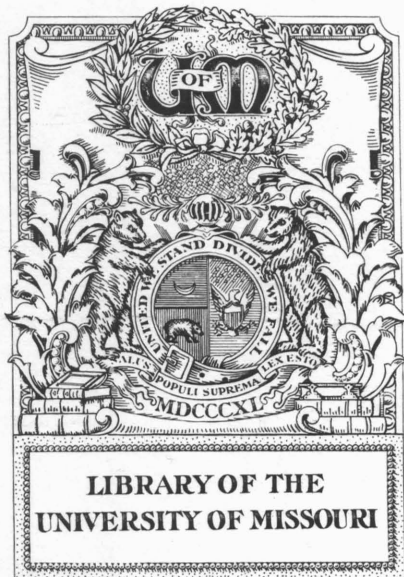


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HORACE AND HIS GREEK ORIGINALS

In Book I of the Odes

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by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION:

1. Definition and classification of subject
2. Evidence that Horace followed Greek models
 - 1 Consciously 2-11
 - 2 Unconsciously 11-12

MAIN DISCUSSION:

- Ch. I. Lines which are unconscious echoes of the Greek 12-61
- Ch. II. Lines which consciously imitate the Greek
1. Miscellaneous
 - 1 Commonplace thoughts expressed with so many parallel details as to seem conscious imitations 61-73
 - 2 Figures of speech 73-91
 - 3 References to Greek thought or story 91-103
 2. Epithets
 - 1 Short epithets with one definite model 103-109
 - 2 Short epithets with no definite model 109-131
 - 3 Long descriptions with one definite model 131-136
 3. Translated lines and expressions
 - 1 Translations of a Greek expression but of no definite original 136-144
 - 2 Very short expressions translated 144-160
 - 3 Translations of a definite Greek passage 160-176
- Ch. III. Poems unconsciously imitative of Greek spirit or thought 176-191
- Ch. IV. Poems consciously imitative of the Greek 191-208
- Ch. V. Poems translated 208-218

CONCLUSION

PREFACE

It was the original purpose of this study to consider all the apparent imitations of Greek originals that occur in Horace's Odes and Epodes; and the material was collected with this end in view. It became apparent, however, that it would be impossible to cover this large number of examples in a Master's thesis, and therefore, the detailed discussion has been limited to the first book of Odes (except where comments on other of Horace's works were of interest or value in proving the point in question). This limitation is further justified in consideration of the fact that the first book is the one preeminently characteristic of Horace's tendency to follow Greek originals; for as Sellar says¹: "In the Odes of the first book there are clearer traces than in the later books of the imitative process by which Horace formed his art."

M. C.

¹Rom. Poets of Aug. Age, p. 136.

HORACE AND HIS GREEK ORIGINALS

In Book I of the Odes

Introduction

1. Definition and classification of subject

It is the purpose of this thesis to give specific examples of Horace's indebtedness to Greek originals in the first book of Odes. The term Greek originals, as used here, includes those parts of ante-Horatian literature, written in the Greek language, which he has translated, whose spirit he has caught, or whose thought he has imitated. Hence the classification of these collected examples is made, in respect to the degree of indebtedness, into the following divisions: 1) Lines which are unconscious echoes of the Greek, 2) lines which consciously imitate the Greek, 3) poems unconsciously imitative of Greek spirit or thought, 4) poems consciously imitative of the Greek, and 5) poems translated.

2. Evidence that Horace followed Greek models

1 Consciously

It is almost unnecessary to prove by a detailed discussion the general fact that Horace consciously imitated Greek authors. The point is made clear beyond all question by even a brief survey of first, his own statements; second, the character of his audience and influence of his environment; third, the general impression of his works; and fourth, the metres.

(1) His own statements:

That Horace felt that his aim was to clothe in Latin the Greek poems so familiar to him is shown in the following lines:

"mihi parva rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
Parca non mendax dedit? ---- "
"dicar - - - - -
princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos."³

"multa fero ut placem genus inritabile vatum."⁴

("Genus vatum" refers to Callimachus and Alcaeus)

"sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praeffluent

²C. II, 16, 38 sqq.
³C. III, 30, 13 sqq.
⁴Epp. II, 2, 102

et spissae nemorum comae
fingent Aeolis carmine nobilem."⁵

Not only does he thus state his general purpose; but he makes it clear that he considered only the best of Greek poetry worthy of serving as models when he urges the muse that rejoices in "pure sources" to "weave a garland of verse"⁶ for his Lamia:

"O quae fontibus integris
gaudes, apricos necte flores
necte meo Lamiae coronam,⁶
Pimplei dulcis."⁷

That the use of "fontibus integris" and "coronam" is figurative here, is clear when the fact that Horace wishes his Muse to immortalise Lamia, not to paint a nature picture -- is supported by the last few lines of the same poem:

"hunc fidibus novis,
hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
teque tuasque decet sorores."⁸

(The Lesbian plectrum refers, of course, to Terpander, Alcaeus and Sappho -- all of whom came from Lesbos and gave the name of their native land to the lyre.)⁹

⁵C. IV, 3, 10 sqq.

⁶For the use of "coronam" as "garland of verses" see Ch. II, 1, 3' 7, 25

⁷C. I, 26, 6 sqq.

⁸C. I, 26, 10 sqq.

⁹{ Cf. "Lesbium barbiton" C. I, 1, 34

"Lesbium servate pedem meique pollicis ictum," C. IV, 6, 36

He even enumerates those whom he strove to imitate:

"Ne forte credas interitura quae
 longe sonantem natus ab Aufidum^d
 non ante volgatus per artis
 verba loquor socianda chordis:

non, si priores Maeonius tenet
 sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent
 Caeaque et Alcaei minaces
 Stesichorique graves camenae;

nec siquid olim lusit Anacreon
 delevit aetas. Spirat adhuc amor
 vivontque commissi calores
 Aeoliae fidibus puellae."¹⁰

It will be noticed that this list includes Homer, supreme among epicists; Pindar, equally pre-eminent in the realm of lyrics; Stesichorus, whom Quintilian characterises as sustaining the burden of the epic with his lyre¹¹; Simonides, the pathos of whose funeral odes equalled the polish and purity of his epigrams in celebration of Greek achievements; Anacreon, with his lyrics of personal emotion, full of levity and epicurean sentiments; Sappho, chief of Aeolian lyricists for the perfection and grace of her poetry.

¹⁰C. IV, 9, 1-12

¹¹Quint. Inst. Or. X, 1, 62: "Stesichorum --- epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem."

and the passion of her love songs; and Alcaeus, whose songs of revelry, war and civic struggles reveal a graceful, reflective and polished poet whose natural characteristics closely parallel those of Horace.

That Horace considers imitation of Pindar as unattainable as it would be desirable, is shown in the following:

"Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari
Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea
nititur pinnis, vitreo daturus
nomina ponto.

monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
quem super notas aluere ripas
feruet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore,"¹²

And on thru half the ode, he speaks in the most extravagant praise of every kind of lyric that Pindar glorified -- the "daring dithyrambs", the hymns and prosodia, the epinicia for "those that the Elean palm exalts", and the threnoi for "the young hero snatched from his bride".

Horace's comparison of Pindar's poetry to an unrestrained torrent rushing thru the woods with thunderous

¹² C. IV, 2, 1-8

voice, shows his realisation that such "magnificence of spirit, grandeur of figurative conceptions, and happy exuberance of thought and words"¹³ ^{were} was not for wings like his. And it is indeed fortunate that he limits himself to short echoes and references to the inimitable lyricist; for Horace with all his grace and polish could never attain the fire and overwhelming splendor of the poet who was truly "σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φῦλα."¹⁴

Of Sappho, too, Horace speaks in laudatory fashion; and aside from Ode IV, 9¹⁵ and Epistle I, 19, 28¹⁶, he refers to her in the following passage:

"Aeoliis fidibus querentem

To Thee
etc.

Sappho puellis de popularibus

et te sonantem plenius aureo,

Alcaee, plectro dura navis,

dura fugae mala, dura belli.

utrumque sacro digna silentio

mirantur umbrae dicere."¹⁷

Archilochus was Horace's model metrically rather than otherwise and it is in this connection that Horace says:

¹³ Quint. Inst. Or. X, 1, 61: "Pindarus princeps spiritu magnificentia, sententiis figuris, beatissima rerum verborumque copia ----;

¹⁴ Pind. Ol. II, 86

¹⁵ Cited above p. 4

¹⁶ Cited p. 7

¹⁷ C. II, 13, 25-30

"Parios ego primus iambos
 ostendi Latio, numeros animosque ^{secutos} Lycambem.
 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."¹⁸

> Archilochi, non res et
 agentia verba
 Lycambem.

But of all, Alcaeus was the one whom Horace followed most closely and it was as the 'Alcaeus of Rome' that he wished to be known. The following remarks will make this clear, as well as Ode IV, 9 and Epistle I, 19 already quoted:

"Age dic Latinum
 barbitum, carmen.

Lesbio primum modulate civi
 qui ferox bello tamen inter arma
 sive iactatum religarat udo
 litore navim,

Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
 semper haerentem puerum canebat,
 et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
 crine decorum."¹⁹

¹⁸Epp. I, 19, 23-29

¹⁹C. I, 32, 3-13

"et te sonantem plenius aureo
 Alcaee, plectro dura navis
 dura fugae mala dura belli.

 utrumque sacro digna silentio
 mirantur umbrae dicere."²⁰

(2) Character of his audience and influence of his environment:

Nor is it surprising that Horace should so express himself, in consideration of the environment in which he lived. Born in Venusia²¹, a Greek colony; he was probably more familiar with the Greek than the Latin tongue. We know that he went to school at Rome under Orbilius²² who undoubtedly taught him Homer in the original Greek as well as in the translation of Livius Andronicus. His deep love of Greek drew him to Athens "inter silvas Academi quaerere verum";²³ and as Sellar says,²⁴ "almost induced him to forget his nationality 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'!"²⁵ That he did try his hand at writing verses in Greek, we learn definitely from his own words:

²⁰ C. II, 13, 26-30

²¹ C. IV, 9, 2; III, 4, 9; III, 30, 10; S. II, 6, 34

²² S. I, 6, 72 sqq. Epp. II, 1, 71

²³ Epp. II, 2, 45

²⁴ Rom. Poets of Aug. Age, p. 146

²⁵ S. I, 10, 35: "magnas Graecorum implere catervas"

"atque ego cum Graecos facerem natus mare citra
versiculos,"²⁶

Hence his education must have fostered his inherent taste. Then, too, it must be remembered that Horace writes for an audience that must have been chiefly composed of men like Maecenas, 'docte sermones utriusque linguae'.²⁷ To be sure, Horace realised that his book would later have a large audience, and he even foresaw that it would be used as a text in the schools;²⁸ but he, as well as all writers of the time, was interested chiefly in the approval of a few, and speaks to his book thus:

"paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
non ita nutritus."²⁹

He even mentions the choice few that he wishes to please:

"Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus atque
Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque!
Ambitione relegata, te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque
vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos

²⁶S. I, 10, 31

²⁷C. III, 8, 5

²⁸C. II, 20, 14-20; Epp. I, 20, 17 sqq.

²⁹Epp. I, 20, 4 sq.

prudens pratero; quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,
adridere velim, doliturus, si placeant spe
deterius nostra."³⁰

(3) General impression of Odes:

It would be impossible after reading the Odes, not to have the impression that the author is following Greek models in both form and thought. The expressions are those of an artist transforming his subject matter into another tongue; and at that, an artist so thoroughly imbued with Greek spirit that "much of the old Greek grace and some of the fire are felt thru the colder medium of his translations."³¹ In Ode II, 6, for example, he gives expression to a seemingly very intense personal feeling for associations that are Greek. From the first Ode of the first book, which has such a strong Greek savour, thruout his entire works, the allusions and sentiment give a very definite impression of Graecism.

(4) Metres:

A full discussion or even an adequate survey of the metrical similarities between Horace and the Greek lyric poets would take much more time and space than such a study

³⁰ S. I, 10, 81-90

³¹ Mahaffey: Gr. Class. Lit. (Ep. and Lyr.) p. 202

as this allows. Suffice it to say that in the Odes, the most common metres -- the Alcaic and Sapphic, as well as the Alcamanian and the Archilochian, are named after the Greek poets that made them famous; while the variations of the Asclepiadean and all the rest are of Greek origin. In the Epodes and a few of the Odes,³² Horace avowedly uses the metre of Archilochus:³³

"Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi,"

2¹ Unconsciously

"Independent of intentional imitations, we meet also with frequent reminiscences of Greek poets which we must not suppose to have been collected with bee-like industry."³⁴ Chronology is a factor to be considered in discussing the likelihood of imitation occurring; and it would be as impossible, in the Age of Augustus, for subconscious echoes of his beloved Greek authors to be absent from Horace's poetry, as it would have been for Virgil's Aeneid to have no unconscious references to Homer. There are numerous parallel cases in the literature of other countries, illustrating the fact that an age when the classics are studied cannot but

³²C. IV, 7; I, 4

³³Epp. I, 19, 23 sqq.

³⁴Teuffel and Schwabe: Hist. of Rom. Lit., p. 463

reflect classic thoughts, even when the author had no such intention. Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Spencer and Bacon are full of the classical spirit and abound in subconscious allusions as well as out and out imitations and references. The same thing is true in France of Corneille, Racine and Boileau.

Certainly with these facts in mind, it is not surprising to find the number of Horatian passages similar to the Greek very large. Many of those here quoted have been previously noted by one of the following editors: Keller, Kiessling, Ritter, Page, Smythe and Bergk.³⁵ Even by combining such passages as are given by these editors with those found by the writer in a parallel study of Homer, the Greek lyric poets and Horace, this collection is probably not complete. However, the classification, according to the above given divisions, has been made in each case only after a careful consideration of the probable indebtedness of Horace to the Greek author quoted.

³⁵ For full titles see Bibliography

CHAPTER I

Lines Which Are Unconscious Echoes of the Greek

The shorter the passage that expresses the thought of a Greek original, the more difficult it is to determine whether or not the imitation is conscious or unconscious. Usually, if the thought is expressed in such a way as to be practically a translation, it would seem that Horace had a definite Greek passage in mind. It is frequently true that for one line, or group of lines expressing one sentiment, there may exist many possible models. Of these, it is conceivable that all were unconsciously followed; but it is more often the case that Horace had one clearly in mind, while the rest were merely influential as a vague background. In the latter case, the one outstanding pattern has been classed as a conscious imitation and the others unconscious. Sometimes, the lines classed as unconscious imitations bear no direct indications of a Greek model. In fact, if definite proofs exist, the parallels seem conscious. As a rule, doubtful cases of imitation of Greek poets by Horace have been discarded in this discussion, even though they may be quoted by the editors as noteworthy parallels; but some lines and expressions may be given here merely because of a strong personal feeling that the echo is real.

In four words Horace wishes to picture the most striking and characteristic feature of a chariot race; and in his description it is only natural that he should echo the Greek accounts of this time-honored contest. This is especially true since the arrangement of the Roman Circus Maximus with its three conical columns or "meta" at either end corresponded closely to that of the Greek hippodrome with its stones which served as a goal around which the charioteer had to turn. That this feat was the difficult part of the Greek races we judge from Nestor's advice to his son, and from the account of the chariot race as given in Sophocles Electra. It is, therefore, very likely that these two passages are the background for the following Horatian lines:

C. I, 1, 4 sq:

---"metaque fervidis
evitata rotis."

Il. XXIII, 338-341:

ἐν νύσση δέ τοι ἵππος ἀριστερὸς ἐγχρυσφθήτω,
ὡς ἂν τοι πλήμνη γε δαάσσεται ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι
κύκλου ποιητοῖο-λίθου δ' ἀλέασθαι ἔπταυρεῖν,
Tr. Let the near horse hug the post, so

that the nave of the well-wrought wheel shall seem to
graze it -- yet beware of touching the stone.

Il. XXIII, 465-467:

ἤε τὸν ἡνίοχον φύγον ἡνία, οὐδ' ἐδυνάσθη
εὖ σχεθέειν περὶ τέρμα, καὶ οὐκ ἐτύχησεν ἐλίξας.

Tr. Or did the reins escape the charioteer,
so that he could not drive well around the post and failed
in the turn?

Soph. El. 720-723:

κεῖνος δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐσχάτην στήλην ἔχων
ἔχρημπτ' αἰὲ σύριγγα, δεξιὸν δ' ἀνεῖς
σεπραῖον ἵππον εἶργε τὸν προσκείμενον.

Tr. Orestes, driving close to the pillar
at either end of the course, almost grazed it with his
wheel each time, and, giving rein to the trace-horse on
the right, checked the horse on the inner side.³⁶

Soph. El. 741-749:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἀσφαλεῖς δρόμους
ὠρθοῦθ' ὁ πλήμων ὀρθὸς ἐξ ὀρθῶν δίφρων.
ἔπειτα λύων ἡνίαν ἀρωτερὰν
κάμπτοντος ἵππου λανθάνει στήλην ἄκραν
παίσας· ἔθραυσε δ' ἄξονος μέσας χνῶσας,
καὶ ἀντύγων ὠλισθε· σὺν δ' ἐλίσσεται
τμητοῖς ἱμάσι· τοῦ δὲ πίπτοντος πέδῳ
πῶλοι διεσπάρησαν εἰς μέσον δρόμον.

Tr. Hitherto the ill-fated Orestes had
passed safely thru every round, steadfast in his steadfast
car; at last, slackening his left rein while the horse was

³⁶Tr. by Jebb

turning, unawares he struck the edge of the pillar; he broke the axle-box in twain; he was thrown over the chariot-rail; he was caught in the shapely reins; and as he fell to the ground, his colts were scattered into the middle of the course.³⁶

Again, in the same Ode, the description in the Iliad of how the Icarian Sea is tossed by the winds, finds an echo in Horace:

C. I, 1, 15:

lucantem Icaris fluctibus Africum

Il. II, 144 sq.:

--- -- κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης,
πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο, τὰ μὲν τ' Εὐρὸς τε Νότος τε
ῥορ' ---.

Tr. The high waves of the Icarian main which the east and south winds raise.

The stormy Icarian was proverbial; but the well-known Homeric description probably had its influence on Horace's choice of this particular sea and wind as the type to arouse fear in the trader.

So, too, the idea of Apollo veiled in a cloud is so Homeric that Horace must have written the following passage with reminiscences of some or all of the Greek here quoted:

C. I, 2, 31 sq.:

--- nube candentis umeros
amictus augur Apollo;

Il. XV, 307 sq.:

--- πρόσθεν δὲ κί' αὐτοῦ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
εἰμένος ὤμουιν νεφέλην,

Tr. While in front of him went Phoebus
Apollo, his shoulders veiled in a cloud.

Il. V, 186:

ἔστηκ' ἀθανάτων, νεφέλην εἰλυμένος ὤμους,

Tr. Some one of the immortals stood
nearby, his shoulders veiled in a cloud.

Similarity in thought does not necessarily mean imitation; it takes additional evidence to prove that one author is consciously borrowing the ideas of another. However, a decided echo of sentiment, even though supported by no metrical or linguistic parallels, seems to offer an example of influence unconsciously felt:

C. I, 3, 9 sqq.:

illi robur et aes triplex
circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
commisit pelago ratem
primus, nec timuit praecipitem Africum.

Soph. Antig. 332 sqq.:

πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κούδ' ἄνθρωπου δεινότερον πέλει.
 τοῦτο καὶ πολλοῦ πέραν πόντου χειμερίῳ νότῳ
 χωρεῖ, περιβρυχίοισιν
 περῶν ὑπ' οἴσμασιν.

Tr. Wonders are many, and none is more wonderful than man -- the power that crosses over the hoary sea, driven by the stormy south wind; passing thru waves that threaten to engulf him.

To be sure, there are no definite proofs that Horace is not giving expression to an original thought or else to a sentiment of his Latin predecessors. Seneca has made a similar remark in his *Medea*,³⁷ and Propertius probably wrote the seventeenth elegy of book I³⁸ before Horace composed the Ode to Virgil. As for Seneca, his use of Greek originals was so extensive that the mere fact of his having a similar passage really points to a common Greek source. At any rate, the Hellenic echo in Horace is present here.

³⁷Sen. Med. 301-305: *Audax nimium qui freta primus
 rate tam fragili perfida rupit
 terrasque suas post terga videns
 animam levibus credit auris,*

³⁸Written when poet thinks he will perish on the sea far from his Cynthis. It contains (line 13 sq.):
 "a pereat, quicumque rates et vela paravit
 primus et invito gurgite fecit iter!"

The Greek myth about the descent of all manner of diseases after the theft of fire by Prometheus is referred to in lines 29-31 of this same Ode. Horace in his vivid word pictures "wasting disease" and "throng of fevers" seems to give more than a vague echo of Hesiod's description of the countless plagues that bring harm to men.

C. I, 3, 29-31:

post ignem aetheria domo
subductum macies et nova februm
terris incubuit cohors,

Hes. Works and Days, 100-104:

ἄλλα δὲ μυρία λυγρὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάληται.
πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα.
νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρη, αἶ δ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῦσι φέρουσαι,

Tr. But other countless plagues wander
amongst men; for earth is full of evils and the sea is full.
Of themselves diseases come upon men continually by day and
by night, bringing mischief to mortals.³⁹

Although there is not sufficient similarity in the method of wording the following thought, to state that a deliberate imitation of the Greek is intended, the general

³⁹ Tr. by H. G. Evelyn-White

sentiment that the folly of mortals leads them to aim at Heaven itself, as well as the reference to Zeus certainly recalls the Greek passage quoted as a parallel to:

C. I, 3, 38:

caelum ipsum petimus stultitia neque
per nostrum patimur scelus
iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina.

Rhianus I, 10-16, (Anth. Gr. I, p. 230):

--- ἐπιλήθεται οὐνεκα γαῖαν
ποσσὶν ἐπιστείβει, ---
ἀλλ' ὑπεροπλίη καὶ ἀμαρτωλῆσι νόοιο
Ἴσα Διὶ βρομέει, ---
ἢέ τιν' ἀτραπιτὸν τεκμαίρεται Οὐλυμπόνδε,
ὥς κε μετ' ἀθανάτους ἐναρίθμιος εἰλαπινάσῃ,

Tr. He forgets for what reason he treads the earth, but with presumptuousness and sin of heart; he roars like Zeus, or he seeks to determine the path to Olympus, as though he would revel among the immortals.

And again the Hellenic spirit is echoed in Horace's picture of life in Pluto's hall:

C. I, 4, 16-20:

Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
nec regna vini sortiere talis,

nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet inventus
nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

Sappho, 68:⁴⁰

Κατθανοῖσα δὲ κείσεαι οὐδέ ποτα μαμοσύνα σέθεν
ἔσσειτ' οὐδ' ἔρος εἰς ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις βρόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας· ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κῆν Ἄϊδα δόμοις
φουτάσεις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεπταμένα.

Tr. Thou shalt lie as dead nor shall there be
any remembrance and love for thee hereafter; for thou dost
not share in the roses of Pieria. But unknown in the
dwelling of Hades, thou shalt wander with the pale ghosts.

Theognis Elegies, 973-978:

οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων, ὃν πρότν' ἐπὶ γαῖα καλύψη
ἔς τ' Ἐρεβος καταβῆ, δώματα Περσεφόνης,
τέρπεται οὔτε λύρης οὔτ' αὐλητῆρος ἀκούων,
οὔτε Διωνύσου δῶρον ἀειρόμενος.
ταῦτ' ἔσορῶν κραδίη εὖ πείσομαι, ὄφρ' ἔτ' ἐλαφρά
γούνατα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἀτρεμέως προφέρω.

Tr. No man, when first he is concealed
beneath the earth and descends into Erebus, the dwelling of
Persephone, has delight in listening to the lyre or flute
player, or pledging with the gift of Dionysus. Observing

⁴⁰ Text as found in Smythe; Sappho XXIV

these things, I shall easily persuade my heart while I advance light steps and carry my head without a qualm.

Strato 96, 1-5 (Anth. Gr. Vol. III, p. 90):

Καὶ πίνε νῦν, καὶ ἔρα, Δαμόκρατες, οὐ γὰρ ἔς αἰεὶ
ποιόμεθ, οὐδ' αἰεὶ παισὶ συνεσσόμεθα.

καὶ στεφάνοις κεφαλᾶς πυκασώμεθα, καὶ
μυρίσωμεν

αὐτοῦς, πρὶν τύμβοις ταῦτα φέρειν ἑτέρους.

Tr. Drink now and love, Damocrates, for not always shall we drink nor always be with our loves: and let us put garlands on our heads and anoint ourselves with myrrh, before others bring these things to our tombs.

Asclepiad. 21 (Anth. Gr. Vol. I, p. 148)

Φείδῃ παρθενίης καὶ τί πλέον; οὐ γὰρ ἔς Ἄϊδην
ἔλθοῦσ' εὐρήσεις τὸν φιλέοντα, κόρη.
ὄστέα καὶ σποδὴν, παρθένε, κεισόμεθα.

Tr. Thou art sparing thy maidenhood -- Why keep on? For when thou art come to Hades, girl, thou shalt not find thy loved one. Cypris's delights are among the living; in Acheron, maiden, we shall lie as bones and ashes.

There is no direct evidence that Horace deliberately used any one of these passages as a model; and yet the entire tone is so Greek that at least some of those quoted must have been subconsciously followed here. The last citation bears

the closest resemblance to Horace because of the definite reference to the absence of Cypris's delights in Hades; and yet from Horace's own statements about Sappho⁴¹, we judge that her poems were more familiar to him than those of any of the above authors.

The phrase, "To drown one's cares in wine" is now commonplace. Horace, as well as many Greek authors, has numerous expressions of the same sentiment; and it is interesting to notice both how he varies its wording, and how closely parallel the citations from his poems are to Greek passages:

C. I, 7, 17-19:

sic tu sapiens finire memento
tristitiam vitaeque labores
molli, Plance, mero, ----

C. I, 7, 31:

(mecum saepe viri), nunc vino pellite curas:

C. I, 18, 3 sq.:

siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit, neque
mordaces saliter diffugiunt sollicitudines.

C. II, 11, 17 sq.:

---- dissipat Euhius
curas edacis.

⁴¹See introduction

Epode XIII, 17 sq.:

illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus alloquiis.

C. I, 11, 6 sq.:

---- sapias: vina liques et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces.

C. I, 18, 5:

quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem

Theogn, 1129:

εἰ πίομαι, πενίης θυμοφθόρου οὐ μελεδαίνω.

Tr. If I drink, I care not for life-
destroying poverty.

Simon. fr. 14:

πῖνε, πῖν' ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς.

Tr. Drink, drink over misfortunes.

Simon. fr. 86:

οἶνον ἀμύντορα δυσφροσυνάων,

Tr. Wine that drives dull care away.

Meleag VI, 3sq. (Anth. Gr. I, 5):

Ζωροπότει, καὶ πλήρες ἀφυσσάμενος σκύφος οἶνας
ἔκκρουσον στυγεράν ἐκ κραδίας ὀδύναν.

