



1942

The Classical Theory of Imitation in the Works of Horace

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Recommended Citation

Piwowar, Stanislaus J., "The Classical Theory of Imitation in the Works of Horace" (1942). *Master's Theses*. Paper 686.
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THE CLASSICAL THEORY OF IMITATION IN THE WORKS OF HORACE

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER
OF ARTS IN LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

FEBRUARY

1942

VITA

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CHAPTER I

LITERARY CRAFTSMANSHIP - THE CLASSICAL THEORY OF IMITATION

The poetic genius of Horace manifested itself in two distinct fields: he continued and brought to perfection the native poetry of his country, the satire; he adapted to the Roman tongue the rhythm and measures of the Greek lyrists with such wonderful success that no one afterwards ventured to tread his footsteps.

However, it is a dangerous anachronism to attempt to appraise the literary models and ideals of a great classical writer like Horace on the basis of our current romantic theories of composition with their over-emphasis on originality and spontaneity, with their tendency to tear loose the individual genius from his cultural environment. I shall endeavor in this thesis to show the gradual artistic development in Horace's literary craftsmanship based on the Classical Theory of Imitation, which prevailed in the literary world from the 4th century B.C. to the middle of the 18th century, and to demonstrate that it is still necessary to keep open that long road which binds our modern civilization to those of ancient Greece and Rome.

"There can be no doubt," wrote Quintilian centuries ago, "that in art no small portion of our task lies in imitation,

since, although invention came first and is all-important, it is expedient to imitate whatever has been invented with success. And it is a universal rule of life that we should wish to copy what we approve in others."¹

The Ancients did not confine the human spirit in a straightjacket. The aesthetic theories of the Greeks and Romans never condemned imitation "per se", provided the result was a work of art. To the Ancients, literary imitation was the gestation by the human spirit of all the living elements streaming into its depths from the life and culture of the past and from the works of the great masters portraying that life. From this slow process there was born a work of art expressing that larger vision of the individual spirit, which beheld in undimmed clarity the ideals of beauty and truth "sub specie aeternitatis". The subject matter of an earlier writer was regarded as the common property of posterity. Hence, the duty and privilege of the heir to such a noble heritage was to work in the spirit of generous rivalry, to follow in the footsteps of his master, and to preserve unimpaired the essentials of the great literary tradition.

While artistic imitation was thus recognized and approved by ancient critical opinion, the Ancients condemned plagiarism,

¹Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.2.1-2: "Neque enim dubitari potest, quin artis pars magna contineatur imitatione. Nam ut invenire primum fuit estque praecipuum, sic ea, quae bene inventa sunt, utile sequi. Atque omnis vitae ratio sic constat, ut quae probamus in aliis facere velimus."

close verbal imitation or even free paraphrase, especially if the imitator made no direct acknowledgment of his sources.² Thus Horace speaks of frequent warnings given to Celsus against excessive dependence upon the works in the new library of Apollo on the Palatine, and advises him to depend on his own resources, and not to strut like the crow in borrowed plumage.³

Nevertheless, ample scope was provided for originality by the high privilege of retelling the message of antiquity with such transformation and stylistic perfection as would inevitably result in a work of art. According to this conception, a work of art expresses the result of ages of discrimination devoted to the attainment of a free and harmonious union of form and thought. At the same time it satisfies the ideals of

² M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.2: 27, 4, 7, 10: "Imitatio autem non sit tantum in verbis... Ante omnia igitur imitatio per se non sufficit, vel quia pigri est ingenii contentum esse iis, quae sint ab aliis inventa...Turpe etiam illud est, contentum esse id consequi quod imiteris...Sed etiam qui summa non appetent, contendere potius quam sequi debent. Nam qui hoc agit ut prior sit, forsitan, etiamsi non transierit, aequabit. Eum vero nemo potest aequare, cuius vestigiis sibi utique insistendum putat; necesse est enim semper sit posterior qui sequitur. Adde quod plerumque facilius est plus facere quam idem. Tantam enim difficultatem habet similitudo, ut ne ipsa quidem materia in hoc evaluerit, ut non res quae simillimae, quaeque pares maxime videantur, utique discrimine aliquo discernantur."

³ Epist., 1.3.15-20:
 "Quid mihi Celsus agit? Monitus multumque monendus,
 privatas ut quaerat opes et tangere vitet
 scripta, Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo,
 ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
 grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
 furtivis nudata coloribus....."

contemporary life and is redolent of that life. This conception of the function of the creative artist, which we may call the Classical Tradition, is closely bound up with imitation. Its eternal antimony is the Romantic Tradition, according to which, like Minerva, the work of art springs fully armed from the head of each creative Jove.⁴

Thus Horace in keeping with these general aesthetic and critical laws of composition - and he himself has constantly given utterance to them in his critical works - found the themes of many of his satires in Lucilius, just as Lucilius, in his turn, had found certain of his themes in the popular dialogues of the Cynics and Stoics with their frank criticism of contemporary Hellenistic life. Horace as an author gathered the themes of many of his satires as Shakespeare gathered the plots of his plays. Then following the broad outlines of his Lucilian themes, he transmitted them and contemporized them with such perfection of literary art as to mirror in his satires and epistles both the everyday life and the higher aesthetic and social ideals of the Augustan age.

The sophisticated Augustan age had reacted in no small measure from the ancient theory of the poet as the vessel of a Dionysiac enthusiasm. This theory was so far acceptable to Cicero⁵ that he denied that any poem of imaginative sweep could

⁴ Cf. George C. Fiske, "Horace and Lucilius", University of Wisconsin in Language and Literature, Madison, VII, (1920) 28.

⁵ De Div., 1.80; De Oratore, 2.46.

be composed "sine aliquo mentis instinctu". And even the cool-headed Horace, who ridiculed the conception of "demens poeta"⁶ elsewhere⁷ submitted to the conventional symbolism of inspiration.

But Horace takes a firm stand on the question of spontaneous genius versus traditional culture. He holds to the formula: "Poeta nascitur, tum fit", not to the romantic doctrine: "Poeta nascitur, non fit". Thus he declares:

"Natura fieret laudibile carmen, an arte,
quaesitum est; ego nec studium sine divite vena,
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic
altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice"⁸

In other words, natural genius and patient art should not be opposed. They are not enemies. They are really friends. Horace then strongly emphasizes the severe discipline by which alone true literary success can be obtained under classical dispensation:

"Quid studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
abstinuit venere et vino. Qui Pythia cantat
tibicinen, didicit prius extimuitque magistrum"⁹

⁶ Ars Poetica, 453-476.

⁷ Odes, 2.19; 3.1.

⁸ Ars Poetica, 408-411.

⁹ Ars Poetica, 412-415. The error of attempting to write without sufficient training is illustrated in Epist. 2.1, 114 seq. by a comparison with trades and professions, in vss. 379 seq. by a comparison with the players in games of skill, and here by a reference to the practice needed for success in the Pythian games.

Horace devotes much attention to the critical gradation of natural talent (spontaneity, originality), knowledge, history, philosophy, rhetoric, and technical exercises designed to mould the faculties of the man of letters.¹⁰ The youth of talent had first to enlarge his sympathies and develop his intelligence by the unremitting study of the liberal arts. But this did not suffice. Each branch of literature had its own laws and its appropriate character.¹¹ The student had to consider whom to imitate. Then he had to consider what qualities he wished to imitate in authors thus chosen.¹²

¹⁰ Horace's statement of the case of liberal studies is a cogent one:

"Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons,
rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae,
verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur."

(Ars Poetica, 309-311).

With the characteristic Horatian brevity and reticence, he declares that the principal cause and source of good writing is wisdom in general and philosophy in particular. The word "sapere" clearly indicates cultivated knowledge of philosophy, for Horace insists that in philosophy is to be found the talisman by which a man is fit for the varying "officia" of life (Ars Poetica, 312-317). He focuses his definition still further by using the defining phrase "Socraticae chartae". This term includes primarily Socrates and Plato and their later Academic and Peripatetic successors. This definition must surely be elastic enough, however, to include Panaetius and possibly other less rigid Stoics sympathetic with the Platonic and Peripatetic attitude towards literature.

¹¹ M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.2.22:
"Sua cuique lex, suus cuique decor est. Nam nec comoedia
in cothurnos adsurgit, nec contra tragoedia socco
ingreditur."

¹² Id., ibid., 10.2.14.

Furthermore, the student had to choose the authors in proportion to his powers.¹³ However, since it is practically impossible for mortal powers to produce a perfect and complete copy of any one chosen author, the student was advised to keep a number of different excellences before his eyes, so that different qualities from different authors might impress themselves on his mind, to be adopted for use at the opportune time.¹⁴ By practical exercises in poetical and prose composition, by the study of the rhetorical principles on which literary art rests, a student attained the mastery of fitting literary expression. Only thus could he hope to reach that rational and emotional elevation of the spirit in whose union the highest work of art is conceived.

The study of rhetoric was a prerequisite for literary composition. But the art of rhetoric was itself the result of the sympathetic and critical study of the great masterpieces of Greek prose and verse. The belief in the great classical tradition lies at the root of these aesthetic and rhetorical studies of the ancient world. But these studies in their turn strengthened, clarified, and systematized the aesthetic conception of the best minds among the Greeks and Romans from the middle of the 5th century B.C. until the Augustan age. In the course of time each poet and writer in turn transmitted the great tradition by transmuting it. Each spoke to his age with

¹³ Id., *ibid.*, 10.2.19.

¹⁴ M. Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, 10.2.26.

a voice in which the human tones of the present were mingled in the higher and ideal harmony of the human spirit of all ages. From the cumulative forces of such traditions, the different types of literature were evolved in Greece and worthily continued in Rome.

It was necessary to follow tradition in its main outlines. Too wide a departure from the tradition in the way of independent invention, transformation of the traditional material, or even supplementary invention might be subject to criticism. Thus Horace, after emphasizing the point that delineation of the historical or mythical character of the tradition must be observed - as we can see from such examples as the "honoratus Achilles", the "Medea ferox invictaque", the "flebilis Io", the "perfidus Ixion", the "tristis Orestes"¹⁵ - admirably sums up the accepted law of composition:

"Aut faman sequere aut sibi convenientia finge"¹⁶

The high value thus placed upon tradition fostered the study of rhetoric, which took a dominant place in education.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ars Poetica, 123-124.

¹⁶ Ars Poetica, 119.

¹⁷ Of this Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition a long succession of works on poetical and prose composition is known to us from antiquity. Of these, the "Poetics" and "Rhetoric" of Aristotle, the "Manuals" of Theophrastus, the "Ars Poetica" of Neoptolemus of Parium, the "Orator", "De Oratore", and "Brutus" of Cicero, the "Ars Poetica" of Horace, the rhetorical treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the "Institutes" of Quintilian may serve to indicate the main line of the tradition.

But the ancient rhetoric did not attain its purpose merely by the study of the general principles of composition. It insisted equally upon the pursuit of two closely related practical disciplines: the reading and interpretation of the great masters and the unremitting practice of the paraphrase and translation of masterpieces.

Reading is the spiritual foundation for imitation. The soul of the reader absorbs stylistic affinity by continual association. "Omnis vitae ratio sic constat, ut quae probamus in aliis facere ipsi velimus...Similem (bonis) raro natura praestat, frequenter imitatio."¹⁸ Thus from the time of Isocrates, reading was the principal medium of instruction, designed to fit the youth of Greece and Rome for the practice of sophistic eloquence.¹⁹ Through the reading of poetry the youth was introduced into life with its activities and reflections, its sufferings and its joys. Memorizing was employed to an extent which would grieve the soul of the modern expert on education. Thus Horace insists on the unremitting study of

¹⁸ M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.2.2.

