

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

HORACE

SATIRES

BOOK I

EDITED BY EMILY GOWERS

CAMBRIDGE



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## PREFACE

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Christoph Wieland (1804: 14) once wrote that reading Horace's satires was like going for a walk with him: always stopping for little detours and arriving exactly where you want to be or else right back where you started. My own extended stroll has been as zigzagging and stop-start as any Horatian ramble, spanning two continents, three departments and fifteen years, while the card index gave way to the memory stick and the son who was an infant when the book was commissioned reached adulthood. I find it as hard to know where Horace is going now as when I first encountered him (which is nothing but a compliment).

Commentators have many vices, above all myopia. I once asked a colleague to remind me where in Latin literature I had read the old saying about bringing (unwanted) wood to the forest. A flicker of embarrassment before the gentle reply: 'In Horace's tenth satire, I think.' Plagiarism is another occupational hazard. I have ransacked the wisdom-hoards of many fellow-commentators, with an unfair bias, some may complain, towards my contemporaries. But the aim of this book is to encourage appreciation of the *Satires* as literature and collect in pocket form the most penetrating Horatian criticism of the last two decades. A third liability is un-Horatian long-windedness (and a fourth last-minute additions).

There are many people to thank for their specialist advice: Jim Adams, David Butterfield, Kirk Freudenburg, Richard Hunter, Joshua Katz, John Moles, Nelly Oliensis, Lucia Prauscello, Chris Stray, Brent Vine and Chris Whitton. Yelena Baraz and her Princeton graduate students test-drove three poems and offered helpful comments. Ted Kenney and Philip Hardie were supremely wise editors, equally lavish with their pencil marks; Stephen Oakley saved me from countless errors; Michael Sharp and Elizabeth Hanlon at Cambridge University Press kept me on the straight and narrow; Muriel Hall was the most forbearing and scrupulous of copy-editors. John Henderson kept a watchful eye, nobly read an entire draft and made it clear he saw everything but wasn't giving too much away. My colleagues in the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge and St John's College witnessed my creeping progress with patience and humour and generously sponsored several instructive but procrastinating visits to the Robert Patterson '76 Horace collection in the Rare Books Room of Firestone Library at Princeton University, whose calm staff, especially Stephen Ferguson and Charles Green, I thank too. The AHRC made an extra term of research leave possible in Easter 2007. Among Cambridge students, Ian Goh, Aaron Kachuck, Marden Nichols and Anja Stadler shared their thoughts on Lucilius, Roman Jews, new men's rhetoric and Virgil's indigestion. Timothy Gowers will remember how I spent those nights in the attic: I thank him for his love and support in our years together. John, Richard (who drew the map) and Madeline have been my *elementa prima* and best companions on the road. *namque . . . didici*.

# ABBREVIATIONS

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## I WORKS OF REFERENCE

- ANRW* Haase, W. and Temporini, H., eds. 1972–. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin.
- Barrington Atlas* Talbert, R. J. A., ed. 2000. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman world*. Princeton.
- CAH* *Cambridge ancient history* 1923–. Cambridge.
- CIL* *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* 1863–. Berlin.
- CLE* Buecheler, F., ed. 1964. *Carmina Latina epigraphica*. Amsterdam.
- Courtney Courtney, E., ed. 1993. *The fragmentary Latin poets*. Oxford.
- D–S Daremberg, C. and Saglio, E. 1873–1919. *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. 5 vols. Paris.
- Enc. Or.* Mariotti, S. 1996–8. *Enciclopedia oraziana*, 3 vols. Rome.
- Ernout–Meillet Ernout, J. and Meillet, A. 1959. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. 4th edn. Paris.
- Giannantoni Giannantoni, G. 1990. *Socratis et Socraticorum reliquiae*. 4 vols. Naples.
- GLK* Keil, H., ed. 1857–70. *Grammatici Latini*. Leipzig.
- H–S Hofmann, J. B. and Szantyr, A. 1965. *Lateinische Syntax und Stylistik*. Munich.
- ILS* Dessau, H., ed. 1892–1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*. Berlin.
- KA Kassel, R. and Austin, C., eds. 1983–. *Poetae comici Graeci*. Berlin.
- K Kock, T., ed. 1880–8. *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*. Leipzig.
- Leumann Leumann, M. 1977. *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. Munich.
- LS Long, A. A. and Sedley, D. N. 1987. *The Hellenistic philosophers*. 2 vols. Cambridge.
- M Marx, F., ed. 1904–5. *C. Lucilii carminum reliquiae*. Leipzig.
- Maltby Maltby, R. 1991. *A lexicon of ancient Latin etymologies*. Leeds.
- NLS* Woodcock, E. C. 1959. *A new Latin syntax*. London.
- OLD* Glare, P. W., ed. 1968–82. *Oxford Latin dictionary*. Oxford.
- Otto Otto, A. 1890. *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig = Hildesheim 1964.
- RE* Pauly, A. and Wissowa, G. *et al.*, eds. 1894–1979. *Pauly Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart.
- Paroem.* Leutsch, E. L. and Schneidewin, F. W., eds. 1958. *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*. 2 vols, Hildesheim.

