SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER

Animae Dimidium Meae: Two Poets of Rome*

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Of all Roman poets Vergil and Horace have been the most admired, the most beloved, and the most imitated. They are the classical poets of Rome *par excellence* for their perfection of form and the significance of their content. Their appeal is universal. Vergil, as T. S. Eliot has aptly said, is "the classic of all Europe,"[1] and Horace is praised as "the interpreter of the human heart in all times."[2]

These two poets are also eloquent spokesmen of a new regime, the principate of Augustus. They have been described, along with Maecenas, as advisers of the emperor and planners of the "Ideal Empire."[3] Some look upon this as an exaggeration and believe that Maecenas, that somewhat mysterious middleman between Octavian and the poets of the day, was disappointed in both Vergil and Horace: Vergil did not write the kind of epic which Maecenas desired, an historical epic glorifying Octavian, as outlined in *Georg.* III, 1–48,[4] and Horace was too independent to accept the new regime

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[1] T. S. Eliot, *What is a Classic?* (London 1945) 31.

[2] G. Showerman, *Horace and His Influence* (Boston 1922) 168; cf. 105 f.: "Virgil remained the admired, but Horace became the friend. Virgil remained the guide, but Horace became the companion."

[3] See E. K. Rand, *The Building of Eternal Rome* (Cambridge, Mass. 1943) 67, 77; cf. C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford 1935) 196: Horace and Vergil "not only supported Augustus in his reforms, in many ways they led the way"; so R. S. Conway, *New Studies of a Great Inheritance* (London 1921) 54. On Vergil, cf. R. M. Henry, "Virgil and Roman Civilization," *Proc. Class. Ass.* 27 (1930) 61: "Virgil, with high and serious purpose, embodies in a living figure his deliberate conception of what the founder and leader of Roman civilization ought to be."

[4] Cf. A. Fougnies, *Mécène, Ministre d'Auguste, Protecteur des Lettres* (Bruxelles 1947) 47: "Cependant, l'oeuvre promise ne fut jamais réalisée: l'*Enéide* ne peut en effet

wholeheartedly, realizing that the Augustan peace had been acquired at the loss of liberty.[5] Vergil, however, did glorify Augustus in his *Aeneid*, and Horace was most enthusiastic about the *pax Augusta*. This, the more usual interpretation, will gain added support from the discussion which follows.

Vergil and Horace are preeminent as classical poets and as spokesmen of the ideals of Augustan Rome; also, and equally important, they were close associates and friends, and I am particularly interested in the manner in which their friendship bore fruit in their poetry.[6] We know little about their meetings and discussions, the exchanges of views on literature, religion, and politics which they must have had, but we are safe in assuming that such meetings and such discussions occurred not infrequently. And many a time Maecenas was undoubtedly also present. Their close association with the statesman is obvious from the fact that Vergil dedicated the *Georgics* to Maecenas (I, 2; cf. III, 41) and from the frequent dedications and references to Maecenas in the poems of Horace. The "Big Three" of Horace's life are those of the first three odes of Book I: Maecenas, Augustus, and Vergil. Horace calls Maecenas *O et praesidium et dulce decus meum* (I, 1, 2) and *mearum grande decus columenque rerum* (II, 17, 3 f.) and mentions the possibility that death may take away *meae partem animae* (II, 17, 5), in which case he does not wish to live — certainly a strong testimonial to the devotion which Horace felt towards Maecenas.

His affection for Vergil was equally great; it was *optimus Vergilius* and, after him, Varius who recommended him to Maecenas (*Sat.* I, 6, 54 f.); on the trip to Brundisium Vergil along with Plotius and Varius are *animae . . . candidiores* to whom no one is more devoted than Horace (*Sat.* I, 5, 40–42). The strongest expression of his friendship for Vergil is that in *Odes* I, 3, 8: *animae dimidium meae*; "half of my life," "the partner of my soul." This is very similar to the reference to Maecenas (*meae partem animae*, *Odes* II,

être considerée comme un poème à la gloire d'Octave." See also P. Grimal, *Le siècle d'Auguste* (Paris 1955) 61f.

[5] J. Bridge, "Horace: The Beginning of the Silver Age," *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand* (New York 1938) 21–32; cf. 31: "Horace did his best but the odes in praise of Augustus are all noticeable for their lack of warmth and inspiration." See also L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge 1946) 65.

[6] See C. T. Murphy, "Vergil and Horace," *Class. Bull.* 18 (1941–42) 61–64; G. E. Duckworth, "Fate and Free Will in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *CJ* 51 (1955–56) 364, notes 30 and 35.

17, 5) and most editors consider the tributes identical.[7] *Dimidium*, however, seems the more definite and stronger term.

But these phrases, illuminating as they are, do not tell us what we wish to know about the associations of the two poets and the extent to which each influenced the ideas and the writings of the other. Vergil does not speak of Horace, and Horace says all too little about Vergil. We do not know the answers, but perhaps the important thing is to ask the questions, in the hope that they will lead us in the right direction.

In one sense the friendship is surprising, for the two poets would seem to have little in common. Vergil, from northern Italy, the son of parents who must have had considerable means, was religious, serious by nature, retiring and studious, a typical introvert; Horace, from the south of Italy, the son of a freedman, had a keen sense of humor and, being an extrovert, loved and understood people. Politically they were at opposite poles: Vergil, as a Caesarian, seems from the first to have been an admirer and supporter of Octavian;[8] Horace, an ardent Republican, fought at Philippi with Brutus and Cassius and returned to Rome despondent about the future of the state. Both were devoted to literature, but again their interests differed: Vergil's *Bucolics*, his first major work, were Alexandrian in that, with all their originality and strikingly Roman elements, they were modeled upon the pastoral *Idylls* of Theocritus, greatest of the Hellenistic poets;[9] Horace, not in sympathy with the *novi poetae* and their development of Hellenistic forms of poetry,[10] displayed in

[7] Bennett (on II, 17, 5) says: "*pars* is here used in the same sense as *dimidium* in I, 3. 8"; cf. W. Wili, *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur* (Basel 1948) 128, note 2: "Nur zweimal verwendet Horaz diesen Ausdruck: für Vergil in c. I, 3, 8 — und für Maecenas hier!"

[8] This is the usual view and is strongly supported by modern writers; see especially F. Bömer, "Vergil und Augustus," *Gymnasium* 58 (1951) 26–55. Cf., however, C. G. Starr, "Virgil's Acceptance of Octavian," *AJP* 76 (1955) 34–46; Starr believes that Vergil did not accept Octavian until 40 B.C. or later.

[9] I refrain from discussing the *Appendix Vergiliana* which thirty years ago was accepted as authentic by most scholars, e.g., E. K. Rand, "Young Virgil's Poetry," *HSCP* 30 (1919) 103–185; T. Frank, *Vergil, A Biography* (New York 1922); N. W. DeWitt, *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria* (Toronto 1923); A. Rostagni, *Virgilio Minore* (Torino 1933). Many today reject the poems in the collection, with the exception of some of the *Catalepton*. But even these short poems display the interest of their author in the poetic forms developed by the *novi poetae* and reveal particularly the influence of Catullus (e.g., *Cat.* 6 and 10).

[10] Cf. T. Frank, "On Horace's Controversies with the New Poets," *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton 1936) 159–167; B. Otis, "Horace and the Elegists," *TAPA* 76 (1945) 177–190. The famous verse, *Sat.* I, 10, 19: *nil praeter*

his first poems his interest in early Greek poetry by adapting the epode form from Archilochus. The two poets were less at variance in philosophy than in politics and literature: in their early years both were influenced by Epicureanism and both later moved in the direction of Stoicism.[11] But their outlook on life was very different: as I implied above and as Alfred Noyes has rightly said: "Vergil was the idealist, and Horace the realist";[12] pointing out that Horace displays a lightness of touch and an irony lacking in Vergil, but does not possess the tenderness and pathos of the older poet, Noyes suggests that Horace may have had this difference in mind when he spoke of Vergil as "the other half of his soul."[13] These two writers, so different in many respects, remained friends for twenty years (until Vergil's death in 19 B.C.) and for twenty years they were the literary and spiritual leaders of the Augustan Age.

We do not know exactly when Horace and Vergil became close friends, but the approximate date would be 40 or 39 B.C. Ten years later, after Actium, we find an amazing situation. Vergil, the poet of short Alexandrian pastorals, has gone back to early Greek poetry; he has completed a major work looking back to Hesiod,[14] and is now contemplating an epic of deep religious, ethical, and historical significance, and one that will seek to rival Homer; he has given up his intention to honor Octavian by means of an historical epic in the tradition of Naevius and Ennius.[15] Likewise, Horace, the Republican sympathizer, formerly discouraged about the future of Rome, has become an ardent supporter of Octavian and now speaks enthusiastically about the new regime. In the literary realm Vergil

Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum, is not necessarily a sneer at Calvus and Catullus; see A. Noyes, *Horace: A Portrait* (New York 1947) 117 f.; J. Ferguson, "Catullus and Horace," *AJP* 77 (1956) 1–18. Ferguson points out that Horace's debt to Catullus was greater than he openly acknowledged.

[11] See M. L. Clarke, *The Roman Mind* (Cambridge, Mass. 1956) 67 ff. Referring to *Odes* I, 34, Clarke says (69): "we cannot speak of a conversion to Stoicism. The phenomenon of thunder in a clear sky leads not to the Stoic belief in a rational world order, but to the popular cult of Fortuna." Wili (above, note 7) 120 ff. stresses the importance of the ode; cf. F. O. Copley, review of Wili, *AJP* 72 (1951) 87 f.

[12] Noyes (above, note 10) 69.

[13] Noyes (above, note 10) 76; see also Kiessling-Heinze on *Odes* I, 3, 6; C. Bione, *Orazio e Virgilio* (Firenze, 1936) 60 f.

[14] Cf. the reference to Hesiod in *Ecl.* 6, 70 (*Ascraeo seni*), and see R. Hanslik, "Nachlese zu Vergils Eclogen 1 and 9," *WS* 68 (1955) 5–19; Hanslik finds imitation of Hesiod in *Ecl.* 1.

[15] Cf. *Georg.* III, 1–48. The references to the Nile (29) and the conquered cities of Asia (30) indicate a date after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Using the allegory of a temple, with Octavian in its center, Vergil makes clear that he is at this time thinking

has accepted the ideals of Horace; politically, Horace has swung to the side of Vergil.

Are we to see in these changes mere accidents, or the fine hand of Maecenas behind the scenes? Or should we not consider this possibility — that the growing friendship of Horace and Vergil, their close associations and discussions on literature and politics have had a mutual effect: Vergil was influenced by Horace's poetic ideals to turn to older Greek models, and Horace was convinced by Vergil of the great future in store for Rome under the leadership of Octavian?

We have no definite statement of the change in Vergil. The love of Italy and the countryside, already displayed in the *Bucolics*, made the *Georgics* an inevitable step for Vergil to take. And from the writing of the *Georgics*, with its epic and national overtones, it was also a natural step to epic composition. But we know from *Georg.* III, 1–48, that Vergil planned an historical epic to honor Octavian directly. Why did he change his mind and substitute a mythological epic? Was it at the suggestion of Octavian, who modestly preferred to remain in the background? This is a possibility, but is it not also probable that Horace's attitude towards Greek literature and his admiration for Homer may have been strong factors?

We are in the dark also about the reasons for the political conversion of Horace and the part which Vergil may have played here, but for the conversion itself we have an important document, *Odes* I, 14, the Ship of State; cf. 17 f.:

> nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
> nunc desiderium curaque non levis.

I shall not go into the troublesome question of the interpretation of the ode as a whole and the nature of the danger which the ship was to avoid; according to Dio Cassius (LII, 16) Maecenas used the same figure in a speech to Octavian, urging him to retain control of the state, and Horace may well be supporting the policy of Maecenas

of an epic on contemporary history. Cf. W. F. J. Knight, *Roman Vergil* (London 1944) 68 f., who suggests that Vergil may have worked on this historical subject for several years before deciding to substitute a mythological theme. Knight interprets the words of Propertius (II, 34, 61–64), written about 26 B.C., as implying that Augustus and the battle of Actium were still the main subjects. But Propertius clearly means (as 65–66 indicate) that Vergil is composing a mythological epic worthy of comparison with the *Iliad*; that Aeneas is now the subject of the poem is stated in 63-64.

here.[16] Another suggestion is that the ode expresses the fear of the Romans that Octavian might attempt after Actium to transfer the capital of the empire from Rome to Ilium.[17] The important point for us is the sharp contrast between *nuper* and *nunc*, between his earlier attitude and his present view of Octavian and the state. On his return from Philippi the state had been a *sollicitum taedium*, "a troubled source of annoyance"; now it is a *desiderium curaque non levis*, "a yearning and a serious care."[18]

The change described in this ode accounts well for Horace's enthusiasm after Actium, seen in *Epode* 9 and in the Cleopatra ode, I, 37.[19] How different his attitude is here from the pessimism and despair of *Epodes* 7 and 16! Let us turn back to these early poems, for in them we find several important contrasts and parallels to the poetry of Vergil composed in the same period.

