# VARIATIONS ON A THEME BY AUGUSTUS

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In two articles of recent date I have ventured to unmask two of Vergil's characters in his third and seventh *Bucolics* by interpreting a hidden reference to the favorite motto of Octavian, *speude bradeôs*, as evidence for the poet's association of Palaemon in one case (*Ecl.* 3.52–53) and Daphnis in the other (*Ecl.* 7.7–10) with Octavian.[1] In the

[1] "The Art of the Third *Eclogue* of Vergil," *TAPA* 89 (1958) 142–58 (hereafter cited as ***Art III***); "The Art of the Seventh *Eclogue* of Vergil," *TAPA* 94 (1963) 248–67 (cited as ***Art VII***). Also another paper to which reference is made, "The Cyclops, the Sibyl and the Poet," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 410–42, is cited as ***The Cyclops.***

The proverbial *speude bradeôs* is found frequently in Greek literature as early as Homer (*Od.* 8.329—Hephaestus is lame, Ares is swift); in Theognis 329; Plato, *Politicus* 7 (*paroimia*); *Rep.* 528D (discussion on astronomy).

Augustus, however, linked this adage with a verse from the *Phoenissae* (599) of Euripides as testified by Suetonius (*Aug.* 25.4): "crebro itaque illa iactabat: σπεῦδε βραδέως· ἀσφαλὴς γὰρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης." The second century writer on military tactics, Polyaenus (8.24.4, ed. Wölflin), states that Augustus was continually repeating "hasten slowly, be active but not rash, for a general had better be too cautious than too confident" (trans. P. L. Shepherd [London 1793] 332–33). Augustus seems to have had a special interest in this drama of Euripides with its tragic story of the fratricidal contests between two brothers. His favorite citation is from a remark made by Polynices to Eteocles on the subject of courage. That Augustus considered this drama to be a commentary on the civil war against Sextus Pompey (whose wife was a niece of Scribonia) and against Antony (his brother-in-law) is attested by the fact that Julius Caesar in an important statement made by Cicero (*De off.* 3.21) was fond of quoting two verses from the same tragedy (524–25) spoken by Eteocles. Cicero adds significantly that Caesar had his son-in-law Pompey in mind in selecting this passage: "ipse autem socer in ore semper Graecos versus de Phoenissis habebat." Suetonius (*Jul.* 30.5) based his information on Cicero's account: "semper Caesarem in ore habuisse Euripidis versus. . . ." Augustus apparently felt that the concepts of "haste-delay" and "overconfidence" had a close association. He might have recalled that Jocasta earlier in the same play (452–53) cautioned her warring sons that "haste was incompatible with justice and that slow deliberations lead for the most part to prudent action."

If I may be permitted a personal note here, a copy of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* formed part of my baggage during an extended stay in England in the years 1916–17, when Europe was engaged in fratricidal strife.

background of these two poems I seemed to see delineations of political events of the years 39–38 when Sextus Pompey attempted to control the seas around Sicily and Italy.

If these were the only occasions when the Augustan poets humored the Princeps by playing on his favorite phrase it would only be natural that the reader would withhold his assent to such an important identification. Was Vergil in these instances revealing the most significant character in his two masques by the free rendering of a phrase, the meaning of which was presumably obvious to a contemporary reader?

In the third pastoral,[2] two shepherds, Menalcas (generally held to represent the poet himself) and Damoetas (Aemilius Macer?), after some good-natured fencing, proceed to challenge each other to a song contest with a suitable prize as an incentive. Palaemon is seen approaching. He is invited to act as referee. Damoetas accepts the challenge and in doing so makes use of a paraphrase of Octavian's motto to indicate that he is perfectly willing and ready to enter the contest (52–54):

> quin age, si quid habes; *in me mora non erit ulla,*
> *nec quemquam fugio*: tantum, vicine Palaemon,
> sensibus haec imis (res est non parva) reponas.

After the humorous rendition of *speude bradeôs*, Damoetas seems to say to Palaemon that he should reflect on the significance of his proposed paraphrase. Palaemon (Octavian) immediately becomes interested in the problems of the two shepherds. He requests them to be seated in the "soft grass." He recognizes the subtlety of Damoetas' citation of his favorite adage by inviting him to begin the song contest.

How did one of Vergil's contemporaries interpret his presentation of the character of Palaemon in the third pastoral? In a spirit of high good humor Horace in an early satire depicts the comical antics of a certain boon companion of Octavian named Tigellius (1.3.9–11):[3]

> nil aequale homini fuit illi: saepe velut qui
> currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui
> Iunonis sacra ferret.

The phrase *qui currebat fugiens hostem* is strikingly similar to the shrewd

[2] Cf. *Art III* 148–55.

[3] This passage is discussed briefly in *Art VII* 251, note 4.

remarks of Damoetas cited above from the third *Bucolic*; "in me mora non erit ulla, nec quemquam fugio." It is significant, as we have stated, that this shepherd's comic reflection of Octavian's motto influenced Palaemon (Octavian) to the point that he invited Damoetas to begin the amoebean verses which follow. A recent editor of the *Bucolics* raises the question why Damoetas and not Menalcas is the first to sing in this contest. Our attention is drawn to the fact that Theocritus (8.30) leaves such a decision to chance ("est tiré au sort").[4] Vergil presents us with a key to the problem of the identity of Palaemon and along with it the reason for the preference given to Damoetas by the referee whose importance is thus brought to the fore.

I have ventured elsewhere to identify also with Octavian the character of the "director" or organizer of the pageant in the seventh pastoral.[5] Meliboeus serves as a reporter of the events there related and incidentally as a referee of the contest in song between Corydon and Thyrsis. Meliboeus is busy about his flocks when he becomes aware of the presence of Daphnis (7–10):

> vir gregis ipse caper deerraverat; atque ego Daphnim
> aspicio. ille ubi me contra videt, "ocius" inquit
> "huc ades, o Meliboee; caper tibi salvus et haedi;
> et, si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra."

Did Meliboeus understand the implications of this invitation to him? Did the poet intend to portray a character who would have recognized the identity of Daphnis by his use of a certain mode of expression presumably typical of Octavian? In other words is Meliboeus in character here? In this masque of shepherds he is the first to recognize Daphnis and he is the only participant to whom Daphnis speaks. He willingly follows Daphnis' suggestions to "come quickly, to idle a while if he can and recline in the shade." Have we any evidence elsewhere that Meliboeus was aware of Octavian's favorite maxim "hasten slowly"?

Fortunately Vergil has prepared the reader to see in the role of Meliboeus one who in another pastoral betrayed his awareness of the motto of Octavian by paraphrasing it in a slightly better fashion than

[4] *Virgile: les Bucoliques*, ed. Jacques Perret (Paris 1961) 40, *ad v.* 58.
[5] *Art VII* 251–54.

here in this seventh *Bucolic*. The first stanza of the first pastoral introduces us to Meliboeus in a dramatic dialogue with another shepherd named Tityrus who is generally regarded as a double for Vergil himself.

Meliboeus addresses Tityrus in these initial verses in a mood of extreme despondency. He relates plaintively how he is compelled to leave his homeland while Tityrus reclines happily under the shade of a spreading beech tree practising on his shepherd's pipe. The concluding verses of this stanza, unless I am mistaken, present clear echoes of Octavian's familiar adage (*Ecl.* 1.4–5):

> nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
> formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.