P–A	Platner, S. B. 1929. <i>A topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> , rev. T. Ashby. Oxford.
Richardson	Richardson, L., Jr. 1992. <i>A new topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> . Baltimore.
SVF	Arnim, I. ab, ed. 1903–24. <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> . 4 vols. Leipzig.
Taylor	Taylor, C. C. W. 1999. <i>The atomists: Leucippus and Democritus</i> . Toronto.
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> 1900–. Munich.
W	Warmington, E. H., ed. 1967 (rev. edn). <i>Remains of old Latin</i> , vol. 3: <i>Lucilius, The twelve tables</i> . Cambridge, MA.

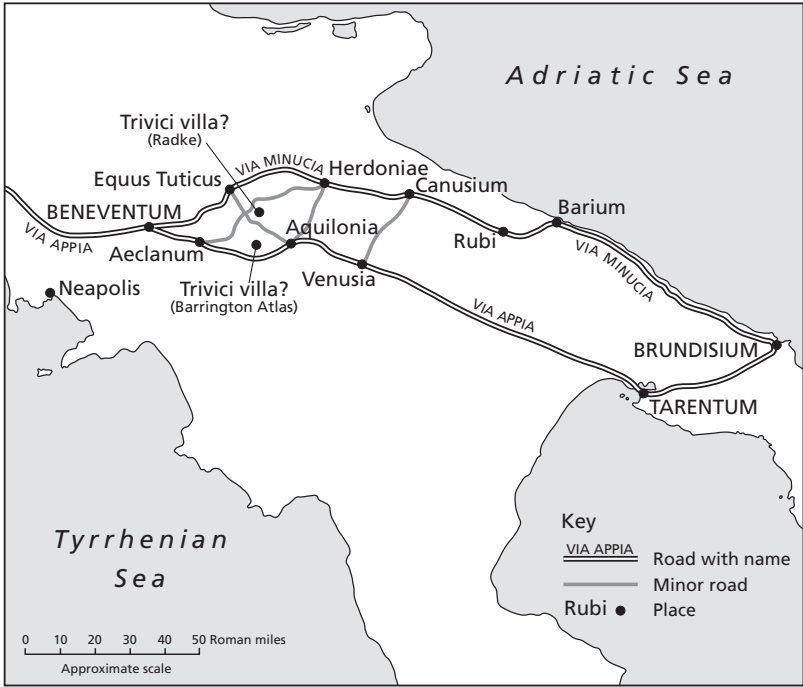
## 2 HORACE: EDITIONS, BOOKS AND COMMENTARIES

Bentley	Bentley, R. 1711. <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus</i> . Cambridge.
Borzšák	Borzšák, S. 1984. <i>Q. Horati Flacci opera</i> . Leipzig.
Botschuyver	Botschuyver, H. J. <i>Scholia in Horatium</i> , ed. 1935–42. 4 vols. Amsterdam.
Brown	Brown, P. M. 1993. <i>Horace, Satires I</i> . Warminster.
Comm. Cruq.	Cruquius Messinius, J. 1565. <i>Q. Horatii Flacci satyrarum, seu potius eclogarum, Libri II</i> . Bruges.
Fedeli	Fedeli, P. 1994. <i>Q. Orazio Flacco: le opere</i> , vol. 2: <i>Le satire</i> . Rome.
Fraenkel	Fraenkel, E. 1957. <i>Horace</i> . Oxford.
K–H	Kießling, A. (rev. R. Heinze) 1957. <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus Satiren</i> . 7th edn. Leipzig.
Klingner	Klingner, F. 1959. <i>Q. Horati Flacci opera</i> . 3rd edn. Leipzig.
Lambinus	Lambinus, D. 1561. <i>Q. Horatii Flacci Sermonum libri quattuor, seu, Satyrarum libri duo. Epistolarum libri duo</i> . Lyons.
Lejay	Lejay, P. 1911. <i>Oeuvres d'Horace</i> . Paris.
Muecke	Muecke, F. 1993. <i>Horace, Satires II</i> . Warminster.
Müller	Müller, L. 1891–3. <i>Q. Horati Flacci Sermonum et Epistularum libri: Satiren und Episteln des Horaz</i> . 2 vols. Vienna.
N–H	Nisbet, R. G. M. and Hubbard, M. 1970. <i>A commentary on Horace, Odes Book I</i> . Oxford; 1978. <i>A commentary on Horace, Odes Book II</i> . Oxford.
N–R	Nisbet, R. G. M. and Rudd, N. 2004. <i>A commentary on Horace Odes Book III</i> . Oxford.
Orelli	Orelli, J. 1850. <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus</i> , rev. J. G. Baiter. Turin.
Palmer	Palmer, A. 1893. <i>The Satires of Horace</i> . London.
Porph.	Holder, A. and Keller, O. 1894. <i>Scholia antiqua in Q. Horatium Flaccum</i> , vol. 1: <i>Porphyrio</i> , Leipzig.
ps.-Acro	Keller, O. 1902–4. <i>Pseudacronis scholia in Horatium vetustiora</i> , vol. 2. Leipzig.

