

THE VERGILIUS OF HORACE, ODE 4.12

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Horace, possibly acceding to his own well-known axiom *ridentem dicere verum*,¹ several times prophesied, however seriously, his own destiny of becoming a standard text in schools.² In his typical manner, he reveals himself as not completely dreading this “fate of notoriety,” despite his protestations to the contrary;³ and indeed his prophecy became true to a degree and in a way which he himself could not possibly have envisioned. We may infer from the end of the abbreviated remains of Suetonius’ *Vita Horatii*⁴ that, soon after his death, Horace’s reputation was already so great and the public interest in his “other works” was so keen that even certain spurious *opera* in prose and verse were attributed to him.⁵ Although we cannot be certain of the extent to which Horace became a school-boy’s primer in the first two centuries after his death, we do know that he lent himself, for more mature readers, to what were already considered necessary *explications du texte* by Acro and Porphyrio,⁶

¹ *Sermo* 1.1.24. Just how literally is this to be taken always? Cf. note 29, below.

² For example, *Sermo* 1.10.74–75, 90–91, *Epistle* 1.20.17–18.

³ Contrast the passages in note 2 with *Odes* 1.1 (*ad fin.*), 2.20, 3.30, 4.3, etc. The last ode (written after the *Carmen Saeculare* in 17 B.C.) is particularly revealing. Also recall his bitterness in *Epistle* 1.19.32 ff. regarding the poor reception of Books 1–3 of the *Odes*.

⁴ Conveniently found in such standard editions as Kiessling-Heinze, Palmer (*Sermones*), Bennett-Rolfe, Morris (*Sermones*), most of which, however, omit the obligatory *locus de moribus*. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 1–23 *et passim*, lucidly analyzes the *Vita*.

⁵ Such a practice, of course, has an unbroken tradition from the *Homerica* to the *Appendix Vergiliana* and later, not to mention possible interpolations in what are regarded as “genuine” works.

⁶ “Acro” is usually referred to as “pseudo-Acro,” because Helenius Acro seems to have lived before Porphyrio (3rd century A.D.), although the scholia under his name clearly draw, in their present form, on many divergent sources, including Porphyrio himself.

whose *lucubrationes* were the impetus for subsequent anonymous scholiasts,⁷ whose observations in turn fostered “modern criticism” beginning, perhaps, with Lambinus, Dacier and Bentley⁸ and continuing in unbroken succession right up to the present day.⁹

It is difficult to imagine Roman schoolboys coping with their Horace. He is frankly difficult and, especially in the often topical *Sermones*, initially obscure to us, as he apparently also was to those first commentators only two or three centuries removed in time and not so very different at all in language. It is for just this reason that we have acquired through the centuries such voluminous commentary on our poet; for this reason, too, most of us meet Horace in heavily—often dogmatically and even incorrectly—annotated texts of a few *Odes* like *Tu Ne Quaesieris* (1.11), *Integer Vitae* (1.22), *Eheu, Fugaces* (2.14), *O Fons Bandusiae* (3.13), *Exegi Monumentum* (3.30), *Diffugere Nives* (4.7) and the like.¹⁰ Hence, our first encounter with the difficult Latinity of Horace is highly selective, annotated, even bowdlerized. Subsequently, as we begin to study the poet more seriously and completely, we hardly notice that we are often devoting as much time, largely from force of early habit, to the heavy exegetical incrustations of *commentators* on the poet. In the end, we are finally able to deal with the poet himself, only to find that we have already become indoctrinated, biased, close-minded not by the *ipsissima verba* of the poet himself, but by the *sententiae* and the *observatiunculae* of other students. In short, we have been forced, unwittingly, to sacrifice our own judgment, our own common sense and simple logic; we have renounced the Alexandrian critic Aristarchus, whose chief *dictum* was to “seek the solution from the text” and whom Horace himself (*Ars Poetica* 450–51) considered the reader-critic *par excellence*. In this state of *insaniens sapientia* (*Ode* 1.34.2), we finally begin really to study Horace.

⁷For example, the mediaeval scholia $\lambda\phi\psi$ collected by H. J. Botschuyver (Amsterdam 1935). The manuscripts in which they appear date from the 10th century.

⁸D. Lambinus (Paris 1568); M. Dacier (Paris 1691); Richard Bentley (Cambridge 1711).

⁹Cf. below, notes 19–22, for full references to major texts and commentaries, as well as to critical studies.

¹⁰Splendid as these odes are, they give no fuller and more accurate a picture of Horace than do for Catullus his poems on the death of Lesbia's sparrow (3), his return to Sirmio (31), Arrius' hyperaspersion (84) and the farewell to the poet's dead brother (101): poems which are often presented as representative selections from Catullus. Let one reared on these staples simply turn to *Sermo* 1.2 or *Epode* 12, Catullus 32 or 80, for the ultimate antitheses. Even Vergilians may blanch slightly at *Eclogues* 3.7–10 and 6.24–26.

Let us for a moment imagine the unlikely individual whose Latin is so good as to be able to handle Horace, but whose education has been so stifled as never to have read any Horace at all. This mysterious stranger will begin reading the corpus, will gain increasing pleasure and familiarity with the poet and the person, will be in the happy condition of knowing only the poet instead of the poet's commentators. He will eventually come to *Ode* 4.12 and find (if the collection is read in order of publication) the eighth reference out of ten to a certain "Vergilius."¹¹ The first seven and the last two references are uniformly granted to be to the poet of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*. So, it would seem obvious, is this reference in *Ode* 4.12. But wait. . . . Now begins the salutary course of *doctrina*. Our reader turns from Horace to Horatians, and what a surprise this hypothetical stranger, thus far unencumbered by the barnacles of others' opinions, has in store for him as he is on the verge of being robbed of his own critical virtue. He may first turn to Porphyrio ("Vergilium adloquitur [Horatius]"), whose gloss of *iuvenum nobilium cliens* (15) tacitly assumes none other than *the* Vergil. "Of course," thinks our friend, hardly impressed by the ancient critic's belaboring of the obvious. But wait. . . . Next, for example, he may glance at the later anonymous scholia and find that Vergilius has become reduced from poet to *unguentarius* or to *negotiator* or to *medicus* [or *cliens*] *Neronum*. To be sure, such comments could simply be uninformed mediaeval guesses inferred from the verses of the poem itself. Nevertheless, there must have been *something* to cause such a radical change of opinion about what had seemed the obvious identity of the poem's addressee. What was this *something*?