Tr. Drink pure wine; helping thyself to
a cup filled with wine, drive from thy heart wretched
sorrow.

Eur. Bacch. 278-284:

----- ὁ Σεμέλης γόνος
 βότρυος ὑγρὸν πῶμ' ἤϊρε κείσηνέγκατο
 θνητοῖς, ὅ πᾶύει τοὺς ταλαιπύρους βροτοὺς
 λύπης, ὅταν πλησθῶσιν ἀμπέλου βοῆς,
 ὕπνον τε λήθην τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν κακῶν
 δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἔστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόνων.

Tr. The son of Semele discovered the flowing cup of the grape and introduced it to mortals. It relieves miserable men from grief, whenever they are filled with the stream of the vine; and it gives sleep that brings forgetfulness of daily evils; nor is there any other balm for ills.

Eur. Bacch. 375 sqq.:

τὸν Σεμέλας, -----
 -----; ὅς τ' ἔχει,

 ἀποπαῦσαι τε μερίμνας,

Tr. The son of Semele, whose prerogative it is to drive away cares.

Eur. Alc. 794 sqq.:

--- οὐκουν τὴν ἄγαν λύπην ἀφείς
 πτίει -----
 --- : καὶ σάφ' οἶδ' ὀθούνεκα
 τοῦ νῦν σκυθρωποῦ καὶ ξυνεστῶτος φρενῶν

μεθορμιεῖ σε πίτυλος ἔμπεσῶν σκύφου.

Tr. Wilt thou not then banish excessive grief and drink? --- I feel sure the splash of wine falling in the cup will change thee from thy present dull and pent-up spirit.

Theogn. 883:

τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδᾶσεις μελεδῶνας,

Tr. Drinking of it (wine) thou shalt dispel grievous cares.

Alcaeus 35:

Οὐ χρὴ κάκισσι θυμόν ἐπιτρέπην.
 προκόφομεν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀσάμενοι,
 ὦ βύγχι, φάρμακον σ' ἄριστον
 οἶνον ἐνευκαμένοις μεθύσθην.

Tr. We should not turn our thoughts to ills; for by worrying we do not progress at all. The best medicine, O Bacchus, is to become drunk when the wine is brought in.

Alcaeus 41, 3 sq.:

οἶνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος υἱὸς λαθικάδεα
 ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκ'.

Tr. The son of Zeus and Semele has given to mortals wine which banishes care.

Some of these Horatian lines have clear individual models;⁴² but the majority show an unconscious reflection of Greek sentiment and thought, rather than a conscious imitation.

Closely allied in thought to these citations, are the lines that bring out Horace's Epicurean ideas; and many echoes of Greek poets naturally creep into his expression of a Greek philosophy.

The spirit of 'carpe diem' is reflected in all of the following passages with their ever-present advice to enjoy a life which is only too short:

C. I, 7, 31 sq.:

---- nunc vino pellite curas:
cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

C. I, 9, 15-18:

---- nec dulcis amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas:
donec virenti canities abest
morosa,

C. III, 29, 41-45:

---- ille potens sui
laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
dixisse 'vixi: cras vel atra

⁴²See II, 1, 1'

nube polum Pater occupato,

vel sole puro;

Epode XIII, 3-5:

--- rapiamus, amici,

occasionem de die, dumque virent genua

et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus.

Theogn. 1047 sq.:

Νῦν μὲν πίνοντες τερπύμεθα, καλὰ λέγοντες.

ἄσσα δ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται, ταῦτα θεοῦσι μέλει.

Tr. Now let us enjoy ourselves, drinking and talking; as for what is to come hereafter, that rests with the gods.

Eur. Alc. 788-791:

εὐφραίνε σαυτόν, πίνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν

βίον λογίφου σόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης.

τίμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πλεῖστον ἡδίστην θεῶν

Κύπριν βροτοῦσιν.

Tr. Make merry, drink, and consider the life from day to day thine own; the rest, Fortune's; and also honor Cypris, the sweetest of the Gods to mortals.

Antiphanes II, 3-5 (Anth. Gr. II, 188):

----- ὅτ' οὖν χρόνος ὥριος ἡμῖν,

πάντα χύσῃν ἔστω, ψαλμός, ἔρως, προπόσεις.

χειμῶν τούντεῦθεν, γήρως βάρος.

Tr. Now that the time is seasonable, let everything be unrestrained, the harp, love and the drinking of toasts. Let winter and the burden of old age be far off.

Ep. Adesp. 531 (Gr. Anth. IV, 230):

Ὁ τὸν παλυστένακτον ἀνθρώπων βίον
γέλῳτι κεράσας.

Tr. One that hath mixt with a laugh the life of man which is only too full of groans.

The brevity of life is especially emphasized in:

C. I, 11, 6-8:

--- sapias: vina liques et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.

C. II, 3, 13-16:

huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,
dum res et aetas et sororum
fila trium patiuntur atra.

C. II, 14, 1 sq.:

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni,

C. II, 11, 5-11:

-----fugit retro
levis iuventas et decor, arida
pellente lascivos amores
canitie facilemque somnum.

non semper idem floribus est honor
vernīs neque uno Luna rubens nitet
vultu.

C. IV, 12, 25-29:

verum pone moras et studium lucri
nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium
misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
dulce est desipere in loco.

Theocr. 2, 92:

Χρόνος φεύγων

Tr. Flying time

Simon. fr. 32:

Ἄνθρωπος εἶν μή ποτε φάσης ὅτι γίνεται αὔριον
μηδ' ἄνδρα ἰδῶν ὄλβιον, ὅσσον χρόνον ἔσσεται.
ὠκεῖα γάρ, οὐδὲ τανυπτερύγου μυίας
οὐ τόσα μετὰστας.

Tr. Being mortal, never say what will
happen tomorrow; nor if thou seest man blessed, venture to
say how long time he will be so; for not even is the passing
of the gauzy-winged fly so swift.

Simon. 85, 11-15:

νήπιοι, οἷς ταύτη κεῖται νόσος, οὐδὲ ἴσαισιν,
ὡς χρόνος ἔσθ' ἥβης καὶ βιόται' ὀλίγος
θνητοῖς· ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα μαθὼν βιότου ποτὶ
τέρμα

Ψυχῆ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τληθεὶ χαριζόμενος.

Tr. Foolish are they whose inclination lies in this direction and who know not that short, for mortals, is the period of youth and life. This learn, and continue to the end of thy life to gratify thy soul with good things.

Mimnermus 5, 4^bsq.:

ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον γίγνεται ὡσπερ ὄναρ
ἦβη τιμῆεσσα· τὸ δ' ἀργαλέον καὶ ἄμορφον
γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίχ' ὑπερκρέματα,

Tr. Prized youth is like a flitting dream.

Grievous, unlovely old age hangs instant over our heads.

The uncertainty of the future and the impossibility for any but an immortal mind to fathom its secrets furnish the theme for the following citations; and again, the Greek lyric and dramatic poets are full of possible models:

C. I, 9, 13-15:

quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere, et
quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
appone.

C. I, 11, 1-2:

Tu ne quaesieris (scire nefas) quem mihi quem tibi
finem di dederint.

C. II, 16, 25-28:

laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est
oderit curae et amara lento
temperat risu.

Car. II, 16, 11 sq.:

--- quid aeternis minorem
consiliis animum fatigas?

Car. III, 29, 29-33:

prudens futuri temporis exitum
caliginosa nocte premit deus
ridetque, si mortalis ultra
fas trepidat. quod adest memento

componere aequos.

Car. IV, 7, 17 sq:

quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
tempora di superi

Car. I. IX, 9:

permitte divis cetera⁴³

Theogn. 1048:

ἄσσα δ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται, ταῦτα θεοῖσι μέλει.

Tr. As for the things which will be, they
are the care of the gods.

Simon. fr. 32, 1:

Ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν μὴ ποτε φάσῃς ὅτι γίνεται αὔριον.

Tr. Being a man, never say what will happen
tomorrow.

⁴³Cetera refers to other things than those of the present

Archil. fr. 15 (Anth. Gr. I, 43):

τοῖς θεοῖς τίθει τὰ πάντα.

Tr. Resign all things to the gods.

Aesch. Pers. 228:

πάντα θήσομεν θεοῖσι.

Tr. We will leave all to the gods.

Theocr. 13, 4:

οἱ θνατοὶ πελόμεσθα, τὸ δ' αὔριον οὐκ
ἐσορῶμες.

Tr. We who are mortals and look not on
the morrow.

Eur. Alc. 782-786:

βροτοῖς ἅπασι κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται,
κοῦκ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται
τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσαν εἰ ριύσεται.
τὸ τῆς τύχης γὰρ ἀφανὲς οἷ προβήσεται,
κάστ' οὐ διδακτὸν οὐδ' ἀλίσκεται τέχνη.

Tr. Death is a debt owed by all men; and
there is no mortal who knows if he shall live until the
following day; for the path of fortune is out of sight --
neither can it be taught nor won by cleverness.

Theogn. 1075-1079:

Πρήγματος ἀπρήκτου χαλεπώτατον ἔστι τελευτήν
γνώγει, ὅπως μέλλει τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσαι.
ὄρφνη γὰρ τέταται· πρὸ σὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι
οὐ βυνετὰ θνητοῖς πείρατ' ἀμηχανίης.

Tr. It is very hard to know the end of an unfinished matter -- how God intends to bring it to pass; for murky darkness is spread over it; and hiding that which is to be, are the bounds of helplessness unknowable to mortals.

Theogn. 159 sq.:

--- οἶδε γὰρ οὐδεὶς
ἀνθρώπων ὅτι νύξ χημέρη ἀνδρὶ τελεῖ.

Tr. For no human being knows how night or day will end for a single man.

Pind. Ol. II, 30-33:

--- ἦται βροτῶν γε κέκριται
πειρας οὐ τι θανάτου,
οὐδ' ἀσύχιμον ἀμέραν ὁπότε παιδ' ἁελίου
ἀτειρεῖ σὺν ἀγαθῷ τελευτάσομεν---

Tr. Truly the time of death is not revealed to mortals, nor the time when, in peace, we shall bring to

an end, with unimpaired happiness, a single day, the child of the sun.

Pind. Ol. XII, 7-10:

σύμβολον δ' οὐ πῶ τις ἐπιχθονίων
πιστὸν ἀμφὶ πράξιος ἔσομένας εὖρεν θεόθεν.
τῶν δ' ἔμελλοντων τετύφλωνται φραδαί.

Tr. No one of earth-born men has yet received from God a trustworthy token of what shall be; but wisdom is blinded as to the future.

Pindar, Pyth. 10, 63:

τά δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀτέκμαρτον προνοῆσαι.

Tr. The things of one year hence are not to be foretold by any sign.

In these many examples of Horace's belief in the enjoyment of the present, it is evident that there are some lines⁴⁴ that seem to be conscious imitations of the Greek; whereas most of the Greek quotations merely furnish a strong subconscious background for the thought and words of the Latin.

Since Pausanias assures us that Alcaeus told of the theft of Apollo's kine,⁴⁵ it is undoubtedly true that

⁴⁴See Ch. II, (1-1')

⁴⁵See Ch. V

the Alcaeus version was Horace's conscious model; nevertheless the similarity to Homer is clear in:

C. I, 10, 9-13:

te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
risit Apollo.

Hom. Hymn IV to Her. 254-5:

ὦ παῖ, ὅς ἐν λίκνῳ κατάκειαι, μήνυέ μοι βουῶς
θᾶσσον. ἐπεὶ τάχα νῦν διουσόμεθ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον.

Tr. "O babe, that liest in the cradle, tell me quickly about my oxen, or very soon there will be an awful row between us." (Apollo to Hermes)

Ibid. 281:

Τὸν δ' ἄπαλδον γελάσας προσέφη ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.

Tr. Laughing softly, far working Apollo

said:

In quoting Teucer's words as he fled from Salamis, Horace gives a decided echo of Odysseus as he encouraged his men when they had passed the Sirens, and again as he addressed his own heart before the slaughter of the suitors:

C. I, 7, 30:

O fortes peioraque passi

Od. XII, 208:

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμονές εἴμεν.

Tr. "Friends, for since we are not
ignorant of sorrows,

Od. XX, 18:

Ἔτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης,

Tr. Endure, my heart, for a worse thing
thou once didst bear.

It is interesting to note that Horace again uses almost exactly these words, while Ovid and Vergil, too, have very similar lines -- a direct proof of the common source of all the Latin passages:

S. II, 5, 20 sq.:

--- 'fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo:

et quondam maiora tuli.

Verg. A. I, 198-199:

'o socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum)

o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.

Ov. Tr. V, 11, 7:

prefer et obdura! multo graviora tulisti,

Sappho was, in all probability, the model for Apollonius Rhodius and Meleager, as well as Horace, in the lines quoted below; but it is possible that these later Greek poets had their share in unconsciously influencing

the Latin of :

C. I, 13, 5-8:

tum nec mens mihi nec color
 certe sede manet, umor et in genas
 furtim labitur, arguens
 quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus

App. Rh. III, 296-298:

τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἴθετο λάθρη
 οὖλος Ἔρως· ἀπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρεὶας
 ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρειθος, ἀκηδεύησι νόοιο.

Tr. So cruel love, coiled around her heart, was secretly burning, and on her soft cheeks the color came and went in the distraction of her soul.

Meleager 53, 1 sq. (Anth. Gr. I, 17):

Αἰεὶ μοι δύνει μὲν ἐν οὐασιν ἦχος Ἔρωτος,
 ὄμμα δὲ σῆγα πόθοις τὸ γλυκὺ δάκρυ φέρει.

Tr. The fluttering of Love's wings is always sounding in my ears; because of love, a tear of joy glides silently from my eye.

The citation from Meleager is particularly noteworthy because of its similarity to "umor et in genas furtim labitur".

Orelli claims that Horace in "quinta parte" of this same Ode had in mind the division that Pythagoras makes

of the elements; namely, earth, air, fire, water, and ether -- with the πέμπτον ὄν, πέμπτη ουσία, 'quinta essentia', the most perfect element. Thus he interprets Horace's words as meaning the purest and best of the nectar of Venus. There are, however, other possible sources for this Greek expression:

C. I, 13, 15-16:

--- oscula, quae Venus
quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.

Ibycus XXXIII (Ap. Athen. II 39 B):

Ἴβυκος δέ φησι τὴν ἀμβροσίαν τοῦ
μέλιτος κατ' ἐπίτασιν ἐνναπλασίαν ἔχειν
γλυκύτητα, τὸ μέλι λέγων ἕνατον εἶναι
μέρος τῆς ἀμβροσίας κατὰ τὴν ἡδουήν.

Tr. Ibycus says that ambrosia has a
sweetness nine times as great as that of honey; saying
that in sweetness, honey is one ninth measure of ambrosia.

Scholiast on Pind. Pyth. 9, 116:

--μέλιτος --ὅ δὴ τῆς ἀθανασίας δέκατον μέρος.

Tr. Honey, the tenth part of immortality

Birds were so commonly considered omens by the
ancients that the use of the word for bird instead of that

for omen may or may not imply imitation; but at any rate, Horace, in giving the words of Nereus, echoes Pindar:

C. I, 15, 5:

mala ducis avi domum,

Tr. Thou dost lead home (a bride) under evil omen (Lit. evil bird).

Pind. Nem. 9, 18 sq.:

--- ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰσιᾶν
οὐ κατ' ὀρνίχων ὁδόν.

Tr. They led an army of men by a road of unlucky omens (Lit. unlucky birds).

Pindar also has a line very similar to Horace's description of the "locks of Paris defiled with dust" and although the conscious model for the Latin was undoubtedly the Iliad, there is a close parallel in the following:

C. I, 15, 20:

crines pulvere collines

Pind. Nem. 1, 68:

--- φαιδίμαν γαῖα σφε φύρσεσθαι κόμαν

Tr. Their bright hair defiled with dust.

Horace many times⁴⁶ advises moderation, (but only once does he apply it to wine), and then there are many

⁴⁶C. I, 16, 22; I, 27, 1-9; II, 3, 1-4; II, 10, 1; III, 3, 1-4; III, 16, 39

possible models which may have influenced him, though the one that bears the closest resemblance to the Latin is the passage from Anacreon:

C. I, 18, 7:

ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi

Theogn. 479:

ὅς δ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτι κείνος
τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτερὸς οὐδὲ νόου.

Tr. Whosoever exceeds moderation in drinking, is no longer master of his tongue or mind.

Theogn. 509-510:

Οἶνος τρινόμενος προυλὺς κακόν: ἦν δὲ τις αὐτὸν
πίνῃ ἐπισαμένως, οὐ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.

Tr. To drink much wine is bad; but if any one drink with judgment, it is not bad, but good.

Od. XXI, 293-294:

οἶνός σε τρώει μελιθεῆς, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους
βλάπτει, ὅς ἂν μιν χανθόν ἔλη μῆσ' αἴσιμα πίνῃ.

Tr. Honey-sweet wine injures thee, and does harm to those others, who take it greedily and do not drink in moderation.

Anacreon, 63, 5-11:

... — — — — — ὡς ἀνυβρίστως
ἀνά θεῶντε βασσαρήσω.

ἄγε δεῦτε μηκέτ' οὔτω
 πατάγω τε κάλαητῶ
 Σκυθηκὴν πόσιν παρ' οἴνω
 μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
 ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοισ

Tr. That I may break forth in Bacchic revelry in no unseemly manner. Come now, and let us not with noise and shouts over our wine, indulge in the Scythian drink; but let us drink to the accompaniment of beautiful hymns.

This last citation is particularly close to Horace if the context of the Latin is observed in the next few lines:

Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
 debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euhius,
 cum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
 discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide

Bassareu,

invitum quatiā, nec variis obsita frondibus
 sub divum rapiam.⁴⁷

⁴⁷This citation is not as close to the Greek as that discussed in Ch. III.

The fear of the deserted fawn when it hears the rustling of leaves in the woods, has a close parallel in Apollonius Rhodius's description of Medea's terror; and though this conception is rather too commonplace to be a clear example of conscious imitation, it probably had an influence here:

C. I, 23, 5 sq.:

nam seu mobilibus vepris inhorruit
ad ventos foliis

Apoll. Rhod. III, 954-955:

ἢ θαμὰ δῆ, στηθέων ἑάγη κέαρ, ὅππότε δοῦπον
ἢ ποδὸς ἢ ἀνέμοιο παραθρέξαντα δῶσσαι.

Tr. Often her heart beat fast in her

breast, whenever there seemed to be the passing sound of a footstep or of the wind.

So, too, with the evidences of fear in the beating of the heart and trembling of the knees, both of which are mentioned by Homer and Horace.

C. I, 23, 8:

et corde et genibus tremit.

Iliad III, 34:⁴⁸

ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα

Tr. Trembling siezed his knees beneath him.

⁴⁸Cf. Il VIII, 452; XIV, 506; XXIV, 170; Od. XVIII, 88; XXIV, 49

Iliad XIII, 282:⁴⁹

ἔν δέ τ' ὄϊ κραδίῃ μεγάλα στέρνοισι πατάσσει,

Tr. His heart beat loudly in his breast.

It is hardly probable that Horace was consciously imitating the following citation from Euripides when he says that no one mourns the death of Quintilius more than Vergil; and yet the parallel in wording is very noticeable:

C. I, 24, 9-10:

multis ille bonis flebilis occidit
nulli flebilior, quam tibi, Vergili.

Eur. Alc. 264:

ὀκτρὰν φίλοισιν, ἐκ δ' ἑ τῶν μάλιστ' ἐμοῖ.

Tr. Sad for those that love thee,
especially so to me.

It is quite likely that the last two lines of Horace's Ode of Consolation are a conscious effort to make Vergil, on this occasion, live up to his own philosophy, which Donatus explains as follows: 'Solitus erat dicere nullam virtutem commodi^oem homini esse patientia, ac nullam adeo asperam esse fortunam quam prudenter patiendo

⁴⁹Cf. Il. VII, 216; XXIII, 370.

vir fortis non vincat.⁵⁰ Or, this Horatian passage can be easily explained as a mere statement of Horace's philosophy; for elsewhere⁵¹, he preaches the same doctrine of patience and endurance of evils. However, there is one citation from Euripides that seems rather close to the Latin quoted below, in the spirit of sympathy combined with advice to bear up under grief:

C. I, 24, 19-20:

durum: sed levius fit patientia
quidquid corrigere est nefas.

Eur. Hel. 252-253:

ἔχεις μὲν ἀλγεῖν', αἶσα σύμφορον ὅε τοι
ὡς ῥᾶστα τὰν ἀγκᾶτα τοῦ βίου φέρειν.

Tr. Sorrows thou hast, I know; but it is well to bear what must be in life with as much resignation as possible.

Horace many times refers to the irrevocable character of death and his expressions of this sentiment were no doubt influenced by some of the following Greek

⁵⁰Donatus, Life of Vergil, Ch. 18.

⁵¹C. I, 11, 3: ut melius, quidquid erit, pati

S. II, 2, 135 sq.: ----- quocirca vivite fortes
fortiaque adversis apponite pectora
rebus

passages which seem to be reflected in:

C. I, 24, 15-18:

num vanae redeat sanguis imagini,
 quam virga semel horrida,
 non lenis precibus fata recludere
 nigro compulerit gregi?

C. II, 3, 27-28:

----- et nos in aeternum
 exsilium inpositura cumbae.

C. II, 3, 24:

nil miserantis Orci

C. IV, 7, 21-28:

cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
 fecerit arbitria,
 non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
 restituet pietas:
 infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
 liberat Hippolytum,
 nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
 vincula Pirithoo.

C. II, 18, 34 sqq.:

----- nec satelles Orci
 callidum Promethea
 revexit auro captus

C. IV, 7, 16:

pulvis et umbra sumus.

Il. IX, 158:

Αἰδῆς τοῦ ἀμείλιχου

Tr. relentless death

Anacreon 43, 5-6:

Αἰδέω γάρ ἐστι δεινὸς μυχός, ἀργαλήν δ' ἐς αὐτόν
κάθοδος -- καὶ γὰρ ἐταῦμον καταβάντι μὴ ἀνα-
βῆναι.

Tr. For fearful are the depths of Hades;
painful is the downward journey to it; and for the one who
has descended, no ascent is granted.⁵²

Moschus III, 103-106:

ἄμμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρτεροί, οἱ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες,
ὅππότε πρᾶτα θάνωμες, ἀνάκσοι ἐν χθονὶ κοίλα
εὐδόμες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον
ὑπνον.

Tr. We men who are great and strong and
wise, when once we are dead, unhearing in a hole in the
earth, sleep sound and long an endless sleep that knows no
waking.

⁵²Cf. Salis: Das Grab ist tief und stille
Und schauerhaft sein Rand;
Es deckt mit schwarzer Hülle
Ein unbekanntes Land.

Eur. Alc. 985 sq.:

τόλμα δ' οὐ γὰρ ἀνάβεις ποτ' ἔνερθεν
κλαίων τοὺς φθιμένους ἄνω.

Tr. Be brave; for by mourning thou shalt
never bring up from below those who have died.

Hes. Th. 465:

νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων

Tr. Whose heart is relentless (said of
Orcus).

One or two of these Greek quotations seem to have
been consciously followed by certain of the above cited
Latin lines;⁵³ but even where this is not true there are
present in every case some traces of the influence of every
citation.

Three times Horace refers particularly to Death's
inevitable and impartial nature, and in so doing, he was
probably affected by both the citations given above and
those quoted here:

C. I, 4, 13 sq.:

pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turris

⁵³ See Ch. II, 3.

C. II, 18, 29-32:

nulla certior tamen
rapacis Orci fine destinata
aula divitem manet
erum.

C. I, 28, 15 sq.:

----- sed omnis una manet nox
et calcanda semel via leti.

C. I, 28, 19 sq.:

mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera, nullum
saeva caput Proserpina fugit.

Pind. Nem. VII, 19 sq.:⁵⁴

ἀφνεὸς πενυχρὸς τε θανάτου πέποις
ἅμα γέονται.

Tr. Rich and poor pass together to the
bourne of death.

Antip. Sid. I, 3 (Anth. Gr. II, 5):

εἰς Ἄϊδην μία πᾶσι καταίβασις

Tr. One descent to Hades for all.

Some of these passages, too, show a closer
relationship than others and are discussed under conscious
imitations.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Text of Wieseler and Mommsen in place of Bergk, who
reads πτόρον σάμα for πέποις ἅμα

⁵⁵See II, 3 and II, 1, 1'

When Horace emphasizes the inevitable and impartial nature of Death by reference to the fact that even great heroes die, he may have had the following quotations definitely in mind, although there is not sufficient evidence to draw such a conclusion:

C. I, 28, 7:

occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum,

Iliad XVIII, 117 sqq.:

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα,
ὅς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι.

ὡς καὶ ἐγών, -----
κεῖσομ' ἐπεὶ κεθάνω.

Tr. Not even the mighty Hercules escaped death, though he was most dear to Zeus, King and son of Cronus; so I too, when I die shall be laid away.

Iliad XXI, 106-107:

ἀλλά, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ· τίη ὀλοφύρααι οὕτως,
κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅ περ σέο πολλὸν
ἀμείνων.

Tr. But, friend, thou, too, shalt die. Why dost thou thus grieve? Patroklos is dead and he was far better than thou.

Greek tragedy is full of stories which illustrate the belief that the "iniquity of the father is visited on the children",⁵⁶ and Greek poetry has more examples of passages that express the sentiment in a way that may have influenced Horace, at least subconsciously in the following lines:

C. I, 28, 30 sq.:

neclegis inmeritis nocituram
postmodo te natis fraudem committere?

Aesch. Suppl. 434-437:

ἴσθι γὰρ, παισὶ τάδε καὶ δόμοις
ὅπότερ' ἂν κτίσης, μένει δορὶ τίθειν
ὁμοίαν θέμιν.
τάδε φράσαι δίκαια Διόθεν κράτη.

Tr. Whatever thou dost bring about, know that it remains for thy children and thy house to pay a corresponding reckoning in war. Consider these just commands of Zeus.

Theogn. 205-206:

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔτισε κακὸν χρέος, ἃς δὲ⁵⁷ φίλοισιν

⁵⁶Cf. Ex. XX, 5; XXIV, 7; Num. XIV, 18; Deut. V, 9.

⁵⁷Text of Brunck in place of Bergk who reads οὐδὲ

ἄτην ἐξοπίσω πιασὶν ἐπεκρέμασεν.

Tr. One man himself pays his penalty for evil; while another brings ruin imminent upon his children in after time.

Horace illustrates Venus's cruelty by telling of the unrequited love of Lycoris for Cyrus and of Cyrus for Pholoë -- a possible imitation of Moschus's account of Pan's love for Echo, Echo's for the Satyr, and the Satyr's for Lyde:

C. I, 33, 5-7:

insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
Cyrī torret amor, Cyrus in asperam
declinat Pholoen.⁵⁸

Moschus V, 1-2:

Ἦρατο Πάν Ἀχῶς τὰς γείτονας, ἦρατο δ' Ἀχὼ
σκιρτατὰ Σατύρω, Σάτυρος δ' ἐπεμήνατο
Λύδα

Tr. Pan loved Echo, his neighbor; but Echo loved the skipping Satyr; while the Satyr was crazy about Lyde.