¹⁹ Ibid., 10.1.19-20:

"Lectio libera est nec actionis impetus transcurrit; sed repetere saepius licet, sive dubites sive memoriae penitus adfigere velis. Repetamus autem et retractemus, et ut cibos mansos ac prope liquefactos demittimus, quo facilius digerantur, ita lectio non cruda, sed multa iteratione mollita et velut confecta, memoriae imitationique tradatur. Ac diu non nisi optimus quisque et qui credentem sibi minime fallat legendus est, sed diligenter ac paene scribendi sollicitudinem; nec per partes modo scrutanda omnia, sed perlectus liber utique ex integro resumendus, praecipueque oratio, cuius virtutes frequenter ex industria quoque occultantur."

the masterpieces of Greek literature:

"...Vos exemplaria Graeca
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna"²⁰

Next to reading, the rhetorical schools employed paraphrase, either grammatical paraphrase, the equivalent of close translation, or rhetorical paraphrase, which implies the transformation of an original with deliberate creative purpose by applying the principles of rhetoric. The youthful skill gained by such exercise was later reflected in imitations of real literary value.

Thus the art of composition was really taught, a goal which our modern American universities have so far sought vainly to attain by less thorough-going methods. By constant reading and memorizing the student steeped himself in the works of the great masters. But these were mere external sources. "In iis autem quae nobis ipsis paranda sunt, ut laboris sic utilitatis etiam longe plurimum adfert stilus."²¹ By translation and practical paraphrase in prose and verse the student set for himself the same task which the authors had successfully performed. By means of rhetorical manuals the student was, in the literal sense of the word, informed with those general principles of aesthetics which underlie, whether consciously or unconsciously, all literary composition.

²⁰ Ars Poetica, 268-269.

²¹ M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.3.1.

If imitation as the result of the cumulative influence of literary practice and rhetorical and aesthetic theories is the guiding principle of literary art, how then, we may ask, did the Ancients succeed in reconciling the principles of imitation with the desire for self-expression and originality, an inspiration inseparable from any great art.

It will be convenient to consider this question under the two headings of subject matter and style. In the various types of literature the subject matter was regarded as the common property of posterity and hence independent invention was shunned. Within the limits of the various types of literature, the perpetuation of which was a high privilege, originality was given ample scope by the three principles of composition: the principle of the "new way" or the reinterpretation of the material in a form inspired by the aesthetic and ethical ideals of the present; the principle of "differentiation" of the various types of literature by a formulation of their specific laws as deduced by the study and observation of the works of the great masters and their disciples; the principle of "improvement" in a spirit of generous rivalry.

The subject matter, whether it be a myth, an historical episode, a poetic theme, a humorous anecdote, an ethical reflection, was regarded as common property, which could become private property by the exercise of literary squatter sovereignty. Hence the question for the author was not so much what to write but how to write. The variety of expression upon

the same theme is of the very essence of rhetoric. Consequently the grand style may be simply expressed, the trivial magnified, the archaic modernized, so as to be brought into harmony with the tradition. Traditional material represents the great cultural inheritance. It is the task of the educated writer to interpret it to his contemporaries: "vetustis novitatem dare, novis auctoritatem".

In his "Ars Poetica" Horace advocates the appropriation of epic material by the dramatists:

"Difficile est proprie communia dicere; tuque
rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus
quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus"²²

If then the subject matter is common property and too independent invention is even discouraged, it follows that the perfection of form is all important. This task affords an adequate recompense to the most inspiring genius. Hence it was possible for Horace to write Lucilian satire, because the unsuccessful attempt of Varro Atacinus and others left that field still open for stylistic perfection.²³

From the effort to interpret the traditional material according to the principles of "the new way", there gradually grew up a body of aesthetic laws governing content, tone, and style. Thus by the Augustan age, the works of certain masters had attained a sort of canonical literary authority. Vergil,

²² Ars Poetica, 128-130.

²³ Satires, 1.10.46-48.

for example, is in his "Eclogues" a Roman Theocritus, in his "Georgics" a Roman Hesiod, in his "Aeneid" the continuator of the Homeric Epic. Propertius regards himself as a Roman Callimachus. Horace's lyric poetry is modelled on the Aeolic lyrics of Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon; his epodes continue the tradition of personal invective first expressed in the iambics of Archilochus; in his satires he follows Lucilius. As a result of such aesthetic conception, a great masterpiece served as a model, and, instead of deterring literary aspirants, acted as a direct challenge to their powers. The stimulus to personal originality was quite as strong in antiquity as in modern times. But the ancient author adopted a different attitude towards the function of "invention". He "found" (invenit), but did not "fabricate" (fingit) his material.

The third principle of imitation was improvement of the model in a spirit of generous rivalry with the great master. "Priores superasse" was the chief stimulus to literary composition. Imitation of a model was never the subject of blame in antiquity, provided the imitator did not set too narrow limits to his task, but showed independence in the treatment of his material and aimed at improvement in form or content, and provided he demonstrated regard for the dignity of his model and for the principle governing his own literary creation, subject however to the general laws of the literary type. Thus Horace himself has given us the most concise summary of the guiding principles on which artistic imitation should rest:

Publica materies privati iuris erit, si
 non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
 nec verbum verbo curaberis reddere fidus
 interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum,
 unde pedem referre pudor vetet aut operis lex.²⁴

The related processes by which the ancient literary artist first ranges widely to gain imaginative possession of his subject, then laboriously reshapes it in accordance with the promptings of his genius, and finally gives it to the world quite transformed, is aptly illustrated by ancient critics by the operation of the bees gathering honey, building the comb, and producing honey. The collection of the essence of the flowers corresponds to "inventio", its distribution among the combs to "dispositio", and the transformation into honey to "elecutio".²⁵ Imitation thus conceived often developed into independent production, subject only to the general aesthetic laws developed by rhetorical study and by influence of earlier masters. Thus Horace himself begins in the First Book of Satires with a number of more or less close studies in the Lucilian form. In the Second Book of Satires he supplements these with satires much more independently composed and more firmly constructed and illustrated too from contemporary life.

²⁴ Horace, Ars Poetica, 131-135.

²⁵ Horace, Odes, 4.2.27-32.

"Ego apis Matinae,
 more modoque,
 grata carpentis thyma per laborem
 plurimum circa nemus uvidique
 Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
 carmina finge."

Finally, in the Epistles where he has attained complete and independent mastery of the form we find only scattering Lucilian allusions.

But such conscious imitation of the content of the work of the great master with a regard to aesthetic and rhetorical principles and to the promptings of the writer's own genius is only half of the story. Imitation is as much a matter of style as of content. We may look upon the stylistic imitation of the Ancients as the free transformation and application of the rhetorical and aesthetic principles of the literary artists. I pass over unconscious imitation. Under the category of what we may call applied theory, there are certain topics belonging to the ordinary technique of the ancient stylist which demand our brief attention.

Parody was common in ancient literature on account of the absence of contemporary critical reviews of the type so common in England in the first half of the nineteenth century. In oratory and philosophy it was used as an occasional weapon of controversy. Stoics used it as a favorite vehicle for the diffusion of philosophic truth and the demotion of error by means of ridicule. In the Old Comedy and in Satire, parody was used as a weapon of literary criticism. In the satires of Lucilius parodies play an important part upon the epic and tragic style. In Horace all readers are familiar with the epic parodies interspersed in the journey to Brundisium. Juvenal more than any other satirist employs parody as an instrument of satiric

effect.

Among the Romans, whose normal literary development was transformed by contact with the finished masterpieces of the Greeks at a time when their own crude literary forms had not yet been perfected, free translation from the Greek was held in even higher esteem than original invention. Hence we find the title "poeta" applied at an early period of Latin literature both to poet and to translator. Translations from the Greek were made by writers of established reputation. Thus Catullus made translations from Callimachus, Gallus from Euphorion.

Contamination, the fusing of incidents, scenes, or plots from two or more Greek originals, is a favorite device of Latin literature. It occurs in various literary forms and has left distinct traces in satire. The first satire of Horace's First Book combines elements found in books 18 and 19 of Lucilius. In the first satire of Horace's Second Book, a defence of satire and a fuller definition of satire, we have a contamination of books 26 and 30 of Lucilius.

Modernization or revision of the works of earlier masters, designed to adapt them to contemporary literary taste and understanding, plays an important part in literature of Greeks and Romans. Indeed this element enters into close relationship which binds the continuator of a great literary tradition. Whether the continuator is a creative genius or not depends upon the inspiration and native genius with which he vivifies

his material. The name and fame of the mere modernizer is lost, while that of the creative artist becomes immortal. Recensions of this modernizing type are well known to ancient literary critics. Thus Quintilian informs us that the plays of Aeschylus underwent modernization to adapt them to the changed condition of the Athenian stage.²⁶ Such in fact is the relation of Horace's satires to those of Lucilius. But Horace absolutely reshaped the Lucilian satire and stamped upon it the image of his own life and of the world, social, intellectual and spiritual.

In literary works like satire, which combines vivid intellectual portraiture with popular exposition of the results of reflection upon the workings of those master passions which in every age determine the recurrence of such types as the miser, the spendthrift, the glutton, the adulterer, the meretrix, the soldier of fortune, the lover, the slave, the fortune hunter, there naturally develops a mass of reflective wisdom expressed and realistically illustrated. This wisdom bulks large in the works of the popular Cynic and Stoic teachers of the Hellenistic period. Gradually there were formed anthologies of reflections, maxims, proverbs, witty anecdotes, which were drawn upon to add savor to the diatribe and satirical writings of the popular Hellenistic philosophers.

²⁶ M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.66.

Similar manuals appear also among the Romans.²⁷ How far they were used by the Roman satirists is difficult to say. Their existence, however, and the approval given to the theory of literary commonplaces by the ancient rhetoricians make extremely probable that these reservoirs of popular wisdom were employed by the Latin satirists. As an illustration of a collection of anecdotes we may cite the eleventh book of Lucilius which contains epigrammatic invectives levelled against the satirist's contemporaries. Modern romantic literature is opposed to the employment of such traditional wisdom. It insists upon originality of form and content, however limited or partial or superficial may be the experience and outlook of the writer. But the ancient literary theory held a radically different conception of the desires of the reader. In satire, for example, with its constant preoccupation with the spirit of the individual and of society, with its insistence upon the principles which mould character, with its frank and humorous expression of these social and moral laws, there was accumulated a vast amount of material. In so far as human experience repeats itself with every age, this material had some measure of permanence. Furthermore, we find a large mass of briefly worded wisdom and of pointed and humorous anecdotes, which is freely drawn upon by all the satirists to furnish

²⁷ M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.5.12; 2.1.9-11; 4.22.

concrete illustration for their interpretation and commentary on contemporary life.

In this chapter I have traced the general laws of imitation current in the Augustan age. I have endeavored to make clear why Horace by reason of the natural trend of his philosophical and rhetorical studies and under the compelling influence exercised by these studies upon the literary composition in all the great fields of Latin poetry was led by training, temperament, and literary convention to give willing adherence to the principles of rhetorical imitation and to employ with the freedom of a master these tools of craftsmanship in his literary workshop. As a matter of fact, Horace, as we shall see in the following chapters, did give just such allegiance to these widely accepted principles of the literary art.

CHAPTER II

EXPERIMENT - THE EPODES

Horace's literary career falls broadly into three periods - that of the Epodes and Satires, down to 29 B.C.; that of the first three books of Odes, to 23 B.C.; and that of the "Ars Poetica", written between 23 - 20 B.C. (and probably published later), the Epistles, and the largely official Odes of the fourth book, published about five years before his death in 8 B.C. His works manifest a gradual but constantly widening interest. Beginning in the rancor of merely personal animosities, Horace turns to a genial mockery of types instead of individuals; from initial despondency over the future of Rome he rises to an enthusiasm for national prowess and to an elevated consciousness of the obligation to secure an inward dignity of character worthy of the external grandeur of Rome.

Horace is perhaps the most versatile and complete exponent of the ancient or classical conception of poetry.¹ The vocation of poet is a high one. The poet is, for Horace as for Aristophanes, the educator of the rising generation:

"Os tenerum pueri balbumque figurat,
torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem;
mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,
asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae."

¹ Archibald Campbell, Horace: A New Interpretation, Methuen and Company Ltd., London, 1924, 58-81.

He teaches not only by precept but by example. He does not merely moralize but trains:

"Recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis
instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum."

