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on one side and on the other, or relying solely on his own critical acumen, Lord Lytton shews himself completely master of his subject.'

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LITERARY WORLD.
THE

ODES AND EPODES

OF

HORACE
THE
ODES AND EPODES
OF
HORACE
A METRICAL TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH
WITH
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARIES
BY
LORD LYTTON
WITH LATIN TEXT
New Edition
LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1872
All rights reserved
TO THE

REV. F. W. FARRAR, B.D.

MASTER OF MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE,

In admiration of an intellect enriched by the variety of culture which gives renown to the Scholar, ennobled by the unity of purpose which blends the vocation of the Scholar with the mission of the Divine,

IS INSCRIBED

This attempt to facilitate among English readers the study of an Author so humane, whether in his weakness or his strength, that his sympathies with mankind have obtained for him the indulgence which man accords to a friend. That indulgence is necessarily the greatest among those most indulgent as to man's weakness, if most exacting as to man's strength, 'The Seekers after God.'

Torquay: April 3, 1872.
THE FIRST IMPRESSION of this work having become somewhat rapidly exhausted, this new Edition would have appeared long since, but for my desire to consider whether any fresh pains on my part could make the book more worthy of the favour with which it has been received by the general reader, and the courtesy with which it has been noticed by the critical press, wherever the review of it has been written by a scholar.

Of course no pains of mine can meet the objection of those who dissent to the whole framework of the translation, viz., the adoption of rhymeless metres—just as no reasonings, and certainly no examples, in favour of rhymed verse can alter my opinion, formed after long and careful deliberation, that while for the purposes of imitation or paraphrase rhyme may be advantageously employed in selected specimens of the Odes,
it is utterly antagonistic to a faithful translation of them, taken as a whole, whether in substance or in spirit.

Leaving, however, the question of rhythm one of those disputes of taste which admit of no arbiter but time, I may perhaps be pardoned for saying that I find many readers, failing, in the first instance, to accommodate the ear to the metres I have invented, who have contrived, on reperusal, to do so, and come round, more or less, to my side of the question.

Necessarily, therefore, whatever care I could take in revision is confined to details, and my main object has been to attend to every suggestion by competent authorities that might guide me towards closer approximation to the intention and sense of the original. In one or two instances of rhythm apart from interpretation, where it has seemed to me that this could be best effected by varying the type or form of the metre first selected, the Ode has been rewritten.

To be judged fairly, this book must, however, be taken as a whole of which the translation, though a principal, is still but a single part of a general design—viz., not only by an English version but by introductory commentaries or explanatory notes, accompanied by a Latin text, carefully collated from the recent editions most popularly accepted by European scholars,—to
present to the English reader, in compact and accessible form, facilities for a comprehensive study of Horace's Odes, illustrated by the learning of critics collected from many competing editions, or by that of eminent scholars who have vouchsafed me their aid,—with such occasional observations of my own as some familiarity with the subjects treated induced me, not presumptuously, to suggest.

My task after all is one of those very humble ones, which are frequent enough among labours of love, and my ambition is not disproportioned to the humility of the task. Whatever the differences of taste and opinion as to the value of my translation, I venture to hope that neither that nor the book of which it is a portion can fail to obtain a place lowly indeed, but not unenduring, among those elucidations of one of the most popular, and in some respects one of the most difficult, poets of antiquity, to which every conscientious student of Horace will find it worth his while to refer.
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ON THE CAUSES OF HORACE'S POPULARITY.

No one denies that there are greater poets than Horace; and much has been said in disparagement even of some of the merits most popularly assigned to him, by scholars who have, nevertheless, devoted years of laborious study to the correction of his text or the elucidation of his meaning. But whatever his faults or deficiencies, he has remained unexceded in that special gift of genius which critics define by the name of charm. No collection of small poems, ancient or modern, has so universally pleased the taste of all nations as Horace's Odes, or been so steadfastly secure from all the capricious fluctuations of time and fashion. In vain have critics insisted on the superior genius evinced in the scanty relics left to us of the Greek lyrist, and even on the more spontaneous inspiration which they detect in the exquisite delicacy of form that distinguishes the muse of Catullus. Horace still reigns supreme as the lyrical singer most enthroned in the affections, most congenial to the taste, of the complex multitude of students in every land and in every age.

It is an era in the life of the schoolboy when he first commences his acquaintance with Horace. He gets favourite
passages by heart with a pleasure which (Homer alone excepted) no other ancient poet inspires. Throughout life the lines so learnt remain on his memory, rising up alike in gay and in grave moments, and applying themselves to varieties of incident and circumstance with the felicitous suppleness of proverbs. Perhaps in the interval between boyhood and matured knowledge of the world, the attractive influence of Horace is suspended in favour of some bolder poet adventuring far beyond the range of his temperate though sunny genius, into the extremes of heated passion or frigid metaphysics—

'Visere gestiens
Qua parte debacchantur ignes,
Qua nebulæ pluviique rores.'

But as men advance in years they again return to Horace—again feel the young delight in his healthful wisdom, his manly sense, his exquisite combination of playful irony and cordial earnestness. They then discover in him innumerable beauties before unnoticed, and now enjoyed the more for their general freedom from those very efforts at intense emotion and recondite meaning for which, in the revolutionary period of youth, they admired the writers who appear to them, when reason and fancy adjust their equilibrium in the sober judgment of maturer years, feverishly exaggerated or tediously speculative. That the charm of Horace is thus general and thus imperishable, is a proposition which needs no proof. It is more interesting and less trite to attempt to analyse the secrets of that charm, and see how far the attempt may suggest hints of art to the numberless writers of those poems which aim at the title of lyrical composition, and are either the trinkets of a transitory fashion, or the ornaments of enduring vogue, according as they fail or succeed in concentrating the rays of poetry into the compactness and solidity of imperishable gems.

The first peculiar excellence of Horace is in his personal character and temperament rather than his intellectual capa-
cities; it is in his genial humanity. He touches us on so many sides of our common nature; he has sympathies with such infinite varieties of men; he is so equally at home with us in town and country, in our hours of mirth, in our moments of dejection. Are we poor? he disarms our envy of the rich by greeting as a special boon of the Deity the suffisance which He bestows with a thrifty hand; and, distinguishing poverty from squalor, shows what attainable elegance can embellish a home large enough to lodge content. Are we rich? he inculcates moderation, and restrains us from purse-pride with the kindliness of a spirit free from asceticism, and sensitive to the true enjoyments of life. His very defects and weaknesses of character serve to increase his attraction; he is not too much elevated above our own erring selves.

Next to the charm of his humanity is that of his inclination towards the agreeable aspects of our mortal state. He invests the virtues of patience amidst the trials of adversity with the dignity of a serene sweetness, and exalts even the frivolities of worldly pleasure with associations of heartfelt friendship and the refinements of music and song. Garlands entwined with myrtle, and wine-cups perfumed with nard, seem fit emblems of the banqueter who, when he indulges his Genius, invokes the Muse and invites the Grace. With this tender humanity and with this pleasurable temperament is blended a singular manliness of sentiment. In no poet can be found lines that more rouse, or more respond to, the generous impulse of youth towards fortitude and courage, sincerity and honour, devoted patriotism, the superiority of mind over the vicissitudes of fortune, and a healthful reliance on the wisdom and goodness of the one divine providential Power, who has no likeness and no second, even in the family of Olympus.

Though at times he speaks as the Epicurean, at other times as the Stoic, and sometimes as both in the same poem, he belongs exclusively to neither school. Out of both
he has poetised a practical philosophy which, even in its inconsistencies, establishes a harmony with our own inconsistent natures; for most men are to this day in part Epicurean, in part Stoic. Horace is the poet of Eclecticism.

From the width of his observation, and the generalising character of his reasoning powers, Horace is more emphatically the representative of civilisation than any other extant lyrical poet. Though describing the manners of his own time, he deals in types and pictures, sentiments and opinions, in which every civilised time finds likeness and expression. Hence men of the world claim him as one of their order, and they cheerfully accord to him an admiration which they scarcely concede to any other poet. It is not only the easy good-nature of his philosophy, and his lively wit, that secure to him this distinction, but he owes much also to that undefinable air of good-breeding which is independent of all conventional fashions, and is recognised in every society where the qualities that constitute good-breeding are esteemed. Catullus has quite as much wit, and is at least as lax, where he appears in the character of a man of pleasure—Catullus is equally intimate with the great men of his time, and in grace of diction is by many preferred to Horace; yet Catullus has never attained to the same oracular eminence as Horace among men of the world, and does not, in their eyes, command the same rank in that high class of gentlemen—thorough-bred authors. For if we rightly interpret genius by *ingenium*—viz., the inborn spirit which accommodates all conventional circumstances around it to its own native property of form and growth—there is a genius of gentleman as there is a genius of poet. That which his countrymen called *urbanitas*, in contradistinction to provincial narrowness of mind or vulgarity of taste, to false finery and affected pretence, is the essential attribute of the son of the Venusian freedman. And with this quality, which needs for brilliant development familiar converse with
the types of mind formed by a polished metropolis, Horace preserves, in a degree unknown to those who, like Pope and Boileau, resemble him more or less on the town-bred side of his character, the simple delight in rural nature, which makes him the favourite companion of those whom cool woodlands, peopled with the beings of fable, 'set apart from the crowd.' He might be as familiar with Sir Philip Sidney in the shades of Penshurst, as with Lord Chesterfield in the saloons of Mayfair. And out of this rare combination of practical wisdom and poetical sentiment there grows that noblest part of his moral teaching which is distinct from schools and sects, and touches at times upon chords more spiritual than those who do not look below the surface would readily detect. Hence, in spite of his occasional sins, he has always found indulgent favour with the clergy of every Church. Among the dozen books which form the library of the village curé of France, Horace is sure to be one; and the greatest dignitaries of our own Church are among his most sedulous critics and his warmest panegyrists. With all his melancholy conceptions of the shadow-land beyond the Grave, and the half-sportive, half-pathetic injunction, therefore, to make the most of the passing hour, there lies deep within his heart a consciousness of nobler truths, which ever and anon find impressive utterance, suggesting precepts and hinting consolations that elude the rod of Mercury, and do not accompany the dark flock to the shores of Styx:

'Virtus recludens immeritis mori
Cœlum negata tentat iter via.'

Thus we find his thoughts interwoven with Milton’s later meditations; and Condorcet, baffled in aspiration of human perfectibility on earth, dies in his dungeon with Horace by his side, open at the verse which says, by what arts of con-

---

1 See Milton’s Sonnet xxi., To Cyriac Skinner.
stancy and fortitude in mortal travail Pollux and Hercules attained to the citadels of light.

It is, then, mainly to this large and many-sided nature in the man himself that Horace owes his unrivalled popularity—a popularity which has indeed both widened in its circle and deepened in its degree in proportion to the increase of modern civilisation. And as the popularity is thus so much derived from the qualities in which the man establishes friendly intimacy with all ranks of his species, so it is accompanied with that degree of personal affection which few writers have the happiness to inspire. We give willing ear to the praise of his merits, and feel a certain displeasure at the criticisms which appear harshly to qualify and restrict them; we are indulgent to his faults, and rejoice when the diligent research and kindly enthusiasm of German scholars redeem his good name from any aspersions that had been too lightly credited. It pleases us to think that most, perhaps all, among his erotic poems which had left upon our minds a painful impression, and which a decorous translator shuns, are no genuine expressions of the poet's own sentiment or taste, but merely a Roman artist's translation or paraphrase from the Greek originals.\(^1\) We readily grant the absurdity of any imputation upon the personal courage of Brutus's young officer, founded upon the modest confession,

\(^1\) The opinion at which most Horatian scholars have now arrived is well expressed by Estré in his judicious and invaluable work, 'Horatiana Prosopographeia:' 'Credo Horatium prorsus abstinuisse a puerorum amoribus, etiamsi ipse, jocans, aliter de se profiteatur. Distabant, si quid judico, Horatii tempore, puerorum amores tantum a persona sancti castique viri quantum libera venus nostris temporibus abest. Novi autem hodié quoque, quis ignorat, juvenes virosque vel castissimos et sanctissimos, inter amicos, animi causa, ita jocantes, quasi liberam venerem ardentissime sectarentur. Nec Libri iv. carm. i, curo, scriptum, uti egregie observavit Lessingius, post legem Juliam latam de pudicitia quem nemo amplius amorem in puerum palam celebrare ausus fuisset.'—P. 524.
that on the fatal field of Philippi, when those who most vaunted their valour fled in panic or bit the dust, he too had left his shield not too valiantly behind him; he who, in the same poem, addressed to a brother soldier, tells us that he had gone through the worst extremities in that bloody war. For those panegyrics on Augustus which, in our young days, we regarded as renegade flattery bestowed upon a man who had destroyed the political liberties for which the poet had fought, we accept the rational excuses which are suggested by our own maturer knowledge of life and of the grateful human heart, and our profounder acquaintance with the events and circumstances of the age. We see in the poems themselves, when fairly examined, with what evident sincerity Horace vindicates his enthusiastic admiration of a prince whom he identifies with the establishment of safety to property and life, with the restoration of arts and letters, with the reform of manners and the amelioration of laws. We can understand with what genuine horror a patriot so humane must have regarded the fratricide of intestine wars, and with what honest gratitude so ardent a lover of repose and peace would have exclaimed,—

' Custode rerum Caesare, non furor
Civilis aut vis exiget otium.'

If to the rule of one man this blessed change was to be ascribed, and if public opinion so cordially endorsed that assumption, that the people themselves placed their ruler in the order of Divinities—it scarcely needs even an excuse for the poet that he joined in the general apotheosis of the great prince, who to him was the benignant protector and the sympathising friend. When the population have once tested the security of established order, and, with terrified remembrance of the bloodshed and havoc of a previous anarchy, felt the old liberty rather voluntarily slip than be violently wrenched from their hands, a benevolent autocracy that con-
sults the public opinion which installs it seems a blessing to
the many, and is accepted as a necessity by the few. And
if the professed statesmen and political thinkers of the time
—the Pollios and the Messalas, the most eminent parti-
sans of M. Antony, the noblest companions of Brutus—
aquiesced, with the more courtly and consistent Mæcenas,
in the established government of Augustus, it would indeed
be no reproach to a man whose mind habitually shunned
gloomy anticipations of the distant future, that he could not
foresee the terrible degeneration of manners and the military
despotism which were destined to grow out of the clement
autocracy of that accomplished prince who had won the
title of ‘father of his country,’ and who might be seen on
summer evenings angling in the Tiber, or stretched upon
its banks amidst a ring of laughing children, with whom the
Emperor whose word gave law to the Indian and the Mede
was playing with nuts and pebbles.

What Horace was as man, can, however, furnish but little
aid to those who desire to rival him as poet—little aid, in-
deed, except as it may serve to show how far a genial and
cordial temperament, an independent and manly spirit, and
a fellowship with mankind in their ordinary pursuits and
tastes, contribute to the culture and amenities of the poet
who would make his monument more lasting than bronze and
more lofty than the pyramids. But in Horace, as artist, we
may perhaps, on close examination, discover some peculiar-
ties of conception and form sufficiently marked and pervasive
to evince that with him they were rules of art; so successful as
to make them worthy of study, and hitherto so little noticed,
even by his most elaborate critics, as to justify an attempt to
render them more generally intelligible and instructive.

In what I am about to say on this head, I confine my
remarks to the short lyrical pieces to which commentators
after his time gave the name of Odes, and on which his
eminence as a poet must mainly rely. Whatever merit be
ascribed to his Satires, it is scarcely in the power of genius to raise satire to an elevated rank in poetry. Satire, indeed, is the antipodes of poetry in its essence and its mission. Satire always tends to dwarf, and it cannot fail to caricature; but poetry does nothing if it does not tend to enlarge and exalt, and if it does not seek rather to beautify than deform. And though such didactic and moralising vein as belongs to the Epistles of Horace be in itself much higher than satire, and in him has graces of style that, with his usual consummate taste, he rejects for satire, which he regards but as a rhythmical prose, still, the higher atmosphere in which the genius of lyrical song buoys and disports itself is not within the scope of that didactic form of poetry which 'walks highest but not flies.' Hegel, in his luminous classification of the various kinds of poetry, has perhaps somewhat too sharply drawn the line between its several degrees of rank; yet every one acquainted with the rudimentary principles of criticism must acknowledge, that just as it requires a larger combination of very rare gifts to write an epic or a drama which the judgment of ages allows to be really great, than to write a lyrical poem, so it demands a much finer combination of some of the rarest of those rare gifts to write a lyrical poem which becomes the song of all times and nations, than to write a brilliant sarcasm upon human infirmities, or an elegant lecture in the style of an Epistle. These last require but talents, however great, which are more or less within the province of prose-writers. The novel of 'Gil Blas' or the Essays of Montaigne evince qualities of genius equal at least to those displayed in Horace's Satires and Epistles. But if you were to multiply Lesages and Montaignes ad infinitum, they could not accomplish a single one of Horace's nobler odes.

Now, the first thing that strikes us in examining the secrets of Horace's art in lyrical poetry—and which I venture humbly to think it would be well for modern lyricists to
study—is his terseness. Terseness is one of the surest proofs of painstaking. Nothing was ever more truthful in art than the well-known reply of the writer to the friendly critic, who said, 'You are too prolix:' 'I had not time to be shorter.'

We know from Horace himself that he bestowed upon his artist-work an artist's labour—'Operosa carmina fingo.' He seems to have so meditated upon the subject he chooses as to be able to grasp it readily. There is no wandering after ideas—no seeking to prolong and over-adorn the main purpose for which he writes. If it be but a votive inscription to Diana, in which he dedicates a tree to her, he does not let his command of language carry him beyond the simple idea he desires to express. He seems always to consider that he is addressing a very civilised and a very impatient audience, which has other occupations in life besides that of reading verses; and nothing in him is more remarkable than his study not to be tedious. Perhaps, indeed, it is to this desire that some of his shortcomings up to the mark which very poetical critics would assign to lyrical rapture are to be ascribed; but it is a fault on the right side.

The next and much more important characteristic of Horace as a lyrical artist is commonly exhibited in his grander odes, and often in his lighter ones; and to this I do not know if I can give a more expressive word than picturesqueness. His imagination, in his Odes, predominates over all his other qualities, great as those other qualities are; and that which he images being clear to himself, he contrives in very few words to render it distinct and vivid to the reader. When Lydia is entreated not to spoil Sybaris; by enumerating the very sports for which her lover has lost taste, he brings before us the whole picture of an athletic young Roman noble—his achievements in horsemanship, swimming, gymnastics; when, in the next ode, he calls on the Feastmaster to heap up the fagots, and
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bring out the wine, and enjoy his youth while he may, he slides into a totally different picture. Here it is the young Roman idler, by whom only the mornings are devoted to the Campus Martius, the afternoons to the public lounge, the twilights to amorous assignations; and the whole closes still with a picture, the girl hiding herself within the threshold, and betrayed by her laugh, while the lover rushes in and snatches away the love-token from the not too reluctant finger. When he invites Tyndaris to his villa, the spot is brought before the eye: the she-goats browsing amid the arbute and wild thyme; the pebbly slopes of Ustica; the green nook sheltered from the dog-star; the noon-day entertainment; the light wines and the lute. The place and the figures are before us as clearly as if on the canvas of a painter. He would tell you that he is marked from childhood for the destiny of poet; and he charms the eye with the picture of the truant infant asleep on the wild mountain-side, safe from the bear and the adder, while the doves cover him with leaves.

With a rarer and higher attribute of art Horace introduces the dramatic element very largely and prominently into his lyrics. His picture becomes a scene. His ideas take life and form as personations. Does he wish to dissuade his countrymen from the notion of transferring the seat of government from Rome to Asia, or perhaps, rather, from some large emigration and military settlement in the East? He calls up the image of the Founder of Rome borne to heaven in the chariot of Mars; ranges the gods in council on Olympus; and puts into the lips of Juno the warning which he desires to convey. Does he seek to discourage popular impatience for the return of the Parthian prisoners—viz., the soldiers of Crassus who had settled and married in the land of the conqueror? He evokes the great form of Regulus urging the Senate to refuse to ransom the Roman captives taken by Carthage—places
him as on a visible stage—utters his language, describes his looks, and shows him departing to face the tormentors, satisfied and serene. Would he console a girl for the absence of her lover, and hint to herself a friendly caution against an insidious gallant? In eight short stanzas he condenses a whole drama in personages and plot. Does he paint the reconciliation of two jealous lovers? He makes them speak for themselves; and their brief dialogue is among the most delightful of comedies. Would he tell us that he is going to sup with convivial friends? He suddenly transports us into the midst of the scene, regulates the toasts, calls for the flowers and music, babbles out his loves. The scene lives.

Not to weary the reader with innumerable instances of this art of picture and of drama, so sedulously cultivated by Horace, I will only observe that the various imitators of Horace have failed to emulate this the most salient characteristic of his charm in construction; and that even his numerous commentators have but slightly noticed it—nay, some have even censured as a desultory episode that which, according to Horace's system of treating his subject, is the substance of the poem itself. For the commencing stanzas sometimes only serve as a frame to the picture which he intends to paint, or a prologue to the scene which he proposes to dramatise.

Thus he begins a poem by an invocation to Mercury and the lyre to teach him a strain that may soften the coy heart of a young girl; passes rapidly to the effect of music even upon the phantoms in the shades below; the Danaides rest their urn, and then, as if the image of the Danaides spontaneously and suddenly suggested the idea, he places on the scene the sister murderesses at night slaughtering their bridegrooms—and the image of Hypermnestra, the sole gentle and tender one, waking her lord and urging him to fly.

So, again, when his lady friend, Galatea, is about to undertake a voyage, he begins by a playful irony about omens,
hastens to the reality of stormy seas—and suddenly we have the picture of Europa borne from the field-flowers to the midst of the ocean. We behold her forlorn and alone on the shores of Crete—hearken to the burst of her despair and repentance—and see the drama conclude with the consolatory appearance of Venus, and Cupid with his loosened bow. To some commentators these vivid presentations of dramatic imagery have appeared exotic to the poem—episodes and interludes. But the more they are examined as illustrative of Horace's peculiar culture of lyric art, the more (in this respect not unimitative of Pindar) they stand out as the body of his piece, and the developed completion of his purpose. Take them away, and the poems themselves would shrink into elegant vers d'occasion. Horace, in a word, generally studies to secure to each of his finer and more careful poems, however brief it be, that which playwrights call 'a backbone.' And even where he does not obtain this through direct and elaborate picture or dramatic effect and interest, he achieves it perhaps in a single stanza, embodying some striking truth or maxim of popular application, expressed with a terseness so happy, that all times and all nations adopt it as a proverb.

We see, then, how much of his art in construction depends on his lavish employ of picture and drama—how much on compression and brevity. We must next notice, as constituent elements of Horace's peculiar charm, his employment of playful irony, and the rapidity of his transitions from sportive to earnest, earnest to sportive; so that, perhaps, no poet more avails himself of the effect of 'surprise'—yet the surprise is not coarse and glaring, but for the most part singularly subdued and delicate—arising sometimes from a single phrase, a single word. He has thus, in his lyrics, more of that combination of tragic and comic elements to which the critics of a former age objected in Shakespeare, than perhaps any poet extant except Shake-
speare himself. The consideration of this admirably artistic fidelity to the mingled yarn of life, leads us on to the notice of Horatian style and diction.

The character of the audience he more immediately addresses will naturally have a certain effect on the style of an author, and an effect great in proportion to his practical good sense and good taste. No man possessed of what the French call savoir vivre, employs exactly the same style even in extempore discourse, whether he address a select audience of scholars or a miscellaneous popular assembly. The readers for whom Horace more immediately wrote were the polite and intellectual circles of Rome, wherein a large proportion were too busy, and a large proportion too idle, to allow themselves to be diverted very far, or for long at a stretch, into poetic regions, whether of thought or diction, remote from their ordinary topics and habitual language. Horace does not, therefore, in the larger number of songs composed—some to be popularly sung and all to be popularly read—build up a poetic language distinct from that of conversation. On the contrary, with some striking exceptions, where the occasion is unusually solemn, he starts from the conversational tone, seeks to familiarise himself winningly with his readers, and leads them on to loftier sentiment, uttered in more noble eloquence—just as an orator, beginning very simply, leads on the assembly he addresses. And possibly Horace's manner in this respect—which, though in a less marked degree, is also that of Catullus in most of the few purely lyrical compositions the latter has left to us—may be traced to the influence which oratory exercised over the generation born in the last days of the Republic. For in the age of Cicero and Hortensius it may be said that the genius of the Roman language developed itself rather in the beauties which belong to oratory than those which lie more hidden from popular appreciation in the dells and bosks of song.
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And as the study of rhetoric and oratory formed an essential part of education among the Roman youths contemporary with Horace, so that study would unconsciously mould the taste of the poet in his selection and arrangement of verbal decorations. Be the cause what it may, nothing is more noticeable in Horace's style than its usual conformity with oratorical art, its easy familiarisation with the minds addressed, its avoidance of over-floridity and recondite mysticism, and its reliance for effects that are to fascinate the imagination, touch the heart, rouse the soul, upon something more than the delicacies of poetic form. His reliance, in short, is upon the sentiment, the idea, which the glow of expression animates and illumes. Thus that *curiosa felicitas verborum* justly ascribed to Horace has so much of the masculine, oratorical character—so unites a hardy and compact simplicity of phrase with a sentiment which itself has the nobleness or grace of poetry (as oratorical expression of the highest degree ever has)—that of all ancient poets Horace is the one who most furnishes the public speaker with quotations sure of striking effect in any public assembly to which the Latin language is familiar. Take one example among many. Mr. Pitt is said never to have more carried away the applause of the House of Commons than when, likening England—then engaged in a war tasking all her resources—to that image of Rome which Horace has placed in the mouth of Hannibal—he exclaimed:

`Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.'

Now, this passage, when critically examined, does not owe its unmistakable poetry to any form of words, any startling epithet, inadmissible in prose, but to an illustration at once very noble and yet very simple; and, in rapidity of force, in
the development and completion of the idea, so akin to oratory, that an impassioned speaker who had his audience in his hands might have uttered the substance of it in prose.

I may perhaps enable the general reader to comprehend more clearly what I mean by Horace's art in diction as starting from the conversational tone, and, save on rare occasions, avoiding a style antagonistic to prose, by a reference to the two loveliest, most elaborate, and most perfect lyrics in our own language—'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso.' In these odes Milton takes for representation the two types of temperament under which mankind are more or less divisibly ranged—viz., the cheerful and the pensive. But he treats these two common varieties of all our race as a poet, of a singularly unique temperament himself, addressing that comparatively small number of persons who are poetically cheerful or poetically pensive. And in so addressing them his language is throughout essentially distinct from prose; it is, like most of his youthful poems, the very quintessence of poetic fancy, both in imagery and expression. Perfectly truthful in itself, the poetry in these masterpieces is still not of that kind of truthfulness which comes home to all men's business and bosoms. Like the poet's own soul, it is 'a star, and dwells apart.' It may be doubted whether Horace, in his very finest odes, ever, in his maturest age, wrote anything so exquisitely poetical, regarded as pure poetry addressed to poets, as these two lyrics written by Milton in his youth. But then the difference between them and Horace's Odes is, that out of England the former are little known—certainly not appreciated.¹ Their beauty of form is so delicate, that

¹ It may be said in answer to this, that on the Continent Latin is more read than English. True; but that does not prevent those English poets who address themselves to a cosmopolitan audience, as Shakespeare, and I may add Byron, being as well appreciated on the Continent as any Latin author is; and I doubt whether even in England there be as
it is only the eye of a native that can detect it—their truthfulness to nature so limited to a circumscribed range of mind, that, even in England, neither the mirthful nor the melancholy man, unless he be a poet or a student, recognises in either poem his own favourite tastes and pleasures. But where Horace describes men's pleasures, every man finds something of himself; the familiar kindliness of his language impresses its poetry upon those who have no pretension to be poets. Had Horace written with equal length and with equal care an 'Allegro' and a 'Penseroso,' not only the poet and the student, not only the man of sentiment and reflection, but all varieties in our common family—the young lover, the ambitious schemer, the man of pleasure, the country yeoman, the city clerk, even the rural labourer—would have found lines in which he saw himself as in a mirror.

Thus, then, Horace's exquisite felicity of wording is for the most part free from any sustained attempt at a language essentially distinct from that of conversation; and for that very reason its beauties of poetical expression both please and strike the more, because they have more the air of those spontaneous flashes of genius which delight us in a great orator or a brilliant talker.

I cannot pass by without comment a characteristic of 'form' which, though found more or less in other ancient Poets, and not least in Virgil, is too strikingly conspicuous in Horace to escape the notice of any ordinary critic; yet no critic has attempted satisfactorily to define the principles of art to which its peculiar fascination may be traced. It is in the choice of epithets derived from proper names, or rather the names of places, by which 'generals' are individualised into 'particulars.' The sea is not the sea in general—it is the Hadrian, or the Myrtoan, or the
Caspian sea; the ship is not a ship in general—it is the Cyprian or the Bithynian ship; the oaks, which are not always shaken by the blast, are not the oaks in general—they are the oaks upon Garganus; the ilex, which thrives by being pruned, is not an ilex in general—it is the ilex upon Algidus; and so forth, through innumerable instances. That in this peculiarity there is a charm to the ear and the mind of the reader, no one acquainted with Horace will deny. But whence that charm? Partly because it gives that kind of individuality which belongs to personation—it takes the object out of a boundless common-place, and rivets the attention on a more fixed and definite image; but principally because, while it thus limits the idea on the prosaic side of the object, it enlarges its scope, by many vague and subtle associations, on the poetic side. When a proper name is thus used—a proper name suggesting of itself almost insensibly to the mind the poetic associations which belong to the name—the idea is enlarged from a simple to a complex idea, adorned with delicate enrichments, and opening into many dim recesses of imagination. The keel of a ship suggests only a keel; but the Cyprian keel connects itself with dreamy recollections of all the lovely myths about Cyprus. The ilex unparticularised may be but an ilex by a dusty roadside, or in the grounds of a citizen's villa; but the ilex of Algidus evokes, as an accompanying image, the haunted mountain-top sacred to Diana. The verse of Milton is largely indebted to such recourse to poetic proper names for the delight it occasions, not more by melodious sounds than by complex associations. Walter Scott owes much of the animation of his lyrical narratives to his frequent use of proper names in scenery connected with historic association or romantic legend; and Macaulay's Roman Lays push the use of them almost to too evidently artificial an extreme, savouring a little overmuch of elaborate learning and perceptible imitation. But on the whole this exquisite
beauty—in lyrical composition especially—is rare among later poets and may be safely commended to their study. It is noticeable that Horace has little or nothing of it in the Epodes (his earliest published poems, except the First Book of the Satires). Perhaps he thought it more especially appropriate to purely lyrical composition, such as the Odes, than to the Epodes, which are not lyrical in form, and, with one exception, Epode xiii., are but partially lyrical in spirit. For it might be wrong to infer that it only occurred to him in the riper practice of his general art as poet, since some of the Odes in which it is found, though not published till after the Epodes, must have been composed within the period to which the latter are assigned.

The defects or shortcomings of Horace as a poet are, like those of all original writers, intimately connected with his peculiar merits. His strong good sense, and that which may be called the practical tendency of his mind in his views both of life and art, while they serve to secure to him so unrivalled a popularity among men of the world, not only deter him from the metaphysical speculation which would have been not less wearisome to the larger portion of his readers than distasteful to himself, as appertaining to those regions beyond the province of the human mind, 'at which Jove laughs to see us outstretch our human cares,'—but rarely permit him to plumb very far into the deeps of feeling and passion. Marvellously as he represents the human nature we have all of us in common, each thoughtful man has yet in him a something of human nature peculiar to himself, which, like the goal of the Olympian charioteer, is sometimes almost grazed, but ever shunned, by the rapid wheels of the Venusian.

It may also be said that his turn for irony, or his deference to the impatient taste of a worldly audience, while serving to keep the attention always pleased, and contributing so largely to his special secrets in art, sometimes shows itself
unseasonably, and detracts from the effect of some noble passage, or interrupts the rush of some animated description.

Take but one instance among many. In an ode which is among his grandest—Book IV. Ode iv., 'Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem'—when he comes, after imagery of epic splendour, to the victory of Drusus over the Vindelici, he checks himself to say, with a sort of mockery which would have been well in its place at a supper-table, that where the Vindelici learned the use of the Amazonian battle-axe he refrains from inquiring, for it is not possible to know everything. No doubt there was some 'hit' or point in this parenthetical diversion which is now lost to us; possibly it was a satirical allusion to some pedantic work or antiquarian speculation which was among the literary topics of the day; but every reader of critical taste feels the jar of an episodical levity, inharmonious to all that goes before and after it. It is like a sarcasm of Voltaire's thrust into the midst of an ode of Pindar's.

From causes the same or similar, Horace's love-poetry has been accused of want of deep feeling, and compared in this respect, disadvantageously, to the few extant fragments of Sappho. But here it may be observed, that in the whole character of Horace there is one marked idiosyncrasy which influences the general expression of his art. Like many men of our day, who unite to familiar intercourse with fashionable and worldly society an inherent sincerity and a dread of all charlatanic pretences, Horace is even over-studious not to claim any false credit for himself—not to pretend to anything which may not be considered justly his due; he will not pretend to be better born or richer, wiser or more con-

1 Some critics have indeed proposed to omit these digressive verses altogether, and consider them an impertinent interpolation by an inferior hand. But this is an audacity of assumption forbidden by the authority of manuscripts, and justly denounced by the editors and critics whose opinions on such a subject Horatian students regard as decisive.
istent, or of a severer temper than he is. In his Satires and Epistles he even goes out of his way to tell us of his faults. In his Odes themselves—with all his intense and candidly uttered convictions of their immortality—he seizes frequent occasion for modest reference to the light and trivial themes to which his lyre and his genius are best suited. A man of this character, and with a very keen susceptibility to ridicule, would perhaps shun the expression of any feeling in love much deeper in its sentiment, or much more devoted in its passion, than would find sympathy with the men of the world for whom he principally wrote. If he ever did compose love-poems so earnest and glowing, I think it doubtful whether he would have prevailed on himself to publish them. To a poet who so earnestly seeks to inculcate moderation in every passion and desire, there would have seemed something not only inconsistent with his general repute as writer, but perhaps something offensive to his own sense of shame and the manliness of his nature, in that passionate devotion to the charms of a Cynthia to which Propertius refers the source of his inspiration and his loftiest pretension to the immortality of renown. And Horace is so far right, both as man and as artist, in the mode in which he celebrates the smiling goddess round whom hovers Mirth as well as Cupid, that, as man, one really would respect him less if any of those young ladies, who seem to have been too large-hearted to confine their affection to a single adorer, had inspired him with one of those rare passions which influence an entire existence. We should feel as much shame as compassion for any wise friend of ours whom Venus linked lastingly in her brazen yoke to a Lydia or a Pyrrha. And as an artist, Horace appears so far right in his mode of dealing with erotic subjects, that, despite all this alleged want of deep feeling and passionate devotion, Horace's love-poetry is still the most popular in the world—the most imitated, the most quoted, the most remembered. The reason, perhaps, is, that
most men have loved up to the extent that Horace admits the passion, and very few men have loved much beyond that limit.

Notwithstanding the amazing pains taken by grave professors and erudite divines to ascertain the history of Horace's love-affairs—to tell us who and what those young beauties were—whom he loved first and whom he loved last—how many of them are to be reduced to a select few, one being sung under different names lending their syllables to the same metrical convenience, so that Cinara, Lalage, Lydia, are one and the same person, &c.—the question remains insoluble. Some scholars have had even the cold-blooded audacity to assert that, with the single exception of Cinara, and some strange sort of entanglement with the terrible sorceress to whom he gives the name of Canidia, all these Horatian beauties are myths and figments—as purely dreams as those out of the ivory gate—many of them, no doubt, translations, more or less free, from the Greek.

The safest conjecture here, as in most cases of disputed judgment, lies between extremes.

It is probable enough that a man like Horace—a man of wit and pleasure—thrown early into gay society, and of a very affectionate nature, as is evinced by the warmth of his friendships—should have been pretty often in what is commonly called 'love' during, say, thirty-nine years out of the fifty-seven in which he led a bachelor's life. And as few poets ever have been more subjective than Horace—ever received the aspect of life more decidedly through the medium of their own personal impressions—or more regarded poetry as the vehicle of utterance for their opinions and doctrines, their likings and dislikings, their joys and their sorrows—so it may be reasonably presumed that in many of his love-verses he expresses or symbolises his own genuine state of feeling. Nor if in some of these there be detected imitations from the Greek, does such imitation suffice to-
prove that the person addressed was imaginary, and the feeling uttered insincere. Nothing is more common among poets than the adaptation of ideas found elsewhere to their own individual circumstances and self-confessions. When Pope paraphrases Horace where Horace most exclusively personates himself, Pope still so paraphrases that the lines personate Pope and not Horace; and one would know very little of the subjective character of Pope's mind and genius who could assert that he did not utter his own genuine feelings in describing, for instance, his early life and his early friendships, because the description was imitated from a Latin author.

On the other hand, it is impossible to distinguish with any certainty what really does thus illustrate the actual existence of Horace, and does utter the sounds of his own heart, from those purely objective essays of his genius (for, like all poets who have the dramatic faculty strongly developed, he is objective as well as subjective) which were the sportive exercises of art, and the airy embodiments of fancy. It is safest here to leave an acute reader to his own judgment; and it is one of those matters in which acute readers will perhaps differ the most.

Among the faults of Horace may also be mentioned his marked tendency to self-repetition, and especially to the repetition of what one of his most admirable but least enthusiastic editors bluntly calls his 'commonplaces:' viz., the shortness of life; the wisdom of seizing the present hour; the folly of anxious research into an unknown future; the vanity of riches and of restless ambition; the happiness of a golden mediocrity in fortune, and an equable mind in the vicissitudes of life. But these iterations of ideas, constituting the body of his ethics, if faulty—inasmuch as the ultima linea of his range may therein be too sharply-defined—are the inseparable consequence of the most beautiful qualities of his genius. They mark the consistent unity and the
sincere convictions of the man—they show how much his favourite precepts are part and parcel of his whole moral and intellectual organisation. Whether conversing in his Satires, philosophising in his Epistles, giving free play to invention in his Odes—still he cannot help uttering and reuttering ideas the combination of which constitutes himself. And as the general effect of these ideas is soothing, so their prevalence in his verse has a charm of repose similar to the prevalence of green in the tints of nature: we greet the constant recurrence of the soft familiar colour with a sensation of pleasure even in its quiet monotony.

Perhaps in most writers who have in a pre-eminent degree the gift of charm, there is, indeed, a certain fondness for some peculiar train of thought, the repetition of which gains the attraction of association. We should be disappointed, in reading such writers, if we did not find the ideas which characterise them, and for which we have learned to seek and to love them, coming up again and again like a refrain in music. It is so with some of our own poets—Goldsmith, Cowper, and Byron—who, alike in nothing else, are alike in the frequent recurrence of the ideas which constitute the characteristic colourings of their genius, and who, in that recurrence, deepen their spell over their readers.

I believe, then, that the attributes thus imperfectly stated are among the principal constituent elements of Horace's indisputable charm, and of a popularity among men of various minds which extends over a wider circle than perhaps any other ancient poet commands, Homer alone excepted. It is a popularity not diminished by the limits imposed on the admiration that accompanies it. Even those critics who deny him certain of the higher qualities of a lyrical poet, do not love him less cordially on account of the other qualities which they are pleased to accord to him. It is commonly enough said that, either from his own
deficiencies or those of the Latin language, he falls far short of the Greek lyrical poets in fire, in passion, in elevation of style, in varied melodies of versification. Granted: but judging by the scanty remains of those poets which time has spared, we find evidence of no one—unless it be Alcaeus, and conjecturing what his genius might have been as a whole less by the fragments it has left than by Horace's occasional imitations—no one who combines so many excellences, be they great or small, as even a very qualified admirer must concede to Horace; no one who blends so large a knowledge of the practical work-day world with so delicate a fancy, and so graceful a perception of the poetic aspects of human life; no one who has the same alert quickness of movement 'from gay to grave, from lively to severe;' no one who unites the same manly and high-spirited enforcement of hardy virtues, temperance and fortitude, devotion to friends and to the native land, with so pleasurable and genial a temperament; no one who adorns so extensive an acquaintance with metropolitan civilisation by so many lovely pictures of rural enjoyment; or so animates the description of scenery by the introduction of human groups and images, instilling, as it were, into the body of outward nature the heart and the thought of man. So that where his genius may fail in height as compared with Pindar, or in the intensity of sensuous passion as compared with Sappho, it compensates by the breadth to which it extends its survey, and over which it diffuses its light and its warmth.

Of all classical authors Horace is the one who has most attracted the emulation of editors and commentators. Students, indeed, have some reason to complain of the very attempts made by learning and ingenuity to determine his text and interpret his meaning. No sooner have they accus-
tomied themselves to one edition than a new one appears to challenge the authority they had deferred to, and disturb the reading they had accepted. Paraphrases and translations are still more numerous than editions and commentaries. There is scarcely a man of letters who has not at one time or other versified or imitated some of the Odes; and scarcely a year passes without a new translation of them all. No doubt there is a charm in the proverbial difficulty of dealing with Horace's modes of expression; but perhaps the true cause which invites translators to encounter that difficulty has been sufficiently intimated in the preceding remarks—viz., the comprehensive range of his sympathy with human beings. He touches so many sides of character, that on one side or the other he is sure to attract us all, and we seek to clothe in his words some cherished feeling or sentiment of our own. Be that as it may, an unusual degree of indulgence has by tacit consent been accorded to new translations from Horace. Readers unacquainted with the original are disposed to welcome every fresh attempt to make the Venusian Muse express herself in familiar English; and Horatian scholars feel an interest in examining how each succeeding translator grapples with the difficulties of interpretation which have been, as many of them still are, matters of conjecture and dispute to commentators the most erudite, and critics the most acute.

May a reasonable share of such general indulgence be vouchsafed to that variety in the mode of translation of which I now propose to hazard the experiment.

I have long been of opinion that the adoption of other rhymeless measures than that to which we at present confine the designation of blank verse would be attended with especial advantage in translations from the classical poets, and, indeed, in poems founded upon Hellenic and Roman myths, and treated in the classical character and spirit. In that belief I began many years ago these translations from
Horace, and more recently submitted to the public the experiment of the metres employed in the ‘Lost Tales of Miletus.’ I will not lengthen this preface by any definition of the general rhythmical principles upon which, in my judgment, lyrical measures that, taking the form of strophe or stanza, dispense with rhyme, should be invented and framed. Should any writer be tempted hereafter to repeat and improve on my experiments, he will easily detect the laws I have laid down for myself, and adopt, modify, or reject them, according to his own idiosyncrasies of ear and taste.

So far as these translations are concerned, it will be seen that I have shunned any attempt to transfer to our own language the exact form of the original metres. I have rather sought to construct measures in accordance with the character of English prosody, akin to the prevalent spirit of the original, and of compass sufficient to allow a general adherence to the rule of translating line by line, or at least strophe by strophe, without needless amplification on the one hand, or harsh contraction on the other.

The same licence of diversifying the metres employed in translation, according as the prevalent spirit of the ode demands lively and sportive, or serious and dignified expression, in which most of the rhyming translators unscrupulously indulge, must be conceded to him who rejects rhyme from his version. We have no English metres, rhymed or unrhymed, so supple for the expressing of opposing sentiment or emotion as are the Alcaic, and even the Sapphic, in the hands of Horace; and if we desire to be true to the spirit of Horace, we have no option but to vary his form, and not always preserve for loose and sprightly movement the same mechanical arrangement of syllables which accords with the march of the serried and the grave.

For the Alcaic stanza I have chiefly employed two different forms of rhythm; the one, which is of more frequent
recurrence, as in Ode ix.—the other, as in Odes xxxiv.-xxxv., Book I. But in both these forms of rhythm I have made occasional variations.

For the Sapphic metre, in which Horace has composed more odes than in any other except the Alcaic, I have avoided, save in one or two of the shorter poems, any imitation of the chime rendered sufficiently familiar by Canning's 'Knife-grinder,' not only because, in the mind of an English reader, it is associated with a popular burlesque, but chiefly because an English imitation of the Latin rhythm, with a due observance of the trochee in the first three lines of the stanza, has in itself an unpleasant and monotonous sing-song. In my version of the Sapphic I have chiefly employed two varieties of rhythm: for the statelier odes, our own recognised blank verse in the first three lines, usually, though not always, with a dissyllabic termination; and, in the fourth line, a metre analogous in length and cadence to the fourth line of the original, though, of course, without any attempt at preserving the Latin quantity of dactyl and spondee. In fact, as Dr. Kennedy has truly observed, the spondee is not attainable in our language, except by a very forced effort of pronunciation. That which passes current as an English spondee is really a trochee. For the lighter odes of the Sapphic metre, a more sportive or tripping measure is adopted.

I must leave my versions of the other metres which Horace has less frequently employed to speak for themselves.

In the Latin version, placed side by side with the English, I have generally adopted the text of Orelli. The rare instances in which I have differed from it for that of another editor are stated in the notes. For the current punctuation—which in Orelli, and indeed in Macleane, is so sparse as not unfrequently to render the sense obscure to those not familiarly intimate with it—I am largely indebted to the
admirable edition of Mr. Yonge. The modes of spelling preferred by Ritter and Mr. Munro as more faithful transcripts of the ancient MSS., involve questions of great interest to professional scholars, but are as yet too unfamiliar to the general reader for adoption in a text especially designed for his use, and annexed to the English translation for the convenient facilities of reference and comparison.

My objects in the task I have undertaken have compelled me to add in some degree the labour of a critic to that of a translator. The introductions prefixed and the notes appended to the several odes are designed not only to serve for readers unacquainted with the original, but to bring, in a terse and convenient form, before such students of Horace as may not have toiled through the many and often conflicting commentaries of the best editors, the opinions of eminent authorities upon difficult or disputed questions of interpretation. In my notes will be seen the extent to which I am indebted not only to Dillenburger, Orelli, Ritter, but to our own recent English editors, Macleane and Yonge—and, on certain points of controverted interpretation, to Mr. Munro’s erudite and valuable introduction to the beautiful edition illustrated from antique gems, by Mr. King.

The majority of critics concur in the doctrine that all the Odes in Horace, differing in this respect from the Epodes, consist of stanzas in four lines, as the Alcaic and Sapphic do. This opinion has been ably controverted by Ritter. Munro declines either to affirm or deny it. But conformably to the general opinion, I have treated, and so translated, the Odes as quatrains, with four exceptions, for which I subjoin my reasons.

Odes i. Book I., xxx. Book III., and viii. Book IV., are in the same metre, and the only ones that are; but Ode viii. Book IV. consists of thirty-four lines, and cannot therefore be reduced to quatrain stanzas; and the supposition that two verses required for such subdivision have been lost—no
evidence of such loss appearing in the oldest MSS. or being intimated by the early commentators—is a hazardous basis on which to rest the theory that the poem must have been originally composed in quatrain. It is also to be observed that Ode i. Book I. so little adapts itself to the division of four-line stanzas with a suitable pause, that Mr. Yonge follows Stallbaum in printing the first two lines as prefatory to the rest, and the last two lines as the complement of the stanza. But it is a somewhat bold proceeding, for the sake of establishing an arbitrary system, thus to cut a stanza in half, placing one half at the beginning and the other half at the end of a poem; nor does the arrangement entirely effect the object aimed at, if, as Maclean and Munro contend, a full stop should be placed at the end of the fifth line—'nobilis.' Even the remaining ode in this metre—Ode xxx. Book III.—does not readily flow into quatrain, the pause not occurring at the fourth and eighth lines, but at the fifth and ninth. I have not, therefore, in my translation, divided these three odes into stanzas. Lastly, I have followed Dillenburger, Orelli, Maclean, Munro, in the arrangement of Ode xii. Book III. as a stanza of three lines, instead of adopting the quatrain arrangement of Kirchner, to be found in the excursus of Orelli, and favoured by Mr. Yonge.

The Secular Hymn I have printed in its proper chronologically place, between Books III. and IV.

I concur in the reasons which have led recent editors to reject the headings to the Latin version, which are found in the MSS.; but I have given headings to the translation, for the convenience of reference which they afford to English readers.

It remains for me only gratefully to acknowledge my obligations to the distinguished scholars who have permitted me to consult them in the course of this translation. Many years ago I submitted the earliest specimens of my attempts
to my valued friend Dr. Kennedy. His encouragement
induced me to proceed with my undertaking, while his
advice and suggestions enabled me materially to improve it.
With no less liberal a kindness another friend, the Rev.
F. W. Farrar, has permitted me to encroach on his time,
and profit by his taste and his learning. Much more could
I say in gratitude, as to the services so generously rendered
me by these eminent scholars, were it not for the fear
that I might seem in so doing to shelter my defects
and shortcomings under the authority of their names. It
is enough for me to acknowledge that to them must be
largely ascribed any merit which may be accorded to my
labours, and that without their aid my faults would have
been much more numerous and grave.
THE ODES
BOOK I.—ODE I.

DEDICATORY ODE TO MÆCENAS.

It is doubtful whether this ode was composed as a dedicatory preface to the first three books, or only to Book i.: the former supposition is more generally favoured. The poet condenses a rapid survey of the various objects of desire and ambition, commencing with the competition of the Olympic games, and passing from that reference to the Greeks, to the pursuits of his own countrymen in the emulation for power, the acquisition of riches, and so on, through the occupations and tastes of mankind in that busy world from which, at the close, he intimates that he himself is set apart.

The punctuation and construction of the fifth and sixth lines of the ode have been a matter of much dispute. Macleane, sanctioned by Mr. George Long—and Munro, supported 'by the emphatic advocacy of Dr. Kennedy'—adopt the reading which puts an end to the sentence at 'nobilis,' and joins on 'Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos' to what follows. By this reading, the lords of earth, or masters of the world, are neither (according to Orelli and most modern commentators) taken in apposition with 'Deos,' as in Ovid, Ep. ex Ponto, i. 9, 35, sq.—

'Nam tua non alio coluit penetralia ritu
Terrarum dominos quam colis ipse Deos,'

nor, according to elder commentators, approved by Ritter, is the term applied to regal or lordly competitors in the Greek games, such as Gelo, Hiero, &c. 'Terrarum dominos'
Macleane understands to signify, with a tinge of irony, the Romans, styled by Virgil, _Aen. _i. 282, and Martial, _xiv. _123, *Romanos rerum dominos._ Fortified in my own judgment by authorities of such eminence, I accept this interpretation. From these lords of earth Horace immediately passes on to select representatives of the two great orders of proprietors—the senatorial and the equestrian: a member of the first placing his happiness in the pursuit of the highest honours; a member of the second, which comprised in its ranks the chiefs of commercial enterprise, in the success of gigantic speculations.

'According to the usual punctuation,' says Munro, 'verses 7–10 appear to me to have no construction at all; with mine, all is plain. ...' In ancient Rome, too, as in

_Sprung from a race which mounts to kings, Mæcenas,_
_Shield and sweet ornament of life to me;
There are whose sovereign joy is dust Olympic_
_Gathered in whirlwind\(^1\) by the car; the goal_
_Shunned by hot wheels; and the palm's noble trophy.—_

_Up to the gods it bears the lords of earth,
One—if the mob of Rome's electors fickle_
_Through triple honours to exalt him vie;
One—if he harvest, stored in his own garner,_
_Whate'er from Libyan threshing-floors is fanned._
_Treasures Attalic\(^2\) could not tempt the rustic,_
_Delving with ready hoe paternal glebes,_
_To cut, poor timorous mariner, a furrow_
_On seas Myrtoan with the Cyprian keel._

\(^1\) 'Collegisse juvat.' To have gathered together or collected the scattered atoms of dust into a whirlwind—'pulvis collectus turbine,' _Sat. _i. _iv. _31.

\(^2\) A proverbial phrase for great riches. The rustic here meant is the small peasant proprietor, like those cultivators by spade-labour now so common in France. The 'sarculum' was a lighter tool than a spade.
in modern England, high office and vast wealth, more than aught else, raised men to the sky.'—MUNRO, Introduction, xxv.

For the three odes in this measure I have employed in translation a metre consisting of our ordinary form of blank verse converted into a couplet by alternate terminations in a dissyllable and monosyllable; and though that is a very simple, and may seem at first a very slight, modification of a familiar rhythm, it will be found to constitute, in the regular recurrence of alternated terminals, a marked difference from the chime of our epic line, and is yet equally in unison with the laws of our prosody. I have adopted the same metre in my version of the more important epodes, and in a few of the other odes.

CARM. I. *

Mæcenas atavis edite regibus,
O et præsidium et dulce decus meum,
Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse juvat,¹ metaque servidis
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis.
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos,
Hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium
Certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
Illum, si proprio condict horreo
Quidquid de Libycis verratur areis.
Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
Agros, Attalicis² condicionibus
Nunquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.

or mattock (with which Forcellini observes that Horace here confounds it by synecdoche), and was used as a hoe for digging up weeds. The author of the article on 'Agriculture' in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities' says that 'it was an implement by which, after covering up the seed, the husbandman loosened the roots of the young blades in order that air and moisture might gain free access.'
Seized by dismay, when with Icarian billows
Wrestle the blasts of stormy Africus,
The merchant sighs for ease and modest homestead
Nestled in fields beside his native town;
Schooled not to bear the pinch of straitened fortunes,¹
Soon he refits his shattered argosies.
Lo, one who scorns not beakers of old Massic,
Nor lazy hours cut from the solid day,
Now with limbs stretched beneath the verdant arbute,
Now by soft well-head of nymph-hallowed streams.
Camps delight many; clarion shrill, deep trumpet
Commingling stormy melodies; and war,
Hateful to mothers. His young bride forgetting,
In wintry air the hunter stands at watch,
If start the deer in sight of his stanch beagles,
Or burst through close-knit toils the Marsian boar.
Me, prize of learned brows, the wreathen ivy,
Associates with the gods; me woodlands cool
And the light dance of nymphs with choral satyrs,
Set from the many and their world apart;
If with no checked and hesitating utterance
Euterpe lend her breath unto her flutes;
And for my touch the harp-strings heard in Lesbos
If Polyhymnia scorn not to retune.
But amid lyric bards if thou enrol me,
With crest uplifted I shall strike the stars.

¹'Indocilis pauperiem pati.' 'Pauperies' does not here mean what is commonly understood by poverty, but, as Maclean expresses it, 'a humble estate.' Maclean, indeed, states 'that "pauperies," "paupertas," "pauper," are never by Horace taken to signify privation, or anything beyond a humble estate.' This assertion is, however, too sweeping. In the lines (Epod. xvii. 47, 48),

'Neque in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
Novendiales dissipare pulveres,'

'pauper' clearly means a person of the very poorest class. May not
BOOK I.—ODE I.

Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
Mercator metuens, otium et oppidi
Laudat rura suí; mox reficit rates
Quássas, indocilis pauperiem pati.¹
Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici,
Nec partem solido demere de die
Spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
Stratus, nunc ad aquæ lene caput sacræ.
Multos castra juvant, et lituo tubæ
Permíxtus sonitus, bellaque matribus
Detestata. Manet sub Jove frígido
Venator, teneræ conjugis immemor,
Seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
Seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.
Me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
Dis miscent superis; me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo, si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet, nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
Quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres,
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

the same be said of 'Pauperum tabernas' in contradistinction to 'Regum turres'? Lib. I. Od. iv. 13, 14. The words 'pauper,' 'pauperies,' 'paupertas,' have, indeed, some of the elastic sense of our own Poor Man, or Poverty, which may imply only comparatively restricted means, or sometimes absolute want. The English language has expressions denoting the gradations of stinted circumstances correspondent to those in the Latin. The English has poverty, penury, destitution: the Latin, paupertas, inopia, egestas. So also the Greek language has Πενία, honourable poverty; Πτώχεια, discreditable poverty; Εύδεια, destitution.
Wolff, Hare, Tate, and some other commentators, would substitute 'Te' for 'Me'—applying the line to Mæcenas, 'Thee the ivy—the prize of learned brows—associates with gods above; Me the cool woods, &c., set apart from the common crowd.' This reading is rejected by the highest critical authorities, including Orelli and Macleane; but it appears in itself entitled to more respect than is shown by the latter. For there is some force in the remark, that in referring to the various tastes and characteristics of men, Horace would scarcely avoid all complimentary reference to Mæcenas himself; and there is yet more force in another remark that, if Horace says that the ivy wreath associates him with the higher or celestial gods, there is a certain bathos, if not contradiction, in immediately afterwards saying that his tastes associate him with the inferior or terrestrial deities—i.e. nymphs and satyrs. It is said, in vindication of 'Me' instead of 'Te,' that 'doctus' is a word very appropriate to poets; that the ivy, sacred to Bacchus, was the fit and usual garland for a lyric poet; and that Horace could never stoop to the absurd flattery of insinuating that Mæcenas was a greater poet than himself. But, in answer to all this, it may be urged that Horace elsewhere especially applies the word 'doctus' to Mæcenas; in Lib. III. Od. viii. line 4,—

'Docte sermones utriusque linguae;'

and again, more emphatically, Epist. xix. line 1,—

'Prisco si credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino.'

And though the ivy was appropriate to poets, it was not appropriate to poets alone. Horace (Lib. I. Epist. iii., addressed to Julius Florus) speaks of it as the reward of
excellence in forensic eloquence or jurisprudence as well as of song:—

'Seu linguam causis acuis seu civica jura,
Respondere paras seu condis amabile carmen,
Prima feres hederæ victricis pramia.'

And if the ivy crown may be won by pleading causes or giving advice to clients, it can be no inappropriate reward to the brows of a statesman so accomplished as Mæcenas. Thus, I think, there is much to be said in favour of the construction—'Thee, Mæcenas, the ivy wreath—prize of learned or skilled brows—associates with the higher gods (i.e. with those who watch over states and empires); me, the love of rural leisure and the dreams that it begets set apart from the crowd.' On the other side, Ritter has the best vindication I have seen of the alleged contradiction or bathos in the Poet's boasted association, first, with the higher gods, and, next, with the inferior deities. "According to him, Horace is speaking of two kinds of lyric poetry—the lofty and the sportive. The first, symbolised by the ivy, associates him with gods in heaven; the second, connecting him with the pastimes of nymphs and satyrs, separates him from the popular pursuits of men. For the first, he trusts to the aid of Polyhymnia, presiding over the Lesbian lyre (of Alcæus); for the second, to the livelier inspiration of Euterpe.
ODE II.
TO CÆSAR.

The exact date of this ode has been matter of controversy, but most recent authorities concur in assigning it to about A.U.C. 725, after the taking of Alexandria, and at the height of Augustus's popularity on his return to Rome. Ritter argues strongly in favour of the later date, A.U.C. 732. The prodigies described in the earlier verses are those which followed the death of Julius Cæsar, A.U.C. 710, and Horace therefore, at the opening of the poem, transports himself in imagination to that time.—See Orelli's excursus, Macleané's introduction, and Ritter's proemium. On the merit of the ode itself opinion differs. By some it is highly praised for its imagery, the delicacy with which it flatters Augustus, and the humane art with which it insinuates that his noblest revenge for

Now of dire hail and snow enough the Sire
Has launched on earth, and with a red right hand
Smiting the sacred Capitolian heights¹
Startled the City,
Startled the nations, lest the awful age
Of Pyrrha, wailing portents new, return,
When Proteus up to visit mountain-peaks
Drove his whole sea-flock,
When fishes meshed in topmost boughs of elms
Floundered amidst the doves' familiar haunts,
And deer, through plains ² above the old plains heapen,
Swam panic-stricken.

¹ 'Sacras—arces,' the sacred buildings on the Capitoline Hill.
² 'Et superjecto pavidæ natarunt
Æquoræ damæ.'

'Æquor' is a plain or level surface, whether of land or sea. The former appears to have been its original and simple meaning, though the
for his uncle's murder is in becoming the protector and father of his people. Against this praise it may be said, not without reason, that the poem has blemishes of a kind from which Horace is free in odes of similar importance; that there is something forced and artificial in the kind of humour admitted into the description of Pyrrha's flood; that the idea of the uxorious River bursting his banks out of complaisance to the complaints of his wife is little better than a frigid conceit; and that the 'extravaganza' contained in the transfiguration of Mercury into the earthly form of Augustus, fails in that manliness of genuine enthusiasm with which Horace celebrates Augustus in Odes B. III. and IV. Whatever weight may be attached to these objections, they suffice to render the ode one of the most difficult to translate so as to impress an English reader with some sense of the beauties ascribed to it by its admirers.

CARM. II.

Jam satis terris nivis atque diræ
Grandinis misit Pater, et rubente
Dextera sacras jaculatus arces,
Terruit Urbem,

Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
Sæculum Pyrrhæ, nova monstra questæ,
Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
Visere montes,

Piscium et summa genus hæsit ulmo,
Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis,
Et superjecto pavidæ natarunt
Æquore^2 damæ.

poets applied it afterwards to the latter (Cicero, Acad. 2). Though the word here implies 'water,' the point would be lost in so translating it. There would be no prodigy in deer swimming through water—the prodigy is in their swimming through plains cast over those on which they had been accustomed to range.
We have seen the tawny Tiber, with fierce waves
Wrenched violent back from vents in Tuscan seas,
March on to Numa's hall and Vesta's shrine,¹
Menacing downfall;

Vaunting himself the avenger of the wrong
By Ilia too importunately urged,
The uxorious River leftward burst his banks,
Braving Jove's anger.²

Thinned by parental crime, the younger race
Shall hear how citizens made sharp the steel
By which should rather have been slain the Mede:
Hear—of what battles!

Who is the god this people shall invoke
To save a realm that rushes to its fall?
By what new prayer shall sacred virgins tire
Vesta to hearken?

To whom shall Jove assign the part of guilt's
Blest expiator? Come, at last, we pray,
With shoulder brightening through the stole of cloud,
Augur Apollo!

Or com'st thou rather, Venus, laughing queen,
Ringed by the hovering play of Mirth and Love;
Or satiate with, alas, too lengthened sport,
Thou, Parent War-god,

¹ The palace of Numa adjoined the temple of Vesta at the foot of Mount Palatine. Fea says that the Church of Sta Maria Liberatrice occupies this site.
² Ilia, mother of Romulus, was, according to legend, thrown into the Tiber by Amulius—hence the fable that she became wife to the god of that river. She complains to her husband of the murder of Julius Cæsar, to whom she claims affinity. The special reason for Jove's displeasure
Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Litore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Vestae.¹

Iliæ dum se nimium querenti
Jactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
Labitur ripa, Jove non probante, u-
xorius amnis.²

Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persæ melius perirent ;
Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara, juventus.

Quem vocet Divum populus ruentis
Imperi rebus ? prece qua fatigent
Virgines sanctæ minus audientem
Carmina Vestam ?

Cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
Juppiter ? Tandem venias precamur,
Nube candentes humeros amictus,
Augur Apollo ;

Sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
Quam Jocus circum volat et Cupido ;
Sive neglectum genus et nepotes
Respicis, auctor,

at the river-god's incursion on the left bank is variously conjectured: it may be either that on that side he threatened the temple of Jove him-
self, or that Jove, as supreme guardian of all temples and of Rome itself, resented the outbreak as an offence to himself, or, as Macleane interprets it, 'He disapproved the presumption of the river-god, be-
cause he had reserved the task of expiation for other hands and happier means.'
Joying in battle-clang and glancing helms
And the grim aspect of the unhorsed Moor,¹
Fixing his death-scowl on the gory foe,
Come, if regarding

Thine own neglected race, thine offspring, come!
Or thou, mild Maia's wingèd son, transformed
To mortal youth,² submitting to be called
Caesar's avenger;

Stay thy return to heaven: long tarry here
Well pleased to be this Roman people's guest,
Nor with our vices wroth, untimely soar,
Rapt by the whirlwind.

Here rather in grand triumphs take glad rites,
Here love the name of Father and of Prince,
No more unpunished let the Parthian ride,
Thou our chief—Caesar.³

¹ All recent editors have 'Mauri peditis.' Munro, though retaining that reading in his text, is 'not convinced that "Marsi peditis" is not far finer and more appropriate.' The Moors fighting habitually on horseback, the interpretation of 'peditis' most favoured by the commentators is that in the translation; the rider being unhorsed is rendered more fierce and stubborn by despair.

² Mercury in the form of Augustus. Orelli dryly observes that Augustus was forty years old at the date when he is here called 'juvenem.' No doubt 'juvenis' and 'adolescens' were words descriptive of any age between 'pueritia' and 'senectus;' and Cicero called himself 'adolescens' at the age of forty-four, when he crushed the conspiracy of Catiline; but still a 'juvenis' of forty, or even of thirty years old, would have little resemblance to the popular effigies of the smooth-faced son of Maia (Mercury); and considering the whole space of time which this poem reviews and condenses, starting from the death of Julius Cæsar, is it not probable that Horace here applies the word 'juvenis' to Augustus in reference to the age in which he first announced himself as 'Caesaris ultor' (Caesar's avenger), and in order to achieve that name and fulfil that object descended from his celestial rank as Mercury, or (to define
Heu! nimis longo satiate ludo,
Quem juvat clamor galeæque leves,
Acer et Mauri peditis\textsuperscript{1} cruentum
Voltus in hostem;

Sive mutata\textsuperscript{2} juvenem figura
Ales in terris imitaris, almae
Filius Maiae, patiens vocari
Cæsaris ultor:

Serus in cælum redeas, diuque
Lætus intersis populo Quirini,
Neve te nostris vitæs iniquum
Ociro aura

Tollat; hic magnos potius triumphos,
Hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps,
Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,
Te duce, Cæsar.\textsuperscript{3}

more clearly the mythical functions of Mercury) as the direct messenger from Jove to man? Augustus, then, was a youth in every sense of the word. In fact he was barely twenty when he declared it to be his resolve and his mission to avenge the death of his uncle. At that age, judging by his effigies in gems, the resemblance of the young Octavius to the face of Mercury in the statues is sufficiently striking to have created general remark, and to save from extravagant flattery the lines in the ode. For of the two faces that of the young Octavius is of a higher and more godlike type of beauty than appears in any extant statue of Mercury.

\textsuperscript{3} 'The way in which he introduces the name of Cæsar unexpectedly at the end, has always appeared to me an instance of consummate art.'—Macleane.
ODE III.

ON VIRGIL'S VOYAGE TO ATHENS.

There is a well-known dispute as to the date and the occasion of this ode, and it has been even called in question whether the Virgil addressed were the poet. It is, no doubt, difficult to reconcile the received chronology of the publication of the first three books of Odes with the supposition

So may the goddess who rules over Cyprus,
   So may the brothers of Helen, bright stars,
   So may the Father of Winds, while he fetters
All, save Iapyx, the Breeze of the West,

Speed thee, O Ship, as I pray thee to render¹
   Virgil, a debt duly lent to thy charge,
Whole and intact on the Attican borders,
   Faithfully guarding the half of my soul.

Oak and brass triple encircled his bosom,
   Who first to fierce ocean consigned a frail bark,
Fearing not Africus, when, in wild battle,
   Headlong he charges the blasts of the North;

Fearing no gloom in the face of the Hyads;
   Fearing no rage of mad Notus, than whom,
Never a despot more absolute wieldeth
   Hadria, to rouse her or lull at his will.

¹ I side with Dillenburger, Ritter, Munro, and Macleane in rejecting the punctuation of Orelli, who places a comma before 'precor,' putting the word in parenthesis, for the reason thus ably stated in the following note, for which I am indebted to a friend, than whom there is no higher authority in critical scholarship: 'It is not commonly observed, but
position that this ode was addressed to Virgil the poet, on the occasion of the voyage to Athens, from which he only returned to die: but there is no reason why Virgil should not have made or contemplated such a voyage before the last one; and Macleane, here agreeing with Dillenburger, is 'inclined to think such must have been the case.'—See his introduction to this ode.

CARM. III.

Sic te Diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater
Obstrictis aliis præter Iapyga,

Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Debes Virgiliun finibus Atticis
Reddas incoltemem precor,¹
Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.

Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus, nec timuit præcipitem Africum

Decertantem Aquilonibus,
Nec tristes Hyadas, nec rabiem Noti,
Quo non arbiter Hadriæ
Major, tollere seu ponere vult freta.

certainly true, that the 2d pers. pres. subj. (reddas) is never used as a mere imperative, = "reddes." It may be used precatively in addressing a deity, a superior (or in politeness), as "serves" in Ode xxxv. l. 29. Where it is used with "precors," the verb is not in parenthesis, but distinctly governs "reddas," "I pray you to render." There should therefore be no comma between them; and this view shows "precors" to be the true apodosis of the passage.'

C
What the approach by which Death could have daunted
Him who with eyelids unmoistened beheld
Monster forms gliding and mountain waves swelling,
And the grim Thunder-Crags dismally famed?

Vainly by wastes of an ocean estranging
God, in his providence, severed the lands,
Vainly if nathless, the ways interdicted
Be by our vessels profane traversed o'er.

Rushes man's race through the evils forbidden,
Lawlessly bold to brave all things and bear:
Lawlessly bold did the son of the Titan
Bring to the nations fire won through a fraud.

Fire stolen thus from the Dome Empyrean,
Meagre Decay swooped at once on the earth,
Leagued with a new-levied army of Fevers—
Death, until then the slow-comer, far off,

Hurried his stride, and stood facing his victim;
Dædalus sounded the void realms of air,
Borne upon wings that to man are not given;
Hercules burst through the portals of hell.

Nought is too high for the daring of mortals;
Heav'n's very self in our folly we storm.
Never is Jove, through our guilty aspiring,
Suffered to lay down the bolt we provoke.
Quem Mortis timuit gradum,  
Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,  
Qui vidit mare turgidum et  
Infames scopulos Acrocerania?

Nequicquam Deus absidit  
Prudens Oceano dissociabili  
Terras, si tamen impiae  
Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.

Audax omnia perpeti  
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas:  
Audax Iäpeti genus  
Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit.

Post ignem ætheria domo  
Subductum, Macies et nova Febrium  
Terris incubuit cohors,  
Semotique prius tarda necessitas

Leti corripuit gradum.  
Expertus vacuum Dædalus aëra  
Pennis non homini datis;  
Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.