I. BACKGROUND

To jump from the post-Porphyrio scholia (c. 10th century) to Commager, writing in 1962, requires omitting for the time being consideration of the many editors and critics who have dealt with *Ode* 4.12. In what seems an almost peevish tone, Commager thus dismisses the matter of identity of Vergilius: "From the criticism of C.4.12 . . . we might well think the poem to have been written as an exercise for prosopographers. . . . Yet the question of whether or not this Vergil is Vergil the poet should not be more than pripheral."¹² Commager may well be said to stand somewhat precariously in this

¹¹*Sermo* 1.5.40 & 48, 1.6.55, 1.10.45 & 81, *Ode* 1.3.6, 1.24.10, *Epistle* 2.1.247, 2.3 (= A.P.) 55 are the nine "certain" references. Only *Ode* 4.12.13 presents any difficulty.

¹²Steele Commager, *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study* (New Haven 1962) 274.

view. The Pyrrhas, the Chloes, the Lalages and so forth we need not, granted, trouble to identify; they certainly are not the flesh and blood of Catullus' Lesbia-Clodia, for example, and Horace himself pays them little heed other than to use them as a convenience in his slighter *vers d'occasion*.¹³ However, when the addressee of a poem is a known and important personage—Agrippa, Pollio, Augustus, Maecenas, Tibullus, Vergil, for example—we have a very different situation indeed. Here identity does affect tone, and tone affects the whole poem. Therefore, I feel that it is crucial, *pace* Commager (and others), to try to determine the addressee of 4.12 in order to understand the whole poem itself, as well as to place it in proper perspective in regard to the whole book. In order to do this, we must first set before us the background difficulties.

These problems actually pre-date the scholia cited above, although those apparently unfounded inferences have themselves opened up a scholarly Pandora's box. We must go back to the Suetonian *Vita*, such as it is,¹⁴ in which we read the statement, misleading at best, that Augustus thought so highly of Horace's talent *ut non modo saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere*. The *Carmen Saeculare* aside, we are expected to believe that the one and only reason for the publication¹⁵ of *Odes* 4 was to publicize the epinician *Odes* 4 and 14 and possibly poems 5 and 15 in praise of Augustus;¹⁶ everything else was to be "padding": eleven poems as a pretext for rounding off the only four that matter. It scarcely need be said that this interpretation of Suetonius about *Odes* 4 has not gained unanimous acclaim. A. E. Houseman, for example, considered 4.7 "the most perfect poem in the Latin language," and each of the other ten "fillers" has found its championing advocates. If anything other than

¹³The identity of names in the *Sermones* (and *Epistles*, to a lesser degree) may be another matter. On this complicated and disputed subject, cf. A. Palmer's 4th edition (London 1891) xi–xix & xlix–lii, and the reprint of E. P. Morris (Oklahoma 1967) 15–16. In the *Odes*, on the other hand, many names seem more clearly chosen largely for etymological value.

¹⁴For arguments concerning its abbreviated form, cf. Fraenkel (above, note 4) 1 (and notes 3 & 4) and 21.

¹⁵The date cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, but the fifth poem suggests a time around 13 B.C.

¹⁶So T. E. Page, *Odes and Epodes* (London 1895) 395, in a long, gratuitous note in what is often elsewhere an admirable edition. Even in the sensitive chapter in J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*, Vol. 1 (3rd ed. rev., New York 1963) 380, we read, "The lighter odes of this book are virtually makeweights to fill it out."

Horace's native genius was responsible for a second collection of lyrics, it was, as Fraenkel quite acutely observed,¹⁷ the *Carmen Saeculare* and Horace's realization that his polymetrics were, after all, properly appreciated.

Thus *Ode* 4.12 already had two strikes against it after the 10th century: the peculiar opinion of Suetonius and the specious scholia on the addressee. It remained only to point out the hideous taste in publishing such a poem not only to a friend, but to a friend dead for six or seven years; in calling him *iuvenum nobilium cliens* (15), whatever that means; in remarking on his *studium lucri* (25), whatever that, too, means—doing so in an apparently bantering, frivolous, even mocking mood towards one who had earlier been called *animae dimidium meae* (*Ode* 1.3.8). “A minimum of common human feeling should save us from the sense of humour that turns Horace, the most tactful of poets, into a monster of callousness.”¹⁸ Such a statement is typical of one of the sides in a pitched battle that has been fought furiously as a result, largely, of the vague remark of Suetonius and even vaguer glosses of anonymous scholiasts. Into such a tangle our hypothetical friend with only Horace and no Horatian *Wissenschaft* finds himself necessarily thrown. If his curiosity is piqued at all, he will find four basic points of view about the addressee: (1) definitely *the* Vergil;¹⁹ (2) definitely *not* the Vergil;²⁰

¹⁷Fraenkel (above, note 4) 381–82. For Horace's own statements, cf. *Odes* 4.3 and 6 (esp. the last four strophes).

¹⁸Fraenkel 418, note 1. The note in its entirety is even more vehement, as is Page's (441).

¹⁹*Editions*: e.g., C. Batteaux (1823), Vol. 2, 82; R. Bentley (1711) 174; A. Y. Campbell (1945), unpaginated commentary; M. Dacier (1691), Vol. 4, 286 ff., esp. 294–99; F. G. Doering (1831) 231–32; A. J. Maclean (1853), Vol. 2, 248–49; *Critical Books*: e.g., N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes* (London 1961) 74–77 & notes; J. Perret, *Horace* (Paris 1959) 179–81; K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations* (London 1963) 7–14 & notes; W. Wili, *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur* (Basel 1948) 358–59 & note; *Articles*: by far the most cogent are C. M. Bowra, *CR* 42 (1928) 165–67; E. A. Hahn, *TAPA* 76 (1945) xxxii f., unfortunately only a tantalizing abstract of a full paper; G. E. Duckworth, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 313 & note: the indispensable “*Animae Dimidium Meae*: Two Poets of Rome”; most recently, R. Minadeo, *CJ* 71 (1975–76) 161–64, a paper that came to my attention only when I was well into the present one. I am pleased that we share the same opinion, but Minadeo's suggestion of a tone due to “Virgil somehow fallen from Horace's unqualified good graces” (163) seems impossible, and he surely should have discussed *Ode* 1.24 and considered the works of Bowra and Duckworth, the latter of whom he completely overlooks, but especially in dealing (163–64) with the very important last strophe of 4.15.

