

XXII. Book 4 of Horace's *Odes*: Augustan Propaganda

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In the mass of literature which has accumulated throughout the years on the "Horatian ode," Book 4 has played a minor role, being generally neglected or depreciated by scholars.¹ The post-war period and particularly the present decade, however, have witnessed a change in the attitude of the Horatian critic, a change which is perhaps best demonstrated by a statement of Eduard Fraenkel, "I assume that in approaching a real poet it should be our main concern to try to understand his poetry."² As a result,

¹ For example, J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*³ (New York 1960) 380-86; J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature* (New York 1923) 116-17; W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Horace and the Elegiac Poets* (Oxford 1899) 34, 141, 157-60; M. Schanz-C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 2⁴ (Munich 1935) 140-41, merely categorize the subjects covered in Book 4, adding such criticisms as Duff 380, who states that "the lighter odes of the book are virtually makeweights to fill it out," or as Sellar 159, who is concerned by the lack of sincerity in Horace's praise of Augustus. R. Y. Tyrrell, *Latin Poetry* (Boston 1895) 184-206, almost ignores the work completely, while J. W. Mackail, *Classical Studies* (New York 1926) 139-58, in the section entitled "The Odes of Horace," does not mention it at all. A. Y. Campbell, *Horace: A New Interpretation* (London 1924) 125-26, 192-232, and L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and his Lyric Poetry*² (Cambridge 1951) 19-86, 123-49, do use the *Odes* of Book 4 as examples in their discussions of the nature and characteristics of the *Odes*, but both are critical of the book in general. The editors of the texts include, of course, more copious notes and discussions of problems in individual *Odes*, with E. C. Wickham, *Horace*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1912), in the Introduction to Book 4 at least praising the artistic arrangement of the poems.

I wish to express my gratitude to an anonymous referee for his many helpful suggestions.

² Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) vii (hereafter cited as **Fraenkel**). The modern critic does not resort to the methods of a Bentley or Peerlkamp; rather he studies the *Odes* as Latin poetry written against the background of the Roman world in the early years of the principate. Concerning Book 4, Fraenkel particularly investigates the motives which led the poet to write the individual *Odes* and studies the refined arrangement in which they are placed. See also E. Fraenkel, "Carattere della poesia augustea," *Maia* 1 (1948) 245-64, in which Horace is regarded as one of the creators of Augustan poetry, and emphasis is placed on the importance of considering any collection of poems from this period as an architectural whole; G. E. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 75 (1954) 1-15, examines Vergil in this way.

Book 4 is being approached in a more appreciative manner,³ but there are still many aspects of the poetry to provide specific topics for discussion. The purpose of this paper is to show how the author, with his almost uncanny ability to choose the appropriate word, phrase, and ode for every situation (the *curiosa felicitas* of Petronius, *Sat.* 118.5), made Book 4 a very real piece of Augustan propaganda.⁴

Horace published Books 1–3 of the *Odes* in 23 B.C. Because of his restrained attitude toward the principate in these poems, he has been described as “at most only a half-hearted propagandist” who preferred to wait to see if the emperor’s deeds lived up to his word.⁵ After Augustus’ second settlement of his power and the constitution in 23 B.C., the enthusiasm of Horace became more pronounced, and he was willing to hymn the praises of the regime. Suetonius (*Life of Horace*) states the attitude of Augustus toward Horace’s poetry:

scripta quidem eius usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetua opinatus est, ut non modo saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere.

It is certainly true that Augustus’ encouragement was of prime importance in bringing about the publication of Book 4; but, as Fraenkel makes clear, “in one factual detail, however, Suetonius is obviously wrong.”⁶ The composition of the *Odes* on Tiberius and Drusus did not mark the starting point of the book, because by 15 B.C. the new group of *Odes* was already well advanced. It is

³ As Fraenkel, 400–453; Walter Wili, *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur* (Basle 1948) 340–72; Dag Norberg, “Le quatrième livre des odes d’Horace,” *Emerita* 20 (1952) 95–107. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Latin Literature*² (London 1949) 277–78, describes the imperial *Odes* as “good,” while Ferdinando Durand, *La poesia di Orazio* (Torino [1957]) 100, is critical, considering as a defect the fact that the subject of one-third of the *Odes* of this book is the praise of the regime.