Nil mortalibus ardui est;  
Cælum ipsum petimus stultitia, neque  
Per nostrum patimur scelus  
Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina.
ODE IV.

TO LUCIUS SESTIUS.

The Lucius Sestius here addressed was the son of the Sestius or Sextius defended by Cicero in an oration still extant.

Keen winter melts in glad return of spring and soft Favonius;
And the dry keels the rollers seaward draw;
No more the pens allure the flock, no more the hearth the ploughman;
Nor glint the meadows white with rime-frost hoar—
Beneath the overhanging moon, now Venus leads her dances,
And comely Graces, linked with jocund Nymphs,
Shake with alternate foot the earth, while ardent Vulcan kindles
The awful forge in which the Cyclops toils.¹

Now well becomes anointed brows to wreath with verdant
Or such rath flowers as swards, relaxing, free;
And well becomes the votive lamb, or kid if more it please
Offered to Faunus amid shadowy groves.

Pale Death with foot impartial knocks alike at each man's dwelling,
The huts of beggars and the towers of kings.
Blest Sestius, life's brief sum forbids commencing hope too lengthened;
Ev'n now press on thee Night and storied ghosts,
And Pluto's meagre hall, which gained, the wine-king's reign is over—
No more the die allots the frolic crown.²

¹ Venus dances—Vulcan toils: i.e. in spring man reawakens both to pleasure and labour. 'Urit'—'Though I have retained the ordinary reading of editions here, I believe that MS. authority, properly interpreted, indicates uissit (i.e. visit, as Bentley and, before him, Rutgersius read). Venus dancing in the moonshine, while her husband is away visiting the stithies of the Cyclops, is a beautiful picture.'—Munro,

²
extant. Lucius served under Brutus in Macedonia, and after his chieftain's death continued to honour his memory and preserve his images. He did not on that account incur the displeasure of Augustus, who made him Consul Suffectus in his own place, B.C. 23.

There is no other ode in this metre, which has its name (Archilochian) from Archilochus of Paros. The difference in rhythm between the first and second verse of the strophe is remarkable, and suggests the idea of being chanted by two voices in alternate lines.

**CARM. IV.**

Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni,
   Trahuntque siccas machinæ carinas.
Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus, aut arator igni;
   Nec prata canis albicant pruinis.

Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente Luna,
   Junctæque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
Alternò terram quatiunt pede, dum graves Cyclopum
   Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.¹

Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto,
   Aut flore, terræ quem ferunt solutæ.
Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
   Seu poscat agna, sive malit hædo.

Pallida Mors æque pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
   Regumque turres. O beate Sesti,
Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
   Jam te premet nox, fabulæque Manes,

Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
   Nec regna vini sortiere talis²
Nec temon Lycidan mirabere, quo calet juvenus
   Nunc omnis, et mox virgines tepebunt.

Introduction, xxix, xxx. See there the elaborate argument by which this eminent scholar supports the reading he would prefer.

² The Romans chose by cast of the die the symposiarch or king of the feast.
ODE V.
TO PYRRHA.

I cannot presume to attempt any rhymeless version of this ode in juxtaposition with Milton's famous translation, which I therefore annex. 'Any resemblance between the metre

What slender youth, bedewed with liquid odours,¹
Courts thee on roses in some pleasant cave,²
Pyrrha? for whom bind'st thou
In wreaths thy golden hair,
Plain in thy neatness? O, how oft shall he
On faith and changed gods complain, and seas
Rough with black winds, and storms
Unwonted shall admire!

Who now enjoys thee credulous, all gold,
Who always vacant, always amiable
Hopes thee, of flattering gales
Unmindful. Hapless they

T'whom thou untried seem'st fair! Me, in my vowed
Picture, the sacred wall declares t'have hung
My dank and dropping weeds
To the stern god of sea.³

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¹ The reader will observe that the first line is the only one in the translation which ends with a dissyllable. Whether Milton makes this variation of the rhythm he selects through oversight or intention, the reader can conjecture for himself. Probably Milton regarded the two first lines of each strophe simply as heroic blank verse, in which the termination of a monosyllable or dissyllable is optional.

² 'Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro.' 'Some pleasant cave' appear scarcely to give the sense of the original. 'Antrum' means the grotto attached to the houses of the luxurious, and in which was placed a statue of Venus. Grottoes are still in use among the richer Italians, and it is not some cave to which Horace alludes, but with a certain tenderness of reproach to the grotto in which Pyrrha had been accustomed to receive him.

³ 'Potenti—maris deo' Milton translates 'the stern god of sea,'
metre he selects and that of the original depends,' as Mr. Conington observes, 'rather on the length of the respective lines than on any similarity in the cadences,' and his rhythm is perhaps somewhat too cramped to convey the lyrical spirit in lighter and livelier odes of the same measure in the original;—even in this translation such contractions as

'T whom thou untried seem'st fair! Me, in my vowed
Picture, the sacred wall declares t' have hung'

are not without a certain harshness. But all minor defects are amply compensated by the masterly closeness and elegance of the general version. The metre is ranked with the Asclepiadeans, and is repeated, Book I. 14, 21, 23; III. 7, 13; IV. 13.

CARM. V. c

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus,
Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
Cui flavam religas comam,

Simplex munditiis? Heu! quoties fidem
Mutatosque deos flebit, et aspēra
Nigris æquora ventis
Emirabitur insolens,

Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea;
Qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem
Sperat nesciūs auræ
Fallacis. Miseri, quibus

Intentata nites! Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

not observing that 'potens' governs 'maris,' as 'potens Cypri.'—MACLEAN.
ODE VI.

TO M. VIPSANIUS AGrippa.

No public man among the partisans of Augustus is more remarkable for the union of extraordinary talents with extraordinary fortune than the Vipsanius Agrippa to whom this ode is addressed. Sprung from a very obscure family, he might have failed in obtaining a fair career for his powers but for the accident of being a fellow-student with the young Octavius at Apollonia. He thus, at the age of twenty, became one of the most intimate associates, and one of the most influential advisers, of the future emperor of the world. While he was yet in youth he had achieved the highest distinctions, and secured the most eminent station. He had passed through the office of prætor and consul, and established, by a series of brilliant successes, the fame of a great general. As a naval commander he became yet more illustriously distinguished. He constructed the Roman navy; defeated Sextus Pompeius, then master of the sea; commanded the fleet against M. Antony; and the victory at Actium was mainly owing to his skill. It was soon after that last victory that this ode is supposed to have been written. All the honours Augustus could confer were heaped on him; the emperor united him to his own family, first by a marriage with his niece Marcella, subsequently, yet more closely, by marriage with his daughter Julia. Fortune never deserted Agrippa to the close of his life at the age of fifty-one. His character seems to have been a union of qualities rarely found together,—sagacity of design, rapidity

'Tis by Varius that Song, borne on pinions Homeric,
Shall exalt thy renown as the valiant and victor,
Whatsoe'er the bold soldier by land or by ocean
With thee for his leader achieved.
rapidity of action, a brilliant genius in construction, devoted to practical purposes. When he was forming a fleet he turned the Lucrine Lake into a harbour for a school to the mariners by whom he afterwards defeated the tried sailors of Sextus Pompeius. As ædile his first care was to supply Rome with water, restoring the Appian, Marcian, and Anienian aqueducts, and building a new one fifteen miles long from the Tepula to Rome. With this utility of purpose he combined great magnificence in taste, adorning the city with public buildings and statues by the ablest artists he could find. All these daring and splendid qualities were accompanied by a modesty or a prudence which preserved the affection of the people and avoided all chance of exciting the jealousy of Augustus. He twice refused a triumph.

The reader will observe with what ease Horace avoids all servility in the brief homage he delicately renders to Agrippa, and the playfulness of the concluding stanza would seem to intimate a certain familiarity of intercourse, or at all events that there was nothing in the temper of Agrippa, two years younger than himself, so austere as to be shocked by the poet’s favourite subjects for song. Of the poems of Varius, to whose muse Horace refers the due celebration of Agrippa’s deeds, only a few fragmentary lines have been preserved. Among these is the description of a hound, which is vigorous and striking. The fragment has been imitated by Virgil, whom he preceded as an epic poet. His tragedy of ‘Thyestes’ seems to have survived in repute his epics, since Quintilian does not mention those, while he accords to ‘Thyestes’ the high praise of saying ‘that it might have stood comparison with any of the Greek dramatic masterpieces.’

CARM. VI.

Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
Victor Mæonii carminis alite,
Quam rem cunque ferox navibus aut equis
Miles, te duce, gesserit:
Themes so lofty we slight ones attempt not, Agrippa, 
Not the terrible wrath of Pelides unyielding, 
Not the course thro' strange seas of the crafty¹ Ulysses, 
Not the fell House of Pelops, we sing.

While the Muse that presides over lute-strings unwarlike, 
And my own sense of shame would forbid me to lessen, 
By the inborn defect of a genius unequal, 
The glories of Cæsar and thee.

Who can worthily sing Mars in adamant tunic, 
Or Merion all grim with the dust-cloud of Ilion, 
Or Tydides, when, thanks to the favour of Pallas, 
He stood forth a match for the gods?

We of feasts, we of battles, on youths rashly daring 
Waged by maids armed with nails too well pared for much slaughter, 
Sing, devoid of love's flame; or, if somewhat it scorch us, 
Still wont to make light of the pain.

¹ 'Duplicis—Ulixei.' Horace very naturally, in speaking of Ulysses, adopts the characteristic epithet employed from the Greek. In Latin 'duplex' is very rarely used in the sense of crafty or deceitful. I know not of any other instance in which it is so used by the Latin poets except in Catullus, lxviii. 51, 'duplex Amathusia.'
Nos, Agrippa, neque hæc dicere, nec gravem
Pelidæ stomachum cedere nescii,
Nec cursus duplicis¹ per mare Ulixei,
Nec sævam Pelopis domum

Conamur, tenues grandia: dum pudor
Imbellisque lyræ Musa potens vetat
Laudes egregii Cæsaris et tuas
Culpa deterere ingeni.

Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
Digne scripserit? aut pulvere Troico
Nigrum Merionen, aut ope Palladis
Tydiden superis parem?

Nos convivia, nos prœlia virginum
Sectis in juvenes unguibus acrium
Cantamus, vacui, sive quid urimur,
Non præter solitum leves.
This ode is generally supposed to be addressed to L. Munatius Plancus, than whom those versatile times did not engender a more selfish renegade or a more ungrateful traitor. Estré, loath to grant that Horace condescended to immortalise this person (who, however, contrived to make himself important to all parties, and died safe, wealthy, and honoured at least by Augustus, who even conferred upon him

Other bards shall extol brilliant Rhodes, Ephesus, or Mytilene,
Or, queen of two seas, stately Corinth,
Embattled Thebes, famous through Bacchus, Delphi as famed through Apollo,
Or Thessaly's beautiful Tempè.

Some are whose sole task is to laud the city of Pallas the spotless,
Prolonging the hymn into Epic,¹
On every side plucking a leaf to garland their brows with the olive;
And many, in honour of Juno,

Tell of Argos, the breeder of steeds, and the rich stores of Mycenæ;
But me more have stricken with rapture
Than patient Laconia's defiles, than fertile Larissa's expanses
The grot of Albunea ² resounding,

The Anio's precipitous rush, the woodlands and orchards of Tibur,
All dewy with quick-winding waters.

¹ 'Carmine perpetuo celebrare.' I adopt the interpretation of Orelli, Maclean, and Yonge—a continuous poem, like an epic, culling
him the censorship, B.C. 27), thinks that it was some other Plancus, possibly his son, designated as Munatius, Lib. I. Ep. iii. v. 31. Horace, however, in this ode does not ascribe any virtues to the person addressed at variance with the general character of the successful renegade, and only bids him not take grief much to heart, but enjoy himself as much as he could, whether in the camp or at his villa—an admonition which he was not likely to disregard. The measure of the ode takes its name from Alcman. It consists of a complete hexameter alternated with a verse made up of the last four feet of a hexameter. Horace only employs this metre twice again, Book I. Ode xxviii., and Epode xii.

**CARM. VII.**

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon, aut Mytilenen, Aut Epheson, bimarisve Corinthi Moenia, vel Baccho Thebas, vel Apolline Delphos Insignes, aut Thessala Tempe.

Sunt, quibus unum opus est, intactae Palladis urbem Carmine perpetuo celebrrare, et Undique deceptam fronti praeponere olivam. Plurimus in Junonis honorem,

Aptum dicet equis Argos ditesque Mycenas. Me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon, Nec tam Larissae percussit campus opima, Quam domus Albuneae 2 resonantis,

Et praecps Anio, ac Tiburni lucus et uda Mobilibus pomaria rivis.

— all the associations and myths connected with Athens, and formed into a whole like Ovid's Metamorphoses.

2 Albunea, the Sibyl, who gave her name to a grove and fountain, and apparently to a grotto at Tibur.
As the white southern wind oftens clears clouds from a sky
at its darkest,
Nor teems with a rain that is lasting,

So, Plancus, let those weary hours, when life seems but
labour and sorrow,
Be lulled to their end in the wine-cup;
Whether camps with banners ablaze hold thee now, or shall
hold thee hereafter
The thick-leavèd shades of thy Tibur.

When from Salamis and from his sire, Teucer was passing to
exile,
'Tis said that he crowned with the poplar
Brows first besprinkled with drops from the strength-giving
boon of Lyæus,
To friends as they sorrowed thus speaking:

'Go we wheresoever a fate more kind than the heart of a
parent
May bear us, associates and comrades;
Despair of nought, Teucer your chief—of nought under aus-
pice of Teucer,
Unerring Apollo predicts us

'A Salamis built on new soil, which Fame shall confound
with the lost one;'
Brave friends who have borne with me often
Worse things as men, let the wine chase to-day every care
from the bosom,
To-morrow—again the great Waters.'

1 Emblematic of courage and adventure. The poplar was consecrated
to Hercules.
2 'Ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram'—a new Salamis, which
might in future be confounded with the old one. The new Salamis was
in Cyprus.
Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila cælo
Sæpe Notus, neque parturit imbres

Perpetuo, sic tu sapiens finire memento
Tristitiam vitæque labores
Molli, Plance, mero, seu te fulgentia signis
Castra tenent, seu densa tenebit

Tiburis umbra tui. Teucer Salamina patremque
Cum fugeret, tamen uda Lysæo
Tempora populea¹ fertur vinxisse corona,
Sic tristes affatus amicos:

Quo nos cunque feret melior Fortuna parente,
Ibimus, o socii comitesque.
Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro;
Certus enim promisit Apollo,

Ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.²
O fortes, pejoraque passi
Mecum sæpe viri, nunc vino pellite curas
Cras ingens iterabimus æquor,
ODE VIII.

TO LYDIA.

This ode has been paraphrased by Henry Luttrell into that elegant and playful satire upon the manners of his own day, called 'Advice to Julia.' The names are clearly fictitious.

By all gods, Lydia, say
Why haste to ruin Sybaris thro' loving?
Why has the Campus grown
To him, of dust and sun so patient,—hateful?

'Mid comates why no more
Parades that martial rider, with sharp wolf-bit
Breaking in Gallic\(^1\) mouths?
Why shuns that athlete oil
More than the froth of vipers; why no longer
Baring arms nobly bruised;
He, for so many a feat of dart and discus
Hurled beyond mark—renowned?

Where lurks he, as the son of ocean-Thetis
From funeral fates in Troy
Lurked,—they say—hidden, lest to Lycian squadrons
And carnage, rapt away
If once detected in the guise of manhood?

---

\(^1\) 'Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frenis.'

Gallic mouths—horses from Gaul. These were considered very high mettled, but, when well broken-in, so serviceable in war that they were in great request in the Roman cavalry. 'Lupatis,' a bit, jagged like wolves' teeth.
tious. Whether the persons designated by the names existed is another matter—probably enough: their types are always existing. There is no reason for supposing the various Lydias whom Horace addresses were the same person; every reason, judging by the internal evidence of the several poems, to suppose they were not. There is no other ode in this metre.

CARM. VIII.

Lydia, dic, per omnes
Te deos oro, Sybarin cur properes 'amando
Perdere; cur apricum
Oderit campum, patiens pulvers atque solis?

Cur neque militaris
Inter æquales equitât, Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frenis? ¹
Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? Cur olivum

Sanguine viperino
Cautius vitat, neque jam livida gestat armis
Brachia, sœpe disco,
Sœpe trans finem jaculo nobilis expedito?

Quid latet, ut marinæ
Filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Troiæ
Funera, ne virilis
Cultus in cædem et Lycias proriperet catervas?
ODE IX.

TO THALIARCHUS.

Thaliarchus signifies in Greek 'arbiter bibendi'—commonly translated 'feastmaster.' Some editors, as Dillenburger and Maclean, refusing to consider it meant to be a proper name, print 'thaliarche,' 'O feastmaster.' Orelli and Yonge, however, retain the capital T, and it is perhaps more agreeable to Horace's habit of individualising generals, and is certainly more animated in itself, to consider, with Buttmann, that the word is meant for a proper name, though of course a fictitious one, and invented to signify the official character of the person addressed. I may also add that there is no instance, I believe, in Latin authors, in which the word thaliarchus is used as a feastmaster; and that, therefore, if Horace did not mean it to be considered a proper

See how white in the deep-fallen snow stands Soracte!
Labouring forests no longer can bear up their burden;
And the rush of the rivers is locked,
Halting mute in the gripe of the frost.

Thaw the cold; more and more on the hearth heap the fagots—
More and more bringing bounteously out, Thaliarchus,
The good wine that has mellowed four years
In the great Sabine two-handled jar.

Leave the rest to the gods, who can strike into quiet
Angry winds in their war with the turbulent waters,
Till the cypress stand calm in the sky—
Till there stir not a leaf on the ash.
per name, it would have been unintelligible to those of his readers who did not understand Greek; and to those who did, would have appeared a pedantic affectation, which was precisely the reproach that a man of Horace's good taste and keen sense of the ridiculous would not voluntarily have incurred. The references to the manner in which Thaliarchus may spend his day, all belong to the life of a town; and there is no reason to suppose the scene otherwise than at Rome. Walckenaer says that the isolated and singular form of Soracte strikes the eye on quitting the city by one of the two gates to the north.

Though, to judge by a fragment preserved in Athenæus, the poem is more or less imitated from an ode by Alcaeus, the scene and manners are altogether Roman; in fact, the more the fragments left of Greek poets are fairly compared with the verses in which they are imitated by Horace, the more Horace's originality in imitating becomes conspicuous.

**CARM. IX.**

Vides, ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec jam 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 æquore fervido
Depœliantes, nec cupressi
Nec veteres agitantur orni.
Shun to seek what is hid in the womb of the morrow;
Count the lot of each day as clear gain in life's ledger;
Spurn not thou, who art young, dulcet loves;
Spurn not, thou, choral dances and song,

While the hoar-frost morose keeps aloof from thy verdure.
Thine the sports of the Campus,¹ the gay public gardens;
Thine at twilight the words whispered low;
Each in turn has its own happy hour:

Now for thee the sweet laugh of the girl—which betrays her
Hiding slyly within the dim nook of the threshold,
And the love-token snatched from the wrist,
Or the finger's not obstinate hold.

¹ 'Campus et areæ'—the Campus Martius, in which, in the forenoon,
athletic sports were practised, and the public promenades (areæ) in dif-
ferent parts of the city, and especially round the temples, which were
the resort of loungers in the afternoon. Orelli thus gracefully elucidates
the concluding verse. 'The scene,' he says, 'is this: the lover goes
at the appointed hour to the door of his mistress, which stands ajar; he
calls upon her with low whispers: the girl keeps silence, having play-
fully hid herself behind the threshold, until at last she betrays herself by
her laugh. The lover then rushes in, and carries off as a love-pledge her
bracelet or ring, after a struggle on her part not too pertinaciously coy.'
Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et
Quem Fors dierum cunque dabit, lucro
Appone, nec dulces amores
Sperne, puer, neque tu choresas,

Donec virenti canities abest
Morosa. Nunc et campus et areae,¹
Lenesque sub noctem susurri
Composita repetantur hora;

Nunc et latentis proditor intimo
Gratus puellæ risus ab angulo,
Pignusque dereptum lacertis
Aut digito male pertinaci.
ODE X.

TO MERCURY.

The scholiast Porphyrion says this ode was taken from Alcæus, who, he asserts, and Pausanias confirms it, invented the story about Apollo's cows or oxen. The story is celebrated

Mercury, thou eloquent grandson of Atlas,
Who didst the rude manners of earth's early races
First mould into form, both by graceful Palæstra,¹
   And by skilled language—

Of thee will I sing, to great Jove and Olympus
Light herald;—sing thee of wreathed lute the inventor,
So cunning to hide whatsoever the whim took thee
   Gaily to pilfer.

When Phœbus in wrath sought to frighten thy childhood
If thou didst not restore the kine tricksomely stolen,
While threatening his shafts he was robbed of his quiver;
   Laughed out Apollo!

¹ No English paraphrase can adequately render Palæstra, which was especially attributed to the invention of Hermes. It appears to have been originally distinct from the gymnasia, and appropriated chiefly to the training of the athletæ in wrestling and the Pancratium. When towards the decline of the Republic the Romans imitated the Greeks in these and other less manly customs, they attached to their villas places for exercise called indiscriminately Gymnasia or Palæstæ. The meaning of the stanza is that Mercury taught the early races how to discipline body by skilled exercise, and express thought by cultivated language; and I agree with Orelli in construing 'voce' thus, and not as song or music, which is rather the gift of Apollo.
brated in the Homeric hymn to Hermes, as well as the invention of the lyre by stringing a tortoise-shell, at whatever date that hymn was written. Horace always ascribes to Mercury the characteristics of the Greek Hermes, with whom the Mercurius of the Latins had little in common.

**CARM. X.**

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,
Qui feros cultus hominum recentum
Voce formasti catus, et decorae
More palæstræ,¹

Te canam, magni Jovis et Deorum
Nuntium, curvæque lyræ parentem;
Callidum, quidquid placuit, jocosus
Condere furto.

Te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
Risit Apollo.

¹ More palæstræ: A conjectural correction of the text. The original text reads More palæstræ, which could be interpreted as a misreading or a variant form in the manuscript.
So too, led by thee, Priam bearing his treasures
From Ilion, eluded the vaunting Atridæ,¹
The watchlights of Thessaly and the remorseless
Tents of the Argive.

Thou placest pure souls in the calm of blest dwellings,
With golden staff shepherding ghost-flocks of shadow;
To gods, whether throned in Olympus or Hades,
Equally welcome.

¹ 'Quin et Atridas.' Here Horace abruptly elevates the astuteness of Mercury from the playful thefts of infancy to the wise caution with which he leads the innocent and helpless through the severest dangers; and then naturally, and with all his inimitable terseness, the poet represents him as conducting no less safely the souls of the dead. Throughout all those stanzas, from the theft of oxen, when Mercury was an infant in his cradle, to his crowning mission as the conductor of souls departed, the same ruling idea of stealth is preserved and deified. Mercury steals the kine from Apollo, he steals Priam through the Grecian camp, he steals souls through the passage between earth and Hades,—all with a union of guarded secrecy and imperturbable serenity which, throughout the more playful attributes of Hermes, imply the grandeur and inspire the awe that characterise a supernatural being. No deity can be more exclusively Greek in this combination of open joyousness and mystic power. It was a type of divinity as impossible to be conceived by the Latins as by the Germanic and Scandinavian races, though they all worshipped a Mercurius.
Quin et Atridas,\textsuperscript{1} duce te, superbos
Ilio dives Priamus relict\textsuperscript{o}
Thessalosque ignes et iniqua Trojae
Castra fefeller.

Tu pias l\textae\textsuperscript{s} animas reponis
Sedibus, virgaque levem coe\textae\textsuperscript{r}ces
Aurea turbam, superis deorum
Gratus et imis.
ODE XI.

TO LEUCONOË.

The desire to solve the doubts by which man is beset in the present, will, perhaps, so long as the world lasts, give an audience to those who pretend to divine the future; and of all modes of divination, astrology has been, from time immemorial, the most imposing, because it arrogates the rank of a science, and asserts that it bases its predictions upon deductions from a vast accumulation of facts. Rome, of course, abounded in astrologers, who called themselves Chaldaeans,

Nay, Leuconoë, seek not to fathom what death unto me—unto thee
(Lore forbidden) the gods may assign; nor the schemes of the Chaldee consult.¹
How much better it is whatsoever the future shall bring to endure!
Whether Jove may vouchsafe our existence more winters, or this be the last,

Which now breaks Tuscan ocean in spray on the time-eaten rocks that oppose,
Be thou wise; strain thy wine from the lees; and to space which thine eye can survey
Cut the length thou allottest to hope. While we talk—grudging Time will be gone;
Seize the present; as little as may, confide in a morrow beyond.

¹ 'Nec Babylonios tentaris numeros'—i.e. the astrological calculations, or, in technical phrase, 'schemes,' for which the Chaldees were so famous.
daeans, as Cicero calls them; and were probably as much Chaldæans as the Gipsies of Norwood are Bohemians or Indians. Horace gives his fair friend a brief admonition, which, in proof of the common-sense that keeps him always modern, might be equally given to ladies, and even to the ruder sex, in our own day. For wherever we travel in England or Europe, it is rare to find a town, however deficient in books, in which a prophetic astrological almanac may not be seen in the shop-windows.

CARM. XI.

Tu ne quæsieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
Finem Di dederint, Leuconoë, nec Babylonios
Tentaris numeros.¹ Ut melius, quidquid erit, pati!
Seu plures hiemes, seu tribuit Juppiter ultimam,

Quæ nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrenenum, sapias, vina lique, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Ætas: carpe diem quam minimum credula posto.
ODE XII.

IN CELEBRATION OF THE DEITIES AND THE WORTHIES OF ROME.

This poem is commonly inscribed very inappropriately 'De Augusto,' and sometimes more accurately 'De laudi-bus

What man, what hero, or what god select'st thou,
Theme for sweet lyre or fife sonorous, Clio?
Whose honoured name shall that gay sprite-voice, Echo,
   Hymn back rebounding,

Whether on Helicon's umbrageous margent,
Whether on heights of Pindus or cold Hæmus,
Whence woods, at random, vocal Orpheus followed?
   He who stayed rivers

In their swift course, and winds in their wild hurry
By art maternal;¹ and with bland enchantment
Led the huge oaks at his melodious pleasure
   List'ning his harp-strings.

Whom should I place for wonted rites of homage
Before the Father-King of gods and mortals,
Who earth, and ocean, and heaven's varying seasons²
   Orders and tempers,

From whom not greater than Himself proceedeth—
To whom exists no semblance and no second?
Yet where he hath a nearest, be its honours
Sacred to Pallas.

¹ 'Arte materna'—the Muse Calliope, mother of Orpheus.
² 'Qui mare ac terras variisque mundum
   Temperat horis.'
'Mundum' here means 'cœlum,' 'sky'—i.e. the whole framework of nature, in sea, earth, and heaven, is under the dominion of Jove.
bus Deorum vel hominum.' It was certainly composed before the death of the young Marcellus. A.U.C. 731; and Orelli and Macleane agree in accepting Franke's date, A.U.C. 729.

CARM. XII.

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
Tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
Quem Deum? Cujus recinet jocosa
Nomen imago

Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
Aut super Pindo gelidove in Hæmo?
Unde vocalem temere insecutæ
Orphea silvæ,

Arte materna¹ rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapsus celerisque ventos,
Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere quercus.

Quid prius dicam solitis parentis
Laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum,
Qui mare ac terras variisque mundum²
Temperat horis?

Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quidquam simile aut secundum:
Proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.
Left not unsung be Liber, bold in battle;
Nor she, the brute-world's foe—virgin Diana;
Nor thou, dread Lord of the unerring arrow,
   Plioebus Apollo.

Sing let me, too, the demigod Alcides,
And Leda's twins, the rider and the athlete—
At whose joint star, what time on storm-beat seamen
   Dawns its white splendour,
Back from the rocks recedes the rush of waters,
Winds fall, clouds fly, and every threatening billow,
Lulled at their will, upon the breast of ocean
   Sinks into slumber.

Should, after these, be Romulus first honoured,
Numa's calm reign, or Tarquin's haughty fasces?
I pause in doubt; or is it rather Cato's
   Noble self-slaughter?

Regulus, and the Scauri,¹ and Æmilius
Lavish of his great life when Carthage triumphed,
Grateful I name for song's most signal honours;—
   Thee, too, Fabricius;
He and rude unkempt Curius and Camillus,—
These were the men whom hardy thrift, rude nurture,
The ancestral farm, and unluxurious homestead
   Fitted for warfare.

Tree-like grows up through unperceived increases
Marcellus'² fame. As the moon throned in heaven
'Mid lesser lights, the Julian constellation
   Shines out resplendent.

¹ Either the Scauri enjoyed at that time a higher reputation than they have retained in history, or Horace had some special reason, personal or political, now inexplicable, or placing them in the rank of Rome's foremost worthies. Æmilius Paulus, having advised the disastrous battle
Proeliiis audax, neque te silebo,
Liber, et sævis inimica Virgo
Beluis: nec te, metuende certa
   Phoebè sagitta.

Dicam, et Alciden, puerosque Ledæ,
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnīs
Nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
   Stella refulsit,

Defluit saxis agitatus humor,
Concidunt ventī, fugiuntque nubes,
Et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto
   Unda recumbit.

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

Regulum, et Scauros,¹ animæque magnæ
Prodigum Paullum, superante Pöno,
Gratus insigni referam Camena,
   Fabriciumque.

Hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tulit, et Camillum,
Sæva paupertas et avitus apto
   Cum lare fundus.

Crescit, occulto velut arbor ævo,
Fama Marcelli;² micat inter omnes
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes
   Luna minores.

of Cannæ, refused the horse offered to him by a tribune of the soldiers, and remained to perish on the field.

² 'As the name of Marcellus, whom I understand, with Orelli, to be the Marcellus who took Syracuse, stands for all his family, and particularly the young Marcellus, so the star of Julius Cæsar, and the lesser lights of that family, are meant by what follows.'—Macleane.
Father and Guardian of all human races,
Saturnian Jove, to thee the Fates have given
Charge o'er great Cæsar; mayst thou reign supremely,
Next to thee Cæsar.

Whether the Parthians over Rome impending
Grace his full\(^1\) triumph, or the farthest dwellers,
Indian and Seric, upon Orient margins
Under the sunrise,\(^2\)

Wide earth with justice he shall rule, thy viceroy;
With awful chariot Thou shalt shake Olympus;
Thou through the sacred groves profaned impurely
Launch angry lightnings.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) "Justo triumpho." "Justo," "regular, full, complete," in which sense this adjective is attached to such nouns as exercitus, legio, acies, prægium, victoria."—Yonge.

\(^2\) "Sive subjectos Orientis oræ
Seras et Indos."

The Seres, whom some conjecture to be the Chinese, represent the nations at the farthest east known to the Romans. "Subjectos oræ," "under the edge or extremity of the East."—Yonge.

\(^3\) "Tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
Tu parum castis inimica mittes
Fulmina lucis."

The general meaning seems to be, that Jove left the political government of earth to Augustus, his vicegerent; but he reserved to himself alone the dominion of heaven, and the task of avenging such crimes as offended the gods, or polluted the sanctity of the temples.
Gentis humanæ pater atque custos,
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
Cæsaris fatis data: tu secundo
Cæsare regnes.

Ille, seu Parthos Latio imminentes
Egerit justo¹ domitos triumpho,
Sive subjectos Orientis oræ
Seras et Indos,²

Te minor latum reget æquus orbem;
Tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
Tu parum castis inimica mittes
Fulmina lucis.³
ODE XIII.

TO LYDIA.

In this ode is expressed naturally enough the sort of jealousy which a Lydia would be likely to inspire in a general lover, such as Horace represents himself in his poems—'sive quid urimur non præter solitum leves.' The ode in itself,

When thou the rosy neck of Telephus,
   The waxen arms of Telephus, art praising,
Woe is me, Lydia, how my jealous heart
   Swells with the anguish I would vainly smother.

Then in my mind thought has no settled base.
   To and fro shifts upon my cheek the colour,
And tears that glide adown in stealth reveal
   By what slow fires mine inmost self consumeth.

I burn, or whether quarrel o'er his wine,
   Stain with a bruise dishonouring thy white shoulders,
Or whether my boy-rival on thy lips
   Leave by a scar the mark of his rude kisses.

Hope not, if thou wouldst hearken unto me,
   That one so little kind prove always constant;
Barbarous indeed to wound sweet lips imbued
   By Venus with a fifth part of her nectar.1

Thrice happy, ay more than thrice happy, they
   Whom one soft bond unbroken binds together,
Whose love, serene from bickering and reproach,
   Ends not before the day when life is ended.

1 'Quinta parte sui nectaris.' It has been disputed whether Horace means by this expression the Pythagorean quintessence, which is ether. Most modern translators so take it—'an interpretation,' says Maclean, 'which I am surprised to find Orelli adopts with others, that does not commend itself to my mind at all.' Neither does it to mine.
itself, whether borrowed or not from a Greek original, is replete with the elegance which characterises Horace's love-poems, and there is a tenderness which seems genuine and heartfelt in the concluding stanza.

The metre in Horace is the same as in Ode iii., but no English measure seems to me so well to express the sense and spirit of the ode as the graver and more elegiac form in which the translation is cast.

CARM. XIII.

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi  
Cervicem roseam, cerea Telephi  
Laudas brachia, vae, meum  
Fervens difficili bile tumet jeur.

Tum nec mens mihi nec color  
Certa sede manent; humor et in genas  
Furtim labitur, arguens  
Quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.

Uror, seu tibi candidos  
Turparunt humeros immodicae mero  
Rixaee, sive puer furens  
Impressit memorem dente labris notam.

Non, si me satis audias,  
Speres perpetuum, dulcia barbare  
Laedentem oscula, quae Venus  
Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.¹  
Felices ter et amplius,  
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis  
Divulsus querimoniiis  
Suprema citius solvet amor die.

think the interpretation rendered by Dillenburger much less pedantic and much more poetical. The ancients supposed that honey contained a ninth or tenth part of nectar, and therefore the lips of Lydia were imbued with double the nectar bestowed on honey.
ODE XIV.

THE SHIP—AN ALLEGORY.

I know not what safer title for this poem can be selected from the many assigned to it in the MSS. All or most critics nowadays are agreed that it is a political allegory, and not, as Grævius, Bentley, and others contended, an address to the actual ship that brought Horace from Philippi, and in which his friends were about to re-embark. Quinctilian illustrates the meaning of the word ‘allegory’ by a reference to the ode, and the ode itself is an imitation of an allegorical poem by Alcæus on the political troubles of Mitylene, of which a fragment is extant. Quinctilian’s interpretation of the allegory, though still popularly received—viz., that the ship means the Commonwealth or Republic—is not without eminent disputants; and unless there were more assured data as to the time in which the poem was written, and under what political circumstances, the dispute is not likely to be settled. The opinion advanced by Acron and supported with much force by Buttmann is, that the poem is addressed, not to the Commonwealth, but to a remnant of the political party with which Horace had fought under Brutus, and in remonstrance against their launching once more into civil war under Sextus Pompeius. This view has been somewhat rudely assailed, and the generality of critics remain loyal to the good old simile of Ship and State. But of late the argument of a critic at once so acute and so profound as Buttmann has been silently gaining ground with reflective scholars, and has much in its favour. Nothing in itself is more probable than that Horace should have sought to express to his old comrades in an allegorical poem his dissuasion from the hazardous junction with
S. Pompeius, and place on record his own vindication for refusing to put forth in so shattered a vessel, and resting in port—i.e., with the government established under Augustus.

The other supposition most favoured as to the date of the poem is that which places it in the year before the battle of Actium, when M. Antony and Augustus were making their preparations for war. This does not seem so probable a date as the other. The images of the poem would ill accord with it. Horace could scarcely have said then that the ship under Augustus was disabled, destitute of rowers and chiefs, and could not last through a storm; and as in that war Cæsar went forth against Antony rather than Antony against Cæsar, the expostulation to keep in port would have been very ill received by Augustus, and very contrary to the spirit with which Horace always speaks of that war and its results, and to the willingness expressed in Epode i. to have taken a share in the enterprise, had Mæcenas been appointed to command in it. At the outbreak of the war with Antony, Horace was a decided partisan of the established government, and this poem is evidently written by a man who has affection and fear for those about to hazard some new enterprise against the existent order of things. He certainly would not have addressed that warning to Antony's supporters. Whether the poem allegorises the entire Republic, or that party belonging to it with which Horace had been so intimately connected, and with whose renewed hazards he declined to associate himself, does not, however, very materially signify; for a writer who has been a strong party-man generally has his party in his mind whenever he proposes to address the State. But if Horace really designed the allegory for his old comrades under Brutus, about to cast their fortunes with Sextus Pompeius, he could not more affectionately part from them, nor more delicately imply his own rational excuses for doing so.
O ship, shall new waves drift thee back into ocean?  
What wouldst thou? Make fast, O, make fast for the haven!  
Ah! dost thou not see how thy sides  
Are all naked of even the rowers?¹

Thy mast by the south wind in fury is shattered,  
And loud groan thy mainyards, and scarce,² without cables  
Undergirding the keel, couldst thou strive  
With the sway of the tyrannous waters.

Thy sails are not whole, and the gods thou wouldst call on  
Once more, in the stress of thy peril have left thee,  
August Pontic pine,³ though thou art  
Of a forest illustrious the daughter,  
All useless the race, and the name that thou vauntest;  
Scared sailors trust nought to the stern’s painted colours.  
Beware, O beware, lest thou owe  
But a mock to the winds thou wouldst hazard.

Thou, lately the cause of my wearisome trouble,  
And now of deep care and regretful affection,  
Mark well where the Cyclades shine,  
And avoid the waves flowing between them.

¹ I.e., whether the lines apply to the State or to a party in it, men and appliances are wanting to the cause.
³ In translating these lines I feel very strongly how much they favour Acron’s opinion and Buttmann’s argument for the application of the allegory to the old Brutus party about to share the fortunes of the great Pompey’s son, Sextus. The old gods, or the statues of the tutelary deities niched in the stern, were indeed gone; the cry for Republican liberty or Senatorial rights was hushed in the graves of Brutus and Cassius. Assuming with Acron and Buttmann that by the Pontic pine is symbolised Pompey, whose chief successes were achieved in Pontus as the conqueror of Mithridates, his name and race were indeed idly vaunted by Sextus. Recruits distrusted the colours painted on the
CARM. XIV.

O navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus! O quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum! Nonne vides, ut
   Nudum remigio latus,¹

Et malus celeri saucius Africo
Antennæque gemant, ac sine funibus ²
   Vix durare carinæ
   Possint imperiosius

Æquor? Non tibi sunt integra linteæ,
Non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo:
   Quamvis Pontica pinus,³
   Silvæ filia nobilis,

Jactæ et genus et nomen inutile;
Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
   Fidit. Tu, nisi ventis
   Debes ludibrium, cave.

Nuper sollicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
   Interfusa nitentes
   Vites æquoræ Cycladas.

battered ship to which they were invited. Applying the lines to the cause of the old Brutus party, well might Horace exclaim, ‘Nuper sollicitum quæ mihi tædium,’ in reference to the anxieties and to the disgusts with which his share in that cause had subjected him, the loss of friends and hopes and fortune; and well and tenderly might he add, in affection for former comrades and deprecation of the perils they were about to risk, ‘Nunc desiderium curaque non levis.’ ‘Desiderium’ is a word that implies affection, and ‘a missing of something—a regret.’ The whole of the poem thus construed seems to me in complete harmony with all the poems in which Horace takes a retrospective view of his connection with Brutus’s party, and the attachment he retained for his old friends, so strongly evinced in his welcome to Pompeius Varus, Lib. II. Ode vii.
ODE XV.

THE PROPHECY OF NEREUS.

This ode is considered by critics to bear the stamp of an early composition. It has certainly the vigour and fire of

When the false Shepherd bore through the waters
In Idæan ships, Helen his hostess,
Nereus buried swift winds in loathed slumber
That Fate's fell decrees he might sing.

'Woe the day that thou lead'st to thy dwelling
Her whom Greece shall ask back by great armies,
Sworn in league to dissolve, with thy nuptials,
The ancient dominion of Troy.

'Ah! what death-sweat to war-horse and warrior!
Ah! what funerals that move with thy rowers
Bring'st thou home to the race of the Dardan!
Already stern Pallas prepares

'Helm, and aegis, and chariot, and fury;
Vainly, bold in the safeguard of Venus,
Shalt thou trim thy sleek locks and charm women
With songs set to chords—not of war;

'Vainly shun in thy paramour's chamber
Pond'rous spears and the darts of the Cretan,
And the roar of the battle;—and Ajax
So swift when he follows a foe;

'Late, alas! dust shall yet smear thy love-locks.
Lo behind thee, thy race's destroyer,
Lo Ulysses!—lo Nestor!—Thee, Teucer,
Thee, Sthenelus, skilled in the fight

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1 'Carmina divides'—i.e. accompany your harp with singing.—
Yonge.
2 Hom. II. iii. 381.
of youth, but it is seldom that the poetry of youth is equally
terse and condensed.

CARM. XV.

Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus
Idæis Helenen perfidus hospitam,
Ingrato celeres obruit otio
Ventos, ut caneret fera

Nereus fata : Mala ducis avi domum,
Quam multo repetet Græcia milite,
Conjurata tuas rumpere nuptias
Et regnum Priami vetus.

Heu, heu! quantus equis, quantus adest viris
Sudor! quanta moves funera Dardanæ
Genti! Jam galeam Pallas et Ægida
Currusque et rabiem parat.

Nequicquam, Veneris præsidio ferox,
Pectes cæsariem, grataque feminis
Imbelli cithara carmina divides;¹
Nequicquam thalamo ² graves

Hastas et calami spicula Cnosii
Vitabis, strepitumque et celerem sequi
Ajacem; tamen heu serus adulteros
Crines pulvere collines.

Non Laërtiaden, exitium tuae
Genti, non Pylium Nestora respicis?
Urgent impavidi te Salaminius
Teucer et Sthenelus sciens
'Or the chariot-chase, fearlessly follow:
Merion, too, thou shalt know,—but look yonder,
Through the battle comes raging to find thee
Tydides, more dread than his sire!

'Ah! from him, as a hart in the valley
Sees the wolf and forgetteth its pasture,
All unnerved and deep-panting thou fliest;
   Not such was the pledge to thy love.

'Though the wrath in the fleet of Achilles
Bring a respite to Troy and Troy's mothers;
Ilion's domes, after winters predestined,
   Shall sink in the flames of the Greek!'
Pugnæ, sive opus est imperitare equis,
Non auriga piger: Merionen quoque
Nosces. Ecce furt te reperire atrox.
Tydides melior patre,

Quem tu, cervus uti vallis in altera
Visum parte lupum graminis immemor,
Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
Non hoc pollicitus tuæ.

Iracunda diem proferet Ilio
Matronisque Phrygum classis Achilleï;
Post certas hiemes uret Achaicus
Ignis Iliacas domos.
ODE XVI.

RECANTATION.

There is no ground for safe conjecture as to the person here addressed. The old inscriptions applying it to Tyn- daris, the daughter of Gratidia, celebrated as Canidia in the Epodes; or the assertion in Cruquius that it is Grati- dia herself, are now generally considered to be purely fic- titious.

O, of mother so fair thou the yet fairer daughter,
To such end as thou wilt put my guilty iambics,
Fling them into the flames to consume,
Or the ocean of Hadria to drown.

Phrygian Cybele, no, nor the Pythian Apollo
In the innermost shrines soul-convulsing his priesthood,
No, nor Liber, nor Corybants mad
When their cymbals redouble the clash,

Craze the mind like the woeful disorders of anger,
Which are scared from their vent, nor by Norican falchion,
Wreckful oceans—untameable fires,
Nor ev'n Jove though himself thunder down.

It is said that Prometheus to man's primal matter
Was compelled to add something from each living creature,
And thus from the wild lion he took
Rabid virus to place in our gall.

Anger shattered in ruins the House of Thyestes;
Anger stands forth the cause by which cities have perished,
And the ploughshare of insolent hosts
Has passed over the site of their walls.
titious. Horace, no doubt, in his youth wrote a great many satirical or vituperative poems which he had too good taste to republish, and which, happily for his fame, have perished altogether. To some lady so libelled we may well suppose this ode to have been addressed, for it has an air of reality about it. It may have been suggested by the poem in which Stesichorus recanted his slanders on Helen, but to what extent Horace here imitates that poem, there are no means of judging.

CARM. XVI.

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior,
Quem criminosis cunque voles modum
Ponis iambis, sive flamma
Sive mari libet Hadriano.

Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
Mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
Non Liber æque, non acuta
Sic geminant Corybantes æra,

Tristes ut iræ, quas neque Noricus
Deterret ensis, nec mare naufragum,
Nec sævus ignis, nec tremendo
Juppiter ipse ruens tumultu.

Fertur Prometheus, addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.

Iræ Thyesten exitio gravi
Stravere, et altis uribus ultimæ
Stetere causæ, cur perirent
Funditus, imprimetque muris
Be appeased then: that vehement heat of the bosom
In the sensitive heyday of youth tempted me too,
   And it whirled me all frantic away
   Down the torrent of scurrilous song.

Now I seek to exchange rude emotions for soft ones
Provided my penitence move thee to pardon,
   And my full recantation thus made,
   O be friends, and restore me thy heart.
Hostile aratum exercitus insolens.
Compesce mentem: me quoque pectoris
Tentavit in dulci juventa
Fervor, et in celeres iambos

Misit furentem; nunc ego mitibus
Mutare quaero tristia; dum mihi
Fias recantatis amica
Opprobiis, animumque reddas.
ODE XVII.

INVITATION TO TYNDARIS.

It is impossible to do more than conjecture whether the person addressed under the feigned name of Tyndaris actually existed or not. There are one or two touches in the poem which seem to individualise her as a creature of the earth—such as the selection of one particular song about the rivalry of Penelope and Circe, which is not a theme especially appropriate to the place of invitation, and may well have been the favourite song of some fair lute-player; and the

For Lucretilis oft nimble Faunus exchanges,
So delightful its slopes, his Arcadian Lycaeus—
   From my she-goats still turning aside
       Rainy winds and the scorch of the sun.

All in safety the waves of the strong-scented husband
Rove where arbute and thyme lurk in woodlands secreted;
   Never green adder daunts them, nor there
       Martial wolf from Haedilia descends,

Whilesoever, my Tyndaris, round and about us
Ring the smooth sheeny lime-rocks of sloping Ustica,
   And the valleys embosomed below,
       With the sweet haunting pipe of the god.

Over me watch the gods with an aspect of favour,
To the gods dear at heart are the muse and my worship.
   Here our rich rural honours shall flow
       From a brimmed cornucopia to thee.
the reference to the jealous violence of Cyrus looks like an allusion to some incident that had previously occurred. On the one hand, nothing is more likely than that Horace should have known, and invited to his villa, some such accomplished freed-woman as is here addressed. On the other hand, nothing is more consonant to his exquisite art than the invention of attributes and incidents for the purpose of giving the interest of reality to a purely imaginary creation. A compliment to the beauty of the person addressed is insinuated by the name of Tyndaris, 'as if,' says Orelli, 'she were another Helen.'

CARM. XVII.

Velox amœnum sœpe Lucretilem
Mutat Lyœo Faunus, et igneam
Defendit æstatem capellis
Usque meis pluviosque ventos.

Impune tutum per nemus arbutos
Quærunt latentes et thyma deviæ
Olentis uxorēs maritī;
Nec virides metuunt colubras,

Nec Martiales Hædiliæ lupos,
Utcunque dulci, Tyndari, fistula
Valles et Usticæ cubantis
Levia personuere saxa.

Di me tuentur, dis pietas mea
Et Musa cordi est. Hic tibi copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Here, within the deep vale, thou shalt shun the red dog-star,
And shalt sing us that tale on the lute-strings of Teos,
    How Penelope vied with the Sea's
        Crystal Circe, for one human heart;

Safely here shalt thou quaff, under cool leafy shadows,
Sober cups from the innocent vineyards of Lesbos;
    'Tis not here that gay Semele's son¹
        Shall with Mars his encounters confound;

Dread not here lest pert Cyrus, suspecting thee vilely,
Lay rash hands on that form not a match for rude anger,
    Rend the garland which clings to thy hair,
        Or the robe—which deserves no such wrong.

¹ Bacchus.
Hic in reducta valle Caniculæ
Vitabis æstus, et fide Teïa
   Dices laborantes in uno
      Penelope vitreamque Circen;

Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii
   Duces sub umbra; nec Semeleïus¹
      Cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
         Prœlia, nec metues protervum

Suspecta Cyrum, ne male dispari
   Incontinentes injiciat manus,
      Et scindat hærentem coronam
         Crinibus immitteramque vestem.
ODE XVIII.

TO VARUS.

Varus was no uncommon name, and it has been a dispute with commentators what Varus is here addressed. It is generally

Of all trees that thou plantest, O Varus, the vine, holy vine be the first,
On the soil that surrounds genial Tibur and Catilus’ ram-parted walls.
To the lips of the dry does the godhead taint all with a taste of the sour,
And only by wine are the troubles gnawing into the bosom dispersed.

Fresh from wine who complains of the hardships he bears or in want or in war?
Who not more hails thee, Bacchus, as father; thee, Venus, as linked with the Grace?
But Evius himself has forewarned us by his curse on the Thracians of old,
And the battle o’er riotous wine-cups which the Centaurs with Lapithæ fought,

How the drunkard divides right from wrong by the vanishing line of his lust,
And not to pass over the limit the Unbinder of Care has imposed.
’Tis not I who will shake, comely Bacchus, the thyrsus against thy consent,¹
Or drag forth to daylight thy symbols covered over with manifold leaves.

¹ 'Non ego te, candide Bassareu,
Invitum quatiam, nec variis obsita frondibus
Sub divum rapiam.'

'Quatiam,' poetically applied to the god himself, refers to the shaking
generally believed to be the Quinctilius Varus for whose death Horace seeks to console Virgil, Ode xxiv. of this Book.

By the way in which Bacchus and Venus are here addressed, Horace implies a temperate and elegant conviviality; Bacchus is hailed as ‘father,’ benignant, not cruel; and Venus as ‘decens’—that is, accompanied with the Graces, ‘ipsa decens est, cum comites sint decentes Gratiae’ (Carm. i. 4, 6; Dillenburger); and the poet proceeds to contrast a Bacchus and a Venus so characterised with the brawl and lust of the Centaurs, who, invited to the marriage-feast of Peirithous, King of the Lapithæ, attempted in their drunkenness to carry off the bride and the other women, which of course led to a fight with the Lapithæ and with the Sithonians, a people in Thrace, who were afflicted by Bacchus with the curse of never drinking without fighting.

CARM. XVIII.

Nullam, Vare, sacra, vite prius severis arborem
Circa mite solum Tiburis 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?
At, ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero

Deballata, monet Sithoniis non levis Evius,
Cum fas atque nefas exiguò fine libidinum
Discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide Bassareu,¹
Invitum quatiam, nec variis obsita frondibus

of the thyrsus, cymbals, or images in the wild dance of the Orgies. 'Variis obsita frondibus' means the vessels in which the mystical symbols of Bacchus were concealed, covered over with various leaves, chiefly of vine and ivy.
Silence! hush, savage horn Berecynthian! let the clash of
the timbrel be hushed,
Making music which Self-conceit follows, dull egotist reeling
stone-blind,
Idle Vainglory over-exalting her empty and arrogant head,
And a Faith which is lavish of secrets,—with bosom more
seen through than glass.
Sub dividum rapiam. Sæva tene cum Berecyntio
Cornu tympana, quæ subsequitur cæcus Amor sui,
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem,
Arcanique Fides prodiga, per lucidior vitro.
ODE XIX.

TO GLYCERA.

Whether Glycera and Cinara be the same person—whether the Glycera here addressed be the same Glycera as is elsewhere

Methought I had finished with love
When the mother herself of the Cupids, a merciless mother she is,
And the Theban boy, Semele's son,
And the goddess called Wantonness badè me to love again render my soul.

Me the beauty of Glycera burns,
Shining out with a delicate light than the marble of Paros more pure;
It burns me that dear saucy charm,
And that face in its dazzle too sheen for the eye without danger to rest.¹

All Venus, in rushing on me,
Has deserted her temples in Cyprus. She will not permit me to sing
Of Scythian, or Parth who exults
In the feints of the swift-wheeling steeds, or of aught which belongs not to love.

Quick, slaves, here! an altar in haste—
Pile it up with the green living sod; hither vervain and frankincense bring,
And wine winters two have matured:
Thus appeased by the blood of a victim, more gently the goddess may come.
elsewhere mentioned—whether she existed anywhere or under any name except in Horace's fancy—are questions that have been as fiercely debated as if they could be decided, or were of the slightest consequence if they could. The poem itself is charmingly pretty, and has much more the air of complimentary gallantry than of real affection.

**Carm. XIX.**

Mater sæva Cupidinum,
Thebanæque jubet me Semeles puer,
   Et lasciva Licentia,
Finitus animum reddere amoribus.

Urit me Glyceræ nitor
Splendentis Pario marmore purius;
   Urit grata protervitas,
Et voltus nimium lubricus adspici.¹

In me tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit; nec patitur Scythas,
   Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere, nec quæ nihil attinet.

Hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic
Verbenas, pueri, ponite thuraque
   Bimi cum patera meri:
Mactata veniet lenior hostia.

¹ 'Voltus nimium lubricus adspici.' This bold expression, which will not bear a translation too literal, is, according to some recent commentators, taken from the glitter and smoothness of ice; as ice is too slippery for the foot, so Glycera's face is too slippery for the gaze. Earlier critics, coupling the previous reference to the Parian marble, suggest that the allusion is rather to a statue like that of Hecate in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, which Pliny tells us the spectators were warned by the priests not to suffer the eye to rest upon too intently, so blindingly bright was the shine of the marble.
Nothing can be more simple in form and spirit than this ode, in which Horace invites Mæcenas to a homely entertainment in language equally unostentatious. In this, as in other of Horace's purely occasional odes, one feels the presence of the genuine poet by his abstemious avoidance of the

Sabine wine poor thoul't drink in modest goblets,
Into Greek cask I myself racked and sealed it,
Knightly and dear Mæcenas, when the applausive Theatre hailed thee;

So that the banks of thine ancestral river,
So that in choral symphony the Sprite-voice Haunting the Vatican mountain—sportive Echo—
Rang back the plaudits.

Elsewhere the costly Cæcuban thou quaffest,
Or of the grape tamed in Calenian presses:
No Formian hill-side, no Falernian cluster,
Flavour my wine-cups.
the would-be poetical. The date of the poem has been variously conjectured. Judging by the reference to the Sabine wine which Mæcenas is invited to drink, and which came into use in its second year, reaching its prime in its fourth, the poem would have been written between two and four years after the reception that the audience at the theatre gave to Mæcenas on his recovery from his illness. But the date of that event is not determined. Franke and Lübker refer the composition of the ode to A.U.C. 729-730. Maclean favours the latter year. Orelli inclines to Weber's date, from A.U.C. 726-727.

CARM. XX.

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græca quod ego ipse testa
Conditum levi, datus in theatro
   Cum tibi plausus,

Care Mæcenas eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripæ, simul et jocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
   Montis imago.

Cæcubum et prelo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam : mea nec Falernæ
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
   Pocula colles.
ODE XXI.

IN PRAISE OF DIANA AND APOLLO.

It was supposed by Franke that this hymn was composed for the first celebration of the quinquennial games—Ludi Actiaci—instituted by Augustus in honour of Apollo and Diana, when he dedicated a temple to Apollo on the Palatine after his return from the taking of Alexandria, A.U.C. 726. There are two objections to this supposition:—the one, observed by Macleane, is in the word 'principe,' for Augustus did not get that title till the ides of January A.U.C. 727,

Hymn ye the praise of Diana, young maidens,
Hymn ye, O striplings, the unshorn Apollo,
   And hymn ye Latona, so dear
   To the Father Supreme in Olympus.

Maidens, sing her who delights in the rivers,
And the glad locks on the brow of the forests
   That nod over Algidus cold,
   Verdant Cragus and dark Erymanthus; ¹

Youths, sing of Tempè with emulous praises,
Delos, the fair native isle of Apollo,
   And sing of the shoulder adorned
   With the quiver, and shell of the Brother.²

Moved by your prayer, may the god in his mercy
Save, from war and from pest and from famine,
   Our people, and Cæsar our prince,
   And direct them on Persia and Britain.

¹ 'Nigris aut Erymanthi
   Silvis, aut viridis Cragi.'

The epithet 'viridis' applied to Cragus is in opposition to 'nigris' applied to Erymanthus, from the different kinds of foliage on either moun-
727, and therefore after the first celebration of the Actian games. The other objection is in the nature of the poem itself, which, as Orelli remarks, is of too light a quill for the ceremonial pomp of solemn games or earnest supplication. The reference to the Persians and Britons at the close would seem to intimate the same date as the 29th Ode of this Book, when Augustus was preparing a military expedition against Britain and the East, viz. A.U.C. 727. The notion of Sanadon, that the ode was an introduction to the Secular Hymn, has long been exploded.

CARM. XXI.

Dianam teneræ dicite virgines,
Intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium;
   Latonamque supremo
   Dilectam penitus Jovi.

Vos lætam fluwii et nemorum coma,
Quæcunque aut gelido prominet Algido,
   Nigris aut Erymanthi
   Silvis, aut viridis Cragi;¹

Vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus,
Natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis,
   Insignemque, pharetra
   Fraternaque humerum lyra.²

Hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem
Pestemque a populo, et principe Cæsare, in
   Persas atque Britannos
   Vestra motus agit prece.

¹ tain, Cragus being covered with oak and beech, Erymanthus with pine and fir.
² 'Fraternaque humerum lyra'—the shell invented by his brother Mercury.
ODE XXII.

TO ARISTIUS FUSCUS.

Of Aristius Fuscus Horace speaks (Epp. i. 10) with particular affection. He says 'they were almost twins in their tastes

He of life without flaw, pure from sin, need not borrow
Or the bow or the darts of the Moor, O my Fuscus!
He relies for defence on no quiver that teems with
    Poison-steept arrows;

Though his path be along sultry African Syrtes,
Or Caucasian ravines, where no guest finds a shelter,
Or the banks which Hydaspes, the River of Story,
    Licks languid-flowing.

For as lately I strayed beyond pathways accustomed,
And with heart free from care was of Lalage singing,
A wolf in the thick of the deep Sabine forest
    Met, and straight fled me,

All unarmed though I was; yet so deadly a monster
Warlike Daunia ne'er bred in her wide acorned forests,
Nor the thirst-raging nurse of the lion—swart Juba's
    African sand-realm.

Place me lone in the sterile wastes, where not a leaflet
Ever bursts into bloom in the breezes of summer;
Sunless side of the world, which the grim air oppresses,
    Mist-clad and ice-bound;
tastes and sentiments.' Fuscus appears to have been an author, but there is some doubt as to what he wrote,—Acron says 'Tragedies'—Porphyrion, 'Comedies;' which last supposition seems more in keeping with the humorous joke he plays upon Horace, Sat i. 9. Cruquius says he was a grammarian.

CARM. XXII. ✿

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris jaculis, neque arcu,
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
    Fusce, pharetra ;

Sive per Syrtes iter æstuosas,
Sive facturus per inhospitalæm
Caucasum, vel quæ loca fabulosus
    Lambit Hydaspes.

Namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
    Dum mem canto Lalagen, et ultra
Terminum curis vagor expeditis,
    Fugit inermem ;

Quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit æsculetis,
Nec Jubæ tellus generat, leonum
    Arida nutrix.

Pone me, pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor æstiva recreatur aura,
Quod latus mundi nebulæ malusque
    Juppiter urget :
Place me lone where the earth is denied to man's dwelling,
All so near to its breast glows the car of the day-god;
And I still should love Lalage—her the sweet-smiling,
Her the sweet-talking.¹

¹ 'Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem.'

If I might have allowed myself to expand the literal words of the original into what seems to me the sense implied by the poet, I should have proposed to translate the lines thus:

'I still should love Lalage—see her, sweet smiling;
Hear her, sweet talking.'

For I take it that Horace does not merely mean that he would still love Lalage 'sweetly smiling' and 'sweetly talking'—an assurance which seems in itself to belong to a school of poetry vulgarly called namby-pamby—but rather that, however solitary, still, and lifeless be the place to which he might be transported, he would still be so true to her image, that in the solitude he would see her sweetly smiling, and amidst the silence hear her sweetly talking. So Constance, in Shakespear, says:

'Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
Lies in her bed, walks up and down with me,
Puts on her pretty looks, repeats her words.'
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis, in terra domibus negata:
Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem.\(^1\)
ODE XXIII.

to Chloe.

This ode has the appearance of being imitated, though but slightly, from a fragment in Anacreon preserved in 'Athenæus,' ix. p. 396. But it is not the less an illustration of the native grace with which Horace invests his more trivial compositions.

Like a fawn dost thou fly from me, Chloë,
Like a fawn that, astray on the hill-tops,
   Her shy mother misses and seeks,
      Vaguely scared by the breeze and the forest.

Shudders Spring,¹ newly born, thro' quick leaflets?
Slips the green lizard stirring a bramble?
   She is seized with a panic of fear,
      And her knees and her heart are one tremble.

Nay, but not as a merciless tiger,
Or an African lion I chase thee;
   Ah! cling to a mother no more,
      When thy girlhood is ripe for a lover.

¹ Munro, though preserving 'veris' in the text, argues (Introduction, p. xxi) in favour of the reading vepris, commended by Bentley and some earlier commentators. The main reason for his preference is, 'that the advent of Spring must mean when the genitabilis aura Favoni begins to blow freshly and steadily; that is, on some day in the month of February: but in the Italian forests the lightly moving leaves come almost, or quite, as late as in the English, and the zephyr blowing steadily for days together would be the last thing to startle a fawn.'

This criticism is founded on nice observation of details in external
Vitas hinnuleo me similis, Chloë,
Quærenti pavidam montibus aviis
Matrem, non sine vano
Aurarum et siluæ metu.

Nam seu mobilibus veris\(^1\) inhorruit
Adventus foliis, seu virides rubum
Dimovere lacertæ,
Et corde et genibus tremit.

Atqui non ego te, tigris ut aspera
Gætulusve leo, frangere persequor:
Tandem desine matrem
Tempestiva sequi viro.

nature, but I do not think such nicety of observation is a characteristic of Horace. The simile itself of the fawn is rather a proof of the contrary; for the fawn just missing her dam is by no means of an age to be wooed, nor does she attract the courtship of the male till she has parted company with the mother altogether, and is mingling with the other does.
Quinctilius died A.U.C. 730. Little is known of him beyond the mention with which he is immortalised by Horace. In the Ars Poetica he is spoken of as dead, and as having been a frank and judiciously severe critic, who, if you trusted your

What shame or what restraint unto the yearning
For one so loved? Music attuned to sorrow
Lead thou, Melpomene, to whom the Father
Gave liquid voice and lyre.

So, the eternal slumber clasps Quinctilius,
Whose equal when shall shame-faced sense of Honour,
Incorrupt Faith, of Justice the twin sister,
Or Truth disguiseless, find?

By many a good man wept, he died;—no mourner
Wept with tears sadder than thine own, O Virgil!
Pious, alas, in vain! thou redemandest
Quinctilius from the gods;

Not on such terms they lent him!—Were thy harp-strings
Blander than those by which the Thracian Orpheus
Charmed listening forests, never flows the life-blood
Back to the phantom form

Which Hermes, not reopening Fate's closed portal
At human prayer, amid the dark flock shepherds
With ghastly rod. Hard! yet still Patience lightens
That which admits no cure.

1 'Praecipe'—'lead.'—Yonge.
your verses to him, would bid you correct this and that. If you replied you could not do better—that you had tried twice or thrice in vain—he would tell you to strike the lines out altogether, and put them anew on the forge. This character as critic is in harmony with the character here assigned to him as man (verses 7, 8).

**CARM. XXIV.**

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis? Præcipe¹ lugubres
Cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam Pater
Vocem cum cithara dedit.

Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor
Urget! cui Pudor, et Justitiae soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
Quando ullum inveniet parem?

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit;
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.
Tu frustra pius, heu! non ita creditum
Poscis Quinctilium deos.

Quod si Threicio blandius Orpheo
Auditam moderere arboribus fidem,
Non vanæ readeat sanguis imaginii,
Quam virga semel horrida,

Non lenis precibus fata recludere,
Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi.
Durum! Sed levius fit patientia,
Quidquid corrigere est nefas.
Little need be said about this poem. The reader has been already warned against the assumption that in the application of names, evidently fictitious, to poems of this kind, the same person is designated by the same name. It is obviously too absurd to suppose that the blooming Lydia of the 13th Ode in this very Book is identical with the faded hag lampooned in the following ode. The poem itself is, with others of the same kind, only valuable as illustrative of Horace’s character on its urban or town-bred side—its combination of the man of a fashionable world when at Rome, and of the solitary poet wrapped in his fancies, and meditating

More rarely now shake thy closed windows
With quick knocks of petulant gallants,—
They break not thy sleep; to thy threshold
Fondly the door clings

Once turning so glib on its hinges.
Thou hear’st less and less, ‘Lydia, sleep’st thou?
’Tis I—all night long for thee dying—
. I thine own lover!’

Now thou whin’st that this new generation
Likes but young shoots of ivy and myrtle,
And dedicates dry leaves to Hebrus,¹
Winter’s cold comrade?

¹ ‘Hebro’—a river in Thrace: as we should say, ‘to the north pole.’
meditating his art amidst Sabine woods or in the watered valleys of Tibur. In the translation, the third and fourth stanzas of the original are omitted. In these omitted stanzas the taste is sufficiently bad to vitiate the poetry. Horace never writes worse than when he is cynical. Cynicism was in him a spurious affectation, contrary to his genuine nature, which was singularly susceptible to amiable, graceful, generous, and noble impressions of man and of life.

CARM. XXV.

Parcius junctas quatiunt fenestras
Ictibus crebris juvenes protervi,
Nec tibi somnos adimunt, amatque
Janua limen,

Quæ prius multum facilis movebat
Cardines; audis minus et minus jam,
‘ Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
Lydia, dormis?’

Invicem moechos anus arrogantes
Flebis in solo levis angiportu,
Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
lunia vento,

Cum tibi flagrans amor et libido,
Quæ solet matres furiare equorum,
Sæviet circa jecur ulcerosum:
Non sine questu,

Laeta quod pubes hedera virente
Gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto,
Aridas frondes hiemis sodali
Dedicet Hebro.1
ODE XXVI.

TO L. AElius Lamia.

Horace addresses this same Lamia again, Lib. III. Ode xviii. Lamia must have been very young when this ode was written, the date of which is to be guessed from the reference to Tiridates and the Parthian disturbances. Assuming with Orelli, Macleane, and others, that it was composed A. u. c. 729, just before Tiridates fled from his kingdom, Lamia survived fifty-seven years, dying A. u. c. 786 (Tac. Ann. vi. 27).

I, the friend of the Muses, all fear and all sorrow
Will consign to wild winds as a freight for Crete's ocean;
I, the one man who feels himself safe,
Whatever king reigns at the Pole—

Whatever the cause that appals Tiridates.
Muse, thou sweetener of Life, haunting hill-tops Pimpleian,
Whose delight is in founts ever pure,
Weave the blooms opened most to the sun—

O weave for the brows of my Lamia the garland:
Nought my praise without thee. Let thyself and thy sisters
Make him sacred from Time by the harp
Heard at Lesbos; but new be its strings.
Carm XXVI.

Musis amicus, tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis, quis sub Arcto
Rex gelidæ metuatur oræ,

Quid Tiridaten terreat, unice
Securus. O, quæ fontibus integris
Gaudes, apricos necte flores,
Necte meo Lamiæ coronam,

Pimplea dulcis! Nil sine te mei
Prosunt honores: hunc fidibus novis,
Hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
Teque tuasque decet sorores.
ODE XXVII.

TO BOON COMPANIONS.

In this poem, as in others of a convivial nature, Horace transports himself as if it were into the midst of the company, and imparts an air of reality to an imaginary scene, so that it seems as if actually an impromptu.

Brawl and fight over cups which were born but for pleasure
Is the custom in Thrace. Out on manners barbaric,
Do not put modest Bacchus to shame
By the scandal of bloody affrays.

In what strange want of keeping with wine-cups and lustres
Are the dirks of the Mede. Hush that infamous clamour,
Be quiet! Companions! seats—seats!
Lean in peace on prest elbows again!

Do you wish me to share a Falernian so doughty?
Well then, let the young brother of Locrian Megilla
Reveal by what wound, by what shaft
He is smitten and dies—happy boy.

What, refuse? tut! I drink on no other condition,
Come, no matter what Venus may conquer thee—blush not,
For we know that thy sins in that way
Must be always high-bred and refined.

Nay, thy secret is safe in these faithful ears whispered,
Ha! indeed luckless wretch! whirled in what a Charybdis!
How I pity thy struggles, O youth,
Thou, so worthy less dismal a flame!

O what witch or, with potions Thessalian, what wizard—
Nay, what god could avail from such coils to release thee?
From that triple Chimæra's embrace
Scarce could Pegasus carry thee off.

1 'Natis in usum lætitiae scyphis.' 'Natis'—'born,' as if made by nature, and destined exclusively for that purpose.—ORELLI.
CARM XXVII.

Natis\textsuperscript{1} in usum lætitiae scyphis
Pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
Morem, verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis!

Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
Immane quantum discrepat: impium
Lenite clamorem, sodales,
Et cubito remanete presso!

Voltis severi me quoque sumere
Partem Falerni? Dicat Opuntiæ
Frater Megillæ, quo beatus
Vulneræ, qua pereat sagitta.

Cessat voluntas? Non alia bibam
Mercede. Quæ te cunque domat Venus,
Non erubescendis adurit
Ignibus, ingenuoque semper

Amore peccas. Quidquid habes, age,
Depone tutis auribus. Ah miser,
Quanta laborabas Charybdi,
Digne puer meliore flamma!

Quæ saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
Magus venenis, quis poterit deus?
Vix illigatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimaera.
ODE XXVIII.