The phrase *patriam fugimus* of Meliboeus suggests the theme of "haste" as in the version of this maxim in the third *Bucolic* discussed above (*nec quemquam fugio*). The most striking echo of "festina lente" occurs in the somewhat unusual use of "lentus" ("sluggish") in the "lentus in umbra" of Meliboeus—a phrase parallel to that assigned to Daphnis in his invitation to Meliboeus ("si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra") in the seventh pastoral. By introducing this version of "festina lente" at the very beginning of his series of bucolic poems, Vergil puts the stamp of his identification of his principal reader in a way that should immediately strike his patron's eye. After all the hero of this dramatic poem *is* Octavian.[6] We are thus prepared to accept Daphnis in the seventh pastoral as an actor in the role of Octavian because of his paraphrase of his own motto.

Was Horace especially interested in the seventh pastoral with its representation of Daphnis in the part of Octavian? Elsewhere I have ventured to correlate the character of Thyrsis in that poem with that of Horace himself in the early stages of his admission into the circle of Maecenas.[7] If I am correct in this identification of Daphnis with Octavian, and if my interpretation of the words of Daphnis *ocius ades* as a version of *festina* and of *si quid cessare potes* as a reflection of *lente* is sufficiently convincing, then the way may be open to an attempt on

[6] See now E. A. Fredricksmeyer, "Octavian and the Unity of the First Eclogue," *Hermes* 94 (1966) 208–18.

[7] *Art VII* 256–57.

the part of Vergil's friend Horace to adapt these phrases for his own purposes.

We have seen how Horace reflected Vergil's rendition of Octavian's maxim in the third pastoral. That was an adaptation in a humorous vein. In the important second ode of the first book, Horace is seriously considering the invocation of several divinities to come to the aid of the state which is undergoing a crisis. *Caesaris ultor* at the end of a series of prayers is invoked to take on the appearance of the winged son of Maia and to linger a long time with the people of Quirinus (45–49):

> serus in caelum redeas diuque
> laetus intersis populo Quirini,
> neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
> ocior aura
> tollat.

Unless I am mistaken, the phrase *ocior aura*—with its echo of Daphnis' words *ocius ades* suggesting "haste"—is to be linked with the motif of "delay" implied in the preceding verses (*diuque . . . intersis*). There is sufficient coloration here to suggest to Horace's principal reader that the poet was in this way expressing his awareness of his patron's favorite saying.[8]

That Horace was really aware of what might be called the propaganda value of Octavian's motto can be made clearer if we cite other passages where Horace has with more or less success woven this maxim into some of his verses. In the very next ode, for example, following the one addressed to *Caesaris ultor*, there is a rather clever use of this *topos*. Appropriately enough these verses occur in the ode to Horace's close friend (*animae dimidium meae*). The verses which we are about to cite are introduced by a reference to disasters which followed in the wake of the theft of Prometheus (1.3.32–33): "And the doom of death, which had been slow and distant, quickened its pace" (Bennett):[9]

[8] The reflection of Vergil's *Ecl.* 7.8–9 on these verses of Horace is discussed briefly in *Art VII* 251, note 4.

[9] Horace, immediately before this Augustan touch, introduces phases of the legend of Prometheus which are only found in the Servian note on *Ecl.* 6.42. Is there here a suggestion of the contents of the lost work of Maecenas entitled *Prometheus*? (Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 19.9.)

semotique prius tarda necessitas
leti corripuit gradum.[10]

The most conspicuous use of this motif by Horace is found, without any attempt at artistic coloration, at the end of the 28th ode to Archytas: *quamquam festinas, non est mora longa.* If in *Ode* 1.28 the *nauta* to whom the spirit of the poet appeals for ritual burial represents the Princeps as admiral of the seas and victor over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus in 36 and over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31, then the *exempla* of the first part of the ode can be seen to have an underlying motif. Not only Archytas himself but the mythological characters of Tantalus, Tithonus, and Minos follow nearly identical patterns. The very words of the poet furnish us with a clue to the essential meaning of the ode—the relationship for good or ill between a mortal figure such as Archytas and the disembodied form of the poet contending with the apparently blind forces of nature and of man. The shadowy form of the ghost of the Pythagorean Archytas at the beginning is balanced by the conclusion in which the spirit of the poet pleads with his sailor-patron in language that has Pythagorean overtones and moreover is specifically personal and contemporary.[11]

The poet's words give us a hint of this pattern of the social relationship of an heroic mortal with a divinity or high placed person:

occidit et Pelopis genitor, *conviva deorum,*
Tithonusque remotus in auras,
et *Iovis arcanis* Minos admissus. . . .

Minos was instructed by Jupiter in the laws which he gave to the people

[10] Cf. *Ode* 3.2.31–32, where there is a subtle variation of the Augustan adage, "slow doom is ever on the track of speedy death": "raro antecedentem scelestum deseruit pede Poena claudo"—where the significant word is *deseruit*, "fails to catch up with." This passage is preceded by a citation of another favorite saying of Augustus from Simonides on the virtue of silence (see the annotated edition of Horace's *Odes* by C. H. Moore [New York 1902] 234). On this subject see my paper "The Silence of the Augustans," *Vergilius* 8 (1962) 8–11.

[11] We are indebted to Gellius (10.1, cited below) for the information that "Divus Augustus" adapted the saying of Nigidius Figulus (*illud Nigidianum*) in the Greek words *speude bradeôs.* This important polymath was a contemporary of Cicero. He is cited by Suetonius (*Aug.* 94.5) as having been present in the Senate at the moment of the birth of Octavian. He is quoted as having made a prediction that the child *dominum terrarum natum* (Cf. *Geo.* 1.26 on "Caesar's" destiny).

of Crete. His relegation to Hades as judge there was an act of compensation, although this was not intended to be a position of great dignity. Tantalus, father of Pelops, because of his arrogance when admitted to the councils of the gods, was made to suffer in Hades. Tithonus was loved by the divinity Eos and, though made immortal by her, wasted away to become a mere voice. Archytas was a guest at the court of Dionysius, the ruler of Syracuse, from whom he won the special favor of sparing the life of Plato. This last relationship seems to have been uppermost in the poet's mind. The presumed relationship between Octavian and Horace had its prototype in the friendly association of Archytas with Dionysius of Syracuse.[12]

Ode 1.28 is divisible into two parts which are numerically related in a proportion in accord with the "Golden Section."[13] It has been noticed that these parts have a contrasting metrical setting. The introductory verses (1–22) have a slower spondaic tempo than the concluding part (23–36), which presents more frequent dactyls. The poet appears to be consciously using a poetic matrix implying slowness and haste in order to achieve a more artistic setting for the maxim of Octavian with which this ode is concluded.[14] To reinforce the theme of "haste," the poet finally requests the *nauta* to speed away in his boat after performing the ritual sprinkling of dust on his body: *licebit | iniecto ter pulvere curras.*

An early ode of Horace (2.7) is an invitation to a certain Pompeius who had been his comrade-in-arms under Brutus at Philippi in 42 B.C. There are some elements in this poem which suggest that the author was consciously interweaving the implications of Octavian's motto into the structure of the ode. This device seems called for because of the necessity of subtly identifying the restorer of citizenship to Pompeius implied by the query in the third verse:

quis te redonavit Quiritem
dis patriis Italoque caelo?

[12] Cf. Diels, *VS*[5], vol. 1, pp. 422–23 = Plato *Epist.* 7.338C, 339A, 350A (on the intervention of Archytas with Dionysius of Syracuse for Plato).