⁴ In *Odes* 4.2.31, Horace himself used the word *operosa* to describe his poems. See L. P. Wilkinson, “The Language of Virgil and Horace,” *CQ* 9, n.s. (1959) 181–92, with these conclusions: “There was a long critical tradition that good poetry could be composed of everyday words. . . . But it was also in harmony with the Augustan idea that the poet had a right and a duty to address the citizens at large.”

⁵ E. T. Salmon, “The Political Views of Horace,” *Phoenix* 1.2 (1946) 12. See also Viktor Pöschl, *Horaz und die Politik* (Heidelberg 1956) and K. J. Reckford, “Horace, Augustan and Epicurean” (Summary of dissertation), *HSCP* 63 (1958) 524–26.

⁶ Fraenkel (above, note 2) 364–65.

necessary to question also to what extent the element of compulsion was involved. Be that as it may, publication is assumed by most scholars to have taken place in 13 B.C., shortly after Augustus' return to Rome from Spain and Gaul in July. By this time, the program of the *princeps* was exerting its effect on all the Roman world; and the prevailing spirit of unrest was held in check by "visible and invisible bonds,"⁷ promoting a peace which was to last for two centuries. The poets and other men of letters, an active part of this organization, celebrated "the ideals of renascent Rome—the land, the soldier, religion and morality, the heroic past and the glorious present."⁸

That certain *Odes* of Book 4 were composed expressly for the purpose of praising these ideals and the person ultimately responsible for them is obvious: *Odes* 4 and 14 honor the military victories of Drusus and Tiberius; *Odes* 5, 15 and, indirectly, 2 praise the *princeps* and his accomplishments. It would not be particularly advantageous, therefore, to discuss these *Odes* individually in detail. But what of the other ten, which are apparently on such subjects as love or the immortality of poetry, for instance? Each has its place in the whole, for throughout the book are many words and phrases carefully placed in order to keep certain ideas continually before the reader. In order to present and illustrate this wide range of ideas in a more systematic fashion, I shall consider the main tenets of Augustan propaganda as expressed artistically in another form, the *ara Pacis Augustae*, and show how Horace has both obviously and subtly used them in his poems.⁹ The *ara Pacis*, constituted by the Senate on July 4, 13 B.C., was built on the Campus Martius to honor the emperor on his return to Rome after having peacefully settled affairs in Spain and Gaul.¹⁰

⁷ Chester G. Starr, "How Did Augustus Stop the Roman Revolution?" *CJ* 52 (1956) 111–12.

⁸ Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 460.

⁹ Wili (above, note 3) 371; Norberg (above, note 3) 105–6; and G. E. Duckworth, "*Animae Dimidium Meae*," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 313–15, have noted in general the similarity of the ideas expressed by the two monuments and the value of such a comparison but have not discussed the comparison in detail. Although Syme (above, note 8) includes the work of Horace in his chapter, "The Organization of Opinion," he does not choose any examples from Book 4.

¹⁰ On the *ara Pacis* see G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Rome 1948); I. S. Ryberg, "The Procession on the *Ara Pacis*," *Mem. of the Amer. Acad. in Rome* 19 (1949) 79–101 and Figs. 1–6 (hereafter cited as **Ryberg**); I. S. Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art," *Mem. of the Amer. Acad. in Rome* 22 (1955) 38–48; J. M. C. Toynbee, "The *Ara Pacis* Reconsidered and Historical Art in Roman Italy," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 39 (1953)