ARCHYTAS.

No ode in Horace has been more subjected than this one to the erudite ingenuity of conflicting commentators; nor are the questions at issue ever likely to find a solution in which all critics will be contented to agree.

The earlier commentators took for granted that the ode was composed as a dialogue between the ghost of Archytas and a voyager. The voyager, landing on the shore of Martinus, finds there the unburied bones of Archytas, and indulges in a sarcastic soliloquy, which ends either at verse 6, verse 16, verse 20, or, as Macleane was once of opinion, in the middle of verse 15—

'Sed omnes una manet nox.'

Two other theories have been started, by both of which Archytas is got rid of altogether. According to the first theory, the moralising voyager continues his reflections over the grave of the great geometrician, till (whether at verse 15, 16, or 20) the ghost, not of Archytas, but of another, whose bones are bleaching on the sand, rises up, accosts him, and prays to be sprinkled with the dust that may serve for burial and fit him for the Styx.

The second theory, favoured by Macleane, and supported by Mr. Long, dispenses not only with Archytas, but with the notion of dialogue. According to this conjecture, the whole poem is assigned to the ghost of a shipwrecked and unburied man, who moralises over Archytas and the certainty of death, &c., till, seeing a living sailor approach, he asks for burial. This supposition, the simplest in itself, and sanctioned by great critical authorities, appears to be gaining a more gene-
ral, if recent, assent with scholars than any other hypothesis—and, after much consideration, I have adopted it in my version. If the poem is, however, to be considered a dialogue, I should not agree with Macleane in placing the division at verse 15, but at verse 20—'Me quoque devexi,' &c. The very abruptness of the interposition of the ghost at that line, which has been considered by many critics objectionably harsh, appears to me a special merit. The ghost, commencing his appeal at that verse, goes at once to the purpose. He, being dead, has no need to say that all must die; but, contenting himself with briefly informing the voyager that he has been drowned, hastens to implore the handfuls of dust which suffice for burial. That it is not Archytas himself who speaks, whether in monologue or dialogue, is, I think, made perfectly apparent by the second and third verses of the ode—

' Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
Munera,'

which I agree with Macleane in considering clearly to intimate that the body of Archytas has already received that which he is supposed so earnestly to pray for. 'For,' thus continues this judicious scholar, 'though many, I am aware, get over this difficulty by supposing "cohibent munera" to

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1 I believe that most critics are now agreed that if the poem be a dialogue the first speaker cannot be interrupted at verse 6, or before verse 15. The lines 14, 15—

' Judice te non sordidus auctor
Nature verique,'

seem to settle that question. Archytas, if commencing at line 16, could scarcely appeal to the sailor as a judge of the learning of Pythagoras, while the first speaker would very appropriately say that Archytas was a judge of it. The attempt to get over this difficulty by corrupting a text sanctioned by all the MSS., and substituting 'me judice' for 'te judice,' is nowadays rejected by rational commentators, who rightly oppose unauthorised amendments of texts supported by the concurrence of MSS.
mean that the want of the scanty gift of a little earth was keeping him back from his rest, I do not see how the words will bear that sense; nor can I translate "cohibent" with Dillenburger and others as if it was meant that his body occupied only a small space on the surface of the ground. The words can only mean that he was under the sand, whether partially or otherwise, and in either case he could not require dust to be cast three times on him.'—Macleane, 'Introduction to Ode xxviii. Lib. I.'

The conjecture of Lübker and others that Horace is supposing himself to be a ghost drowned off Palinurus, is too far-fetched and fantastic for serious refutation. For these and other points in controversy the reader is referred to Orelli's Excursus and Macleane's Introduction to this ode.

The poem itself is singularly striking. Though abounding in those observations of the brevity of life and the certainty of death in which Horace so frequently indulges, with the half-sportive melancholy of a nature eminently sensuous, the poem has, on the whole, something almost of a Gothic character. The humour takes the sombre colour of the mediaeval Dance of Death, and is not without a touch of the genius which speaks in the grave-diggers of Hamlet. It is impossible to fix a date for its composition; but I incline to rank it among Horace's earlier odes, from a certain likeness in its tone and treatment to the 5th Epode, which has also somewhat of the Gothic character in its gloomy earnestness of description, and its employment of the grotesque as an agency of terror.

I concur in the general opinion that the scene is laid at the promontory of Matinus, where Archytas is said to have had his tomb. Macleane sees no occasion for that supposition, and thinks the subject of the ode is more likely to have been suggested at Tarentum than elsewhere. He deems 'that the words "Neptuno custode Tarenti" seem to fix the scene, and that it does not appear why a person
speaking at Matinus should talk of Neptune particularly as the "custos Tarenti."

I do not see the force of this objection. Neptune was particularly honoured at Tarentum, where he is said to have had a temple, and of which his son Tarus was the mythical founder. On the coins of Tarentum Neptune is represented as the tutelary deity. It would appear, therefore, quite natural that Neptune should be mentioned as the guardian of Tarentum, as Fortune is elsewhere mentioned as the guardian of Antium, without supposing that the person so referring to the deity was in the neighbourhood of the place specially protected; while the length at which Archytas is addressed at the commencement seems to indicate the scene as that in which the philosopher so emphatically selected was buried. Archytas himself was a Greek of Tarentum, which would render yet more appropriate a reference to that city whoever may be supposed to be speaking—the poem having commenced with the address to the shade of the great Tarentian.

Archytas was amongst the most illustrious of the ancient worthies—a general, a statesman, a philosopher, and especially a mathematician. He belonged to the Pythagorean school, but is supposed to have founded a new sect. The alleged inventor of analytical geometry, he is said to have originated the application of mathematics to mechanics, and constructed a flying dove of wood, which was to the myths of the ancients what Roger Bacon's brazen head is to those of the moderns. He is considered to have been a contemporary of Plato, and Aristotle wrote a life of him which is lost.

The metre is the same as in Ode vii., but I have not employed the same measure in the translation, thinking that the spirit of it requires the more elegiac rhythm which I have appropriated to some of the Epodes, and, indeed, to some other of the Odes.
Thee, arch-surveyor of the earth and ocean
And the innumerous sands, Archytas, thee,
Pent in a creeklet margined by Matinus,
The scanty boon of trivial dust keeps close.

What boots it now into the halls of Heaven
To have presumed, and drawn empyreal air,
Ranged through the spheres and with thy mind of mortal
Swept through creation to arrive at death?

The sire of Pelops with the gods did banquet,
And yet he died;—remote into thin air
Vanished, if lingering long, at last Tithonus;
Minos shared Jove's high secrets,—yet he died.

The son of Panthous, though he called to witness
His ancient buckler and the times of Troy,
That to grim Death he gave but skin and sinew,
Tartarus regains,—and, this time, holds him fast;

Yet he of Truth and Nature, in thy judgment,
Was an authority of no mean rank.
But one Night waits for all, and one sure pathway
Trodden by all, and only trodden once.

Some do the Furies to stern Mars exhibit
On the red stage in which disports his eye;
The greedy ocean swallows up the sailors;
Old and young huddled swell the funeral throng:

1 The shield of Euphorbus, son of Panthous (the valiant Trojan who wounded Patroclus), was preserved with other trophies in the temple of Juno at or near Mycenae; and, according to a well-known legend, Pythagoras recognised this shield as that which he had borne when he lived in the person of Euphorbus. The son of Panthous, therefore, means Pythagoras, whom the speaker sarcastically compliments as no mean judge of truth and nature in the opinion of Archytas, who belonged to his school.
CARM. XXVIII.

Te maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ
   Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
   Munera, nec quidquam tibi prodest

Aërias tentasse domos, animoquee rotundum
   Percurrisse polum, morituro.
Occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum,
   Tithonusque remotus in auras,

Et Jovis arcanis Minos admissus, habentque
   Tartara Panthoiden iterum Orco
Demissum; quamvis, clypeo Trojana refixo
   Tempora testatus, nihil ultra

Nervos atque cutem Morti concesserat atræ,
   Judice te non sordidus auctor
Naturæ verique. Sed omnes una manet nox,
   Et calcanda semel via leti.

Dant alios Furiæ torvo spectacula Marti ;
   Exitio est avidum mare nautis;
And not a head\(^1\) escapes the ruthless hell-queen,
Me also, Notus,\(^2\) hurrying on to join
His comrade setting amidst storm, Orion,
Plunged into death amid Illyrian waves.

But thou, O sailor, churlishly begrudge not
A sand-grain to my graveless bones and skull;
So may whatever the east wind shall threaten
To waves Hesperian, pass thee harmless by

And waste its wrath upon Venusian forests:
So from all-righteous Jove and him who guards
Tarentum's consecrated haven, Neptune,
Be every profit they can send thee showered.

Think'st thou 'tis nought to doom thy guiltless children
To dread atonement for their father's wrong?
Nay, on thyself may fall dire retribution
And the just laws that give back scorn for scorn.

I'll not be left, with prayers disdained, revengeless,
No expiation could atone such crime;
Whate'er thy haste, this task not long delays thee—
A little dust thrice sprinkled—then away.

\(^1\) 'Nullum sæva caput Proserpina fugit'—in allusion to the lock of hair which, according to the popular superstition, Proserpine cut off from the head of the dying.

\(^2\) 'Me also, Notus,' &c. If the poem be supposed a dialogue, it seems to me that this is the place at which the second speaker, as the ghost of an unburied man, suddenly starts up and interposes.—See Introduction.
Mixta senum ac juvemum densentur funera, nullum Sæva caput Proserpina fugit.\textsuperscript{1}

Me\textsuperscript{2} quoque devexi rapidus comes Orionis Illyricis Notus obruit undis.
At tu, nauta, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ Ossibus et capiti inhumato

Particulam dare: sic, quodcunque minabitur Eurus Fluctibus Hesperiis, Venusinæ Plectantur silvæ, te sospite, multaque merces, Unde potest, tibi defluat æquo

Ab Jove, Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti. Negligis immeritis nocituram Postmodo te natis fraudem committere? Fors et Debita jura vicesque superbæ

Te maneant ipsum: precibus non linquar inultis, Teque piacula nulla resolvent. Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa; licebit Injecto ter pulvere curras.
ODE XXIX.

TO ICCLUS.

In the 12th Ode of this Book Horace referred to the expedition into Arabia Felix meditated by Augustus, and which was sent from Egypt, A.U.C. 730, under the command of the Governor of Egypt, Aelius Gallus. Many Roman youths were attracted to this expedition by love of adventure and hope of spoil; among others, the Iccius here addressed, who survived to become the peaceful steward to Vispanius Agrippa's estates in Sicily. The good-natured banter on the warlike ardour conceived by a student of philosophy, was probably quite as much enjoyed by Iccius himself as by any one. They who suppose that so well-bred a man of the world as Horace is always insinuating moral reproofs to the friends he publicly addresses, are the only persons likely to agree with the scholiasts that he means gravely to rebuke Iccius for avarice in coveting the wealth of the Arabs.

So, Iccius, thou grudgest their wealth to the Arabs,
Wouldst war on kings Sheban, as yet never conquered,
And art sternly preparing the chains
For the limbs of the terrible Mede?

What virgin barbaric shall serve thee as handmaid,
Her betrothed being laid in the dust by thy falchion?
And what page, born and bred in a court,
Nor untaught Seric arrows to launch
From a bow-string paternal, with locks sleek and perfumed,
Shall attend at thy feasts, and replenish thy goblets?
Who that rivers can flow to their founts,
And the Tiber runs back, will deny,

If the sage of a promise so rare can surrender
All that priceless collection, the works of Panætius,
And the school in which Socrates taught,
In exchange for a Spanish coat-mail?
CARM. XXIX.

Icci, beatīs nunc Arabum invides
Gazīs, et acream militiam paras
Non ante devictis Sabææ
Regibus, horribilique Medo

Nectis catenas? Quæ tibi virginum
Sponso necato barbara serviet?
Puer quis ex aula capillis
Ad cyathum statuetur unctis,

Doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno? Quis neget arduis
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus, et Tiberim reverti,

Cum tu coemptos undique nobiles
Libros Panæti, Socraticam et domum,
Mutare lorices Hiberis,
Pollicitus meliora, tendis?
ODE XXX.

VENUS INVOKED TO GLYCERA'S FANE.

This ode has the air of a complimentary copy of verses to some fair freed-woman who had fitted up a pretty fane to Venus, probably in the grotto, or antrum, attached to her residence.

Venus, O queen of Cnidos and of Paphos,
Spurn thy loved Cyprus—here transfer thy presence:
Decked is the fane to which, with incense lavish,
Glycera calls thee.

Bring with thee, glowing rosy red, the Boy-god,
Nymphs and loose-girdled Graces, and—if wanting
Thee, wanting charm—bring Youth, nor let persuasive\(^1\)
Mercury fail us.

\(^1\) For the addition of this explanatory epithet, see the notes of Orelli and Dillenburger.
CARM. XXX.

O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique,
Sperne dilectam Cypron, et vocantis
Thure te multo Glyceræ decoram
Transfer in ædem.

Fervidus tecum Puer, et solutis
Gratiae zonis, properentque Nymphæ,
Et parum comis sine te Juventas,
Mercuriusque.¹
ODE XXXI.

PRAYER TO APOLLO.

After the battle of Actium, Augustus, in commencing the task of social reformer, restored the ancient temples and built new ones. Amongst the latter, a.u.c. 726, he dedicated to Apollo a temple, with a library attached to it, on the Palatine. This charming poem expresses the poet's private supplication to the god thus newly installed.

What demands at Apollo’s new temple the poet? For what prays he outpouring new wine in libation? Not fertile Sardinia’s rich sheaves, Not sunny Calabria’s fair herds;

Neither prays he for gold, nor the ivory of Indus, Nor the meadows whose margin the calm-flowing Liris Eats into with murmurless wave. Let those on whom Fortune bestows So luxurious a grape, prune the vine-trees of Cales, And let trade’s wealthy magnate exchange for the vintage Spiced cargoes of Syria, and drain Cups¹ sculptured for pontiffs in gold;

/ Dear, indeed, to the gods must be he who revisits Twice and thrice every year the Atlantic, unpunished: To me for a feast, malloows light, And endives and olives suffice.

Give me health in myself to enjoy the things granted, O thou son of Latona; sound mind in sound body; Keep mine age free from all that degrades, And let it not fail of the lyre.

¹ 'Culullis,' sculptured cups used by the pontiffs and Vestal virgins in the sacred festivals.
CARM. XXXI.

Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem
Vates? quid orat, de patera novum
Fundens liquorem? Non opimae
Sardiniæ segetes feraces,

Non aestuosæ grata Calabriae
Armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum,
Non rura, quæ Liris quieta
Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.

Premant Calena falce, quibus dedit
Fortuna, vitem; dives et aureis
Mercator exsiccat culullis
Vina Syra reparata merce,

/ Dis carusipsis, quippe ter et quater
Anno revisens æquor Atlanticum
Impune. Me pascunt olivae,
Me cichorea levesque malvae.

Frui paratis et valido mihi,
Latoë, dones, et, precor, integra
Cum mente; nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec cithara carentem.
ODE XXXII.

TO HIS LYRE.

This short invocation to his lyre has the air of a prelude to some meditated poem of greater importance. Several of the Manuscripts commence 'Poscimus,' which reading Bentley adopts. The modern editors agree in preferring 'Poscimur,' which has more of the outburst of song, and renders the poem more directly an address to the lyre.

We are summoned. If e'er, under shadow sequestered, Has sweet dalliance with thee in light moments of leisure Given birth to a something which lives, and may, haply, Live in years later,

Rouse thee now, and discourse in the strains of the Roman, Vocal shell, first attuned by the patriot of Lesbos, Who, in war though so fierce, yet in battle, or mooring On the wet sea-sand

His bark, tempest-tossed, chaunted Liber, the Muses, Smiling Venus, the Boy ever clinging beside her, And, adorned by dark locks and by eyes of dark lustre, Beautiful Lycus.

O thou grace of Apollo, O charm in Jove's banquets, Holy shell, dulcet solace of labour and sorrow, O respond to my greeting, when I, with rite solemn, Duly invoke thee.
CARM. XXXII.

Poscimur. Si quid vacui sub umbra
Lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum
Vivat et plures; age, dic Latinum,
Barbite, carmen,

Lesbio primum modulate civi,
Qui, ferox bello, tamen inter arma,
Sive jactatam reliarat udo
Litore navim,

Liberum, et Musas, Veneremque, et illi
Semper hærentem Puerum canebat,
Et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
Crine decorum.

O decus Phoebi, et dapibus supræmi
Grata testudo Jovis, O laborum
Dulce lenimen, mihi cumque salve
Rite vocanti.
ODE XXXIII.

TO ALBIUS TIBULLUS.

This poem is addressed to the most touching of all the Latin elegiac poets, Tibullus. Various but not satisfactory attempts have been made to identify Glycera with one of the two mistresses, Nemesis and Delia, celebrated in Tibullus's extant elegies.

Nay, Albius, my friend, set some bounds to thy sorrow, Let not this ruthless Glycera haunt thee for ever, Nor, if in her false eyes a younger outshine thee, Such heart-broken elegies dole.

With passion for Cyrus glows low-browed Lycoris,¹ Cyrus swerving to Pholoë meets with rough usage: When with wolves of Apulia the roe has her consort, With that sinner Pholoë shall sin.

'Tis ever the way thus with Venus—it charms her To mate those that match not in mind nor in person; In jest to her yoke she compels the wrong couples; Alas! cruel jest, brazen yoke!

Myself, when a far better love came to woo me, Myrtale the slave-born detained in fond fetters; And Hadria can fret not the bay of Tarentum So sorely as she fretted me.

¹ 'Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida.' So again, 'Nigros angusta fronte capillos'—Epp. I. vii. 26: a low forehead seems to have long remained in fashion. Petronius, c. 126, in describing a beautiful woman, says, 'Frons minima et quae apices capillorum retro flexerat.' Low foreheads came into fashion again at the close of the last century with the French Republic. Both with men and women the hair was then brought t
CARM. XXXIII.

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio, memor
Immitis Glyceræ, neu miserabiles
Decantes elegos, cur tibi junior
Læsa præniteat fide.

Insignem tenui fronte Lycoridæ¹
Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam
Declinat Pholoën; sed prius Apulis
Jungentur capræ lupis,

Quam turpi Pholoë peccet adultero.
Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas atque animos sub juga ænea
Sævo mittere cum joco.

Ipsum me, melior cum peteret Venus,
Grata detinuit compede Myrtale
Libertina, fretis acrior Hadriæ
Curvantis Calabros sinus.

down to the very eyebrow, as may be seen in the portraits of that time. Yet the Greek sculptors in the purer age of art did not give low foreheads to their ideal images of beauty, and it is difficult to guess why an intellectual people like the Romans should have admired a peculiarity fatal to all frank and noble expression of the human countenance. The Roman ladies were accustomed to hide their foreheads by a bandage, elegantly called ‘nimbus’—i.e. the cloud which accompanied the appearance of the celestials.
ODE XXXIV.

TO HIMSELF.

In this poem Horace appears to recant the Epicurean doctrine, which referred to secondary causes, and not to the providential agency of Divine power, the government of the universe, and which he professed, Sat. I. v. 101, and Epp. I. iv. 16. But, in fact, he candidly acknowledges his own inconsistency in all such matters, and is Stoic or Epicurean by fits and starts. In this ode he evidently connects the phenomenon of thunder in a serene sky with the sudden revolutions of fortune. The concluding verses are generally held to refer to the Parthian revolution, in which power was transferred now from Phraates to Tiridates, and again from Tiridates back to Phraates. In the last stanza—

' Hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet'—

it was suggested in the 'Cambridge Philological Museum,' May 1832, that Horace had in his mind the legend of the eagle taking off the cap of Tarquinius. For the convenience of the general reader the story may be briefly thus told.

Worshipper rare and niggard of the gods,
While led astray, in the Fool's wisdom versed,
Now back I shift the sail,
Forced in the courses left behind to steer:

For not, as wont, disparing serried cloud
With fiery flash, but through pure azure, drove
Of late Diespiter
His thundering coursers and his wingéd car;
told. Demaratus, one of the Bacchiadæ of Corinth, flying from his native city when Cypselus destroyed the power of that aristocratic order, settled at Tarquiniæ, in Etruria, and married an Etruscan wife. His son Lucumo succeeded to his wealth, and married Tanaquil, of one of the noblest families in Tarquiniæ, but being, as a stranger, excluded from state offices, Lucumo, urged by his wife, resolved to remove to Rome. Just as he and his procession reached the Janiculum, within sight of Rome, an eagle seized his cap, soared with it to a great height—'cum magno clangore'—and then replaced it on his head. Tanaquil predicted to him the highest honours from this omen, and Lucumo, who assumed the name of Tarquinius Priscus, ultimately obtained the Roman throne. Maclean, in referring to the legend, and to the reference to Phraates, thinks it not probable that Horace meant to allude to both these historical facts together, and is therefore inclined to suppose that he intended neither one nor the other. His objection does not impress me. Nothing is more probable than that Horace should exemplify the sudden act of fortune in the Parthian revolution and render his allusion more lively by a metaphor borrowed from a familiar Roman myth.

**CARM. XXXIV.**

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 tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum ;
Wherewith the fixed earth and the vagrant streams—
Wherewith the Styx and horror-breathing realms
    Of rayless Tænarus, shook—
    Shook the world's end on Atlas. A god reigns,

Potent the high with low to interchange,
Bid bright orbs wane, and those obscure come forth:
    Shrill-sounding,¹ Fortune swoops—
    Here snatches, there exultant drops, a crown.

¹ 'Cum stridore acuto.' These words (if Horace really had, here, the Tarquinian legend in his mind) are very suitable to the swoop of the eagle, descriptive alike of the noise of its scream and the shrilly whirr of its wings.
Quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina,
Quò Styx et invisī horrida Tænari
   Sedes, Atlanteusque finis
   Concutitur. Valet ima summis

Mutare, et insignem attenuat deus,
Obscura promens; hinc apicem rapax
   Fortuna 1 cum stridore acuto
   Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.
ODE XXXV.

TO FORTUNE.

Macleane places the date of this ode A.U.C. 728, when Augustus was meditating an expedition against the Britons and another against the Arabs. Fortune is here distinguished from Necessity, and recognised as a Divine Intelligence, rather with the attributes of Providence than those of Fate. As Fortune had her oldest temples in Rome, so she seems to have been the last goddess whose worship was deserted by the Roman emperors.

Goddess, who o'er thine own loved 1 Antium reignest,
Potent alike to raise aloft the mortal
     From life's last mean degree,
     Or change his haughtiest triumphs into graves;—
To thee the earth's poor tiller prays imploring—
To thee, Queen-lady of the deeps, whoever
     Cuts with Bithynian keel
     A passing furrow in Carpathian seas. 2
Thee Dacian rude—thhee Scythia's vagrant nomad 3—
Thee states and races—thhee Rome's haughty children—
     Thee purple tyrants dread,
     And the pale mothers of Barbarian kings,
Lest thou spurn down with scornful foot the pillar
Whereon rest States; 4 lest all, from arms yet ling'ring,

1 'Gratum—Antium.' Orelli prefers interpreting 'gratum' as 'dillectum,' 'dear to the goddess,' rather than as 'amenum,' or 'pleasant.'
2 I.e. whether man ploughs earth or sea he equally prays to Fortune.
3 'Profugi Scythiae.' The epithet 'profugi' applies to the nomad character of the Scyth, not to simulated flights as those of the Parthian cavalry.
4 'Stantem columnam.' The standing column was the emblem of
O Diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale corpus, vel superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos;

Te pauper ambit sollicita prece
Ruris colonus; te dominam æquoris,
Quicunque Bithyna lcessit
Carpathium pelagus carina.

Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
Urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox,
Regumque matres barbaraorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni,

Injurioso ne pede proruras
Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens

fixity and firmness. 'In ancient monuments,' says Dillenburger, 'the column is thus assigned to images of Peace, Security, Felicity.' Horace naturally writes in the spirit of his land and age in deprecating civil tumult as the most formidable agency for the overthrow of the column and the destruction of government and order.
To arms some maddening crowd
   Rouse with the shout to which an empire falls.
Thee doth untamed Necessity for ever
Stalk fierce before;—the ship nails and the wedges
   Bearing in grasp of bronze,
   Which lacks nor molten lead nor stedfast clamp.¹
But thee Hope follows, and rare Faith, the white-robed,
True to thee, ev'n when thou thyself art altered,
   And from the homes of Power
   Passest away, in mourning weeds, a foe;
While the false herd, the parasite, the harlot,
Shrink back: their love is dried up with the wine-cask,
   Their lips reject its lees;
   Their necks will halve no yoke that Sorrow draws.
Guard Cæsar, seeking on earth's verge the Briton,—
Guard Rome's young swarm of warriors on the wing,
   Where they alight, to awe
   The rebel East and Araby's red sea.
Shame for the scars, the guilt, the blood of brothers!
What have we shunned—we, the hard Age of Iron?
   What left undared of crime?
   What youthful hand has fear of heaven restrained,
Where stands an altar sacred from its rapine?
Dread goddess,—steel made blunt in impious battles
   On anvils new reforge;
   And turn its edge on Arab and on Scyth!

¹ Most recent commentators of authority agree in rejecting the notion of the commentator in Cruquius, adopted by earlier editors, that 'uncus' and 'plumbum' are used here as emblems of punishment and crime, and consider them as emblems of tenacity and fixity of purpose. Macleane observes that the metaphor of molten lead for strengthening buildings is employed by Euripides, 'Androm.', 267. Herder suggests that the whole picture of Necessity and her attributes is taken from some picture in the temple of Fortune at Antium.
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.

Te semper anteit sæva Necessitas,
Clavos trabales et cuneos manū
Gestans æna; nec severus
Uncus abest, liquidumque plumbum.¹

Te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno, nec comitem abnegat,
Utcunque mutata potentes
Veste domos inimica linquis.

At volgus infidum et meretrix retro
Perjura credit; diffugiunt cadis
Cum fæce siccatis amici,
Ferre jugum pariter dolosi.

Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos, et juvenum recens
Examen Eois timendum
Partibus, Oceanoque rubro.

Eheu! cicatricum et sceleris pudet
Fratrumque. Quid nos dura refugimus
Ætas? quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus? unde manum juventus

Metu deorum continuït? quibus
Pepercit aris? O utinam nova
Incude diffingas retusum in
Massagetas Arabasque ferrum!
Horace congratulates Numida on his return from Spain—probably from the army with Augustus, A.U.C. 730. Who Numida was can be only matter of conjecture.

Repay both with incense and harp-string,
Repay with the heifer's blood due, Numida's guardians divine;
Safe back from Hesperia the farthest,
Now among loving friends shares he many a brotherly kiss,
But the portion of Lamia is largest;
Mindful of childhood subjected to the same monarch's control,
And how they both, donning the toga,
Leapt into manhood together. Let not this happy day lack
Its record of white by the Crete stone:
Be there no stint to the wine-cask, be there no pause to the feet,
Blisthe in the bound of such measure
Salii on holidays dance to! Bassus shall gallantly vie
With Damalis, queen of she-topers,
Toss off his cup with a swallow like the grand drinkers of Thrace;2
And banquets shall want not the roses,
Garlands of parsley the long-lived, garlands of lilies the brief.
All eyes shall for Damalis languish;
But yet more encircling than ivy, climbing its way as it winds,
Shall Damalis, proof to their glances,
Turning aside from the old loves, clinging root and branch to the new.

1 'Memor actæ non alio rege puertiae.' Most modern scholars by 'rege' understand schoolmaster.
2 'Threïcia amyüstide.' 'Amystis' was a deep draught taken without drawing breath.
CARM. XXXVI.

Et thure et fidibus juvat
   Placare et vituli sanguine debito
Custodes Numidæ deos,
   Qui nunc, Hesperia sospes ab ultima,

Caris multa sodalibus,
   Nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
Quam dulci Lamiae, memor
   Actae non alio rege puertæ,¹

Mutataeque simul toga.
   Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota,
Neu promptae modus amphoræ,
   Neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum,

Neu multi Damalis meri
   Bassum Threicia vincat amystide,²
Neu desint epulis rosæ,
   Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium.

Omnès in Damalin putres
   Deponent oculos, nec Damalis novo
Divelle tur adultero,
   Lascivís hederis ambitiosior.
ODE XXXVII.

ON THE FALL OF CLEOPATRA.

In this ode Horace conspicuously manifests his unrivalled art of combining terseness and completeness. The animated rapidity with which the images succeed each other does not render them less distinct. The three pictures of Cleopatra constitute the action of a drama; her insolent power with its Oriental surroundings,—her flight and fall,—her undaunted death. And while, with his inherent manliness of sentiment, Horace compels admiration for

Now is the time, companions, for carousal,
Free now the foot to strike the earth in dances,
    For Salian banquets\(^1\) now
     Deckt be the couches on which gods repose.

Sinful before were Cæcuban wines time-mellowed,
While for the Capitol the crash of ruin—
    While for the life of Rome—
     Funereal fates, the madding Queen prepared,

Girt with a herd obscene of tainted outcasts,
Fooled by false hope and drunken with sweet Fortune;
    Tamer her frenzy grew
     When from the flames slunk, scarcely slunk, one ship!

\(^1\) The Salii were the priests of Mars Gradivus, twelve in number. Their habitual festival was in March, when they paraded the city in their official robes, carrying with them the twelve sacred shields of Mars, which they struck with rods, keeping time to the stroke by song and dance. At the conclusion of the festival the Salii partook of a banquet, proverbial for its magnificence, in the temple of Mars. 'Pulvinaria' are the couches on which the statues were placed, as if the gods themselves were banqueters.
for the foe who defrauds the victor of his triumph, and dies a queen, that very generosity of his serves more to justify the joyous exultation with which the poem commences, since it implies the determined nature of the great enemy from whom Rome is delivered. The date of the poem is sufficiently clear. M. Tullius Cicero, son of the orator, brought to Rome the news of the taking of Alexandria, and the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, Sept., A.U.C. 724, suggesting this exhortation to private and public rejoicings. It will be observed here, as elsewhere, how Horace avoids naming Mark Antony. Two lines from a fragment of Alcæus are cited by commentators to show that the commencement of this ode is imitated from them. They rather serve to show with what sedulous avoidance of servility Horace does imitate, and how thoroughly Roman the whole treatment of his poem is, whatever be the lines to which a Greek poem may furnish hint and suggestion.

**CARM. XXXVII.**

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus; nunc Saliaribus¹
Ornare pulvinar deorum
Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

Antehac nefas depromere Cæcubum
Cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat

Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci
Ebria. Sed minuit furorem
Speeding to change to real forms of terror
Vain dreams by Mareotic fumes engendered,
Far on her hurrying flight
From Latian coasts press Cæsar's rapid oars.

As on the cowering dove descends the falcon,
As the keen hunter thro' the snows of Hæmus
Chases the hare, he comes
To bind in chains this fatal Prodigy.

For chains too nobly born, she dies and spurns them,—
She from no sword recoils with woman shudder,—
She crowds, no sail to shores
Where life might save itself and lurk obscure.

Brave to face fallen grandeur and void palace
With look serene; brave to provoke the serpents
That, where they fixed, their fangs
Her form might readiest drink the poison in;

Sterner thro' death deliberate, she defrauded
The fierce Liburnians of the victor's triumph;
She, forsooth, captive, She!
No, the grand woman to the last was Queen!

---

1 'Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico.' 'Lymphatam' denotes panic or visionary terrors ('lymphata somnia'). 'Lympha' and 'nympha,' as Macleane observes, are the same word. Nympholepsy was the madness occasioned by the sight of the nymph flashing up from the fountain, scaring the traveller out of his senses; and 'lymphatus' literally means 'driven mad by the glare of water.' Horace ascribes this effect to the fumes, or perhaps rather the sparkle, of the Mareotic wine, produced on the banks of Lake Mareotis, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria.

2 'Liburnians,' light swift-sailing vessels, which constituted a chief portion of Augustus's fleet at Actium.
BOOK I.—ODE XXXVII.

Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus;
Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico¹
Redegit in veros timores
Čæsar, ab Italia volantem

Remis adurgens, accipiter velut
Molles columbas, aut leporem citus
Venator in Campis nivalis
Hæmoniæ, daret ut catenis

Fatale monstrum: quæ generosius
Perire quærens, nec muliebriter
Expavitensem, nec latentes
Classe cita reparavit oras.

Ausa et jacentem visere regiam
Voltu sereno, fortis et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum;

Deliberata morte ferocior,
Sævis Liburnis² scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.
ODE XXXVIII.

TO HIS WINE-SERVER.

Boy, I detest the pomp of Persic fashions—
Coronals wreathed with linden rind\(^1\) displease me ;
Cease to explore each nook for some belated
Rose of the autumn.

Weave with plain myrtle nothing else, I bid thee ;
Thee not, in serving, misbecomes the myrtle,
Me not, in drinking, underneath the trellised
Bowery vine-leaves.\(^2\)

\(^{1}\) 'Philyra,' the rind of the lime-tree used in elaborate garlands.
\(^{2}\) 'Sub arta vite'—'arta,' 'close,' 'embowering;' as in the trellised vine-arbours still common in Italy and parts of Germany.
CARM. XXXVIII.

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus,
Displicent nexæ philyra¹ coronæ;
Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
Sera moretur.

Simplici myrto nihil allabores
Sedulus curo: neque te ministrum
Dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta
Vite bibentem.²
Pollio was among Cæsar's generals when he crossed the Rubicon, and at the battle of Pharsalia. After Cæsar's death he joined M. Antony, and sided with him in the Peruvian war. He remained neutral after the battle of Actium. Indeed he retired from an active share in public life after his victorious expedition against the Parthini, an Illyrian people bordering on Dalmatia, and it is to that victory which Horace refers as the 'Dalmatian triumph.' He then gave himself

The civil feuds which from Metellus date,
The causes, errors, conduct of the war,
    Fortune's capricious sport,
    The fatal friendships of august allies,

And arms yet crusted with inexpiate blood;—
Such work is risked upon a perilous die;
    'Thou tread'st on smouldering fires,
    By the false lava heaped on them concealed.

Let for awhile the tragic Muse forsake
Her stage, till thou set forth the tale of Rome,
    Then the grand gift of song,
    With the Cecropian buskin, reassume,

Pollio, in forum and in senate famed,
Grief's bold defender, counsel's thoughtful guide,
    For whom the laurel, won
    In fields Dalmatian, blooms forth ever green.
himself up to literature. His tragedies, of which there are no remains, are highly praised by Virgil, who says they were worthy of Sophocles. Porphyriion says he was the only one of his time who could write tragedy well. But the author of the 'Dialog. de Oratoribus' asserts that both as a tragic writer and an orator his style was hard and dry. His History appears to have been in seventeen books; and it is after having heard him read a part of it (he is said to have introduced at Rome the custom of such readings to assemblies, more or less familiar, before publication) that we may suppose Horace to have written the ode, of which the date is uncertain. Pollio appears to have been one of the most truly illustrious, and certainly one of the most accomplished, personages of the Augustan era.

CARM I.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum,
Bellique causas et vitia et modos,
Ludumque Fortunae, gravesque
Principum amicitias, et arma

Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculosae plenum opus aleae,
Tractas et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

Paullum severae Musa tragœdiæ
Desit theatris: mox ubi publicas
Res ordinatis, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,

Insigne mæstis præsidium reis
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ,
Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho.
Now, now, thou strik’st the ear with murmurous threat
From choral horns—now the loud clarions blare;
Lightnings from armour flashed,
Daunt charging war-steeds\(^1\) and the looks of men!

Now, now, I seem to hear the mighty chiefs,
Soiled with the grime of no dishonouring dust,
And see all earth subdued,
Save the intrepid soul of Cato. Foiled

Of her revenge, Juno, with all the gods,
Quitting the Afric they had loved in vain,
Back to Jugurtha’s shade
Brought funeral victims in his conqueror’s sons.

What field, made fertile by the Roman’s gore,
Attests not impious wars by ghastly mounds,
And by the crash, borne far
To Median ears, of falling Italy?

What gulf, what stream, has boomed not with the wail
Of dismal battle-storms? What sea has hues
From Daunian carnage pure,
What land has lacked the tribute of our blood?

Hush, wayward Muse, nor, playful strains laid by,
Strive to recast the Cean’s\(^2\) dirge-like hymn;
In Dionæan grot,
With me, seek measures tuned to lighter quill.

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\(^1\) ‘Fugaces terret equos.’ ‘Fugaces’ here does not mean steeds in flight, but rather in charge—it applies to their swiftness.—Porphyria. Orelli adopts that interpretation.

\(^2\) ‘Cææ—neniæ.’ Horace does not confine this word to the usual sense of a dirge; but it suits the quality of Simonides’s poetry, which was of a severe and melancholy cast.—Macleane.
Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Perstringis aures, jam litui strepunt,
Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos\textsuperscript{1} equitumque voltus.

Audire magnos jam videor duces
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
Et cuncta terrarum subacta
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

Juno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
Tellure victorum nepotes
Rettulit inferias Jugurthæ.

Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus sepulcris impia prœlia
Testatur, auditumque Medis
Hesperiæ sonitum ruinæ?

Qui gurges aut quæ flumina lugubris
Ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
Non decoloravere cædes?
Quæ caret ora cruore nostro?

Sed ne relictis, Musa procax, jocis,
Ceæ retractes munera neniae:\textsuperscript{2}
Mecum Dionæo sub antro
Quære modos leviore plectro.
ODE II.

TO C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, GRAND-NEPHEW OF
THE HISTORIAN.

Many years before this ode, which is assigned to A.U.C. 730, Horace satirises the frailties of this personage, who was then a young man (Sat. I. ii. 48). He was now second only to Mæcenas in the favour of Augustus, to whom he subsequently became the chief adviser. Tacitus gives a vigorous sketch of his character. He died A.D. 20.

Yes, Sallust, scorn the mere inactive metal;
There is no lustre of itself in silver,
While niggard earth conceals; from temperate usage
Comes its smooth polish.

Known by the heart of father for his brethren,
Time's latest age shall hear of Proculeius.¹
Him shall uplift, and on no waxen pinion,
Fame, the survivor.

Wider thy realm, a greedy soul subjected,
Than if to Libya joined the farthest Gades,
And either Carthage² to thy single service
Ministered riches.

The direful dropsy feeds itself, increasing;
To expel the thirst we must expel the causes,
And healthier blood must chase the watery languor
From the wan body.

¹ Proculeius, a friend and near connection of Mæcenas, with whom he is coupled by Juvenal (S. vii. 94) as a patron of letters, is said by the scholiasts to have divided his fortune with his brothers Licinius Murena, and Fannius Caepio, whose property had been despoiled in the civil wars. It is doubted, however, whether Licinius was his brother or cousin, and
CARM. II.

Nullus argento color est avaris
Abdito terris, inimice lamnæ
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
Splendeat usu.

Vivet extento Proculeius¹ ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni ;
Illum agit penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.

Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus jungas, et uterque Pœnus²
Serviat uni.

Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
Nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
Fugerit venis, et aquosus albo
Corpore languor.

whether Cæpio was related to him. Proculeius was among the Roman knights on whom Augustus thought of bestowing Julia in marriage.

² 'Either Carthage'—viz., the African Carthage and her colonies in Spain.
Virtue, dissentient from the vulgar judgment,
Strikes from the list of happy men Phraates,
Ev'n when restored to the great throne of Cyrus;
    Virtue unteaches

Faith in false doctrines mouthed out by the many,
Holding safe only *his* realm, crown, and laurel,
Whose sight nor blinks, nor swerves, though, heaped before it,
    Shine the world's treasures.
BOOK II.—ODE II.

Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
Dissidens plebi numero beatorum
Eximit Virtus, populumque falsis
Dedocet uti

Vocibus; regnum et diadema tutum
Deferens uni propriamque laurum,
Quisquis ingentes oculo inretorto
Spectat acervos.
ODE III.

TO Q. DELLIUS.

The commentator in Cruquius has Gellius for Dellius, assuming the person addressed to be L. Gellius Poplicola, brother of Messalla, the famous orator. But the common supposition is that the poem is addressed to Q. Dellius, to whose changeful and adventurous life its admonitions would be very appropriate. Dellius sided first with Dolabella, then went over to Cassius, then to M. Antony and Cleopatra. To Cleopatra he is said to have dictated the advice that

With a mind undisturbed take life's good and life's evil,
Temper grief from despair, temper joy from vainglory;
   For, through each mortal change, equal mind,
   O my Dellius, besits mortal-born,

Whether all that is left thee of life be but trouble,
Or, reclined at thine ease amid grassy recesses,
   Thy Falemian, the choicest, records
   How serenely the holidays glide.

Say, for what do vast pine and pale poplar commingle
   Friendly boughs that invite to their welcoming shadow?¹
   Wherefore struggles and murmurs the rill
   Stayed from flight by a curve in the shore?²

Thither, lo, bid them bring thee the wine and the perfumes,
And the blooms of the pleasant rose dying too swiftly;

¹ 'The oldest and best MSS. have "quo," which signifies "to what purpose;" as, "Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?" (Epp. I. v. 12). He seems to mean, "What were the stream and the cool shade given for? Bring out the wine and let us drink."—Maclean.
that she should rather subjugate M. Antony than be subjugated by him. Not long before the battle of Actium, he gave some offence to Cleopatra, probably more serious than that which has been assigned—viz., a sarcasm on the meagreness of her entertainments—and deserted Antony for Augustus, by whom he was cordially received. Like so many other public men of his time he cultivated literature, and wrote a history (now lost) of the war against the Parthians, in which he served under Antony. A terse sketch of his versatile career will be found in Estré, 'Pros. Horat.,' 314.

CARM. III.

Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem, non secus in bonis
   Ab insolenti temperatam
  Lætitia, moriture Delli,

Seu mæstus omni tempore vixeris,
Seu te in remoto gramine per dies
   Festos reclinatum bearis
  Interiore nota Falerni.

Quo pinus ingens albaque populus
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant
   Ramis? ¹ Quid obliquo laborat
Lympha fugax trepidare rivo? ²

   Huc vina et unguenta et nimium breves
  Flores amœnæ ferre jube rosæ,

Yonge, in his notes, cites parallels from English poets with the elegance of taste which characterises his edition.

² 'Laborat—trepidare.' 'The stream struggles or labours to hurry on (trepidare), being obstructed by the curve in the bank (obliquo rivo), from which delay comes its pleasant murmur.'—ORELLI.
While thy fortune, and youth,¹ and the woof
Of the Three Fatal Sisters allow.

Woodlands dearly amassed² round the home proudly builded,
Stately villa with walls laved by Tiber's dun waters,
Thou must quit; and the wealth piled on high
Shall become the delight of thine heir.

For no victim has Death either preference or pity,
Be thy race from the king who first reigned o'er the Argive,
Or thy father a beggar, thy roof
Yonder sky,—'tis the same to the Grave.

Driven all to that fold;³ in one fatal urn shaken,
Soon or late must leap forth the sure lot for an exile
In the dark passage-boat which comes back
To the sweet native land never more.

¹ 'Ætas,' which Acron translates 'youth,' an interpretation approved by Estréand Maclean. It more accurately, however, means 'the time of life,' including every period before that in which old age deadens the sense of such holiday enjoyments. Dellius was not young at the date of this poem; but, at years more advanced, M. Antony was young enough to enjoy the present hour rather too much.

² 'Coëmpitis saltibus.' 'Bought up,' 'extensive properties added together.'—YONGE.

³ 'Cogimur.' 'Gregis instar compellimur'—'we are driven like sheep.'—ORELLI.
Dum res et ætas et Sororum
Fila trium patiuntur atra.

Cedes coëmpsis saltibus, et domo,
Villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,
Cedes, et exstructis in altum
Divitiis potietur heres.

Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho,
Nil interest, an pauper et infima
De gente sub divo moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci.

Omnès eodem cogimur; omnium
Versatur anna serius ocius
Sors exitura, et nos in æternum
Exilium impositura cumbæ.
ODE IV.

TO XANTHIAS PHOCEUS.

Xanthias Phoceus is evidently a fictitious designation. Xanthias is a Greek name, and given by Aristophanes to slaves; and Phoceus characterises the person named as a Phocian.

Love for thy handmaid, Xanthias, need not shame thee: Long since the slave Briseis, with white beauty, O'ermastering him who ne'er before had yielded, Conquered Achilles;

So, too, the captive form of fair Tecmessa Conquered her captor Telamonian Ajax; And a wronged maiden, in the midst of triumph, Fired Agamemnon,

What time had fallen the barbarian forces Before the might of the Thessalian victor, And Hector's loss made easy to worn Hellas Troy's mighty ruin.

How dost thou know but what thy fair-haired Phyllis May make thee son-in-law to splendid parents? Doubtless she mourns the wrong to race and hearth-gods Injured, but regal.

Believe not thy beloved of birth plebeian; A girl so faithful, so averse from lucre, Could not be born of an ignoble mother Whom thou wouldst blush for.

That lovely face, those arms, those tapering ankles— Nay, in my praises never doubt mine honour: The virtuous man, who rounds the age of forty, Hold unsuspected.

1 'Insolentem—Achillem.' I agree with Yonge in his suggestion that 'insolentem' means 'not wont to be moved.'
Phocian. The date of the ode is clearly A.U.C. 729, or the beginning of 730, when Horace, born A.U.C. 689, was just concluding his eighth lustre.

CARM. IV.

Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu! Prius insolentem¹
Serva Briseis niveo colore
Movit Achillem;

Movit Ajacem Telamone natum
Forma captivæ dominum Tecmessæ;
Arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
Virgine rapta,

Barbaræ postquam cecidere turmæ
Thessalo victore, et ademptus Hector
Tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Grais.

Nescias, an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavæ decorent parentes:
Regium certe genus et Penates
Mæret iniquos.

Crede non illam tibi de scelestā
Plebe dilectam; neque sic fidelem,
Sic lucro aversam, potuisse nasci
Matre pudenda.

Brachia et voltum teretesque suras
Integer laudo; fuge suspicari,
Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
Claudere lustrum.
ODE V.

TO GABINIUS.

This poem is designated variously in the MSS. as 'Lalage,' 'To the Lover of Lalage,' &c. According to one early MS. (the Zurich), it is inscribed to Gabinius. But even Estré cannot tell us who Gabinius was, though Orelli conjectures him to have been son or grandson to A. Gabinius, Cicero's enemy. The poem is of very general application, and the leading idea is expressed with great elegance and spirit.

Not yet can she bear, with neck supple, the yoke,
Not yet with another submit to be paired;
Immature for the duties of mate,
And the fiery embrace of the bull,

Thine heifer confines all her heart to green fields;
Now pausing to slake summer heats in the stream,
Now with steerlings yet younger at play
Midst the sallows that drip on the shore.

Till ripe, do not long for the fruit of the grape;
Anon varied Autumn shall deepen its hues,
And empurple the clusters that now
Do but palidly peep from the leaf:

Anon, 'tis thyself she will seek; fervent Time
Speeds on, adding quick to her youth's crowning flower
Blooming seasons subtracted from thine;
Then shall Lalage glow for a spouse:

And then not so lovely the coy Pholoë,
Nor Chloris resplendent with shoulders of snow,
As a moon in the stillness of night
Shining pure on the calm of a sea;
CARM. V.

Nondum subacta ferre jugum valet
Cervice, nondum munia comparis
Æquare, nec tauri ruentis
In venerem tolerare pondus.

Circa virentes est animus tuæ
Campos juvencæ, nunc fluiis gravem
Solantis aestum, nunc in udo
Ludere cum vitulis salicto

Prægestientis. Tolle cupidinem
Immitis uvæ: jam tibi lividos
Distinguet Auctumnus racemos
Purpureo varius colore.

Jam te sequetur: currit enim ferox
Ætas, et illi, quos tibi dempserit,
Apponet annos; jam proterva
Fronte petet Lalage maritum:

Dilecta, quantum non Pholoë fugax,
Non Chloris albo sic humero nitens,
Ut pura nocturno renidet
Luna mari, Cnidiusve Gyges.
Nor even Cnidian Gyges, whom, placed amid girls,
No guest the most shrewd could distinguish from them,
So redundant the flow of his locks,
And his face so ambiguously fair.
BOOK II.—ODE V.

Quem si puellarum insereres choro,
Mire sagaces falleret hospites
Discrimen obscurum solutis
Crinibus ambiguoque voltu.
ODE VI.

TO SEPTIMIUS.

It is a reasonable conjecture, though nothing more, that this is the same Septimius whom Horace introduces to Tiberius, Ep. I. ix., and whom Augustus mentions in a letter to Horace, preserved in the life attributed to Suetonius. The scholiast in Cruquius says that he was a Roman knight, and

To the world's end thou'dst go with me, Septimius,
View tribes Cantabrian, for our yoke too savage;
And barbarous Syrtes, where the Moorish billow
Whirls, ever-seething;

No, my Septimius, may mine age close calmly
In that mild Tibur by the Argive founded;
There, tired of ranging lands and seas, and warfare,
Reach my last limit.

Or if such haven the hard Fates deny me,
Thee will I seek, Galæus, gentle river,
Dear to flocks skin-clad;¹ and thy rural kingdom,
Spartan Phalanthus.²

Out of all earth most smiles to me that corner,
Where the balmed honey yields not to Hymettus,
Where olives vie with those whose silvery verdure
Gladdens Venafrum;

¹ 'Pellitis ovibus.' 'Pellitis' is supposed by Orelli and others to refer to the hides with which the fleeces of the sheep were protected from thorns and brambles and atmospheric changes.
² Tarentum, of which Phalanthus, the leader of the emigrant Partheniae, after the first Messenian war, got possession.
and had been fellow-soldier with Horace; that a Titius Septimius wrote lyrics and tragedies in the time of Augustus; and there are those who make the Septimius of the ode identical with the Titius of whom Horace speaks in his Epistle to Julius Florus, lib. i. 3, v. 9 et seq. All this is uncertain; not less uncertain is the date at which the ode was composed.

CARM. VI.

Septimi, Gades aditure mecum et
Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra, et
Barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper
Æstuat unda,

Tibur Argeo positum colono
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ,
Sit modus lasso maris et viarum
Militiæque.

Unde si Parcae prohibent iniquæ,
Dulce pellitis ovibus Galæsi
Flumen et regnata petam Laconi
Rura Phalantho.

Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto
Mella decedunt, viridique certat
Baca Venafro;
Where Jove bestows long springs and genial winters,
And Aulon's mount, friend to a fertile Bacchus,
Never has cause the purple of Falernian
Clusters to envy.

Both thee and me that place, those blessed hill-tops,
Invite; thy tear shall there bedew the relics
Of thy lost poet-friend, while yet there lingers
Warmth in the ashes.
Ver ubi longum tepidasque præbet 
Juppiter brumas, et amicus Aulon 
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis 
Invidet uvis.

Ille te mecum locus et beatæ 
Postulant arces ; ibi tu calentem 
Debita sparges lacrima favillam 
Vatis amici.
ODE VII.

TO POMPEIUS VARUS.

The person addressed in this charming ode must not be confounded with the rich Pompeius Grosphus, to whom the 16th Ode, Book II., is inscribed.

Oh, oft with me, in last extremes of peril,\(^1\)
Brother in arms, what time our chief was Brutus,—
Who to thy native gods,
To skies Italian and the Roman rights,

Hath thee restored,—chief of my friends, Pompeius?
With whom how oft has loitering day been broken
O'er brimméd cups, our locks
Flower-crowned, and glistening with Arabian balms!

With thee I shared, in field and flight, Philippi;—
Where, not too bravely, left behind my buckler,\(^2\)
When Valour's self gave way,
And tongues that threatened loudest licked the dust.

But me swift Mercury\(^3\) rapt thro' lines of foemen,
And bore aloft in cloud, secure but trembling;
Thee did the stormy surge
Into the whirl of battle drag once more.

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\(^1\)'Tempus in ultimum'—'in summum vitae discrimen' (in extremest danger of life). See Catullus, 64, 151—'Supremo in tempore; ' et v. 169—'Extremo tempore sæva fors,' &c.—ORELLI.

\(^2\)'Relicta non bene parmula;
Cum fracta virtus, et minaces
Turpe solum tetricere mento.'

Horace's modest confession of having left his shield behind him at Philippi has been very harshly perverted into a proof of cowardice—
BOOK II.—ODE VII.

CARM. VII.

O sēpe mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte, Bruto militiē duce,
Quis te redonavit Quiritem
Dis patriis Italoque cælo,

Pompei meorum prime sodalium?
Cum quo morantem sēpe diem mero
Fregi coronatus nitentes
Malobathro Syrio capillos.

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relictā non bene parmula;
Cum fracta virtus, et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mentō.

Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
Denso paventem sustulit aĕre;
Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretīs tulent āeuis.

probably the last accusation to which a soldier who had shared with
his friend the extremest dangers of Brutus would be fairly subjected.
The accusation derived from his own playful reference is confuted by
the lines that immediately follow:—When valour was broken, and
those who had most menaced touched ground with their chins—i.e.,
as Orelli construes it, begged for quarter, than which flight itself was
more honourable. In fact, Brutus himself advised flight. We much
prefer this interpretation to that which would make Horace sneer
at those haughty boasters for being slain. Horace was the last man to
sneer at the soldier who fell bravely in battle, while he has specially
singled for contempt the soldier who asks for quarter—(Lib. III. Ode
v. l. 36.)

Mercury was the tutelary god of poets, whom, according to astro-
logers, his planet still favours. In C. iii. 4, 26, Horace ascribes his
preservation, not to Mercury, but to the Muses.
To Jove, then, give the feast thou ow'st his mercy,
And rest the limbs with lengthened warfare wearied
Under my laurel. Come,
Nor spare yon casks:—they were reserved for thee.

Boys, fill the cups—smooth-wide-lipp’d cups of Egypt—
With lulling Massic that makes Care forgetful;
Shed balms from ampler shells.
Who parsley fresh and myrtle first will wreath?

Ah! whom will Venus single for our wine-king?
As for myself, I will out-drink a Thracian:
Sweet to go mad with joy—
Joy for the friend whom I regain once more!

1 'Ciboria,’ cups shaped like the pod of the Egyptian bean. ‘Ore superius lato, inferius angusto.’—ORELLI.
2 'Quem Venus arbitrum dicet bibendi.’ Venus was the highest throw on the dice, Canis the lowest.
Ergo obligatam redde Jovi dapem
Longaque fessum militia latus
Depone sub lauru mea, nec
Parce cadis tibi destinatis.

Oblivioso levia Massico
Ciboria¹ exple; funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis. Quis udo
Deproperare apio coronas

Curatve myrto? quem Venus² arbitrum
Dicet bibendi? Non ego sanius
Bacchabor Edonis: receptò
Dulce mihi furere est amico.
ODE VII.

TO BARINE.

Some of the MSS., upon what authority is unknown, prefix Julia to Barine. Bentley objects to the name as being neither Greek nor Latin. Orelli shrewdly suggests that there were plenty of gay ladies at Rome who were of other nations besides Greece and Rome. The name, however, is very

If for thy vows forsworn the least infliction
Came from the gods; were one white tooth less pearl-like,
One very nail less rosy, then, Barine,
I might believe thee.

But in proportion as that head perfidious
Thou doonest to Orcus, brighter shines thy beauty,
And grows still more the universal theme of
Youthful adorers.

Clearly with thee it prospers to be perjured:
Oaths 'by a mother's urn,' 'night's starry silence,'
'All heaven,' 'the deathless gods,' obtain thee blessings
Only when broken.

At all this treason Venus laughs, then? laugh out
The very nymphs,1 so truthful, and fierce Cupid,
Sharpening his fiery arrows on a whetstone,
Red with men's heart-blood.

1 'Simplices Nymphae'—'ab omni fraude alienae.'—ORELLI.
very likely invented by Horace himself—as no doubt Cinara was—and may possibly be an adaptation from Bapīvoc, a kind of fish. There is not a line in the poem to justify the wild assumption of some commentators that Horace himself was in love with Barine, whoever she was. Judging by internal evidence, it seems to me that a real person was certainly thus addressed, and in a tone which to such a person would have been the most exquisite flattery; and as certainly that the person is not so addressed by a lover.

CARM. VIII.

Ulla si juris tibi pejerati
Poena, Barine, nociisset unquam,
Dente si nigro fieres vel uno
Turpior ungui,

Crederem. Sed tu, simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput, enitecis
Pulchrior multo, juvenumque prodis
Publica cura.

Expedit matris cineres opertos
Fallere, et toto taciturna noctis
Signa cum cælo, gelidaque divos
Morte carentes.

Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
Simplices Nymphæ,¹ ferus et Cupido
Semper ardentes acuens sagittas
Cote cruenta.
Meanwhile, new youths grow up beneath thy thraldom; 
Grow up new slaveries; and the earlier lovers 
Threaten each day to quit thy faithless threshold— 
Threaten, and throng there.

For their raw striplings tremble all the mothers, 
And all the fathers of a thrifty temper; 
And, as a gale retarding home-bound husbands,¹ 
Weeping brides fear thee.

¹ 'Tua ne retardet 
Aura maritos.'

There are many conjectures as to the sense of the word 'aura' in this passage, for which see Orelli's note. Yonge interprets it 'a metaphor for influence.'
Adde, quod pubes tibi crescit omnis, 
Servitus crescit nova, nec priores 
Impiæ tectum dominæ relinquunt 
Sæpe minati.

Te suis matres metuunt juvencis, 
Te senes parci miseræque nuper 
Virgines nuptæ, tua ne retardet 
Aura¹ maritos.
This Valgius, of consular rank, appears to have been much esteemed in his time as a poet. He wrote elegies and epigrams, and had even a high claim to the pretensions of an epic poet, according to the author of the 'Panegyric on Messala'—

'Est tibi, qui posset magnis se accingere rebus, Valgius, æterno propior non alter Homero.'

Horace might therefore well call upon him to lay aside his elegiac complaints and sing the triumphs of Augustus. He is

'Tis not always the fields are made rough by the rains,
'Tis not always the Caspian is harried by storm;
Neither is it each month in the year
That the ice stands inert on the shores of Armenia;

Nor on lofty Garganus the loud-groaning oaks
Wrestle, rocked to and fro with the blasts of the north,
Nor the ash-trees droop widowed of leaves.
O my friend, O my Valgius, shall grief last for ever?

Yet for ever, in strains which we weep at, thy love
Mourns its Mystes bereaved; not for thee doth the star
Which rises at Eve, not for thee when it flies
From the rush of the Sun, respite love from its sorrow.

But the old man, who three generations lived through,
For Antilochus lost did not mourn all his years;
Nor for Troilus, nipped in his bloom,
Flowed for ever the tears of his parents and sisters.
is said also to have written in prose on the nature of plants, &c. Torrentius endeavours, 'nullo argumento,' to distinguish between C. Valgius Rufus the consul and prose-writer, and T. Valgius Rufus the poet. The Mystes whose loss Valgius deplores must have been a slave, or of servile origin, as the name denotes—not, as Dacier and Sanadon suppose, the son of Valgius.—See Estré, p. 457.

CARM. IX.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
Manant in agros, aut mare Caspium
Vexant inæquales procellæ
Usque; nec Armeniis in oris,

Amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
Menses per omnes, aut Aquilonibus
Querceta Gargani laborant,
Et foliis viduantur orni;

Tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi Vespero
Surgente decedunt amores
Nec rapidum fugiente Solera.

At non ter ævo functus amabilem
Ploravit omnes Antilochum senex
Annos, nec impubem parentes
Troïlon aut Phrygiiæ sorores
Wean thy heart then at last from such softening laments,
Chant we rather fresh trophies our Cæsar has won,
    Linking on, to the nations subdued,
    Bleak Niphates¹ all ice-locked, the Mede's haughty river,

Now submissively humbling the crest of its waves;
While the edict of Rome has imprisoned the Scyths
    In the narrow domain of their steppes,
    And the steed of each rider halts reined at the borders.

¹ 'Rigidum Niphaten,
    Medumque flumen.'

That Niphates was the name of a mountain-range east of the Tigris is certain; whether there was also a river of that name is much disputed, though Lucan and Juvenal take it for granted. Possibly the Tigris, which, according to Strabo, rises on the mountain-range of Niphates, may be the river here meant. There was a small river called Medus which flowed into the Araxes, but this was too insignificant for the mention Horace makes of the 'Medum flumen,' even if he knew of its existence; and most of the later commentators concur in thinking the river thus designated was the Euphrates.
Flevere semper. Desine mollium
Tandem querellarum, et potius nova
   Cantemus Augusti tropæa
      Cæsaris, et rigidum Niphaten,¹

Medumque flumen, gentibus additum
Victis, minores volvere vertices,
   Intraque præscriptum Gelonos
      Exiguïs equitare campis.
ODE X.

TO LICINIUS.

Licinius Murena was the son of the Murena whom Cicero defended, subsequently adopted by A. Terentius Varro. He was then called A. Terentius Varro Murena. Maecenas married his sister; and Horace speaks of him subsequently (C. iii. 19) as one of the College of Augurs. The caution to discretion and moderation contained in this ode has a melancholy

Licinius, wouldst thou steer life's wiser voyage,
 Neither launch always into deep mid-waters,
 Nor hug the shores, and, shrinking from the tempest,
   Hazard the quicksand.

He who elects the golden mean of fortune,
 Housing life safely, not in sordid hovels
 Nor in proud halls, shuns with an equal prudence
   Pen'ry and Envy.

Winds rock most oft the pine that tops the forest,
 The heaviest crash is that of falling towers,
 The spots on earth most stricken by the lightning
   Are its high places.

The mind well trained to cope with either fortune,
 Fears when Fate favours, hopes when Fate is adverse.
 Jove, at his will, brings back deforming winters,
   Jove, when he wills it,

Scatters them. Sad days may have happy morrows.
 His deadly bow not always bends Apollo,
 His hand at times the silent muse awakens
   With the sweet harpstring.
melancholy interest as that of a foreboding. He was put to
death despite the intercession of Mæcenas and Proculeius,
on the charge, whether true or false, of having entered with
Fannius Cœpio and others into a conspiracy against Au-
gustus. As his death occurred A.U.C. 732, this ode must
have been composed before that date. Dio speaks of the
unrestrained license he allowed to his tongue, and his words
may have incriminated him more than his actions, the guilt
of which Dio leaves doubtful.

CARM. X.

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo, neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
Litus iniquum.

Auream quisquis mediocratatem
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.

Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus, et celsæ graviore casu
Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes.

Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
Alteram sortem bene præparatum
Pectus. Informes hiemes reducti
Juppiter, idem

Summovet. Non, si male nunc, et olim
Sic erit : quondam cithara tacentem
Suscitat Musam, neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.
In life's sore straits brace and display thy courage.\(^1\) Boldness is wisdom then: as wisely timid
When thy sails swell with winds too strongly fav'ring,
Heed, and contract them.

\(^1\) 'Animosus atque fortis appare'—not only be, but show thyself courageous.
Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare;¹ sapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimium secundo
Turgida vela.
ODE XI.

TO QUINTIUS HIRPINUS.

Who this Hirpinus was we do not know. Orelli considers it probable that he is the Quintius to whom Ep. I. xvi. is addressed. But Macleane observes 'that the latter appears to have been younger than the former, whom Horace addresses (v. 15) as if he were a contemporary.' But the question is immaterial; for we know no more about the Quintius of the Epistle than the Hirpinus of the Ode.

What the warlike Cantabrian or Scythian,
From ourselves by an ocean disparted,
Take it into their heads to devise,
Do not class with the questions that press.

Be not over-much anxious, Hirpinus,
For the things of a life that needs little;
See how Beauty recedes from our side
With her beardless 1 twin playfellow Youth.

Grizzled Age, dry and sapless, comes chasing
Frolic Loves and the balm of light Slumbers;
Not the same glory lasts to the flower,
Not the same glowing face to the moon:

Why to fathom the counsels eternal
Strain the mind without strength for such labour?
Why not rather, yon plane-tree beneath,
Or this pine, fling us carelessly down,

While we may; letting locks whiten under
Syrian nard and the fragrance of roses?
Drink! Evius dispels eating cares.
Ho! which of you, boys, will assuage

This Falernian in yon running waters?
Which entice that sequestered jade, Lydè, 2
With her iv'ry lute, and with her locks,
Like a Spartan maid's, simply knit back?
CARM. XI.

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
Hirpine Quinti, cogitet Hadria
Divisus objecto, remittas
Quærere: nec trepides in usum
Poscentis ævi paucis. Fugit retro
Levis¹ Juventas, et Decor; arida
Pellente lascivos Amores
Canitie facilemque Somnum.

Non semper idem floribus est honor
Vernis; neque uno Luna rubens nitet
Voltu: quid æternis minorem
Consiliis animum fatigas?

Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
Pinu jacentes sic temere, et rosa
Canos odorati capillos,
Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo

Potamus uncti? Dissipat Evius
Curas edaces. Quis puer ocius
Restinguet ardentis Falerni

Pocula prætereunte lympha?
Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden?² Eburna, dic age, cum lyra

Maturet, in comptum Lacænæ

More comas religata nodum.

¹ 'Levis' here means 'beardless,' as in 'Levis Agyieu,' Book IV. Ode vi. 28.
² 'Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden?'

It need scarcely be said the word 'scortum' is not used here in its most uncomplimentary sense. 'Devium'—'one who lives out of the way,' as Ovid, Heroid. ii. 118, 'Et cecinit maestum devia carmen avis.'—ORELLI, MACLEANÉ.
THE ODES OF HORACE.

ODE XII.

TO MAECENAS.

The Licymnia (or, as the scholiasts spell it, Licinia) celebrated in this ode was most probably Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas; and if so, the poem was evidently written within a few years after their marriage. It is not pleasant to think that the wedded happiness so charmingly described was of brief duration, and that the faults laid to the charge of the lady embittered the life of Mæcenas at its close. Some of the

Ask not thou to attune to this lute's relaxed numbers
Tales of long wars Numantian, or Hannibal direful,
Or the hues which, bestowed by the life-blood of Carthage,

Incarnadined Sicily's seas;

Or of Lapithæ fell, and the great drunken Centaur;
Or of Earth's giant sons, overborne by Alcides,

Threat'ning perils that shook to its starry foundations
Old Saturn's refulgent abode.

And far better thy prose than my verse, O Mæcenas,
Shall record, in grave story, the battles of Cæsar,
And the necks of the kings who have loftily threatened

His Rome, to pass under her yoke.

Me the Muse has enjoined for the theme of my praises,
Thy lady Licymnia—her dulcet-voiced singings,
And the sunshine of eyes that illumine her beauty,

And the loving heart true to thine own.

Graced alike, whether joining at home in the dances,
Or contesting the palm in gay wit's playful skirmish,
Or amid holy sports on the feast-day of Dian,

With virgins entwining the arm.
the commentators have, however, doubted whether Horace could have ventured to speak so freely, as in the concluding lines, of a Roman matron of rank so illustrious as Terentia, and would therefore assume Licymnia to have been rather the mistress than the wife of Mæcenas. This supposition is incompatible with the description of Licymnia joining in the festivals of Diana; and probably Horace sufficiently preserved such respect to the wife of his patron as the manners of the time required by substituting a feigned name for her own.

CARM. XII.

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae,  
Nec dirum Hannibalem, nec Siculum mare  
Pœno purpureum sanguine, mollibus  
Aptari citharae modis,

Nec sævos Lapithas, et nimium mero  
Hylæum, domitosque Herculea manu  
Telluris juvenes, unde periculum  
Fulgens contremuit domus

Saturni veteris; tuque pedestribus  
Dices historiis prœlia Cæsaris,  
Mæcenas, melius ductaque per vias  
Regum colla minacium.

Me dulces dominae Musa Licymnæ  
Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum  
Fulgentes oculos et bene mutuis  
Fidum pectus amoribus;

Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris,  
Nec certare joco, nec dare brachia  
Ludentem nitidis virginibus, sacro  
Dianæ celebris die.
Say, for all that Achaemenes boasted of treasure,
All the wealth which Mygdonia gave Phrygia in tribute,
All the stores of all Araby—say, wouldst thou barter
One lock of Licymnia's bright hair?

When at moments she bends down her neck to thy kisses,
Or declines them with coy but not cruel denial;
Rather pleased if the prize be snatched off by the spoiler,
Nor slow in reprisal sometimes.
Num tu, quae tenuit dives Achæmenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
Permutare velis crine Licymniae,
    Plenas aut Arabum domos?

Dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
Cervicem, aut facili sævitia negat,
Quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
    Interdum rapere occupet.
Few of the odes are more remarkable than this for the wonderful ease with which Horace rises from humorous pleasantry into the higher regions of poetic imagination. His escape from the falling tree seems to have made a deep and lasting impression on him. The more probable date of the poem is A.U.C. 728, or perhaps, 729.

Evil-omened the day whosoever first planted,
Sacrilegious his hand whosoever first raised thee,
To become the perdition of races unborn,
And a stain on the country, thou infamous tree.

Ah! I well may believe that the man was a monster,
Had at night stabbed his hearth-guest, and strangled his father,
Dealt in poisons of Colchis—committed, in short,
Every crime the most fell which the thought can conceive;—

He, the villain who, bent upon treason and murder,
Stationed thee, dismal log, stationed thee in my meadow,
With remorseless design coming down unawares
On the head of a lord who had done thee no wrong.

Who can hope to be safe? who sufficiently cautious?
Guard himself as he may, every moment's an ambush.
Thus the sailor of Carthage, alarmed at a squall
In the Euxine, beyond it no danger foresees.

Thus the soldier of Rome mails his breast to the Parthian,
And believes himself safe if secure from an arrow;
And the Parthian, in flying Rome's dungeon and chains,
Fondly thinks that in flight he escapes from the grave!
BOOK II.—ODE XIII.

CARM. XIII.

Ille et nefasto te posuit die,
Quicunque primum, et sacrilega manu
Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
Perniciem opprobriumque pagi;

Ille et parentis crediderim sui
Fregisse cervicem, et penetralia
Sparsisse nocturno cruore
Hospitis; ille venena Colcha

Et quidquid usquam concipitur nefas
Tractavit, agro qui statuit meo
Te triste lignum, te caducum
In domini caput immentis.

Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas; navita Bosporum
Poenus¹ perhorrescit, neque ultra
Caeca timet aliunde fata;

Miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
Robur;² sed improvisa leti
Vis rapuit rapietque gentes.

