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THE ONE AND ONLY *FONS BANDUSIAE*

'Nobody *knows* where Bandusia was, but it is a fair guess that, like the pine tree Horace dedicates in 3.22, it was on Horace's Sabine estate.'[1] David West's statement of the likely whereabouts of the *fons Bandusiae* of *Odes* 3.13, from the third instalment of his superb introductory edition of Horace's *Odes*, may be considered representative of the broad scholarly consensus on this question from late antiquity (thus pseudo-Acro at *Odes* 3.13.1 and Porphyrio at *Epist*. 1.16.12, where the spring described is undoubtedly at his villa) to recent times: Horace is addressing 'the spring behind his farmhouse'.[2] Another, more lucid view momentarily prevailed in the latter part of the eighteenth century (and reappears sporadically elsewhere), as we shall see. The main contention of this article is that those scholars who have maintained that the *fons Bandusiae* was nowhere near the Sabine farm, a small minority, are absolutely right. But I shall also be suggesting that interesting implications for our understanding of the poem addressed to the Bandusian spring follow from clarity as to its geographical location.

I. FINDING THE *FONS BANDUSIAE*

The true location of the *fons Bandusiae* was conclusively established some considerable time ago, in Bertrand Capmartin De Chaupy's *Découverte de la maison de campagne d'Horace*.[3] A French abbé, De Chaupy had stumbled by sheer chance on a bull of Pope Pascal II, dating to 1103, which made reference in passing to *Ecclesiam sanctorum martyrum Gervasii et Protasii in Bandusino fonte apud Venusiam*, 'the church of the Holy Martyrs Gervasius and Protasius at the Bandusian Spring at Venusia'.[4] Presented with such seemingly powerful evidence, De Chaupy decided to travel to the vicinity himself, and managed to narrow down the location of the church and spring to the modern town of Palazzo S. Gervasio, which he placed about six miles (though it is in fact closer to ten) to the east of Venusia (modern Venosa) along the Appian Way.[5] What makes this information compelling, of course, and the link to

* This discussion of a poetic expression of indebtedness owes its own debt to readers and interlocutors who have indulged the author's determination to pursue his (no doubt eccentric) view of *Odes* 3.13. That includes Bob Cowan, Lindsay Watson, Matthew Leigh and the reader for *CQ*, and the participants at a symposium on Horace held in honour of Margaret Hubbard at St Anne's College, Oxford in May 2008: especially Gail Trimble, Fiachra Mac Gorain, and the honorand on that occasion, to whom this article is respectfully dedicated.

[1] D.A. West, *Horace, Odes III: Dulce Periculum* (Oxford, 2002), 120.

[2] G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), 149.

[3] (Rome, 1767–9), 3.363–5 and 536–41.

[4] The full text may be found at P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*[2] (Leipzig, 1881–5), no. 5945; the relevant portion of the bull is also printed at B.D. Frischer and I.G. Brown (edd.), *Allan Ramsay and the Search for Horace's Villa* (Aldershot, 2001), 127.

[5] De Chaupy (n. 3), 538: 'à six milles au dessus de Venose … au lieu appellé Palazzo'. For the route of the Via Appia past Palazzo S. Gervasio see P. Vinson, 'Ancient roads between Venosa and Gravina', *PBSR* 40 (1972), 58–90, at 68: the 'Fontana Rotta' marked on Vinson's map directly alongside the line of the road was what De Chaupy identified as the residue of the *fons Bandusiae*. The '6 miles S. of Venusia' of E.H. Bunbury (n. 14) was evidently a misreading (or perhaps mishearing from dictation) of De Chaupy's 'au dessus de' as 'au sud de'.

