follows the name instead of preceding it. In fact the juxtaposition of the name
and the motif of cutting trees makes it certain that the reference is intentional
and suggests that Virgil has recalled this passage as a means of underlining the
sense of fatigue and time for resting which are dominant at the close of *Eclogues*
9. Note also how beautifully fitting it is that Lycidas speaks lines 57–63. He is
young, eager to sing, and apparently insensitive to the inappropriateness of the
moment. In sum, the predominantly literary nature of Bianor's tomb should be
beyond question.

<div align="right">

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Editor's note: Professor Tracy's discussion was accepted for publication in *CP*
before the appearance of the note by F. E. Brenk, "War and the Shepherd: The
Tomb of Bianor in Vergil's Ninth Eclogue," *AJP* 102 (1981): 427–30. The two
papers thus independently sketch similar approaches to the same problem.

<div align="center">

BOATS, WOMEN, AND HORACE *ODES* 1. 14

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Two of Horace's lyric poems address boats: *Odes* 1. 3 a boat taking his friend
Virgil to the port of Piraeus, *Odes* 1. 14 a boat with neither passengers nor port
of destination specified. To judge by what survives, ancient poets rarely addressed
real boats. On the other hand, the boat in maritime communities could symbolize
many topics of discourse: the situation in which an individual or group found
itself;[1] an individual's enterprise, whether commercial, semi-commercial, domes-
tic,[2] literary,[3] or erotic;[4] the physical locale of a drinking party[5] or sexual en-
counter;[6] the body of a woman.[7] It is easy for a reader of *Odes* 1. 14 to persuade
himself of the presence of some kind of symbolism. The particular circumstances
in which Horace gave the poem its first public recital would have made his
intention clear. These circumstances, however, we do not know. Nor did the
grammarians who expounded Horace's poems in antiquity. They knew little even
in general of the period of composition of the poems or of the persons referred
to in them except what they read in formal histories.[8] *Epistles* 2. 2. 46–52 told

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1. Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 2. 5. 1 "ubicumque es . . . in eadem es naui," 12. 25. 5 "conscende nobiscum et
quidem ad puppim. una nauis est iam bonorum omnium, quam quidem nos damus operam ut rectam
teneamus, utinam prospero cursu"; Livy 44. 22. 12.
    2. For private interests, see Plaut. *Asin.* 258 "quo hanc celocem conferam?," *Bacch.* 797 "bene nauis
agitur, pulchre haec confertur ratis," *Epid.* 74 "puppis pereunda est probe," *Mil.* 915–21, *Most.* 737–40;
Ter. *An.* 480; Cic. *Fam.* 9. 6. 4; Hor. *Epist.* 1. 18. 87–88; Sen. *Contr.* 2. 6. 4.
    3. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2. 864 "nauiget hinc alia iam mihi linter aqua," 4. 18 *nauis eat;* Quint. *Inst.* 12.
10. 37.
    4. Cf. Tib. 1. 5. 76 "in liquida nat tibi linter aqua"; Propert. 2. 14. 29–30; Ov. *Ars* 2. 9–10.
    5. See W. J. Slater, "Symposium at Sea," *HSCP* 80 (1976): 161–70, on Pind. frag. 124a, Dionysius
Chalc. frag. 5, Choerilus Sam. frag. 9, Timaeus 566 F 149, Hor. *Epod.* 9, et al.
    6. Cf. Apul. *Met.* 2. 11 "hac enim sitarchia nauigium Veneris indiget sola, ut in nocte peruigili et oleo
lucerna et uino calix abundet." G. F. Hildebrand in his commentary ad loc. (Leipzig, 1842) interpreted
nauigium in the same mistaken way as Lips (see n. 36) took *nauis* at Plaut. *Men.* 402.
    7. See below.
    8. Suetonius was able to use correspondence from the imperial archives in writing the poet's biography
but there is no evidence that commentators on the poems sought out such material.

them of the poet's youthful attachment to the party of M. Iunius Brutus, other pieces of his later attachment to Octavian. Greek commentaries on the μέλη of Horace's model Alcaeus familiarized them with allegorical methods of interpreting lyric poetry.[9] At least one Latin grammarian took *Odes* 1. 14 literally.[10] Others found an allegory: some made Brutus the real addressee,[11] some Sextus Pompey,[12] some the *res publica*,[13] an entity which Octavian persuaded many to identify with his own *res*. A woman was seen behind at least one of Alcaeus' many boat poems[14] but *Odes* 1. 14 did not suggest such symbolism to any Roman expositor.[15] Remmius Palaemon would have taught his pupils to read the poem as addressed to the *res publica*. Hence the rhetorician Quintilian's use of the poem as an example of the trope *allegoria*.[16] If Quintilian's faith in this interpretation had needed any support the commonness of maritime imagery in political oratory[17] would have provided it.