⁵⁸Cf. Heine who was probably inspired by Horace:
Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen,
Die hat einen andern erwählt:
Der andre liebt eine andre,
Und hat sich mit dieser vermählt.

Both of the following passages compare the bonds of Venus to a yoke; but the figure is so common that no more than a subconscious influence could have been exerted by the Greek:

C. I, 33, 11:

(Veneri) sub iugo aenea⁵⁹

Theocr. XII, 15:

ἀλλήλους σ' ἐφίλησαν ἴσῳ ζυγῶ.

Tr. They loved one another with an equal bond (lit. yoke).

The Greeks realized the power of God over the life and fortunes of man.⁶⁰ Euripides especially is full of passages that show the ability of the divinities to exalt the lowly and abase the mighty. The common acceptance of this philosophy makes it unlikely that any of the Greek quoted below was more than an unconscious influence on Horace in:

C. I, 34, 12 sqq.:

---- valet ima summis

⁵⁹Cf. C. III, 9, 18

⁶⁰I Sam.2,7: "The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich; he bringeth low and lifteth up." Cf. Luke I, 52: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and exalted them of low degree." Psalm LXXV,6: "But God is the Judge; he putteth down one, and setteth up another."

mutare et insignem attenuat deus,
obscura promens;

Eur. Troades, 612-613:

ὄρω τὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς τὰ μὲν πυργούσ' ἄνω
τὰ μηδὲν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ δικοῦντ' ἀπώλεσαν.

Tr. I see the work of the Gods, who
exalt on high things that were naught and destroy those
that men esteemed.

Eur. Helen, 711-715:

ὦ θύγατερ, ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἔφου τι ποικίλον
καὶ δυστέκμαρτον. εὖ δέ πως ἀναστρέφει
ἐκεῖσε κἀκεῖσ' ἀναφέρων. ὁ μὲν πονεῖ,
ὁ δ' οὐ πονήσας αἰθις ἄλλυται κακῶς,
βέβαιον οὐδὲν τῆς αἰὲς τύχης ἔχων.

Tr. O. daughter, how variable and
inscrutable is the nature of God. Well does he vary the
fortunes of men, turning them this way and that; one man
suffers, another who has never known suffering is
wretchedly destroyed, and he has no permanent assurance
of his lot.

Eur. H. F. 508-512:

ὄρατέ μ' ὅσπερ ἡ περίβλεπτος βροτοῖς

ὄνομαστὰ πράσων, καί μ' ἀφειλεθ' ἡ τύχη
 ὡς περ πτερόν πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἡμέρα μιᾶ.
 ὁ δ' ἄλβος ὁ μέγας ἢ τε δόξ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι
 βέβαιός ἐστι.

Tr. Behold me, a man who was an object of regard among mortals because of deeds of note -- in one day fortune has robbed me of it all, as a feather blown to the skies. Great prosperity or glory is not assured to anyone.

Od. XVI, 211-212:

ῥηίδιον δὲ θεοῖσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,
 ἡμὲν κυδῆναι θνητὸν βροτὸν ἢ δὲ κακῶσαι."

Tr. It is easy for the gods that dwell in the heavens of wide extent either to honor a mortal or debase him.

Eur. fr. 716 (N):

τά τοι μέγιστα πολλάκις θεὸς
 ταπείν' ἔθηκε καὶ συνέστειλεν πάλιν.

Tr. Often God humbles and abases the greatest.

Archilochus 56, 1-4:

τοῖς θεοῖς τίθει τὰ πάντα· πολλάκις μὲν
 ἐκ κακῶν

ἄνδρας ὀρθοῦσιν μελαίνῃ κεκμένους ἐπὶ χθονί,
πολλάκις δ' ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ μάλ' εὖ βεβηκότας
ὑπτίους κλίνουσ'.

Tr. Leave all to the gods; often, after
ills, they set men on their feet who have been cast down
upon the dark earth; often, too, they overturn that one
that has made fine progress and bring him low.

Hes. Erg. 6:

ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίστηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄσῃλον ἀέξει,

Tr. Easily he (Zeus) humbles the proud
and exalts the lowly.

Ar. Lys. 772 sq.:

τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θήσει Ζεὺς
ὑψιβρεμέτης.

Tr. High thundering Zeus shall bring the
proud low.

Fortune, as the manipulator of man's uncertain
destiny, rejoicing in her power swiftly to reverse his lot,
is also a conception of the Greek poets who probably served
as a subconscious background for the following lines of
Latin:

Eur. Heracl. 610-614:

οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ βεβάναι δόμον
 εὐτυχία· παρὰ δ' ἄλλαν ἄλλα
 μοῖρα διώκει.
 τὸν μὲν ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν βραχὺν ᾤκισε
 τὸν δ' ἀτίταν εὐδαίμονα τεύχει.

Tr. Nor does one house always advance in prosperity; one kind of fortune follows upon another; from a high position it makes one man insignificant, while another of no account it crowns with happiness.

Pindar gives his heroes many warnings to remember the fickleness of fortune and the power of the divinities completely to wreck or make human prosperity.⁶¹

Horace must have been somewhat influenced in his idea that Necessity must precede even Fortune by the following quotation from Euripides:

C. I, 35, 17:

te semper anteit saeva Necessitas

Eur. Hel. 513-514:

λόγος γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐμός, σοφῶν δ' ἔπος
 δελνῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχύειν πλέον.

Tr. The saying is not mine, but the word of the wise that nothing is mightier than dread Necessity.

⁶¹Cf. Ol. II, 30-37; VII, 10-12; XII, 10-12; Pyth. II, 49-53, 88 sq.

C. I, 34, 14-16:

----hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

C. I, 35, 1-4:

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
mortale corpus vel superbos
vertere funeribus triumphos,

C. III, 29, 49-52:

Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et
ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
transmutat incertos honores,
nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.

Menander fr. 581 (M):

ὦ μεταβολαῖς χαίρουσα παντοίας Τύχη

Tr. O Fortune rejoicing in all sorts of
changes

Eur. fr. 420, 2-3 (N):

μί' ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν,
τὰ δ' ἤρ' ἄνω

Tr. One day brings down what is on high,
and raises up other things.

A statement that friends are few in times of trouble is too commonplace perhaps to justify the existence of an original, and yet there are noteworthy points common to the following citations from Horace, Pindar, and Theognis that make a relationship possible:

C. I, 35, 26-28:

---- diffugiunt cadis
cum faece siccatis amici,
ferre iugum pariter dolosi.

Pind. Nem. X, 78 sq.:

---- παῦροι δ' ἐν πόνῳ πιστοὶ βροτῶν
καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν.

Tr. Few are the mortals who, in time of trouble, are faithful in sharing trouble.

Theogn. 643-644:

πολλοὶ πὰρ κρητῆρι φίλοι γίνονται ἑταῖροι,
ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

Tr. Many are the friendly companions over the mixing bowls; but in troubled affairs, they are fewer.

Pindar's καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν is reflected in 'ferre iugum pariter dolosi', whereas the κρητῆρι of Theognis introduces the same element as Horace's 'cadis

----- faece siccatis'.

It will be noticed that there are three particular kinds of passages that have been discussed under this chapter; namely, those whose sentiment, though similar to a Greek original, is too commonplace to point to conscious imitation without clearer evidence in wording, those that have one obvious source but traces of other possible influences, and those that embrace Horace's philosophy without revealing any one definite original. The last group makes up the bulk of the chapter; for the very numerous references to his opinions on death, its irrevocable, inevitable and impartial nature, and the consequent necessity of enjoying the present in this too-short life without worrying about an uncertain future, together with his advice as to the value of wine if it is used in moderation, and his realisation of the existence of a God and of the power of Fortune over human destinies -- all have equally numerous sources from which he may have drawn his opinions.

It is noteworthy that Euripides and Theognis are echoed with the greatest frequency and seem to have furnished a background for more of Horace's reflections than did other poets; while the other two classes of unconscious influence show more reminiscences from Homer than from any other one author. These conclusions are, however, only to be expected when it is considered that these were the Greek poets so commonly known to the Romans that subconscious references to them were inevitable.

CHAPTER II

Lines Which Consciously Imitate the Greek

1. Miscellaneous

Aside from translated lines there are other varieties of imitation that must be classed as conscious; namely, epithets, figures of speech (unless they are too common), obvious references to Greek stories, and general reflections which are sufficiently commonplace in their character to have been original or accidental were it not for the obvious traces of a Greek original in the number of parallel details.

1' Commonplace thoughts expressed with so many parallel details as to seem conscious imitations.

In the first Ode of the first book, Horace's leading idea is the very commonplace one⁶², that different men have different tastes. That this sentiment occurs in many Greek writings⁶³, does not necessarily mean that Horace got it there; but other facts point to his having consciously borrowed from Pindar in lines three to seven.

⁶² Cf. Epp. I, 1, 65 ad fin.

⁶³ Od. XIV, 228:

ἄλλος γὰρ τ' ἄλλουσιν ἀνήρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργους.
Archil. 36:

Ἄλλ' ἄλλος ἄλλῃ καρδίην ἰαίνεται.

Otherwise, the allusion to the Olympic games, an almost obsolete practice, seems out of place; for with the exception of this reference to the theme glorified in Pindar's epinicians, the illustrations are all taken from worldly pursuits, and are contrasted at the end of the poem with his own nobler aims. It seems quite clear that this allusion to former Greek customs was inspired by Pindar, when the added evidence of a decided similarity to one of Pindar's fragments is noted:

C. I, 1, 3-7:

sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
evitata rotis palmaque nobilis
terrarum dominos evehit ad deos;

Pind. fr. 221:

— Ἀελλοπόδων μὲν τιν' εὐφραίνουσιν ἵππων
τίμα καὶ στέφανοι, τοὺς δ' ἐν πολὺ χρύσει
Θαλάμοις βιοτά.
τέρπεται δὲ καὶ τις ἔπι (φρασίν) οἴσμι' ἐκάλιον
ναῖ ἰσοῦ σῶς διαστείβων -----

Tr. One man is gladdened by honors and crowns won by steeds with feet of the storm-winds; another man, by living in chambers rich in gold, and there is one who rejoices in safely crossing the wave of the sea in a swift ship.

Not only is the reference to the type of man that delights in the Olympic games common to both Pindar and Horace, but so also is the mention of the sailor and the lover of wealth -- a combination of parallel details that makes the imitation obvious.

The same Ode pictures another well worn theme when it describes the joys of sleep. The mention in both the Greek and Latin of a shady tree and murmuring water, coupled with the fact that the general spirit of the lines is very similar and the picture identical -- except for the change in the name of the tree -- assures a conscious imitation in:

C. I, 1, 21:

nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae

Moschus 4, 11-13:

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ὑπὸ πλατάνῃ βαθυφύλλῳ
καὶ παγᾶς θιλέοιμε τὸν ἐγγύθεν ἄχον ἀκούειν,
ἃ τέρπει ψοφέουσα τὸν ἀγρικόν, οὐχὶ τάρασσει.

Tr. But sweet sleep under the thick-leaved
plane tree for me; and I should love to hear the murmuring
of the spring near by.

Greek and Latin poets as well as those of modern times have harped on the brevity of life and the insecurity of human plans; but in the expression "spem longam" Horace seems to be thinking definitely of the Greek passage quoted below:

C. I, 4, 15:

vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare
longam.

Neoptol. fr. ap. Diodorus XVI, 92:

μακρὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἐλπίδας --- Αἴδας.

Tr. Pluto taking away far-reaching hopes

The custom of putting a wreath upon the brow was common particularly among the Greeks, and Alcaeus and Sappho refer to it often. Horace's wording echoes Alcaeus particularly:

C. I, 7, 7:

undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam;

Alc. 36, 1 sq.:

Ἄλλ' ἀνήτω μὲν περὶ ταῖς δέραισιν
περθέτω πλέκταις ὑποθύμδ' αἷς τις,

Tr. Now having twined garlands, put wreathes
of dill around thy neck.

Sappho 78, 1:

Σὺ δὲ στεφάνους, ὦ Δίκα, περθέσθ' ἐράταυς φόβαισιν,

Tr. Place the garlands on thy lovely hair,

O Dika.

When Horace writes of crowns that consist of fresh parsley and the quickly fading lily, he is combining the following two passages:

C. I, 36, 16:

non vivax apium neu breve lilium

Theocr. 23, 31:

λευκὸν τὸ κρίνον ἐστίν, μαραίνεται ἀνίκ'
ἀπανθεῖ.

Tr. White is the lily; it fades when it is thru blooming.

Anacr. 54:

Ἐπὶ δ' ὄφρυσιν σελίνων στεφανίσκουσ
θέμενα θάλειαν ὀρτὴν ἀγάγωμεν
Διονύσῳ.

Tr. Placing crowns of parsley on our brow let us have a joyful feast in honor of Dionysus.

The many Greek and Roman passages which speak of wine as a care dispeller, have been quoted, and there is

undoubtedly a very close connection between them all. The following citations show such very close parallels as to seem conscious imitations:

C. I, 7, 31:

--- nunc vino pellite curas

Theogn. 883:

τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις
μελεδύνας,

Tr. Drinking of it (wine), thou shalt

dispel grievous cares.

Here the Greek uses τοῦ πίνων instead of 'vino' and speaks of cares as grievous; but aside from these slight differences Horace translates from Theognis.

C. II, 11, 17:

----- dissipat Euhius

curas edacis.

Eur. Bacch. 375 sqq.:

τὸν Σεμέλας, -----

----- ὅς τ' ἔχει,

ἀποπαῦσαι τε μερίμνας,

Tr. The son of Semele, whose prerogative it is to drive away care.

Alcaeus 41, 3 sq.:

οἶνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος υἱὸς λαθικάσθεα
ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκε.

Tr. The son of Zeus and Semele has given
to mortals wine which banishes care.

Bacchus is called Euhius by Horace and son of
Semele by Euripides and Alcaeus, but the statement of his
power is almost identical.

The power of wine to drive away thoughts of
poverty is referred to in both of the following:

C. I, XVIII, b:

Quis post vina gravem militiam aut
pauperiem crepat?

Theogn. 1129:

εἰ πίομαι, πενίης θυμοφθόρου οὐ
μελεδαίνω.

Tr. If I drink, I care not for life-
destroying poverty.

C. I, 18, 4:

----- neque
mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines

Eur. Bacch. 283:

οὐδ' ἔστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόνων.

Tr. There is no other balm for ills.

Both these passages not only show the power of wine to do away with troubles; but both state that there is no other way of escaping cares.

The numerous possible models for Horace's expressions of Epicurean sentiment show a few that he seems to follow consciously:

C. I, 9, 15-18:

----- nec dulcis amores
 sperne puer neque tu choreas:
 donec virenti canities abest
 morosa,

Antiphanes II, 3-5 (Anth. Gr. II, 188):

----- ὅτ' οὖν χρόνος ὕπιος ἡμῖν,
 πάντα χύσῃν ἔστω, ψαλμός, ἔρως, προπόσεις.
 χειμῶν τούντεῦθεν, γήρως βάρος.

Tr. Now that the time is seasonable, let everything be unrestrained -- the harp, love and the drinking of toasts. Let winter and the burden of old age be far off.

Old age and winter are classed together by Antiphanes as disagreeable features of life which youth should disregard in favor of love, music and wine. It is significant that Horace, in the Ode from which the above

quotation is taken, also contrasts winter and old age to the pleasures of youth as typefied in love, the dance and wine. (

Obvious parallels also occur in the two following descriptions of swiftly-passing youth and old age that comes to take its place:

C. II, 11, 5-9:

----- fugit retro
 levis iuventas et decor, arida
 pellente lascivos amores
 canitie facilemque somnum

Mimnermus 5, 4 sq.:

ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον γίγνεται ὡς περ ὄναρ
 γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίχ' ὑπερικρέματα

Tr. Prized youth is like a flitting dream.
 Grievous, unlovely old age hangs instant over our heads.

Any one of these Greek passages is close enough to Horace to seem his conscious model:

C. I, IX, 9:

permitte divis cetera

Theog. 1048:

ἄσσα δ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται, ταῦτα θεοῖσι μέλει.

Tr. As for the things which will be, they are the care of the gods.

Archil. fr. 15 (Anth. Gr. I, 43):

τοῖς θεοῖς τίθει τὰ πάντα

Tr. Resign all things to the gods.

Aesch. Pers. 228:

πάντα θήσομεν θεοῖσι

Tr. We will leave all to the gods.

A very clear echo in thought, if not in wording, is evident in:

C. IV, 7, 17-18:

quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
tempora di superi

Eur. Alc. 783-784:

κούικ ἔστι θνητῶν ὅστις ἐξεπίσταται
τὴν αὔριον μέλλουσαν εἰ βιώσεται.

Tr. And there is no one of mortals who knows if he shall live until the following day.

Horace evidently got his idea that the gods hide the future in darkness from the following lines of Theognis:

C. III, 29, 29-30:

prudens futuri temporis exitum
caliginosa nocte premit deus.

Theog. 1075-1077:

Πρήγματος ἀπρήκτου χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι τελευτήν

γνῶναι, ὅπως μέλλει τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσαι.
ὄρφνη γὰρ τέταται.

Tr. It is very hard to know the end of an unfinished matter -- how God will bring it to pass; for a murky darkness is spread over it.

Just as common as the realisation of man's inability to read the future is the idea of the sin of presumptuousness, a thought which Horace expresses in a manner that echoes one of the Anthology poets:

C. I, 18, 15:

et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem

Rhianus I, 12-13 (Anth. Gr. I, 230):

ἀλλ' ὑπεροπλίη καὶ ἁμαρτωλῆσι νόοιο.
ἶσα Διὶ βρομέει, κεφαλὴν δ' ὑπὲρ αὐχένος ἴσχει.

Tr. But with insolence and sin of mind, he roars like Zeus and holds his head high.

Horace's conception of the impartiality of Death has been discussed, and the many possible influences in Greek literature quoted;⁶⁴ but the passage in which definite reference is made to rich and poor faring alike as far as death is concerned, seems a conscious echo of

⁶⁴See Ch. I, under C. I, 28, 16

Pindar:

C. I, 4, 13:

pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turris

Pind. Nem. VII, 19 sq.:

ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου πέρας
ἀμα⁶⁵ νέονται.

Tr. Rich and poor pass together to the
bourne of death.

Many times the poets of the Greek Anthology refer to the necessity of the ceremony of burial, even though it meant merely the scattering of a few handfuls of earth over a corpse; and Diodorus Zonas⁶⁶ even speaks of a ship-wrecked body in a way that is very similar to Horace; but Elpenor's

⁶⁵Text of Wieseler and Mommsen in place of Bergk who reads πύρον σάμα

⁶⁶Diod. Zonas IX (Anth. Gr. II, 69):

Ψυχράν σευ κεφαλᾶς ἐπαυμήσομαι αἰγιαλίτιν
θίνα, κατὰ κρυεροῦ χευάμενος νέκυος.

ὥς' ἔχε μὲν ψαμάθε μόριον βραχὺ, προυλὸ δε δάκρυ
ζειν, ἔπει εἰς ὅλην ἔσραμες ἐμτορήην.

Tr. I shall heap upon thy head the cold sand of the sea shore, sprinkling it upon thy icy corpse; so receive a small portion of sand but many tears, stranger, since thou hast sailed on a fatal commercial voyage.

prayer to Odysseus is so very like the entreaty of the ship-wrecked soul to the sailor that it warrants the supposition that Horace was consciously imitating the Greek of the Odyssey when he writes:

C. I, 28, 23-25:

at tu, nauta, vagae ne parce malignus harenae
ossibus et capiti inhumato
particulam dare.

Od. XI, 66, 72-73:

νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὄπιθεν γουναίβομαι, οὐ παρε-
όντων,

μή μ' ἀκλαυτον, ἀθαπτον, ἰὼν ὄπιθεν κατα-
λείπειν,

νοσφισθεῖς, μή τοί τι θεῶν μήνυμα γένωμαι,

Tr. Now by those left behind and not

present here, I implore thee --- do not go away and thoughtless of me, leave me behind unwept and unburied, lest I bring down the wrath of the gods on thee.

2' Figures of speech

Whenever a few words contain a figure of speech that was common in Greek literature, the certainty that similarity means imitation is increased, and very often the similarity borders on translation.

The Greeks very commonly spoke of the heart as made of iron or bronze. Horace was evidently familiar with the figure and used it with the substitution of oak as a type of hardness in place of iron. Horace's lines savour particularly of the first Homeric passage quoted, and the other examples of the frequency with which the Greeks used "bronze" to describe a hard heart, are more likely subconscious models. Indeed it is entirely possible that Horace is merely imitating the general Greek conception rather than the lines of one particular author:

C. I, 3, 9 sq.:

illi robur et aes triplex
circa pectus erat, qui ---

Il. II, 490:

χάλκεον δέ μοι ἤτορ ἐνεύη

Tr. And (if) I had a heart of bronze

within me.

Il. XXII, 357:

ἦ γὰρ σοί γε σιδήρεος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός.

Tr. Truly thy heart is iron in thy breast.

Hes. Theogn. 764 sq.:

τοῦ δὲ σιδηρέη μὲν κραδίη, χάλκεον δὲ οἱ ἤτορ
νηλεὲς ἐν στήθεσσιν.

Tr. His heart is as iron, and his ruthless spirit within him is as bronze.

Pind. fr. 123, 3 sq.:

----- ἐξ ἀδάμαντος
ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν.

Tr. His black heart has been forged of adamant or of iron.

The following passage illustrates a figurative expression, almost identically in the words of its model:

C. I, 4, 13:

pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas.

Callim. Hymn to Apollo, 3:

καὶ δὴ πού τὰ Θύρετρα καλῶ πρὸς Φοῖβος ἀράσσει.

Tr. And it may be that Phoebus with his beautiful foot knocks at the door.

The ancient custom of knocking at doors by striking them with the foot, would furnish a natural explanation of the occurrence of this expression in Horace; and yet the peculiar wording, in addition to the fact that it is a divinity that knocks in both cases, makes the echo seem very strong here.

The "night of death" is another short figurative expression which seems to have a definite model, since it is used in both Latin and Greek in connection with the same sentiment:

C. I, 4, 16:

iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes.

C. I, 28, 15 sq.:

sed omnis una manet nox

et calcanda semel via leti.

Asclepiad. IX (Anth. Gr. Vol. I, p. 146):

-----μετά τοι χρόνον οὐκέτι πουλύν,
σχέτλιε, τὴν μακρὰν νύκτ' ἀναπαυσόμεθα.

Tr. After no long time, good friend, we
shall sleep the long night thru,

Very similar to this is the "endless sleep of
death" -- an expression used by both Horace and Moschus:

C. I, 24, 5 sq.:

Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor

urget?

Moschus, III, 104:

εὐδόμες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον
ύπνον.

Tr. Sound and long we sleep an endless
sleep with no waking.

Theocritus and Pindar as well as Horace speak
of poets as birds of the Muses:

C. I, 6, 2:

Maeonii carminis alite (referring to Varius).

Theocritus 7, 47:

Μαυσᾶν ὄρνιχες, ----- Χίτων ἀηδύ

Tr. birds of the muses (in comparison with Chian nightingale.

Pind. Ol. II

--- κάρακες ὡς, ἀκραντα γαρύετον⁶⁷
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῶν.

Tr. Like crows, vainly chattering to the divine bird of Zeus (Pindar).

It is interesting in this connection to notice Horace's reference to himself as a swan:

C. II, 20, 10 sq.:

---- et album muter in alitem
superne,

C. II, 20, 15 sq.:

(iam) canorus
ales -----.

Both Homer and Horace personify stormy winds by speaking of them at war with one another.

⁶⁷With reference to Simonides and Bacchylides.

C. I, 9, 10 sq.:

stravere aequore fervido
deproeliantis,

Il. 16, 765:

Ὡς δ' Ἐὐρος τε Νότος τ' ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλους

Tr. As Eurus and Notus war with one
another.

In comparing the increasing glory of Marcellus
to the growth of a tree, Horace is using a Pindaric figure:

C. I, 12, 45-46:

crescit occulto velut arbor aevo
fama Marcelli;

Pind. Nem. VIII, 40 sqq.:

αὐξεται δ' ἀρετά, χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις ὡς ὅτε
δένδρεον ἄσσει,⁶⁸

(ἐν) σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀερθεῖς' ἐν δικαίοις τε πρὸς ὕγρον
αἰθέρα.

Tr. The fame of virtue, exalted to the
upper air by wise and just men, grows just as when a tree
shoots up beneath refreshing dews.

⁶⁸ I have here adopted the text of Boeckh instead of
Bergk, who reads: (αἴνω)

So, too, in speaking of the Julian constellation as brighter than all others, we again have a Greek figure. In this case, tho, Sappho seems to have been the model consciously followed, in spite of similar comparisons in Pindar and Ibycus, because the phrase "the moon among the lesser lights" is translated from her:

C. I, 12, 46-48:

----- micat inter omnis
Iulium sidus velut inter ignis
luna minores.

Ibycus III:

Φλεγέθων, ἄπερ διὰ νύκτα μακρὰν σείρια
παμφανόωντα

Tr. Shining out, just as the stars gleam
from afar thru the night.

Pind. I, IV, 23 sq.:

----- λάμπει
Ἄωσφόρος Θητὸς ὡς ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις.

Tr. As the morning star shines forth,
wondrous among the other stars.

Sappho III:

Ἄστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν
ἄψ ἀπυκρύπτουσι φάεννον εἶδος,
ὅππῃ πλῆθουσα μάλιστα λάμπη
γᾶν (ἐπὶ παῖσαν.)

Tr. The stars about the fair moon in turn hide their bright light; whenever at her fullest she shines down on all the earth.

The μὲν in this citation from Sappho indicates a comparison -- Smythe says⁶⁹, to some Lesbian beauty. At any rate, Horace shows that he was impressed by Sappho's picture when he again echoes her words:

Epode XV, 1-2:

Nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
inter minora sidera.

Horace in telling of Paris's flight uses the simile of the deer fleeing from wolves, and clearly follows Homer's comparison of the Trojans to fleeing hinds:

C. I, XV, 29-32:

quem tu, cervos uti vallis in altera
visum parte lupum graminis immemor,
sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
non hoc pollicitus tuae.

Iliad XIII, 101:

Τρῶας ----- οἱ τὸ πάρος περ
φυβακινῆς ἐλάφοισιν ἐσίκεσαν, αἶ τε καθ' ὕλην
θῶων παρδαλίων τε λύκων τ' ἦϊα πέλονται,

⁶⁹ Greek Melic Poets, p. 237

Tr. The Trojans, who were formerly like flying deer that are the prey of jackals, pards, and wolves

That wine in abundance makes the drinker tell everything he knows, be it secret or otherwise, is a generally recognized fact, yet Horace's reference to the "faith that betrays its trust -- more transparent than glass" -- recalls the metaphor used in the following Greek passages:

C. I, 18, 16:

arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro.

