

HORACE, C. 1.22: POETIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRITY

N. K. ZUMWALT

University of Pennsylvania

Two areas of critical concern prompt me to offer a new interpretation of Horace's best known and best loved ode, *Integer vitae*. The first is the relation of the posture of the *sanctus amator* to the *persona* of the *sanctus poeta*, a relation often noticed by interpreters,¹ but one which has yet to be sufficiently explored. The second has as its immediate point of origin a suggestion made by Nisbet and Hubbard in their recent commentary on the First Book of the *Odes*, that the first two stanzas of the poem allude to Cato the Younger and his famous march across the Syrtes in 47 B.C.² If Nisbet and Hubbard are right, and I believe that they are, then Horace says more about moral, military, and political matters in the poem than critics have recognized.

¹ The *sanctus amator* passages most commonly adduced are Tibullus 1.2.16–20 and Propertius 3.16.11–20. A. W. J. Holleman, "Horace's Lalage (*Ode* 1, 22) and Tibullus' Delia," *Latomus* 28 (1969) 575–82, argues that Horace was mainly influenced by Tibullus 1.2. R. M. Haywood, on the other hand, "*Integer vitae* and Propertius," *CJ* 37 (1941) 28–32, reads Horace's ode as persiflage of Prop. 3.16. Heinze, contra Kiessling, (see his introduction to the ode, Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Oden und Epoden*, erklärt von A. Kiessling, besorgt von R. Heinze [Berlin 19307]) reads the poem as a statement of personal erotic experience. G. L. Hendrickson, "*Integer vitae*," *CJ* 5 (1909–10) 250–58, pointed out that *integer* and *scelus* belong to the vocabulary of erotic poetry. S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (New Haven 1962) 130–36, believes that Horace set out to parody an attitude, central to Catullus and Latin erotic elegy, in which love is seen as overwhelming and enveloping all other life experiences.

The *sanctus poeta* passages most commonly adduced are C. 1.17, 2.17.28 ff., and 3.4.9 ff. A. Y. Campbell, *Horace: A New Interpretation* (London 1924) 228, and, recently, J. McCormick, "Horace's *Integer Vitae*," *CW* 67 (1973–74) 28–33, and H. P. Syndikus, *Die Lyrik des Horaz*, Band 1 (Darmstadt 1972) 225–32, have stressed the importance of poetry in interpreting this poem. Among those who have read the ode as a synthesis of the two postures are W. Wili, *Horaz und die augusteisch Kultur* (Basel 1948) 187–90, E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1958) 187, and R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1* (Oxford 1970) 263.

² Nisbet and Hubbard (above, note 1) 265–66.

Let us turn to the first two stanzas. The poem opens with a *sententia* "that would be more appropriate in the mouth of the Elder Cato:"³ the man who has integrity and is free from wrong-doing needs no weapons wherever he may travel. The moral man is defined positively and negatively; his hallmark is *integritas*, he refrains from doing wrong. The second half of the definition is disturbingly weak (surely a man is not good merely because he abstains from evil), but it is dictated by the specific application of the *sententia* (see below). The weapons are described at greater length (3 lines) than the man (1 line). The list includes *Mauris iaculis, arcu, venenatis gravida sagittis / ... pharetra*. We note that the darts are Mauretanian. We note, too, that the bow and arrows are also Cupid's weapons, an anticipation of the erotic application of the *sententia* which is to be introduced in the *namque* passage. In stanza two Horace amplifies the *sententia* with a disjunctive geographical doublet.⁴ The places named, located South-west and East, take the traveler to dangerous (*per Syrtes . . . aestuosas, per inhospitalem / Caucasum, quae loca fabulosus lambit Hydaspes*) places. The notion of danger is present in both members of the doublet. Remoteness is expressed only in the second, which has two sub-members, the second of which, introduced by *vel*, is so remote as to be semi-legendary.

The tone of the *sententia*, the fact that some of the weapons are specifically African, and mention of the Syrtes in the first *sive* clause suggest that Horace makes implicit reference to Cato the Younger and his participation with the anti-Caesarian forces in the War in Africa. How, then, do we interpret the other geographical designations, mentioned in the second *sive* clause (lines 6–8), the Caucasus and the Hydaspes? Nisbet and Hubbard further suggest that if the Syrtes have

³ Commager (above, note 1) 132; O. Keller–A. Holder (Leipzig 1889) and Nisbet and Hubbard call attention to the Stoic tone of the *sententia*.