¹ 'Navita Bosporum
Poenus perhorrescit.'

See Munro, Introduction, xxii. III, for accepting Lachmann's Thynus
or Thoenus for Poenus—'Horace says that men only guard against
dangers near at hand and expected. The Punic skipper has no special
business in the straits of the Bosporus, all along the shore of which lived
the Thyni, Thuni, or Thoeni.'

² 'Italum robur.' Orelli gives the weight of his authority in favour
of interpreting 'robur' as the Roman prison ('Tullianum'), an inner
cell in which malefactors were placed, and in which the State captives,
as Jugurtha, were also sometimes immured. Yonge adopts the same in-
terpretation. Dillenburger translates it in the simple sense of the strength
or power of Italy, which Macleane also favours.
Death has seized, and shall seize, when least looked for, its victims.
Ah! how near was I seeing dark Proserpine's kingdom,
And the Judge of the Dead and the Seats of the Blest,
Sappho wailing melodious of loves unreturned;¹

Ay, and thee, too, with strains sounding larger, Alcæus,
To thy golden shell chanting of hardships in shipwreck,
And of hardships in exile, and hardships in war,
While the Shadows admiringly hearken to both;

Due to either is silence as hushed as in temples,
But more presses the phantom mob, shoulder on shoulder,
Drinking into rapt ears the grand song, as it swells
With the burthen of battles and tyrants o'erthrown.

No wonder, when spelled by the voice of the charmer,
The dark hell-dog his hundred heads fawningly crouches,
And the serpents that writhe interweaved in the locks
Of the Furies, repose upon terrible brows;

And Prometheus himself and the Father of Pelops,
By the dulcet delight are beguiled from their torture,
While the hand of Orion the arrow lets fall,
And the spectres of lions unheeded flit on.
Quam pæne furvæ regna Proserpineæ,
Et judicantem vidimus Æacum,
Sedesque discretas piorum, et
Æoliis fidibus querentem

Sappho puellis de popularibus;¹
Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcææ, plectro dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala, dura belli!

Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur Umbræ dicere; sed magis
Pugnas et exactos tyrannos
Densum humeris bitit aure volgus.

Quid mirum? ubi illis carminibus stupens
Demittit atras belua centiceps
Aures, et intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues;

Quin et Prometheus et Pelops parens
Dulci laborum decipitur sono;
Nec curat Orion leones
Aut timidos agitare lyncas.

¹ 'Querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus.'

'Incertum autem est quid quereretur.'—Estré, Horat. Prosop. 26. Estré cites the various interpretations, and inclines to that of the commentators in Cruquius—viz., Sappho complained of the girls of her country that they loved Phaon whom she loved. This is, at all events, the most agreeable conjecture. Welcker has written with ingenious eloquence in vindication of Sappho's memory from the scandal, 'quod nimis diu ei adhæsit.'
ODE XIV.

TO POSTUMUS.

Who this Postumus may have been is, in spite of the various conjectures of various commentators, as uncertain as, happily, it is immaterial. It is, at all events, an agreeable supposition that he may be identical with the Postumus whom

Postumus, Postumus, the years glide by us,
Alas! no piety delays the wrinkles,
    Nor old age imminent,
    Nor the indomitable hand of Death.

Though thrice each day a hecatomb were offered,
Friend, thou couldst soften not the tearless Pluto,
    Encoiling Tityus vast,
    And Geryon, triple giant, with sad waves——

Waves over which we all of us must voyage,
All whosoe'er the fruits of earth have tasted;
    Whether that earth we ruled
    As kings, or served as drudges of its soil.

Vainly we shun Mars and the gory battle,
Vainly the Hadrian hoarse with stormy breakers,
    Vainly, each autumn's fall,
    The sicklied airs through which the south wind sails.¹

Still the dull-winding ooze of slow Cocytus,
The ill-famed Danaids, and, to task that ends not,
    Sentenced, Æolides;
    These are the sights on which we all must gaze.

¹ 'Auster,' 'the sirocco.'
whom Propertius (Lib. iii. Eleg. 10) reproached for leaving his wife Galba to join a military expedition, possibly that of Ælius Gallus against the Arabians. This supposition would give a more pathetic significance to the 'placens uxor' of the ode.

CARM. XIV.

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni, nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectæ
Afferet indomitæque Morti,—

Non, si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies,
Amice, places illacrimabilem
Plutona tauris; qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi

Compescit unda, scilicet omnibus,
Quicunque terræ munere vescimur,
Enaviganda, sive reges
Sive inopes erimus coloni.

Frustra cruento Marte carebimus,
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriæ,
Frustra per auctumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum:

Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocyotos errans, et Danai genus
Infame, damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Æolides laboris.
Lands, home, and wife in whom thy soul delighteth,
Left; and one tree alone of all thy woodlands,
Loathed cypress, faithful found,
Shall follow to the last the brief-lived lord.

The worthier heir thy Cæcuban shall squander,
Bursting the hundred locks that guard its treasure,
And wines more rare than those
Sipped at high feast by pontiffs,¹ dye thy floors.

¹ As the English say, 'A dinner fit for an alderman,' so the Romans said, 'A banquet fit for a pontiff.' 'Pontificum dapes, Saliare scœna.'
Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor; neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.

Absumet heres Caecuba dignior
Servata centum clavibus, et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo,
Pontificum potiore cœnis.
ODE XV.

ON THE IMMODERATE LUXURY OF THE AGE.

This ode is generally considered to be among those written to assist Augustus in his social reforms, and, as Macleane observes, it should be read in connection with the earlier odes of Book III. Dillenburger assigns the date to A.U.C. 726, in which year Octavius, then Censor, restored and adorned the public temples fallen into decay. Macleane

Lo, those regal piles rising! methinks, to the harrow
They will leave but few acres; on every side round us
Vasty stewponds for fishes extend
Wider bounds than the Lake of Lucrinus.

Yield the vine-wedded elms¹ to that Cælebs the plane-tree;
Then the violet, the myrtle, the whole host of odours
Scatter sweets where the owner of old
Placed his pride and his wealth in the olive;

Serried laurel must, next, screen each stroke of a sunbeam.
Ah! not such the decrees left by Rome's hardy Founder,
Nor the auspice of Cato unshorn,
Nor the customs bequeathed by our fathers.

Petty then was to each man the selfish possession,
Mighty then was all to men the Commonwealth's treasure;
No one sought the cool shade of the North
Under peristyles planned out for temples;²

¹ 'Platanusque cælebs
Evincet ulmos.'

I have added to ulmos the explanatory epithet 'vine-wedded,' without which the general reader could not understand the author's intention. The elm, as supporting the vine, was useful and remunerative, the
leane favours that date. But the poem alludes also to the
sumptuary laws passed by Augustus at various periods;—
practically inoperative, as sumptuary laws always must
be in rich communities.

CARM. XV.

Jam paucâ aratro jugera regiæ
Moles relinquent: undique latius
Extenta visentur Lucrino
Stagna lacu: platanusque cælebs

Evincet ulmos:¹ tum violaria et
Myrtus et omnis copia narium,
Spargent olivetis odorem
Fertilibus domino priori;

Tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
Excludet iotus. Non ita Romuli
Præscriptum et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis, veterumque norma.

Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum: nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton;²

plane-tree not.—Horace intimates that the growth of luxury was hostile
to the 'resources of industry,'—that garden flowers and plants appro-
priated the soil in which the vine and the olive had sufficed for the
income of other and simpler owners—Poets and Communists sometimes
agree in contempt for the rudiments of Political Economy.

² 'Nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton.'

No private man had porticoes measured by a ten-feet rule, which appears
to have been a measurement for temples and public buildings. The
peristyles at Pompeii, which form an inner court to the house, give
sufficient idea of these corridors, opening to the north for coolness
in summer, and to the south for sunshine in winter.
The chance turf next at hand roofed the citizen's dwelling,
But the State, at its charge, rarest marble devoted
To the State's sacred heirlooms;—the shrines
Of the gods, and the courts of a people.
Nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
Leges sinebant, oppida publico
Sumptu jubentes et deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo.
ODE XVI.

TO POMPEIUS GROSSPHUS.

According to the scholiast in Cruquius, this Pompeius Grosphus, a Sicilian by origin, was of the Equestrian order. Cicero (in Cic. Verr. II. iii. 23) speaks of Eubulides Grosphus Centuripinus, as a man of eminent worth, noble birth, and princely wealth. Estré conjectures that this Grosphus was made

For ease prays he who in the wide Ægæan
Storm-seized, looks up on clouds that heap their darkness
O'er the lost moon, while dim the constellations
Fade from the sailor.

Ease, still for ease, sighs Thracia fierce in battle,
Still for ease sighs the quivered Mede. Ah, Grosphus!
Nor gems nor purple, no, nor gold can buy it;
Ease is not venal.

Bribed by no king,\(^1\) dispersed before no lictor,
Throng the wild tumults of a soul in trouble,
And the cares circling round a sleepless pillow,
Under ceil'd fretwork.\(^2\)

He lives on little well who, for all splendour,
Decks his plain board with some prized silver heirloom.\(^3\)
From him no greed of gain, of loss no terror,
Snatch the light slumbers.

Why, briefly strong, with space in time thus bounded,
Launch we so many arrows into distance?

---

\(^1\) 'Non enim gazæ.' 'Gazæ,' from a Persian word, means 'the king's treasury,' 'the royal coffers.'

\(^2\) 'Laqueata tecta,' 'non totius domus sed cubiculorum et tricliniarum.'—Dillenburger.

\(^3\) 'Paternum salinum'—'the paternal or hereditary salt-cellar.'
made a Roman citizen by Pompey, and took his name, which descended to the Grosphus of the ode as son or grandson. In Epist. i. 12, Horace commends him to Iccius, then acting as superintendent or steward to Vipsanius Agrippa's estates in Sicily, as one whom Iccius might willingly oblige, for he would never ask anything not honest and just.

CARM. XVI.

Otium divos rogat in patenti
Prensum Ægæo, simul atra nubes,
Condidit Lunam, neque certa fulgent
Sidera nautis;

Otium bello furiosa Thrace,
Otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grosphus, non gemmis neque purpura ve-
nale neque auro.

Non enim gazæ¹ neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseris tumultus
Mentis, et Curas laqueata circum
Tecta² volantes.

Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
Splendet in mensa tenui salinum:³
Nec leves somnos timor aut cupidó
Sordidus aufert.

Quid brevi fortes jaculumur ævo
Multa? Quid terras alio calentes

Horace here, as elsewhere, distinguishes the comparative poverty of a small independence from absolute neediness and squalor. The poverty he praises is not without its own modest refinements. The board may be simple, but still it can display the old family salt-cellar, kept with religious care. If the owner has not increased the paternal fortune, he has not diminished it.
Why crave new suns? What exile from his country
Flies himself also?
Diseasèd Care \(^1\) ascends the brazen galley,
And rides amidst the armed men to the battle,\(^2\)
Fleeter than stag, and fleeter than, when driving
Rain-clouds, the east wind.
The mind, which now is glad, should hate to carry
Its care beyond the Present; what is bitter
With easy smile should sweeten: nought was ever
Happy on all sides.

Untimely death snatched off renowned Achilles;
Tithonus lived to dwindle into shadow;
And haply what the Hour to thee shall grant not
Me it will proffer.\(^3\)

Around thine home a hundred flocks are bleating,
Low the Sicilian heifers, neighs the courser
Trained to the race-car; woofs in Afric purple
Twice-tinged array thee:
To me the Fate, that cannot err,\(^4\) hath given
Some roods of land, some breathings, lowly murmured,
Of Grecian Muse, and power to scorn the malice
Of the mean vulgar.

---

\(^1\) 'Vitiosa cura.' In the translation, Orelli's interpretation of 'vitiosa,' 'morbosa'—i.e. morbid or diseased, from the vice of the mind whence it springs—is adopted. But this hardly gives the full force of the word. Horace means that Care, which spoils or infects everything, ascends the galley, &c.

\(^2\) 'Turmas equitum.' 'This properly refers to the horsemen riding to battle made anxious by the hope of booty or the fear of death.'—ORELLI. 'With "turmas equitum" is usually compared "post equitem sedet atra cura," but the sense there is a little different. Here he speaks of care following a man to the field of battle; there he refers to the rich man ambling on his horse.'—MACLEAN.

\(^3\) 'Et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit,
Porriget Hora.'
I think, with Orelli, that this simply means, 'Fortune, or the Hour,
Sole mutamus? Patriæ quis exsul
Se quoque fugit?

Scandit æratas vitiosa naves
Cura,¹ nec turmas equitum relinquit,²
Ocior cervis, et agente nimbos
Ocior Euro.

Lætus in præsens animus quod ultra est
Oderit curare, et amara lento
Temperet risu; nihil est ab onni
Parte beatum.

Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
Longa Tithonum minuit senectus,
Et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit,
Porriget Hora.³

Te greges centum Siculæque circum
Mugiunt vaccæ, tibi tollit hinnitum
Apta quadrigis equa, te bis Afro
Murice tinctæ

Vestiunt lanæ: mihi parva rura, et
Spiritum Graiæ tenuem Camenæ
Parca non mendax ⁴ dedit, et malignum
Spernere volgus.

will perhaps give something of good to me which she denies to you; and I dissent altogether from the usual interpretation—viz., 'Time may perhaps give me a longer life than it concedes to you.' That interpretation would be very little in keeping with Horace's general politeness in addressing a friend. Nothing can well be worse-bred than telling a man that perhaps you will live longer than he will. Besides, Horace immediately proceeds to define that which is granted peculiarly to himself in opposition to the riches bestowed upon Grosphus.

'Parca non mendax'—'sure,' 'unfailing in the fulfilment of their decrees.' Compare 'veraces,' C. Sæcul. 25, and Persius, v. 42, 'Parca tenax veri.'—So Orelli. 'Genius is represented as the gift of Fate in Pind. Od. ix. 26, 28; also in Nem. iv. 41-43, where the poet infers from it his own eventual triumph over detraction; as Horace may be said to do here.'—YONGE.
ODE XVII.

TO MÆCENAS.

This ode is addressed to Mæcenas in illness, but the date of the illness is necessarily uncertain in the life of a vale-tudinarian like Mæcenas. Though, as Macleane observes, the last two lines of this ode, showing that Horace had not yet paid the sacrifice he had vowed to Faunus for his preservation from death, make it most probable that it was written not long after C. 13 of this book, the composition of which has been assigned, with some hesitation, to A. u. c. 728. Mæcenas was subject to what appears to have been a low nervous fever, attended with loss of sleep. According to the verses attributed to him, and censured with a stoic’s lofty disdain by Seneca (Epp. 101), Mæcenas had a passionate and clinging desire for life, very uncommon in a Roman, deeming that, under any suffering or infirmity, life was still dear—

‘Vita

Why destroyest thou me with the groan of thy sufferings?
Neither I nor the gods will let thee die before me,
   O Mæcenas, the glory and grace,
      And the column itself, of my life.

Ah! if some fatal force, prematurely bereaving,
Wrenched from me the one half of my soul, could the other
   Linger on, with its dearer part lost,
      And the fragment of what was a whole?

No! in thy life is mine; both, the same day shall shatter.
I have made no false vow; where thou lead’st me I follow;
   Fellow-travellers, the same solemn road
      We will take, we will take, side by side.
'Vita dum superest bene est:
Hanc mihi vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce sustine.'

If this sentiment was sincerely expressed, the pathos of the poem is increased. A man so dreading death may well desire a companion in the last journey. And it is not unlikely that the melancholy view which Horace habitually takes of the next world, and his exhortations to make the best of this one, may have been coloured, perhaps insensibly to himself, by his conversations and intercourse with Mæcenas.

CARM. XVII.

Cur me querelis examinas tuis?
Nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
Obire, Mæcenas, mearum
Grande decus columnque rerum.

Ah! te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera;
Nec carus æque nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utrâmque

Ducet ruinam. Non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,
Utcunque præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.

1 The fragment is thus very happily rendered into English by Mr. Farrar in the biographical essay on Seneca, which forms the larger portion of his impressive and eloquent work, 'The Seekers after God':—

'Numb my hands with palsy,
Rack my feet with gout,
Hunch my back and shoulder,
Let my teeth fall out;
Still, if life be granted,
I prefer the loss—
Save my life and give me
Anguish on the cross.'
Me, no flames bursting forth from the jaws of Chimæra,
Me, no Gyas once more rising up hundred-handed,
Could dispart from thyself,—such the will
Of omnipotent Justice and Fate.

Whether Libra, or Scorpio with aspect¹ malignant,
In mine horoscope, ruled o'er the Houses of Danger,
Or moist Capricorn, lord of the west;
It is strange how our stars have agreed.

Thee, thine own native Jupiter snatched from fell Saturn,
And outshining his beam, stayed the wings of the Parcae,
When the theatre hailed thee restored,
And the multitude thrice shouted joy.

Me the fall of the tree would have brained, had not Faunus,
To men born under Mercury, guardian benignant,
O'er my head stretched the saving right hand,
And made lighter the death-dealing blow.

Then forget not to render to Jove, the Preserver
Of a life so august, votive chapel and victims,
While I, to mine own sylvan god,
Offer grateful mine own humble lamb.

¹ 'Adspicit, ' 'aspected,' is still the technical term in use among astrologers, according to whom the native star may be evilly aspected in various ways. But 'pars violentior' would apply to the hostile influences affecting 'the Lord of life,' chiefly found in the significations of the 8th and 12th House. By his allusion to Capricorn, Horace clearly refers to his dangers by sea—'Sicula unda.' To astrology (a science then so much in fashion) Horace often refers—sometimes with scorn, sometimes with a seeming credulity—always as a man who knew very little about it. But where he speaks of it with scorn, as in addressing Leuconoë, Book I. Ode xi., it is less to denounce astrology itself as an imposture, than to dissuade from all attempts to divine the future—'better that the future should remain unknown
and unconjectured. On the other hand, where, as in this ode, he seems to affect credulity, it is only for a playful purpose. He regarded 'the Science of the Chaldee,' as he did most of the popular beliefs affecting the future, without serious examination of its truth or falsehood, as a question of speculative philosophy, but to be freely used, whether in sport or in earnest, for the purposes of poetic art.
ODE XVIII.

AGAINST THE GRASPING AMBITION OF THE COVETOUS.

This ode is in a metre of which there is no other example in Horace. It is said to have been invented by Hipponax of Ephesus, and is called generally by his name; though sometimes Euripidean, because often used by Euripides.

To me nor gold nor ivory lends
Its shine to fret my ceiling;
Nor shafts, in farthest Afric hewn,
Prop architraves Hymettian.¹

I do not claim, an unknown heir,
The spoils of Orient kingdoms,²
No wives³ of honest clients weave
For me Laconian purples.

Yet mine is truth and mine some vein
Of inborn genius kindly;
Though poor, I do not court the rich,
But by the rich am courted.

I do not weary heaven for more;
I tax no kindly patron;
Content with all I own on earth,
Some rural acres Sabine.

¹ The Numidian or Libyan marble, known to us as the Giallo antico. The 'architraves Hymettian' ('trabes Hymettiae') are the white marble of Hymettus.

² 'Neque Attali
Ignotus heres regiam occupavi.'

Attalus the third made by will the Romans his heirs; the older commentators suppose that the lines satirically imply the will to have been fraudulently obtained. But the word 'ignotus' does not necessarily bear that signification. As Orelli observes, the irony consists in the fact that
It abounds in trochees. I can only attempt to give a general idea of its trippingness and brevity of sound. It treats, with more than usual beauty, Horace's favourite thesis of declamation against the grasping nature of avarice; and, as Dillenburger observes, it takes up and expands the sentiment with which he had closed Ode xvi.

CARM. XVIII.

Non ebur neque aureum
  Mea renidet in domo lacunar;
Non trabes Hymettiae¹
  Premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa; neque Attali²
  Ignotus heres regiam occupavi;
Nec Laconicas mihi
  Trahunt honestae purpuras clientæ.³

At fides et ingeni
  Benigna vena est, pauperemque dives
Me petit; nihil supra
  Deos lacesso, nec potentem amicum

Largiora flagito,
  Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.
Truditur dies die,
  Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ:

Attalus did not know the persons he enriched. Torrentius supposes the lines to refer to Aristonicus, who, after the death of Attalus, seized on the throne by false pretences, defeated Licinius Crassus, was afterwards conquered by Perpenna, carried to Rome, and strangled in prison by orders of the Senate. The former interpretation is preferable.

³ "'Honestae clientæ.' I have seen no satisfactory explanation of the words 'honestae clientæ.' Mr. Long has suggested to me that they may refer to the rustic women on a man's farms—the wives of the Coloni.'—Maclean.
Day treads upon the heels of day,
   New moons wane on to perish;
Thou on the brink of death dost make
   Vain contracts for new marble;

Building proud homes, and of thy last—
   The sepulchre—forgetful;
As if the earth itself too small
   Thou robb'st new earth from ocean,

And, urging on a length of shore
   Upon the deep's foundation,
Thou thrustest back the angry wave
   That wars in vain on Baiae.¹

What, must thou also, greeding still,
   Remove thy neighbour's landmark—
Must ruthless avarice overleap
   Each fence of humble clients?

And man and wailing wife, expelled
   The dear paternal dwelling,
Clasp ragged babes and exiled gods
   To wandering homeless bosoms?

And yet no surer hall awaits
   The wealthy tyrant-master,
Than that which yields yet ampler room
   In yet more greedy Orcus.

Where farther tend? Impartial earth
   Opes both for prince and peasant;
No gold bribed Charon to row back
   The crafty-souled Prometheus.

Death holds the haughty Tantalus;
   Death holds his children haughty:
Invoked or not, Death hears the poor,
   And He gives rest to labour.
Tu secanda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus; et sepulcri
Immemor struis domos,
Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges

Summovere litora,
Parum locuples continentem ripa.¹
Quid, quod usque proximos
Revellis agri terminos, ei ultra

Limites clientium
Salis avarus? Pellitur paternos
In sinu ferens deos
Et uxor, et vir, sordidosque natos.

Nulla certior tamen
Rapacis Orci fine destinata
Aula divitem manet
Herum. Quid ultra tendis? Æqua tellus

Pauperi recluditur
Regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
Callidum Promethea
Revexit auro captus. Hic superbum

Tantalum atque Tantali
Genus coeret, hic levare functum
Pauperem laboribus
Vocatus atque non vocatus audit.

¹ In allusion to the practice of the wealthy Romans in building villas out into the sea, on artificial foundations—as, long afterwards, rose the whole city of Venice.
Maclean appears to me greatly to underrate the beauty of
this poem, in which he says the Greek fire is wanting. This
is not the opinion of the earlier critics, nor of readers in
general. It has as much of the character of the dithyramb
as the taste of a Roman audience would sanction and the
character of the Latin language allow. The date of the
poem

Amid sequestered rocky glens,—ye future times believe
it!—
Bacchus I saw, in mystic verse his pupil nymphs instruct-
ing—
Instructing pricked ears intent
Of circling goat-hoofed Satyrs.

Œvoë, with the recent awe is trembling yet my spirit,
Filled with the god, my breast still heaves beneath the
stormy rapture.
Œvoë! spare me; Liber, spare,
Dread with the solemn thyrsus!

Vouchsafed to me the glorious right to chant the head-
strong Thyads,
The wine that from the fountain welled, the rills with milk
o'erflowing,
And, from the trunks of charméd trees,
The lapse of golden honey.

Vouchsafed to sing thy consort's crown which adds a star to
heaven,¹
Or that just wrath which overwhelmed the house of Theban
Pentheus,

¹ Ariadne.
poem is uncertain. Macleane suggests that it was perhaps composed at the time of the Liberalia, though in what year there are no means of determining. From its dithyrambic character, Orelli conjectures it to have been a copy from some Greek poem. The metre in this and the translation immediately following has some slight deviations from the preceding versions of the Alcaic, but not such as to affect the general character and form of the rhythm.

CARM. XIX.

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem, (credite posteri !)
Nymphasque discentes, et aures
Capripedum Satyrorum acutas.

Euoe, recenti mens trepidat metu.
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Laetatur. Euoe, parce, Liber,
Parce, gravi metuendo thyrso !

Fas pervicaces est mihi Thyiadas,
Vinique fontem, lactis et uberes
Cantare rivos, atque truncis
Lapsa cavis iterare mella ;

Fas et beatæ conjugis additum
Stellis ¹ honorem, tectaque Penthei
And doomed to so disastrous end
The frantic king Lycurgus.¹

Thou bow'st the rivers to thy will, barbarian ocean rulest;²
Bedewed with wine in secret hills, thy charm compels the
serpents
To interweave, in guileless coil,
The locks of Thracian Mænads.

Thou, when aloft through arduous heaven the impious host
of giants
Scaled to the Father's realm, didst hurl again to earth huge
Rhætus—
Fronting his might with lion-fangs,
And jaws of yawning horror;

Albeit thou wert deemed a god more fit for choral dances,
For jest and sport the readiest Power, of slenderer use in
battle;
Yet peace and war found thee the same,
Of both the soul and centre.

When flashed the golden horn that decks thy front through
Stygian shadows,
Harmless the Hell-dog wagged his tail to greet thy glorious
coming,
And gently licked with triple tongue
Thine hallowed feet receding.³

¹ Lycurgus, the King of the Edones, persecuted Bacchus on his
passage through Thrace, and imprisoned his train of Satyrs. The
mythologists vary as to the details of his punishment for this offence,
but he was first afflicted with madness, and finally torn to pieces by
horses.
² 'Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum.' 'Flectis amnes' does
mean, as it is usually translated, 'thou turnest aside the course
Disjecta non leni ruina,
   Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.¹

Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum;²
Tu separatis uvidus in jugis
   Nodo coërces viperino
   Bistonidum sine fraude crines.

Tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
   Cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,
   Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
   Unguibus horribilique mala ;

Quamquam, choreis aptior et jocis
   Ludoque dictus, non sat idoneus
   Pugnae ferebaris : sed idem
   Pacis eras mediusque belli.

Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
   Cornu decorum, leniter atterens
   Caudam, et recedentis trilingui
   Ore pedes tetigitque crura.³

¹ of the rivers;' the reference is to the Hydaspes and Orontes, over which Bacchus is said to have walked dryshod; and 'flecto' here must be taken either in the sense of 'to bow' or 'direct,' or, in its more metaphorical sense, 'to appease.' By 'mare barbarum' is meant the Indian Ocean.

² Orelli observes that in this stanza there are two images,—one at the entrance of Liber into Hades, when Cerberus gently wags his tail to greet him—the other when Liber is leaving and the Hell-dog licks his feet. The poet thus expresses the security with which the god passes through the terrors of the nether world.
Horace has no ode more remarkable than this for liveliness of fancy and fervour of animal spirits. It is composed half in sport, half in earnest, though I cannot agree with Macleane that it has in its style anything of 'the mock heroic,' properly so called, still less that it was written impromptu. Its rapid vivacity is no proof of want of artistic care. Dillenburger (in his Qu. Hor.) conjectures the ode to have been written in youth, and on the occasion of Mæcenas's first invitation (recorded Sat. I. vi.), so interpreting 'quem vocas, dilecte Mæcenas.' But, as Macleane observes, 'the epithet "dilecte," implying a familiarity of some

I shall soar through the liquid air buoyed on a pinion
Not familiar, not slight; I will tarry no longer

On this earth; but victorious o'er envy, two-formed,
Bard and bird, I abandon the cities of men.

Born of parents obscure though I be, O Mæcenas,
I who still from thy mouth hear the title 'Belovëd,'¹

I shall pass not away through the portals of death,
I shall not be hemmed round by the waters of Styx.

Now, now on my nether limbs rougher skin settles;
Now above to the form of white bird I am changing;²

Swiftly now from the hands and the shoulders behold
Smooth and smoother the down of the plumes springing forth!

¹ 'Quem vocas dilecte.' I agree with Mr. Conington in accepting Ritter's interpretation that 'dilecte' is Mæcenas's address to Horace. Upon this disputed point a very illustrious scholar, to whom, indeed, I am indebted for line 6 in the translation, writes to me thus:—
² 'I rather doubt the naked use of "vocas" in the sense of "invite to your
some standing, is opposed to this view;’ to which I may add the remark, that it is scarcely probable that Horace would have spoken with such confidence of his future fame till his claims as a lyrical poet were acknowledged by competent judges, to whom most of the odes in the first two, or perhaps the first three, books, if not yet collected into one publication, were familiarly known. It was probably enough written in some moment of joyous excitement occasioned by a success more signal than any private invitation from Mæcenas could confer; but we know too little of the various stepping-stones in Horace’s poetical career to form any reasonable conjecture as to its date and occasion. It is enough that the poem itself so wonderfully vindicates the pretension of the poet to be also the prophet.

CARM. XX.

Non usitata nec tenui ferar
Penna biformis per liquidum æthera
Vates; neque in terris morabor
Longius; invidiaque major

Urbes relinquam. Non ego, pauperum
Sanguis parentum, non ego, quem vocas
‘Dilecte,’¹ Mæcenas, obibo,
Nec Stygia cohibebor unda.

Jam jam residunt cruribus asperæ
Pelles; et album mutor in alitem
Superne;² nascunturque leves
Per digitos humerosque plumæ.

society” (“revocas” is used Sat. I. vi. 61, but then of a particular repeated invitation, not of a general one); I therefore incline to prefer the interpretation “Quem, Mæcenas, vocas ‘dilecte,’” though I admit the boldness of this construction.” Munro prints ‘dilecte.’

¹ ‘Album mutor in alitem superne.’ The white bird is, of course, the swan—‘Multa Diræœum levat aura cycnum.’—Lib. IV. Od. ii. 25,
Than the swift son of Dædalus swifter ¹ I travel.
I shall visit shores loud with the boom of the Euxine,
   And fields Hyperborean and African sands,
   And wherever I wander shall sing as a bird.

Me the Colchians shall know, me the Dacian ² dissembling
His dismay at the might of his victor the Roman;
Me Scythia's far son;—learned students in me
   Shall be Spain's rugged child and the drinker of Rhone. ³

Not for me raise the death-dirge, mine urn shall be empty;
Hush the vain ceremonial of groans that degrade me,
   And waste not the honours ye pay to the dead
   On a tomb in whose silence I shall not repose.

¹ 'Horace did not write "Dædaleo oior." The old Bernese and other high authorities have "notior," which, if a gloss, suits the sense and context admirably, far better than "tutior," "audacior," or any other conjecture.'—MUNRO, Introd. xxvi. Bentley has 'tutior.'

² 'Et qui dissimulat metum Marsæ cohortis Dacus.'

The Marsian infantry was the flower of the Roman armies, and the Marsian here represents the might of Rome. Either the interruption to the rapidity of the verse by the allusion to the Dacian's haughty dissimulation of the terror with which he regards the Roman arms must be considered, as it has been considered by critics, one of those 'impertinences,' for the sake of a popular hit, which is noticed in the preliminary essay as a defect in Horace; or it may possibly escape that reproach, and, pertinently to the purpose of the poem, mean that whatever the disguised terror in which the Dacian holds the Roman soldier, he will welcome the Roman poet.

³ 'Me peritus
   Discet Hiber, Rhodanique potor.'

'Peritus Hiber' does not mean 'the learned Spaniard,' as it is commonly translated. The adjective applies, as in similar cases is habitual with Horace, both to 'Hiber' and 'Rhodani potor,' and as Dillenburger, Osili, and Maclean agree, the meaning is, 'that these barbaric nations will become versed in me.' Maclean thinks that by 'Hiber'
Jam Dædaleo ocior\textsuperscript{1} Icarō 
Visam gementis litora Bospori, 
Syrtesque Gætulas, canorus 
Ales, Hyperboreosque campos.

Me Colchus, et qui dissimulat metum 
Marsæ cohortis Dacus,\textsuperscript{2} et ultimi 
Noscent Geloni; me peritus \textbackslash
Discet Hiber, Rhodanique potor.\textsuperscript{3}

Absint inani funere neniae,\textsuperscript{4} 
Luctusque turpes et querimoniae; 
Compesce clamorem, ac sepulcri 
Mitte supervacuos honores.

\textsuperscript{1} is probably meant the Caucasian people of that name; I follow, however, the interpretation popularly accepted—and sanctioned by Orelli—that 'Hiber' means 'the Spaniard.' The 'Drinker of Rhone' is the Gaul.

\textsuperscript{2} 'Absint inani funere neniae.' 'Inani funere,' because the body is not there.—Orelli.
BOOK III.—ODE I.
ON THE WISDOM OF CONTENT.

This ode opens with a stanza which modern critics generally consider to be an introduction not only to the ode itself, but also to the five following—all six constituting, as it were, serial parts of one varied poem, written about the same time and for the same object—viz. to aid in the reformation of manners which Augustus undertook at the close of the civil wars. The date of these and other odes conceived in the same spirit (as Lib. II. Od. xv. and xviii.) would therefore be referable to the period from A.U.C. 725 to A.U.C. 728. The first line of the introductory stanza to this ode imitates the formal exhortation of the priest at the Mysteries, warning away the profane. The conclusion of the stanza, 'Virginibus puerisque canto,' if, as recent interpreters

I hate the uninitiate crowd—I drive it hence away;
Silence, while I, the Muses' priest, chant hymns unheard before;
   I chant to virgins and to youths,
       I chant to listeners pure.
Dread kings control their subject flocks; o'er kings themselves reigns Jove,
Glorious for triumph won in war when giants stormed his heaven,
   And moving, with almighty brow,¹
       The universe of things.

¹ 'Cuncta supercilio moventis.' With his usual felicity of wording, Horace avoids the commonplace expression of 'the Olympian nod,' though the line implies that and something more; it implies the Deity's intellectual government of all things, and explains the connection with the stanzas that immediately follow,—the nod of Jove confirms the law of Fate to which all men are subjected.
interpreters assume, addressed to the chorus of boys and girls surrounding the priests and singing the praises of the gods, has also, according to the scholiasts, a much wider significance, and is a special address to the rising generation. ‘Horace,’ says Maclean, ‘speaks as if he despaired of impressing his precepts on any but the young, and bids the rest stand aside, as incapable of being initiated in the true wisdom of life.’ It is not easy to assign an appropriate heading to this ode. That which I select appears, on the whole, better than any other in use, though not quite satisfactory. The whole ode, which ranks high among the noblest attempts of a poet to embody didactic purpose in lyrical form, consists in a succession of brilliant images or pictures, seemingly detached, but constituting a moral whole: 1stly, The solemn recognition of the supreme God triumphant over brute force (‘Clari Giganteo triumpho’), and governing the universe; 2dly, The impartiality of Fate, and the certainty of death; 3dly, The misery of the guilty conscience not to be soothed by sensual or artistic enjoyments. At line 25, ‘Desiderantem quod satis est,’ the main object of the poem—viz., in the inculcation of that wisdom of contentment by which Horace contrives to unite Epicurean with Stoic philosophy—develops itself, and is continued to the close.

**CARM. I.**

Odi profanum volgus et arceo;
Favete linguis: carmina non prius
Audita Musarum sacerdos
Virginibus puerisque canto.

_Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis,
Clari Giganteo triumpho,
Cuncta supercilio moventis._1
Man vies with man—'tis so ordained; this, wider sets his vines,
That, nobler-born, the Campus seeks, competitor for power
With one who boasts of purer life,
And one of clients more:

Necessity with equal law assorts the varying lots;
Though this may bear the lofty name and that may bear the low,
Each in her ample urn she shakes,
And casts the die for all.

To him above whose guilty neck hangs down the naked sword,
Sicilian feasts shall furnish not the sweets that flavour food,
Nor song of bird nor chord of lute
Charm back the truant sleep.

Sleep does not scorn the lowly cots that shelter rural toil,
Nor banks that find their pall of state in shadowy summer boughs,
Nor vales in Tempē never vexed
Save by the Zephyr's wing.

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1. 'Est ut viro vir latius ordinet
   Arbusta sulcis.'
   'Est ut,' 'it is the case, it is ordained that men should vary in wealth and condition.'—Yonge. 'Latius ordinet arbusta sulcis'—viz., one man may compete with another man in extent of possessions: literally, that he may marshal trees—chiefly, but not exclusively, vines—in parallel lines, or in the shape of the quincunx, to a greater extent than another.

2. 'Descendat in Campum.' It was on the Campus Martius that the Comitia Centuriata, at which the election of magistrates took place, were held. The Campus was on low ground; but Yonge observes that 'descendat' is the exact word to express a contest, to descend into the arena.
Est ut viro vir latius ordinet
Arbusta sulcis, hic generosior
Descendat in Campum petitor,
Moribus hic meliorque fama.

Contendat, illi turba clientium
Sit major: aqua lege Necessitas
Sortitur insignes et imos;
Omne capax movet urna nomen.

Destructus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non Siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non avium citharæque cantus.

Somnum reducent. Somnus agrestium
Lenis virorum non humiles domes
Fastidit, umbrosamque ripam,
Non Zephyris agitata Tempe.

3 'Omne capax movet urna nomen.' The image is taken from the use of the dice, so familiar to the Romans. Fate is represented as holding the urn which contains the lots of all men. This she keeps shaking (as we shake or rattle the dice-box), and casts out the lots indifferently.

4 'Non avium citharæque cantus.' It must not be supposed that the natural song of the wild bird out of doors is here meant. Horace is speaking of artificial luxuries in contradistinction to the banks and vales of the following stanza, to which the song of the wild bird would apply. Here he means the singing-birds which the Romans kept in aviaries within their houses. Their notes, and the sound of distant music, and the trickling of water, were among the artificial means for soothing the nerves and inducing sleep, practised by the luxurious. Mæcenas, who suffered from insomnia during that kind of nervous depression which saddened his later years, is said by Seneca to have endeavoured to lull himself to sleep by the aid of distant music. It is not to Mæcenas, however, that Horace here alludes, for such an allusion in this place would have been an unfeeling affront.
To him who curbs desire within the bounds of 'The Enough,'
The wildest blasts that heave the sea awake no fear of wreck;
He quails not though Arcturus set,
Or Hæ dus rise, in storm;

Though reel the vines beneath the hail, though crops belie the hope,
Though trees despoiled of fruit accuse now spring's corroding showers,
Now summer's scorch and fiery stars,
Now winter's crowning wrongs.

Lo, where the mighty moles extend new lands into the deep,
The scaléd races feel their sea shrink round the invading piles;
As many a builder's burly gang
Heaves the huge rubble down,¹

Obedient to a lord who scorns so small a bound as earth
Yet Conscience, whispering fears and threats, ascends with him the tower,
Black Care sits by him in the bark,
Behind him, on the steed.²

Since Phrygian marble³ nought avails to soothe a mind diseased,
And nought the pomp of purple robes albeit outshining stars,
And nought the Achaemenian balm,
Nought the Falernian vine;

¹ 'Huc frequens
  Cæmenta demittit redemptor
  Cum famulis.'

² 'Cæmenta,' the rough mixture of large and small stones, mortar, &c. (rubble), which served for foundations. 'Redemptor,' literally the 'contractor' or 'architect.'
Desiderantem quod satis est neque
tumultuosum sollicitat mare,
Nec sævus Arcturi cadentis
Impetus, aut orientis Hædi;

Non verberatæ grandine vineæ,
Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
Culpante, nunc torrentiâ agros
Sidera, nunc hiemes iniquas.

Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt
Jactis in altum molibus; huc frequens
Cæmenta demittit redemptor
Cum famulis,¹ dominusque terræ

Fastidiosus. Sed Timor et Minae
Scandunt eodem quo dominus; neque
Decedit ãrata triremi, et
Post equitem sedet atra Cura.²

Quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis³
Nec purpurarum sidere clarior
Delenit usus, nec Falerna
Vitis, Achæmeniumque costum;

² 'Sed Timor et Minae
Scandunt eodem quo dominus; neque
Decedit ãrata triremi, et
Post equitem sedet atra Cura.'
'Minae internæ propter facinora commissa.'—ORELLI. 'Threats of conscience.' 'Scandunt,' ascend the lofty tower or belvidere, which was then the fashionable appendage to the villas of the wealthy. 'The 'ãrata triremis' was the rich man's private yacht.'—MACLEANE. The distinction between 'Post equitem sedet atra Cura,' and 'Cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,' Lib. II. Od. xvi. 22, has been noticed in the note to the line last mentioned.

³ 'Phrygius lapis,' a costly marble from Synnada in Phrygia, white, with red spots, in great esteem for columns, &c.
Why should I rear some hall sublime to Rome's last taste refined,
With pillared doors¹ which never ope but envy enters in?
   Oh, why for riches, wearier far,
   Exchange my Sabine vale?

¹ 'Postibus invidendis.' 'Postes' were the jambs, columns, or pilasters that flanked the entrance door, and the word is often used for the door itself. I do not know of any authority for interpreting 'postes' as the rows of pillars within the 'atrium' itself, which some commentators are inclined to do. I ask indulgence for my paraphrase of invidendis.
Cur invidendis postibus\textsuperscript{1} et novo  
Sublime ritu miliar atrium?  
Cur valle permutem Sabina  
Divitas operoiores?
ODE II.

THE DISCIPLINE OF YOUTH.

As in the preceding ode the virtue of contentment is enforced, so this commences with enjoining that early training in simple and hardy habits which engenders the spirit of content, because it forms the mind betimes to disdain luxury.

To bear privation¹ as a friend—to love its wholesome stint,
Train the youth nerved by hardy sports which form the school of war,
A rider dread, with practised spear,
To harry Parthian foes,

Inured to danger and to days beneath unsheltered skies.
On him from high embattled walls of kings at war with Rome,
Matron and ripening maid shall gaze,
And inly sigh, 'Alas!

'O never may our princely lord in arms unskilled, provoke
Yon lion whom 'twere death to touch; by the fell rage for blood,
Where most the slaughters thicken round,
Hurried, in rapture, on!'

Glorious and sweet it is to die—when for our native land;²
Ev'n him who runs away from Death, Death follows fast behind—
Death does not spare the recreant back,
And hamstrings limbs that flee.

¹ 'Pauperiem.' It is difficult here, as elsewhere, to find an English word that correctly renders the sense of 'pauperies.' In this passage I can think of no better word than 'privation,' interpreted as the
luxury. Discipline of this kind is the foundation of courage, love of country, the independence of character which loves virtue for its own sake, and the self-restraint which is essential to social good faith and honour.

CARM. II.

Angustam amīce pauperiem\(^1\) pati
Robustus acri militia puĕr
Condiscat, et Parthos feroxces
Vexet eques metuendus hasta,

Vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat
In rebus. Illum ex mœnibus hosticis
Matrona bellantis tyrannī
Prospiciens et adulta virgo

Suspiret, Eheu, ne rudis agminum
Sponsus lacesṣat regiús asperm
Tactu leonem, quem cruenta
Per médiás rapit ũra cædes.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria morī:\(^2\)
Mors et fugaçem persequitur\(\text{virum}\),
Nec parcit imbellis juvenūæ
Poplitibus timidoque tergo.

privation of luxuries. Poverty would be here wholly inapplicable, this ode being addressed, with the one that precedes and the three that follow it, to youths quite as much of the richer classes as of the poorer. 'Robustus acri militia puĕr;' I take 'robustus' with 'militia'—the boy made robust by martial exercise and discipline. Among the Romans, the age for military exercise began at seventeen.

\(^1\) 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.' 'In Horace's mind there was a close connection between the virtue of frugal contentment and devotion to one's country.'—MACLEAN.

P 2
Virtue ne'er knows of a defeat which brings with it disgrace;¹ The blazon of her honours ne'er the breath of men can stain; Her fasces she nor takes nor quits As veers the popular gale.

Virtue essays her flight through ways to all but her denied; To those who do not merit death she opes the gates of heaven, And, spurning vulgar mobs and mire, Soars with escaping wing.

There is a silence unto which a safe reward is due. With him whose tongue the sacred rites of Ceres blabs abroad, May I ne'er sit beneath a roof, Nor launch a shallop frail!

For Jove neglected oft confounds the good man with the bad; And though avenging Punishment is lame indeed of foot, Yet rarely lags she long behind The swiftest flight of Crime.

¹ 'Virtus, repulsæ nescia sordidae, Intaminatis fulget honoribus.'

The meaning of these lines has been much disputed, but seems to me sufficiently clear. The point is in the epithets, 'sordidae,' 'intaminatis.' It cannot be truly said that Virtue is ignorant or unconscious of a defeat or rejection ('repulsæ' applies to the defeat at a popular election (a)), but it is said truly that Virtue knows not any such defeat as can disgrace her (sordidae). The honours that Virtue seeks are distinguished from civil honours, insomuch as the latter, being conceded by the people or the state, are by the people or the state to be reversed or sullied; but

(a) Thus, in the Epistles, I. i. 42, Horace says,—

'Vides, quæ maxima credis
Esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam;'

which Maclean, referring to 'repulse—sordidae' of this ode, interprets quaintly, 'He who would secure an election must have a command of money.'
Virtus, repulsæ nescia sordidæ,\(^1\)
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
   Nec sumit aut ponit secures
   Arbitrio popularis aure.

Virtus, recludens immeritis mori
Cælum, negata tentat iter via,
   Cœtusque volgares et udam
   Spernit humum fugiente penna.

Est et fidei tuta silentio
Mercès : vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
   Volgarit arcanæ, sub isdem
   Sit trabibus fragilemve mecum

Solvat phaselon ; sæpe Diespiter
Neglectus incesto addidit integrum :
   Raro antecedentem scelestum
   Deseruit pede Pœna clando.

---

the honours which Virtue seeks, being acquired by herself alone, cannot by others be stained or touched (intaminatis). Cicero has exactly the same sentiment (Pro Sestio, 28, 60), and Horace almost literally versifies the passage, 'Virtus lucet in tenebris—splendetque per sese semper, neque alienis unquam sordibus obsolescit.'—See Orelli’s note, vol. i. p. 345.
ODE III.

ON STEADFASTNESS OF PURPOSE.

The two preceding odes, addressed to youth, inculcate the formation of private character; this ode and the two that follow have a political intention and bearing. In this ode Horace commences with his famous picture of the steadfast man not turned aside from that which his reason and conscience hold to be right, either by the excitement of a populace or the threat of a tyrant. Among the mortals which the exercise of this virtue has raised to the gods he places Augustus, who certainly did not want firmness of purpose in founding and cementing his authority, and to whom the Senate had already decreed the honours habitually paid only to the Divine Powers. The poet's mention of Romulus among those thus promoted to the rank of immortals, leads on to what in itself appears, at first sight, a somewhat prolix and irrelevant digression—viz., the speech of Juno predicting the glories of Rome, and prohibiting the restoration of Troy. Closely examined, the digression is not purely episodical, but in harmony with the preceding verses, and a development of the purpose of the whole poem; for it is in the nature of the steadfast man, unswayed by the fickle passions of the time, to adhere firmly to the interests of his country, and cherish the memory of its glories and heroes. We are told by Suetonius ('Life of Julius Cæsar,' c. 79), that it was a current report that Julius Cæsar meditated a design of transferring the seat of empire from Rome to Alexandria, or to Ilium. Lucan, ix. 997, ascribes to him the same intention. But we are not to suppose, with some, that Augustus entertained any such notion: this ode in itself

Not the rage of the million commanding things evil,
Not the doom frowning near in the brows of the tyrant,
itself is a proof to the contrary; for Horace would certainly not have volunteered a direct opposition to the wish of Augustus in poems intended to praise and support his policy, and, no doubt, composed with his entire approval. But it is possible enough that, when Augustus commenced his work of reformation, there were many among the broken remains of the old political parties who, whether from the dilapidation of their fortune, the distaste for Roman institutions, the supremacy of Augustus himself and aversion to his reforms, the animosities of faction—which, if crushed down, were still sore and rankling—or the restless love of change and adventure, might have entertained and proclaimed a desire for establishing a settlement in the East, for which the ancestral site of Troy would have been a popular selection. If Julius Cæsar really did entertain, or was commonly supposed to have entertained, the design imputed to him by Suetonius and Lucan, many of his followers and disbanded soldiers may have shared in this project, and rendered it a troublesome subject for Augustus to deal with. The idea is not likely to have gone to the extent of a transfer of the seat of empire from Rome to Troy (nor does Horace intimate that notion in this ode). More probably it was confined to establishing at Troy, or in its neighbourhood, a colonial or branch government, with special privileges and powers. Nor would there have been wanting plausible political reasons for thus planting a military Roman settlement to guard the empire acquired in the East. Upon the assumption that such an idea had favourers sufficiently numerous to raise it to importance, and that Augustus wished to discourage it, the intention of Horace, in the speech he ascribes to Juno, becomes clear.

**Carm. III.**

Justum et tenacem propositi virum  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Shakes the upright and resolute man  
In his solid completeness of soul;

No, not Auster, the Storm-King of Hadria's wild waters,  
No, not Jove's mighty hand when it launches the thunder;  
If in fragments were shattered the world,  
Him its ruins would strike undismayed.

By this virtue¹ did Pollux and wandering Alcides  
Scale, with toil, starry ramparts, and enter on heaven,  
Whom between, now Augustus reclined,  
Quaffs the nectar that purple his lip;²

By this virtue deservedly, thee, Father Bacchus  
Did the fierce tigers draw³ with necks tamed by no mortal;  
By this virtue Quirinus escaped,  
Rapt on coursers of Mars—Acheron:

Juno having thus spoken words heard with approval  
By the gods met in council,⁴ 'Troy, Troy lies in ruins—  
By a fatal and criminal judge⁵  
And the false foreign woman o'erthrown;

'Condemned from the day when Laomedon⁶ cheated  
Vengeful gods of the guerdon agreed;—forfeit debtor  
With its people and fraudulent king  
Unto me and Minerva the pure.

¹ 'Hac arte,' 'ἀπερβύ,' 'by the virtue of this constancy, unwearied by labours, unswerving in purpose, men, becoming the heroes and benefactors of the human race, attain to the glory of immortals.'—See Orelli, note 9 to this ode.

² 'Purpureo bibit ore nectar.' Horace speaks in the present tense, and no doubt with reference to the decree of the Senate after the battle of Actium—viz., that libations should be offered to Octavian in private as well as in public tables, and his name should be inserted in the hymns of praise equally with those of the gods.—Dio. 51, 19. Compare Lib. IV. Od. v. 33 et seq., and Lib. II. Ep. i. 15.

³ 'Vexere tigres'—i.e. to the seats of the gods, to Olympus. The
Non voltus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster,

Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis;
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

Hac arte¹ Pollux et vagus Hercules
Enisus arces attigit igneas:
Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar.²

Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
Vexere tigres,³ indocili jugum
Collo trahentes. Hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit,

Gratum elocuta consiliantibus
Junone divis:⁴ 'Ilion, Ilion
Fatalis incestusque judex⁶
Et mulier peregrina vertit

'In pulverem; ex quo destituit deos
Mercede pacta Laomedon,⁶ mihi
Castæque damnatum Minervæ
Cum populo et duce fraudulentō.

tigers are the symbols of the savage ferocity tamed by Bacchus.—
Orelli. Bacchus is here represented as the civiliser of life.
¹ Met in council to deliberate whether Romulus should be admitted
among the gods.
² Paris adjudging the golden apple to Venus.
³ 'Ex quo destituit deos
Mercede pacta Laomedon,'¹
Troy is here represented as doomed by the crime of its founder Laomedon,
who, according to legend, defrauded Neptune and Apollo of the
reward promised them for building the walls of the city. It is Laomedon
who is meant by 'the fraudulent king,' 'duce fraudulentō'—not
Priam, on whom, innocent himself, the fraud of his ancestor is visited.
'But now the vile guest of the Spartan adultress
Glitters forth nevermore;—the forsworn race of Priam
   By the aid of its Hector, no more
Breaks in fragments the force of the Greek;

'Sunk to rest is the war so prolonged by our discords,
Ever henceforth to Mars I give up my resentment,
   And my grudge to the grandson \(^1\) who springs
From the womb of a priestess of Troy.

'I admit him to enter the luminous dwellings;
I admit him to sip \(^2\) of the juices of nectar,
   And, enrolled in the order serene
Of the gods, to partake of their calm.

'While between Rome and Ilion there rage the wide ocean,
May the exiles be blest wheresoe'er their dominion;
   So long as the wild herd shall range,
And the wild beast shall litter her cubs

'Undisturbed, 'mid the barrows of Priam and Paris,
May the Capitol stand, brightening earth with its glory,
   And dauntless Rome issue her laws
To the Mede she subdues by her arms.

'Wide and far may the awe of her name be extended
To the uttermost shores, where the girdle of ocean
   Doth from Africa Europe divide,
And where Nile floods the lands with his swell.

'Be she stronger in leaving disdainfully buried
In the caverns of earth the gold—better so hidden,

\(^1\) Romulus being Juno's grandson, born of Mars her son, and Ilia the Trojan priestess.
\(^2\) 'Ducere nectaris succos.' 'Ducere,' i.e. 'sorbillere,' to sip.
'Jam nec Lacænæ splendet adulteræ
Famosus hospes, nec Priami domus
Perjura pugnaces Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit;

'Nostrisque ductum seditionibus
Bellum resedit. Protinus et graves
Iras, et invisum nepotem,
Troica quem peperit sacerdos,

'Marti redonabo;¹ illum ego lucidas
Inire sedes, ducere nectaris
Succos,² et adscribi quietis
Ordinibus patiar deorum.

'Dum longus inter sæviat Ilion
Romamque pontus, qualibet exsules
In parte regnanto beati;
Dum Priami Paridisque busto

'Insultet armentum, et catulos ferae
Celent inultæ, stet Capitolium
Fulgens, triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare jura Medis.

'Horrenda late nomen in ultimas
Extendat oras, qua medius liquor
Secernit Europen ab Afro,
Qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus:

'Aurum irrepertum, et sic melius situm
Cum terra celat, spernere fortior

—ORELLI. Several MSS. have 'discere,' which reading is favoured by
Dillenburger. Orelli, Munro, and Macleane prefer 'ducere,' 'which,' as
the last observes, 'is in very common use in the sense of "quaffing."'
Than in wringing its uses to men,
With a hand that would plunder the gods. 1

What limit soe'er may obstruct her in nature
Let her reach by her arms; and exultingly visit
Either pole, where the mist or the sun
Holds the orgies of water or fire.

I to Rome's warlike race speak such fates, on condition
That they never, too pious to antique forefathers,
Nor confiding too far in their power,
Evën wish Trojan roofs to restore.

What though Troy could revive under auspices fatal—
All her fortunes should be repetition of carnage;
I myself leading hosts to her doom—
I the consort and sister of Jove!

Rose her brazen wall thrice, with Apollo for founder, 2
Still her brazen wall thrice should be razed by my Argives;
Thrice the captive wife mourn for her lord,
Thrice the mother her children deplore.'

Ah, this strain does not chime to my lute's lively measures!
Whither tendest thou, Muse? Cease, presumptuous, to mimic
The discourses of gods; nor let down
To a music low-pitched, lofty themes.

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1 'Quam cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.'

The point here, as Orelli observes, is in the antithesis between 'humanos' and 'sacrum.' Maclean paraphrases the general meaning of the passage thus,—'Let Rome extend her arms as she will, only let her not, as her possessions increase, learn to prize gold above virtue.' The more literal meaning, according to Dillenburger and Orelli, is, that in the lust of gold the hand of rapine sacrilegiously despoils the sacred vessels dedicated to gods in their shrines and temples.
Quam cogere humanos in usus,
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.¹

'Quicunque mundo terminus obstitit,
Hunc tanget armis, visere gestiens,
Qua parte debacchentur ignes,
Qua nebulæ pluviique rores.

'Sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus
Hac lege dico; ne nimium pii
Rebusque fidentesavitæ
Tecta velint reparare Trojæ.

'Trojæ renascens alite lugubri
Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
Ducente victrices catervas
Conjuge me Jovis et sorore.

'Ter si resurgat murus"aëneus
Auctore Phœbo,² ter pereat meis
Excisus Argivis; ter uxor
Capta virum puerosque ploret.'

Non hoc jocosæ conveniet lyræ:
Quo, Musa, tendis? Desine pervicax
Referre sermones deorum et
Magna modis tenuare parvis.

² 'Auctore Phœbo,' the founder of the first Troy.
ODE IV.

INVOCATION TO CALLIOPE.

It is observable that in this ode as well as in the last, and in Odes v. and vi., composed for political purposes, Horace indulges much more in the flights and fancies and seeming digressions proper to poetry purely lyrical than in Odes i. and ii., in which, inculcating moral or noble sentiments applicable to men of all parties, he is earnestly didactic. But treating political subjects, on which men’s minds were divided, he shows wonderful delicacy of art in conveying his purpose through forms of poetry least likely to offend. In Ode iii., dissuading from the project of a settlement in Troy, it is not he that speaks, it is Juno. In Ode iv., desiring to imply that the ascendancy of Augustus is the intellectual and godlike mastery over irrational force, he begins:

Descend, O Queen Calliope, from heaven,
And on thy fife discourse in lengthened music;¹
Or lovest thou more the lyre
By Phoebus strung; or thrill of vocal song?

Hear ye, or doth the sweet delirium fool me?
I seem to hear her, and with her to wander
Where gentle winds and waves
Steal their soft entrance into hallowed groves.

Me, when a child, upon the slopes of Vultur
Strayed, truant, from my nurse Apulia’s threshold,²
And tired with play and sleep,
Did mythic doves with budding leaves bestrew;

¹ ‘Longum—melos.’
² ‘In notes, with many a winding bout
Of linked sweetness, long drawn out.’—MILTON.

Maclean says ‘longum’ means a sustained and stately song. Yonge observes, that though it may be so translated, it is enough to understand.
begins by an invocation to Calliope, intimating his ambition to accomplish a majestic or sustained poem without revealing its purport; passes on to the lovely stanzas descriptive of his own devotion to poetry from childhood; links this description with inimitable subtlety of touch to Augustus's culture of the humanising arts (v. 37, 'Vos Cæsarem,' &c.); implies the union of such literary tastes with the policy of peace ('militia simul Fessas cohortes addidit oppidis,' &c.), and with conciliatory and clement dispositions ('lene consilium,' &c.); and then, with a lyrical suddenness, bursts into the theme for which he had invoked the muse at the commencement,—'Scimus ut impios'; insinuating, in the myth of the victory obtained over brute force by the gods that represent wisdom (Pallas), industry (Vulcan), social and domestic order (Juno), the ennobling arts (Apollo), not only the victory of Augustus, but the social and civilising influences to which the victory is ascribed, and by which it is lastingly maintained.

CARM. IV.

Descende cælo, et dic age tibia
Regina longum Calliope melos,¹
Seu voce nunc mavis acuta,
Seu fidibus citharaque Phœbi.

Auditis, an me ludit amabilis
Insania? Audire et videor pios
Errare per lucos, amœnae
Quos et aquæ subeunt et auræ.

Me fabulosæ Volture in Apulo
Altricis extra limen Apuliae ²
Ludo fatigatumque somno
Fronde nova puerum palumbes

it, with Orelli, as a mode of saying 'Come, and leave me not hastily or soon.'

² See Excursus at the end of the ode.
A miracle to all who hold their eyrie
In beetling Acherontia, or whom forests
   Embower in Bantian glens,
Or rich Forentum's lowland glebes enclose,

That, safe from prowling bear and baleful adder—
That, heaped with myrtle and the hallowing laurel,
   Calm I should slumber on,
   Infant courageous under ward divine.

Yours, yours am I, O Muses, whether lifted
To Sabine hills—or whether cool Præneste,
   Or Tibur's sunny slopes,
Or limpid Baiae ¹ more my steps allure.

The lines arrayed and routed at Philippi,
The accursèd tree, the rock of Palinurus,²
   Stormed by Sicilian waves,
   Spared me, the lover of your choirs and founts.

Where ye be with me I would go undaunted;
Tempt, a glad mariner, the madding Euxine;
   Or, a blithe traveller, brave
   The sands that burn upon Assyrian shores;

Visit the Briton, terrible to strangers,
Concanian hordes, drunk with the blood of horses,
   And, safe from every harm,
Quivered Geloni and the Scythian stream.

¹ 'Liquidæ Baiae.' The epithet applies either to the salubrity and purity of the waters, or to the clearness of the air at Baiae.—Schol. Cruq. Orelli prefers the latter interpretation. 'Limpid' appears the best translation of 'liquidæ,' being applicable equally to either air or water, which 'liquid,' in our sense of the word, would not be.
Texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicunque celsæ nidum Acherontiæ,
Saltusque Bantinos, et arvum
Pingue tenent humilis Forenti ;

Ut tuto ab atri corpore viperis
Dormirem et ursis ; ut premerer sacra
Lauroque colataque myrto,
Non sine dis animosus insans.

Vester, Camenæ, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos ; seu mihi frigidum
Præneste, seu Tibur supinum,
Seu liquidæ placuere Baiae.¹

Vestris amicum fontibus et choris,
Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
Devota non exstinxit arbos,
Nec Sicula Palinurus unda.²

Utcunque mecum vos eritis, libens
Insanientem navita Bosporum
Tentabo, et urentes arenas
Litoris Assyrii viator ;

Visam Britannos hospitibus feros
Et lætum equino sanguine Concanum ;
Visam pharetratos Gelonos
Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.

² 'Nec Sicula Palinurus unda.' Cape Palinurus, a promontory on
the western coast of Lucania. All attempts to ascertain at what period
of his life, or on what occasion, Horace escaped shipwreck off Palinurus,
are but mere conjectures.
High Cæsar, seeking to conclude his labours,
Settling in peaceful towns war-wearied cohorts, 1
Ye solace and refresh
In the Pierian grotto’s placid shade.

Ye are the natural givers of mild counsel,
Your joy to give it, ye yourselves so gentle! 2
3 We know how He, whose law
Tempers the sluggish earth and windy sea,

He who, the Sole One, rules with tranquil justice
The ’stablished states—the varying crowd of mortals,
Gods, and the Ghastly Realms—
Smote with prone bolt the Titans’ impious crew,

And banded giants towering into battle:
That horrid youth in strength of arm confiding—
Brethren who sought to pile
Pelion on dun Olympus, and to Jove

1 ’Militia simul
Fessas cohortes addidit oppidis.’
The MSS. vary in the reading—‘addidit,’ ‘abdidit,’ and ‘reddidit.’
Dillenburger prefers ‘abdidit,’ which the scholiasts explain as being
sent to winter quarters. Orelli powerfully contends for ‘addidit,’ as
significant of new towns or colonies, in favour of which he cites Tacitus,
Ann. xiii. 31, ‘Coloniae Capua atque Nuceria additis veteranis firmatæ
sunt.’ After the conquest of the Salassi, a people of the Gaulish Alps
(A.u.C. 729), Augustus assigned their territory to the Praetorian troops,
who built Augusta Praetoria (Aosta). To other troops were assigned
lands in Lusitania, Augusta Emerita (Merida). Macleane agrees with
Orelli. Munro, a higher authority on such questions than Macleane pre-
sfers and adopts ‘abdidit.’ The true reading being, however, uncertain, I
have left it equally vague in the translation. I may observe, however,
that as Macleane, in common with other eminent commentators, considers
this ode written between A.u.C. 725 and 728, the line cannot refer to
the new towns in the territory taken from the Salassi, A.u.C. 729.

2 ‘Vos lene consilium et datis, et dato
Gaudetis, alme.’
‘Ye give peaceful counsel, and rejoice in giving it because ye are
gentle.’—MACLEANE.
Vos Cæsarem altum, militia simul
Fessas cohortes addidit oppidis,¹
Finire quærentem labores,
Pierio recreatis antro.

Vos lene consilium et datis, et dato
Gaudetis, alœ.² ³Scimus, ut impios
Titanas immanemque turam
Fulmine sustulerit caduco,

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, et urbes regnaque tristia,
Divosque, mortalesque turbas
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Magnum illa terrem intulerat Jovi
Fidens juventus horrida brachis,
Fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo.

³ Here Horace, starting from the picture of Augustus cultivating the Muses, and taking from them humane counsels, proceeds with poetic abruptness to symbolise the victory of Augustus over the violent and irrational forces hostile to the great social interests of man. The reader must not suppose (as some critics have inconsiderately done) that Horace signifies Augustus himself in the attributes he assigns to Jove. He would very imperfectly understand Horace who could conceive him thus to abase to the level of an earthly vicegerent that supreme divinity, to whom there is no likeness and no second. Horace does but imply that the same Divine Powers who defeated the brute forces of the Titans and giants were on the side of Augustus in the civil wars.
Himself sent fear. But what availed Typhoëus,
What Mimas or Porphyryion's stand of menace,¹
What Rhoetus, or the bold
Hurler of trees uptorn, Enceladus,

Rushing against Minerva's sounding ægis?
Here, keen, stood Vulcan—here the matron Juno,
And he, who never more
WILL FROM HIS SHOULDERS LAY ASIDE THE BOW,

Who, in the pure dew of Castalia's fountain,
Laves loosened hair,² who holds the Lycian thicket
And his own native wood,
Apollo, Delian and Patarean king.

By its own weight sinks force, when void of counsel:
Let force be tempered and the gods increase it:
But force which urges on
To each unhallowed deed—the gods abhor.

Witness this truth, the hundred-handed Gyas—
Witness the doom of Dian's vast assailer,
Lustful Orion, quelled
By the chaste conqueror with the virgin shaft.

¹ 'Aut quid minaci Porphyryion statu.' As more poetic and expressive, I have adopted the literal translation of 'status'—i.e., 'a standing still,' as opposed to motion—rather than that of 'attitude,' in which sense Forcellini interprets the word in these lines,—an interpretation commended by Yonge.

² Every reader of taste will be struck by the exquisite grace with which Horace lingers on this lovely picture of Apollo (Augustus's favourite deity), in contrast, as Orelli observes, to the monstrous images to which he is opposed. 'Delius et Patareus:' Apollo is mythically said to have resided (or given oracles) at Patara, in Lycia, for six months in the year—the other six at Delos, his native isle. Maclean remarks that, 'In enumerating the principal gods who assisted Zeus in
Sed quid Typhoëus et validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrior statu,¹
Quid Rhœetus, evulsisque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,

Contra sonantem Palladis ægida
Possent ruentes? Hinc avidus stetit
Vulcanus, hinc matrona Juno, et
Nunquam humœris positurus arcum,

Qui rore puro Castalîæ lavit
Crines solutos,² qui Lyciæ tenet
Dumeta, natalenque silvam,
Delius et Patareus Apollo.

Vis consili expers mole ruit sua :
Vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
In majus ; idem odere vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.

Testis mearum centimanus Gyas
Sententiarum, notus et integrae
Tentator Orion Dianæ,
Virginea domitus sagitta.

the battle, Horace means to say, that although they were present, it was Pallas to whom the victory is mainly owing, otherwise the force of his argument is lost.¹ But, as is said in the introduction, Horace appears to me to have desired emphatically, though symbolically, to intimate the nature of the Powers that were ranged on the side of Pallas, i.e., in the cause of Augustus—Vulcan, the representative of industry—Juno, of social order and marriage—Apollo, of arts and letters. This supposition is in accordance with the social or political objects to which these odes are devoted, and with the special benefits which Horace elsewhere ascribes to the reign of Augustus.
Earth heaped above them mourns her buried monsters,  
And wails her offspring, into lurid Orcus  
  Hurled by the heavenly bolt;  
The swiftest fires consume not Ætna, piled

Over the struggling giant;¹ the wing’d jailer²  
Of lustful Tityus never quits its captive;  
  Three hundred fetters hold  
The ravisher Pirithous fast in hell.

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EXCURSUS.

¹'Me fabulosæ Vulture in Apulo  
   Altricis extra limen Apuliæ  
   Ludo fatigatunque somno.'

I omit in the translation the adjective Apulian (Apulo)  
applied to Vultur, because, as between Apulo in one line  
and Apuliæ in the next, the text is generally supposed to be  
corr upt. Āpu(lo) in the first line, is Āpu(liæ) in the second;  
and

¹ 'Nec peredit  
   Impositam celer ignis Ætnam.'

The fires of Ætna, however swiftly they burst forth, cannot consume  
the heap piled above Enceladus, so as ever to free him.—ORELLI.  
Horace does not say who was the giant crushed under Ætna. Callimachus says it was Enceladus, and also Briareus; Pindar and Æschylus say it was Typhoëus. I have left this question in the translation as vague as Horace leaves it, though I have been compelled to take the licence of adding the words, ‘the struggling giant,’ in order to prevent a misconception of the meaning,—such as occurs, for instance, in Smart, ‘Nor does the active fire consume Ætna, that is placed over it.’

² The vulture.
Injecta monstris Terra dolet suis,
Mæretque partus fulmine luridum
Missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
Impositam celer ignis Ætnam; ¹

Incontinentis nec Tityi jecur
Reliquit ales, nequitiae additus
Custos; ² amatorem trecentæ
Pirithoum cohibent catenæ.

and though there are sufficient instances of variation of quantity in proper names—such as Priamus, Priamides, Sicanus, Siciania, Italus, &c.—yet it is thought improbable that in so elaborate a poem Horace would have varied the quantity in two consecutive lines, and says Munro, 'to shorten an essentially long Italian syllable like Apulia or Appenninus would be portentous in classical times.' Passing by the prosodiacal objection, a graver difficulty has been found in the construction, 'Me in Apulian Vultur beyond the threshold of my nurse Apulia.' The Appennine range, still called 'Monte Vulture,' was partly in Apulia, partly in Lucania. And Horace, Satire ii. 1, says it is doubtful whether he was a Lucanian or an Apulian, for the farmers of Venusia (his birthplace) ploughed the boundaries of both these provinces. Had he said 'Lucanian Vultur,' 'beyond the threshold of Apulia,' the passage, therefore, would have been clear; but 'in Apulian Vultur, out of Apulia,' is a puzzle for commentators. It is not to be wondered at that Bentley, ever ready upon slighter ground to disturb a text and hazard an invention, should vehemently repudiate this reading; and getting rid of Apulia and poetry altogether, boldly propose to read, 'Nutricis (or Altricis) extra limina sedulae,' 'beyond the threshold of my careful nurse.' Another critic, still more ingenious, not contented with taking 'altrix' or 'nutrix' literally as
Horace's nurse in flesh and blood, has discovered her name to be Pulia, 'extra limina Puliae;' in which case the lines may be imitated thus:

'Me on the slope of Brighton Downs,
Beyond the threshold of nurse Downie.'