[13] Cf. G. E. Duckworth, "Mathematical Symmetry in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 184–220; *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid* (Ann Arbor 1962). In a study of the Neopythagoreanism in Lucan (*TAPA* 91 [1960] 320, note 39), R. J. Getty has pointed out the occurrence of the Golden Ratio in the Archytas ode.

[14] A. Kiessling, R. Heinze, Q. *Horatius Flaccus: Oden u. Epoden*[8] (Berlin 1955) 121.

The poet is showing his awareness of the etymological meaning of the name of Pompeius (*pompê*, "parade") by his use of *deducte* in the second line: *deducte Bruto militiae duce*. A form of *deduco* is used elsewhere (1.37.31–32) by Horace to signify a triumphal procession over the customary route in Rome: *deduci superbo . . . triumpho*. This triumph involving Antony and Cleopatra, of course, did not take place. Neither was there one such as would have included Roman citizens, Brutus, Pompeius, and his friend Horace.

There are more than the usual references here to "speed" in the preparations for the feast to celebrate the soldier's return. First there is the direct reference to the swift flight from Philippi (*tecum et celerem fugam sensi*, 9). Then the picture of a speedy Mercury (*Mercurius celer*, 12) who is represented as rescuing the frightened poet, whereas his comrade was drawn back into the battle area like a retreating wave on the shore. There is a slight contrast here between the swift action of Mercury and its sluggish aftermath. The poet again depicts himself demanding speedy action when he calls for definite haste (*deproperare*, 24) on the part of someone in the group to procure wreaths of celery and myrtle for the guests. The host himself is seen in the role of a wild follower in the train of Bacchus in Thrace—a flashback to the affair at Philippi (26–27): *non ego sanius / bacchabor Edonis*. The element of "delay" seems purposely introduced in a brief sketch of another celebration before the fatal battle: at such an occasion the day had been often prolonged (*morantem saepe diem*, 6) in feasting. The use of the verb *moror* for "delay" would be associated by the principal reader of the ode with the *mora longa* of the poem addressed to Octavian as a *nauta* (see above on 1.28.35). The party for the returned and forgiven soldier was more than usually wild. That fact is conveyed by the overall picture of haste.[15] Octavian must have smiled when he read this ode with its clever revelation of himself as the real benefactor behind the scene of festivity.

In two other odes Horace lightly limns the theme of speed and delay in situations where invitations to festivities included a call for a musician and music.

[15] Cf. S. Commager, "The Function of Wine in Horace's *Odes*," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 70, where our attention is drawn to "oblivioso . . . Massico" (21) as implying forgetfulness of the affair at Philippi in which both Horace and Pompeius were involved.

The eleventh ode of the second book conveys to Quinctius Hirpinus a philosophical message to flee the cares of politics and find refuge in wine and song (13–14): "cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac / pinu iacentes . . .?" As a preliminary the poet recommends his guests to crown their temples with roses, remembering that youth and beauty are evanescent (*fugit retro*, 5). This is the *carpe diem* theme of another ode (1.11.7–8): "dum loquimur, fugerit invida / aetas." The theme is a commonplace but its special pertinence to Octavian's maxim is highlighted in the last two stanzas in our ode. The impatience of the host is indicated by his injunctions to the *puer* to run with more than his usual speed (*ocius*) and temper the bowls of Falernian wine in the brook that flows by (18–20):

Quis puer ocius
restinguet ardentis Falerni
pocula praetereunte lympha?

The "haste" implied in *ocius* is intensified somewhat by the poetic picture of the babbling brook in this extravagant gala affair under the shade of tall trees. The poet recommends that the fleeting time should be enjoyed to the utmost by the addition of a lyrist who is enjoined to hasten (*maturet*, "deliberate speed"). But this injunction to hasten in leisurely fashion is qualified by the advice to Lyde that she should stop long enough to arrange her locks becomingly in a simple manner to suit a dignified occasion (22–24):

eburna dic age cum lyra
maturet, in comptum Lacaenae
more comam religata nodum.[16]

The tone of "haste" is balanced in accordance with Octavian's paradoxical motto by a certain discreet leisureliness on the part of the young woman who is invited to come bringing her best ivory lyre with a coiffure appropriate to the occasion. The occurrence of the word

[16] The text is here in dispute. The reading of the mss., *in comptum . . . modum*, should be retained if Horace here, as I have argued, is indicating delay on the part of Lyde so that she would be able to arrange her locks in the approved style. Gellius (10.11) has much to say on the meaning of *mature* in his day and in the time of Vergil. He again quotes Nigidius: "Mature," inquit, "est quod neque citius est neque serius, sed medium quiddam et temperatum est." As an illustration of the difference between *properare* and *maturare* he cites *Geo.* 1.260–63, on which see below, note 27.

*ocius* here—and in the next ode (2.3)—is not purely fortuitous. We have drawn attention above to the significant use of that word in Horace's ode to Augustus Caesar (1.2.48, *ocior aura*). Its occurrence there, as I have argued elsewhere,[17] is a reflection of a phrase assigned to Daphnis (Octavian) by Vergil in the seventh *Bucolic*. This pastoral in fact furnishes the keynote for the descriptions of two outdoor festivals, this one for Hirpinus and the ode which we shall discuss next (2.3) for Dellius.[18] If we accept my hypothesis, not only that Daphnis in the seventh pastoral plays the role of Octavian, but also that the phrases allotted to him by Vergil ("ocius . . . ades . . . requiesce sub umbra") are echoes of Octavian's own motto, then we can understand why Horace has reflected his reading of Vergil's masque in other pastoral settings—*sub umbra* in both odes. The concept of *umbra* is "das Urbild des Idylls."[19] In both Vergil and Horace the setting of "shade" has taken on political overtones.

Ode 2.3 is addressed to Dellius who abandoned the party of Antony and Cleopatra shortly before the battle of Actium because, if we are to believe Plutarch, of certain incivilities shown to him by Cleopatra.[20] The background again is definitely pastoral (6–8). Like the ode just discussed we have here a picture of an elaborate outdoor festival provided with the best wine, with the guests reclining under the shade of a mighty pine or white poplar (*umbram hospitalem*, 10). Again there is a brook nearby which flows along not so peacefully. In fact we are given the picture not of a brook but of a spring freshet (11–12). Here Horace links together the antithetical themes found in the previous ode, a quiet resting place in the abundant shade—a pine tree appears in both pictures—and a glance at a gently or rapidly flowing stream. Once more Horace records his recollection of the situation in the seventh pastoral where the song contest takes place under a "whispering ilex" and is supervised by Daphnis (Octavian). What might be called the key word *ocius* Horace reserves for the final stanza (25–27):

[17] Cf. *Art VII* 254.

[18] Cf. *The Cyclops* 413–14.

[19] Cf. V. Pöschl, *Die Hirtendichtung Virgils* (Heidelberg 1964) 10; P. L. Smith, "Lentus in umbra, a Symbolic Pattern in Vergil's *Eclogues*," *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 298–99.

[20] Cf. *The Cyclops* 413.

omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
versatur urna serius ocius
sors exitura . . . .

Here the theme of "haste" is implied in the compulsion (*cogimur*) exercised by the *psychopompus*. A summation of the contradictory themes of delay and haste is found in the expression *serius ocius*.[21] The concept of "delay" or "linger" is noticeable in the preceding stanza: death awaits all, the rich man of noble ancestry or you, the poor man, who *sub divo moreris*.