²⁰*Editions*: e.g., J. Gow (1914) 349; Kiessling-Heinze (11th ed., 1964), Vol. 1, 448; T. E. Page (1895) 441; Shorey-Laing (1919; reprinted 1960) 456; *Criticism*: Fraenkel

(3) probably *the* Vergil;²¹ (4) probably *not* the Vergil.²² He may even find complete absence of discussion of the poem.²³ The remarks of critics are dizzying: “Quis autem Horatium cum magno poeta Virgilio in eiusmodi familiaritate vixisse dubitet, vel, si carminis sup. i, 3 ad Virgilium scripti meminerit, dubitare potest?”²⁴ Contrast “Der Gast, Vergilius, hat mit dem Dichter der *Aeneis* nichts gemein.”²⁵ Contrast “On peut tenir pour à peu près assuré qu’il s’agit de l’auteur de l’*Énéide* et non pas d’un homonyme.”²⁶ Contrast “It seems improbable that the Virgil who is addressed is the poet, who died in 19 B.C.”²⁷ Contrast “The ode is almost certainly addressed to the poet Vergil.”²⁸ And on and on it goes, clearly a muddy issue of “quot homines, tot sententiae” and, one may add, “tot rationes atque probationes.” In the end, with reeling head one recalls the Germanic formula, “Librum aperi ut discas quid alii cogitaverint; librum claude ut ipse cogites.” Unaided, unconvinced, and unhappy by “higher criticism,” one returns with a sigh of relief to that source which he should never have left in the first place: Horace himself. If there is an answer to the problems which have unexpectedly thrust themselves on us, only Horace will be able to provide that answer. Clearly editors and critics have no really conclusive, cogent evidence from external sources that Vergilius *is* or *is not* the poet Vergil.

II. GENERAL EVIDENCE IN HORACE

4.12 is written in the 3rd Asclepiadean, a meter which Horace used for eight other poems. Now, it is regularly observed that the poet regarded his Alcaics and Sapphics as “special” meters, generally reserved for his more important work (e.g., for the “Roman *Odes*” the former, for the *Carmen Saeculare* the latter). However, so far as I can determine, no one has ever noticed the importance which Horace

(above, note 4) 418–19 and notes.

²¹E.g., R. G. M. Nisbet & M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book I* (Oxford 1970) 40, and A. G. McKay & D. M. Shepherd, *Roman Lyric Poetry* (London 1969) 151–52: both tentatively affirmative, but without any support at all.

²²E.g., editions of C. E. Bennett & J. C. Rolfe (1934) 400; J. G. Orelli & J. G. Baiter (1850–52), Vol. 1, 577; and E. C. Wickham (1896), Vol. 1, 324–25. The decisions are all regretfully made, Orelli’s on the strange assumption that Vergil and Horace were not intimate. His conclusions have been refuted by Duckworth (above, note 19) 281 ff.

²³E.g., L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge 1945). For Com-mager’s attitude, cf. above, note 12.

²⁴Batteaux (above, note 19) Vol. 2, 82.

²⁵Kiessling-Heinze (above, note 20), Vol. 1, 448.

²⁶Perret (above, note 19) 179.

²⁷Bennett-Rolfe (above, note 22) 400.

²⁸McKay-Shepherd (above, note 21) 151.

apparently also attached to the 3rd Asclepiadean (whose strophic arrangement, incidentally, closely resembles that of the Sapphic strophe). The nine poems are: 1.6 (to Agrippa; epic themes and the epic poet Varius); 1.15 (Paris and Helen; again epic themes handled also by Vergil: very possibly an allegory of Antony and Cleopatra); 1.24 (to the poet Vergil); 1.33 (to Tibullus; Venus and elegiac themes); 2.12 (to Maecenas; epic themes); 3.16 (to Maecenas; epic themes); 4.5 (to Augustus; heroic themes and reminiscences of the *Aeneid*); 4.12 (to Vergilius); and—an apparent deviation—3.10 (to the young Lyce). Excluding 4.12 for the moment, we see that seven out of eight poems in this meter have well-known addresses and significant, often Vergilian, themes. But what of 3.10? In fact, the themes here, too, are similar to those in the other poems: epic (*Penelopen*, 11; *Tyrrhenus*, 12; possibly even *Iuppiter*, 8), pastoral (including Vergilian geography and weather in 1–8), and erotic-elegiac, as in 15 and 33. And what of the young Lyce? We cannot hope to know who she was or even *if* she was, but it seems hardly coincidental that she is also the now aging addressee of 4.13, the poem immediately following those to Maecenas and to Vergilius. As we shall see later, *Odes* 4.10 and 13 (farewells from the older Horace to male and female loves, respectively) frame poems 11 and 12 (*about* Maecenas and *to* Vergilius). Of course, one can always argue that even the lofty Alcaic was used for lighter themes (e.g., 3.26, the *apparently* slight erotic verses about *Chloen* . . . *arrogantem* [12]). But the fact is that, in themes and addressee, even 3.10 seems somehow in Horace's mind to belong with the other poems in the 3rd Asclepiadean. Horace does not tell us *how* or *why* it is so, but he tells us *that* it is so. Popular opinion to the contrary, the poet is not nearly so open and self-revealing as some would maintain. Again following his own *dictum*, he often confronts us tantalizingly with many *dicenda tacenda*,²⁹ and so he appears to be doing about Lyce. We reluctantly can say no more than that. Now, what of 4.12? Given its position between poems about Maecenas and the mysterious but seemingly important Lyce; given the fact that 4.11 (*about* Maecenas) and 4.12 (*to* Vergilius) come, as we shall presently see, in the focal point, the

²⁹*Epistle* 1.7.72. For Horace's coy reluctance to "reveal all," one need only cf. *Sermones* 1.5 (entire), 1.6.45–64, 2.6.27–58 regarding his relations with Maecenas; his refusal to identify the "boor" of *Sermo* 1.9 or the poetic antagonist of *Epistle* 2.2.91 ff.; his evasive disavowals about *his* brand of satire in *Sermones* 1.4, 1.10, 2.1, and so forth. Yet the *Sermones* and *Epistles*, *repentes per humum* (*Epistle* 2.1.251), are supposed to be even more open and frank about their author (cf. the *vota tabella* of Lucilius' life and works, *Sermo* 2.1.32–34) than the loftier, "more poetic" lyrics.

center, of Book 4's second cycle; given the fact that the other eight poems in the same meter have significant addressees and/or themes³⁰ which are complementary and which are treated by Vergil himself in his three works (especially the two earlier ones) and by his professed admirer Tibullus, himself addressed in one of these nine poems: given all this, are we to say that the addressee of 4.12 is *not* Publius Vergilius Maro? Given the fact that the other nine references in Horace to Vergilius³¹ are conceded to be to the *poet*, are we to surmise that in 4.12 and 4.12 alone Horace is addressing some obscure perfume-seller? Given the fact that *Odes* 1.1–3 are dedicated to Maecenas, Augustus and Vergil, are we to acknowledge 4.11 to Maecenas, 4.15 to Augustus and 4.12 to some unknown merchant or doctor?³²

Let us approach the poem from yet another point of view, now that we have dealt with meter. In the past decades Horace has come more and more under the close scrutiny of “structural analysts” like Commager and Collinge. If we briefly look at *Odes* 1.24 and 4.12 (both to Vergilius and both in the same meter), we find what can be argued to be the same basic structure: a single central strophe containing an address to Vergilius, surrounded by two sections containing the same number of strophes (two in 1.24, three in 4.12). Is it merely coincidental that both poems display Horace's often used tripartite structure and that both follow the pattern of setting off the single central strophe containing the addressee's name?³³ From a wider point of view concerning structure, it has been brilliantly shown³⁴ that Book 2.1–12 forms the exact core of Books 1–3, being surrounded on either side by exactly thirty-eight poems. These central twelve odes contain intricate balances and parallels of time, content and tone; 1–11 are, alternately, in Alcaics and Sapphics, and 12 (a *recusatio* to Maecenas and the “sign-off” of the cycle) IS WRITTEN IN THE EQUALLY IMPORTANT THIRD ASCLEPIADEAN. Much less well known, but certainly no less important, is

³⁰We shall presently see the further importance of this meter in its use to conclude the major cycle in the center of Books 1–3.