The most recent and the most plausible conjecture will be found in the preface to Mr. Yonge's edition, p. vi., 'Altricis extra limina villulae,' 'beyond the precincts of my native homestead.' To this Munro objects 'that diminutives used to such excess in the language of the people, in the comic poets, in Catullus and others, almost disappeared from the higher poetry of the Augustan and later ages.' Mr. Yonge suggests, p. vii., a yet bolder, but a less acceptable emendation, 'Nutricis extra limina villicæ,' observing, that the 'villica' was an important person in a plain country-house—the responsible manager for every part of the household arrangements. The construction would then be, 'beyond the threshold of my nurse the bailiff's wife.' As the obscurity of this passage has tasked the subtlest critics, I feel that I shall gratify all Horatian scholars by subjecting the following communication from a very high authority:—'I cannot see any difficulty about the Apuliae and Apulo; the adjective and substantive often differ in accent, as gallant and gállant. Horace claims Vultur as an Apulian mountain, but says that he has strayed beyond its Apulian side; just as a child at Macugnaga might say that he had strayed on the "Piedmontese Monte Moro" beyond the limits of Piedmont.'

ODE V.

THE SOLDIER FORFEITS HIS COUNTRY WHO SURRENDERS HIMSELF TO THE ENEMY IN BATTLE.

In this ode the political object of Horace is to stigmatise the Roman soldiers, who, being made prisoners—or, to use an appropriate French word, détenu—after the defeat of Crassus, had accustomed themselves to the country in
which they were detained, married into barbarian families, and accepted military service under the conqueror; and in thus energetically representing the moral disgrace of these men, Horace is very evidently opposing some proposition then afloat for demanding their restoration from the Parthians. Such demand, which would no doubt be urged by the relatives of the détenu, and perhaps by many old fellow-soldiers in the Roman army, might easily have acquired the importance of what we call a party question. And if Horace here opposes it, it is pretty certain that Augustus opposed it also at that time. Hence the ode would have been written before Augustus redemanded (A.U.C. 731) the Roman captives and standards from Phraates. And the date A.U.C. 728 or 729, assigned to the ode by Orelli, is probably the true one. A demand which circumstances rendered reasonable and politic in 731, might have been very inopportune and unwise two or three years before. In aiming at his political object, Horace skilfully eludes its exact definition. He begins by saying, that as it is by his thunder we believe in Jove, so the power of Augustus will be recognised when he shall have added the Britons and Parthians to his empire. Thus, agreeably with the oratorical character of his poetry, on which I have observed in the preliminary essay, his exordium propitiates the ear of the party he is about to oppose—viz., those clamorous for the restoration of the Parthian prisoners. He follows this exordium with a rapid outburst on the ignominy of these very prisoners, and then, with admirable boldness, places the argument against their restoration in the mouth of the national hero Regulus. It is in these and similar passages that Horace not only soars immeasurably above the level of didactic poetry properly so called, but justifies his claim to a far higher rank even in lyrical poetry than many of his modern critics are disposed to accord to him. He attains to that region of the sublime which belongs to heroic sentiment, and which is the rarest variety of the sublime even in the tragic drama.
Tis by his thunder we believe Jove reigns
In heaven: on earth,\(^1\) as a presiding god,
When to his realm annexed
Briton and Persian,\(^2\) Cæsar shall be held!

What! hath the soldier who with Crassus served,
Lived the vile spouse of a barbarian wife?
Shame to Rome's Senate!\(^3\) shame
On manners that invert the Rome of old!

Marsian, Apulian, sons-in-law to foes
Of their own sires! grown grey in hireling mail
Beneath a Median king!
Oblivious of the sacred shields of Mars,

Oblivious both of toga and of name,
And Vesta's unextinguishable fire,\(^4\)
While yet live Jove and Rome!\(^5\)
Ah! this the provident mind of Regulus

Foresaw, when arguing that to buy from Death
Captives unworthy pity, on vile terms,
Would serve in after days,
As the sure precedent of doom to Rome.

'I,' thus he said, 'have with these eyes beheld
The Roman standards nailed to Punic shrines;
From Roman soldiers seen
The bloodless weapons wrenchéd without a blow;

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\(^1\) "Præsens divus" is obviously "præsens in terris," as opposed to "caelo."—\textit{MACLEANE}.

\(^2\) Persian for Parthian, as Lib. I. Od. ii. 22.

\(^3\) 'Pro Curia,' &c.—\textit{viz.}, 'Shame to the Senate for the scandal to its dignity in having so long endured a disgrace so ignominious.'—\textit{ORELLI}.

\(^4\) 'Horace collects the most distinguished objects of a Roman's reverence—his name, his citizenship (\textit{toga}), the shield of Mars only to be lost, and the fire of Vesta only to be extinguished, when Rome should perish.'—\textit{MACLEANE}.\n
Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præsens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio gravibusque Persis.

Milesne Crassi conjuge barbar
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium—
Pro Curia inversique mores!—
Consuëruit socerorum in armis,

Sub rege Medo, Marsus et Apulus,
Anciliorum et nominis et togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ, Incolumi Jove et urbe Roma?

Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
Dissentientis conditionibus
Fœdis, et exemplo trahentis
Perniciem veniens in ævum,

Si non periret immiserabilis
Captiva pubes. 'Signa ego Punicis
Adfixa delubris et arma
Militibus sine cæde,' dixit,

5 'Incolumi Jove.' 'Salvo Capitolio,' Schol.—viz., the Capitol in which stood the temple of Capitoline Jove.
'Seen the stout arms of Roman citizens
Twisted, all slave-like, behind free-born backs,
   While foes retilled safe fields,
   And left expanded portals sentryless.

' The soldier, ransomed by your gold, forsooth,
Comes back the braver! you add loss to shame.¹
   Never the wool regains
   Gone hues, when once drugg'd with the sea-weed's dye;

' Never true valour, when it once departs,
Deigns to resettle in degenerate souls.
   If, when from toils set free,
   The hind will fight, the captive will be brave

' Who hath consigned himself to faithless foes.
He will crush Carthage in fresh battle-fields,
   He—who hath felt the thong
   On passive wrists,—and owned the fear of death.

' How to hold life ignoring,—he hath made
Peace for himself amidst his country's war.²
   O shame! great Carthage hail,
   Throned on the ruins of a Rome disgraced!'

Then it is said, he turned from the embrace
Of his chaste wife and babes, as one to whom
   All the old rights are lost;³
   Stern, and with manly face bent earthward down.

¹ 'Flagitio additis Damnum.' Orelli, Dillenburger, and Macleane agree in considering that 'damnum' does not refer, as some suppose, to the loss of the ransom, but to the damage done by the example of ransoming captives who had evinced so little courage.

² 'Hic, unde vitam sumeret inscius,
   Pacem duello miscuit.'

³ That is, such a man, not comprehending that it is only by his own
‘Derepta vidi; vidi ego civium
Retorta tergo brachia libero,
Portasque non clausas, et arva
Marte coli populata nostro.

‘Auro repensus scilicet acrior
Miles redibit! Flagitio additis
Damnum. Neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicata fuco,

‘Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus.
Si pugnat extricata densis
Cerva plagis, erit ille fortis,

‘Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus;
Et Marte Pœnos proteret altero,
Qui lora restrictis lacertis
Sensit iners, timuitque mortem.

‘Hic, unde vitam, sumeret inscius,
Pacem duello miscuit. O pudor!
O magna Carthago, probrosis
Altior Italiæ ruinis!

Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
Ab se removisse, et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse voltum:

unyielding valour that he should save his life, confounds peace and war
by making peace for himself on the field of battle. Conditions of peace
belong to the state, not to the individual soldier, upon whom the state
imposes the duty to fight at any hazard of life.—See Orelli’s note.

3 ‘Capitis minor.’ The expression signifies the man who has lost
his civil rights, as did the Roman citizen taken prisoner by the enemy.
Until the unexampled counsel fixed
The wavering senate on its author's side,
   And, pauseless, through the ranks
   Of mournful friends, the glorious exile passed.

Albeit he knew what the barbarian skill
Of the tormentor for himself prepared,
   He motioned from his path
   The opposing kindred, the retarding crowd,

Calmly as if, some client's tedious suit
Closed by his judgment,\(^1\) to Venafrian fields
   Or mild Tarentum, built
   By antique Spartans, went his quiet way.

\(^1\) The patrons were accustomed to settle the dispute between their clients.
BOOK III.—ODE V.

Donec labantes consilio patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
   Interque mærentes amicos
   Egregius properaret exsul.

Atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet; non aliter tamen
   Dimovit obstantes propinquis,
   Et populum reditus morantem,

Quam si clientum longa negotia
Dijudicata lite relinqueret,¹
   Tendens Venafranos in agros,
   Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.
ODE VI.
ON THE SOCIAL CORRUPTION OF THE TIME.

Macleane observes that, 'As the former (five) odes are addressed more to qualities of young men, this refers more especially to the vices of young women, and so Horace discharges the promise with which this series of odes begins.' To me, on the contrary, it is precisely because of the lines which so freely describe the vices of young women, single and married, that I hesitate to class this ode among those to which the introductory verse of the first ode applies. Let any man consider if a poet, as the Muse's priest, could have addressed,

Roman, the sins thy fathers have committed,
From thee, though guiltless, shall exact atonement,
   Till tottering fanes ¹ and temples be restored,
   And smoke-grimed ² statues of neglected gods.

Thou rul'st by being to the gods subjected,
To this each deed's conception and completion
   Refer; full many an ill, the gods contemned
   Have showered upon this sorrowing Italy.

Twice have Monæses ³ and the Parthian riders
Of Pacorus crushed our evil-omened onslaught,
   And to their puny torques smiled to add
   The spoils of armour stripped from Roman breasts.

¹ The restoration of the temples and fanes decayed by time, or burned down in the civil wars, was among the chief reforms of Augustus.—Suet., Oct. xxx.
² 'Smoke-grimed,'—partly by conflagrations commemorated by Tacitus and Suetonius, partly by the fumes from the sacrifices. Stated times for the washing of the statues, with solemn rites, were appointed.
³ Pacorus, son of the Parthian king Arsaces XIV., defeated Decidius
addressed, in the original, lines from 21 to 32, not to freed-women and singing-girls, but to the well-born maidens and brides of Rome. That the poem was written about the same time as the others is a reasonable conjecture, and probably with the same intention of assisting the reforms of Augustus, among which Horace subsequently celebrates the stricter laws regulating and affecting marriage. But I do not think the poem was or could be one of those specially addressed to the young; and, independently of the lines I have referred to, the concluding stanza, in fierce condemnation of themselves and their immediate parents, would be very unlike the skilful way in which Horace 'admissus circum præcordia ludit.'

CARM. VI.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,  
Romane, donec templa¹ refeceris,  
Ædesque labentes deorum, et  
Foeda nigro simulacra fumo.²

Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas:  
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.  
Di multa neglecti dederunt  
Hesperiae mala luctuosæ.

Jam bis Monæses³ et Pacori manus  
Non auspiciatos contudit impetus  
Nostros, et adjecisse prædam  
Torquibus exiguis renidet.

Saxa, legate to M. Antony. Four years later, when Pacorus was dead, the Parthians defeated Antony commanding in person. It is not known who is meant by Monæses. Plutarch mentions a Parthian of that name who fled to Antony, but it nowhere appears that he bore arms against the Romans. Orelli and Macleane favour the conjecture that by Monæses is meant Surenas, who defeated Crassus, A.U.C. 701—supposing Surenas to be merely an Oriental title of dignity, and Monæses to have been the proper name of Crassus's conqueror.
Dacian and Æthiopian,¹ dread-inspiring—
One with his archers, with his fleets the other—
Well-nigh destroyed this very Rome herself,
While all her thought was on her own fierce brawls.

This age, crime-bearing, first polluted wedlock,
Hence race adulterate, and hence homes dishallowed;²
And from this fountain flowed a poisoned stream,
Pest-spreading through the people and the land.

The ripening virgin, blushless, learns delighted
Ionic dances; in the art of wantons
Studiously fashioned; even in the bud,
Tingles, within her, meditated sin.³

Later, a wife—her consort in his cups,
She courts some younger gallant, whom, no matter,
Snatching the moment from the board to slip,
And hide the lover from the tell-tale lights.⁴

Prompt at the beck (her venal spouse conniving)
Of some man-milliner ⁵ or rude sea-captain
Of trade-ship fresh from marts of pilfered Spain,
Buying full dearly the disgrace she sells.

¹ This is an allusion to the threats of Antony and Cleopatra against Rome—

'Dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat.'
—Lib. I. Od. xxxvii.

The Dacian archers were auxiliaries in Antony's army at Actium. By the Æthiopians is meant the Egyptian fleet. The ode must therefore have been written after the battle of Actium.

² Here Horace, tracing the corruption of the times to the contempt of the marriage-tie, whether by adultery or the excess to which the licence of divorce was carried, aids Augustus in the reforms he effected in the law of marriage.

³ 'Jam nunc et incestos amores.
De tenero meditatur ungui.'

I have adhered to the received and simplest interpretation of 'de
Paene occupatam seditionibus
Delevit Urbem Dacus et Æthiops;¹
Hic classe formidatus, ille
Missilibus melior sagittis.

Fecunda culpæ sæcula nuptias
Primum inquinavere, et genus, et domos;²
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, et fingitur artibus;
Jam nunc et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui;³

Mox juniores quærit adulteros
Inter mariti vina; neque eligit,
Cui donet impermissa raptim
Gaudia, luminibus remotis;⁴

Sed jussa coram non sine conscio
Surgit marito, seu vocat institor,⁵
Seu navis Hispanæ magister,
Dedecorum pretiosus emptor.

tenero ungui, 'from earliest youth or tender years.' But another interpretation, which Orelli considers very ingenious and appears to approve, will be found in his note to the passage, 'penitus ex intimis nervis'—as we say in English, 'tingling to the finger-ends;' or, as the French say, clever or wicked, 'au bout des ongles.'

⁴ 'Impermissa raptim
Gaudia, luminibus remotis.'

¹ Raptim non est "furtim" sed "celeriter," ita est statim post venerem in triclinium redate," &c.—ORELLI.

⁵ "Institor," "an agent, a trader in articles of dress or for the toilet."—YONGE. I have translated this 'man-milliner,' for there seems some kind of antithesis intended between the effeminate occupations of the 'institor' and the rough manners of the shipmaster.
Not from such parents sprang that race undaunted,
Who reddened ocean with the gore of Carthage,
Beat down stout Pyrrhus, great Antiochus,
And broke the might of direful Hannibal.

That manly race was born of warriors rustic,
Tutored to cleave with Sabine spades the furrow,
And, at some rigid mother's bluff command,
Shouldering the logs their lusty right hands hewed,

What time the sun reversed the mountain shadows,
And from the yoke released the wearied oxen,
As his own chariot slowly passed away,
Leaving on earth the friendly hour of rest.

What does time dwarf not and deform, corrupting!
Our father's age ignobler than our grandsires'
Bore us yet more depraved; and we in turn
Shall leave a race more vicious than ourselves.
Non his juventus orta parentibus
Infecit aequor sanguine Punico,
    Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
    Antiochum, Hannibalemque dirum:

Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
    Versare glebas, et severae
    Matris ad arbitrium recisos

Portare fustes, sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras et juga demeret
    Bobus fatigatis, amicum
    Tempus agens abeunte curru.

Damnosa quid non imminuit dies!
Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tuit
    Nos nequiores, mox datus
    Progeniem vitiosiorem.
ODE VII.

TO ASTERIA.

This poem tells its own tale. It has that peculiar grace in which Horace is inimitable. Orelli says, 'On account of its elegant pleasantry, and the mode in which the action is brought out into evidence—although the whole scene, and

Nay, Asteria, why weep'st thou for Gyges,
Whom, enriched with Bithynia's rich cargoes,
The first sparkling zephyrs of spring
    Shall waft back to thee, constant as ever?

By the south wind on Oricus driven,
At the rise of the turbulent goat-star,
    Unsleeping, he weeps, through the night,
    The dull chill of his partnerless pillow.

But the agent of Chloë, his hostess,
Tells the youth that in her he has kindled
    A flame no less ardent than thine,
    In a thousand ways craftily tempting:

 Warns him how the false consort of Proetus
Duped her credulous lord, by feigned charges,
    Into plotting Bellerophon's death,
    For too chastely regarding his hostess.¹

Tells how Peleus Hippolyte² slighted,
And was all but consigned to dark Hades;

¹ Proetus, believing the story of his wife Anteia, that Bellerophon had attempted to seduce her, but unwilling himself to slay his guest, sent him to his father-in-law Iobates, king in Lycia, with sealed letters, in which Iobates was requested to destroy the bearer.

² This lady, otherwise called Astydamia, made the same charge against Peleus to her husband Acastor that Anteia did to Proetus against
the three persons who play their part in it, are pure poetic inventions—it may be classed among Horace's happiest poems.' It is indeed a miniature lyrical comedy, and, slight though it be in substance, may be cited as an example of the skill with which Horace can give to a few stanzas the lively effect of a drama. The date is unknown, but is referred by some to A.U.C. 729.

CARM. VII.

Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
Primo restituent vere Favonii
Thyna merce beatum,
   Constantis juvenem fide,

Gygen? Ille Notis actus ad Oricum
Post insana Capræ sidera, frigidas
Noctes non sine multis
   Insomnis lacrimis agit.

Atqui sollicitæ nuntius hospitæ,
Suspirare Chloën, et miseram tuis
   Dicens ignibus uri,
Tentat mille vafer modis.

Ut Prætum mulier perfida credulum
Falsis impulerit criminibus nimis
   Casto Bellerophonti
Maturare necem, refert.¹

Narrat pæne datum Pelea Tartaro,
Magnessam Hippolyten² dum fugit abstinens;

Bellerophon, and for the same reason. Acastor, like Proetus, having scruples of conscience which forbade him to slay his guest with his own hand, invited Peleus to hunt wild beasts in Mount Pelion; and when Peleus, overcome with fatigue, fell asleep on the mountain, Acastor concealed his sword, and left him alone and unarmed to be devoured by the beasts. Peleus on waking and searching for his sword was attacked by Centaurs, but saved by Chiron.
Then seeks to allure him by tales
Teaching lessons for sinning in safety:

All in vain! To his words is thy true-love
Deaf as rocks to the breakers Icarian;
But keep sharp look-out on thyself,
Lest too charmed with thy neighbour Enipeus;

Though no rider so skilled and so noticed
Wheels a steed on the turf of the Campus;¹
No swimmer so lustily cleaves
Rapid way down the stream of the Tuscan.

Make thy door fast at eve, never looking
Down the street if shrill fifes serenade thee;
And be but more rigidly cold
Whensoe'er he complains of thy coldness.

¹ "Flectere equum." This was to wheel the horse round in a small circle.—MACLEAN.
Et peccare docentes  
Fallax historias movet:

Frustra: nam scopulis surdior Icari  
Voces audit adhuc integer. At tibi  
Ne vicinus Enipeus  
Plus justo placeat, cave;

Quamvis non alius flectere equum\(^1\) scien\us\(\text{\ae}\)que conspicitur gramine Martio,  
Nec quisquam citus æque  
Tusco denatat alveo.

Prima nocte domum claude; neque in vias  
Sub cantu querulæ despice tibiae:  
Et te sæpe vocanti  
Duram difficilis mane.
ODE VIII.

TO MÆCENAS, ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF HORACE’S ESCAPE FROM THE FALLING TREE.

According to Franke, Horace’s escape from the tree was in A.U.C. 728. Ritter places it in 724. This poem commemorates the anniversary of that accident.

Learn’d as thou art in lore of either language,¹
Thou marvelliest why these hymeneal Kalends
Of March² I keep—I, solitary Cælebs,
Wherefore these flow’rets?

This censer full of incense? this heaped fuel
On the live sod? Know that, escaped the death-blow
Of the dire tree, I a white goat to Bacchus
Vowed, and feast off’rings.

The day, thus sacred, with the year returning,
Shall free from pitch-seal’d cork-bonds which confine it,
That jar³ which first imbibed the smoke-reek under
Tullus the Consul.

In honour of thy friend thus saved, Mæcenas,
Quaff brimming cups—a hundred be the number;
Let the gay lights watch with us for the morning,
Noise and brawl banished.

Give to thy provident cares for Rome a respite,
Routed are Cotiso’s fierce Dacian armies,
Mede wroth with Mede, upon fraternal slaughter,
Wastes his wild fury.⁴

¹ Viz., Greek and Latin, which, as the commentators observe, comprehended all the learning a Roman could well acquire.
² The Matronalia, in honour of Juno Lucina, were held in the March Kalends.
CARM. VIII.

Martis cælebs quid agam Kalendis,  
Quid velint flores et acerra thuris  
Plena, miraris, positusque carbo in  
Cespite vivo,

Docte sermones utriusque linguæ?  
Voveram dulces epulas et album  
Libero caprum, prope funeratus  
Arboris ictu.

Hic dies anno redeunte festus  
Corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit!  
Amphoræ fumum ³ bibere institutæ  
Consule Tullo.

Sume, Mæcenas, cyathos amici  
Sospitis centum, et vigiles lucernas  
Perfer in lucem: procul omnis esto  
Clamor et ira.

Mitte civiles super Urbe curas:  
Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen;  
Medus infestus sibi luctuosis  
Dissidet armis: ⁴

³ 'Amphoræ fumum.' The jar, or amphora, was kept in the apotheca, and ripened by the smoke from the bath below it. The pitch and cork which fastened it protected the wine itself from being smoked. The wine in the amphora now to be broached, dating back to Tullus the Consul, a.u.c. 683, would have been a year older than Horace himself.

⁴ The precise dates of these historical allusions are matters of controversy, and not possible to determine. By the Mede is meant the Parthian, distracted by the civil feuds between Phraates and Tiridates.
Subject to Rome, and curbed in tardy fetters,
The old Cantabrian foe on shores Hispanian;
Lo! the grim Scythians meditate retreating—
Lax are their bow-strings.

As one who takes in private life his leisure,
A while forego the over-care for nations;
Leave things severe; life offers one glad moment—
Seize it with gladness.
Servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae
Cantaber sera domitus catena:
Jam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu
Cedere campis.

Neglegens, ne qua populus laboret,
Parce privatus nimium cavere:
Dona præsentis cape laetus horæ, et
Linque severa.
'One of Buttmann's remarks with reference to this Ode is well worth quoting: "The ancients had the skill to construct such poems so that each speech tells us by whom it is spoken; but we let the editors treat us all our lives as schoolboys, and interline such dialogues after the fashion of our plays with the names. To their sedulity we are indebted.

HE.

'While I yet to thee was pleasing,
While no dearer youth entwined lavish arms round thy white neck,
Happy then, indeed, I flourished,
Never Persian king¹ was blest with such riches as were mine.' ²

SHE.

'While no other more inflamed thee,
And below no Chloë's rank Lydia in thy heart was placed,
Glorious then did Lydia flourish,
Roman Ilia's lofty name not so honoured as was mine.' ²

HE.

'O'er me now reigns Thracian Chloë,
Skilled in notes of dulcet song and the science of the lute;

¹ 'Persarum vigui rege beatior.' The opposition between the lover's comparison in this stanza and the girl's in the next ('Romana vigui
debted for the alternation of the lyrical name Lydia with the name Horatius in this exquisite work of art; and yet even in an English poem we should be offended by seeing Collins at the side of Phyllis."—Macleane.

The poem itself is, perhaps, an imitation from the Greek. Macleane observes, 'It is just such a subject as one might expect to find among the erotic poetry of the Greeks.'

CARM. IX.

'Donec gratus eram tibi,
Nec quisquam potor brachia candidæ
Cervici juvenis dabo,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.'

'Donec non alia magis
Arsisti, neque erat Lydia post Chloën,
Multi Lydia nominis
Romana vigui clarior Ilia.'

'Me nunc Thressa Chloë regit,
Dulces docta modos, et catharæ sciens;

clarior Ilia') is this: The lover means that he was richer in her love than the wealthiest king; the girl that she (the humble freed-woman) was more honoured in his love than the most illustrious matron.

2 Ilia, as the mother of Romulus, queen and priestess, stands here as the noblest type of Roman matrons, 'Romanorum nobilissima.'
If my death her life could lengthen,
   So that Fate my darling spared, I without a fear could die.'

SHE.

'From a mutual torchlight kindled
   Is my flame for Calaïs, son of Thurian Ornytus,
If my death his life could lengthen,
   So that Fate would spare the boy, I a double death
   would die !'

HE.

'What if Venus fled—returning,
   Forced us two, dissevered now, back into her brazen
   yoke;
If I shook off auburn Chloë,
   And to Lydia, now shut out, opened once again the
   door?'

SHE.

'Than a star though he be fairer,
   Lighter thou than drifted cork — rougher thou than
   Hadrian wave,
Yet how willingly I answer,
   'Tis with thee that I would live—gladly I with thee
   would die.'

---

1 'Si parcent animæ fata superstiti.' 'Animæ meæ' denotes a
   familiar expression of endearment, as in Cicero, ad. Fam. xiv. 14; and
   as the Italians still call their mistress, 'Anima mia.'

2 'Thurini Calaïs—Thressa Chloë.' The alliteration between the
   names here selected seems studied. In making Chloë a Thracian and
   Calaïs the son of a Sybarite (Thurium, a town of Lucania, near the site
   of the ancient Sybaris), the poet perhaps insinuates that the lady who
   had replaced Lydia was somewhat too rude or masculine—the gentle-
BOOK III.—ODE IX.

Pro qua non metuam mori,
    Si parcent animae fata superstiti.'¹

'Me torret face mutua
    Thurini Calais filius Ornyti;²
Pro quo bis patiar mori,
    Si parcent puero fata superstiti.'

'Quid, si prisca redit Venus
    Diductosque jugo cogit aeneo?
Si flava excutitur Chloë,
    Rejectæque patet janua Lydæ?'

'Quamquam sidere pulchrior
    Ille est, tu levior cortice et improbo
Iracundior Hadria,³
    Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.'

man who had replaced the lover of the dialogue somewhat too soft and effeminate.

³ 'Improbo—Hadria.' Orelli interprets 'improbo' by 'tobend,' 'raging.' The poets use the word 'improbis' to imply anything in violent excess. Ritter, with perhaps over-subsitely, considers that the comparison to a cork refers, not to levity of temperament, but to the insignificant stature of the poet in contrast to the beauty of Calais.
This humorous ode belongs to a kind of serenade common enough with the Greeks, and is probably imitated from a Greek original. There is no reason for supposing the Lyce whose cruelty is here complained of, to be identical with the Lyce who is lampooned in Book IV. Ode xiii.

Didst thou drink at the uttermost waters of Don,
To some savage barbarian, O Lyce, the spouse,
Still, thy heart with compassion might think of me stretched
Where the north winds are quartered outside of thy door.

Hark! the hinge of thy gate; hark! the plants in thy hall,
With what dissonant howl they re-echo the blasts,
And with what icy clearness the frost-air above
Renders crisper the snows that are heapen below!

Lay the haughtiness hateful to Venus aside,
Lest the wheel should run back and the rope should be snapped,
Thy gay parent Tyrrhenian ne'er meant to produce
A Penelope cruel to suitors in thee.

Ah! although thou art proof against presents and prayers,
And the pale-blue complexion of lovers disdained;
Nor ev'n bowed to revenge on the spouse led astray
By a roving Pierian less chaste than a Muse;

---

1 'Nemus Inter pulchra satum tecta.' Small trees were sometimes planted round the impluvium of a Roman house. This is the interpretation adopted by Orelli. Ritter contends that the line refers to one of the two sacred groves situated between the two heights of the Capitoline.
CARM. X.

Extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce,
Sævo nupta viro, me tamen asperas
Porrectum ante fores objicere incolis
Plorares Aquilonibus.

Audis quo strepit janua, quo nemus
Inter pulchra saturum tecta remugiat
Ventis, et positas ut glaciet nives
Puro numine Juppiter?

Ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
Ne currente retro funis eat rota.⁰
Non te Penelopen difficilem procis
Tyrhenus genuit pares.

O quamvis neque te munera, nec preces,
Nec tinctus viola pallor amantium,
Nec vir Pieria pellice⁵ saucius
Curvat, supplicibus tuis

---

² 'Ne currente retro funis eat rota.' This line has been tortured to many interpretations. 'Lest the wheel turn back and the rope with it,' is Orelli's, accepted by Macleane, who observes, the metaphor in that case is taken from a rope wound round a cylinder, which, being allowed to run back, the rope runs down, and the weight or thing attached goes with it. 'The rope may break and the wheel run back,' is the construction Macleane gives in his argument to the ode.

⁵ 'Pieria pellice,' Macedonian lady of pleasure.—Orelli, Ritter. There is some humour as well as wit in coupling 'pellice' with an epithet so suggestive of an opposite idea.
Yet, while granting thy heart is not softer than oak, 
And as mild as the snakes in the land of the Moor, 
Spare the life of a suppliant! I am of flesh, 
And can bear not for ever this porch and that sleet.¹

¹ ‘Aquae Cælestis patiens.’ The expression can scarcely apply to rain, since the night has been described as one of wind and frost:—

‘Glaciet uives

Puro numine Juppiter ;’

‘puro’ being, as Macleane observes, ‘an epithet well suited to a clear, frosty night.’ The wind would keep off the snow, but there might be gusty showers of sleety hail. Horace, however, no doubt, uses the expression in a general sense, such as the ‘floods of heaven,’ whether they be snow, rain, or sleet.
Parcas, nec rigida mollior æsculo
Nec Mauris animum mitior anguibus.
Non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquæ
Cælestis patiens¹ latus.
'The common inscription, "Ad Mercurium" (To Mercury), adopted by Bentley and others, is plainly wrong, and calculated to mislead. The inscription should be 'Ad testudinem'

Mercury (for, tutored in thy lore, Amphion
Charmed into motion rocks by his sweet singing),
And thou, my lyre, with sevenfold chord resounding
Measures not skill-less,

Albeit once, unmusical, unheeded,¹
Now welcome both in banquet-halls and temples,
Teach me some strain resistlessly beguiling
Lyde to listen.

Wild as the filly in its third year, frisking
Through the wide meadows, the least touch dismays her;
Never yet won, she views as saucy freedom
Evèn the wooing.

But thou² hast power to lead away the tigers,
And in their train the forests; stay swift rivers;
Cerberus himself, dread jailer of dark thresholds,
Soothed into meekness,

Yielded to thy bland voice his hundred strongholds
Of fury-heads, each garrisoned with serpents,
And hushed the triple tongue in jaws whose breath-reek
Tainted the hell-gloom;

¹ 'Nec loquax,' i.e., 'canora,'—Dillenburger, Orelli. Horace, though a born poet, if ever there was one—and telling us that even as an infant, when the doves covered him with bay and myrtle, he was marked out for the service of the Muses—does not disdain, here and else-
testudinem’ (to the lyre or shell), if anything, for Mercury disappears after the first two verses. The miracles alluded to, except Amphion’s, were those of Orpheus, and of the lyre in his hands, not Mercury’s—which Orelli not perceiving, contradicts himself.’—Macleane.

CARM. XI.

Mercuri, nam te docilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo,
Tuque, Testudo, resonare septem
Callida nervis,

Nec loquax¹ olim neque grata, nunc et
Divitum mensis et amica templis;
Dic modos, Lyde quibus obstinatas
Applicet aures:

Quæ, velut latis equa trima campis,
Ludit exsultim metuitque tangi,
Nuptiarum expers et adhuc protervo
Cruda marito.

Tu² potes tigres comitesque silvas
Ducere, et rivos celeres morari;
Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
Janitor aulæ,

Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput ejus, atque
Spiritus teter saniesque manet
Ore trilingui.

where, to intimate that, if a born poet, he had taken very great pains to make himself a good one.

¹ 'Thou' refers not to Mercury, but to the lyre—i.e., symbolically to the power of song and music, as exercised by Orpheus.
The tortured lips of Tityos and Ixion
Reluctant smiled; awhile their urn stood thirsty
As paused the Danaïds, to the charmer's music
Dreamily list'ning.

Let Lyde hear the guilt of those stern virgins,
Hear, too, their well-known penance; doomed for ever
To toil at filling up a sieve-like vessel;
Tell her how surely

Slow fates await such crimes,—though under Orcus;
Impious—for can impiety be greater?
Impious in giving to the sword their bridegrooms,
Ruthlessly murdered.¹

Amidst the many, One alone was worthy
The nuptial torch;—a maid, through all the ages,
By glorious falsehood to her perjured father,
Nobly immortal.

' RISE,' to her youthful bridegroom, thus she whispered;
' RISE, lest there come, and whence thou dost suspect not,
Into thy lids the everlasting slumber!
Baffle my father;

' Elude my blood-stained sisters—lionesses;
Each—woe is me!—her separate victim rending:
Softer than they, I can nor strike nor hold thee
Pent in these shambles!

¹ The old mythologists differ among themselves as to the fable of Danaus and the fate of his daughters. Horace here adopts the common story that Danaus, having reason to think that the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus were plotting against him, fled with his fifty daughters from Libya (the domain assigned him by his father Belus, Ægyptus having Arabia), and ultimately became King of Argos. His nephews came to his new realm and demanded his daughters in marriage.
Quin et Ixion Tityosque voltu
Risit invito; stetit urna paullum
Sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
Carmine mulces.

Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
Virginum pœnas, et inane lymphæ
Dolium fundo pereuntis imo,
Seraque fata,

Quæ manent culpas etiam sub Orco.
Impiæ, nam quid potuere majus?
Impiæ sponsos potuere duro
Perdere ferro!1

Una de multis, face nuptiali
Digna, perjurum fuit in parentem
Splendide mendax, et in omne virgo
Nobilis ævum,

'Surge,' quæ dixit juveni marito,
'Surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde
Non times, detur; socerum et scelestas
Falle sorores;

Quæ velut nactæ vitulos lænæ
Singulos eheu lacerant: ego illis
Mollior nec te feriam neque intra
Claustra tenebo.

Danaus consented, but, in distrust or revenge, enjoined his daughters
to murder their bridegrooms with the swords he gave them for that
amiable purpose. One alone, Hypermnestra, spared her husband,
Lynceus. According to the earlier writers, the Danaides were puri-
fied of their crime, and even married again. Later poets, deeming it
perhaps more prudent to make a severe example of such dangerous
bed-fellows, sent them to Orcus.
'Let my sire load me with his barbarous fetters, Wroth with the pitying love that spares a husband, Or ship me outlawed to Numidian deserts! Be it so! Hasten!

'Go wheresoe'er swift foot or sail can bear thee; Blest be the auspice! Night and Venus favour! Go; be some word that mourns me and remembers Carved on my tombstone!'\(^1\)

---

\(^1\) It is pleasant to think that the modern law of what is called 'poeti justice,' has a precedent in the final restoration of this young lady to the arms of the husband she had so mercifully spared. Ovid's Epistle of Hypermnestra to Lynceus, supposed to be written while imprisoned by her father, is much indebted to Horace's lines. But perhaps both poets borrowed from a common source which is lost to modern discoverers.
Me pater sævis oneret catenis, 
Quod viro clemens misero peperci; 
Me vel extremos Numidarunt in agros 
   Classe releget.

I, pedes quo te rapiunt et auræ, 
Dum favet nox et Venus: I secundo 
Omine, et nostri memorem sepulcro 
   Scalpe querelam.1
ODE XII.

NEOBULE'S SOLILOQUY.

Most of the earlier commentators took it for granted that the poet is here addressing Neobule. Dillenburger, Orelli, and Macleane prefer to consider that Neobule is throughout the

How unhappy the lot of poor girls; neither play to their fancies in love,
Neither balm for their sorrows in wine! frightened out of their souls by the lash
   In the tongue of some testy relation.¹

Neobule, wing'd Love has flown off with thy spindles and basket of wools!
And thy studious delight in the toils of Minerva is chased from thy heart
   By young Hebrus, the bright Liparæan.

Hardy swimmer in Tiber to plunge gleaming shoulders anointed with oil!
Sure, Bellerophon rode not so well; as a boxer no arm is so strong;
   And no foot is so fleet as a runner.

Skilful marksman, when over the champaign the hounds drive and scatter the deer,
To select the right stag for his dart; and as nimble to start the wild boar,
   Lurking grim in the dense forest-thicket.

¹ Literally 'uncle.' 'Uncles,' Torrentius observes, 'had considerable power over their nephews and nieces by the Roman law, and, being less indulgent than fathers, their severity passed into a proverb.'
the ode addressing herself. The poem is, perhaps, more or less imitated from one by Alcæus, of which only a single verse is preserved. The metre of the ode has given much trouble to commentators, especially to those who insist upon the theory that all Horace’s odes are reducible to quatrain stanzas, while this ode is in a stanza of three lines, according to the authority of MSS. (with the exception of the Turinese one). An attempt to remodel it into quatrain will be found in Orelli’s excursus to the ode, and is adopted by Yonge in his edition.

CARM. XII.

Miserarum est neque amori dare ludum, neque dulci
Mala vino lavere, aut exanimari metuentes
Patruæ verbera linguae.¹

Tibi qualum Cythereæ puer ales, tibi telas
Operosæque Minervæ studium aufert, Neobule,
Liparæi nitor Hebri,

Simul unctos Tiberinis humeros lavit in undis,
Eques ipso melior Bellerophonte, neque pugno
Neque segni pede victus;

Catus idem per apertum fugientes agitato
Grege cervos jaculari, et celer alto latitantem
Fruticeto excipere aprum.
The site of this fountain has been a matter of controversy, interesting to those who seek to ascertain the localities of places endeared to them by the poets. Acron and others assumed it to be in the neighbourhood of Horace's Sabine home, and identify it with the rivulet of Digentia (Licenza). It is, however, generally now agreed, upon what appears sufficiently competent authority, that Bandusia was in Horace's native soil, about six miles from the site of

Fount of Bandusia, more lucid than crystal,
Worthy of honeyed wine, not without flowers,
I will give thee to-morrow a kid,
Whose front, with the budded horn swelling,

Predicts to his future life Venus and battles;
Vainly! The lymph of thy cold running waters
He shall tinge with the red of his blood,
Fated child of the frolicsome people!

The scorch of the Dog-star's fell season forbears thee;
Ever friendly to grant the sweet boon of thy coolness
To the wild flocks that wander around,
And the oxen that reek from the harrow.

I will give thee high rank and renown among fountains,
When I sing of the ilex o'erspreading the hollows
Of rocks, whence, in musical fall,¹
Leap thy garrulous silvery waters.

¹ 'Me dicente cavis impositam ilicem Saxis'—the cavern overshadowed with the ilex from which the fountain gushes.—ORELLI.
Venusia (Dillenburger, Orelli, Maclean). If so, it is conjectured that the poem would have been written in earlier life, when Horace revisited his native spot—perhaps A.U.C. 717—since it is held scarcely probable that he would have thought of consecrating the fountain in Venusia, when he was settled in the remote district of his Sabine farm. It may, however, be likely enough, as Tate contends (Horat. Restit. p. 88), that Horace transferred the name, endeared to him by early association, to the spring near his later home. Yonge suggests the query, ‘Was Bandusia the name of the place, or of the presiding nymph of the fountain?’—See Orelli’s full and very elegant note on this subject.

CARM. XIII.

O fons Bandusiae, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digne mero non sine floribus,
Cras donaberis haedo,
Cui frons turgida cornibus

Primis et venerem et prœlia destinat;
Frustra: nam gelidos inficiet tibi
Rubro sanguine rivos
Lascivi suboles gregis.

Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ
Nescit tangere; tu frigus amabile
Fessis vomere tauris
Præbes, et pecori vago.

Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
Me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
Saxis,\(^1\) unde loquaces
Lymphæ desiliunt tuæ.
ODE XIV.

"Composed at the close of the Cantabrian war, A.U.C. 729, when Augustus's return was expected, or on his return the following year."—MACLEANE.

In noticing the critical animadversions on this ode 'as unequal

Joy, O ye people! it was said that Cæsar
Went forth like Hercules, in quest of laurels
Bought but by death; now home from shores Hispanic
Comes he back victor.

Let her whose joy in her sole lord is centred 1
Join, in thanksgivings due, the glad procession—
Join with the sister of our glorious chieftain—
Join with the mothers,

Chastely adorned by sacrificial fillets 2—
Mothers of children now no more imperilled;
Youths and young brides hush, at such time ill-omened,
Each lighter whisper.

Truly to me this holiday is sacred,
And its bright sunshine chases cloudy troubles.
I fear nor open feud nor stealthy murder, 3
Earth yet holds Cæsar!

Up, boy, and bring the perfume and the garlands,
And wine that to the Marsian war bears witness,
If one jar, baffling Spartacus the Rover,
Somewhere lurks hidden. 4

---

1 'Unico gaudens mulier marito.' See Orelli's note on 'unico,' which some have interpreted in the sense of 'unique' or 'peerless;' Dillenburger, as 'dear' or 'beloved.'
2 Worn by the Roman matrons to distinguish them from freed women.
3 'Nec tumultum, nec mori per vim metuam.'
4 'Tumultum' here evidently means 'intestine feud' or 'popular outbreak;' 'vim,' 'assassination' or 'personal violence.' With Cæsar is identified the prevailing security of law.
unequal to the occasion,' Macleane observes justly that 'it was evidently only a private affair.' The familiar lightness of the concluding stanzas would indicate a merry-making kept with a few personal friends.

**CARM. XIV.**

Herculis ritu modo dictus, O Plebs,
Morte venalem petiisse laurum,
Cæsar Hispana repetit Penates
Victor ab ora.

Unico gaudens mulier marito
Prodeat, justis operata sacris ;
Et soror clari duciis, et decoræ
Supplice vitta

Virginum matres, juvenumque nuper
Sospitum. Vos, O pueri et puellae
Jam virum expertæ, male ominatis
Parcite verbis.

Hic dies vere mihi festus atras
Eximet curas ; ego nec tumultum,
Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente
Cæsare terras.

I, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas,
Et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem
Fallere testa.

---

4 'The Marsic or Social war was continued from A. U. C. 663 to 665; and the Servile war, headed by Spartacus, lasted from A. U. C. 681 to 683; therefore the wine Horace wanted would have been sixty-five years old at least. There seems to have been something remarkable in the vintage of that period, so as to make it proverbial; for Juvenal, one hundred years afterwards, speaking of the selfish gentleman who keeps his best wine for his own drinking, says :-

"Ipse capillato diffusum consulate potat,
Calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam."'

—S. v. 30, 89.—Macleane.
Go, and bid silver-tongued Neæra hasten,
Binding in Spartan knot her locks myrrh-scented;¹
But, if obstructed by that brute her porter,
Quietly come back.

Nothing cools fiery spirits like a grey hair;
In every quarrel 'tis your sure peacemaker;
In my hot youth, when Plancus was the consul,
I was less patient.²

¹ 'Myrrhaeum crinem.' The scholiasts interpreted this expression 'myrrh-coloured.' Orelli and other recent commentators support the interpretation 'myrrh-scented.'
² I.e., when Horace was in his twenty-third year.
Dic et argutae properet Neææ
Myrrheum nodo cohibere crinem;¹
Si per invisum mora janitorem
Fiet, abito.

Lenit albescens animos capillus
Litium et rixæ cupidos protervæ;
Non ego hoc ferrem calidus juventa,²
Consule Planco.
ODE XV.

ON AN OLD WOMAN AFFECTING YOUTH.

The names in this poem are, of course, fictitious, and the satire itself is of very general application even in the present day. Its date is undiscoverable.

Mend thy life—it is time; cease such pains to be vile,
Flaunting wife of the indigent Ibycus;
Fitter far for the grave, do not gambol with girls,
Interspersing a cloud 'mid the galaxy.

That which Pholoë thy daughter may suit well enough,
In thee, hoary Chloris, is horrible: ¹
'Tis permitted to her to besiege the young rakes
In their homes, with much greater propriety:

No Bacchante the timbrel excites with its clash,
Than that daughter of thine can be livelier;
And her fancy for Nothus so warms her and stings,
That no roe on the hills is more frolicsome.

What becomes thee the best is a warm woollen dress;
Get thee fleeces from famous Luceria;²
What become thee the least are the lute and the rose,
And the cask tipped dry with young rioters.

¹ 'Anus cum ludit, Morti delicias facit.'—P. SYRUS.
² A town in Apulia now called Lucera. In its neighbourhood was one of the largest tracts of public pasture-land. The wools of Luceria were celebrated.
CARM. XV.

Uxor pauperis Ibyci,
   Tandem nequitiae fige modum tuæ,
Famosisque laboribus:
   Maturo propior desine funeri

Inter ludere virgines,
   Et stellis nebulum spargere candidis.
Non, si quid Pholoën satis,
   Et te, Chlori, decet: filia rectius

Expugnat juvenum domos,
   Pulso Thyias uti concita tympano.
Illam cogit amor Nothi
   Lascivæ similem ludere capreæ:

Te lanæ prope nobilem
   Tonsæ Luceriam, non citharæ, decent
Nec flos purpureus rosæ,
   Nec poti, vetulam, faece tenus cadi.
ODE XVI.

GOLD THE CORRUPTOR.

This ode is among Horace's most striking variations of the moral he so frequently preaches—content versus gold. But here he does full justice to the power of gold as the corruptor. I have not adopted for this ode the forms of metre I have elsewhere employed for rendering odes in the same

The brazen tower, the solid doors, the vigil
Of dismal watch-dogs sentried night and day,
Might have sufficed to guard
From midnight loves imprisoned Danaë;
But Jove and Venus laughed to scorn Acrisius,
The timorous jainer of the hidden maid,
Opening at once sure way,
The god transformed himself into—a Bribe.

More subtle than the flash of the forked lightning,
Gold glides amidst the armed satellites;
More potent than Jove's bolt,
Gold through the walls of granite bursts its way:
So fell the Argive Augur with his kindred,
Gain, tempting one, whelmed in destruction all;
The man of Macedon
By gifts cleft gates, by gifts sapped rival thrones—
Gifts have ensnared a Navy's fiercest chiefs,
Care grows with wealth, with greed for more.

1 'Robustæque fores.' Orelli suggests 'firmissimæ,' and objects, not without fine critical taste, to the interpretation of Forcellini and others—viz., 'oaken doors,' as a descent in poetic expression, just after insisting on 'brazen tower.' Certainly, in line 9, Ode iii., 'Illi robur et æs triplex,' 'robur' comes first.

2 Acrisius shut up his daughter in a brazen tower from fear of the oracle, who had predicted that she should bear him a son who would cause his death. He is therefore timorous or panic-stricken (pavidus) because of the oracle.
same measure (Asclepiadean, with a Glyconean in the 4th line), but one by which I have not unfrequently rendered the Alcaic stanza, with the slight variation of a monosyllabic termination in the second verse, while the termination of the first verse is dissyllabic.

CARM. XVI.

Inclusam Danaën turris aënea
Robustæque fores,¹ et vigilum canum
Triste excubiae munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris,

Si non Acrisium virginis abditæ ²
Custodem pavidum, Juppiter et Venus
Risissent: fore enim tutum iter et patens
Converso in pretium deo.

Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa potentius
Ictu fulmineo: concidit auguris
Argivi ³ domus ob lucrum

Demersa exitio; diffidit urbiæm
Portas vir Macedo,⁴ et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus; munera navium
Sævos illaqueant duces.⁵

Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
Majorumque famæs. Jure perhorruí

---

¹ Amphiarus; his wife Eriphyle, bribed by her brother Polynices, persuaded him to join in the siege of Thebes. There he fell, ordering his sons to put their mother to death. Alcæon obeyed, and finally perished himself in attempting to get the gold necklace with which Eriphyle had been bribed.

² Philip of Macedon.

³ This is held to refer to Menas, alias Menodorus, commander of Sextus Pompeius's fleet. He deserted from Pompeius to Augustus, then again to Pompeius, and again to Augustus. He had been freed-man to C. M. Pompeius.
O my Mæcenas! gem
Of Roman knighthood,¹ ever have I feared

To lift a crest above the crowd conspicuous—
Rightly; the more man shall deny himself,
The more shall gods bestow.
I do not side with wealth, but, lightly armed,

Bound o' er the lines, deserting to Contentment;
Owner more grand in means the rich despise,
Than were I said to hide,
In mine own granaries, all Apulia yields

Her toiling sons, want-pinched amidst heaped plenty:—
A brooklet pure, some roods of woodland cool,
Faith in crops, sure if small—
Are a lot happier, though he knows it not,

Than his who glitters in the spoils of Afric.
Though not for me toil the Calabrian bees,
Nor wines in Formian jars
Languish their fire in length of years away,

Nor fleecy wools gain weight in Gallic pastures,
Yet Penury keeps aloof; nor, lacked I more,
More wouldst thou me deny:
Widening my means by narrowing my desires,

I shall have ampler margin for true riches
Than if to Lydia adding Phrygian realms.
Who covets much, much wants;
God gives most kindly giving just enough.

¹ 'Mæcenas, equitum decus.' By this significant reference to Mæcenas as the ornament of knighthood, Horace associates Mæcenas with himself in the philosophy of contentment—Mæcenas, having always remained in the equestrian order, to which he was born, declining promotion to the senatorial.
Late conspicuum tollere verticem,
Mæcenas, equitum decus.¹

Quanto quique sibi plura negaverit,
Ab dis plura feret. Nil cupientium
Nudus castra peto, et transfuga divitum
Partes linquere gestio,

Contemptae dominus splendidior rei,
Quam si, quidquid arat impiger Apulus,
Occultare meis dicer horreis,
Magnas inter opes inops.

Puræ rivus aquæ, silvaque jugerum
Paucorum, et segetis certa fides meæ,
Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africæ
Fallit sorte beatior.

Quamquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
Nec Læstrygonia Bacchus in amphora
Languescit mihi, nec pinguia Gallicis
Crescunt vellera pascuis,

Importuna tamen Pauperies abest;
Nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.
Contracto melius parva cupidine
Vectigalia porrigam,

Quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei
Campis continuem. Multa petentibus
Desunt multa : bene est, cui Deus obtulit
Parca, quod satis est, manu.
ODE XVII.

TO L. AELIUS LAMIA.

This personage was the son of the L. Ael. Lamia who supported Cicero in the suppression of the Catiline conspiracy, and appears during the civil wars to have espoused the party of Caesar. Horace's friend was consul A.D. 3; afterwards appointed by Tiberius governor of Syria, but not allowed to enter on the administration of the province. He became, A.D.

Noble Aelius, whose house hath its rise in that Lamus
From whom both the first and the later descendants
   (As attesting memorials record)
   The great name of Lamia inherit,

Thou canst trace back, indeed, to an absolute monarch,
Holding sway, it is said, over Formia's walled ramparts,
   And the waters of Liris, that flow
   Into grassy domains of Marica.

To-morrow the east wind shall send us a tempest,
Which—if true be the crow, that old seer of foul weather—
   Shall strew in the grove many leaves;
   On the shore, many profitless sea-weeds.

While thou canst, then, protect from the rains the dry faggots;
Spend to-morrow in resting thyself and thy household;
   Feast thy genius with wine—but not mixed;
   And do not forget a young porker.

1 'Per memores—fastos.' 'Family records,' not the 'fasti consulares.'—MACLEAN.
2 The shore of Minturna, on the borders of Latium and Campania, where the nymph Marica was worshipped.
A.D. 32, ‘Praefectus Urbi,’ and died the following year. Mitscherlich says: ‘His own good sense will easily show any well-bred gentleman (urbanum) that Horace here, in a well-bred, gentlemanlike way, offers himself as a guest; in plain words, hints that Lamia should ask him to dine.’ On which the commentator in Orelli observes, with much feeling asperity: ‘In the whole poem there is not a vestige of this sort of gentlemanlike good-breeding, if gentlemanlike good-breeding it be, which it is permitted vehemently to doubt.’ Evidently the commentator is an Italian. A gentleman of that country would certainly dispute the good-breeding of any friend offering to drop in at dinner.

CARM. XVII.

Æli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
Quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
Denominatos, et nepotum
Per memores genus omne fastos;¹

Auctore ab illo ducis originem,
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps et innantem Maricæ
Litoribus tenuisse Lirim,²

Late tyrannus: cras folis nemus
Multis et alga litus inutili
Demissa tempestas ab Euro
Sternet, aquæ nisi fallit augur

Annosa cornix. Dum potis, aridum
Compone lignum: cras Genium mero
Curabis et porco bimestri,
Cum famulis operum solutis.
Faunus was not a stationary divinity. He was supposed to come in the spring, and depart after the celebration of his festival in December. From 'parvis alumnis' (translated 'young weanlings'), we may suppose this ode was written in spring.—Macleane. Ritter denies that by 'parvis alumnis' young animals are meant; and contends that the words refer to young plants, transferred from the nursery to fields or orchards. Ritter also dissents from the general interpretation, which I have followed, that 'Veneris sodali' is to be coupled with 'crateræ.' According to him, the companion of Venus is Faunus, the lover of the Nymphs, and not the wine-bowl.

Faunus, thou lover of coy nymphs who fly thee,
Enter my bounds, and fields that slope to sunlight;
Enter them gently; and depart, propitious
To my young weanlings,
If tender kid, when the year rounds, be offered;
If to the bowl, Venus's boon companion,
Fail not libation due!—With ample incense
Steams thine old altar,
Loose strays the herd on grassy meads disporting,
What time December's Nones bring back thy feast-day;
Blithe, o'er the fields, streams forth the idling hamlet,
Freed—with its oxen.

Fearless the lambs behold the wolf prowl near them;
The woodland strews its leaves before thy footstep;
And on his hard task-mistress Earth, exulting,
Thrice stamps the deliver!  

---

1 'Si tener pleno cadit hædus anno,
Larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
Vina crateræ. Vetus ara multo
Fumat odore,' &c.

As I have here adopted a novelty in the punctuation, suggested by Macleane, it is well to subjoin his reasons for the innovation. 'I have not
BOOK III.—ODE XVIII.

CARM. XVIII.

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
Per meos fines et aprica rura
Lenis incedas abeasque parvis
Æquus alumnis;
Si tener pleno cadit hædus anno,
Largà nec desunt Veneris sodali
Vina crateræ. Vetus ara multo
Fumat odore,¹
Ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
Cum tibi Nonæ redeunt Decembres;
Festus in pratis vacat otioso
Cum bove pagus;
Inter audaces lupus errat agnos;
Spargit agrestes tibi silva frondes;
Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram.²

followed the usual punctuation, which makes "fumat" depend upon "si," with a comma at "crateræ," and a period at "odore." Horace claims the protection of Faunus for his lambs in the spring on the ground of his due observance of the rites of December, which he then goes on to describe. "Pleno anno" means at the end of the year when the Faunalia took place.' Therefore the division in the poem at which, after the invitation to Faunus in the spring, Horace passes on to describe the festival in the winter, is more intelligible, and far less abrupt, by commencing it with the sacrifice on the altar.

² 'Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram.'

"Fossor" is put generally, I imagine, for a labouring husbandman, who may be supposed to have no love for the earth that he digs for another.'—MACLEANE. This triple stamp is a dancing measure, which is likened to the anapaest, where two feet are short and one long. Macleane quotes Sir John Davies's poem (Orchestra) in explanation of this measure—

'And still their feet an anapaest do sound,' &c.

But it is perhaps best understood by anyone who happens to have learned, in the old-fashioned hornpipe, that step familiarly called 'toe, heel, and cloe,'—touching the ground lightly with the toe, next with the heel, and then bringing down the whole sole of the foot with a stamp. I have seen that step, or something very like it, performed in a village dance in the south of Italy.
ODE XIX.

TO TELEPHUS.—IN HONOUR OF MURENA’S INSTALLATION IN THE COLLEGE OF AUGURS.

A. Terentius Varro Murena, adopted by A. Terentius Varro, whose name he took, according to custom, subdued the Salassi, an Alpine tribe, and divided their territory among Praetorian soldiers, who founded the town of Augusta, now Aosta. He was named Consul Suffectus for B.C.

You inform us how long after Inachus flourished Royal Codrus, who feared not to die for his country;

What noble descendants from Æacus sprung,

What battles were fought under Ilion the sacred;

But you say not a word upon things more important—

What the price one must pay for a cask of old Chian?

Baths,¹ rooms—where and whose? What the moment to thaw

These frost-bitten limbs in the sunshine of supper?

Hillo, boy, there, a cup!² Brim it full for the New Moon!

Hillo, boy, there, a cup! Brim it full for the Midnight!

And, boy, there, a cup! Brim it full—to the health

Of him we would honour!—Murena the Augur.

Let the bowls be proportioned to three or nine measures,

As each comrade likes best;³ the true poet will ever

Suit his to the odd-numbered Muses, and quaff

Thrice three in the rapture the Nine give to brimmers.

¹ 'Quis aquam temperet ignibus.' Orelli considers this refers to the water to be warmed for the baths; Ritter, to the water to be warmed for admixture with wine. I have adopted the former interpretation, though I think it doubtful.

² 'Here, in a kind of phantasy, the poet transports himself with Telephus into the midst of the entertainment.'—ORELLI.

³ 'Tribus aut novem Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.'

'The 'cyathus' was a ladle with which the drink was passed from the
B.C. 23. In B.C. 22 he was involved in the conspiracy of Fannius Cæpio against the life of Augustus, and, though his guilt seems doubtful, executed. This is the same person whom Horace addresses under the name Licinius, Book II. Ode x., 'Rectius vives Licini,' &c. The metre in the original is the second Asclepiadean; but I have found it easier to preserve fidelity to the sense and spirit of the poem by employing one of the varieties of rhythm which I have appropriated to the Alcaic.

CARM. XIX.

Quantum distet ab Inacho
Codrus, pro patria non timidus mori,
Narras, et genus Æaci,
Et pugnata sacra bella sub Ilio:

Quo Chium pretio cadum
Mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,¹
Quo præbente domum et quota
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.

² Da Lunæ propere novæ,
Da Noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris
Murenae: tribus aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.³

Qui Musas amat impares,
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates; tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia,

mixing-bowl to the drinking-cup. The ladle was of certain capacity, and twelve "cyathi" went to the Sextarius. Horace says, in effect, "Let the wine be mixed in the proportion of three cyathi of wine to nine of water, or of nine of wine to three of water." . . . "Commodis," "fit and proper,"—"cyathi," that is, "bumpers."'—MACLEANE. The above seems the best and most intelligible interpretation of a passage in which, if conjectures were cyathi, the commentators would have greatly exceeded the number allowed to the nine Muses.
But the Grace, with her twin naked sisters, shuns quarrel,
And to more than three measures refuses her sanction.

    Ho! ho! what a joy to go mad for a time!

    Why on earth stops the breath of that fife Berecyn-thian?

And pray, why is that harp so unsocially silent,
And the lively Pandean pipe idly suspended?

    Quick, roses—and more! Let it rain with the rose!

    There's nothing I hate like the hand of a niggard.

Let the noise of our mirth split the ears of old Lycus.
He is envious—our riot shall gorge him with envy.

    The ears of our neighbour, his wife, let it reach.

    No wife could suit less the grey hairs of old Lycus.1

Thee, O Telephus, radiant with locks of thick cluster,
Thee, with face like the star of the eve at its clearest,

    Budded Rhode is courting; I too am on fire,

    But me Glycera keeps in the flames, burning slowly.²

---

1 The graduated process of a drinking-bout is most naturally simulated in these verses. First stage, the amiable expansion of heart in the friendly toast—the toleration of differing tastes;—each man may drink as much as he likes. Secondly, the consciousness of getting drunk, and thinking it a fine thing;—joy to go mad. Thirdly, the craving for noise;—let the band strike up. Fourthly, a desire for something cool;—roses in ancient Rome—soda-water in modern England. Fifthly, the combative stage;—aggressive insult to poor old Lycus. Sixthly, the maudlin stage, soft and tender; complimentary to Telephus, and confidingly pathetic as to his own less fortunate love-affairs.

2 Commentators have endeavoured to create a puzzle even here, where the meaning appears very obvious. Rhode runs after you (petit), who are so handsome—Glycera does not run after me, but keeps me languishing; the sense is consistent with the tone, half envious, half sarcastic, with which the poet a ways speaks of Telephus, the typical beauty-man and lady-killer.
Nudis juncta sororibus.
Insanire juvat: cur Bercyntiae
Cessant flamina tibiæ?
Cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?

Parcentes ego dexteras
Odi: sparge rosas; audiat invidus
Dementem strepitum Lycus
Et vicina seni non habitis Lyco.¹

Spissa te nitidum coma,
Puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero,
Tempestiva petit Rhode:
Me lentus Glyceræ torret amor meæ.²

ODE XX.—OMITTED.
ODE XXI.

TO MY CASK.

This poem appears composed in honour of some occasion in which Horace entertained the famous L. Valerius Messala Corvinus. No man in that great age was more remarkable for the variety of his accomplishments than this Corvinus. Sprung from one of the greatest consular families, he espoused the senatorian party in the civil wars, and attached himself especially to Cassius. He held the third place in the command of the Republican army, and at Philippi Coeval with me, born when Manlius was consul, Whatsoe’er the effects of thy life, while in action— Spleen or mirth, angry brawl or wild love, Or, O gentle cask,¹ ready slumber— Under what head soe’er there be entered account of² The grapes thou hast kept since in Massicus gathered, Thou art worth being roused on a day Of good fortune; descend³ for Corvinus Asking wines by age mellowed! He will not neglect thee, All imbued though he be with Socratical maxims. Father Cato, full often, ’tis said, Warmed his virtue with wine undiluted.⁴ Thou givest a soft-pricking spur to the sluggish, Makest gentle the harsh, and confiding the cautious.

¹ ‘Pia testa.’ The exact meaning of ‘pia’ here has given rise to much critical disputation. Macleane says he knows no better translation than Francis’s ‘gentle cask,’ for the meaning is to be derived from its connection with ‘facilem somnum.’ Yonge adopts the same interpretation, ‘gentle, kindly,’—observing ‘it would be “impia” if producing “querelas, rixas,”’ &c. I have translated ‘testa’ cask, as a word familiar to the English reader, but it here properly means the amphora, a vessel into which the wine was, as we should say, bottled.
Philippi turned Augustus's flank, stormed his camp, and nearly took him prisoner. Subsequently he made terms with Antony, whom he left for Augustus, after Antony's league with Cleopatra—and at Actium commanded the centre of the fleet with great distinction. Besides his eminence as a commander and a statesman, he was conspicuous as an orator, a wit, a historian, and a grammarian. He also wrote poetry.—See Smith's Dictionary for fuller details of his life, art. 'Messala.'

**CARM. XXI.**

O nata mecum consule Manlio,
Seu tu querelas, sive geris jocos
Seu rixam et insanos amores,
Seu faciilem, pia testa, somnum,
Quocunque lectum nomine Massicum
Servas, moveri digna bono die,
Descende, Corvino jubente
Promere languidiora vina.

Non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negleget horridus:
Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.

Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
Plerumque duro; tu sapientium

---

2 'Quocunque nomine,' 'on whatever account.' On the technical meaning of 'nomen,' signifying 'an entry in an account,' see Mr. Long's note on Cicero in Verr. 11, 1, 38. "Lectum," which Forcellini interprets "selected," rather applies to the gathering of the grape from which the wine was made. Massic wine was from Mons Massicus in Campania.'—Maclean.

3 'Descende'—i.e., descend from the place where it was kept (apotheca), in the upper part of the house.

4 'Mero,' wine undiluted.
Chasing care from the brows of the wise,
Thou unlockest their hearts to Lyæus.¹

Hope and nerve thou restorest to minds worn and harassed,
Add'st the horn that exalts to the front of the beggar;
Fresh from thee he could face down a king,
Fresh from thee, brave the charge of an army.

Thee, shall Liber and Venus, if Venus come merry,
And the Graces, reluctant their bond to dissever,
And the living lights gaily prolong,
Till the stars fly from Phoebus returning.

¹ 'Retegis Lyæo.' 'The dative case, "to" Lyæus, appears here to be employed rather than the ablative.'—ORELLI.
BOOK III.—ODE XXI.

Curas et arcanum jocos
Consilium retegis Lyæo;¹

Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis,
Viresque et addis cornua pauperi,
Post te neque iratos trementi
Regum apices, neque militum arma.

Te Liber et, si læta aderit, Venus,
Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae,
Vivæque producent lucernæ,
Dum rediens fugat astra Phœbus.
Nothing more need be said of this ode than that it is one of the votive inscriptions common among the ancients, and that a pine-tree would be very fittingly dedicated to Diana. The attempts made to extract a story out of the occasion and the offering are preposterous. That which is chiefly noticeable in this and other poems by Horace, more or less similar, is the rare and admirable merit of terseness. The poet has sufficient reliance on himself to be sure that, however briefly and simply he expresses himself on a subject to which brevity and simplicity belong, his unmistakable mark will appear on the work.

Guardian of mountain-peaks, and forests—Virgin,
Goddess triformed—who, thrice invoked, benignly
Dost hear young mothers in their hour of travail,
    And from death save them;

Thine be this pine which overhangs my villa,
To which each closing year shall be devoted
A youthful boar, of sidelong thrusts indulging
    Vain meditations.
Carm. XXII.

Montium custos nemorumque, Virgo,
Quae laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque leto,
   Diva triformis:

Imminens villae tua pinus esto,
Quam per exactos ego laetus annos
Verris obliquum meditantis ictum
   Sanguine donem.
Jani and other commentators have supposed the Phidyle here addressed to be Horace's country housekeeper, and that Horace in this ode answers some complaint of hers that her master did not permit her to sacrifice in a manner sufficiently handsome. Orelli observes that Phidyle could not

If with each new-born moon thou lift to Heaven thy supplicant hands,
If with some grains of frankincense, fresh corn, and flesh of swine,
My rustic Phidyle, thy rites
Appease thy simple Lares,

Thy fruitful vines shall neither feel the south wind’s poisoned breath,¹
Nor mildew blight to sterile dearth thy harvests in the ear,
Nor appled autumn’s sicklied airs
Infect thy tender weanlings.

Let victims whose devoted blood shall tinge the Pontiff's axe
Pasture on snow-clad Algidus, mid oak and ilex groves,
Or, fattening fast on Alban meads,
Grow ripe for pompous slaughter: ²

But not from thee thy homely gods ask hecatombs of sheep;
Content are they with what thou giv'st—content with rural crowns;

¹ 'Pestilentem Africum,' the sirocco.—ORELLI.
² The flocks and herds that belonged to the College of Pontiffs were fed on Algidus and the meadows of Alba Longa.
not be Horace's servant, for she is represented as sacrificing according to her own choice and will. But this no servant could do: the act of sacrifice for the whole family belonged exclusively to the head of the establishment. The ode, if addressed to any individual at all—which it probably was not—would have been addressed, therefore, to some mistress of a plain country household.

CARM. XXIII.

Cælo supinas si tuleris manus
Nascente Luna, rustica Phidyle,
   Si thure placaris et horna
   Fruge Lares, avidaque porca,

   Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
   Fecunda vitis, nec sterilem seges
   Robiginem, aut dulces alumni
   Pomifero grave tempus anno.

   Nam, quæ nivali pascitur Algido
   Devota quercus inter et ilices,
   Aut crescit Albanis in herbis,^{2}
   Victimæ pontificum secures

   Cervice tinget: te nihil attinet
   Tentare multa cæde bidentium
So twine thy humble rosemary wreath,
   And weave thy fragile myrtle.

The costliest offering softens not the household gods, if
wroth,
More surely than a votive cake or grains of crackling salt,
Provided that no sin pollute
The hands which touch the altar.
BOOK III.—ODE XXIII.

Parvos coronantem marino
Rore deos fragilique myrto.

Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia
Mollivit aversos Penates
Farre pio et saliente mica.
ODE XXIV.

ON THE MONEY-SEEKING TENDENCIES OF THE AGE.

This ode, like those with which Book III. commences, appears written with a design to assist Augustus in the task of social reform after the conclusion of the civil wars. Orelli ascribes the date to A.U.C. 725, 726, Macleane to

Though, as the lord of treasures which outshine
The unripled wealth of Araby and Indus,
The piles on which reposed thy palaces,
Filled up both oceans, Tuscan and Apulic;¹

Yet if dire Fate her nails of adamant
Into thy loftiest roof-tree once hath driven,²
Thou shalt not banish terror from thy soul,
Nor from the snares of death thy head deliver.

Happier the Scythians, wont o'er townless wilds
To shift the wains that are their nomad dwellings;
Or the rude Getæ whose unmeted soil
Yields its free sheaves and fruits to all in common;³

There each man toils but for his single year—
Rests, and another takes his turn of labour;
There ev'n the step-dame, mild and harmless, gives
To orphans motherless again the mother.

¹ In reference to the custom of building palaces out into the sea. Munro adopts the reading 'publicum' for 'Apulicum.'
² Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos.'

Various attempts have been made to explain the obscurity of this metaphor. I have adopted Orelli's interpretation, which he considers to be decidedly proved the right one by an Etruscan painting—viz., that while the rich man is busied in casting out the moles and raising the height of his palace, Destiny is seen driving her nails into the top of the building, as if saying to the master, 'Hitherto, but no farther; the fated end is
to 728. It is more purely didactic than the first five odes of this book—that is to say, it has less of the genuine lyrical mode of treating moral subjects. If in that respect inferior to those odes—as regards the higher range of poetry in the abstract—it is inferior to no ode in elevation of sentiment.

CARM. XXIV.

Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiæ,
Cæmentis licet occupes
Tyrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum,

Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.

Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus jugera liberas

Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua,
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali recreat sorte vicarius.

come to thyself.' Macleane, however, prefers the interpretation of a commentator in Cruquius, who takes 'verticibus' for the human head, the most fatal place for a blow. There is no disputing about tastes; but I confess I like this interpretation less than any. Whatever Fate is about to do with her adamantine nails, it seems necessary, for connection with the preceding lines, that she should fix her mark on the ambitious piles which the man is building—not on himself. And if she has driven her nails into his head, she might spare for that head the net or snare to which the poet refers in the line that follows.