Rudd	Rudd, N. 1966. <i>The Satires of Horace</i> , Cambridge.
SB	Shackleton Bailey, D. R. 1985. <i>Q. Horati Flacci opera</i> . Stuttgart.
Usener	Usener, H. ed. 1887. <i>Epicurea</i> . Leipzig.
Wickham	Wickham, E. C. 1891. <i>Q. Horati Flacci opera omnia</i> , vol. 2. Oxford.

Note: *Satires* II and lines in that book are referred to in the form '2.1.47'. Individual poems in that book, however, are referred to in the form 'S. II 1' (to avoid confusion with '2.1', which refers to the first line of *Satires* I 2).

# MAP



Horace's possible routes to Brundisium (*Satires I 5*)



# INTRODUCTION

---

## I SATIRES I

*Satires I*, published around 36/5 BC, is Horace's debut, a point of departure, in which he explains how he arrived where he is and where he might be going in the future.<sup>1</sup> He goes about this in the most teasing way. Three sermons, three anecdotes, two ruminations on satirical poetry, a self-justification and a travelogue; a trail of unidentifiable characters; an author-figure by his own admission clumsy, short-sighted and in a hurry to escape: it is hard to sum up just what *Satires I* is about, and for a long time this affected its reputation. The two satire books have traditionally been considered a means to an end, a rough apprenticeship before the perfection of the lyrics and epistles, particularly in works of criticism, like Fraenkel's *Horace* (1957), that span the entire oeuvre. They are regularly printed, with blatant disregard for chronology, after the *Odes* in most collected editions of H.'s works. And thanks to his own indirectness, false naïveté and occasional obscenity, H. has himself prompted affectionate but often puzzled opinions of his satirical poetry.<sup>2</sup>

Starting with Rudd's *Satires of Horace* (1966), which sympathetically considered the poems, even the unpalatable sermons, on their own terms, the full reinstatement of *Satires I* is in progress. Early and experimental though it may be, this is a ten-poem pre-Augustan poetry book written on the brink of a self-conscious literary 'moment', as it claims itself with its final word *libello*.<sup>3</sup> Its newly flexible hexameters express the rise and fall of conversation, the delusions of human behaviour and the residue of all previous poetry. It is also a unique cultural document, a blueprint for how to survive in uncertain times and an individual view of one man's formation and emergence on the cusp between republic and empire. Under the rough exterior, lines of intertextual dialogue have been traced as fine as those in more respected Roman poetry-books, a vast web of engagement, usually parodic, with Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, Bion, Callimachus, Ennius, Cicero, Lucretius, Virgil and Philodemus, even Sallust, one that makes these breezy 'chats' into the overspill of a voracious bookworm.<sup>4</sup>

H.'s unassuming manner and easy self-presentation are harder these days to take at face value. The casual indirection and changing cast of characters are interpreted as tools for a sophisticated process of generic positioning.

<sup>1</sup> Cartault 1899: 2: '[U]n point de départ . . . Horace ne connaissait pas encore le point d'arrivée.'

<sup>2</sup> Voltaire's Pococurante is predictably among the most negative readers (*Candide*, chap. 25): 'I care little for his journey to Brundisium, and his description of a bad dinner, and the slanging match between some fellow Rupilius, "whose words", he says, "were full of pus", and another whose words "were as sour as vinegar".'

<sup>3</sup> Zetzel 1980. <sup>4</sup> Freudenburg 1993, 2001, Cucchiarelli 2001.