The Augustan tone of the collection as a whole makes it difficult to take seriously any idea that *Odes* 1. 14 addressed a Republican leader. Most modern scholars have accordingly read the poem as Quintilian had been taught to do. A few have rejected the allegorical approach outright. For these the boat is a real one on which Horace once suffered seasickness. The eminence of Marc-Antoine Muret, Tannegui LeFèvre, and Richard Bentley may be noted, the insistence of all three on taking account of every detail of the poem, and above all LeFèvre's subtle remark that the timbers of a Roman ship of state would have come from the Troad rather than Pontus.[18] Three contributors to this journal have tried to find

9. See Plut. *Mor.* 765 E (on grammarians and Alcaeus frag. 327); Heracl. *Alleg. Hom.* 5. 5–9. Heraclitus also cites allegories commonly found in the poems of Archilochus and Anacreon.

10. See the titles in cod. Q: *in nauim, de Bruto reparante bellum ciuile, ad rem publicam, tetracolos.* The author of the first of the two titles conflated had in mind Brutus' departure for the East after the assassination of Julius Caesar.

11. See Porphyrio, Hor. *Carm.* 1. 14. 1–2 "in hac ode ad Marcum Brutum loquitur, qui apud Philippos Macedoniae urbem ab Augusto fusus uidebatur rursus se instruere ad pugnam" (i.e., between the two battles fought at Philippi); title in codd. F λ¹ *paraenetice tetracolos ad Brutum*.

12. See schol. AΓ ad eundem loc. "certius tamen est quod Sextum Pompeium filium Pompei moneat, qui, posteaquam foedus cum triumuiris fecit, bellum ciuile denuo reparare uoluit" (i.e., after the Misenum agreement of 39 B.C.).

13. See earlier sentence of scholium cited in note above: "per allegoriam ode ista bellum ciuile designat, ut quidam uolunt, alii rempublicam." Also scholia on vv. 10, 11, 17, and title in codd. AB *ad rem publicam tetracolos* (cf. also cod. Q).

14. See P. Oxy. 21. 2307, frag. 14, col. ii, 5–32, and E. Lobel ad loc.

15. On the great variety of opinion transmitted concerning *Odes* 1. 14, see R. Reitzenstein, *NGG* Phil.-hist. Kl. (1918): 393–96. It is unlikely that anything has been missed.

16. *Inst.* 8. 6. 44. Quintilian cited Horace's lyrics frequently in his account of rhetorical tropes and figures. He had doubtless been taught to see in these poems the same oratorical qualities which Greek critics found in the μέλη of Alcaeus (see 10. 1. 63 and cf. Dionys. Hal. *Im.* B 6. 2. 8, II p. 205 Usener–Radermacher). For Remmius Palaemon as Quintilian's teacher in grammar, see schol. Juv. 6. 452. For Remmius and allegorical exegesis, see Suet. *Gramm.* 23. 4.

17. Cf. Cic. *Sest.* 46 "cum uero in hanc rei publicae nauem, ereptis senatui gubernaculis fluitantem in alto tempestatibus seditionum ac discordiarum . . . ," 99 "qui cum tutores sunt et duces suorum studiorum uitiorumque nacti, in re publica fluctus excitantur, ut uigilandum sit iis qui sibi gubernacula patriae depoposcerunt, enitendumque omni scientia ac diligentia ut, conseruatis iis quae ego paulo ante fundamenta ac membra esse dixi, tenere cursum possint et capere oti illum portum et dignitatis," *Prou. cons.* 38, *Pis.* 20.

