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The Use of Historical Allusions by Non-Historical Writers of the Augustan Age: Horace, Vergil, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid

Mary Geraldine Rowe
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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THE USE OF HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS

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MARY GERALDINE ROWE

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
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1941

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PREFACE

The writing of history has long been considered a task which necessitated a formal approach through facts and which lent itself to scientific rather than emotional interpretation. Historical themes therefore must be rendered for the most part through the medium of prose writing - history, letters, and biography - or, when a poetical form is chosen, through drama, satire, or epic. Especially is this true if an authentic record of some recent historical happening is being presented.

It is an accepted fact that historical material, does not lend itself readily to poetic expression unless embroidered by the poet's own imagination and through his own technique and skill, a practice which is easier and more legitimate if the story has been handed down through the ages and changed in accordance with the ideas of its transmitters.

Because of the fact that the Romans were a people who desired to have the memory of the glorious deeds of their heroes and of the achievements of their nation perpetuated through the ages, history with them became a major field of literature. The writings of Livy and Tacitus stand as witnesses to this fact. The greatest writers of epic - Naevius, Ennius, Vergil, Lucan - developed national themes which they drew from legend and history.

It is the purpose of this study, however, to show that the Roman writers of lyric poetry as well as the writers of epic used a large and varied amount of historical material in their literary productions. It will describe the types of historical allusions which they used, will prove their wide use of these allusions, will analyze the stylistic effects of their use, and will illustrate the methods by which they wove them into their poems. As the material for this study the poetry produced by the great writers of the Augustan Age - Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid - has been chosen.

"Poetry is the interpretation of life in its highest terms", says Mackail, "and the expression, in patterns of words, of the instinct and effort of mankind to discover, to disengage, and to fix the essential truth and beauty which underlie the confused appearances of life."¹ Mackail further says that, in the phrase of a living poet, the function of poetry is "to condense out of the flying vapours of the world an image of perfection."²

It is easy to imagine Vergil, the greatest of Latin epic poets, and Horace, an equally great national poet, assuming this role as leaders in this unending world-movement, glorifying in their poetry the heroic characters and deeds from Rome's past and the equally important achievements of the age in which they lived. But what of the other poets of the age who were more emotional and lyrical by nature? Could Tibullus cease his songs of love, Propertius his elegies to Cynthia or Ovid his light, amorous, and narrative verse to touch upon a more weighty and serious theme - the glorification of Rome?

¹ Condensed from Mackail. Virgil and His Influence on the World of Today. 3.

² Ibid.

As a basis for this study the Ecloques, the Georgics and the Aeneid of Vergil, the Odes and Epodes of Horace, the four books of elegies comprising the Tibullan Corpus, the four books of elegies by Propertius, and the Heroides, Amores, and Fasti of Ovid have been read. Latin references are to the following editions in the Loeb Classical Library: Virgil (Vols. I and II) by H. R. Fairclough, Horace by G. E. Bennett, Tibullus by J. P. Postgate, Propertius by H. E. Butler, Ovid, Heroides and Amores by Grant Showerman, and Ovid's Fasti by J. G. Fraser. Most helpful suggestions were found in P. Vergili Maronis Opera (Vol. II) by T. L. Papillon and A. E. Haigh; Horace by Joseph Currie; The Elegies of Tibullus by Kirby Flower Smith; The Elegies of Propertius by H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber; Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex by J. F. Fraser.

THE USE OF HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS BY NON-HISTORICAL
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PART ONE. The Augustan Age

The beginning of the period known as the Augustan Age in literature may be placed at a time immediately preceding the battle of Actium and its end coincided with the death of the historian Livy and of the poet Ovid in 17 A. D.¹

The joy of this era was enhanced through contrast with the sufferings of the previous age. There were even greater hopes for the future. New pride in the empire and a growing feeling of unity helped to bind the people to the new government. The national spirit of Rome was increased² "by the maintenance of the old forms of the constitution, by the revival of ancient usages and ceremonies, and by the creation of a new interest in the early traditions of the city"³. One of the chief objectives of Augustus was the revival of the ideals of the men of olden times. One of the most important aims of the new order was "to reinstate agriculture, to anchor the nation afresh on the motherland"⁴ and to check the feeling of idle discontent prevalent in all classes.

1 Cf. Sellar. Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, Virgil. 1

2 Dimsdale. History of Latin Literature. 236.

3 Sellar. Op. Cit. 12.

4 Mackail. Op. Cit. 61.

The great revolution which had come over the world, the fresh hopes which it awakened and "the new ideals which it presented to the imagination", combined with the striking personality, the prestige, and the good luck of the remarkable man by whom this revolution had been accomplished, all furnished¹ themes for the poetry produced by the epic and lyric poets of the age.

Furthermore renewed interest and energy were directed toward literary production. The leaders of society were absorbed with enthusiasm for writing and for writers. The imperial leader had the gift of winning the confidence of the intellectual groups.² Patriotic writers joined in supporting him. Augustus likewise saw the value of aiding writers and set the example for doing so by using literature as an instrument of government.³ Thus there arose a new type of patronage - that of the imperial circle. Among the followers of the emperor's example in patronising literary talent are found the famous Maecenas, Pollio, and Messalla. This interest in literary pursuits⁴ became in fact a substitute for the political activity of the previous era.

Although this "imperial attention" resulted in a certain restraint and lack of outspokenness on the part of the poets of the age, it gave them in compensation⁵ "social security and affluent circumstances". As a consequence literature was not directly political in tone, but rather retrospective and patriotic, expressing personal and national gratitude for the blessings of the age. The poets of the Augustan Age whose work furnishes the material for this study - Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid -

1 Cf. Sellar. Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. Horace and the Elegiac Poets. 29.

2 Duff. A Literary History of Rome. 433.

3 Dinwiddie. Op. Cit. 236.

4 Ibid.

5 Duff. Op. Cit. 434.

were born and practically reached manhood before the end of the Republican era.¹ This however did not cause them to be so steeped in its ideals that they could not recognize the plans of the new empire as ones which would restore to Rome its old status of prestige and power.

The generation to which these poets, with the exception of Ovid, belonged had passed through one of the worst crises of a long period of suffering. The victory of the triumvirs at Philippi had not brought an immediate relief from this. The general insecurity was experienced by these men. Vergil lost the farm which he had inherited and even his life was endangered at the hands of the soldier to whom his estate was given. Horace's life had been in danger in the rout at Philippi and in his homeward journey across the sea. On his arrival in Rome he found himself stripped of his patrimony. Similar disasters happened to Tibullus and Propertius in the loss of the greater part of their inherited estates.² Ovid's life was least affected by these circumstances. The Felignian township of Sulmo, from which he came, had not been hurt by the civil wars.

With the victory of Augustus at Actium the turmoil and sense of impending danger which had overhung the early lives of the poets was replaced by a return to peace and tranquility.³ With this "calm came reflection and with reflection the realization of the greatness of Rome's achievement", says Dimsdale, "and an interest in the small beginnings from which such marvellous results had sprung."⁴

1 Cf. Sellar. Op. Cit. (Virgil). 1
 2 Ibid. 9.
 3 Dimsdale. Op. Cit. 235.
 4 Ibid.

PART TWO. The Relation of Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid to Their Age and Its Effect upon Their Literary Expression

The poets of the Augustan Age were, as has been said, because of the very conditions of their lives, closely associated with the events of the period. It is natural that these events should be recorded in epic poetry and therefore in the epic works of Vergil and Ovid - the Aeneid, the Georgics, and the Fasti. But to a lesser degree this is true also of the lyrics of Horace and the elegies of Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid. So deeply associated with the activities of the imperial circle and with the policies of the imperial government were all of these poets, particularly Vergil and Horace, that they could not fail to draw inspiration from them and to refer constantly to them in their works.

Vergil

The year of Vergil's birth, 70 B. C., was marked by the consulship of Pompey and Crassus and by the breakdown of the Sullan Constitution. Free reins were being given to the powers working to destroy the old republican form of government.¹

His education began in Cremona in the days when Julius Caesar was campaigning in Gaul and came to Cremona for recruits.² He continued his literary studies in Milan and through contact there with the teachers of the provinces Vergil's "remarkable catholicity of taste", says Frank, "and his aversion to the cramping technique of the rhetorical course"³ are to be explained.

1 Cf. Glover. Virgil. 11.

2 Frank. Virgil, a Biography. 15.

3 For a review of Vergil's early life cf. Mackail. Op. Cit. 29-35. Fairclough. Virgil. vol. 1, ix-xi, Prescott. Development of Virgil's Art. 22-24.

3 Op. Cit. 34f.

From there Vergil came to Rome, the center of advanced education for all the Latin speaking world, and the nursery of a brilliant group of young poets.¹
 A considerable part of his life was spent in travel which took him to Central and Southern Italy and to Sicily.²

The half-century of Vergil's life was marked by tense civil strife abating when the poet was about forty years old. The earlier years of his life saw Catiline's conspiracy and Cicero's famous consulship, Pompey's rise to power, Caesar's conquests of Gaul, and the struggle between Pompey and Caesar for supremacy in the Roman state.³ At the time of the battle of Philippi Vergil was living in his native district, composing his pastoral poems. The following year brought him the distress of his property confiscated as the result of the allotment of lands to the victorious veterans after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. His first and ninth Eclogues give expression to the sense of disorder, insecurity, and distress which accompanied this policy.⁴ Through C. Asinius Pollio, governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and L. Alfenus Varus, Pollio's successor, Vergil was introduced to Octavian and either recovered his land or received a compensation for his loss.⁵

Vergil records this experience in the ten Eclogues or Bucolics published in 37 B. C. His next great work, the Georgics, dedicated to Maecenas at whose request it was written, was published in 29 B. C., two years after the victory of Octavian at Actium.⁶ They were not written in a spirit of colonial advertise-

1 Cf. Mackail. Op. Cit. 33.

2 Ibid. 38.

3 Prescott, Op. Cit. 15.

4 Sellar, Op. Cit. 114f.

5 Fairclough, Op. Cit. 1xf; Glover. Op. Cit. 23f.

6 Fairclough, Op. Cit. x.

ment, but rather to turn men's thoughts towards a more serious effort at
 1
 rehabilitating and reviving agriculture and restoring "the fading ideal of
 a life of virtue and happiness, passed in the labors of a country life",
 2
 says Sellar.

The Aeneid came during the decade when Octavian, now Augustus, victorious
 from Actium was trying to restore the lost vigor of the Roman republic and to
 3
 bring peace and security to a new Empire. The great epic poem "touches and
 illumines the history of Rome from Rome's first origin in the decrees of the
 Fates down to the achievement of the universal Roman peace under Augustus",
 4
 says Glover. The rise of Italy is the theme of the entire story - "Romanam
 5
 condere gentem".

Vergil found in Augustus a heroic character as well as a friend and a
 savior of his country. It was Augustus who had brought about political
 changes which the poet, though not politically inclined, could appreciate and
 enjoy. Neither hereditary nor personal ties bound Vergil to the republican
 regime which Augustus brought to an end. To Vergil the victory of Augustus
 meant peace, the regeneration of his country and the restoration of the normal
 life of man. In Augustus Vergil also saw possibilities of linking the present
 6
 to the past through poetic measures.

Vergil is a true representative of his age in that "he absorbs and super-
 sedes so much of what went before him", says Sellar, "and that he anticipates

1 Cf. Frank. Op. Cit. 160

2 Op. Cit. 185.

3 Op. Cit. 185.

4 Cf. Prescott. Op. Cit. 15.

5 Op. Cit. 83.

6 Verg. Aen. I. 33.

7 Cf. Glover. Op. Cit. 157-160.

and also superseded much that came after him.¹ He presents the idealized spectacle of the career of Rome, as he vivifies the ancient traditions of Rome and Alba and glorifies the great results of his own era.² In his great epic, the Aeneid, his main purpose was to show the greatness which Rome reached under divine favor and culminating in the rule of Augustus.³ His *genius created pictures of a noble past half mythic, half real, which like an eternal and silent monitor of the present, offered the surest guarantee of an exalted future.⁴ More than any other writer Vergil became the herald of the ideal of the Augustan era - the ideal of world peace.⁵

Horace

In no Greek or Roman poet do we find so complete a representation and interpretation of any time, as we find in Horace of those years of the Augustan Age which most deserve to live in the memory of man.⁶ The mind and art of Horace stand in contrast to the mystical temper of his great contemporary, Vergil. Mackail believes that "more than any other poet of equal eminence Horace lived in the present and actual world"⁷ and gave expression to ideas current to his time.⁸ He has gained for himself a prominent place among the poets of the Augustan Age because of his very complete picture and very just criticism of his age expressed in language of idealising poetry.⁹

1 Op. Cit. 78.
 2 Cf. Ibid. 113f.
 3 Dimsdale. Op. Cit. 257.
 4 Duff. Op. Cit. 461.
 5 Cf. Cowles. "Vergil's Hatred of War". The Classical Journal .XXIX. (1934). 374.
 6 Sellar. Op. Cit. (Horace and the Elegiac Poets). 3
 7 Latin Literature. 107.
 8 Cf. Howe and Harrer. Roman Literature in Translation. 358.
 9 Sellar. Op. Cit. 3.

Before he could become the spokesman of imperial Rome Horace had to experience a period of readjustment and reconciliation, a sort of apprenticeship, which, when completed, rendered him the praiser of his empire's deeds. Professor Hendrickson says that the poet's conversion from republican inclinations to imperial sentiments was due to "an experience of life so deep and persuasive that it had turned him back to long abandoned belief, the belief that some divine providence had worked through human hands to save miraculously from the wreck of civil war the Roman state."¹

He sees that the great need of the State is reconciliation and acknowledges that the only man capable of this is Augustus.² Like Vergil he builds up in his mind an ideal Rome with Augustus as its representative. The poet became the "voice of the people in Rome as he expressed gratitude to the emperor, pride in his achievements, and devotion to his person", says Dr. Lord.³

In his nineteenth year Horace went to Athens to study philosophy and thereby add the finishing touches to his education. The assassination of Julius Caesar in Rome in March of 44 B. C. created conditions which interrupted Horace's studies at the end of his second year in Athens. When Brutus, the leading assassin of Caesar, arrived in Athens in the autumn following the death of

1 Cf. Lord. "Two Imperial Poets - Horace and Kipling". The Classical Journal. XVI. (1921). 284.

2 Condensed from Hendrickson. "Vox Vatis Horati". The Classical Journal. XXI. (1935). 200.

3 Cf. Sellar. Op. Cit. 153.

4 Condensed from Lord. "Horace as an Occasional Poet". The Classical Journal. XXI. (1935). 165.

For information on Horace's early life cf. Rose. Handbook of Latin Literature. 266; Mackail. Op. Cit. 107f; Sellar. Op. Cit. 7-13.

5 Cf. Bennett. Horace, Odes and Epodes. vi; Dimsdale. Op. Cit. 274f; Sellar. Op. Cit. 13-15.

Caesar and made his appearance in the lecture rooms of the philosophers, the young Roman students because of personal sympathy were attracted to his cause. Horace, though inexperienced in military life and tactics, followed the example of his associates and rallied to his standard, becoming a tribunus militum in Brutus' army. He himself tells us that he shared in the general rout of the army and that he left his shield "ingloriously" behind him on the field.

Republicanism died on the field of Philippi and Horace returned to Rome to find that because of his support of the republican faction the patrimony left him by his father at his death had been confiscated to provide allotment for demobilised soldiers. He evidently made peace with the government quite easily and secured a position as quaestor's clerk devoting his spare time to writing verse.

Upon his return to Rome he recognised the possibilities of stability and good government which the new regime inaugurated by Augustus offered and realised that the reconciliation of parties was imperative for the good of the state and although he merely acquiesced to the new regime at first, he later became a sympathetic advocate of its cause and directed his best efforts in verse towards glorifying and strengthening it.

Before long he became a friend of Vergil, then a rising poet, and Varius, also a recognized poet of the time. It was through these that Horace was introduced into the society of Maecenas, the advisor of Octavian and a gener-

1 Cf. Frank. Catullus and Horace. 141.

2 Sellar. Op. Cit. 15f; Rose. Op. Cit. 266; Bennett. Op. Cit. vi; Dimdale. Op. Cit. 275; Mackail. Op. Cit. 108; Duff. Op. Cit. 499.

3 Bennett. Op. Cit. vi.

4 Sellar. Op. Cit. 17; Bennett. Op. Cit. vii.

ous patron of literature. This friendship not only brought Horace his Sabine farm, a gift from Maecenas, but also easy admission into the best Roman society. It joined him to the imperial policies and to personal acquaintance with the great men who were molding the nation and its government.¹

It was Maecenas' influence that caused Horace to use his lyrical talent to commend to the imagination of his countrymen the ideal of the new Empire. His sympathy for the national cause welled up first as personal anxiety for Maecenas; from that came the desire to use his talent to celebrate the national glory and the advancement of the state policy.²

The Elegiac Poets

Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid were all closely associated with the imperial circle and its activities. They were "indeed sensible of the wonderful spectacle presented by Rome as the capital of the Empire", says Sellar; but they were more interested in "Rome as the capital of pleasure".³ They were impelled to give expression through writing to what immediately interested them and what was likely to interest the society in which they lived.

Elegy, a type of literature which does not lend itself readily to the introduction of historic themes and allusions, became rather the medium for their expression of the emotion, passion, and pleasure of the society in which

1 Cf. Bennett. Op. Cit. vif.

2 Sellar. Op. Cit. 22f.

3 Op. Cit. (Horace and the Elegiac Poets). 219.

they moved.

"Elegy is one of the few branches of literature in which the Romans may justly claim to have attained a higher point of excellence than did the Greeks before them", declare Professors Howe and Harker.¹ Although the Greeks invented it, no particular Greek poet was followed as a model. Roman elegy combined all the leading themes and motives of Greek elegy of all periods; yet that of the Alexandrian period determined the nature of the Roman product to the extent that it is the erotic type and a personal and subjective expression of the poet's own experience.