⁴ Horace is fond of geographical doublets and lists. Most of them refer to military campaigns, campaigns of conquest, carried out against distant peoples, who are located North and East. In 1.21.13–16 and 1.35.30–32 Horace expresses a hope that Apollo and Fortuna respectively will protect Caesar warring in Britain and in the East. In 3.5.2–5 Horace states that belief in the divinity of Augustus is conditional upon the *princeps'* conquests of Britons and Persians. In 4.5.25–28 and 4.14.41–51 he catalogues distant places and peoples successfully overcome by Caesar and Drusus. In 3.3.37–56 Juno decrees that Rome may give laws to the Medes, may extend her power South and East (46–48), and even go to the ends of the earth—to nameless places, uninhabitable because of their climates (55–56)—as long as she does not try to rebuild Troy. (For further discussion of 55–56, see below, pp. 428–29.)

specific politico-military reference, the other places named in the doublet probably have comparable associations. Mention of the Hydaspes, they propose, recalls the exploits of Alexander the Great in India, with which the Caucasus were also associated, although the first Roman general to reach the Caucasus was Pompey the Great.⁵

While Horace attenuates the allusion to Cato in the second *sive* clause,⁶ he does so in order to broaden the scope of the *sententia*. Cato is set apart from Alexander and Pompey, both of whom died in military campaigns, because he took his own life in order to abide by his principles of *integritas* and to avoid implication in the dishonor (*scelus*) of surrender. "The man of integrity needs no weapons wherever he may go" defines a moral position which transcends political and military realities. Others—the unnamed victor of the African conflict, Pompey before him, and Alexander before him—have achieved glory in the realm of political and military exploits. By making reference to other achievements and other times, Horace places all such achievement in a wider historical perspective. Political fortunes wax and wane; the immortality won through the *integritas* of a Cato, Horace implies, is of greater intrinsic value than that won through the exploits of any military or political leader.⁷

⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 34, Str. 11.5.5, Arr. *Ind.* 18.9.

⁶ The ornate, romantic, and periphrastic language of lines 5–8 has been compared with Catullus 11.2–14. In this poem, one of the two which he wrote in Sapphics, Catullus, while sarcastically suggesting that Furius and Aurelius would go to the ends of the earth with him, requests these two disreputable characters to deliver a message to his equally disreputable *puella*. In the catalogue, Catullus both alludes to (6) and specifically mentions (9–12) sites of recent military campaigns. Other places are included (India, Arabia, Egypt) because they are distant and romantic. The places named in Horace's list suggest travel for the sake of warfare or adventure and, as we shall see, more.

⁷ For Cato's *integritas*, see especially *Bellum Africum* 88: *Quem Uticenses quamquam oderant partium gratia, tamen propter eius singularem integritatem, et quod dissimillimum reliquorum ducum fuerat quodque Uticam munificis operibus muniverat turrisque auxerat, sepultura adficiunt*, and Sallust, *Catilina* 54, *Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato*. Cf. also Appian, *B.C.* 2.99; Dio 37.22.1–2, 37.57.3, 42.13.2, 43.10.3, 43.11.6. Lucan's byword for Cato is *virtus* (e.g., *Bellum Civile* 2.243, 258, 263; 9.371, 445). See also M. Gelzer, *Caesar, Politician and Statesman* (Harvard 1968) 269 ff. and 303 note 1.

Horace perhaps also implies that Cato has gone to the ends of the earth with respect to moral achievement. Cf. Pindar's use of the Hyperboreans (*Pyth.* 10.27–29, *Isth.* 6.19–24) and the Pillars of Hercules (*Olym.* 3.43–44, *Nem.* 3.21–23) as symbols for the limits of human achievement, which the victor has reached.

In stanzas one and two Horace establishes a pattern of statement and elaboration. The pattern is repeated in the next two stanzas, where the *namque* passage (stanza three) is glossed by the elaborating *neque* clauses of stanza four. It is broken in the two concluding stanzas of the poem, where elaboration (*pone me* 17–*negata* 22) precedes statement, *dulce-loquentem* 23–24. All of the elaborating passages contain geographical designations. We have seen that in stanza two, the geographical designations serve to express political allusions and to symbolize Cato's figurative moral *iter*. We shall see below that the geographical terms both in the elaborating passages and in the *namque* passage itself are of comparable importance.

In the *namque* passage, to which we now turn, Horace offers himself as explicit *exemplar* of the *integer vitae* and the wolf anecdote as an example of his inviolability. As applied to Horace, the *sententia* means that he, if chaste or faithful in love (*integer*), needs no weapons, especially not Cupid's weapons—either because his fidelity protects him or because he has already been struck by Cupid's arrow and so is beyond help. The boldness of self-proclaimed *integritas* in juxtaposition with the humbleness of the example abruptly subverts the solemnity of the *sententia*. Since, as I read it, the implicit referent of the *sententia* is Cato, I regard the *namque* passage as introducing a major change in poetic tack, despite its formally subordinate position. In the passage Horace moves out of the topic of the relation between ethics and politics and the serious social issues which this topic implies, and into what appears to be the realm of the personal and amatory.