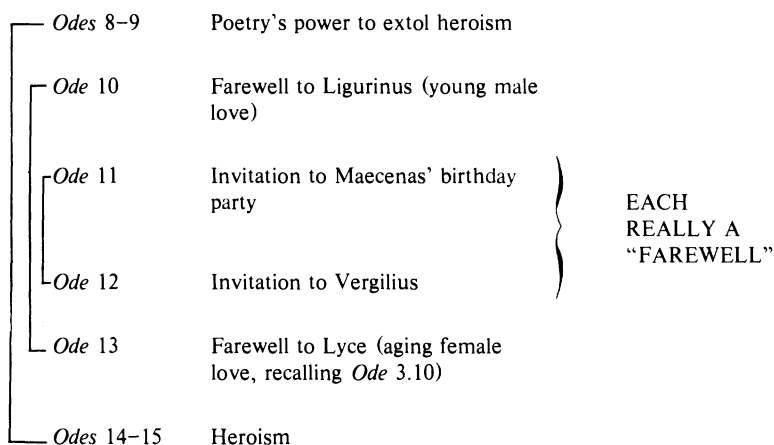
³¹Cf. above, note 11.

³²Cf. Duckworth (above, note 19) 282, 313 ff., and Minadeo (above, note 19) 162–63.

³³One thinks of Catullus' use of *identidem* in 11.19 as an intentional recall of 51.3. (In regard to the *language* of 1.24, to those who would expunge the splendid epic proemium of vss. 1–4 there is no fitting answer.) On structure cf. also note 72.

³⁴W. Port, *Philologus* 81 (1926) 280 ff., and W. Ludwig, *Hermes* 85 (1957) 336 ff., are the pioneers in this analysis, followed by scholars like B. Seidensticker, *Gymnasium* 83 (1976) 26 ff.

the structure of Book 4, which contains two “cycles,” *Odes* 1–6 and 8–15, centering around the critical seventh *Ode*, *Diffugere nives*.³⁵ In the first cycle, poem 1 (to Venus) balances poem 6 (to Apollo); poems 2 and 3 on poetry balance poems 4 and 5 on heroism: a key theme of Book 4, i.e., poetry’s power to extol and immortalize humanity, especially heroic humanity. This theme naturally contrasts with the ephemeral human life of *Odes* 10–13. The second cycle is more important for our concern and may be schematized thus:



As mentioned earlier, the Maecenas and Vergilius poems are in the exact center, the focal point, of this cycle, and by virtue of this positioning the importance of both is emphasized. Moreover, the reference to Maecenas and the address to Vergilius occur precisely in the central strophe. Such Hellenistically³⁶ chiastic arrangements are familiar to students of works like the *Technopaegnia*³⁷ and were

³⁵This seems to be the most natural arrangement, focusing on one of Horace’s favorite themes: a man’s mortality versus nature’s eternity. On the other hand, poem 8 (dealing with the contrasting theme of poetry’s immortalizing power) is, numerically, the central poem of the book and is written in the 1st Asclepiadean, a meter used elsewhere only in 1.1 and 3.30: the first collection’s prologue and epilogue, again both dealing with poetry.

³⁶Actually, this structural pattern may be a legacy from Homeric poetry, where it served as a mnemonic device for the oral bard: *hysteron proteron Homêrikôs*.

³⁷Conveniently found in Gow’s OCT of the *Bucolici Graeci* (1952) 172 ff.

apparently very appealing to Roman poets like Catullus,³⁸ Vergil³⁹ and Horace⁴⁰—all members or heirs of the neoteric movement that was so much influenced by Alexandrianism. It need hardly be said that Horace and Vergil did not compose by rote one poem in order to balance another and thus to make a neat cycle, but rather that, when a group of poems was ready for publication, each poet looked for the most meaningful, even symbolic, arrangement of these poems, paying little or no attention to original order of composition.⁴¹

We have thus sought and gained from Horace himself data concerning 4.12. Meter, total references to Vergilius, the comparative tripartite structure of *Odes* 1.24 and 4.12, the position of 4.12 in its cycle (especially preceding the Lyce poem and following the Maecenas poem, which also contains the significant name in the central strophe) all point to one conclusion thus far: that the Vergilius of 4.12 is and must be taken, after all, as the poet Vergil. But we have by no means exhausted our investigation. We must next examine the tone of Book 4 in general and of *Ode* 12 in particular, including those two ambiguous phrases which have been termed worthy of only a “monster of callousness.” From the start it should be stressed that the objections to identifying Vergilius as Vergil depend largely on those few phrases and on *non-Roman* preconceptions of what Horace should have said, what Vergil should have had said to him, and what, in fact, Horace actually *was* saying. (Perhaps because he alone of the extant critics was actually a *Roman*, Porphyrio found no such difficulties in what would seem the only logical conclusion.) Book 4 is, in many ways, Horace’s *chef d’oeuvre* of lyric. In the first place, it displays, proportionately, the greatest variety of meter: eight meters for only fifteen poems. Its subject matter is equally varied, if one takes the time to examine the book itself rather than to rely on misinterpretations of Suetonius. This variety should be apparent from the analysis previously presented of the two cycles. The book is no more “Roman” than, for example, Book 3, which contains, among others, the initial stately six “Roman *Odes*.” In fact, as Duckworth

³⁸E.g., Cat. 64, for which cf. C. Murley, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 308.

³⁹Especially the *Eclogues*, not only the whole collection, but many individual poems; cf. Duckworth (above, note 19) 288, note 25, and the *schemata* in his *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil’s Aeneid* (Ann Arbor 1969); also Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963), e.g., 107, 199, 288 for instances of *schemata* in all three poems.

⁴⁰E.g., the “Roman *Odes*”; cf. Duckworth, “*Animae*,” 301, note 68.

⁴¹This fact may be seen, for example, in the position of *Sermo* 1.7, very possibly the first in the book to be written.

has observed,⁴² the book is highly *Vergilian*, even if we exclude poem 12 for the moment. There are Vergilian-epic allusions⁴³ in *Odes* 2, 4, 5, 6 (almost *Aeneid* 2 *in parvo*), 7 (*pater Aeneas*, 15), 8, 9 and, not least, 15. In fact, the last strophe of this last ode of Horace's last book, though dedicated to Augustus, is a poignant summary of, and tribute to, the *Aeneid*. However, the book is also one very much concerned with poetry and poets: *Odes* 2, 3, 8, 9, 15, for example.