All of the elegists were poets of tender sentiments. Tibullus in clear simple style sang of love; Propertius became the most passionate lover of them all; Ovid dealt with every imaginable phase of love and used the poetic form on entirely new subject matter.³ Each poet, however, has traces of national feeling. In Tibullus there is praise for the exploits of Messalla; in Propertius patriotic recognition to Rome's past and present; in Ovid some historical sense in the Fasti.⁴

Tibullus

The earliest fact known about Tibullus is that he accompanied Messalla on his Aquitanian campaign and started with him on his mission to the East, but because of illness was left at Corcyra to recover.⁵ We have no indication that he took any prominent part in public affairs although he was often in the capital city.⁶

1 Op. Cit. 442.

2 Cf. Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Duff. Op. Cit. 548.

5 Dimsdale. Op. Cit. 311.

6 Harrington. Roman Elegiac Poets. 34. 39.

The most important fact in his entire career was his connection with his lifelong friend and patron, Messalla. The literary circle of Messalla, though not opposed actively to the new regime, was quite unofficial and not particularly concerned with the policy of the Empire or with national affairs.¹ Messalla himself had fought with Brutus and Cassius at Philippi and had led their army after their death. After the defeat at Philippi, he persuaded the remnant of the army to surrender. He then joined Antony but later went over² to Octavian and remained his loyal supporter to the end of his days. Though a loyal supporter of Augustus, he did not identify himself with the fortunes of the Emperor. He was loved and revered by his followers for his own personal qualities and not for his connection with the imperial line.³ Tibullus' feeling for Messalla was that of one cultivated gentleman toward another.

While Tibullus' poetry is idyllic in tone and derives little inspiration from national feeling, like Vergil he was inspired by the love of the land of Italy - the country and the labor of the fields. He associates the charm of country life with the love of Rome and its joys. Although he is a lover of peace, he does not, like Vergil and Horace, express his joy over the success of the national cause at Actium nor does he praise Augustus' successful campaigns to secure that peace in the Empire except as they brought honor to⁴ Messalla.

¹ Cf. Sellar. Op. Cit. 215; Smith. Tibullus, the Elegies. 39.

² Smith. Op. Cit. 34.

³ Sellar. Op. Cit. 216.

⁴ Dimsdale. Op. Cit. 315; Sellar. Op. Cit. 241-242.

Propertius

Propertius, like Vergil and Horace, belonged to the circle of Maecenas. While the favor of the court circle was showered on these poets and other aspirants, "recommended by the eminence of their commanding genius or the exquisiteness of their tact", there were other men of commendable literary talent who "were eager to barter the incense they could offer for the smiles and sunshine of the court", says Merivale.¹ Among these was Sextus Propertius who seems to have fallen behind his more successful rivals in this race for² favor.

Although he was not of knightly birth, he was a member of a good provincial family. He was reduced to poverty through the confiscation of part or the whole of his hereditary^{ed} estate to the veterans of Octavian. The siege of Perugia in 41 B. C. followed the miseries of the confiscations. Its lasting impression is indicated by the frequent references in his poems to its horrors. The impressive years of his childhood were deeply affected by tragic sufferings of³ the civil wars.

He was introduced at a very early age to the literary circle of Maecenas and on the publication of the first of his four books of Elegies to imperial⁴ patronage. According to Butler and Barber, "After Maecenas took him under his patronage, pressure seems to have been put on Propertius to sing the achievements of Augustus and his ministers."⁵ Maecenas, the untitled Minister of Propaganda of Augustus, evidently expected Propertius to do his part toward⁶ the success and popularisation of the government's policy.

¹ History of the Romans. Vol. IV. 458f.

² Cf. Ibid. 459.

³ Sellar. Op. Cit. 278-280.

⁴ Mackail. Op. Cit. 124.

⁵ Propertius. lxx.

⁶ Cf. Ross. Op. Cit. 291.

Propertius promises to do this, excuses himself, makes a few attempts, finally returns to his own field, erotic poetry.

Ovid

Ovid's connection with the imperial organisation was chiefly social and was secured through his relation with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and her circle.

The peace secured and fully established by Augustus brought in a new era of social life in Rome. Wealth already accumulated multiplied rapidly and continuously flowed in from all parts of the Empire. Times were prosperous and its people were pleasure seekers. Rome had become the capital of gaiety and pleasure. The result was a period of brilliant laxity in the fashionable society although the great families and the middle class held for the most part to the severe and frugal morals of the Republic. The imperial household tried rigidly to enforce social reform; sentences of death and banishment were frequent among the leaders of this gay and profligate society.¹

Maecenas and Agrippa, the nationally patriotic counsellors of Augustus, were dead now and Augustus was being influenced by Livia, his wife. Literature was cultivated because it ministered to the universal desire for pleasure. The poets were read to increase men's and women's attraction for each other in their intrigues.² No longer is there interest in or anxiety about the Empire. Sellar remarks that "the only semblance of nation feeling is in adulation of the imperial family."³

1 Cf. Mackail. Op. Cit. 132f.

2 Sellar. Op. Cit. 338.

3 Ibid. 342.

Ovid's native district had been unhurt by civil wars. When at the age of twelve he was sent to Rome to continue his education, "Actius had been won and the worst was over", says Wright. His father was of sufficient means and position to give him the best possible education and to prepare him for any profession. ¹ "Born an hereditary equestrian, left well off financially, voluntarily relinquishing a political future", says Otis, "he was not obliged, like Horace, Virgil, Propertius, and Tibullus, to depend on a patron". ²

While Ovid was abroad at school or travelling, Augustus and his ministers had succeeded in bringing security and serenity to a disturbed populace. Along with that had come elaborate entertainment for all. Life had become one round of pleasures. It was to this environment that Ovid returned and proceeded to gain the necessary experiences of life and pleasure, of women and society. ³ Professor Otis says, "His whole career was in essential opposition to his contemporary Augustans and to Augustus himself." ⁴

These circumstances of his relationship to the controlling spirit of his age naturally resulted in his stressing less of the immediate and more of the antiquarian in his poems. The poet's desire "to overcome some prejudice in the mind of the Emperor", says Dinsdale, "or at any rate the exigencies of court poetry, induced him to stress (in the Fasti) those anniversaries which were associated with the fortunes of the ruling house," ⁵ Although he was not overimpressed by the greatness of Rome, he was aware and proud of it.

1 Cf. Wright. Three Roman Poets. 178. 174.

2 "Ovid and the Augustans". Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. LIX. (1938). 188.

3 Cf. Wright. Op. Cit. 1807.

4 Otis. Op. Cit. Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. LIX. (1938). 229.

5 Op. Cit. 342; cf. also Scott. "Emperor Worship in Ovid". Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. LXI. (1930). 43ff.

PART THREE. The Interest of the Augustan Age in the Events and Characters of Past Ages and Its Effect upon the Content and Spirit of Augustan Poetry

Augustus fostered a knowledge of Roman history and turned to it for inspiration of the nation to emulate the noble deeds and high moral qualities which characterized the great periods of Rome's past. This active interest in the past is proved by the production in this age of the great historical work of Livy, the Ab Urbe Condita Libri. In his introduction Livy states that one of his most essential purposes in writing his history is to present to the Romans of his own time examples of noble deeds and characters which will inspire his own age to renewed patriotism and to high standards of character.

Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid all followed this interest of Livy. They picture the glorious achievements of their people through many a story and allusion. In so doing they were definitely furthering the objectives of Augustus who wished to recreate the pride of achievement and moral integrity of the early centuries when Rome was building her empire.

Thus we see from this review something of the age in which these poets lived and wrote and of its effect upon their themes and interests. In the succeeding chapter a more detailed study will be made of the historical themes developed and allusions used.

CHAPTER II

ADMISSIONS TO CHARACTERS, EVENTS, AND PLACES

Part One. Historical Background

Can anyone be so indifferent as not to care to know by what means almost the whole of the inhabited world was conquered and brought under the dominion of the single city of Rome?¹ Polybius, "the Greek historian who described the palmy days of Rome and her brilliant victories in the East and West in the second century B. C."², asked this question and in anticipation of human inquisitiveness wrote his great history of Rome covering the period from the war with Hannibal, 229 B. C., to the destruction of Carthage and of Corinth in 146 B. C.³ So too, as a background for our understanding of the use which the poets with whom this study is concerned made of the character and events of Roman history, it is desirable to present a brief review of this history from the traditional founding of Rome to the Augustan Age.

Rome, "the eternal city", began as a small citystate of shepherds, farmers, and tradesmen, probably immigrants from Latium and the surrounding districts, who established themselves in a small area of territory on the lower Tiber river.⁴ Although the historic population of Rome was probably

¹ Condensed from Polybius. The Histories. I. 1. 5-6.

² Rostovtzeff. A History of the Ancient World, Rome. 1.

³ Cf. Howe and Barrer. Greek Literature in Translation. 599.

⁴ Webster. Early European History. 140; Rostovtzeff. Op. Cit. 17; Mackail. Virgil and His Meaning to the World of Today. 15.

"the result of fusion of several racial elements - Latin, Sabine, Etruscan,¹ and even pre-Italian, nevertheless the Romans were essentially a Latin people."

We do not know when or how these colonies on the banks of the Tiber were united into a strong community. We have only the traditional accounts of the ancient historians, the Greek writers of the third century B. C., who desired to establish a connection between the new world power Rome and the older centers of civilization, Greece and Troy.² The tradition accepted by the Romans declared "that Rome owed its origin to Aeneas, an immigrant from Troy, and that Romulus and Remus, his grandsons or remote descendants, were the founders of the city."³ After Romulus came other kings of Rome, who ruled until the Republic was established.

The story of the reigns of the seven kings is generally interpreted as an attempt on the part of the Roman annalists to explain the origins of Roman political and religious institutions. Lack of material has made it impossible to verify this tradition, but we can conclude that it had some foundation and can rely on Tacitus' brief statement - "At first kings ruled the city of Rome."⁴

It is rather certain that the last three of the kings of Rome were Etruscans and that the date of their rule came within the period of Etruscan domination in Rome and Latium. We have no reason to doubt that Tarquin was the last Etruscan king of Rome and that the local aristocracy revolted against his

1 Boak. A History of Rome to 565 A. D. 27.

2 Cf. Boak. A History of Rome to 565 A. D. 27.

3 Cf. Rostovtzeff. Op. Cit. 17; Boak. Op. Cit. 27; Geor. Rome (Couch and Geor.). Classical Civilization 14.

4 Rostovtzeff. Op. Cit. 17, 19; Robinson. A History of Rome 753 B.C. A. D. 410. 8f; Webster. Op. Cit. 142f; Geor. Op. Cit. 12f.

4 Boak. Op. Cit. 27; Rostovtzeff. Op. Cit. 19f; Geor. Op. Cit. 15; The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. VII. Chapter XII.

¹
 rule. "The expulsion of the kings in 509 B. C. is a part of the general movement by which the Etruscans were driven back by Greeks and Italians rather than an isolated act in which the Romans played a leading part",
²
 says Geor.

The overthrow of the Etruscan dynasty, which may be regarded as a single strong and wealthy Etruscan family, made no radical change in the constitution of Rome. Rome continued to live under the constitution framed during Etruscan rule. The governing class was the local aristocracy, Etruscans and Romans, who made one constitutional change; namely, instead of putting up a new king, they chose two elected leaders, praetors or consuls, to serve for a period
³
 of one year. Thus Rome changed to a republic and during the period from about 500 B. C. to 133 B. C. witnessed the full development of this republican form of government accompanied for about two centuries by a constant struggle on the part of the common people to gain social and political emancipation.

Rome had developed quite early an unusual genius for war and colonization for trade and municipal organization. By the beginning of the third century B. C. it had gained through the exercise of this genius an important position in central Italy, both among the Umbro-Latin communities and the territory occupied by the Sabellians and the Oscans. At each end of the peninsula contacts with different peoples had been made - with the Celtic people in the Po valley and the Lombard plain on the one hand and with the Greek or Semi-

1 Cf. Boak. Op. Cit. 28; Rostovtzeff. Op. Cit. 24.

2 Op. Cit. 16.

3 Cf. Rostovtzeff. Op. Cit. 24. 26.

1

Grecized states of Southern Italy and Sicily on the other. With the final defeat of the Greek Colonies of Southern Italy in 264 B. C. Rome acquired a position of supremacy over all Italy.

Through the successful conquest of Italy Rome became one of the five leading powers of the Mediterranean world. The growth of her commercial and political activities continued and brought her inevitably into conflict with Carthage, her rival in the western Mediterranean. Sicily because of its strategic position was the immediate source of contention between these nations in their desire for expansion in the surrounding territory. Thus Rome and Carthage became rivals for the commercial and political supremacy over this island. The armed struggle which resulted, known as the Punic wars, lasted, with intermissions, for more than a hundred years and ended with the annihilation of Carthage.

Although Rome emerged victorious, destruction had constantly threatened the Roman people at the hands of the Carthaginian general, Hannibal, during the seventeen years of the Second Punic War. Final triumph over Hannibal made Rome mistress of Italy and a world power, but it was accompanied by an irreparable loss of her older and nobler traditions of simplicity, patriotism, a high standard of honor, all that was meant by Roman virtue.² There seeped into Roman society the poison of wealth, the desire to exploit subject countries,³ and a possessive longing for the pleasures and excitements of city life.

1 Cf. Mackail. Op. Cit. 16; Geor. Op. Cit. 22-27; Robinson. Op. Cit. 24-37; Hoak. Op. Cit. 33-42.

2 Mackail. Op. Cit. 16f.

3 Cf. Rostovtzeff. Op. Cit. 57-69. 80-82; Geor. Op. Cit. 40-45. 85; Mackail. Op. Cit. 16.

Rome's record from the destruction of Carthage in 146 B. C. to the dictatorship of Julius Caesar in 46 B. C. is one of great material and territorial expansion, but according to Mackail, one "of corrupt and increasingly incapable government, of domestic dissensions, and sanguinary civil wars."¹ The great kingdoms of the Near East, which had sunk into a decadent condition, fell into the Roman power as did the vassal monarchies of the Asiatic frontier. They became Roman provinces or protectorates (Egypt).² Within the space of a century³ Rome had become a great empire without a single rival in the East or West.

This position of world dominance brought many new elements into Roman society - political, social, and economic.⁴ The wealth and splendor of the oriental provinces fired the imagination of the luxury loving Romans. The fatal lure of the East was partly responsible for the destruction of a great Roman army under Crassus at the hands of the Parthians in the Mesopotamian desert in 55 B. C.⁵

"Patriotism", says Hostovtzeff, "now retreats to the background, and personal motives, often merely selfish motives, step to the front."⁶ Conquest was engaged in for what there was in it for the individual commander, his army, and the Roman state. The names of Marius, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar, great military and political leaders, are the outstanding ones of this era. In satisfying their personal ambitions they brought it about that every country along the Mediterranean either belonged to Rome or came to be directly under

1 Op. Cit. 17.

2 Cf. Webster. Op. Cit. 169-171; Becker - Dancalf. Story of Civilization. 151f.

3 Hostovtzeff. Op. Cit. 82.

4 Ibid.

5 The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. IX. 2.

6 Op. Cit. 89.

her influence.¹

Meanwhile at home political problems arose and were settled. The Italian peoples, tired of being treated as subjects revolted. The Social War which followed brought the result desired by the Italian allies even though Roman arms conquered. Roman citizenship was extended to the free inhabitants of all Italy south of the Po. In 43 B. C. citizenship was extended as well to the section between the Alps and the Apennines. It was in this section that Vergil, "the prophet and poet both of unified Italy and of imperial Rome",² was born.

The half-century following the pacification of Italy was characterized by internal dissensions - revolutions, proscriptions, and civil wars - culminat-³ing in the final collapse of the free Republic of Rome. Events flashed upon the screen and off in rapid succession - the revolutionary legislation of 88 B. C. sponsored by Publius Sulpician; the Marian-Sullan reign of terror; revolts in the provinces; the Servile War in Italy; the incursions of the pirates on the Mediterranean; the attempted revolution of the radicals headed by Catiline; the designs of the secret coalition of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus; its failure and Caesar's declaration of war on the Republic; civil war between the forces of Caesar and Pompey; Caesar's dictatorship; his assassination and the subsequent revenge of his followers; the Second Triumvirate and the weakening of the senatorial party as an organized body; the division of the Roman world into Eastern and Western spheres of influence; the struggle for supremacy between Octavian and Antony, ended by the battle of Actium; the forty-five years' rule of Augustus, and his glorious achievements in domestic administration, constitut-

1 Cf. Howe and Harter. Roman Literature in Translation. 81.

2 Mackail. Op. Cit. 19; Geer. Op. Cit. 111.

3 Boak. Op. Cit. 125; Mackail. Op. Cit. 20.

ional changes, public projects, and political and diplomatic matters. Augustus¹ with his wise and loyal supporters set to work to save all that was possible from the general wreckage caused by this series of disastrous events.

All of this kaleidoscopic picture of Roman history is presented to us by the poets of the Augustan Age, whose works constitute the basis of this study, in their frequent allusions to characters, events, and places.