Horace's poem indisputable, is that Venusia was Horace's hometown, and indeed the papal document also mentions two localities neighbouring the spring, Bantium and Ac(h)erentia,[6] which feature in the (beautifully contoured)[7] passage from an earlier ode in Book 3 where Horace reminisces about his charmed childhood (3.4.13–16):

> mirum quod foret omnibus,
> quicumque celsae nidum Acherontiae,
> saltusque Bantinos et aruum
> pingue tenent humilis Forenti.

which was a marvel to all who live in the nest of high Acherontia and the high clearings of Bantium and the rich ploughland of low-lying Forentum.[8]

It thus seems perfectly clear, as De Chaupy concluded, that the *fons Bandusiae* was, contrary to the statements of the ancient commentators, 'une Fontaine, non de la Campagne d'Horace, mais de la Patrie':[9] not a feature of Horace's Sabine estate but a landmark of Horace's youth in the marches of Lucania and Apulia (Hor. *Serm.* 2.1.34–9). Not *just* a local landmark, it is worth adding: by virtue of the position of the spring directly alongside the Appian Way, this was a location potentially identifiable also by the inhabitants of the city of Rome. Indeed, if we follow Brodersen's analysis of the Roman 'mental map', not an essentially cartographical conception like our own, but linear, structured 'by *routes* which only register the relative position of the *landmarks* situated on them',[10] this landmark on the road between Rome and Brundisium would necessarily be a prominent feature on the Roman 'map' of Italy.[11]

De Chaupy was read in turn by Allan Ramsay, whose *An Enquiry into the Situation and Circumstances of Horace's Sabine Villa Written during travels through Italy in the years 1775, 76 and 77* has recently been published for the first time.[12] Ramsay accepted De Chaupy's findings without qualification,[13] as have a small rump of scholars since,[14] but in mainstream literary scholarship, at least, the history of this scholarly

[6] The name of the latter town is also written as Ac(h)eruntia or Ac(h)erontia: their modern counterparts are Banzi and Acerenza.

[7] D.A. West, 'Horace's poetic technique in the "Odes" ', in C.D.N. Costa, *Horace* (London, 1973), 29–58, at 34–5.

[8] Modern Forenza.

[9] De Chaupy (n. 3), 365.

[10] K. Brodersen, *Terra cognita. Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung*[2] (Hildesheim, 2003), 290, referring to the 'intermediate space' of countries and regions.

[11] The location is not mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, but as it happens that record appears to be deficient for this section of the Appian Way. See Vinson (n. 5), 86–7 for the likelihood that ancient Siluium is modern Gravina, and that the 20 *milia passuum* stated as the distance between Venusia and Siluium in the Itinerary, as contrasted with the 35 *m.p.* of the Peutinger Table (a better indication of the real distance between Venosa and Gravina), is the result of the dropping out of a stage between the two towns from the text of the Itinerary. For the relevant text, see O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana* (Leipzig, 1929), 17.

[12] Frischer and Brown (n. 4): on De Chaupy see 123–31.

[13] 'Here [*scil.* in the papal bull] was not only a fountain of the same name with that which had been in vain sought for, but a fountain of such name and consideration as to serve as a landmark, and at the same time so linked in the Bull itself with other places with which Horace was known to have been connected as to leave little or no doubt of its being the same fountain which he had celebrated in his ode': Frischer and Brown (n. 4), 124–5.

[14] Thus W. Smith (ed.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (London, 1854), s.v. 'Bandusiae fons' (E.H. Bunbury): Smith's dictionary has recently been republished by I.B. Tauris (London, 2005), with an introductory essay by C. Stray. Stefania Quilici Gigli in S. Mariotti (ed.), *Enciclopedia oraziana* (Florence, 1996), I.557–8 offers a judicious, non-committal discussion of

question took a decidedly peculiar turn. For it transpires that quite a number of the scholars who have held that the *fons Bandusiae* was a feature of Horace's *Sabinum* have not only been aware of De Chaupy's research but have also accepted the Frenchman's conclusions in all essentials. The idea has gained currency that, although the original *fons Bandusiae* was indeed near Venusia, 'Horace gave to a Sabine spring the name of a famous landmark near his birthplace', as Nisbet and Rudd have recently put it:[15] but the same notion is to be found in Kiessling–Heinze (ad loc.) and in Fraenkel, who traces it back at least as far as the middle of the nineteenth century.[16] The belief shared by all these eminent scholars is, in effect, that there were two Bandusian springs.