Alcaeus 53:

οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι δίοπτρον

Tr. For wine is man's looking-glass.

Alcaeus 57:

οἶνος, ᾧ φίλε παι, καὶ ἀλάθεια.

Tr. Wine, my dear boy, and truth.

Aesch. fr. 288 (D) [393 N]

κάτοπτρον εἰῶους χαλκός ἐστ; οἶνος δὲ νοῦ.

Tr. There is a bronze mirror for the face; wine is the mirror of the mind.

Parian marble was the type of pure and dazzling beauty to the Greek poets, and thus Horace's comparison of

Glycera's loveliness to it finds many possible originals:

C. I, 19, 6:

splendentis Pario marmore purius;

Pind. Nem. IV, 81:

στάλαν --- Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν

Tr. A pillar whiter than Parian marble.

Theocr. VI, 37 sq.:

--- τῶν δὲ τ' ὀδόντων

λευκοτέρα αὐγὰ Παρίας -- λίθοιο.

Tr. The pearly whiteness of my teeth --
whiter than Parian marble.

The comparison of foliage to the hair is made by
Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides as well as Horace:

C. I, 21, 5:

nemorum coma

Od. XXIII, 195:

καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἀπέκοψα κῶμην τανυφύλλου ἐλαίης.

Tr. Then I cut the leafy tresses of the
thick-leaved olive tree.

Soph. Ant. 419 sq.:

--- πᾶσαν αἰκίγων φόβην
ἕλης.

Tr. Spoiling all the leafy tresses of
the woods.

Eur. Alc. 172:

--- μυρσίνης φόβη

Tr. Tresses of the myrtle.

Eur. Bacch. 684:

ἐλάτης--φόβην,

Tr. Tresses of the pine.

In addition to the metaphorical parallel between and 'coma', it is particularly noteworthy that 'coma' is an obvious traduction of the κόμη in the first citation.

It is also interesting to observe the similar figure that Aristophanes uses when he speaks of the leafy summits of mountains as "leafy heads".

Ar. Nub. 279 sq.:

ὑψηλῶν ὄρέων κορυφὰς ἐπὶ

δενδρόκομους.

Tr. To the tree-tressed summits of the lofty peaks.

The simile that introduces and forms the background to Ode I, 23 is obviously borrowed from Anacreon:

G. I, 23, 1-4:

Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe,
quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
matrem non sine vano
aurarum et silvae metu.

Anacr. 51:

Ἄγανῶς οἰᾶ τε νεβρόν νεοθηλέα
γαλαθηνόν, ὅστ' ἐν ὕλης κεροέσεως
ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἐποίηθη.

Tr. Shy as a little new-born fawn, that,
left in the woods by its horned mother trembles with fear.

And again, the conclusion of this poem uses the power of the tiger and lion over the young fawn as a figure to emphasize the above quoted simile; and this time the Latin echoes the Iliad where the Trojans, in flight before the Argives, are similarly compared:

C. I, 23, 9-10:

atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo frangere persequor.

Il. XI, 113-117:

ὡς δὲ λέων ἐλάφοιο ταχείης νήπια τέκνα
ῥηιδύως συνέαξε, λαθῶν κρατεροῦσιν ὀδοῦσιν,

Tr. As a lion easily crushes the young
fawns of a fleet deer, siezing them in his powerful teeth.

The figurative use of "garland of verse", as well as the reference to the construction of a poem as the weaving of a garland, is quite Greek:

C. I, 26, 8 sq.:

necte meo Lamiae coronam,

Pimplei dulcis.

Antip. Sid. 70, 3 sq. (Anth. Gr. II, 25):

ἄς μετα Πειθῶ

ἔπλεκ' αἰείφων Πιερίδων στέφανον.

Tr. (Sappho) with whom Persuasion wove the
evergreen garland of the Pierian goddesses.

Pind. Ol. VI, 86 sq.:

ἀνδράσιν αἰχματάσσι πλέκων

τροκίλον ὕμνον

Tr. As I weave my many-colored hymns for
men mighty with the spear.

Pind. Ol. IX, 48 sq.:

----- ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων⁷⁰

νεωτέρων

Tr. Flowers of songs that are new.

Pind. Pyth. XII, 4 sq.:

--- σὺν εὐμενίᾳ

δέξαι στεφάνωμα τόσ'

Tr. Receive this garland with favor.

⁷⁰ Cf. Pind. Ol. VI, 105

Keller and Holder quote in this connection Eur. Hip. 73 sq. and even put 'hymnum' in brackets after στέφανον . Inasmuch as the context of Euripides clearly shows this to be a crown of flowers and even refers to it in verse 82 sq. as χρυσέας κόμης ἀνάδημα what grounds Keller and Holder have for giving the figurative significance is hard to see.

Horace tells of the youth caught in the whirlpool of love, and in his figure echoes Theocritus's description of Atlanta "leaping into the abyss of love":

C. I, 27, 18-20:

----- a miser,
 quanta laboras in Charybdi,
 digne puer meliore flamma!

Theocr. III, 42:

ὡς ἴδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα.

Tr. When she looked, how frenzied she became and how she leaped into the abyss of love.

The "road of death" or the "road to Hades" is frequently mentioned by the Greek poets:

C. I, 28, 16:

et calcanda semel via leti

Eur. Alc. 263:

ὁδὸν ἃ δειλαιότατα προβαίνω.

Tr. Most wretched am I who advance along
the road (to death).

Antip. Sid. I, 3 (Anth. Gr. II, 5):

εἰς Αἴδην μία πᾶσι καταίβασις.

Tr. One descent to Hades for all.

Plato Phaedo 108 A:

ὁ Αἰσχύλου Τηλέφος --- ἀπλήν ὄμιον φησιν εἰς
Ἄϊδου φέρειν,

Tr. Aeschylus makes Telephus say it is a
simple road that leads to Hades.

Diod. Sard. IX, 2 (Anth. Gr. II, 172):

ὄλοῦν ὄμιον ἔβης Ἀΐδου

Tr. Thou art gone on the woeful path
to Hades.

Horace, apostrophising his lyre, echoes Sappho:

C. I, 32, 3 sq.:

age dic Latinum,

barbite, carmen

Sappho 45:

Ἄγε δὴ χέλυ δῖά μοι
φωνάεσσα γένοιο.

Tr. Come, divine shell, I pray thee speak

The lyre was often spoken of as having a

voice⁷¹; but the use of 'age' with its Greek counterpart ἄγε and 'barbute', the specific name of the Lesbian lute, even in the same case as χέλυ, in addition to the parallel between 'dic' and φωνάεσσα assures this Greek citation as the original of Horace's lines.

The figure of speech that Horace uses when he represents Fortune's foot overturning the pillar of State savors strongly of the passage in Aeschylus which refers to the fear that wealth's foot overturn the prosperous fortune of Darius:

C. I, 35, 12 sqq.:

----- metuunt tyranni,
iniurioso ne pede proruas
stantem columnam,

Aesch. Pers. 162 sqq.:

οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς οὐσ' ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι,
μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κονίσας οὐδας ἀντρέψη πασί
ἄλβον, ἐν Δαρείου ἦρεν.

Tr. Being, my friends, by no means fearless
for myself lest our great wealth speeding o'er the
threshold overturn with its foot the prosperity that Darius

⁷¹Cf. C. III, 4, 1 and Theogn. 761:

Φόρμιξ δ' αὖ φθεγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἢ δὲ καὶ αὐλός.
Tr. Let the sacred melody speak out on lyre and flute

gained.

And again, when Horace speaks of Fortune reforging blunted swords, it is the same personification that Aeschylus uses when he pictures Doom at the forge:

C. I, 35, 38 sq.:

O utinam nova
incude diffingas retunsum (ferrum)

Aesch. Choeph.: 635:

προχαλκεύει δ' Αἶδα φασγανουργός

Tr. Doom at the anvil forging the swords
beforehand.

The simile that is found in the Iliad when Hector flees Achilles is the obvious model for the comparison that Horace uses in the description of Caesar's pursuit of Cleopatra:

C. I, 37, 17 sq.:

accipiter velut
mollis columbas.

Il. XXII, 139 sq.:

ἤύτε κίρκος ἄρεσφιν, ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν,
ρήϊδίως ὀίμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν,

Tr. As the hawk on the mountains, swiftest
of flying things, easily swoops after the trembling dove.

The metaphor "drunk with the favors of fortune" was used by Demosthenes in regard to Philip:

C. I, 37, 11 sq.:

fortunaque dulci

ebria.

Dem. Phil. I, 49:

ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγ-
έθει τῶν πεπραγμένων.

Tr. But I think, O Athenians, by all the gods, that he is drunk with the magnitude of his achievements.

The metaphorical use of nails and molten lead is old and has other possible models aside from the one quoted in Ch. II, 3, 2'.

C. I, 35, 19 sq.:

----- nec severus

uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.

Pind. P. IV, 71:

τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατεροῖς ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἄλλοις;

Tr. What danger bound them with strong bolts of adamant?

Aesch. Supp. 944 sq.:

--- τῶν δ' ἐφήλωται τορῶς

γόμενος διαμπαξ, ὡς μένειν ἀραρότως.

Tr. Firmly thru and thru (these resolves)
the bolt was driven so as to remain fixed.

3' References to Greek thought or story

There are many allusions to Greek thought and Greek stories of men and events that are clearly conscious, although the wording of the Latin is quite unlike its model.

When Horace speaks of the second Salamis promised by Apollo, he undoubtedly refers to Euripides' account of the naming of Cyprus by Apollo:

C. I, 7, 28 sq.:

certus enim promisit Apollo
ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.

Eur. Hel. 148-150:

εἰς γῆν ἐναλίαν Ἠύπρον οὐ μ' ἐθέσπισεν
οἰκεῖν Ἀπόλλων, ὄνομα νησιωτικὸν
Σαλαμίνα θέμενον τῆς ἐκεῖ χάριν πάτρας.

Tr. To the sea-girt land of Cyprus, where
Apollo hath declared that I should dwell, giving it the
island-name of Salamis, in honor of my native land over
there.

Horace's description of Achilles among the Lycians is an allusion to Pindar who also mentions Troy, and the war-like character of the Lycians:

C. I, 8, 13-16:

-----, ut marinae
 filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Troiae
 funera, ne virilis
 cultus in caedem et Lycias proriperet catervas?

Pind. Nem. III, 59-61:

ὄφρα θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμθεῖς
 ὑπὸ Τρωΐαν δερύκτυπον ἀλαλάν Λυκίων τε
 προσμένα καὶ φρυγῶν
 Δαρδάνων τε,

Tr. Until, borne along by the blasts of the sea-winds to Troy, he should withstand the spear-clashing war-cry of the Lycians, Phrygians and Dardanians.

Horace's story of how Hermes leads Priam to recover the body of Hector is a definite reference to Homer:

C. I, 10, 13-16:

quin et Atridas duce te superbos
 Ilio dives Priamus relicto
 Thessalosque ignis et iniqua Troiae
 castra fefellit.

II. XXIV, 334-339:

“Ἑρμεία, σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε φίλτατόν ἐστιν
 ἀνδρὶ ἑταιρίσσαι, ---
 βάσκ' ἕθι, καὶ Πρίαμον κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
 ὡς ἄγαγ', ὡς μήτ' ἄρτις ἴσῃ μήτ' ἄρ τε νοήση
 τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν, πρὶν Πηλεΐωνάδ' ἐκέσθαι.”
 Ὡς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος Ἀργεΐφόντης.

Tr. (Zeus to Hermes): "Hermes, since it is especially for thee to be a companion to man, -- go forth and so guide Priam to the hollow ships of the Achaeans, that no one may see him, and that no one of the others, the Danaans, may be aware of him until he arrives in the presence of the son of Peleus." Thus he spoke, nor was the guide, the Argos-slayer, disobedient.

II. XXIV, 563:

καὶ δὲ σε γινώσκω, Πρίαμε, φρεσίν, οὐδέ με λήθεις,
 ὅτι θεῶν τίς σ' ἤγε εὐὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

Tr. I realise, O Priam, nor is my mind unaware that it was some one of the gods that guided thee to the swift ships of the Achaeans.

The tale of the invention of the lyre by Hermes is likewise Homeric:

C. I, 10, 6:⁷²

curvae lyrae parentem

Hom. Hymn to Her. IV, 25:

Ἑρμῆς τοῦ πρώτιστα χέλυν τεκτῆνατ' αἰοῦσόν

Tr. For it was Hermes that first made the tortoise a singer.

The power of Orpheus to make music that would affect all nature -- animate and inanimate -- was often mentioned by the Greeks, with special reference usually to the fish, wild animals and trees. It is to this myth that

Horace refers:

C. I, 12, 7 sq.:

unde vocalem temere insecutae

Orphea silvae

Simon. fr. 40:

-- τοῦ καὶ ἀπειρέσιοι
πρωτῶντ' ὄρνιθες ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς, ἀνὰ δ' ἰχθύες ὄρθοι
κυανέου ἕξ ὕδατος ἄλλοντο καλᾶ σὺν αἰοῦσᾶ

Tr. Countless the birds fly over his head; the fish leap up from the sea blue water, keeping time to the measure of his beautiful song.

⁷²Cf. C. I, 21, 12: fraternaque (Apollinis) lyra.

App. Rhod. I, 568 sqq.:

τοῖσι δὲ φορμίζων εὐθήμονι μέλπεν ἀοιδῆ
 Οἰάγρουο παῖς νησσοῶν εὐπατέρειαν
 Ἄρτεμιν-----

-----τοῦ δὲ βαθείης

ἰχθύες αἰσποντες ὑπερθ' ἀλός, ἄμμυγα παύρους
 ἄπλετοι, ὑγρά κέλευθα διασκαίροντες ἔποντο.

Tr. The child of Oeagrus sang for them to the accompaniment of the lyre, a well arranged song about Artemis, protector of ships, daughter of a noble father, -- and the fish leaping up over the deep sea, promiscuously large with small, followed sporting along the watery ways.

Horace further emphasizes Orpheus's influence over wild beasts and inanimate nature in:

C. I, 24, 13:

quodsi Threicio blandius Orpheo
 auditam moderere arboribus fidem,

Ars. P. 391-394:

silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
 caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
 dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.

Ode I, 15 is full of allusions to Homer; in fact, all of the subject matter is based on the Iliad. For

example, when Nereus bemoans the coming toil for men and steeds, his words recall the following passage from the Iliad:

C. I, 15, 9 sq.:

heu, heu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris
sudor!

Il. II, 388-390:

ἰδρώσει μὲν τευ τελαμῶν ἀμφὶ στήθεσφι
ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης, περὶ δ' ἔγχει χεῖρα καμῖται
ἰδρώσει δέ τευ ἵππος εὖξοον ἄρμα τιταίνων.

Tr. On many a breast, the strap of the protecting shield shall be wet with perspiration, many a hand will grow weak as it grasps the spear, and many a horse shall sweat as he draws the polished chariot.

And again, the description of the effeminate Paris, loved by Venus, is a clear reference to the description in the Iliad which even mentions the lyre, the beautiful hair, and gifts of Aphrodite -- all in common with the Latin:

C. I, 15, 13-15:

nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox
pectes caesariem grataque feminis
inbelli cithara carmina divides;

Il. III, 54 sq.:

οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμη κίθαρὶς τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης,

ἢ τε κώμη τό τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν κονίησι μυγαίης.

Tr. Neither the lyre nor the gifts of Aphrodite will be of help to thee, nor yet thy locks nor beauty, when thou dost grovel in the dust.

Then when Horace refers to the retreat of Paris to his 'thalamo' he not only uses a Greek word, but evidently alludes to Homer's story:

C. I, 15, 16-18:

nequiquam thalamo gravis

hastas et calami spicula Cnossii

vitabis ---

Il. III, 380-382:

--- τὸν δ' ἐξήραξ' Ἀφροδίτη
 ῥεῖα μάλ' ὡς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρη
 πολλῇ,

καὶ δ' εἰς' ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ κηῶεντι.

Tr. But easily, as a goddess, Aphrodite caught him (Paris) up, and hid him in a thick cloud, and set him in his fragrant perfumed chamber.

Horace's account of Paris's fall is given the same turn as that of the Iliad by the mention of the locks

and beauty defiled with dust:

C. I, 15, 20:

crines pulvere collines

Il. III, 55:

ἢ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν κονίησι μυγείης.

Tr. (Neither the lyre nor gifts of
Aphrodite will avail thee) nor thy locks, nor beauty,
when once thou dost grovel in the dust.

Iliad XVI, 795 sq.:

---μιάνθησαν δὲ ἔθειραι⁷³
αἵματι καὶ κονίησι.

Tr. The crests of his helmet were defiled
with blood and dust.

The one Latin word 'pollicitus' recalls the two
Homeric lines that give the boast of Paris:

C. I, XV, 32:

non hoc pollicitus tuae

Iliad III, 430-431:

ἦ μὲν δὴ πρὶν γ' εὖχε' ἀρηιφίλου Μενελάου
σῆ τεβίη καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ἔγχει φέρτερος εἶναι.

Tr. Indeed thou didst formerly boast that,
in the might of hand and spear, thou wast superior to

⁷³Refers to the helmet of Patroclus

Menelaus, loved of Ares.

And finally, the prophecy of the burning of Troy by the Greeks finds its natural source in the Iliad:

C. I, XV, 35-36:

post certas hiemes uret Achaicus
ignis Pergameas domos.

Iliad XXI, 375:

μηδ' ὅπ' ὅτ' ἂν Τροίη μαλερῶ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται
καιομένη, καίωσι δ' Ἀρήϊοι υἱες Ἀχαιῶν.

Tr. Not even when all Troy is burning,
blazing in a devouring fire, and the warlike sons of the
Achaians give it to the flames.

As an example of the evils of immoderate drinking,
Horace gives the contest of the Centaurs and the Lapithae --
a struggle often mentioned by Greek poets:

C. I, 18, 8:

Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa

Od. XXI, 295 sqq.:

οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγαικλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα,
ἄασ' - - - -
ἐς Λαπίθας ἐλθόνθ' -

Tr. Wine (crazed) the Centaur, famed
Eurytion, as he was going to the land of the Lapithae.

Alcaeus (Messenia) XV (Anth. Gr. I, 241):

οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, Ἐπίκρατες, οὐχὶ
σὲ μόνον
ᾠλεσεν.

Tr. Oh, Epicrates, wine has not destroyed
the Centaur and thee alone.

The allusion to Tantalus admitted to the company
of the gods is, of course, a reference to the well-known
Greek myth:

C. I, 28, 7:

----- Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum.

Diod. Sic. IV, 74:

Διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Διὸς εὐγέν-
ιαν, ὡς φασι, φίλος ἐγένετο τῶν θεῶν
ἐπὶ πλείον.

Tr. Because of his high birth from father
Zeus, as the story goes, he was admitted to full friend-
ship with the gods.

Minos is mentioned as a close friend of Zeus in the
Odyssey:

C. I, 28, 9:

et Iovis arcanis Minos admissus, ---

Od. XIX, 178 sq.:

----- Μίνως
 --- Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστῆς,

Tr. Minos, familiar friend of great Zeus.

That the lyre was welcome at the feasts⁷⁴ of
 great Zeus, we learn in the Iliad:

C. I, 32, 13 sq.:

O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
 grata testudo Iovis.

Iliad I, 602-604:

δαίνυτ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐσέυετο δαυτὸς εἴσης,
 οὐ μὲν φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων
 Μουσάων θ', αἱ ἀείδον ἀμειβόμεναι ὅτι καλῆ

Tr. They feasted, and their hearts found
 nothing lacking in the bounteous banquet, nor in the music
 of the beautiful lyre, which Apollo held, nor of the muses
 who alternately sang with beautiful voices.

Horace's description of the effects of Zeus
 driving his chariot is, in the main, following Homer's
 account, though as Keller and Holder say: "Horatius hic

⁷⁴Cf. too, Hom. Hymn to Merc. 31: "δαυτὸς ἑταίρη"
 Tr. companion of the feast

Homerum Il. II, 781-783 imitatus est, sed ita ut pro Typhoeo Taenarum poneret eiusque εὐνάς ad Homeri descriptionem Il. XX, 65 adumbraret; praeterea ignotus Ἄριμους in notiores τέρμονας Ἀτλαντικούς Euripidis mutavit":

C. I, 34, 9-12:

quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina
quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari
sedes Atlanteusque finis
concutitur.

Il. II, 781-783:

γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὡς περ κικεραύνῳ
χωμένῳ ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωεῖ γαῖαν ἰμάσση
εἰν Ἄριμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέας ἔμμεναι εὐνάς.

Tr. But the earth groaned beneath them,
as when Zeus, that hurls the thunder, in his wrath smites
with lightning because of Typhoeus, the land in the
country of the Arimi, where they say is the couch of
Typhoeus.

Il. XX, 64 sq.:

οἰκία-----
σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.

Tr. His (Aidoneus, lord of underworld)
dwelling place, terrible, dank and hated by gods.

Eur. Hip. 3 and 1053:

τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν

Tr. The bounds of Atlas.

2. Epithets

In the case of epithets and attributes of the gods and Greek heroes, Horace would naturally imitate the Greek, for the Odes treat the gods purely as so much artistic background rather than as Roman divinities; and there would be no object in not taking over the Greek qualifications to heighten the effect. Thus, in the passages where epithets are used, the imitation of the Greek is clearly conscious, although there may or may not be one sole model in Horace's mind.

1' Short epithets with one definite model

C. I, 2, 2 sq.:

misit pater et rubente

dextera sacras iaculatus arces.

Pind. Ol. IX, 6:

Δία τε Φοινικοστερόπαν ----

Tr. Zeus hurling red lightning

Here the 'rubente' of the Latin strongly savors of the 'Φοινικο' of the Greek epithet -- a combination of

words which gives such an unusual picture as to make the imitation assured. Milton gives an interesting illustration of how this conception of the supreme being with a red right hand, has come thru Greek and Latin to English literature:

Milton, P. L. II, 174:

His red right hand -----

The epithet white applied to the South wind, Notus, clearly goes back to the ἀργεστᾶο Νότου of the Iliad -- especially since the phrase 'putting the clouds to rout' is common to both the Greek and Latin passages:

C. I, 7, 15-17:

Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
saepe Notus neque parturit imbris
perpetuos,

Il. XI, 305 sq.:

--- ὡς ὅποτε νέφεα Ζέφυρος στυφελίξῃ
ἀργεστᾶο Νότου.

Tr. Just as when the West wind puts to rout the clouds of the white Notus.

Ajax is described as swift nine times in the Iliad, but the following passage is particularly close to

Horace:

C. I, 15, 18 sq.:

----- celerem sequi

Aiacem.

Iliad XIV, 520-523:

πλείστους δ' Αἴας εἶλεν, Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς υἱός
οὐ γὰρ οἷ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπισπένεσθαι πᾶσιν ἦεν
ἀνδρῶν τρεσσάντων, ὅτε τε Ζεὺς ἐν φόβον ὄρση.

Tr. Ajax, the fleet son of Oileus slew the most; for there was no one like him to pursue with fleetness of foot men that fly whenever Zeus sends panic on them.

In the description of Diomedes, there is a union of two Homeric passages. In the first one the son of Capeneus is speaking to Atreides about the sons of the Seven against Thebes and his words are very close to Horace's "Tydides melior patre", while the second Greek citation is parallel to the "furit -- atrox" of the Latin.

C. I, 15, 27-28:

---- ecce furit te reperire atrox

Tydides melior patre,

Iliad IV, 405:

ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεσθ' εἶναι.

Tr. We declare that we are better than

our fathers.

Il. VI, 100 sq.:

----- ἀλλ' ὅδε λίην
μαίνεται,

Tr. He⁷⁵ rages beyond measure

The Pylian Nestor is so called also in the
Iliad:

C. I, 15, 22:

non Pylium Nestora respicis?

Il. II, 54:

Νεστορέη παρὰ νηὶ Πυλοιογενέος βασιλῆος.

Tr. Beside the ship of King Nestor of
Pylos.

"Zeus rushing down in fury" recalls the epithet
that Aeschylus uses.

C. I, 16, 12:

Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu.

Aesch. Prom. 358 sq.:

Ζεὺς καταβάτης

Tr. Zeus rushing down

⁷⁵Son of Tydeus (Diomedes)

Horace pictures Venus deserting Cyprus and rushing in all her power upon him, and in so doing he combines two Greek passages; for Euripides speaks of Aphrodite swooping in her might, and Alcman refers to her leaving lovely Cyprus:

C. I, 19, 9 sq.:

in me tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit,

Eur. Hip. 443:

Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητός, ἦν πολλὴ ῥυή.

Tr. For the Cyprian queen is unbearable if she rushes down in her might.

Alcm. 21:

Κύπρον ἡμερτὰν λιποῖσα καὶ Πάφον περιφρύταν.

Tr. Leaving lovely Cyprus and sea-girt Paphos.

Erymanthus is mentioned by Homer as a favorite haunt of Artemis:

C. I, 21, 7 sq.:

(laetam) nigris aut Erymanthi
silvis

Od. VI, 102 sq.:

οἴη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὐρέος ἰοχέαιρα,
ἢ κατὰ Τηϋγετον ----- ἢ Ἐρύμανθον,

Tr. Like the huntress Artemis, when she goes down a mountain, either adown the slopes of Tay^getus or Erymanthus.

Again⁷⁶ Horace refers to Venus's favorite haunts, this time mentioning (besides Cnidus) both Cyprus and Paphos as Alcman does:

C. I, 30, 1 sq.:

O Venus regina Cnidi Paphique
sperne dilectam Cypron

Alcman 21:

Κύπρον ἠμερτὰν λιποῦσα καὶ Πάφον περιγύταν.

Tr. Leaving lovely Cyprus and sea-girt
Paphos.

Though Zeus is often mentioned driving his chariot, there is a line from Plato that must have definitely served as Horace's model in:

C. I, 34, 8:

egit equos volucremque currum

Plato Phaedr. 246 E:

⁷⁶Cf. C. I, 19, 9 sq. as quoted just above

Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα.

Tr. Zeus driving his winged chariot.

Even when Horace attempts to change the traditional picture, the very wording betrays his recollection of the Greek:

C. I, 2, 37:

heu nimis longo satiate ludo (said of Mars)

Il. V, 388:

Ἄρης ἄατος πολέμοιο.

Tr. Mars insatiate of war.

'Satiare' is of course the direct opposite of but it is significant that the same root is in the two adjectives.

2' Short epithets with no definite model.

C. I, 2, 33:

sive tu mavis Erycina ridens,

Homer:⁷⁷

φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη.

Tr. Laughter loving Aphrodite

⁷⁷Il. III, 424; IV, 10; V, 375; XIV, 211; XX, 40.
Hymn to Aph. V, 17, 49, 56, 65, 155.
Od. VIII, 362.