In another ode (3.14.21–24) there is a similar suggestion that a singer should hasten to a festival and tie her locks in a becoming knot. Neaera is invited to take part in festivities honoring the return of Augustus from Spain in 24 B.C. There is a further injunction to the *puer* who is sent on this mission to return if the "churlish doorkeeper" should block his way, *mora fiet*:

dic et argutae *properet* Neaerae
murreum nodo cohibere crinem;
si per invisum *mora* ianitorem
*fiet*, abito.

By the use of such expressions as I have italicized the poet pays a delicate compliment to the Princeps in verses which were certainly written for the perusal of Augustus and two members of his family (Octavia and Livia) to whom definite reference is here made (5–8).

In fact the recurrence of this thematic note may serve to identify with more certainty the "Vergilius" to whom 4.12 is addressed. This is considered by some critics to be an early poem of Horace, with its numerous echoes of Vergil's pastorals. Again we find the motif of an invitation to a banquet, this time to Vergilius: *adduxere sitim tempora, Vergili*. The guest is advised, if he wishes to enjoy the choicest wines, to purchase and bring with him a tiny shell of expensive *nardus*. Once more the theme of speed is introduced (21–22). And a delay is implied—presumably because of the guest's bargaining for a supply of ointment—in the words of the last stanza: "verum pone *moras* et studium lucri."[22]

[21] The more common expression is *serius citius*, as in the song of Orpheus in Ovid, *Met.* 10.33: "serius aut citius sedem properamus ad unam."

[22] There are several difficulties in this ode which critics bring forward to indicate that

The recurrence in Horace's *Odes* of the theme so complimentary to the Princeps would lead one to suspect that the poet would be conscious of that *topos* when he wrote an epistle to accompany his *signata volumina* as a gift to Augustus. This brief but witty letter (1.13) must have given pleasure to the most important reader of the "carmina quae possint oculos auresque morari / Caesaris" (17–18). Indeed in his use of *morari* the poet is just putting the finishing touches to his depiction of a scene in which the actions of a certain Vinnius Asina, the comic messenger, are compared to those of a pack-animal—*nomen est omen*. The author of the volumns advises this *sedulus minister* not to be too fussy (*ne studio nostri pecces*, 4), but to approach his destination with extreme care, slowly but surely (*victor propositi*, 11), so as not to become a laughing stock (*cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias*, 9).[23]

The many instances of the recurrence in Horace of what appear to to be clear insertions, skilfully woven into the matter of his poems, of the Augustan theme, should serve as a support for the hypothesis that such "theme variations" may occur more frequently in Vergil than in the few examples we have cited from his pastorals (3, 7, and 1). Did Vergil in fact inject this theme into his most important, not to say archetypal, pastoral, namely the fourth? One should not expect to find in a subtle poem of this nature such a patent recurrence of the Augustan maxim as has been noticed above in Horace's blunt projection of this saying in the elusive 28th ode of the first book. There Horace, as we have noted, attempts to point to the meaning of the ode by a frank citation of the maxim: "quamquam festinas, non est mora longa" (35). Vergil, as we shall show, does in certain passages in the *Aeneid* inject the quasi-original form of this motto.

The most explicit statement of Octavian's obsession with this theme as a guide for his policies in war and peace is recorded by Suetonius (*Aug.* 25.4):

> nihil autem minus [in]perfecto duci quam festinationem temeritatemque convenire arbitrabatur. crebro itaque iactabat: σπεῦδε βραδέως· ἀσφαλὴς

the "Vergilius" here is not our poet. The reference to *studium lucri* is considered to be one of the stumbling blocks for that identification. However the whole poem—written some time before the poet's death—is composed in a light humorous vein, as from a friend to a friend. The humor lies in imagining the poet lingering at the Sulpician store-houses—in the docks, as we would say.

[23] Cf. *Art VII* 265–67.

γάρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης et, "sat celeriter fieri quidquid fiat satis bene." proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur.

It remains to be seen whether the poet Vergil is more successful than in some of his other *Eclogues* in his introduction of an assumed variation of this theme (*speude bradeôs*) into his fourth pastoral. If the poetic version of an Augustan theme found therein still lacks conviction, our criticism should perhaps be laid at the workshop of the poet whose purpose is to display his art by concealing it (11–14):

> teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule, inibit,
> Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses,
> te duce. si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,[24]
> inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.

Here Pollio is conceived as a general leading his mighty army of months (*magnus annus*) into action (*incipient procedere*). The roused army of giant months is contrasted with the lingering traces or footsteps which betray "our crimes" and the "lasting dread" which shall be released from the earth by the action of this general, leader of a vast host, and consul on this auspicious occasion when a new and glorious age shall come. Has the poet successfully limned two contrasting motifs, speed and stability—a fancied army in action and an abstract picture of "the lingering traces of past ills"? The use of *maneo* as synonymous for "slowness" or "stability" as opposed to "fluidity" needs corroboration from other sources, a pertinent example of which, as we shall see, is found in Ovid.

It is interesting to note that the poet, in his fervent prayer at the close of the first *Georgic* for protection against the *scelera* of individuals following the assassination of Julius Caesar, calls on a *iuvenis* to bring order out of chaos. Vergil's language there seems to be a recollection of *vestigia sceleris nostri* of the fourth pastoral. His array of moral wrongs includes *tam multae scelerum facies* (*Geo.* 1.586). This phrase in turn the poet repeats in the person of Aeneas before the Sibyl's narration of the punishments meted out to wrongdoers in the lower Tartarus, surrounded by walls of steel—symbolic of the enemies of the

[24] Cf. the post-communion prayer in the Mass: "Et praesta, ut in me non remaneat scelerum macula. . . ."

state in the age of iron: *quae scelerum facies?* (*Aen.* 6.560).[25] We seem to have a confirmation of our hypothesis that the poet intended the theme of verses 11–14 of his pastoral to be an adumbration of some of the unresolved past and future crises by an unnamed, but important, participant in this *decus hoc aevi*. Horace in three places reminds us of the *sceleris vestigia nostri* of Vergil. There is a clear recollection in the concluding verses of the poem addressed to his friend contemplating a voyage to Greece (1.3.38–40):

caelum ipsum petimus stultitia, neque
*per nostrum* patimur *scelus*
iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina.

In the second ode of the third book (31–32) Horace is concerned with various aspects of *virtus*. It is interesting to note that he cites there also a variation of one of Augustus' favorite sayings on the benefits of silence from Simonides (fr. 6.6) and that he concludes with a reference to the fate of a *scelestus* in the hands of an avenging *Diespiter*. There is artfully concealed here a variation of the favorite maxim of the Princeps: "raro antecedentem scelestum / deseruit pede Poena claudo," a picture of a tardy *Poena* trying to overtake a speeding *scelestus*.[26] The third of Horace's recollections of Vergil's verses in his pastoral is the most significant of all. Horace's laments for the evils of fratricide and the necessitating call for a *iuvenis* to expiate these crimes are expressed in his initial ode for Augustus: "cui dabit partis scelus expiandi / Iuppiter?" (1.2.29–30). Here Horace is influenced by the implications in his friend's concept that traces of *sceleris nostri* will be made void—*inrita* is the equivalent of *expianda*—in the new age of Apollo by an attacking army led by the consul Pollio. It is not surprising, therefore, that the last words spoken by Aeneas in the twelfth book of Vergil's epic hark back to the theme of *scelus* and *poena*. Before he stabs his enemy to death on seeing the *exuviae* of Pallas—symbol of a lost Arcadia—Aeneas utters these significant words (948–49):

Pallas te hoc volnere, Pallas
immolat et *poenam scelerato ex sanguine* sumit.