The *sanctus amator* who has unexpectedly appeared does not present us with general assertions about the sacrosanctity of the lover, of the sort that we find in Tibullus and Propertius. Horace purports to give us the testimony of personal experience, an anecdote related quickly, deftly, and in a conversational tone which contrasts greatly with the grandiloquent tone of stanzas one and two and stanza four. The notion that love renders a man immune to the dangers of the natural world appears in three Hellenistic epigrams cited by Pasquali in connection with lines 17–22 of Horace's poem.⁸ Other analogues for the wolf story have been suggested. An epigram of Antistius (*A.P.* 6.237), in

⁸ G. Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico* (Florence 1920) 472–75, cites *A.P.* 5.25 (Philodemus), 5.64 (Asclepiades), and 5.168 (Anon.).

which a *gallus* scares away a lion by shaking a tambourine, has been cited by Josserand.⁹ Nisbet-Hubbard recall a story about Pythagoras, said to have tamed a Daunian bear (Iamblichus, *Vita Pyth.* 60), and point out that Juba II's work on natural history, the *Libyka*, may have contained comparable tall animal stories.

Like the *gallus*, Horace frightened away a wild animal by making a noise. Like the *gallus*, Pythagoras, and the *sanctus amator* of Propertius,¹⁰ he had a special power that gave him a way with a wild beast. This power is derived from his role as singing *amator*. Unlike the *sancti amatores* of elegy, Horace is not only *amator* but also *poeta*. In our passage Horace has combined the *personae* of the *sanctus amator* and the *sanctus poeta* to produce a literary mutation: the sacrosanct love poet.

Let us consider the *namque* passage as a whole. Horace seems to be saying the following. He was in the Sabine Woods, and while singing a love song (*dum meam canto Lalagen*) and while he was wandering beyond some boundary (*et ultra / terminum curis vagor expeditis*), a wolf ran away from him. As usually interpreted, this stanza reveals that Horace wandered beyond the boundary of his Sabine Farm and was deep enough in the woods to meet up with a wolf. He was unarmed, but no matter; he escaped harm because protected by his love. If I am correct in suggesting that Horace portrays himself as a sacrosanct love poet, then we must revise this interpretation and say rather that Horace escaped harm because protected by his powers as a love poet. This posture is not fully and explicitly expressed until the final two lines of the poem, *Lalagen amabo / dulce loquentem*. The stanza thus interpreted elevates the status of love poet and love poetry to unfamiliar heights. The hyperbolic fourth stanza does nothing to reduce them to their more usual humble position, and in the final two stanzas of the poem, Horace declares that in whatever inhospitable climes he may find himself, he will go on loving love song.

Let us look more closely at the *namque* passage. C. 3.4.9 ff. has often

⁹ "Dum Meam Canto Lalagen . . .," *AC* 4 (1935) 363.

¹⁰ No wild animal appears in the Tibullus passage. Cf. Catullus 45.5-7, where Septimius perishes with love of Acme as surely as he would perish if he met up with a green-eyed lion *India Africaque tosta*. The collocation of India and Africa in stanza two of *Integer vitae*, the danger of encountering a wild animal, and Horace's erotic role suggest that Horace had Catullus 45 in mind, as well as poems 11 (above, note 6) and 51 (below, p. 429).

been adduced as a parallel for our passage, and will serve to substantiate our claim that 1.22.9 ff. is concerned with poetry. The structural parallels between the two passages have been pointed out by E. Wistrand in some detail.

In both strophes there is first the strongly emphasized object *me* then the subject, or in 3.4.9 a part of the subject (*lupus—fabulosae*), then a geographical name which tells about the place of the described action (*silva . . . in Sabina*, resp. *Vulture in Appulo*), then a description of the situation (*dum meam canto Lalagen et . . . curis vagor expeditis*, resp. *Ludo fatigatumque somno*) with a closer rendering of the scene (*ultra terminum—nutricis, extra limen Apuliae*), and finally the predicate (*fugit—texere*) along with connected qualifiers of the object (*inermem—puerum*), which get a distinct stress by virtue of the considerable distance from the principal word, just as for the most part both strophes' word order is characterized by a peculiar division of the essential parts of the sentence (subject, predicate, object) at the beginning and end of the sentence.