William of Ockham would have had something to say about this. But let us wield the razor on his behalf: Horace never offers any indication that the *fons Bandusiae* was at his Sabine farm. That is the fallacious, although perfectly understandable, assumption introduced by his ancient commentators, aware as they were of a spring on the Sabine estate, vividly evoked at *Epist.* 1.16.12–14.[17] In addition we do in fact know where it was, because De Chaupy found all the relevant evidence in that papal bull. The kindest description of the compromise represented by the two-spring hypothesis is that it is inelegant. But as an account of a poem with a readership it is positively incoherent. In the absence of any hint from Horace as to the location of the *fons* that he is celebrating, the two-spring proponents are obliged to argue that contemporary readers would have thought of the landmark on the Appian Way near Venusia, but then arbitrarily dismissed it in favour of an ersatz *fons Bandusiae* at the Sabine villa: this is a lot to expect a reader to do without any guidance whatsoever from the poet.

II. A NATIVE SPRING

There was only ever one *fons Bandusiae*: I hope that is now self-evident. As for its location, it lay ten miles or so to the east of Venusia – but I claim absolutely no credit for that discovery myself. What I would like to do on my own account is to build a larger argument about this poem on that topographical clarification. I believe that other (often well-recognized) implications of *O fons Bandusiae* click into rather precise focus once the geographical question is settled. Rather more ink has been spilt on Bandusia's limpid waters than the kid's blood which has been the focus of modern (and, I believe, ancient)[18] disquiet. But one point of agreement, and this time an incontestable one, is that a central concern of this poem is the poet's own achievement.

theories regarding the location of the *fons*, but the illustration at I.285 is asserted to be of 'Il *fons Bandusiae* a Licenza', i.e. on the Sabine estate. The village of Licenza is named after a river of the same name, and 'Licenza' is a clear corruption of 'Digentia', on which see n. 17 below.

[15] R.G.M. Nisbet and N. Rudd, *A Commentary on Horace, Odes Book III* (Oxford, 2004), 173.

[16] E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), 203, n. 1, citing C.G. Zumpt in E.F. Wüstermann's 1843 re-edition of L.F. Heindorf's edition of Horace's Satires, 17, n. 1. Quilici Gigli (n. 14), 557 attributes the idea to G. Boissier, *Nouvelles promenades archéologiques* (Paris, 1884), 30–1. A rum exercise in *Quellenforschung*, this: the search for the scholar who first *lost* the Quelle Bandusia.

[17] This spring is described by Horace as identical in nomenclature to a *riuus* (*fons etiam riuo dare nomen idoneus*, 12), seemingly the *riuus* later named as *Digentia* (*Ep.* 1.18.104, *gelidus Digentia riuus*). I cannot see any space at the Sabine farm for a spring named *Bandusia*. For a discussion of the symbolic value of the Digentia in Horace's verse which tackles issues relevant in broader ways to this article, see J.C. Bramble, *Persius and the Programmatic Satire* (Cambridge, 1974), 62–3.

[18] Pp. 137–40 below.

In the last stanza of 3.13 Horace famously states that the spring will achieve fame in his poetry (*me dicente*, 14) comparable to the springs of Greek poetry (13–16):

> fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
> me dicente cauis impositam ilicem
> saxis, unde loquaces
> lymphae desiliunt tuae.

You too will be one of the famous fountains, as I sing of the holm oak overhanging the hollow rocks, whence your chattering waters leap down.