18. See *Horatius. M. A. Mureti in eundem annotationes* (Venice, 1555), ad *Carm.* 1. 14; *Tanaquilli Fabri Epistolae* (Saumur, 1659), pp. 179–186 (n. 54) (cf. *Q. Horatii Flacci opera . . . recensuit T. Faber et notulas ac monita ad odas addidit* [Saumur, 1671], pp. 302–6); *In Q. Horatium Flaccum notae atque emendationes Richardi Bentleii* (Cambridge, 1711), p. 30 (on v. 14). Lefèvre and three more recent opponents of allegory, E. Ensor, "On the Allusions in Horace, *Odes* I, 14," *CR* 17 (1903): 158–59, R. C. Kukula, "Quintilians Interpretation von Horaz' Carm I 14," *WS* 34 (1912): 237–45, and T. Birt, *Horaz'*

other kinds of symbolism. For C. W. Mendell Horace is addressing himself.[19] W. S. Anderson and A. J. Woodman have him addressing a woman friend about to go in search of another consort.[20] Woodman defines the poem as a "schetliastic propempticon" and cites a number of Greek epigrams identifying women with boats (*Anth. Pal.* 5. 44, 5. 161, 5. 204).

I cannot myself discern precisely what Horace had in mind either when he wrote or when he published *Odes* 1. 14 and hesitate to add to the monstrous bibliography which infests this poem. Some may think that one interpretation is as good as another. First-century B.C. poets were not, however, at liberty to use the Latin language as they pleased and at least two fairly certain points can be made about the words of *Odes* 1. 14 which will destroy any interpretation like Woodman's.

The opening strophe leaves no doubt that whatever the nature of the boat it cannot be at moorings. There must be water between it and the singer. There must already be some danger threatening. *Occupa portum* (3–4) cannot mean "stay in harbor or a harbor-like place." The phrase looks like naval jargon. Parallels are rare. Commentators should cite *Ad Herennium* 3. 2 "an in Aegyptum profectus occupet Alexandriam" rather than Horace *Epistles* 1. 6. 32. The accompanying adverb *fortiter* is more peculiar than the lexica allow. The operation in question could hardly be performed *segniter*. The literal sense must be "making active use of oars rather than passive use of wind and current." We have either a poetic extension of normal usage or another piece of naval jargon.[21] The singer's interest is not in a boat about to depart on a consciously and deliberately planned voyage but in one which has been severely damaged by a storm[22] and has not yet reached the harbor for which it is making. The danger to boats from shifts of wind and current as they neared their destination was almost proverbial. Commentators ought to cite Euripides *Heraclidae* 427–32 and Ovid *Amores* 2. 9. 31–32. A native speaker of Latin could have taken Horace's boat to be the Roman *res publica* desirous of peace and concord after a period of civil war. He could not have taken it to be a woman thinking of leaving the singer to chase after another man. He was bound to interpret the final strophe in the light of what preceded. He could not go back in his tracks like a modern literary critic.

Lieder: Studien zur Kritik und Auslegung (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 125–26, spoil their arguments by neglecting the reference to the Cyclades and imagining a departure from an Italian port, as does the author of the title in cod. Q. A. Dacier, *Remarques sur les oeuvres d'Horace avec une nouvelle traduction*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1681), pp. 195–203, sets the scene more plausibly somewhere in the Aegean.

19. "Horace I. 14," *CP* 33 (1938): 145–56. O. Seel, "Zur Ode 1, 14 des Horaz: Zweifel an einer communis opinio," *Festschrift K. Vretska* (Heidelberg, 1970), pp. 204–49, seems to argue for a similar view.

20. W. S. Anderson, "Horace *Carm.* 1. 14: What Kind of Ship?" *CP* 61 (1966): 84–98; A. J. Woodman, "The Craft of Horace in *Odes* 1. 14," *CP* 75 (1980): 60–67. For approval of Anderson's view, see also D. A. Traill, "Horace, *Odes* 1. 14: Genealogy, Courtesans and Cyclades," *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History,* ed. C. Deroux (Brussels, 1979), pp. 266–70; C. W. Macleod, "Horatian *Imitatio* and *Odes* 2. 5," *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature,* ed. D. West and T. Woodman (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 222–23. For a slight modification, see N. K. Zumwalt, "Horace's *Nauis* of Love Poetry (C. 1. 14)," *CW* 71 (1977–78): 249–54.

21. Cf. Anon. *Bell. Alex.* 46. 2 "celerrime fortissimeque contra illo remigante." For the use of oars to make harbor when the wind unexpectedly changes direction, see Livy 37. 16. 4.