More than that, he has a spiritual and moral function in the community. He is even in the position of a kind of priest. He is dedicated not to this or that god, but to the purely literary service of gods and heroes. He is also dedicated to the moral education of his fellow-men:

"Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
Poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentit;
caelestis implorat aquas docta prece blandus,
avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit;
impetrat et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum.
Carminum di superi placantur, carmine Manes."²

In his poetic practice, especially in his mature work - Odes and Epistles - he speaks as a "priest of the Muses" and Mentor of his fellow-country men. In the Epodes and Satires, Horace acts at least as an "exorcist" of the Muses.

As a "priest of the Muses" he celebrates gods and heroes. The gods he celebrates are mostly Greek, the Olympians; but he celebrates them as a national and moral poet, because they had to a great extent become national Roman gods and because they traditionally represented the moral order. Naturally he celebrates some strictly national Italian gods. His main theme here is Augustus. In his serious poems he employs a sacerdotal and oracular style derived to a large extent from

² Horace, Epistles, 2.1.126-138.

Pindar. Formally, his poems are practically all either hymns, prayers, or injunctions ("sermones").

In his capacity of Mentor, Horace is chiefly to be seen in the category of "sermones". These "admonitory addresses" comprise the great majority of the Odes and the Epistles generally.

The endeavor after an oracular and arresting style explains the deliberate abruptness and tendency to sudden transitions in many odes. This "admonitory" purpose is often a key to disconcertive contrasts between the end and beginning of numerous Odes.

The seventh satire³ of the First Book provides the most natural "point de depart" in the consideration of Horace's work. It is the earliest in existence and was written in 43 or 42 B.C. In relation to Horace's artistic evolution it is distinctly primitive. We see him here making his debut with bare narrative. There is nothing dramatic in it. There is no addressé. Horace speaks in his own person. The satire lacks all the structural constituents of the fully developed Horatian composition, and is even lacking in some of the most characteristic features of the Horatian satire.

The next in order is the sixteenth epode.⁴ It was

³ Archibald Campbell, Horace: A New Interpretation, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1924, 128-131.

⁴ Ibid., 131-135.

probably written at the outbreak of the Perusine war in 41 B.C. This poem too betrays the novice. There is a slight redundancy. Horace has obviously not yet learned what he would soon master - poetical economy. But it marks a considerable advance in the writer's poetic art by his new choice of form. Its meter stamps it as written under the influence of studies of Archilochus⁵ of Paros⁶. It is the first poem in which we find a foretaste of that hortatory and at times sacerdotal tone which was to become the most essential characteristic of all his mature works, and in particular of his political odes.

We may now consider that we have seen Horace definitely set up as a poetic artist. Since the attempt to trace his progress from poem to poem any further would be tedious as well as full of uncertainty, it will be convenient to consider his work in certain groups, into which it naturally falls, while we examine it with a view of following out his general artistic development, based on the Classical Theory of Imitation.

The Epodes were not collected till about the same time as the Second Book of the Satires, 30 B.C. - 29 B.C. But they may conveniently be considered first, for they contain some of Horace's earliest works. Never again did Horace publish so heterogeneous a collection. The Book of Epodes has unity, but

⁵ 686 B.C.

⁶ But Epodes 7, 12, 15, and (though perhaps in a less degree) 6 and 10 are much more Archilochian in style and spirit.

in one respect only, a unity of verse form. The meter and abusiveness testify to the influence of Archilochus of Paros.⁷

Before becoming the Alcaeus of Rome, Horace made his first essay in lyrical poetry by imitating the meters and the manner and spirit of Archilochus:

"Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio."⁸

The realism and critical bent of his mind, which attracted him to Lucilius, attracted him also to the old Greek poet, "for whom rage had forged the weapon of the iambus". Archilochus was not only the inventor of a new meter, but the first poet who treated of the familiar matter of the day in the ordinary dialect of the day. He was the first to make his verse the vehicle of personal animosities.⁹ It is probable that Horace became familiar with his writings during the time of his

⁷ Epodes, 14.7; Odes, 1.16.3.

Horace likens himself to both Archilochus and Hipponax in Epod., 6,13 and names Archilochus definitely as his model in Epist., 1.19.23-25.

"Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben."

⁸ Epist., 1.19.23-24.

⁹ Quintilian says of Archilochus: "Summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validae tum breves vibrantesque sententiae, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum, adeo ut videatur quibusdam, quod quoquam minor est, materiae esse non ingenii vitium." (Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.60).

studies at Athens. The angry mood in which he returned to Rome after Philippi, and the "recklessness of poverty" which first impelled him to write verse, naturally led him to make the old Parian poet his model.

Horace's rapid Archilochian iambics differ from the iambics of tragedy or comedy in comparative freedom from spondees or equivalent feet. The arrangement of the seventeen poems is metrical, not chronological. The first ten are in the versus $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\alpha}\omega\delta\acute{o}\iota$ - an iambic trimeter and an iambic dimeter alternately. In the eleventh epode the first line is iambic, the second a hybrid between iambic and elegiac verse. In these, from the twelfth to the sixteenth, the couplet is formed by an hexameter, followed by an iambic trimeter or dimeter, or by the hybrid combination mentioned above. The last of all is not in couplets, but in iambic trimeter. Most frequently, the iambic meters have a satiric ring: the dactylo-iambic meters are rather convivial and anacreontic.

In the hands of Archilochus the iambic epode was mainly a vehicle of invective, so that "iambics" became synonymous with polemic or abusive poetry. In the Epodes, Horace consciously followed Archilochus as a model. Many of them are characterized by the bitterness of feeling and expression

traditionally connected with this form of composition.¹⁰

Of the seventeen poems in the Epodes, seven breathe the traditional spirit of Archilochus, and thus give the tone to the entire collection. These poems seem to be vigorous exercises of the Archilochian "stilus", used, not against an inoffensive people, but against the enemies of society, who constantly reappear and excite the strongest feelings of moral and literary antipathy.¹¹ In other words the ultimate purpose is the protection of the community. This feature distinguishes Horace's epodes from those of his formal model Archilochus who had been purely personal in his animosities. In its original association with the ritual of Demeter and Dionysius the iambic may well have had an "apotrapic" social function,

10

The composition of the Epodes was spread over ten years that elapsed between the return of Horace to Rome and the battle of Actium, and nearly coincides with the time occupied by the composition of the Satires. The genuine spirit of satire is stronger in them than in most pieces written in the manner of Lucilius.

The Epodes may be divided into four classes: (a) lampoons (Epodes: 8,12; 6,4,10; 5,17); (b) playful poems (Epodes: 2,3); (c) erotic poems (Epodes: 11,15,14); (d) poems more serious in tone and dealing with political topics (Epodes: 16,13,7,1,9).

11

The invective poems are regarded by Horace as having a social function. This is most clearly stated in the sixth Epode, where he speaks of himself in the similitude of a sheep-dog. He does not attack inoffensive persons; he is the enemy of "social wolves" (line 2) and "social wild animals" (line 8).

but Archilochus shows no consciousness of this function. With Horace, the legitimate use claimed for iambs is very much the same as that which he claims for satire.¹² It is in the Epodes, not in the regular Satires, that Horace shows the spirit attributed to Lucilius.¹³ With the subsiding of his warmer passions, and the growth of his lyrical and contemplative faculty, the Archilochian spirit passed almost entirely out of his nature and his writings.

The Epodes have neither the musical charm and variety of the Odes nor their studied felicities of language. The iambic meter does not lend itself to the sonorous effects of the Alcaic stanza, the graceful vivacity of the Sapphic, nor the grave moderation characteristic of some varieties of the Asclepiadean. Horace cannot rival the charm of joyous speed

12

Sat., 1.4.65-68; Sat., 2.1.34,60 seq.

In regard both to his Epodes and his Satires Horace makes two claims: his bite is purely defensive and it is his natural weapon (Epode 6 and Sat., 2.1.44-60). But although Horace thus differentiates his function, he does not himself recognize the distinction thereby involved between his own invective and that of his Greek exemplar. Although in his Epistles (1.19.24-25) he expressly stated that he had reproduced the spirit of Archilochus, in the sixth Epode he compares himself to the "rejected son-in-law of Lycambes". Perhaps few of the Epodes are merely personal attacks. The most Archilochian are the earliest (Epode 8,12).

13

Persius, 1.114: "secuit Lucilius urbem
Te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis."

imparted to pure iambic by Catullus. But the meter of the earlier Epodes suits their terse epigrammatic style, in which each separate couplet is intended to leave its separate sting. Horace made himself master of this meter and left a permanent impression of its power to utter a succession of stinging sentences or to bring before the imagination a succession of peaceful sights and sounds from external nature.

CHAPTER III

APPRENTICESHIP - THE SATIRES

The satire represents a type of literature whose early beginnings are obscure, but which is clearly an indigenous Roman product and not an imitation of Greek models, as is the case with almost every other type of Latin poetry. Quintilian, the great literary critic of Rome, proudly claims Satire as a Roman creation: "Satira quidem tota nostra est".¹ This species of literature had originated as a rustic farce; its mixed character had given it its name. As "lanx satura" was a dish filled with various fruits offered to gods, as "lex satura" was a law which included a variety of provisions, so "satura" (sc. fabula) was a miscellaneous story, originally presented as a dramatic entertainment.² After the introduction of the regular drama from Greece, the dramatic "saturae" survived as "exodia". However, it is probable that the "saturae" of Livius Andronicus and Naevius were of the earlier, dramatic type. Different from these were the "saturae" of Ennius and Pacuvius. Miscellaneous in subjects and in metrical form they

¹ M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.93.

² Livy, 7.2. Livy's account of the drama in Rome, although somewhat confused, seems to be essentially correct. Leo and Hendrickson regard Livy's account as pure fiction.

were composed for reading, not for acting.³

The writer uniformly recognized as the founder of the literary Satire⁴ was Gaius Lucilius.⁵ His thirty books of Satires written partly in trochaics, elegiacs and iambics, but mostly in hexameters, handled a great variety of subjects. Fragments, numbering over 1,300 verses, throw a flood of light upon the all important question of the relation of Horace to Lucilius, his model, in the satiric field. Furthermore, we have on this subject a very important statement of Quintilian: "Satire...is all our own. The first of our poets to win renown in this connection was Lucilius, some of whose devotees are so enthusiastic that they do not hesitate to prefer him not merely to all other satirists, but even to all other poets.

³ Rushton Fairclough, Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, Introduction, 14-16; "Horace's View of the Relations between Satire and Comedy", American Journal of Philology, XXXLV (1913), 183-193. G.L.Hendrickson: "The Dramatic Satura and the Old Comedy at Rome", American Journal of Philology, XV (1894), 1-30; "Are the Letters of Horace Satires?", American Journal of Philology, XVIII (1897), 313-338; "Satura - The Genesis of a Literary Form", Classical Philology, VI (1911), 129-143; "Horace and Valerius Cato", Classical Philology, XI (1916), 249-269; XII (1917), 77-92 and 329-350; "Satira Tota Nostra Est", Classical Philology, XXII (1927), 46-60. H.B.Ingersoll: "Roman Satire. Its Early Name?", Classical Philology, VII (1912), 59-65. C. Knapp: "The Sceptical Assault on the Roman Tradition concerning the Dramatic Satura", American Journal of Philology, XXXIII (1912), 125-148. B.L.Ullman: "Horace on the Nature of Satire", Transactions of American Philological Association, XLVIII (1917), 111-132; "Satura and Satire", Classical Philology, VIII (1913), 172-194; "Dramatic Satura", Classical Philology, IX (1914), 1-23. Robert H. Webb: "On the Origin of Roman Satire", Classical Philology, VII (1912), 177-189.

⁴ M.Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.93-94.

⁵ 180-103 B.C.

I disagree with them as much as I do with Horace⁶ who holds that Lucilius's verse has a 'muddy flow', and that there is always something in him that might well be dispensed with. For his learning is as remarkable as his freedom of speech, and it is this latter quality that gives so sharp an edge and such abundance of wit to his satire. Horace is far terser and purer in style, and must be awarded the first place."⁷

One formal characteristic of the Roman satire was its formlessness. Why then did Horace, who was by nature primarily an artist in literature, select this medium of expression? Several answers may be given. In the first place, Horace himself admits that all the other forms of literature had their acknowledged living masters. Secondly, there was now arising a general desire to make Roman poetry more national and there was no alternative way of doing so between Romanizing a Greek form or writing "satura"; and until he presently hit upon the idea of imitating Archilochus there probably did not seem much chance of a new departure, since Greek lyric has been broached by Catullus without apparently any promise of a copious result.