Wistrand also points out that *ultra / terminum* in 1.22 corresponds to *extra limen* in 3.4. In both cases the meaning is outside of a boundary.¹¹ 3.4 contains an important textual crux:

extra limina Pulliae
extra limen Apuliae

Wistrand suggests that since in 1.22 *leonum / arida nutrix* refers to a land, *Iubae tellus*, we might expect that the corresponding phrase in 3.4.9 also refers to a land. Yet Wistrand rejects the reading *Apuliae*; with this reading the line would mean "outside the boundary of my native country Apulia," a sense which Wistrand finds unacceptable, although he fails to explain why.¹² I prefer the latter reading because of the

¹¹ E. Wistrand, "Till Två Horatiusställen," *Eranos* 29 (1931) 81–86. The quotations are from pages 84 and 85 respectively. Wistrand interprets the phrases as "outside the home," but the sense of both *terminus* and *limen* is that of boundary, not home.

¹² Three arguments have been advanced against the reading *extra limen Apuliae*. (1) According to some, it has inferior manuscript authority. So Klingner in his third edition (1959) and most recently A. Treloar, "Horace, Odes iii 4.10," *Antichthon* 2 (1968) 58–62. (2) It is metrically unlikely or impossible. (3) It renders lines 9/10 self-contradictory: since Mt. Voltur is in Apulia (*Vulture in Apulio*) and the *nutrix* is Apulia, Horace cannot have gone outside the home in leaving *nutrix Apulia* to go to Apulian Voltur. As to the first objection, given the vexed question of the Horatian manuscript tradition, suffice it to say here that both *Apuliae* and *Pulliae* have sufficient support to merit serious consideration. See C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The "Ars Poetica,"* (Cambridge 1971) 1–43. As to the second point, we find from examination

parallelism in both form and meaning which I sense in the two passages under discussion.

In *Integer vitae, silva in Sabina* represents, I suggest, home poetic territory and corresponds to *nutricis . . . Apuliae* in the 3.4 passage. That is, in both passages the geographical locations, the Sabine Woods and Apulia, land of Horace's birth, symbolize poetic locations. *Ultra / terminum* (1.22.10/11) corresponds to *extra limen* in 3.4.10 and represents area outside of home poetic territory. Let us consider the meanings of these geographical symbols in each passage. In the 3.4 passage, *nutricis extra limen Apuliae* signifies that Horace has gone outside of that part of Apulia which nurtured him, home territory, to another part of Apulia, Mt. Voltur (*Vulture in Apulo*). Horace presents us with a legendary childhood anecdote similar to stories related by Pindar and Stesichorus. The purpose of this kind of story is to show that the poet is set apart from ordinary mortals even in childhood; destined for poetry, he enjoys divine protection from his earliest years. Horace's anecdote serves, I believe, a further purpose in the context in which it occurs, namely, to prefigure the main poetic task at hand. Just as Horace, when an infant, strayed from home and came to no harm because the gods and nature itself were watching over him, so now he may, in the company of the Muses, safely go outside of home poetic territory to brave unaccustomed poetic topics (30–36) and the bold poetic task of offering advice to Caesar (37–42). The fact that Horace remained in Apulia in the legendary incident—that he strayed beyond the boundary of his nurse Apulia, yet went to Apulian Voltur—perhaps corresponds to the fact that though daring to assume the role of political commentator and adviser, Horace nevertheless remains within the confines of lyric. In this poem, Horace departs from what he elsewhere designates as the proper subject matter of his lyric to assume a role reminiscent of those played by

of *Apulus*, *Apulia*, and *Apulicus* in the Horatian corpus that the first word always scans *Āpūlus* (C. 3.5.9, 3.16.26, *Serm.* 2.1.34, *Epode* 2.42, C. 4.14.26, 3.4.9, 1.33.7, and *Serm.* 2.1.38); the second, *Āpūlia* (*Epode* 3.16), *Āpūliae* (C. 3.4.10) but *Āpūlia* in *Serm.* 1.5.77; the third (if the reading is correct), *Āpūlicus* (C. 3.24.4). I agree with Treloar (58) that we cannot eliminate *Āpūliae* (line 10) because of *Āpūlo* (line 9). Nor can we eliminate it because it repeats the proper name, for there are several examples of anaphora of proper names in successive lines in the *Odes*. See, e.g., *Telephi* 1.13.1 and 2; *Lamo*, *Lamias* 3.17.1 and 2; *Lycus*, *Lycos* 3.19.23 and 24; *Phoebe*, *Phoebus* (*bis*) 4.6.26 and 29; *Lyce* 4.13.1 and 2.

some archaic Greek lyricists. In *Integer vitae* Horace's preference for small or light lyric forms the basis for the symbol of home poetic territory, *silva in Sabina*.¹³

