be used of moving in a more or less prone position, of crawling, applied to humans, cf. Seneca, Her. F. 217-8 "quos contra obvius/ reptabat infans". Ullman, 157, again saw a sinister nuance, suggesting "the dragging steps of a dejected individual". However, this is questionable.

Pliny, Ep. 1.24, speaking of Suetonius who is about to buy a small estate asks that he may have a spot where he can "reptare per limitem unamque semitam terere", where the connotations are of sauntering at leisure, pottering on a country estate. Putnam, 87, seized on reptare as an image suggestive of a serpent which creeps along in the darkness of the woods, keeping away from the limelight. He imparts to Tibullus some of the deviousness and withdrawal of a serpent. "It lurks hidden out of sight of the world. This would mean in a person someone who is both unaccounting and unaccountable, even slightly sinister". This is a plausible interpretation of a vivid and expressive verb, but Putnam may be making too much of reptare. The tone could well be slightly whimsical again, with Tibullus "creeping around" his estate.

It is through silvas salubris that he strolls. The epithet salubris, far from being otiose, signifies that Tibullus is searching for mental well being, as Ullman noted. "Salubris cannot be an idle epithet, for that is not in Horace's style; it suggests that Tibullus was looking for salubritas - but valetudo in verse 10 shows that physical health is not meant. It must be mental health. Tibullus himself speaks of salubribus herbis (2.3.13) as an attempted cure for love, and the word is common in that sense". (Ullman, 157). The obvious point of salubris is that the woods give shelter from the enervating heat of the sun. As K.-H. comment, it is used in contrast to the unhealthy atmosphere of Rome, and its crowded, teeming life. Rome is oppressive, and unhealthy, whereas the country is the exact opposite. Putnam, 87, argues that there is an irony in

salubris, in that the withdrawal to the woods betokens an opting out of reality, a tendency already "latent in the poet and visible to his acute correspondent". It may be that Horace does know what is ailing his fellow poet - solitary walking in the woods can be associated with depressive illness. From his property at Astura, Cicero, feeling sad, feels it vital to get away from it all and writes, Ad Att. 12.15 "in hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane me in silvam abstrusi densam et asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperum. Secundum te, nihil est mihi amicius solitudine".

McGann, p.43, comments that this alternative "makes the first clear reference in the book to the living of a philosophic life in the country". Actually, in regione Pedana in line 2 hinted at it. Tibullus is withdrawn from society at large, in his turning away from the city to the country. He puts into practice the Epicurean precept λάθε βιώσας. The value of the hidden life figures much in Epistles 1, e.g. Ep. 1.17.10 "nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit". Horace himself favours a life of withdrawal, Ep. 1.18.103 "secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae", where he urges on young Lollius the superiority of the hidden life. Compare Epicurus, K.D. 14 (b) τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένης μέχρι τινὸς δυνάμει τινὶ ἐξοριστικῇ καὶ εὐπορία εἰλικρινεστάτη γίνεται ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐκχωρήσεως τῶν πολλῶν ἀσφάλεια. A good picture of Tibullus' own cherished ideal comes in 1.1.41-52 where he sketches his rustic life with its relaxation, comfort and peace of mind. The country is the best environment for the man who would be sapiens, as it furnishes a healthy atmosphere for contemplation. Quiet surroundings are vital to Tibullus as he contemplates important matters. Compare

the picture Horace gives of himself when he was a student at Athens, Ep. 2.2.45 "atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum". At Ep. 2.2.77 he writes "scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem". The grove was the perfect locus for inspiration. In Tacitus, Dialogus 9.6 Aper depicts poetry as being barren and unprofitable, "deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est". It was a Τόπος of literature that inspiration could be derived from woods and groves, because of a mystical numen indwelling in them.

5 curantem ------- bonoque est: the participial phrase is loosely attached to line 4, but has to be taken closely with it (McGann, as against Ullman). Tibullus is imagined as pondering issues which should occupy all wise and good men. Curantem probably has a technical flavour here, cf. Ep. 1.12.15 sublimia curas applied to young Iccius whose pretensions to philosophy are ridiculed by Horace; cf. Ep. 1.1.11 "quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo", where Horace claims to have found a new calling, as an eager convert to philosophy; the sapiens is the spiritual paragon of men, and Horace claims that philosophy alone is the only sure guide to living, Ep. 1.1.23-26.

The words sapiente bonoque clearly alert us to the Stoic identification of "good and wise", embracing both the practical and theoretical side of virtue. They sound like a typical Stoic cliché - the same collocation occurs at Ep. 1.16.20 "neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum". Real wealth is spiritual. The truly good man is trained in philosophy, as Cicero, De Off. 2.2.6 writes "ad bene beateque vivendum".

At Ep. 1.1.106-8 Horace defines the sage as being truly a rex; he alone is sanus, in contrast to the insania of all other men. It was this quality which the Stoic philosopher claimed as his own. He governs his passions and is equal to Jupiter in that he can rise above the world.

Izaac, 113, saw in line 5 an allusion "très nette à la poésie morale", which he claims to be an absurdity "si elle s'appliquait au genre cultivé par Tibulle: il n'est pas de poésie au monde à laquelle la réflexion philosophique et les considérations morales aient moins de part. On ne peut s'imaginer qu' Horace ne l'ait point senti". Thus Izaac uses this line to argue further against the identification with the poet Albius Tibullus. However, it has to be stated that in the Latin quidquid est is not the equivalent of quid sit, and Albius is being complimented with possessing sapientia only in a broad and general sense - the sapiens bonusque is a practical philosopher.

F. Jacoby, in his article "Tibulls Erste Elegie", RhM 64(1909) 627-32, points out that that poem is a τόπος περὶ πλούτου , in which Tibullus rejects the hardships of a soldier's life with its opportunities for acquiring wealth in favour of the piety and paupertas of his ideal rustic otium. Rustic paupertas is vastly preferable to the riches won by warfare. This attitude of Tibullus can be claimed to demonstrate practical, every-day wisdom. In his preference for the sheltered life in the country, in his professed contentment with little, Tibullus can claim to be a sapiens in Horace's estimation. Compare, for example, such passages in Horace as Odes 3.1.45-8 where he refuses to exchange his Sabine valley for wealth which only brings

a greater worry with it. Compare also Odes 2.16 where he proclaims that contentment is the only true happiness, the otium rusticum which involves withdrawal from the crowd, and suggests the peace and quiet necessary for spiritual well-being; cf. Ep. 1.7.35f "nec/otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto". Thus Izaac's argument can be countered effectively.

Ullman's line is that Horace tactfully hints to Tibullus that philosophy alone offers a cure for his troubles. After the diagnosis in line 4, showing what is the matter with him, comes the course of action to follow in 5. Ullman justifies this rather forced interpretation by citing evidence from other Epistles, especially Ep. 1.2, and Ep. 1.3, both of which are addressed to younger men, in which the thought is introduced that the philosopher's life is best. Epistle 3 to Julius Florus culminates in an appeal to him to turn to caelestis sapientia, which will put him in a right relationship with his estranged friend, Munatius. Unreason and a lack of understanding keep them apart; their friendship is strained and neglect of those duties pertaining to amicitia does great harm and is unworthy of them, Ep. 1.3.25-7 "quod si/frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses/quo te caelestis sapientia duceret, ires". Ullman argues that in Ep. 4 Horace takes a similar line with Albius, urging him to turn philosopher in order to overcome his troubles. This is plausible enough, but rather arbitrarily separates lines 4 and 5, which are best taken together.

Stégen, p.12, ingeniously argues that lines 4-5 may be a deliberate recall of an elegy attributed to Tibullus, 3.19. The poet, attracted by the woman whom he loves, says defiantly that he knows how to renounce all that excites

envy and withdraw to the peaceful seclusion of the woods with his thoughts, 3.19.8-9 "qui sapit in tacito gaudeat ille sinu/sic ego secretis possum bene vivere silvis". Tibullus seems to be reconciled to this withdrawal, but immediately afterwards declares he could not love any other woman. He is in a state of emotional turmoil, confessing to himself that he has not found in the solitude of his woods the serenity of spirit which he was seeking. While he claimed to be acting as a wise man, qui sapit, actually he was deluding himself. Stégen argues this line cogently, maintaining it is significant that Horace takes over the words tacitum and silvas from Tibullus. Sapiente corresponds to sapit in Tibullus. Stégen believes that this hypothesis, like that in 4, is seriously intended (as does Fraenkel, p. 324). The weakness of this line is that we cannot be certain if Tibullus actually wrote the elegy in question. The woman concerned is not named - perhaps the poem is early, before his affair with Delia or Nemesis. Yet proof of his authorship seems to come from his "signature" in line 13. We are on shaky ground here - the verbal correspondences could be purely coincidental. Underlying Stégen's line is the assumption that Albius had withdrawn to the country in the hope of finding peace there, away from the treacherous anxieties of city love-life. Under the pretext of questioning Tibullus, Horace in effect says to him that he knows perfectly well what he is occupied in at the time when he receives the letter - either writing elegy (probably to console himself) or thinking of his mistress all the time in his solitude, believing that this is wise: Stégen would thus regard sapiente as "légèrement ironique"; in fact he

would have us believe that Horace implicitly is critical of Tibullus - yet this is dubious, since to become a sapiens is surely commendable in itself.