The sculptured reliefs on the enclosing wall, both inside and out, and on the large altar make it a magnificent monument to tell of the age which in the words of the poet (15.12-16):

et veteres revocavit¹¹ artis,
per quas Latinum nomen et Italiae
crevere vires famaue et imperi
porrecta maiestas ad ortus
solis ab Hesperio cubili.¹²

The two panels beside one entrance of the enclosing wall picture Tellus or Terra Mater¹³ and the goddess Roma.¹⁴ Together they symbolize allegorically the earth restored to fruitfulness and the state restored to order by the Augustan peace, thus also suggesting hope for the great destiny of Rome in the future. In the first, the sculptor portrays the fertility of the human race by a female figure holding two babies and the fertility of the earth by the surrounding fruits, plants, flowers, and a sheep and cow; all are nourished by air and water, which appear on the backs of a swan and a sea monster. The floral decoration below the panels with a very sturdy acanthus plant as the central motif, surrounded by other flora and fauna, adds to the concept as do the garlands on the inside of the enclosure.

The poet also was impressed with the material abundance and prosperity of the age in Italy; nor is the reader allowed to forget it. The two most obvious references are in the *Odes* specifically addressed to Augustus (5.17-18):

tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,

67-95 and Pls. 5-32; H. Kähler, "Die Ara Pacis und die Augusteische Friedensidee," *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 69 (1954) 67-100; Paul MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak* (New York 1960) 156-70. I have not been able to consult E. Loewy, "Orazio ed 'Ara Pacis,'" *Atti del 1° Congresso nazionale di studi romani* 1 (1929) 104-9.

¹¹ *Revocavit* is the third in a series of verbs prefixed by *re-* (*rettulit, restituit*). See Fraenkel 450; the use of *re-* "points to a fundamental ideology underlying the régime of Augustus," that the new system was not a "revolution," but the restoration of the republic.

¹² The text used for all quotations from Horace is Q. Horati Flacci, *Opera*³, ed. F. Klingner (Leipzig 1959).

¹³ Kähler (above, note 10) 88 believes the figure to represent Italia.

¹⁴ For a discussion of various conceptions of the goddess, see Ulrich Knoche, "Die Augusteische Ausprägung der DEA ROMA," *Gymnasium* 59 (1952) 324-49, particularly 333-39.

and 15.4–5:

tua, Caesar, aetas
fruges et agris rettulit uberes.

Choice words are placed in the emphatic positions: the prefix *per-* implies that the herds roamed freely as if they sensed their safety (*tutus*); *Faustitas* is an Augustan word for *Felicitas*¹⁵; *nutrit* emphasizes the goddesses' protective feeling toward Rome; *fruges uberes* are a particular attribute of *tua aetas*.

Of more importance to this discussion is the fact that scattered throughout the other *Odes* are numerous suggestions of the same idea, often expressed by a single well-chosen word:

- 2.27–31 apis Matinae
 more modoque,
 grata carpentis thyma per laborem
 plurimum, circa nemus uvidique
 Tiburis ripas . . .
- 2.54–55 tener solvet vitulus, relictā
 matre qui largis iuvenescit herbis . . .
- 3.10–11 sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt
 et spissae nemorum comae . . .
- 4.13 laetis . . . pascuis . . .
- 6.38–39 Noctilucam,
 prosperam frugum . . .
- 7.11 pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit . . .
- 8.33 viridi . . . pampino . . .
- 11.1–5 Est mihi nonum superantis annum
 plenus Albani cadus, est in horto,
 Phylli, nectendis apium coronis,
 est hederæ vis
 multa . . .
- 12.9–10 dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
 custodes ovium carmina fistula . . .
- 14.27–28 cultis
 . . . agris . . .

¹⁵ Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Oden und Epoden*⁸, ed. A. Kiessling-R. Heinze (Berlin 1955) 416.

On the small fragments remaining from the second panel on the one end of the enclosing wall are parts of a figure of Roma, the personification of the power of Rome. She is seated on a pile of weapons which have been laid aside, symbolizing the general peace of 13 B.C. Augustus had worked many years for this peace which was the foundation for material security and prosperity.