Let us now consider the *dum* clause. While in home poetic territory, where the wolf incident occurred, Horace was singing a babbling love song, his Lalage.¹⁴ This much tells us that Horace was singing the kind of lyric, a love song, which he so often proclaims to be properly his own. In the second part of the *dum* clause, however, Horace also tells us that he was wandering beyond some boundary. If I am right in believing that *silva in Sabina* refers to a poetic location, then *ultra / terminum* takes its meaning from the significance of the earlier geographical designation, and refers to area outside of home poetic territory. I take this departure as a reference to the first two stanzas of the poem, where Horace has gone beyond what he usually presents as the proper confines of lyric. *Ultra / terminum*, which, appropriately, goes beyond the boundary of the verse, represents an area of poetry outside of light lyric, songs of wine and love. The earlier elevation of Cato's *integritas* over military and political achievement represents a serious departure from Horace's stance as poet of wine and love. There were, to be sure, many such departures. C. 1.2, 1.12, 1.35, 1.37, 2.1, 3.1-6, 3.14 come to mind, yet the present instance is particularly grave. At issue are malingerings republican sympathies, coupled with the judgment

¹³ Those poems in which Horace is recognized to have taken a similar stance are C. 1.6, 2.12, 4.2, 4.15, and *Epis.* 2.1.250 ff. In these programmatic works, Horace designates a specific poetic form and specific poetic topics which he chooses to regard properly as his own. His proper *genus* is lyric, not greater genres like epic, tragedy, or choral lyric; his proper subject matter, wine and love.

Horace's use of the Sabine farm as symbol is not unique to *Integer vitae*. In C. 2.16.37-39 it is associated with slender verse,

mihi parva rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
parca non mendax dedit . . .

See also C. 1.17, where Faunus' presence enables Horace to enjoy peace and security on the Sabine Farm. He is blessed with divine protection because of his poetry (13 f.) and because of his adherence to the principle of decorum: his preference for the modest farm, small verse, and his decorous behavior toward Tyndaris.

¹⁴ Commentators have long made the connection between the name Lalage and *λαλαγεῖν*, to babble. B. L. Ullman, "Horace and the Philologists," *CJ* 31 (1935-36) 410-11, while defending the illogicality of poetic logic ("He was composing verses; ergo the wolf ran away."), suggests that Lalage symbolizes lyric: "The ending of the poem, too, is quite in keeping: he will continue to write lyric verse. That is all, I think, that he means when he says that he will always love Lalage."

that the moral greatness of a Cato transcends political greatness and military achievement. To take this view in the period dominated by the triumph of Julius Caesar's heir constituted "wandering out of bounds" in more ways than one. In 1.22, as in 3.4, Horace remains within the confines of lyric; his departure from the proper confines of lyric, from singing Lalage, was, as we shall see, momentary.

Vagor, the second verb of the *dum* clause, signifies poetic wandering astray and characterizes the departure from light lyric which Horace made in the first two stanzas of the poem.¹⁵ The placement of *curis . . . expeditis* (surrounding *vagor*) suggests a close connection between wandering and "cares having been let go."¹⁶ Did Horace wander beyond the boundary because he was carefree or because he was careless? *Vagor* with its connotations of going outside a proper limit supports the notion of carelessness. We recall, on the other hand, that Horace frequently contrasts serious pursuits and concerns (*curae*, *consilia*—all having to do with the future, mortality, philosophy, cares of state) with enjoyment of the present moment, i.e., the pleasures of wine and love.¹⁷ *Curis . . . expeditis* implies on the one hand that Horace was characteristically free from serious concerns while singing his love song. The placement of the phrase in the second part of the *dum* clause and surrounding *vagor*, suggests, however, that Horace was so carefree that he carelessly wandered out of bounds. The ambiguity of the phrase serves, perhaps, as a refuge from boldness.

Horace was singing his love song and wandered out of poetic bounds when he encountered a wolf. We have interpreted all of the elements of the *namque* stanza figuratively: *silva in Sabina*, Lalage, *ultra / terminum . . . vagor*, *curis . . . expeditis*; the wolf, I suggest, is but a shadow of

¹⁵ Horace uses *vagor* (*A.P.* 265) and, more frequently, *erro* (*C.* 1.34.3, 3.4.6, *Epis.* 2.1.65 and 118, 2.2.140, *A.P.* 308) to describe literary error, often in the sense of lack of aesthetic judgment. For poetic boundaries, see K. J. Reckford, "Horace, Odes 1.34: An Interpretation," *SPhNC* 63 (1966) 513–23, and N. K. Zumwalt, "Horace, C. 1.34: Poetic Change and Political Equivocation," *TAPA* 104 (1974) 448–58.