Sociolinguistic, feminist and historicist approaches have exposed H.'s stammering bonhomie as an excuse for special treatment within a masculine clique,<sup>5</sup> for which, in return, he has performed the most winningly informal of publicity exercises, making Maecenas, Octavian and their revolutionary friends into the unchallenged representatives of pacifism, tolerance and camaraderie.<sup>6</sup> Other critics, by contrast, have seen signs of resentment towards a totalitarian regime in the making.<sup>7</sup> Some consider the 'real H.', his street people and the dynasts to be unreachable behind a baffling array of authorial disguises and type-names that send the poems inward into a closed, genre-determined world<sup>8</sup> or up in the air in a proto-Bakhtinian 'dialogic' free-for-all.<sup>9</sup>

Under the influence of these new and often opposite approaches, the 'sweet reason' observed (and practised) by P. Michael Brown in his 1993 commentary must now be replaced by a greater sense of complication and a rather different picture of *Satires* I: of generic stock-taking that creates more puzzles than it solves, simple ethical guidelines blurred not just by ironic self-incrimination but by occupation of the moral high ground, a new dawn of civil interaction clouded by continued suspicion and envy, and, as H. knows only too well, inclusiveness that is also exclusiveness, one man's jokes that are another man's poison. Anyone who seizes the easy irresponsibility that this medium offers can expect to irritate as well as amuse.

## 2 HORACE AND HIS TIMES

Almost everything we know about H.'s life we know from his own work (supplemented by a brief Hadrianic biography, the *Vita Horati*, probably by Suetonius).<sup>10</sup> The information offered in *Satires* I is foundational but sketchy. We learn, in no particular order, about H.'s humble freedman father (a poor Southern Italian auctioneer, who could nonetheless afford to educate his son in Rome), a youthful career as military tribune, his first encounter with his patron Maecenas, minor participation in a diplomatic mission to reunite Octavian and Antony, early blunders in an unfamiliar social sphere and daily routine in Rome. Many of H.'s 'biographical' details now look like genre-specific tropes, props for a rhetoric of authenticity (the freedman father, the receptive child) or personal parallels for a history of Roman satire (from clumsy to refined) that has the Horatian version as its endpoint.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, these are details that shape a story, and it can still be fruitful to treat the account as oblique 'autobiography', contrived and partial, like so many autobiographies: the self-presentation of a man from nowhere.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Henderson 1993 = 1999: 202–27, Oliensis 1998.

<sup>6</sup> DuQuesnay 1984, Kennedy 1992. <sup>7</sup> Freudenburg 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Freudenburg 1993, 2001, Keane 2006, Schlegel 2002, 2005. <sup>9</sup> Sharland 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Fraenkel 1957: 1–2 has the classic discussion.

<sup>11</sup> Anderson 1963 = 1982: 50–73, Zetzel 1980, Schlegel 2005.

<sup>12</sup> See Oliensis 1998 on 'face-work' and self-fashioning in *Satires* I, Gowers 2003.



The later works fill in some of the gaps. Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born on 8 December 65 BC (*Epod.* 13.6, *C.* 3.21.1, *Ep.* 1.20.26–7; Suet. *Vita Hor.*).<sup>13</sup> He hailed from Venusia on the borders of Apulia and Lucania (*S.* 2.1.34–5), received a liberal education in Rome (*S.* 1.6.76–8) and possibly studied philosophy in Athens (*Ep.* 2.2.43–5). He fought with Brutus as a military tribune but escaped from Philippi in 42 BC (*S.* 6.46–8; *C.* 2.27, *C.* 3.4.26, *Ep.* 2.2.49; cf. *Epod.* 4.20). Deprived of his father's 'small' estate (*Ep.* 2.2.50–1; cf. *S.* 6.71 *macro agello*), he was granted pardon by Octavian, whereupon he miraculously found the assets required to buy a post among the *scribae*, the most prestigious department of the emerging administrative class of *apparitores* (Suetonius' and Porphyrio's interpretation of 2.6.36) and also equestrian status (cf. 6.58–9),<sup>14</sup> which required a substantial income.<sup>15</sup> Like Messalla, who fought with Brutus at Philippi, then for Octavian at Actium, he could claim 'I have always fought on the better and juster side.'<sup>16</sup>

In the late forties, H. met Virgil and Varius, who allegedly propelled him towards Maecenas, around 39/8 BC (6.54–5). This anomalous figure, an *equus* of Etruscan origin, who showed H. how to wield power with Epicurean insouciance and outside normal career structures, was Octavian's ad hoc deputy in Rome (*Eleg. in Maec.* 27) during his absence. A millionaire, perhaps as a result of the proscriptions, he was mocked for effeminate manners and womanizing, but his encouragement of Virgil and Propertius, as well as H., has made his name a synonym for 'patron' in many European languages.<sup>17</sup> Maecenas and H. (in the *Satires* and *Epistles*) make an odd couple: one aquiline and fastidious, the other pot-bellied and clumsy, though H. identifies with Maecenas' laconic detachment. At some point, H. acquired the Sabine farm (*C.* 2.18.12–14), which may or may not have been his patron's gift. The ambiguous nature of the friendship – bond between like-minded companions or profitable symbiosis of parasite and host – inspired a number of poems in which H. begins to assert his independence from the dedicatee of all his early collections (e.g. *Ep.* 1.7 and 1.18).<sup>18</sup> *Satires* II and the *Epodes* were published in 30 BC, *Odes* 1–3 in 23 BC, *Epistles* 1 in 20 BC, *Epistles* 2 in 14 BC, *Odes* 4 in 13 BC. Maecenas may have faded from prominence after 19 BC, but H. rose to further favour with Augustus (whose letter inviting him to the top table is perhaps the imagined prompt for the *Epistle to Augustus*, *Ep.* 2.1, though H. refuses the invitation). In the event, he became Rome's virtual poet laureate. An inscription recording the Secular Games of 17 BC (*ILS* 5050) ends: *carmen composuit Q. Hor[ati]us Flaccus*. H. died on November 27, 8 BC.