Horace too is proud of what Augustus and his family have accomplished for the *imperium Romanum*. Two obvious illustrations are *Odes* 4¹⁶ and 14, which were written at the request of the *princeps* to honor his stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius, for victories over the Vindelici and Raeti in 15 B.C. As a result of these successes, "Italy at length had peace from their inroads and was no longer to require military protection."¹⁷ In addition to such praise of contemporary leaders, the Augustan program also honored heroes of former days, the builders of the empire.¹⁸ Thus *Ode* 4 sings the praise not only of Drusus, but, indirectly, of his ancestors who won the battle of the Metaurus River in 207 B.C. against Hannibal's brother; indeed, in expressing the debt of the state to the *Nerones*, Horace addresses the goddess Roma directly, *quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus* (37). *Ode* 8 indirectly honors the Scipios, also victorious over the Carthaginians¹⁹; and *Ode* 15 joins the *duces* of Horace's own generation with the heroes of the Trojan war and all who performed nobly for Rome in the intervening centuries.²⁰ A part of *Ode* 2 praises the peace made with the Sygambri and Augustus' coming triumphal return to Rome, again indirectly.²¹ Thus Horace has considered several specific victories of Roma in contrast to the allegorical representation of the goddess on the altar. In addition, he refers clearly to the far-reaching command of Roma; and *Odes* 5, 14, and 15 contain lists of remote places which are under the aegis of the Roman

¹⁶ See Kenneth J. Reckford, "The Eagle and the Tree" (Horace, *Odes*, 4.4), *CJ* 56 (1960) 23-28.

¹⁷ Ronald Syme, *CAH* 10. 349.

¹⁸ Syme (above, note 8) 448-49. The placing of the statues in the Forum of Augustus (2 B.C.) was foreshadowed by the poets, i.e. Horace, *Odes* 4.8.13: *non incisa notis marmora publicis, per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis post mortem ducibus*. . . . See H. T. Rowell, "The Forum and Funeral Images of Augustus," *Mem. of the Amer. Acad. in Rome* 17 (1940) 131-43.

¹⁹ With regard to the confusion between the two Scipios, see Kiessling-Heinze (above, note 15) 626, particularly the articles by Dornseiff, Pitzalis, and Stiehl.

²⁰ See R. D. Williams, "Horace, *Odes* iv.15.29," *CR* 10, n.s. (1960) 6-7.

²¹ Fraenkel (above, note 2) 432-40 has a most interesting and complete discussion of the background of this *Ode*.

eagle. The opposition is variously described as *horrida* (*Germania*, 5.26), *immanis* (*Raetos*, 14.15), *non ante domabilis* (*Cantaber*, 14.41), *caede gaudentes* (*Sygambri*, 14.51), *infidi* (*Persae*, 15.23). The *Sygambri* are also described by *compositis armis* (14.52), after Augustus' successful efforts. These adjectives make the Roman accomplishment seem even greater.

So much had already been done. What of the future destiny of Rome? That Horace believes the possibilities are unlimited is evident from the following passages:

2.39-40 quamvis redeant in aurum
 tempora priscum.

4.25-27 quid mens rite, quid indoles
 nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
 posset . . .

4.73-76 nil Claudiae non perficient manus,
 quas et benigno numine Iuppiter
 defendit et curae sagaces
 expediunt per acuta belli.

14.15-16 immanisque Raetos
 auspiciis pepulit secundis . . .

14.37-40 Fortuna lustris prospera tertio
 belli secundos reddidit exitus
 laudemque et optatum peractis
 imperiis decus adrogavit.

The first passage suggests that even the Golden Age might return. In the others, the use of such adjectives as *faustus*, *secundus*, *prosperus* helps to create the proper emotional atmosphere.²²

It is not, however, only in the *Odes* concerned with the imperial house that Horace boasts of Roma. He is proud of his city in connection with his own fame and the immortality of his poetry (3.13-16):

Romae, principis urbium,
 dignatur suboles inter amabilis
 vatū ponere me choros,
 et iam dente minus mordeor invido.