And the overall tone? Perhaps we should take the cue from Horace himself, when he confesses in 1.3, *Non sum qualis eram*. This, it seems to me, is the overriding mood especially of the non-official, non-Roman poems: one of wistfulness, if not regret, the utterances of a middle-aged man for whom circumstances are radically different from those of younger, happier years. We no longer see the Horace of *Sermo* 2.6, still pressed into service by the *scribae quaestorii*, hastily bustling to and fro, anxiously making his way through importunate crowds to Maecenas' still active and important court, eagerly looking for a brief respite with old friends and books at the Sabine Farm⁴⁴ before returning to his equally beloved Rome. Instead, we find a man *circa lustra decem* (1.6), very much aware of his own mortality—one who has seen the death of Vergil, the demise of Tibullus, the increasing infirmity of Maecenas and that great man's mysterious estrangement⁴⁵ from Augustus and concomitant relegation to obscurity. Therefore, those who link *Odes* 1.4, 4.7 and 4.12 together as "spring songs" fail to see some fundamental differences.⁴⁶ In the first place, 4.12 hardly belongs with the other two; it is an invitation which happens to be set in, but does not depend on, spring. On the other hand, 1.4 and 4.7 overtly *do* resemble each other. But the earlier poem ends on an up-beat (19–20), promulgating Horace's favorite

⁴²"*Animae*," 313. Yet even Duckworth underestimates the *variety* of themes in Book 4.

⁴³They are so obvious that I need not repeat them here. I have just scratched the surface; undoubtedly much more could be made of this point than space allows me to do in the present paper.

⁴⁴It seems curious that, except possibly in poem 12 itself, there is no suggestion of Horace's beloved retreat that so pervades Books 1–3 of the *Odes*, as well as the hexameters.

⁴⁵Whatever the reason for this estrangement—possibly the conspiracy of his brother-in-law Murena in 23?—it *did* exist and probably accounts for the fact that *Odes* 4 (unlike *Sermones* 1, *Epodes*, *Odes* 1–3, *Epistles* 1 [almost surely published closer to the time of *Odes* 1–3 than that of *Odes* 4]) are *not* dedicated to Maecenas. In fact, he is only referred to, not even directly addressed in 4.11. Instead, the book is dedicated to the goddess of love AND of the Julio-Claudians.

⁴⁶Specifically Quinn (above, note 19) 7, who then sets out to dismiss 4.12 as decidedly inferior to the other two poems. It is not at all inferior; it is radically *different*.

notions of *Vive dum vivis*, *Carpe diem* and the like, very much as do the last three strophes of the similar 1.9. Winter in these poems stands, as it should, for old age, spring for youth. However, by the time of 4.7, in a dizzying flurry winter dissipates in spring, which is brutally trampled by summer, which is destined to perish with autumn, and soon in a tumble of dactylic curtness and finality, *bruma recurrit iners* (12). And the poem ends, not on an up-beat like 1.4, but with death, darkness, futility, celibacy, loss of friends, and finality. In a peculiar way, then, to the older Horace of 4.7 spring has come to suggest not youth and pleasure, but change, transience, imminent old age, death. With this important fact in mind, let us finally turn to 4.12 itself.

A possible "model" comes to mind: Catullus 13, *Cenabis bene, mi Fabulle*, although the tone of the following poetic epistle to the poet's dear Calvus⁴⁷ is not dissimilar. "Roman humor" is something that often may elude us, from its cruder forms (poetic, as in Catullus and Martial, or artistic, as exemplified in the tastes of the upper middle-class at Pompeii⁴⁸) to its more (to us) "acceptable" ones. Niall Rudd⁴⁹ has perhaps put it best in his remarks about the battle of the *scurrae* (*Sermo* 1.5), witnessed and enjoyed (*ridemus*, 57, *prorsus iucunde*, 70) by Horace, Vergil, Maecenas, *inter alios*, en route to Brundisium: "Clearly this boisterous humour appealed to something very deep in the Roman character, something which the imperial *gravitas* overlaid but never wholly effaced." Bowra⁵⁰ writes along the same lines in regard to *Ode* 4.12. What, moreover, does one say of the staid Cicero, the *pater patriae*, and of the manner in which, for example, he salaciously lampooned Clodia and Clodius in the brilliant *Pro Caelio*? Or of Augustus himself in Suetonius' *Vita*, calling Horace a *purissimum penem*? Then there is that elusive phrase in *Sermo* 1.10.44 in which Horace attributes to Vergil the qualities of *molle atque facetum*.⁵¹ Why is it so impossible to grant that Vergil,

⁴⁷It is noteworthy that Horace, in 1.24, is playing Catullus to Vergil's Calvus (Catullus 96), Vergil having lost Quintilius, Calvus Quintilia. If Catullus' bantering tone to Calvus in 14 can change to admonitory compassion in 96, why cannot Horace's to Vergil do the same in 4.12 versus 1.24? In neither poet is there any clear indication of chronology of composition of the two pairs of poems.

⁴⁸Cf. the lavish *Eros in Pompeii* by Michael Grant & Antonia Mulas (New York 1975).

⁴⁹*The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 64.

⁵⁰Above, note 19.

⁵¹Bowra, *ibid.*, temptingly but dangerously tries to refer this, at least in part, to the *Appendix Vergiliana*, as does Palmer *ad loc.* in his edition of the *Sermones*. H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley 1942), struggles to deal extensively with the phrase. For the *Appendix*, cf. further note 64, below. The fact remains that Horace saw in

however filled with *lacrimae rerum*, did, in fact, also have a sense of humor with which and to which he could, at least with intimates, respond? If we grant him this quality, he becomes no less great, only more human, more Italian (ancient or modern), more understandable. Let the reader merely look at *Eclogues* 3.7 ff., *Georgics* 4.170 ff., *Aeneid* 1.738–39, 5.162–82, to pick only a few very obvious examples. However restrained this humor may seem, it *is* humor. We do Vergil no real credit by only revering him at a distance as a divine *vates* whose eyes were always overflowing with the *lacrimae rerum*. Sometimes even the good Vergil smiles!