¹⁶ The Ablative Absolute, which Bentley (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus, ex recensione et cum notis atque emendationibus Richardi Bentleii* [Berlin 1869³]) found fault with, contributes to the impression that the poetic action was inadvertent. Horace wandered out of bounds and somehow or other cares had been released—no telling who was responsible for releasing them. *Curis . . . expeditis* is also supported by Catullus 31.7, *O quid solutis est beatius curis*, as Holleman (above, note 1) 581 points out.

¹⁷ See, e.g., *C.* 1.7.31, 1.11.6–8, 2.11.11–12 and 18, 3.8.17, 3.21.9–16, and 3.29.25–28.

a Greek proverb, *λύκον ἰδεῖν* "to be struck dumb."¹⁸ In the *namque* passage Horace regards what he has done in the first two stanzas of the poem. He asserts that though he, a love poet, transgressed poetic bounds, nevertheless he was not struck dumb.

Through *quale portentum*, with which stanza four is introduced, Horace regards the flight of the wolf as a marvel, and thus raises his poetic feat to the level of the supernatural. This elevation is accompanied by an elevation in tone. The tone of stanza three is conversational, as befits the telling of what purports to be a personal anecdote. In stanza four the incident is cast in a heroic light.¹⁹ Through the elaborating *neque . . . nec* clauses Horace effects a denial that a comparable experience could have taken place either in Daunia or in Juba's land.²⁰ The ostensible point of comparison in the *neque . . . nec* clauses is something marvelous which the lands themselves are conceived of as producing, *alit* 14, *generat* 15, *nutrix* 16. In the first clause no wild animal is mentioned; Juba's land is *leonum / arida nutrix*. Military references, however, are common to both clauses. In the *neque* clause the key to the possible nature of a comparable miracle is the adjective *militaris*, qualifying *Daunias*. Horace elsewhere (C. 3.16.26, *Epode* 2.42) calls attention to the hardness of the Apulians. In the first clause, I suggest, Horace alludes to such heroic deeds as hardy Daunian warriors could perform. In the second clause, *Iubae tellus* again suggests heroic acts in a military context; it recalls references to Cato the Younger and the war in Africa alluded to in the first two stanzas of the poem. *Leonum / arida nutrix* has led some commentators to suppose that Horace had in mind escape from Gaetulian lions. If this were all Horace had in mind, the reference to Juba would be pointless. Mention of lions in a military context suggests rather the

¹⁸ Plato *Rep.* 331D, Theocritus 14.33, Verg. *Ecl.* 9.54.

¹⁹ G. Williams discusses the fluctuations in tone in *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968) 583.

²⁰ Since Daunia names Apulia, Horace's birthplace, and *Iubae tellus*, a foreign land, the geographical designations in one sense comprise a universalizing "at home or away" doublet, thus carrying over the distinction between home territory (*silva in Sabina*) and area outside home territory (*ultra / terminum*) from the preceding stanza. The Greek name *Daunias* recalls the Grecism of line 1 (*integer, purus* plus the Genitive). Since it recalls the legendary figure of Daunus, it also reminds us of the earlier reference to legend in the poem, the periphrasis, *quae loca fabulosus / lambit Hydaspes* (7-8; cf. the periphrasis *Iubae tellus* 15).

common Homeric simile in which a warrior is compared with a lion.²¹ Horace uses this comparison at C. 3.2.11 (not in the form of a simile) and at C. 4.4.13 ff. (a simile). The presence of the comparison in 1.22 has gone unrecognized perhaps because the significance of the military references in the poem have not been understood.

In stanza four Horace makes an implicit claim that his extraordinary poetic feat surpasses such heroic acts as sturdy Daunian soldiers and the heroic warriors who fought with Cato in Africa performed. The specific geographical designations widen the scope of the *namque* passage with respect to both time and place; the elaborating clauses encompass both legendary and immediate past. We see that this passage is similar in function to the elaborating clauses in stanza two. The latter, as we saw above, through allusion to the deeds of Cato and the Pompeian forces in Africa, to Pompey himself, and to Alexander, set Cato's moral qualities above all military achievement.