Hom. Hymn to Aph. X, 3 sq.:

--- ἔφ' ἰμερτῶ δὲ προσώπῳ
αἰεὶ μεθιάει---

Tr. Smiles are ever on her lovely face.

This is an example of Horace's use of a generally accepted Greek idea instead of one definite passage. With the exception of a doubtful passage from Hesiod⁷⁸, this epithet is, however, decidedly Homeric, as is clear from the fact that he uses it five times in the Iliad⁷⁷, five times in his long hymn to Aphrodite⁷⁷, and once in the Odyssey⁷⁷.

C. I, 3, 1:

Sic te diva potens Cypri

Pind. fr. 122, 14:

ὦ Κύπρου δέσποινα

Tr. Oh queen of Cypris.

This Pindaric passage may have been the definite model here, since the case and wording are both similar. It is, however, more likely that the general Greek conception was the influence; for Homer uses some form of

⁷⁸Hes. Theogn. 200: ἠδὲ φιλομηθεῖα (perhaps a perversion of φιλομειδῆς)

Κύπρις instead of Ἀφροδίτη many times in the Iliad⁷⁹, and Hesiod does the same thing⁸⁰, while Homer's Hymn to Aphrodite has the following⁸¹:

Ἀφροδίτης Κύπριδος

Tr. Of (golden) Aphrodite of Cypris.

C. I, 4, 8:

----, dum gravis Cyclopum

Volcanus ardens visit officinas.

Il. XVIII, 468-9:

Ὡς εἰπὼν τὴν μὲν λίπεν αὐτοῦ, βῆ δ' ἐπὶ φύσας.
τὰς δ' ἔς πῦρ ἔτρεψε κέλευσέ τε ἐργάζεσθαι.

Tr. Thus saying, he left her there and went to his bellows and turned them on fire and commanded them to work.

App. Rhod. III, 41:

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔς χαλκεῶνα καὶ ἀκμονας ἦρε
βεβήκει,

Tr. But he had gone early to his forge and anvils.

Call. fr. 129:

⁷⁹Il. V, 330, 422, 458, 760, 883

⁸⁰Hes. Theog. 199

⁸¹Hom. H. to Aph. V, 1 sq.

Ἡφαίστοιο καμίνους.

Tr. At the furnace of Hephaistos.

C. I, 6, 13:

tunica tectum adamantina (of Mars)

Il. V, 704:

χάλκεος Ἄρης

Tr. Brazen Ares.

Soph. Ajax, 179:

χαλκοθύραξ --- Ἐνυάλιος

Tr. the mail-clad God of War.

Bacchus as the care-dispeller is a well known figure in Greek literature. When Horace definitely refers to him as such, he may have either of the following citations in mind; but it is more likely that he thought simply of the traditional God of Wine:

C. II, 11, 17 sq.:

----- dissipat Euhius

curas edacis.

Eur. Bacch. 375 sqq.:

τὸν Σεμέλας, ----

---- ὅς τ' ἄσ' ἔχει,

ἀποπαῦσαι τε μέλινας,

Tr. The son of Semele, whose prerogative it is to drive away care.

Alcaeus 41, 3 sq.:

οἶνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος υἱὸς λαθικάσθεα
ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκε.

Tr. The son of Zeus and Semele has given to mortals wine which banishes care.

Almost all of the epithets that Horace applies to Mercury in Ode I, 10 are those commonly used by Greek poets:

C. I, 10, 1:

Mercuri, ----- nepos Atlantis,

Sim. 18, 1-2:

----- Ἑρμᾶς -----,

Μαϊάδος οὐρέλας ἑλικηδλεφάρου παῖς ἔτικτε δ' Ἄτλας

Tr. Hermes, child of the quick glancing mountain nymph Maia, daughter of Atlas.

Hes. Theog. 938:

Ζηνὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀτλαντὶς Μαίῃ τέκε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν,

Tr. Maia, daughter of Atlas, bore to Zeus glorious Hermes.

Od. XIV, 435:

Ἑρμῆ Μαιάδος υἱεῦ,

Tr. To Hermes, son of Maia.

Homer, Hymn to Her., 1:

Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει, Μοῦσα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν,

Tr. Muse, sing of Hermes, son of Zeus
and Maia.

C. I, 10, 2-4:

qui feros cultus hominum recentum

---- formasti catus --- decorae

more palaestrae.

Sim. 18:

Ἑρμᾶς ἐναγώνιος.

Tr. Hermes who presides over the games.

Pind. Ol. VI, 79:

---Ἑρμᾶν---, ὅς ἀγῶνας ἔχει μοῦρᾶν τ' ἀέθλων,

Tr. Hermes who has charge of the games

and allots the prizes.

Pind. Pyth. II, 10:

ὅτ' ἐναγώνιος Ἑρμᾶς

Tr. Hermes who presides over the games.

Aesch. fr. 387:

Ἐναγώνιε Μαιίας καὶ Διὸς Ἑρμᾶ.

Tr. Hermes, the son of Zeus and Maia who presides over the games.

Ar. Pl. 1161:

Ἑρ.: Ἐναγώνιος τοίνυν ἔσομαι

Tr. Hermes: "I shall be god of the games."

C. I, 10, 5-6:

---- magni Iovis et deorum
nuntium,

Hes. Theog. 939:

κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων

Tr. Messenger of the gods.

Hom. Hymn to Her. IV, 3 and XVIII, 3:

Ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων

Tr. Messenger of the gods.

Hom. Hymn II to Dem. 407-408:

εὖτέ μοι Ἑρμῆς ἦλθ' ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὤκτις
παρ πατέρος Κρονίδας καὶ ἄλλων Οὐρανιῶνων,

Tr. When Hermes, the ready helper, came --
he who is the swift messenger of father Zeus and the other
heavenly beings.

Hom. Hymn XIX to Pan, 29:

--- ἀπάσι θεοῖς θεὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι,

Tr. He is the swift messenger for all
the gods.

Hom. Hymn to Hestia XXIX, 9:

ἄγγελε τῶν μακάρων

Tr. Messenger of the blessed gods.

Od. V, 29:

Ἑρμεία· σὺ γὰρ αὐτε τὰ πάντα περ ἄγγελος ἔσσι.

Tr. (Zeus to Hermes): "O Hermes, for thou
art my messenger in all things,"

The same Ode gives the usual 'great Zeus':

C. I, 10, 5:

magni Iovis

Homeric:⁸²

μέγας Ζεὺς

Tr. Great Zeus.

Hes. Works and Days, 4:

Διὸς μεγάλου.

Tr. Of great Zeus.

Zeus as the ruler of the affairs of men and gods
recalls the Homeric "father of men and gods":

C. I, 12, 14:

⁸²Used in this case form 26 times in the Iliad; 13 times in
the Odyssey; 6 times in the Hymns.

----- parentis
 --- qui res hominum ac decorum

 temperat.

Homeric:⁸³

πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε

Tr. Father of men and gods.

Four times Horace speaks of Diana in her well known sphere as goddess of the chase:

C. I, 12, 22 sq.:

---- et saevis inimica virgo
 beluis,

C. III, 4, 71-72:

--- Orion Dianae
 virginea domitus sagitta

C. IV, 6, 33 sq.:

Deliae tutela deae, fugaces
 lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,

C. S. 1:

Phoebe silvarumque potens Diana,

Anacreon 1, 1-3:

⁸³Used 12 times in Iliad; 3 times in Od.; once in Hymns.

Τουνοῦμαί σ', ἐλαφρηβόλε,
ξανθὴ παῖ Διός, ἀγρίων
δέσποιν' Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν.

Tr. I beg of thee, slayer of deer, golden-haired child of Zeus, Artemis, queen over wild beasts.

Od. VI, 102:

οἴη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὐρέος ἰοχέαυρα

Tr. As Artemis, the huntress, goes down the mountain.

Callim. H. to Diana. 16 sq.:

Art. to Zeus: --- ὅτιπρότε μηκέτι λύγκας
μηδ' ἐλάφους βάλλοιμι, ---

Tr. When I am no longer shooting lynxes and stags.

Hom. H. to Diana XXVII, 9-10:

--- ἢ δ' ἀλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχουσα
πάντη ἐπιστρέφεται θηρῶν ὀλέκουσα γενέθλην.

Tr. She with a brave heart turns on every side destroying the race of wild beasts.

There is a particularly close parallel between C. IV, 6, 33 and the Callimachus citation, since both mention particularly the lynxes and deer -- it is therefore

quite probable that this Greek hymn was the definite model for Horace's lines in this instance; although the remaining quotations are simply expressions of the traditional epithets of Diana.

Homer and Pindar, as well as Horace, apply to Apollo the commonly used epithet 'unshorn':

C. I, 21, 2:

intonsum ----- Cynthium

Homer (Il. XX, 39; Hymn to Ap. III, 134):

Φοῖβος ἀκερσικόμεης

Tr. Phoebus of the unshorn locks

Pindar (Isth. I, 8, Pyth. III, 14):

ἀκειρεκόμα ----- Φοῖβῳ

Tr. To Phoebus of the unshorn locks.

'Supremo Jovi'⁸⁴ of the Latin has its counterpart in the Greek cited below:

Pind. Nem. I, 60: (Cf. Nem. XI, 2):

Διὸς ὑψίστου

Tr. Of highest Zeus

Aesch. Eum. 28:

ὑψιστον Δία

⁸⁴C. I, 21, 3 sq.

Tr. Highest Zeus

Soph. Ph. 1289:

Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου σέβας

Tr. Highest majesty of Zeus.

Apollo as the archer is traditional with all poets. Pindar⁸⁵ and Homer⁸⁶ both represent him as τοξοφόρος ; Homer refers to him as ἀργυροτόξος five times in the Iliad, twice in the Odyssey and eight times in the hymns, while he uses the epithet κλυτότοξος once in the Odyssey and twice in the Iliad; ἐκίβαλος is particularly common in the Iliad where it is used fifteen times, as compared to once in the Odyssey and five times in the Hymns. Horace's wording in the following lines seems to reflect one Homeric passage particularly:

C. I, 21, 10 sqq.:

-----Delon Apollinis
insignemque pharetra
----- umerum -----.

Iliad I, 45:

τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην.

Tr. (Apollo) bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver.

⁸⁵

Ol. VI, 59

⁸⁶Hymn Ap. III, 126

After Homer, Apollo was invested with the office of Paeon, the physician of the gods, and he is invoked as Παιάν, the healer, by the three tragic poets particularly.⁸⁷

Other references to his ability to ward off plague and famine are included in the two Greek epithets quoted below:

C. I, 21, 13 sq.:

----- hic miseram famem
 pestemque a populo -----
 ----- aget -----.

Ar. Av. 584:

Ἀπόλλων ἰατρός

Tr. Apollo, the physician.

Aesch. Eum. 62:

(Λοξία) ἰατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ

Tr. (To Loxias) for he is a healer.

The lyre as a particular possession of Apollo's is a commonplace in Greek literature and Horace has three references to it:

C. I, 32, 13 sq.:

O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
 grata testudo Iovis,

87

See Aesch.Ag.146; Eur.Alc.220; Soph.Tr.221, O.T.154
 Cf. Ar. Ach. 1212.

C. III, 4, 4:

seu fidibus citharaque Phoebi.

C. IV, 15, 1 sq.:

Phoebus --- me -

--- increpuit lyra,

Pind. Pyth. I, 1 sq.:

Χρυσέα Φόρμιξ, Ἀπόλλωνις καὶ ἰσπλοκάμων
σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον.

Tr. Golden lyre, joint possession of
Apollo and the dark-haired muses.

Il. I, 603:⁸⁸

---- Φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων,

Tr. The beautiful lyre which Apollo held.

Pindar is the chief poet that refers to the lyre
and its songs as recompense or balm for troubles, and he
is probably the model that Horace follows in:

C. I, 32, 14 sq.:

--- testudo Iovis, o laborum

dulce lenimen,

⁸⁸Cf. Il. I, 472; Hymn to Ap. 131, 336.

Pind. Nem. IV, 1 sq., 4-5:

Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκρυμένων
 ἰατρός. -----
 οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει
 γυῖα, τόσον εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος.

Tr. Joy is the best physician for toils
 that have been experienced ---; nor does warm water soothe
 the body as much as praise wedded to the lyre.

Pind. Isth. VIII, 1:

---λύτρον εὐδοξον---καμάτων

Tr. (The song of triumph), glorious
 recompense of toils.

The characters and locations of mythology have
 epithets as well as the gods, and Horace makes free use of
 them.

C. I, 6, 7:

Duplicis Ulixei

Homer:⁸⁹

πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.

Tr. Crafty Odysseus.

⁸⁹

Used 14 times in the Iliad and 66 in the Odyssey.

C. I, 6, 8:

nec saevam Pelopis domum

Soph. El.:

πολυφθορόν τε δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε.

Tr. The tragic house of Pelops.

C. I, 6, 16:

Superis parem (Said of Diomedes)

Il. V, 438:

Δαίμονι ἴσος (Said of Diomedes)

Tr. Equal to a god.

Il. V, 884:

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτῷ μοι ἐπέσσυτο
δαίμονι ἴσος.

(Ares speaking of Diomedes)

Tr. And then he rushed upon me, even me,
like a god.

Castor is famous in all literature as a horse-tamer and Pollux is equally well-known as a boxer. Thus it is with no definite model that Horace says:

C. I, 12, 25-27:

--- puerosque Ladae,

hunc equis, illum superare pugnis

nobilem;

Alkman 9:

Κάστωρ τε πύλων ὠκέων ὄματῆρες, ἵππόται σοφοί,
καὶ Πωλυδεύκης κυδρός.

Tr. Castor and noble Pollux, skilled
horsemen and masters of swift steeds.

Od. XI, 300:

Κάστορά θ' ἵππόταμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα,

Tr. Castor, the tamer of horses, and
Pollux, good as a boxer.

Their equally familiar epithet "protector of
seamen" is enlarged upon in the next few lines:

C. I, 12, 27-32:

-- quorum simul alba nautis
stella refulsit,

defluit saxis agitatus umor,
concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes
et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto
unda recumbit.

Terpander, 4:

ὦ Ζηνὸς καὶ Λήδας κάλλιστοι σωτῆρες.

Tr. Oh best of saviors, sons of Zeus
and Leda.

Theocr. XXII Dioscuri, 17-20:

ἀλλ' ἔμπης ὑμεῖς γε καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ ἔλικετε νῆας
 αὐτοῖσιν ναύτησιν ὀϊομένοις θανέεσθαι.
 αἶψα δ' ἀπολήγοντ' ἄνεμοι, λιπαρὴ δὲ γαλήνη
 ἄμ πέλαγος· νεφέλαι δὲ οὐδέσραμον ἄλλυδις ἄλλαι

Tr. And yet ye rescue from the deep,
 ships with the sailors themselves though they expect to
 perish. Immediately the winds abate, a shining calm is
 over the sea and the clouds disperse this way and that.

The last Greek quotation was, in all probability,
 responsible for the wording that Horace used; for the two
 descriptions of the stilling of the storm at the
 appearance of the Dioscuri are almost identical, with
 the strikingly parallel expressions: 'The winds abate,'
 'the clouds disperse', 'the waves become calm'.

Euripides is the one Greek author that most
 frequently refers to Paris as the shepherd, though Bion
 also uses the epithet:

C. I, 15, 1 sq.:

Pastor cum traheret ---

---- Helenem

Bion. II, 10:

ὁ βωκόλος

Tr. The shepherd.

Eur. (Iph. at Aul. 180, 574):

Πάρις, ὁ βωικόλος.

Tr. Paris, the shepherd.

Euripides refers to his flocks four times and five times mentions Ida as his home.

It is also Euripides that used the adjective that Horace had in mind when he said "perfidus hospitam":

C. I, 15, 1 sq.:

Pastor cum traheret ---

--- Helenem perfidus -- hospitam

Eur. Tr. 866:

ξεναπάτης

Tr. Treacherous to his host.

Thracian Boreas was proverbial for his stormy nature and is therefore used by Horace after the Greek fashion:

C. I, 25, 11-12:

Thracio bacchante magis sub interlunia

vento,

Hes. Erg. 553:

Θρηκίου βορέω

Tr. Of Thracian Boreas

Ibycus fr. I, 8:

Θρηίκιος βορέας

Tr. Thracian Boreas

Black, as a 'epitheton ornans' to death, is found in the Iliad and in Horace:

C. I, 28, 13:

morti ----- atrae

Il. II, 834:⁹⁰

μέλανος θανάτου

Tr. Of black death

The Cretan Sea was also noted for its storms and when Horace speaks of banishing cares and fear to the wild winds to carry over the Cretan Sea, he evidently had in mind some such passage as the one from Sophocles quoted below:

C. I, 26, 2 sq.:

tradam protervis in mare Creticum
portare ventis,

Soph. Tr. 128 sq.:

--- πολύπονον ὡςπερ πέλαγος
Κρήσιον.

Tr. Stormy as the Cretan Sea.

⁹⁰Cf. Il. II, 859.

Horace's "sweet Muse" recalls the adjectives honey-toned and honey-voiced that Greek writers applied to poetry and the Muses:

C. I, 26, 9:

Piplea dulcis

Pind. Ol. VI, 21:

μέλιθρογοι --- Μοῦσαι

Tr. Honey-voiced Muses

Pind. Isth. II, 32:

μελικόμπων αἰδοῦν

Tr. Of sweet-sounding songs

Pind. Nem. XI, 18:

μελιγδούποισι αἰδοῦσιν

Tr. With sweet-toned songs

C. I, 7, 9:

aptum --- equis Argos

Il. II, 287:

Ἄργεος ἵπποβότου

Tr. Of horse-pasturing Argos.

Eur. Suppl. 365; Troad. 1087:

ἵππόβοταν Ἄργος

Tr. Horse-pasturing Argos.

Eur. I. T. 700:

ἵππιον τ' Ἄργος

Tr. Argos, land of horses,

Pind. Nem. X, 41:

ἵπποτρόφον ἄστν

Tr. Horse-rearing city

C. I, 7, 11:

Larissae --- campus opimae

Il. II, 841:

τῶν οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβύλακα ναιετάασκον.

Tr. Of those that inhabited deep-soiled Larissa.

Il. XVII, 301:

ἀπὸ Λαρίσης ἐριβύλακος,

Tr. Near deep-soiled Larissa.

C. I, 7, 2:

bimarisve Corinthi

Pind. Ol. XIII, 40:

--- ἐν δ' ἀμφιάλοισι Ποτιδᾶνος τεθμοῦσιν

Tr. In Poseidon's ordinances (held) between two seas. (Referring to the Isthmian games which were held at Corinth.)

C. I, 7, 9:

---- ditisque Mycenae

Soph. El. 9:

Μυκῆνας τὰς πολυχρύσους.

Tr. Mycenae rich in gold.

Homeric: (Il. VII, 180; XI, 46; Od. III, 304):

πολυχρύσεια Μυκῆνης.

Tr. Of rich Mycenae.

Proof of the appropriateness of Mycenae's traditional epithet is given by Dr. Schliemann whose archaeological investigations revealed gold ornaments richly adorned with silver and ivory as well as alabaster slabs and other signs of great wealth discussed by Schuchhardt⁹¹.

3' Long descriptions with a definite model

In the account of Venus and her dancing attendants, Horace clearly had a quotation from the Cypria in mind.

C. I, 4, 5 sq.:

iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
alternò terram quatunt pede,---

⁹¹ Excavations of Schliemann, Ch. IV.

Cypriorum fr. (Athen. 682f - Vol. III, p. 510):

ἢ δὲ σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη---
 πλεξάμεναι στεφάνους εὐώδεις ἀνθεα γαίης
 ἂν κεφαλαῖσιν ἔθεντο θεαὶ λιπαροκρήδεμνοι
 Νύμφαι καὶ Χάριτες, ἅμα δὲ χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ,
 καλὸν ἀείδουσαι κατ' ὄρος πολυπιδάκου Ἰδῆς.

Tr. And when laughter-loving Aphrodite
 with her train, had woven fragrant wreathes of the
 flowers of the earth, the goddesses crown their heads
 with bright head-bands; the Nymphs and Graces, along with
 golden Aphrodite sang a beautiful song on the slopes of
 many-fountained Ida.

An analysis of the two descriptions shows Horace
 mentioning first Venus, then her train, then the Nymphs
 and Graces; whereas the Greek fragment has the same
 characters and observes the same order of introducing
 them, as well as the same general spirit.

C. I, 2, 31 sq.:

nube candentis umeros
 amictus augur Apollo.

Il. XV, 307 sq.:

πρόσθεν δὲ κί' αὐτοῦ φοῦβος Ἀπόλλων
 εἰμένος ὤμουιν νεφέλην, ---

Tr. While in front went Phoebus Apollo,
his shoulders veiled in a cloud.

The practically identical wording here, makes
this passage from the Iliad the evident model.

Argos, Mycenae, and Sparta are the three cities
most frequently mentioned as sacred to Juno. Many
passages refer to one or the other city as hers, but
Horace's reference to the three recalls the lines from the
Iliad:

C. I, 7, 8-10:

plurimus in Iunonis honorem

aptum dicet equis Argos ditisque Mycenae:

me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon

Il. IV, 51 sq.:

ἤ τοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολὺ φίλταταί εἰσι πόλεις,
Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκῆνη.

Tr. Surely three cities are by far the
dearest to me; namely, Argos, Sparta and wide-wayed
Mycenae.

The lost portion of the Hymn that Alcaeus wrote
to Hermes⁹² may have contained lines more similar to the

⁹² See Ch. V.

last stanza of Horace's Ode than Homer's account; and yet there are strong enough parallels between the following two descriptions for the Iliad to have been the model:

C. I, 10, 17-19:

tu pias laetis animas reponis
sedibus virgaque levem coerces
aurea turbam,

Od. XXIV, 2-5:

----- ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ
καλὴν χρυσεύην, -----
τῆ ῥ' ἄγε κινήσας, τὰ δὲ τρίβουσαι ἔποντο.

Tr. (Hermes summons ghosts of suitors) In his hand he held a beautiful golden wand with which he started and led them, while they followed gibbering.

The following pictures of Athena arrayed for battle both mention her aegis, her helmet and her chariot-- too close a similarity to be accidental:

C. I, XV, 11-12:

--- iam galeam Pallas et aegida
currusque et rabiem parat.

Il. V, 738, 743 sq., 745:

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετ' αἰγίδα Θυσσανόεσσαν

ικρατὶ δ' ἔπ' ἀμφίφαλον κενέην θέτο τετραφάληρον
χρυσεύην, -----

ἔς δ' ὄχρα φλόγα προσὶ βήσετο, ---

Tr. Around her shoulders she cast her tasseled aegis; upon her head she placed her two-peaked, four crested helmet of gold, and set foot in her gleaming chariot, ---

Horace's invitation to the country opens with an account of Pan as guardian of flocks which recalls Theocritus who also mentions Lycaon.

C. I, XVII, 1-4:

Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
defendit aestatem capellis
usque meis pluviosque ventos.

Theocr. I, 123-126:

ὦ Πάν, Πάν, εἴτ' ἐσσι κατ' ὕρα μακρὰ Λυκαίῳ,
εἴτε τύγ' ἀμφιπολεῖς μέγα Μαίναλον, ἔνθ' ἐπὶ
νασον

τὰν Σικελάν, Ἐλίκα δ' ἔλιπε ρῖον αἰπύτε σάμα
τῆγος Λυκαονίδας, τὸ καὶ μακάρεσσιν ἀγητόν.

Tr. O, Pan, Pan! whether thou art upon the lofty mountains of Lycaeus or dost guard over great Maenalus, hither to the Sicilian isle! Leave behind the high peak of Helice, the tomb of the famous son of Lycaon,

loved even by the blessed.

3. Translated lines and expressions

1' Translations of Greek expressions but of no definite original.

C. I, 3, 3:

Ventorum regat pater
obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga

Callim. To Artemis, 230:

κατέδησας ἀήτας

Tr. Having bound down the winds.

Od. X, 20:

ἔνθα δ' ἐβυκτάων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κέλειθα
κεῖνον γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων πούησε Ἴκρον ἴων.

Tr. And in it bound the courses of the blustering winds, for the son of Kronos had made him steward of the winds.

Od. V, 383 sqq.:

ἧ̃ τοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κελεύθους.

Tr. She barred the path of the other winds.

That the Latin expression 'ventorum aliis abstrictis' was suggested to Horace by the Greek is clear,

although it is not possible to say which of the passages quoted was particularly responsible for his translation.

The real originator of the definition of a friend as half of one's soul is Pythagoras; but Callimachus and Aristotle have used the same wording. That Horace consciously thought of the Greek means of emphasizing the closeness of friendship is further attested by his repetition of the phrase -- an indication of the impression the Greek made upon him.

C. I, 3, 8:

animae dimidium meae.

C. II, 17, 5:

a, te meae si partem animae rapit
maturior vis, quid moror altera
nec carus aeque nec superstes
integer?

Two definitions of Pythagoras:

σώματα μὲν δύο, ψύχη δὲ μία;

Tr. Two bodies, but one spirit

ἔστι γὰρ, ὡς φάμεν, ὁ φίλος δεύτερος ἐγώ.

Tr. For a friend is, as we say, a second

self.

Ar. Eth. IX, 4, 5:

ὁ φίλος ἄλλος αὐτός

Tr. A friend, another self.

Diog. Laertius V, 1, 20:

ἔρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶ φίλος, ἔφη,
 "μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα."

Tr. When asked what constituted a friend, he (Aristotle) said: "One soul inhabiting two bodies."

Callimachus Ep. 42:

"Ἡμισὺ μευ ψυχῆς ἔτι, τὸ πνέον, ἡμισυ δ' οὐχ οἶδ'
 εἶτ' Ἔρος, εἶτ' Ἀΐδης ἤρπασε πλὴν ἀφανές."

Tr. That which still breathes is but half my life; as for the other half -- I know not whether Hades or Eros has snatched it away; but it is gone.

For the first Latin quotation given, Horace evidently had Callimachus definitely in mind, because the word order as well as the words themselves seem an exact translation. His second reference to the same idea is closer to the definitions of the philosophers, and while it is not a translation of any one of the passages, it is worth noting here because of the similarity in sentiment to Ode I, 3, 8.

In the following citation, the Latin word order is taken directly from the Greek tragic poets who frequently inserted *σε* between the preposition *πρός* and its case:

C. I, 8, 1 sq.:

Lydia, dic per omnis
 te deos oro,

Soph. Ph. 468 sqq.:

πρὸς νῦν σε πατρός πρὸς τε μητρός, ὦ τέκνον,

 ἐκέτης ἐκνοῦμαι,

Tr. Now by thy father and by thy mother,
 my son, --- solemnly I implore thee,

Eur. Med. 324:

μή, πρὸς σε γονάτων τῆς τε νεογάμου κόρης.

Tr. (Medea implores Creon): May, -- by thy
 knees, and by thy bride, thy child!

Eur. Alc. 275:

μή πρὸς σε θεῶν τλήης με προσοῦναι,

Tr. By the gods, do not forsake me, I beg
 thee.