When, therefore, Horace addresses Vergilius in 4.12 as *iuvenum nobilium cliens*, he is not a “monster of callousness.” He is, as Porphyrio rightly saw, referring to Vergil’s long relationship with, his admittedly generous patronage over many years by, such luminaries as Augustus, Varus, Agrippa, Pollio, Maecenas, as well as by younger members of Augustus’ family and circle like Drusus and Tiberius. Moreover, if Horace wrote his poem not long after the publication of the *Georgics*, this would account, first, for the comparison between his own not yet entirely comfortable financial position and Vergil’s much more secure one; it would, second, explain why there are most allusions to the *Eclogues*, fewer to the *Georgics* and least to the just-then-in-progress *Aeneid*, which was not yet known to the public. As for *studium lucri*, most critics seem to overlook the pregnancy in *studium*, although Dacier⁵² lengthily and forcefully argues for the literal—the real—meaning of *studium* (“zeal, pursuit, eagerness, ‘study’”) and reminds us that *lucrum* often refers to other than sheer monetary concerns (even though 1.3 and 1.24 do contain such generally characteristic Roman [e.g., Catullus 5] monetary metaphors: *creditum*, *debes*, *reddas*, *incolumem*, *servas*, *dimidium*, *aes*, *commisit* [1.3.5–11]; *creditum*, *poscis*, *corrigere* [1.24.11, 12, 20]). Even a cursory look at one of the *indices verborum* of Horace or, indeed, at Lewis-Short will provide ample evidence that *lucrum* is used not only in regard solely to finances, but also to *whatever* is profitable or useful (τὸ χρήσιμον in short: cf. 1.9.14, for example) in any aspect. Now, we cannot know with absolute certainty *when* Horace actually wrote 4.12.⁵³ However, that he would be able to write a *new* poem, much

Vergil and his work something *facetum*.

⁵²Above, note 19, on verse 25.

⁵³As will be discussed in the next section and as has already been suggested in the text, the relative number of references to the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and earlier books of the *Aeneid*, respectively, might suggest a date in the early to mid-20’s, even before Vergil read Books 2, 4 and 6 to Augustus. As to the real possibility of early compositions of other poems in Book 4, there is no evidence. I have tried to show why it is unlikely that 1.4 and 4.7, for all their surface similarities, were composed in close proximity.

less a light one, to a living Vergil after Vergil's death is impossible. The two "callous" phrases suggest, in fact, that the poem was written while Vergil was in the agonizing heat of composing or even just beginning the *Aeneid*: "You have financial security, as well as official sanction and praise; but for a few hours relax, leave the monotony of your study, put aside the work on *arma virumque*; 'dulce est desipere in loco'; you and your *magnum opus* will be the better for it."⁵⁴ If such a splendid light-hearted poem was sent *privately* to a splendid over-worked poet, it would be the best proof of all that Horace felt that it was possible to work/write *and* to live well, even with a bit of levity. *Vive dum vivis*.

Why, then, did Horace include a considerably earlier poem in his final book of *Odes*? Because it was too good not to be published; because he was indeed the "most tactful of poets" and had known in 23 B.C. how to separate private from public writing *in loco*, especially when all Rome was still eagerly awaiting the masterpiece of the shy, introverted genius who happened quite literally already to be the *animae dimidium* of Horace; because, moreover, after Vergil's death such a poem *could* well be revealed to the public, since Vergil's success had been instantly acknowledged. With Book 4 Horace, as discussed earlier, was publishing a collection concerned with poetry, with *Romanitas*, a book written by a poet much devoted to Vergil and, at the same time, more than ever keenly aware of his own mortality and changed circumstances. "Tactful" as he was and as he had been in 1.24, he would not have presented for Vergil, above all, a maudlin dirge—cf. 2.20.21, *Absint neniae!*—but rather, almost unbearably, two poems about his *animae dimidium*: 4.15, a final official tribute (and Horace's last words) to Vergil's masterpiece, the poem of the poet whom the *public* knew, and 4.12, a final personal tribute to the three poems (as we shall presently see) of the poet and the man whom *Horace*, perhaps better than anyone else, knew, respected and loved.⁵⁵

III. EVIDENCE IN 4.12

Up to this point we have been dealing with 4.12 in a more general fashion and in its general relation to the rest of Horace's work. Now

⁵⁴Cf. the absolutely petulant tone to Maecenas (replete with numerical and financial imagery) in 2.17. And why is no one offended by the imperious *eripe te morae*, etc., vss. 5–12 of 3.29 (also to Maecenas)? Even 1.24 to Vergil betrays a certain impatience. Only intimates can thus address each other.

⁵⁵We thus see that Horace, "quick to anger" (*Epistle* 1.20.25), was also "slow to forget." Vergil and Maecenas, who were so long ago joined in *Sermo* 1.6.55, are here movingly reunited for the last time in *Odes* 4.11 & 12.

it is time to examine some specifics of the ode itself and its relation to Vergil's poetry. Such comparative analysis, of course, has inherent dangers of arguments *ex silentio* and premises about priority.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, there are a number of points which it does seem worthwhile at least to suggest. As for priority, it may fairly safely be said that when we are dealing with the *Eclogues* or *Georgics*, both published in or before 30/29 B.C., it is *they* which are influencing *Ode* 4.12. With the *Aeneid*, on the other hand, there is no clear way of determining what influenced what. Indeed, it would not have been unlikely or impossible in such cases for Vergil actually to have borrowed from Horace.⁵⁷

Iam veris comites, the poem begins. If Catullus 13 is a basic model, yet his *Iam ver egelidos* (46) also exerts an initial influence, as Quinn observes.⁵⁸ (Recall, too, that Catullus 46 is both an *invitation* to leave Bithynia and a *farewell*.) However, *veris comites* might also suggest the same sort of pun⁵⁹ that Vergil himself indulges in (despite the different quantities of the *-e-*)—almost *Vergili comites*—especially in the light of *ver-* . . . *mar-*(1) and *animae* (2), which could suggest *animae dimidium meae*, as well as the *animae candidiores*, Vergil, Plotius and Varius, of *Sermo* 1.5.41. In fact, this use of *anima* for *ventus* or *aura* seems to occur only here in Horace and most clearly only in *Eclogue* 6.32 and possibly *Aeneid* 8.403. It is, then a rare word, allusive of other more common meanings in both poets. *Animae Thraciae* further suggests the Thracian shades (*animae*) made so famous by Vergil in *Georgics* 4.453 ff. and alluded to by Horace in 1.24.13: Orpheus and Eurydice. The verb *rigent* (3) occurs only here in Horace and only in *Aeneid* 4.251 in this sense; similarly, *strepunt* (3) occurs only here in and in *Ode* 2.1.18 and in Vergil in *Eclogue* 9.36 and four times in the later books of the *Aeneid*. Were these verbs in this period of poetry generally rare, or did Horace intentionally choose non-Horatian, non-Vergilian words for special effect? Finally, Bowra notes a "Vergilian usage" (e.g., *Aen.* 1.146) even in *temperant*.

⁵⁶ This is a somewhat different matter from, e.g., the relationship of *Epode* 2 to *Georgics* 2.458 ff., *Epode* 16 to *Eclogue* 4, *Odes* 3.1–6 to *Aeneid* 6, for which cf. Duckworth, "*Animae*," *passim*.