The crux of the matter seems to be whether this poem was written to Tibullus during one of his periods of melancholy and depression. We have to bear in mind Odes. 1.33 written to him lately, where Horace urged him to temper his chagrin, using the language of reason and common sense, appealing to the general experience of mankind. Now it seems that Horace tries another approach, in his attempt to cheer him up - he uses humour in supposing situations which are pleasant enough, but not perhaps literally meant. Thus, it seems to me that we ought not to take 3-5 too seriously; rather, they are light-hearted and whimsical.

6 non ------- sine pectore: the transition here is puzzling, and the connection of thought somewhat obscure. The assumption made in line 5 is that Tibullus may be devoting himself to philosophical musing; Ullman, 157, argues that this hint is justified in line 6 "(for) you were not formerly a mere body without a mind and soul". According to Ullman line 6 gives the reason for the statement made in 5, and this is one line to take.

What of the imperfect eras? Wickham writes that "the time is explained by the emphasis laid in 2 on nunc. Horace's ground for being sure that Tibullus is now either busy on poetry or living as a philosopher is his previous knowledge of him". Thus eras would seem to be in antithesis to nunc in line 2. Orelli explains "semper, ex quo inter nos versari coepisti egoque te cognovi" and is followed by K.-H. Fraenkel p.324 n.3 is dismissive of such an interpretation but does refer

approvingly to Palmer's note in Wilkins' edition - he compares an example from Propertius 1.13.34 "non alio limine dignus eras" on which he remarks "eras = es, but stronger, "you are not and never were". Fraenkel inclines to see here a borrowing from Greek syntax "it is not only the Greek imperfect in the common connection with ἄρα , but also the plain imperfect that ought to be compared, as for example, Aeschylus, Cho. 243 "ποτὸς δ' ἀδελφὸς ἦσθ' ἐμοὶ σέβας φέρων". This interpretation is followed by Dilke, but contested by McGann who supports Stégen in referring eras strictly to the past. Stégen warns against projecting into the past a present quality or attribute - he concedes that Albius could have changed and become different from what he was before. He cites as an example Juvenal 6.28 "certe sanus eras; uxorem, Postume, ducis?", where reference is definitely to the past only. What seems clear is that the negative phrasing in 6 implies a reproach, as Stégen observed. Fraenkel seems to be on very shaky ground in citing a line from the Odyssey - "Odysseus, provoked by the behaviour of Antinous, cries out, Od. 17.454 "ὦ πόποι, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γ' ἐπὶ εἶδεϊ καὶ φρένες ἦσαν". This sentence, with its one negative is a severe condemnation; by the addition of a second negative (non ---- sine) it becomes a compliment. The Latin corresponds fairly closely to the Greek: pectus is a perfect rendering of φρένες and εἶδος differs from corpus only in that it connotes the positive quality which Horace makes explicit by means of the following formam. The similarity of the two passages extends even to the tense - anything but common in Latin - of the verb eras". Perhaps the echo of Homer is quite unconscious - we know from Ep. 1.2 to young

Lollius that Horace has been re-reading Homer and thinks he is a better teacher of morals than the philosophers Chrysippus and Crantor. However, in the context of Ep. 4 it is not necessary to appeal to Homer, since the contrast of corpus and pectus is a very common one in Latin. Corpus denotes the body as the centre of certain physiological desires, as representing the grosser elements in human nature, OLD s.v. 1(e). Perhaps it hints at sensuality, as McGann, p.43, thinks. Tibullus, by abusing the gifts bestowed on him by the gods, might have become a sensualist, "all body". However, he has a pectus as well. Pectore denotes qualities of both heart and intellect, the soul, mind or personality of a human being, including its emotional, moral and rational aspects, OLD s.v. 4. Pectus also had special associations for a love poet such as Albius, since it can denote the breast as the seat of affection. In our context it seems that pectore denotes especially qualities of the intellect - it is something which, for example, Ajax lacks, Ovid, Met. 13.290 "rudis et sine pectore miles" - he cannot appreciate the artistry on the arms of Achilles because he lacks pectus. Quintilian, 10.7.15 has an interesting definition "pectus est quod disertos facit et vis mentis", referring to eloquence. Cicero connected pectus with amicitia cf. De Am. 26.97 "in qua (amicitia) nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas, tuumque ostendas", cf. Leg. 1.49 "ubi illa sancta amicitia, si non ipse amicus per se amatur toto pectore" cf. Ovid Pont. 4.14.43 "tam felix utinam quam pectore candidus essem", which points to the connection between pectus and candidus (line 1). Friends should have pectora which are aperta and candida. It is seen from these examples

that pectus is vital for wholeness and a fully integrated personality. Orelli was perceptive enough to point to the connection with friendship "non eras excors; immo animus tuus et tener erat in amicitia et veri cupidus et pulchri sensu eximie praeditus". To be a good and loyal friend one has to have an open heart - perhaps Albius is guilty of failing in respect of friendship, since he has withdrawn and cut himself off from his associates; perhaps failure of pectus has led to his being unable to write or reflect. Any of these explanations is plausible enough, given the many associations of pectus.

What does seem clear is that we have a tone of serious earnest admonition in 6 - tu has an intensity of feeling in it - the words are spoken directly and simply - a quite uncomplicated statement, where Horace strives after an elegant contrast between corpus and pectore. I disagree with Fraenkel's view that they are a compliment necessarily, while his view that eras can have a relevance to the present as well as the past is dubious. It is better to take it as strictly referring to the past, with Stégen and McGann. Stégen, however, does misunderstand line 6 in thinking that Tibullus is being criticised for leading too spiritual a life. He cites a passage from Cicero, Tusc. 1.31.75 on disengaging the soul from pleasure and from the body, which is tantamount to cutting it off and separating it from the body "Nam quid aliud agimus, cum a voluptate, id est, a corpore ----- sevocamus animum, quid tum agimus nisi animum ad se ipsum advocamus, maximeque a corpore abducimus? Secernere autem a corpore animum ecquid aliud est quam mori discere?". On this interpretation, Tibullus is trying

presumably to cure himself of his love in withdrawal. He goes to excess and looks ridiculous. All this Horace puts indirectly, according to Stégen, in recalling the time past when he was not like this. He has no reason to persist in excess and a transition is made naturally to list the advantages which he is privileged to enjoy. However, this is so far-fetched as to be ridiculous.

It seems that Wickham errs in trying to establish a connection between line 6 and what has gone before: "Horace's ground for being sure that Tibullus is now either busy on good poetry or living as a philosopher is his previous knowledge of him". In lines 1-5 the tone has been one of good natured banter, whimsical and teasing. However, in 6ff. we are conscious of Horace speaking more insistently, with a greater liveliness; there is almost an acceleration, shown by the occurrence of three pure dactyls in feet 2-4 of line 6 - the bucolic diaeresis in 6 shortens the first sentence which fits in with the impression of liveliness and urgency; through it there results the enjambment to line 7, underlined by the insistent anaphora of di. Throughout the section 6-11 there is a deployment of quite serious argument. On balance, I incline to the view that the change of tone in 6ff. is a pointer to the fact that non ----- sine pectore looks forward, not back. The best punctuation is a colon after these words - the next sentence enlarges on them and is the key to understanding them. The gifts which the gods bestowed on Tibullus, formam and divitias, could be open to abuse, but the third gift, artemque fruendi, safeguards against this, since it enables Tibullus to profit wisely from the benefits brought by the other two. It is pectus

which saves him from becoming a complete sensualist. It seems that he has everything needed for complete happiness. Lines 8-11 constitute an amplification of 6-7, as Horace enumerates all his advantages.

6-7 di tibi formam ------- artemque fruendi: there is an intensity of feeling here, with the anaphora of di and of tibi to heighten the personal reference. The clatter of hard consonantal 'd' sounds hammers home the message. Tibullus has been showered with an amazing list of blessings which he owes to the gods. Horace is not a writer to employ anaphora idly; wherever he uses it he wishes to stress something which he has very much at heart. He acknowledges the origin of Tibullus' prosperity and good fortune in the grace of the gods who are favourably disposed toward him. We recall here how much his representations of country life are imbued with a vibrant sense of the religious. In 1.10.15ff. he dwells on an aspect of the life he would prefer to lead, piety, and he asks the Lares to continue caring for him as they did in his childhood, "sed patrii servate Lares! aluistis et idem/cursarem vestros cum tener ante pedes". His appeal to the Lares is in harmony with his regard for them elsewhere, cf. 1.1.19-20 "vos quoque, felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri/custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares". His poems breathe an awareness of extra-human spirits, and his reaction to them is one of reverence mingled with affection. Likewise, in Ep. 1.12 to Iccius Horace tells him that it is to Jupiter that he owes his advantages and it is to the gods that Horace himself prays for life and resources, Ep. 1.18. 111-2 "sed satis est orare Iovem, qui ponit et aufert/det

vitam, det opes".

Tibullus has formam, physical good looks. The vita antiqua Tibulli has "insignis fuit forma cultuque corporis observabilis" - he was evidently noted for his looks and conspicuous for his grooming, which would make him all the more sexually attractive to such as Delia and Nemesis.