It will be noticed that these lines have a very
 similar context as well as a parallel sentence construction.
 Equally close in thought are these passages:

Eur. Hec. 1127:

πρὸς θεῶν σε λίσσομαι.

Tr. By the gods, I beg of thee.

Soph. El. 428 sq.:

πρὸς νιν θεῶν σε λίσσομαι ---
 ἐμοὶ πιθέσθαι ---

Tr. By the gods, I beg thee hearken to me.

The liver, more often than the heart, was to the

ancients the seat of the emotions, and it is not surprising to find many possible models for Horace's following lines:

C. I, 13, 4 sq.:

----- meum

fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.

C. I, 25, 15:

(libido) saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum,

C. IV, 1, 12:

si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum.

S. I, 9, 66:

meum iecur urere bilis.

Aesch. Choeph. 272:

ἦπαρ θερμόν

Tr. Hot anger (Lit. hot liver)

Archil. 131:

χολήν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐφ' ἥπατι

Tr. For thou hast no anger in thy heart

(Lit. liver).

Horace's "felices ter et amplius"⁹³, as well as Virgil's⁹⁴ "terque quaterque beati" both can be traced to a Greek expression often used by Homer:

⁹³C. I, 13, 17

⁹⁴Virg. Aen. I, 94

Od. V, 306:

τρισμακάρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις,

Tr. Thrice and four times blessed are the Danaï.

Od. VI, 154-155:

τρισμακάρες μὲν σοὶ γε πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
τρισμακάρες δὲ κασίγητοι.

Tr. Thrice blest are thy father and thy queenly mother,-- thrice blest thy brothers.

Ar. Pax 1332 sq.:

ὦ τρισμακάρ, ὡς δικαί-
ως τὰγαθὰ νῦν ἔχεις.

Tr. Oh, thrice happy, how justly now thou dost possess good things.

Horace frequently advises others not to lose their temper; but in the wording of the following, he seems to have a Greek expression in mind:

C. I, XVI, 22:

compesce mentem

Iliad IX, 255 sq.:

---- σὺ δὲ μεγαλήτῳρα θυμὸν
ἴσχειν ἐν στήθεσσι.

Tr. Do thou restrain thy proud soul in thy breast.

Theogn. 365:

Ἴσχε νόον,

Tr. Restrain thy spirit.

The same Ode refers to the "primeval clay" that Prometheus used in the creation of man -- a translation from the Greek:

C. I, 16, 13 sq.:

fertur Prometheus addere principi

limo coactus

Aesch. fr. 373 D (369 N):

τοῦ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητῆ γυνή.

Tr. A mortal woman from the seed moulded
of clay.

Aristoph. Aves 685.:

ἄνδρες ----

---πλάσματα πηλοῦ.

Tr. The clay of Prometheus

Call. 133:

εἴ σ' ὁ Προμηθεὺς

ἔπλασε, καὶ πηλοῦ μὴ ἔξ ἑτέρου γέγονας.

Tr. If Prometheus moulded thee, and thou
art not from other clay.

The long deep Thracian draught to which Horace⁹⁵ refers was proverbial with Greek poets:

C. I, 36, 13-14:

neu multi Damalis meri

Bassum Threicia vincat amystide.

Callim. fr. 109, 1 sq.:

καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θρηϊκίην μὲν ἀπέστυγε χανθὸν
ἀμυστιν

ζυροποτεῖν.

Tr. For he hated to drink greedily the Thracian draught.

Anacr. 63, 2-3, 9:

--- ὅκως ἀμυστιν

προπίω,

Σκυθικὴν πόσιν

Tr. That I may drink the long draught -- the Scythian drink.

It is noteworthy that 'amystide' and ἀμυστιν are of the same etymology, since both literally signify 'without closing the mouth'.

⁹⁵For the Thracians as hard drinkers Cf. C. I, 18, 9; I, 27, 2.

2' Very short expressions translated

It is unfair perhaps to assume that an expression has been translated when it contains only two or three words; but when the word combination is an unusual and striking one; it would seem that the similarity is no mere coincidence.

C. I, 2, 9:

piscium ----- genus

Soph. fr.855 (N):

ἰχθύων ----- γένος.

Tr. The tribe of fish.

Aside from this obvious translation, the combination of γένος with animals is quite common among Greek authors, as will be seen in the following quotations:

Il. II, 852:

ἡμιόνων ---- γένος

Tr. Breed of wild mules.

Soph. Ant. 342:

ἵππῶν γένος

Tr. Breed of horses.

Od. XX, 212:

βοῶν γένος

Tr. Breed of cattle.

Horace, in using the expression "the might of Hercules" when he means Hercules, is translating the epic phrase

C. I, 3, 36:

Herculeus labor

Il. V, 638; Od. XI, 600:

βίην Ἡρακληείην.

C. I, 4, 7:

alternò terram quatiant pede⁹⁶

Callim. To Delos, 306:

αἰ δὲ ποδῶν πλήσσουσι χορίτιδες ἀσφαλὲς οὐδας.

Tr. The dancing Maids strike the hard ground with their feet.

App. Rh. I, 539 sq.:

(ἐμμελέως) κραυπνοῦσι πέδον
ρήσσωσι πόδεςσιν.

Tr. They beat the earth with swiftly-moving feet.

In addition to the unusual expression for dancing, there is a slight additional testimony in the fact that both authors are referring to dancing nymphs.

⁹⁶Cf. C. I, 37, 1 sq.: --- nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus

C. I, 4, 9:

nitidum caput

Callim. Ep. Inc. XI, 4:

λιπαρὰν εἴθευραν.

Tr. Shining hair.

The Greek adjective usually connotes 'shining with oil'; but whether that is the case here or not, makes no difference since nitidum, too, may or may not have that meaning.

C. I, 4, 15:

(vitae summa brevis) spem (nos vetat in choare)
longam.

Neoptol. fr. ap. Diod. XVI, 92:

μακρὰς (ἀθαιρούμενος) ἐλπίδας --- (Αἶδας).

Tr. (Pluto having taken away) far-reaching hopes.

This unusual word combination is used in reference to the same thought.

C. I, 4, 16:

Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes

Il. XIII, 425:

ἢέ τινα Τρώων ἐρεβενῆ νυκτὶ καλύψαι.

Tr. Either to cover some one of the Trojans with black night,

Both 'nox' and $\nu\kappa\tau\iota$ are used to mean death.

C. I, 5, 7:

nigris ---- ventis

Il. XI, 747:

κελαινή λαίλαπι

Tr. With black storm

Il. XII, 375; 20, 51:

ἔρεμνη λαίλαπι

Tr. Dark whirlwind

Il. XVI, 384:

λαίλαπι---κελαινή---χθών

Tr. The ground black from a tempest.

C. I, 5, 13:

nites (Tr. thou dost appear dazzling -- in the
of seeming fair).

Il. III, 392:

στίλβειν (Tr. to gleam -- refers to radiance
in beauty and clothing).

C. I, 6, 7:

Duplicis Ulixei

Eur. Rhes. 395:

Διπλοῦς-άνήρ

Tr. Crafty man

This adjective is not only translated, but is practically the same as the Greek, and is used in both cases to mean crafty almost to the point of deceit.

C. I, 6, 13:

tunica tectum adamantina

Homeric:⁹⁷

χαλκοχίτων

Tr. Mail-clad

The Greek expression for mail-clad means literally "with tunic of bronze", while the Latin phrase literally signifies "with tunic made of adamant" -- an obvious translation when you consider how closely the "tunica" corresponded to the χίτων.

C. I, 6, 16:

superis parem.

Homer:

δαίμονι ἴσος⁹⁸

Tr. Equal to a god

θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιος⁹⁹

Tr. Equal to the gods

⁹⁷ Il. I, 371; II, 47; V, 180, 704; XV, 330; XVII, 414.

⁹⁸ Il. V, 884; II, 169; V, 438; Od. I, 371; V, 438 and 884.

⁹⁹ Od. I, 371.

Δὲ ἀτάλαντον¹⁰⁰

Tr. Equal to Zeus.

Soft wine in the sense of mild wine is used in both the following quotations:

C. I, 7, 18:

molli ----- mero

Arist. Probl. III, 18:

οἴνω μαλακῷ

The graphic "nil desperandum" of Horace finds an exact counterpart in Greek:

C. I, 7, 27:

nil desperandum

Eur. fr.:¹⁰¹ and Archil. 74, 1:

Ἄελπτον οὐδέν

Tr. Nothing is to be despaired of.

C. I, 9, 3 sq.:

geluque acuto

Pind. Pyth. I, 20:

χιόνος ὀξείας

Tr. Sharp snow.

The parallel use of acuto and ὀξείας to emphasize cold, recalls our English expression: "The air is sharp."

¹⁰⁰Il. II, 169.

¹⁰¹Cited by Browne in Hist. of Class. Lit. p. 295.

C. I, 9, 7 sq.:

deprome quadrimum Sabina

----- merum diota,

Alcaeus 41, 2:

καθ' ὃ' ἄειρε κυλίχλαις μεγάλαις

Tr. Bring down in large cups.

Not only does καθ' ὃ' ἄειρε exactly translate deprome but the two are used in precisely the same connection.

C. I, 11, 18:

carpe diem

Aesch. Sept. 65:

--καιρὸν-- λάβε

Tr. Seize the opportunity.

Another evident case where word order and choice of words both point to a translation is found in:

C. I, 12, 14:

res hómīnum ac decorum

Od. I, 338:

ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

Tr. The affairs of men and gods.

Horace speaks of poverty as distressing, hard and cruel -- all echoes of Greek expressions:

C. I, 12, 43:

saeva paupertas et avitus arto

cum lae fundus.

C. I, 18, 5:

gravem ----- pauperiem

C. III, 16, 37:

importuna ----- pauperies

C. IV, 9, 49:

duram ----- pauperiem

Alc. 92, 1:

Ἀργάλεον πενία κάκον ἄσχετον,

Tr. Poverty is a grievous evil hard to bear.

Hes. Op. 717:

---οὐλομένην πενίην

Tr. Deadly poverty

Theogn. 1129:

πενίης θυμοφθόροι

Tr. Soul-consuming poverty

'Knowing the fight' is a very Homeric way of saying 'skilled in battle', and Horace seems to adopt it in:

C. I, 15, 24 sq.:

----- Sthenelus sciens pugnae.

Il. V, 11:

-----μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πάσης.

Tr. Well skilled in all the arts of war.

The interpretation of 'sublimi' is the key to the meaning of line 31 of Ode I, 15. If Horace meant to picture Paris fleeing Diomedes with his head thrown back ('sublimi') as a deer would flee at the sight of a wolf, there is no parallel between the Greek and Latin quoted below. This view is, however, as Shorey and Laing point out, more picturesque than probable. A more logical explanation is advanced by Wickham who keeps the literal meaning of 'sublimi' and shows its appropriateness in this connection, since the breath is stopped midway (*μετεώρω*) and stays at the entrance ('sublimi') of the lungs. Then the relation between Horace's expression and that of Menander is close enough to seem a translation:

C. I, 15, 31:

sublimi fugies mollis anheliter

Menander (ed. M.), p. 12:

μετεώρω πνεύματι

Tr. With breath half-stopped.

The following Greek expression for 'heavy spear' is used five times in the Iliad and is exclusively Homeric:

C. I, XV, 16 sq.:

gravis --- hastas

Iliad:

ἄγχος βριθύ

Tr. Heavy spear.

Another Homeric phrase is translated in

C. I, XVI, 18:

altis urbibus

Homer (Iliad XIII, 625; VIII, 369; Od. 4 times):

πόλιν αἰπήν

Tr. Lofty city.

The phrase "sweet flute" is taken from Pindar:

C. I, 17, 10:

utcumque dulci Tyndari fistula

Pind. Ol. X, 93 sq.:

γλυκὺς αὐλός

Tr. Sweet flute.

The Latin expression for "consuming cares" finds its exact counterpart in Greek:

C. I, 18, 4:

mordaces sollicitudines

Hes. Works and Days, 66:

Τυροβόρους μελεδῶνας

Tr. Consuming cares.

So, too, the graphic word combination, 'tearful war' has its Greek original:

C. I, 21, 13:

bellum lacrimosum,

Il. V, 737:

πόλεμον δακρυόεντα

Tr. Tearful war.

Aeschylus, as well as Horace, refers to a mountain as 'inhospitable' or desolate -- and both poets are referring to Caucasus:

C. I, 22, 6 sq.:

sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum

Aesch. Prom. 20:

προπασσαλεύσω τῷ δ' ἀπανθρώπῳ πάγῳ

Tr. I shall bind thee to a desolate peak.

When Horace calls Juba dry nurse of lions, he may be recalling the Greek epigram which speaks of Phrygia in the same way:

C. I, 22, 15-16:

nec Iubae tellus generat, leonum
arida nutrix

Ep. Adesp. 174, 1 (Anth. Gr. IV, 152):

θρέπτειρα λεόντων

Tr. Nurse of lions.

In reference to 'imagini' of Ode I, 24, 15, Keller and Holder say: "Homeri εἰδῶλα reddidisse creditur

Horatius"; and this point is made clear in consideration of the qualifying words that both the Greek and Latin use, as well as the context in Homer where the unsubstantial ghosts must drink of blood before they can speak:¹⁰²

C. I, 24, 15:¹⁰³

num vanae redeat sanguinis imagini

Od. XI, 476 (10 other places):

(νεκροί) ἀφραδέες ---- βροτῶν εἶδῶλα καμόντων.

Tr. The senseless (dead), ghosts of toil-worn men.

So, too, the "throng of the dead" that Horace refers to has its counterpart in the Odyssey:

C. I, 24, 18:

nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi

Od. X, 526 (also XI, 34, 632):

ἔθρα νεκρῶν

Tr. The throng of the dead.

ἔθρα and 'gregi' are both commonly used of flocks of animals.

Theocritus addressing a poet friend under the name of Lycidas, refers to him as Horace does to himself,

¹⁰²Od. XI, 98-99.

¹⁰³Cf. Verg. Aen. VI, 292: *tenuis sine corpore vitas --- volitare cava sub imagine formae.*

"dear to the Muses":

C. I, 26, 1:

Musis amicus (tradam)

Theocr. VII, 95:

Φίλος ἔπλεο Μοῖσαις

Tr. Thou art dear to the Muses.

The expression "sands without number" is proverbial, and it is perhaps unnecessary to point to any one Greek source for Horace's words, though Pindar has a direct counterpart in the following passage:

C. I, 28, 1:

----- numeroque carentis harenae.

Pind. Ol. II:

----- ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφευγεν.

Tr. The sands defy enumeration.

The Greek conception of souls sent down to Hades as a punishment is conveyed by the one word *πρόΐαψεν* and finds its parallel in Horace's "demissum":

C. I, 28, 10 sq.:

Tartara Panthoiden --- Oreo

demissum.

Il. I, 3:

Ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι πρόΐαψεν

Tr. Hurléd souls into Hades.

A phrase used in the Iliad seems to be responsible for Horace's:

C. I, 28, 19:

---- funera densentur

Il. I, 383:

Θνήσκον ἑπασσύτεροι

Tr. They died one after another.

Literally ὀξύ and 'acrem' both mean 'sharp', and the unusual use of this adjective to refer to war makes the Iliad seem to be the pattern for Horace in:

C. I, 29, 2:

--- et acrem militiam paras

Il. II, 440:¹⁰⁴

ἐγείρομεν ὀξύ Ἄρηα

Tr. Let us stir up furious Ares.

The word to "sport" or "play" is used in the sense of singing a trivial song by both Pindar and Horace:

C. I, 32, 2 sq.:

lusimus tecum¹⁰⁵, quod et hunc in annum

vivat et pluris,

¹⁰⁴and 7 other places.
¹⁰⁵'te' refers to 'barbite'

Pind. Ol. I, 16 sq.:

(μουσικᾶς) οἷα παίζομεν φίλων
 ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν.

Tr. (Music) such as we men are wont to
 play at the banquet of a friend.

Horace's phrase "foolish wisdom" finds a direct
 counterpart in the Greek word combination of Euripides:

C. I, 34, 2:

insanientis ---- sapientiae

Eur. Bacch. 395:

τὸ σοφὸν ὄ' οὐ σοφία

Tr. Sophistry not wisdom.

The "clamps of molten lead" that Necessity holds
 in her hand in Horace's representation have a parallel in
 Euripides:

C. I, 35, 20:

uncus ---- liquidumque plumbum.

Eur. Andr. 266 sq.:

καὶ γὰρ εἰ περίε σ' ἔχει
 τηκτὸς μόλυβδος, ἐξαναστήσω σ' ἐγὼ

Tr. For even if clamps held fast by
 molten lead surround thee, I shall make thee rise.

The unusual character of a short quotation is not always a trustworthy gauge, however, as will be seen in the following example:

C. I, 3, 34:

expertus vacuum Daedalus aera.

Pind. Ol. I, 6:

ἐρήμας δι' αἰθέρος

Tr. Thruout the empty air.

Il. XVII, 425:

αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο

Tr. Thru the desert air.

Here, in spite of the unusual and striking nature of the poetic conception, the empty air, it is easy to see that every poet has a different idea which he intends his adjective to convey. Pindar wishes his reader to picture the heavens deserted by all other luminaries because of the brilliancy of the sun. Homer characterises the sky as empty because it is free from the things that belong to earth; while Horace's idea is to emphasize the fact that Daedalus in his flight would find an air that contained no solid resting place. In view of these considerations, there seem to exist no grounds for the parallel that Keller and Holder as well as Shorey and Laing draw between the Latin 'vacuum' as used here and the Greek *ἐρήμας* and *ἀτρυγέτοιο*.

3' Translations of a definite Greek passage

The general Greek atmosphere of Ode I, book I is heightened by expressions clearly translated from the Greek:

C. I, 1, 11 sq.:

--- patrios findere sarculo
agros ---

App. Rhod. I, 1215:

ἦτα ὁ μὲν ρελοῖο γύας τέμνεσκειν ἀρότρῳ

Tr. He was cleaving with the plough the soil of the new land.

C. I, 1, 13:

---- secet mare

Od. III, 174:

πέλαγος----τέμνειν

Tr. To cut the sea.

To be sure Seneca¹⁰⁶ uses similar expressions, but he, too, was influenced strongly by the Greeks, and aside from the fact that τέμνω could well be translated by 'findo', the three words 'findere', 'sarculo' and 'agros' all have their counterpart in τέμνεσκειν ἀρότρῳ and γύας - a similarity that adds evidence to the apparent translation.

¹⁰⁶ Trodes 1021: rura qui scindunt opulenta bobus
Also: Phaedra, 88; Medea, 305; Thyestes, 590.

The same Ode shows:

C. I, 1, 30:

me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
dis miscent superis

Pind. Isth. II, 28:

---'ίν' ἀθανάτοις Αἰνησιδάμου
παῖδες ἐν τιμαῖς ἔμιχθεν.

Tr. Where the sons of Ainesidamos shared
in immortal honors.

Here the Latin 'miscent' and the Greek ἔμιχθεν
are used in the same sense of exalting to a level with the
gods; and the dis superis finds its parallel in the
ἀθανάτους of the Greek.

Both sentiment and words are again deliberately
translated in:

C. I, 6, 9 sq.:

(neque hæc dicere)
conamur ----- dum pudor
----- vetat.

Alcaeus 55:

Θέλω τι φεῖπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει αἴδως

Tr. I wish to say something, but a sense
of shame forbids me.

All of Ode I, 9 is definitely modeled after

Alcaeus¹⁰⁷, and consequently contains many parallel expressions and lines:

C. I, 9, 3 sq.:

----- geluque -----

flumina constiterint acuto?

Alc. 34, 2:

Πεπάγαισιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥόαι

Tr. The streams of water have frozen.

C. I, 9, 5:

dissolve frigus

Alc. 34, 3:

ἰάββαλε τὸν χεῖμων'

Tr. Drive off the cold.

C. I, 9, 5 sq.:

---- ligna super foco

large reponens,

Alc. 34, 3 sq.:

--- ἐπὶ μὲν τίθει

πῦρ,

Tr. Heap up the fire.

C. I, 9, 6-9:

----- benignius

¹⁰⁷See Ch. V.

deprome quadrimum Sabina,
O Thaliarche, merum diota.

Alc. 34, 4 sq.:

---ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀφελῶέως
μέλιχρον,

Tr. Mixing honey-sweet wine unsparingly.

The question of how far Horace attempted to follow Pindar in Ode I, 12 has been much discussed;¹⁰⁸ but there can certainly be no doubt that his invocation is a translation of the opening lines of Pindar's second Olympian:

C. I, XII, 1-3:

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

Pind. Ol. II, 1 sq.:

Ἀναξίφορμιγγες ὕμνοι,
τίνα θεόν, τίνα ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδῆ-
σομεν;

Tr. Lords of the lyre, my hymns, what god,
what hero, what man shall we celebrate?

¹⁰⁸For this point see Ch. IV.

Three times in Ode I, 13, Horace seems to have definite Sapphic passages in mind. The clearest case occurs in lines five to nine, where the passionate love poem of Sappho that has found so many echoes in literature¹⁰⁹ is obviously the model:

C. I, 13, 5-9:

tum nec mens mihi nec color
 certe sede manet, umor et in genas
 furtim labitur arguens
 quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.

Sappho II:

--- -- τὸ μοι μᾶν

¹⁰⁹ Many attempts have been made to translate this Greek poem -- the most successful probably being the French version by Nicholas Boileau Despreaux, the English of Ambrose Philips and especially the famous Latin traduction of Catullus (II). Tennyson, when he published "Fatima" quoted the opening lines of the Greek to show his indebtedness to Sappho for the following:

V. 15: Last night when some one spoke his name
 From my swift blood that went and came
 A thousand little shafts of flame
 Were shivered in my narrow frame.

And again in Eleanore (ll. 127-144) there is a longer parallel passage. Swinburne in line 35 of his "Sapphics" refers to the temples of Sappho as "paler than grass in summer" -- a direct allusion to her own words. Other clear cases of imitation occur in: Theocr. II, 106 sqq.; Apoll. Rhod. III, 962 sqq.; Lucr. III, 152 sqq.; Racine, "Phèdre" I, 3; Plutarch, "Life of Demetrius", 38; Plato, Phaedrus 251A.

καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν
 ὡς σε γὰρ Fίδω, βροχέως με θύνας
 οὐδεν ἔτ' εἴκει.

ἀλλὰ καμ μὲν γλῶσσα φέαγε, λείπτον δ'
 αὐτίκα χρῶ πῦρ ὑπαδεθόμακεν,
 ἀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδεν ὄρημ', ἐπιρρῶμ-
 βεισι δ' ἄκουαι.

ἂ δέ μ' ἰδρῶς κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ
 Πάϊσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας
 ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω ἵπιδεύην
 φαίνομαι ἄλλα.

Tr. That makes my heart flutter in my breast, for when I look on thee, soon my voice is gone, my tongue is paralyzed; a subtle flame runs thru my marrow; no longer do my eyes see; my ears ring; perspiration pours over me and a trembling siezes my whole frame; I am paler than grass, and seem very little better than one dead.

Horace keeps in his description the following expressions that were used in the Greek: "blushing and paling", "trembling", "confusion of the senses", and even the "consuming fire" -- a very close imitation to be so totally lacking in the ardour and passion of the

original.

The very opening lines of this same Ode with their expression of a lover's jealousy recall another fragment of Sappho:

C. I, 13, 1-4:

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi
cervicem roseam, cera Telephi
laudas bracchia, vae meum
fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.

Sappho 41:

Ἄτθι, σοὶ δ' ἔμεθεν μὲν ἀπήχθετο
φροντίσσην, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότνη.

Tr. But to thee, Atthis, the thought of me is hateful; thou dost fly to Andromeda.

And third, the reference to the lips that Venus has imbued with a fifth part of her nectar, is also quite Hellenic, and has a possible original in Sappho:

C. I, 13, 15-16:

--- oscula, quae Venus
quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.

Sappho V:

-- ἔλθε, Κύπρι,
χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρωσ

συμμεμείγμενον θαλίασι νέκταρ
οἴνοχόεισα.

Tr. Come, O Cyprian goddess, and in
golden goblets pour nectar delicately mixed with joy.

The first verse of Ode I, 18 is a very close
translation of Alcaeus and even preserves the same metre
as its original:¹¹⁰

C. I, 18, 1:

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem

Alcaeus 44:

Μῆδεν ἄλλο φυτεύσης πρότερον δένδρον ἀμπέλω.

Tr. Plant no tree in preference to the
vine.

"Sweetly laughing, sweetly speaking Lalage" is
a clear reminiscence of Sappho:

C. I, 22, 23-24:

dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo

dulce loquentem.

Sappho II, 3-5:

--- ἄδῃ φωνεί-

σας ὑπακούει

¹¹⁰Except for the fact that Horace does not let the
caesura fall in the middle of a word.

καὶ γελάσας ἠμμέροεν,

Tr. Who hears thy sweet voice and merry
laugh.

When Horace summons the Muse, Melpomene, and bids her use song and lyre, to sing a dirge for Quintilius, he echoes Stesichorus who also calls upon a 'clear-voiced' muse to sing to the accompaniment of her lyre.

C. I, 24, 2-4:

----- praecipe -----

cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater
vocem cum cithara dedit.

Stesich. 44:

Ἄγε Μοῦσα λίγει, ἄρξον αἰοῦσ' ἔρατωνύμου
Σαμίων περὶ παίδων ἔρατᾶ φθεγγομένα λύρα.

Tr. Come, clear-voiced Muse, and begin a
love song about the children of Samos, to the accompaniment
of thy lovely lyre.

The conception of the winds carrying off cares
and troubles is found in Sappho, as well as Horace:

C. I, 26, 1 sqq.:

Musis amicus tristitiam et metus
tradam protervis in mare Creticum

portare ventis

Sappho 17:

τὸν δ' ἐπιπλάζοντες ἄμοι φέρουεν
καὶ μελεδῶνας

Tr. This, may the wandering winds carry
away with my troubles.

When Horace speaks of the small gift of paltry
earth that confines Archytas, his language echoes Antipater
whose κατέχει corresponds to 'cohibent';¹¹¹ while κόνις
finds a clear counterpart in 'pulveris':

C. I, 28, 2 sqq.:

(Te)----- cohibent, Archyta,
pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
munera,

Antip. Sidon. 79, 2 (Anth. Gr. II, 28):

κατέχει Πίνδαρον ἄθε κόνις

Tr. A mound of earth confines Pindar.¹¹²

The wording of the following citation from

¹¹¹This parallel can be drawn only if 'cohibent' means
'confines' in the sense that the grave confines.

¹¹²Very similar, too, is the passage from another Anthology
poet Simias I, 2 and 5 (Anth. Gr. II, 100):

σὲ τὸν τραγικῆς Μούσης ἄστερα
τύμβος ἔχει καὶ γῆς ὀλίγον μέρος

Tr. Thee (Sophocles), star of tragic Muse, the
tomb and a little portion of earth holds.

Asclepiades points to a translation of the Latin of:

C. I, 28, 35:

quamquam festinas, non est mora longa;

Asclep. 37, 1 (Anth. Gr. I, 152):

ὢν παρέρπων μικρόν, εἴ τι κάγκονεῖς, ἀκουσον.