The famous Sixteenth *Epode* is usually considered the earliest of Horace's poems. There is no hope for Rome; it is being torn to pieces by civil war. The bravest of the Romans should set sail to the West, to the Fortunate Islands, where the Golden Age still exists, where a land of peace and plenty, free from war and bloodshed, can provide a new home. Here is Horace the pessimist, the

[16] For similarities of expression in the ode and in Maecenas' speech (as quoted by Dio), see R. S. Conway, "Octavian and Augustus," *Bull. John Rylands Library* 13 (1929) 89–106. For summaries of earlier views, cf. S. Pilch, "Horatii *C.* I, 14 quomodo sit interpretandum," *Eos* 32 (1929) 449–472. The allegory of the Ship of State is rejected by C. W. Mendell, "Horace I. 14," *CP* 33 (1938) 145–156; according to Mendell, Horace is using the sea in a figurative sense as a symbol of the course of his own life. But see G. Carlsson, "Zu einigen Oden des Horaz," *Eranos* 42 (1944) 1–7; cf. Wilkinson (above, note 5) 72: "The ship here can only be the ship of state."

[17] So W. Leaf, "Horace, Carm. I. 14," *J. Phil.* 34 (1918) 283–289. Suetonius (*Caesar* 79) says that Julius Caesar considered such a transfer to Alexandria or Ilium before his death. Hence the reference in Horace's final stanza to the Cyclades; "avoid the Cyclades" meant to the Romans, "do not sail for Ilium." This theory, if correct, would explain also the insistence of Juno in *Odes* III, 3, 57–64, that Troy be not rebuilt; cf. *Aen.* XII, 826–828, in which Juno begs that Troy and all things Trojan be abandoned for all time; see below, note 74.

[18] The dangers of teaching Horace and other classical authors in translation is nowhere better exemplified than in the standard Modern Library version of this final stanza: "O, you who are my grief and care, Turn back to calmer seas! Beware, oh precious ship, beware The shining Cyclades." The phrase, "O, you who are my grief and care," completely obliterates the most important feature of lines 17 and 18 — the contrast between his earlier attitude (*nuper*) and his present view (*nunc*). For a mistranslation of Vergil almost equally serious, cf. Duckworth (above, note 6) 364, note 33.

[19] Cf. T. Zielinski, *Horace et la société romaine du temps d'Auguste* (Paris 1938) 30 ff., who believes (39) that the political conversion culminates with *Odes* I, 37.

realist, certain that the future of Rome is hopeless. At approximately the same time Vergil, more optimistic, more the idealist, says in the Fourth *Eclogue*: "A new Golden Age of peace and happiness will dawn again in Italy and it will be ushered in by the birth of a child." That these two poems are related cannot be doubted; similarities of theme and expression prove that one has influenced the other;[20] perhaps we should say that one is the answer to the other. It is even possible that the interchange of ideas brought the two poets together,[21] for it was shortly after the date of the two poems that Horace was introduced to Maecenas by Vergil and Varius.

One who attempts to determine the relationship of the two poets at this time is immediately confronted by two well-nigh insoluble problems: (1) the historical reality of the Fourth *Eclogue* and (2) the problem of priority. Horace later accepted the regime of Octavian with enthusiasm, and I have suggested that this change was perhaps due to the influence of Vergil. Was the Fourth *Eclogue* in part responsible for the change? If so, we must assume that Vergil's optimistic view of the future was in some way connected with Octavian and, further, that Vergil's poem was a reply to the Sixteenth *Epode*.

I hesitate to touch upon so controversial a poem as the Fourth *Eclogue*. No short poem in classical and perhaps world literature has aroused so much discussion.[22] Most scholarly opinion today favors the theory that the child is a real child. But if so, who? Earlier writers were divided between the child of Pollio and the child of Octavian. The theory of W. W. Tarn, published in 1932,[23] has won many adherents, but the difficulties of assuming that a child of Antony was meant have long since been pointed out.[24]

[20] Cf. E. Paratore, *Virgilio* (2nd ed., Firenze 1953) 158 f., who denies this and considers that the parallels are commonplaces which would occur to each poet separately.

[21] Cf. T. Frank, *Catullus and Horace* (New York 1928) 151 f.; Noyes (above, note 10) 71.

[22] For a recent summary of the conflicting views and a list of the scholars favoring each, see F. Dornseiff, *Verschmähtes zu Vergil, Horaz und Properz* (Berlin 1951) [= *Berichte sächs. Akad. Wissensch. Leipzig*, Philol.-hist. Kl. 97, Heft 6] 53 ff.

[23] W. W. Tarn, "Alexander Helios and the Golden Age," *JRS* 22 (1932) 135–160.

[24] See E. T. Salmon, "The Fourth Eclogue Once More," *CP* 34 (1939) 66–68; H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley 1942) 206 ff. Cf. also K. Büchner, "P. Vergilius Maro, der Dichter der Römer," *RE* VIII A 1 [=2. Reihe, XV Halbbd.] (Stuttgart, 1955) col. 1211. Büchner himself favors the view that the *puer* is not a human child but a symbol of the Golden Age.

Another argument against Antony occurs to me: it is generally agreed that *Eclogues* 5, 9, 1, and 4 were written in that order.[25] *Eclogue* 5, on the death and apotheosis of Daphnis, is usually taken to symbolize Caesar's death and deification,[26] and in 9, 47 we have a reference to *Caesaris astrum*. The *deus* of 1, 6 ff., can be only Octavian. If we associate the Fourth *Eclogue* with Antony, we have the following curious development: Vergil praises Caesar and Octavian, then honors Antony, then in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* consistently praises Octavian and his achievements. Such a temporary transfer of allegiance seems highly implausible.

Many present-day writers favor Octavian as the father of the expected child who is to usher in the new era of peace and good will.[27] I am convinced that this is the correct interpretation. I cannot go into details, but should like to make two or three general observations. Arguments often advanced against Octavian include the following: (1) the poem is addressed to Pollio, who was a supporter of Antony. But would not Vergil seek to win his friend Pollio to Octavian by thus honoring both in the same poem?[28] (2) Antony at this time was stronger and far more important than Octavian, and (3) the early excesses and ruthless proscriptions of Octavian

[25] Cf. Rose (above, note 24) 251 f.; E. A. Hahn, "The Characters in the *Eclogues*," *TAPA* 75 (1944) 199 ff.; Hanslik (above, note 14) 8.

[26] E.g., D. L. Drew, "Virgil's Fifth Eclogue: A Defence of the Julius Caesar-Daphnis Theory," *CQ* 16 (1922) 57–64; E. K. Rand, *The Magical Art of Virgil* (Cambridge, Mass. 1931) 93 ff.; Hahn (above, note 25) 206, 212 ff. Cf. Rose (above, note 24) 128 ff., 136 ff., who rejects the identification and says that Daphnis is merely Daphnis. More recent writers maintain that the hypothesis of Caesar is the only possible interpretation; see P. Grimal, "La 'V^e Églogue' et le culte de César," *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist. Charles Picard* (Paris 1949) 406–419; Bömer (above, note 8) 30. The identification of Daphnis with Caesar is strengthened by the prominent position of *Eclogue* 5 in the collection; cf. L. Richardson, Jr., *Poetical Theory in Republican Rome* (New Haven, 1944) 119 ff.; he calls 5 "the central panel of the grouping" (121). Even more significant is the symmetrical structure of *Eclogues* 1–9, with 5 framed by four pairs of corresponding poems, 1 and 9, 2 and 8, 3 and 7, 4 and 6; see G. E. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 75 (1954) 2 ff. and the literature there cited. Miss Hahn (above, note 25) 239 ff., has a very different grouping of the poems, by triads, but according to her scheme also the central and most important poem is 5.

[27] So Rose (above, note 24) 210 ff. (but not the child of Scribonia); Hahn (above, note 25) 206 ff.; Bömer (above, note 8) 32, 34 ff.; W. Hartke, *Römische Kinderkaiser* (Berlin 1951) 376 f.; G. Jachmann, "Die vierte Ekloge Vergils," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Ser. II, 21 (1952) 56 ff.; E. Bickel, "Politische Sibyllenekloge," *RhM* 97 (1954) 209–228; Hanslik (above, note 14) 19. Both Bickel and Hanslik stress the Octavian-Apollo relation (*Ecl.* 4, 10: *tuus iam regnat Apollo*); on Apollo, see also P. Lambrechts, "La politique 'apollinienne' d'Auguste et le culte impérial," *La Nouvelle Clio* 5 (1953) 65–82.

[28] So Bickel (above, note 27) 220 f.

would have alienated a person of Vergil's ideals and sensibilities.[29] These two arguments would seem to cancel each other. If Antony was the more important, he must bear the greater blame for the proscriptions. Plutarch tells us (*Cicero* 46) how Octavian for two days begged Antony without success to spare the life of Cicero. We tend to forget that Octavian at this time was a youth about twenty years old and hardly able to cope with older and more experienced leaders like Antony. (4) It is unwise, some say, to assume that Vergil is thinking of Octavian in the Fourth *Eclogue* just because in *Aen.* VI, 791 ff., Augustus is described as the founder of the Golden Age.[30] But this does not deny the possibility that, ten years before Actium, Vergil had the prophetic insight to realize that the future of Rome could best be entrusted to the youth whom in the First *Eclogue* he had already termed a *deus*.[31]

Did Horace disapprove of the Fourth *Eclogue* and compose the Sixteenth *Epode* as an answer, as if to say: "No, friend Vergil, you're wrong; there is no hope for Italy, and if there is to be a Golden Age, we must sail west to find it"? Would the introduction to Maecenas have taken place soon after? Would Vergil's response have been: "I don't agree. You must let me introduce you to my friend Maecenas and perhaps he can convince you"? Or is the *Eclogue* the answer to Horace? "You're wrong, friend Horace. There *is* hope for Italy and Rome." We know that Horace's political views changed, and perhaps Vergil's optimism did affect him; on the other hand, if Horace replied to the Fourth *Eclogue*, the message fell on deaf ears, for Vergil's confidence in the future of Rome remained unshaken.

On this question of the priority of the two poems there has been endless discussion. H. J. Rose considers the problem "utterly futile and incapable of final solution."[32] Most scholars feel otherwise and solve the problem, at least each to his own satisfaction. It is an intricate matter, involving a minute comparison of the thought and expression in parallel passages, not only in Vergil and Horace, but also in Theocritus, Lucretius, and other writers. The theory of Bruno Snell in 1938,[33] that Vergil's closer dependence on Theocritus

[29] Cf. Starr (above, note 8) 36 ff.

[30] So Tarn (above, note 23) 154.

[31] Cf. Bömer (above, note 8) 32.

[32] Rose (above, note 24) 259, note 72.

[33] B. Snell, "Die 16. Epode von Horaz und Vergils 4. Ekloge," *Hermes* 73 (1938) 237–242.

indicated the priority of the *Eclogue*, won many converts,[34] but was convincingly answered by Büchner in 1939 and Wimmel in 1953.[35] Other recent writers likewise claim that Vergil's poem is later than the Sixteenth *Epode*.[36] Omitting all detailed discussion, I should like to make an observation about one striking similarity. Horace begins:

altera iam teritur bellis civilibus *aetas*;

Vergil, after his three-verse introduction, begins:

ultima Cumaei venit *iam* carminis *aetas*.

The phrase of the one, *altera aetas*, is balanced by the *ultima aetas* of the other, and each line has *iam*. But what seems especially significant is that Vergil repeats *iam* three times in the next six verses:

6) iam redit et virgo . . .
7) iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto
10) . . . tuus iam regnat Apollo.

This thrice-repeated *iam* seems to be Vergil's exultant answer to the pessimistic note with which Horace begins his poem, and, as such, argues for the priority of Horace.