22. Line 10 makes clear that a single storm did the damage.

About one aspect of the generally mysterious final strophe there need be no dispute. It expressed a sympathetic concern for the boat, as did, though somewhat less explicitly, the repeated exclamatory *o* in lines 1–2. To call, however, the abstract nouns *taedium*, *desiderium*, and *cura* "lovers' words" is thoroughly misleading. Any lexicon will show the considerable range of things and persons which could stimulate the emotions in question.[23] The application of the nouns to the causes of the emotions certainly indicates a high level of concern on the part of the singer. On the other hand, no lexicographical analysis will enable us to identify with certainty the nature of the singer's concern. Jerome cites the phrase *meum desiderium* as typical of lovers' letters[24] but it occurs in a letter written by a *uir consularis* to his wife and children[25] and in one by an emperor's son to his tutor.[26]

The fact that the boat is an object of sympathetic concern excludes the possibility that the singer had in mind a woman. Many identifications of women with boats are to be found in what survives of Greek and Latin writing; even some of men with boats. They have a single tone quite alien to that of the final strophe of *Odes* 1. 14. The identifier always seeks to arouse among his hearers a hostile attitude to the person identified.

If the poem of Alcaeus interpreted in P. Oxy. 21. 2307 concerned a woman, it was a woman whom the singer wanted to seem thoroughly hateful. The similarity between handling a boat in water and using a woman sexually was often exploited by the Athenian comedians in order to make the female appetite laughable.[27] The three epigrams which Woodman cites in support of his view of *Odes* 1. 14 all relate to well-known, much used whores; they warn that any "sailors" who "board" them run the risk of financial "shipwreck"; Meleager's fills out the naval image in order to make totally repulsive the physical condition of the aging Timarion. Anderson was wise to suppress all three. There are others which fit into the same pattern. Two of the imperial period, *Anthologia Palatina* 9. 415 and 9. 416, which have usually been interpreted as προσωποποιίαι of boats used to transport whores,[28] give better sense as utterances by whores identifying themselves with boats. In each case the identification enforces an impression of extreme lustfulness. An epigram of Dioscorides, *Anthologia Palatina* 5. 34, makes a brutally colorful use of the kind of imagery in question in order to warn against vaginal intercourse with a pregnant woman. The imagery was even more derogatory when applied to a male. The λέμβος of the imperial epigram *Anthologia Palatina* 11. 331 must have been a pathic who gave none of his lovers any joy.[29]

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23. Where *desiderium* is concerned, the newly discovered chapter of Celsus (D. Ollero Granados, "Dos nuevos capítulos de A. Cornelio Celso," *Emerita* 41 [1973]: 99–108; U. Capitani, "Il recupero di un passo di Celso in un codice del *De medicina* conservato a Toledo," *Maia* 26 [1974]: 161–212) adds to our store the interesting *urinae desiderium*. For *taedium* in the same area of discourse, see Cels. 6. 18. 7A.

24. *Epist.* 52. 5. 7; cf. Petron. 139. 4.

25. Cic. *Epist.* 14. 2. 2, 14. 2. 4.

26. M. Aurel. ap. Front. p. 64. 10–11 Van den Hout.

27. Of the passages cited by J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven, 1975), pp. 161–64, see particularly Ar. *Eccl.* 37–40, 1089–91. There is a much more critical collection at J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*² (Paris, 1965), pp. 101–2.

28. Cf. the Byzantine titles and Woodman, "The Craft of Horace," p. 62, n. 12.

29. Cf. Anaxand. com. frag. 34. 7 for Λέμβος as a sobriquet for a poorly regarded male.

In Latin literature only comedy and elegy seem to supply indisputable cases of the identification of a woman with a boat. The identification is not restricted to accounts of sexual activity but its tone is just as derogatory as in Greek literature. At Plautus *Casina* 557 an old man who has consented to the use of his wife in a neighbor's amatory intrigue and who discovers that her services are no longer required says to himself, "ibo intro ut subducam nauim rursum in pul-uinaria."[30] The wives of comedy never inspire affection. At *Cistellaria* 120–22 an old whore says disgustedly of herself and women like her:

> idem mihist quod magnae parti uitium mulierum
> quae hunc quaestum facimus: quae ubi saburratae sumus,
> largiloquae extemplo sumus, plus loquimur quam sat est.[31]