The Greek springs to whose company Horace's poetry will raise the *fons Bandusiae* are such familiar names as Aganippe, Hippocrene, Castalia, Dirce and Arethusa, all of them conceived as sources of poetic inspiration and figures for poetry itself, and in all cases associated with Muses. The mode of thinking about the poetic process underlying this proliferation of inspirational springs is well described by Steiner in relation to Pindar: '[i]nspiration … demands that the poet take in some power from without, and that he carry within him the force of the divine which makes him truly *entheos*, god-possessed'.[19] The idea that a spring should fulfil this role is extremely familiar in Roman poetry, and that is no doubt primarily due to Callimachus' *ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει / πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον*, 'the pure and undefiled little stream that trickles from a holy fountain, the best of the best' (*H.* 2.111–12), and his restaging early in *Aetia* 1 of Hesiod's encounter with the Muses on Mt Helicon at the start of the *Theogony*, which involved some reference both to the Hippocrene and seemingly also to the less elevated (in more than one sense) Aganippe, source of the Permessus (Call. fr. 2 Pf.; fr. 696 Pf.).[20] But as Callimachus' debt to Hesiod implies, the idea is older, and typically (or at least archetypically) the notion of the poetic spring entails some indication of the provenance of the poet to whom it provides inspiration. Thus Hesiod of Ascra learned his poetry from the Muses who danced around and cleansed themselves in the springs of Helicon (*Theog.* 1–34), and Propertius can consequently talk of *Ascraei fontes* (2.10.25–6), a Hesiodic level of inspiration to which he cannot as yet aspire, acquainted so far only with the Permessus. *AP* 9.64 similarly has the Muses offering the 'inspiring water' of Helicon to Hesiod, and Hesiod drinking his fill of it before penning his classic works: Persius spoofs the same idea at *Prologue* 1.[21] Pindar of Thebes also identifies his inspiration with a spring in a locality of special relevance to him when he presents his sixth *Isthmian*, at its conclusion, as a draught of Dirce (74–5): *πίσω σφε Δίρκας ἁγνὸν ὕδωρ, τὸ βαθύζωνοι κόραι / χρυσοπέπλου Μναμοσύνας ἀνέτειλαν παρ' εὐτειχέσιν Κάδμου πύλαις*, 'I shall offer them a drink of Dirce's sacred water, which the deep-bosomed daughters / of golden-robed Memory made to rise by the well-walled gate of Cadmus'.

The spring Arethusa functions rather similarly in (post-Theocritean)[22] bucolic poetry. At [Mosch.] *Epit. Bion.* 77 Bion is said to have drunk from Arethusa as Homer had from the Hippocrene (cf. 9–12); at Virg. *Ecl.* 10.1, Arethusa is asked to vouchsafe one last Virgilian exercise in Theocritean mode. In each case this Syracusan spring

[19] D. Steiner, *The Crown of Song: Metaphor in Pindar* (London, 1986), 44.

[20] W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom. Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 222–50.

[21] My thanks to Lindsay Watson for these references.

[22] Arethusa is mentioned at Theoc. *Id.* 1.117 and 16.102, but not as a source of personal inspiration.

marks Theocritus' geographical origins at the same time as it represents the external source of inspiration for Theocritean verse. The capacity of the waters of a poet's homeland to symbolize his *ingenium* is surely also relevant to Ovid's regular allusions to his well-watered place of origin at Sulmo, amongst the Paeligni (*Am.* 2.1.1, 16.1–2, 3.15.11; *Tr.* 4.10.3; *Fast.* 4.685–6), not just a case of the poet lingering 'affectionately over his own well-watered family farm',[23] nor even simply a statement of national or ethnic loyalty, but a suggestion that it was to these origins that Ovid owed his poetic creativity: an *aquosus* homeland (and this characteristic of the territory is invariably foregrounded by Ovid) is figuratively a land that provides to its alumnus a wealth of poetic inspiration. Comparable again are Virgil's references to the river Mincius at *Ecl.* 7.12–13 and *G.* 3.14–15, on the banks of which (according to the latter text) Virgil would raise his poetic temple to Caesar,[24] and the role of the Camenae, denizens of the spring from which the Vestals drew their daily water, as patron spirits of early Roman poetic activity.

An obvious implication of the final stanza of *Odes* 3.13 is that, just as the *fons Bandusiae* will bear comparison with these Greek springs, so Horace will join the ranks of the great Greek poets. West notes how Horace 'glides into Greek syntax' in this stanza as he effectively claims membership of the Greek literary club, just to ensure the point is registered.[25] The sentiment is in effect a confident assertion of the mere aspiration to gain inclusion among the *lyrici uates* that Horace had expressed at *Odes* 1.1.35–6, but with its gesture towards the poet's origins near Venusia we are closer to the terms of 3.30.10–14, where the emphasis is on Horace's ascent, *ex humili potens*, from humble beginnings in Apulia to literary celebrity. In 3.13 the assessment of Horace's origins is more positive, but there must still be a hint of irony in the assimilation of the *fons Bandusiae* to the grand springs of Greece, some suggestion of Horace's achievement in elevating a locality so parochial (for all its proximity to the *longarum ... regina uiarum*, Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.12) to the universal celebrity of its Greek counterparts: the personified *lymphae* of the last line, more or less interchangeable with *nymphae*,[26] call to mind, also with some self-belittling irony, the normal denizens of poetic springs, *Musae*.[27] At any rate the combination of an acknowledged attempt on Horace's part to equate the *fons Bandusiae* with springs symbolic of poetic inspiration and the very personal associations attaching to this landmark in his homeland makes it natural to assume that other elements of *O fons Bandusiae* contribute to some kind of statement about Horace's poetic achievement – that this is indeed the burden of the poem. With this possibility in view, I turn now to the most controversial part of *Odes* 3.13, Horace's sacrifice of the goat kid.