But if we cannot be positive that Vergil, in this, the greatest of his *Bucolics*, has contributed to a change in Horace's outlook, there seems no doubt of his influence in another instance. Here we begin with *Epode* 7, also an early poem;[37] Horace, appalled at the prospect

[34] Cf., e.g., K. Barwick, "Zur Interpretation und Chronologie der 4. Ecloge des Vergil und der 16. und 7. Epode des Horaz," *Philologus* 96 (1944) 28–67, especially 47 ff.; E. Fraenkel, *JRS* 36 (1946) 188; Hartke (above, note 27) 378, note 2; Dornseiff (above, note 22) 46 ff., and especially 57; H. Fuchs, "Zu einigen Aussagen des Horaz," *Westöstliche Abhandlungen. Festschrift Tschudi* (Wiesbaden 1954) 39–43; Hanslik (above, note 14) 19; C. Becker, "Virgils Eklogenbuch," *Hermes* 83 (1955) 314–349, especially 342 f. See also A. Rutgers van der Loeff, "Horatius bij Vergilius," *Hermeneus* 26 (1955) 163–165.

[35] K. Büchner, "Horaz, 1929–36," *Jahresber. Fortschr. klass. Altertums.*, Supplb. 267 (1939) 164 f.; W. Wimmel, "Über das Verhältnis der 4. Ecloge zur 16. Epode," *Hermes* 81 (1953) 317–344. Wimmel supports his view of Horace's priority with stylistic arguments in "Eine Besonderheit der Reihung in Augusteischen Gedichten," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 199–230, especially 213–216. For additional arguments, see Büchner (above, note 24) cols. 1204 ff.

[36] Cf. Rand (above, note 26) 108 ff.; A. D. Nock, in *Cambridge Ancient History* 10 (Cambridge 1934) 473; Noyes (above, note 10) 71; Paratore (above, note 20) 158; Bickel (above, note 27) 222 f.

[37] The seventh *Epode* is usually dated between 42 and 38 B.C. Cf. A. Y. Campbell, *Horace. A New Interpretation* (London 1924) 144, who dates *Epode* 7 in 32 B.C., the time of the final break between Octavian and Antony.

of renewed civil strife, puts the blame on *scelus fraternae necis* — the killing of Remus by Romulus (17–20). Vergil's attitude is very different: in *Georg.* I, 498–502, Romulus is not only guiltless but he is a god, to be coupled with the *di patrii* and Vesta, and it is the perjury of the Troy of Laomedon for which the Romans are atoning with their blood; so later, in *Aen.* I, 292–293, we find Quirinus with his brother Remus giving laws along with *cana Fides* and Vesta. We have only to turn to the Third Roman Ode to see how completely Horace accepted Vergil's rehabilitation of Romulus: cf. the position of Romulus in heaven as a symbol of *virtus* (15 f.) and the references to Laomedon and the perjured house of Priam (21–27).[38] Here we have one of the clearest expressions of the literary relationships of the two poets.

There are other parallels; e.g., the praise of country life in *Georg.* II, 458 ff., and *Epode* 2 is very similar; Horace's version may be the later one, but the satiric tag at the end — the reference to the money-lender Alfius — does not imply insincerity on the part of the poet. Vergil's later praise of the sturdy Italian life in *Aen.* IX, 603–613 is no less sincere for being expressed by the arrogant and boastful Numanus who is slain by Ascanius.

Both Vergil and Horace speak in a curious way of the divinity of Octavian — as if he were already a god. Vergil had called him a *deus* in *Eclogue* 1, and in the First Book of the *Georgics* (24–42) he refers to Octavian's position in heaven as being still undefined, but urges him to become accustomed to the idea of worship and the prayers of his people.[39] At the very end of this same book, Vergil invokes Octavian as the only hope of Rome in a time of war and turmoil. His divinity is again implied in 503–504: Heaven begrudges his presence on earth. Horace writes in a very similar vein in *Odes* I, 2, usually dated about 28 B.C.; after speaking of the horrors of civil war, he asks (25 ff.): what god will redeem the state? Apollo,

[38] See C. Koch, "Roma Aeterna," *Gymnasium* 59 (1952) 202 ff.

[39] For the criticism of this passage by scholars who refuse to accept the idea that Vergil referred to the divinity of Octavian, cf. W. Y. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil* (3rd ed., Oxford 1908) 224 f.; T. R. Glover, *Virgil* (5th ed., London 1923) 169 f. On *Georg.* I, 24 ff., and the problem of Octavian's godhead, see L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, 1931) [= *Philological Monographs*, I] 149 f.; Bailey (above, note 3) 191 ff. Richardson (above, note 26) 159 f., wrongly considers the invocation of Book I to be that of the deified Julius Caesar. For a detailed analysis of *Georg.* I, 24–42, see E. Cesareo, "Studi Virgiliani — IV. Ottaviano nel proemio delle *Georgiche*," *Athenaeum*, N.S. 9 (1931) 51–70, 223–242. According to Cesareo (54 f., 238 f.), Octavian in *Georgics* I is not yet a god on earth.

or Venus, or Mars? These are all divinities associated with Octavian and the Julian family. Or Mercury, who will appear on earth in human guise as the avenger of Caesar (*Caesaris ultor*, 44)?[40] Horace is thus even more specific than Vergil, for he speaks of Octavian as already a god on earth, the incarnation of Mercury.[41]

The idea of Octavian's divinity in this ode resembles that in the invocation of *Georgics* I, but Horace's prayer that Octavian-Mercury will return late to heaven (45) recalls *Georg.* I, 503 f.; moreover, the thought and structure of the ode is that of the concluding passage of the *Georgic*, 463–514, and proves in this instance how closely Horace has followed his friend: each passage falls into two parts, with two subdivisions in each; the first contains prodigies and civil war, the second prayers to the gods and the reasons for the prayers.[42] This similarity in structure and symmetrical balance is too close to be accidental. It is interesting that the First *Georgic* ends on a gloomy note, whereas the ode, composed after Actium, suggests that Octavian-Mercury will save the state; Horace speaks of Octavian in the final stanza as *triumphator*, *pater*, *princeps*, and *dux*.

In other respects also this is a puzzling ode: why Mercury rather than Apollo, with whom Octavian was closely associated from his youth,[43] the god honored both by Horace in the *Odes* and the *Carmen*

[40] Cf. T. Birt, *Horaz' Lieder. Studien zur Kritik und Auslegung* (Leipzig 1925) 62; Birt takes *Caesaris ultor* (44) as vocative, punctuating with commas after *imitaris* and *vocari*. But Mercury is the person addressed in the stanza, as Apollo, Venus, and Mars were previously addressed. See K. Barwick, "Horaz, Carm. I, 2, und Vergil," *Philologus* 90 (1935–36) 265 ff., who takes *ales* as vocative and places commas before and after *Ales* (capitalized), and after *imitaris*.

[41] This is denied by J. Elmore, "Horace and Octavian (Car. I. 2)," *CP* 26 (1931) 258–263; Elmore maintains that Mercury is merely a symbolic figure; Octavian is not to be identified with Mercury but to be associated with the god "with subtle suggestion of the greatness of his task and of his power to achieve it" (263). Cf. Taylor (above, note 39) 162 f.

[42] Cf. the analysis of I, 2 and *Georg.* I, 463–514, made by Barwick (above, note 40) 267 ff.; he gives the corresponding sections as follows:

Ia	*Georg.* I, 463–488	I, 2, 1–20
b	489–497	21–24
IIa	498–504	25–40
b	505–514	41–52

I should prefer to include 41–44 in IIa and have the final section comprise 45–52, the address to Caesar. Barwick also cites several verbal similarities, e.g., *satis iam* (*Georg.* I, 501), *iam satis* (*Odes* I, 2, 1). See also Murphy (above, note 6) 62; C. Gallavotti, "Il secondo carme di Orazio," *Parola del Passato* 4 (1949) 217–229, especially 221; A. M. Guillemin, *Virgile, Poète, Artiste et Penseur* (Paris 1951) 82 ff.

[43] See Lambrechts (above, note 27) 65–82, for discussion and bibliography; cf. also E. H. Haight, "An 'Inspired Message' in the Augustan Poets," *AJP* 39 (1918) 341–

Saeculare and by Vergil in the *Aeneid*? Why Mercury rather than the father of Romulus, Mars, for whom Augustus later constructed a splendid temple in his new forum?[44] There is historical reality here, however, for the identification of Octavian with Mercury is supported by evidence from coins, inscriptions, and sculpture.[45] Would it be too rash to suggest that in *Odes* II, 7, 13 f., where Mercury rescues Horace from Philippi, the god is not merely the patron of poets but symbolizes Octavian whose pardon had enabled the poet to return to Rome?

These identifications of Octavian with a god predate 27 B.C.,[46] when Octavian received the title Augustus and the government was established on a more republican and constitutional basis. At this time the *princeps* forbade his worship in Rome. Both Vergil and Horace henceforth are more restrained on the subject of the divinity of the emperor; Vergil more so than Horace, for the latter refers to the later immortality of Augustus in *Odes* III, 3, 11 f., and calls him a *praesens divus* in III, 5, 2.[47]

366, especially 346 f. For the most recent treatment of Apollo in the Augustan age, see J. Gagé, *Apollon romain. Essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le développement du "ritus Graecus" à Rome des origines à Auguste* (Paris 1955) [= *Bibl. des Écoles franc. d'Athènes et de Rome*, No. 182] 421–637; see especially 608 f.

[44] See R. Schilling, "L'Hercule romain en face de la réforme religieuse d'Auguste," *Revue Phil.* 16 (1942) 31–57. Schilling wishes to show how Mars supplanted Hercules as the chief god of the Augustan religion. He neglects Apollo and unduly minimizes the position of Hercules in the Augustan poets (e.g., in *Aeneid* VIII).

[45] See K. Scott, "Merkur-Augustus und Horaz C. 1, 2," *Hermes* 63 (1928) 15–23; "Mercury on the Bologna Altar," *Mitteil. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.*, Röm. Abt. 50 (1935) 225–230; O. Brendel, "Novus Mercurius," *ibid.* 231–259; Gagé (above, note 43) 576 ff. Cf. also K. Rupprecht, "Gott auf Erden," *WJA* 1 (1946) 69; Wili (above, note 7) 142 ff.; H. Hommel, *Horaz: Der Mensch und das Werk* (Heidelberg 1950) 64, 125 ff.; K. Hönn, *Das Rom des Horaz* (Wien 1951) 48 ff., 69 f.; *Augustus und seine Zeit* (4th ed., Wien 1953) 139; I. S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (Rome, 1955) [= *MAAR* 22] 38 f.

[46] The date usually assigned to *Odes*, I, 2, is 28 B.C., but see D. Norberg, "La divinité d'Auguste dans la poésie d'Horace," *Eranos* 44 (1946) 398–403, who argues for 29 B.C.; cf. Wili (above, note 7) 142 f. Gallavotti (above, note 42) 224 ff., dates the ode early in 27 B.C. on the basis of a flood of the Tiber which occurred just after Octavian received the title Augustus.

[47] This seems an echo of *Ecl.* 1, 41, where Vergil implies that Octavian was more *praesens* than other gods. Horace in *Odes* I, 12 and in the Roman Odes compares Augustus' rule on earth with that of Jupiter in heaven. On the view that Vergil regarded Augustus as Jupiter's vice-regent on earth, see R. J. Getty, "Romulus, Roma, and Augustus in the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*," *CP* 45 (1950) 1–12. Cf. Taylor (above, note 39) 175 f., who says that divinity is promised for all the house of the Iulii in *Aen.* VI, 789 f. (*hic Caesar et omnis Iuli progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem*); cf. F. Fletcher, *Virgil, Aeneid VI* (Oxford 1941) 89, who interprets the phrase in 790 as meaning merely "to be born." But apotheosis is also implied in IX, 641 f.: *macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra, dis genite et geniture deos.* This second passage, ad-

In the twenties each poet was engaged on his masterpiece. In the first three books of the *Odes* and in the *Aeneid* we have classical poetry of the greatest art; the poets had much to say about religion and philosophy, about society and government, and they said it with all due attention to language, sound effects, rhythm, and structural symmetry.[48] They were now living in a new regime, a restoration of republican forms of government and something else — an era of peace such as Rome had not known for generations — and their poetry, far from being divorced from historical reality, dealt both with the world that was and with the world that should be. We find much in their work to support the political, religious, and social reforms of Augustus, but we find it at the very beginning of his principate, and in many respects Horace and Vergil seem to be pointing the better way, if not directly, at least by the use of allusive imagery and symbolism.