At *Menaechmi* 344–45 a male slave says to his owner standing outside the house of a whore: "nunc in istoc portu stat nauis praedatoria, / abs qua cauendum nobis sane censeo." When his owner decides to accept an invitation from the whore the slave declares: "ducit lembum dierectum nauis praedatoria" (443).[32] There is no mistaking the note of hostility in the slave's voice. At *Miles* 986 a male slave refers slightingly to a female with "haec celox illiust quae hinc egreditur inter-nuntia." In the *Mostellaria* a whore's female slave, once, to judge by her talk, herself a whore, bears the speaking name *Scapha*.[33] The spectators are not ex-pected to find Scapha a sympathetic personage. It is a whore whom Ovid, advising male readers on how to obtain the maximum pleasure from sexual intercourse, identifies at one moment with a horse and at another with a boat (*Ars* 2. 725–32):

> sed neque tu dominam uelis maioribus usus
> †defice† nec cursus anteat illa tuos;
> ad metam properate simul: tum plena uoluptas,
>   cum pariter uicti femina uirque iacent.
> hic tibi seruandus tenor est, cum libera dantur
>   otia, furtiuum nec timor urget opus;
> cum mora non tuta est, totis incumbere remis
>   utile et admisso subdere calcar equo.

Those who find in these verses a sympathy with certain modern feminist ideals err wildly. For the poet the female is merely the vehicle of the male's pleasure. The naval image indicates a total absence of sympathy.

Not only literary tradition but the normal usage of the Latin language controlled what a poet writing a lyric piece in late first-century B.C. Rome could do with

30. At 540 he had said to his neighbor's wife *ornata exspectat domi;* cf. the elaborate comparison at *Poen.* 210–15.

31. For *saburra*, "ballast," see Livy 37. 14. 5; cf. the way an owner addresses a drunken slave at *Pseud.* 1306: "unde onustam celocem agere te praedicem?"

32. For the associations of λέμβος in Greek, see above, n. 29.

33. For *scapha*, "boat," see Plaut. *Rud.* 75, 163, 165, 201c, 366, 368. Only *scaphium* seems to be used in Latin in the sense of "drinking vessel" (Plaut. *Bacch.* 70, *Persa* 124, *Stich.* 693). Accordingly I prefer the old interpretation (F. Taubman, *M. Accii Plauti Comoediae xx superstites* [Frankfurt, 1612], p. 512) to the one now current (K. Schmidt, "Die griechischen Personennamen bei Plautus," *Hermes* 37 [1902]: 181, 206; F. Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen* [Göttingen, 1902], p. 120). The Athenian triremes Dorkas, Leaina, and Lykaina shared their names with whores (Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 9, 12; Plaut. *Curc.* 77).

the sort of imagery allegedly exhibited in *Odes* 1. 14. We may wonder about the intentions of those Pompeian scribblers who arranged the graphemes of names into the clearly recognizable shapes of boats.[34] There is one piece of evidence, however, which shows quite clearly how coarse in tone naval imagery was among ordinary speakers of Latin. At *Saturnalia* 2. 5. 9 Macrobius records an anecdote about Augustus' promiscuous daughter: "cumque conscii flagitiorum mirarentur quo modo similes Agrippae filios pareret, quae tam uulgo potestatem corporis sui faceret, ait: 'numquam enim nisi naui plena tollo uectorem.'" Whether apocryphal or true the anecdote had point only if in addition to its naval usage[35] the verb *tollere* possessed a related erotic one. The context in which Petronius cites the proverb "potest taurum tollere qui uitulum sustulit" (25. 6) confirms that it did.[36] The males who related the anecdote had no tender feelings for its subject.

With some external prompting an ancient reader might have imagined the *o nauis* of *Odes* 1. 14 as addressed to a woman. He was, however, as a consequence bound to find insult in what followed. The navigational problem referred to in "referent in mare te noui / fluctus. o quid agis? fortiter occupa / portum" had to become akin to the one which exercised the imagination of the epigrammatist Dioscorides.[37] The oarless side, the unsteady mast, the squeaking sail yards, the gaping hull timbers, and the painted stern described in the following sentences could not help suggesting related symbols even to a reader ignorant of Meleager's epigram about Timarion.[38] The warmly affectionate language of the final strophe would have been totally incomprehensible. Neither in the life nor in the literature of pagan antiquity did males display sympathy for females exhausted by sexual use.[39]

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