This information can be applied retrospectively to flesh out some opaque passages in *Satires* I. H.'s presence at Philippi and possible proscription have

<sup>13</sup> Bradshaw 2002 on H.'s birthday and deathday.

<sup>14</sup> Armstrong 1986, 1989: 18–19; Purcell 1983, 2001 on the *scribae*.

<sup>15</sup> Taylor 1925, Armstrong 1986, Mayer 1995.

<sup>16</sup> Plut. *Brut.* 56. See Nisbet 1995c on other survivors.

<sup>17</sup> Reckford 1959, Lefèvre 1981, Graver 1998, Evenpoel 1990.

<sup>18</sup> Oliensis 1998.

been read into *S.* 7,<sup>19</sup> allusions to his career as a *scriba* into *S.* 1 and 10 (also into *S.* 6, where the disavowal of ambition is typical of the rhetoric of other late-republican social aspirants).<sup>20</sup> A distinction between H.'s status as a 'made' *equus* and Lucilius' as a 'born' one has been extracted from the denial at 6.58–9 *non ego circum | me Satureiano uectari rura caballo*,<sup>21</sup> whereas the poverty and ex-slave status of his father is now regarded sceptically (Williams 1995 proposes that it is a convenient interpretation of a crisis in the Social War, when the adult males of rebellious Venusia were briefly sold into slavery). Other biographical details in the *Vita* are more obviously fabricated from the imaginative world of the poems: H.'s burial next to Maecenas on the Esquiline, based on the grave shared by a playboy and a parasite in *S.* 8, or his mirror-lined bedroom, a fantasy inspired by the frank discussions of sex in *S.* 2.

H. was thus around thirty when *Satires* I was published, during the uncertain period of the second triumvirate.<sup>22</sup> Julius Caesar had been assassinated in 44 and the memory of his experiment in long-lost regal power hung in the air. In 43 Octavian, Caesar's heir, and Antony formed an alliance with Lepidus, and violent times followed, with many individuals, including Cicero, falling victim to their savage proscriptions, and the liberators, Brutus and Cassius, hunted down and killed after Philippi (42 BC). The triumvirs subsequently concentrated on 'restoring the republic', a process interrupted by internal dissent, the war between Octavian and Antony's supporters at Mutina (41–40), a number of attempted peace treaties (the Treaty of Brundisium of 40 BC, resulting in the marriage of Antony and Octavia, and the Treaty of Tarentum, 37 BC; the two are perhaps blended in *S.* 5) and the war with Sextus Pompeius, who was granted Sicily in 39 before further rebellion led to his defeat at Naulochus in 36.<sup>23</sup>

The part H. allows for contemporary politics in *Satires* I is ostensibly small. Octavian makes a fleeting but ominous entry at 3.4 (*Caesar, qui cogere posset*), in a poem that urges give-and-take in any new order of social relations.<sup>24</sup> A compressed history of the republican constitution (6.8–22) impales fickle plebs, degenerate aristocrats and thrusting new men equally and resists pushing for further opportunities for those with slave origins. Yet it has been argued (DuQuesnay 1984) that the triumviral struggles are all the more glaringly refracted in H.'s 'blinkered' disquisitions on *amicitia* and forgiveness.<sup>25</sup> In portraying his own role

<sup>19</sup> Gowers 2002; see Hinard 1976, Citroni 2000 on the proscriptions.

<sup>20</sup> Nichols 2009 compares the unobtrusive rhetoric of H. and another *apparitor*, Vitruvius.

<sup>21</sup> Armstrong 1986.

<sup>22</sup> DuQuesnay 1984: 20–1 gives the arguments for a date of 36/5; the journey to Brundisium assumes preliminaries for the Treaty of Tarentum (37); more precisely, at 10.86 H. mentions Bibulus (probably L. Calpurnius Bibulus, who spent the winter of 36/5 at Rome after his naval exploits in Sicily and before leaving to govern Syria).

<sup>23</sup> Pelling 1996 gives a lucid outline; also Griffin 1993. <sup>24</sup> Griffin 1984.