[23] E. Fantham, *Ovid, Fasti Book IV* (Cambridge, 1998), at *Fast.* 4.685–6.

[24] It is no doubt significant that Virgil's inspirational watercourse at this transitional moment in his poetic development is not a Callimachean spring but a river, albeit a generically conflicted one: on the one hand the *ingens* Mincius meanders with *tardis … flexibus* (14); on the other it delicately fringes its banks with *tenera … harundine*. For the contradictions inherent in the generic self-positioning of this passage see Ll. Morgan, *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil's Georgics* (Cambridge, 1999), 50–5; and for the observation that 'in every programmatic utterance' of the *Georgics* 'Virgil characterizes his position as transitional,' see R.F. Thomas, *Virgil, Georgics* (Cambridge, 1988), I.2.

[25] West (n. 1), 120.

[26] West (n. 1), 121.

[27] On the relation of nymphs to Muses, see R. Coleman, *Vergil, Eclogues* (Cambridge, 1977) at *Ecl.* 7.21.

III. SACRIFICE AND SURROGACY

Yet another widely shared assumption of scholarship on this poem concerns the context of the offering, the life of a goat kid, that Horace is proposing to make to the spring. Most commentators have concluded that a ritual offering to a spring must indicate a known festival, the Fontinalia of 13 October, in which case the dramatic date of the ode (given *cras* at 3) would be 12 October. Nisbet and Rudd are rightly sceptical, although they posit in the Fontinalia's place another public festival, the Neptunalia of 23 July.[28] But the poet in fact offers no indication that an official festival, let alone *which* festival, is being observed, and the assumption that some such publicly celebrated ritual must be at issue in the poem is in its way as strange, and as untrue to any natural reading of the poetic text, as the notion of an imitation *fons Bandusiae* at the Sabine estate. If a specific festival is entailed Horace tends to offer strong clues to that effect: we might think of the Matronalia at *Odes* 3.8.1, *Martiis caelebs quid agam Kalendis*, or the more complex play with dates in *Odes* 1.31, where the dramatic scenario shifts meaningfully from 9 October to 11 October 28 B.C.[29] We today have to struggle to identify a festival which would fit Horace's account, and it does not seem that Horace offers information that would have made it any easier for his contemporaries; in which case it is reasonable to assume that the poet did not want us to think in terms of a public ritual: *cras* at 3 is hardly enough.[30] Perhaps we should take our cue from Horace's failure to give us one.

The details of the offering would certainly seem to support a reading of the sacrifice as a private ritual on Horace's part. As Nisbet and Rudd report, offerings to springs could take a number of forms, garlands and also pigs and sheep,[31] but this does not bring us very close to Horace's precisely delineated offering of a pre-pubescent kid, and thus in no way precludes our looking for a significance and symbolism in the sacrificial victim of more immediate relevance to the poet. And our attention is undoubtedly focussed upon the kid: that much is ensured by Horace's arresting decision to dwell, in seemingly unnecessary detail, on the character, the potential and then the death of the sacrificial victim (3–8), thereby evoking the pathos of the creature's unfulfilled promise in a manner very unlike other, unembellished references to kid sacrifice at *Epod.* 10.23 and *Carm.* 1.4.12. But if we are being asked to contemplate this victim with unusual sympathy and attentiveness, what is it that he could represent?

One approach to explaining this anomalous focus on the object, process and consequences of the sacrifice would be to consider the victim, a goat kid on the cusp of maturity and a fulfilled life, in the light of a well-recognized ancient understanding of sacrifice as a process of substitution: 'the victim is offered in exchange for benefits

[28] Nisbet and Rudd (n. 15), 173–4.