⁵⁷ In what follows I have relied on the following reference works: Domenicus Bo, *Lexicon Horatianum*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim 1965); H. Merguet, *Lexikon zu Vergilius* (Leipzig 1912); M.N. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus* (New Haven 1911). For the texts of Horace and Vergil I have used the OCT of Wickham-Garrod and Mynors, respectively. For possible borrowing by Vergil, cf. below, note 63.

⁵⁸ Quinn (above, note 19) 8 and note 1. But cf. above, note 46.

⁵⁹ Cf. K. J. Reckford, *Horace* (New York 1969) 128–29. It is interesting that *ver*, *veris*, never occurs in the *Aeneid*.

In the second strophe the myth of Itys and his *infelix* mother (Philomela or Procne) surely recalls *Eclogue* 6.78–81, where the mother is also called *infelix*, but also *Georgics* 4.307, *nidum suspendat hirundo*, and 4.511 ff. (of the *philomela* and her *nidus*). *Nidus* (5), common in Vergil, occurs literally in the *Odes* only here and in 4.4.6. Likewise, *gemo* (5) only here in Horace, but a number of times in Vergil, takes an accusative (object or “inner voice”). Again, *Cecropiae domus* (6) may tie in, as Minadeo suggests,⁶⁰ with *Ode* 1.3’s prayer that Vergil may safely reach Attic shores. Perhaps more strikingly, *flebiliter* (5) certainly recalls Vergil’s own behavior and emotion at Quintilius’ death (1.24.9–10: *flebilis, flebilior*).

The third strophe is so reminiscent of the *Eclogues* and even the *Georgics* that even the staunchest deniers that Vergilius equals Vergil are forced somewhat embarrassedly to admit this allusion. However, let us look a bit further. *Tener* (9) of nature occurs only here in Horace, but is common in Vergil. Likewise, *pinguis* is nowhere else so used by Horace,⁶¹ but again is common in Vergil, with Horace’s *pinguium . . . ovium* (9–10) echoing *Eclogue* 6.4–5, *pingues . . . oves*. Finally, the fact that Vergil’s celebrated *Arcadia* occurs only here (12) in all of Horace speaks eloquently for itself. In short, the pre-*Aeneid* Vergilianism of the whole strophe is undeniable.

In the very next strophe we encounter, not by accident, the actual vocative *Vergili* (13), as well as *iuvenum nobilium cliens* (15).⁶² *Adduxere sitim tempora* (13) is an arresting expression on its own, but it may well also recall verse 483 in the macabre finale to *Georgics* 3: *sitis miseros adduxerat artus*. Was this a subconscious recall, or was Horace intentionally creating a clever reversal, virtually one of Vergil’s own favorite topsy-turvy *adunata*? The wine of verse 14 was pressed at Cales (cf. *Aeneid* 7.728), a site near Naples in Vergil’s beloved retreat of Campania. This is exactly the same wine once promised to Maecenas (*Ode* 1.20.9), and with it Horace must also have been trying to lure Vergil away from his seclusion to Rome or to the Sabine Farm, as he previously invited Maecenas and later would invite Tibullus (*Epistle* 1.4) in very similar language and tone. In fact, both poems deserve close comparison with the present ode. This attempt to entice Vergil would well help to explain the urgent tone of verses 21–22 (*properas, veni*) and 25 (*pone moras*). As for the remainder of this strophe, *Liber* for *Bacchus* is common in both

⁶⁰ Minadeo (above, note 19) 162. *Cecropius* occurs only here, 2.1.12, *Georgics* 4.177 & 270.

⁶¹ Perhaps closest is *Sermo* 2.6.14 (Bowra). *Pinguis* in Horace generally carries comic or pejorative tones.

⁶² I have already spoken of the possible identity of the *iuvenes*. Hahn (above, note 19) sees a possible allusion to the *iuvenis-deus*, Octavian, of *Eclogue* 1.42.

poets, whereas *gestio*, common in Horace, occurs only in *Georgics* 1.387.⁶³ In this and the next strophes, 16–17, *nardus* (just a bit of which is requested) is not found in Vergil, but its equivalent, *amomum*, is prophesied as *everywhere present* in the Golden Age of *Eclogue* 4.25: i.e., twits Horace, ubiquitous nard in return for carefully stored wine. *Cadus*, common in Horace in regard to wine, occurs thus in *Aeneid* 1.195 (and *Copa* 11⁶⁴). *Accubat* (18), by contrast, occurs only here in Horace, but in *Georgics* 3.334 and *Aeneid* 6.606. Finally, the common Horatian epexegetic infinitives with *largus* and *efficax* are neatly set off against the noticeably Vergilian *amara . . . curarum* (19–20).⁶⁵ Horace thus closely joins himself with his *animae dimidium* not only in person, but also in types of syntax characteristic of each.

In the “callousness” strophes lines 16–17 (*nardo*, *nardi parvus onyx*) and 21–22 (*tua merce*) are responsible for the scholiastic glosses *unguentarius* and *negotiator*, of course. But why should one *not* take Horace seriously? It may be an “arch witticism . . . that is, a mere drop or two of the parfumeur’s product will win a whole flagon of the vintner’s; what could be fairer—until one thinks of the price?”⁶⁶ Or it may be a subtle *quid pro quo* to Horace’s *animae dimidium*, who must literally provide *half* the fare “if he is to share the other’s company.”⁶⁷ At any rate, this is the way close friends, not acquaintances or strangers, talk, especially if their financial states are not identical. Horace may even be parodying, as Hahn suggests, the *lack of merces* prophesied by Vergil for the Golden Age of *Eclogue* 4.38–39. *Non . . . poculis*, 22–23, suggests Bitias in *Aeneid* 1.739 (*pleno se proluit auro*) and Bacchus himself (cf. *Liberum*, verse 14) in *Georgics* 2.7–8:

Huc, pater o Lenaeae, veni, nudataque musto
tinge novo mecum dereptis crura coturnis.

⁶³ It is not certain what, if anything, can or should be made of words common in Horace and rare (or non-extant) in Vergil. Certainly the reverse (i.e., Horace imitating or borrowing from Vergil) is far more telling for the purposes of my arguments.

⁶⁴ I have already stated the danger in using, as does Bowra, the *Appendix* for any support. In another paper, however, I hope to forward arguments in favor of youthful Vergilian composition of the charming *Copa*, often so reminiscent of the *Eclogues*.

⁶⁵ Cf., e.g., *Aeneid* 1.421, *strata viarum*; 2.725, *opaca locorum*; 6.633, *opaca viarum*; also 5.695, 8.221; the usage may be indebted to Lucretius (cf. Bailey on 1.86).

⁶⁶ Collinge (above, note 19) 74–75. But cf. below, note 69.

⁶⁷ Minadeo (above, note 19) 163. For reservations, cf. above, note 19 (*ad fin.*). Again, Catullus 13’s tone should be compared with that in other poems to Fabullus (e.g., 12, 28, 47).