²² Syme (above, note 8) 442, "The spirit of a people is best revealed in the words it employs with an emotional content."

He is proud to be considered as the *Romanae fidicen lyrae* (3.23). In other *Odes* also are phrases which suggest the peace, the far-flung empire and its future destiny: 1.1–2, *Intermissa . . . / . . . bella*; 1.16, *late signa feret militiae tuae*; 9.43–44, *per obstantis catervas / explicuit sua victor arma*; 11.35–36, *minuentur atrae / carmine curae*²³; 12.19, *spes . . . novas*.

Pictured on the panels of the *ara Pacis* beside the other entrance in the enclosing wall are Aeneas making a sacrifice and Mars watching over Romulus and Remus. These scenes from the early Roman legend, which was so important in the thought of the Augustan age, illustrate belief in the divine origin of Rome and the continuing protection of the gods and associate Augustus' house with the gods and divine origin.

In one panel Aeneas is making a sacrifice on a rustic altar while two attendants bring a sow and a plate of offerings. In the background is a shrine with figures representing the household gods which Aeneas brought from Troy and established at Lavinium.²⁴ Horace refers to the Aeneas legend in four *Odes*, two of which are not in the imperial group: 4.53–60, 6.21–24, 7.15, 15.31–32. *Ode* 9 cites heroes of the Trojan War but with no reference to Aeneas. Venus, the divine mother of Aeneas and thus the ancestress of the Roman race and particularly of the Julian family, is mentioned in 1.1, 6.21, 10.1, 11.15, 15.32. Three of these cases are in connection with different attributes, yet the mere mention of her name is important.²⁵ The Alba Longa region, prominent in the Aeneas legend, is found twice: *Albanos lacus* (1.19) and *plenus Albani cadus* (11.2).

The few fragments remaining from the second panel show chiefly a helmeted head of Mars, the second divine parent of Rome and the Julian house. He is apparently watching as Romulus and Remus, nursed by the wolf, are discovered by

²³ Both Campbell (above, note 1) 126, and Chester G. Starr, *Civilization and the Caesars* (New York 1954) 186, interpret this line to refer to a dissatisfied feeling of the poet during his later years.

²⁴ Ryberg (above, note 10) 81 interprets this scene: "The Penates of Aeneas are appropriate participants in a rite so closely bound up with the founding of Rome; they are, further, the same Penates as those worshipped in the temple on the Velia as household gods of the state and linked by the legend of Aeneas with the Penates of Augustus' household." In 5.33–36 Augustus' name is mingled with those of the household gods, definitely associating him with these divinities.

²⁵ Rose (above, note 3) 278 notes the dual purpose of Venus in this *Ode* as goddess of love and ancestress of the imperial house.

Faustulus. In the *Odes* both Romulus and Mars occur in several places, one connecting Augustus with the divine: 1.39–40, *per gramina Martii / campi*; 5.1–2, *Divis orte bonis, optume Romulae / custos gentis*; 8.22–24, *quid foret Iliae / Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas / obstaret meritis invida Romuli?* 14.9, *quid Marte posses*; 14.17, *in certamine Martio*. And perhaps the culmination of Augustan praise is this expression of his divine heritage (2.37–39):

quo nihil maius meliusve terris
fata donavere bonique divi
nec dabunt . . .