Part Two. Characters

The time in which the poets lived was stimulating to reflection of a past age and to the idea that Augustus was reviving the qualities of that age. Augustus with his many reforms attempted to lower the tempo of living and revive the state from its exhaustion. He also, however, fostered a revival in literary activity. Independent political thought and action were suppressed, a condition highly conducive to the development of poetry which, as opposed to prose, is less dependent upon a strenuous and first-hand participation in the political events of the day as a source of its life.²

"Whether directly under his influence or indirectly through his example and through his advisers, or whether because of their own convictions", the poets of the Augustan Age lent their services (in varying degrees) to the support of the new regime and accomplished much in bringing about its general acceptance.³ "They busied themselves with turning their eyes upon the past to

1 Cf. Mackail. *Op. Cit.* 20; Geer. *Op. Cit.* 112-132. 192-196. 202-209; Rostovtzeff. *Op. Cit.* 121-157. 175-197; Webster. *Op. Cit.* 179-190.
2 Petrie. Roman History, Literature, and Antiquities. 116f.
3 Howe and Harrar. *Op. Cit.* 275.

discover the qualities of character that had made Rome so great; they sang glories of peace and the praises of the ruling house; they inculcated lessons in the appreciation of the beautiful and inspired men to the rebuilding of what had been destroyed; they encouraged the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and pictured the glories of Italian landscape; they promoted the revival of old customs; they realized fully for the first time the meaning of Rome as a great nation instead of as a citystate; and with their interpretation of Rome's mission in society they set aflame the pride of the people in their splendid enterprise.¹

In this movement the poets whose works concern us - Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid - all participated. They witnessed to the actual life and spiritual and intellectual movement of the age. In this aspect of their poetry the master poets, Vergil and Horace, are prominent. The elegists - Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid - show less interest and sympathy with the new ideas in the realm of government. They lived too late to sense the change which was coming over the world. They did not live in close contact with Augustus who was responsible for shaping the policy of the New Empire. "They had neither the profound feeling and serious imagination of Vergil", says Sellar, "nor the many-sided versatility and strong reflective vein which made Horace the most complete representative and interpreter of his age."² However, they, as well as Vergil and Horace, show their interest in contemporaneous happenings through their allusions. All of these poets are

¹ Howe and Harker. Op. Cit. 275.

² Op. Cit. (Horace and the Elegiac Poets). 1f.

profoundly interested in Rome's past history and constantly make reference to it in their poetry. The details of chronology are taken into consideration as allusions to different periods in Roman history are made.

1. Characters from Pre-Augustan History

Although the poets of the Augustan Age through their writings pay honor to their friends and acquaintances, they do not restrict themselves to men of their own times. Even legendary and semi-historical characters are given due recognition and are woven into the picture in such a way that they seem real to us. Aeneas, the progenitor of the Roman race, his sire, and his son are favorite characters. Vergil devotes the entire Aeneid to the activities of Aeneas.

1
"Arma Virumque cano,"

In several of the poets the ancestry of the imperial family is traced through Aeneas to its divine origin. Thus Augustus is called by Horace the
2
"clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis".

In speaking of the appointment of Augustus as Pontifex Maximus Ovid refers to his divine descent.

"ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos
numina: cognatus, Vesta, tuere caput!" 3

The gods, says Propertius, give victory to their own.

"At pater Idalia miratur Caesar ab astro:
'Sum deus; est nostri sanguinis ista fides!" 4

1 Aen. I. 1.
2 Car. Saec. 50.
3 P. III. 425f.
4 IV. vi. 59f.

In the Aeneid Apollo praises the heroic figure from whom the Julian family gets its name.

"maeste nova virtute, pueri sic itur ad astra,
dis genite et geniture deos" 1

The Romans, says Ovid, have a special reason for honoring Venus.

"Assaracique murus dicta est, ut scilicet olim
magnus Iuleos Caesar haberet avos." 2

Cf. also Ov. Am. I. ii. 51; II. xiv. 17f; P. I. 717; II. 476-480; IV. 29-60; Hor. Car. I. ii. 46; Car. Saec. 47f; Propert. II. i. 42; Verg. Aen. III. 97f; VII. 98-101. 257f. 271-273; IX. 448f.

Next in order of time are the allusions to the kings. Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome, "conditor urbis", and his grandsire, Numitor, are links in the chain of the Julian ancestry.

"Quin et avo comitem esse Mavortius addet
Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia Mater
educet. - - - - -" 3 4

The management of the newly established city-state is entrusted to its founder, the first of a long line of kings.

"Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
moenia Romanaeque suo de nomine dicet." 5

The new "city" under its first king grows from a place of refuge to a political unit with its council of elders.

"Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum
rettulit, - - - - -" 6

1 Verg. Aen. IX. 641f.

2 P. IV. 123f.

3 Ibid I. 27.

4 Verg. Aen. VI. 777-779.

5 Ibid. I. 276f.

6 Ibid. VIII. 342f.

- "Romulus ut saxo lucus circumdedit alto,
'quilibet huc' dixit 'confuge, tutus eris'." 1
- "- - - censuram longa senecta dabat.
Romulus hoc vidit selectaque pectora patros
dixit: ad hos urbis summa relata novae." 2
- "- - - Populum digessit ab annis
Romulus, in partes distribuitque duas:
haec dare consilium, pugnare paratior illa est;" 3

Among the legal accomplishments of Romulus were laws concerning the length of the year and the names of the months.

- "Tempora digeret cum conditor urbis, in anno
constituit menses quinque bis esse suo." 4
- "Hoc pater Iliades, cum longum scriberet annum,
vidit et auctores rettulit ipse suos." 5

This king was mighty in arms.

- "Inhuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae
huius, et exuvio plenus ab hoste redis,
tempore quo portas Caeninum Acrenta potentes
victor in eversa cuspide fundis equum." 6

Other allusions to this topic may be found in *Ov. An.* II. xiv. 16; II. 133. 492-509; III. 23f. 97f. 127-130; IV. 808. 818; *Verg. G.* I. 498; *Aen.* VI. 768. 777-784; *Hor. Car.* I. xii. 33; II. xv. 10f.

From the period of the kings who followed Romulus the poets tell of the peaceful reign of Numa Pompilius:

- "- - - - - an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem " 7

1 *Ov. F.* III. 431f.
2 *Ibid.* V. 70-72.
3 *Ibid.* VI. 83-85.
4 *Ibid.* I. 27f.
5 *Ibid.* IV. 23f.
6 *Propert.* IV. x. 5.
7 *Hor. Car.* I. xii. 33f.

of his legal and religious reforms;

"Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanae menta
regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem
fundabit, - - - - -" 1

"Principio nimium promptos ad bella Quirites
molliri placuit iure deumque metu." 2

of his addition of two months to the calendar;

"Pomilius menses sensit abesse duos." 3

"At Numa nec Ianus nec avitas praeterit umbras,
mensibus antiquis praeposuitque duos." 4

of the warlike pursuits of Tullus Hostilius;

" - - - - - Oui deinde subibit
natisque rumpet patriae residues movebit
Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis
agmina. - - - - -" 5

of the demagogue Ancus Martius;

" - - - - - quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus,
nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris." 6

of the rule and death of the "divine" progeny, Servius Tullius;

"Signa dedit genitor tunc cum caput igne corusco
contigit, inque comis flammens arsit apex." 7

of his dedication of temples to Fortuna and Mutata on the same day and place;

"Iux eadem, Fortuna, tua est auctorque locusque;" 8

1 Verg. Aen. VI. 808-812.

2 Ov. P. III. 377f.

3 Ibid. 152.

4 Ibid. I. 43f.

5 Verg. Aen. VI. 812-815.

6 Ibid. 815f.

7 Ov. P. VI. 635f.

8 Ibid. 569.

and of his dethronement and death.

"Hinc cruor et caedes, infirmaque vincitur aetas;" 1

"Ipsae sub Esquiliis, ubi erat sua regia, caesus
concidit in dura sanguinolentus humo." 2

In the story of the death of Servius Tullius we have reference to the tyrannical seizure of power by the king's "proud" son-in-law, to his rule, and his banishment.

"sceptra gener socero rapta Superbus habet." 3

* - - - - - superbos
Tarquini fasces, - - - - - * 4

"Ultima Tarquinius Romanae gentis habebat
regna, vir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen." 5

"Nec non Tarquinius electum Porsenna iubebat
accipere - - - - -" 6

Other references may be found in Ov. Am. II. xvii. 18; P. II. 718; VI. 259f; Hor. Car. IV. vii. 14f; Verg. VI. 815-818.

From the earliest years of the Republic we get a glimpse of the heroic but legendary characters, Horatius and Cloelia,

"Illum indignanti similem similemque minanti
aspiceres, pentem auderet quia vellere Cocles
et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis." 7

"Coclitis abscissos testatur semita pontes," 8

and of Lucretia, the ideal of Roman womanhood.

-
- 1 Ov. P. VI. 599.
2 Ibid. 601f.
3 Ibid. 600.
4 Hor. Car. I. xii. 34f.
5 Ov. P. II. 687f.
6 Verg. Aen. VIII. 646f.
7 Ibid. 649-651.
8 Propert. III. xi. 63.

"Inde cito passu petitur Laetitia: nebat,
ante torum calathi lanaque mollis erat." 1

In the poetry of the Augustan Age the hero roll of the Eternal City
is paraded before our eyes "like a gallery of magnificent portraits".² We
see the sad lot of Rome's republican leader, Brutus, whose duty compelled
him to condemn his sons to death;

"Vis - - - animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti fascisque videre receptos?
consulis imperium hic primus saevasque securis
accipiet natusque pater nova bella moventis
ad posnam pulchra pro libertate vocabit." 3

Cincinnatus, the consul, who exchanged the plough for the fasces;

"*cum* - - -
"et caperet fasces a curvo consuli aratro." 4

"iura dabat populisposito modo praetor aratro." 5

the victorious, yet exiled, Camillus who became dictator and saved Rome from
the Gauls;

"moenia contigimus victae, Camille, tibi." 6

"Quin - - - - -
aspice - - - referentem signa Camillum." 7

the Decii (Publius Decius Mus who devoted himself to death to insure victory
for his country and his son who imitated his example on another occasion), the
Drusii (M. Livius Drusus and his son), and the cruel Torquatus who commanded
his son executed for breaking one of his mandates;

1 Ov. F. II. 741f.

2 Showerman. Horace and His Influence. 14.

3 Verg. Aen. VI. 817-821.

4 Ov. F. III. 782f.

5 Ibid. I. 207.

6 Ibid. Am. III. xiii. 2.

7 Verg. Aen. VI. 824f.

"Quin Decius Drususque procul saevumque securi
aspice Torquatum - - - - -" 1

"at Decius misso proelia rupit equo," 2

Quintus Fabius Maximus, the lone survivor of the Fabian family in the war against the Veii and later the man who saved Rome from defeat at the hands of the Carthaginians by avoiding direct encounter with the enemy and cutting them off from supplies on every possible occasion;

"Nam puer impubes et adhuc non utilis armis
unus de Fabia gente relictus erat,
scilicet ut posses olim tu, maxime, nasci,
cui res cunctando restituenda foret." 3

Regulus who, as a captive sent back to Rome by the Carthaginians to solicit peace, dissuaded his countrymen from assenting to such a peace even though he knew it meant death at the hands of the enemy. Vergil presents him as the champion of sterner discipline of the old days in contrast with the weakness of Crassus' soldiers who surrendered to the Parthians;

* Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
dissentientis condicionibus
foedis et exemplo trahentis
perniciem veniens in aevum,

si non periret immiserabilis
captiva pubes. - - - - -" 4

5 and Cato of Utica,

M. Porcius Cato Major, the "great Cato", invincible in spirit;

"at cuncta terrarum subacta
praeter atrocem animum Catonis." 6

1 Verg. Aen. VI. 824f.

2 Propert. III. xi. 62.

3 Ov. F. II. 239-243.

4 Hor. Car. III. v. 13-16.

5 Verg. Aen. VI. 841.

6 Hor. Car. II. 23f.

and the conquering Scipios who won renown in Africa and Spain.

"eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratum rediit. - - - - -" 1

"Africa victorem de se vocat, - - -
- - - - -
illo Numantina traxit ab urbe notam." 2

Cf. also Hor. Car. I. xii. 35-44. 45f; II. xv. 11; III. v. 18-40; vi. 33-36; Propert. III. ix. 31f; xi. 64; xviii. 33; IV. xi. 52; Verg. Aen. VI. 836f. 838-840. 841-846. 855f; VIII. 670; Ov. Am. III. xiii. 2; F. I. 593. 595. 601f. 605; II. 733; V. 287f; VI. 183f. 189. 443-453. 461f. 563f. 678-692. 795f.

Among those worthy to be remembered Ovid includes men of letters who have gained recognition in their time. Like Cicero he believes poets to be immortal.

"Ennius arte carens animosique Accius oris
caesurus nullo tempore nomen habent." 4

Rome's widespread wars and conquests brought contacts with people of many different lands. Some of their famous leaders are alluded to in the Augustan poets.

Hannibal, the great Carthaginian general, Dido's "unknown avenger", and the scourge of Italy, is presented when bemoaning the fate of his brother at the hands of the Romans.

" - - - - - occidit, occidit
spes omnis et fortuna nostri
nominis Hasdrubale interempto." 6

1 Hor. Car. IV. viii. 18f.

2 Ov. F. I. 593. 596.

3 Cic. Pro Archia. xviii. 14f.

4 Am. I. xv. 19f. (Cf. also Propert. III. iii. 6-12)

5 Verg. Aen. IV. 625.

6 Hor. Car. IV. iv. 80-72.

Attalus III, the king of Pergamum, who bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, lives again in Horace's odes as typical of great wealth.

* - - - - neque Attali
ignotus heres regiam occupavi, * 1

Jugurtha, the leader of the Germans, who was defeated by Marius and brought to Rome to grace his triumph, is mentioned by Propertius.

* Di melius! quantus mulier foret una triumphus,
ductus erat per quos ante Jugurtha vias! * 2

The name of Cleopatra is linked with that of Antony in the poetic record of Actium given by Horace.

*Romanus eheu - posteri negabitis -
emancipatus feminae
fort vallum et arma, miles et spadonibus
servire rugosis potest,
interque signa turpe militaria
sol adspicit conopium.* 3

The poet deemed the victory at Actium an occasion for a celebration.

*Hunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
ornare pulvinar deorum
tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

antehac nefas depromere Caecubum
cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
regina dementes ruinas,
funus et imperio parabat

contaminato cum grege turpius
morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
sperare fortunaque dulci
ebria. Sed nimit furor

vix una cospes navis ab ignibus,
mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
redegit in veros timores
Caesar, ab Italia volentem

1 II. xviii. 5f.

2 IV. vi. 65f.

3 Epod. IX. 11-16.

remis adurgens, accipiter velut
 molles columbas aut leporem citus
 venator in campis nivalis
 Haemoniae, daret ut catenis

fatale monstrum. - - - - - * 1

The literary interest of the poets brought about the mention of Greek philosophers in their works.

*cum tu coemptos undique nobiliss
 libros Panaesti, - - - - -
 mutare - - - - -
 - - - - - tendis? * 2

Of. also Hor. Car. I. i. 12f; II. xii. 2; Spod. IX. 23f; Propert. III. xi. 39-68; Ov. F. I. 595.

2. Characters from Augustan History

Such are the allusions to characters from Rome's earlier history. The Augustan poets were not averse to including in their writings allusions to the people of their own times - characters from their wide and varied realm of friends, from the imperial circle, from the literary world, from the host of military and political leaders or aspirants, and even from the substrata of society.

Julius Caesar, the famed leader and foster parent of Augustus, is lauded by Ovid as the founder of a mighty line.

1 Hor. Car. I. xxxvii. 1-21.
 2 Ibid. xlix. 13f/6.

"Non haec ille deus tantaeque propaginis auctor
credidit officia esse minora suis." 1

The poet also records his defeat of Pompey and his revision of the calendar.

"Magne, tum nomen rerum est mensura tuarum:
sed qui te vicit, nomine maior erat." 2

"Ille moras solis, quibus in sua signa rediret,
traditur exactis disposuisse notis.
is decies senos tercentum et quinque diebus
iunxit et a pleno tempora quinta die.
hic anni modus est: in lustrum accedere debet,
quas consummatur partibus, una dies." 3

Other allusions to Julius Caesar are Verg. G. I. 465-490; Aen. VI. 826-831; Tibull. II. v. 71-74.77. 78. 75. 76; Ov. F. I. 59f; III. 202. 697. 705-710; IV. 379f.

Augustus, the statesman who held the center of affairs during the culminating crisis of Rome's national destinies may lay claim to greater concern on the part of the poets of his time than any other one person. Especially is this true of Vergil and Horace in whose writings he appears as the central and commanding figure.⁴

He is celebrated under many titles and descriptions.

"hic ames dici pater atque princeps." 5

"Augustus Caesar --- aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latia regnata per arva
Saturne quondam - - - - -" 6

"O longa mundi servator ab Alba,
Auguste, Hectoreis cognite maior avis." 7

1 F. III. 157f.

2 Ibid. I. 603f.

3 Ibid. III. 161-166.

4 Cf. Sellar. Op. Cit. (Virgil). 14.

5 Hor. Car. I. ii. 50.

6 Verg. Aen. VI. 792-794.

7 Propert. IV. vi. 37f.

"redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro,
et tunc Augusto nomine dictus avus." 1

"Sancte pater patrias, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen, eques.
res tamen ante dedit. vero quoque vera tulisti
nomina, iam pridem tu pater orbis eras.
hoc tu per terras, quod in aethere Iuppiter alto,
nomen habes hominum tu pater, ille deum." 2

"ut titulum imperii quam primum luce sequenti
Augusto inveni prospera bella darent." 3

The restoration of former customs and institutions by Augustus is
recorded.

"Diva, producas subolem patrumque
prospere decreta super iugandis
feminis prolisque novae feraci
lege marita,

certus undenos deciens per annos
orbis ut cantus referatque ludos
ter die claro totiensque grata
nocte frequentes." 4

" - - - - - Tuae, Caesar, aetas

fruges et agris rettulit uberes " 5

So too are his legislative measures for remedying social evils and his
war time activities and policies mentioned by some of the poets.

"mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas" 6

" - - - hic (Caesar) casta duce se iubet esse maritas:" 7

1 Ov. F. I. 589f.

2 Ibid. II. 127-132.

3 Ibid. IV. 675f.

4 Hor. Car. Saec. 17-24.

5 Ibid. Car. IV. xv. 4f.

6 Ibid. v. 22.

7 Ov. F. II. 139.

He is the champion of the cause that was victorious at Actium.

"In medio classis aetatas, Actia bella,
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres
fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, - - - - -" 1

Upon his victorious return from Actium he rewards his veterans with property.

"Vos Caesarem altum, militia simul
fessas cohortes addidit oppidis,
finire quarentem labores,
Pierio recreatis antro." 2

"Fessus in acceptos milles deducitur agros:" 3

He continues to be the heroic "man of the hour" throughout his campaigns against Rome's foreign enemies.

"Hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum,
accipies securus; - - - - -" 4

" - - - et te, maximo Caesar,
qui nunc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris
inbelli avertis Romanis arcibus Indum." 5

As the one responsible for the restoration of Rome's security and serenity, Augustus rules amid surroundings of peace and prosperity.

"Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
nutrit curasque almae Faustitas,
pacatum volitant per mare navitae;" 6

" - - - dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur Belli portae; - - - - -" 7

1 Verg. Aen. VIII. 675-679.

2 Hor. Car. III. iv. 37-40.

3 Ov. Am. II. ix. A. 19.

4 Verg. Aen. I. 287f.

5 Ibid. G. II. 170-172.

6 Hor. Car. IV. v. 17-19.

7 Verg. Aen. I. 293f.

*Caesaris haec virtus et gloria Caesaris haec est:
illa, qua vicit, condidit arma manu.* 1

*Nunc bene lucetis sacrae sub Caesare flammae:
ignis in Illiadicis nunc erit usque focis,
nullaque dicetur vittas temperasse sacerdos
hoc duce nec viva defodietur humo.* 2

Other allusions to his trials are Propert. II. i. 25; III. iv. 11-18;
xi. 66. 71f; IV. vi. 13f; Hor. Car. Saec. 17-20; Car. I. ii. 52; xii. 46-48.
51f; xxi. 13-16; xxxv. 29f; ~~III.~~ III. iii. 9-12; xiv; xv. 3-8; IV. v. 1f.
17; xiv; xv; Verg. Ecl. I. 4. 6. 27. 43f. 70f; G. I. 24-42. 500f. 503f; II.
170-172; III. 46-48; Aen. I. 286; Aen. II. 170-172; III. 503-505; VI. 791-800.
851-853; IX. 28. 640-642; Ov. Am. III. xii. 15f; P. I. 27-30; II. 15f. 133-134.
637; III. 419f. IV. 20; V. 555. 585-590; VI. 639-648. 763f. 144

There is much evidence to the fact that the Augustan poets included among
their friends of whom they make mention in their poetry those united to them
by the bond of literary sympathy.

There occur the names of C. Valgius Rufus, a contemporary of Horace and
Vergil, a writer esteemed by them for his accomplishments in both lyric and
elegiac verse.

amico Valgi 3

*Est tibi, qui possit magnis se accingere rebus,
Valgius: aeterno propior non alter Homere.* 4

of Marcus Varro, "the most learned of the Romans",

*Haec quoque perfecto iudebat Iasone Varro,
Varro laudaciae Maxima flamma suae;* 5

*Varronem primamque ratem quae nesciet aetas,
aureaque Aesonio terga petita duce?*" 6

1 Propert. II. xvi. 41f.

2 Ov. P. VI. 455-458.

3 Hor. Car. II. ix. 5.

4 Tibull. III. vii. 179f.

5 Propert. II. xxxiv. 85f.

6 Ov. Am. I. xv. 21f.

of Asinius Pollio, the distinguished orator, poet, and historian, who is presented not only as a literary leader, but as a distinguished soldier as well.

"Pollio, et ipse facit nova carmina" 1

"Motum ex Metello consule civicum
bellique causas et vitia et modos
Iudumque Fortunae gravesque
principum amicitias et arma

nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
periculosae plenum opus aleae,
tractas et incedis per ignes
suppositos cineri doloso.

paulum severae Musae tragoedias
desit theatri: nox, ubi publicas
res ordinariis, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,

insigne maestis praesidium reis
et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
cui laurus aeternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho." 2

of Cornelius Gallus, a writer of elegies,

"pauca meo Gallo - - - - -
carmina sunt dicenda: - - - - -" 3

"Gallus et Hesperis et Gallus notus Eois," 4

of Catullus, Tibullus, and many others of lesser fame and accomplishment,

5

including Calvus and Gallus.

Other allusions to literary friends may be found in Verg. Ecl. III. 88. 90f; VI. 6-12; VIII. 6-13; IX. 35f; Hor. Epod. X. 1f; Car. I. vi. 1f; xxix; II. 1; Ov. Am. I. xv. 23f. 25f. 27f; II. xviii. 1-4. 35f; III. ix. 63f; Propert. I. iv. 1. 12; vii. 1; ix. 26; II. xxv. 4; xxxiv. 61-64. 67f. 89f. 91f; Tibull. II. 11.9; iii. 1; vi. 1.

1 Verg. Ecl. III. 86.

2 Hor. Car. II. 1. 1-16.

3 Verg. Ecl. X. 2f.

4 Ov. Am. I. xv. 29.

5 For references to these poets cf. Propert. II. xxxiv. 87-92; Ov. Am. III. ix. 59-66; Tibull. III. vi. 41f; Hor. Car. I. xxxiii. 1-4.

To the literary men already mentioned must now be added the statesmen, the administrators of Augustus's policy and plans, many of whom were likewise interested in literary pursuits.

G. Gaius Maecenas, the minister and leading lieutenant of Augustus and the true patron and friend of the poets, comes first among these statesmen.

*Quod mihi si tantum, Maecenas, fata dedissent,
 ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus,

 - - - - quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos
 aut canerem Ciculas classica bella fugae,
 eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae,
 et Ptolomaei litora capta Phari,
 aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum, cum atratus in urbem
 septem captivis debilis ibat aquis,
 aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis,
 Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via;
 te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis,
 et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput:" 1

Other references to Maecenas are Verg. G. I. 2; II. 39-41; III. 40-42; IV. 2; Hor. Car. I. 1; xx; II. xvii. 2-4; III. viii. 13-17; xvi. 20; xxix. 1-5; IV. xi; Epod. I. 1-4; III. 19-21; IX. 1-6; XIV. 5; Propert. II. 1. 73; III. ix. 1-3. 21-34. 59f.

M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, a general of Augustus and a patron of learning, was loved and revered by the poets for his own personal qualities rather than for his connection with the imperial administration.

*at te victrices lauros, Messalla, gerentem
 portabat nitidis currus eburus equis." 2

*Ibitis Aegaeas sine me, Messalla, per undas,
 o utinam memores ipse cohorsque mei ! " 3

1 Propert. II. 1. 17f. 27-36.

2 Tibull. I. vii. 7f.

3 Ibid. iii. 1f.

Agrippa, the naval expert of Augustus, was a member of the "inner" circle, the imperial coterie.

*Nos, Agrippa, - - - - -
- - - - -

conamur, tenues grandia, dum pudor
impellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni. " 1

*Parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis
arduus agmen agens; cui, belli insigne superbum,
tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona. " 2

Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius and a military commander, comes in for his share of recognition in the writings of Ovid.

*Invenies illic et festa domestica vobis
saepe tibi pater est, saepe legendus avus: " 3

*Pax erat et, vestri, Germanice, causa triumphii," 4

For other references to Messala cf. also Hor. Car. III. xxi. 7f; Tibull. I. i. 3f. 53; ii. 67; iii. 56; v. 31f; vii. 55-58; II. i. 33f; III. vii. 1f. 28-36. 45-47. 106-117. 121f. 137-146; xiv.5; to Germanicus cf. also Ov. F. I. 31f. 63f. 285; IV. 79-81.

Allusions to other military leaders - Pompey, Lollius, Varus, Gallus, Plancus, Marcellus, Drusus, and Claudius - may be found in Verg. Ecl. VI. 6f; IX. 26-29; Aen. VI. 824-831. 855f. 860-883; Propert. I. x. 5f; xiii. 1f; xx. I. 51; Hor. Car. I. vii. 17-19; xxiv; IV. ix. 17f; 27f; ix. 30-34; Ov. F. I. 11f. 597. 603.

The prominent part that women played in the affairs of the Romans is testified by the many references to both the illustrious and the infamous. Many of these women who combined beauty with ability were from families of prominence.

1 Hor. Car. I. vi. 5-12.
2 Verg. Aen. VIII. 682-684.
3 F. I. 9f.
4 Ibid. 285.
5 Cf. Duff. Op. Cit. 550.

From among the high-born ladies appear the names of Cornelia, the wife of L. Aemilius Paullus, in whose exemplary life the poet, Propertius, finds a fitting theme as he has her spirit address her bereaved husband:

Non minus immites habuit Cornelia Parcas! 1

Scribonia, the first wife of Augustus and the mother of Cornelia, is pictured by Propertius as sanctioning the praiseworthy life of her daughter:

**Nec te dulce caput, mater Scribonia, laesi:
in ne mutatum quid nisi fata velis.** 2

Sulpicia, the ward and probably the niece of Messalla, who herself was the authoress of half a dozen of the prettiest love letters is praised by Tibullus; and Licymnia (Terentia, the wife of Maecenas) of whose charms the poet, Horace, sings.

**Ne dulces dominae Musa Licymniae
cantus, me voluit dicere lucidus
fulgentes oculos et bene mutuis
fidum pectus amoribus;** 4

Other women are also mentioned by the poets. Livia, the second wife of Augustus is referred to in *Ov. F. I. 536*; Julia, the daughter of Augustus and Scribonia in *Propert. IV. xi. 59f.*

Female characters from the lower strata of society for the most part are alluded to under imaginary names, but they were probably very well known to the people of that day. Among those identified as actual characters are Canidia, a sorceress, of whom Horace writes;

**Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris
citumque retro solve, solve turbasem!** 5

(Other references to Canidia may also be found in *Hor. Epod. III. 7f.*; *V. 15. 49.*)

1 *IV. xi. 13.*

2 *Ibid. 55f.*

3 *III. viii. 1.*

4 *Car. II. xii. 13-16.*

5 *Epod. XVII. 6f.*

Cynthia (Hostia), the high-born courtesan, to whom Propertius makes frequent allusions throughout his elegies:

"Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis." 1

and Delia (Plania), Tibullus' central theme in half of the elegies of Books One and Three.

The names of Lesbia (Clodia) and of Quintilia, the mistresses of Catullus and Gallus respectively are mentioned by Propertius.

Part Three. Geographical Allusions

References to parts of the eastern and western world to which Rome's conquering generals have gone, to distant lands from which she has drawn sustenance, and to places in the environment of Italy and Rome, some of old renown and others laden with memories from recent times, bear witness to the fact that the poets were susceptible to geographical interests and could use them with impressive effect.

Some parts of the Roman world mentioned were of historical importance as scenes of campaigns and conquests.

"Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
testis Metaurus flumen et Hasdrubal
devictus - - - - -" 4

"Hunc Numidae faciunt, illum Messana superbum,
ille Numantina traxit ab urbe notam," 5

1 L. i. l.

2 II. xxxii. 45; xxxiv. 88. 90.

3 Cf. Sellar. Op. Cit. (Virgil). 392.

4 Hor. Car. IV. iv. 37-39. (The Metaurus river was famous as the place where Claudius Nero destroyed Hasdrubal and his army.)

5 Ov. F. I. 595f. (It was to the defense of the inhabitants of Messana that Rome owed her entrance into the Punic wars.)

"nec fuit indignus superis, bis sanguine nostro
Erethiam et latos Harmi pinguescere campos." 1

"Noxia Alexandria, dolis aptissima tellus,
et totiens nostro Neuphi cruenta malo,
tris ubi Pompeio detraxit harena triumphos!" 2

"Non sine me est tibi partus honores Tarbella Pyrene
testis et Oceani litora Santonici,
testis Arar Rhodanusque celer Magusque Garunna,
Carnutis et flavi caerulea lympha Iger." 3

Leucata, the headquarters of Augustus' forces in the war against Antony is referred to in Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 676f; Carthage, the commercial rival of Rome in the Punic Wars in Ov. *Her.* VII. 11f. 119f.

Other places were introduced because of their commercial importance.

"(iuvat) illum, si proprio condidit horreo,
quicquid de Libycis vorratur areis." 4

"- - - - - non epinae
Sardiniae segetes feraces," 5

Others were mentioned because of their past and present interest in being associated with the private lives of the poets;

"Mantua Vergilio, gaudet Verona Catullo;" 6

or because they presented a contrast to Rome in an earlier age.

"Hic, ubi nunc fera sunt, lūntres errare videres,
quaque iacent valles, Maximo Circo, tuas" 7

"- - - - - dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
- - - - -
nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti

1 Verg. *G.* I. 491f. (Erethia witnessed the defeat of Pompey by Caesar; Haemus, the avenging of Caesar's death.)

2 Propert. III. xi. 33f. (These places were scenes of civil strife.)

3 Tibull. I. vii. 9-12. (Places where Messalla triumphed.)

4 Hor. *Car.* I. i. 9f. (Chief source of Rome's grain supply.)

5 *Ibid.* xxxi. 3f. (A granary of Rome.)

6 Ov. *Am.* III. xv. 7.

7 *Ibid.* *P.* II. 391f.

 hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,

 hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
 Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.* 1

Other local sites are alluded to in Verg. G. II. 167-170; Aen. I. 270f; VI. 773-776; VII. 659f. 678. 681-685. 695-697; VIII. 48; Propert. IV. iv. 93f; Ov. F. I. 238. 501f; VI. 477f.

2
 Allusion to the city Rome, "orbis caput", is made time and again, especially in regard to the extent of its growth and its world dominion.

"cum muros arcesque procul ac rara domorum
 tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
 aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.* 3

"----- nunc Maxima rerum
 Roma colit, -----" 4

"Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis,* 5

Additional allusions to this topic may be found in Verg. Aen. I. 278-282; XII. 834-840; Ov. F. I. 85f. 88. 517; II. 684; III. 31-34; IV. 857-862.

Part Four. Historical Events

The most momentous events in the annals of Rome from the siege of Troy to the victory at Actium and the establishment of the Empire under Augustus are pictured by the poets - sometimes in detail, sometimes merely through a brief allusion.

-
- 1 Verg. Aen. VIII. 337-357. (In this passage Aeneas is being shown the places destined to be occupied by the temples and dwellings of Rome.)
 2 Ov. F. V. 93.
 3 Verg. Aen. VIII. 98-100.
 4 Ibid. VII. 602f.
 5 Tibull. II. v. 57.

1. Events from Pre-Augustan History

Most frequently mentioned is the cycle of mythical and semi-historical events connected with the founding and the earliest years of Rome.

Inescapable fate brought Aeneas to Italy where as the founder of a great empire, he united and ruled over once hostile Trojans and Latins until his translation to the heavens as one of the gods.

"Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates:
hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere,
magna pererrato status quo denique ponto." 1

"Impiger Aenea, volitantis frater Amoris,
Troica qui profugis sacra reliqueratibus,
iam tibi Laurentes adsignat Iuppiter agros,
iam vocat errantes hospita terra Lares." 2

"Mutandae sedes. Non haec tibi litera suavit
Delius aut Cretae iussit considerare Apollo.

----- Corythum terrasque requirat
Ausonias; -----" 3

"----- dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae." 4

"Hic tibi -----

bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces
contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aetas
terraq; transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis." 5

"Iam plus Aeneas regno nataque Latini
auctus erat, populos miscueratque duos." 6

"Indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris
deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli." 7

-
- 1 Verg. Aen. II. 293-295.
2 Tibull. II. v. 39-42.
3 Verg. Aen. III. 161-171.
4 Ibid. I. 5-7.
5 Ibid. 261-266.
6 Ov. F. III. 60lf.
7 Verg. Aen. III. 794f.

For additional references cf. also Verg. G. II. 385; I. 204-207. 234-237. 272f; II. 780-784; III. 381-383; XII. 503f; Hor. Car. III. iii. 38f; IV. iv. 55f; Car. Saec. 37-44; Ov. Am. III. vi. 75f.

Aeneas was succeeded by Iulus, his son.

*At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iule
additur (Iulus erat, dum res stetit Iulia regno),
triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
transferet, et longam multa vi muniet Alban.* 1

Among the succeeding kings was the tyrant, Amulius.

*Hoc ubi cognovit contemptor Amulius aequi
(nam raptas fratri victor habebat opes),
sane iubet mergi geminos. - - - - - * 2

*Romuleoque cadit traiectus Amulius ense,
regnaque longaeva restituantur avo. * 3

Other references to Amulius and to Numitor, his brother, may be found in
Ov. III. 49-51; IV. 809f; Verg. Aen. VI. 768. 777-779.

Romulus ruled the Romans and the Sabines, who had been united to the
Romans by craft and bloodshed, until his deification.