3 The habits of the Suevi, as described by Cæsar, Bell. Gall. IV. i., are here imputed, correctly or not, to the Getæ.
No dowered she-despot rules her lord, nor trusts
The wife's protection to the leman's splendour.¹
There, is the dower indeed magnificent!
Ancestral virtue, chastity unbroken,

Shrinking with terror from all love save one;
Or death the only sentence for dishonour.
Oh, whosoe'er would banish out of Rome
Intestine rage and fratricidal slaughter,

If he would have on reverent statues graved
This holy title, 'Father of his Country,'
Let him be bold enough to strike at vice,
Curb what is now indomitable—Licence,

And earn the praise of after time! Alas!
Virtue we hate while seen alive; when vanished,
We seek her—but invidiously; and right
The virtue dead to wrong some virtue living.²

But what avails the verbiage of complaint—
To rail at guilt, yet punish not the guilty?
What without morals profit empty laws?
If nor that zone, which, as his own enclosure,

The Sun belts round with fires—nor that whose soil
Is ice, the hard land bordering upon Boreas—
Scare back the avarice of insatiate trade,
And oceans are the conquests of the sailor;

If dread to encounter the supreme reproach
Of poverty, ordains to do and suffer
All things for profit, and desert as bare
The difficult way that only mounts to virtue?

¹ 'Nec nitido fidit adultero.' Maclean follows Orelli in considering that this means that she does not trust to the influence of the adulterer to protect her from the anger of the husband.
Illic matre carentibus
   Privignis mulier temperat innocens;
Nec dotata regit virum
   Conjux, nec nitido fitid adultero.¹

Dos est magna parentium
   Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas;
   Et peccare nefas, aut pretium est mori.

O quisquis volet impias
   Cædes et rabiem tollere civicam,
Si quaeret PATER URBII
   Subscribi statuis, indomitant audeat

Refrenare licentiam,
   Clarus postgenitis; quatenus, heu nefas!
Virtutem incolumem odimus,
   Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.²

Quid tristes querimoniae,
   Si non supplicio culpa reciditur?
Quid leges sine moribus
   Vanæ proficiunt, si neque fervidis

Pars inclusa caloribus
   Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Durataeque solo nives,
   Mercatorem abigunt, horrida callidi

Vincunt æquora navitæ?
   Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
Quidvis et facere et pati
   Virtutisque viam deserit arduæ,

² These lines are, perhaps too boldly, paraphrased from the original in order to bring out more clearly the latent meaning, as suggested with pretty general acquiescence by Dacier and Sanadon; viz. 'the envious man has a certain pleasure in regretting the dead because he can thus wrong or insult the living.'
O were we penitent, indeed, for sins,\(^1\)
How we should haste to cast gems, gauds, gold, useless
Save as the raw material of all ill,
Amid the shouts of multitudes applauding,

Into the vaults of Capitoline Jove;
Or that safe treasure-house—the nearest ocean!
To weed out avarice dig down to the root,
And minds relaxed rebrace by rougher training.

Look at yon high-born boy—he cannot ride!
Horseback too rude for him—the chase too dangerous!
Skilful and brave—to trundle a Greek hoop;
And break the laws which interdict the dice-box:\(^2\)

While his mean father with a perjured oath
Swindles alike his partner and his hearth-guest,
Spurred by one passion—how to scrape the pelf—
His worthless self bequeaths an heir as worthless.

The immoderate\(^3\) riches grow, forsooth, and grow,
But ne'er in growing can attain completion;
An unknown something, ever absent still,
Stints into want the unsufficing fortune.

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1 I adopt the punctuation of Dillenburger, Orelli, and Munro—viz., that the full stop is at ‘bene poenitet.’—See note in Orelli to lines 49, 50.
2 ‘Græco trocho.’ This hoop, made of metal, was guided by a rod like our hoops nowadays. It seems to have been used in the thorough-fares, and by youths as well as mere children. The laws against gambling were stringent, and in Cicero’s time it was an offence sufficiently serious for Cicero to make it a grave charge against M. Antony that he had pardoned a man condemned for gambling, as he was himself a habitual gambler. Juvenal says that the heir still in his infancy (bullatus) learnt the dice from his father.
3 ‘Improbe divitiae.’ ‘Improbe’ has not here the sense of ‘dishonest’ or ‘iniquitous,’ as it is commonly translated; it means, rather,
Vel nos in Capitolium,
Quo clamor vocat et turba faventium,
Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmae et lapides, aurum et inutile,

Summi materiem mali,
Mittamus, scelerum si bene poenitet.¹
Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi sunt elementa, et teneræ nimis

Mentes asperioribus
Formandæ studiis. Nescit equo rudis
Hærere ingenuus puer,
Venarique timet; ludere doctior,

Seu Græco jubeas trocho²
Seu malis vetita legibus alea :
Cum perjura patris fides
Consortem socium fallat et hospitem,

Indignoque pecuniam
Heredi properet. Scilicet improbæ
Crescent divitiae ;³ tamen
Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei.

‘immoderate,’ ‘out of all proportion.’ Macleané rightly observes
that ‘improbus’ is one of the most difficult words to which to assign
its proper meaning. It implies excess, and that excess must be expressed
according to the subject described.
ODE XXV.

HYMN TO BACCHUS.

Of this ode Orelli says, that it belongs more properly than any other ode of Horace to the dithyrambic genus, any closer imitation of which was denied to the language and taste of the Romans, as savouring of affectation or bombast. Nowhere in Horace is there more of the true lyrical enthusiasm:

Whither, full of thee, O Bacchus,
   Am I hurried by thy rapture, with a spirit strange possessed?
Through what forests, through what caverns?
Underneath what haunted grottoes shall my voice be heard aloud,

Pondering words to lift up Cæsar
   To his rank 'mid starry orders, in the council-halls of Jove?
O for utterance largely sounding,
Never yet through mouth of poet made the language of the world!

As the slumberless Bacchante
   From the lonely mountain-ridges, stricken still with wonder, sees
Flash the waves of wintry Hebrus,
   Sparkle snows in Thracian lowlands, soar barbarian Rhodopë,

Such my rapture, wandering guideless,¹
   Now where river-margents open, now where forest-shadows close.

¹ 'Ut mihi devio
   Ripas et vacuum nemus
   Mirari libet.'
Some of the MSS. have 'rupes' instead of 'ripas,' and that reading
siasm: the picture of the Bacchante, astonished by the landscape stretched below her, is singularly beautiful. Dillenburger and Orelli conjecture the poem to have been written A.U.C. 725–726; Macleane thinks it may have been on the announcement of the taking of Alexandria, A.U.C. 724. It was evidently while some new triumph of Caesar's was fresh in the mind of the poet and of the public.

**CARM. XXV.**

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui  
Plenum? quæ nemora aut quos agor in specus  
Velox mente nova? quibus  
Antris egregii Caesaris audiar

Æternum meditans decus  
Stellis inserere et consilio Jovis?  
Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc  
Indictum ore alio. Non secus in jugis

Exsomnis stupet Evias  
Hebrum prospiciens, et nive candidam  
Thracen, ac pede barbaro  
Lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio

Ripas et vacuum nemus  
Mirari libet.¹ O Naiadum potens

is adopted by Lambinus and Muretus. Dillenburger, Orelli, Macleane, Munro and Yonge agree in preferring 'ripas,' as having the authority of the best MSS. Assuming this latter reading to be right, it renders more appropriate the previous description of the Bacchante's amaze in seeing all the landscape expand before her. The poet then comes on the river-bank as he emerges from the forest, the country thus opening upon him, and again closed in. So in Schiller's 'Der Spaziergang' the poet plunges
Lord of Naiads, lord of Mænads,
   Who with hands divinely strengthened, from the mountain
   heave the ash:

Nothing little, nothing lowly,
 - Nothing mortal, will I utter! Oh, how perilously sweet
 'Tis to follow thee, Lenæus,
   Thee the god who wreathes his temples with the vine-leaf
   for his crown!

into the wood, and following a winding path, suddenly the veil is rent.
The passage is well translated by a lamented friend, Dr. Whewell:—

'Lost is the landscape at once in the dark wood's secret recesses,
   Where a mysterious path leads up the winding ascent;
   
   Suddenly rent is the veil; all startled, I view with amazement,
   Through the wood's opening glade, blazing in splendour the day.'

I cannot help thinking that Horace had in his mind an actual scene,
as Schiller had in the Walk—that it was in some ramble amidst rocks,
woods, and water, that the idea of this dithyramb occurred to him. We
have his own authority for believing that, like most other poets, he com-
posed a good deal in his rural walks,—'circa nemus uvidique Tiburis
ripas operosa parvus Carmina fingo.'
Baccharumque valentium
  Proceras manibus vertere fraxinos:

Nil parvum aut humili modo,
  Nil mortale loquar. Dulce periculum est,
O Lenæe, sequi deum
  Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.
ODE XXVI.

VENUS.

This ode has been generally supposed to be written when Horace had arrived at a time of life sufficiently advanced to retire from the service of the ladies, and Malherbe, the French poet, had it in his eye when, at the age of fifty, he made farewell visits to the fair ones he had courted till then, and

I have lived till of late well approved by the fair,
And have, not without glory, made war in their cause;

Now the wall on the left side of Venus¹ shall guard
My arms, and the lute which has done with the service.

Here, here, place the flambeaux which lit the night-march;
Here, the bows and the crowbars—dread weapons of siege,²
Carrying menace of doom to the insolent gates
Which refused at my conquering approach to surrender.

Regal goddess who reignest o'er Cyprus the blest,
And o'er Memphis, unchilled by the snow-flakes of Thrace,
Lift on high o'er that arrogant Chloë thy scourge,
And by one touch—but one—fright her into submission.

¹ In the temple of Venus, on the left wall, as being most propitious.
—Macleane. The left side, as the heart side, is now, in many superstitious practices derived from the ancients, considered the best for divinations connected with the affections. In chiromancy, the left hand is examined in preference to the right, not only for the line of life, but for the lines supposed to prognosticate in affairs of the heart.

² The torches to light the gallant to the house he went to attack, and the crowbar to burst open her door, are intelligible enough. What is meant by 'arcus,' 'the bows,' is by no means so clear. The weapon may be merely symbolical (Cupid's bow and arrows), or it may have been the arbalist or cross-bow, and used to frighten the porter.—See Orelli's note.
and informed them that he resigned his commission in the armies of Cytherea. But I think with Macleane that the ode represents nothing more than a successful gallant's first refusal; and that to apply it to Horace himself, or to assume, from the opening, that he was getting into years, and about to abandon lyrical poetry, is to mistake the character and scope of the ode.

**CARM. XXVI.**

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus,
Et militavi non sine gloria;
Nunc arma defunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit,

Lævum marinæ qui Veneris¹ latus
Custodit. Hic, hic ponite lucida
Funalia, et vectes, et arcus
Oppositis foribus minaces.²

O quæ beatam, diva, tenes Cyprum, et
Memphín carentem Sithonia nive,
Regina, sublimi flagello
Tange Chloën semel arrogantem.
ODE XXVII.

TO GALATEA UNDERTAKING A JOURNEY.

We know nothing more of Galatea than the ode tells us, by which she appears to have been a friend of Horace's meditating a journey to Greece. Upon the strength of a line in which he asks her to remember him, an attempt has been actually made to include her in the catalogue of Horace's mistresses;

Let the ill omen of the shrilling screech-owl,¹
Or pregnant bitch, or vixen newly littered,
Or tawny she-wolf skulked down from Lanuvium ²
    Convoy the wicked;

Let the snake break off their intended journey,
If their nags start, when arrow-like he glances
Slant on the road—I, where I love, a cautious
    Provident Augur,

Ere the weird crow, reseeking stagnant marshes,
Predict the rain-storm, will invoke the raven
From the bright East, and bid that priestlier prophet
    Promise thee sunshine.⁴

¹ 'Parræ recinentis.' Macleane observes that it is not determined what this bird 'parra' was, or whether it is known in these islands. I venture to call it, as other translators have done, the screech-owl, which is still, in Italy as elsewhere, deemed a bird of bad omen. Orelli treats of the subject in an elaborate note, which, however, decides nothing. Yonge says, 'I believe it is the owl.'—See his note.

² 'Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino.' The wolf runs down from the wooded hills round Lanuvium, because that town was near the Appia Via, leading to Brundusium, where Galatea would embark.—MACLEANÉ, ORELLI. 'Rava lupa.' What exact colour 'rava' means is only so far clear that Horace applies it both to a lion and a wolf. Orelli says
mistresses; whereas the poem, in the digressive introduction of the glorious fate which awaited Europa, might much more plausibly be supposed to intimate that some lover or spouse of very high degree was reserved for Galatea at her journey's end. The beautiful picture of Europa's flight and remorse is among the instances of Horace's exquisite adaptation of the dramatic element to lyrical purposes.

CARM. XXVII.

Impios parræ recinentis\(^1\) omen
Ducat, et prægnans canis, aut ab agro
Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino,\(^2\)
Fetaque vulpes:

Rumpat\(^3\) et serpens iter institutum,
Si per obliquum similis sagittæ
Terruit mannos: ego cui timebo
Providus auspex,

Antequam stantes repetat paludes
Imbrium divina avis imminentum,
Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
Solis ab ortu.\(^4\)

the word is properly applied to the colour of the eye, and is between black and tawny, as in many animals.

\(^3\) Rumpat. I follow all the best recent editors, English and German, with the single exception of Munro, in reading 'rumpat' and line 15, 'vetet.' Munro prints 'rumpit'—'vetet' showing good reason for his preference. Introduction, p. xxxi.

\(^4\) The crow flying back to his pool or marsh indicated bad weather. The raven croaking from the east was an omen of good weather, therefore the poet summons the raven in time to forestall the crow. He calls the raven 'oscinem corvum.' The epithet is technically augural. 'Oscines aves' were birds which the augurs consulted for their note, as they consulted the birds called 'præpetes' for their flight.
Go where thou mayst, be happy; and remember
Me, Galatea! May no chough's swart shadow
Darken thy path—and not one green woodpecker
Dare to tap leftward.¹

But see with what fierce tempest—prone Orion
Rushes on baleful! I have known the breakers
In Hadria's gulf; and with what fawning smoothness
Sins the pale west wind.

To feel the blinding shock of rising Auster,
The howl of dark seas lashing shores that tremble—
This we wish only to the wives and children
Of our worst foemen.

Europa, thus to the fair bull deceiving
Trusted her snowy form; thus, ensnared in
The widths of ocean, eyeing its dread monsters,
Paled from her courage:

She but of late in meads the wild-flowers culling
Weaver of garlands votive to the wood-nymphs,
Now beheld only through night's darkling glimmer
Stars and wide waters.

Once reaching Crete, Isle of the Hundred Cities,
'Father,' she cried, o'ercome with shame and sorrow,
'A daughter's name, alas, a daughter's duty
I have abandoned!

'What have I done? what left?'² The crimes of virgins
A single death does not suffice to punish.

¹ 'Picus,' a woodpecker or heighhould.—Orelli. 'The green woodpecker.'—Yonge.
² 'Unde quo veni.' 'Unde' implies not that she was so distracted that she had forgotten from whence she had come, but what an exchange I have made.'—Macleane.
Sis licet felix, ubicunque mavis,
Et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas:
Teque nec laevus vetet ire picus;¹
Nec vaga cornix.

Sed vides, quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
Hadriæ, novi, sinus et quid albus
Pescet Iapyx.

Hostium uxores puerique cæcos
Sentiant motus orientis Austri, et
Æquoris nigri fremitum, et trementes
Verbere ripas.

Sic et Europe niveum doloso
Credidit tauro latus, et scatentem
Beluis pontum mediasque fraudes
Palluit audax.

Nuper in pratis studiosa florum, et
Debitæ Nymphis opifex coronæ,
Nocte sublustri nihil astra præter
Vidit et undas.

Quæ simul centum tetigit potentem
Oppidis Creten: 'Pater, O relictum
Filiæ nomen pietasque,' dixit,
Victa furore!

'Unde quo veni?'² Levis una mors est
Virginum culpæ. Vigilansne ploro...
Am I awake? have I in truth committed
Sin, and so vilely?

'Or am I guiltless—duped by a vain phantom
Leading a dream out of the ivory portal?
Wise choice, indeed,—here, lost in desert waters,
There, culling blossoms!

'O that the bull were to my wrath delivered!
O for a sword to hack his horns, and mangle
The monster now so hated, though so lately—
Woe is me!—worshipped.

'Shameless, my household gods I have forsaken,
Shameless, I loiter on the road to Orcus!
Would to the gods that I were in the desert
Strayed among lions!

'While in these cheeks the bloom be yet unwithered,
And all the sap of the luxuriant life-blood
Make their prey tempting, may this fatal beauty
Feast the fierce tigers.

'I hear my absent father, "Vile Europa,
Why pause to die? More ways than one, O coward!
Here, at this elm-tree, strangled by thy girdle,
Sole friend not quitted;

"Or there, down yonder precipice, plunge headlong
Whirled by the storm-blast to thy grave in ocean;
Unless, O royal-born, it please thee better,
Sold into bondage,

"To card the wool of some barbarian mistress,
And share with her the base love of a savage."
While thus she raved despairing, Venus softly
Neared her, arch-smiling,
BOOK III.—ODE XXVII.

Turpe commissum, an vitiis carentem
Ludit imago

'Vana, quae porta fugiens eburna
Somnium ducit? Meliusne fluctus
Ire per longos fuit, an recentes
Carpere flores?

'Si quis infamem mihi nunc juvencum
Dedat iratae, lacerare ferro et
Frangere enitar modo multum amati
Cornua monstri.

'Impudens liqui patrios Penates;
Impudens Orcum moror. O deorum
Si quis haec audis, utinam inter errem
Nuda leones!

'Antequam turpis macies decentes
Occupet malas, teneræque succus
Defluat praedae, speciosa quæro
Pascere tigres.

"Vilis Europe," pater urget absens:
"Quid mori cessas? Potes hac ab orno
Pendulum zona bene te secuta
Lædere collum.

"Sive te rupes et acuta leto
Saxa delectant, age te procellæ
Crede veloci, nisi herile mavis
Carpere pensum,

"Regius sanguis, dominæque tradi
Barbaræ pellex." Aderat querenti
Perfidum ridens Venus, et remisso
Filius arcu.
With the boy-archer—but his bow was loosened;
And sating first her mirth, thus spoke the goddess:
‘Thou wilt not scold when this loathed bull returning,
Yields to thy mercy.

‘Know thyself bride of Jove the all-subduing.
Hush sobs; learn well to bear thy glorious fortune;
Thou on one section of the globe\(^1\) bestowest
Name everlasting.’

\(^1\) ‘Sectus orbis’ literally means ‘half the world,’ as the ancients divided our planet only into the two great divisions, Europe and Asia.
Mox, ubi lusit satis: 'Abstineto,'
Dixit, 'irarum calidæque rixæ,
Cum tibi invisus laceranda reddet
Cornua taurus.

'Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis:
Mitte singultus, bene ferre magnam
Disce fortunam; tua sectus orbis¹
Nomina ducet.'
ODE XXVIII.

ON THE FEAST-DAY OF NEPTUNE.

It is but a waste of ingenious trifling to conjecture who or what Lyde was, or, indeed, if any Lyde whatever existed elsewhere than in the poet's fancy. The poem is very lively and graceful, and evidently intended for general popularity as a song, without any personal application to the writer.

What, on the feast-day of Neptune,
   Can I do better? Up, Lyde! Out from its hiding-place, quick,
Drag forth the Cæcuban hoarded;
   Make an attack upon Wisdom! On to the siege of her fort!

See how the noon is declining,
   Yet, as if day were at stand-still, laggard, thou leav'st in the store
The cask which has lazily slumbered
   Since Bibulus acted as consul; now is its time to awake.

Sing we, by turns, of King Neptune,
   And the green locks of the Nereids; then to thy bow-shapen lyre
Chant us a hymn to Latona,
   And to the swift-footed Dian, and to her arrows of light;

Then, as the crown of thy verses,
   Chant to the goddess who visits, borne on her car by the swans,
Cyclades, Cnidos, and Paphos;
   Night, too, shall have her deserts, and lullabies rock her to sleep.¹
CARM. XXVIII.

Festo quid potius die
    Neptuni faciam? Prome reconditum,
Lyde strenua, Cæcubum,
    Munitæque adhibe vim sapientiæ.

Inclinare meridiem
    Sentis; ac, veluti stet volucris dies,
Parcis deripere horreo
    Cessantem Bibuli Consulis amphoram.

Nos cantabimus invicem
    Neptunum, et virides Nereïdum comas;
Tu curva recines lyra
    Latonam, et celeris spicula Cynthiae:

Summo carmine, quæ Cnidon
    Fulgentesque tenet Cycladas et Paphon
Junctis visit oloribus;
    Dicetur merita Nox quoque nenia.¹

¹ 'Dicetur merita Nox quoque nenia.' The word 'nenia' is applied to funereal dirges, and also, as Dillenburger observes, to the songs by which nurses rocked infants to sleep; and Orelli and Maclean suggest that such is the meaning of the word here.
ODE XXIX.

INVITATION TO MÆCENAS.

No ode of Horace specially addressed to Mæcenas exceeds this in dignity of sentiment and sustained beauty of treatment. Horace's descriptions of summer are always charming, and though he rejects the prosaic minuteness by which modern poets, when describing external nature, make an inventory of scenic details as tediously careful as if they were cataloguing articles for auction, he succeeds in bringing a complete picture before the eye, and elevates the subject of still life by the grace of the figures he places, whether in the fore or the back ground. But he has seldom surpassed the beautiful image of summer in its sultry glow and

Long since, Mæcenas sprung from Tuscan kings,
A vintage mellowing in its virgin cask,
Balms to anoint the hair,
And roses meet for wreaths on honoured brows,

Wait at my home for thee. Snatch leisure brief,
And turn thy gaze from Tibur's waterfalls¹
The slopes of Æsula,²
And parricidal Telegon's blue hills;

Desert fastidious wealth, and that proud pile
Soaring aloft, the neighbour of the clouds;³
Cease to admire the smoke,
The riches, and the roar of prosperous Rome.

¹ 'Ne semper udum Tibur.' I interpret 'udum' as referring to the cascades of Anio; it may mean the rills meandering through the orchards of Tibur.
² Munro has Æfula. 'The ſ is found in some of the best MSS. of Horace, in the best of the scholiasts, as well as of Livy, as shown by
in its languid repose which adorns this ode, in contrast with the statesman, intent on public cares, and gazing on Rome and the hills beyond from his lofty tower. It is unnecessary to point out the nobleness of the comparison between the course of the river and the mutability of human affairs, or the simple grandeur of the lines on Fortune so finely, though so loosely, paraphrased by Dryden; and so applicable to public men that it has furnished with illustrations appropriate to themselves some of the greatest of English statesmen.

CARM. XXIX.

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
Non ante verso lene merum cado,
Cum flore, Mæcenas, rosarum, et
Pressa tuis balanus capillis

Jamdudum apud me est. Eripe te moræ;
Ne semper udam Tibur,¹ et Æsulæ²
Declive contempleris arvum, et
Telegoni juga parricidæ.

Fastidiosam desere copiam et
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis;³
Omitte mirari beatæ
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.

Huebner in the Hermes, i. p. 426, who completes the proof by citing three inscriptions, one of them Greek, in which the gentile names, Aesolanus, Aefulanus, Αἰφολαῦνος, occur.—Munro's Horace, Introd. xxviii.

¹ The lofty tower or belvidere of the palace built by Mæcenas on the Esquiline Hill, whence Nero looked down on the conflagration of Rome.
Sweet to the wealthy the relief of change;
Nor needs it tapestried woof nor Tyrian pall
For simple feast, whose mirth
In humble roofs unknits the brows of Care.

Now, hidden long, Andromeda's bright sire
Glares forth revealed: now rages Procyon,
And the mad Lion-star,¹
As Sol brings back the sultry days of drought.

Now doth the shepherd, with his languid flock,
Seek streams and shades, and thickets dense, the lair
Of the rough Forest-God;
And silent margins miss the wandering winds.

All rest save thou, intent on cares of state
And fears lest aught against thy Rome be planned
In farthest east, or realm
Of Persian Cyrus, or by factious Don.

The issues of the Future a wise God
Veils in the dark impenetrable Night,
And smiles if mortals stretch
Care beyond bounds to mortal minds assigned.

That which is present heed, and justly weigh;
All else flows onward as the river runs—
Now, in mid-channel calm,²
Peacefully gliding to Etruscan seas;

Now, when wild torrents chafe its quiet streams,
Rolling, along with its resistless rush,
Loosed crags, uprooted trees,
And herds and flocks, and the lost homes of men,

¹ This fixes the season to the beginning of July, when Cepheus, a northern star below Ursa Minor, rises. Cepheus was mythically King of Ἐθιοπία, and father of Andromeda. Procyon rises about the same time, and is followed, eleven days afterwards, by Sirius. Leo completes the picture of summer heat.
Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
Coenæ, sine aulæis et ostro,
Sollicitam explicuere frontem.

Jam clarus occultum Andromedæ pater
Ostendit ignem; jam Procyon furtit,
Et stella vesani Leonis,¹
Sole dies referente siccos:

Jam pastor umbras cum grege languido
Rivumque fessus quærít, et horridi
Dumeta Silvani; caretque
Ripa vagís taciturna ventis.

Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, et Urbi sollicitus times,
Quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit deus,
Ridetque, si mortalís ultra
Fas tremídat. Quod adest memento

Componere æquus; cetera fluminis
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo²
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
In mare, nunc lapides adesos

Stirpesque raptas, et pecus et domos
Volventis una, non sine montium
Clamore vicinæque silvæ,
Cum fera diluvies quietos

¹ Orelli has 'æquore'—most of the MSS. 'alveo,'—which last reading is adopted by Ritter, Yonge, and Munro.
While neighbouring forests, and far mountain-peaks
Mingle their roar. Happy\(^1\) indeed is he,
   Lord of himself, to whom
'Tis given to say, as each day ends, 'I have lived: '

To-morrow let the Sire invest the heaven
With darkest cloud or purest ray serene,
   He mars not what has been,
Nor from Time's sum blots out one fleeted hour.

Fortune, exulting in her cruel task—
Consistent in her inconsistent sport—
   Shifts favours to and fro,
   Now to myself, now to another kind.

I praise her seated by me;\(^2\) if she shake
Her parting wings I give back what she gave,
   And, in my virtue wrapped,
   Make honest Poverty my dowerless bride.

'Tis not for me, when groans the mast beneath
Fierce Africus, to gasp out piteous prayers,
   And bargain with the gods,
   Lest gainful bales from Cyprus or from Tyre

Add to the treasures of the greedy deep ;
Then from the wreck my slender boat\(^3\) the gale
   And the Twin-star shall speed,
   Safe with one rower through Ægæan storms.

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\(^1\) 'Cui licet in diem Dixisse Vixi.'
See Orelli's note against the usual interpretation of this passage. The meaning is,—' Happy the man who at the end of each day can say, "I have lived." ' Ritter connects 'vixi' with all the lines that follow to the end of the ode—a construction which, I suspect, few critics will be inclined to favour. Munro stops the connection at 'vexit.'

\(^2\) 'Laudo manentem.' Orelli says that there is extant a rare coin
Irritat amnes. Ille potens sui
Laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse Vixi:¹ cras vel atra
Nube polum Pater occupato,

Vel sole puro; non tamen irritum
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet, neque
Diffinget infectumque reddet,
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.

Fortuna sævo laeta negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.

Laudo manentem;² si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit, et mea
Virtute me involvo probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quaero.

Non est meum, si mugiat Afrīcis
Malus procellis, ad miseræs preces
Decurrere; et votiòn pacisci,
Ne Cypriæ Tyriæque merces

Addant avaro divitias mari:
Tunc me, biremis præsidio scaphæ³
Tutum, per Ægæos tumultus
Aura feret geminusque Pollux.

of the time of Commodus, inscribed ‘Fortunæ Manenti,’ in which a
woman is represented seated holding a horse by the halter with her right
hand—in her left a cornucopia. I have availed myself of this image
in translating ‘manentem.’

³ ‘Biremis scaphæ,’ a two-oared boat, rowed by a single rower.
ODE XXX.

PREDICTION OF HIS OWN FUTURE TIME.

This ode appears clearly intended to be the completing poem of some considerable collection of lyrical pieces, forming in themselves an integral representation of the idiosyncrasies of the poet in character and in genius, thus becoming his memorial or 'monumentum.' It is therefore generally regarded as the epilogue, not to the Third Book only, but to all the first three books; after the publication of which, Horace made a considerable pause before he published the Fourth. There is a great difference in tone between this and Ode xx. Book II., addressed to Mæcenas. That ode, half sportive, half earnest, seems written in the effervescence of animal spirits, and might have been called forth in any moment of brilliant success. But this is written in dignified and serious confidence in the firm establishment of the poet's fame.

I have built a monument than bronze more lasting,
   Soaring more high than regal pyramids,
Which nor the stealthy gnawing of the rain-drop,
   Nor the vain rush of Boreas shall destroy;
Nor shall it pass away with the unnumbered
   Series of ages and the flight of time.
I shall not wholly die! From Libitina¹
   A part, yea, much, of mine own self escapes.
Renewing bloom from praise in after ages,
   My growth through time shall be to fresher youth,
Long as the High Priest, with the Silent Virgin,
   Ascends the sacred Capitol of Rome.²

¹ Venus Libitina, the Funereal Venus—Death.
fame. It is unnecessary to defend Horace here from the charge of vainglory, to which a modern poet, arrogating to himself the immortality of fame, would be exposed. The manners of an age decide the taste of an age. The heathen poets spoke of the immortality of their verses with as little scruple as Christian poets speak of the immortality of their souls. Not to mention the Greek poets, Dillenburger gives a tolerably long list of passages from the Latin—Ennius, Virgil, Propertius, Ovid, Martial—who spoke of their conquest over time with no less confidence than Horace here does. The metre in the original is the same as that of Ode i. Book I., which perhaps strengthens the supposition that the poem is designed to complete a collection which that ode commenced.

CARM. XXX.

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius;
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.
Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam.¹ Usque ego postera
Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium²

². Viz., 'while the Pontifex Maximus shall, on the ides of every month, go up to the Capitol to offer sacrifices to Vesta, her virgins walking solemnly in the procession, as they did, while the boys sang hymns in honour of the goddess. With a Roman this was equivalent to saying "for ever."'—Macleane.
From mean estate exalted into greatness—
Where brawls\(^1\) loud Aufidus with violent wave,
And arid\(^2\) reigned o'er rustic subjects, Daunus—
I, in the lips of men a household name,
Shall have my record as the first who wedded
To Roman melodies Æolian song.
Take airs of state—the right is earned—and crown me,
Willing Melpomene, with Delphic bay.

\(^1\) 'Mantua Virgilio gaudet, Verona Catullo,
    Pelignæ dicar gloria gentis ego.'
—Ovid, Amores, iii. 15, 17.

\(^2\) 'Pauper aquæ Daunus,' 'Daunus scant of water.' The epithet
    thus, by poetic licence, applied to the legendary king, which, in plain
    prose, belongs to the country he ruled—i.e., the southern part of Apulia,
    as the Aufidus flowed through the western.
Scandet cum tacita Virgine pontifex.
Dicar,\(^1\) qua violens obstrepit Aufidus,
Et qua pauper aquæ Daunus\(^2\) agrestium
Regnavit populorum, ex humili potens,
Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam
Quæsitam meritis, et mihi Delphica
Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.
THE SECULAR HYMN.

Religious games, called Ludi Tarentini, Terentini, or Taurii, had been held in Rome from an early period of the Republic. Their origin is variously stated, though the most probable mythical accounts agree that they were instituted and devoted to Dis and Proserpina in consequence of a fearful plague—whether by one Valerius in gratitude for the recovery of his three children, or in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, in order to propitiate those formidable deities. In the latter case the plague had affected pregnant women, and their children died in the womb; and sterile cows (Taureæ) being sacrificed, the games were called Ludi Taurii. By these accounts it would seem that the games were connected with the health of offspring, and by all accounts that they were instituted in honour of Dis and Proserpina. To those eminent scholars who hold to the Etrurian origin of the Tarquins, 'the Tarenti and Taurii are but as different forms of the same word, and of the same root as Tarquinius' (Smith's Dict., art. 'Ludi Sæculares'). If so, the deities honoured were doubtless Etrurian—not Greek nor Roman—though the Romans subsequently identified them with divinities familiar to their own worship.

Be that as it may, during the Republic these games appear to have been only celebrated three times, at irregular intervals in no way connected with fixed periods or cycles (sæcula).

When Augustus had completed (A.U.C. 737) the second lustre, or the ten years for which the imperial power was first confided to him, it was very natural that he should wish for the solemnity of an extraordinary festival at once popular and religious; and probably also the desire of establishing a dynasty would give rise to the idea of rendering this solemnity regular, but at far-distant dates; thus associating indirectly the duration of the Empire with the welfare and existence of Rome. The custodiers of the Sibylline books, who had been increased from two to ten, and subsequently,
probably by Sulla, to fifteen (quindecimviri), were ordered to consult those oracles, and they reported that the time was come to revive the old Tarentine games. They introduced, however, certain innovations, such as the cyclical or secular period, for their celebration (pretending that such periods had been always observed, or at least enjoined), and the substitution of Apollo and Diana for Dis and Proserpina. The latter change seems natural enough. Diana had among her attributes those of Proserpina, and Apollo was the deity whom Augustus especially honoured as his patron god. Dis and Proserpina were no longer in fashion, and were probably never very popular with the genuine Romans; while, as the festival was not designed, like the old Tarentine games, for the averting of some national calamity or mortal disease, but rather to attest the blessings enjoyed under the Empire, and implore their continuance, the direct invocation of the infernal divinities would have been very inappropriate; and, indeed, their powers as averters of evil had become transferred to Apollo and Diana (as the sun and moon), who were also the bestowers of good. Sacrifices were, however, offered to Dis and Proserpina on the first day of the ceremony among other gods, in the list of whom they are placed last. Still it may be seen in the following Hymn that much of the original character of the Tarentine or Taurian games was retained, however modified to suit altered circumstances. Diana is especially implored to protect mothers and mature their offspring. Augustus approaches the altar with white steers for sacrifice, as cows had been sacrificed to Dis in the Taurian games (though, as black animals had been offered to the infernal deities in time of calamity, the white colour of the steers was significant of the change to celestial divinities and the felicity of the period), and the games commenced in the Tarentum—i.e., the same ground that had been consecrated to the Tarentine games. The nature and order of the ceremonies, which lasted three days and three nights,
was entrusted to Ateius Capito, a celebrated jurist and antiquary, and Horace was requested to compose the principal hymn on the occasion. The games were held in the summer of the year B.C. 17. They were repeated four times during the Empire, but not at the periods enjoined by the Quindecimviri under Augustus—viz., in cycles of 110 years. The second took place, A.D. 47, in the reign of Claudius; the third, A.D. 88, in the reign of Domitian; and the fourth in the reign of Philippus, A.D. 248. For further particulars of the ceremony the general reader is referred to Smith's Dict., art. 'Ludi Sæculares,' and for the mystical belief that the world was moving in a cycle, the completion of which constituted the Magnus Annus, when all the heavenly bodies returned to their original relative places, see Orelli and Macleane's introduction to the Secular Hymn. As the length of the ten secula which constituted the great Platonic year of the universe was not defined, but declared from time to time by prodigies from heaven, so this belief may account for the irregular periods in which the Secular Festival was held during the Empire.

When Horace boasts (Lib. III. Carm. xxx.) that he shall be spoken of as the first who adapted Æolian song to Italian measures, he must mean something more than the mere introduction of Greek lyrical metres into the Italian language. In this task Catullus had preceded him. He nowhere mentions Catullus; and though that omission has been ascribed to jealousy, there is no evidence of so envious a defect in Horace's general character. He bestows lavish praise on the eminent poets of his own time; and a jealous poet is more apt to be jealous of living contemporaries than of defunct predecessors. Nor is it to be forgotten that, if Horace confines his boast to the mere introduction of Lesbian metres, the Sapphics of Catullus must have been sufficiently fresh in popular recollection to afford his enemies one of those opportunities for confuting a boast and turning it into ridicule which are not voluntarily courted by a man
of such good sense and of such knowledge of the world as
Horace is allowed to have been. And it is not to the
Alcaic metre, but exclusively to the Sapphic, as connected
with his name, that he refers, Lib. IV. Carm. vi.

' Ego dis amicum,
Sæculo festas referente luces,
Reddidi carmen, docilis modorum
Vatis Horati.'

Horace's boast, then, is only to be justified by the supposition
that although Catullus had preceded him in the adoption of
the Sapphic metre, he had not adapted it to song—had not
incorporated it in the popular form of lyrical music—and
Horace had done so, and been the first to do it.

I apprehend, therefore, that Horace's vaunted originality
consisted in being the first by whom the borrowed metres
were set to Italian music—the first by whom, through arts
not before divulged, the words were to be united with
musical strings ('Non ante volgatas per artes Verba loquor
socianda chordis'—Lib. IV. Carm. ix.), and thus popularised
in banquet-halls and temples as national songs (Lib. III.
Carm. xi.). It seems to me that in this sense he says he
is pointed out as 'Romanae fidicen lyrse' (Lib. IV. Carm. iii.),
'fidicen' being a word especially applicable to a musician,
and only metaphorically to a poet.

That several of the odes were not adapted to singing
does not invalidate this supposition. Such will be the case
with every copious lyrical poet, who may, nevertheless, like
Moore, have achieved his main popularity through the adapta-
tion of his verse to musical accompaniment and national airs.

Whether the music to which the measures employed by
Horace were set was composed by himself in whole or in
part, or by others, is a question on which there are no data
for legitimate conjecture. If by himself, one might suppose
that some record of the fact would be preserved by Suetonius
or the scholiasts. On the other hand, if composed by
another, it seems strange that a poet of character so grateful
as Horace's should have refrained from all mention of one to whom he was under no mean obligations for the popularity his verses had acquired, and with whom he must have been necessarily brought into frequent and familiar intercourse. It may, however, be said, as sufficient reason for such silence in either case, that a Roman of Horace's day would not have held the art of a musical composer in high account.

The writers who have sought to elucidate the obscure subject of ancient music consider it probable that nothing like the modern system of musical rhythm existed among the ancients, and that, since there is no mention of notation distinct from the metre of the song, the time was marked by that metre where vocal music was united with instrumental (Burney's 'History of Music;' Hawkins's 'Hist. of Music;' Smith's Dict., art. 'Musica'). By this the reader can judge for himself whether Horace's task in timing the music to his own rhythms would not have been comparatively easy; and whether, if it were thus easy, it would have been considered worthy of commemoration by his contemporaries, or been preserved in such brief records of his life as were consulted by Suetonius, or known to the scholiasts.

At all events, Horace appears, on the occasion of the Secular Hymn, to have superintended the rehearsal of the recitative

O Phœbus, and O forest-queen Diana,
Ye the twin lustrous ornament of heav'n,
Though ever holy, in this time most hallowed
    Be most benign to prayer!

For duly now, as Sibyl verse enjoins us,
Pure youths, with chosen virgins linked in chorus,
To Powers divine o'er the Seven Hills presiding,
    Uplift the solemn hymn.
recitative as ‘διδάσκαλος,’ according to the custom of dramatic and lyric poets of Greece; and (Lib. IV. Carm. vi.) the young girls who take part in the chorus are enjoined not only to preserve the Lesbian metre, in which the hymn was composed, but to remember ‘pollicis ictum,’ the beat of his finger in marking time.

Regarded only as a poem, the Secular Hymn, though it deserves higher praise than Macleane and other critics have bestowed on it, cannot be said to equal the genius exhibited in many of the odes, especially in Book III. But if set—whether by Horace himself, or by others whom he more or less schooled and directed—to some music which became a grand national air, such as ‘God save the King,’ or ‘The Marseillaise,’ we can readily account for the special pride with which he refers to it, and the increased rank which it appears to have won for him in popular estimation.

In the Secular Hymn, and in some of the Sapphic odes of the Fourth Book, Horace more conforms than he does in the first three books to the Greek usage, in the variation of the cæsura and the introduction of the trochee in the second place. I have judged it necessary, for the solemnity of feeling which is instilled into this poem, to add another foot to the fourth line in the translation.

\[
\text{CARM. SÆCULARE.}
\]

Phæbe, silvarumque potens Diana,
Lucidum cæli decus, O colendi
Semper et culti, date, quæ precamur
    Tempore sacro ;

Quo Sibyllini monuere versus
Virgines lectas puerosque castos
Dis, quibus septem placuere colles,
    Dicere carmen.
O Sun, the nurturer,\(^1\) in bright chariot leading
Day into light to hide it under shadow,
Born still the same, yet other, mayst thou never
See aught more great than Rome!

Blest Ilithyia,\(^2\) mild to watch o'er mothers,
And aid the timely coming of the new-born,
Whether thou rather wouldst be as Lucina
Or Genitalis hailed,

Goddess as each, mature our offspring; prosper
The law that guards the sanctity of marriage,\(^3\)
And may it give new blossom and new fruitage
To the grand parent-stem!

So that as each eleventh solennial decade
Round to its close, this sacred feast renewing,
In song and sport, assembled Rome may hallow
Three days and joyous nights.

And ye, O Parcae, who have sung prophetic
Truths,\(^4\) which, once said, the sure events determine,
Fixed as divine decrees,—a glorious future
Join to the glorious past.

Fertile in fruits and flocks, let Earth maternal
With spikéd corn-wreath crown the brows of Ceres;

\(^1\) 'Alme Sol.' This epithet is to be taken in its proper sense as derived from \textit{alo}, Sun the Nurturer.—Macleane.

\(^2\) 'Ilithyia.' This name, here applied to Diana, is equally applicable to Juno, and, in the plural number, to the minor deities attending on childbirth. There appears to me, if I mistake not, a singular beauty which has escaped the commentators in the choice of names here given to Diana. Ilithyia and Lucina (the one Greek, the other Latin) are names which Diana shares with Juno, and therefore, as applied to childbirth, imply the children born in sacred wedlock. The name 'Genitalis' is that which Diana shares with Venus, and therefore implies the offspring of chaste if ardent love. Thus, 'whether thou preferrest the name of Lucina or Genitalis,' would mean, 'whether thou preferrest the
Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis et celas, aliusque et idem
Nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma
Visere majus.

Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres;
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis:

Diva, producas sobolem, Patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Feminis, prolisque novae feraci
Lege marita:

Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis ut cantus referatque ludos,
Ter die claro, totiesque grata
Nocte frequentes.

Vosque veraces cecinisse, Parcae,
Quod semel dictum est, stabilisque rerum
Terminus servat, bona jam peractis
Jungite fata.

Fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus
Spicea donet Cererem corona;

name that associates thee with Juno or that which associates thee with Love.

3 The Julian law (de maritandis ordinibus), for the discouragement of celibacy and the regulation of marriage, was among the social and moral reforms aimed at by Augustus, and passed the year before the celebration of the Secular games. It appears to have been a law well meant, but in some respects singularly unwise and impracticable. The unmarried person could not succeed to a legacy unless he married within a hundred days after the bequest. Fancy poor Horace himself condemned to decide between forfeiting the bequest of a villa at Tarentum or marrying some Glycera or Pyrrha!

4 Viz., the oracular Sibylline verses.
Pure from all taint let airs and dews of heavën
Nourish the new-born life.

Mild, all thine arrows sheathed within the quiver,
Hear thy boy-suppliants, merciful Apollo;¹
Hear thy girl votaries, crescent-crownèd Luna,
Queen of the clustered stars.

If Rome be your work—if beneath your safeguard
A band of wanderers, Ilion's scanty remnant,
Ordained to change their city and their Lares,
Have held this Tuscan land—

They, unto whom, through Troy that blazed unharming,
Pure-souled Æneas, his lost land's survivor,
Opened free path, and heritage more ample
Than aught relinquished gave;—

Gods, grant to docile youth worth's upright manners—
Gods, grant to placid age worth's calm contentment—
Grant to the Roman race growth, power, and riches,²
And all that can adorn!

Bless him who nears with milk-white steers your altars,
Whose blood flows bright from Venus and Anchises;
Still every foe in battle may he conquer,
And after conquest spare.

Awed by our arms, and by the Alban lictors,³
Now the Mede owns our power on land and ocean;
Now Ind and Scythia, she of late so haughty,
To Rome for pardon sue.⁴

¹ This line seems to refer to the new statue of the Apollo of Actium set up by Augustus in the Palatine temple. In the Apollo of Actium invoked by Augustus before his battle with M. Antony, the bow is bent—in the Apollo of the Palatine the bow is laid aside for the lyre and plectrum.—See MACLEANÉ'S excellent note on this line.
Nutriant fetus et aquæ salubres,  
   Et Jovis auræ.

Condito mitis placidusque telo
Supplies audi pueros, Apollo ;
Siderum regina bicornis, audi,
   Luna, puellas :

Roma si vestrum est opus, Iliæque
Litus Etruscum tenuere turmæ,
Jussa pars mutare Lares et urbem
Sospite cursu ;

Cui per ardentem sine fraude Trojam
Castus Æneas patriæ superstes
Liberum munivit iter, daturus
   Plura relictis ;

Di, probos mores docili juventæ,
Di, senectuti placidæ quietem,
Romulae genti date remque prolemque
   Et decus omne !

Quæque vos bobus veneratur albis
Clarus Anchisæ Venerisque sanguis,
Impetret, bellante prior, jacentem
   Lenis in hostem !

Jam mari terraque manus potentes
Medus, Albanasque timet secures ;
Jam Scythæ responsa petunt, superbi
   Nuper, et Indi.

---

2 'Remque prolemque.' 'Res' seems here used in its double signification of power and riches. The nearest approach to its sense in a single word would perhaps be the old Anglo-Saxon 'weal.'

3 Viz., by our military prowess and civil justice.

4 'Responsa petunt.' 'Responsa' here has many significations,
Now Faith and Peace, and antique Shame and Honour
Flock fearless back, and Virtue long-neglected;
And with them comes their sure companion Plenty,
Rich with o'erflowing horn.

May he adorned with fulgent bow—the Augur,
Phœbus, the darling of the nine Camæ—
He the mild Healer, lifting the sore burden
That weighs down weary limbs

If shrines in Palatine he views with favour,
The coming lustre bless, and link it onward
To those yet brighter, through all time prolonging
Rome and the Latian race.

And oh, may She who holds the sacred hill-tops
Of Aventine and Algidus, Diana,
To the Fifteen, and to her own young vot'ries,
Lend an approving ear!

So we, the choir of Dian and of Phœbus,
Versed in their praise, take home with us hope certain
That, heard by Jove and each divine Immortal,
These words are felt in heaven.

choice of which may well baffle a translator. It may mean replies to
proffered amity and submission—it may mean the opinions given by a
jurisconsult to his client, or the mandates of the imperial government
to its dependants—or it may mean replies to the prayer of the barbar-
ians to be admitted to the protection and equity of the Roman laws, or
the responses vouchsafed by an oracular or godlike power to a suppliant
for relief or pardon. The last construction is adopted in the translation.

1 Apollo is here addressed in his fourfold capacity: 1stly, As the god
of power, but adorned rather than armed (as at Actium) with his bow;
2dly, As the prophetic seer or augur (the religious attribute); 3dly, As
the beloved of the Muses—i.e., the patron of peaceful arts and letters;
4thly, As the divine healer, which may, perhaps, here be used in a
THE SECULAR HYMN.

Jam Fides, et Pax, et Honos, Pudorque
Priscus, et neglecta redire Virtus
Audet; appareatque beata pleno
Copia cornu.

Augur, et fulgente decorus arcu
Phœbus, acceptusque novem Camenis,
Qui salutari levat arte fessos
Corporis artus,¹

Si Palatinas videt æquus arces,
Remque Romanam Latiumque felix
Alterum in lustrum, meliusque semper
Proroget ævum.

Quæque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,
Quindecim Diana preces virorum²
Curet, et votis puerorum amicas
Applicet aures.

Hæc Jovem sentire, deosque cunctos,
Spem bonam certamque domum reporto,
Doctus et Phœbi chorus et Dianæ
Dicere laudes.

latent signification, healer of the pains and wounds of the civil wars. Possibly all these attributes may have been symbolised in the pedestal of the statue, or on the walls of the Palatine temple, to which direct reference is made in the following stanza.

¹ 'Quindecim—virorum,' the elect Fifteen who had the custody of the Sibyl books, the charge of the Secular games and solemnities, and in fact, were the priesthood of Apollo.—See Smith’s Dictionary, art. 'Ludi Sæculares.'
BOOK IV.—ODE I.

Franke, in his 'Fasti Horatiani,' assumes the first three books of the Odes to have been composed between A.U.C. 724 and 730, in which latter year, or in the beginning of 731, they were given to the public, in the interval between Horace's thirty-eighth and forty-first year. Horace then appears to have devoted himself chiefly to his Epistles, and not to have published the Fourth Book of Odes till A.U.C. 741, when he was in his fifty-second year. It is said that Augustus had expressed a desire for its publication, as comprising the odes (iv. and xiv.) in honour of the victories of Drusus and Tiberius. These two odes are indeed unexcelled, even by the finest in the three preceding books; nor are most of the others below the standard of Horace's matured genius.

Wars long suspended, now
Urgest thou, Venus? Spare! O spare! I pray;
I am not what I was
Under the reign of good Queen Cinara.

Mother of loves so sweet,
Thyself so cruel, cease to subject him
Whom the tenth lustre finds
No longer pliant to thy soft commands:

Go where, with blandishing prayers,
Youth calls thee back; hearts easier kindled seek,
And, borne on purple wings,
Greet Paullus Maximus¹ in banquet hours.

¹ If, as Estré observes ('Horat. Prosop.'), this be the Paullus Fabius Maximus who was consul A.U.C. 743, the words 'centum artium puer' could scarcely be applied to him, even in the widest sense in which the poets took the word 'puer' or 'juvenis.' In fact he could not well have been younger than Horace. On the other hand, if, as some com-
genius. The first ode was, he says himself, written in his fiftieth year. Maclean, in common with some other commentators, conjectures that it may have been an imitation from the Greek, and adds, 'that he may have published it to fill up his book, not as a prologue to it, as many of the chronologists say,—for what is there in this ode that bears that character?' Not much, indeed, unless Horace wished to apprise his readers that they are not to expect in this book the lighter gallantries which had place in the former books. This book, indeed, only contains two love-poems besides the first—viz., the tenth and the eleventh; and one is glad to think that the tenth (omitted in the translation) was merely an artistic imitation or translation from the Greek.

CARM. I.

Intermissa, Venus, diu
Rursus bella moves? Parce, precor, precor.
Non sum qualis eram bonæ
Sub regno Cinaræ. Desine, dulcium

Mater sæva Cupidinum,
Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Jam durum imperiis: abi,
Quo blandæ juvenum te revocant preces.

Tempestivius in domum
Paulli, purpureis ales oloribus,
Comissabere Maximi,¹
Si torrere jecur quæris idoneum:

mentators, including Ritter, suppose, it was the son of this P. Maximus and the friend of Ovid who is meant, he would, it is true, have only been about twenty; but how could the line 'pro sollicitis non tacitus reis,' which refers to his eloquence as an advocate, apply to a youth of that age?
Noble and fair is he;  
Nor his the lips to pleading suitors mute;  
Youth of a hundred arts  
To bear thy conquering standards wide and far;

Whene'er some rival, rich  
In gifts, he conquers, laughing, he shall place,  
By Alban waters, under citron roofs,  
Imaged in marble, Thee.

There shalt thou take delight  
In spiced balms, and songs commingled sweet  
With Berecynthian fife  
And lyre—nor silent be the fluten reed.

There, twice a-day, shall youths  
Choral with tender maidens, chant thy name,  
As thrice, in Salian dance,  
Quakes the green sod to feet that twinkle white.

Me youth nor maid allures,  
Nor the hope credulous of mutual hearts,  
Nor Bacchic contests gay;  
I wreathe my brows with vernal flowers no more.
Namque et nobilis, et decens,
   Et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis,
Et centum puer artium
   Late signa feret militiæ tuæ:

Et, quandoque potentior
   Largi muneribus riserit æmuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
   Ponet marmoream, sub trabe citrea.

Illic plurima naribus
   Duces thura, lyraequæ et Bercyntiæ
Delectabere tibiæ
   Mixtis carminibus, non sine fistula.

Illic bis pueri die
   Numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
Laudantes, pede candido
   In morem Salium ter quamient humum.

Me nec femina nec puer
   Jam nec spes animi credula mutui,
Nec certare juvat mero,
   Nec vincire novis tempora floribus.

Sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
   Manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
Cur facunda parum decoro
   Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?

Nocturnis ego somniis
   Jam captum teneo, jam volucrem sequor
Te per gramina Martii
   Campi, te per aquas, dure, volubiles.
ODE II.

TO IULUS ANTONIUS.

Iulus Antonius was the second son of M. Antony the triumvir by Fulvia; the elder, Antyllus, was put to death by Octavian after the battle of Actium. Iulus, then in his infancy, was brought up with great tenderness by his stepmother Octavia, married her daughter Marcella, and rose to the highest honours of the State—prætor, A.U.C. 741; consul, A.U.C. 744. His end was tragical. He was either executed by Augustus or destroyed himself, A.U.C. 752, in the forty-second year of his age, on the charge of adultery with Julia, to which crime he is said to have been induced by ambitious designs on the Empire. Iulus possessed the literary accomplishments for which so many of the Roman nobles in that day were remarkable. He was a pupil of L. Crassitius, a celebrated grammarian, at whose school were instructed youths of the first Roman families. According to the scholiasts, he composed not only works in prose, but twelve books in heroic verse upon Diomed, which Acron styles 'egregios;' though, as Macleane observes with his customary good sense, 'As it is most likely Acron never saw

Iulus, he who would with Pindar vie,
Soars, with Dædalian art, on waxen wings,
And falling, gives his name unto the bright
Deeps of an Ocean.¹

As from the mountain-top a headlong stream,
Nourished by rains beyond familiar banks,
Seethes, and immense with might of deep-mouth'd sound,
Rushes down Pindar.

¹ As Icarus gave his name to the Icarian sea.
saw them, his testimony is not worth much.' Horace, however, in this ode pays a high compliment to his poetic powers. The ode itself is a noble homage to Pindar, and interesting for Horace's estimate of his own peculiar powers, and his frank confession of the pains he took with his verses. The poem was written during Augustus's absence from Rome for two years, when, a.u.c. 737, the Sygambri, a fierce German tribe (whose name Jac. Grimm derives from 'sigu,' victory, and 'gomber,' strong), had, with two other tribes, invaded the Roman territory in Gaul, and defeated the Roman legate Lollius with great slaughter. Augustus went in person into Gaul. The German tribes retreated at his approach, gave hostages, and obtained peace. Augustus, however, did not return to Rome till he had restored order in Germany, Gaul, and Spain. As he was expected in Rome long before he returned, the ode was probably written soon after the Sygambri had given hostages and obtained peace, a.u.c. 738, or beginning of 739. It is commonly supposed that Antonius had urged Horace to celebrate the triumphs of Augustus in Pindaric style, and that he modestly excuses himself from that request. The tone of the ode favours this assumption, though it does not leave it clear that Antonius had made such a request.

**CARM. II.**

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari,
Iule, ceratis ope Dædalea
Nititur pennis vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto.¹

Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
Quem super notas aluere ripas,
Fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore;
All due to him Apollo's laureate crown,
Whether through daring dithyrambs he roll
Language, new-formed,\(^1\) borne on the lawless wave
Of his wild music;

Whether he sing of gods or god-born kings,
By whom the Centaurs with just doom were slain,
And dire Chimæra's flame was quenched; or those
Palm-crowned in Elis,

Led as Celestials home; and chants the strife
Of steed or cestus; offering gifts, o'er Time
More potent than a hundred monuments
Wrought from the marble;

Or wails the youth snatched from a weeping bride,
And, in lamenting, lifts his force of soul,
Valour, and golden worth, unto the stars,
Foiling black Orcus.

Ample the gale which buoys the Theban swan,
Whene'er to heights amid the cloud he soars.
I, like the bee of the Matinian hill,
Gather the wild thyme,

With lavish labour hiving thrifty sweets;
Lowly, by Tibur's grove and dewy banks,
I seek the honey that I store in song,\(^2\)
Kneaded with labour.

But thou, the minstrel of a grander lyre,
Celebrate Cæsar, when his laurelled brow

\(^1\) 'Nova verba,' 'new forms of expression.'
\(^2\) 'Carmina fingo.' 'Fingo' corresponds to '\(\pi\lambda\delta\tau\tau\omega,\)' which word the Greeks used especially with reference to the making of honey.—ORELLI, MACLEAN.
Laurea donandus Apollinari,
Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
Verba\(^1\) devolvit numerisque furtur
Lege solutis;

Seu deos regesve canit, deorum
Sanguinem, per quos, cecidere justa
Morte Centauri, cecidit tremendæ
Flamma Chimææ;

Sive quos Elea domum reducit
Palma cælestes, pugilemve equumve
Dicit et centum potiore signis
Munere donat;

Flebili sponsæ juvenemve raptum
Plurat, et vires animumque moresque
Aureos educit in astra, nigroque
Invidet Orco.

Multa Diræum levat aura cycnum,
Tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
Nubium tractus. Ego apis Matinæ
More modoque,

Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
Carmina fingo.\(^2\)

Concines majore poëta plectro
Cæsarem, quandoque trahet ferores
Looks from the car which, up the Sacred Hill,
Drags the Sygambri;

He, than whom never to this earth have Fate
And kind gods given, nor shall give, aught more great
Or aught more good, ev'n tho' the ages rolled
Back to the Golden.

Chant thou the games that honour the return
Of brave Augustus granted to our prayer;
The joyous feast-days, the hushed courts of law,
Vacant of suitors.

Then, too, if aught that I can speak be heard,
My voice shall aid to swell the choral hymn,
And sing 'All hail, thou fair auspicious sun,\(^1\)
Bringing back Cæsar!'

And while, O god of triumph, slowly on \(^2\)
He moves in state, shout upon shout repeats
'Io Triumphe!' through the length of Rome;
Frankincense steaming

Up to benignant gods. Ten bulls, ten kine,
Acquit thy vow; a single steerling mine,
Fresh-weaned, and browsing into youth amid
Prodigal pastures;

\(^1\) 'Et, O Sol
Pulcher! O laudande! canam, recepto
Cæsare felix.'

It is uncertain whether 'felix' refers to Horace, as 'happy in the return of Cæsar,' or to the sun, forming part of the exclamation; Macleane leaves the choice to the reader's taste; Vossius and others prefer the latter application; Orelli considers the former more tender. To me it seems more according to the genius of lyrical composition to apply the epithet to the sun. We know already that Horace is happy in the return of Cæsar, otherwise he would not be joining in the procession and the hymn.
Per sacrum clivum merita decorus
Fronde Sygambros,

Quod nihil majus meliusve terris
Fata donavere bonique divi,
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priscum.

Concines laetosque dies et Urbis
Publicum ludum super impetrato
Fortis Augusti redivu, forumque
Litibus orbum.

Tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,
Vocis accedet bona pars, et, O Sol
Pulcher! O laudande! canam, recepto
Caesare felix.

Teque, dum procedit, io Triumphe,
Non semel dicimus, io Triumphe,
Civitas omnis dabimusque divis
Thura benignis.

Te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
Me tener solvet vitulus, relictà
Matre qui largis juvenescit herbis
In mea vota,

2 'Teque, dum procedit, io Triumphe,' not 'tumque dum procedit,' as in some of our popular editions. It is the god Triumph which is invoked by 'io Triumphe.' Orelli prefers 'procedit' to 'procedis,' which has good authority in the MSS. (see his note), and refers it to Augustus: 'O god of Triumph; while he, Augustus, proceeds, we,' &c. Macleane sees no reason for this preference, and adopts the text of Dillenburger, 'procedis,' which is also favoured by Ritter and Munro. Yonge follows Orelli.
His frontal imitates the curvèd gleam
Of the young moon in her third night;—all else
Of tawny colour, on that front of snow
Shimmers her signet.¹

¹ The conclusion of the ode has been, plausibly enough, blamed for a discrepancy amounting to bathos between the gravity and elevation of the preceding stanzas, and the familiar details of the steerling to be sacrificed—'Desinit in vitulum mulier formosa superne' (STEINER). Orelli, on the contrary, thinks it conformable to poetic art, that the height of enthusiasm should subside, as it were, in the placid anticipation of the destined sacrifice. Possibly Horace meant also, in describing the animal so minutely as already reserved for the sacrifice, to imply how eagerly expected was the return of Augustus;—the victims were already marked, the preparations already made.
Fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
Tertium Lunæ referentis ortum,
Qua notam duxit, niveus videri,
Cetera fulvus.¹
ODE III.

TO MELPOMENE.

The sweetness and dignity of this ode have been a theme of unqualified praise to the critics. It was evidently written after the Secular Hymn, which gave authority and sanction to Horace's claim to be 'Romæ fidicen lyræ.'

Whom thou, Melpomene,
Hast once with still bright aspect marked at birth,¹
On him no Isthmian toils
Shall shed the lustre of an athlete's fame;

Him shall no fiery steed
Ravish to victory in Achaian car;
In him no warlike deeds
Shall, from the hill-top of the Capitol,²

Show to a world's applause
The glorious image of a conquering chief,
With Delian leaves adorned,
Who crushed the swelling menaces of kings;

Yet him shall streams that flow
Through fertile Tibur, and the thick-grown locks
Of the green forest-kings,
Endow with lordship—in Æolian song.

Me have the sons of Rome,
Sovereign of cities, deigned to enrol amidst
The choir beloved of bards;
And now ev'n Envy bites with milder fang.

¹ 'Nascentem placido lumine videris.' The image here is taken from astrology. To Melpomene is ascribed the influence of the planet ascendant at birth, and by which, in technical terms, the 'Native' (or new-born) is 'aspected.'
BOOK IV.—ODE III.

CARM. III.

Quem tu, Melpomene, semel
Nascentem placido lumine videris,¹
Illum non labor Isthmius
Clarabit pugilem, non equus impiger

Curru ducet Achaico
Victorem, neque res bellica Deliis
Ornatum foliis ducem,
Quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,

Ostendet Capitolo:²
Sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt,
Et spissae nemorum comae,
Fingent Aelio carmine nobilem.

Romae principis urbiwm
Dignatur soboles inter amabiles
Vatum ponere me choros;
Et jam dente minus mordeor invido.

² 'Neque res bellica Deliis
Ornatum foliis ducem,
Quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
Ostendet Capitolo.'

'Ostendet' is a word borrowed from the ceremonies designed for pomp and ostentation. The victorious general was shown at the Capitol, where he returned thanks to Jove and the gods, deposited the spoils, and received the homage of the world.—TORRENTIUS, DACIER.
O thou Pierian Muse,
That tun'st the sweet clash of the golden shell;
Thou who, if such thy will,
Couldst make mute fishes musical as swans,

Thine is the boon, all thine,
That I am singled from the passers-by,
'Lyrist of Roman song!'
Thine that I breathe and please, if please I may. ²

¹ This seems an allusion to the shell of the tortoise shaped into the lyre.
² 'Quod spiro,' 'that I breathe the breath of song'—'quod movet me spiritus poeticus.'—Dillenburger, Orelli, Ritter.
O testudinis aureæ
   Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas,
O, mutis quoque piscibus
   Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,

Totum muneris hoc tui est,
   Quod monstror digito prætereuntium
Romanæ fidicen lyræ:
   Quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.
ODE IV.

IN PRAISE OF DRUSUS AND THE RACE OF THE NEROS.

When, A.U.C. 738-9, Augustus and Tiberius were in Transalpine Gaul, the fierce tribes of the Vindelici and Ræti (the first occupying a considerable range of country between the Danube and Lake Constance, the last neighbouring them to the south, and extending to Lake Como) made forays into Italy and Cisalpine Gaul, attended with great cruelty and massacre. Augustus sent against them Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, who was then in his twenty-third year. He defeated and drove them from Italy. It is clearly in honour of the victory under Drusus that the ode is composed. But as these tribes renewed their predatory incursions into Gaul, Tiberius was sent to the aid of Drusus with additional forces. Thus united, the two brothers reduced these and other tribes—such as the Genauni and Breuni—into the Roman province of Rætia (Rætia Prima and Secunda). It was in honour of this completed conquest, and of the part which Tiberius had in it, that Ode xiv. was composed, and, as may be reasonably supposed, somewhat subsequently to Ode iv. The opening of this poem is unusually

Ev'n as the thunder's wingèd minister—
To whom, proved true to Jove's entrusted charge
    In gold-haired Ganymede,
        Heaven's king gave kingdom over wandering birds—

Urged from his eyrie by the goad of youth,
And pulses glowing with ancestral fire,
    Learns from the winds of spring,
        When gone the rain-clouds, timidly to soar,

Till on the sheepfold rushes down its foe;
Next, bolder grown, the hungering greed not less
usually lengthy and involved. It takes four strophes, or sixteen verses, before it disentangles itself of its similes, and reaches their application. I do not think that it deserves the blame some critics have attached to it for the slowness and complication with which the image of the young eagle is worked out; perhaps, indeed, the hesitating efforts of the bird before it gathers strength to attack dragons are artistically expressed in the labour of the verse. But I venture to doubt whether the poem would not have been better without the second simile of the lion-whelp, which has no novelty to recommend it, and is very inferior in picturesque vigour to the first one, while it is less appropriate to the eulogy on Drusus. The young eagle training itself to grapple with dragons that resist it, conveys an image of force against force; but it is very little honour to a lion-whelp to conquer a helpless roe-deer or she-goat. 'Caprea' means either, but Yonge appears to me right in giving the former interpretation to the word in this passage. Ritter vindicates the simile of the lion-whelp, observing that the illustration of the sheepfold and the dragons would not be appropriate to the Ræti, and that therefore the poet adds the image by which they and Drusus are comprehended.

**CARM. IV.**

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem
Cui rex deorum regnum in aves vagas
Permisit, expertus fidelem
Juppiter in Ganymede flavo,

Olim juventas et patrius vigor
Nido laborum propulit inscium:
Vernique, jam nimbis remotis,
Insolitos docuere nisus

Venti paventem: mox in ovilia
Demisit hostem vividus impetus:
Of battle than of food,
Drives him on dragons that resist his beak;

Or as in gladsome pastures the wild roe,
About to die by fangs unfleshed before,
Sees the fierce lion-whelp,
Fresh from the udders of the tawny dam;—

So the Vindelici young Drusus saw
Leading war home to their own Rætian Alps;¹
Whence from all time they learned
To arm their hands with Amazonian axe²

I pause not now to ask; nor is the lore
Of all things lore allowed; enough that hosts,
Victorious long and far,
Vanquished in turn by a young arm and brain,

Felt what the mind and what the heart achieve,
When reared and fostered amidst blest abodes,
And with parental love
A Cæsar's soul inspires a Nero's sons.

Brave and good natures generate natures brave.
In steer and steed ancestral virtue shows.
Bold eagles never yet,
Instead of eagletis, begot timorous doves.

¹ 'Videre Rætis bella sub Alpibus.' Macleana agrees with Orelli in adopting Bentley's emendation—'Rætis' instead of 'Ræti.'—See Orelli's excursus to this ode, and Macleana's comprehensive note, Ritter and Munro have 'Ræti.'

² 'Quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia securi
Dextras obarmet, quærere distuli;
Nec scire fas est omnia.'

These lines are so little in poetic keeping with the noble earnestness of
Nunc in reluctantes dracones
Egit amor dapis atque pugnæ:

Qualemve lætis caprea pascuis
Intenta fulvæ matris ab ubere
Jam lacte depulsum leonem,
Dente novo peritura vidit:

Videre Rætis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici; quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia securī

Dextras obarmet, quœrere distuli:
Nec scire fas est omnia; sed diu
Lateque victrices catervæ,
Consiliis juvenis revictæ,

Sensere, quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita faustis sub penetrālis,
Posset, quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
Est in juvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus; neque imbellem feroce
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

those immediately before and after them, that they have been summarily rejected by several editors, and Franke asserts them to be a silly interpolation. They are, however, justly no doubt, considered genuine by the best of the later authorities. Nor, indeed, are they inconsistent with Horace's habit of introducing a sudden change of playfulness or irony in the midst of his gravest verse. To me they seem evidently a satirical allusion either to some rival poem or to some prosy archaeologica...
Still training speeds the inborn vigour's growth;
Sound culture is the armour of the breast.
  Where fails the moral lore,
  Vice disennobles even the noblest born.

What to the Neros owëst thou, O Rome!
Witness Metaurus, routed Hasdrubal,
  And that all-glorious day
  Which chased from Latium the receding shades,

First dawn that laughed with vict'ry, since what time
Rode through Italia the dire African,
  As fire through forest-pines,
  Or Eurus over the Sicilian waves.

But from that day, labouring illustrious on,
Victory to victory linked, the Roman grew—
  Till in the shrines laid waste
  By Punic riot and fierce sacrilege,

Once more erect stood forth the gods of Rome.
Then thus outspoke perfidious Hannibal:
  'We deer, foredoomed as prey
  To ravenous wolves, our own destroyers chase,

  'Whom 'tis our ampest triumph to elude,
And, hiding from, escape. Race which, cast forth
  A waif on Tuscan seas
  From Troy's red crater, still had strength to house

  'In cities ravished from Ausonian soil,
Its gods, its worship, and its grey-haired sires,
  Yea, and its new-born babes,
  The destined fathers of the men to be;

  'Even as the ilex, lopped by axes rude,
Where, rich with dusky boughs, soars Algidus,
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,  
Rectique cultus pectora roborant;  
Utunque defeceremores,  
Indecorant bene nata culpæ.

Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus,  
Testis Metaurusum flumen, et Hasdrubal  
Devictus, et pulcher fugatis  
Ille dies Latio tenebris,

Qui primus alma risit adorea,  
Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas,  
Ceuflamma per tædas, vel Eurus  
Per Siculus equitavit undas.

Post hoc secundis usque laboribus  
Romana pubes crevit, et impio  
Vastata Pœnorum tumultu  
Fana deos habuere rectos:

Dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:  
'Cervi, luporum præda rapacium,  
Sectamur ultro, quos opimus  
Fallere et effugere est triumphus.