On divitias Orelli comments "quales mox accuratius designat v. 11 et Tibullus ipse de se 1.1.77-8 "ego composito securus acervo/despiciam dites despiciamque famem". The vita calls him an eques Romanus, which does imply social standing and economic worth. This mention of divitias led Izaac to argue against the identification of Albius with Tibullus, who speaks of his straitened circumstances, as e.g. 1.1.5 "me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti". Izaac, 111, reckons Horace guilty of a serious faux-pas here, a manifest lack of tact, "quel manque de tact de la part d'un homme qui paraît avoir été doué d'un tact infini". It is the case certainly that Tibullus in his poems speaks of his paupertas, without actually specifying the reasons for it. There are references to the diminished acres of his ancestors which we presume resulted from the depredations of the civil wars. It is important to remember that paupertas connotes to a Roman modest means, without surplus - the evidence from his poems suggests that he was anything but penniless cf. 1.1. 77-8, where, despite his attacks on the acquisition of wealth, he says he has his own heap stored away. The plea of straitened circumstances was a stock elegiac attitude, which we are not to take literally. The evidence suggests that his forbears had been well-to-do; cf. 1.1.41-2 "non ego divitias patrum fructusque requiro/quos tulit antiquo

condita messis avo". In 2.1 he appears as a landowner who is comfortably placed, who has a retinue of slaves, 2.1.23 "turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni" which implies economic worth. If he had really been pauper, he would have been unable to enjoy the favours of Delia and Nemesis - they left him when they found lovers who were better-off cf. 2.3.49-52.

> heu heu divitibus video gaudere puellas:
> iam veniant praedae, si Venus optat opes,
> ut mea luxuria Nemesis fluat utque per urbem
> incedat donis conspicienda meis.

His possession of Nemesis depends crucially on his gifts which must reflect his substantial means cf. 2.4.25-6 "illa (i.e. Venus) ---- dominamque rapacem/dat mihi"; 1.5.47-8 "haec nocuere mihi, quod adest huic dives amator/venit in exitium callida lena meum". These passages furnish adequate evidence that Tibullus portrays himself as spending much money on his girls, who appeared hard to satisfy. In one passage it appears that he is actually afraid he will be forced to sell his ancestral estate because of the avaritia of his girl, 2.4. 53-4 "quin etiam sedes iubeat si vendere avitas/ite sub imperium sub titulumque, Lares". The conclusion is clear that he had a modest fortune sufficient to satisfy his needs, as line 11 corroborates. Perhaps it is an ironic twist that in Roman elegy wealth in general is considered to be inferior to love, a topic which is found frequently in Bk. 1 of Tibullus - most of 1.1 consists of an attack on wealth, especially lines 43-52. In 1.8 he stresses to Pholoe the great importance of love, as compared with regum opes. Yet, against his conviction he does condescend to acquire riches by any means in order to placate Nemesis and make her more favourably

disposed toward him; cf. 2.4.21. Statius, Silvae 1.2.255 calls him "dives foco lucente", and no doubt he benefited materially from the patronage of Messalla.

To a strict Stoic wise man, forma and divitiae would be considered in the class of things indifferent, ἀδιάφορα. It seems as if Horace is almost contesting this view here, urging him implicitly to pay no heed to such strictures. Sallust lists forma and divitiae as examples of things indifferent, cf. Cat.1.4 "nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur"; cf. B.J. 2.1 "igitur praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis et alia omnia huiuscemodi brevi dilabuntur, at ingeni egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia sunt". Sallust reckons it perverse of people to pass their lives in idleness, given over to the pleasures of the body, while allowing their minds to grow dull from neglect and inaction. Perhaps Tibullus has been seeking relief in Stoicism which has proved of no help to him, and Horace thus moves to counter its teaching; this accords well with the view of Becker that the fundamental motif is an invitation to Epicureanism, but this is a much debated point, "wird die Dichtung dem ethischen Thema untergeordnet" writes Becker, p.41 n.9.

On Horace's own attitude to divitiae, cf. Odes 3.1.47-8 "cur valle permutem Sabina/divitias operosiores?" The delusion that riches can purchase wisdom and happiness was a theme of popular ethics which often occurs in Horace. In his epistle to Iccius who has been grumbling about his lot, Horace writes, Ep. 1.12.4-6

> pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus,
> si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
> divitiae poterunt regales addere maius.

cf. Ep. 1.7.35f "nec/otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto".

The third gift is artemque fruendi, which is the crucial one. He knows how to enjoy the advantages conferred on him by the other two. Significantly, artemque fruendi is postponed, through the placing of dederunt, which creates an effective pause before the sentence ends and helps to heighten the importance of the third gift. Horace himself sets great store by this gift. In Sat. 2.6.4-5 he prays to Hermes for an undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings which have already been granted to him "nil amplius oro/Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis". cf. Terence, Eun. 1048ff. "O Jupiter, serva obsecro haec bona nobis". Horace himself prays to Apollo Odes 1.31.17ff. "frui paratis mihi/Latoe, dones". As N.-H. comment at loc. "his prayer there has poetic as well as philosophical antecedents," cf. Theognis 1155ff. "οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν οὐδ' εὔχομαι, ἀλλά μοι εἴη/ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων, μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν." It was a commonplace of philosophic thought (especially Epicurean) to ask for the enjoyment of what was easily available and ready to hand; cf. Ep. 1.12.7ff. In Ep. 1.2 to Lollius the delusion that wealth can buy wisdom and peace of mind is dismissed, lines 49-50 "valeat possessor oportet/ si conportatis rebus bene cogitat uti". Horace credits Tibullus with being wise enough to be content with what he has "quia prudens es et eo, quod satis est, contentus vivis. Talem hominem beatum praedicat etiam Menander p.46. Mein.: Μακάριος ὅστις οὐσίαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχει· χρῆται γὰρ οὗτος εἰς ἃ δεῖ ταύτῃ καλῶς. Orelli.

8. quid voveat ------- alumno: "there is again a glance towards the past as Horace speaks of a fond nurse thinking

of her dear alumnus and praying for him" McGann, p.43. There is an endearing tenderness in line 8 - nutricula is a diminutive expressive of affection and sympathy, while dulci is laden with emotion. Alumnus can be used as a term of endearment, cf. Plautus, Most. 325 "tuus sum alumnus, mel meum". Fraenkel comments on this "pretty illustration from the nursery" as not out of place in the context, as he imagines Horace talking quietly and sympathetically with Tibullus.

We have to ask why the nutricula is mentioned at all. The reference is certainly affectionate. A nutricula was a child's nurse, especially a wet-nurse, and in the old days the custom was to have children breast-fed by the mother herself, cf. Plutarch, Cato 20. This custom, however, died out at least among the rich and well-to-do, and the wet nurse was entrusted with the job. Tacitus, Dialogus 28 has an interesting reference to the days when children were not brought up in the chamber of some hireling nurse, "in cellula emptae nutricis", but in their mother's lap and at her knee, "in gremio ac sinu matris". The relevant point is that a very close bond developed between a nurse and her charge, and in inscriptions we see the esteem and affection which prevailed between them. cf. CIL 4.3706, 3710, 4729. Cradle songs and tales played a large part in the upbringing of a Roman infant, cf. Lucretius 5.229 "almae nutricis blanda atque infracta loquella", where Lucretius talks of the baby-talk of a nurse, which symbolises the care taken of tender, helpless creatures. The affection established for each other by nurse and infant doubtless lasted on into manhood. K.-H. remark that she is mentioned instead of the mother since a nurse's prayers for her charge tended to be very extravagant -

she is almost a conventional type of fairy-godmother, whose affection was proverbial, although Persius 2.39 queries the wisdom of her prayers. Ullman, 158, suggests that Horace may on purpose be "calling to mind tender memories of his childhood days in a manner displaying wonderful tact and good taste, especially if Tibullus is at the time living in the country home of his childhood, a home of which he never tires of speaking in his elegies". He sees lines 8-11 as an amplification of 6-7. This is plausible and in tune with Fraenkel's view, although the figure could be purely conventional.

9. qui sapere ------ sentiat: this relative clause contains some of the attributes of Tibullus - good, practical sense and the ability to express in words what he feels. As Wickham comments "the construction is quite straightforward". What more should a fond nurse desire for a dear charge who can think aright and utter his thoughts? The earlier editors missed this and looked for some comparative construction after maius in 8 - this resulted in the variant quam for qui and involved a further change of et cui in 9 into utque, and the insertion of ut after fari. However, these changes are unnecessary. Maius is used absolutely, as K.-H. observe, cf. Ep. 1.12.6 "nil divitiae poterunt regales addere maius".

Sapere "hints at philosophy as a care-dispeller", Ullman, 158. However, I doubt if the word is meant to be

taken in this sense; its meaning is more likely to be general, of thinking correctly, cf. Ep. 1.2.40 sapere aude, where he begins a long exhortation to young Lollius to set about curing the diseases of the soul without delay. Psychological preparedness is a necessary prerequisite to this task. Ep. 1.1 to Maecenas showed the importance of refuting false values; this was the beginning of excellence and wisdom, Ep. 1.1.41-2 "virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima/stultitia caruisse". Progress is possible in sapientia if stultitia, its opposite, can be eliminated. Horace talks of knowledge as the basis of good writing, A.P. 309 "scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons", where Brink comments that sapere is used in two different ways. "It demands the technical expertise taught in the earlier sections of the poem, but the primary demand is for the knowledge which philosophy teaches, soon to be narrowed to moral theory." cf. Cicero, Orat. 70 "est eloquentiae sicut reliquarum rerum fundamentum sapientia". At A.P. 309 Horace uses sapere not with special reference to philosophy, but rather more generally of good sense and reason, in contrast to the "caput tribus Anticyris insanabile" of the poets characterised by madness. Sapere is linked with sapor, "taste", and the archaic wisdom of the old poets is called sapientia at A.P. 396. Quintilian, 1.10.9 calls Orpheus and Linus "musici et vates et sapientes". Contrast Ep. 2.2.141-2 "nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis/et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum", where Horace argues that he who seeks discernment must give up poetry for philosophy. Poetry is a mere trifle suitable only for the young, whereas sapere is advocated as an "appropriate mature activity"

(Brink). There is thus a nice ambivalence in sapere as applied to Tibullus.