In contrast to the preceding expressions of allegory and legend, an actual historical event is depicted in friezes on both the enclosing wall and the inner altar of the *ara Pacis*.²⁶ Evidence points to the sacrificial procession at the *constitutio* of the altar on July 4, 13 B.C. as the event.²⁷ The procession apparently begins on the inner altar where on one panel are six female figures, the Vestal Virgins; on another are three victims—sheep, steer, heifer—and attendants; other than these, only insignificant fragments remain. The association of a sheep, steer and heifer in a single sacrifice is unparalleled in Roman religion. The heifer, however, is the victim regularly offered to Pax, and tradition shows some evidence for Janus and Jupiter as possible associates. All would be appropriate here: Pax, for obvious reasons; Jupiter, because a steer is a common offering to him, and because Augustus had already dedicated the laurel from his *fascēs* at the temple on the Capitoline; and Janus, to whom the usual offering is a sheep, as the *index belli pacisque*.²⁸ In any case, the very detailed portrayal of the sacrificial ritual and the importance of its position on the altar are illustrative of Augustus' interest in religion, the revival of old cults and shrines, and in expressing his *pietas* to the gods.

This particular event is not mentioned in the *Odes*; but by means of descriptions of sacrificial scenes and other religious ceremonies with the same careful attention to detail, Horace stresses the importance of this part of the imperial program (1.21–28; 2.49–60;

²⁶ Eugénie Strong, *CAH* 10.546, "As a visible memorial of the home policy of Augustus the processional friezes have a value second only to the Emperor's own account of his Principate."

²⁷ Ryberg (above, note 10) 84–85.

²⁸ Ryberg (above, note 10) 90–92, footnotes 80–87 with bibliography.

5.13,31–36; 6.31–44; 8.29–34; 11.6–12; 13.1; 15.25–32). In *Ode* 2 the steer and heifer are to be sacrifices to Augustus in the proposed celebration for his return; in *Ode* 11 a rustic altar is ready for the lamb. Of the three divinities possibly suggested by the victims on the *ara Pacis*, Pax is not mentioned; Jupiter occurs four times (4.4, 4.74, 8.29, 15.6) but not in connection with any sacrifice; Janus is found once: *et vacuum duellis / Ianum Quirini clausit* (15.8–9). This latter reference would be particularly meaningful if the doors of Janus were closed in 13 B.C.²⁹ In addition, the revival of the ancient ceremonies performed in 17 B.C. and hence the *Carmen saeculare* are subtly recalled by the language of 1.25–28 and very obviously by *Ode* 6, which is mainly a hymn in honor of Apollo, another god closely associated with Augustus. Apollo, represented on the altar by the swans among the garlands, is mentioned three additional times in the book (2.9, 3.6–7, 15.1).

From the altar the procession continues on the unbroken sides of the enclosing walls. On the one, the important figures in the foreground are generally identified as Augustus walking with two consuls, four flamens (*Dialis*, *Martialis*, *Quirinalis*, *Caesaris*), Agrippa, Julia, Livia, Antonia Minor with Drusus and one child, Antonia Maior with Ahenobarbus and two children,³⁰ and, perhaps, Maecenas.³¹ On the other side, the senators and populus—men, women, and children—continue the procession. What meaning has this part of the *ara Pacis* for the present discussion? First of all, Augustus is veiled as a priest, and we know that he was the flamen of the deified Julius. This of itself links him to the divine. On the other hand, he is linked to his own family through Agrippa and Livia and thence to the senators and people. The presence of definite family groups echoes his stress on the preservation of morals and the importance of the family. The number of children points to the future power of the Roman race.

That Horace links Augustus with the divine has already been

²⁹ Ryberg (above, note 10) 92–94, and R. Syme, "Livy and Augustus," *HSCP* 64 (1959) 71 and footnote 280.

³⁰ Ryberg (above, note 10) 82–85. It is impossible to determine just how far historical accuracy gives way to ritual correctness and artistic harmony. In 13 B.C., for example, the position of the *flamen Dialis* was vacant, while Augustus himself was *flamen Caesaris*.

³¹ MacKendrick (above, note 10) 167.

shown. The following lines from the imperial *Odes* tell of the sanctity of the home and the importance of good morals:

5.21–24 nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
laudantur simili prole puerperae,
culpam poena premit comes.