⁶ Horace, Satires, 1.4.11.

⁷ M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.93-94. "Satira quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoris, sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis tantum ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere luculentum et esse aliquid, quod tollere possis, putat. Nam eruditio in eo mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis. Multum est tersior ac purus magis Horatius et, nisi labor eius amore, praecipuus."

Finally, it is not at all improbable that he may have been positively drawn to the satire's last successful exponent, and so tempted to follow in his footsteps by the strong Republican sympathies which there is a good reason to think he entertained in the year or two after Philippi.

It is in the satire that Horace served his apprenticeship. From Lucilius Horace not only took the "form", but also a good deal of raw material, which he duly recast in accordance with his own purpose. The extent to which he did so we cannot tell due to the fragmentary nature of Lucilius's writings.⁸ Here we are concerned not with parallel passages but with the questions what Horace as a literary artist did with the "satura" and what the "satura" did for Horace.

In the life of Horace, prefixed to Porphyrio's commentary, we read: "Sermonum - duos libros - Lucilium secutus anti-quissimum scriptorem." Here the word "sequor" implies imitation. But how did the ancient critic and the creative artist interpret such imitation? The philological and aesthetic interpretation of the two words "Lucilium secutus" is the purpose of this chapter.

Lucilius was Horace's master, but a master not beyond criticism. Horace served his apprenticeship to satire by modernizing pieces from Lucilius. He was like all artists;

⁸ Considerable number of parallels have been often enough pointed out. The most recent work on the subject is Fiske's "Lucilius and Horace", University of Wisconsin, 1920.

he imitated till he could find new motives, new subjects and new uses for satire. In the First Book of Satires, Horace's dependence on Lucilius is most clearly discernible in theme, thought, tone and at times even in language. In the Second Book of Satires, while this relation can still be traced, there is visible a greater firmness of structure, a marked restraint of invective, and a growing tendency to the popular treatment of philosophical themes of Cynic and Stoic origin. The First Book indicates a development in form; it is more dramatic; dialogue is relied on to produce its effect. The Second Book indicates a development in spirit. Horace has grown more definitely didactic, his tone is less personal and more mellow and he has adopted the dialogue form instead of the monologue. The First Book of the Epistles marks the complete breaking away from the Lucilian tradition. Here Horace moves for the most part quite unconsciously in the field which he had won for himself, casting only an occasional glance backward to his former master, Lucilius.

It is strange to find Horace making merely a passing reference⁹ to the early phase of Satire, and reserving for Lucilius the glory of being its real founder.¹⁰ The explanation is to be found in the novel character impressed by Lucilius on the work of his predecessor. In some books of his Satires he preserved the variety of the Old Satire by using different kinds of meters, and possibly too, he was aiming at variety by

⁹ Horace, Satires, 1.10.66.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1.10.48.

mixture of Greek and Latin, which Horace regarded as a defect in his works.¹¹ But, if we consider the work of Lucilius as a whole, it is clear that he left the impress of his genius indelibly upon Satire. He was the first to write an entire book¹² of Satires in hexameters, thus giving metrical unity to his poems.¹³ Lucilius also employed dramatic meters, but his use of the hexameters was considered to be characteristic of him, and to be one of his great contributions to the art of writing Satire. It is evident that Horace regarded the hexameter¹⁴ as the typically Lucilian meter, and it is clear too, from his own practice, and from that of other great masters of the Roman Satire, Persius and Juvenal, that after Lucilius this meter was looked upon as the appropriate medium for the writers of Satire. An even greater achievement of Lucilius was to have definitely stamped upon Satire the character of invective,¹⁵ which is retained in the hands of Horace, Persius,¹⁶ and Juvenal,¹⁷ and which is still regarded as its very essence. It was these innovations of Lucilius that enabled Horace to regard him as the "inventor" of the Roman Satire, and his own

¹¹ Ibid., 1.10.20.

¹² Books 1-20. Also 30.

¹³ Evantius seems to have this in mind, when he says: "Primus Lucilius novo conscripsit modo, ut poesim inde fecisset, id est unius carminis plurimos libros."

¹⁴ Sat., 1.10.59.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1.10.3.

¹⁶ Persius, 1.114.

¹⁷ Juvenal, 1.165.

master in the art.¹⁸ He breathed into it a spirit of his own, making it almost a new creation, so that Horace, considering his standpoint, was in position to ignore the work of Ennius and Pacuvius and to pass over in silence the Menippean Satires of Varro.

Horace indeed regarded himself, except in style, as the follower of Lucilius. He modestly acknowledges his inferiority to his predecessor - "inventore minor"¹⁹ - and disclaims any thought of daring to pull away "the clinging wreath of glory on his head":

"Hoc erat, experto frustra Atacino
atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem
inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim
haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam."²⁰

We may contrast the modesty of this passage with the proud boast with which Horace claims in lyric poetry the imperishable fame due the "inventor", whose badge is the laurel crown bestowed by Melpomene herself in recognition of the poet's proud claim:

"princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam
quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam."²¹

¹⁸ Horace, Satires, 2.1.28,34.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1.10.48. However, I am inclined to think that the admission does not represent Horace's real view, but is made diplomatically to disarm his opponents.

²⁰ Ibid., 1.10.46-49.

²¹ Horace, Odes, 3.30.13-16.

And again Horace gives renewed recognition to the claims of Lucilius as the inventor of satire:

"cum est Lucilius ausus
primus in hunc operis componere carminis morem."²²

Furthermore, he describes Lucilius as possessed of a greater degree of polish than one would expect from the "inventor" of an entirely new kind of poetry, and one untouched by the Greeks:

"Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
comis et urbanus, fuerit limiator idem
quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,
quamque poetarum seniorum turba."²³

With complete generosity Horace recognizes himself as the imitator of Lucilius:

"me pedibus delectat claudere verba
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque
.....
sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps."²⁴

And finally Horace regards himself, certainly not with utter insincerity, as inferior to Lucilius in native ability, as he is in financial standing:

"quicquid sum ego,
quamvis infra Lucili censum ingeniumque."²⁵

In the Satires then, Horace explicitly rejects for himself the title "inventor", which he so proudly claims in the Odes. He denies any intention of tearing the garland, the

²² Horace, Satires, 2.1. 62 seq.

²³ Ibid., 1.10.64-67.

²⁴ Ibid., 2.1.28,29,34.

²⁵ Ibid., 2.1.74-75.

symbol of primacy, from the head of Lucilius. Such recognition of the claims of the "inventor" is, in fact, a commonplace of Augustan literary theory.²⁶ Thus the testimony of the life in the commentary of Porphyrio is to this extent confirmed by Horace's own words and by parallel passages in praise of the "inventor" in Augustan poetry.

Lucilius had written for the average man, not for the cultured few. Horace reversed the position, and while ignoring the common crowd, he appealed to the judgment of the educated²⁷ and to a select circle of the initiated.²⁸ The prominence Horace gives to his own practice is clearly intended as a condemnation of the course followed by Lucilius.

While recognizing the part played by Lucilius in the development of the Roman Satire and while admiring his shrewdness, moral force, boldness in unmasking shams, and autobiographical self-revelation, Horace devoted considerable space to condemnation of his harsh and careless composition and to his lack of urbanity, incisiveness, and economy of language, which were the great glory of the writers of the Old Comedy.²⁹

The great Athenian writers of comedy were the founders of satire. After them came Lucilius, not less keen than they,

²⁶ Instances of the praise of the "inventor": Horace, Ep. 1.19.22; Vergil, Ecl. 6.1; Georg. 2.174 seq.; Propertius, 3,1.3; Manilius, 1.4.

²⁷ Horace, Satires, 1.10.76.

²⁸ Ibid., 1.4.73.

²⁹ Ibid., 1.4.6-12, 57; Sat. 1.10.1-5, 20-24, 48-71; Sat., 2.1.17, 29-34, 62-75.

but too careless and too profuse. There was much to retain and much to reject in his model. Horace kept the desultory and dramatic nature of the ancient satire transmitted through Lucilius and adhered strictly to Lucilius's prevailing form, the hexameter, But he dropped the bitterness and carelessness largely, and the political tone entirely. He felt that a modification of the Lucilian theory of satire was required by the more urbane spirit of the Augustan age.

The fourth satire of the First Book is Horace's aesthetic defence of the satiric form. In fact, it may be regarded as an aesthetic and ethical analysis of the Lucilian theory of satire, a criticism and a protest presented under the guise of an attack upon these contemporaries who believed in a direct revival of the Lucilian invective rooted in the rude, direct and interminable street preaching of a Diogenes rather than in the more finished literary conversation on ethical topics. He denounces its harshness in composition,³⁰ its improvisatory character,³¹ its redundancy,³² and tendency to favor garrulity by street-preachers like Crispinus;³³ he announces his departure from Lucilius and his modern analogue Fannius in not writing "best sellers" for the man in the street,³⁴ who is suspicious of satire, feeling, and rightly so, that he is subject to

³⁰ Horace, Satires, 1.4.8.

³¹ Ibid., 1.4.9-10.

³² Ibid., 1.4.11-12.

³³ Ibid., 1.4.13-16.

³⁴ Ibid., 1.4.20-24.

attack.³⁵

In the fourth satire of the First Book, Horace defended himself against the charge that he was malicious and was seeking notoriety. The reply was general and convincing, but in the course of his arguments he happened to say³⁶ that his prototype, Lucilius, had written too profusely and with too little attention to finish. This chance remark - which is abundantly justified by the extant fragments of Lucilius - had brought violent protests by the contemporary champions of the poet. In the tenth satire, which inevitably assumed a more polemical tone, Horace issues a manifesto and answers his critics by a serious discussion of the nature and causes of the defects of Lucilius and with candid praises of his merits.

Horace recognizes that Lucilius has the virtue of "vis comica,"³⁷ but asserts that this power alone does not make a poet. He sets the following stylistic requirements for the satirist:

"Est brevitare opus, ut currat sententia neu se
impediat verbis lassas onerantibus auris;
et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
extenuantis eas consulto"³⁸

³⁵ George C. Fiske, "Lucilius and Horace", University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Madison, VII, (1920) 282.

³⁶ Horace, Satires, 1.4.6-13.

³⁷ Ibid., 1.10.8.

³⁸ Ibid., 1.10.9-14.

The first of these qualities, a prerequisite of good style, is brevity³⁹ but the copiousness of Lucilius is a real defect, which, if he were writing now, he would himself perceive and correct.⁴⁰

The second quality of the poetic style is clearness, but Lucilius, partly because of his prolixity, is muddy.⁴¹

The third quality is purity of diction. No serious Roman writer mixes Greek with Latin or writes in Greek at all.⁴² In this matter, which was a subject of lively discussion from the time of Lucilius and Scipio to that of Horace and Maecenas, Horace takes a decided stand and not only condemns the self-conscious and deliberate Hellenomaniacs but also the more unconscious and easy going practice of the cosmopolitan Lucilius.⁴³

On appropriateness we have no direct discussion in this satire beyond implications that it is inappropriate for one who

³⁹ Ibid., 1.10.61-64.

Reasserted directly by the side thrust at the rapid and diffusive Etruscan Cassius.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1.10.67-71:

"sed ille
si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
deterreat sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo
saepe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet unguis."

⁴¹ Ibid., 1.10.50-51:

"At dixi fluere hunc luculentum, saepe ferentem
plura quidem tollenda relinquendis."

⁴² Ibid., 1.10.25-35.