Tr. Even if thou art in a hurry, o passer-by, hear me a minute.

When Euripides wishes to illustrate the lengths to which the change in the old order had gone, he uses as a type of the topsy-turvy condition of the world a picture of the rivers flowing backwards, and Horace, in emphasizing the change in Iccius evidently has this passage in mind:

C. I, 29, 10 sq.:

---- quis neget ardius
pronos relabi posse rivos

Eur. Med. 410-411:

ὄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί,
καὶ δίκη πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται.

Tr. The waters of the sacred rivers flow upwards; and justice with all else is reversed.

The silence of a stream ('quieta' -- ἡσύχιος; 'taciturnus' -- λήθει), as well as its cutting powers

('mordet' -- ὑποτρύγων), are points common to both the quotation from Callimachus and Horace's evident translation of it:

C. I, 31 7 sq.:

non rura quae Liris quieta
mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.

Callim. Ep. 45, 4 (Vol. I Schn.):

-----πολλάκι λήθει
τοῦτον ὑποτρύγων ἡσύχιος ποταμός.

Tr. Many times a silent river imperceptibly eats thru the wall.

The Homeric expression for the decree of the gods is evidently the model for:

C. I, 33, 10:

sic visum Veneri cui placet ---

Il. II, 116:

οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ---- φίλον εἶναι,

Tr. Thus it doubtless is pleasing to Zeus--

The Greeks considered the union of wolves and sheep as a type of a highly improbable occurrence, and Horace seems to imitate Aristophanes particularly when he emphasizes the absurdity of Pholoë marrying Cyrus:

C. I, 33, 7 sq.:

--- sed prius Apulis
iungentur capreae lupis.¹¹³

Ar. Pax 1076:

πρὶν κεν λύκος ἀν ὑμεναιῶ

Tr. Sooner would a wolf mate with sheep.

To the care of Fortune, the preserver, Horace commends Augustus who was meditating an expedition against the Britons; and his introductory prayer is in such close imitation of Pindar, who commits the sons of Himera to Σώτεια Τύχα that it warrants classification as a translation. It is noteworthy, too, that Horace follows the Greek custom of addressing a god or goddess by the title of the particular divinities' chief seat of worship:

C. I, 35, 1, 6-10, 29 sq.:

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
--- te dominam aequoris
quicumque Bithyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina,

serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
orbis Britannos

¹¹³ Cf. sim. passage in Il. XXII, 263:

οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.
Tr. Nor can wolves and sheep be of one mind.

Pind. Ol. XII, 1-6:

Λίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου,
 Ἰμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σῴτειρα Τύχα
 τὴν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θοαί
 νᾶες, ἐν χέρσῳ τε λαυπηροὶ πόλεμοι
 κάγοραὶ βουλαφόροι. αἶ γε μὲν ἀνδρῶν
 πόλλ' ἄνω, τὰ δ' αὖ κάτω ψεύσῃ μεταμύνια
 τάμνοισαι κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπύσες.

Tr. I beg of thee, child of Zeus, the Liberator, Savior Fortune, to guard and make mighty in power Himera; for by thee are swift ships piloted on the sea, and on land quickly decisive wars and the advising assemblies of men are piloted. The hopes of men are tossed now up and now down as they cut thru the sea of treacherous deceit.

Horace undoubtedly modeled the opening of Ode I, 37¹¹⁴ on the Ode of Alcaeus that was written to celebrate the death of the tyrant Myrtilus. The similar feeling that Horace would have at the fall of Cleopatra would naturally make him recall the following passage of

¹¹⁴Sellar (p. 125) calls this Ode an imitation of Anhilochus; but he gives no proofs for such a statement.

which he makes this translation:

C. I, 37, 1:

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus

Alcaeus 20:

Νῦν χρῆ μεθύσθην καί τινα πρὸς βίαν
πῶνην, ἔπειδ' ἔκατθανε Μύρσιλος.

Tr. Now one must drink one's fill and
drink against one's will since Myrsilus is dead.

The extensive evidence that Chapter II has given of Horace's conscious use of Greek sources in lines and expressions would, in itself, establish his deep indebtedness to Greek originals. Lyric, dramatic, elegiac and epic poets were drawn upon with the greatest freedom. Particularly is it noticeable what a large part Homer played in furnishing the material for epithets and stories, while Pindar and Alcaeus supplied the originals for a large proportion of the translated lines; and even the dramatic poets were surprisingly influential -- mainly thru Euripides.

A consideration of the clear Greek source for two hundred and fifty-six lines or expressions in book I of the Odes, would prove Horace a plagiarist were it not for the

Roman context and application of Greek material to Roman life, history and ideals. This viewpoint is a necessary one and can be gained only thru a study of the poems as a whole.

CHAPTER III

Poems Unconsciously Imitative of Greek Spirit or Thought

The general Greek spirit of the first Ode of the first book which gives examples of the various pleasures of different classes of men, has been attested by the clear reference to Pindar in lines three to seven.¹¹⁵ In addition to this conscious model, Horace seems to echo thruout this poem, the words of Solon in regard to the same subject:

C. I, 1, 3-36:¹¹⁶

Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
 collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
 evitata rotis palmaque nobilis
 terrarum dominos evehit ad deos;
 hunc si mobilium turba Quiritium
 certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
 illum, si proprio condidit horreo
 quicquid de Libycis verritur areis.
 gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
 agros Attalicis condicionibus
 numquam demoveas, ut trabe Cypria
 Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare:
 luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum
 mercator metuens otium et oppidi

¹¹⁵Ch. II, 1, 1'.

¹¹⁶The two dedicatory lines are omitted.

laudat rura sui: mox reficit rates
 quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.
 est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
 nec partem solido demere de die
 spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
 stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.
 multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
 permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
 detestata. manet sub Iove frigido
 venator tenerae coniugis inmemor,
 seu visa est catulis cervae fidelibus
 seu rupit teretis Marsus aper plagas.
 me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
 dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
 Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
 secernunt populo, si neque tibus
 Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
 Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
 quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
 sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

Solon, 13, 43-53:

σπεύδει δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὁ μὲν κατὰ
 πόντον ἀλάται
 ἐν νηυσὶν χρήτων οὔκαθε κέρδος ἄγειν
 ἰχθυόεντ', ἀνέμοισι φορευόμενος ἀργαλέοισιν,

Φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος.
 ἄλλος γῆν τέμνων πολυσένοτρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
 λατρεύει, τοῖσιν καμπίλ' ἄροτρα μέλει.
 ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου πολυτέχνει
 ἔργα δαεῖς χειρῶν ξυλλέγεται βίοντον.
 ἄλλος Ὀλυμπιάδων Μουσέων πάρα δῶρα διδάχθεις,
 ἡμερτῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος.

Tr. One hastens hither, another thither.

The one, borne along by troublesome winds, not at all sparing of his life, wanders over the fishy sea in ships, in order to bring home gain. Another, cutting his way thru woody land, serves for a year those to whom the crooked plough is a care. Still another, having learned the works of Athena and of Hephaestus, skilled in various arts, earns his living by his hands; and another, taught by the gift of the Muses of Olympus, understands the measure of gladsome minstrelsy.

Here there is no direct evidence that Horace had Solon in mind; but the same theme is illustrated by almost the same classes of men. Horace mentions the Olympic prize-winner, the politician, the lover of wealth, the sailor, the trader, the Epicurean, the soldier and the hunter -- all contrasted with the poet; while Solon

enumerates the sailor, the fisherman, the farmer and the skilled workman; making the poet the climax of his examples. Thus, although Horace has Latinized and modernised his theme, the general arrangement strongly savours of Solon.

The entire eleventh Ode of the first book, embodying as it does Horace's Epicurean philosophy, is a good example of a poem written under the influence of Greek poets. For the opening advice not to attempt to read the future, thru to the warning about the flight of time, the spirit of Simonides, Theocritus, Theognis, the minor lyric poets and especially of Euripides and Alcaeus,¹¹⁷ is ever re-appearing:

C. I, 11:

Tu ne quaesieris (scire nefas) quem mihi, quem tibi
finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
temptare numeros. ut melius quidquid erit pati,
seu pluris hiemes seu debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum. sapias: vina liques et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.

Kiessling speaks of this Ode as "the beautiful poem with its injunction of the Alcaic rule of life -- vina liques",¹¹⁸ and refers to this statement of Athenaeus that the poet Alcaeus is found drinking at all seasons and under

¹¹⁷See citations Ch. I Pg. 27 pqa.

¹¹⁸Kiess. C. I, XI: Das kleine Gedicht mit seiner Einschärfung der alcaischen Lebensregel -- vina liques.

all conditions.¹¹⁹ There is surely a decided Alcaic ring thruout the entire Ode and yet not sufficient evidence exists to say that Horace was consciously modeling his lines after Alcaeus rather than echoing the spirit of Greek poets in general.

Macleane calls attention to the fact that Ode I, 13 is quite typical of all of Horace's amatory compositions in that the jealousy is merely poetical while the entire Ode is Greek in its spirit.¹²⁰ This assertion is well supported by an analysis of the many references to Greek poems, especially to those of Sappho; for although lines four to nine are no such direct translation of her famous poem¹²¹ as Catullus gives,¹²² they are more than a mere echo.

¹¹⁹Athen. X, 430: κατὰ πᾶσαν γὰρ ὕμνον καὶ περίστασιν
πίνων ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος εὕρισκεται.

¹²⁰Macleane, *Introd. C. I, XIII*: "The same remark applies to this Ode as to many others, that those who believe it to have reference to real persons, and the jealousy to be anything but a poetical jealousy, have mistaken the character of Horace's writings. --- The Ode is too slight for us to judge whether it was taken from a Greek original; but the expression in V. 16 shows that Greek ideas were running in the writer's head, which may be said, I feel satisfied of almost every one of his amatory compositions." Just what Macleane means by his expression "too slight" is hard to determine. It could not be "too short" since this Ode is the same length as Ode XIV, which he definitely asserts is an imitation of Alcaeus, and there is no other interpretation of his words that would affect the case.

¹²¹Sappho II, Cp. discussion in Ch. II, 3, 3'.

¹²²Cat. 51.

Then, too, Homeric and Hellenic expressions¹²³ accentuate the impression that the writer of this Ode was neither really jealous while he composed it, nor even possessed of a first-hand knowledge of such a passion; but was merely attempting a graceful love poem in the spirit of his Hellenic predecessors, with Sappho -- the most faultless and ardent of erotic bards as his natural -- though probably unconscious -- model.

In the discussion of the relation of Ode I, 14 to Alcaeus 18¹²⁴, it is made clear that Horace intended the ship disabled in the storm to represent the state and its political difficulties. The comparison of a ship to the state was common among Greek poets¹²⁵, and Horace was no doubt influenced by some of the following citations, even though he was obviously imitating Alcaeus:

Eur. Rhes. 248-250:

----- ὅταν ἦ
 δυσάλιον ἐν πελάγει καὶ σαλεύῃ
 πόλις

Tr. When it is sunless and the city is
 tempest tossed on the sea.

¹²³See Ch. II, 3.

¹²⁴See Ch. V.

¹²⁵See: Plato Rep. VI, 4; Aesch. Sept. 2, 62, 758-765, 795, 1077; Pind. Pyth. I, 86; IV, 274; Theogn. 671-680.

Soph. O. T. 101:

ὡς τόσ' αἶμα χειμάζον πόλιν

Tr. Since this murder is causing our city
to be tempest tossed.

Ibid. 22-24:

πόλις γάρ, ὡσπερ καὶ τὸς εἰσορᾶς, ἄγαν
ἤδη σαλεύει κἀνακουθίσαι κἀρα
βυθῶν ἔτ' οὐχ οἷα τε φοινίσου σάλου

Tr. For our city, as thou thyself seest,
is now storm-tossed and is not able to lift its head from
the depths of the weltering surge of blood.

Antig. 163-164:

ἄνδρες, τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ἀσφαλῶς θεοὶ
πολλῶ σάλῳ σείσαντες ἔρθωσαν πάλιν.

Tr. Sirs, the gods have safely brought to
harbor again our ship of state after they have seen her
tossed in tempest wild.

There are various parallels in Greek
literature for Horace's ideals as stated in Ode I,

31,¹²⁶ and yet Pindar's prayer in the eighth Nemean is the only one that has any claims at all as a consciously followed model.¹²⁷ However, all of the following Greek citations are interesting because their similarity to the Latin makes them seem at least unconscious influences toward the formulation of Horace's prayer for a life that could be happy with a few necessities rather than the many kinds of wealth desired by most men:

C. I, 31:

Quid dedicatum Apollinem
vates? quid orat de patera novom
fundens liquorem? non opimae
Sardiniae segetes feraces,

non aestuosae grata Calabriae
armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum,
non rura quae Liris quieta
mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.

¹²⁶Cf. the similar sentiment of: Epode I, 25-35:

non ut iuvenis inligata pluribus
arata nitantur mea,
pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
Lucana mutet pascuis,
neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi
Circaea tangat moenia.
satis superque me benignitas tua
ditavit: haud paravero,
quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,
distinctus aut perdam nepos.

¹²⁷And there is not enough direct evidence to prove it such.

premant Calenam falce quibus dedit
 Fortuna vitem, dives ut aureis
 mercator exiccet culillis
 vina syra reparata merce,

dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater
 anno revisens aequor Atlanticum
 impune: me pascunt olivae,
 me cichorea levesque malvae.

frui paratis et valido mihi,
 Latoe, dones, at precor integra
 cum mente, nec turpem senectam
 degere nec cithara carentem.

Pind. Nem. VIII, 37-39:

----- χρυσὸν εὐχονται, πεδῖον δ' ἕτεροι
 ἀπέραντον. ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδῶν καὶ χθονὶ γυῖα
 καλύψαιμ',
 αἰνέων αἰνητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισηπείρων ἀλιτροῖς.

Tr. Some pray for gold and others for
 boundless lands; may it be mine, when my body is buried
 in the earth, to be beloved of my fellow-citizens, honoring
 what is worthy of honor and sowing rebuke on the sinful.

Alcman's preference for plain diet is somewhat

in the tone of Horace (vs. 15-16):

Alcman XXXIII, 6-8:

οὔτι γὰρ ἤϋ τετυγμένον ἔσθει,
ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ γάρ, ὥσπερ ὁ δᾶμος,
ζατεύει.

Tr. In fact, he (Alcman) does not eat dainties, but rather desires the plain food such as the common people have.

Horace's prayer that Latona may make him content with his present possessions especially if they include a sound mind and body together with enjoyment of the lyre (vs. 17-20), is an echo of the three following Greek passages:

Men. Κόλαξ (Ap. Athen. XIV, 659):

Θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις εὐχόμεθα
Ὀλυμπίαισι, πᾶσι πάσαις --
---- διδόναι σωτηρίαν,
ὑγίειαν, ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τῶν ὄντων τε νῦν
ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν πᾶσι.

Tr. To the divinities of Olympus let us pray, to them all that they may give us safety, health, many blessings, and enjoyment of all the good things of the present.

Eur. Herc. fur. 676-679:

μὴ βίην μετ' ἀμουσίας
αἰεὶ δ' ἐν στεφάνουσιν εἶην
ἔτι τοι γέρων ἀοιδῶς
κελαδεῖ Μναμοσύναν

Tr. Never may I live without music; but always may I be where poets' crowns are. The aged bard still celebrates Mnemosyne.

Theogn. 789-792:

Μὴ ποτέ μοι μελέδημα νεώτερον ἄλλο φανεῖη
ἀντ' ἀρετῆς σοφίης τ', ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰὲν ἔχων
τερποίμην φόρμιγγι καὶ ὀρχηθῶ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιμι νόον.

Tr. Never may there appear to me any other newer care to take the place of the excellence of minstrelsy; but always in possession of this, may I take pleasure in the lyre, the dance and song; and in addition to these blessings may I have a noble mind.

In Ode I, 34, Horace has heard a thunderclap in a clear sky, and hastens to acknowledge the

existence of God.¹²⁸ Most editors seem to think that he had in mind a refutation to Lucretius who had denied the possibility of such a phenomenon.¹²⁹ Such a theory is quite conceivable; but it is also true that he may have, as Shorey and Laing think, been playfully recording a poetical mood which it is foolish to interpret as a serious recantation. But thunder in a clear sky was regarded as very ominous by the ancients¹³⁰, and the very close parallel to Horace that is found in Archilochus, supports the conclusion that in the following Greek citation we have a passage that is influential -- though perhaps unconsciously so -- in the writing of the following Ode:

¹²⁸Which in S. I, 5, 101-103, he seems to doubt when he refers to the gods dwelling in a state of tranquility:

---- namque deos didici securum agere aevom,
nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id

¹²⁹tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto.

Lucr. VI, 247 sq.:

---- nam caelo nulla sereno
nec leviter densis mittuntur nubibus umquam.

Ibid. 400-401:

denique cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro
Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?

¹³⁰Cf. Verg. Georg. I, 487; Aen. VII, 141.

Od. XX, 112 sqq.:

ΖΕῦ πάτερ ---
ἢ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεω τόδε φαίνεις.

Tr. Father Zeus, loudly hast thou thundered
from the starry sky, tho there is nowhere a cloud.
Surely in this thou dost show a sign.

C. I, 34:

Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens,
 insanientis dum sapientiae
 consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
 vela dare atque iterare cursus

 cogor relictos: namque Diespiter,
 igni corusco nubila dividens
 plerumque, per purum tonantis
 egit equos volucremque currum;

 quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina
 quo Styx et invisī horrida Taenari
 sedes Atlanteusque finis
 concutitur, valet ima summis

 mutare et insignem attenuat deus,
 obscura promens; hinc apicem rapax
 Fortuna cum stridore acuto
 sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

Archil. 74, 1-4:

Χρημάτων ἀελπτον οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀπίμοτον,
 οὐδὲ θαυμάσιον, ἐπειδὴ Ζεὺς πατὴρ Ὀλυμπίων
 ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἔθηκε νύκτ' ἀποκρύψας φάος
 ἡλίου λάμποντος· λυγρὸν δ' ἦλθ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους
 δέος.

Tr, Nothing is beyond hope nor to be declared impossible on oath, nor miraculous, since Zeus, the father of the Olympian gods has sent night out of mid-day and concealed the light of the shining sun; so that sore fear fell upon men.

Aside from the similar experience of Archilochus that may have prompted the writing of Horace's Ode, there are other indications of Greek spirit and thought, especially in the philosophy that realises the power of Zeus and his daughter Fortune over men's destinies,¹³¹ as well as the reference to the effects on earth and the underworld of Zeus's trip across the heavens in his chariot.¹³² A translated expression,¹³³ and epithet¹³⁴ further enhance the Greek atmosphere.

An entire poem in the spirit of a Greek poet or poets is much fairer evidence of Horace's attempt to clothe a Greek original in Latin garb than mere lines or short passages could ever be, even though they seem consciously imitative of their model. This is due to the fact that the factor of possible Roman application does not so often

¹³¹Cf. citations under I, 34, 12 sqq. and 14-16 in Ch. I. pg. 53-54
¹³²See citations under I, 34, 9-12 in Ch. II, 1, 3. 118 + 109
¹³³See C. I, 34, 2 in Ch. II, 3, 2'. 158
¹³⁴See v. 8 in Ch. II, 2, 1'.

have to be considered, though even in poems Horace usually manages to reduce the Greek tone by enough Roman touches to Latinize his source and bring it within a setting that would be sure to prove of interest to his Roman audience. The Hellenic background for most of the poems quoted in this chapter was furnished chiefly by the dramatic and lyric poets, with Sophocles, Euripides, Alcaeus, and Archilochus the main individual models.

CHAPTER IV

Entire Poems Consciously Imitative of Greek Spirit or Thought

Greek influence pervades all of Ode III of book I. The first two verses have a definite model, and that fact in addition to numerous Greek expressions and similar lines thruout the entire poem, seems to make the imitation obviously a conscious one. The first stanzas are the clearest evidence:

C. I, 3, 1-9:

Sic te diva potens Cypri,
 sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera
 ventorumque regat pater
 obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,

 navis, quae tibi creditum
 debes Vergilium; finibus Atticis
 reddas incolumen, precor,
 et serves animae dimidium meae.

Callim. fr. 114:

Ἄ ναῦς ἂ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὴν
 τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς βῶας
 ἄρπαξας, ποτὶ τὲ Ζανὸς ἱκνεῖμαι
 λιμενοσκόπῳ.

Tr. O ship, thou that hast taken away
the sole light of my life, I beg thee, by Zeus who guards
the harbour ---

The points of similarity are quite apparent. Both poets are addressing a ship which is carrying off a much loved friend whom a deity is called upon to protect. The wording, too, shows many parallels. The friend is called in Latin "half of my soul", and by the Greek "the sole sweet light of my life". The order of words in the second verse of the Latin corresponds quite closely to that of Callimachus.

The rest of the poem shows words, expressions, lines, and thoughts that are clearly Hellenic as has been proved in Chapters I and II. Then, too, the stories of Prometheus and Hercules are pure Greek in origin; so that from first to last, it is clear that Horace was aiming at Greek spirit and thought in this Ode.

That the opening lines of Ode I, 12 are obviously a translation of Pindar, no one doubts. Shorey and Laing say that all attempts to go farther than this in tracing a Pindaric influence thruout Horace's Ode are purely fanciful; and Maclean and Long also consider the rest of the Ode original. Most editors agree, however, that the framework as well as the invocation follow the Greek model -- a

natural claim in view of the fact that the admittedly translated introduction is a statement of the plan of the poem.

To decide the point it is necessary to consider the way each poet develops his theme.

Pindar asks his hymns what god, what hero, what man they shall celebrate; and answers his own question by naming Zeus, as the god, Heracles, the hero, and Theron, the man. From this time on, he never loses sight of his trio -- they are in the background of every tale he tells with "God, the disposer; the hero, the leader, and man, the follower".¹³⁵ After telling of Theron's ancestors, the poet advances to the tale of the House of Cadmus and draws a moral from their history. He then brings in the descent of Theron from the heroes, Thersander and Adrastus, and draws a lesson involving the power of the gods, before he returns to the praise of his Olympic victor.

Horace, as Kiessling says, seems to have built up his arrangement of Pindar's Triad on the question: "What gods, what heroes, what men shall we celebrate?"¹³⁶ At any rate, he does not confine himself to any one god or hero,

¹³⁵Gildersleeve, on Pind. Ol. II.

¹³⁶Notes on Ode XII: hat Horzz auf die Dreifachheit dieser Frage seine Disposition aufgebaut: 'wohl könnte und möchte mein Lied manchen Gott, Heroen, Menschen feiern'.

though he does make Augustus the central figure and climax of his poem.

Thus the following parallel can certainly be drawn. Just as Pindar introduces the praise of Theron, after telling the long story of the fortunes of his ancestors, so Horace presents Augustus as the culmination of a lengthy account of many gods, heroes and men.

It is, however, undeniable that Plüss is excusable for his sarcasm when he says that Horace manages rather easily to conceal his imitation of Pindar,¹³⁷ for certainly the unity and finish of the Latin poem can not compare with that of its model; and though this seems an attempt to imitate Pindar, we can agree with Horace that,

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari

Iulle, ceratis ope Daedalea

nititur pinnis,¹³⁸

and be glad that he realised his unworthiness to attain such a goal.

In Ode I, 15, Horace has attempted the Stesichorean task of "supporting the weight of an epic

¹³⁷Plüss Horaz St. p. 81: er will die Reminiscenz nicht verhehlen (vermeiden können hätte er sie sonst leicht)

¹³⁸C. IV, 2, 1-3.

theme on his lyre",¹³⁹ for this Ode is undoubtedly an early poem which he composed out of Greek materials. Porphyrius claims¹⁴⁰ that the idea was borrowed from an Ode of Bacchylides¹⁴¹ in which Cassandra foretells the events of the Trojan War; but it is as impossible to verify this statement in a parallel analysis of the two poems, as it is to support Ritter's theory that an allegorical significance, with Anthony and Cleopatra represented in Helen and Paris, is intended. The imagery is certainly that of Homer, as is clear in consideration of the fact that there are six definite allusions to the story of the Iliad¹⁴², one figure of speech¹⁴³ and three translated lines¹⁴⁴ from the same source, as well as four Homeric epithets¹⁴⁵ and a Homeric theme. Surely, then, this is a

¹³⁹Quint. Inst. X, 1, 62: "Stesichorum -- epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem."

¹⁴⁰Porph.: "Hac ode Bacchyliden imitatur; nam ut ille Cassandram facit vaticinari futura belli Troiani ita hic Proteum." This statement is also made by the Schol. on Stat. Theb. VII, 330 -- a passage very similar to Horace.

¹⁴¹Bacchyl. 29:

Ἦ Τρῶες ἀρηΐφιλοι, Ζεὺς ὑψιμέδων, ὃς ἅπαντα δέρκεται,
οὐκ αἴτιος θανατοῖς μεγάλων ἀχέων· ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ κείται κίχαι
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισι Δίκαν ὀσίαν, ἄγγα
Εὐνομίας ἀκόλουθον καὶ πινυτᾶς Θέμιδος.
ἀλβίων παιδῆς νιν εὐρόντες σύνοικον.

Tr. O Trojans, dear to Ares, Zeus ruling on high, who sees all things, is not to blame for the great misfortunes of mortals; but it rests with every man to meet half-way pure Justice, attendant of Chaste Order and Wise Law. Children of the blest find her an associate.

¹⁴²See Ch. II, 1, 2.
¹⁴³See Ch. II, 1, 2.
¹⁴⁴See Ch. II, 2, 2.
¹⁴⁵See Ch. II, 2.

youthful experiment of Horace's, as Macleane says, "composed merely to exercise his pen," with the materials taken primarily from the Iliad.

About the only point on which editors are all agreed in regard to Ode I, 16 is that it is a recantation. Of what, about whom, or in imitation of what, if any, Greek author, are questions on which there is a decided difference of opinion. To attempt to refer the retraction to any one poem written about any one person is unnecessary in establishing Horace's indebtedness to Stesichorus. The opinion of Acron who says: "Hanc Oden in satisfactionem facit amicae suae, imitatus Stesichorum poëtam Siculum qui vituperationem scribens Helenae caecatus est et postea responso Apollinis laudem eius scripsit et oculorum aspectum recepit," has lately been in disrepute -- usually because of a misinterpretation of his words which do not say that Horace translated Stesichorus but that he followed his example in writing a Palinode. Surely there are sufficient grounds for that statement. In the first place, Horace was evidently very familiar with the story that Plato tells about the recantation of Stesichorus; for he refers to it in Epode XVII¹⁴⁶. Then, too, the Greek Ode was very

¹⁴⁶Epode XVII, 42-45: infamis Helenae Castor offensus vicem fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece, adempta vati reddidere lumina.

famous¹⁴⁷, and it would only be natural for Horace to follow the example of Stesichorus and compose an Ode in retraction of some lines he had previously written.¹⁴⁸ It is even possible that he had no definite poem or passage in mind; but that here, as in the previous Ode, he was trying his hand at another style of Greek composition. In either case, it seems difficult to disprove a relation --and a conscious one, at that, -- to the well known lines of Stesichorus which Plato quotes:

Phaedr. 243 A (Vol. II H):

ἔστι δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι περὶ μυθολογίαν
καθαμὸς ἀρχαῖος, ὃν Ὀμηρος μὲν οὐκ ᾔσθετο,
Στησίχορος δέ. τῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων στερηθεὶς διὰ
τὴν Ἑλένης κακηγορίαν οὐκ ᾔγνόησεν ὥσπερ
Ὀμηρος, ἀλλ' ἄτε μουσικὸς ὢν ἔγνω τὴν αἰτίαν,
καὶ ποιεῖ εὐθὺς

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος.

οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν εὐσέλμοις,

οὐδ' ἔκεο πέργαμα Τροίας.

καὶ ποιήσας δὴ πᾶσαν τὴν καλουμένην παλινψοδίαν
παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν.

¹⁴⁷Smythe, Gr. Mel. P., p. 265: "These three verses of the Palinode, the most famous perhaps in all Greek poetry are quoted by a host of later writers and passed into a proverb."

¹⁴⁸"celeris iambos" C. I, 16, 24.

Tr. There is for those who have sinned in their treatment of myths, an ancient method of purification, which Homer did not realize, but Stesichorus did; for when he was deprived of his eyesight because of his slander of Helen, he was not, like Homer, ignorant; but as a scholar recognized the reason and immediately composed:

My story is not true; thou didst not
embark in well-benched ships nor ever
come to the walls of Troy.

And when he had written all the poem called the Palinode, straightway his sight returned to him.

The closing and opening lines of the Latin poem are the ones that particularly show the influence of the above citation:

C. I, 16, 1-4, 25-28:

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior,
quem crimosus cumque voles modum
pones iambis, sive flamma
sive mari libet Hadriano.

----- nunc ego mitibus
mutare quaero tristia, dum mihi
fias recantatis amica
opprobriis animumque reddas.

If we were fortunate enough to possess more than one line of the fragment from Alcaeus that Horace so

literally translates in the opening verse of (Ode I, 18,) where he even retains the original meter,¹⁴⁹ we should probably find as close an adaptation in the rest of the Ode. But even without this key to the source, it is clear thruout the poem that the Greek spirit of Horace's favorite model is quite in evidence:

C. I, 18:

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
 circa mite solum Tiberis et moenia Catili;
 siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit neque
 mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines.
 quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem
 crepat?

quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus
 ac ne quis modici transilat munera Liberi,
 Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
 debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euhius,
 cum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
 discernunt avidi. non ego te, candide Bassaren,
 invitum quatiā nec variis obsita frondibus
 sub divom rapiam. saeva tene cum Berecyntio
 cornu tympana, quae subsequitur caecus

Amor sui

et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem
 arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro.

¹⁴⁹See II, 3, 3'.

It is even possible to find very similar passages in Alcaeus for almost every line of Horace. Line one is an obvious translation of Alcaeus 44,¹⁵⁰ while line two merely applies the first statement to Roman environment. Verses three and four are quite like Alcaeus 35 and 41,¹⁵¹ whereas drinking after campaigns and to forget poverty's cares is equally in accord with the 'Alcaic rule of life'.¹⁵² The plea for moderation in preference to quarreling over wine is more like Anacreon;¹⁵³ but the last line has a clear counterpart in Alcaeus 53 and 57.¹⁵⁴ So, it is easy to see that Horace was not only consciously imitating Greek spirit; but that he was following Alcaeus particularly, and in all probability was, at least in part, translating the entire Greek poem of which we have only a fragment.

Ode I, 23, is another case where the almost certain original has been lost with the exception of a fragment, which, in spite of its shortness, bears such a close resemblance to Horace that it seems very probable

150 See II, 3, 3'. P. 167

151 See I. P. 26

152 See footnote on C. I, 11 in Ch. III. P. 179

153 See C. I, 18, 7 under Ch. I. 40-42

154 See II, 1, 2'. P. 61

that it was, in its entirety, the model for the Latin of:

C. I, 23:

Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe,
quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
matrem non sine vano
aurarum et silvae metu.

nam seu mobilibus veris inhorruit
adventus foliis, seu virides rubum
dimovere lacertae
et corde et genibus tremit.

atqui non ego te, tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo, frangere persequor:
tandem desine matrem
tempestitiva sequi viro.

Anacr. fr. 51:

Ἄγανῶς αἶα τε νεβρόν νεοθηλέα
γαλαθηνόν, ὅστ' ἐν ὕλης κεροέσσης
ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοήθη.

Tr. Shy as a little new-born fawn that,
left in the woods by its horned mother, trembles with fear.

Aside from the fact that the simile which forms
the very substance of the entire Ode is Anacreon's, it has
been shown that every line has a possible Greek

model¹⁵⁵ --all of which points to this poem as another example of one of Horace's early studies or experiments in imitation of Greek poets.

The Falernian wine that Horace mentions in line ten of Ode I, 27, is the only Roman touch in a poem of which Kiessling says: "Alles hat hier griechische Farbe." Shorey and Laing mention this as another Greek exercise, and certainly its similarity to the words of Anacreon quoted below justifies Porphyrius's statement that the substance of the Ode was taken from Anacreon:¹⁵⁶

C. I, 27:

Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis
pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
morem verecundumque Bacchum
sanguineis prohibete rixis.

vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
inmane quantum discrepat: impium
lenite clamorem, sodales,
et cubito remanete presso.

voltis severi me quoque sumere
partem Falerni? dicat Opuntiae
frater Megyllae, quo beatus
volnere, qua pereat sagitta.

¹⁵⁵See Ch. I under discussion of I, 23, 5 sq., 8; and Ch. II, 1, 2' under C. I, 23, 1-5 and 9.10.

¹⁵⁶Porph: "Cuius sensus sumptus est ab Anacreonte ex libro tertio."

cessat voluntas? non alia bibam
 mercede. quae te cumque domat venus,
 non erubescendis adurit
 ignibus ignuoque semper

amore peccas: quidquid habes, age
 depone tutis auribus. a miser,
 quanta laborabas Charybdi,
 digne puer meliore flamma!

quae saga, quis te soluere Thessalis
 magus venentis, quis poterit deus?
 vix inligatum te triformi
 Pegasus expediet Chimaera.

Anacr. 63, 7-11:

Ἄγε θῆϋτε μηκέθ' οὔτω
 πατάγῳ τε κάλαητῷ
 Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρ' αἴνῳ
 μελετῶμεν, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς
 ὑποπίνοντες ἐν ὕμνοισι.

Tr. Come now, and let us not indulge in
 the Scythian drink with noise and shouts over our wine; but
 let us drink to the accompaniment of beautiful hymns.

The theme of Anacreon and that of the first two
 stanzas of Horace both consist in advice for moderation in

drinking, and against violence or quarrels over wine; but aside from this common sentiment there are other points not only in these stanzas, but also in the rest of the Latin poem that reveal the Greek spirit of the entire Ode:

Anacreon, as well as Horace¹⁵⁷ mentions the Thracians as proverbially hard and quarrelsome drinkers when he refers to the ΣΚΥΘΙΚῆΝ ΠΟΣΙΝ.

The "Medus acinaces" was an oriental type of short dagger -- never worn by the Romans at a convivium and evidently borrowed here to intensify the impression gained from 'barbarum morem'.¹⁵⁸

'Immane quantum' has a close parallel in form to the Greek ἀμήχανον ὅσον or θαυμαστόν ὅσον.

Megilla is a Greek name¹⁵⁹ and the challenge to give the name of a lady love as a toast¹⁶⁰ has its parallel in Theocritus:¹⁶¹

ἦδη δὲ προϊόντος, ἔσοξ' ἐπιχέλσθαι ἄκρατον
 ὤτινος ἢ θελ' ἕκαστος· ἔδει μόνον ὤτινος εὔπειν.
 ἄμμες μὲν φωνεῦντες ἐπίνομες, ὡς ἐδέδοκτο.

¹⁵⁷C. I, 18, 9; I, 27, 2; Cf. to I, 36, 14.

¹⁵⁸Cf. Plato Rep. 8 p. 553.

¹⁵⁹Megillus (masc. form) is name of interlocutor in Plato

Legg.

¹⁶⁰C. I, 27, 10-12.

¹⁶¹XIV, 18-20.

Tr. Now as things advanced, we determined that each should pour forth unmixed wine to the health of whomsoever he chose; only he was bound to say whose. We drank naming our loves as had been agreed.

The fatal whirlpool in which Horace says the young man is caught, recalls the many comparisons that Anaxilas¹⁶² makes of the snares of love, to Scylla, Charybdis, the Chimaera, etc.

The story of the slaying of the Chimaera is of Greek origin,¹⁶³ as is the reference to the 'triformi Chimaera'.¹⁶⁴

Thus in spite of the fact that the loss of all of Anacreon's poem has, in all probability, deprived us of an obvious original, the fact still remains that Horace was consciously imitating Greek spirit thruout this poem.

The short Ode that closes book I is undoubtedly in the spirit of ^AAnacreon. In fact, one of the Anacreontea¹⁶⁵ offers what would be a sufficiently close

¹⁶²Athen. XIII, 558.

¹⁶³Pind. Ol. XIII, 90.

¹⁶⁴Il. VI, 181.

¹⁶⁵Anacreontea 30, 1-3:

Ἐπὶ μυρσίνας τερεΐνας,
ἐπὶ λωτίναις τε ποίαις
στορέσας θέλω προπίνειν.

Tr. Reclining on tender myrtle, on lotus leaves, I would wish to drink.

parallel to justify the conclusion that Horace used it as a model, were it not for the probable late date of this Greek imitation of Anacreon. It is certainly fair to suppose, however, that both the Anacreonteum and the Ode of Horace were following the same genuine poem of Anacreon which has been lost along with many of his lyrics; for surely the tone is that of the Teian bard. The garland of myrtle, and drinking beneath the shade of the vine are both so decidedly after the manner of the graceful yet trivial lines of the Greek poet of pleasure, that together with the added point of evidence in the Greek word 'philyra' the indications are that Macleane and Long are right when they call the following a "good imitation of Anacreon":

Persicos odi, puer apparatus;
 displicent nexae philyra coronae;
 mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
 sera moretur.

simplici myrto nihil adlabores
 sedulus, curo; neque te ministrum
 vite bibentem.

Although there are only nine Odes in which Horace seems to be thruout consciously imitating Greek spirit or thought, this is almost one-fourth of the

entire first book, and illustrates very clearly the fact that the echoes of Greek sources are intentional and not accidental. All of the very significant examples in this Chapter are in imitation of a Greek lyric poet, and some are almost close enough to their original to be classed as a translation.

CHAPTER V

Poems Translated From the Greek

Ode I, 9, offers the first illustration of a poem that is thruout such a close imitation of one model as to seem a translation:

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
 Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
 silvae laborantes, geluque
 flumina constiterint acuto?

dissolve frigus ligna super foco
 large reponens atque benignius
 deprome quadrimum Sabina,
 o Thaliarche, merum diota.

permitte divis cetera, qui simul
 stravere ventos aequore fervido
 deproeliantis, nec cupressi
 nec veteres agitantur orni.

quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere, et
 quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
 appone, nec dulcis amores
 sperne puer neque tu choreas:

donec virenti canities abest
 morosa, nunc et campus et areae
 lenesque sub noctem susurri
 composita repetantur hora,

nunc et latentis proditor intumo
 gratus puellae risus ab angulo
 pignusque dereptum lacertis
 aut digito male pertinaci.

Alcaeus, 34 and 35:

"Υει μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐκ δ' ὀράνω μέγας
 χεῖμων, πεπτάγασιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥοαί.

 κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμων', ἐπὶ μὲν τίθει
 πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κίρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως
 μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσα
 μάλθακον ἀμφὶ ---- γνόφαλλον.

οὐ χρὴ κάκοισι θυμόν ἐπιτρέπην.
 προκόψομεν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀσάμενοι,
 ὦ βύκχι, φάρμακον δ' ἄριστον
 οἶνον ἐνεικαμένους μεθύσθην.

Tr. Zeus sends rain; from the heavens a great storm descends and streams of water freeze. -- Beat down the cold; build up the fire and having mixt honey-sweet wine unsparingly, put a soft cushion about thy temples. --- We should not turn our thoughts to evils; for by worrying we do not progress at all. The best medicine, O Bacchus, is to become drunk when the wine is brought in.

The opening lines of the Latin, in fact the first two stanzas, stick particularly close to the original in the description of the winter storm, with the streams all frozen, and in the command to build up the fire and pour out the wine. From this point on, the Latin departs a little from the Greek, although the sentiment is still that of enjoyment of youth, wine, and love with no thought of future cares -- the only difference being the introduction of Roman scenes and customs in the Latin verses. A more detailed discussion of the lines and expressions that were imitated has already been given. The Greek name *Θαλίαρχος* or 'one in the fresh bloom of youth' was invented to suit the context and general Greek spirit.

Even more evidence is at hand to prove that Ode I, 10 is a translation of Alcaeus. In the first place, we have the testimony of Porphyryon who states in his note on the opening lines of Horace: "Hymnus est in Mercurium,

ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta"; and also in his remarks on line nine: "Fabula haec ab Alcaeo ficta"

C. I, 10:

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis
 qui feros cultus hominum recentum
 voce formasti catus et decorae
 more palaestrae,

te canam, magni Iovis et decorum
 nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem,
 callidum quidquid placuit iocoso
 condere furto.

te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
 per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
 voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
 risit Apollo.

quin et Atridas duce te superbos
 Ilio dives Priamus relicto
 Thessalosque ignis et iniqua Troiae
 castra fefellit.

tu pias laetis animas reponis
 sedibus virgaque levem coerces
 aurea turbam, superis decorum
 gratus et imis.

Alcaeus V:

Χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι
 Θῦμος ὕμνην, τὸν κορύφαισ' ἐν ἄγναις
 Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδα μύγαισα
 Παμβασίληϊ.

Tr. Hail, thou that dost care for Cylene;
 for my spirit bids me sing a hymn to thee, to whom Maia,
 the wife of all-ruling Zeus, gave birth on the mountain
 tops.

The similarity between the fragment of the Greek poem and the first of Horace's hymn is obvious; and it is more than probable that the lost part of Alcaeus' version was equally close to the Latin. At least we know that the Greek, too, contained the story of the theft of Apollo's kine; for Pausanias says: "Alcaeus has shown that Apollo rejoices especially in oxen, in the Hymn that he wrote about Hermes -- how Hermes stole the oxen of Apollo."¹⁶⁶ Another thing that clinches the proof that

¹⁶⁶Paus. VII, 20, 2:

βουσι γὰρ χαίρειν μάλιστα Ἄλκατος
 ἐδήλωσεν ἐν ὕμνῳ τῷ εἰς Ἑρμῆν γράψας,
 ὡς ὁ Ἑρμῆς βουῖς ὑπέλουτο τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Horace is following a Greek model is the fact that here, as elsewhere in the Odes,¹⁶⁷ he gives his god Greek attributes; for it is of Hermes and not of the Roman Mercury, that he sings when he praises the god of eloquence (λόγιος), the god that presides over games (ἀγώνιος), messenger (ἄγγελός), god of music (μουσικός), thief (κλέπτης), guide (διάκτορος or ἔρλιούνιος), and marshal of the shades with golden wand (χρυσόραπις, Ψυχοπομπός).

If Ode I, 14 is a description of an actual ship in a storm, or if it is an allegory, its model is certainly Alcaeus. To be sure, many facts¹⁶⁸ point to

¹⁶⁷Besides this passage, Horace mentions Mercury five times in the Odes:

- C. I, 24, 18, as the god who marshals shades;
- C. I, 30, 8, as the companion of youth;
- C. II, 7, 13, as the guide or messenger;
- C. II, 7, 29, as the patron of poets;
- C. III, 11, 1, as the god of music.

The two references to him in the Satires are, however, to his Roman character -- as god of Commerce in S. II, 3, 25 and god of luck in S. II, 3, 68.

¹⁶⁸Chief proofs to the allegorical significance are found in the testimony of Heraclides who says that the Ode of Alcaeus refers to the trouble at Mitylene caused by the tyrant Myrtilus, and that of Quintilian (Inst. VIII, 6, 44) who quotes this Ode of Horace as an example of an allegory. (Quint. Inst. Or. VIII, 6, 44: 'Ut "O navis referent" etc., totusque ille Horatii locus quo navem pro republica, fluctuum tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit.'

the allegorical significance of both the Greek and the Latin, and with this in view, the imitation is even more assured, although the many points common to both poems would alone prove the translation:

C. I, 14:

O navis, referent in mare te novi
 fluctus! o quid agis? fortiter occupa
 portum! nonne vides ut
 nudum remigio latus,

et malus celeri saucius Africo
 antennaeque gemant, ac sine funibus
 vix durare carinae
 possint imperiosius

aequor? non tibi sunt integra lintea,
 non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo,
 quamvis Pontica pinus,
 silvae filia nobilis,

iactes et genus et nomen inutile:
 nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
 fidit. tu nisi ventis
 debes ludibrium, cave.

nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
 nunc desiderium curaque non levis,

interfusa nitentes

vites aequora Cycladas.

Alcaeus 18:

Ἄσυνέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν.
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,
 τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες δ' ὄν τὸ μέσσον
 νᾶϊ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνα,
 χεῖμωνι μοχθεῦντες μεγάλῳ μάλα.
 περ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἱστοπέδαν ἔχει,
 λαῖφος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶν βιάσθηλον ἦδη
 καὶ λάκιδες μεγάλαι κατ' αὐτο.
 χόλαισι δ' ἄγυλαι.

Tr. I know not the condition of the winds;
 for the waves roll from side to side, and we, utterly worn
 from the severe storm, are carried out to mid sea with the
 black ship; the hull overflows with bilge-water; the sails
 are shreds and tatters, and there are great rents in them;
 the ropes of the yards fail to hold.

Alcaeus 19:¹⁶⁹

Τὸ δ' αὖτε κῦμα τῶν προτέρων ὄνω

¹⁶⁹Probably same poem as 18.

στείγει, παρέξει δ' ἄμμυ πόνον πόλυν
 ἀντλην, ἐπεὶ κε νᾶος ἔμβρα
 νή(ατα).

Tr. Again waves advance higher than the former ones, it will cause us great difficulty to bale out the bilge water, since it is in the hold of the ship.

First consider the parallels in the description: Both poets address a ship which is again ('referent' -- τὸ δ' αὐτε) borne out to sea by the waves ('referent in mare fluctus' -- ἄμμυες δ' ὄν τὸ μέσσον --- φορήμεθα); the sails of both vessels are full of holes ('non tibi sunt integra lintea' -- λαίφος δὲ πᾶν βιάσθηλον ἦδε καὶ λάκιδες μεγάλαι κατ' αὐτον); the storm is 'celeri Africo' in Latin, and χεῖμωνι μεγάλῳ with ἀνέμων in Greek, and in both accounts of the condition of the ship, the ropes are referred to -- both times as useless ('sine funibus' -- χόλαισι δ' ἄγυλαι).

When the literal interpretation of the allegory is applied to the details of the poems, it is difficult to make them fit in either case, and it would be still more difficult to draw a parallel between the significance that Horace meant his Ode to have and that which Alcaeus intended for his. But the mere fact that both are, to my mind, evidently referring to political difficulties --

even though, in the Greek poem, the ship is merely the picture of the political situation of the citizens of Mitylene, while, in the Latin Ode, it is the personified Commonwealth -- is sufficient evidence, in addition to the close similarity in wording, to assure Horace's indebtedness to Alcaeus.

This chapter has shown Horace as the "Alcaeus of Rome"; for the three Odes quoted above -- the only ones in the first book that have a right to be called translations of Greek models -- are patterned after the one of all the Greek lyric poets whom Horace was temperamentally most fitted to imitate. Horace's poems, easily understood and of simple structure in comparison to the elaborate splendor of Pindar's Odes, are quite in the spirit of Alcaeus who sang of wine, women and wars with a grace that Horace could and did attain.

CONCLUSION

Quotations from Horace were given in the Introduction to prove that he aimed to reproduce in Latin the masterpieces of Hellas, and that there were certain definite poets that he avowedly used as models; namely, Homer, Pindar, Stesichoras, Anacreon, Sappho and Alcaeus. After studying the examples that have been collected from book I of the Odes, it is possible to judge more or less satisfactorily to what degree he carried out these intentions, though such conclusions cannot be as valuable as they would be if the detailed study had included Horace's complete works.

The following table shows rather graphically the comparative indebtedness of Horace to the various Greek authors of the various types of literature:

	Ch. I	Ch. II			Ch. III	Ch. IV	Total
	1	2	3	T			
EPICISTS							
*Homer	13	(22)	(34)	(27)	83		96
Hesiod	3	(1)	(4)	(1)	6		9
App. Rh.	2	(1)	(1)	(4)	6		8
Cypr. Fr.			(1)		1		1
	<u>18</u>	<u>(24)</u>	<u>(40)</u>	<u>(32)</u>	<u>96</u>		<u>114</u>

	Ch. I	Ch. II				Ch. III	Ch. IV	Ch. V	Total
		1	2	3	T				
DRAMATISTS									
Aesch.	2	(5)	(4)	(4)	13				15
Soph.	2	(1)	(5)	(4)	10	3			15
Eur.	<u>15</u>	<u>(7)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(8)</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>2</u>			<u>38</u>
Tragic	19	(13)	(15)	(16)	44	5			68
Aristoph.	1	(1)	(2)	(4)	7				8
Men.	<u>1</u>	—	—	(1)	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>			<u>3</u>
Comic	2	(1)	(2)	(5)	8	1			11
	21	(14)	(17)	(21)	52	6			79
LYRIC									
Anthology	7	(6)		(3)	9				16
*Alcaeus	2	(2)	(1)	(8)	11	2	1	3	19
Alcman			(3)	(1)	4				4
*Anacreon	2	(2)	(1)	(1)	4		4		10
Bacchyl.				(1)	1				1
Ibycus	1	(1)	(1)		2				3
*Pindar	7	(12)	(14)	(7)	33	1	1		42
*Sappho	1	(3)		(6)	9	1			11
*Simonides	4	(2)	(2)	(1)	5				9
*Stesichorus							2		2
Terpander	—	—	(1)	—	<u>1</u>	—	—	—	<u>1</u>
	24	(28)	(23)	(28)	79	4	8	3	118

	Ch. I	Ch. II				Ch. III	Ch. IV	Ch. V	Total
		1	2	3	T				
PASTORAL									
Bion			(1)		1				1
Moschus	2	(2)			2				4
Theocritus	<u>3</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>(1)</u>		<u>5</u>				<u>8</u>
	5	(6)	(2)		8				13
<hr/>									
ELEGIAC									
Callimachus		(1)		(7)	8		1		9
Mimnermus	1	(1)			1				2
Solon						1			1
Theognis	<u>11</u>	<u>(4)</u>		<u>(2)</u>	<u>6</u>				<u>17</u>
	12	(6)		(9)	15	1	1		39
<hr/>									
PHILOSOPHICAL									
Plato		(1)	(1)		2				2
Aristotle				(1)	1				1
Pythag.				<u>(1)</u>	<u>1</u>				<u>1</u>
		(1)	(1)	2	4				4
<hr/>									
IAMBIC									
Archilochus	<u>2</u>	<u>(1)</u>		<u>(1)</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>			<u>6</u>
	2	(1)		(1)	2	2			6

An examination of the above table shows that six of the seven starred names, representing the seven models that Horace set for himself, are clear sources of

primary importance from which he drew the Odes of book I. Stesichoras is the only one that does not seem to have exerted an obviously large influence; but it is significant that the two contributions he does make are to poems and not to short passages. Homer is reflected most (particularly the Iliad); but he is never responsible for an entire poem, and his greatest influence is found, as would be expected, in the epithets. In the light of Horace's realisation of the inimitable nature of the supreme lyric bard, it seems surprising to find that Pindar has furnished the second largest total of apparent originals, until it is considered that he, too, exerted no obvious influence¹⁷⁰ except on lines and phrases. To Sappho, Anacreon and Simonides, Horace is about equally indebted. As for his avowedly favorite model, Alcaeus, there is no doubt but that the character of the nineteen traces of Alcaic influence amply justifies the conclusion that Horace did draw his chief inspiration from this source; for the only three Greek poems that are followed closely enough to seem translated are Odes of Alcaeus, whereas one-fourth of the poems whose spirit or thought is Hellenic can be attributed to his influence, as well as a large number of consciously imitated shorter passages.

¹⁷⁰With possible exception of C.I,12--See Ch. IV.

The table further shows that a surprisingly large percentage of examples are imitations of Euripides, Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Theognis, none of whom were mentioned in the choice few discussed above. However, as was stated at the end of Chapter I, the tragic dramatists were responsible mainly for Horace's philosophy -- and that usually unconsciously -- while Theognis has contributed merely subconscious reflections, or, at most, epithets.

Surely a total of three hundred and seventy-three examples of Greek imitations, of which two hundred and seventy-eight are conscious, together with the fact that twenty-four of the thirty-eight poems of book I were, in their entirety either consciously or unconsciously following a Greek model warrants the generally admitted conclusion that Horace's Odes as typefied in book I are primarily of Greek source.

So much for the statistics that prove Horace's undeniable indebtedness to Greek poets -- chiefly the lyricists. It is interesting to reflect on the results of an imitation that is of such a surprising range; for Horace in his attitude toward the Greek lyric poets was as much of an eclectic as he was in his philosophy.

It would seem that any author who so fully carries out his intentions of uniting the sweeping grandeur and magnificence of Pindar, the passion of Sappho, the

light-hearted grace of Anacreon, the pathos of Simonides and the heavy dignity of Stesichoras with the ever-present tones of the "golden lyre"¹⁷¹ of Alcaeus, would have produced a conglomeration of Graecism that would result in an effect far from pleasing and brand him as an obvious plagiarist. Yet Horace's mobile and versatile genius blended these predominant moods with an irreproachable grace of form that intuitively omits and adopts just the proper phrases of his many originals and results in a very artistic production, even though it may be far from its native force. Nor is it fair to call his imitations plagiarisms; for the reproduction of this poetry of the past, thru the inspiration of Hellenic sources, is made with special application to occasions of contemporary history with a Roman sympathy that "glorifies the realism of Roman public life and pleasure"¹⁷²; while the very form that is, on the surface, a clear adaptation from the Greek is in reality a combination of "Greek grace and subtlety with Roman strength and concentration"¹⁷³, so that the gratification of the reader is increased thru the discovery of the Hellenic background.

¹⁷¹"aureo plectro" C. II, 13, 27 sq.

¹⁷²Sellar: Rom. Poets of Aug. Age., p. 147.

¹⁷³Ibid. p. 148.

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NOTE: Unless otherwise stated, Keller and Holder's text is used for the citations from Horace, and that of Bergk for the passages quoted from the Greek lyric, elegiac, and iambic poets.

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