[29] For an excellent account, see D. West, *Horace Odes I: Carpe Diem* (Oxford, 1995), 146–51.

[30] Nisbet and Rudd (n. 15), 173: 'When Horace says that a kid will be offered to the spring "tomorrow" (3), he seems to be thinking of a particular festival'. It might be countered that lyric poetry, stereotypically the product of night-time symposia, is programmed to anticipate the following day, generally with a view to dismissing it in favour of the pleasures and oblivion of the present: thus 1.7.32, 1.9.13, 1.11.8, 3.29.43, and 4.7.17. In 3.17 Horace again looks ahead to a private festivity (a celebration of L. Aelius Lamia's Genius, somewhat comparable to 3.13, as I interpret it) from the vantage point of the previous day. If at all marked, then, is *cras* at 3.13.3 in actual fact a succinct way of specifying the dramatic time of Horace's 'song', rather than that of the sacrifice?

[31] Garlands: Varro, *Ling.* 6.22 (on the Fontinalia); a pig: Mart. 6.47, in explicit payment of a vow; sheep: Ov. *Fast.* 3.300; G. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin, 1874), 146.

or in payment of a negative balance incurred through earlier crimes', though not only crimes, and 'itself has symbolic value, standing in as a surrogate for those who offer it'.[32] Horace is explicitly offering the *fons Bandusiae* a gift (*donaberis*, 3). But the question would then be, a gift in return for what? For whom or what might an adolescent goat operate as a repayment or substitute, and what debt might be owed to the *fons Bandusiae* to merit such a gift?

One readily available answer might be that the kid is the surrogate of the person most immediately involved in his sacrifice, Q. Horatius Flaccus, in which case its symbolic value would potentially be very strong indeed: cut off at the cusp of maturity, after all, the animal is powerfully evocative of the young Horace himself, who had taken his leave of the vicinity of the spring to gain an education in Rome and rise to a life with its fair share of the *uenerem et proelia* (5) denied to the kid, especially if Horace is understood in his lyric persona as the Roman Alcaeus, warrior and symposiast.[33] Horace's account of his education at Rome at *Serm.* 1.6.71–82 implies that his departure from Venusia coincided with the start of the second stage of the standard elite Roman education, thus placing the future poet at roughly the age of twelve, a good human analogue for a kid with budding horns.[34] A beast full of youthful promise dies, in other words, in recompense for the success of the boy who came to write this poem in this book and collection; and the Bandusian spring is Horace's version of his personal Muses' spring, his talent conceived as something external to himself to which he owes proportionate thanks, in the shape of the sacrificial kid. The derivation of *Bandusia* from Greek *Pandosia*, 'giver of all', postulated by Nisbet and Rudd, must also be felt here: return is made to the one who has given everything.[35]

I have suggested already that the unsettling quality of this passage is not just a product of modern sensibilities: Horace was not required to spell out the implications of the sacrifice for the victim (or for the spring) as explicitly or vividly as he does. Up to a point this disconcerting emphasis can be satisfactorily explained by spelling out the logic of such a sacrifice: for the kid to constitute adequate payment for Horace's success, the future to which he will not attain must encapsulate the life that Horace *did* live, the victim's lost life a payment for Horace's extraordinary accomplishments. Our response to the sacrifice is thus not just to mourn the vitality of the *haedus* (although we must indeed feel the poignancy of his death, the force of *frustra* in 6): that lost vitality also, paradoxically, conveys the rich life with which Bandusia, understood as

[32] P.R. Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition* (Cambridge, 1993), 32, with further references. This way of thinking is particularly important for the *Aeneid*, as argued by C. Bandera, 'Sacrificial levels in Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Arethusa* 14 (1981), 217–39; W.S.M. Nicoll, 'The sacrifice of Palinurus', *CQ* 38 (1988), 459–72; Ll. Morgan, 'Assimilation and civil war: Hercules and Cacus (*Aen.* 8.185–267)', in H.-P. Stahl, *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (London, 1998), 175–97.

[33] 1.32.5–12 sets out very clearly the perceived division between Alcaeus' political and erotic poetry, but see also pp. 139–40 below.

[34] See P. M. Brown, *Horace. Satires I* (Warminster, 1995), at 1.6.77, with *OCD*[3] s.v. 'education, Roman' (J.V. Muir).