⁴³ Ibid., 1.10.23. In this condemnation of Lucilius, Horace is doubtless assailing Valerius Cato and his followers, who, confounding the colloquial jargon of Lucilius and the exotic productions of the "novi poetae", favored such a blending of Greek and Latin. So we read:

"at sermo linguae concinnus utraque
suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est."

is Latin to write Greek. Perhaps also the roughness of the poetry of Lucilius might be referred to this theory, because the question is asked whether the nature of the man himself or the intractability of his material was responsible for the harshness of his verse.⁴⁴

The fifth virtue is ornamentation, which is secured by rhythmical and phonetic combinations. In this respect, however, the harsh measures of Lucilius merit severe condemnation, because he is "durus".⁴⁵

The theory of the liberal jest is intimately related to the rhetorical theory of the plain style, which, if enlivened by refined humor, is a "genus perelegans et cum gravitate salsum".⁴⁶ Horace gives a brief summary of the "urbanus",⁴⁷ who, as he declared in his Epistles, is a "dissimulator opis propriae".⁴⁸ As a standard of polished wit, he sets the Old Comedy, whose writers in their blend of the qualities of the "ridiculum" and the "acre" stressed the former.⁴⁹ He maintains

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1.10.56-61.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 1.10.11-14; 1.4.8-9; Ep., 2.1.66-68.

Note Horace's words used in his criticism of the old poets: "nimis antique", "dure", "ignave", "crasse", "illepide".

⁴⁶ Cicero, De Oratore, 2.67.269.

⁴⁷ Horace, Satires, 1.10.11-14.

⁴⁸ Horace, Ep., 1.9.9.

⁴⁹ Horace, Satires, 1.10.16-17:

"Nihil, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,
hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi."

that Lucilius is not even a true or rather a discriminating imitator of the spirit of the Old Comedy,⁵⁰ because he reproduced only the license of speech and the harsh wit of these writers and diverted the old discursive and semidramatic satire into the path of censorious criticism by scouring down "the city with strong brine."⁵¹ Finally, Horace declares himself in favor of the playful humor as against the fierce invective, so frequently employed by Lucilius:

"Ridiculum acri
fortius et melius plerumque secat res."⁵²

In this satire then, Horace, under the smart of hostile criticism allows himself to be swept off his feet and gives utterance to a sweeping and uncompromising criticism upon the deficiencies of Lucilius. By way of compensation he defines for us his theory of humor and sets down his stylistic ideals of a satire, which demand constant revision, by which alone brevity, purity of diction, appropriateness, and euphonious composition may be secured. In the course of his criticism of Lucilius he lays down a very important principle. He says that, if Lucilius had lived in the Augustan age, he would have pruned and polished his verse, until it reached a far greater degree of excellence than it did.⁵³ In putting forward this extenuating circumstance as an excuse for the crudeness of the

⁵⁰ Ibid., 1.4.

⁵¹ Ibid., 1.10.3.

⁵² Ibid., 1.10.14-15.

⁵³ Ibid., 1.10.67-71.

poet, he shows that he realized the importance of the historical element in literary criticism. Moreover, in stating this principle Horace sets up the Augustan Age as the standard of literary excellence.

The Second Book of Satires was published in 30 B.C., five years after the First Book. During that interval the passions aroused by the controversy as to the merits of Lucilian satire had cooled. A revival of the Lucilian satire in the sense advocated by Valerius Cato and his followers among the "novi poetae" was no longer possible. Satire must be modified in diction, style, and tone to make it acceptable to the more urbane Augustan Age. In these essential points Horace carried the day.

And yet Horace himself had probably realized that the criticism of his opponents was "nimis acer".⁵⁴ There was some justification for this attitude. No longer could he regard as truly Augustan such bitterly waged literary controversy as that contained in his tenth satire of the First Book. The time was now ripe for a more dispassionate statement of his views upon Lucilius, for a judgment matured by a larger experience with life and moulded by contemporary criticism. It was especially necessary to emphasize again the fact that his previous criticism of Lucilius had been based on aesthetic rather than on ethical grounds.

On the other hand, Horace now found himself in complete

⁵⁴ Ibid., 2.1.1.

sympathy with two essential characteristics of the Lucilian satire. In frankness of speech and fullness of self-revelation, Horace asserts that he is the spiritual heir of Lucilius.⁵⁵

In the first satire of the Second Book, Horace restates the Lucilian principle of the satirist's right to freedom of speech. He makes this right essential to the very existence of satire. But free speech is endurable only upon the assumption of complete sincerity of motive and upon complete revelation of the speaker's most intimate ideals in regard to the social and ethical problems of the day.⁵⁶

Lucilius maintained that his message was sincere, because it came from his heart,⁵⁷ and consequently he felt moral compulsion to satiric composition coupled with conventional indifference to artistic expression.⁵⁸ Similarly, Horace, though with ironic reserve, asserts that he will follow Lucilius in the faithful transcription of the life of his times⁵⁹ and that

⁵⁵ Ibid., 2.1.28-34.

⁵⁶ This is the atmosphere which pervades both the satires in book 26 and in book 30 of Lucilius and the first satire in the Second Book of Horace.

⁵⁷ "ego ubi quem ex praecordiis
ecfero versum". (Lucilius, 26, I Frag. 560 apud Fiske,
op.cit., 373.)

⁵⁸ "evadet saltem aliquid aliqua, quod conatus sum" (Lucilius,
26, I Frag. 633, apud Fiske, op.cit., p.373).

⁵⁹ When Trebatius Testa categorically advises Horace not to write satires, he answers: "Peream male, si non optimus erat; verum nequeo dormire" (Sat. 2.1.6).

he will write, whatever the circumstances of his life, whatever the color of his fate may be.⁶⁰ Then Horace concludes with the famous eulogy of Lucilian satire as a "human document":

"Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
 credebat libris, neque, si male cesserat, usquam
 decurrens alio, neque si bene; quo fit ut omnis
 votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
 vita senis. Sequor hunc Lucanus an Apulus anceps."⁶¹

And so while we may well give praise to Lucilius, the inventor of the Roman Satire, our deepest affection and devotion go out to Horace, the conscientious artist, our kindly and quizzical guide on a long but friendly journey, the humane discoverer of our daily life.

⁶⁰ Horace, Satires, 2.1.57-60:

"Ne longum faciam, seu me tranquilla senectus
 exspectat seu Mors atris circumvolat alis,
 dives, inops, Romae, seu fors ita iusserit, exul,
 quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color."

⁶¹ Ibid., 2.1.30-34.

CHAPTER IV
COMPOSITION - THE ODES

Horace's tastes had made him an earnest student of Greek literature, particularly of Greek poetry. We find Greek models exercising the most potent influence over the form and content of his verse. No other Roman writer penetrated so deeply into the very essence of the old Greek pre-Alexandrine poets. In fact, in his youth he intended to imitate these masters in their own native tongue and, instead of making a new place for himself among the Roman poets, to attempt "to add one more recruit to the mighty host of Greek bards" - "magnas Graecorum implere catervas" - until his good sense came to his rescue, or as he wittily puts it, until he was warned in a vision by Romulus.¹

Horace is never tired of proclaiming his own dependence

¹ Horace, Satires, 1.10.31-35:
"Atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,
versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:
'In silvam non ligna fera insanius ac si
magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas'."

on Greek sources and on the early Greek poets² and a desire to recall his countrymen to the best models in literature.³ His lyre is Greek⁴ - the same lyre that was waked to music at the touch of Sappho and Alcaeus.

Horace claims to have been the first to introduce the Parian "iambi" into Latin literature:

"Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio."⁵

He anticipates immortality on the ground of having been the first to have wedded the Aeolian lyric to Italian measures:

"Princeps Aeolium germen ad Italos
deduxisse modos".⁶

² Horace, Odes, 2.16.37-40:

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

Ibid., 3.30.13-15:

"sume superbiam
quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
laure cinge volens, Melpomene, comam."

³ Horace, Ars Poetica, 268-269:

"Vos exemplaria Graeca
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna."

⁴ Horace, Odes, 1.1.30-34:

"me gelidum nemus
nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
secernunt populo, si neque tibus
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyphymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton."

Ibid., 1.26.10-12:

"nunc fidibus novis
hunc Lesbio sacrae plectro
teque tuasque decet sorores."

Ibid., 4.3.1-12; 4.6.31-36.

⁵ Horace, Epistles, 1.19.23-24.

⁶ Horace, Odes, 3.30.13-14.

Some authors⁷ maintain that Horace's claim is neither accurate nor defensible, for it ignores Catullus. Others⁸ suspect that Horace's attitude and especially his sneer at Catullus in the Satires⁹ was prompted either by jealousy or by political consideration.

⁷ W.J.Sellar: "In claiming to have been the first to introduce the Parian "iambi" into Latin literature, he seems to forget the prior claim of Catullus and his contemporaries. The spirit of Archilochus is probably more truly represented in the iambs on Caesar and Marmura, than in any verses of Horace." (The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Horace and the Elegiac Poets, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1892, 120.)

J.F.D'Alton: "He is so intent upon establishing his kinship with the great lyric poets of Greece as to make claims to originality that are not always founded on justice and that ignore the achievements of Catullus." (Horace and His Age, Longmans, Green, and Company, London, 1917, 282.)

J. Wight Duff: "It was Horace's boast to have first wedded the Aeolian lyric to Italian measures. Technically this claim is indefensible, for it ignores Catullus." (A Literary History of Rome to the Close of the Augustan Age, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932, 520.)

Paul Shorey: "Horace's claim to originality is that he first introduced Greek lyric measures into Latin poetry. He ignores the few experiments of Catullus." (Horace: Odes and Epodes, Benj. Sanborn, and Company, Boston, 1901, 394-395.)

⁸ J.F.D'Alton: "It is difficult to understand the bitterness of Horace's sneer at Catullus, who, though he drew his inspiration from the Alexandrians in some of his poems, yet in many others was wholly untouched by their influence, and exhibits a freedom and buoyance combined with a depth of fire and passion unsurpassed in Roman literature." (Horace and His Age, p. 283.)

P. Lejay suggests that political reasons had something to do with Horace's antagonism to Catullus, Calvus and Bibaculus, who were all strong anti-Caesarians (Satires, Paris, 1911, 253.)

⁹ Horace, Satires, 1.10, 16-19:

"illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,
hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes unquam legit, neque simius iste
nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum."

However, the alleged antagonistic attitude of Horace towards Catullus is not borne out by Horace's character. He gave generous recognition to the work of Lucilius, his predecessor in the department of satire. He paid Catullus the compliment of numerous imitations.

The expression in the tenth satire of the First Book - "that ape, whose skill lies solely in droning Calvus and Catullus"¹⁰ - refers neither to Demetrius, as Porphyrio thinks, nor to Bibaculus, as Hendrickson suggests,¹¹ nor to Catullus in a small degree, as Morris asserts dogmatically,¹² but to Tigellius, as Ullman proves rather conclusively, and constitutes no sneer at Calvus and Catullus, as is commonly believed. There was no opposition towards them on the part of the Augustan poets. Horace's reference to Tigellius is always satirical due to different literary ideals. Horace's tendencies were Atticistic; Tigellius had the faults of Asianism. Calvus and Horace were in harmony on the literary ideals with which the tenth satire deals. "Hence Horace's reference to Calvus and Catullus must be interpreted in such a way as to bring out the

¹⁰ Ibid., 1.10.18-19.

¹¹ C.L.Hendrickson: "Horace and Valerius Cato", Classical Philology XII (1917), 87.

¹² Edward F. Morris: "This is the only allusion to him (i.e. Catullus) in Horace, and, while the contempt is directed against "simius iste", it cannot be denied that the allusion is slighting in tone." (Horace: Satires, The American Book Company, New York, 1909, 134.)

opposition of Catullus, Calvus and Horace to Tigellius."¹³

Furthermore, Horace was not opposed to Catullus but to his imitators. The gift of Catullus lay in producing effects other than moral dignity and patriotic fervor. Horace, on the contrary, introduced a fresh kind of Roman poetry - the national lyric. Naturally he disliked those who quoted Catullus and Calvus to the exclusion of every other poet. He regarded their school as effeminate and their subject matter as lacking in solidity and seriousness. Their work was far from being representative of Rome and her abiding achievements - a theme which kindled the enthusiasm and the imagination of the writers of the Augustan age.

In claiming to have the first to introduce the Parian "iambi" into Latin literature,¹⁴ Horace refers to his epodes. Catullus had naturalized into Latium the hendecasyllabic, the pure iambic or the scazon. Horace, however, was the first to introduce not continuous, but the "ἑσώδησι" or the couplets in which the shorter verse is a kind of echo of the longer.¹⁵

In claiming to have been the first to have wedded the Aeolian lyric to Italian measures, Horace is perfectly

¹³ B.L.Ullman: "Horace, Catullus and Tigellius", Classical Philology, X (1915) 270-296.