Sapere perhaps picks up sapiente in line 5. Every-day, practical wisdom is the meaning which suits best, a right attitude to life. In poem 1.10 Tibullus deplores war and extols peace and this attitude can be called that of a wise man, without there being any recourse to deep, philosophic study. In his professed preference for the sheltered life of rustic otium, his professed contentment with little, Tibullus can rightly claim to be a sapiens in Horace's estimation.

He has also the facility to express this good sense, "fari possit quae sentiat". Orelli's comment is apt "facundeque sensus suos explicare atque cum aliis communicare". The gift of facundia is a highly rated one, and Horace here is genuinely complimenting him on his poetic skill. Fari has "une couleur poétique et archaique" (Ernout-Meillet) cf. Ennius, Annals 19 "quem Venus ---- fata docet fari"; Virgil, Aen. 1.261 "Fabor et fatorum arcana movebo". Varro, L.L. 7.52 writes that fari means to utter articulate sounds, and there is thus a punning reference to his being no longer infans as he would have been under the nurse. The phrase is in harmony with the compliment in line 1 on his candour and forthrightness; it is also an implicit rebuke if we imagine Tibullus as having cut himself off from his friends and withdrawn into himself - note the effective contrast with tacitum in line 4.

9-10. et cui ------- contingat abunde: this relative clause is a natural continuation of the previous relative clause -

the two clauses are most obviously parallel. K.-H. are correct in commenting that the relative clauses do not actually indicate the contents of the nurse's prayer, her vota for her charge, but rather imply that for those who, like Tibullus, have been blessed with such valuable gifts (wisdom, ready conversational skills, popularity, fame, and health) a nurse's prayers, however extravagant, could contribute nothing further. When her charge has all these blessings (in both the relative clauses) what more could she wish for him? Horace's point is that Tibullus has every reason to be happy and well adjusted, privileged as he is by Fortune's most valuable gifts. Horace wishes him to make the most of his natural endowments. There is an increase of feeling here; enjambment plays an important role, linked as it is with the appearance of two monosyllabic words at the close of line 9 and the delayed caesura in 10. The individual items in the list of blessings are tightly bound together with each other - the words tumble out one on top of the other in an arresting and vigorous asyndeton. The phrasing over-runs the normal metrical bounds, and well underlines the impression of exuberance Fraenkel, p.326, comments that the praise which Horace pours out here may seem "surprisingly fulsome", coming from a writer who is normally tactful. This assessment of Tibullus' personality is designed primarily to make him realise just how fortunate he is.

Tibullus has gratia, "imprimis apud Messallam Corvinum", Orelli. The word touches on the esteem in which he was held and the favour he enjoyed as a member of an influential literary circle. We know that Tibullus was on intimate terms with his patron, cf. 1.3.1-2 "ibitis Aegaeas sine me,

Messalla, per undas/o utinam memores ipse cohorsque mei"; 1.5.31-2 "huc veniet Messalla meus, cui dulcia poma/Delia selectis detrahat arboribus", where the affectionate and intimate meus is a very natural touch. Messalla is to receive very special treatment which suits a person of his eminent standing. Tibullus enjoyed the favour of the powerful, and also himself had the ability of ingratiating himself with them. Like fama, it is the accompaniment of a distinguished social position in society. Horace lists species et gratia at Ep. 1.6.49 as constituting good fortune (in a highly ironical vein) - he applies the word there to the βίος φιλότιμος , public office, for which gratia is a help. Yet to seek prestigious honours is really a treacherous business; rather it is nil admirari which can make man happy and keep him so.

Fama, reputation, refers primarily to his poetic endeavours. Tibullus had already published his first book of Elegies late in 27 B.C. (Book 2 was apparently published after his death.) Propertius was writing subjective love elegy at about this time, and his first book probably appeared earlier. It is plausible to imagine Tibullus as a trifle jealous of his rival - hence Horace's reassurance here, amply vindicated by the judgment of Quintilian, 10.1.93 "elegia quoque Graecos provocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur auctor Tibullus. Sunt qui Propertium malint". Ovid called Tibullus cultus, Amores 1.15.27-8 "donec erunt ignes arcusque Cupidinis arma,/discentur numeri, culte Tibulle, tui". A passage in Tibullus 2.4 might be taken as implying that he cared nothing for literary fame. He contrasts epic with elegy - the epic poet writes for the ages,

and to acquire renown, whereas the elegiac poet writes to win the favour of his mistress, 2.4.19-20 "ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero/ite procul, Musae, si nihil ista valent". This is a very conventional claim; there is a sham modesty here, as when he claims to be indifferent to fame, 1.1.57 "non ego laudari cupio, mea Delia". In this particular context, it is renown as a soldier that is in question. Tibullus had served abroad under Messalla, who had been despatched to quell a serious insurrection in Aquitania, Appian, Civil Wars 4.38 . Tibullus himself was present in Gaul cf. 1.7.9 "non sine me est tibi partus honos". He had a distinguished military career behind him - the vita informs us that he was decorated for his services "militaribus donis donatus est".

Valetudo refers especially to physical health. Izaac, 111, argued that this is maladroit on Horace's part, since Tibullus was known to be "un homme de tempérament délicat". Izaac used this as further evidence to bolster his contention that the recipient of the epistle is not the poet Tibullus. We know that Tibullus had set out for the Aegean to rejoin Messalla on an expedition to the East, but fell dangerously ill at Corcyra, 1.3, probably circa 30 B.C. A mood of deep gloom and anxiety pervades the opening lines of 1.3, as he focusses on two dangers facing himself, illness and death, and he seeks divine help for himself. However, he did accompany Messalla later, in 27 B.C. on his Aquitanian campaign, Appian, Civil Wars 4.38, and it is perfectly reasonable to argue that he was in good health some years after being so close to death on Corcyra (assuming 23 B.C. as the purported date of writing Ep. 4.).

Tibullus refers to his gracilis artus and teneras manus, 2.3.9-10, which suffer from exposure and hard toil, but these are the characteristics of an ideal lover in elegy, not endowed with a robust constitution. Yet the impression gained from reading his poetry is of a man anxious for his health, with a tendency to melancholy, as noted by K.-H. He may well have been a hypochondriac - he shows symptoms of this in his dwelling on death, as at 1.1.59-68, although in that particular context he is handling an elegiac commonplace, the combination of love and death, as he imagines his death as one facing Delia (as opposed to a soldier's death facing the enemy). The impression is of an over-sensitive type who takes life too seriously, hurt by the changes and chances of this life. It is significant that in fact he died shortly after this epistle was written, probably in 19 B.C., a comparatively young man.

We know that Horace himself was concerned with his health and all the blessings which Jupiter could bestow or take away, Ep. 1.18.111-2 "sed satis est orare Iovem, qui ponit et aufert,/det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo", where he makes the point that one has to acquire sanity for oneself. At Odes 1.31.17-19 his personal prayer is for health of mind and body, "frui paratis et valido mihi,/ Latŏe, dones et, precor, integra/cum mente". In his epistle to Iccius, he is reminded that there is no greater blessing than sound health, Ep. 1.12.5-6 "si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil/divitiae poterunt regales addere maius". Far from scorning these blessings, Horace almost reproaches Tibullus with grossly undervaluing them. The argument is serious here, as Horace exposes frankly the

reasons why his friend ought to be happy; he has all he could possibly wish for, all the exterior graces, good health, reputation, and in line 11, a modest affluence. It seems that he lacks nothing except peace of mind, without which there can be no real happiness, while everything seems empty and pointless. Tibullus is being encouraged to think positively here, and see how little reason he has to be miserable in self-inflicted depression.

It is natural for Horace to perhaps exaggerate a little here in his use of abunde, emphatically at the end of the line. Abunde is probably colloquial, perhaps even vulgar in tone; it is very rare in poetry, being found nowhere in the Odes or Epodes. It nicely prepares the way for a return to the level of everyday talk in line 11, after the comparative intensity of 9ff.

// et mundus victus ------- crumina: Tibullus has a decent living; this line, like the preceding, constitutes also the substance of the nurse's prayer for her charge. Mundus is a favourite epithet of Horace - it denotes basically what is free from dirt or impurity, as at Ep. 1.5.7 munda supellex. The connotations are "clean", "spick and span" and the word can be applied to what is elegant in appearance, manners or taste, OLD s.v. 2. At Odes 3.29.14 Horace talks of mundae cenae, part of his humble life style, where "the adjective indicates the presence of taste, but the absence of extravagance" (Page). Horace defines mundus as applied to a host as a just mean between luxurious excess and sordid neglect, Sat. 2.2.65 "mundus erit qua non offendat sordibus". Simplicity as well as taste is suggested by it and as Roland

Mayer has pointed out ("Horace on Good Manners" PCPS. N.S. No. 31, 1985) "the elegance of what is clean and neat appeals to Horace". There is in the word "some idea of respectability" (Dilke). Tibullus' victus is equally far removed from a superabundant affluence as from the constraint of poverty - he has hit on the right balance or mean, and Horace clearly approves of his mode of living. At Odes 2.10.6-7 the man who clings to the golden mean "tutus caret obsoleti/ sordibus tecti" - moderation was desirable and an ideal of poets, cf. Hesiod, op 694, Theognis 220, 331. There is a fine middle course between ostentatious contempt for wealth, and ostentatious display of it.