<sup>25</sup> Kennedy 1992: 33 argues that the 'apolitical' and 'integrational' stance of *Satires* I is precisely what gives it its political force.

as minor in the diplomatic mission to Brundisium, H. seizes a useful opportunity to frame world events (5.28 *magnis . . . rebus*) in disarmingly domestic terms (5.29 *auersos . . . componere amicos*). In general, his attitude towards politics is determined by an ingrained instinct for self-preservation. The diatribe poems (*S.* 1–3) are a moral survival course, the disavowal of ambition and loud-mouthed self-promotion in *S.* 6 an arriviste’s plea for acceptance, and the army of friends in *S.* 10 a protective shield.<sup>26</sup> The critique of Lucilius in *S.* 4 defames as disruptive and antisocial the jeopardized republican virtue of *libertas*, free speech.<sup>27</sup> In *S.* 7, H. daringly reopens the festering wound of Philippi, but ends by stabbing a dead Brutus in the back and reawakening memories of republican kingship, rather than focusing on the tyranny to come.<sup>28</sup> The watershed of Actium lay between H.’s debut and *Satires* II (30 BC): his greater reticence and caution there have been interpreted not just as a further ‘thinning’ of satire but as a response to further political constraints.<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile, between 40 and 30 BC, he was writing his iambic poems, the *Epodes*, in a form that more stridently engaged with the Greek tradition of blame poetry.<sup>30</sup> *Satires* I needs to be read against this foil as just one of the poetic roads H. might have taken and would take in a career whose trajectory peaked with the *Odes* and mellowed into the *Epistles*.

It has rightly been said: ‘[T]here are, and always have been, many Horaces, not one Horace.’<sup>31</sup> Different generations and different contexts have reflected his image in different ways, as a composite of the various personae of the poetry books: jaded, clubbable, philosophical, airborne or pedestrian.<sup>32</sup> Even the H. of *Satires* I is a split personality: pure and irreproachable (6.64 *uita ac pectore puro*, 6.69 *purus et insons*, 6.82 *puicum*) but fleshed out with an unruly, leaking body (5.7–8, 5.84–5, 8.46) and spotted with minor blemishes (6.66–7 *uelut si | egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naeuos*).<sup>33</sup> The risks he faces are usually self-limiting. All his poetry books present his life as a catalogue of lucky escapes: the Pindaric *Wunderkind* and Archilochean deserter are tailored to the *Odes*,<sup>34</sup> while the adultery farce of *S.* 2, the muddy treks and damp inns of *S.* 5 and the social extrication of *S.* 9 are more suited to a ‘satirical’ survivor. *Satires* I is only a provisional self-portrait. We cannot decode all the references known only to H.’s in-crowd. Why the river

<sup>26</sup> See Wiseman 1971: 107–16 on new man’s rhetoric.

<sup>27</sup> Wirszubski 1950, DuQuesnay 1984: 29–32, Freudenburg 1993: 86–92.

<sup>28</sup> Kraggerud 1979, Henderson 1994 = 1998a: 73–107.

<sup>29</sup> Freudenburg 2001: 71–82.

<sup>30</sup> See Mankin 1995: 10–12 on questions of dating, Cucchiarelli 2001 on the bifurcation of the two generic experiments.

<sup>31</sup> Martindale 1993: 1. <sup>32</sup> Houghton and Wyke 2009: 1–15.

<sup>33</sup> Augustus’ ‘tubby pint-pot’ (*Vita Hor.* 2: *sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest. itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas*) or *purissimus penis* (*Vita Hor.* 2); Putnam 2003: 107–8. On the unaestheticized body of Horace the satirist: Barchiesi and Cucchiarelli 2005: 210–11, Farrell 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Harrison 2007: 22–35. Lowrie 1997: 187, on the *Odes*: ‘Horace constructs a personal history for himself not as Q. Horatius Flaccus, but as lyricist.’

Aufidus is enlisted at 1.58 and why the mountains near Venusia are described as ‘familiar’ (5.77) are questions that only those who already know him can answer.

### 3 HORACE AND THE HISTORY OF SATIRE

#### *Satura*

By the end of *Satires* I, we may be equally unsure what Horatian satire is, beyond being hard to pin down. One of the most satirical jokes of the book, in its drive to avoid naming names, is that H. never names the *sui generis* form that he is creating. He refers to it only as (*genus*) *hoc* or *haec*, ‘this sort’ or ‘these things’, or *qualiacumque* ‘whatever these things are’. The word *satira* appears for the first time only in the first line of Book II, as though the genre were modest, shameful, or had only at that point come into being.