[35] Nisbet and Rudd (n. 15), 172–3. A name for a poetic spring translated from Greek also hints at an important theme in the *Odes*, Horace's pride in transplanting a Greek poetic form to Italy, developed most explicitly at 3.30.13–14; but cf. 1.20.1–3 with S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study* (New Haven, 1962), 326, and the suggestive linguistic play at 1.32.3–4, *dic Latinum, barbite, carmen*. The Appian Way, on which the spring in question was positioned, was of course the link between Rome and Magna Graecia, and thence Greece itself via the port of Brundisium.

Horace's *ingenium*, gifted the poet. With the passage that has been the focus of critical anxiety, the description of the 'staining' (*inficiet*) of the spring waters with the blood of the victim at 6–8, sacrificial thinking again provides an important key. We cannot appreciate the richness of Horace's life – the generosity of Bandusia's gift, in other words – unless the inversion of this gift, the curtailment of life endured by the kid, is developed with proportionate intensity: and the repayment to the spring of a life for a life could hardly be represented more compellingly than in the image of a lively creature's life-force, his blood, seeping back into the spring's life-giving waters.

But many readers have still experienced the bleeding of the kid into the spring as some kind of violation of its purity,[36] and although this can be overstated (a spring adulterated with sacrificial blood is not thereby straightforwardly polluted: sacrificial blood is at worst an ambivalent substance, as Burkert insists, purifying and polluting simultaneously),[37] Horace's imagery seems carefully designed to render the meeting of blood and water unsettling. The nuance of the verb *inficiet* is hard to pin down with confidence, but the allusion to 3.6.34, *infecit aequor sanguine Punico* (describing the actions of the exemplary youth of earlier times), whilst it suggests that the metaphor might convey the sort of righteous ruthlessness appropriate to crushing the Carthaginians, nevertheless chimes a little harshly in the quieter, pastoral environment of the *fons Bandusiae*. The image is also, most importantly, a contradiction of the Callimachean (and Horatian, cf. 1.26.6–9 to the Muse, *quae fontibus integris / gaudes*) ideal of the pure poetic spring (even if debatably καθαρή, the *fons Bandusiae* after the sacrifice is neither ἀχράαντος nor *integer*), and signalled as such by its tension with the opening description of the spring as *splendidior uitro*: '*inficiet* ("discolour") is set against the purity of *splendidior* (1)'.[38]

In fact this subtle complication of Callimachean programmatic imagery seems as purposeful as any element of this intricate composition. I return here to the suggestively Alcaic quality of the future denied to the kid, *uenerem et proelia*. Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.63) praises Alcaeus for his political poetry, which he considers morally uplifting in its attacks on tyrants, and in style 'succinct, lofty (*magnificus*), precise and often like an orator's' (cf. Dion. Hal. *Imit.* 422), but deplores the same poet's willingness to stoop to frivolous poetry and erotic verse, 'though more suited to greater themes' (*maioribus tamen aptior*). Alcaeus is defined as the (regrettably) versatile author of both στασιωτικά (Strab. 13.2.3) and ἐρωτικά, light verse alongside serious, and here, as in *Odes* 1.32, the essence of the Alcaic persona is the sympotic poet and participant who is also a man of public affairs, *Lesbius ciuis*. The aptness of the Alcaic model to Horace lay above all in the latter's own history of perilous engagement in national affairs, Philippi especially (of which we are about to be reminded at 3.14.28). What I am proposing is that it matters to Horace to advertise that his life has been Alcaic, rather than Callimachean, one of *proelia* (a word with an inevitable generic charge)[39] as well as *uenus*, and that if indeed Callimachean

[36] See the survey of G. Mader, 'That st(r)ain again: blood, water, and generic allusion in Horace's Bandusia Ode', *AJPh* 123 (2002), 51–9, at 51–2.

[37] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), 81–2, with a general statement of the sacrificial paradox at 81, 'sacrament and sacrilege merge in every act of sacral killing'.