Horace asserts that just as moral integrity is of greater intrinsic value than the greatest of military achievements, so praise of moral integrity, particularly if spoken by a love poet, is of higher intrinsic value than military achievement. The heroic allusions to hardy men and men like lions suggest further that Horace is comparing praise of moral integrity with praise of military achievements, and that he is placing greater value on the former. Horace, the formal exemplar of the *Integer vitae sententia*, is the counterpart of Cato, the implicit exemplar. Just as Cato transcended the vicissitudes of war and politics via his moral stance, so Horace transcends them via his poetic stance. Yet Horace does not allow his poetic claim to stand untempered. The oxymoron *leonum / arida nutrix* introduces a note of levity which undermines the seriousness and scope of the claim. Nevertheless, the tone of the following stanzas is not completely deflated. *Pone me . . . pone* strike a histrionic note. The *pone* clauses postulate a hypothetical situation, an enforced visitation to the far corners of the earth, which are "lands denied to homes." The places designated are the two extreme

²¹ Il. 5.156, 20.164, e.g.; cf. Aen. 10.454, 12.1-9. In Plato *Rep.* 10.620 the soul of Ajax chooses to become a lion in the next life. For a humorous application of the same heroic attributes as we find in 1.22.13-16 to the erotic, see Theocritus 3.15-17,

νῦν ἔγνων τὸν Ἑρωτα· βαρὺς θεός· ἡ ῥα λεαίνας
μαζὸν ἐθήλαζεν, δρυμῶ τέ νιν ἔτραφε μάτηρ,
ὅς με κατασμύχων καὶ ἐς ὀστίον ἄχρις ἰάπτει.

geographical zones, North (17–20) and South (21–22). They are described periphrastically, in terms of their climate. The North experiences no warm breeze, only rain and bad weather; the equatorial region, to the South, is too close to the sun. *In terra domibus negata* is summarizing; both of the extreme regions are uninhabitable.

C. 3.3.53–56 is often cited by commentators²² in connection with these lines.

quicumque mundo terminus obstitit,
hunc tanget armis, visere gestiens
qua parte debacchentur ignes,
qua nebulae pluvique rores.

Rome may extend her dominion to the very ends of the earth, which represent the ultimate in military and political achievement. This topic recalls lines 5–8 of our poem,²³ but what is its relevance to 17–22? Once again C. 3.4 provides an analogue. Horace enumerates distant points East (the Bosphorus and Assyria) in 29–32 and North-west and East (the Britanni and Concani, the Gelones and the Scythians) in 33–36. These are places and peoples whom he dares figuratively to visit in song because he is accompanied by the Muses. The use of *visere* in this passage and in 3.3 (*visam* 3.4.33 and 25, and *gestiens visere* 3.3.55)²⁴ suggests an implicit analogy between travel for the sake of military exploits and political expansion and the poet's path of song. In 3.4 Horace dares a poetic exploit, a visit to unaccustomed poetic topics; in 1.22, however, he by implication declines to visit in song topics related to heroic achievements in the military and political realm. These topics are outside the poetic territory which Horace has designated as "home" or "his own."²⁵ The possibility of such a poetic *iter* is eliminated by *pone me . . . pone*: Horace would not choose to

²² L. Müller (St. Petersburg 1900), Kiessling-Heinze, and Nisbet-Hubbard, among others.

²³ For discussion of the structural parallelism between lines 5–8 and 17–22, see Fraenkel (above, note 1) 185.

²⁴ In their note on 3.3.55 Kiessling-Heinze appropriately cite *Aen.* 6.801 ff., and the description of Alexander's achievement in Sen. *Suas.* 1.2. They comment, "Was sonst höchster Schrecken ist, (zu I 22.17fgg.) reizt des Römerns *fortitudo*, *gestit videre*."

²⁵ There is an implicit doublet, *domi militiaeque*; Horace is *domi*; what he eschews is *militiae*.

make the trip; if forced into these inhospitable lands, he will, he asserts, only go on loving love song.²⁶

We see in the closing lines of the poem that Lalage is not another one of Horace's lady loves, but the personified representation of his love song. With *dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo / dulce loquentem* Horace echoes Sappho (ἀδὺ φωνεῖσας . . . καὶ γελαῖσας ἰμέροεν, fr. 31.3–5 LP) and Catullus (*dulce ridentem*, 51.5); there is also, as Wilhelm and Pasquali pointed out, a later example in Aristaenetus.²⁷ Horace has transferred what were attributes of a beloved in these authors to his beloved love song. Sappho's ἀδὺ φωνεῖσας applied to Lalage recalls Horace's pervasive emphasis on the value of sweetness as a poetic *virtus*.²⁸ Horace identifies his poetic articulation with love talk, thus effecting, in the end, a union between himself as love poet and his beloved, love poetry. Horace's extravagant commitment to love song is as extreme as Gallus' devotion to his love and, one suspects, to the posture of the *amator* of erotic elegy, described in Vergil, *Eclogue* 10 (cited by Kiessling-Heinze on 1.22.21 f.). Horace's commitment, however, is self-limited, while Gallus proves incapable of accommodating his love or his art to the *modus* which in Vergil's terms must prevail within the bucolic context.