Apart from appearing in Horace's hexameters, Martial and Juvenal, mundus is found only in Propertius (three times), and Ovid (A.A. 3, 479, Fasti 4.108), which led Axelson to label it as unpoetic (106). Following the high point of emphasis reached in line 10, line 11 is flat by comparison; victus is a basically prosaic word, the tone is flat and matter-of-fact, and there is a clear and unmistakable descent to the level of everyday talk.

The words non deficiente crumina maintain the colloquial tone. Crumina is common only in Plautus. See Thes. L.L. 4.1241. Fraenkel, p.325 n.2 comments that "the jurist Labeo, in his commentary on XII Tables, uses it apparently as an archaism, in a passage in which the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον depalmare also occurs". The word appears in Apuleius 42 as an archaism and Juvenal 11.38 has deficiente crumina similarly at the end of a verse, which is perhaps an echo of Horace.

There seems to be a contrast between divitias in 7 and mundus victus non deficiente crumina. McGann, p.44 n.1 maintains

that "in the second passage Horace is concerned with money as a help to happiness, and in harmony with passages such as 2.46, and 10.42 speaks only of a sufficiency". At Ep. 1.2.46 "quod satis est cui contingat, nihil amplius optet" Horace stresses a sufficiency. Compare the picture of the happy, contented man at Odes 3.1.25 "desiderantem quod satis est", whose wants are equated to his needs. Such a man lives a simple life in the country, with which is contrasted the cares and fears of the rich. At Ep. 1.10.42-3 Horace talks of the ideal to aim at as being a fitting mean "cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,/si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret". If a man has a fortune too large for his position, and his needs, he will be led into extravagance and ruined. If he has too small a one, he will be pinched. Earlier in the epistle he urged Fuscus, lines 32-3 "fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto/reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos". A life sub paupere tecto is depicted as more fortunate than that of the great, and such a life is recommended for the sake of safety because it preserves for one a measure of independence of circumstances.

The impression gleaned from Tibullus' elegies is that he has a modest amount, which is sufficient for his needs, cf. 1.1.25 "iam modo iam possim contentus vivere parvo"; earlier in the same poem he had written, line 5, "me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti". It is important to remember that paupertas to a Roman connoted not "want" or "poverty", but modest means. cf. Martial 11.32.8 "non est paupertas, Nestor, habere nihil". Paupertas has moral overtones (cf. Livy, praef. 11, Seneca, Ep. 87.39ff. Porphyrio on Horace, Ep.

2.2.199 "nam paupertas etiam honestae parsimoniae nomen est et usurpatur in fortuna mediocri"). It is often linked with the idea of contentment. Seneca's words Ep. 87.40 "ego non video, quid aliud sit paupertas quam parvi possessio" well elucidate Tibullus' concept of paupertas. He contrasts paupertas with a frantic search for money and riches, 1.1.1ff. At the end of his first poem we find in line 78 "despiciam dites, despiciamque famem", the clearest expression of his ideal. At 2.1.23 "turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni" he refers to his retinue of dependents, which itself implies a modest affluence. He spoke of a significant reduction in his estate, 1.1.19 "felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri", but for all that he can live in comfort with a modest harvest (1.1.43 parva seges satis est) and a garden with fruit trees (1.1.17) and vines (1.1.24). In no way could this be said to constitute straitened circumstances. When Horace in line 7 credited him with divitias we should notice that he speaks of the gifts bestowed on Tibullus by the gods in his infancy, when he was an infans; a change in his material circumstances doubtless came later, perhaps due to the confiscation of some of his land. What is significant is that he lost the impressive fortune of his ancestors, so that for him a greatly diminished estate could be equated with paupertas. Yet to Horace, who was born in poor and humble circumstances (cf. Ep. 1.20.20 "me libertino natum patre et in tenui re") the modest possession of Tibullus could well appear as prosperity.

12. inter spem ------- et iras: Wilkins comments "not felt by Tibullus himself especially, but marking human life

generally", following Orelli. Is this necessarily the case? Horace's eye has been fixed very much on Tibullus throughout lines 1-11 - he has been reasoning with him in an effort to lift his spirits. In lines 6-11 he has listed the many blessings which he enjoys, and has made a frank assessment of Tibullus' personality. For the central section of the poem Horace has reserved serious arguments, as he clearly exposes the reasons why his poet friend ought to be happy. Tibullus has all he could possibly wish for, all the exterior graces, good health, reputation, a modest affluence. What does he lack? Nothing, except peace of mind, without which everything else seems to be pointless. This line of argument depends for its validity on Tibullus' melancholy, observed by K.-H. in their introduction to the epistle, and Courbaud likewise stresses it, stating that his melancholy had its roots deep in his own soul; he experienced it when his love affairs were endangered or when illness awakened in him thoughts of death. Yet he did have the capacity to be a joyous companion and the sadness which Ep. 4 supposes could be rather superficial, prompted by a specific occasion, perhaps his recent abandonment by Glycera. It is this situation that lies behind Odes 1.33 - his mistress has left him and Tibullus has poured out his grief in elegies. Horace takes him to task firmly, points out the complexities of relationships, and urges Tibullus to yield to the ups and downs of life and console himself with the reflection that his disappointment is by no means unique. It may well be the case that a similar situation lies behind Ep. 4, in which case we can go along with Courbaud, although it is only intelligent speculation. What is very difficult to accept

is the rigid line taken by Fraenkel, p.326, that we should not depend on Odes 1.33 for an understanding of Ep. 4, in contrast to Courbaud, p.83 "L'épitre 4 ne saurait être considérée à part de l'ode 1.33". I disagree with Fraenkel's view that the epistle is necessarily self-contained: "it tells the reader all that he needs to know if he wants to understand the epistle and to appreciate it as it deserves". Fraenkel goes on to state that the reader has to have "a flair for subtle transitions and delicate implications". This latter remark is certainly true and amply borne out by Horace's Epistles as a whole, which are not easy reading just because the connection of thought is at times difficult.

Lines 12ff. are difficult to take because of the sudden revelation of the conflicting passions which can affect the soul. Putnam, 86, comments on the abrupt and positive statement following on from his questions in the preceding lines. "With the mention of hope and sorrow, fear and anger, we enter deep into the world of the psyche itself. These are important polarities of human emotions, negative and positive, receptive and assertive, introvert and extrovert, which far transcend the easy distinctions between mind and body Horace has proposed earlier". Line 12 is a densely packed, intense line - there is, as Fraenkel indicates, no original or unfamiliar thought here, yet lines 12ff. "are so full of vigour and deep feeling and worded with such perfect harmony that they sink into our memory for good". Fraenkel argues that 12ff. contain the lesson which Tibullus ought to derive from his philosophical meditations, lines 4-5. According to Fraenkel, Tibullus has no good reason to be indulging in self-pity or melancholy. Hence

he sees 12ff. as striking "a note of serious admonition, implying how foolish we are when we persist in spoiling this short and precarious life by self-inflicted torments". The weakness of this argument is that too much weight is put on the seriousness of lines 4-5, and the pretensions of Tibullus to be a philosopher. Is not Horace rather twitting him gently in 4-5, teasing him good-naturedly?

McGann, p.44, seems to be nearer the mark in commenting that following the blessings listed in 6-11 comes the "aliquid maius, the gift which would crown all. It is set forth as a precept. This is the culmination of the epistle". If only Tibullus could avoid letting his anxieties and irritations spoil his life, then he could be capable of bene vivere, which is wisdom itself; cf. Ep. 1.2.40-2, "sapere aude;/incipe. Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam/rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis". One can become wise only through one's own conduct and determination. The Horatian tenor of sapere at Ep. 1.2.40 can be compared with Ep. 2.2.141ff. where he defines it as "verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae", line 144. The line that Tibullus is wanting in this respect, and cannot see things in perspective well accords with the Ode addressed to him. He must adjust this outlook, think positively and extract the most from each hour of life.

Ullman argues cogently, 158, that "verses 12-14 can mean nothing unless a consolation is intended, and the consolation must suit the poem as a whole". He maintains that the emotions in 12 are meant to apply strictly to Tibullus' state of mind. A quick glance at 12 shows the arrangement by pairs, with the first pair in the singular, while the

second is in the plural. The repetition of inter with each pair contributes a pleasing elegance to the line. Seeking a resemblance between the members of each pair, Ullman took the first as pleasant feelings, the second as unpleasant. He assigns to curam the technical meaning "love". In other words, the curae which have distracted Tibullus and made him turn away from his usual pursuits and friends to become a hermit are amatory in nature. This is a novel and striking line to take, which is plausible if we remember that Tibullus had met with disappointment and treachery in his love affairs. Ullman's interpretation of curam can be borne out by recourse to elegy - Tibullus 2.3.13 "nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis" where he writes that Apollo's learning in medicine is ineffective in removing his own curae. The word cura can denote solicitude or concern on the part of a lover, OLD s.v. 5, as at Tibullus 1.5.37 "temptavi curas depellere vino", where curae are amatory cares, a lover's troubles. Cura can be used also to denote the person loved, cf. Ovid, Amores, 3.9.32 "altera cura recens, altera primus amor", referring to Tibullus' two loves, Delia and Nemesis. Ullman argues that "the only meaning that cura can have here, classed as it is with the pleasant word spem, is love"; he overstates the case as there is another interpretation.