In their poetry of this period the parallels of thought and expression are even more numerous—so numerous that we cannot avoid the conclusion that the poets were in frequent consultation and each honoring the other, as well as Maecenas and Augustus, by their treatment of similar themes in two different types of poetry. As Charles Murphy wrote some years ago: "We can see how two mature and fruitful minds, working in harmony throughout their lives, reacted upon each other to inspire some of their noblest poetry."[49]

dressed to Ascanius, son of Aeneas, resembles *Ecl.* 4, 49 (*cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum*), addressed to the child of the poem, whom I believe to be the child of Octavian; *incrementum* in *Ecl.* 4, 49, is not a synonym for *suboles*, as so often stated, but means "an associate" of Jupiter and the other gods, thus signifying apotheosis; see Bömer (above, note 8) 49, note 30, for discussion and bibliography. Cf. also *Aen.* VIII, 301: *salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis*, a reference to Hercules which Bömer (54, note 63) considers an unmistakable reminiscence of *Ecl.* 4, 49.

[48] This close attention to the arrangment and sound of words, rhythmical effect, parallelism and contrast, and structural symmetry in general is considered characteristic of the Augustan poetry ushered in by Vergil and Horace; see F. Klingner, "Virgil," *Das Neue Bild der Antike*, II (Leipzig, 1942) 242 ff., reprinted in *Römische Geisteswelt*, I (2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1952) 209 ff.; E. Fraenkel, "Carattere della poesia augustea," *Maia* 1 (1948) 245–264; Fraenkel says (248) that one of the chief characteristics of this new poetical style is the symmetrical proportion of the parts — a statement which will be illustrated below by my analyses of the Roman Odes and the final portion of *Aeneid* VI. See also notes 26 and 69.

[49] Murphy (above, note 6) 64. The close relation between the two poets is often seen in verbal similarities; Murphy points out (62 f.) the echoes of Vergilian phraseology in *Odes* I, 24, the ode to Vergil expressing sorrow at the death of Quintilius Varus, and the similarity between *Odes* I, 7, 30 f., and *Aen.* I, 198 f.; in this latter instance Vergil

Vergil turns from the *Georgics* and his earlier plan for an historical epic to Homer as a model, to an epic on a mythological theme — the story of Aeneas and the beginnings of the destiny of Rome. But what he writes in a sense is also drama: the capture of Troy, the story of Dido, the death of Turnus which comes as the result of his own actions are all described in the tone of tragic drama.[50] The words of Rand are very true: "It was through a tragic atmosphere that Virgil looked back at Homer. Tragedy is an essential part of Virgil's poem — he was forever joining together what critics would keep asunder."[51] Horace turns from satire and epode to Aeolic poetry in the style of Alcaeus and Sappho, to loftier lyric in the style of Simonides and Pindar. Again and again he expresses his inability to deal with epic themes and the achievements of Augustus,[52] but much that he writes is epic in subject and tone; he too constantly puts together what critics would keep asunder. Rome and Augustus provide the basis for many of his odes (I, 2, 12, 35, 37; III, 14, 24) and particularly for the great series in Alcaics at the beginning of Book III, the six Roman Odes.

Can we not see here the influence of each poet upon the other? Horace loved Homer and was devoted to Greek drama; this might

is probably echoing the phrase of Horace, *o fortes peioraque passi*. See Rutgers van der Loeff (above, note 34) 163 ff., who finds in *Aen.* XII, 517–520, a reminiscence of *Epode* 2, but thinks that Vergil otherwise was not influenced by his younger contemporary.

[50] Cf. G. E. Duckworth, "Turnus as a Tragic Character," *Vergilius* 4 (1940) 5–17; "Fate and Free Will" (above, note 6) 361 f.

[51] E. K. Rand, "Virgil the Magician," *CJ* 26 (1930–31) 46; cf. Rand, *The Magical Art of Virgil* (above, note 26) 347–414; N. W. DeWitt, "Vergil and the Tragic Drama," *CJ* 26 (1930–31) 19–27. See also R. Heinze, *Die augusteische Kultur* (Leipzig 1930) 149 ff., for an excellent brief analysis of Vergil's dramatic power and psychological insight. Guillemin (above, note 42) 305 ff., discusses the dramatic elements in the *Aeneid*, and points out also its lyric tone, saying (311); "On le chercherait en vain dans les poèmes homériques"; but cf. S. E. Bassett, *The Poetry of Homer* (Berkeley 1938) 164 ff., who views the similes in Homer as a type of lyric verse, useful as an emotional relief from the tension of the epic narrative; Bassett says (169 f.): "The similes must be cast in the meter of the epic, and they must be carefully articulated with the narrative. In all other respects, in brevity, detachment, theme, treatment, and feeling, they are lyrics."

[52] See the *recusationes* in *Odes* I, 6; II, 12, 9–16; IV, 2, 33–44; cf. also *Sat.* II, 1, 10–19; *Epist.* II, 1, 250–259. On *Odes* IV, 15, 1–4, Horace's inability to sing of *proelia* and *victas urbes*, cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* 6, 3–5, Propertius, III, 3, 1–24, Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* II, 493–510. These are all echoes of the prologue of Callimachus' *Aitia*; see J. Hubaux, *Les thèmes bucoliques dans la poésie latine* (Bruxelles 1930) [= *Académie Royale de Belgique, Memoires*, T. XXIX, fasc. 1] 10 ff. On the similarity of *Odes* II, 1, 37–40, and III, 3, 69–72, cf. Bione (above, note 13) 159. Bione points out reminiscences of *Eclogue* 8 in *Odes* II, 1; both poems are dedicated to Pollio.

explain many of the epic and dramatic features in the *Aeneid*. Vergil was convinced of the greatness of Octavian and his achievements and believed that Rome under his leadership had entered upon a new Golden Age; these are the themes of some of Horace's greatest odes, those in which he may be said to write epic in lyric verse. And this is the surprising thing: Horace now appears to take the lead. Many patriotic odes written in 27 B.C., at the beginning of the principate, point the way to Vergil's later treatment. To what extent he knew and discussed with Vergil the plan of the *Aeneid* can probably never be determined, but it is at least possible that many features in Vergil's epic may be either the result of Horace's suggestions or at least a friendly tribute to what Horace had already written.

We have already had clear instances of Vergil's influence on Horace — in the treatment of the divinity of Octavian and the prayer that he will be the savior of the state; also, Horace gave up the idea of blood-guilt to portray Romulus in a very different light. Romulus was the first founder of Rome, as Augustus was now its new founder. Suetonius (*Aug.* 7) and Dio Cassius (LIII, 16, 6–8) inform us that the title Augustus was chosen as a substitute for Romulus, and it is no accident that in the three great historical passages in *Aeneid* I, VI, and VIII, Romulus and Augustus are mentioned either together or at the beginning and end of a series.[53] When Horace, in *Odes* III, 3, 9–16, speaks of Augustus in heaven, he places him in the center of a group, between Pollux and Hercules, Bacchus and Romulus. The fact that Romulus had become a god is important for the poetic treatment of the apotheosis of Augustus and makes more meaningful the passages in the *Aeneid* where

[53] *Aen.* I, 275–285 (Romulus and the *imperium sine fine*), 286–296 (Augustus and the new age of peace); VI, 777–787 (Romulus as founder of Rome, and the simile of Cybele), 789–805 (Augustus as founder of the Golden Age, and the comparison to Hercules and Bacchus); VIII, 630–634 (Romulus with Remus), 678–728 (Augustus' victory over Antony and Cleopatra and his triumph). For the view that I, 286–290, refer to Julius Caesar, see Frank (above, note 9) 70 ff., who uses this as an argument to support his highly improbable theory of an early *Aeneid* in the mid-forties to honor Julius Caesar; cf. also Taylor (above, note 39) 175; Bailey (above, note 3) 190 f. But the references to peace and the closing of the gates of war (291–296) date the passage after 29 B.C., and indicate that Augustus is the Julius of 288; cf. W. M. Green, "Julius Caesar in the Augustan Poets," *CJ* 37 (1931–32) 406 f. Augustus and Romulus are thus placed together in I as in VI, where the Caesar of VI, 789, is also Augustus; this is indicated by the anaphora: *hic* (789), *hic vir, hic est* (791). Cf. H. E. Butler, *The Sixth Book of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1920) 244 (on 789); H. Mattingly, "Virgil's Golden Age: Sixth Aeneid and Fourth Eclogue," *CR* 48 (1934) 163.

Romulus and Augustus appear together.[54] It is fitting that in *Aen.* VI, 777–805 Augustus is preceded by Romulus and compared to Hercules and Bacchus, a passage which recalls the Third Roman Ode.

This brings me to I, 12, an ode which reveals most clearly the close relationship between Horace and Vergil and which gives, I believe, an interesting example of Horace's influence on the older poet. I, 12 is *in parvo* a roll call of Roman heroes, resembling in many respects that at the end of *Aeneid* VI. The conclusion of VI is later, at least in its present form, for the death of Marcellus in 23 B.C., lamented in VI, 860 ff., is not mentioned in the ode; Horace's poem is usually dated about 25 B.C., the year of the marriage of Marcellus and Julia.[55]

Horace begins in Pindaric style: "What man, what hero, what god shall I praise?" Reversing the order, he praises first selected deities (Jupiter, Minerva, Bacchus, Diana, and Apollo) and demigods (Hercules, Castor and Pollux), and then presents the list of Romans, beginning with Romulus. Many are identical with those in *Aeneid* VI: Numa, Tarquin, Regulus (= Serranus in VI, 844), Fabricius, and Camillus; each poet stresses Marcellus and portrays Augustus as the ruler of a new age of peace and justice under divine guidance; Horace says that he will rule on earth as Jupiter in heaven; cf. 51 f.: *tu secundo Caesare regnes*; 57: *te minor laetum reget aequus orbem*; this theme is prominent in the Roman Odes of Book III.

In I, 12, Horace presents an epic theme in lyric stanzas. The praise of Republican heroes was part of the political program of Augustus and the niches in the hemicycles of his forum were decorated with the busts of early Romans and brief inscriptions, *elogia*, giving their accomplishments.[56] These statues were not placed in position until more than ten years later.[57] Vergil and Horace may

[54] On Romulus and Augustus, see K. Scott, "The Identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus," *TAPA* 56 (1925) 82–105; J. Gagé, "Romulus-Augustus," *École française de Rome. Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 47 (1930) 138–181; Norberg (above, note 46) 389 ff.; Getty (above, note 47) 5–8; Koch (above, note 38) 202 ff.

[55] Cf. D. L. Drew, "Horace, *Odes* I. xii. and the *Forum Augustum*," *CQ* 19 (1925) 162, note 1, who suggests that Horace wrote I, 12, after Vergil's sixth *Aeneid* had been read to Octavia. This seems highly improbable, for in this case Horace would certinly have mentioned the death of Marcellus, as Vergil did in *Aen.* VI, 868–886.

[56] Cf. H. T. Rowell, "The Forum and Funeral *Imagines* of Augustus," *MAAR* 17 (1940) 140: "In a word, we can correctly define the Forum Augustum as the first great national Hall of Fame."

[57] See A. Degrassi, "Virgilio e il Foro di Augusto," *Epigraphica* 7 (1945) 88–103, who argues convincingly that the construction of the temple of Mars Ultor and the

have known of Augustus' plans, but they could not have been inspired by the actual statues, and Augustus may even have been guided in this feature of his forum by the poetic suggestions of the two Roman poets. Horace's ode is evidence that he, as well as Vergil, was enthusiastic about the heroes of the early Republic — not surprising in one who had fought on the Republican side at Philippi — and it seems probable that this aspect of Augustus' patriotic program was as much the work of Horace as of Vergil.

There is one final and significant point about this ode which again illustrates Horace's Republican sympathies, and his independence as well. Vergil, in *Aen.* VI, 818, correctly placed the *liberator* Brutus after the Tarquins, but Horace disregards chronology and mentions, after *superbos Tarquini fascis* (34 f.), the *Catonis nobile letum*. This has been interpreted as a "reminder to Augustus that the great Republican opponent of Julius Caesar deserved a place in his portrait-gallery of noble Romans, along with Brutus, the founder of the Republic."[58] If Vergil's roll call of heroes had been composed some years before the death of Marcellus and was known to Horace in 25 B.C., could not this passage likewise be a pointed reminder to Vergil himself that Cato should not have been excluded from the list of heroes? And Vergil does mention the younger Cato in the description of the shield in *Aeneid* VIII (670), where Cato represents the forces of law and order, as opposed to Catiline, the advocate of anarchy and the overthrow of the Republic. Was it Horace's suggestion that led to the inclusion of Cato's name in *Aeneid* VIII?