H. did not invent satire, as we know it. Indeed, at first sight, *Satires* I is remarkably unsatirical by modern standards. The satiric ‘spirit’ or ‘mode’, in the widest sense of sneering at other people’s shortcomings, whether bitter or humorous, literary, visual or performed, prompted by misanthropy, internal pathology or intense social commitment, was known in ancient Egypt and is alive and well today.<sup>35</sup> Its tone is recognizable at all periods of its history: confessional but evasive, scandalized but salacious, offensive but hungry for acceptance, self-righteous and self-loathing. The satirist’s ploy of trying to offload the venom that he feels onto his enemies or excuse it as a symptom of moral outrage (the so-called ‘disclaimer of malice’) goes back at least to Aristophanes; the anti-social aspect of defamation, its liability to increase the ugliness and victimhood of its mouth-piece, begins with Homer’s Thersites. Grumbling abuse is found in Hesiod and the iambists Archilochus and Hipponax.<sup>36</sup>

Yet the word ‘satire’, just like our ‘libel’ and ‘scurrilous’, derives from a specialized Roman vehicle for (often distorted) truth-telling.<sup>37</sup> As Quintilian famously wrote, literary satire was the Romans’ own invention (10.1.94 *satura quidem tota nostra est*), which at least recognizes the potential of this form to be a proud (or abashed) carrier of Roman identity. Despite the claim to originality, grammarians’ instincts for categorization gave Latin satire a Greek past and linked it to many existing branches of literature, like comedy, satyr plays or vitriolic iambics, which came with their own myths of ‘primitive’ social or religious origins, in fertility ritual, curse tablets or witchcraft.<sup>38</sup> Some of these myths of origin were transferred from Greece to the Roman countryside, so as to claim equivalent origins for this ‘native’ genre in rustic rituals such as Atellan farce or Fescennine verses.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Griffin 1994 is a good recent introduction. <sup>36</sup> Rosen 1988, 2007.

<sup>37</sup> Though the adj. *satiricus* is mock-Greek. <sup>38</sup> Elliott 1960.

<sup>39</sup> Graf 2005. See *Ep.* 2.1.145–55 (*Fescennina*), Coffey 1976: 18–22, Wiseman 1994 on Livy’s dramatic *saturae* and the possibility (still remote) of native satyr plays.

At the same time, urban Romans prided themselves on living in ‘a suspicious city full of spiteful gossip’,<sup>40</sup> and thanks to teeming crowds, heaped merchandise and a sense of alienation, it is in Rome that satire’s long-standing associations with city life begin.<sup>41</sup> Satire in the widest sense, as a cultural device to reinforce social groups and their values and ritually exclude the unwanted, flourished under the republic, mouthed, gesticulated and scrawled in court-case invective, anonymous pamphlets, graffiti and political squibs.<sup>42</sup> Pompey’s freedman Pompeius Lenaeus, for example, responded to Sallust’s attack on his patron with an *acerbissima satura* (Suet. *De gramm.* 15), calling Sallust a drunk, a spendthrift and a plagiarist. Theatrical audiences positively expected political tension and ribald innuendo. H.’s satires are in fact the exception in being so literary and so tight-lipped.<sup>43</sup>

Yet it is hard to analyse the history of Roman satire without H. We owe to him our picture of its ‘dark ages’ and ‘golden heyday’, a picture he has shaped to his own advantage; as far as his chosen canon of authors goes, his predictions have been largely self-fulfilling. He explores the paradox of trying to define a genre that on principle is indefinable, ‘elusive’ or ‘restless’.<sup>44</sup> In many ways, he offers us the best summary of the satirist’s predicament; questions about authority, control, interpretation and readership that continued to occupy him are intensified in the context of exploratory verse that risks causing offence and being misunderstood. From Aristophanes on, satire had justified itself as socially constructive criticism (medicinal, legislative, didactic, ethically sound, funny or involuntary) – unsurprisingly, when it could be construed as malicious and anti-social by those on the receiving end. Indeed, it was potentially dangerous to write satire in most periods of Roman history, from the Twelve Tables’ primeval ban on *mala carmina*, malicious poems, to Augustus’ book-burning in 12 BC,<sup>45</sup> and the response of those in authority could not be foreseen. Julius Caesar’s relaxed approach to the risqué epigrams of Catullus and Calvus invites contrast with Asinius Pollio’s guarded remark on receiving scurrilous verses from Octavian: ‘I’ll have to keep quiet. It’s not easy to write verses (*scribere*) against someone who can proscribe me (*proscribere*).’<sup>46</sup>

While he helps to define the satirical ‘tradition’, H. also transforms it. His strategy to pre-empt criticism is to go in a new direction, ethically and aesthetically, towards inoffensive and disarmingly self-critical poetry. Promoting restraint and compositional neatness, he makes a literary virtue out of a political necessity. Yet the way in which he defames his chosen predecessors only reinforces the antagonistic identity of the tradition. Roman satire, like Roman pastoral, is essentially nostalgic: it mourns the lost conditions for its existence and classifies itself at the moment of potential extinction. Starting with H., Roman satire is

<sup>40</sup> Cic. *Flacc.* 68 *in tam suspiciosa ac maledica ciuitate locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit*; cf. *Cael.* 38.