*Nec procul hinc Roman et raptas sine more Sabinas
concessu caveas; magnis Circensibus actis,
addiderat, - - - - - * 4

*Haec ubi narravit Tatium fortemque Quirinum
binaque cum populis regna coisse suis
et lare communi soceros generosque receptos,* 5

*Pulcher et humano maior trabesque decorus
Romulus in media visus adesse via
et dixisse simul 'prohibe lugere Quirites,
nec violent lacrimis munera nostra suis;
tura ferant placentque novum pia turba Quirinum
et patrias artes militiamque colant.*
iussit et in tenues oculis evanuit auras; * 6

1 Verg. Aen. I. 267-271.

2 Ov. F. III. 49-51.

3 Ibid. 67f.

4 Verg. Aen. VIII. 635-637.

5 Ov. F. VI. 93-95.

6 Ibid. II. 503-509.

For other allusions to Romulus and the circumstances of his reign cf. also *Ov. Am.* I. viii. 39; II. xii. 23f; *P. I.* 27f. 37f. 261f; II. 431-434; III. 97f. 127-130. 201-228. 431-433; IV. 23f. 818; V. 70-72; VI. 83-86. 93-95. 793f; *Verg. Aen.* VI. 777-784; VIII. 631-633; *Propert.* II. vi. 21; IV. x. 5.

Rome continued to be ruled by kings.

**rege Numa, frustra non respondente labori ** 1

Additional references to Numa's rule and to that of other kings of Rome (Ancus Martius, Tullus Hostilius, Servius Tullius, and the Tarquins) may be found in *Hor. Car.* I. xii. 33f; IV. vii. 14f; *Verg. Aen.* VI. 808-816; *Propert.* IV. ii. 60; *Ov. Am.* II. xvii. 18; *P. I.* 43f; II. 687f. 718; III. 152; 277-284; VI. 259f. 569. 587-608. 627-636.

The tyrannical rule and infamous deeds of the Tarquins resulted in their expulsion and the establishment of a republic.

**Vis et Tarquinos reges, animasque superbas
ultoris Bruti fascisque videre receptos?
consulis imperium hic prisus saevasque securis
accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventis
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit.** 2

** - - - - - Brutus clamore Quirites
concitat et regis facta nefanda refert.
Tarquinius cum prole fugit, capit annua consuli
iura; dies regnis illa suprema fuit.** 3

Ovid in the *Fasti* II. 687-852 gives a vivid account of some of the circumstances surrounding the banishment of the Tarquins.

The great events of the period preceding that of Augustus' reign, especially those connected with Rome's foreign relationships, were pressed into service by the poets.

The heroic feats dared by fearless Romans especially in the years that immediately followed the expulsion of the kings are used as inspiration for higher ideals among the people of Augustus' day.

1 *Ov. P.* IV. 641.

2 *Verg. Aen.* VI. 817-821.

3 *Ov. P.* II. 849-852.

Horatius Cocles and Cloelia bravely resist their Etruscan foes.

"Illum indignanti similem similemque minanti
aspiceres, pontem auderet quis vellere Cocles
et flugium vinculis innaret Cloelia ruptis." 1

^{Mettus}
~~Marcus~~ Curtius' spectacular death is recorded by Propertius (III. xi. 61)
and Ovid (VI. 403f).

Rome rose to supremacy in Italy by conquering and unifying the neighbor-
ing tribes and driving out foreign invaders.

"Scilicet hic olim Volscos Aequosque fugatos
viderat in campis, Algida terra, tuus;
unde suburbano clarus, Tuberte, triumpho
vectus es in niveis, Postume, victor equis." 2

"Haec fuit illa dies, in qua Volentibus armis
ter centum Fabii ter cecidere duo." 3

"Cum mihi pomiferis coniunx foret orta Faliscis,
moenia contigimus victa, Camille, tibi." 4

"ante domus Manli fuerat, qui Gallica quondam
a Capitolino reppulit arma Iove." 5

"haec sacrata die fusce Bellona duello
dicitur et Latio prospera semper adest.
Appius est auctor, Pyrrho qui pace negata
multum animo vidit, lumine captus erat." 6

The tribes mentioned here are the Volscians, the Aequians, the Veientes, the
Faliscans, the Gauls, the Etruscans, and the Samnites. Other references to
these may be found in Ov. F. I. 453; II. 197-236; VI. 49f. 203f. 351. 731f;
Propert. IV. x. 23f; Verg. Aen. VI. 824f; VIII. 652-662.

Rome began her world conquests by conquering the Carthaginians and
extended her empire and power by successes in the East and West.

"Nolis - - - - -
nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis." 7

1 Verg. Aen. VIII. 649-651.

2 Ovid. F. VI. 721-724.

3 Ibid. II. 195f.

4 Ov. Am. III. xiii. 1f.

5 Ov. F. VI. 185f.

6 Ibid. 201-204.

7 Hor. Car. II. xii. 1-4.

"Adveniet iustus pugnae, ne arcessite, tempus,
cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
exitium magnum atque Alpis imittet apertas:" 1

"Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
testis Metaurus flumen et Hasdrubal
devictus et pulcher fugatis
ille dies Latio tenebris,

qui primus alma risit adorea,
dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas" 2

* - - - - - non celeres fugae
relectaque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
non incendia Carthaginiæ impias
eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides -- * 3

* - - - - Veniet lustris labentibus aetas,
cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae
servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.* 4

* - - - - - nec Iugurthino parem
bello reportasti duces * 5

"Nil tibi sit rauco praeconia classica cornu
flare, nec Aenium tinguere Marte nemus;
aut quibus in campis Mariano proelia signo
stent et Teutonicas Roma refringat opes,
barbarus aut Suevo perfusus sanguine Rhenus
saucia maerenti corpora vectet aqua." 6

"Hanc tibi, 'quo properas?' memorant dixisse, Rutali,
'luce mea Marso consul ab hoste caedes'.

Proximus annus erat: Pallantide caesus eadem
Didius hostiles ingeminavit opes. * 7

-
- 1 Verg. Aen. X. 11-13.
2 Hor. Car. IV. iv. 37-42.
3 Ibid. viii. 15-20.
4 Verg. Aen. I. 283-285.
5 Hor. Epod. IX. 23f.
6 Propert. III. iii. 41-46.
7 Ov. F. VI. 563-568.

References to the foreshadowing of the struggle with Carthage and to strategic events during the Punic Wars (Scipio's rout of the Carthaginians from Corsica; capture of Regulus; Claudius Marcellus' defeat of the Insubres near Milan; battle of Clastidium; Hannibal's invasion of Italy; battle at Trasimene lake; fall of Sicily; Hannibal's retreat from Italy; battle of Zama; and the fall of Carthage) may be found in Verg. Aen. I. 19-20; IV. 622-624; V. 522-528; VI. 826-853, 854-859; Propert. II. i. 23; III. x. 39-44; xviii. 33; IV. x. 39-44; Ov. F. III. 147f; IV. 873-876; VI. 193f. 765f; Hor. Car. I. xii. 37-39; III. v. 13-18; IV. viii. 13-19.

References to Rome's wars against the Macedonians, Corinthians, tribes in North West Spain, the Numantians, and Germans and to the Social and the Sergile wars may be found in Verg. Aen. VI. 836-840; Hor. Car. III. xiv. 17-20; Propertius II. i. 24; III. v. 6. 16f; IV. vi. 66; Ov. Am. III. xv. 8-10; F. I. 595f; VI. 461f.

Not only did the poets sing of events relating to Rome's foreign problems and policies, but also of noteworthy happenings at home. Ovid especially refers to domestic troubles - fires and famine - and to special legislation passed regarding the holding of political offices.

*Arserat hoc templum, signo tamen ille pepercit
ignis: - - - - - * 1

*Cincta premebantur truncibus Capitolia Gallis:
fecerat obsidio iam diuturna famem.* 2

*Iura dabat populo senior, finitaque certis
legibus est aetas, unde petatur honor: * 3

Other references by Ovid to these and similar happenings may be found in F. IV. 263.265f. 299f. 345-347; VI. 391-393. 437-440; Hor. Epod. IV. 15f.

1 N. VI. 625f.

2 Ibid. 351f.

3 Ibid. V. 65f.

2. Events from Augustan History

Turning now to the Augustan Age itself we find that the poets are the heralds of the outstanding contemporary events of the age in which they lived. They tell how Rome's "favorite sons" added fame to their own names and contributed to the growth of Rome's power - Pompey by his victories over Iarbas, the pirates, and Mithradates,¹ Julius Caesar by his conquests in the West.²

The last days of the Republic were marked by jealousy, dissension, and strife between these two great military leaders.

Through a war of brothers - "fratrumque"³ - Roman blood was shed by Roman hands.

Caesar conquered Pompey.

"Magne, tum nomen rerum est mensura tuarum:
sed qui te vicit, nomine maior erat." 4

The death of Julius Caesar at the hands of his political enemies was avenged at Philippi by Octavian, his grandnephew.

"Praeteriturus eram gladius in principe fixos," 5

"Voverat hoc juvenis tunc, cum pla sustulit arma:" 6

" - - - - - patiens vocari
Caesaris ultor:" 7

"Tecum Philéppos et celerem fugam
sensi relicta non bene parsula,
cum fracta Virtus et minaces
turpe solum tetigere mento." 8

1 Propert. III. xi. 35.
2 Ov. F. IV. 379f.
3 Hor. Car. I. xxxv. 34.
4 Ov. F. I. 603f.
5 Ibid. III. 697.
6 Ibid. V. 569.
7 Hor. Car. I. ii. 43f.
8 Ibid. II. vii. 9-12.

"Sic licet ut fuerit, tamen hac Mutinensia Caesar
grandine militia perculit arma sua. " 1

For additional allusions to the war between Caesar and Pompey and to the ensuing struggle at Philippi cf. also Verg. G. I. 489f; Aen. VI. 826-831; Tibull. II. v. 71-74. 77. 78. 75. 76; Ov. F. I. 59f; III. 202. 705-710; Hor. Car. III. iv. 26.

Sextus Pompey and his slave army were defeated off the coast of Sicily.

"Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
dux fugit ustis navibus,
minatus urbi vincla, quas detraxerat
servis amicus perfidis. " 2

Cf. also Verg. Aen. VI. 612f; Hor. Car. IV. v. 19; Epod. IV. 17-20; VII; Propert. II. i. 28.

Octavian was victorious over Antony and his Eastern consort at Actium and thereafter made himself master of the Roman world.

"Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,
victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum
Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx." 3

"Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
desuper: omnis de terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.
ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis. " 4

"Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam
et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo. " 5

Cf. also Verg. G. III. 26-29; Aen. VIII. 675-679. 689-703; Hor. Car. I. xxxvii. 6-12; III. vi. 13f; Epod. IX. 2. 27-32; Tibull. II. v. 5-10; III. vii. 139-146; Propert. II. i. 27-34; xvi. 37-40; III. xi. 51-54. 71f; IV. vi. 15-68; Ov. F. I. 711f.

1 Ov. F. IV. 627f.

2 Hor. Epod. IX. 7-10.

3 Verg. Aen. VIII. 685-688.

4 Ibid. 704-708.

5 Verg. G. IV. 559-562.

The poets relate too how Rome's eastern and western frontiers were constantly threatened by warlike tribes.

Although it had been back in 53 B. C. that one of Rome's most dreaded enemies, the Parthians, had defeated and killed Crassus and his army at an outpost at Carrhae, memory of this disaster was still fresh and ever present was the dread of its repetition at the hands of the Parthians or some other tribe.

"Crassus ad Euphraten aquilas natumque suosque
perdidit et leto est ultimus ipse datus." 1

Additional references to the Parthians and other hostile tribes (Persians, Medes, Indians, Scythians, Cantabrians, Getae, Seres, and Dacians) may be found in Hor. Car. I. ii. 22. 39f. 51f; xii. 53-56; xix. 9-12; xxvi. 3-6; II. vi. 1-4; xi. 1-4; III. v. 2-12; vi. 9-16; IV. v. 25-28; xv. 4-8. 21-24; Verg. G. 497; Aen. VII. 604-606; Propert. II. x. 13f; xiv. 23; III. iv. 9, v. 47f; Ov. F. V. 583f.

In defiance of such threats Rome sent out armies under its best leaders. Augustus triumphed far and wide.

"Te Cantaber non ante domabilis
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
miratur, o tutela praesens
Italiae dominaeque Romae.

te, fontium qui celat origines,
Nilusque et Hister, te rapidus Tigris,
te beluosus qui remotis
obstrept Oceanus Britannis,

te non paventis funera Galliae
duraeque tellus audit hiberias
te caede gaudentes Sygambri
compositis venerantur armis." 2

1 Ov. F. VI. 465f.

2 Hor. Car. IV. xiv. 41-52.

Germanicus, Tiberius, and Drusus added glory to their own and Augustus'

name.

"Fax erat et, vestri, Germanice, causa triumphii,
tradiderat famulas iam tibi Rhenus aquas." 1

* - - - - - Milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidus genus,
Breunosque veloces et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis

defecit acer plus vice simplici;
maior Heronum mox grave proelium
comisit immanesque Ractos
auspicia pepulit secundis." 2

Nero's campaigns in Gaul, Spain and the East continued Rome's

successes.

"Non te vicino remorabitur obvia marte
Gallia nec latis audax Hispania terris
nec fera Theraco tellus obsessa colono,
nec qua vel Nilus vel regia lympha Ghaospes
profluit aut rapidus, Cyri desentia, Gyndes
aret Araccæis aut unda Croatia campis.
nec qua regna vago Tamyris finivit Araxe,
impia nec sacris celebrans convivis mensis
ultima vicinis Phoebo tenet arva Padasus,
quaque Hebrus Tanaisque Getas rigat atque Magynos." 3

For other allusions to the successes of Augustus and his military leaders (those mentioned above and Pelliæ, Agrippa, Statilius Taurus, Calvisius Sabinus, Lentulus, L. Cornelius Balbus, C. Patronius, and Postumus) cf. also Verg. G. 30f; Aen. VI. 791-800. 824; VIII. 682-684. 714-728; Hor. Car. I. vi. 5-12; II. i. 15f; ix. 17-24; III. v. 2f; viii. 15-24; xiv. 1-4; xxi. 7f; IV. ii. 33-36; 43; iv. 17f. 23f. 29-34; xv. 4-8; Car. Sacc. 53-56; Propert. II. i. 30f; x. 15-18; III. iv. 1f; IV. vi. 77-79; Tibull. I. ii. 67; vii. 3f; II. i. 33f; III. vii. 105-117; xii. 1-4; Ov. Am. I. xiv. 45f; P. I. 63f. 897; V. 555. 585-590; VI. 467f.

1 Ov. P. I. 285f.

2 Hor. Car. IV. xiv. 9-16.

3 Tibull. III. vii. 137-146.

The poets of the Augustan Age record some trivial events as well as memorable and unusual happenings of their era.

Among these are Maecenas' return to the theatre after illness;

* - - - - - datus in theatro
cum tibi plausus,

care Maecenas eques, ut paterni
fluminis ripae simul et iocosa
redderet laudes tibi Vaticanum
montis imago.* 1

a drought at Rome when the Great Mother was brought there;

*Sicca diu fuerat tellus, sitis usserat herbas:
sedit limoso pressa carina vado.* 2

strange phenomena of nature which were evident on different occasions;

*Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae
grandinis misit Pater et rubente
dextera sacras iaculatus arces
terruiit urbem.* 3

and events occurring in the consulship of different men.

Tu vina Torquato seve consule pressa sed! 4

*Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule, inibit,
Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses;* 5

For references to strange phenomena of nature at Caesar's death cf. Verg. G. I. 463-488; to the flood of the Tiber cf. Hor. Car. I. ii. 13-20; to events occurring during the consulship of different men cf. Hor. Car. I. viii. 9-12; xxi. 1-4; xxviii. 7f; Propert. IV. xi. 65f.

The poets trace the lineage and descent of well-known families of Rome back to their famous ancestors.

In Vergil's day certain Roman families claimed a Trojan origin.

*VeloceM Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristin,
nox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,

1 Hor. Car. I. xi. 3-8.

2 Ov. F. IV. 299f.

3 Hor. Car. I. ii. 1-4.

4 Ibid. Epod. XIII. 6.

5 Verg. Ecl. IV. 11f.

 Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,
 Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
 caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.¹ 1

In addition to the ancestry of the families mentioned here (Sergian, Memmian, and Cluentian) that of other families (Atii and Claudian) and of individuals (Cornelia, Claudia, Quinta, Marcia, and Sulpicia) is given in Verg. Aen. V. 568; VII. 706-709; Propert. IV. xi. 29-32; Ov. F. IV. 308; VI. 801-804; Tibull. III. xvi. 3f.

Thus through their allusions to characters, places, and events the poets of the Augustan Age have given us a review of the circumstances connected with Rome's founding and early history; of the men and deeds which gained for Rome its position of power in the world, of the constant strife within the Roman state between men struggling for prestige and power, of noted contemporaneous personages who were closely related to the personal lives of the poets, of places that have figured in Rome's history; of the divine ancestry of the imperial family, and of the accomplishments of the Augustan regime.

In the next chapter the stylistic use and the effect of the introduction of such allusions upon the spirit and tone of the work of these poets will be discussed.

¹ Verg. Aen. V. 116-123.

CHAPTER III

STYLISTIC PURPOSES AND EFFECTS IN THE USE OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL BY THE AUGUSTAN POETS

In considering the uses which Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid made of the historical material reviewed in the previous chapter as a distinct element in their literary style, it is necessary to approach the question from two standpoints. In the first place it is necessary to determine what purposes they had in mind in introducing this historical material into their poetry. In the second place it is important to observe the methods by which they wove such material into the fabric of their poems. In both of these respects the use of historical material constitutes a distinct element of style in the poetry of the Augustan Age.

Part One. Purposes Served by Historical Material

The poets of the Augustan Age were led to introduce into their poetry the wide range of historical allusions that we have noted for a purpose such more serious and important than mere artistic embellishment. Livy, the historian of the age, says in the Introduction to his great work, Ab Urbe Condita Libri. "What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and

profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result.¹ With this purpose in mind the poets of the Augustan Age through their historical allusions strove to awaken and revive enthusiasm for their country and its ideals, to elevate the mores of the times, to encourage loyalty and devotion to those who were deserving of them, and to make the heroic deeds of the ages immortal. It is important to note how they thus impart a lofty national spirit and a feeling of sincerity and dignity to their verse. This was in keeping with the spirit of the age and the purposes of the emperor.