Aeneid VI has been termed "the keystone of the whole poem,"[59] and Anchises' forecast of the Roman heroes and their destiny is the finest of the historical and patriotic passages in the epic. Horace's

installation of the statues in the niches of the hemicycles was much later than is usually believed; he dates the latter after 9 B.C. Drew, therefore (above, note 55) 159–164, is wrong in assuming that Horace and Vergil strolled in the new forum and saw there statues of both gods and Roman heroes, selecting from the latter the names which appear in *Odes* I, 12, and *Aeneid* VI. Drew is puzzled by the fact that Jupiter rather than Mars is stressed in I, 12; this is hardly surprising if the ode is earlier than the construction of the temple, as Degrassi believes. Cf. also T. Frank, "Augustus, Vergil and the Augustan Elogia," *AJP* 59 (1938) 91–94; Rowell (above, note 56) 140 f.; "Vergil and the Forum of Augustus," *AJP* 62 (1941) 261–276.

[58] Murphy (above, note 6) 63. On the attitude of Augustus toward Cato, see R. Syme, *A Roman Post-Mortem: An Inquest on the Fall of the Roman Republic* (Sydney 1950) 9ff.; L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley 1949) 178 ff.

[59] R. S. Conway, *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age* (Cambridge, Mass. 1928) 143; cf. F. J. H. Letters, *Virgil* (New York 1946) 122.

Roman Odes, the first six odes of Book III, are equally significant as his greatest achievement on national and epic themes. Patriotic, religious, and moral motifs are here blended with an expert hand. The first stanza of the first ode is the introduction to the series: Horace as priest of the Muses (*Musarum sacerdos*) sings for youths and maidens songs not previously heard (*carmina non prius audita*), and in each ode he stresses one or more virtues with effective imagery and illustration and with careful attention to details of structure.

Heinze considered the cycle of Roman Odes the most discussed work in Roman literature.[60] I disagree and give the palm in this respect to Vergil's famous Fourth *Eclogue*. But the Roman Odes are not far behind. The problems of these six poems are difficult, and as fascinating as they are difficult. The references to the name Augustus in III, 3, 11 and in III, 5, 3 prove that these two poems, at least, are not earlier than 27 B.C.[61] In what way are the Roman Odes as a whole connected with the establishment of the principate in 27? Are the qualities to which Horace alludes in these poems the old Republican virtues which made Rome great, or are they the virtues of the new Augustan program, or perhaps those which Horace believes the new regime should stress? Are they primarily the four Stoic virtues of wisdom, fortitude, justice, and moderation, or are they the four virtues on the golden shield which Augustus received from the senate and the Roman people in 27 B.C. — *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas*?[62] *Quot homines, tot sententiae*![63]

[60] R. Heinze, *Vom Geist des Römertums* (Leipzig 1938) 213.

[61] *Odes* III, 6 is usually dated in 28 B.C., but see below, note 65. On III, 4, cf. L. A. MacKay, "Horace, *Odes*, III. 4: Date and Interpretation," *CR* 46 (1932) 243–245; he dates this poem in 29 or early 28 B.C., when Octavian's intentions were still uncertain.

[62] Cf. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, ed. J. Gagé (2nd ed., Paris 1950), p. 144 [34, 2 = VI, 16–22]: "Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum, et laureis postes aedium mearum uestiti publice, coronaque ciuica super ianuam meam fixa est et clupeus aureus in curia Iulia positus quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare uirtutis clementiaeque iustitiae et pietatis caussa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem." On these four Augustan virtues, see H. Markowski, "De quattuor virtutibus Augusti in clupeo aureo ei dato inscriptis," *Eos* 37 (1936) 109–128; M. P. Charlesworth, "The Virtues of a Roman Emperor: Propaganda and the Creation of Belief," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 23 (1937) 105–133, esp. 111–114.

[63] For summaries of earlier views, see Heinze (above, note 60) 215 ff., L. Amundsen, "The 'Roman Odes' of Horace," *Serta Eitremiana* (Oslo 1942) [= *Symbolae Osloenses*, Fasc, Supplet. XI] 1–4. For other discussions of the cycle, cf. W. W. Fowler, *Roman*

Again, were the poems written separately and later collected and published as a group, or were they composed as a tightly-knit unit? If the cycle has a basic theme, such as the comparison, explicit or implied, between the *imperium* of Jupiter and the *imperium* of Augustus,[64] it would appear that we are dealing with a group of poems which belong together and form a unified whole. The first ode has been criticized as being too typically Horatian, its theme of simplicity and contentment out of keeping with the high patriotic tone of the other five; likewise the sixth on piety and chastity has been viewed as too pessimistic and also chronologically earlier than the others. These criticisms have been answered, one important argument being that 1 and 6 have complementary themes which are combined in III, 24; these two odes therefore fittingly go together at the beginning and the end of Horace's message to the nation.[65]

The subtle interrelations of the many themes running through these six odes and the curious structural interlocking of the individual poems provide convincing evidence that they were planned and composed as a unit. Two different arrangements of the odes are possible and seem equally valid; both appear intentional and both are important for our discussion of Horace and Vergil. For convenience I shall refer to them as A and B.

In arrangement A, the two central poems 3 and 4, the longest,

Essays and Interpretations (Oxford 1920) 210–229; G. Pasquali, *Orazio lirico* (Firenze 1920) 649–710; C. Landi, "Alcune osservazioni sulle odi romani di Orazio," *Raccolta di scritti in onore di Felice Ramorino* (Milano 1927) 187–196; G. Curcio, *Le liriche di Q. Orazio Flacco* (Catania 1930) 100–134; G. Masera, "Le così dette 'Odi Romane' di Orazio (lib. III. 1–6)," *Mondo Classico* 7 (1937) 369–376; H. Silomon, "Bemerkungen zu den Römeroden," *Philologus* 92 (1937–38) 444–454; Amundsen, *op. cit.* 5–24; H. B. Jaffee, *Horace: an Essay in Poetic Therapy* (Chicago 1944) 92–100; Wili (above, note 7) 201–210; F. Klingner, "Horazens Römeroden," *Varia Variorum. Festgabe für Karl Reinhardt* (Münster 1952) 118–136; V. Pöschl, "Horaz," in *L'influence grecque sur la poésie latine de Catulle à Ovide* (Genève 1956) [= *Fondation Hardt. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, II, 1953] 108–115.

[64] Cf. E. T. Silk, "Notes on Cicero and the Odes of Horace," *YCS* 13 (1952) 149–157.

[65] Cf. Silomon (above, note 63) 453 f., who dates III, 6, also in 27 B.C., after the restoration of the temples: Rome will be great if the Romans follow the example of the *princeps*. On III, 1 and III, 6, as complementary themes and their relation to III, 24, see F. Solmsen, "Horace's First Roman Ode," *AJP* 68 (1947) 337–352. This poem (III, 24) has been called the "seventh Roman ode"; cf. U. Mancuso, *Orazio Poeta Civile: dalle odi Romani alle odi Cesaree* (Rome 1952–53) 67. On the pessimism of the final strophe of 6, see Curcio (above, note 63) 131 ff.; Pöschl (above, note 63) 113 f.

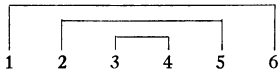
most Pindaric,[66] and most significant poems in the cycle,[67] which deal with *iustitia* and *lene consilium* and stress Rome and Augustus, are framed by 2 and 5, both concerned with aspects of military *virtus*, and by 1 and 6, which have already been shown to be complementary. Of the framing odes, 1 and 2 are more philosophical and gnomic, 5 and 6 are more historical and contrast the shame of the present with the glory of the past.[68]

With arrangement B the poems fall into two groups, 1–3 and 4–6; each group begins with Horace as priest of the Muses and rises in 3 and 6 to a climax on Rome and its greatness, the tone of 3 being positive but containing a warning note, that of 6 negative, with the note of warning sounded loudly; the first three are Roman and general, the second three more concerned with Augustus (4) and his military (5), religious, and social policies (6).[69] Certainly Horace must have planned this intricate double arrangement; the cycle is

[66] Cf. E. L. Highbarger, "The Pindaric Style of Horace," *TAPA* 66 (1935) 222–255, especially 235–241.

[67] Cf. G. K. Strodach, "Pietas: Horace and Augustan Nationalism," *CW* 29 (1935–36) 140, who says that the third ode is concerned with the superhuman status of Augustus, the fourth with his supernatural power; this seems the wrong emphasis, especially for the third ode.

[68] On this arrangement, see Landi (above, note 63) 193 ff.; Jaffee (above, note 63) 92 ff.; Wili (above, note 7) 156 (but Wili is wrong in describing III, 3, as a hymn to Bacchus). The relation of the six odes may be represented as follows:



The arrangement is not unlike that found in *Eclogues* 1–9, with 5 framed by corresponding pairs of eclogues; see above, note 26.

[69] Cf. W. Port, "Die Anordnung in Gedichtbüchern augusteischer Zeit," *Philologus* 81 (1925–26) 300 f.; Klingner (above, note 63) 128. The following indicates the arrangement in two halves and the climax in odes 3 and 6:

Since the emphasis in 6 is on Augustus and his religious and social policies, we possibly have here an argument that this ode also dates from 27 B.C., after the restoration of the temples; see above, note 65. This arrangement of the six odes is not unlike the structural parallelism in the *Aeneid*, which falls into two halves, the books of the second half corresponding in numerous respects to those in the first half; cf. Duckworth (above, note 26) 5 ff. Port (*op. cit.*, 287 f.) divides the *Bucolics* also into two halves, the second half beginning with the reference to the Muse in 6; Port speaks of the relationship of 1 and 9, 2 and 8, 3 and 7, 4 and 6, but fails to realize the significance of this for the structure of the collection; see above, note 26. For a more recent attempt to support a division of the *Bucolics* into two halves, cf. Becker (above, note 34) 318 ff.

an organic whole, like a monument with sculptured reliefs arranged to balance each other in a twofold pattern.

These six odes were composed not later than 27–26 B.C. At this time Vergil's *Aeneid* was still in its preliminary stages; at least, much remained to be written. *Aeneid* II, IV, and VI were not read to Augustus and Octavia until after the death of Marcellus in 23 B.C.[70] How much of the *Aeneid* did Horace know in 27 B.C.? The general idea and plan, surely; for this reason, it does not seem necessary to accept the recent suggestion that the theme of Augustus ruling on earth under the divine guidance of Jupiter, so important in both the Roman Odes and the *Aeneid*, originated with Horace.[71]

It is a very different matter, however, when we consider detailed passages in the poems. *Odes* 3 and 4, the central and most important of the Roman Odes, are also the most Vergilian.[72] The third ode, which refers to Augustus as a god associating with Hercules, Romulus, and other heroes who gained immortality by their virtuous deeds, contains as its "Pindaric myth" the speech of Juno on the future greatness of Rome, provided Troy be not rebuilt. This speech on the fall of Troy and the greatness of Rome summarizes the theme of the later *Aeneid*.[73] I am not concerned here whether Troy in this ode is to be understood literally or whether it symbolizes the East — the Oriental dangers or influences which must be avoided.[74] What interests me chiefly is the close parallel between this speech and that of Juno to Jupiter in *Aen.*

[70] *Vita Donati*, ed. C. Hardie (Oxford 1954) 32.

[71] Wili (above note 7) 146.

[72] It has recently been suggested that Horace, in III, 2, 6–12, portrayed, consciously or unconsciously, a siege such as that of Laurentum in *Aen.* XII, 593–613, in which Aeneas attacks the city and Queen Amata and Lavinia look on fearful that Turnus has been killed; cf. E. L. Highbarger, "The Tragedy of Turnus: A Study of Vergil, *Aeneid* XII," *CW* 41 (1947–48) 114–124. We can hardly assume that *Aeneid* XII had been written by 27 B.C., and Horace's picture of the siege in III, 2, may be Homeric rather than Vergilian. But it is curious that not only the third and fourth odes, but perhaps the second as well, deal with themes developed later in *Aeneid* VII–XII. Did Vergil expand these ideas from the Roman Odes?

[73] Cf. Bione (above, note 13) 159.

[74] The second interpretation is favored by most scholars; cf. e.g., Campbell (above, note 37) 110; Amundsen (above, note 63) 14; Klingner (above, note 63) 132. The speech of Camillus in Livy V, 51 ff., is similarly explained. See Wilkinson (above, note 5), 73, who believes that Troy symbolizes the decadent Republic; this view seems highly improbable in the light both of Augustus' attempt to restore the form and traditions of the Republic and Horace' emphasis in the Roman Odes on the *mos maiorum*. For the literal view, that the poem expresses opposition to a plan to transfer the capital to the East, see Fowler (above, note 63) 217 ff.; Conway (above, note 3) 59 ff.; see above, note 17.