[38] Nisbet and Rudd (n. 15), ad loc. As they proceed to comment, this is also one implication of the figure at 6–7 by which the redness of the blood implies the clarity of the water, and the coldness of the water the warmth of the blood: cf. E.A. Schmidt, 'Schema Horatianum', *WS* 103 (1990), 57–98, at 66–8. The implied warmth of the blood also contrasts with the 'delightful chill' that the spring provides against the heat of the Dogstar at 9–12.

[39] See Mader (n. 36), 54–8 for a comparable reading of 3.13 as a poem in which Horace toys

proprieties are violated, and an edgy hint offered of conflict and violence over and above that already inherent in the sacrificial ritual, the bloodletting of the *haedus* thereby serves to communicate, by inversion, the full richness and complexity of the Alcaic life to which the Bandusian spring had propelled its protégé.[40]

IV. CONCLUSION: SPRING, POETRY, GENIUS

In the final, vivid evocation of the spring, itself (naturally) an embodiment of eloquence (15–16, *unde loquaces* / *lymphae desiliunt tuae*), poetry imitates the spring to the point of being sonically indistinguishable from it,[41] and, more than that, offers in the very structure of the final stanza a visual reminiscence of the scene described. In a manner comparable to the poetic landscaping of 3.4.13–16, finely elucidated by West,[42] the sense of the text is mirrored in its disposition: the holm oak (14) is set above the rocks on the line beneath, from which in turn the waters leap down into the final line, the sinuous movement of sense from line to uneven line iconic of the tumbling of water over the rocks of the spring:

> cauis impositam ilicem
> saxis, unde loquaces
> lymphae desiliunt tuae.

It would be easy also to draw comparisons between the power of poetry and the soothing influence of the spring: the *frigus amabile* bestowed on passing cattle and flocks (9–12) recalls the epiphany of the Muse Calliope at the start of *Odes* 3.4, at which the poet seems (6–8) 'to hear and wander through sacred groves, into which steal delightful waters and breezes'. It is immediately after this that Horace tells of the magical childhood around such places as Acherontia, Bantium and Ferentum, and Mt Voltur, on the slopes of which stood Venusia, which marked him out as an acolyte of the Muses.

Thanks to *Odes* 3.13 the immortality of the *fons Bandusiae* does not depend on its physical location ten miles east of Venosa,[43] and that is indeed fortunate: even as early

with a higher poetic register, represented for Mader by, amongst other things, the *proelia* of 5 and the motif of bloodstained water. But Mader equates *uenus* too readily with lyric, regarding the indications of a higher register of poetry as 'an "epic" note' (57). But lyric has a much more fluid generic status than Mader allows. In the person of Alcaeus, especially, not mentioned by Mader, the polarity of love and warfare is confounded.

[40] Lindsay Watson has alerted me in discussion to the parallel between a goat sacrificed to an inspirational spring and the tale told of Archilochus' initiation at *testimonia* 3 Gerber (*SEG* 15.517, the Inscription of Mnesiepes), according to which the Muses took a cow from the young poet-to-be in exchange for a lyre (22–35).

[41] 'The ode to Bandusia's spring ends with the babbling of water', West (n. 1), 121; cf. Fraenkel (n. 16), 203–4 on the end of the poem ('And what an end it is!'): 'Listening to the swift rhythm of these lines we seem to lose ourselves in the sounds and glitters of an enchanting scenery'.

[42] West (n. 7), 34–5.

[43] Cf. Joseph Addison, *A Letter from Italy*, 31–6, thinking primarily (as Allan Ramsay appreciated, Frischer and Brown [n. 4], 126) of the *fons Bandusiae*:

> Sometimes, misguided by the tuneful throng,
> I look for streams immortaliz'd in song,
> that lost in silence and oblivion lie,
> (dumb are their fountains and their channels dry)
> yet run forever by the Muse's skill,
> and in the smooth description murmur still.

as De Chaupy's visit the original fountainhead had been obliterated. However, the geographical facts of the case are far from immaterial, for once we are properly informed about its true whereabouts we may begin to understand quite why Horace chose this of all springs to encapsulate his achievements as a lyric poet. Nor is the profound assimilation of spring and poetry that Horace achieves simply an (unusually brilliant) instance of something poets typically do. Much rests on the identification of this Apulian spring and Horace's poetry. For when Horace addresses the *fons Bandusiae*, he is contemplating the wonder of his own native genius.

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