To sum up, Horace begins the poem with a *sententia* which is worthy of a Cato and which refers obliquely to Cato the Younger. It is, in effect, an assertion that moral integrity transcends military and political

²⁶ *sub curru nimium propinqui / solis* (21 f.) suggests perhaps the fate of Icarus as a metaphor for artistic failure. This figure occurs in C. 4.2.1–4 and, by implication, in 1.3.34 f. I read *Sic te diva* as a reaction to Vergil's embarkation upon the *Aeneid*. (For this interpretation, see F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* [Edinburgh 1972] 234–35, P. Lockyer, "Horace's Propempticon and Vergil's Voyage," *CW* 61 [1967] 42–45, and my forthcoming article, "Vergil, Horace, and the Sea of Epic [C. 1.3].") The three *exempla* of lines 27–36 serve as potential analogues for the outcome of Vergil's undertaking. Like Daedalus, Vergil may, if he exercises caution, reach his goal. Mention of Daedalus, however, also suggests Icarus, his failure to exercise caution, and, by implication, a less fortunate outcome for Vergil's project. W. R. Johnson, "The Boastful Bird: Notes on Horatian Modesty," *CJ* 61 (1966) 272–75, also connects 1.3.34 f. with 4.2.1–4.

²⁷ F. Wilhelm, "Zur römischen Elegie," *RhM* 57 (1902) 606 and note 36, G. Pasquali (above, note 8) 475 f. The example in Aristaenetus is found at 2.21:

ἔστω τοῖνυν ἔργον ἐν μόνον ἐπιδέξιον ἐμοί, φιλεῖν Δελφίδα καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης φιλεῖσθαι καὶ λαλεῖν τῇ καλῇ καὶ ἀκούειν λαλούσης.

²⁸ *dulce*: A.P. 99, 343; *Epis.* 1.19.5, 2.2.9; C. 1.17.10, 1.26.9, 1.32.15, 2.12.13, 2.13.38, 3.9.10, 4.3.18.

achievement. After strongly suggesting a particular instance of the general maxim, Horace gratuitously offers an express instance, his encounter with the wolf, in the *namque* passage which follows. Horace, *sanctus amator-poeta*, relates how a wolf ran away from him, though he was unarmed. I have argued that the incident has a symbolic significance. The Sabine woods represent home poetic territory, light lyric, from which Horace wandered when he obliquely praised Cato. The flight of the wolf is an appropriation of the Greek proverb, *λύκον ἰδεῖν*, Horace was not struck dumb though he strayed outside of home poetic territory. This feat is a supernatural event (*quale portentum*), which cannot be matched by brave deeds of soldiers, either of the proverbial Daunian fighters or of the Pompeian forces in Juba's land. Horace's poetic feat, like Cato's moral stance, surpasses military achievement, or praise of such achievement. In the final two stanzas of the poem, Horace affirms that should he be placed in inhospitable poetic territory (*in terra domibus negata*)—in the position of writing about military conquest and political expansion—he will continue to love love song, with which he is, in the end, united.

In *Integer vitae* Horace effects a fusion of diverse literary elements. He incorporates motifs of erotic poetry (Sappho, Catullus), Hellenistic epigram, and Latin erotic elegy. He alludes to qualities associated with epic heroes (the warrior/lion simile, Apulian hardness) and to such deeds as would be likely subject matter for epic—the deeds of Pompey and the Pompeians and the exploits of Alexander. This fusion is typical of Horace's poetic technique. Also typical are the use of geographical image as symbol (*silva in Sabina*) and the designation of a certain kind of poetry, light lyric, as home poetic territory, that area of verse where Horace considers himself properly to belong. We have also seen that Horace appropriates erotic and moral terms to the realm of poetics.

The demands of propriety, fundamental to Horace's poetics, are strained to their limits by the fluctuations of tone within the poem: the movement from the *sententia* with its elevated tone and ornate style to the humble example, which is, in turn, elevated by the grandiloquent language of the fourth stanza, the subversive oxymoron *leonum / arida nutrix*, and finally the hyperbolic protestation of *fides* with which the ode closes. These fluctuations are reflections of the delicacy of the subject matter at hand, as well as of the *persona* which Horace has

assumed—that of an *εἰρων* naive enough to assert that a good man needs no weapons, that the flight of a wolf is a supernatural event, and that no inclemencies of climate could change his idyllic love for Lalage. Such is the *persona* who skillfully bungles his way through a terse and witty statement about moral, political, and poetic values.