1. Creation of a National Spirit

The half-mythical background and circumstances surrounding the early days of Rome's history involve characters generally accepted as real and vividly alive, even though not historically substantiated. In these happenings the poets saw valuable material for reviving and stimulating the waning patriotism of the era.

Among these characters the outstanding one is Aeneas. His character and deeds are constantly presented. A contributing cause for this was the current conception of Augustus as a reincarnation of the ancestor of the Roman race.

Aeneas' wanderings, trials, and final triumph epitomize "the long toil of Rome's struggle toward greatness", says Prescott.²

¹ I. 10-11; see also Knapp. "Legend and History in the Aeneid". The Classical Journal. XIX. (1924). 211.

² Op. Cit. 150.

Vergil has Aeneas roar long ere he reaches the promised shore.

"Longa tibi exsilia, et vastum maris aequor arandum;
et terras Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.
illic res laetas regnumque et regia coniunx
parta tibi. - - - - - * 1

He will subject opposing peoples to his power.

"Hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
longams et volvens fatorum arcana movebo)
bellum ingens geret Italia populosque feroces
contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
tertis dum Latia regnantes viderit aestas,
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis." 2

☐ Cf. also Verg. Aen. I. 272f; II. 293-295; III. 161-171. 381-383; IV. 229-231; XII. 503f. 794f; Hor. Car. III. iii. 38f; IV. iv. 55f; Car. Saec. 37-44; Tibull. II. v. 39-42.

Glover believes that the "two heroes - Aeneas, sent to Latium to found
the race, and Augustus, born to regenerate the race and complete its work"³
are closely associated in the minds of the poets.

Two magnetic poles around which the poet Vergil gathered his material
were, according to Mackail, "the historic climat⁴ of his own time in which
Roman peace was established and the Roman Empire organized by Augustus; and
the legendary beginnings of Rome and the mythical descent of the Roman people
and of the Julian family from the fugitive colonists of Troy."

Aeneas' descendants will gain fame through service to their country and
gods.

1 Verg. Aen. II. 780-784.

2 Ibid. I. 261-266.

3 Op. Cit. 164.

4 Op. Cit. 77f.

*hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum
portendi generum paribusque in regna vocari
auspiciis, huic progeniem virtute futuram
egregiam et totum quae viribus occupet orbem.* 1

* Hic demum Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.* 2

* Caesaris innumeris - - - - -
accessit titulis pontificalis honor.
ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt
Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides.
di veteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti,
qua gravis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit,
ortus ab Aenea tangit cognata sacerdos
numina: - - - - - * 3

Cf. also Verg. G. II. 385; Aen. I. 5-7. 204. 234-237; VII. 98-101.
271-273; IX. 448f. 641f; Ov. Am. I. ii. 51; II. xiv. 17f; III. vi. 75f;
F. I. 717; II. 476-480; IV. 29-60. 123f; Hor. Car. I. ii. 46; Car. Saec.
42-50; Propert. II. i. 42; IV. vi. 59f.

The national idea of Rome, the keynote of the Augustan regime, was
associated with the eternal duration of the State - an uninterrupted con-
tinuity of existence from its establishment by Romulus to the height of
its greatness under Augustus.⁴

Ovid, as well as Vergil, repeatedly compares Augustus and Romulus,
thereby building up an excellent case for the apotheosis of Augustus by
showing that he surpassed Romulus on every count.⁵

*Romule, concedes: facit hic tua magna tuendo
moenia, tu dederas transilienda Remo.
et Tatius parvique Cures Caeninaque sensit:
hoc duce Romanum est solis utrumque latus.

1 Verg. Aen. VII. 255-258.

2 Ibid. III. 97f.

3 Ov. F. III. 423-426.

4 Cf. Sellar. Op. Cit. (Virgil). 328.

5 Scott. Op. Cit. Transactions and Proceedings of the
Philological Association. LXI. (1930). 52.

(Virgil)

E. Trans

tu breve nescio quid victae telluris habebas:
 Quodcumque est alto sub Iove, Caesar habet.
 tu rapis, hic castas duce se iubet esse maritas:
 tu recipis luce, repulit ille nefas.
 vis tibi grata fuit, florent sub Caesare leges.
 tu domini nomen, principis ille tenet.
 te Remus incusat, veniam dedit hostibus ille.
 caelestem fecit te pater, ille patrem. * 1

* 'Quin et avo comitem sese Negerius addet
 Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater
 educet. Viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae
 et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
 en huius, nato, auspiciis illa incluta Roma
 imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympe,
 septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,
 felix prole virum: - - - - - * 2

References to noteworthy happenings of Romulus' rule may be found in
 Ov. Am. I. viii. 39; II. xii. 23f; xiv. 15-18; F. I. 27f. 37f; II. 431-433;
 XII. 24. 97f. 127-130. 431-433; IV. 23f; V. 70-72; VI. 83-85. 93-95. 795f;
 Propert. II. vi. 21; Hor. Car. I. xii. 33; Verg. G. I. 498; Aen. I. 276f;
 VIII. 342f. 635f. 637.

The rule of the kings served as a basis for a comparison and a contrast
 with that of Augustus.

Horace and Vergil prefaced their praise for Augustus with a review of
 the reign of the kings.

"Romulum post hos prius an quietum
 Pompili regnum memorem an superbos
 Tarquini fasces, - - - - - * 3

* ' - - - - - cui deinde subibit
 otia qui ruspet patriae residuesque movebit
 Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis
 agmina, quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus,
 nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.' * 4

Cf. also Ov. F. I. 43f; III. 152; VI. 259f. 569. 627-636; Verg. Aen.
 VI. 808-812. 817f; VIII. 646f.

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- 1 Ov. F. II. 133-144.
 2 Verg. Aen. VI. 777-784.
 3 Hor. Car. I. xii. 33-35.
 4 Verg. Aen. VI. 812-816.

According to Frank J. Miller Vergil saw "that the nation's wounds of civil strife and moral degeneration could not be healed, that lasting peace could never come, until the nation's heart had been touched by a new patriotism, that is, turned back to their old patriotism, through an awakened memory of their glorious past, through a renewed assurance of a more glorious future."¹

The poets contribute to such a restoration of spirit by summoning before their readers' minds those great men and families whose deeds exemplified the finest spirit of patriotic devotion; a devotion which by tradition and habit was second nature with the Romans.²

Thus Vergil pictures Brutus as the champion of the people's rights in the struggle against tyranny.

"Vis et Tarquinius reges, animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti fascisque videre receptos?
consulis imperium hic primus saevasque securis
accipiet, matosque pater nova bella moventis
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,
infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:
vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido." ³

Horace prepares his readers for the lofty position acclaimed for Augustus as he recalls those men of old known for their high qualities of character as well as their loyalty to the state as displayed in Rome's conquests at home and abroad.⁴ He sees in Augustus the man who must do for Rome what the combined "efforts of many national heroes, royal and republican, patrician and plebeian, had done through all the generations from the founding of Rome till the fall of the Republic", says Sellar.⁵

¹Ovid's *Aeneid* and Vergil's: a Contrast in Motivation". The Classical Journal. XXIII. (1927). 42.

²Cf. Mackail. Classical Studies. 244.

³Verg. *Aen.* VI. 817-823.

⁴Cf. Lord. "Horace as an Occasional Poet". The Classical Journal. XXI. (1936). 179.

⁵Op. Cit. (Horace and the Elegiac Poets). 153.

*Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae
prodigum Paulum, superante Poeno,
gratus insigni referam camena
Fabricianaque.

hunc et intensis Curium capillis
utiles bello tulit et Camillum
saeva paupertas et avitus apto
cui lare fundus.

crescit occulto velut arbor aeve
fama Marcelli; micat inter omnes
Iulium sidus, velut inter ignes
luna minores. *

1

Other examples of such courage referred to are T. Manlius Torquatus, M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Manlius Capitolinus, M. Furius Camillus, L. Quintus Cincinnatus, M. Valerius Corvinus, the Fabii, A. Postumius Tubertus, L. Mummius Achaicus, and the Decii (Hor. Car. III. v. 13-40; Verg. Aen. VI. 824f. 836f. 841-846. 855f; VIII. 652-662; Ov. Am. III. xiii. 2; P. I. 207. 601f. 605; II. 197-236. 239-242; III. 781; VI. 183f. 189. 721-724; Propert. III. v. 6; ix. 31f; xi. 62. 64.).

Herace and Vergil both point out how Rome's long struggle with Carthage, Macedon, and the Eastern kingdoms brought forth noteworthy examples of courageous action in behalf of country.

* * Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alto Corinthe
victor aget currum, caesis insignis Achivis;
eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae
ipsusque Aeaciden, genus arsipotentis Achilli,
ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae.
quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosce, relinquat?
quis Bracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem
Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?
quo fessum repitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,
unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.
excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
(credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore voltus;
orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:

1 Hor. Car. I. xii. 37-48.

tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento
 (haec tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,
 parcere ubijectis et debellare superbos.* * 1

*Quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
 testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
 devictus et pulcher fugatis
 ille dies Latio tenebris.

qui primus alma risit adorea,
 dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas
 ceu flamma per taedas vel Eurus
 per Siculas equitavit undas.

post hoc secundis usque laboribus
 Romana pubes crevit, et impio
 vastata Poenorum tumultu
 fana deos habuere rectos.* 2

For references: to Marcellus' victories at Clastidium, the defeat of Hasdrubal, the Scipios' successes in Africa, and the defeat of Jugurtha at the hands of Marius cf. also Verg. Aen. VI. 854-859; Hor. Car. IV. iv. 49-72; viii. 18f; Epod. IX. 23-26; Propert. IV. vi. 66; xi. 37f; Ovi F. I. 595f; VI. 193f. 593.

2. Glorification of Augustus

To increase and insure loyalty to Augustus and the State the poets leave no deed unsung, no chance for praise unclaimed. Again and again Augustus becomes the hero whom they address and the subject for their dedications. Praise of his deeds exceeds that given to all other heroes.

*at tus prosequimur studioso pectere, Caesar,
 nomina, per titulos ingredimurque tuos.* 3

*Haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam
 aduetaunque malo Ligures Volcosque verutos
 extulit, haec Decios, Marios magnosque Camillos,
 Scipiadas duos bello et te, maxime Caesar,
 qui hanc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris
 imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.* 4

1 Verg. Aen. VI. 836-853.

2 Hor. Car. IV. iv. 37-48.

3 Ovi. F. II. 15f.

4 Verg. G. II. 167-172.

Frederick W. Shipley says that Augustus will win divinity through service to mankind as did the heroes of old "if and when he has removed the blots on Rome's escutcheon, has dared to curb the indomitas licentiam, and has removed the menace of an oriental monarchy."¹

Probably the darkest blot which Augustus must erase from Rome's escutcheon was the havoc wrought by a series of civil wars.

Vergil bemoans the results of civil strife.

" - - - - - En quo discordia civis
produxit miseros! - - - - - " 2

He and Horace intensify the disastrous effects of these struggles by reference to their extensiveness.

"saevit toto Mars impius orbis " 3

"Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
campus sepulcris impia proelia
testatur auditumque Modis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?

qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
non decoloravere caedes?
quae caret ora cruore nostro?" 4

Among the earlier examples of the war "of brothers" can be found the reference in Vergil to the war between Caesar and Pompey.

"Illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cornis in armis,
concordes animae nunc et dum nocte premuntur,
heu! quantum inter se bellum si lumina vitae
attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt,
aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monaecci
descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois!" 5

1 "The Universality of Horace". The Classical Journal. XXXI. (1935). 143.

2 Verg. Ecl. I. 71f.

3 Verg. G. I. 511.

4 Hor. Car. II. 1. 29-36.

5 Verg. Aen. VI. 826-831.

Propertius records the hostility of Roman toward Roman at Philippi, Mutina, Perugia, Sicily, and Actium.

*Nam quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos
 aut cansrem Siculae classica bella fugas,
 eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae,
 et Ptolomaei litora capta Phari,
 aut canasam Aegyptum et Nilum, cum atratus in urgem
 septem captivis debilis ibat aquis,
 aut regum muratis circumdata colla catenis,
 Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via;
 te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis,
 et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput: * 1

For the strife between Pompey and Caesar cf. also Ov. F. I. 603f; for Caesar's death and the battle at Philippi cf. also Ov. F. I. 59f; III. 697. 705-708; Verg. G. I. 489f; Hor. Car. II. vii. 9-12; Epod. XVI; Tibull. II. v. 71-74. 77. 78. 75. 76; for Mutina cf. also Ov. F. IV. 627f; for Perugia cf. also Propert. I. xxi; xxii. 3-6; II. i. 29; for the war with Sextus Pompey cf. also Hor. Car. IV. v. 19; Epod. IV. 17-20; IX. 7-10; Propert. II. i. 28; for the strife between Antony and Octavian cf. also Hor. Car. I. xxxvii. 6-8. 12-17; III. vi. 23f; Epod. IX. 2. 11-16. 27-32; Propert. II. xvi. 37-40; III. xi. 51-54. 71f; IV. vi. 15-69; Verg. G. II. 170-172; III. 28f; Aen. VIII. 675. 685-708.

The poets lend their talent in praise of and in appreciation for Augustus' achievements in establishing peace and quiet within the empire.

Horace especially came to recognize more and more the great debt which the state owed to its savior, Augustus. Thus his love for the emperor and his appreciation of his greatness increased. Professor Lord says that Horace expressed "for his countrymen that love and that appreciation in lines of monumental dignity."²

* - - - - - Tuae, Caesar, aetas

fruges et agris rettulit uberes
 et signa nostro restituit Iovi
 derepta Parthorum superbis
 postibus et vacua duellis

1 Propert. II. i. 27-36.

2 Op. Cit. The Classical Journal. XXXI. (1935). 166.

Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem
 rectum evaganti frenâ licentiæ
 iniecit emovitque culpas
 et veteres revocavit artes.

per quas Latinum nomen et Italiæ
 crevere vires famæque et imperi
 porrecta maiestas ad ortus
 solis ad Hesperio cubili.

custode rerum Cassare non furor
 civilis aut vis exiget otium,
 non ira, quæ præcudit enses
 et miseræ iniuriat urbes.

non qui profundum Danuvius bibunt
 edicta rursus Italia, non Getae,
 non Seres infidive Persae,
 non Tanain prope flumen orti. * 1

This glorification of Augustus extends to include the imperial household. Horace in *Carmin IV. iv.* sings the praises of the adopted son of Augustus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, on the occasion of his subjugation of the tribes in the Brenner pass and the valley of the Inn. To illustrate the bravery of the family from which this young man has descended the poet tells the story of the defeat and death of Hasdrubal in the valley of the Metaurus at the hands of Livius and Claudius, ancestors from his mother's and father's families respectively.

*Quid debeat, o Roma, Neronibus,
 testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
 devictus et pulcher fugatis
 ille dies Latio tenebris.

qui primus alma risit adorea,
 dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas
 ceu flamma per taedas vel Eurus
 per Siculas equitavit undas.* 3

1 Hor. Car. IV. xv. 4-24.

2 Cf. Coultter. "Aeolian Strains on the Roman Lyre". The Classical Journal. XXXI. (1935). 180f.

3 Hor. Car. IV. iv. 37-44.

Direct references to the campaigns of Augustus and his generals abroad are made by Horace (Car. II. i. 15f; ix. 18-24; III. v. 2f; viii. 18-24; xiv. 1-4; IV. ii. 34-36; iv. 17f. 23f; v. 25-28; xiv. 19-16. 29-34. 41-52; xv. 21-24; Car. Saec. 53-56.), Ovid. (Am. I. xiv. 45f; F. I. 63f; V. 555. 585-590; VI. 467f.), Vergil. (G. III. 30f; Aen. VI. 791-800; VIII. 682-684. 714-728.), Propertius (II. i. 27-36; III. iv. 1f. 11-18; ix. 59f; xii. 1-4), and Tibullus (I. ii. 67; vii. 57f; II. i. 33f; III. vii. 137-146.).

The picture of the glories of Augustus' reign given by the poets includes also the restorative measures and activities by which he brought back serenity and security to a chaotic world. Vergil contributes to this eulogy.

* - - - Veniet lustris labentibus aetas,
 cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae
 servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.
 nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
 imperium Oceano, fama qui terminat astris,
 Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
 hunc tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum,
 accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
 aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
 cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinas
 iura dabunt; dirae ferre et compagibus artis
 claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
 saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
 post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento." 1

Ovid eulogizes the emperor by referring to his great achievements and by explaining the meaning of his name, Augustus.

*Si petat a victis, tot sumat nomina Caesar,
 quot numero gentes maximus orbis habet.
 - - - - -
 hic socium summo cum Iove nomen habet.
 sancta vocant augusta patres, augusta vocantur
 templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu;
 huius et augurium dependet origine verbi,
 et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.
 augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,
 protegat et vestras querna corona fores," 2

For a general review of the activities of Augustus' reign cf. also Hor. Car. III. iv. 37f; v. 22; xv. 4f; IV. 17; Car. Saec. 17-22; Verg. Aen. I. 293f; VI. 791-794. 861-853; IX. 640-652; Propert. III. xi. 66; IV. vi. 37f; Ov. Am. II. ix. A. 19; F. II. 139; III. 419f; VI. 455-458. 639-648.