XII, 826–828; the Trojans will merge with the Latins, the Romans will become powerful with Italian virtue, and Troy is to remain fallen, name and all. Thus Vergil also insists that Troy and things Trojan must be abandoned for all time.

The parallel is striking. Had Vergil in 27 or 26 B.C. already composed this speech at the close of his final book, which seems improbable, or, in this instance, did he derive the idea from the ode of his friend? But the Third Ode also refers to Juno leading the forces against the rebuilt Troy, just as Juno is portrayed as leading the Greeks in *Aen.* II, 612–4.[75] Possibly *Aeneid* II was already written at this time, but not *Aeneid* XII, and Horace stands between the two, both influencing and being influenced by Vergil. The exchange may result from consultation on the method of treating these themes in which both poets were vitally interested, but there seems little doubt about the relationship of the Juno-speeches or the priority of Horace.[76]

In III, 4, the second of the two central odes, Horace tells how the Muses have protected him in the past and how they comfort Augustus and bestow upon him *lene consilium.* The victory of Jupiter over the Giants illustrates the central theme of the ode (65–68): that *vis temperata* is favored by the gods and prevails over *vis consili expers*; this contrast between restrained might and force devoid of wisdom might suggest the victory of Octavian over Antony,[77] but a far closer parallel is found in the *Aeneid*, in the conflict between its two main characters in VII–XII; Aeneas represents *vis temperata* and Turnus with his *violentia* lacks *consilium.*[78] Another striking parallel occurs in lines 57–64 of the ode and *Aen.* VIII, 699–705. Just as Minerva, Vulcan, Juno, and Apollo fight on the side of Jupiter against the Giants, so Neptune, Venus, Minerva, Mars, and Apollo fight with Octavian against Cleopatra and her barbaric

[75] So Murphy (above, note 6) 63.

[76] Both passages have been considered to be derived from Ennius and therefore independent of one another; cf. Heinze (above, note 60) 230 f.; Wilkinson (above, note 5), 73 f.; Amundsen (above, note 63) 13 f. This view seems very unlikely when we consider the many other parallels of thought and expression in the poetry of Vergil and Horace. The priority of Horace and the dependence of Vergil upon Horace here have been asserted by R. Helm, "Reden in den Oden des Horaz," *Philologus* 90 (1935–36) 358 f.

[77] Cf. S. Pilch, "De Augusti laudibus apud Horatium," *Eos* 9 (1926) 60: III, 4 praises Augustus for his "moderationem, *vim temperatam*, clementiam, et lenitatem cum humanarum artium ingenuo studio coniunctam."

[78] Vergil states this explicitly in *Aen.* IX, 757–761; cf. also XI, 901–905, XII, 735–737; see Duckworth (above, note 50) 8 f.; (above, note 6) 361.

deities. What Horace had said of Jupiter, Vergil applies to Octavian — an interesting comment on the Augustus-Jupiter theme of the Roman Odes.

Here again, in the fourth as in the third ode, Horace either has considerable foreknowledge of what Vergil is contemplating for the second half of the *Aeneid*, his *maius opus* (VII, 45), or he is suggesting to Vergil the manner in which Aeneas' great rival may best be portrayed. Also, *vis temperata*, or *clementia*, should be the trait of the ideal ruler; since the ode expresses the idea that the Muses have given *consilium* to Augustus, does not Horace in this poem imply that Aeneas will be an admirable example for Augustus to follow?

We have not yet finished with the Roman Odes. I suggested above two possible arrangements. Arrangement B, with two groups of three poems, each half rising to a climax, the first three more Roman, the second three more Augustan, takes on added and striking significance when we turn again to Anchises' description of the heroes in *Aen.* VI, 760–853. This passage falls most symmetrically into two parts of about equal length (48 and 46 verses), each part having three sections — a total of six, thus corresponding to the six Roman Odes. Of the two groups of heroes, the first (760–807), the Julian line extending through the Alban kings and Romulus, reaches its culmination in the description of Augustus restoring the Golden Age of Saturn and his comparison to Hercules and Bacchus (788 ff.). The second group (808–53) begins with Numa and the other kings, lists the many heroes of the early Republic, and ends with the famous passage (847–53) comparing the arts of the Greeks and the Romans, the climax not only of the second half but of Anchises' description of the heroes as a whole.[79] In like manner, the sixth ode,

[79] Cf. Getty (above, note 47) 1, for a division of this passage into five sections. Getty does not include VI, 847–853, which he says "would have been in itself a magnificent conclusion had not Aeneas paused (854) and resumed with the praises of the Marcelli as an epilogue (855–886)." The presence of the epilogue, however, in no way lessens the impact of 847–853 as "a magnificent conclusion." My analysis of Anchises' entire revelation to Aeneas is as follows:

Introduction		756–759	
Part I	a	760–776	(Alban kings)
	b	777–787	(Romulus)
	c	788–807	(AUGUSTUS)
II	a	808–818	(Roman kings)
	b	819–846	(Republican heroes)
			(826–835, Caesar and Pompey)
	c	847–853	(FINAL MESSAGE)
Epilogue		855–886	(Marcelli)
Conclusion		888–892	(Instructions to Aeneas)

with its emphasis on piety and chastity, is not only the climax of the second part, but the culmination of the entire cycle. The address in each conclusion is to the Roman (cf. *Romane, Odes* III, 6, 2; *Aen.* VI, 851). In Horace the Roman half is followed by the Augustan, whereas in Vergil, the Julian and Augustan half precedes the Roman. This enables Vergil to conclude with his superb tribute to the genius of the Romans, 851–853:

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos,

a passage which has been called the high point, not only of Roman national epic, but of the entire Augustan age, the classical expression of the mission of Rome from the past and present to the future.[80]

Each poet, however, seems to have made the climax of the first half carry national meaning of vital significance: in *Ode* 3 the destined greatness of Rome from a rebirth of the Roman spirit[81] corresponds to the picture of Augustus and the Golden Age in *Aen.* VI, 788 ff. The second conclusions of each contain the final and most important messages to the nation, and the messages are complementary. Horace in *Ode* 6 deals with religious and social matters, the need for piety and chastity, whereas in the famous *parcere subiectis* passage Vergil presents a military and imperial ideal.[82] Thus the two poets,

Has Vergil modeled his six-fold division on the six Roman Odes? The heroes of the fifth section illustrate the theme of Ode 5, and Regulus appears in both. Actually, a striking parallelism can be seen, far too close to be coincidental:

	Horace	*Vergil*
I	Simplicity of living	Alban kings
II	*Virtus*	Romulus
III	AUGUSTUS and ROME	AUGUSTUS and GOLDEN AGE
IV	*consilium* and *vis temperata*	Numa and other kings (Numa stands for *consilium*?) (Tarquin represents *vis consili expers*?)
V	*Virtus* (Regulus)	Republican heroes (including Regulus)
VI	AUGUSTAN PROGRAM (religious and social) (cf. *Romane*, line 2)	AUGUSTAN PROGRAM (military and imperial) (cf. *Romane*, line 851)

[80] Cf. F. Eggerding, "Parcere subiectis. Ein Beitrag zur Vergilinterpretation," *Gymnasium* 59 (1952) 31 f.

[81] Cf. P. Corssen, "Zur Erklärung der Römeroden des Horaz," *NJA* 19 (1907) 587.

[82] On the religious aspect of the sixth ode, cf. *Aen.* VI, 620 (*discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos*), and see W. C. Korfmacher, "Vergil, Spokesman for the Augustan Reforms," *CJ* 51 (1955–56) 329–334.

each being a *dimidium*, as it were, together give a message which includes the various aspects of the emperor's program.

Just what is the position and influence of Horace in all this? Vergil's despondent letter to Augustus, quoted by Macrobius (I, 24, 11), implies that Book VI was not completed before the emperor's return in 25 B.C.; the Roman Odes date from 27 or early 26 and are therefore prior. As Horace was indebted to the *Georgics* for the structure of the Augustus-ode, the second of Book I, so Vergil seems clearly under the influence of Horace for the structure of the final portion of *Aeneid* VI. And in the central core of the Roman Odes Horace is most Vergilian. Perhaps nowhere in the works of the two poets do we have a better illustration of the reaction of each upon the other.

Let me return to the famous passage in *Aeneid* VI: "Remember, O Roman, to govern peoples under law, to establish the practice of peace, to spare the conquered, and to crush the haughty; these will be your arts." This describes not only the arts of the Romans, but the character of Aeneas in the epic as well. He is devoted to his gods, his family, his people; he is an able ruler, he everywhere prefers peace to war, he displays clemency, he fights for a righteous cause.[83] Also, and this is significant, these are likewise the virtues for which Augustus was honored by the shield in 27 B.C. Is Vergil in this passage thinking of Aeneas and identifying him with Augustus? Do not mistake me; I am not speaking here of allegory, but rather of symbolism. In allegory *a* must equal *x* and only *x*, and usually in all its details; in symbolism *a* may suggest *x* and also *y* and perhaps *z*. Allegory confines; symbolism liberates and allows the poet several levels of meaning simultaneously.[84] Certainly, at the beginning of *Aeneid* VI, Aeneas symbolizes Augustus when he promises the Sibyl that he will build a temple to Apollo and transfer there the Sibylline Books (69–74).[85] It seems most appropriate

[83] Cf. Henry (above, note 3) 62 ff.; C. M. Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton* (London 1945) 56–70; see W. Wili, *Vergil* (München 1930) 94 f., who maintains that the virtues of Aeneas are the four mentioned on the golden shield of Augustus.

[84] See V. Poschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils. Bild und Symbol in der Äneis* (Innsbruck 1950) 36 f.; J. Perret, *Virgile, l'homme et l'oeuvre* (Paris 1952) 93 f.; cf. also L. A. MacKay, "Three Levels of Meaning in *Aeneid* VI," *TAPA* 86 (1955) 183 f.

[85] The close relationship between Aeneas and Augustus is unmistakable in Vergil's description of Augustus in VIII, 678–681. The phrase *penatibus et magnis dis* (679) is said of Aeneas in III, 12; cf. R. B. Lloyd, "*Penatibus et Magnis Dis*," *AJP* 77 (1956) 38–46. Also the phrase *stans celsa in puppi* (680) is applied to Aeneas in X, 261. In the light of these passages, the immortality promised to Aeneas (XII, 794 f.) would

and Vergilian that the conclusion of the roll call of heroes should likewise suggest Augustus and the virtues ascribed to him in 27 B.C., honoring him there as well as in the climax of the Julian portion.[86] It is perhaps an interesting parallel that Horace in *Ode* 3, which concludes the more Roman half of the six odes, mentions the deified Augustus before turning to the fall of Troy and the rise of Rome. In other words, Augustus is in the minds of both poets at the close of the Roman half as well as of the more strictly Augustan half.

But if this famous passage ending with verse 853: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, suggests the four virtues attributed to Augustus, and if the roll call of heroes in *Aeneid* VI recalls and possibly imitates the six Roman Odes composed just after the shield was presented, it would follow that Horace was likewise thinking of these same virtues when he composed his six odes on Roman virtues. I realize that this sounds like a return to the older theories of Domaszewski and others,[87] but I do not favor the rigid allegorical inter-

seem to apply also to Augustus. How is it possible to say, as does Frank (above, note 9) 176, that Augustus "is not in any way identified with the semi-divine Aeneas"? Cf. Bailey (above, note 3) 195: "Aeneas, if not an allegory, is the prototype of Augustus, and it is impossible to doubt that Virgil intended the inference." In VIII, 678–681, Augustus is apparently connected with Romulus also; cf. *geminas flammas* (680) and the *geminae . . . cristae* of Romulus in VI, 779, and see Getty (above, note 47) 5 ff. The combination of *flammas* and *sidus* (681) also recalls II, 681–684, 692–698, the flame and comet over the head of Ascanius, a striking parallel between Books II and VIII; cf. Duckworth (above, note 26) 11 f. It is interesting that the description of Aeneas in X, 270 ff., contains references both to the *flamma* from his helmet and (in the simile) to *cometae*; this, as well as X, 261, would recall VIII, 678–681, and link Aeneas closely with Augustus.

[86] See D. L. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1927) 25 ff. Drew has the interesting theory that the shield of Aeneas in VIII would inevitably suggest to the Romans the shield of Augustus; he finds in 628–670 four groups of scenes corresponding to the four virtues of Augustus, with the section representing *pietas* (652–670) *in summo*; the final section on Augustus (675–738) "is intended to be a group which typifies and unites in its one self all the virtues of the first four groups — Augustus is selected as the finest Roman of them all and his deeds are a golden example of all that is brightest in the story of Rome" (31). There is much symbolism in the passage, but the rigid correspondence so characteristic of the allegorical method should not be forced.