It is fitting, therefore, that in our explorations into the vicissitudes of Augustus' motto we should examine the last book of the epic,

[25] Cf. *The Cyclops* 423. [26] The key word is *deseruit*, "failed to overtake."

since there is delineated the final expiation of the *scelera* forecast in the pastoral. Should we regard with indifference the poet's repetition of various forms of the verb *vestigo* in the last book, recalling *vestigia sceleris* of the fourth *Eclogue*? The verb occurs four times in scenes depicting Aeneas in pursuit of Turnus (466–67, 482, 557, 587–88). Should we ignore the recurrence of the word *formido* in certain crucial scenes in the same book? In fact the real climax of this book stems from the "strange numbness" that causes the limbs of Turnus to become weak because of "dread": *membra novus solvit formidine torpor* (867), recalling the *solvent formidine terras* in the fourth pastoral. There is a *praelusio* of this theme in the phrase *falsa formido* found in an interchange between Turnus and the Dira Allecto in the seventh book (440–55). A Dira also inspired the hero with *formido* in the final scene of the epic as we have seen (cf. also 750, 786). It is pertinent to note here that Vergil's words in the opening of the seventh book (44–45) recall the very phrases of his pastoral: "maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, / maius opus moveo." Here are clear echoes of "paulo maiora canamus" and "magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo" (*Ecl.* 4.1 and 5).

We seem to be able to read the mind of the poet at this point. He is striving to convince his readers that the portrait of the warrior Aeneas in the second half of his epic is intended to be a fictional representation of Augustus, whose deeds he planned to record as early as the period of the fourth pastoral (53–54), if our interpretation of that poem so far is correct. Another step was necessary in order to make this quasi-identification more acceptable. We have seen how Vergil and his friend Horace attempted to inject into some of their poems more or less successful variations of Augustus' admired paradox, *speude bradeôs*—a motto which he used frequently (Suet. *Aug.* 25.4). Aulus Gellius (10.11) is more specific (following the discussion of Nigidius Figulus on the meaning of *mature*):

> illud vero Nigidianum rei atque verbi temperamentum Divus Augustus duobus Graecis verbis elegantissime exprimebat. nam et dicere in sermonibus et scribere in epistolis[27] solitum esse aiunt: *speude bradeôs*: per quod

[27] Suetonius has preserved part of a letter or dispatch written by Augustus (42.3) on a problem of abolishing the *frumentationes publicae*, in which he notes that the farmers

monebat ut ad rem agendam simul adhiberetur et industriae celeritas et diligentiae tarditas; ex quibus duobus contrariis fit "maturitas."

Following the principle of *hysteron-proteron*, we shall begin with the instances in the twelfth book of the epic where the poet assigns to Aeneas speeches or events which display his character as a correlate of Augustus, by means of poetic variations on the theme *festina lente*. A diversified verbal display of this *topos* appears five times in the twelfth book. In two of these places Aeneas is represented as speaking as a general to his soldiers at times of real stress (565–73, 889–93). The first of these is an oration intended to rally his men to attack the walls of the city. The second is an angry challenge to Turnus to engage in single combat. It is sufficient to cite the first two verses of the longer speech for the purpose of noting the variation in our theme. The occasion was an important one as the general took his place on a mound (12.565–66):

> ne qua meis esto dictis mora; Iuppiter hac stat;
> neu quis ob inceptum subitum mihi segnior ito.

The first verse is of course a statement of part of the theme. The second verse ("nor let any, I pray, be slower to advance because the venture is so sudden," Fairclough) conveys in *ob inceptum subitum* a reflection of Augustus' injunction, according to Suetonius 25.4, against *festinatio* and *temeritas* in the directives of an ideal commander.[28]

might become lax in producing food crops: "impetum se cepisse frumentationes publicas in perpetuum abolendi, quod earum fiducia cultura agrorum cessaret. . . ." Even in such a document Augustus seems to weave in some of his philosophical principles on the subject of prudential use of time. There seems, if I am right, a certain contrast between his own *impetus* to decide to act and the farmers' tendency to be lax, *cessaret*. Yet it may be objected that *cessare* is a technical agricultural term, "to lie fallow" (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.617). That Augustus did extend his policy of "haste-delay" over into agriculture is shown by a passage in the *Georgics* (1.259–61), quoted in full by Gellius immediately after the passage given in the text:

> frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber,
> multa, forent quae mox caelo properanda sereno,
> maturare datur.

[28] Vergil carries the Augustan theme over into the later part of this oration. Notice the words *scilicet expectem?* referring to the reluctance of Turnus to fight single-handed (570), and the concluding climactic verse, with striking alliterations: "ferte faces *propere* foedusque reposcite flammis." Furthermore the statement in the first line of this important speech, "Iuppiter hac stat," seems a pointed one. Have we not here a reference to Jupiter "Stator"—the Stayer—for whom a sacrifice is depicted in the shield of Aeneas

The three remaining passages in this book which touch on the assumed association of theme and motto are connected with events, not speeches. These instances, therefore, may require at times perhaps a certain suspension of belief or disbelief on the part of the reader. The anguished pursuit of Turnus by Aeneas, while still suffering from the wound in his thigh, gives the poet an occasion to set in opposition the *tardata sagitta genua* of the hero against a picture of a pursuit still vigorous on his part notwithstanding this physical drawback: *insequitur trepidique pedem pede fervidus urget* (748). When Aeneas leaves the city walls his action is described in terms that are in a sense synthetic: *praecipitatque moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit* (699). This close juxtaposition of the opposites, speed and delay, is also found elsewhere in the poet's report of Vulcan's injunction to the Cyclopes (8.443: *praecipitate moras*) where the association of the deeds of Augustus with Vulcan's masterly art is made evident. The last of these incidents in the twelfth book evinces a clever adaptation in 506–8 of a scene from Homer, where Vergil injects the concepts both of *mora* and *celeritas*. Aeneas rises to attack the Rutulian Sucro, "haud multa morantem, / excipit in latus et qua fata celerrima" drives his sword between the ribs of his opponent. Homer (*Il.* 22.325) has a phrase which Vergil immediately grasped: ἵνα τε ψυχῆς ὠκιστος ὄλεθρος. There is a reference here to an opportune opening in the armor of Hector for a blow by Achilles that would bring the speediest death. The paradox of "delay and haste" is woven into the texture of his poem here by Vergil in the artful introduction of a phrase from Homer.