As for *immunem*, 23, it occurs only here clearly in this sense⁶⁸ and in *Georgics* 4.244 and seems ambiguous: “with immunity”? “without a gift”? “without duty (or obligation)””? Finally, *plena dives ut in domo* (24) is really not an inaccurate account of the relative financial states of Vergil and Horace in the 30’s and the 20’s; it certainly ties in with the *iuvenum nobilium cliens* of verse 15. However, is there not also a reminiscence of the *fabella* of *Sermo* 2.6? Horace, really more the “city mouse,” here coyly maintains the banter by playing both poor and rich cousin, the “country mouse” and the “city mouse” to Vergil’s foil. It is tempting to view that famous *fabella* (*Sermo* 2.6.79 ff.) as allegorical: possibly of the two poets, but just as likely of the Stoic and Epicurean bents *within Horace himself*. Although the passage should be reread in its entirety, for the moment the following lines bear special attention:

Olim / rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
 accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum . . .
 ‘Carpe viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando
 mortalis animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
 aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,
 dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus;
 vive memor, quam sis aevi brevis.’ (79–81, 93–97)

Note the contrast between rich and poor in these lines; *carpe viam* (= *pone moras*, line 25 of the ode); *comes* (recalling *comites*, 1); *dum licet . . . memor* (reversing *memor, dum licet*, 26). Moreover, in verse 102 of the *Sermo* we find the phrase *in locuplete domo* (= *plena dives ut in domo*, 24 of the ode). Horace, who “has nothing,” can yet afford to store it in the *Sulpicii horreis*! (Again one thinks of Catullus and his professed *plenus sacculus . . . araneorum* [13.8].) In short, after all, that wine from Cales was neither common nor cheap.

We now come to the last strophe and to Horace’s concluding message. “Now the bluntness of 13–24 is seen to be an assumed, unnatural, over-drawn pose . . . Horace never was, any more than Virgil, a superficial and insensitive observer of the human comedy . . . So in the final epodic stanza he unites these human attitudes, honest and false, setting after the philistine irreverence

verum pone moras et studium lucri

the somber reality, commonplace but effective,

nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium

⁶⁸ *Ode* 3.23.17 is much disputed.

—and [he] cries at last

misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
dulce est desipere in loco.”⁶⁹

As for the language, *verum* (25), common in Vergil, occurs in the *Odes* only here. *Verum pone moras* recalls *Aeneid* 4.569, *Heia age, rumpe moras*,⁷⁰ as well as Horace’s own words to Maecenas himself in 3.29.5–11: *Eripe te morae nec semper . . . contempleris . . . fastidiosam desere copiam . . . omitte mirari*. Of *studium lucri* discussion has already been put forth. The oxymoronic *nigri ignes* of 26 recalls the rather arresting *nigri colles Arcadiae* of 11–12, and the similar *ignibus atris* appears in *Aeneid* 11.186, perhaps actually borrowed by Vergil from Horace. There is, too, a recall of the *nigro gregi* in 1.24.18 (also to Vergil). Finally, the metaphor and word order in 27 suggest literal mixings of wine and water, of Epicureanism and Stoicism, of “Horatianism” and “Vergilianism.” But in the last line Horace wins out, for he not only uses words (*dulce*, *desipere*) connected with wine and taste, but he also enunciates, for the last time and in the clearest voice, one of his favorite axioms, an axiom of the sort which the ancient commentators tell us also pleased Vergil and with which the two other poems addressed to him conclude:

Caelum ipsum petimus stultitia neque
per nostrum patimur scelus
iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina. (1.3.38–40)

* * *

Durum: sed levius fit patientia
quidquid corrigere est nefas. (1.24.19–20)

Hence *stultitiam* and *consiliis*⁷¹ together at last re-echo the earlier, separate *stultitia* and *patientia*: i.e., the end of 4.12 recalls and reconciles the concluding, memorable *sententiae* of 1.3 and 1.24. The triad is thus now complete.

⁶⁹ Collinge (above, note 19) 75–76. Quinn seems to me, however, rightly to caution (12, note 1) against pressing too far Collinge’s interpretation of real pessimism and sense of tragedy beneath Horace’s words. Rather, these are traits which Horace urges Vergil to dispel, at least momentarily. Such a melancholy concluding tone would not characterize the *younger Horace* who, as I have argued, wrote this poem. The “tragedy” lies in the inclusion of an earlier poem in the last collection.

⁷⁰ Is Horace playing Mercury to Vergil’s Aeneas? Recall the former’s “rescue” by Mercury, 2.7.13 ff., and his subsequent identification of himself as one of the *Mercuriales viri*, 2.17.29–30. For another possible example of such rôle-playing, cf. note 47, above.

⁷¹ Commager (above, note 12) 277 aptly recalls *Ode* 2.11.11–12, in which Hirpinus is urged to take some time out for pleasure from his *aeternis consiliis*.

IV. CONCLUSION

We have, therefore, moved from Horace to Suetonius to Porphyrio to anonymous mediaeval scholiasts to modern critics and editors back to Horace himself in this examination of *Ode* 4.12. Yet our circular voyage has been by no means futile, because we have gained, *inter alia*, one more proof that, in the long run, it is still Horace who most matters and survives all his exegetes. From Horace himself, then, we have gathered valuable information about himself, and we have heard what are probably his official farewells to much of what he concerned himself with in his adult life—some concerns fleeting, like amours and emotions veiled by such name as Lyce or Ligurinus; others more tangible and lasting, like Augustus, Rome, certainly Maecenas (*o et praesidium et dulce decus meum*, *Ode* 1.1.2). Perhaps most importantly, however, we have obtained from the poet himself, metrical, structural,⁷² prosopographical and literary data about the addressee and tone of *Ode* 4.12. It is, despite its original intent, a deeply moving ode (not least in conjunction with its neighbors) precisely because it does not *strive* to be heartbreaking or maudlin. Such was not the way of Horace, indeed the “most tactful of poets,” nor would the sensitive Vergil have had it otherwise. Instead, through the continuous, unfailing allusions—sometimes slight, only a few words—to Vergil’s poetry, especially the two earlier works (surely the only ones published when Horace wrote his poem), and through the tone of those precious, light moments shared in earlier, happier if busier years, Horace was making the finest gesture of all. He was allowing us to join him in taking leave of and, at the same time, paying the most profound possible homage to the everlasting memory of Vergil, the person whom he always had and always would regard beyond all words as *animae dimidium meae*.

⁷² The structural analysis presented in Section II (1–12, scene-setting; 13–16, address and invitation; 17–18, details and conclusion) seems better suited to the whole poem and to the focal central strophe than Collinge’s 1–12, 13–24, 25–28 (above, note 19, 77). A final point to be noted is the emphasis lent to each strophe, which is entirely self-contained; possibly an attempt to imitate the structure in certain of the *Eclogues*’ amoebean song contests.