'Gens, quæ cremato fortis ab Ilio  
Jactata Tuscis æquoribus sacra,  
Natosque maturospatres  
Pertulit Ausonias ad urbes,

'Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus  
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Through loss, through wounds, receives
New gain, new life—yea, from the very steel:

'Not fiercer did the Hydra hewn, regrow
Against Alcides, chafed to be o'ercome;
Nor dragon-teeth, earth-sown
In Thebes or Colchis, spring to armed men;

'Merged in the deeps, more fair comes forth its star: 1
Wrestle and win, it bears the winner down;
And widowed wives shall tell
Of victors vanquished on the fields it fought. 2

'No more to Carthage shall I send proud news;
Dies, dies the power, the fortune, the renown
Of the great Punic name;
Dies hope itself, for Hasdrubal is slain. 3

'There's nought the hands of men from Claudius sprung
Shall not achieve, with Jove their guardian god,
Through the sharp stress of war
Sped by the providence of heedful cares.'

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1 'Evenit.' Orelli, following Jahn, has 'exiit'—a reading unsanctioned by more recent editors.
2 'Proelia conjugibus loquenda.' Orelli considers that the line refers to the Roman wives speaking with exultation of the wars waged by their husbands. Ritter, on the other hand, powerfully supports the interpretation of Mitscherlich—viz., that the line refers to the widows of the slain. His argument seems to me convincing.
3 Torrentius considers that here ends the speech attributed to Hannibal, and that in the last verse Horace speaks in his own person—an opinion which has had many followers, and is defended by Ritter. Orelli, supported by Macleane and Yonge, on the other hand, contends that the speech of Hannibal is continued to the close of the ode—firstly, because it is more complimentary to the Neros that their praise and predicted renown should come from the mouth of their foe; secondly, because it is more poetical to conclude the poem with the prophecy of Hannibal, and more in the spirit of Pindar, as Olymp. 4, and Nem. 4. Munro gives his authority to this reading.
Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.

'Non Hydra secto corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem,
Monstrumve submisere Colchi
Majus, Echioniaev Thebae.

'Meres profundo, pulchrior evenit ;
Luctere, multa proruet integrum
Cum laude victorem, geretque
Prœlia conjugibus loquenda.

'Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos : occidit, occidit
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri
Nominis, Hasdrubale interempto.

'Nil Claudiae non perficient manus ;
Quas et benigno numine Juppiter
Defendit, et curae sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli.'
ODE V.

TO AUGUSTUS, THAT HE WOULD HASTEN HIS RETURN TO ROME.

This ode, which Dillenburger rightly calls 'dulcissimum carmen,' may be taken in connection with the preceding and with Ode xiv. It was composed during the absence of Augustus in Germany and Gaul, and after the victories of Tiberius and Drusus. Augustus had been absent from September A.U.C. 738 to February 741. In the description of the blessings ascribed to the reign of Augustus, the security to life and property, the reformation of the previous licence

Best guardian of the race of Romulus,
And sprung thyself from deities benign,
Absent too long, fulfil thy promise, pledged
To Rome's high court¹—return.

Bring to thy country back, belovéd chief,
The light: thy looks are to thy people Spring,
And where they smile, more grateful glides the day,
More genial shines the sun.

As the fond mother with all passionate prayers
Calls back the son more than one year away,
By adverse winds beyond Carpathian seas
Kept from sweet home afar,

Fixing intent upon the curving shore
The unmoving stillness of her wistful eyes;—
So for her Cæsar, smit with faithful love,
His country looks and pines.

¹ 'Sancto concilio'—the Senate.
licence of manners,—in short, the change from the calamities of civil war to the felicity of a government firm in maintaining order, and mild enough to be popular beyond all recorded precedent, Horace conveys his own vindication from the charge inconsiderately made against him for his attachment to the empire, and his enthusiasm for the emperor. And however adulatory the language he employs may appear to modern taste, it is no exaggerated expression of the common national sentiment in the times which had exalted Augustus to a share in the honours privately as well as publicly paid to the gods.

CARM. V.

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ
Custos gentis, abes jam nimium diu;
Maturum reditum pollicitus Patrum
Sancto concilio, redi.¹

Lucem redde tuæ, dux bone, patriæ:
Instar veris enim voltus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, gratior it dies,
   Et soles melius nitent.

Ut mater juvenem, quem Notus invido
Flatu Carpathii trans maris æquora
Cunctantem spatio longius annuo
   Dulci distinct a domo,

Votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,
Curvo nec faciem litore dimovet:
Sic desideriis icta fidelibus
   Quærit patria Cæsarem.
Safe plods the steer among the rural fields;  
The rural fields Ceres and Plenty bless;  
The wing'd ships fly through unmolested seas;  
Honour's fine dread of shame

Returns; no lusts pollute the modest home;  
Licence is tamed by manners as by laws;  
Nor reads the husband in his infant's face  
A likeness not his own.

Fast by Crime stands its comrade Punishment.  
Who fears the Parthian, who the frozen Scyth?  
Who (Cæsar safe) whatever monstrous birth  
Germania's womb conceives?

Let fierce Iberia threaten war—who cares?  
Each spends safe days on his own hills, and weds  
His vine to widowed elms, then, home regained,  
Brims his glad cup to thee,

Blending with prodigal libation prayers;  
And, as Greece honoured Leda's starry son,  
Or great Alcides,—with his household gods  
Mingles thy hallowed name.

1 I. e., under the auspices of Augustus. 'Rura perambulat.' I adopt Ritter's interpretation that this refers to the ox at the plough, not roving through the pastures. Pales presided over pastures; Ceres, named in the following line, over fields under the plough. The repetition of 'rura'—‘bos rura perambulat, Nutrit rura Ceres,’ condemned as a false reading by Bentley and other critics less illustrious, appears to me a peculiar beauty. 'Faustitas' is another name for 'Copia,' 'plenty.'

2 'Pacatum per mare.' 'Pacatum,' 'unmolested by pirates.' The gratitude of the merchantmen and sailors to Augustus (then Octavian) for putting down piracy is very forcibly expressed in Suetonius, Oct. 98.

3 'Horace here refers to the 'Lex Julia de Adulteriis,' passed by Augustus, A. u. C. 737, and also to an improved standard of national manners. Dion Cassius (54, 19) implies that one reason for Augustus's expedition to Gaul (that is, absenting himself from Rome) was to get rid of scandal in regard to his alleged intrigue with Terentia, the wife
Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,¹
Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque Faustitas,
Pacatum volitant per mare navitæ,²
Culpari metuit Fides,
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,³
Laudantur simili prole puerperæ,
Culpam Poena premit comes.

Quis Parthum paveat? quis gelidum Scythen?
Quis Germania quos horrida parturit
Fetus, incolumi Cæsare? quis fææ
Bellum curet Hiberiæ?

Condit quæque diem collibus in suis,
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores;
Hinc ad vina redit laetus, et alteris
Te mensis adhibet deum;⁴

Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris, et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris
Et magni memor Herculis.

of Mæcenas—which Macleane rightly dismisses as mere gossip. It is pretty clear, by these verses, either that Horace had heard of no such scandal, or that both he and Mæcenas regarded it with contempt. A poet of so exquisite a taste, and so consummate a knowledge of the world, would not have ventured on the line, ‘Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,’ if such scandal were rife at that very time, or, at least, if any credit were attached to it; for thus the compliment would have been turned into a bitter irony against Augustus, and a cruel insult to Mæcenas.

⁴ Literally ‘at his second course;’ or rather, as we should say, ‘at dessert’—‘alteris mensis.’ By a decree of the Senate, libations were to be offered to Octavian after the battle of Actium at private tables as well as in public banquets, and his name to be inscribed in hymns of praise as those of the gods.—Dion Cass., l. i–19. It is to these national honours that Horace alludes whenever he speaks of Augustus as enrolled among the gods.
Live, O good chief, Rome's feast-days to prolong!
This is our orison at sober morn,
Our prayer with wine-dews on the lip, when sinks
Underneath seas the sun.
Longas, O utinam, dux bone, ferias
Præstes Hesperiæ! dicimus integro
Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,
Cum Sol Oceano subest.
This ode may be considered the proœemium to the Secular Hymn, a.u.c. 737, although evidently written after it. As that hymn celebrates Apollo and Diana, so this ode appropriately commences with an invocation to Apollo, whom Horace invokes (line 27) to defend the dignity of the Roman God, in whom Niobe's sad offspring felt
The stern chastiser of the vaunting tongue,
And Tityos vast, the ravisher,—and he,
Phthian Achilles,

Almost the victor of high Troy (to thee
Unequal, over other force supreme);
Though warring with dread spear the Sea-nymph's son
Shook Dardan towers,

As falls a pine beneath the biting steel,
Or cypress wrenched by Euris from its root,
He fell, and wide and far on Trojan dust
Stamped his great image.

The false horse, duping, in Minerva's name,
Lost Trojans mirthful at their feast of death,
With choral dances blithe in Priam's hall,
Hid not Achilles.

His prey, alas! he slew with open hand
His wrath, alas! had given to Argive flames
The harmless infants ev'n within the womb,
Smiting the unborn,

Had not the Father of the gods, subdued
By thee and Venus, with imploring prayer,
Roman Muse. The poet lingers specially on the praise of Apollo as the slayer of Achilles; because, had he who spared not the babe in the womb survived, Æneas, ancestor of Augustus, and the Trojan exiles who founded the Roman empire, would have perished. Horace, then, after a brief reference to Diana, turns, as choragus, to address the chorus of the Secular Hymn.

CARM. VI.

Dive, quem proles Niobeæ magnæ
Vindicem linguae, Tityosque raptor,
Sensit, et Trojàe prope victor altæ
Phthius Achilles,

Ceteris major, tibi miles impar ;
Filius quamvis Thetidis marinæ
Dardanas turres quateret tremenda
Cuspide pugnax.

Ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
Pinus, aut impulsa cupressus Euro,
Procidit late posuitque collum in
Pulvere Teucro.

Ille non inclusus equo Minervæ
Sacra mentito male feriatos
Troas et lætam Priami choreis
Falleret aulam ;

Sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas! heu!
Nescios fari pueros Achivis
Ureret flammis, etiam latentem
Matris in alvo ;

Ni, tuis victus Venerisque gratæ
Vocibus, divum pater annuisset
Pledged to Æneas by his solemn nod
Walls more auspicious.

Tuneful Thalia's sovereign melodist,
Laving in Xanthian waves thy golden hair,
Support the honour of the Daunian Muse,
Beardless Agyieus!  

Phœbus on me bestowed the soul, on me
The art of song, on me the poet's name.

2 O noblest virgins, and O ye young sons
Of noble fathers,

Wards of the Delian goddess, with her bow
Striking the flight of stags and lynxes still,
The Lesbian measure timed and tuned by me,
Guard unforgotten,

Chanting, with ritual due, Latona's son,
And her who kindles night with crescent beam,
Prospers the harvests, and the sliding months
Speeds in their circle.

Say, maid, then wedded, 4 'In that hallowed year
Which did the secular feast-lights reillumé,
Song dear to gods I sang—song taught by him,
Horace the poet.'

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1 The name of Agyieus seems here very appropriately invoked, because Apollo takes that name from the Greeks, as presiding over the thoroughfares of cities, 'quasi viis præpositus urbanis;' and all the streets of Rome would have been alive with the festival and processions connected with the Secular Hymn which the ode refers to.

2 Here Horace turns to the chorus of the Secular Hymn.

3 'Lesbium servate pedem, meique
Pollicis ictum.'

By 'pollicis ictum' is meant the motion of the thumb in marking the rhythm or time of the song, not the striking of the lyre.
BOOK IV.—ODE VI.

Rebus Æneæ potiore ductos  
Alite muros.

Doctor argutæ fidelicen Thalici,  
Phœbe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,  
Dauniciæ defende decus Camenæ,  
Levis Agyieu.¹

Spiritus Phœbus mihi, Phœbus artem  
Carminis, nomenque dedit poëtæ.  
Virginum primæ, puerique claris  
Patribus orti,²

Delicæ tutela deæ, fugaces  
Lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,  
Lesbium servate pedem, meique  
Pollicis ictum,³

Rite Latoneæ puerum canentes,  
Rite crescentem face Noctilucam,  
Prosperam frugum, celeremque pronos  
Volvere menses.

Nupta jam dices:⁴ Ego dis amicum,  
Sæculo festas referente luces,  
Reddidi carmen, docilis modorum  
Vatis Horati.

¹‘Nupta jam dices.’ Horace here admonishes those who were young virgins in the chorus at the date of the Secular Hymn to remember, when wedded wives, their part in the festival, with which he associates his name.
The Torquatus here addressed appears to be the same Torquatus whom Horace invites to supper, Epist. Lib. I. v. Estré, considering there was no ground for Weichert's assumption that this person was C. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus, mentioned in Suetonius (in Vit. Augusti), expresses his surprise that the commentators had not thought of Aulus

Fled the snows—now the grass has returned to the meadows,
And their locks to the trees;
Now the land's face is changed, dwindled rivers receding
Glide in calm by their shores.

Now, unrobed, may the Grace intertwined with her sisters
Join the dance of the Nymphs.
'Things immortal, hope not!' saith the Year—saith the Moment
Stealing off this soft day.

Winter thaws, Spring has breathed; quick on Spring tramples Summer,
And is gone to his grave;
Appled Autumn his fruits will have shed forth, and then
Dearth and winter once more.

But the swift moons\(^1\) restore change and loss in the heavens,
When we go where have gone
Sire Æneas, and Tullus,\(^2\) and opulent Ancus,
We are dust and a shade.\(^3\)

\(^1\) 'Damna tamen celeres reparant cælestia lunæ.' Macleane appears to me right in differing from Orelli, who refers 'damna cælestia' to the changes of the moon.  

\(^2\) 'Tamen' shows that the changes and deteriorations of the weather and seasons are intended, and 'celeres lunæ' are the quick-revolving months; i.e. without metaphor, time
Aulus Torquatus, of whom Nepos speaks in his Life of Atticus, c. 11, who had served with Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, and was therefore Horace's old fellow-soldier. Macleane considers the poem to be one of Horace's earlier odes, and introduced to swell the fasciculus—or, as we should say, fill up the volume. I do not see much cause for that supposition. The sentiment is one habitual to Horace at every stage of his life, and it is in harmony with the tone of the epistle, published probably five or six years before the Fourth Book of Odes.

CARM. VII.

Diffugere nives: redeunt jam gramina campis
Arboribusque comœ;
Mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
Flumina prætereunt;
Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros.
Immortalia ne speres, monet Annus et alnum
Quæ rapit Hora diem.
Frigora mitescunt Zephyris, Ver proterit Æstas
Interitura, simul
Pomifer Auctumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
Bruma recurrit iners.
Damna tamen celeres reparator cælestia lunæ;¹
Nos, ubi decidimus,
Quo pater Æneas, quo Tullus,² dives et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra sumus.³

brings back the seasons—time does not bring back us men when we once vanish. Moschus in his idyll on the death of Bion has a somewhat similar idea.

² Ritter has 'Tullus, dives et Ancus,' not 'dives Tullus,' observing that there is no just cause for calling Tullus rich, whereas the riches of Ancus were celebrated. Munro adopts Ritter's collocation.

³ I.e., dust in the tomb, and a shade in Hades.
Who knows if the gods will yet add a to-morrow
To the sum of to-day?
Count as saved from an heir's greedy hands all thou givest
To that friend—thine own self.

When once dead, the resplendent tribunal of Minos
Having once pronounced doom,
Noble birth, suasive tongue, moral worth, O Torquatus,
Reinstate thee no more.

Her Hippolytus chaste from the shadows of Hades
Dian's self could not free;
Lethe's chains coiled around his own best-loved Pirithous,
Theseus' self could not rend.

1 "Splendida," an epithet more proper of the court and tribunal than of the judgment (arbitria) given. . . . The choice of poetic figure by which to enlarge the simple notion, 'cum semel occideris,' was probably suggested by Torquatus's own profession as an advocate, alluded to in Ep. I. v. 8, 9.—YONGE. Ritter takes the epithet as referring to the splendour which surrounded the tribunal of Minos, enabling him more searchingly to inspect the souls whom he judged; and observes that the splendour is here opposed to 'tenebris,' line 25.
Quis scit, an adjicant hodiernae crastina summæ
Tempora di superi?
Cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico
Quæ dederis animo.

Cum semel occideris, et de te splendida¹ 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 abrupere caro
Vincula Pirithoo.
ODE VIII.

TO CENSORINUS.

On stated times, as in the Kalends of March and January, it was the custom of the wealthier Romans to make presents to their friends. To this custom Horace refers, sending his verses to Censorinus, as the most acceptable gift he could offer. C. Marcus Censorinus was a man of consular rank, bore a high reputation, and died greatly regretted.

Goblets and bronzes rare, my Censorinus,
    I on my friends would heartily bestow;
I'd give them tripods, as Greece gave her heroes—
    Nor should the meanest of my gifts be thine,
Were I but rich in artful masterpieces
    Such as a Scopas or Parrhasius wrought,¹
When one in stone, in liquid hues the other,
    Now fixed a mortal, now enshrined a god.
Not mine that wealth,² nor do such dainty treasures
    Fail to thine affluence nor allure thy mind;
That which charms thee is song: song I can proffer,
    And set a value on the gift I bring.
Marbles inscribed with a state's grateful praises,
    Wherein great chieftains live and breathe again:
The flights³ of Hannibal, his threats hurled backward;
    And impious Carthage perishing in flames,
Made not more famed than did Calabrian Muses
    Him who bore off from conquered Africa
As his own spoils—a Name.⁴ Nor aught thy guerdon,
    If scrolls be mute upon thy deeds of good.

¹ Scopas was a famous sculptor of Paros, according to Pausanias, flourishing about 450 years B.C. Parrhasius, a painter, native of Ephesus, about 400 B.C. He was a contemporary and rival of Zeuxis.
CARM. VIII.

Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis æra sodalibus;
Donarem tripodas, præmia fortium
Graiæorum; neque tu pessima munerum
Ferres, divite me scilicet artium,
Quas aut Parrhasius protulit, aut Scopas,¹
Hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
Sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
Sed non hæc mihi vis;² non tibi talium
Res est, aut animus deliciarum egens.
Gaudes carminibus; carmina possumus
Donare, et pretium dicere muneri.
Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem ducibus; non celeres fugæ,³
Rejectæque retrorsum Hannibalis minæ,
Non incendia Carthaginis impie,
Ælius, qui domita nomen ab Africa⁴
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides: neque,

² ‘Sed non hæc mihi vis.’ The sense is approached by our English idiomatic slang expression, ‘I am not of that force.’

³ ‘Celeres fugæ’ means Hannibal’s hasty recall from Italy (Liv. xxx. 20).—Orelli.

⁴ ‘Scipio Africanus.’ This passage has given infinite trouble to the commentators. Ennius (denoted here by the ‘Calabrian Muses’) celebrated the elder Scipio. But Carthage was burned, not by the elder Scipio, but by the younger Scipio Africanus, many years after the death of Ennius; and it cannot be supposed that Horace was so ignorant as to ascribe to the elder Scipio the act of the younger. It was even proposed by Bentley to omit the seventeenth verse, referring to Carthage, altogether; but the line is in all the MSS. extant. Others suggest that two lines are wanting after the seventeenth, which would have removed the alleged confusion; and this theory is supported by the assertion that odes in this measure are so constituted as to be reducible to stanzas of
Though son of Mars and Ilia, what—had silence
    Been his worth’s cold obstruction—Romulus?
The genius, favour, voice of powerful poets
Consecrate Æacus, from waves of Styx
Ravished to golden isles.¹ The Muse permits not
The mortal worthy of her praise to die;
Him the Muse hallows to the bliss of heaven.
Thus in the longed-for banquet-hall of Jove
Sits resolute Hercules; the sons of Leda
Thus—one twin-star—from Ocean’s nether deep
Snatch tempest-shattered barks; and thus doth Liber,
His brows adorned with the vine’s lusty green,
Hear as a god our mortal supplications,
And guide the votive prayer to happy ends.

four lines each, while this ode wants at present two verses necessary to establish that rule. But, as Macleane observes, ‘the rule itself is arbitrary, and a precarious foundation for such an assumption as the loss of two verses, of which no traces are to be found in the oldest MSS. and commentators.’ Macleane thinks ‘that the confusion is easily seen through by those who avoid the commentators and judge for themselves.

... When Horace says that the defeat of Hannibal by the elder Scipio, and the destruction of Carthage by the younger, do not hold up their name more nobly than the Muse of Calabria,—who does not supply, in his own mind, “which was employed in doing honour to the elder”? To me the meaning seems clear enough. Just as Horace, Lib. I. Carm. xii. v. 46, makes the name of Marcellus, who took Syracuse, stand for all his family, and include the young Marcellus, so he here makes the name of Africanus stand for the whole family, and include especially the younger Scipio. Or, as Ritter expresses it, the fame of the elder Scipio, recorded by Ennius, was revived in the destruction of Carthage by the younger.

¹ ‘Virtus et favor et lingua potentium
    Vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.’

‘Virtus et favor’ are generally taken, like ‘lingua,’ as belonging to ‘potentium vatum,’ so that ‘virtus’ is ‘vis ingenii, facultas poetica.’ I doubt the accuracy of that interpretation; I think it rather means that though Æacus was virtuous (and he was much celebrated for his justice), his virtue would not have raised him to the skies but for the applause
Si chartae sileant, quod bene feceris,  
Mercedem tuleris. Quid foret Iliæ  
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas  
Obstaret meritis invidia Romuli?  
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Æacum  
Virtus et favor et lingua potentium  
Vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.¹  
Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:  
Cælo Musa beat. Sic Jovis interest  
Optatis epulis impiger Hercules  
Clarum Tyndaridæ sidus ab infimis  
Quassas eripiunt æquoribus rates;  
Ornatus viridi tempora pampino  
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

won for him by the poets. The causes, therefore, are his virtue and  
the public esteem ("favor"), and the poet's praise that made his virtue  
known.'—MACLEAN. This interpretation is very ingenious, but as it  
is opposed to that accepted by the general body of Horatian commen-  
tators, I do not admit it in translation, though, like all the sugges-  
tions of this eminent critic, it merits respectful attention. I may add  
that Ritter also separates 'virtus' and 'favor' from 'lingua potentium  
vatum.'
ODE IX.

TO LOLLIUS.

As the preceding poem was addressed to a man who retained unblemished a popular reputation to the last, and whose death was considered a public calamity, so this poem, which equally treats of the immortality it is the gift of poets to bestow, is addressed to one who, if we are to take for granted such historical records of him as are left, was the subject of merited obloquy in his later years, and died by poison which he administered to himself, to the great joy of his countrymen. And it was for the vices most opposite to the special virtues Horace here ascribes to Lollius—viz., for rapacity and corruption—that his character, rightly or wrongly, has been most defamed. His vindication has been, however, very ably attempted by Tate ('Vindiciæ Lollianae'), and the evidence against him is generally considered to rest upon prejudiced and questionable authority.—See Estrè, Hor.

Lest, perchance, thou believe that the words which to music, I, whose birth was where Aufidus rushes far-sounding,
Linked by arts not before me divulged,
Are but sounds that are fated to die;

Remember, that though the first throne be great Homer's,
There are muses not tuneless, Pindaric and Cæan;
With Alcæus, yet threatening and fierce;
With Stesichorus, stately and grave.

Time destroys not what once sported loose in Anacreon;
To this day breathes the love, to this day glows the ardour
Which the girl of Æolia consigned
To the strings of her passionate lyre.
Hor. Pros. At all events it is clear that the vices imputed to him by his personal enemy, Sulpicius Quirinus, and Vel- leius Paterculus, the adulator of Tiberius, were not suspected by Augustus, with whom, even after his defeat by the Sygambri, A.U.C. 737, he retained eminent favour and influence, and who subsequently appointed him tutor to his grandson, Caius Cæsar. If Lollius could deceive Augustus as to his real nature, it has been shrewdly observed that he might well deceive Horace. The exact date of the ode is unknown, but it has the appearance of being written after Lollius’s defeat and recall; at all events, it was published not long after it, and is therefore an evidence of Horace’s generous desire to soothe and sustain his friend in a time of reverse, and, no doubt, of unpopularity. The latter part of the poem is in Horace’s noblest style of sentiment and expression. Ritter maintains that Epistles ii. and xviii., Lib. I., are addressed to the Lollius of the ode; but most critics consider them to be addressed to his eldest son.

CARM. IX.

Ne forte credas interitura, quæ
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum,
Non ante volgatas per artes
Verba loquor socianda chordis:

Non, si priores Mæonius tenet
Sedes Homerus, Pindaricæ latent,
Ceæque, et Alcæi minaces,
Stesichorique graves Camenæ;

Nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
Delevit Ætas; spirat adhuc amor,
Vivuntque commissi calores
Æoliae fidibus puellæ.

c c 2
Spartan Helen was not the sole woman inflamed by 
An adulterer's sleek locks; or seduced by the glitter 
Of the vestments embroidered in gold, 
And the graces and pomp of a prince;
Teucer bent not the first skilful bow of the Cretan; 
Troy was more than once harassed by valiant besiegers;
Other chiefs, besides Sthenelus strong, 
Or Idomeneus mighty, achieved
Deeds as worthy as theirs of a Muse to record them;
Not the first was Deiphobus keen, or fierce Hector, 
Who has met, without flinching, the blow, 
In defence of his children and wife.
Many brave men have lived long before Agamemnon, 
But o'er them darkly presses the slumber eternal; 
All unwept and unknown, wanting Him— 
Making names ever sacred 1—the Bard!
Little differs worth hidden from worthlessness buried;
In the page I shall speak, and the page shall adorn thee; 
I will let not, O Lollius, thy toils 
Fade in livid oblivion away.
In the converse of life thine the provident wisdom, 
Thine, the temper unmoved by the changes of Fortune, 2
Whatsoever her smile or her frown, 
Neither bowed nor elate,—but erect;
The avenger of greedy and fraudulent Corruption, 
The abstainer from Gold, which draws all to its magnet—
Consul not of the one year alone, 
For thy mind must be always in power

1 'Vate sacro.' 'Sacro' here has the sense of making sacred, consecrating.
2 'Secundis
Temporibus dubisque rectus.'
Rectus needs, I think, the paraphrase in the translation, 'neither bowed nor elate; for with head arrogantly lifted up in prosperous nor dejected in doubtful fortune. I agree with Orelli and Macleane in considering that
Non sola comptos arsit adulteri
Crines, et aurum vestibus illitum
Mirata, regalesque cultus
Et comites Helene Lacæna;

Primusve Teucer tela Cydonio
Direxit arcu; non semel Ilios
Vexata; non pugnavit ingens
Idomeneus Sthenelusve solus

Dicenda Musis prœlia; non ferox
Hector, vel acer Deiphobus graves
Excepit ictus pro pudicis
Conjugibus puerisque primus.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.¹

Paullum sepultæ distat inertæ
Celata virtus. Non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum silebo,
Totve tuos patiar labores

Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones. Est animus tibi
Rerumque prudentis, et secundis
Temporibus dubiisque rectus;²

Vindex avaræ fraudis, et abstinens
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniæ;
Consulque non unius anni,
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus

the lines refer to the defeat of Lollius in Germany; and it seems that not only Horace here emphatically seeks to pay tribute to the steadfastness and integrity of his friend's character, but in the concluding stanza to vindicate his courage, and intimate that he was the last man who would have feared death.
Whensoever an arbiter, faithful to justice,
Over what is expedient exalts what is honest,
Awes the briber with one lofty look,
And through hosts clears, victorious, his way.¹

It is not large possessions themselves that are blessings;
More rightly called ‘blest,’ he whose claim to the title
Is the wisdom which puts to their use
All the gifts that he owes to the gods,

He who hardens his soul to reverse and privation—
He who looks upon death as less dread than dishonour—
Never fears, for the friends of his love
Or the cause of his country, to die.

¹ The meaning of these lines seems explained by reference to Lib. III. Od. ii. lines 19, 20,—

‘Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ ;’

i.e., Lollius is not the mere official consul of a single year—he never lays down the insignia of his majestic virtue. It seems to me that the image is still continued through the lines,—

‘Per obstantes catervas
Explicit sua victor arma.’

The lictors dispersed opposing crowds to make way for the consul; and ‘arma’ here may signify their axes. Yonge renders the passage yet more symbolically, in this eloquent paraphrase: ‘The soul has an independent dignity so long as, true in principle and judgment, it rejects corruption, and bursts in a moral victory through the host of vices.’ Ritter insists on construing the lines literally, and refers them to Lollius’s military administration of his province.
Judex honestum praetulit utili,
Rejecit alto dona nocentium
Voltu, per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma.¹

Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum: rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,

Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Pejusque leto flagitium timet;
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patria timidus perire.

ODE X. OMITTED.
ODE XI.

TO PHYLLIS.

As Horace had before (Lib. III. Od. xxviii.) invited Lyde to the feast-day of Neptune, so he here invites Phyllis to celebrate the birthday of Mæcenas in the Ides of April. The date of the ode cannot be determined, though it may be reasonably conjectured that when he speaks of Phyllis as his last love, he was of an age correspondent with the period at which the Fourth Book was published. Nevertheless this is no sure index; for, as Macleane shrewdly intimates, most men promise the woman they woo that she shall be the last love. To those who insist upon giving literal individual personality to the fictitious names Horace introduces into his poems, this poem would seem written at a much earlier period, since Telephus, that universal ladykiller, is still described as 'juvenis.' But we have already seen that 'juvenis' by no means necessarily signifies a youth. I do not believe, with Maclean, that

I've a cask of rich Alban wine full in my cellar—
It has passed its ninth year; in my garden, fair Phyllis,
There is parsley for chaplets, and O, in profusion,
   Ivy too, ivy,

Thou art dazzling whenever that binds up thy tresses.
All my house laughs with plate; clasped around with chaste vervain,
Lo, mine altar stands thirsting the blood of a lambkin
   Soon to be sprinkled.

And all hands are at work; here and there run the servants,
Men and maids, helter-skelter; the flame mounts in flicker,
Telephus is altogether a poetic fiction; neither am I satisfied with the grounds upon which Ritter identifies the Telephus of Ode xiii. Book I., and xix. Book III., with Heliodorus, the grammarian and Greek scholar mentioned Serm. i. 5, 2, and assumes that another person is designated under that name in this ode. Nothing is more likely than that among Horace's gayer companions there was some one very good-looking gallant, celebrated for his bonnes fortunes among the freedwomen of Rome, whom the poet always designates under the name of Telephus. It is observable that there is considerable consistency in the way in which Telephus is mentioned in Horace, with a good-humoured, half-envious admiration for personal gifts, and whom, on the single occasion (Carm. xix. Lib. III.) in which the handsome gentleman seems disposed to bore with an unseasonable display of learning, he puts back into his right place as reveller and gallant, with a certain superiority, such as, when it came to a display of learning, a Horace might be disposed to assume towards a Telephus.

CARM. XI.

Est mihi nonum superantis annum
Plenus Albani cadus; est in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis;
   Est hederæ vis

Multa, qua crines religata fulges;
Ridet argento domus; ara castis
Vincta verbenis avet immolato
   Spargier agno;

Cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc
Cursitant mixtæ pueris puellæ;
As it whirls the smoke cresting the point of its summit
Round and around it.¹

But that now thou may'st know to what mirth I invite thee,
'Tis in honour of Ides, not ungrateful to Phyllis,
'Tis the day that halves April, the month we devote to
Venus the sea-born.²

Day, indeed, that by me should be solemnised duly—
Scarce mine own natal day I hold equally sacred,
Since it is by its light, year on year, my Mæcenas
Sums up life's riches.

Come, that Telephus whom thou art seeking (poor Phyllis! He's a youth above thee) is now chained to another.
She is wanton and rich, and she holds him in bondage,
    Pleased with his fetters.

Phaëthon, burnt in his chariot, deters from ambition,
Winged Pegasus spurning Bellerophon earth-born
May admonish thee also by this solemn lesson,
    'Seek but what suits thee;'

Deeming Hope, when it flies out of reach, is forbidden,
O set not thy heart where the lots are unequal.
Come, with me be contented, of all loves my latest;
    Love with thee endeth.

After thee never more woman's face shall inflame me;
O, be cheered, then, and come; let me teach thee such measures
As the voice which I love into sweetness shall render;
    Song lessens sorrow.

¹ 'Sordidum flammæ trepidant rotantes
Vertice fumum.'

² "Vertice" is the top of the flame, which flickers as it whirls the dark smoke on its crest—a spiral flame, culminating in a column of smoke. It seems as if Horace were writing with a fire burning before him, and caught the idea as he wrote."—MACLEAN.

² In astrology the Star of Venus rules the month of April.
Sordidum flammæ trepidant rotantes
Vertice fumum.\(^1\)

Ut tamen noris, quibus advoceris
Gaudiiis, Idus tibi sunt agendæ,
Qui dies mensem Veneris marinæ \(^2\)
Findit Aprilem;

Jure sollemnis mihi, sanctiorque,
Pæne natali proprio, quod ex hac
Luce Mæcenas meus adfluentes
Ordinat annos.

Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit,
Non tuæ sortis juvenem, puella
Dives et lasciva, tenetque grata
Compede vinctum.

Terret ambustus Phaëthon avaras
Spes; et exemplum grave præbet ales
Pegasus, terrenum equitem gravatus
Bellerophontem;

Semper ut te digna sequare, et ultra
Quam licet sperare nefas putando
Disparem vites. Age jam, meorum
Finis amorum,

Non enim posthac alia caléo
Femina,—condisce modos, amanda
Voce quos reddas; minuentur atræ
Carmine curæ.
ODE XII.

INVITATION TO VIRGIL.

It is a vexed question among commentators whether the Virgil here addressed be Virgil the poet. Yonge says that the general authority of critics is against that identification. Macleane is disposed to favour it, and it is not without other and very eminent defenders.

The main objections to the assumption are — 1st, the chronological one. Virgil was dead many years before the publication of the Fourth Book; but, in answer to this, it is said that, in making up the collection composed for Book IV., Horace might have included poems composed at a much earlier date. Dillenburger considers that this ode was written in youth, and published in the final book of the Odes, as if Horace wished to refresh and record the memory of his friend.

2d, It is asked, 'How can Virgil the poet be called the client of noble youths?' To this it has been replied, that the youths referred to might be the stepsons of Augustus, or (more generally by Dillenburger), that the phrase means nothing more than the familiarity with persons of high station, such as Agrippa, Pollio, and others.

3d, That an injunction to lay aside the care or study of gain (studium lucri) is very inappropriate to the liberal and generous character assigned to the poet. But here again it is said, that it is absurd to take literally what is obviously written in jest. If a man, the most indifferent to gain, had, for instance, informed us that he thought he could sell an olive

Now Thracian breezes, comrades of the spring,
Temper the ocean and impel the sails;
Frost crisps not now the fields, nor rage the floods,
Swollen with winter snows.
olive crop well, or that he had found a good investment for his money, we might very well say to him, 'Put aside those mercenary thoughts of gain, and come and sup with us.' There would be at once a jest and a compliment in the irony of the implied accusation. That the Virgil addressed must be a vender of perfumes, because he is asked to contribute a pot of nard; or a banker or negotiator, because he is exhorted to put aside the care of gain—and a scholiast in a Paris MS. inscribes the ode, 'Ad Virgilium Negotiatorem,'—is a conjecture less plausible than that he was a physician of that name to the Neros, or a relation of C. Virgil the praetor, Cicero's friend.

Orelli and Yonge quote with approval Gesner's remark, 'That there is nothing in the poem itself which pertains more to the poet Virgil than to any other friend of Horace's.' On the other hand, it has been said that the mythological imagery and the description of Spring with which the poem opens, are addressed with appropriate felicity to the Poet of the Eclogues and Georgics.

The question does not seem to admit of positive solution one way or the other. The reader must judge for himself whether it is probable that Horace included in the Fourth Book a poem that, if addressed to Virgil the poet, he must have written many years before; and whether if he did thus, as Dillenburger contends, seek to revive the memory of his early friend, it would have been in a poem of a comparatively light character, and so wholly free from any reference to the loss he had sustained.

CARM. XII.

Jam Veris comites, quæ mare temperant,
Impellunt animæ lineæ Thraciæ;
Jam nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
Hiberna nive turgidi.
Now builds her nest the melancholy bird
Yet moaning Itys; she, the eternal shame
Of Cecrops' house for vengeance too severe
   On barbarous lusts of kings.¹

Swains of sleek flocks on the young grass reclined,
Chant pastoral songs attuned to piping reeds,
Charming the god who loves the darksome slopes
   And folds of Arcady;

These, O my Virgil, are the days of thirst;
But if, O client of illustrious youths,
Calenian juices tempt, bring thou the nard,
   And with it earn my wine;

One tiny box of spikenard will draw forth
The cask now ripening in Sulpician² vaults,—
Cask large enough to hold a world of hope,
   And drown a world of care.

Quick! if such merriments delight thee, come
With thine own contributions to the feast;
Not like rich host in prodigal halls—my cups
   Thou shalt not tinge scot-free.

But put aside delays and care of gain,
Warned, while yet time, by the dark death-fires; mix
With thought brief thoughtlessness; in fitting place
   'Tis sweet to be unwise.

¹ 'Quod male barbaras
   Regum est ulta libidines.'

Most authorities, Orelli amongst them, take 'male' with 'ulta'—
viz., that the bird, whether Philomela or Procne, avenged too cruelly
(nimis atrociter) the guilt of Tereus. I have translated accordingly,
but am by no means sure that 'male' should not be taken, as
Maclean suggests, with 'barbaras'—viz., the too barbarous, or evilly
barbarous, lusts of kings. The bird is the eternal reproach to the house
of Cecrops, not on account of the severity of her vengeance, but on ac-
BOOK IV.—ODE XII.

Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens,
Infelix avis et Cecropiae domus
Æternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
Regum est ulta libidines.¹

Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
Custodes ovium carmina fistula,
Delectantque deum, cui pecus et nigri
Colles Arcadiæ placent.

Adduxere sitim tempora, Virgili;
Sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
Si gestis, juvenum nobilium cliens,
Nardo vina merebere.

Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,²
Spes donare novas largus, amaraque
Curarum eluere efficax.

Ad quæ si properas gaudia, cum tua
Velox merce veni: non ego te meis
Immunem meditor tingere poculis,
Plena dives ut in domo.

Verum pone moras et studium lucri,
Nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium,
Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
Dulce est desipere in loco.

count of the atrocity of the crimes she avenged. Most commentators of authority agree that the bird here meant is the swallow, not nightingale. Ritter understands by 'flebiliter' the swallow's inarticulate twitter.
² 'Sulpiciis horreis.' The Sulpician wine-vaults were famous, and the scholiast Porphyrión says they were still the great magazines for wine and oil in his day, under the name of the Galban cellars. Ritter considers that Orelli is mistaken in supposing that Horace intimates that he will buy the wine there; and maintains that he refers to his own cask, which had been warehoused in the Sulpician magazine.
ODE XIII.

TO LYCE, A FADED BEAUTY.

No subject of inquiry can be less interesting to a critic of good sense than that on which so many learned disputants have wasted their time—viz., who among the ladies celebrated by Horace were real persons or imaginary; and who are to be admitted into or rejected from the genuine catalogue of his loves? We have absolutely no data to go upon. There is no reason, except that he chooses to apply the same name to both, to suppose that the Lyce over whose ruined charms he now exults was the Lyce of whose cruelty he complains, Lib. III. Od. x.; nay, I believe that most recent scholars are pretty well agreed that the ode last mentioned was an artistic exercise, imitated from the Greek serenades.

They have heard my prayers, Lyce, the gods;
The gods have heard, Lyce; thou’rt old,
    Yet still, setting up for a beauty,
    Thou wouldst tipple and frisk with the young;

Courting, maudlin, with tremulous chant,
Laggard Cupid: he’s absent on guard
    O’er the bloom on the cheeks of young Chia,
    Whose lute is more sweet than thy song.¹

For he roosts not on oaks without sap;
Hollow teeth and dry wrinkles he flies,
    He is chilled by the snow of grey tresses,
    And thus has retreated from thee.

¹ There is an opposition between Lyce’s tremulous quaver, ‘cantu tremulo,’ and Chia’s musical skill, ‘doctæ psallere,’ which can only, perhaps, be made clear by some slight paraphrase, as is attempted in the last line of the stanza, in translation.
serenades. But, so far as mere conjecture from internal evidence may be allowed, the present ode seems to have in it a tone of earnestness which warrants a belief that the Lyce addressed was a real person. In the three concluding stanzas, the bitterness of sarcasm is tinged with a certain melancholy pathos which appears to indicate the memory of a former passion; and the direct reference to Cinara—to whom all interpreters agree in considering Horace was attached (whether or not he celebrates her under names of the same metrical quantity, Lalage, Glycera, &c.)—gives a peculiar air of individual truthfulness to the poem. Be this as it may, the ode is remarkable for its eternal applicability to a type in female character, and is replete with beauties of expression. The image in the last stanza is extremely striking. The simile is so simple that one might fancy it would have occurred to any poet, yet it is so expressed as to be quite original.

CARM. XIII.

Audivere, Lyce, di mea vota, di
Audivere, Lyce; fis anus, et tamen
Vis formosa videri,
Ludisque et bibis impudens,

Et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem
Lentum sollicitas. Ille virentis et
Doctæ psallere Chiae
Pulchris excubat in genis.¹

Importunus enim transvolat aridas
Quercus, et refugit te, quia luridi
Dentes, te quia rugæ
Turpant et capitis nives.

¹
Sparkling gems, and the purples of Cos,¹
Cannot back to thee bring the dead years
Rapid Time has interred in our annals,
For all men to number their graves.²

Whither fled is the beauty? alas!
Where the bloom? where the movement of grace?
Of that—O of that—what is left thee,
Breathing loves, which stole me from myself,

Blest successor to Cinara thou,
Gracious form,³ for arts pleasing renowned?
But to Cinara few years were conceded,
By the Fates who have Lyce preserved

To be rival in age to the crow,
That the young, glowing yet, may behold,
As a subject of mirth, in those ashes
The fallen remains of a torch.

¹ Horace speaks of the robes from Cos in Sat. I. ii. line 100, as so transparent that they left nothing to conceal.
² "Tempora, quæ semel
Notis condita fastis
Inclusit volucris dies."
³ "Horace means to say that the days she has seen are all buried, as it were, in the grave of the public annals (as Acron says), and there any one may find them, but she cannot get them back. It is a graphic way of identifying the years, and marking their decease, to point to the record in which each is distinguished by its consuls and its leading events. "Notis" merely expresses the publicity and notoriety of the record by which the lapse of time is marked."—MACLEANE.
⁴ "Notaque et artium
Gratarum facies?"
""Facies" does not mean the face alone, but the whole form and presence. "Facies autem totam corporis speciem significat."”—DILLENBURGER. See, too, Orelli's note.
BOOK IV.—ODE XIII.

Nec Coæ referunt jam tibi purpuræ,¹
Nec clari lapides tempora, quæ semel
Notis condita fastis
Inclusit volucris dies.²

Quo fugit Venus? heu, quove color? decens
Quo motus? quid habes illius, illius,
Quæ spirabant Amores,
Quæ me surpuerat mihi,

Felix post Cinaram, notaque et artium
Gratarum facies?³ Sed Cinaræ breves
Annos fata dederunt,
Servatura diu parem

Cornicis vetulæ temporibus Lycen;
Possent ut juvenes visere fervidi,
Multo non sine risu,
Dilapsam in cineres facem,
ODE XIV.

TO AUGUSTUS, AFTER THE VICTORIES OF TIBERIUS.

The introduction to Ode iv. in this book has, sufficiently for the purpose, sketched the outline of the events which led to the composition of this ode. As the former was devoted to

By what care can the Senate of Rome, and Rome’s people, With a largess of honours sufficiently ample, By what titles, what archives to time, Eternise thy virtues, Augustus,

Prince supremest, wherever the sun lights a region That man can inhabit? What in war thou availest, The Vindelici lately have learned, Free till then from the law of the Roman.

By no even exchange in the barter of bloodshed, Drusus, leading thy hosts, overthrew the fleet Breuni— The Genauni—implacable race— And the citadels piled upon Alps

Horror-breathing; then Nero the elder completed Glories due to thine auspice in one crowning battle; Closed the raid of the savage, and crushed The grim might of the giant-like Ræti.

All conspicuous he rode where the fight raged the fiercest, Wasting down, to what wrecks! that array of stern bosoms, Self-surrendered as offerings to death, In the stubborn devotion to freedom.

Through the foe went his way, as the blast o’er the billows When the Pleiads are cleaving the rain-clouds asunder,

1 ‘Plus vice simplici.’ This does not mean ‘more than once,’ but, as the scholiasts interpret, ‘with double loss to the enemy;’ or literally,
to the praises of Drusus, so the latter commemorates the subsequent and completing conquests of Tiberius, and refers all to the honour of Augustus in the establishment of his empire, and the consummation of his fortunes and his glory.

CARM. XIV.

Quae cura Patrum, quaeve Quiritium,
Plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, virtutes in aevum
Per titulos memoresque fastos

Æternet, O, qua sol habitabiles
Illustrat oras, maxime principum?
Quem legis expertes Latinae,
Vindelici didicere nuper,

Quid Marte posses. Milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces, et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis,

Dejicit acer plus vice simplici;¹
Major Neronum mox grave praelium
Commisit, immanesque Raetos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis:

Spectandus in certamine Martio,
Devota morti pectora liberæ
Quantis fatigaret ruinis;
Indomitas prope qualis undas

Exercet Auster, Pleiadum choro
Scindente nubes, impiger hostium

as Macleane renders it, 'with more than an even exchange'—i.e., of blood.
And the snort of his war-horse was heard
In the midst of the lightnings of battle.¹

As when Aufidus, laving the kingdoms of Daunus,
Bursts in wrath, and in form of the wild bull,² And prepares the dread deluge he drives
O'er the fields that are rife with the harvest,—

So in storm, through that barbarous array swept the Nero,
Mowing, foremost to hindmost, ranks serried in iron,
Till a victor he stood, without loss,
On a ground that was strewn with the foemen;

But he owed to thyself the resources, the counsels,
And the gods. From the day that her port and void palace,
Suppliant Egypt threw open to thee,
Had thy reign reached its third happy lustre,

When, in crowning thy wish and completing thy glory,
Fortune ended the wars which her favour had prospered,³
And established in triumph the peace
Of a world underneath thy dominion.

Thee the dauntless Cantabrian, before never conquered;
Thee the Mede and the Indian, and Scyth, the wild Nomad,
Mark in wonder and awe, guardian shield
Of Italia, and Rome the earth's mistress.

Thee the Nile, unrevealing the source of its waters;
Thee the Danube; and thee the swift rush of the Tigris;

¹ 'Medios per ignes'—i.e., 'per medium ardorem belli' (Com. Cruq.).
² 'Tauriformis Aufidus;' literally, 'tauriform' or 'bull-formed Aufidus.' The image is applied to many rivers by the Greek and Latin poets. Macleane suggests that the branches of so many large streams at the mouths of rivers might have suggested the idea of the horns; but it seems to me that the comparison to the bull in general applies to the blind and senseless violence of the animal, who runs on
Vexare turmas, et frementem
Mittere equum medios per ignes.\(^1\)

Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,\(^2\)
Qui regna Dauni præfluit Apuli,
Cum sævit, horrendamque cultis
Diluviem meditatur agris,

Ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
Ferrata vasto diruit impetu,
Primosque et extremos metendo
Stravit humum, sine clade victor,

Te copias, te consilium et tuos
Præbente divos. Nam tibi, quo die
Portus Alexandrea supplex
Et vacuam patefecit aulam,

Fortuna iustro prospera tertio
Belli secundos, reddidit exitus,\(^3\)
Laudemque et optatum peractis
Imperiis decus arrogavit.

Te Cantaber non ante domabilis,
Medusque, et Indus, te profugus Scythes
Miratur, O tutela præsens
Italæ dominaeque Romæ:

Te, fontium qui celat origines
Nilusque et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,

indiscriminately, trampling and destroying everything in his way—just as the inundation of a torrent does.

\(^1\) Horace, here addressing Augustus, ascribes it to him as his crowning victory that he has at last got the wish of his heart, which was peace—the peace of the world, subjected to the Roman Empire. The victory of Tiberius was on the fifteenth anniversary of the day on which Augustus entered Alexandria, and, thus terminating the civil war, became supreme.
Thee the monster-fraught ocean, which roars
Round the birthplace remote of the Briton;

Thee fierce Gallia, the land for which death has no terror,
Thee Iberia, the stubborn, hear hushed and submissive;
The Sygambri, exulting in gore,
With meek arms piled in trophy, adore thee.
Te beluosus qui remotis
   Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis;

Te non paventis funera Galliæ
Duræque tellus audit Hiberiæ;
Te cæde gaudentes Sygambri
Compositis venerantur armis.
ODE XV.

TO AUGUSTUS ON THE RESTORATION OF PEACE.

This ode is the appropriate epilogue to the Fourth Book, of which the poems that celebrate the Roman victories under Drusus and Tiberius constitute the noblest portion. If it be true that the book was published on account of these odes, and at the desire of Augustus, Horace would naturally conclude by a special reference to the beneficial issues of the wars undertaken by Augustus, and from the final completion of which in Gaul, Germany, and Spain, he had just returned to Rome. Horace here begins by saying, that when he wished

Of wars and vanquished cities when I longed
To sing, Apollo checked me with his lyre,
   Lest I launched sails so slight
   Into so vast a deep. Cæsar, thy reign

Has given back golden harvests to our fields;
Our standards, torn from Parthia’s haughty walls,
   Restored to Roman Jove;
   Closed gates of Janus, vacant of a war;

To righteous order rampant licence curbed,
Thrust from the state the vices\(^1\) which defiled,
   And, in their stead, recalled
   The ancient virtues to their fatherland,\(^2\)——

\(^1\) ‘Emovitque culpas.’ This refers to the moral reforms undertaken by Augustus, such as the Julian law, ‘de adulteriis et de pudicitia.’

\(^2\) ‘Veteres artes.’ ‘Artes’ here means ‘virtues,’ as in Book III. Od. iii. ‘Hac arte’ (ἄρετή), as prudence, fortitude, justice, temperance.’

—ACRON.
wished to sing of those wars, Phoebus checked him. But Phoebus does not forbid him to sing the triumphs of peace; and, with a lively lyrical abruptness, he therefore at once bursts forth:

'Tua, Caesar, aetas
Fruges et agris retulit uberes,' &c.

That the poem was composed immediately after the return of Caesar, and in connection with Odes iv. and xiv., is, I think, made clear by its own internal evidence. War is finished, and Augustus is celebrated as the triumphant establisher of law and order, and the author of the national prosperity, and the improvements, social and moral, which result from the security to life and property bestowed by a government at once firm and beneficent. He is here the descendant, not of Mars and Ilia, but of Anchises and Venus the gentle.

**CARM. XV.**

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
Victas et urbes, increpuit lyra;
Ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
Vela darem. Tua, Caesar, aetas

Fruges et agris retulit uberes,
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi,
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus, et vacuum duellis

Janum Quirini clausit, et ordinem
Rectum evaganti frena Licentiæ
Injecit, emovitque culpas,¹
Et veteres revocavit artes,²
Virtues from which have grown the Roman name,
Italia's might, fame, and majestic sway,
To the Sun's Orient rise,
From his calm bed in our Hesperian seas.

Cæsar our guardian, neither civil rage
Nor felon violence scares us from repose,
Nor ire which sharpens swords,
And makes the wars of nations and their woes.

Neither the drinkers of deep Danube break
The Julian Laws, nor Scyths, nor Seres fierce,
Nor Persia's faithless sons,
Nor wild men cradled on the banks of Don.

So, with each sacred, with each common day
(Prayer, as is due, first rendered to the gods),
'Mid blithesome Liber's boons,
Gathering our women and our children round,

Let us, as did our fathers in old time,
Honour with hymns and Lydian fife brave chiefs:
Sing Troy; Anchises sing;
Sing of the race from gentle Venus sprung.

1 'Non furor
Civilis aut vis exiget otium,
Non ira, quæ procudit enses,
Et miseræ inimicat urbes.'

Three causes of fear are removed: 'Furor civilis,' 'civil war'; 'vis,' 'personal violence'; 'ira,' 'foreign wars.'
Per quas Latinum nomen et Italæ
Crevere vires, famaque et imperi
Porrecta majestas ad ortus
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.

Custode rerum Cæsare, non furor
Civilis aut vis exiget otium,
\  Non ira, quæ procudit enses,
  Et miseræs inimicat urbes.¹

Non, qui profundum Danubium bibunt,
Edicta rumpent Julia, non Getæ,
  Non Seræ, infidive Persæ,
  Non Tanain prope flumen orti.

Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris,
Inter jocosi munera Liberi,
  Cum prole matronisque nostris,
  Rite deos prius apprecati,

Virtute functos, more patrum, duces,
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis,
  Trojamque et Anchisen et alæ
  Progeniem Veneris canemus.
THE EPODES
Orelli, Dillenburger, and Macleane concur in accepting Franke's date for the publication of the book of Epodes—viz., A.U.C. 724, when Horace was thirty-five years old. The poems contained in the book appear to have been written between 713 and the date at which they were published; and, no doubt, many of them were known to Horace's friends before publication. It is to these Epodes that Horace refers in the boast, Epist. i. 19–23, that 'He first introduced the Parian iambics, following the numbers and the spirit of Archilochus' (of Paros). Their title of Epode was not given to them (any more than that of Ode was given to the poems classed under that name) by Horace himself. Such designations are the inventions of some long-subsequent grammarian.

These poems are not lyrical in point of form, though they are occasionally so in point of spirit—especially, I think, the 13th Epode. They serve as an intermediate link between Horace's Odes and his earlier Satires. The first ten Epodes are all in the same metre—alternate trimeter and dimeter iambics; they admit spondees only in the uneven places, and there is but one instance (ii. 35) in which an anapæst is admitted.

In the translation, the metre selected for the more im-
portant of these Epodes has been employed in the version of a few of the graver odes—viz., the ordinary form of blank verse converted into a couplet by alternate terminations in a dissyllable and monosyllable.

In the lighter of these first ten Epodes—viz., Ep. vi. x.—I have thought that the variation of a more easy and rapid measure was necessary to represent the lively spirit of the Latin.
EPODE I.

TO MÆCENAS.

This epode is generally supposed to have been composed when Augustus had summoned the leading public men, whether senators or equites, to meet him at Brundusium prior to the expedition against Antony and Cleopatra which resulted in the battle of Actium, A.U.C. 723. The poem warrants the assumption that Mæcenas had been then appointed to, or offered, a naval command; but it seems (Dio. 51, 3, and Seneca, Ep. 114, 6) that Augustus decided on retaining him.

So thou wilt go with thy Liburnian galleys,
    Amongst, O friend, those giant floating towers;
Prepared to share all perils braved by Cæsar,
    And ward them off, Mæcenas, by thine own.
But what of us, to whom, while thou survivest,
    Life is a joy;—thee lost, a weary load?
Shall we, as bidden, take our ease contented?
    Ease has no sweetness if not shared with thee;
Or shall we bear our part in thy great labour
    As fitting men of no unmanly mould?
Yes, we would bear; and thee o'er Alpine summits,
    Or through the wastes of guestless Caucasus,
Or where the last pale rim of the horizon
    Fades on the farthest waters of the west,
Follow with soul undaunted. Dost thou ask me
    How, weak in body, and unskilled in war,
My toil could lighten thine? I should be present
    With terrors less than those the absent know;
Ev'n as the bird more dreads for her young nestlings,
    If for a moment left, the gliding snake;
him at home to watch over the affairs of Italy, and maintain order at Rome. Mr. Dyer, in the ‘Classical Museum,’ vol. ii. p. 199, and subsequently in Smith’s ‘Biographical Dictionary’ (art. ‘Mæcenas’), contends that the poem refers to the Sicilian expedition against Sextus Pompeius, A.U.C. 718. Macleane objects to this supposition—that the language of affection is too strong for the short acquaintance which Horace had then enjoyed with Mæcenas, and that there is evidence in the poem itself of the Sabine farm having come into Horace’s possession when he wrote it; but that this did not occur till after the publication of the First Book of Satires is certain, and it is generally referred to A.U.C. 720.

CARM. I.

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
   Amice, propugnacula,
Paratus omne Cæsaris periculum
   Subire, Mæcenas, tuo.
Quid nos, quibus te vita si superstite
   Jucunda, si contra, gravis?
Utrumne jussi persequemur otium,
   Non dulce, ni tecum simul,
Ad hunc laborem mente laturi, decet
   Qua ferre non molles viros?
Feremus; et te vel per Alpium juga
   Inhospitalem et Caucasum,
Vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
   Forti sequemur pectore.
Roges, tuum labore quid juvem meo,
   Imbellis ac firmus parum?
Comes minore sum futurus in metu,
   Qui major absentes habet;
Ut assidens implumibus pullis avis
   Serpentium allapsus timet

E E 2
Not that her presence could avail for succour,
   Albeit she felt them underneath her wing.
Gladly in this or any war a soldier
   Would I enlist, for hope of thy dear grace;
Not that, attached by ampler teams of oxen,
   My ploughs may struggle through the stubborn glebe—
Not that my flocks should, ere the dog-star parcheth,
   Change hot Calabria for Lucanian slopes¹—
Not that for me some villa’s pomp of marble
   Should shine down white upon luxuriant vales,
Touching the walls with which the son of Circe²
   Girded enchanted land in Tusculum.
Enough, and more than I can need, for riches,
   Thanks to thy bounty, is already mine;
I am no Chremes, hoarding gold to bury³—
   No loose-robed spendthrift lusting gold to waste.

¹ The wealthy proprietors sent their flocks in summer from the hot Calabrian plains to the wooded hills of Lucania.
² Telegonus, son of Circe by Ulysses, said to have founded ancient Tusculum on the summit of the hill, the slope of which is occupied by the modern Frascati, and to have there introduced the magic arts of his mother. The lines in the original are slightly paraphrased in the translation, in order not to lose to the English reader the poetic idea associating Tusculum with legendary enchantment, which the words ‘Circæa mcenia’ would have conveyed to the Latin.
³ ‘“Chremes.” The allusion is, perhaps, to a character in some play of Menander.’—MACLEAN.
Magis relictis; non, ut adsit, auxili
   Latura plus præsentibus.
Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
   Bellum in tuæ spem gratiæ;
Non ut juvencis illigata pluribus
   Aratra nitantur mea;
Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
   Lucana mutet pascuis;¹
Neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi
   Circæa tangat mœnia.²
Satis superque me benignitas tua
   Ditavit: haud paravero,
Quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,³
   Discinctus aut perdam nepos.
EPISODE II.

ALFIUS.—THE CHARMS OF RURAL LIFE.

This poem, in which a glowing description of country life and its innocent attractions is placed in the mouth of the rich usurer Alfius, is one of the happiest examples of Horace’s power of polished and latent irony. Macleane thinks that the poem was originally written in praise of rural life, and that the last lines were added to give the rest a moral. ‘At any rate,’ he says, ‘the greater part of the speech must be admitted to be rather out of keeping with the supposed speaker.’ This alleged want of keeping does not strike me, nor do I believe that the last lines were ‘an afterthought.’ The idea is in complete harmony with the substance of Satire i. Book I., in which Horace says that the miser

‘Blessed is he—remote, as were the mortals
Of the first age, from business and its cares—
Who ploughs paternal fields with his own oxen
Free from the bonds of credit or of debt.¹
No soldier he, roused by the savage trumpet,
Not his to shudder at the angry sea;²
His life escapes from the contentious forum,
And shuns the insolent thresholds of the great.
And so he marries to the amorous tendrils
Of the young vine the poplar’s lofty stem;

¹ ‘Solutus omni fenore’—‘who neither lends nor borrows upon usury:’ so Torrentius and Orelli. Macleane says the words would equally suit any other person besides a city usurer, and would mean that in the country he would not be subject to the calls of creditors, and need not get into debt. This interpretation is perhaps too loosely hazarded. An illustrious Horatian critic, to whom the translator is largely indebted, observes that ‘solutus’ evidently refers to usurious
miser is never contented with his own lot, but rather extols those who follow opposite pursuits:

‘Nemo ut avarus
Se probet, ac potius laudet diversa sequentes;’

but that nevertheless the nature of the man returns to him; and if you offered to let him exchange with the person he envies, and so be happy, he would not accept the offer. The same idea is expressed more briefly, Book I. Ode i. lines 15, 35—‘The merchant, terrified by the storms, lauds the ease of the country, but very soon refits his battered vessels.’ That a rich money-lender might at some moment feel and express very glowingly an enthusiasm for country life is natural enough; we have instances of that every day. No one praises or covets a country life more than a rich Jew or contractor. We do not know the occasion which may have suggested the poem; but nothing is more likely than that there was a report that the famous usurer was about to buy a country place and retire from business; and on the strength of that rumour Horace wrote the poem.

CARM. II.

‘Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis,
Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
Solutus omni fenore,¹
Neque excitatur classico miles truci,
Neque horret iratum mare,²
Forumque vitat et superba civium
Potentiorum limina.
Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos,

bonds, and is so employed in the Satires; and suggests, as a more literal translation, ‘Unshackled by the bonds of usury.’

¹ ‘Nee horret iratum mare.’ This does not apply to the sailor, but to the trader or merchant—‘nec mercaturam exercet.’—ORELLI.
Or marks from far the lowing herds that wander
Leisurely down the calm secluded vale;
Or, pruning with keen knife the useless branches,
Grafts happier offspring on the parent tree;
Or in pure jars he stores the clear-prest honey;
Or shears the fleeces of his tender sheep;¹
Or, when brown Autumn from the fields uplifteth
Brows with ripe coronal of fruits adorned,
What joy to pluck the pear himself hath grafted,
And his own grape, that with the purple vies,
Wherewith he pays thee, rural god Priapus,
And, landmark-guardian, Sire Silvanus, thee:²
Free to recline, now under aged ilex,
Now in frank sunshine on the matted grass,
While through the steep banks slip the gliding waters,
And birds are plaintive in the forest glens,
And limpid fountains, with a drowsy tinkle,
Invite the light wings of the noonday sleep.

'But when the season of the storm, rude winter,
Gathers together all its rains and snows,
Or here and there, into the toils before them,
With many a hound he drives the savage boars;
Or with fine net, on forked stake suspended,
Spreads for voracious thrushes fraudful snare,
And—joyful prizes—captures in his springes
The shy hare and that foreigner the crane.
Who would not find in these pursuits oblivion
Of all the baleful cares which wait on love?
Yet, if indeed he boasts an honest helpmate,
Who, like the Sabine wife or sunburnt spouse

¹ 'Aut tondet infirmas oves.' Baxter strangely interprets 'infirmas' as 'sickly' (ægrotas); Orelli as 'feeble' (imbecillas). Voss translates it 'zarter,' and so far agrees with Macleane, who considers it a purely ornamental expression.
Aut in reducta vale mugientium  
Prospectat errantes greges;

Inutilesque falce ramos amputans  
Feliciores inserit;

Aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris;  
Aut tondet infirmas oves;¹

Vel, cum decorum mitibus pomis caput  
Auctumnus agris extulit,

Ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pira,  
Certantem et uham purpuræ,

Qua muneretur te, Priape, et te, pater  
Silvane, tutor finium!²

Libet jacere, modo sub antiqua ilice,  
Modo in tenaci gramine.

Labuntur altis interim ripis aquæ,  
Queruntur in silvis aves,

Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,  
Somnos quod invitet leves.

At cum Tonantis annus hibernus Jovis  
Imbres nivesque comparat,

Aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multa cane  
Apros in obstantes plagas;

Aut amite rara tendit retia,

Turdis edacibus dolos;

Pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem  
Jucunda captat præmia.

Quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,  
Hæc inter obliviscitur?

Quod si pudica mulier in partem juvet  
Domum atque dulces liberos,

² 'Pater Silvane, tutor finium.' Silvanus, whose more usual attribute is the care of corn-fields and cattle, is here made to undertake the protection of boundaries, which properly belonged to Terminus.
Of brisk Apulian, in the cares of household
   And of sweet children bears her joyous part;
Who on the sacred hearth the oldest fagots
   Piles 'gainst the coming of her wearied lord;
And in the wattled close the milch-kine penning,
   Drains the distended udders of their load;
From the sweet cask draws forth the year's new vintage,
   And spreads the luxuries of an unbought feast:
Such fare would charm me more than rarest dainties—
   Than delicate oyster of the Lucrine lake,
- Or (if from eastern floods loud-booming winter
   Drive to our seas) the turbot or the scar.
Not softer sinks adown the grateful palate
   The Nubian pullet or the Ionian snipe,¹
Than olives chosen where they hang the thickest;
   Or sorrel, lusty lover of green fields;
Or mallows, wholesome for the laden body,
   Or lambkin slain on Terminus' high feast,
Or kidling rescued from the wolf's fierce hunger.
How sweet, amid such feasts, to view the sheep
Flock blithe from field to fold, see the tired oxen
With languid neck draw back the inverted share,
And home-born² labourers round the shining Lares
   Gathered—the faithful swarm of the rich hive!'
Thus said the usurer Alfius, and all moneys
Lent till the mid-month—at that date calls in,
   And, hot for rural pleasures, that day fortnight
Our would-be farmer—lends them out again.³

¹ 'Afra avis'—'attagen Ionicus.' What bird is meant by the
   'Afra avis' is a matter of uncertainty. Yonge says it is the guinea-
   fowl—Macleane inclines to the same opinion; but we know little more
   of it than that it was speckled. The 'attagen' is variously interpreted
   woodcock, snipe, and, more commonly, moorfowl. The Ionian snipe
   is to this day so incomparably the best of the snipe race, that I venture
   to think it is the veritable 'attagen Ionicus'

² 'Positosque vernas, ditis examen domus.' This is a picture of
   the primitive rustic life, in which the labourers, familiarly with the master,
Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Apuli,
Sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum
Lassì sub adventum viri;
Claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus
Distenta siccat ubera;
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio
Dapes inemptas apparat:
Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia,
Magisve rhombus, aut scarì,
Si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
Hiems ad hoc vertat mare;
Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
Non attagen Ionicus
Jucundior, quam lecta de pinguissimis
Oliva ramis arborum,
Aut herba lapathi prata amantis, et gravi
Malvæ salubres corpori,
Vel agna festis cæsa Terminalibus,
Vel hæ dus ereptus lupo.
Has inter epulas, ut juvat pastas ovìs
Videre properantes domum,
Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
Collo trahentes languido,
Positosque vernas, ditis examen domus,
Circum renidentes Lares!
Hæc ubi locutus fenerator Alfius,
Jam jam futurus rusticus,
Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,—
Quærít Kalendis ponere.¹

gathered at supper round the Lares.—COLUM. xi. 1, 19. 'The home-born slaves cluster round the master, as the bees round the queen-bee.'
—RITTER.

¹ 'Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,—
Quærít Kalendis ponere.'
The ides, nones, and kalends were the settling days of Rome.
EPODE III.

TO MÆCENAS IN EXEKRATION OF GARLIC.

Horace appears to have been tempted to eat, when dining with Mæcenas, some dish over-seasoned with garlic, unaware of the prevalence of that ingredient, or un-prescient of its effects. Some commentators, whom Dillenburger follows, suppose this to have been a kind of compound salad called 'moretum,' in which cheese, oil, milk, and wine contributed their motley aid to the garlic. This, however, was a primitive rustic comestible not likely to have been found at the table of Mæcenas. Whatever the dish might have been, Horace seems to have considered the recommendation of it

If e'er a parricide with hand accursëd
    Hath cut a father's venerable throat,
Hemlock's too mild a poison—give him garlic;
    O the strong stomachs of your country clowns!
What deadly drug is raging in my vitals?
    Was viper's venom in those fraudulent herbs?
Or was Canidia, armed with all her poisons,
    The awful cook of that infernal feast?
Surely Medea, wonderstruck with Jason,
    As of all Argonauts the comeliest chief,
Smeared him with this soul-sickening preparation,
    Which quelled the bulls to the unwonted yoke.
In this she steeped her present to the rival,
    From whom, avenging, soared her dragon-car.

1 'Ut Argonautas præter omnes candidum
    Medea mirata est ducem.'

'Posteaquam Medea Jasonis ceteris omnibus Argonautis pulchrioris
forma capta est, sic construe, "non vero Jasonem candidum mirata est
it a bad joke, and he takes revenge upon the chief criminal, garlic, in the following humorous anathema.

The commentators in general assume that Horace could not have taken the liberty to refer to Terentia in the concluding lines, 'Manum puella,' &c., and that the poem was therefore written before Mæcenas's marriage, probably A.U.C. 719 or 720. Ritter, on the contrary, denounces with much indignation the idea that Horace could impute the indecorum of so familiar an intercourse with a freedwoman to a man of the grave occupations and dignified position of Mæcenas, and insists on applying 'puella' to Terentia, in which case the poem would be written shortly after the marriage of Mæcenas, which Ritter chooses to date, A.U.C. 725 (i.e., a year after Franke's date for the publication of the Epodes).

**CARM. III.**

Parentis olim si quis impia manu
Senile guttur fregerit,
Edit cicutis allium nocentius.
O dura messorum ilia!
Quid hoc veneni sævit in præcordiis?
Num viperinus his cruor
Incoctus herbis me fefellit? an malas
Canidia tractavit dapes?
Ut Argonautas præter omnes candidum¹
Medea mirata est ducem,
Ignota tauris illigaturum juga
Perunxit hoc Jasonem;
Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem,
Serpente fugit alite.

præter omnes Argonautas."—ORELLI. Macleane prefers the construction which Orelli prohibits, but I like Orelli's the best.
Never such heat from pestilential comets
    Parched dry Apulia, thirsting for a shower;
Less hot that gift, which, through the massive shoulders
    Of sturdy Hercules, burned life away.
Jocose Mæcenas, 'tis no laughing matter:
    If e'er thou try it, may thy sweetheart's hand
Ward off thy kiss; and sacred be her refuge
    In the remotest borders of the bed.
Nec tans unquam siderum insedit vapor
Siticulosæ Apulæ,
Nec munus humeris efficacis Herculis
Inarsit æstuosius.
At, si quid unquam tale concupiveris,
Jocose Mæcenas, precor
Manum puella savio opponat tuo,
Extrema et in sponda cubet.
EPODE IV.
AGAINST AN UPSTART.