Spem is a naturally pleasant word; spes is the cause of Tibullus' decision to continue a life of love. Hope encourages him to persevere, when he is tempted to end his suffering by suicide, Tibullus 2.6.27 "spes facilem Nemesim spondet mihi, sed negat illa". Hope can bring comfort. Lovers' fears occur in elegy, Tibullus 1.2.15 "tu quoque ne timide

custodes, Delia, falle"; cf. 1.6.59-60 "haec mihi te adducit tenebris multoque timore/coniungit nostras clam taciturna manus", where the fear of detection is meant; cf. Tibullus 1.2.24; 1.6.75. As for iras, "in the elegiac poets ira is often the result of troubles in love" Ullman; cf. Tibullus 1.6.57-8 "sed tua mater/me monet atque iras aurea vincit anus". cf. Tibullus 1.10.57-8 "Amor ----/inter et iratum lentus utrumque sedet", where the god of love assumes the posture of a judge between two quarrelsome lovers, and urges them on, arousing their anger; their quarrels are indicative of their love. Compare 1.6.69-72 where Tibullus actually welcomes anger and jealousy on Delia's part as an indication of her love, such emotions being felt only by a real lover. Perhaps Horace has especially in mind the harsh-tempered Glycera of Odes 1.33 who betrayed Tibullus. She is immitis, Odes 1.33.2 and has failed to live up to his ideal of her. Ullman thus argues that Horace is on purpose here using the technical language of love elegy in line 12. This would be very much in his manner, cf. Ep. 1.5 to Torquatus, the barrister, which contains some subtle parodies of legal language, designed to amuse his addressee. Thus the problem which is causing Tibullus to be depressed is a love affair, "in the midst, then, of these feelings brought on by his love affair, Tibullus should remember, says Horace, what a precious boon mere life is, and should count every added hour a special gift of heaven" Ullman, 159.

However, there is no need to take 12 in this rather narrow sense. The four emotions mentioned could well typify the ordinary experiences of life. Compare Juvenal 1.85, "votum, timor ira voluptas". The classification of

the emotions under four heads derives from the Stoics. It is probably something of a commonplace; cf. Virgil, Aen. 6.733 "hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque". Perhaps there is a veiled suggestion here that Tibullus has been trying to find consolation in Stoic thought, which has proved of no use to him. Terranova, Sic Gym. xx11 (1969) 190-201 suggests that the underlying motif of the letter is a summons to Epicureanism, and he points to Cicero, Tusc. 3.7.14-15, where Cicero writes that the man who is susceptible of distress is also susceptible of fear, of dejection and depression of soul, "veri simile est igitur, in quem cadit aegritudo, cadere in eundem timorem et infractionem quidem animi et demissionem". When men are liable to these emotions, there comes a feeling of subjection, and a readiness to admit themselves beaten. But Cicero affirms, Tusc. 3.7.14 "at nemo sapiens nisi fortis: non cadet ergo in sapientem aegritudo". He goes on to say that the soul of the truly wise man is never in an inflamed or swollen state, Tusc. 3.9.19 "numquam igitur sapiens irascitur". The wise man is never angry. However, ingenious though this suggestion of Terranova and Becker may be, I find it very hard to go along with it. Their line depends for its validity on an over-literal interpretation of line 5, with Tibullus seriously imagined as trying to seek solace in philosophy. However, this is to miss the whimsical tone of the whole poem, where the remedy for Tibullus' troubles is not a devotion to any philosophy, but rather the pleasure to be derived from friendship, as is made clear by the express invitation in lines 15-16. It may well be the case that line 12 has a merely general reference, as Wilkins takes it. This view is backed

up by the fact that Horace's letters are meant as much for the reader of the book as for the specific recipient. A great deal of their appeal derives from this. At any rate, the four emotions can well apply to the everyday, ordinary experiences of any person's life, without the least reference to philosophy as such. Many of Horace's poems furnish evidence of the general use of these terms. In Odes 1.11 to Leuconoe Horace urges her to cut short far-reaching hope, Odes 1.11.7 "spem longam reseces". Hope is apt to extend too far unless we control it - there is a restricted time span within which hope for the future is sensible. Cura in the obvious sense of "anxiety" is a recurring theme in the Odes and Epistles. It is the morbid condition of mind of those people who cannot make their peace with the human condition, and it wrecks any chance of happiness. At Odes 2.16.21 Horace labels it vitiosa - it is an unhealthy mental state and is associated with such deficiencies as timor, cf. Cicero Tusc. 4.14 "perturbationes vitiosae". Cura wrecks our peace of mind, and is destructive and negative. Timor likewise is inimical to well-being. Horace at Odes 2.16.15 links it with cupido, where it is an irrational attitude towards unpleasant things in the future. Fear usually has reference to some known object and takes the form of flight from it; perhaps Tibullus fears more disappointment in love and recoils from it, seeking the seclusion of his country home. Ira, anger, figures prominently in the Epistles. In Ep. 1.2.63 Horace urges Lollius to curb his anger with bridle and chain as if it were a wild beast. There is a need for restraint in one who is prone to outbursts of temper, and irrational behaviour, cf. Ep. 1.2.62 "ira brevis furor est". In Ep.

1.3 there is a specific example of the unfortunate results of ira in the bad blood between Florus and Munatius. They can be brought together and reconciled only by philosophy. Anger at its root is a response to hostile invasions of the self, and often at the root of it is fear. It is the instinctive protection one seeks in the face of assault. Horace himself in a candid vein writes at Ep. 1.20.25 of his own irascibility, irasci celerem. On the close association between anger and fear cf. Lucretius 3.311-2 "quin proclivius hic iras decurrat ad acris/ille metu citius paulo temptetur". Fear was an evil which it was the task of the Epicurean system of ethics to banish from people's lives. While Tibullus may well have suffered more acutely than most from these emotions, if we take seriously the theory that he was liable to mood swings and depression, yet there is no reason why the line cannot also have a general import.

13-14 omnem ------- hora: when tossed about by such conflicting emotions Tibullus should recall how precious a gift life is, and live each day as if it were his last. This is an idea often expressed by Seneca, cf. Ep. 12.8 "itaque sic ordinandus est dies omnis, tamquam cogat agmen et consummet atque expleat vitam". Tibullus himself had said to Delia, 1.1.69-70 "interea, dum fata sinant, iungamus amores/iam veniet tenebris Mors adoperta caput", where there is suggested an urgency to living in the present which challenges the arrival of death. This is an idea which is common in the amatory sphere, cf. Catullus 5.1ff; Horace, Odes 1.9.15ff. While Horace touches on the notion of death, yet his aim is surely not to depress Tibullus, and darken his outlook.

Rather, it is optimism which he seeks to inspire. For, if this day is assumed to be his final one, an hour more would not be expected, and therefore would be welcome. Tibullus should pluck the present hour as an unlooked-for addition. Dilke draws attention to the "strong vein of pessimism" which runs through ancient thought. The theme of the brevity and uncertainty of human life together with enjoyment of the passing hour features much in Horace. It is a familiar motif from the Odes, not to take thought for the morrow, coupled with enjoying the present. Both these motifs occur in different forms and connections. He urges Sestius not to hope far ahead, Odes. 1.4.15 "vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam"; cf. Odes 1.9.13ff.

> quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et
> quem Fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
> adpone, nec dulces amores
> sperne, puer, neque tu choreas.

Thaliarchus is there urged to enjoy each day as it comes. Odes 1.11 touches on the impossibility of telling the future. Hence Leuconoe is urged to enjoy her wine today, and distrust the morrow. Horace argues that satisfaction with the present should exclude morbid worries and fears for the future. He urges Quinctius Hirpinus to give up planning for the future, Odes 2.11.11-12 "quid aeternis minorem/consiliis animum fatigas?" The schemes of a worldly man are based on the false assumption that he will live for ever; yet Horace reminds Quinctius how precarious life is, and how he should value the present. His aim is to bring his addressee to a relaxed and tranquil state of mind, to grasp the opportunities of the moment. He gives concrete, practical expression to this advice in his invitation to Quinctius to an out-door picnic in the second half of the ode. The

"philosophy" of such συμποσια is relevant here in view of Horace's similar invitation to Tibullus in lines 15-16. "Eat, drink, and be merry" and "take no thought for the morrow" is basically a self-centred, self-interested view of life - it is mildly hedonistic and derives ultimately from Epicurus, frag. 490 (Usener) ὁ τῆς αὔριον ἥκιστα δεόμενος, ἥδιστα προσεισι πρὸς τὴν αὔριον. Compare the Epistle to Menoeceus, in Diog. Laert. 10.126 χρόνον ---- τὸν ἥδιστον καρπίζεται. and Epicurus, Sent. Vat. 14. "σὺ δὲ οὐκ ὢν τῆς αὔριον (κύριος) ἀναβάλλῃ τὸ χαίρον· ὁ δὲ βίος μελλησμῷ παραπόλλυται καὶ εἷς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἀσχολούμενος ἀποθνήσκει. At Odes 2.16.25-6 Horace counsels Grosphus "laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est/oderit curare", where the tone is Epicurean, cf. Odes 3.8.27 "dona praesentis cape laetus horae". Permanent felicity is impossible of attainment, but we should be encouraged to snatch happiness for the moment, and be content with what we have.