The sixth book contains a series of incidents which are centered on the activities of the felling of trees—including the important *ilex*—in preparation for the ritual burial of Misenus the trumpeter. The Sibyl is in charge: "tum iussa Sibylae, / haud mora, festinant flentes" (176–77). The *ara sepulchri* is piled high with logs of pine, ash, and the *ilex* which is to furnish the background for the celebrated scene of the "golden bough." The poet does not conceal his art here. The phrase "haud mora, festinant" is noted by Servius to have a parallel

(8.640)? The principal character of the twelfth book revolves around the accusation of delay (*mora*) brought against Turnus by Aeneas; cf. G. E. Duckworth, "Turnus as a Tragic Hero," *Vergilius* 4 (1940) 15, citing *Aen.* 12.889–90 (*mora . . . cursu*). In the same author's article, "Turnus and Duryodhana," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 115, the reluctance of Turnus to fight is compared with a similar situation in the Indian epic.

in Horace's *Ode* 1.28.35 ("quamquam festinas, non est mora longa"), the significance of which for the interpretation of this difficult ode we have discussed above. Still under instruction from the impatient Sibyl the hero hastens to pluck the *aureus ramus* from a shady oak (*opaca ilice*): "corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit / cunctantem" (210–11). Considerable discussion has arisen about the appropriateness of *cunctantem* here, because of the Sibyl's statement to Aeneas before he encountered the unburied body of Misenus that the mysterious bough when plucked "would follow him of itself and with ease, if Fate calls you": "namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur, / si te Fata vocant" (146–47). A recent critic of this passage finds no difficulty in Vergil's description of the bough as "reluctant" to follow the eager and hasty action of Aeneas (*corripit, extemplo, avidus*). The significance of *avulso* in "primo avulso non deficit alter / aureus" (143–44) is brought forward to imply that the Sibyl's statement there suggested effort on the part of the participant. Furthermore the suggestion is made that the intensity of Aeneas' eagerness (*avidus*) would tend "to mitigate whatever clash might be felt between the passages concerned."[29]

This problem cannot be solved, of course, by a simple "rule of thumb." The poet has carefully paved the way in his delineation of the character of the Sibyl. She is a seer of few words (321): "olli sic breviter fata est longaeva sacerdos"—with a touch of contrast (cf. 53–54, 155, 398). On the other hand Aeneas and his companions are aware of the Sibyl's insistence on haste and the ineffectiveness of delay. In verses 40–41 ("nec sacra morantur / iussa viri") there is a notable use of *moror*, a key word in the many variations of Augustus' maxim. Immediate action is implied by the Sibyl's impatient *cessas . . . cessas?* (51–52) to Aeneas. The group with Aeneas is depicted as aware of the necessity of speedy action in following her injunctions regarding the sacrifice of propitiation to the Chthonic powers (236). We may conclude, therefore, that the contrasting motifs of haste and delay in describing Aeneas as he plucked the *ramus* were intentionally introduced by the poet to serve as a sort of dramatic background for a subtle and enigmatic disclosure.[30]

[29] W. T. Avery, "The Reluctant Golden Bough," *CJ* 61 (1966) 269–72.

[30] There is a parallel in the twelfth book (781–87) where the spear of Aeneas "lingered

Vergil has attempted a task which was bound to befuddle the ancient and modern reader—to link a theme that is grounded in folklore and in mystery with a contemporary event or fact of picayune importance to the modern reader. He was ever conscious that he was composing, like Horace, "carmina quae possint oculos auresque morari / Caesaris" (*Epist.* 1.13.7), where *morari* suggests "entertain" by causing Augustus to "pause" or "linger."[31] One can only conjecture what Vergil intended by his not untypical resort to *ambages*. Should we assume a realistic—but to our minds far-fetched—correlation between the *ilex* with its offshoot and the name of Augustus' consort, Livia Drusilla ("little oak")? We have noted the fact that the poet somewhat foregoes his mystification when, in the scene where the Sibyl directs Aeneas and his men "not to delay, but hasten" the ritual burial of Misenus and its aftermath, the search for the "golden bough," he uses the quasi-original form of Augustus' motto, "haud mora, festinant," as the *iussa Sibyllae* (176–77). We shall now present more instances of such poetic parallelisms—such mingling of fact and fiction—in Vergil, with sidelights on his fellow court poet Horace, and with some attempts of Ovid to find in these assumed correlations occasions for a smile at the expense of the "Establishment."

Are there any references to this theme in the *Georgics*? There is a clever adaption of it in the second *Georgic* (481–82) before the poet's well known "reverie." This is repeated in its exact form in the song of Iopas in the first *Aeneid* (745–46):

> quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
> hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.

At first glance it does not seem appropriate to inject this Augustan topic immediately before the poet begins his self-revelatory expression of his longing for *otium cum dignitate* in this celebrated passage (*Geo.* 2.486 ff.). The theme at this point served two purposes. The period in the year's calendar suggested by the poet's verses could allude to the season not only of Augustus' birthday but also of that of the poet himself. Augustus was born *a.d. ix Kal. Octob.* (Sept. 23) and the

in the stubborn stem" (Fairclough) of a wild olive tree: "namque diu *lento*que in stirpe *moratus* / viribus haud ullis valuit discludere *morsus* / *roboris* Aeneas." The spear was finally plucked from its deep roots by the efforts of Venus.

[31] Cf. *Art VII* 263–64.

poet on the Ides of October (Oct. 15)—both under the sign of Libra.

The poet's words should be carefully examined. The "tardy nights" are an obstacle—a *mora*—in a period when the sun "hastens so fast" to dip into the Ocean. The poet is depicting vividly and with intent the time of the year when nights begin to be longer and the daylight briefer, precisely at the time of the autumn equinox of September 21. His word for word repetition of this theme at the end of the first *Aeneid*, in the song of the bard at the banquet table of Dido, gave the poet an occasion to state, in effect: the song of Iopas is my song—he is my *alter ego*—with bows of course to Augustus.

It is interesting to note in the first *Georgic* (32–35) the significance given by the poet to one position among many others in the heavens which was to be reserved for "Caesar" at some future time: "qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis / panditur." This is the place in the zodiacal cycle into which at a later time Libra was introduced.[32] The significant parenthesis which follows has overtones of "haste": "iam bracchia contrahit *ardens* / Scorpios et *caeli iusta quam parte reliquit.*" We would expect some suggestion of "slowness" to match the hasty deferential action of Scorpio. The poet's introductory verse to this astrological passage presents us with an attempt to convey such a concept: "anne novum *tardis* sidus te *mensibus* addas" (32). If we take *tardis mensibus* to reflect, with overtones of the *magnus annus*, the *tardae noctes* just discussed, then we can see that the verses in the second *Georgic* are complementary to this one: in both instances the equinoctial pattern is adumbrated. The reader, observing this correspondence, will not need to feel that the poet is doing more than *suggesting*, in a setting of personal reminiscence and hope, a parallel between the time of his own birth date and that of his patron.

Two of Horace's variations on this *topos* of Augustus should be discussed here because of what appears to be their tendency to parody

[32] Ovid (*Met.* 2.195–97) was aware of the astronomical fact that Scorpio originally occupied the space of two *signa*: "(Scorpio) porrigit in spatium signorum membra duorum." It may be significant that Ovid attributes the ultimate fall of Phaethon and his steeds to the frightful appearance of Scorpio (198–200) in the skies, a calamity which destroyed lands and forests all over the world and desiccated rivers and lakes everywhere. This is perhaps an instance of Ovid's wry humor at the expense of Augustus, whose domain, according to Vergil (*Geo.* 1.25–31), included in the *maximus orbis* lands and seas.

ideas found in the sixth *Aeneid*. Horace's humorous approaches to this theme are exemplified by two odes, one an earlier poem (3.28), the other a later ode (4.1). The contemporary reader could savor in the first of these poems the wit in Horace's description of his impromptu plan for a little party to celebrate at his home a popular festival, the Neptunalia, with a staid Lyde who needed to be goaded to action. Augustus would surely appreciate this improvisation on his favorite theme. Lyde is addressed on this feast day as *strenua*: "prome reconditam, Lyde, strenua Caecubum." This precious jar is stored far back in the *horreum*. The poet urges extreme haste. "Do you not see that the day is waning? And yet, as if the swift day were standing still (*veluti stet volucris dies*), you refrain from snatching from the storeroom a jar that is loath to be moved, containing wine of the vintage of the consul Bibulus." There is intended to be hilarious good humor of course in the reference to the name of the colleague of Augustus' uncle in the year 59. We can detect gentle parody here of a famous passage in the sixth *Aeneid* which has been discussed above. There the hero eagerly grasps at the golden bough, reluctant to follow his impatient efforts, *cunctantem*. The *amphora* like the *aureus ramus* is also reluctant to be moved: "parcis deripere horreo / *cessantem* Bibuli consulis amphoram" (7–8).