¹⁴ Horace, Epistles, 1.19.33-34.

¹⁵ W.J.Sellar; The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Horace and and the Elegiac Poets, 120.

justifiable. Catullus used the greater Asclepiadean in but one poem, the Sapphic strophe in only two, and the Alcaic he did not attempt at all.¹⁶ But in the nineteenth epistle of the First Book, although he mentions both Sappho and Alcaeus, Horace, boasting not of his Epodes, but of his Odes, takes pains to stress that the Alcaic strophe had not been used before by any Latin poet and that it was only Alcaeus whom he first introduced to Rome:

Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
non aliena meo pressi pede, qui sibi fidet,
dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
 ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes,
 quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
 temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,
 temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
 nec socerum quaerit, quem versibus oblinat atris,
 net sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
Hunc¹⁷ ego, non alio dictum prius ore Latinus
vulgavi didicen.¹⁸

As a corollary we might consider the words of Horace previously quoted with reference to the metrical treatment of the two poets in the three or four poems of Catullus, which bring them together on lyric grounds. Critics are unanimous that mastery over meters and success in eliciting musical effects from the Latin language constitute a conspicuous

¹⁶ Tenney Frank: "How Horace Employed Alcaeus", Classical Philology, XXII (1927), 291.

¹⁷ "Hunc", i.e. Alcaeus.

¹⁸ Horace, Epistles, 1.19.20-32.

feature in Horace's lyrical art. His odes exemplify strict metrical usages prescribed not by himself alone but by the Roman scholars of his day. Following their teaching, Horace, while adopting the measure of his Greek models, made them his own. In the structure of each line and stanza and in the tendency to complete the sense with the stanza, we recognize the distinction between the weighty and regular movement of the Latin language and the rapidity and free range of the Greek. By recognizing this distinction Horace adapts the Aeolian melody to the Latin language. Catullus makes no such adaptation and his failure to do so is in itself a strong argument in justification of Horace's claim. With Catullus, these measures were mere experiments. His inexperience and lack of skill in those meters which Horace Romanized and perfected show the justice of Horace's assertion that he was the first to wed the Lesbian rhythm to the Latin language.¹⁹

Horace followed his Greek master, Alcaeus of Lesbos, by employing the Alcaic stanza for convivial and love poems. But experiment taught him effects unattempted by his models to express a sense of power, passive resignation or solemn pathos. Gradually the Alcaic impetus, imparted to it by its inventor, is tempered by dignity of movement. It is only in the Second

¹⁹ H.V.Canter: "Horace's Claim to be the First Lyric Poet of Rome", The Classical Journal, VI (1910-1911), 196-208.
Roy K. Hack: "Catullus and Horace", The Classical Journal, VI (1910-1911), 275-329.

Book of Odes that the Alcaics of Horace grow graver and become majestic in the imperial, moral and religious themes of the Third Book.²⁰

The next commonest meter of Horace bears the name of the Lesbian poetess Sappho. Structurally and musically it is more monotonous than the Alcaic. But Horace employs certain rhythmical devices to give it greater variety. With predominating trochees and dactyls he uses it to express light and rapid movements either animation or raillery, narrative, love, moral meditation and religious fervor. As an instrument of vivid and rapidly changing imagery, no Latin meter equals the Glyconics of Catullus; but that meter is not capable of the varied and more stately effects of the Sapphics of Horace.²¹

The different Asclepiadean meters of Horace owe to their characteristic choriambus a lightness without precluding gravity. In the short odes characterized by Greek grace and subtlety of feeling rather than Roman dignity and elevation, there is no meter which Horace employs with more charm than the "fourth" Asclepiadean; the Pherecratean, following the two longer Asclepiads, breaks the monotony of the mood, while the light and rapid Glyconic allows the mood to pass away, leaving

²⁰ J. Wright Duff, A Literary History of Rome to the Close of the Golden Age, 520-521.
²¹ Ibid., 521-522.

E.A. Spennenschein: "The Latin Sapphic", Classical Review VII (1903), 253.

either a happy memory or a blending of hopefulness or alarm over which the mind does not care to brood. The "third" Asclepiadean, consisting of three Asclepiads followed by a Glyconic, is used to express gravity, moderation and sobriety of feeling. The "second" Asclepiadean, in couplets which place a Glyconic first and lesser Asclepiadean second, attains marvellous speed; it has an incisive, definite, and even abrupt character; it presents a series of thoughts, images and feelings with rapid transition rather than continuous swelling and subsiding of some simple mood. The simple Asclepiadean is used to express the various pursuits of men and the reality of their success. Horace uses also some five exceptional meters, including the clever but unconvincing Ionics "a minore", but he did not find them equally suitable either to the subject or to the genius of the Latin language.²²

We may conclude this section with the verdict of Quintilian: "The iambic has not been popular with Roman poets as a separate form of composition, but is found mixed up with other forms of verse."²³ It may be found in all its bitterness in Catullus, Bibaculus and Horace, although in the last-named the iambic is interrupted by the epode.²⁴ Of our lyric writers

²² J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome to the Close of the Golden Age, 522-523.

²³ The meaning is not clear. The words may mean that these writers did not confine themselves to the "iambus" or that the "iambus" alternates with other meters. Cf. H.E. Butler, The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian, vol. 4, p. 54.

²⁴ The short iambic line is interposed between the trimeters.

Horace is almost the sole poet worth reading: for he rises at times to a lofty grandeur and is full of sprightliness and charm, while there is great variety in his figures, and his boldness in the choice of words is only equalled by his felicity".²⁵

In the Odes of Horace, of which three books were published as a complete whole in 23 B.C. and which represent a second and quite distinct stage in Horace's artistic development, we seem to live in a renaissance of Greek culture. In the Augustan age there was one revival corresponding to the romantic revival and another corresponding to the aesthetic revival of modern times. Vergil and Livy were the purest exponents of the first; Horace in his Odes of the second.

It was in the Augustan age that the genius of Italy was finally perfected by that union with the genius of Greece, which survived in her art and literature since the days of Ennius. And no one, not even Cicero in a previous age, nor Vergil in his own felt more deeply the spirit of Greek culture than Horace. He succeeded in making the old art of Lesbos and Ionia live again in Italian measures, associated with the greatness of Rome, the varied beauty of Italy, and the

²⁵ M. Fabii Quintiliani, Institutiones Oratoriae: "Iambus non sane a Romanis celebratus est ut proprium opus, sed aliis quibusdam interpositus; cuius acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio, quanquam illi epodos interveniat, reperietur. At Lyricorum idem Horatius fere solus legi dignus. Nam et insurgit aliquando et plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae et varius figuris et verbis felicissime audax." (10.1.96.)

interests of the hour. By the inspiration derived from Grecian culture he glorified the realism of Roman public life, Roman pleasure, and his own reflection to the world and nature.

When Horace turned from satire to lyric, he passed from a Roman tradition of slovenly discursiveness to a Greek one of extreme art and elaborate finish. Here Horace had the example of artists before him. Having plenty of originality himself, he was not paralyzed by having to follow in the footsteps of great masters, but inspired by their success, he made great advances in the actual art upon his own previous work, and in many ways even upon the work of his masters.

Vergil's chief aim in the Aeneid was to create a Latin analogue to Homer. Similarly Horace's purpose in the Odes may be denoted in various ways, but primarily it is just what Horace himself said it was - to parallel in Latin the achievements of the Greek lyric poets²⁶ and especially of Alcaeus.²⁷

It is difficult to trace the element of imitation in Horace's odes in their formative element of the scantiness and

²⁶ Horace, Odes, 1.1.35-36: "Quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseris,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice."

²⁷ Ibid., 3.30.10-14: "quam violens obstrepit Aufidus
et qua pauper aquae Daunus Agrestium
regnavit populorum, ex humili potens,
princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos."

Horace, Epist., 1.19.32-33:

"Hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
vulgavi fidicen."

Ibid., 2.2.99: "Discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?"

irregular distribution of the Greek remains. We can, indeed mention at once a general indebtedness to Alcaeus and also a general indebtedness, variously estimated by different critics, to Pindar; also to Anacreon, who was not an originator as those were. As regards style and tone, we can go somewhat further than this: in one place we see a touch of the tenderness of Simonides, of the gravity of Stesichorus in another. But as regards structure we are in difficulty; for apart from Pindar and Bacchylides, we have no Greek poem which we can regard as complete, except Sappho's (complete and perfect) ode to Aphrodite.

The rise and growth of Greek lyric as a literary form²⁸ in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. constituted a sort of "Romantic Reaction". In style and spirit as well as in meter, poets rebelled against hitherto universal tyranny of epic convention. The real originator of this romantic movement was Archilochus. The Epodes, then, in the composition of which Horace imitated the general verve of Greek lyric at the source, were thus a profitable rehearsal for the Odes.

But Archilochus is, of course, only "semi-lyrical". The purest expression of the Archilochian spirit in lyric proper is in the work of Alcaeus²⁹ who made "music with quill of

²⁸ Archibald Campbell, Horace: A New Interpretation, Methuen and Company Ltd., London, 1924, 195-202.

²⁹ 600 B.C.

gold".³⁰ And Horace was right in representing Alcaeus as his main model. The affinity rests on deeper grounds than on the great number and close detail of parallel passages. All the chief types of Horatian ode can be paralleled in Alcaeus: hymns to gods, political poems, admonitions to friend, songs of light love, wine and revelry. But one of these types was Alcaeus's own invention - the political song; and Horace's national poems, however different, are a direct development from that; and in so far as these represent the more important element in the Odes, in so far as Alcaeus has a very special claim to be Horace's pioneer and model. But the truest affinity between the two is the affinity of general poetical temperament. Each sings joyously of his own freedom of spirit. That the poet as such is endowed with a certain peculiar immunity is one of Horace's favorite ideas; and the germ of it is in

³⁰ Quintilian says of Alcaeus: "Alcaeus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confert in eloquendo quoque brevis et magnificus et dicendi vi plerumque oratori similis; sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior." (Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.63.)
 Horace, Odes, 2.13.26.

Alcaeus.³¹ Or as Sellar writes: "By claiming Alcaeus as his prototype, he seems to imply that he regarded his lyre as equally tuned to the lighter pleasures and to the sterner and more dignified interests of life."³²

³¹ This affinity was clearly felt by Horace himself. When in Odes, 1,32, addressing his lyre, he speaks of it as "first played on by the Lesbian citizen", Horace adds this picture of Alcaeus:

"qui ferox bello tamen inter arma,
sive iactatam religarat udo
litore navim,

Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
semper haerentem puerum canebat,
et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
crine decorum"

It is in precisely the same spirit that he depicts himself:

Odes, 1.22.17-24: "Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Iuppiter urget;

pone sub curru nimium propinqui
solis in terra domibus negata:
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
dulce loquentem."

Odes, 3.4.21-36 esp. 25-28.

³² W.J.Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Horace and the Elegiac Poets, 136.

Tenney Frank maintains that Horace used Alcaeus as his model for the meters even when fragments of Sappho would seem at times to supply more interesting models. He certainly went to Alcaeus for his Sapphic, Alcaic, Greater Asclepiadic, and Ionic meters, and probably for his lesser Asclepiadics and the greater Sapphics as well (Classical Philology, XXII (1927), 295.

But there is another side to this picture. Alcaeus habitually writes of what is splendid or vivid, but always actual. He has grace, but no charm, energy but no power. Alcaeus deals with fine themes but in exact language. Horace could not have received his style from Alcaeus, for Alcaeus seems to have no style at all.

Stesichorus³³ is the next landmark in the evolution of the Greek lyric. He started a new school which continued to the end of the lyric period. He swung the pendulum back from Archilochus. He reached towards epic, towards the heroic generally, he made lyric epical.³⁴ Up to his time the lyric had been personal; the choirs of Alcman and Sappho had playful personalities written for them. With Stesichorus it became impersonal. That a lyric might be grand in style and yet still be a lyric, was the discovery of Stesichorus.³⁵ To his poems Horace owed a direct debt in various ways.³⁶ But about the indirect debt there can be no question. The whole side of

³³ 600 B.C.