[87] See A. v. Domaszewski, "Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte. VI. Der Festgesang des Horaz auf die Begründung des Principates," *RhM* 59 (1904) 302–310; Hiemer, *Die Römeroden des Horaz* (Ellwangen 1905) 5 f.; H. Traut, "Horaz' Römeroden und der clupeus aureus 6.13 ff. des monumentum Ancyranum," *Philologus* 70 (1911) 317–320. W. Theiler, *Das Musengedicht des Horaz* (Halle 1935) [= *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft* 12, Heft 4] 276, believes that the four Platonic-Stoic virtues are the basis of the Roman Odes, and rejects (note 2) the theory of Domaszewski and Hiemer. But cf. Gagé (above, note 62) 146: "Les quatres vertus célébrées en Auguste sont vers la même époque le sujet des odes civiques d'Horace, *Carm.* III, 1–6 (notamment 2, sur la *virtus*, et 6 sur la *pietas*), qui ont peut-être été composées à l'occasion de la dédicace du clupeus?"

pretation, that each ode must represent one particular virtue. The poems, composed shortly after the date of the shield, would suggest the Augustan virtues and thus honor the *princeps* by establishing a general pattern for the Roman youth to follow. That these same virtues were, by and large, the Stoic virtues and those of early Rome strengthened the appeal of the Roman Odes.

We do not know, but we can surmise from *Aeneid* VI, that Vergil so understood Horace. How Horace viewed the passage in *Aeneid* VI is less a matter of conjecture. For this we go to the *Carmen Saeculare*, sung at the *ludi saeculares* of 17 B.C., two years after Vergil's death, at a time when Horace's heart was filled with thoughts of his friend and the great epic which he had created.

The *carmen*, conspicuous for its dignity and simplicity, is not a glorification of Augustus, but rather a tribute to the greatness of eternal Rome.[88] The poem is actually a hymn to Apollo and Diana, to whose worship Augustus gave special emphasis on this occasion; the youths and maidens pray for a continuation of the peace and prosperity of the new era which has brought back the virtues of ancient Rome. The structure of the poem is far less intricate than is often believed:[89]

1–8 two stanzas invoking Apollo and Diana
9–32 six stanzas of prayers
33–36 one stanza to Apollo and Diana
37–60 six stanzas of prayers
61–72 three stanzas to Apollo and Diana
73–76 one concluding stanza.

[88] The poem has often been misjudged and misrepresented; on this, see Rand (above, note 3) 69 ff.; Noyes (above, note 10) 241 ff.

[89] For earlier analyses of the *Carmen Saeculare*, see W. Dennison, "The Movements of the Chorus Chanting the Carmen Saeculare of Horace," in H. A. Sanders (ed.), *Roman Historical Sources and Institutions* (New York 1904) [= *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, Vol. 1] 49–66, especially 63; E. Menozzi, "La composizione strofica del *Carmen Saeculare*," *StItal* 13 (1905) 67–73 (a division into triads); T. Frank, "The Carmen Saeculare of Horace," *AJP* 42 (1921) 324–329, *Catullus and Horace* (above, note 21) 254 f. (two halves of eight strophes each, separated by an antiphonal mesodos of three strophes, 33–44); L. Deubner, "Ein Punkt. Zum Aufbau des Carmen saeculare," *Philologus* 88 (1933) 469–473 (two halves of nine strophes, each with varying subdivisions, plus one concluding strophe); Wili (above, note 7) 349–351 (two halves, each composed of three strophe-triads, plus one concluding strophe). The arrangement of L. Herrmann requires numerous transpositions: cf. "Le Chant séculaire et l'Ode IV. 6," *Phoibus* 5 (1950–51) 63–71. My own analysis is developed from that by H. Wagenwoort, who distinguished the two sets of prayers (9–32, 37–60); cf. "De Horatii Carminis Saecularis compositione," *Mnemosyne* 4 (1936–37) 143–150.

What convinces me that this is the correct analysis is this surprising feature: in each group of prayers comprising six stanzas, the third and fourth stanzas are the prominent ones and contain the important message. This is the identical structure which in the case of the six Roman Odes I called Arrangement A, where *Odes* 3 and 4 were surrounded by corresponding poems. In the first group of prayers in the *carmen*, the central portion (17–24) is framed by appeals to Sol and Ilithyia (9–16) and to the Parcae and Tellus, with the helpful rains and breezes of Jupiter (25–32). The central two stanzas (45–52) of the second set of prayers are framed by two stanzas about Troy and especially the departure of Aeneas (37–44) and by two stanzas about Rome, particularly its prosperity and high morality (53–60). As in the Roman Odes, structural symmetry and meaning cannot be separated.

The important thing is: what is the message in each central portion of the two sets of prayers? In the first, a prayer of one stanza for the success of Augustus' social legislation, and a stanza expressing the desire that the *ludi saeculares* may again be held; in the second, a prayer of one stanza for good character, prosperity, offspring, and glory for the race of Romulus, and a stanza expressing the desire that the renowned offspring of Anchises and Venus may have his prayers granted. The striking parallelism between these two central portions is proof of Horace's mastery of structural technique and an additional indication that this is the correct analysis of the poem.

The *clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis* (50), who makes sacrifice and whose prayers are to be fulfilled, is, of course, Augustus, but he is merged here with Aeneas whose flight from Troy has just been mentioned and who is the original offspring of Anchises and Venus. What is more important, Augustus is described as *bellante prior, iacentem lenis in hostem* (51–52); this is a clear echo of *Aen.* VI, 853: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*,[90] and indicates that Horace understood Vergil's famous passage to refer to Augustus as well as to the ideal Roman and to Aeneas. The emphasis on *clementia* and *iustitia* in both passages seems clear evidence that the shield-virtues

[90] Editors agree on this point; cf., on *Carm. Saec.* 51, Wickham, Shorey, Smith, Bennett, Kiessling-Heinze (6th ed.); so also W. Ehlers, "Turnus," *RE*, Ser. 2, 7, Part 2 (Stuttgart 1948) col. 1413. Cf. Taylor (above, note 39) 178 f., who says: "The formal declaration of the new era was the fulfillment of the prophecy of Vergil."

of Augustus are in the poets' minds.[91] The same two virtues had appeared earlier as the basic themes of the two central poems of the Roman Odes. These are the virtues for which Augustus had been praised and which he should continue to exercise, and which the Romans themselves should imitate. The *Carmen Saeculare* is not only a glorification of Rome under Augustus, it is also an eloquent tribute to Vergil and his *Aeneid*; the second section of prayers moves from the burning of Troy and Aeneas' journey to Italy to a central portion which echoes *Aeneid* VI, to a conclusion on the peace and prosperity of Rome. Here in six stanzas is the essence of the *Aeneid*; it has been correctly said that the real theme of the *carmen* is "the vision of Rome as it had been announced by Virgil in the *Aeneid*."[92]

Horace has come a long way in twenty years, since the days of *Epodes* 7 and 16. The parallel themes which Vergil and Horace have treated over the years are numerous. I summarize here, to include certain topics which I have touched upon all too briefly:

(1) both poets refer to Octavian, before he becomes Augustus, as a god;
(2) both stress Apollo, his favorite deity;
(3) both couple Augustus with Romulus and Hercules and imply that he too will achieve divinity by his deeds;
(4) both praise the achievements of Augustus and portray him as a bringer of peace and ruler on earth under Jupiter in heaven;
(5) both support the patriotic and religious program of Augustus and stress the virtue and piety of Republican heroes;
(6) both portray the fall of Troy and the rise of Rome, and use Aeneas as a symbol of the *princeps*;
(7) both love Italy and the Italian countryside, but they are equally conscious of the beauty and the eternal power of Rome.[93] To

[91] Cf. Eggerding (above, note 80), 40; Eggerding takes *Aen.* VI, 851–853 as referring to the virtues of Augustus, which he considers identical with those on the shield of 27 B.C. and also with those of his ancestor Aeneas.

[92] Noyes (above, note 10) 241. Cf. Rand (above, note 3) 74, who says that Vergil "set forth his vision of ideal empire," and that Horace "saw the vision fulfilled." See T. Tosi, "Il *Carmen Saeculare* e la VI ode del quarto libro delle *Odi* di Orazio, "*Atti del III Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani* 4 (1935) 63–65; Tosi finds the inspiration of the *carmen* and especially of 37–44 (cf. IV, 6, 21–24) in the prayer of Aeneas to Apollo in *Aen.* VI, 56–62. Cf. Haight (above, note 43) 355, for similarities between the *Carmen Saeculare* and *Eclogue* 4, especially in the mention of the Sibyl, Lucina, the Parcae.

[93] For references to the eternal nature of Rome, cf. Horace, *Odes* III, 30, 7–8; Vergil, *Aen.* I, 278 f. (*imperium sine fine*), IX, 448 f., and see F. Christ, *Die römische Weltherrschaft in der antiken Dichtung* (Stuttgart 1938) [= *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, Heft XXXI] 59–64; Koch (above, note 38) 128–143, 196–209.

Vergil Rome was the most beautiful thing in the world (*Georg.* II, 534), and Horace in the *Carmen Saeculare* (11–12) uttered the prayer: "may you see nothing greater than the city of Rome."

When Horace calls himself in *Odes* I, 6, 17, a poet of *convivia* and *proelia virginum*, he is not only unduly modest but quite inaccurate as well. In his greatest odes he rises to an epic and Vergilian level. He adapts and develops themes and ideas which appear in the *Aeneid* and in many instances he seems to suggest actual details of thought and expression and structure which Vergil used later in the epic.[94] The miracle of the *Aeneid* has been said to be Vergil's ability to treat three themes simultaneously: the legendary narrative of Aeneas, themes and personages of Roman history, and praise of the achievements of Augustus.[95] Horace was no less adept in blending these themes and adding much on the religious and social problems of his own day.

Thus far I have been discussing the use by both Horace and Vergil of topics which we consider to be typically epic and Vergilian. But it was not a one-way street and the exchange of ideas was mutual. Vergil honored his friend likewise by incorporating into the *Aeneid* several basic Horatian concepts, such as the vice of avarice, the need for simplicity and a humble life, the value of moderation and the doctrine of the mean.

Among the sinners in *Aeneid* VI are those who huddle over their wealth and refuse to share it, and Vergil adds a phrase almost characteristic of Horatian satire: *quae maxima turba est* (611). The simple life of the people of Italy forms a striking contrast to the elegance and splendor of Dido's court and of Troy before its destruction. In *Aen.* VIII, 362–5, Evander urges Aeneas not to scorn his humble home.[96] The theme of contentment with little, so frequent in the *Satires* and the *Odes*, provided the basis of the first Roman Ode, where it took on added significance as one of the

The first to use the phrase *urbs aeterna* was Tibullus (II, 5, 23), but Livy speaks of *urbs in aeternum condita* (IV, 4, 4; XXVIII, 28, 11). For *aeterna Vesta*, cf. Horace, *Odes* III, 5, 11. In *Aen.* VIII, 37, Tiberinus says to Aeneas: *aeterna Pergama servas.*

[94] Cf. Rand (above, note 3) 66 f.; he considers the six Roman Odes to be Horace's most conspicuous monument, and says: "Horace, before the publication of the *Aeneid*, is sounding that national and patriotic note which is one of the clearest strains in Virgil's poem"; so Wili (above, note 7) 346.

[95] Cf. Perret (above, note 84) 89.

[96] Cf. W. W. Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (Oxford 1918) 77: "These noble words were as applicable . . . to Augustus as to Aeneas."

carmina non prius audita. In the *Aeneid*, the simplicity of Evander's home on the Palatine, visited by both Hercules and Aeneas, is symbolic of Augustus' home and its freedom from ostentation.

The best known of all Horatian themes and one which is central to his thought is that of moderation, the doctrine of the mean. It is highly significant that Vergil has chosen this theme for a passage which is basic for the character of Turnus and for the conclusion of the *Aeneid.* This reveals, perhaps the most clearly of all, the great respect which Vergil had for Horace and his poetry, for his phraseology calls to mind specific passages in Horace's verse. Vergil did not copy the doctrine — he too believed in moderation — but he honored his friend by the manner in which he used a concept so peculiarly Horatian. The death of Turnus in *Aen.* XII, 920–52, was the result of his own arrogance and cruelty. Aeneas would have spared him had not the sight of the belt of Pallas reminded him of the words and actions of Turnus in X, when the Rutulian leader killed Pallas and seized his belt. On that occasion, in one of his rare "asides," Vergil said (X, 501–5):

> nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
> et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!
> Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
> intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque
> oderit.