15.9–10 et ordinem
rectum evaganti frena licentiae
iniecit emovitque culpas . . .

15.25–28 nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
inter iocosi munera Liberi
cum prole matronisque nostris
rite deos prius adprecati . . .

4.22–36 speaks of the importance of proper training in the home. Augustus' name is linked with the senators and the people (14.1–5):

Quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium
plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, virtutes in aevum
per titulos memoresque fastus
aeternet . . .

Some of the figures identified in the procession are found in the *Odes*: Augustus, Drusus, Tiberius, Maecenas. In addition, four *Odes* with the possibility of a fifth are addressed to persons known to be associated with the emperor and his regime: Paulus Maximus (1), Iullus Antonius (2), Censorinus (8), Lollius (9).³² The possibility is *Ode* 7, addressed to Torquatus, whose identity is not certain, but who may have been an intimate of Augustus.³³ Perhaps with more information some of these might be found on the altar.³⁴ So far as propaganda is concerned, omission of a name can be as important as the mention of it. For example,

³² For example, Wili (above, note 3) 341 describes Paulus, "von der jüngeren Generation der wichtigste amicus Augusti und dem Herrscher überdies durch seine Heirat mit Marcia vetterlich verbunden." Antonius is generally considered to have been treated by Augustus in a manner second only to Agrippa and his stepsons.

³³ Concerning the identity of Torquatus, see Wickham (above, note 1) 244–45.

³⁴ Other tentative identifications have been made. Toynbee (above, note 10) 85, following Poulsen, suggests that the figure behind her Julia (Ryberg's Livia) is Antonius and notes the possible connection with *Odes* 4.2.

noticeably absent from these *Odes* is Julius Caesar. The position and power of Augustus were much too similar to the hated dictatorship to allow any unnecessary possibility of comparison, and Augustus "did his utmost to disassociate himself from the aura of autocracy, radicalism and cosmopolitanism connected with Caesar."³⁵ Horace does call Augustus by the military title of *dux* (5.5.37), but the connotation of the word is softened by the adjective *bone*.³⁶ Two other ways of addressing him, *Romulae / custos gentis* (5.1-2) and *o tutela praesens / Italiae dominaeque Romae* (14.43-44), begin to convey the idea of parent and protector which was to culminate in the title *pater patriae*, conferred on Augustus in 2 B.C. Before 13 B.C. many *nobiles* and *novi* were purposely kept in the background to enhance the glory of the *princeps* and his stepsons. Hence, of the great plebian leaders, Lollius is the only one honored in Book 4; the *nobiles* fared no better, with Piso and Ahenobarbus not mentioned. It has been noted that the absence of any reference to Livia is in accord with the desire of the *princeps* to keep women in the background as part of his program to improve morals.³⁷

There remains one more general similarity to note between the two works of art. Both show the result of the mingling of Greek and Roman influences, with emphasis on the great age of Greece rather than on the contemporary or Hellenistic, a trend definitely characteristic of the Augustan epoch.³⁸ The procession on the altar reflects and is reminiscent of the intensity of feeling of the procession on the Parthenon; the form of the altar and enclosing wall is Greek. Horace mingles Greek and Roman ideas and uses examples from the classical age frequently. Following are a few illustrations: 3.1-12, the mention of the Capitoline shifts attention quickly to Rome from a series of Greek activities; 4, within the speech of Hannibal, 53-60 describe the strength of the Roman race in Roman terms in contrast to 61-64 which compare it to

³⁵ Starr (above, note 23) 42. See also Ronald Syme, *A Roman Post-Mortem: An Inquest on the Fall of the Roman Republic*, Todd Memorial Lecture, No. 3 (Sydney 1950) 12-16.

³⁶ For divergent views concerning the use of this title, see Syme (above, note 8) 312 and Fraenkel (above, note 2) 448.

³⁷ Syme (above, note 8) 414. Toynbee (above, note 10) 86-87 questions the appearance of Livia on the altar, suggesting, however, the possibility that she may precede Augustus in the procession.