³⁴ Quintilian says of Stesichorus: "Stesichorus quam sit ingenio validus, materiae quoque ostendunt, maxime bella et clarissimos canentem duces at epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem. Reddit enim personis in agendo simul loquendoque debitam dignitatem, ac si tenuisset modum, videtur aemulari proximus Homerum potuisse; sed redundat atque effunditur, quod ut est reprehendendum, ita copiae vitium est." (Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.62)

³⁵ Horace, Odes, 4.9.9: "Stesichorive graves Camenae."
Horace, Epodes, 17.42-44.

³⁶ For example the "palinode".

Horace that contrasts him with Alcaeus - his natural idealism, his moral earnestness, his elevation of style, his sense of the sublimity of heroism - is ultimately traceable as a constituent of lyric, to Stesichorus.

Thereafter Greek lyric is a grand lyric. Ibycus who alone wrote the Dorian and the Aeolian lyrics may be regarded as precursor of Horace. The later Ionian blend of Alcaeus and Alcman, the elderly amorist Anacreon, in the sphere of light unimpassioned graceful love-poems or wine poems is much more Horace's model than Alcaeus was.

Horace in one place warns his Muse that she is in danger of taking upon herself an alien function, that of "Cean dirge". We may well surmise that Horace was under the influence of Simonides of Ceos.³⁷ This poet at least by his invention of the "epinikion" or ode to victory is the link between Stesichorus and Pindar. Besides, Simonides was the originator in lyric of certain features that remain prominent to Horace. He was the first to make the Greek lyric national. In his ode to victory he links the glory of the present with the wonder of the past. He commemorates contemporaries along with the old heroes;

³⁷ Simonides of Ceos (556-468 B.C.) was famous for all forms of lyric poetry, especially for funeral odes. Quintilian says of Simonides: "Simonides, tenuis alioqui, sermone proprio et iucunditate quadam commodari potest; praecipua tamen eius in commovenda miseratione virtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus eius operis auctoribus praeferant." (Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.64)

That Horace read Simonides is attested by his having appropriated a gnome or two:

Sim. 65 - Odes, 3.2.14; Sim. 66 - Odes, 3.2.25.

and so does Horace place Augustus, drinking nectar with his purple lips, besides Pollux and Hercules. He is the first poet who as a critic is interested in the theory of his art; and here is at least a certain point of affinity with Horace.

Finally there is Pindar,³⁸ by far the greatest of the nine Greek lyric poets "in virtue of his inspired magnificence, the beauty of his thoughts and figures, the rich exuberance of his language and matter and his rolling flood of eloquence, characteristics which, as Horace³⁹ rightly held, make him inimitable"⁴⁰ It is true that Horace insists he is not a second Pindar, that Dircean swan accustomed to mount to the clouded heights of heaven, but he laboriously gathers inspiration for his verse as the Matine bee sips honey from the sweet thyme. However, Horace is to a considerable degree the disciple of Pindar both in regard to style, that is, a special blend of magniloquence, allusiveness, and oracularness, and in respect to composition proper, that is, in the structure and "conduct" of an ode: the abrupt commencement, the sudden transition, and the allusively introduced story. It was from Pindar that Horace

³⁸ 522-448 B.C.

³⁹ Horace, Odes, 4.2.1.

⁴⁰ M. Fabius Quintilianus, Institutiones Oratoriae, 10.1.61: "Novem vero lyricorum longe Pindarus princeps spiritus magnificentia, sententiis, figuris, beatissima rerum verborumque copia et velut quodam eloquentiae flumine; propter quae Horatius eum merito credidit nemini imitabilem."
W.K.Smith maintains that Horace contemplated the possibility of becoming a second Pindar, but realizing the incomparable quality of Pindar's work and his own limitations, he gave up the idea. (Classical Review, XLIX (1935), 114.)

learned how to manipulate and where to dispose the various ingredients which his first instinct selected for the material of each ode. It was from Pindar that he learned how to be elliptical. Or if it was not from Pindar, then we are victims of the caprice of textual tradition, because there are no other extant Greek lyrics that are comparable to Horace's longer or close-packed odes for unity in complexity.⁴¹

Horace aspired early in his career to incorporate Pindaric elements in his poetry. This tendency is traceable in Epode 12 and in Odes 1.12; 2.20. This element, however, receives most extensive application in Odes 3:1-6, 11, 27; 4:2, 4, 8, 9, 14, 15. Hence in the twenty-fifth ode of the fourth book we may justly see a brief description of Horace's style as he himself conceived it:

"Dicam insigne, recens adhuc
indictum ore alio.

.....
Nil parvum aut humili modo
nil mortale loquar."

But after Horace has woven together the countless strands of Pindaric poetry, the finished product is distinctly Horatian. Following his own principle of "brevitas" and "multus labor", he transmuted the raw product of his originals into a unity that was entirely new. Although Horace could not transmute into Latin verse the vigor and grandeur of the Pindaric meter or reproduce the great compass of Pindar's finest odes, yet in

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Cf. Archibald Campbell, Horace: A New Interpretation, 200.

his conception of the character and function of poetry he followed closely in the footsteps of Pindar. His renunciation of the epic led him to the next logical step in poetic composition - the lyric.⁴²

Although Horace was under special debt to Pindar for his "sacerdotal" style and his oracular manner with its rhetorical⁴³ transitions of mood, in respect to the form of his odes the debt was rather to the Greek lyric in general⁴⁴ and especially to the Aeolian school. As they were his models for length and meter, we should expect that he copied their form also; and what we know of their form supports this view. Horace understood where his poetic powers lay. Since he could not reproduce the meters of Pindar, he chose the simpler metrical form of Alcaeus and Sappho, which he employed in about sixty per cent of his odes. In this again he was following the lead of Pindar: "Seek not the unattainable!"

The history of Greek lyric is a series of syntheses made by a succession of creative artists. Horace in lyric is the direct successor to the Greeks and the crowning glory of all.

⁴² E.L.Highbarger: "The Pindaric Style in Horace." Transactions of American Philological Association, LXVI (1937), 222.

⁴³ Horace, Odes, 3.6. 44-45.

⁴⁴ Our knowledge of the forms of Greek lyric poems comes, in default of integral remains, almost entirely from the Alexandrian classification preserved in Proclus's "Crestomathy".

First there was epic, then simple lyric, Then came Stesichorus to make a synthesis of these two and to produce heroic or ornate lyric. Ornate lyric culminated in Pindar. Then came Horace and effected the "synthesis of simple lyric with ornate lyric". In the meters of Alcaeus and Sappho he wrote with the art of Pindar - "magna modis tenuare parvis",⁴⁵ His works are like the Aeolians in limitation of length, in compactness of rhythm, in precision, directness and lucidity; but they are like the Thebans in loftiness of theme and tone, in richness of style, and in elaborate poetic artistry. The Odes of Horace are thus the consummation of the Ancient Lyric. They are its sole surviving representative - a "monumentum aere perennius" - truly representative of the Augustan age.

⁴⁵Horace, Odes, 3.3.72.

This is perhaps the most Pindaric of Horace's odes.

CHAPTER V

COMPROMISE - THE EPISTLES

In Roman Literature there had been a strong dramatic tendency and a distinguished dramatic tradition. The Augustan age witnessed a revival of dramatic writing. The emperor himself could not have been blind to the enormous possibilities of the theatre as an instrument of national reconstruction. Horace says of his countrymen: "Spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet!" And it might have been natural that Horace should have found opportunity for his own "curiosa felicitas" in the tragic style.

Literature had begun under Roman influence to recover something of the social and moral function it had lost since Euripides. Beginning from the Hellenistic end of Greek literature, Roman poetry had worked back to purer models. There had been established the didactic form - Lucretius and the Georgics; the lyric - Catullus and Horace's own fresh achievement; and Vergil was now in the last stages of his creation of a national epic. By all the rights of the case there ought to have arisen a Roman counterpart to Aeschylus and Sophocles. Horace had just now emerged from the lyric stage of the poet's evolution, which ought in a complete poet to be succeeded by the dramatic. The chief reason why he failed to do so - if it

is not simply the temperament of the man - is that he was under the influence of Greek sophistry. What he, what Rome then failed to do, has not been done to this day.¹

As the product of that impulse towards drama, which ought to be the natural sequel of a poet's lyrical phase, the "Ars Poetica" is a literary abortion. Instead of writing drama, he wrote about it. He was desirous that it should be written, but by other and younger men.

The "Ars Poetica" is arranged in accordance with a carefully formulated rhetorical scheme under two topics - not mutually exclusive - of "ars" and "artifex". Thus verses 1-294 are "de arte poetica" and verses 295-476 are "de poeta".

The "Ars Poetica" reflects the influence of those theories of literary criticism first formulated by Lucilius on the basis of his studies in Greek rhetorical theory. From the evidence afforded by a comparison of the fragments of Lucilius with Horace's "Ars Poetica", Fiske states that it seems fair "to support the belief that Lucilius' theory of literary criticism was formulated according to the same rhetorical *sympara*"²

¹ Cf. Archibald Campbell, Horace: A New Interpretation, 233-235.

² Norden makes the following analysis (Hermes, 40, 481-528):

I. De Arte Poetica: 1-294.

A. De partibus artis poeticæ: 1-130.

1. De argumentorum tractatione et inventione: 1-41.

2. De dispositione: 42-44.

3. De elocutione: 45-130.

a) De verbis singulis: 45-72

b) De verbis continuatis (de metris): 73-85.

c) De verborum coloribus: 86-130.

and under the same rhetorical influences - mainly emanating from the Stoic rhetoric of Diogenes and Panaetius, but re-interpreted before the Augustan period by Cicero and the Roman Atticists - as Horace's "Ars Poetica". Furthermore, such a detailed comparison, involving the use of words, scenes, argument, and illustration, shows that Lucilius was the first Latin exponent of several theories of literary criticism, hitherto regarded as peculiarly Horatian as well as the direct model of no inconsiderable portions of the "Ars Poetica".³

The fact that the "Ars Poetica" reflects so much of the influence of Lucilius would indicate an earlier date of composition than the rest of the Epistles of Horace, perhaps "at some

B. De generibus artis poeticae: 131-294.

Transitio: 131-135.

1. Epos: 136-152.

2. Drama: 153-294.

Propositio: 153-155.

a) Die Griechischen $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\gamma\alpha$:156-250.

(a) Tragödie u. Komödie: 156-219.

(b) Satyrspiel: 220-250.

b) $\Sigma\upsilon\kappa\kappa\rho\iota\sigma$ des griechischen u. römischen Dramas: 251-294.

(a) In der Form: 251-274.

(b) In den $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\gamma\alpha$:275-294.

II. De Poeta: 295-476.

Transitio: 295-305. - Propositio: 306-308.

A. De instrumentis poetae: 309-332.

B. De officio poetae: 333-346.

C. De perfecto poeta: 347-452.

1. Das Postulat möglicher Vollkommenheit: 347-407.

2. Seine Erfüllung durch ernstes Studium: 408-452.

D. De insano poeta: 453-476.

³ George C. Fiske: "Lucilius and Horace", 468.

time between 23-20 B.C. inclusive".⁴ It may have been written originally in the regular satiric form, and afterwards adjusted for publication to the epistolary mould.⁵

Porphyrion says in his brief introduction that Horace has gathered in his "Ars Poetica" the teachings of Neoptolemus of Parium, a rhetorician of the third century, "non quidem omnia, sed eminentissima". Horace repeated and applied some of the traditional doctrines of rhetoric, in which, as a lifelong student of the art which he practiced, he was interested. But Horace not merely repeated traditional doctrine: he also spoke with the authority of an older poet addressing a younger generation of literary men. At the same time the "Ars Poetica" was a proclamation of Horace's own creed and consequently a guide to the interpretation of all his poetry.

Neoptolemus held that the function of poetry is twofold: to charm the spirit of his hearers and to give them good and profitable teaching. With regard to Homer, Neoptolemus held that he succeeded in combining instruction with delight.