All the scholiasts agree in considering that the person satirised in this ode was the freedman Menas, lieutenant to Sextus Pompeius, who deserted to Augustus A.U.C. 716. Modern critics have objected to this assumption, and their objections are tersely summed up and answered by Macleane

As tow'rd the wolf the lamb's inborn repugnance
Nature makes my antipathy to thee,
Thou on whose flank still burns the Iberian whipcord, ¹
Thou on whose limbs still galls the bruise of chains,
Strut as thou wilt in arrogance of purse-pride,
Fortune can change not the man's native breed.
Mark, as along the Sacred Way ² thou flauntest,
Puffing thy toga, twice three cubits wide ³—
Mark with what frankness indignation loathes thee,
Seen in the looks of every passer-by! ⁴
'He, by Triumvirs so inured to lashes,
As tired the public crier to proclaim, ⁵
Now ploughs some thousand fat Falernian acres,
And wears the Appian Road out with his nags;

¹ 'Ibericis funibus.' These were cords or ropes made of 'spartum,' usually said to be the Spanish broom and employed for ships' rigging. 'It may be added, in favour of the theory which makes Menas the hero, that the mention of Spanish ropes seems to imply that the person had suffered on board ship, if not in the country itself, since, as Pliny tells us, ropes of spartum were especially used in ships; and the only way to give point to the epithet is to suppose it had reference to Spain itself, or to the fleet.'—Macleane.
² The Sacred Way, leading to the Capitol, was the favourite lounge of the idlers.
leane in his prefatory comment on the ode. In some inscriptions Vedius Rufus has been named instead of Menas. Ritter maintains the accuracy of this identification, and affirms that it was no other than Vedius Pollio, a Roman knight, who had been originally a freedman, mentioned by Seneca, Pliny, and others.—See Ritter's note.

CARM. IV.

Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
Tecum mihi discordia est,
Hibericus peruste funibus¹ latus,
Et crura dura compede.
Licet superbus ambules pecunia,
Fortuna non mutat genus.
Videsne, Sacram metiente te Viam²
Cum bis trium ulnarum toga,³
Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
Liberrima indignatio?⁴
'Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus
Præconis ad fastidium⁵
Arat Falerni mille fundi jugera
Et Appiam mannis terit,

³ 'Cum bis trium ulnarum toga.' According to Macleane, this applies to the width of the toga, not the length, as commonly translated; I follow his interpretation, but it is disputed.
⁴ 'Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
Liberrima indignatio.'
I think with Macleane that this appears rather to mean the open indignation which made the passengers turn their looks towards him, than turn away in disgust, which is the construction of the scholiasts. Yonge suggests a totally different interpretation: 'See how a free' (i.e., unreserved, undisguised) 'scorn alters the countenance' (ora vertat) 'of all who pass along.'
⁵ The Triumviri Capitales had the power of inflicting summary chastisement on slaves. When the scourge was inflicted, a public crier stood by and proclaimed the nature of the crime.
In public shows, despite the law of Otho,  
He takes a foremost place and sits—a knight.
What boots the equipment of yon floating bulwarks,
Yon vast array of ponderous brazen prores?
What! against slaves and pirates launch an army,  
Which has for officer,—that man—that man!

---

1 Fourteen rows in the theatre and amphitheatre, immediately over the orchestra, were by the law of L. Roscius Otho, A.U.C. 686, appropriated to the knights. As the tribunes of the soldiers had equestrian rank, if the person satirised were one of them, he could therefore take his seat in one of the fourteen rows, despite the intention of Otho, which was to reserve the front seats for persons of genuine rank.

2 The slaves and pirates are supposed to refer to the fleet of Sextus Pompeius.
Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques,  
Othone contempto, sedet! ¹  
Quid attinet tot ora navium gravi  
Rostrata duci pondere.  
Contra latrones atque servilem ² manum,  
Hoc, hoc tribuno militum? ’
EPODE V.

ON THE WITCH CANIDIA.

None of Horace's poems excels this in point of power—and the power herein exhibited is of the highest kind; it is power over the passions of pity and terror. The degree of humour admitted is just sufficient to heighten the effect of the more tragic element. The scene is brought before the eye of the reader with a marvellous distinctness. A boy of good birth, as is shown by the toga prætexta and bulla which he wears, has been decoyed or stolen from his home, and carried at night to some house—probably Canidia's. The poem opens with his terrified exclamations, as Canidia and her three associate witches stand around him. He is stripped, buried chin-deep in a pit, and tantalised with the sight of food which he is not permitted to taste, till, thus wasted away, his liver and marrow may form the crowning ingredient of the caldron in which the other materials for a philter have been placed. That it is for an old profligate, whom Canidia

'But O,¹ whatever Power divine in heaven,
O'er earth and o'er the human race presideth,²
What means this gathering? why on me alone,
Fixed in fierce stare, those ominous dread faces?
By thine own children, if, indeed, for thee³
Lucina brought to light true fleshly children—

¹ 'At, O deorum,' &c. The word 'at,' thus commencing the ode, is significant of the commotion and hurry of the speaker, and also brings the whole scene more vividly before the reader. The poem begins, as it were, in the middle of the boy's address to the witches, omitting what had gone before.
Canidia is resolved to charm back to her, that the philter is prepared, adds to the vileness which the poet ascribes to the hag. This epode was probably composed about the same time as the 8th Satire of the First Book, in which Canidia and Sagana are represented seeking the ghastly materials of their witchcraft, and invoking Hecate and Tisiphone in the Esquilinian burial-ground. The poem has little of the graces of expression which characterise Horace's maturer odes, and in one or two passages the construction is faultily obscure; but the grandeur of the whole conception, and the vigour of the execution, need no comment, and compensate for all defects.

The scholiasts say that Canidia's real name was Gratidia, and that she was a Neapolitan perfume-vender. That she was ever a mistress of Horace's is a conjecture founded upon no evidence, and nothing extant in Horace justifies the assumption. This poem was written when Horace was young, and he could scarcely have remembered, except in his childhood, Canidia more lovely than he invariably represents her.

**CARM. V,**

'At,\(^1\) O deorum quidquid in caelo regit \(^2\)
Terras et humanum genus!
Quid iste fert tumultus? aut quid omnium
Voltus in unum me truces?
Per liberos te,\(^3\) si vocata partubus
Lucina veris affuit.\(^4\)

---

\(^{1}\) 'Regit,' not 'regis'—'presides,' not 'presidest.' The boy does not invoke the gods; he is addressing Canidia. It is but a disordered exclamation.

\(^{2}\) Here he addresses Canidia.

\(^{3}\) Ritter, Yonge, and Munro have 'adfixit.'
By this vain purple's childish ornament
By Jove's sure wrath—why are thy looks as deadly
As the stepmother's on the babe she loathes,
Or wounded wild beast's, glaring on the hunter?'
As the boy pleaded thus, with tremulous lip,
From him fierce hands rent childhood's robe and bulla,
And naked stood that form which might have moved,
With its young innocence, a Thracian's pity.

Canidia, all her tangled tresses crisped
By the contracted folds of angry vipers,
Spake, and bade mandrakes, torn from dead men's graves,
Bade dismal branches of funereal cypress,
And eggs and plumes of the night screech-owl, smeared
With the toad's loathsome and malignant venom,
Herbs which Iolcos and Hiberia send,
From soils whose richest harvest-crops are poison,
And bones, from jaw of famished wild-bitch snatched—
Bade them all simmer in the Colchian caldron.

Meanwhile, bare-legged, fell Sagana bedews
The whole abode with hell-drops from Avernus,
Her locks erect as some sea-urchin barbed,
Or wild boar bristling as he runs. Then Veia,

1 'Per hoc inane purpurae decus precor.' This is the 'toga praetexta,' which was worn by free Roman children, together with the 'bulla,' a small round plate of gold suspended from the neck. Both were relinquished on the adoption of the 'toga virilis,' about the age of fifteen.

2 'Sepulcris caprificos erutas,' the wild fig rooted up from graves.

3 Hiberia here does not, as elsewhere, mean Spain, but a region, now part of Georgia, east of Colchis. Iolcos was a seaport of Thessaly.

4 Why bones snatched from the jaws of a hungry bitch should have the virtue that fits them for ingredients in the witches' caldron is not clearly explained by the commentators. It is not only the angry slaver of the famishing bitch robbed of her food that gives the bone its necro-
EPODE V.

Per hoc inane purpuræ decus precor,¹
Per improbaturum hæc Jovem,
Quid ut noverca me intueris, aut uti
Petita ferro belua?

Ut hæc trementi questus ore constitit
Insignibus raptis puer,
Impube corpus, quale posset impia
Mollire Thracum pectora;
Canidia, brevibus implicata viperis
Crines et incomptum caput,
Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas;²
Jubet cupressus funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine
Plumamque nocturnæ strigis,
Herbasque, quas Idæos atque Hberia³
Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta jejunaæ canis,⁴
Flammis aduri Colchicis.⁵
At expedita Sagana, per totam domum
Spargens Avernales aquas,⁶
Horret capillis ut marinus asperis
Echinus, aut currens aper.

mantic value—there is virtue in the bone itself. The dog meant is one of the ownerless wild dogs that prowled at night for food, and haunted burial-grounds such as the Esquiline, where the lowest class of the poor were buried so near the surface of the ground that their remains could be easily scratched up, and the bone adapted for the caldron would be a human bone. So, in the 'Siege of Corinth'—

'And he saw the lean dogs beneath the wall
Hold o'er the dead their carnival,
Gorging and growling o'er carcass and limb,' &c.

¹ 'Flammis aduri Colchicis.' The materials thus collected by the witches are not burned as fuel in the magic (Colchian) flames, but are boiled as materials for the philter, of which the marrow and liver of the unhappy child are the completing ingredients.

² From the fount Avernus.
Remorseless crone, loud grunting o'er the toil,
   With her fell spade the yawning death-pit hollows,
Wherein they bury the yet living child,
   And twice and thrice each long day mock his famine.¹
Chin-deep (as waters on their brim suspend
   The swimmer) plunged, lingering he lives in dying,
To gaze upon the food denied his lips,
   Till the parched liver and the shrivelled marrow
Shall into philters for vile love consume,
   When once, yet staring on the food forbidden,
The glazing eyeballs waste themselves away.
If idle Naples and each neighbouring city
Rightly believe, the Ariminian hag,
   Unnatural Folia, failed not that grim conclave,
She who could draw the moon and subject stars,
   With her Thessalian witch-song, down from heavën.

To them, with thumb-nail pressed to livid tooth,
   Which gnawed and mumbled it, spake dire Canidia.
What said she, or what horror left untold?
   'Ye of my deeds sure arbiters and faithful,
O Night, O Hecate, who o'er silence reign
   In darksome hours to rites mysterious sacred,
Now, now be present; now on hostile homes
   Turn wrath invoked, and demon power revengeful;
Now, while amid the horror-breathing woods
   Lurk the wild beasts, couched languid in soft slumber,
Dogs of Sabura,² up! bark loud; let all
   Mock the old lecher, with a nard anointed

¹ 'Longo die bis terque mutatæ dapis
   Inemori spectaculo.'
² 'Subura,' one of the most populous and one of the most profligate streets of Rome. Canidia prays that the barking of the dogs may rouse the street to mock the old man, skulking to other mistresses than herself,
Abacta nulla Veia conscientia
  Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat, ingemens laboribus;
  Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terque mutatae dapis
  Inemori spectaculo;¹
Cum promineret ore, quantum exstant aqua
  Suspensa mento corpora;
Exsucta uti medulla et aridum jecur
  Amoris esset polum,
Interminato cum semel fixae cibo
  Intabuisent pupulae.
Non defuisse masculae libidinis
  Ariminensem Foliam,
Et otiosa credidit Neapolis,
  Et omne vicinum oppidum;
Quae sidera excantata voce Thessala
  Lunamque caelo deripit.
Hic irresectum saeva dente livido
  Canidia rodens pollicem
Quid dixit aut quid tacuit? 'O rebus meis
  Non infideles arbitrae,
Nox et Diana, quae silentium regis,
  Arcana cum fiunt sacra,
Nunc, nunc adeste: nunc in hostiles domos
  Iram atque numen vertite!
Formidolosis dum latent silvis ferae,
  Dulci sopore languidae,
Senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum
  Latrent Suburanæ² canes

and thus scare him back to her. It seems clear from what follows that
the nard or unguent was composed by Canidia, though that is disputed by
commentators, and the construction itself is obscure. It is this magical
unguent that is to cause the dogs to bark—see Orelli's note. Absurdly
enough the scholiasts assumed, on the authority of this passage (for what
other authority is there?) that Canidia was by profession a vender of
perfumes.
Than which none subtler could these hands complete.
   But how?¹ what’s this? Have they, then, lost their virtue?
The barbarous Medea’s direful drugs,
   Wherewith she wreaked her wrongs on that proud rival,
Great Creon’s daughter, yea, consumed the bride
   By venom steeped into the murderous mantle,
And soared away destroying:—Me, nor herb
   Nor root hath failed to render its dark secrets
Latent in inaccessible ravines.
The beds he sleeps on are by me besprinkled²
With Lethe of all other loves than mine.
Ho! ho! yet struts he free,—at large,—protected
By charm of witch more learned than myself.
   Ah, Varus, ah! by no trite hackneyed philters
Ill-fated wretch, shalt thou rush back to me;
   Thy truant heart no Marsian charms recover³—
A mightier spell I weave; a direr bowl
   Now will I brim, to tame thy scornful bosom.
Sooner the sky shall sink below the sea,
   And over both the earth shall be extended,
Than thou not burn for me, as in the smoke
   Of these black flames now burns this dull bitumen.’
Then the child spoke, not seeking, as before,
   Those impious hell-hags with mild words to soften,

¹ ‘Quid accidit?’ The spell fails—the dogs do not bark. Varus
does not go forth into Subura, nor come to Canidia. ‘Do the drugs of
Medea fail?’ &c. ‘She speaks,’ says Maclean, ‘as if she had been
actually using the drugs of Medea.’
² ‘Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
   Oblivione pellicum.’
The sense of this passage is exceedingly obscure, and has been subjected
to various interpretations. I adopt that of Orelli, viz.—Canidia had
smeared the couch on which Varus slept with drugs to make him for-
getful of all women but herself; taking ‘unctis’ with ‘oblivione,’
anointed with oblivion—‘omnium pellicum,’ ‘of all wantons.’ Still
this construction is not satisfactory, because, just before, Canidia sup-
poses that Varus was out on his rambles, from which the barking dogs
Nardo perunctum, quale non perfectius
Meæ laborarint manus.—
Quid accidit?¹ Cur dira barbaræ minus
Venena Medæ valent,
Quibus superbam fugit ulta pellicem,
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, tabo manus imbutum, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit?
Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum.²—
Ah! ah! solutus ambulat veneficæ
Scientioris carmine.
Non usâtatis, Vare, potionibus,
O multa fleturum caput,
Ad me recurre; nec vocata mens tua
Marsi redibit vocibus:³
Majus parabo, majus infundam tibi
Fastidienti poculum.
Priusque cælum sidet inferius mari,
Tellure porrecta super,
Quam non amore sic meo flagres, uti
Bitumen atris ignibus.'—
Sub hæc puer, jam non, ut ante, mollibus
Lenire verbis impias;

were to scare him to her, and she is surprised to find that he is quietly asleep.

³ 'Ad me recurre; nec vocata mens tua
Marsi redibit vocibus.'

The Marsian witchcrafts were those in vogue with the populace. The sense is not, as commonly translated, that his mind or reason (mens), maddened by Canidia's spell, shall not be restored to him by the counter-charms of the Marsian witchcraft; but that he shall run back to her, and that his mind or heart will not be thus restored to her by her employment of any common vulgar incantations. No, she is now preparing a mightier bowl (referring to the victim present), &c.
But pausing long, now in his last despair,
   Launched the full wrath of Thyestéan curses.¹
   'Witchcrafts invert not the great laws divine
   Of right and wrong as they invert things human;²
   So to those laws my dooming curse appeals,
   And draws down wrath too dire for expiation.
Mark where thus foully murdered I expire,
   With every night I haunt you as a Fury,³
Mangle your cheeks, a ghost with bird-like claws;
   For such the power of those dread gods the Manes.
On your unquiet bosoms I shall sit
   An incubus, and murder sleep with horror;
And at the last, as through the streets ye slink,
   Street after street the crowd shall rise against you,
Hither and thither hounded, till to death
   Stoned by fierce mobs, vile hags obscene, ye perish;

¹ 'Thyesteas preces.' Curses such as Thyestes might have invoked on Atreus, who slaughtered and served up at the banquet his brother's children.
² 'Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent
   Convertere humanam vicem;
   Diris agam vos.'³
Of all the obscure passages in the poem this is the most obscure. The contradictory interpretations of various commentators have not served to render it less so. The translation most in vogue is that suggested by Lambinus: 'Witchcraft (venena) can invert the great principle of wrong and right, but cannot invert the condition or fate (or vicissitude in the fate) of men,' 'valent' being understood in the first clause. Munro, Introduction, p. xxviii, adopts the arrangement of Lambinus, with one point of difference. 'I do not think,' he says, '"Magnum" can be joined with "fas nefasque."' I have therefore made it parenthetical where it seems to me to have much force. The meaning is, 'venena (id quod magnum est) fas nefasque valent Convertere, humanam vicem non valent.'³ Ritter takes 'venena' as poisons which may be beneficial as medicaments, or deadly, used with malignant purposes, and are thus 'magnum fas nefasque;' and takes 'humanam vicem' as the retribution due to human deeds. Orelli, in an excursus, gives, with his usual
EPODE V.

Sed dubius unde rumperet silentium,
Misit Thyestes preces:¹
‘Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent
Convertere humanam vicem;
Diris agam vos;² dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victima.
Quin, ubi perire jussus exspiravero,
Nocturnus occurram Furor;³
Petamque voltus umbra curvis unguibus,
Quae vis deorum est Manium;
Et inquietis assidens praecordiis,
Pavore somnos auferam.
Vos turba vicatim hinc et hinc saxis petens
Contundet obscoenas anus;”

candour, not less than nine various interpretations, but very decidedly pronounces himself in favour of that which I believe he originates, and which is certainly a bold one. He assumes ‘magnum fas nefasque’ to be the subject, and that the sense is, ‘the great law of wrong and right (divinæ leges), according to human sense (humanam vicem), cannot convert (soften and bend) witchcraft or the hearts of witches.’ Macleane says, I think correctly, ‘that if this view of the construction were adopted, it would be better to render ‘‘humanam vicem’’ ‘‘on behalf of men or of humanity.’’’ Macleane suggests two other interpretations (see his note), which appear to me more open to objection. Yonge, following Orelli in the main points, asks whether it may not be better to reverse the order, and take ‘venena’ for the nominative case—thus, ‘sorceries (and those who use them) cannot change (i.e., turn aside or defeat) the divine law, as they can men and men’s law; therefore I appeal to them: such an appeal will draw down a wrath implacable.’ He renders ‘humanam vicem’ ‘in human fashion,’ ‘after the manner of men.’ I have adopted the sense of this interpretation. Witchcrafts is a better word here than sorceries, which properly signify divination by lot. Two other interpretations have been suggested to me by eminent scholars: 1st, Witchcraft cannot distort (or overthrow) the great rules of right and wrong in the interest of men (taking ‘humanam vicem’ in the sense, ‘hominum causa’). 2d, Witchcraft cannot overthrow the great law of wrong and right—human retribution.

³ ‘Furor’—literally, ‘a personified madness’
By wolves and Esquilian birds of prey
   Your limbs unburied shall be rent and scattered.
Nor shall my parents, who alas! survive
   To mourn me, lose this spectacle of vengeance.'
Post insepulta membra different lupi
   Et Esquilinæ alites;
Neque hoc parentes, heu mihi superstites,
   Effugerit spectaculum.'
EPODE VI.

AGAINST CASSIUS.

It is by no means clear who is the unlucky object of these verses. Acron says he was a satirical poet of the name of Cassius, upon the strength of which the scholiast in Cruquius assumes him to have been the not uncelebrated orator Cassius Seyerus, who was banished by Augustus, and died in poverty and exile about sixty-three years after the date

Why snap at the guests who do nobody harm,
   Turning tail at the sight of a wolf?
'O cur! thy vain threats why not venture on me,
   Who can give back a bite for a bite?
Like mastiff Molossian or Sparta's dun hound,
   Kindly friend to the shepherd am I;
But I prick up my ears, and away through the snows,
   If a wild beast of prey run before;
But thou, if thou fill'st the woods with thy bark,
   Art struck dumb at the sniff of a bone.
Ah, beware! I am rough when I come upon knaves,
   Ah, beware of a toss from my horns!
I'm as sharp as the wit whom Lycambes deceived,
   Or the bitter foe Bupalus roused;¹
Dost thou think, when a cur shows the grin of his teeth,
   That I'll weep, unavenged, like a child?

¹ Archilochus, to whom Lycambes refused his daughter Neobule, after having first promised her to him. The poet avenged himself in verses so stinging, that Lycambes is said to have hanged himself. Bupalus was a sculptor, who, with his brother artist Athenis, ridiculed or caricatured the uncomely features of Hipponax, and his verses are said (though not truly) to have had the same fatal effect on the sculptor that those of Archilochus had upon Lycambes.
date of this ode. This supposition is not tenable, for Cassius Severus, as Orelli remarks, must have been a boy, or a youth of about twenty, when the ode was composed; nor is there any authority on record that Cassius Severus was a poet. Other commentators have supposed the person meant was Mævius or Bavius. If the right name be Cassius, nothing is known about him; nor is it of any importance. Horace’s invective, for what we know to the contrary, might have been as unjust and inappropriate as the lampoons of irritable young poets generally are. Ritter conjectures the person therein satirised to have been Furius Bibaculus, notorious for the bitterness of his iambics, and who included Octavian Cæsar in his attacks.

CARM. VI.

Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis,
   Ignavus adversum lupos?
Quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis minas,
   Et me remorsurum petis?
Nam, qualis aut Molossus, aut fulvus Lacon,
   Amica vis pastoribus,
Agam per altas aure sublata nives,
   Quæcunque præcedet fera:
Tu, cum timenda voce complesti nemus,
   Projectum odoraris cibum.
Cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus
   Parata tollo cornua;
Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener,
   Aut acer hostis Bupalo.¹
An, si quis atro dente me petiverit,
   İnultus ut flebo puer?

G G
EPODE VII.

TO THE ROMANS.

This poem is referred by Orelli (who rightly considers it composed at a comparatively early age) to the beginning of the war of Perusia, A.U.C. 713-14, to which period the 16th Epode is ascribed. Others refer it to A.U.C. 716, the expedition

O guilty! whither, whither would ye run?
Why swords just sheathed to those right hands refitted?
Is there too little of the Latian blood
Shed on the land or wasted on the ocean,
Not that the Roman may consign to flames
The haughty battlements of envious Carthage;
Not that the untamed Briton may be seen
In captive chains the Sacred Slope descending;
But that, compliant to the Partian’s prayer,
By her own right hand this great Rome shall perish?
Not so with wolves; lions not lions rend;
The wild beast preys not on his own wild kindred.
Is it blind frenzy, or some demon Power, ¹
Or wilful crime that hurries you thus headlong?
Reply! All silent; pallor on all cheeks,
And on all minds dumb conscience-striken stupor.
So is it then! so rest on Roman heads
Doom, and the guilt of fratricidal murder,
Ever since ² Remus shed upon this soil
The innocent blood atoned for by descendants.

¹ 'Vis acrior,' 'a fatal necessity'; equivalent to beoù Blav.—ORELLI, MACLEANE.
² 'Ut immerentis,' &c. 'Ut' here has the signification of 'ex quo,' ever since.—ORELLI, MACLEANE.
dition of Augustus against Sextus Pompeius, which is not very probable; others, again, including Franke, to the much later date of 722, the last war between Augustus and Mark Antony. Ritter contends that it relates to the war against Brutus and Cassius.

CARM. VII.

Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enses conditi?
Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
Fusum est Latini sanguinis,
Non, ut superbas invidae Carthaginis
Romanus arces ureret;
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus Via,
Sed ut, secundum vota Parthorum, sua
Urbs hæc periret dextera?
Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus
Unquam, nisi in dispar, feris.
Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior?¹
An culpa? Responsum date!
Tacent; et albus ora pallor inficit,
Mentesque percultæ stupent.
Sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt,
Scelusque fraternal necis,
Ut² immemoris fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor.

EPODE VIII. OMITTED.
EPODE IX.

TO MAECENAS.

The date of this Epode is not to be mistaken. 'It was written when the news of Actium was fresh, in September A.U.C. 723. It was addressed to Mæcenas, and it is impossible to read it and suppose he had just arrived from Actium, where some will have it he was engaged.'—MACLEANE.

The fine ode, Book I. 37, 'Nunc est bibendum,' was written a year later, after the news of the taking of Alexandria and the death of Cleopatra. In both these poems it will be observable that Horace avoids naming Mark Antony—some say from his friendship to the Triumvir's son Iulus, to whom he addresses Ode ii. Lib. IV.; but at the battle of Actium Iulus was a mere boy, and it is not possible to conceive how Horace

When (may Jove grant it !) shall I quaff with thee
   Under thy lofty dome, my glad Mæcenas,¹
Cups of that Cæcuban reserved for feasts—
   Quaff in rejoicing for victorious Cæsar,
While with the hymn symphonious music swells—
   Here Dorian lyre, there Phrygian fìses commingling?
As late we feasted, when from ocean chased,
   The Son of Neptune fled his burning navies,²
He who did threaten to impose on Rome
   That which he took from slaves, his friends—the fetter,
A Roman (ah! deny it after times),³
   Sold into bondage to a female master,
Empales her camp-works,⁴ and parades her arms,
   And serves, her soldier, under wrinkled eunuchs.

¹ 'Beate Mæcenas.' The epithet 'beate' seems here to apply to the gladness of Mæcenas at the good news, rather than to his general opulence or felicitous fortunes.
² 'Neptunius dux,' Sextus Pompeius, who boasted himself to be
Horace was even acquainted with him at that time. There must have been some other reason for this reticence, and it is quite as likely to have been one of artistic taste as one founded on personal or political considerations; for Horace does not mention by name Cleopatra, nor even Sextus Pompeius. It is consistent with the dignity of lyric song to avoid the direct mention of the name of our national enemy, especially if conquered. In an English lyrical poem on the Crimean war, we should scarcely think it strange if the poet did not obtrude on us the name of Nicholas.

**CARM. IX.**

*Quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes,*  
*Victore laetus Cæsare,*  
*Tecum sub alta, sic Jovi gratum, domo,*  
*Beate Mæcenas,*¹ *bibam,*  
*Sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,*  
*Hac Dorium, illis barbarum?*  
*Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius*  
*Dux² fugit, ustis navibus,*  
*Minatus Urbi vincla, quæ detraxerat*  
*Servis amicus perfidis.*  
*Romanus,³ eheu, posteri negbatis,*  
*Emancipatus feminæ,*  
*Fert vallum⁴ et arma miles, et spadonibus*  
*Servire rugosis potest,*

the Son of Neptune. Though Horace speaks of the rejoicing at the defeat of Sextus Pompeius as if it were of late (‘ut nuper’), it occurred between five and six years before (A.U.C. 718). Fugitive slaves formed a large part of the force of Sextus Pompeius.

² This does not refer to Mark Antony himself, but to the Roman soldiers under him. The singular number is used poetically.

³ ‘Fert Vallum.’ The Roman soldier carried palisades (‘vallum’) for an empaled camp.

¹

²

³

⁴
Shaming war's standards, in their midst, the sun
   Beholds a tent lawn-draped against mosquitoes.\(^1\)
Hitherwards,\(^2\) then, Gaul's manly riders wheeled
   Two thousand fretting steeds, and shouted 'Caesar.'
And all along the hostile fleet swift prores
   Backed from the fight, and slunk into the haven.\(^3\)
Hail, God of Triumph! why delay so long
   The golden cars and sacrificial heifers?
Hail, God of Triumph! from Jugurthine wars
   Thou brought'st not back to Rome an equal chieftain;
Not Africanus,\(^4\) to whom Valour built
   A sepulchre on ground which once was Carthage.
Routed by sea, by land, the Foe hath changed
   For weeds of mourning his imperial purple;
Or spreading sails to unpropitious winds
   For Crete, ennobled by her hundred cities;
   Or by the south blast dashed on Afric's sands,
   Or, drifting shoreless, lost in doubtful seas.

Ho there, good fellow! out with larger bowls,
   And delicate Chian wines, or those of Lesbos;
Or rather, mix us lusty Caecuban,
   A juice austere, which puts restraint on sickness;
The Care-Unbinder well may free us now
   From every doubt that fortune smiles on Caesar.

\(^1\) 'Conopium.' The mosquito net or curtain in use in Egypt, and still common in Italy and hot climates, placed in the midst of the 'signa militaria'—i.e., the rising ground on which the military standards were grouped round the prætorium or imperial tent.

\(^2\) 'At hue.' The reading in the MSS. varies. Orelli has 'at hoc,' and takes 'hoc' with 'frementes Galli.' I prefer Maclean's reading, 'at hue,' taking 'frementes' with 'equos;' 'hue' thus means 'hither,' 'to our side.' Ritter has 'ad hunc,' contending that 'ad' has the force of 'adversus'—i.e., against Antonius, who is signified, though not named. Munro has also 'ad hunc,' observing that 'it has most authority; but what Horace did here write it is impossible to
Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol adspicit conopium.¹
At huc² frementes verterunt bis mille equos
Galli, canentes Cæsarem,
Hostiliumque navium portu latent
Puppes sinistrorsum citæ.³
Io Triumphé, tu moraris aureos
Currus, et intactas boves?
Io Triumphé, nec Jugurthino parem
Bello reportasti ducem,
Neque Africanum,⁴ cui super Carthaginem
Virtus sepulcrum condidit.
Terra marique victus hostis punico
Lugubre mutavit sagum;
Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus,
Ventis iturus non suis,
Exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto,
Aut furtur incerto mari.
Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos,
Et Chia vina aut Lesbia.
Vel, quod fluentem nauseam coercet,
Metire nobis Cæcubum:
Curam metumque Cæsaris rerum juvat
Dulci Lyæo solvere.

say. "Ad hunc" may = "ad solem." As the line refers to the desertion to Cæsar of the Gauls, or cavalry of Galatia, under their king Deiotarus, 'at huc' seems the simplest interpretation.
² 'Hostiliumque navium portu latent
Puppes sinistrorsum citæ.'
Macleane considers the meaning of the words impenetrably obscure, from our ignorance of the Roman nautical phrases. He inclines to favour Bentley's supposition, that 'sinistrorsum citæ' may be equivalent to 'back water;' adding, 'something of that sort, connected with flight, I have no doubt it means.'
⁴ 'Neque Africanum,' not, as some would have it, 'Africano,' as referring to the African war.
EPODE X.

ON MÆVIUS SETTING OUT ON A VOYAGE.

The name of Mævius has become proverbially identified with the ideal of a bad poet; but, after all, the justice of this very unpleasant immortality rests upon no satisfactory evidence. Virgil, with laconic disdain, dismisses him and Bavius to obloquy, and this poem is a specimen of Horace's mode, in his hot youth, of treating a person to whom he owed a grudge. But poets are very untrustworthy judges of the merits of a contemporary poet, whom, for some reason or other, they dislike. If nothing of Southey be left to remote posterity, and he is only then to be judged by what Byron has said of him, Southey would appear a sort of Mævius. On the other hand, what would Byron seem if nothing were left of his works, and, one or two thousand years hence, he were to be judged by the opinions of his verse which Southey and Wordsworth and Coleridge have left on record? As to the severest things said of Mævius by writers of a later generation, and who had probably never read a line of him, they are but echoes of the old lampoons, 'Give a dog a bad name,' &c. If it be true, as the commentator in Cruquius says, that Mævius was 'a detractor of all learned men,' and a cultivator of archaisms, or an elder school of expression, 'sectator vocum antiquarum,'

Under ill-boding auspices puts forth the vessel
Which has Mævius—a rank-smelling cargo—on board;
Either side of that vessel, with surges the roughest,
O be mindful, I pray thee, wild Auster, to scourge!
On an ocean upheaved from its inmost foundations,
May the dark frowning Eurus snap cables and oars;
rum,' it is probable enough that he incurred the resentment of Horace and the scorn of Virgil by his attacks on their modern style; and that his adherence to the elder forms of Latin poetry was un congenial to their own taste. For Virgil's contemptuous mention, indeed, there might be some cause less general, if Mævius and Bavius wrote the Anti-Bucolica ascribed to them—i.e., two pastorals in parody of the Eclogues; and especially if Mævius were the author of a very ready and a very witty attempt to turn him into ridicule. Virgil, reciting the First Book of his Georgics, after the words, 'Nudus ara, sere nudus,' came to a dead halt, when some one, said to be either Mævius or Bavius, finished the line by calling out, 'habebis frigore febrem.' Whoever made that joke must have been clever enough to be a disagreeable antagonist. One thing, at all events, seems pretty evident—viz., that Mævius must have had power of some kind to excite the muse of Horace to so angry an excess. Had he been a man wholly without mark or following, he could scarcely have stung to such wrath even a youthful poet. Be that as it may, this ode has all the vigour of a good hater, and there is much of the gusto of true humour in its extravagance. The exact date of its composition is unknown, but it bears the trace of very early youth. Grotefend assigns it to A.U.C. 716, when Horace was twenty-seven.

CARM. X.

Mala soluta navis exit alite,
Ferens olentem Mævium:
Ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
Auster, memento fluctibus!
Niger rudentes Eurus, inverso mari,
Fractosque remos differat;
And may Aquilo rise in his might as when rending
Upon hill-peaks the holm-oaks that rock to his blast!
On the blackness of night let no friendly star glimmer
Save the baleful Orion, whose setting is storm;
Nor the deep know a billow more calm than the breakers
Which o'erwhelmed the victorious armada of Greece,
When, from Ilion consumed, to the vessel of Ajax
Pallas
turned the wrath due to her temple profaned!
Ha, what sweat-drops will run from the brows of thy sailors,
And how palely thy puddle-blood ooze from thy cheeks;
As thou call'st out for aid—with that shriek which shames
manhood—

On the Jove who disdains such a caitiff to hear;
When thy keel strains and cracks in the deep gulf Ionic,
Howling back the grim howl of the stormy south-blast.
But O! if in some desolate creek thou shalt furnish
To the maw of the sea-gulls a banquet superb,
To the Tempests a lamb and lewd goat shall be offered
As a tribute of thanks for deliverance from thee.

1 It is cleverly said by one of the critics, that Pallas is appropriately
enough referred to here as the avenger of the bad poetry with which
Mævius had insulted her.

2 *'Ilia non virilis ejulatio.'* He speaks as though he heard the man
crying.—MACLEAN,
Insurgat Aquilo, quantus altis montibus
Frangit trementes ilices;
Nec sidus atra nocte amicum appareat,
Qua tristis Orion cadit;
Quietiore nec feratur æquore,
Quam Graia victorum manus,
Cum Pallas¹ usto vertit iram ab Ilio
In impiam Ajacis ratem!
O quantus instat navitis sudor tuis,
Tibique pallor luteus,
Et illa non virilis ejulatio,²
Preces et aversum ad Jovem,
Ionius udo cum remugiens sinus
Noto carinam ruperit!
Opima quod si præda curvo litore
Porrecta mergos juveris,
Libidinosus immolabitur caper
Et agna Tempestatibus.

EPODES XI. and XII. OMITTED.
EPODE XIII.

TO FRIENDS.

Of all the Epodes, this, of which the metre consists of a hexameter verse, with one made up of a dimeter iambic and half a pentameter, appears to have most of the lyrical spirit and character of the Odes. The poem, addressed to a party of friends in winter, suggests comparison with the 9th Ode of the First Book, 'Vides, ut alta stet nive candidum,' also a winter song; but the occasion is very different, and the spirit that pervades it not less so. Ode ix. Lib. I. has no reference to public troubles; unless, indeed, a reader should indorse the very far-fetched supposition that verse 7, 'Permitte divis cætera,' has a political allusion. Its main image is in the picture of an individual, and the happy mode in which, while yet young, that individual may pass his day. Its tone is cheerful, and with no insinuation of pathos. This epode, on the other hand, is evidently addressed to friends excited by anxieties and

Frowning storm has contracted the face of the heaven,
Rains and snows draw the upper air heavily down;
Now the sea, now the forests, resound with the roar
Of wild Aquilo rushing from hill-tops on Thrace.
Seize, my friends, on To-day—foul or fair it is ours—
While yet firm are the knees, nor unseemly is joy;
And let Gravity loosen his hold on the brows
Which he now overcasts with the cloud of his scowl.

1 'Obducta solvatur fronte senectus.' 'Obducta,' as if clouded with care and sadness.—ORELLI. Orelli interprets 'senectus' in the sense of 'morositas,' 'taedium,' to which the word 'senium' is more frequently applied. Macleane renders it 'melancholy,' in which sense, however, he allows it is used nowhere else. I think the right meaning is 'gravity' or 'austerity,' in which sense it is employed by Cicero, De Clar. Orat. 76, 'Plena litteratae senectutis oratio.'
and apprehensions in common. If it be allowable to draw a conjecture from the touching illustration of the fate of Achilles, doomed in the land of Assaracus to a stormy life and an early death, the poem might have been written between the date of Horace's departure into Asia Minor, in the service of Brutus, and that of the trials and dangers which closed at the field of Philippi, A.U.C. 712. Ritter, indeed, places its date in the interval between the death of Cassius and the battle of Philippi. It may, however, be observed, that if the invitation to the feastmaster to bring forth the wine stored in the consulship of Torquatus is to be taken literally, wine of that age could scarcely have been found in the commissariat of Brutus. If not written while in the camp of Brutus, it was probably composed between A.U.C. 712 and 716, soon after Horace's return to Rome, before the fortunes of his life, and perhaps his political views, were changed by the favour of Mæcenas, and while his chief associates would naturally have been among the remnants of the party with whom he had fought, and to whose minds (if there be anything peculiarly appropriate in the reference to Achilles) military dangers in a foreign land might still be the salient apprehension. It is evidently written some years before Ode ix. Lib. I. Horace here classes himself emphatically with the young. In Ode ix. he addresses Thaliarchus, or the feastmaster, with the half-envious sentiment of a man who points out the pleasures of youth to another—who yet sympathises with those pleasures, but is somewhat receding from them himself.

CARM. XIII.

Horrida tempesta sæculum contraxit, et imbres  
Nivesque deducunt Jovem; nunc mare, nunc siluae  
Threicio Aquilone sonant: rapiamus, amici,  
Occasionem de die, dumque virent genua,  
Et deceit, obducta solvatur fronte senectus,¹
Broach the cask which was born with myself in the year
Of the Consul Torquatus.  All else be unsaid;
For, perchance, by some turn in our fortunes, a god
May all else to their place in times brighter restore.
Now let nard Achaemenian afford us its balm;
Doubt and dread let the chords of Cyllene dispel;
Listen all to the song which the Centaur renowned
Sang of old to the ears of his great foster-son:—
'Boy invincible, goddess-born, mortal thyself,'
The domain of Assaracus waits thee afar;
There the petty Scamander's cold streams cut their way,
And there slidingly lapses the smooth Simois.
From that land, by the certain decree of their woof,
Have the Weavers of Doom broken off thy return,
And thy mother, the blue-eyed, shall never again
Bear thee back o'er the path of her seas to thy home.
But when there, let each burden of evils ordained,
From thy bosom be lifted by wine and by song;
Soothers they of a converse so sweet, it can charm
All the cares which deform our existence away.'

1 'Tu vina Torquato,' &c. Here he addresses himself to the master of the feast. Sextus Manlius Torquatus was consul A.U.C. 689, the year of Horace's birth—'O nata mecum consule Manlio,' Lib. III. xxi. i.

2 'Fide Cyllenea,'—viz., the lyre, invented by Mercury, born on Mount Cyllene, in Arcadia. There seems to me much beauty in the choice of the word, which introduces an image of Arcadian freedom from care—the ideal holiday life.

3 Achilles.

4 Ritter supposes that the Scamander is here emphatically called small (parvi Scamandri flumina) antithetically to 'grandi alumno'—the great hero who found the scene of his actions by a stream so small. Should this conjecture, exquisitely critical, if not too refined, be admitted, then 'lubricus et Simois' must form a part of the antithesis insinuated; i.e., actions so great beside a stream so small—actions so vehement, and of renown so loud, beside a stream so smooth.
Tu vina Torquato move Consule pressa meo.\(^1\)
Cetera mitte loqui: deus hæc fortasse benigna
   Reducet in sedem vice.  Nunc et Achaæmenio
Perfundi nardo juvat, et fide Cyllenea\(^2\)
   Levare diris pectora sollicitudinibus;
Nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno:
   ‘Invicte, mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,\(^3\)
Te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida parvi\(^4\)
   Findunt Scamandri flumina lubricus et Simoës,
Unde tibi reditum certo subtemine Parcæ
   Rupere; nec mater domum cærula te revehet.
Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
   Deformis ægrimoniiæ dulcisbus alloquiis.’
EPODE XIV.

TO MÆCENAS IN EXCUSE FOR INDOLENCE IN COMPLETING THE VERSES HE HAD PROMISED.

It is impossible to say whether the verses thus promised and deferred were, as commonly supposed, the collection composed in this Book of Epodes, or some single iambic poem. The context seems to favour the latter supposition.

Why this soft sloth, through inmost sense diffusing
   Oblivion as complete
As if with parched lip I had drained from Lethe
   Whole beakers brimmed with sleep?—
Thou kill'st me with that question oft-repeated—
   Mæcenas, truthful man,¹
A song I promised thee; to keep my promise
   A god, a god forbids—
Forbids the iambics, for I have begun them,
   To shape themselves to close.²
Thus it is said, by love inflamed, the Teian
   Lost his diviner art:
And on the shell to which he wailed his sorrow,
   Music imperfect died.
Thou too art scorched; enjoy thy lot; no fairer
   Flame, shot from Helen's eyes,
Fired Troy:—me Phryne burns—a wench too glowing
   To stint her warmth to one.

¹ 'Candida Mæcenas.' 'Candide' here has the signification of honourable or truthful. You kill me—you, a man of honour—asking me so often why I do not fulfil my promise.
² 'Ad umbilicum adducere,' is to bring a volume to the last sheet. —MACLEANE,
The beauty who inflames Mæcenas, so gracefully mentioned at the close of the poem, is, according to the scholiasts, certainly Terentia, whom Mæcenas was then either married to or courting. And that assumption is generally adopted by modern critics. Still it scarcely seems consistent with Roman manners, or with Horace's good breeding and knowledge of the world, that he should imply a comparison between his passing caprice for a public wanton, and the honourable love of a man of the highest station to the lady he had married, or was wooing in marriage.

**Carm. XIV.**

Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis  
Oblivionem sensibus,  
Pocula Lethæos ut si ducentia somnos  
Arente fauce traxerim,  
Candide Mæcenas,¹ occidis sæpe rogando:  
Deus, deus nam me vetat  
Inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos  
Ad umbilicum adducere.²  
Non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo  
Anacreonta Teïum,  
Qui peræpe cava testudine flevit amorem,  
Non elaboratum ad pedem.  
Ureris ipse miser: quod si non pulchrior ignis  
Accendit obsessam Ilion,  
Gaude sorte tua; me libertina, neque uno  
Contenta, Phryne macerat.

¹ Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis: Dull inertia, that spread so deeply.
² Oblivionem sensibus, Pocula Lethæos ut si ducentia somnos: Oblivion of the senses, the cups of Lethæus, as if they were causing sleep.

Further details may involve a deeper understanding of Latin literature and the historical context of Roman society. The text emphasizes the contrast between the fleeting nature of public desires and the enduring love of a man of high rank, highlighting the different expectations and practices related to love and marriage in Roman culture.
EPODE XV.

TO NEÆRA.

This poem may have been an imitation of the Greek, but as Horace pointedly introduces his own name as that of the complainant, it must be inferred that, at all events, he meant to be understood as speaking in his own person. The probability

’Twas night—the moon shone forth in cloudless heaven
   Amid the lesser stars,
When thou didst mock, in vows myself had taught thee,
   The great presiding gods;
Closer than round the ilex clings the ivy,
   Clasping me with twined arms:
‘Long as the wolf shall prey upon the sheepfold—
   Long as the seaman’s foe,
Baleful Orion, rouse the wintry billows—
   Or the caressing breeze
Ripple the unshorn ringlets of Apollo,
   Our mutual love shall be!’
Ah! thou shalt mourn to find me firm, Neæra;
   For if in Flaccus aught
Of man be left, he brooks not halved embraces;
   Stoooped to no second rank,
His love shall leave thee, and explore its equal.
   The heart, in which the pang
Of the last treason once makes sure its entry,
   Is ever henceforth proof
To charms which perfidy has rendered hateful.
   And thou, O happier one!
Whoe’er thou art, in my defeat exulting,
   Be rich in herds and lands;
bability is in favour of the supposition that it was the expression of a genuine sentiment, and addressed to a real person. Macleane pushes too far his sceptical theory that Horace's love-poems are merely artistic exercises, like those of Cowley.

CARM. XV,

Nox erat, et cælo fulgebat Luna sereno
   Inter minora sidera,
Cum tu, magnorum numen læsura deorum,
   In verba jurabas mea,
Artius atque hedera procera adstringitur ilex,
   Lentis adhaerens brachis:
'Dum pecori lupus, et nautis infestus Orion
   Turbaret hibernum mare,
Intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos,
   Fore hunc amorem mutuum.'
O dolitura mea multum virtute Neæra!
   Nam, si quid in Flacco viri est,
Non feret assiduas potiori te dare noctes,
   Et quæret iratus parem,
Nec semel offensæ cedet constantia formæ,
   Si certus intrarit dolor.
Et tu, quicunque es felicior atque meo nunc
Superbus incedis malo,
And as for gold, I give thee all Pactolus;
Know all the lore occult
Stored by Pythagoras re-born; in beauty
Nireus himself excel;
And yet, alas! in store for thee my sorrow,
Thou too wilt mourn
Loves with such ease made over to another—
My turn for mockery then!
EPODE XV.

Sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit,
Tibique Pactolus fluat,
Nec te Pythagoræ fallant arcana renati,
Formaque vincas Nirea;
Eheu! translatos alio mærebis amores:
Ast ego vicissim risero.
EPODE XVI.

TO THE ROMAN PEOPLE (OR RATHER TO HIS OWN POLITICAL FRIENDS).

This poem is generally supposed to have been composed at the commencement of the Perusian war, A.U.C. 713—the year following the battle of Philippi, when the state of Italy was indeed deplorable, and the fortunes of Horace himself at the worst. He had forfeited his patrimony, and it was two years before he was even introduced to Mæcenas. At that time he would have been twenty-four. The poem has

Another age worn out in civil wars,¹
And Rome sinks weighed down by her own sheer forces,
Whom nor the bordering Marsians could destroy;
Nor Porsena, threatening with Etruscan armies;
Nor rival Capua,² nor fierce Spartacus,
Nor Allobroge³ in all revolts a traitor;
Nor fierce Germania's blue-eyed giant sons;
Nor Hannibal, abhorred by Roman mothers,⁴—
That is the Rome which we, this race, destroy;
We, impious victims by ourselves devoted,
And to the wild beast and the wilderness
Restoring soil which Romans called their country.
Woe! on the ashes of Imperial Rome
Shall the barbarian halt his march, a victor;
And the wild horseman with a clanging hoof
Trample the site which was the world's great city,
And—horrid sight—in scorn to winds and sun
Scatter the shrouded bones of Rome's first founder.⁵

¹ 'Altera ætas,' the preceding age being that of Sulla.
² 'Æmula nec virtus Capuæ.' Capua, after the battle of Cannæ, aspired to the 'imperium' of Italy.—Liv. 23, 2.
³ 'Novisque rebus infidelis Allobroæ.' This line is generally supposed to refer to the Allobrogian ambassadors, who, at the time of
has the character of youth in its defects and its beauties. The redundancy of its descriptive passages is in marked contrast to the terseness of description which Horace studies in his odes; and there is something declamatory in its general tone which is at variance with the simpler utterance of lyrical art. On the other hand, it has all the warmth of genuine passion; and in sheer vigour of composition Horace has rarely excelled it.

**CARM. XVI.**

Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas,¹
Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit:
Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi,
Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenæ manus,
Æmula nec virtus Capuæ,² nec Spartacus acer,
Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,³
Nec fera cærulea domuit Germania pube,
Parentibusque abominatus Hannibal,⁴
Impia perdemus devoti sanguinis ætas,
Ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.
Barbarus, heu! cineres insistet victor, et Urbem
Eques sonante verberabit ungula,
Quææque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini,⁵
Nefas videre! dissipabit insolens.

Catiline's conspiracy, promised to aid it, but afterwards betrayed the conspirators, and became the chief witnesses against them. The Allobroges, a Gallic people on the left bank of the Rhone, two years later broke out in war, and, invading Gallia Narbonensis, were defeated by the governor of that province, C. Pomptinius. The line may, however, be intended to designate the general character of this people, without any special reference to the conduct of their ambassadors in the conspiracy of Catiline.

¹ 'Parentibusque abominatus Hannibal.' Orelli and Dillenburger interpret 'parentibus' as 'our fathers,' 'the former generation.' Doering, Ritter, and Maclean, interpret the word in the sense of 'bella matribus detestata,' c. i. 1. 24, in which latter sense the line is translated.

² 'Quææque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini.' I have rendered
If haply all, or those amongst you all,
Who be of nobler nature, ask for counsel
How to escape the endurance of such ills,
I know none better than this old example:
Leaving their lands, their Lares, and their shrines,
To wolf and wild boar, went forth the Phocæans,¹
One State entire, accursing the return;—
Go we wherever a free foot may lead us,
No matter what the billow or the blast,
Welcome alike be Africus or Notus,
Are ye agreed?² Who can this vote amend?
Why pause? To sea! accept the favouring auspice.
Yet ere we part thus swear: When the firm rocks,
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried,³
Rise to the light and float along the wave,
Then, nor till then, return for us be lawful!
Back unrepentant we will veer the sail
When Po shall lave the summits of Matinus;
When into ocean juts the Apennine;
When herds no longer fear the tawny lions;
When nature’s self becomes unnatural,
And, love reversing all its old conditions,
Tigers woo does, the kite pairs with the dove;
When into scales the he-goat smooths his fleeces,
And quits the hill-top for the briny seas.
So swear, swear aught that cuts us off for ever
From the old homes, and go, one State entire,
Accursing the return. If all not willing,

the simple meaning of the line, but the literal construction is, that he shall scatter the bones of Romulus, hitherto free, in their secret place, from wind and sun. Elsewhere (Car. iii, 3, 16) Horace speaks of Romulus as rapt to heaven, according to the popular belief. Varro, according to Porphyryon, says the tomb of Romulus was behind the Rostra. Orelli suggests that Romulus (Quirinus) is not literally signified in the verse, but rather symbolically, as the ideal representative (der
Forte quid expediat communiter aut melior pars
Malis carere quaeritis laboribus;
Nulla sit hac potior sententia: Phocæorum
Velut profugit exsecrata civitas
Agros atque Lares patrios, habitandaque fana
Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis;
Ire pedes quocunque ferent, quocunque per undas
Notus vocabit, aut protervus Africus.
Sic placet? an melius quis habet suadere? Secunda
Ratem occupare quid moramur alite?
Sed juremus in hæc:—Simul imis saxa renarint
Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas;
Neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
In mare seu celsus procurrerit Appenninus,
Novaque monstra junxerit libidine
Mirus amor, juvet ut tigres subsidere cervis,
Adulteretur et columba miluo,
Credula nec ravos timeant armenta leones,
Ametque salsa levis hircus æquora.—
Hæc, et quæ poterunt reditus abscedere dulces,
Eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,

ideale representant) of the other Roman citizens, whose bones shall be scattered to wind and sun.

1 'Phocæorum—exsecrata civitas.' 'Exsecrata' is used in a double sense, 'binding themselves under a curse.'—MACLEANE. The oath of the Phocæans, who left their city when besieged by Harpagus (Herod. i. 165) never to return till an iron bar they threw into the sea should float on the surface, is amplified in the oath which Horace suggests to his political friends.

2 'Sic placet'—'placetne,' the usual formula. The poet fancies himself addressing a meeting of the citizens.'—MACLEANE.

8 'In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.'—SHAKESPEARE.
At least that part which is of nobler mind
Than the unteachable herd. To beds ill-omened
Let those nought hoping, those nought daring, cling.
Ye in whom manhood lives, cease woman wailings,
Wing the sail far beyond Etruscan shores.
Lo! where awaits an all-circumfluent ocean—
Fields, the Blest Fields we seek, the Golden Isles
Where teems a land that never knows the ploughshare,
And laughs a vine that needs no pruner's hand—
Where the glad olive ne'er belies its promise,¹
And the dusk fig adorns its native stem ²—
There from the creviced ilex wells the honey;
There, down the hillside bounding light, the rills
Dance with free foot, whose fall is heard in music;
There, without call, the she-goat yields her milk,
And back to browse, with unexhausted udders,
Wanders the friendly flock; no hungry bear
Growls round the sheepfold in the starry gloaming,³
Nor high with rippling vipers heaves the soil.⁴
These, and yet more of marvel, shall we witness,
We, for felicity reserved; how ne'er
Dank Eurus sweeps the fields with flooding rain-storm,

¹ 'Nunquam fallentis termes olivae.' The olive crop is still as fickle as the English hop crop—one good year for two bad ones is the accredited average. The olive crop, like the hop, was and still is often ruinous, from the speculative gambling which its uncertainty tends to stimulate. Horace says that which came home to every olive-grower when he speaks of an olive-tree that never deceived its cultivator.

² Viz., ungrafted.

³ 'Vespertinus ursus.'

⁴ 'Neque intumescit alta viperis humus.' Orelli, in one of those notes, exquisite for accuracy of perception, in which his edition is so rich, objects to the common translation of 'alta humus'—mountainous or rising ground, in which vipers are not found. He suggests, on various Greek authorities, that 'alta,' in its sense of 'deep,' not 'high,' has the signification of 'fertile' (we say a deep rich soil, in antithesis to a thin poor one); and to those who dissent from that
Aut pars indocili melior grege; mollis et exspes
Inominata perprimat cubilia!
Vos, quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
Etrusca præter et volate litora.
Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus: arva, beata
Petamus arva divites et insulas;
Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis,
Et imputata floret usque vinea,
Germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivæ,¹
Suamque pulla ficas ornat arborem,²
Mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis
Levis crepante lympha desilit pede.
Illic injussæ veniunt ad muletra capellæ,
Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera;
Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,³
Neque intumesce alta vipers humus.⁴
Pluraque felices mirabimur: ut neque largis
Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,

interpretation, Orelli commends Jahn’s proposed construction to take 'alta' with 'intumescit'—‘swells high.’ Maclean indorses it. Orelli refers 'tumescit' not to the sweltering venom, but to the undulous movement of the reptile, alternately rising and falling, so that the ground literally seems to heave, as the commentator in Orelli says he has himself noticed, in his solitary walks along the meadows and water-banks of Italy, which, but for the vipers, would have been exceedingly pleasant. In the translation it is sought to render this idea, drawn from the critic’s personal observation, and which, as a friend suggests, is in curious accordance with a passage in Humboldt’s 'Aspects of Nature,’ where he describes the reptiles, snakes, breaking their way through the clay soil left by the inundations of the Orinoco, and lifting the ground into little heaps. Ritter finds fault with Orelli’s interpretation, and contends that ‘alta’ denotes the high grass and herbage of the soil.
Nor rich seeds parch within the sweltering glebe.
   Either extreme the King of Heaven has tempered.
Thither ne'er rowed the oar of Argonaut,
   The impure Colchian never there had footing.
There Sidon's trader brought no lust of gain;
   No weary toil there anchored with Ulysses;
Sickness is known not; on the tender lamb
   No ray falls baneful from one star in heaven.
When Jove's decree alloyed the Golden Age,¹
   He kept these shores for one pure race secreted;
For all beside the Golden Age grew brass
   Till the last centuries hardened to the iron,
Whence to the pure in heart a glad escape,²
   By favour of my prophet-strain is given.

¹ 'Quorum' depends on 'fuga'—flight from the iron ages. 'Piis' has the signification of 'pure from crime.'
² It has been supposed by some that the description of these happy islands, and the idea of migrating thither, is taken from the account of the Western Islands, which almost tempted Sertorius to seek in them a refuge from the cares of his life, and the harassment of unceasing wars. This story, which is told by Plutarch in his life of Sertorius, is said by Acron to have been given by Sallust. But the general tradition of a happy land separated from the rest of the world was popular among the ancients from the earliest time, and Horace might have got the notion from Hesiod or Pindar. The poem, however, would assume a much deeper and more earnest character if we could suppose that the passage in question has a symbolical signification, and refers to the isle of happy souls in which Achilles was wed to Helen. In that case the latent meaning would apply to another world beyond this, and its moral would be, 'Rather than submit to the ills and ignominy in store for us, let us take our chance of those seats in Elysium reserved for the pure.'
Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glebis;
Utrumque rege temperante cælitum.
Non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,
Neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem;
Non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautæ,
Laboriosa nec cohors Ulixëi.
Nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri
Gregem æstuosa torret impotentia.
Jupiter illa piæ secrevit litora genti,
Ut inquinavit ære tempus aureum;
Ære, dehinc ferro duravit sæcula; quorum¹
Piis secunda, vate me, datur fuga.²
EPODE XVII.

TO CANIDIA—IN APOLOGY.

This poem completes Horace's attacks on Canidia by an ironical pretence of submission and apology. I state in a note my conjecture that he was really suffering from an illness when it was written. There is no reason to infer with

Now, O now, I submit to the might of thy science!
Now behold, as a suppliant, I lift up my hands!
I adjure thee by Proserpine, and by great Hecate—
I adjure thee by all the most pitiless Powers—
I adjure thee by all thy weird black-books of magic,
Strong in charms to call down loosened stars from the sky—
Dread Canidia, O spare me thy grim incantations!
And O slacken, O slacken, thy swift-whirling wheel!¹
Evēn Telephus moved the fierce grandson of Nereus,²
Against whom he had marshalled, in insolent pride,
The host of his Mysians, and levelled his arrows;—
Evēn Hector the death-dealer (sternly consigned
To the maw of the dog and the beak of the vulture)
Weeping matrons of Troy were allowed to embalm,
After Priam, alas! (his stout walls left behind him)
At the feet of the stubborn Achilles knelt down.
So the rowers of toil-worn Ulysses, witch Circe
From the spell that transformed them delivered, at will,

¹ 'Citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.' All the MSS. have 'solve.' Lambinus has 'volve' without authority. 'Turbo' is a wheel of some sort used by sorceresses; 'rhombos' is the Greek name for it. Ovid, Propertius, and Martial mention it.—MACLEAN. This critic considers that 'retro solvere' means to relax the onward motion
with some, that, because he says his hair was turning grey, the verses were written in later life. 'But now at thirty years my hair is grey,' says Byron. At what age Horace detected his first grey hair—and he became grey early—no one can guess. The poem has all the character of the early ones comprised in this book. It is the only epode in which the same metre (trimeter iambic) is adopted.

CARM. XVII.

Jam jam efficaci do manus scientiæ,
Supplex, et oro regna per Proserpinae,
Per et Dianæ non movenda numina,
Per atque libros carminum valentium
Refixa caelo devocare sidera,
Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris,
Citumque retro solve, solve turbinem. 1
Movit nepotem Telephus Nereïum, 2
In quem superbus ordinarat agmina
Mysorum, et in quem tela acuta torserat.
Unxere matres Iliæ addictum feris
Alitibus atque canibus homicidam Hectorem,
Postquam relictis mœnibus rex procidit
Heu! pervicacis ad pedes Achilleï.
Setosa duris exuere pellibus
Laboriosi remiges Ulixœi,

of the wheel, which will then of itself roll back. I may observe that 'turbo,' which means both a whirlwind and a spinning-top, probably implies the shape of the witch's wheel, as being wide at its upper part (the hoop), and spiral at the bottom.

2 Telephus, king of Mysia, opposed the Greeks on their expedition to Troy, was wounded by Achilles, grandson of Nereus, and son of Thetis. Achilles cured him by the scrapings of the spear with which he was wounded.
Giving back to limbs bristled the voice and the reason,  
And the glory that dwells in the aspect of Man.  
Enough, and much more than enough, for all penance  
Have I paid to thy wrath, O thou greatly beloved—  
O thou greatly beloved both by huckster and sailor!  
Fled away from my form is the vigour of youth,  
And the blush-rose of health from my cheeks has departed,  
Leaving nought but pale bones scantily covered with skin.  
And my hair is grown grey with the spell of thy perfumes;  
From my suffering I snatch not a moment's repose.  
Still the night vexes day, and still day the night vexes;  
I can free not the lungs strained with gaspings for breath.  
Wherefore, wretch that I am, I confess myself conquered;  
I acknowledge the truth I had dared to deny;  
Yes, the chant of a Samnite can pierce thro' a bosom,  
And the Marsian's witch-ditty can split up a head!  
What more wouldst thou have? Earth and Sea! I am hotter  
Than Alcides in fell Nessian venom imbued,  
Or than Sicily's flame budding fresh in fierce Ætna.  
Dost thou mean, then, for ever to keep up this fire—

1 Previously transformed to swine. Bentley's reading of Circa instead of Circe (the Latin instead of the Greek termination), founded on the statement of Valerius Probus, is adopted by all the more recent editors.  
2 As the lowest of the low.  
3 'Neque est Levare tenta spiritu praecordia.'  
The symptoms described are those of a real malady—emaciation, fever, sleeplessness, difficulty of breathing—a malady familiar enough to those who have experienced an Italian malaria. The whole poem seems to me to have the air of being written at some period of actual illness, in the attempt to draw amusement from humorous exaggeration of his own complaints, which is common enough among witty invalids. The nature of the poem would perhaps scarcely suggest itself to him if he were quite well in health at the time.
Volente Circa, membra;\textsuperscript{1} tunc mens et sonus
Relapsus, atque notus in voltus honor.
Dedi satis superque poenarum tibi,
Amata nautis multum et institoribus.\textsuperscript{2}
Fugit juventas, et verecundus color
Reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida;
Tuis capillus albus est odoribus;
Nullum ab labore me reclinat otium;
Urget diem nox, et dies noctem, neque est
Levare tentu spiritu præcordia.\textsuperscript{3}
Ergo negatum vincor ut credam miser,
Sabella pectus increpare carmina,
Caputque Marsa dissilire nenia.
Quid amplius vis? O mare, O terra! ardeo,
Quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules
Nessi cruore, nec Sicana fervida
Virens in Ætna flamma;\textsuperscript{4} tu, donec cinis
Injuriosis aridus ventis ferar,

\textsuperscript{1} 'Nec Sicana fervida

Virens in Ætna flamma.'

I take 'virens' to have the same signification here that it has Lib. IV. Carm. xiii. 6, 'Virentis doctæ psallere Chiae'—i.e., youthful, blooming or budding, in the spring of life. 'Virens flamma' may be compared with Lucretius's 'Flos flammæ.' I agree, therefore, with Macleane, who follows Laminus and the scholiast in Cruquius, in interpreting the meaning to be 'the flame, always fresh and renewing itself,' and having no more to do with the colour of the flame as of sulphurous green, which is the supposition favoured by Orelli and Dillenburger, than it has in the line quoted above, where it is certainly not meant to imply that Chia is 'green.' The emendation of 'furens,' suggested by Bentley on inferior MS. authority, and rejected by most recent commentators, would substitute a prosaic commonplace for a poetic image.
O thou warehouse of venomous fuel from Colchis,—
Till I'm whirled, a parched cinder, the waif of the winds?
What the death that awaits or the fine that redeems me?
Every penalty asked I will honestly pay:
Speak! a hundred young steers; or a couple of stanzas
To be sung to a lute-string attuned to a lie,
I will chant thee as chaste, I will chant thee as honest;
Thou shalt traverse, a gold constellation, the stars.
Moved by prayer Castor's self, and the twin of great Castor,
Gave back sight to the bard who had Helen defamed.¹
So may'st thou, for thou canst, from this frenzy release me—
Mercy, thou, by no filth-scum paternal defiled²—
Mercy, thou who didst never, an aged wise-woman,³
From his grave the first day⁴ rake a beggar-man's dust!
O thy breast is the kindest, thy hands are the purest—
Not a doubt, Pactumeius is really thy son;⁵
And whenever thou bearest the pangs of a mother,
'Tis to rise from thy bed with the bloom of a maid!

¹ 'Infamis Helenæ Castor offensus vicem,
Fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece.'
The poet alluded to is Stesichorus, punished with blindness for libelling Helen, and recovering his sight after writing an apology (palinodia), of which a fragment remains. Other writers ascribe to Helen the grace of restoring the poet's sight. Probably Horace follows some other version of the story lost to us, in attributing the restoration to her two brothers. The allusion to Castor and Pollux, twin stars, comes naturally enough after saying that Canidia shall become a constellation herself.

² 'Obsoleta.' This word, as Macleane observes, is applied in an unusual sense. It usually signifies 'that which is gone to decay,' 'out of use,' and so it comes to mean that which is spoilt and worthless (in which sense Macleane implies that he would take it here). Orelli, I think, better explains it as 'inquinata,' 'deformata.' I apprehend that 'inquinata,' in the sense of 'stained,' or 'defiled,' is the right meaning—as in Seneca (Agam. 971, a line which appears to have
Cales venenis officina Colchicis.
Quae finis, aut quod me manet stipendium?
Effare; jussas cum fide pœnas luam,
Paratus expiare, seu poposceris
Centum juvencos, sive mendaci lyra
Voles sonari: tu pudica, tu proba
Perambulabis astra sidus aureum.
Infamis Helenæ Castor offensus vicem,
Fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
Adempta vati reddideret lumina.
Et tu, pote nam, solve me dementia,
O nec paternis obsoleta2 sordibus,
Neque in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus3
Novendiales dissipare pulverses.
Tibi hospitale pectus et puræ manus,
Tuusque venter Pactumeius,5 et tuo
Cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lavit,
Utcunque fortis exillis puerpera.

escaped the commentators on the passage), ‘Dextera obsoleta sanguine.’

* ‘Neque in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus.’ Macleane, in his note on Canidia, Epode iii. p. 280, observes, that Horace says Canidia is not an old woman, and refers to this very line as proving it. It proves just the contrary. Horace, speaking in the most obvious irony, had before asked if he should celebrate her with a lying lyre, and all he is now saying about her is, of course, to be read in the opposite sense.

* ‘Novendiales pulverses.’ This has been variously interpreted; but Oreilli and all recent commentators agree in accepting the general authority of Servius, Ad. Æn. 5, that the ashes were buried the ninth day after death—the body having been burned on the eighth. Probably enough the poor were not kept so long above ground; but the phrase ‘novendiales’ might have come into conventional usage as signifying the first day of burial. It means, at all events, fresh buried, while warmth was yet in the ashes—that being essential for the purposes of witchcraft; and the ashes were scattered and reduced to powder for those purposes.

* ‘Tuusque venter Pactumeius.’ It would seem that the person, whoever she might have been, represented by Canidia, was rather sen-
CANIDIA'S REPLY.

‘Why on ears locked against thee pour prayer unavailing?

Not more deaf to the sailor, stripped bare to the skin,

Are the rocks upon which, 'mid the darkness of winter,

Breaks in thunder the reef of a merciless sea.

What, forsooth! raise a laugh at the rites of Cotytto\(^1\)

Divulged? Mock the Cupid of Cupids most free?

As if thou wert high-priest to the witchcraft of charnels,

And in safety mightst make a town-talk of my name!

What my gain to have squandered on beldames Pelignian

My gold, and have mixed up the poisons most quick?

Yet they are not so quick, but their work shall seem tardy\(^2\)

To thy longings for death to escape from thy pain.

Ay, for this shall thy thankless existence be lengthened,

That with every new day there shall come a new pang.

For reprieve sighed the father of Pelops the faithless,

Hungry Tantalus, yearning in vain for the food;

For reprieve sighed Prometheus, fast bound to the vulture,

And doom'd Sisyphus upward vain-heaving the stone.

But reprieve is just that which Jove's law has denied thee.

Thou shalt wish, in the weary revolt from thy woes,

Headlong now to leap down from the height of a turret,

Now to sheathe in thy bosom the Norican blade,

Now to garland thy throat with a noose, but wish vainly.

Conquered foe, on thy shoulders in state I will ride,

And the earth shall acknowledge my scorn and my triumph.

What! shall I who, as thou, curious fool, knowest well,

Mould and move human life in the wax of an image;

Who can snatch with my chantings the moon from the sky;

sitive to the charge of sterility, or that, for some reason or other, she had palmed off a supposititious child (Pactumeius) as her own. In the former poem on Canidia, Horace had implied a doubt if she had any
CANIDIA.

Quid obseratis auribus fundis preces?
Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis
Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo.
Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia
Vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis,
Et Esquilini Pontifex venefici
Impune ut Urbem nomine impleris meo?
Quid proderat ditasse Pelignas anus,
Velociusve miscuisse toxicum?
Sed tardiora fata te votis manent:
Ingrata misero vita ducenda est in hoc,
Novis ut usque suppetas laboribus.
Optat quietem Pelopis infidi pater,
Egens benignæ Tantalus semper dapis;
Optat Prometheus obligatus aliti;
Optat suprema collocare Sisyphus
In monte saxum; sed vetant leges Jovis.
Voles modo altis desilire turribus,
Modo ense pectus Norico recludere,
Frustraque vincla gutturi nectes tuo,
Fastidiosa tristis ægrimonia.
Vectabor humeris tunc ego inimicus eques,
Meeæque terra cedet insolentiae.
An quæ movere cereas imaginés,
Ut ipse nosti curiosus, et polo
Deripere lunam vocibus possim meis,
Who can raise up the dead, though consumed into ashes,
And can temper at pleasure the bowl of desire;—
What! shall I bring mine arts to an end in lamenting
That they have not the slightest effect upon thee?
Possim crematos excitare mortuos,
Desiderique temperare pocula,
Plorem artis, in te nil agentis, exitus?