³⁸ It is not, however, the purpose of this paper to analyze in detail the various techniques of the sculptor or to consider how the Greek poets influenced Horace.

the mighty Greek houses; 6, the first twenty lines are concerned with the Greek myths of the Trojan War, but attention is subtly shifted by the word *Aeneae* (23) to Roman legends. Typical Greek examples are Pindar (2.1, 9.6), Parrhasius (8.6), and Scopas (8.6).

In conclusion, a brief recapitulation. First, it has been shown that, in the expression of Augustan concepts, Book 4 of the *Odes* and the *ara Pacis Augustae* exhibit many of the same general characteristics: allegory, legend and historical reality furnished examples to both; considerable attention was paid in both to detail of all kinds; the idea of Rome's greatness—past, present and future—and the genial Italian life and countryside gave inspiration to both; and as the altar portrays a wider range of concepts than the name *ara Pacis* would suggest, so the poems of Book 4 as a whole contribute more to the program of Augustan propaganda than is indicated by the subjects of the individual *Odes*.

Secondly, not only the *Odes* in honor of the imperial house, but every *Ode* of Book 4 suggests in some way a part of the program for attracting general opinion to the side of the principate. Consider *Ode* 1, for example. The obvious theme is erotic, but the use of several words and phrases with possible double meanings can hardly be coincidence: *Venus* (1), *Albanos lacus* (19), *per gramina Martii campi* (39), *intermissa . . . bella* (1–2), *late signa feret militiae tuae* (16), *trabe citrea* (20).³⁹ Nor can it be entirely coincidence that a description of a hymn and sacred ritual fills eight verses and that the whole is addressed to Paulus Maximus, a protégé of Augustus.⁴⁰ Certainly this *Ode* is subtly introducing many of the propaganda themes which appear throughout the book and are brought to a conclusion in the final *Ode* addressed to the *princeps*. It is more than a “foil” for the imperial *Odes* and both in its composition and by its position reveals the art of the poet.⁴¹ *Odes* 2 and 3, in addition to containing propaganda themes as

³⁹ Pliny, *NH* 13.30.101, cites Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* 5.3.7 to the effect that the “citrus” was used in the flooring of old temples and in roofed buildings because of the durability of the wood.

⁴⁰ A. Kiessling-R. Heinze (above, note 15) 386: “. . . der Wunsch, dem Paullus Fabius Maximus, einem der glänzendsten und begabtesten jüngeren Glieder der Nobilität, eine Huldigung darzubringen, scheint das Gedicht veranlasst zu haben, das somit auch auf den panegyrischen Charakter der neuen Sammlung vorbereitet.”

⁴¹ E. H. Haight, *Horace and his Art of Enjoyment* (New York 1925) 143. G. Pasquali, *Orazio lirico* (Firenze 1920) 739 notes that in Book 4 Horace is less the poet and more the artist, but he considers this work as less suited to modern tastes.

indicated above, indirectly introduce the general subject of the three central *Odes* (7, 8, 9). Together these latter three stress the stability of the immortality of poetry in the midst of a changing life, just as the Augustan regime brought an end to some of the unrest in the Roman world. Placed midway between these *Odes* and the final ones are two which describe peaceful country festivities (11, 12). One of these (11) honors the birthday of Maecenas, who was important not only as Horace's patron, but also as a minister of propaganda for Augustus. Thus by means of particular words and phrases, as shown throughout the preceding discussion, and through careful placing of the *Odes*, attention is focused on those aspects of the regime which Augustus knew were attractive to the *populus*. Horace's art seems not to have been impaired *dulcedine otii* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.2),⁴² but rather, under the influence of the principate, the poet created a worthy and enduring tribute to the *immensa Romanae pacis maiestas* (Pliny, *NH* 27.1.3).

⁴² Sellar (above, note 1) 159 believes that the *dulcedo otii* exerted an unfavorable influence on the poet.