In Ep. 4 death itself is not mentioned. Whereas the Odes cited hint at the uncertainty of the future in quite concrete and vivid pictures (such as "seu plures hiemes ---- seu ultimam", Odes 1.11.4) in Ep. 4 in the very direct request in 13 we have no concrete picture, just a straight statement in matter-of-fact language. In contrast to the instances cited from the Odes, the other motif (enjoy the present) is quite abstract in line 14, where grata is all important, and acquires added stress by standing first word in the line. There is a depth of feeling in these lines. 13 is nicely balanced with the adjectives omnem and supremum bracketing it. There is a grim finality in supremum, as distrust of the morrow is touched on. A similar thought is

expressed in a light-hearted way in Petronius 99.1 "ego sic semper et ubique vixi ut ultimam quamque lucem tamquam non redituram consumerem". Diluxisse is an effective verb, used of the new dawn breaking through and scattering the shades of night. It is a rare word, used by Cicero Phil. 12.5 "discussa est illa caligo, diluxit, patet, videmus omnia". It is used in imagery by Lucretius 5.175 "donec diluxit rerum genitalis origo", where he works in a light versus dark antithesis. The connotations here are pleasant, hopeful and perhaps Horace is subtly suggesting a contrast to the darkness of the woods through which Tibullus saunters (4). A solemnity pervades line 13, stressed by the weighty spondees in foot one and foot 4, although the language of 12-13 is very close to prose. There is a lighter feel to line 14, as the rhythm is light-tripping and dactylic. This accords well with the thought, "poésie de l'instant fugitif, de la grace accordée au condamné à mort qu'est tout homme, et dès lors de la gratitude, qui est joie d'avoir d'abord confiance," Préaux. The idea is one of welcome acceptance of an unlooked-for gift, another hour of life - significantly diem in 13 is narrowed drastically to hora, the smallest portion of time possible. With the thought cf. Terence, Phormio 251 "quidquid praeter spem eveniet, omne id deputabo esse in lucro". At Ep. 1.11.23 "grata sume manu, neu dulcia differ in annum" the injunction is similar to that in Ep. 4.14. At Odes 3.29.41ff. Horace writes to Maecenas that that man will live as his own master and in happiness who can say each day "I have lived" - the idea is of self-sufficiency and contentment.

In 12-14 Horace well succeeds in "preaching a form of

existentialism to his poet friend", Putnam, 86. It is only a bold and realistic acceptance of the passions to which we are all subject and a resigned acceptance of the fact of death which can deepen our enjoyment of the present. As Putnam puts it "an awareness of death magnifies appreciation of life's variety". Dilke is right in pointing to the Greek lyric poets and their pessimism, but there is an important difference between them and Horace. They lamented the passage of youth bitterly, cf. Theognis 985f, 1129ff. "ἀλλ' ἤβην ἐρατὴν ὀλοφύρομαι, ἣ μ' ἐπιλείπει/ κλαίω δ' ἀργαλέου γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον." cf. Tibullus 1.4.27 "transiet aetas/quam cito". However Horace's tone is different in that he dampens down their stridency, and concentrates on the appeal to rational consideration and acknowledgement that if one has enough to live comfortably, and to satisfy one's needs, then, provided one can enjoy what one has here and how, fears for the future are superfluous. Through this "philosophy" his exhortation to <u>bene vivere</u> strikes a more convincing note. He succeeds in turning the old lament over the transitoriness of youth (cf. Theognis 877-8 " Ἥβα μοι, φίλε θυμέ, τάχ' οὐ τινὲς ἄλλοι ἔσονται/ ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι; Tibullus 1.1.71-4) into a positive summons to present enjoyment.

15-16. <u>me pinguem</u> -------- <u>Epicuri de grege porcum</u>: in lines 12-14 Horace has given theoretical advice to Tibullus,

concerning a proper and sensible attitude to life, urging him to make the most of each moment. Now in 15-16 we see the practical application of that advice with Horace's invitation to Tibullus to come over to visit him. McGann, p.44, comments that the "concluding lines make laughing acknowledgement of that fact that the advice in 13ff. derives from a dictum of Epicurus and of the possibility of its being interpreted in a grossly hedonistic fashion".

The construction of the lines is artful - the emphatic pronoun me at the start of line 15 stands in contrast to Albi (1) and te (2). The hyperbaton me pinguem ---- porcum is noteworthy, the point being to throw maximum weight on to the quite unexpected porcum. The humorous self-caricature of Horace as a pig coincides neatly with the invitation to Tibullus. The future tense vises certainly implies an invitation, and Ullman comments on its being a tactful touch; in effect the future is tantamount to a command, although the following clause significantly tempers it. A similar use of the future tense occurs at Ep. 1.17.12; Ep. 1.13.2.

Horace is intent on proving to Tibullus that he (me) practises what he preaches. His self portrait here suggests a hedonist in effect - pinguem, when used of animals means "fat", "sleek", "plump", OLD s.v. 1; cf. Plautus, Capt. 862, "iube agnum adferri pinguem". Applied to persons, it denotes well-being, or prosperity, cf. Virgil, Geo. 2.193 "inflavit cum pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras". Here it is probably used quite literally in the sense of obesus, since we know from the letter of Augustus recalled by Suetonius in his vita Horati that Horace was portly in physique, "habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus"; cf. Ep. 1.20.24

corporis exigui. He is also nitidum, "sleek", "well-conditioned", used of a person who is spruce, well-groomed, especially as a sign of affluence, OLD s.v. 6. cf. Tibullus 2.1.21 "nitidus plenis confusus rusticus agris", of a sleek countryman who is "shining with health, cleaned up and trim for festivities", Putnam, Tibullus, A Commentary, cf. Ep. 1.7.83 "ex nitido fit rusticus", applied to Volteius Mena, where nitido has almost the sense of urbano. Mena, when he lived in town, was adrasus, but on return from the country after he suffered disaster as a farmer, he is scaber et intonsus, Ep. 1.7.90. Horace's skin is well cared for, bene curata cute - cutem curare is proverbial for taking care of one's skin, making much of oneself, and there is, as Dilke comments, a "slight air of luxury" in the phrase. At Ep.1.2.29 Horace applied the idea to the Phaeacians who were indolent and unregenerate, "in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus". Like them it seems that Horace pays attention only to his outward physical appearance, not his inner soul. He is well manicured and "claims attention for virtues of the body, not the mind" Putnam, 87. There is something very superficial about the qualities we see evoked in 15 - they are manifestly visible for all to see and admire. Horace is making himself out to be a bit of a dandy. Significantly perhaps curata glances back to curantem in 5 applied to the supposed philosophical musings of Tibullus in his dark woods. What Horace is interested in is his skin - he claims to be a mere animal. At Ep. 1.15.24 "pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti" he talks of his intention of returning from the seaside after indulging in luxury. In Epp. 10 and 14 he had developed the theme of his devotion to simplicity

of living in the rus, and seemed able to withstand the temptations of luxury, but all that is blown to the winds in Ep. 1.15, where he eagerly enquires after the availability of sea food and game. Horace is a gourmet, and the great attention which he pays to his food exposes him blatantly to the charge of inconsistency. This is all part of his intention in the Epistles - he can slickly adopt whatever pose he chooses to suit a given occasion and recipient. In Ep. 4 it is part of his strategy to deflate himself at the end to the level of a mere animal, concerned only with the way it looks, self-indulgent and indolent. On cutis see Thes. L.L. 4.1578.75ff., where it is said to be a word of the sermo vulgaris, a word of popular language, very rare except in such technical writers as Celsus, and Pliny nat.; cf. Otto, Sprichwörter, 104. There is a tone of pride and self satisfaction in 15. However, the tone of all this is whimsical, recalling the tone at the start of the epistle, and we are almost certainly not intended to take it at face value. He selects the porcum as a type of fatness or good living. The word is probably rather colloquial in nuance. W. Heraeus, Kl.Schr. (1937) 214 states that porcus is used exclusively in the talk of Trimalchio and freedmen, and occasionally also in the narrative of the Cena, whereas sus occurs only twice in the narrative (47.8; 49.1). In Horace, sus occurs three times (Epode 12.6 of a wild pig, and in Ep. 1.2.26; 2.2.75 of a domestic pig). Porcus occurs twice as often. Yet in Virgil sus is the word commonly used; porca occurs only once (Aen. 8.641). Porcus does not occur in Silver Latin epic at all. Putnam, 87, draws attention to the fact that the "autobiographical equation of Horace

with a pig is a purposive comic device, splendidly worked out, with the dramatic power that only its position at the end can grant ---- Horace lightens the melodrama of his best podium manner by turning things in on himself". While the pig may here have pretensions to be educated (it is from Epicurus' sty) yet it is still a mere creature which is satisfied if its most basic physical needs are met. It can claim attention only for bodily characteristics and there is irony in Horace's equating himself with such an animal that likes rolling about in the mud, Ep. 1.2.26, amica luto sus. However, the poet is saved from total degradation by the three words cum ridere voles. This subordinate clause is best separated off by commas, while Epicuri de grege porcum is best taken with vises. Orelli seems to be wrong here, in printing a comma only after vises. The subordinate clause has a significance of its own. It is only when Tibullus wants to laugh that Horace is a porcus, a voluptuary. Courbaud was right in saying that Horace is not really to be taken at face value here and is not a porcus to everybody, but only to those who need to be cheered up and roused from melancholy tendencies. The function of this light-hearted irony and self-mockery is that Horace wishes to cheer Tibullus up and give him a boost.