The phrases *servare modum* and *rebus sublata secundis* call to mind several passages in Horace, and especially the first stanza of the Ode to Dellius (II, 3): *aequam memento . . . servare mentem*;[97] the comparison seems all the more inevitable since Vergil began his comment with the words, *nescia mens hominum.*

The final chapter on the poetic friendship of Vergil and Horace was written after Vergil's death, in the *Carmen Saeculare* of 17 B.C., which has been treated above, and in the fourth book of odes, which appeared in 13 B.C., six years after Vergil's death. Many consider this collection lacking in spontaneity and inferior to the odes of

[97] Cf. Murphy (above, note 6) 64; Duckworth (above, note 6) 352, 364, note 35. It is interesting that *superbus*, a favorite word of Vergil, is applied to Turnus only three times and that two of the three times occur in *Aeneid* X, once just before the death of Pallas (*iussa superba*, 445), the other after Vergil's statement that Turnus has violated the mean (*superbum caede nova*, 514 f.). The third instance is XII, 326, when Turnus rejoices that Aeneas is wounded and that he is free to fight other warriors rather than the Trojan leader. Here too the adjective *superbus* indicates that Turnus is guilty of a wrong action; cf. with his attitude that of Aeneas in XII, 464–467.

I–III; they find little here of the Horace whom they prefer — the more Hellenic Horace of love and wine, of friendship and ethical precepts. Basically IV is a Roman book, celebrating Rome, her history, her future, and, above all, the blessings of peace under Augustus;[98] this last theme appears most strikingly in *Odes* 2, 5, and 15. The Ara Pacis, consecrated the same year, likewise exalted Roman legend and the peace of the Augustan era in sculpture of the highest perfection.

But what is all too frequently overlooked is that Book IV is very considerably a Vergilian book also. Horace's thoughts constantly go back to Vergil and his *Aeneid*, perhaps even back to the Vergil of earlier years; this is the case if we accept the Vergilius of IV, 12 as the poet. Most editors reject the identification, but the ode contains many reminiscences, chiefly of the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*; the atmosphere of the poem is bucolic, including a reference to Arcadia (12) which Horace mentions nowhere else. It seems very probable that this is an early ode which was omitted from the collection published in 23 B.C.[99] The Vergilian echoes would explain its inclusion in the final book which so frequently alludes to and honors his friend's poetry, and, significantly enough, it follows an ode on entertaining Maecenas on his birthday.

The fourth ode, on Drusus and the Claudian line, is, like the fourteenth, a poem on contemporary military achievements, but Horace's thoughts seem to be as much with Vergil as with the history of his day; the ode contains a surprising number of resemblances in words, phrases, and imagery to *Aeneid* II,[100] and verses 53–56, on the journey of the Trojans with their *sacra* and their sons from burning Troy to Ausonian cities, have been called "a *résumé* of the story of the Aeneid."[101] The sixth ode, invoking Apollo for inspiration to compose the *Carmen Saeculare*, likewise recalls *Aeneid* II with its

[98] Cf. Noyes (above, note 10) 249. Rand (above, note 3) 72, speaks of "the wealth of sentiment and the subtle art of the great Fourth Book." See D. Norberg, "Le quatrième livre des Odes d'Horace," *Emerita* 20 (1952) 95–107; Norberg considers the final book a *monumentum aere perennius* to Augustus (107).

[99] Cf. C. M. Bowra, "Horace, *Odes* IV.12," *CR* 42 (1928) 165–167; N. W. DeWitt, "Parresiastic Poems of Horace," *CP* 40 (1935) 318 f.; Wili (above, note 7) 358 and note 1; E. A. Hahn, "Horace's Odes to Vergil," *TAPA* 76 (1945) xxxii f.; F. Arnaldi, "L'Ode a Virgilio di Hor. Carm. IV. 12," *Rend. Accad. Arch. Lett. e Belli Arti, Napoli*, 24–25 (1949–50) 229–233.

[100] H. Johnstone, "Horace, Ode IV, 4, and the Second Aeneid: some Remarkable Resemblances," *Hermathena* 11 (1901) 343–352. Perhaps Horace had just reread *Aeneid* II and its phraseology and imagery had sunk more deeply into his mind.

[101] Wickham on IV, 4, 53; cf. Shorey, *ad loc.*: "the central idea of the Aeneid."

references to Achilles, Troy, and the wooden horse, and like both the secular hymn and IV, 4, speaks of Aeneas' escape to build a new home under better auspices (21–24) — again the theme of the *Aeneid*.[102] These two poems, 4 and 6, each with echoes of the same book of the *Aeneid*, frame the fifth ode, a superb glorification of Augustus as bringer of peace and restorer of the virtue and happiness of Roman family life.[103]

The fifteenth and final ode is again in honor of Augustus as prince of peace and promoter of good morals and sound customs. These two odes praising the *pax Augusta*, 5 and 15, are all the more effective in that they follow poems (4 and 14) on the military victories of Drusus and Tiberius. Both 5 and 15 should be read as a commentary on the Ara Pacis Augustae, now restored near the Mausoleum of Augustus in what was once the Campus Martius.

The Ara Pacis achieved in art what Vergil and Horace had accomplished in poetry, and again balance and symmetry played an important part. I have said much about Aeneas and Romulus in the poetry of the period, and it is altogether fitting that the two legendary scenes on the western side of the monument should thus be contrasted — Aeneas sacrificing, to the right of the entrance, and to the left, Romulus and Remus with Faustulus and Mars; thus the divine origin both of the Julian family and of Rome is emphasized. The procession of the imperial family on the southern side balances that of the senate and the people on the northern. On the eastern side are two symbolical figures which contrast with the legendary figures on the western side, and also with each other. To the right of the entrance is Roma, to the left, the most complete and famous of the reliefs — who is it? Terra Mater or Tellus, or is it Italia, as Van Buren and others have claimed?[104]

[102] Cf. G. L. Hendrickson, "The So-called Prelude to the *Carmen Saeculare*," *CP* 48 (1953) 73–79. On Odes 4 and 6, cf. V. Capocci, *Difesa di Orazio* (Bari 1951) 112; these two poems are among "le più felici espressioni di quel tono epico-lirico che si ispira alla poesia pindarica."

[103] Lines 21–24 of IV, 5, provide a striking contrast to the vivid description of Roman immorality in III, 6, written more than a decade earlier. Conditions had already become better by 17 B.C.; cf. *Carm. Saec.* 57–59.

[104] A. W. Van Buren, "The Ara Pacis Augustae," *JRS* 3 (1913) 134–141 (cf. 137 f., his comparison of the relief with *Georg.* II, 136–176); rev. of G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, in *AJP* 70 (1949) 418–421. For discussion and rejection of Van Buren's theory, see E. Loewy, "Orazio ed 'Ara Pacis,'" *Atti del 1° Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani* 1 (1929) 104–109 (Loewy compares the relief with *Carm. Saec.* 29–32, and thinks that both the Terra Mater and the passage in Horace were based on an earlier relief in Rome, probably on an arch); E. Strong, "Terra Mater or Italia?" *JRS* 27 (1937) 114–

Those who favor Terra Mater quote the eighth stanza of the *Carmen Saeculare* about *tellus* (29–32) with its mention of *aquae salubres* and *Iovis aurae*. A more appropriate parallel is the passage in *Odes* IV, 14, 43 f., which refers to Augustus as follows:

> o tutela praesens
> Italiae dominaeque Romae.

Italia and Roma — this seems the most natural balance for the reliefs on the eastern side of the monument. Van Buren says: "The two parallel processions leave the rear portal to the care of the two divine guardians, and on reaching the front at the west they will find their respective ancestral representatives of the heroic age."[105]

I believe that we can go a step farther. We have two legendary reliefs, two processions, two symbolical reliefs — a total of six — and they are separated into two groups of three by the two entrances. On the southern side, we find Aeneas, Augustus and the imperial family, and Italy; on the northern, Mars with Romulus and Remus, the senate and the Roman people, and Roma. In other words, we have a Julian and Augustan half, and a Roman half. In *Aeneid* VI and the Roman Odes, we have likewise six sections or poems divided into two parts — a Julian half culminating in Augustus, and a Roman half stressing Roman qualities and the greatness of Rome. Is it pure accident that the Ara Pacis reveals this same division into two halves, each composed of three parts? Or were the artists influenced by what Horace and Vergil had written years before? Poetry and art here combine to praise the *pax Augusta* by means of legendary, historical, and symbolical references.[106]

126, especially 122 ff.; cf. 125, where she argues that Augustus was interested not in an Italian but in a Roman empire. Other scholars accept the relief as that of Italia; see Taylor (above, note 39), 197 ff.; H. Last in *Cambridge Ancient History* 10 (Cambridge 1934) 464, where he wrote (before the reconstruction of the monument): "Augustan Italy and Augustan Rome were personified on the slabs which formerly flanked the eastern entrance to the enclosure of the Ara Pacis"; J. M. C. Toynbee, "The Ara Pacis Reconsidered and Historical Art in Roman Italy," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 39 (1953) 67–95; cf. 80 f., where Miss Toynbee now prefers Italia to Terra Mater. Other recent discussions of the monument include those by I. S. Ryberg, "The Procession of the Ara Pacis," *MAAR* 19 (1949) 79–101; *Rites of the State Religion* (above, note 45) 38–48; on p. 40 Mrs. Ryberg refers to the famous relief as "Terra Mater (or Italia)."

[105] *AJP* 70 (1949) 421.

[106] Cf. C. G. Starr, *Civilization and the Caesars* (Ithaca 1954) 53: "The Altar of Augustan Peace and the *Aeneid* of Vergil are, each in its own field, the most perfect artistic reflections of the Augustan program." So Rand (above, note 3) 217, note 20: "Virgil. of course, no less than Horace, is carved into the Ara Pacis." On Vergil and Horace, see also G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome 1948) 307 ff.; cf. Norberg

I return now to *Odes* IV, 15. This is perhaps the most Vergilian of all the poems in the final collection, in that it strikes the basic notes of the *Aeneid* both at the beginning and at the end;[107] cf. 4 ff.:

> Tua, Caesar, aetas
> Fruges et agris rettulit uberes
> . . . et vacuum duellis
> Ianum Quirini clausit . . .

Vergil in *Aen.* I, 291–296, had coupled the end of the *aspera saecula* and the closing of the *Belli portae* with the age of Augustus and in VI had described Augustus as founding the new Golden Age of Saturn (792–794). When Horace says *tua, Caesar, aetas*,[108] he likewise ascribes to Augustus a new Golden Age of peace and plenty.[109] In this final ode he thus echoes one of the chief messages of Vergil's epic and in a sense carries on the work of his friend.

The ode ends, we are told, with the topics of *Odes* I, 12: "the gods, the heroes of Roman story, the Julian house, and Augustus its crowning glory."[110] But there is more here than this; it ends also with Vergil and the *Aeneid.* The two final verses are

> Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
> Progeniem Veneris canemus.

Troy, Anchises, and the offspring of Venus — how familiar this sounds, and how Vergilian! Here again Aeneas and Augustus are merged as in the *Carmen Saeculare* and so often in the *Aeneid.* Horace paid a striking and effective tribute to his deceased friend, "the half of his soul," in this, the concluding stanza of the final ode of his last book of lyric poetry.[111]

(above, note 98) 105 f., for the relationship between Horace's fourth book of odes and the Ara Pacis.

[107] Ehlers (above, note 90) col. 1413, links the *furor civilis* of IV, 15, 17 f., with the *furor* of Turnus in *Aen.* IX, 760, XI, 486, etc. This, if correct, would mean a blending of Augustus and Aeneas in the center of the ode, but seems improbable. The horrors of civil war were ever present in Horace's thought; e.g., *Odes* I, 2, 21–24; I, 35, 33–38; II, 1, 1–8, 29–36; III, 24, 25 f.; the important point in IV, 15, 17–20, is that the peace of Augustus has brought all civil strife to an end.

[108] Cf. IV, 5, 5: *tuae, dux bone, patriae*; IV, 14, 2 f.: *tuas, Auguste, virtutes*, and see Norberg (above, note 98) 104.

[109] This is implied also in *Odes* IV, 2, 37–40, where Horace equates the achievement of Augustus and the former Golden Age.

[110] Wickham on IV, 15, 32.

[111] According to Bridge (above, note 5) 32, the conclusion of the ode suggests that "the greatest achievement of the age was the epic of his friend Virgil."