1 Aen. I. 283-296.

2 F. I. 599-614.

3. Praise of Italy and Rome

Vergil's patriotic objectives may also be seen in the dedication of the Georgics¹ to Augustus, in his distress over the disasters and unhappiness caused by civil wars,² in the sincerity of his prayers for the safety of the man who was to save the state (cf. also Hor. I. ii.), in the joy with which he recommends a type of life in which his countrymen can find serenity, peace, and happiness, and in the praises of the land in which this regeneration is to be consummated.³

Since time immemorial the peaceful practice of agriculture had been one of the traditions of the Roman people.⁴ The prominence which agricultural pursuits had enjoyed in the early days of the Republic is shown in the traditions of Cincinnatus and later those which are associated with M. Curius Dentatus. Sellar says that in this way Vergil "appealed to old national associations and living tastes"⁵ in the selection of his subjects. This theme of the Georgics fitted perfectly into Vergil's plan of cooperation with the new regime of Augustus. His praise of country life points to a regeneration that can be found in the simplicity of labor and living.

*O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
agricolae! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
fundit humo facilis victum iustissima tellus.

at secura quies et nescia fallere vita,
dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis,
speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe
mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni
non absunt; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,
et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus
sacra deum sanctique patres; extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

1 I. 24-42.

2 Cf. Latin references on p. 66.

3 Dimsdale. Op. Cit. 253.

4 Cowles. Op. Cit. The Classical Journal. XXIX. (1934). 359.

5 Op. Cit. (Virgil). 188.

sollicant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
 in ferrum, penetrant aulæ et limina regum;
 hic petit excidiis urbem miserisque penates,
 ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro;
 condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro;
 hic stupet attonitus rostris; hunc plausus hiantem
 per cuenas geminatus enim plebisque patrumque
 corripuit; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum,
 exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant
 atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.

 Agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro;
 hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes
 sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvenços.
 nec requies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus
 aut fetu pecorum aut Cerealis mergite culmi,
 preventuque oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat.

 Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
 hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit
 scilicet una sibi muro circumdedit arces.
 ante etiam sceptrum Dictæi regis et ante
 impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvençis,
 aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat;
 necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
 impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis. * 1

Vergil in the Georgics gives praise to Italy, the land where the regener-
 ation of the Roman people will be effected.

*Sed neque Medorum silvæ, ditissima terra
 nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus
 Laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi
 totaque turiferis Panchaia pinquis harenis.

 hic ver adsiduum atque alienis mensibus aestas,
 bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbor.

 hæc eadem argenti rivos aerisque metalla
 ostendit venis atque auro plurima fluxit.
 hæc genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam
 aduictumque malo Ligures Volcosque verutos
 extulit, hæc Decios, Marios magnosque Camillos,
 Scipiadas duces bello et te, maxime Caesar,
 qui nunc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris
 imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.

salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
 magna virum; tibi res antiquae laudis et artis
 ingredior, sanctos anus recludere fontis,
 Ascræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.* 1

He reviews famous sections of Rome - those that existed in Evander's day -
 by having Evander conduct Aeneas over the places destined to be occupied by
 the temples and dwellings of Rome, the places dear to all Italians, thereby
 producing national sentiment, the sentiment of the Italian race.²

*Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
 et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
 quam memorant, Nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,
 vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros
 Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallantum.
 hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum
 rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Iuperca,
 Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.
 nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti
 testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis Argi.
 hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,
 aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.

 haec duo praetera disiectis oppida muris,
 reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
 hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
 Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.* 3

In his elegy on Messalina Tibullus "becomes for the moment the organ
 of national feeling", says Sellar, "and gives picturesque expression to the
 contrast between the magnificence of Rome in the Augustan Age and the pastoral
 loneliness of the seven hills in the early times."⁴

*(Romulus aeternae nondum formaverat urbis
 moenia, consorti non habitanda Râmo;
 sed tunc pascebant herbosa Palatia vaccae
 et stabant humiles in Iovis arce casae.
 lacte madens illic suberat Pan illicis umbrae
 et facta agresti lignea falce Pales,
 pendeatque vagi pastoris in arbore votum,

1 II. 136-176.

2 Cf. Sellar. Op. Cit. 330.

3 Aen. VIII. 337-358.

4 Sellar. Op. Cit. (Horace and the Elegiac Poets.) 243.

garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo,
 fistula cui semper decrescit harundinis ordo;
 nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor.
 at qua Velabri regio pater, solebat
 exiguus pulsa per vada linter aqua.
 illa saepe gregis diti placitura magistro
 ad iuvenem festa est vecta puella die,
 cum qua fecundi redierunt munera raris,
 caseus et niger candidus agnus ovis.) * 1

For similar allusions cf. also Verg. Aen. I. 270f; VI. 773-776; VII. 659f. 678. 681-685. 695-697.

Thus it is plain that the glorification of Augustus and Rome and the creation of a national spirit were the foremost objectives of the age. As a consequence the epic works of Vergil and to a lesser degree the lyric poems of Horace and the elegies of Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid are devoted to the development of these ~~themes~~.

This expression of national ideals is a major stylistic element in lending to the poetry of the Augustan Age its splendor, solemnity, and prestige.

4. Presentation of Qualities of High Moral Character

Another purpose, one indeed in line with the policies of Augustus, was to present as a national ideal the high moral characters which were representative of an earlier period. This the poets did by picturing in vivid language the great qualities of these men of old and by contrast lamenting over the degeneracy of the era which had just ended.

Besides they realized too that there were elements of evil still evident to mar the fulfillment of Augustus' national mission and set out to assist in the eradication of these. They made their readers more conscious of the blessings of the era in which they were living and directed their attention toward Augustus as the man responsible for these.

On the occasion of the bestowing of the title Augustus upon Octavian in 27 B. C. Horace, in some of the finest odes that he has written, in an effort to get the people amid their rejoicing over the event of the hour to realize the basic conditions of the state issued a warning by calling their attention to the seeds of decay that were evident in society. This warning is given through retrospection and through reviewing the qualities typify-¹ ing the great heroes of the Republic. He rebukes the people for their for-² getfulness of their great traditions and old virtues. He holds up to his generation as examples of the fine qualities of character (fides, fortitudo,³ constantia, frugalitas, patientia, temperantia, and pietas) M. Porcius Cato, the great-grandson of Cato the Censor, who died for his convictions after Thapsus; the "self-sacrificing" Regulus who counselled "the Senate never to submit to national dishonor by making an ignominious peace (with the Carthaginians)", says Mackail, "and then quietly returned to certain torture and⁴ death in Carthage because the Roman word must not be broken"; L. ~~stadius~~ Paulus who sought voluntary death at Cannae by refusing to fly from the field of battle with his defeated army; Caius Fabricius and Curius Dentatus who

1 Cf. Lord. Op. Cit. The Classical Journal. XXXI. (1935) 159f.

2 Lord. "Two Imperial Poets". Horace and Kipling". The Classical Journal. XVI. (1921) 267f.

3 Ibid. 268.

4 Op. Cit. 245.

despised the Samnite gold and whose frugal way of living became proverbial;
and M. Furius Camillus who yielded private grievance and came to his country's
1
aid.

"Regulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memores an superbos
Tarquini fasces, dubito, an Catonis
nobile letum.

Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnas
prodigum Paulum, superante Poeno,
gratus insigni referam canena
Fabricianusque.

hunc et intonsis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit et Camillum
saeva paupertas et avitus apto
cum lare fundus." 2

The first two odes, ^{of Book Three} embody the spirit of contentment and renunciation
and the training for public duty which befit the subjects of a new Empire.

"Quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
nec purpurarum sidere clarior
dolenit usus nec Falerna
vitis Achaemeniunusque costum,

cur invidendis postibus et novo
sublime ritu moliar atrium?
cur valle permutem Sabina
divitias operosiores?" 3

"Angustam amice pauperiem pati
robustus acri militia puer
condiscat et Parthos feroces
vaxet eques metuendus hasta,

vitanque sub divo et trepidus agat
in rebus. - - - - - " 4

1 Showerman. Op. Cit. 59-61.
2 Car. I. xii. 33-44.
3 Car. III. i. 41-48.
4 Ibid. ii. 1-6.

The poet tried to arouse the consciousness of the nation to these seeds of evil and stimulate it to remedy them. He chides the Romans for not avenging the defeat of Crassus. He contrasts the spirit of the present with the heroic age of the Republic.¹

"Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara
turpis maritus vixit et hostium
(pro curia inversique mores!)
consequit socerorum in armis

sub rege Medo, Marcus et Apulus
ancillorum et nominis et togae,
oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
incolumi Iove et urbe Roma?

hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
dissentientis condicionibus
foedis et exempla trahentis
perniciem veniens in aevum.

si non periret immiserabilis
captiva pubes. - - - - - " 2

He tried to impress his generation with the old ideal of loyalty to duty.

"Paene occupatam seditionibus
delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops,
hic classe formidatus, ille
missilibus melior sagittis.

fecunda culpa saecula nuptias
primum inquinavere et genus et domos:
hoc fonte derivata clades
in patriam populusque fluxit.

non hic inventus orta parentibus
infecit aequor sanguine Punico
Pyrrhusque et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;" 3

1 Cf. Sellar. Op. Cit. 156.

2 Car. III. v. 5-16.

3 Ibid. vi. 13-20. 33-36.

To Vergil's readers who had passed through troublesome times and were uncertain of the future the great prophecy of Aeneas' father in the underworld and his admonitions expressed the ideals of the greatest days of Roman history. "It was these ideals", says Prescott, "exemplified in the lives and actions of old Roman worthies that Augustus was striving to revive and to realize in the young Romans of his day." As Brutus, the Decii, the Drusi, Torquatus, Camillus, Mummius, Paulus, Cato, Cossus, the Graechii, the Scipios, Fabricius, Serranus, and the Fabii pass in procession before the eyes of our minds, we remember inevitably the noble qualities which made them great. How much more inspiring must this have been to the Roman reader in whose family traditions these great names belonged.

*Vis et Tarquinius reges, animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti fascisque videre receptos?
consulis imperium hic prius saevasque securis
accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventis
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,
infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:
vincet amor patriae laudemque immensa cupido.

Quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi
aspice Torquatus et referentem signa Camillum.

Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corinthe
victor aget curram, caesis insignis Achivis;
eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae
ipsamque Aeaciden, genus armipotenti Achilli
ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae.
quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat?
quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem
Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?
quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,
unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem." 2

1 Op. Cit. 410.

2 Verg. Aen. VI. 817-846.

References are also made to Horatius (Propert. III. xi. 63; Verg. Aen. VIII. 649f), Cloelia (Verg. Aen. VIII. 651), Marcus Curtius (Propert. III. xi. 61; Ov. F. VI. 403f), and Manlius (Verg. Aen. VIII. 652-666).

Vergil in the scenes depicted on Aeneas' shield shows the worth of truth and virtue as exemplified by Cato the Censor and the punishment awarded rebellion and disloyalty to the State in the person of Catiline.

* - - - - - Hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ritis,
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem;
secretosque pios, his dantes iura Catonem.* 1

This distinctly creative effort to do their part in inspiring a nobler race constitutes ^{for the poets} a purpose second only to the glorification of Augustus and his policies.

5. Reflection on the General Problems of Life

In addition to using historical allusions in emphasizing and illustrating those traits of character which the poets believe to be necessary for national glory and security, they often use them in reflecting upon the more general problems of life.

Thus Horace turns to the certainty of death as it enforces on man the duty of equanimity, restraint from pride, and the moderate enjoyment of life. He enforces his point by recalling the luxurious villas on the Tiber banks and by using descent from Inachus, mythical king of Argos, as typifying pride of ancestry.

1 Aen. VIII. 666-670.

*Cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,
cedes, et exstructis in altum
divitiis potietur heres.

divesne, prisco natus ab Inacho,
nil interest an pauper et infima
de gente sub dive moreris;
victima nil miserantis Orci.

omnes eodem cogimur, omniū
versatur urna serius ocius
sors exitura et nos in aeternum
exsilium impositura cumbae.* 1

Cf. also Hor. Car. II. xiv. 1-16; IV. vii. 14-18; Propert. III. v. 16f;
xviii. 33.

The poet also comments on the need for enjoyment of riches and the im-
portance of overcoming greed. He addresses, as an example of one who
practices the correct use of wealth, Sallustius Crispus who inherited the
vast property of his granduncle Sallust, the historian.

*Nullus argento color est avaris
abdito terris, inimice Iannae
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
splendeat usu.

latius regnes avidum domando
spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
serviat uni.* 2

Cf. also Hor. Car. II. ii. 17-24; x. 1-8; xvi. 9-16.

6. Idealization of Roman Womanhood

As an off-set to the many contemporary examples in public and private
life of women responsible for wrecking the lives of outstanding men, the
poets quote instances of the loyalty of women in ages past.

1 II. iii. 17-28.

2 Ibid. ii. 1-4. 9-12.

Ovid presents the story of Lucretia, "animi matrona virilis"¹, the wife of Collatinus, as an example of chastity and of dutifulness and loyalty to her husband.

"Inde cito passu petitur Lucretia: nebat,
ante torum calathi lanaeque mollis erat,

'quam' dixit 'veniam vos datis, ipsa nego.'
nec mora, celato fixit sua pectora ferro
et cedit in patrios sanguinolenta pedes.
tunc quoque iam moriens ne non procumbat honeste,
respicit; haec etiam cura cadentis erat."² 2

The loyalty of the ideal womanhood of Rome is also pictured by Propertius in Cornelia, the deceased wife of L. Aemilius Paulus. He "represents her spirit as addressing her husband and children in a speech of deep and pathetic affection"³, says Rose.

"Testor maiorum cineres tibi, Roma, verendos,
sub quorum titulis, Africa, tursae iaces,

et Persen proavo stimulantem pectus Achille,
quique tuas proavo fragit, Averne, domos,
me neque censurae legem mollisse neque ulla
labe mea nostros erubuisse focos.
non fuit exuviae tantis Cornelia damnata:
quin et erat magnae pars imitanda domus.
nec mea mutata est aetas, sine crimine tota est:
viribus insignes inter utranque facem.
ni natura dedit leges a sanguine ductas,
ne possem melior indicis esse metu."⁴ 4

7. According Recognition to Friends

Frequent allusions are made to men of their own time who were friends of

1 F. II. 847.

2 Ibid. 741f. 830-834. For the entire incident cf. 721-849.

3 Op. Cit. 294.

4 IV. xi. 37-48.

the poets. By thus addressing these friends, dedicating poems to them, or making them the subject of their writings the poets accord them recognition and honor, as well as testify to their personal loyalty, devotion, and friendship.

Horace's odes bear witness to his friendship with many distinguished Romans of his day - men of social prominence, "men of experience in affairs at home and in the field, and men of natural taste and real cultivation, of broad and sane outlook of warm hearts and of deep sympathies", says Showerman.¹ These included statesmen, literary men, and men distinguished in the military field.

Among these were Agrippa, Octavian's general and son-in-law:

*Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
victor Maconii carminis alite,
quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis
miles te duce gesserit.

nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec gravem
Pelidae stomachus decere nescii
nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei
nec saevam Pelopis domum

conamur, tenues grandia, dum pudor
imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni. * 2

Maecenas, the advisor of Augustus and patron of the poets, who is also praised by Vergil and Propertius:

*Maecenas atavis edite regibus,
o et praesidium et dulce decus meum,

- - si me lyricis vatibus inseris,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice. * 3

1 Op. Cit. 17f.

2 Car. I. vi. 1-12.

3 Ibid. I. 1f. 35f.

"Tuque ades inceptumque una decurre laborem,
o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae,
Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti." 1

"At tua, Maecenas, vitae praecepta recepti,
cogor et exemplis te superare tuis.
cum tibi Romano dominas in honore securae
et liceat medio ponere iura foro;
vel tibi Medorum pugnaces ire per hastas,
atque onerare tuam fixa per arma domum;
et tibi ad effectum vires det Caesar, et omni
tempore tam faciles insinuantur opes;
parcis et in tenues humiles te colligis umbras:
velorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus.
crede mihi, magnos aequabunt ista Camillos
iudicia, et venies tu quoque in ora virum,
Caesaris et famae vestigia iuncta tenebis:
Maecenatis erunt vera tropaea fides." 2

Pollio, a man outstanding in literary and military accomplishments, whom
Horace lauds;

"insigne maestis praesidium reis
et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
cui laurus aeternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho." 3

Marcus Lollius who was a lieutenant of Augustus and to whom Horace addresses
one of his odes;

" - - - - - non ego te meis
chartis inornatum silebo,
totve tuos patiar labores

impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
obliviones. est animus tibi
rerum prudens et secundis
temporibus dubiisque rectus,

vindex avarae fraudis et abstinens
ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae,
consulque non unius anni,
sed quotiens bonus atque fidus

1 Verg. G. II. 39-41.
2 Propert. III. ix. 21-34.
3 Car. II. 1. 13-16.

iudex honestum praetulit utili,
 reiecit alto dona nocentium
 vultu, per obstantes catervas
 explicuit sua victor arma. * 1

L. Aelius Lamia of whom Horace writes;

* - - - - o quae fontibus integris
 gaudes, apricos nocte flores,
 nocte nec Lamias coronam,

Pimplei dulcis, nil sine te mei
 prosunt honores hunc fidibus novis,
 hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
 teque tuasque decet sorores. * 2

and Messalla, a famous orator, who had studied in Athens at the same time as Horace and who is eulogized by Tibullus.