The opening ode of the fourth book is addressed to Paulus Maximus, that is, Paulus Fabius Maximus. This poem seems, like *Ode* 3.28 which we have just discussed, to reflect a passage in the same book of Vergil's epic (*Aen.* 6.845–46):

> quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,
> unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.

The position of Maximus is last in the long list of heroes in the speech of Anchises inspired by the mention of Augustus Caesar, the founder of the Golden Age (792). There is an intentional aim here on the part of the poet, who declares his weariness after detailing the achievements of so many prominent Romans, to emphasize by the position of these verses a parallel between the fame of Fabius Maximus as a "Cunctator" and the policies of Augustus as expressed in his slogan. Vergil has also cleverly linked the theme of "haste" (*quo fessum rapitis, Fabii?*) with that of "delay" (*cunctando*) in these two verses in the sixth *Aeneid*.

There is no discernible mention of the famous Fabius in this initial poem of Horace's fourth book addressed to Paulus Maximus, a young aristocrat, not yet of consular rank (he became consul two years later than the assumed date of this ode, ca. 13 B.C.). This ode was written with extreme care and finesse as we shall see. It served as a sort of overture to introduce a theme which would be highly flattering to Augustus and at the same time open the way for a series of portraits of noted contemporaries and friends of the Princeps.[33] This final book of the odes gave the poet an opportunity to celebrate not only certain contemporary achievements but also to suggest—in the Pindaric manner—the *heroic ancestry* of many of the persons so honored. The ode itself to all appearances is in the purely erotic mode. The formal references to the activities of Venus and the Cupids (8 verses) at the beginning, and the dream motif on young Ligurinus at the end (8 verses), make it sufficiently clear that such is its genre. The reader, however, is impressed by the central panel of 24 verses, describing the marble statue and shrine of Venus in the estate of Paulus near the Alban lake. The poet intended this part to serve as the core of the ode. There is no hint which one can perceive of any reference in the poem to history or genealogy. Subconsciously, perhaps, the poet supplies an echo from *Ode* 2.12 with the epithet applied there to Hannibal: the recurrence of the adjective *durus* at the beginning and end of the poem seems significant. The whole poem emphasizes the static nature of the poet in love ("non sum, qualis eram bonae / sub regno Cinarae," 2–3) in contrast to the fleeting quality (*volucrem*, 38) of the vision at the end in which these two qualities are effectively juxtaposed: "per aquas, dure, volubilis." This contrast is intensified by the depiction in the central panel of an orchestral piece projected for a festival at a shrine of Venus to be built by Paulus. The music proposed suggests melodies in which the gentle notes of the lyre are mingled with the harsher notes of Phrygian pipes. It is interesting to note that the *progenies Veneris* is honored by the poet with song and "Lydian pipes" in the final stanza of the last ode in this book.

We have seen how two court poets time and again have attempted, with more or less artistic success, to incorporate into their verses the

[33] Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 410–14.

paradoxical injunction of Augustus "to hasten slowly."[34] It is unlikely that such a patent act of obeisance—though done for the most part with considerable finesse—to the powers on the Palatine hill would have passed unnoticed among the wits at Rome unconnected with the "Establishment." A likely candidate for amused acquiescence in this parade of compliance would be Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.–17 A.D.) who was a very young man when Horace published his first book of odes and a mere *puer* when Vergil completed his *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. In his early *Ars Amatoria* (1.183–86) Ovid extols *Caesaribus virtus* in verses celebrating the birthday of Caius, son of Agrippa and Julia. After the manner of his predecessors when they commended the Princeps, Ovid too injects the theme of "speed and delay" (1.185–86):

ingenium caeleste suis *velocius* annis
surgit, et *ignavae* fert male damna *morae*.

Elsewhere in the same poem Ovid projects his doctrine of *cultus* (3.123–28), which, he claims, has done more for modern Rome than all its achievements in erecting monumental buildings of marble or in such bold engineering feats as a wave-resisting dam:

nec quia decrescunt effosso marmore montes,
nec quia caeruleae mole *fugantur* aquae,
sed quia cultus adest nec nostros *mansit* in annos
Rusticitas priscis illa *superstes* avis.

Here Ovid treats lightly, to say the least, three accomplishments which were a source of great pride to Augustus. Suetonius relates at length his adherence to ancient customs and ritual, including belief in dreams and portents (90–94). Augustus boasted that he received a city of

[34] There is danger, of course, of taking what becomes a formula like *nec mora, nec requies* to be in every case an Augustan touch. Vergil has this formula in a passage where he describes methods of training a spirited racehorse (*Geo.* 3.110). The same formula appears in Aeneid 12.553, appropriately enough before the oration of Aeneas (565–73) to his followers which contains assured traits of the language of Augustus, as we have seen. The formula appears unexpectedly in portraying the winner of the boxing contest (5.458). The Greek Androgeos greets the disguised Trojans as he mimics in droll fashion the favorite theme of their captain (2.373–74): "festinate, viri, nam quae tam sera moratur / segnities?"

brick but was able to return it in marble (28.3). The building of the Lucrine dam gave Ovid occasion to employ an unusual metaphor: the sea-green waters are put to flight by the embankment. This picture of the fleeing waters is a reflection of Vergil's description of the barriers of stone (in the same engineering feat) which drive back the sea: "ponto longe sonat unda refuso," (*Geo.* 2.163). Into the passage from the *Ars* cited above, Ovid attempts, not too successfully, to interweave the Augustan motif of "flight and stability"—an example of Ovid's departure from the literalness suggested by Horace in his Archytas ode (*quamquam festinas, non est mora longa*) and by Vergil's injunction of the Sibyl (*haud mora, festinant*). The nearest parallel to the Ovidian complex seems to be the archetypal passage in the fourth *Eclogue* (12–14) with its picture of the advancing giant months (*incipient procedere*) contrasted with the lingering qualities of our guilt ("si qua *manent* sceleris vestigia nostri . . . *perpetua* solvent formidine . . ."). In Ovid, Rusticitas is depicted as lingering ("nostros mansit in annos . . . superstes"). This ambition to restore the glories of the Golden Age on the part of Augustus—and Vergil—only provoked Ovid to smile at its utter *naïveté*.

A larger field for the exercise of Ovid's humor on the topic of the motto of Augustus was presented by his *Metamorphoses*. Two happenings among others in this huge collection of mythological tales of transmutation gave Ovid an opportunity for such a display of wit. An acceptable myth was at hand for a humorous account of a speedy pursuit in the story of Daphne and Apollo (1.452–567). The tale of the laggard birth of the hero Hercules gave occasion for a witty account of an operation that discouraged speed and emphasized delay (9.273–323). The poet stamped the first of these myths as applicable to the Princeps by his concluding verses addressed to the laurel (562–63): "postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos / ante fores stabis." In this story Ovid is at his playful best. He injects a phrase which stems from Horace's noted verses on the apotheosis of Augustus, which itself is a variation of a slogan already a commonplace with the court poets (*Odes* 1.2.47–49): "neve te nostris vitiis iniquum / ocior aura / tollat." Ovid is describing the swift flight of Daphne (502–3): "fugit ocior aura / illa levi." The god appeals to Daphne to stop because he did not intend to harm her. The reflection of the favorite theme of the

Princeps is only apparent to the initiate who is looking for rollicking humor at this point (510–11):

> aspera, qua properas, loca sunt: moderatius, oro,
> curre fugamque inhibe! moderatius insequar ipse.