The pig is from Epicurus' sty - grege is highly pejorative here. It is applicable to a herd of pigs, as well as to a school of philosophy; cf. Sat. 2.3.44 "insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex/autumat", used of a group with common aims. See Thes. L.L. 6.2333.64ff. cf. Cicero, Orat. 1.10.42 "philosophorum greges". Attacking Calpurnius Piso, Cicero labels him, In Pis. 37 "Epicure noster, ex hara producte,

non exschola".

This is Horace's only direct mention of Epicurus. He mischievously distorts and misrepresents the true philosophy of Epicurus for purely comic purposes. For Epicureans the good life was impossible without pleasure. Happiness was the highest good, the beginning and end of which was pleasure. They believed that happiness could be achieved by the eradication of pain; it was characterised by a freedom from fear, ataraxia, a perfect tranquillity. They stressed the greater importance of mental pleasures, and believed that the pains of the mind were worse than those of the body, Diog.Laert. 10.137. It is important to recall that Epicurus stressed the need for self control in all physical pleasures and referred to the need for contentment with little. The moderation of desires and the ability to live simply provide the true scope of pleasure; cf. Sent.Vat. 59 ἄπληστον οὐ γαστήρ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί φασιν, ἀλλὰ δόξα γενδὴς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γαστρὸς ἀορίστου πληρώματος
It is clear from this that Epicurus can in fact be cleared of the charge of over-indulgence, sensualism and debauchery, which opponents of the School used against him. Pleasure did not mean sensual enjoyment, but rather health of body and the exercise of the mind on philosophy; cf; Ep. ad Men. 131, « ὅταν οὖν λέγωμεν ἡδονὴν τέλος ὑπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς τῶν ἀσώτων ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπολαύσει κειμένας λέγομεν, --- ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε ἀλγεῖν κατὰ σῶμα μήτε ταράττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχήν
For Epicurus the greatest happiness came from a life free from anxiety and not from the indiscriminate, wanton enjoyment of physical pleasures. Moderation of desires and the knowledge how to live simply were the sure ways to attain

to pleasure. Horace himself shows an indebtedness to this line of thinking in such Odes as 2.16 where he states the essence of the good life and inner peace as consisting in simplicity and little.

However, Horace in 15-6 plays on popular misconceptions of Epicureanism. Cicero's invective against Piso furnishes evidence, as when he attacks him as "ex hara producte, non ex schola", In Pis. 37. His graphic description of the riotous living of Piso shows him indulging the pleasures of the table, of food and drink, as opposed to the more refined pleasures, In Pis. 66. It is true that Epicurus did stress the pleasures of the stomach, cf. Epic. frag. 409 (Usener) ἀρχὴ καὶ ῥίζα παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἡ τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονή." However, as Nisbet comments on In Pis. 66 Epicurus meant that "the ἀπονία of the stomach was a prerequisite to the ἀταραξία of the mind". Critics conveniently took the remark out of context, distorting it completely and accusing Epicurus of making the pleasure of the stomach the chief object in life. For Epicurus' praises of frugality see Ep. ad Men. 130-2. The fact remains that to non-Epicureans the very name Epicurus connoted hedonism, cf. Seneca, Ep. 18.9 "ille magister voluptatis Epicurus". What is particularly relevant to porcum in line 16 is the fact that in anti-Epicurean polemic, the followers of Epicurus were said to reduce men to the level of animals, cf. Cicero, De Fin. 2.32.109, and Epicureans were often compared with animals, especially pigs, cf. Plutarch, Mor. 1091 c ὥστε μήτε συῶν ἀπολείπεσθαι μήτε προβάτων εὐδαιμονία. On a silver cup from Boscoreale, Epicurus is portrayed with a pig, as K.-H. remark. On popular misconceptions pertaining to the teachings of Epicurus cf. Seneca, De Vita Beata 12.

"non ab Epicuro impulsi luxuriantur, sed dediti vitiis luxuriam suam in philosophiae sinu abscondunt et eo concurrunt, ubi audiunt laudari voluptatem. Nec aestimatur voluptas illa Epicuri (ita enim mehercules sentio), cum sobria et sicca sit: sed ad nomen ipsum advolant, quaerentes libidinibus suis patrocinium aliquod ac velamentum".

However, it would be quite erroneous to regard Ep.4 as in any way a call to Epicureanism. The intention of Horace at the end is to amuse as well as to console, and the tone is one of good-natured banter as Horace has a laugh at himself. McGann, p.44 argues that "the self-caricature here corresponds to the account of the sapiens at the end of Epistle 1". He is right only partially, however, when he says "each represents one of the extremes between which he has said he vacillates", Ep. 1.1.16ff. In that passage he writes, "Nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,/virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles,/nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor". Horace has just said that he is the hospes of the philosophical schools - he does not stay long, and tries to free himself from being beholden to any one sect at all. He substitutes Aristippus for Epicurus at Ep. 1.1.18. While Stoicism seems uncongenial to him, he sinks back unwittingly into its opposite, the hedonism of Aristippus, with its emphasis on enjoying the pleasure of the moment. He thus declares his independence of Epicureanism. It is dangerous to try to make Horace too philosophical as Préaux does in his comments on Ep. 1.1.16 "c'est avant tout l'affirmation de l'épicurisme d'esprit horatien". But Horace is careful not to affirm allegiance to any living school (the Cyrenaic sect was not a living force at this time).

Horace delights in his own wavering and indecision. At Sat. 2.7 his slave Davus takes his master to task for being infirm of purpose, and this charge seems to stick with him. He is free from a dogmatic attachment to any one sect; cf. Ep. 1.1.14 "nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri".

It is clear from 15-16 that Horace is suggesting to Tibullus that he leave his ancestral estate at Pedum and come to Rome or the Sabine farm to see his friend Horace. "The letter is not a formal invitation, for a particular day, but rather a standing offer in a manner customary between near friends" Fraenkel, p.323 n.4. This comment alerts us to the fact that Tibullus is thought to be in need of company and amusement. One way of remedying his purported depression is the presence of a good and loyal friend. Friendship will be the cure for his troubles. The Epicureans set great store by friendship, cf. Epicurus, Sent. Vat. 13. It was reckoned to be productive of peace of mind and hence pleasure, cf. Sent. Vat. 52 " ἡ φιλία περιχορεύει τὴν οἰκουμένην κηρύττουσα δὴ πασιν ἡμῖν ἐγείρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν μακαρισμόν " The Epicureans made a virtual cult of friendship and thought that it fulfilled one of man's greatest and most basic needs, cf. Epicurus, K.D. 27 " ὧν ἡ σοφία παρασκευάζεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριότητα, πολὺ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ τῆς φιλίας κτῆσις." Cicero quotes Epicurus as saying that "friendship cannot be divorced from pleasure and is to be cultivated for pleasure's sake, De Fin. 2.26.82 "amicitiam a voluptate non posse divelli ob eamque rem colendam esse quod cum sine ea tuto et sine metu vivi non posset, ne iucunde quidem posset". Compare De Fin. 1.20.65 "at vero Epicurus ---- quam magnos tenuit amicorum greges". Horace himself is on record as proclaiming at

Sat. 1.5.44 "nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico", and we see in Epistles 1 as a whole how the theme of friendship is to the fore. In Ep. 1.3 Julius Florus is urged at the close to make up a quarrel with a friend, Munatius; caelestis sapientia (line 27) demands this reconciliation and can set a man in a right relationship with his friends, and with society. In Ep. 1.8 to Celsus Horace gives advice to a young friend on not letting success go to his head. He shows tact and feeling for Celsus, and approaches a delicate task with diplomacy. At the start of Ep. 1.10 he describes his fondness for Aristius Fuscus - their disagreement on the right place to live is the only blemish on their friendship. When Iccius in Ep. 1.12 complains of his lot, his poverty and insecurity, Horace does respond with a measure of consolation and friendly advice, and he urges him to cultivate the friendship of Pompeius Grosphus, who understands what friendship is about. Iccius, far from home, needs a friend to whom he can turn. Cicero, De Am. 5.17 says that friendship is the main concern of mankind, "nihil est tam naturae aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas". He rates it as the greatest gift of the gods after sapientia. Of particular relevance to Ep. 4 is Cicero's remark that misfortunes can be alleviated and borne more easily if there is a friend to share them, De Am. 5.22 "nam et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia (the sharing of joys brings mutual pleasure) et adversas, partiens communicansque, leviores". The cure for Tibullus' troubles is laughter with his friend Horace. The concluding two lines constitute the practical application of the theoretical advice tendered in lines 12-14.

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