*te Messalla, canam, quanquam tua cognita virtus
 terret, ut infirmas nequeant subsistere vires,
 incipiam tamen ac, meritas si carmina laudes
 deficient, humilis tantis eim conditor actis,
 nec tua praeter te chartis intexere quisquam
 facta queat, dictis ut non maiora supersint,
 est nobis voluisse satis. - - - - - * 3

Cf. also Hor. Car. II. xviii 2-4; III. vii. 13-17; xvi. 20; xvii. 1-9; xxix. 1-5; IV. xi; ~~Sped.~~ I. 1-4; III. 19-21; IX. 1-6; Verg. Ecl. III. 84-86. 88; VIII. 6-13; G. I. 3; III. 42; IV. 3; Propert. II. 1. 17. 27-36. 73; III. ix. 1-3. 59f; Tibull. I. vii. 7f; 55-58; II. 1. 33f; III. vii. 106-112. 121f. Other friends mentioned by the poets are Quintilius Varus (Hor. Car. I. xx; xxiv), Iccius (Hor. Car. I. xxix), Albius Tibullus (Hor. Car. I. xxxiii. 1; Ov. Am. I. xv. 27f; III. ix. 13f), C. Valgius Rufus (Hor. Car. II. ix. 5), Graecinus (Ov. Am. II. x. 1f), Aemilius Macer (Ov. Am. II. xviii. 1-4. 35; Tibull. II. vi. 1), Tullus (Propert. I. 1. 9; vi. 1f; xiv. 20; xxii. 1f; III. xxii. 6. 39), Alfenus Varus (Verg. Ecl. VI. 6-12; IX. 26-29), ~~Messalla~~ (Verg. Ecl. X. 2f), and G. Marcus Censorinus (Hor. Car. IV. viii. 1-5).

Such allusions contribute an intimate personal tone to the poems in which they occur.

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- 1 Car. I. ix. 30-44.
 2 Ibid. I. xxvi. 6-12.
 3 III. vii. 1-7.

8. Justification of the Poet's Interests and Themes

Some historical allusions are used by the poets in an attempt to justify their individual interests and their choice of themes as these stand in contrast to those of other poets.

Although Propertius is aware of the fact that many poets have gained fame from writing of the heroic deeds of men of old, he knows that he must follow lighter themes.

*parvaeque tam magnis admoram fontibus ora,
unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit;
et cecinit Curios fratres et Horatia pila,
regiaeque Aemilia vecta tropaea rate,
victricesque moras Fabii pugnaeque Sinistram
Cannensem et versos ad pia vota deos,
Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantes,
anseris et tutum voce fuisse Iovem:
cum se Castalia speculari ex arbore Phoebus
sit ait aurata hixus ad antra lyra;
'quid tibi cum tali, demens, est flumine? quis te
carminis herde tangere iussit opus?
non hinc ulla tibi speranda est fama, Properti:
mollia sunt parvis prata terenda rotis;
ut tunc in scamno iactetur saepe libellus,
quem legat expectans sola puella virum.* 1

Horace likewise feels an unworthiness for the task of developing epic themes.

*In me tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit, nec patitur Scythas
et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere, nec quae nihil attinent.* 2

Other references to the feeling of the poets on this matter are Propert. II. i. 1-38; xxxiv. 59-94; III. iii. 37-52; ix. 43-56; xi. 27-72; IV. 69-86; Ov. Am. III. xii. 15f; Hor. I. vi; II. xii. 1-20.

1 III. iii. 5-20.

2 Car. I. xix. 9-12.

Although these poets do not all develop the same type of themes, they all alike stress the importance of poetry in immortalizing events.

Horace believes that poetry is the most lasting monument to heroic deeds.

"Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
 per quas spiritus et vita redit bonis
 post mortes ducibus, non coleres fugae
 relictæque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
 non incendia Carthaginiæ impias
 eius, qui demissa nomen ab Africa
 lucratus rediit, clarius indicata
 laudes quam Galabrarum Pierides neque,
 si chartæ sileant quod bene feceris,
 mercedem tuleris. Quid foret Iliæ
 Nævortisque puer, si taciturnitas
 obstaret meritis invida Romæ?
 ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Asæna
 virtus et favor et lingua potentium
 vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
 dignum laude virus Musa vetat mori,
 caelo Musa beat. - - - - -" 1

For Ovid's agreement to this sentiment cf. *Am. I. xv. 19-32.*

9. Explanation of Events and Customs

In some instances the poets use historical and semi-historical allusions to explain the significance of an occasion, an event or a famous site.

Thus Ovid's explanation of the origin of the *Vinalia* illustrates how, by tying up a religious practice to a legendary or historical event, he lends dignity and the sanction of antiquity to it.

1 *Car. IV. viii. 13-29.*

"Dicta Palae nobis, idem Vinalia dicam:
 - - - - -

cur igitur Veneris festum Vinalia dicant,
 quaeritis, et quare sis Iovis ista dies?
 Turnus an Aeneas Laliae gener esset Amatae,
 bellum erat; Etruscas Turnus adorat opes.
 clarus erat sumptisque ferox Mesentius armis
 et vel equo magnus vel pede maior erat;
 quem Rutuli Turnusque suis adsciscere temptat
 partibus. Haec contra dux ita Tuscus ait;
 'stat mihi non parvo virtus mea; volnera testor
 armaque, quae sparsi sanguine saepe meo.
 qui petis auxilium, non grandia divide mecum
 praemia, de lacubus proxima munda tuis.
 nulla mora est operae: vestrus est dare, vincere nostrum.
 quam velit Aeneas ista negata mihi!
 admirant Rutuli. Mesentius induit arma,
 induit Aeneas alloquiturque Iovem:
 'hostica Tyrrheno vota est vindemia regi:
 Iuppiter, o Latia palmita munda feres!
 vota valent meliora. cadit Mesentius ingens
 atque indignanti pectore plangit humum.
 venerat Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis:
 redduntur merito debita vina Iovi.
 dicta dies hinc est Vinalia: Iuppiter illam
 vindicat et festis gaudet inesse suis." 1

Similar are the Carmentalia (Ov. F. I. 467-538, 585f), the Regifugium (Ov. F. II. 685-852), the feast of Anna Perenna (Ov. F. III. 523-696), the festival of Cybele (Ov. F. IV. 179-347), the Parilia (Ov. F. IV. 721-862), the dedication of Augustus' temple to Mars (Ov. F. V. 549-596), the consecration of the shrine to Bellona (Ov. F. VI. 199-208), the explanation for the setting up of altars to Baker Jupiter (Ov. F. VI. 349-394), and to Feretrian Jupiter (Propert. IV. x.), and the opening of the doors of the temple of Janus (Verg. Aen. VII. 601-615).

10. Establishment of Dates

In like manner the poets make reference to historical happenings for the purpose of fixing the approximate date of an event.

Ovid places the first instance of the new date for the installation of magistrates as coming at the time of the Second Punic War.

1 F. IV. 863, 877-900.

"Hinc etiam veteres initi memorantur honores
ad spatium belli, perfide Poene, tui." 1

Horace mentions N. Caecilius Metellus' consulship as the time of the beginning of civil strife.

"Mōm̄ ex Metello consule civicum" 2

Tibullus (Lygdamus) reckons his date of birth by the year in which Hirtius and Pansa, consuls in 43 B. C., were killed.

"Natales primo nostrum videre parentes,
cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari." 3

Vergil dates the writing of the Georgics by the triumphal progress of Octavian through the East after the battle of Actium.

"Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam
et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
per populos dat iura viasque adfectat Olympo." 4

Propertius dates the death of Cornelia, the wife of L. Aemilius Paullus, by the consulship of her brother, P. Cornelius Scipio.

"Vidimus et fratrem sellam geminasse curulem;
consule quo, festo tempore rapta soror." 5

So too wine is dated by concurring events (Hor. Car. III. viii. 9-12; xiv. 13-18; xxi. 1-4; xxviii. 7f; Epod. XIII. 5.); the work of the sculptor, Mamurius Veturius, is dated by Numa's rule (Propert. IV. ii. 58-63); the dedication of the temple to Summanus, a nocturnal Jupiter, is dated by Pyrrhus' invasion of Italy (Ov. F. VI. 731f).

Artistic Decoration

The poets often use the names of foreign peoples and characters solely for decorative purposes.

1 F. III. 147f.
2 Car. II. i. 1.
3 III. v. 18f.
4 G. IV. 559-562.
5 IV. xi. 65f.

Thus Horace includes a reference to Panaetius, a Stoic philosopher of

Rhodes:

* - - - - - quis neget arduis
 pronos relabi posse rivos
 montibus et Tiberim reverti,

 cum tu coemptos undique nobilis
 libros Panaeti, Socraticam et domum
 mutare loricis Hiberis,
 pollicitus meliora, tendis? 1

another to Tiridates, a king of Parthia:

*Musis amicus tristitiam et metus
 tradam protergis in mare Creticum
 portare ventis, quis sub Arcto
 rex gelidus metuatur orae,

 quid Tiridaten terreat; unice
 securus. - - - - - 2

and still a third to foreign foes who plot Rome's destruction.

*Quid bellicosus Cantabar et Scythes,
 Hirpinae Quincti, cogitet Hadria
 divisus obiecto, remittas
 quærere, nec trepidas in usum

 poscentis aevi pauca; - - - - - 3

*Septimi, Gadis adituro mecum et
 Cantabrum indictum iuga ferre nostra et
 barbarus Syrtes, ubi Maura semper
 aestuat unda,

 Tibur Argeo positum colono
 sit meae sedes utinam senectae, 4

These illustrations show how the poets of the Augustan Age used historical allusions for a variety of purposes, including the creation of a national spirit, the glorification of Augustus, the praise of Italy and Rome, the

1 Car. I. xxix. 10-16.
 2 Ibid. I. xxvi. 1-6.
 3 Ibid. II. xi. 1-5.
 4 Ibid. vi. 1-6.

presentation of qualities of high moral character, reflection on the general problems of life, the idealization of the finer qualities of Roman womanhood, the according of recognition to friends, the justification of the poet's own interests and themes, the immortalization of heroic deeds, the explanation of events, the fixation of dates of happenings, and the decoration of their literary productions. This extensive use of history contributed largely to making them the true literary representatives of the age in which they lived.

Part Two. Methods of Introducing Historical Allusions

The poets use a variety of ways of introducing historical material into their works. These methods include prophecy, oracle, and dream; pictorial representation; complete story; figure of speech; mere suggestion or covert allusion; and the simple mentioning of a name.

"Reference to history in prospect is manifestly far more poetic than the use of history in retrospect, in actual chronicle", says Professor Knapp.¹

Thus Vergil in the Aeneid reviews for Aeneas his future and gives his readers a view of the glorious destiny of Rome by relating the prophetic words spoken to Aeneas in a vision by the shade of Hector (II. 283-285), and by the deified spirit of Creusa (II. 780-784); in an oracular response at Delos (III. 90-98); in a dream by the Penates (III. 161-171); in prophecies by Helene (III. 381-452); by the shade of Anchises (VI. 756-892); and in words spoken to Venus (I. 261-296) and Juno (XII. 833-840) by Jupiter.²

¹ Condensed from Op. Cit. The Classical Journal. XII. (1924), 210.
² Cf. Knapp. The Aeneid of Vergil. 68f.

So too the pictorial representation engraven on Aeneas' shield depicts in detail the story of Rome (Verg. Aen. VIII. 626-731).

Practically all the poets find it fitting at times to relate events by recounting the entire incident. Thus Horace records Regulus' appearance before the Roman senate (Car. III. v. 13-56); Ovid, the siege of Ardea and the disgrace of Lucretia at the hands of Sextus Tarquinius (F. II. 725-832); Vergil, the battle of Actium (Aen. VIII. 689-708); Propertius, Tarpeia's betrayal of her country (IV. ix. 3-32).

The poet Horace also uses figures of speech based on historical incidents to intensify ideas. A striking example of the use of the metaphor is Horace's reference to Attalus who bequeathed his kingdom and treasures to the Roman people at his death. Horace states that he, as an unrecognized heir, has not seized upon the kingdom of an Attalus - as Aristonicus did, but is happy with his Sabine farm.

" - - - neque Attali¹
ignotus heres regiam occupavi."

In Car. I. 12 the poet uses the adjective Attalicia, which is equivalent to a simile.

Frequently the poets introduce history by mere suggestion or by covert allusion. In this way Vergil refers to Hannibal's invasion of Italy (Aen. X. 11-13); Horace, to the defeat of Crassus and his army (Car. I. 11. 51); Ovid, to the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar (F. III. 202); Tibullus, to the death of Hirtius and Pansa at Mutina (III. v. 18f); Propertius, to the defeat of L. Antonius at Perugia (I. xxi. 1-2).

¹ Car. II. xviii. 5f.

At other times the simple mention of a name suffices to suggest some related historical event. Thus Vergil points out Leucata on the shield of Aeneas (Aen. VIII. 678f). This place, the headquarters of Augustus' forces in the battle of Actium, reminds the poet of the great struggle between Octavian and Antony. Horace (Car. I. xxvi. 1-6) mentions Tiridates, the king of Parthia, who was driven from his kingdom by the Scythians and fled to Augustus. As Horace casts all of his own cares to the winds in order to immortalize Lania, he recalls the dread and fear which Tiridates experienced as he contended with Phraates for the throne of Parthia.

From the foregoing discussion and illustrations can be seen the stylistic use which the poets of the Augustan Age - Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid - made of historical material in their writings and the methods by which they wove this material into their poems.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Epic poetry, as has been said before, lends itself much more readily to the development of historical themes than does lyric poetry. However, the poets of the Augustan Age, both epic and lyric, were so closely associated with the happenings of the age in which they lived and so deeply affected by them that they all became in varying degrees the mouthpieces of the times. The spirit of the age survived in their writings as they developed themes which coincided with the objectives of the imperial regime.

All of these poets - Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid - lived through the most trying periods of Rome's history. They, with the exception of Ovid, had witnessed a succession of great political events, the collapse of the Republic, and the agony and chaos caused by a series of civil wars. Their lives had extended over the period covering the defeat of Rome's great military general at Pharsalia, the ensuing rule of the dictator, Julius Caesar, the death of Republicanism at Philippi, the struggle for supremacy between Octavian and Antony, and the establishment of universal peace under Augustus.

It would have been impossible for them to have lived through these events without being affected by them. They shared the general uncertainty and insecurity of the times. Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius were stripped of a greater part of their inherited estates in the confiscation of property that followed the battle of Philippi. Ovid, because of his youth and his absence from Rome, escaped the disasters of the time and the ill effects which they brought.

The encouragement, friendship, and patronage of Augustus and his ministers of government made it possible for these poets to live under circumstances conducive to literary contemplation and expression. This serenity of life, as opposed to the turmoil which had preceded it, resulted in reflection on the greatness of Rome, the small beginnings from which it had come, the circumstances and people contributing to its growth, and most of all to the man who was responsible for the blessings of the age. The great achievements of Rome thus became an inspiration for the literature of the age.

The poets whose works concern us - Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid - participated in the great literary movement which had as its purpose to revive and restore the patriotic devotion to Rome and to glorify the Emperor who has ushered in an era which promised to exceed the glorious past. Because of this they are the best witnesses of the age in which they lived. As representatives of their time they fulfilled different purposes. Vergil, through presenting the idealized spectacle of the career of Rome from its founding to its restoration under Augustus, brings to life the ancient traditions of Rome and extols the great accomplishments of his own era.

Horace, by mirroring the actual life of his time, by recording the feelings and the reflections of his age, and by expressing the happiness and delight made possible by true friendship and pleasant surroundings, gives a vivid history of the age in which he lived.

Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid on the contrary showed little sympathy with the new ideas of government. They lacked the deep feeling for their country which Vergil had and the strong reflective vein which was characteristic of Horace. They did not feel called upon to assist in reconciling the

great ruling class to the changed conditions nor in arousing a new enthusiasm for the Empire and its policies. Their themes for the most part were those which interested them and the society in which they moved - the romance and passion of their own lives.

The poetry of Vergil and Horace had as its purpose to strengthen and elevate national character, as well as to refine and lend zest to life; that of Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid to minister to the universal desire for pleasure.

The imperial note is discernible in the poems of all of these poets in their praise of individuals connected with the ruling house and Rome as the capital city of pleasure. At times this national note becomes a review of Rome's march to glory from its legendary founding to the culmination of its achievements under the divine inspiration of Augustus. In some instances it is a eulogy of the Emperor and his accomplishments with heroic figures and deeds from the past brought in as a basis for comparison. Praise of the country of Italy for the joys that it offers contributes to this patriotic expression. Noble and heroic characters from former ages pass in review as a basis for contrasting the laxity and decadence of the present era in an effort to inspire men anew to greater deeds. With some of the poets the antiquarian interest prevails, bringing forth numerous historical incidents in explanation of some event or occasion. Especially is this true of Ovid.

Thus from the literary productions of Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid can be gleaned not only a picture of the age in which they lived - the events and characters involved, but also, through retrospection, a review of the eras that have preceded.

Through prophecy, story, and allusion these poets have made history fit gracefully into the framework of their poems and have gained for themselves the epithet of true representatives of the age in which they lived.

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LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

Mary Geraldine Rowe was born in Gloucester County, Virginia, on April 19, 1906. Her primary and secondary education were received at the Achilles High School in lower Gloucester. After attending the College of William and Mary for two years, she returned to this same school as a teacher of Latin, where with one year's leave of absence (1929-1930) to obtain the Bachelor of Arts Degree from The College of William and Mary she remained for six years.

In September, 1932 she came to The Matthew Whaley High School in Williamsburg, Virginia where she remained as the Supervisor of Teacher Education in Latin and Social Studies until May, 1940. During that time Miss Rowe assisted with the revision of the Virginia State Curriculum in Latin and was a member of the faculty of the Latin Institute at the College of William and Mary for five summers.

In the spring of 1939 Miss Rowe became a member of the staff of a Southern Study being sponsored by the Southern Association of High Schools and Colleges. In this capacity she assisted in summer conferences at Chapel Hill, North Carolina in 1939 and at Richmond, Kentucky in 1940. During the session of 1940-1941, in addition to completing the requirements for her Master's Degree, she has spent three months and a half working in various high schools in the South which are participating in this study. In pursuance of this work she has visited all the Southern states as far west as Texas.