Horace in his remarks on the moral function of poetry revived nothing, but simply reflected various well-known aspects of the still flourishing Greek conception. Various passages in Horace recall the Greek traditional views on the function of poetry as embodied both in Neoptolemus and in other

⁴ A. Campbell, Horace: A New Interpretation, 235.

⁵ H. Rushton Fairclough, Horace: Satires and Epistles, Introduction, p.23.

Greek critics, such as Aristotle, who held that a poem attains its end not merely by "realizing its own idea" but in the impression made upon the mind of the hearer. Thus the principle of poetic charm is laid down in accordance with the Greek tradition:

"Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunto,
et, quocumque volent, animum auditoris agunto."⁶

The poet must excite the interest of his hearers - those who merely desire pleasure - the "celsi Ramnes",⁷ and those who demand instruction also - the "centuriae seniorum".⁸ Accordingly Horace states:

"Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci
lectorem delectando pariterque monendo."⁹

Hence it is the practice of the most successful poet "simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae".¹⁰

The Greek literary tradition demanded that the poet be extremely wise, perhaps omniscient, and that his wisdom and knowledge be in some sense the result of divine inspiration. It is on the poet's wisdom that Horace, in harmony with the Stoics, lays most emphasis:

"Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons,
Rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae."¹¹

Even in prehistoric times, according to Horace, a practical

⁶ Horace, Ars Poetica, 99-100.

⁷ Ibid., 342.

⁸ Ibid., 341.

⁹ Ibid., 343-344.

¹⁰ Ibid., 344.

¹¹ Ibid., 309-310.

expression of wisdom was the distinguishing mark of a poet:¹²

"Fuit haec sapientia quondam,
publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,
oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno.
Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
carminibus venit."¹³

Besides good style and ethical wisdom, Horace points to the practice of Homer, chief of Greek poets, who composed his poems with a view to instruct and to edify¹⁴ and sometimes to stir the warlike spirit of his hearers:

"Post hos insignis Homerus
Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella
versibus exacuit."¹⁵

But the argument for the wisdom of the poet is clinched by the educational function of poetry, since the poet instructs by precept and example: "pectus praeceptis format amicis" and "orientia tempora notis instruit exemplis".¹⁶

With regard to wisdom and knowledge, Horace has been in accord with ancient and recent Greek tradition. But with regard to inspiration, Horace derived his views from recent criticism. The older Greek tendency regarded the best poetry as divinely inspired. Democritus praised divinely inspired poetry; Plato had spoken of "divine madness" and "madness of Muses". But the old distinction between inspired and uninspired

¹² Ibid., 391 sq.

¹³ Ibid., 396-401.

¹⁴ Horace, Epistles, 1.2.1-4.

¹⁵ Horace, Ars Poetica, 401-403.

¹⁶ Horace, Epistles, 2.1. 126-131.

poetry has long been replaced by the distinction of poetry which is the result of natural ability and that which springs from acquired skill. Horace adopted the opinion of the more recent critics between " *δύναμις* " (natura, ingenium) and " *πέχνη* " (studium, ars):

"Natura fieret laudabile carmen, an arte,
 quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,
 nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic
 altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice."¹⁷

It is evident then, that on the moral function of poetry Horace followed the conception of recent Greek critics - conception mingled with a good deal of popular Stoicism. But on the Classical Theory of Imitation, Horace has followed his own advice to Piso: he has thumbed well the "exemplaria Graeca".¹⁸

In his Epistles, Horace bids the lyric Muse adieu and declares his intention to search into the philosophy of life so as to discover the secret of happiness:

"Nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono;
 quid verum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc
 condo et compono quae mox depromere possim."¹⁹

The history of the Epistle as a literary form is not entirely clear. Probably the original suggestion of the form may have been due to Archilochus. But letter-writing, whether in prose or verse, was essentially a Roman art. The prolonged separation from friends due to official life fostered it to an

¹⁷ Horace, Ars Poetica, 408-411. Cf. 295.
¹⁸ Ibid., 268-269.
 Cf. J. Tate: "Horace and the Moral Function of Poetry", The Classical Quarterly, XXII (1928), 65-72.
¹⁹ Horace, Epistles, 1.1.10-12.

extent unthought of by the Greeks. Cicero's letters are real letters and may have been only in an incidental way models for Horace. The custom of dedicating a poem to an individual by a direct address is an approach to the epistolary form. Some of the poems of Catullus are epistolary in form and even in substance. But the most important influence in determining Horace's use of the form was its employment by Lucilius in his Fifth Book. Since the Epistles are more personal than Satires, it follows that the mould of satiric tradition is partly broken. Such imitations as we have from Lucilius are usually stray allusions to individual passages. After long years of experiment with the great Lucilian tradition of satire and now in complete literary maturity, Horace had come to feel that by the recomposition of the elements of contemporary life and past tradition he had fused the new mould of Horatian satire. In fact, he had attained complete mastery of the form best suited to express his critical judgment upon the aesthetic and moral ideals of the Augustan age. As a result of such consciousness we find a diminution of Lucilian influence in the Epistles.²⁰

The Epistles constitute the third stage of Horace's poetical development based on the Classical Theory of Imitation. The style is much more elevated; there is more richness, more romance, more color, more brightness and more variety. In the finest of the lyrics the tone is that of one inspired; in the Epistles it is never so. In the Odes there is seldom absent

²⁰Cf. George C. Fiske: "Lucilius and Horace", 426-427.

a consciousness of performance. The poet seems to mount his platform and donned in his traditional sacerdotal robes he is acquitting himself splendidly; but our predominant feeling is admiration. Horace's previous writings had been entirely in the "unofficial" vein. And we need not wonder. Horace had been trained in the school of Archilochus, the father of the free-lance style, for which style the Satires had but provided him with a more characteristically Roman vehicle. After the Odes (as he supposed) were finished, he cast off his robes of a poet. He returned to the hexameter and he returned to the colloquial style; but he returned with a great difference. The Horatian Epistle, as an art form, is the joint offspring of the Horatian Satire and of the Horatian Ode; nor is it easy to say which contributed the greater share. At last the "satire", which meant just anything, has become a form, doing so in the only manner possible, that is by ceasing to be a satire; at last the favorite Horatian ode, invented by Sappho, has lowered its tone sufficiently to be frankly and powerfully Latin. At last Horace has attained the realization that there is a still greater art - the art of life:

"Ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis
sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae."²¹

Of the twenty poetical letters in the First Book, the shorter ones are personal, the longer ones formal and didactic. They unite two elements, the personal and the public, into a

²¹Horace, Epistles, 2.2. 144-145.
Cf. Archibald Campbell, Horace: A New Interpretation, 257-259.

harmonious whole. To the skillful mingling of these two elements, Horace has devoted much thought, shaping the Epistle into a literary form, as he had shaped the dialogue-satire.

In the Second Book of the Epistles there is less attempt to preserve the epistolary form. The letter to Augustus is inevitably formal, but it betrays a consciousness that Augustus could influence the entire literary trend. In his Epistle to Florus the fiction of excusing himself from further writing of lyrics is used to furnish a framework for the thought through the first half, but the latter part is impersonal. The "Ars Poetica" has scarcely anything but the address to remind the reader that it is an Epistle.

But Horace's attention was not given wholly to the form of his writings. He was primarily an artist in words and phrases, but he also had a message to the world. In his Epistles Horace deals with the problems of life more searchingly than in the Satires, more systematically than in the Odes. In the First Book Horace is a moralist, in the Second Book a literary critic.

The first epistle of the First Book strikes the ethical note. Farewell is said to poetry and attention is centered on philosophical investigation.²² But Horace retains his independence of the various systems of philosophy; in fact, it is his boast "nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri".²³

²² Horace, Epistles, l.l. 10-11.

²³ Ibid., l.l. 14.

Though he closes this epistle with a quip of the self-sufficient Stoic, he proves by his insistence on virtue that his teaching is more Stoic than Cyrenaic. For Horace, wisdom is the supreme business of life. He advocates as the secret of happiness the principle of "Nil admirari" - a philosophical calm in which Epicureanism and Stoicism might be reconciled. The power of culture to subdue the lower nature,²⁴ the need for the training of character,²⁵ the tendency of the passion to ruin enjoyment,²⁶ the adaptation of the self to company²⁷ are among the many points of practical philosophy which Horace represents himself as studying by the "cool Digentia stream".²⁸ What Horace wishes for himself is typical of his philosophy - a supply of books and a store of food sufficient to banish anxiety.²⁹

²⁴ Horace, Epistles, 1.1.38-40:

"Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem."

²⁵ Ibid., 1.2. 32-33;

"Ut iugulent hominem, surgunt de nocte latrones;
ut te ipsum serves, non expergisceris?"

²⁶ Ibid., 1.2. 51:

"Qui cupit aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus et res."

²⁷ Ibid., 1.18.199:

"Oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosi."

²⁸ Ibid., 1.18.104.

²⁹ Ibid., 1.18.109-112:

"Sit bona librorum et provisae in annum
copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae.
Sed satis est orare Iovem qui ponit et aufert;
det vitam, det opes, aequum mi animum ipse parabo."

Cf. J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome, to the Close of the Golden Age Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932, 529.

One of the most interesting experiences is to hear a good craftsman speak of the art that he practices. Horace's literary work was not inspired, but was the result of a conscious process. Much of the general discussion of poetry, the injunctions to frequent revision, the constant reference to Greek models, comes from Horace himself and constitutes the most attractive element of the Second Book of the Epistles.

The subject of the Second Book is literature. The three long letters summarize the conventional and traditional literary views, reveal the tendencies of contemporary literature and express Horace's personal judgment on the literary trends of the Augustan age.

In his epistle to Augustus, Horace suggests that three main factors militated against Roman literature: a coarseness ingrained in the native Italian temperament; a tendency to careless composition; and in Horace's own day the degenerate taste of the audience.³⁰

In his epistle to Florus, Horace insists on scrupulous self-criticism; strength of will to delete; the choice of words, now old, now new; force, lucidity, and richness in diction; and a process of pruning, of polish, and of rejection unremitted until the ideal of easy movement is attained.³¹

In his "Ars Poetica", Horace insists that genius must be combined with art. He insists on three principles: write if

30 Duff, 531.
 31 Ibid., 532.

you have the afflatus ("nihil invita Minerva"); submit your work to competent opinion ("in Maeci descendat iudicis auris"); keep it for nine years before publication ("nonumque prematur in annum").³²

Here we have the creed of Horace, whose schoolmistress was Greece, the mother from whom he derived his powers was Italy, and his immediate inspiration was Rome.

From Homer to Sophocles had been the great creative age of ancient literature; from Euripides and Plato to the period of Alexandrinism, the analytical, critical, and fanciful. Horace alone of ancient poets is an original singer of the first order and at the same time a student and critic - a completely conscious artist of the Classical Theory of Imitation.

Under the classical dispensation, Horace in obedience to the principle of the Classical Theory of Imitation took up the literary cross and followed his models with humility and perseverance worthy of a Christian. He transmitted the tradition of his genre by transmuting it. In the art of wedding "perfect music unto noble words" he has never been surpassed. What a poet should be - "quid alet formetque poetam" - none knew better than Horace. To delight and to instruct - such is the task assigned to those who are consecrated to the Muses, and well did Horace discharge this duty.

Horace has indeed achieved what Tacitus says should be the object of every man's insatiable ambition - he has left "a happy

³² Ibid., 533.

memory of himself".

"Non omnis moriar!" Twenty centuries have rolled by, but Horace still lives in the heart of every generation.

"Admissus circum praecordia ludit!" He enters into the mind and heart of every reader through the medium of a style which combines the grace of finished art with the familiar tones of natural conversation.

"Usque ego postera crescam laude recens!" True beyond expectation are these prophetic words of Horace. He is one of the few ancient writers who unite the culture of all nations in a common bond of admiration.

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The thesis, "The Classical Theory of Imitation in the Works of Horace", written by Reverend Stanislaus J. Piwowar, has been accepted by the Graduate School with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below, with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Rev. James J. Mertz, S.J., A.M.	September 25, 1941
Rev. William J. Millor, S.J., Ph.D.	September 17, 1941
D. Herbert Abel, Ph.D.	September 29, 1941