Here is a subtle variation on the theme, "hasten slowly!"[35]

The story of the delayed birth of Hercules due to the machinations of Juno furnished Ovid with a topic suited to his gentle irony. The court poets had exploited the analogy between the world-wide experiences of the Greek hero and the political achievements of Augustus. The theme of their mutual apotheosis was expanded by Horace. The picture in *Odes* 3.3.9–12 of Augustus reclining with Hercules in a heavenly bower would be likely to excite laughter in Ovid at the age of twenty. Vergil compares the penetration of Augustus to the utmost limits of the earth with the deeds of Alcides (*Aen.* 6.801). Ovid solved the problem of narrative technique in this Herculean myth by presenting the attempt of Juno to delay the birth of the hero in words of advice of Alcmene to her daughter-in-law Iole concerning *her* future birth labors. The poet at the very beginning of this womanly chat furnishes the reader with a clue to the analogy of the birth of a world conqueror with portents of the imperial power of Augustus by such a telescopic phrase as *corripiantque moras* in Alcmene's prayer for Iole (*Met.* 9.281–83): "faveant tibi numina saltem / corripiantque moras tum, cum matura vocabis / . . . Ilithiam." The poet too has selected *matura* with its connotations of "in due time" to complement the combination of "haste and delay" in the preceding phrase. Ovid followed a Vergilian model here.[36]

Since the impetus to this study of the Augustan paradox stemmed from my analyses of two early pastoral poems of Vergil, the question may well arise as to whether Octavian at this early period had promulgated a "more haste, less speed" policy. We seem to be assured that this was the case from a passage in Suetonius (*Aug.* 8.2) where Octavian, at the age of 19 when he was a student at Apollonia, is reported to

[35] In order to clarify further the analogy here Ovid adds another touch: "qui tamen insequitur, pernis adiutus amoris / *ocior est requiemque negat*" (1.540–41). Ovid's use of *requies* here seems to be a humorous reflection of Vergil's Augustan formula (see above, note 34).

[36] See the discussion above of Vulcan's instructions to the Cyclopes (*Aen.* 8. 441–43).

have made the following reaction to the announcement of his uncle's assassination: "utque primum occisum eum heredemque se comperit, diu cunctatus an proximas legiones imploraret, id quidem consilium ut praeceps immaturumque omisit." The use of *praeceps* here is significant in view of Vergil's use of that term. The fact that Octavian disregarded a certain plan at this stage as over-hasty and ill-advised helps the reader to realize that the contrasting attitude, *diu cunctatus*, of the young Octavian at this crisis in his life could serve as a forerunner of the motto of the later princeps, *festina lente*.

The occurrence of the word *praeceps* by Suetonius in connection with Octavian leads us to its use by Vergil in recording the various stages in the flight of a *fato profugus* (*Aen.* 1.2) from three countries, Asia, Africa, and Sicily. We would expect that the departures from these places of the epic hero—a correlate of Octavian-Augustus—would not be depicted as wholly *praecipites*, if the poet was consistently conscious throughout his epic of the Augustan formula. In his flight from Troy Aeneas does not act precipitously. The prediction of Creusa that he was to found a new kingdom and find a royal *coniunx* (2.782) comforted him. He left Troy abruptly, slowed down by an act of *pietas*, the rescue of his aged father.[37] The escape from the

[37] The final verse of the second *Aeneid* serves as a sort of musical coda, if I am correct, with a hardly perceptible variation on the Augustan theme:

cessi et sublato montis genitore petivi.

The poet prepares us somewhat for the measured pace of the exit by setting up in the background a scene of a sunrise on Mt. Ida which lay in the path of retreat. This rugged landscape seems to be the poet's contribution to a scene already depicted by Sophocles in his *Laocoon* (Dion. Hal. 1.48.2), where the personages and place of departure ("at the gates") are the same. By indicating the mountain facing Aeneas and Anchises did the poet intend to convey the idea that the flight from Troy was not precipitous? Yet Venus had advised hasty flight (*eripe, nate, fugam*, 619) and so did Anchises (*iam iam nulla mora est*, 700). The poet, however, had represented Aeneas as looking forward to taking his father over Mt. Ida ("tollere in altos / optabam primum montis," 635–36) where *primum* is interpreted by Servius as *praecipuum*. One reason given for the retreat from Troy is a logical one, "nec spes opis ulla dabatur." Augustus advised, according to Suetonius (25.4), that a general should not attack unless he had more hopes of success than fear of defeat.

Vergil followed somewhat closely Naevius' account of the exodus of the Trojans from the burning city. He incorporated some of the phrases of his predecessor. These have been reported by the commentator who was the source of Servius (Donatus?) in the scholium on *Aen.* 2.797 (see the *editio Harvardiana* vol. 2 [1946] *ad loc.*). The picture of the unhurried flight of the principal characters in the epic seems to have been an original contribution of our poet.

dread Cyclops is described as caused by *metus acer* which drove the voyagers into precipitous flight (3.682). However the poet qualifies this by stating that they changed their course, following the advice of Helenus to avoid Scylla and Charybdis: "certum est dare lintea retro." In describing the exodus from Africa, Vergil was confronted with another problem which he solved by the introduction of Mercury as a *deus ex machina*. The god first urges hasty flight, with reservations in the form of a query (4.565): "non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?" This admonition is tempered, however, by a reason for not delaying: "mutabile semper femina." Leave, he advises, before dawn finds you *his terris . . . morantem*. Aeneas complies with the injunction of Mercury and orders his men: *praecipites vigilate, viri* (573).[38]

## SUMMARY

Now for a brief summary of a paper which had its initial impetus in the discovery of the expression of a relation of patron and client in two pastorals of Vergil. In the third and seventh *Eclogues* the poet has dramatized two song contests in which the most significant characters, Palaemon and Daphnis, assume the shadowy role of Octavian during the crucial years 39–38 B.C. Their identifications are revealed by the introductions of variants of the favorite motto of the presiding shepherd. Traces of variations on the same theme (*festina lente*) are discernible in the *Georgics* and especially in the *Aeneid*. Occurrences of this theme in the epic seem to indicate that the poet attempted to delineate—although hardly with much success on the part of his readers since the time of Ovid—his hero as a shadowy archetype of Augustus. Horace shows himself in the role of a venturous follower of his fellow poet by inserting several poetic variations on the same themes in his *Odes*. Horace performed the more difficult task of adapting the Augustan paradox to the lyrical mode. Finally we see Ovid as the inevitable *moqueur* of all this interplay of fact and fancy.

[38] Other flights from Delos, Crete, and the Strophades are described as hasty. They were directed for the most part by Anchises acting as an uncertain interpreter of the will of the gods (*Aen.* 3.124, 190, 268). On the part played by Anchises in the plots of the epics respectively of Naevius and of Vergil see H. T. Rowell, "The Scholium of Naevius in *Parisinus Latinus* 7930," *AJP* 78 (1947) 1–22.