<sup>41</sup> Kernan 1959, Braund 1989. <sup>42</sup> Corbeil 1996. <sup>43</sup> Ruffell 2003.

<sup>44</sup> Classen 1988 (title): ‘elusive’; Labate 1981 (title): ‘un genere irrequieto’.

<sup>45</sup> LaFleur 1981. <sup>46</sup> Suet. *Jul.* 73, *Macr. Sat.* 2.4.21.

always ‘meta-satire’, poetry that tells us, tongue in cheek, why it can no longer be full-bloodedly satirical.

*Origins: Ennius and others*

Roman literary satire first appeared in the second century BC as no more than a fuzzy ‘miscellany’ or ‘ragbag’, on the model of Hellenistic anthologies with names like *Soros* ‘Heap’ and *Summeikta*, ‘Medley’.<sup>47</sup> Among Diomedes’ fourth-century AD collection of etymologies of *satura/satira*, two culinary metaphors are most plausible: *lanx satura* (adj., from *satur* ‘full, fat’), a mixed harvest festival platter or cornucopia, or *satura* (n. fem.), a type of edible stuffing, miscellaneous and bursting at the seams.<sup>48</sup> Of his other suggestions, Greek *satyros* ‘satyr’ is inaccurate but often harnessed to justify ribald masculinity, while *lex per saturam*, a law with many heads, is an extension of the ‘medley’ metaphor.<sup>49</sup>

H. gives short shrift to an unnamed *auctor* of the first *saturae* (10.66–7). Most probably he refers to Ennius (239–169 BC), but there is little we can do to correct H.’s neglect, since only 31 lines of Ennius’ satires survive.<sup>50</sup> If squeezed, his depleted ‘haggis’ yields some of the classic ingredients of later satire in embryo form: gluttons and parasites, animal fable, comic dialogues, even paranoid disavowal of malice<sup>51</sup> and a sense of crowded urban space. But he is missing from Quintilian’s history of satire and named in H.’s poems only as the author of the grand hexameter epic *Annales*, ripe for satirical dismemberment. Absent, too, from H.’s account are the satires of Ennius’ nephew Pacuvius and, more notably, the bulky but fragmentary satirical output of M. Varro Reatinus (116–27 BC), proscribed by Antony after Caesar’s death, who has continued to be sidelined, thanks to H.’s omission, as a practitioner of a separate strand of Greek-influenced ‘Menippean’ (prose-verse) satire. Varro of Atax (82–c. 35 BC), all of whose satires are lost, is briefly mentioned as a failure (10.46 *experto frustra*). Of the other satirists who do not make it into H.’s canon (10.47 *quibusdam aliis*), we have no more than a few names.<sup>52</sup>

*Lucilius*

H.’s chosen ‘father-figure’ in satire is the laughing cavalier C. Lucilius (*fl. c.* 130–103 BC), against whom, in *S.* 4, he positions himself as upstart

<sup>47</sup> Coffey 1976: 16–17.

<sup>48</sup> Diom. 1 485 *GLK*. On mixture as the quintessential characteristic of satire, see Classen 1988.

<sup>49</sup> Knoche 1975: 7–16, Coffey 1976: 11–23. See Keane 2002d on etymologizing as an ‘interested’ pursuit for satire’s theorists and practitioners.

<sup>50</sup> Courtney 7–21. <sup>51</sup> E.g. *meum non est, ac si me canis memorerit* (fr. 19 Courtney).

<sup>52</sup> They include: Ennius Servius Nicanor (Suet. *De gramm.* 5) and L. Albucius (Var. *RR* 3.2.17: *cuius Luciliano caractere sunt libelli*).

successor. H. commends Lucilius as a pioneer in establishing the hexameter as the fixed metre of satire (4.7) and, later, as tackling a genre ‘untouched by the Greeks’ (10.66); he dismisses him as ‘wholly dependent’ on Athenian Old Comedy (4.6 *hinc omnis pendet Lucilius*), yet claims him as an ally in an independent genre (4.56–7 *his, ego quae nunc, | olim quae scripsit Lucilius*): it is thus unclear where he stands on whether *satira tota nostra est*. The point may be in fact to parade the inconsistency of contemporary theories about a genre that claimed to be singular but was inevitably parasitic on Greek and other Roman genres.<sup>53</sup>

Thanks to H., Lucilius remained the almost undisputed ‘father’ of satire, protective authorizer and *bête noire* to his successors.<sup>54</sup> A rich *equus* from Campania with friends in high places like Scipio and Laelius, he is constructed by H. as an enviable figure, with unlimited licence to lash out against millionaire auctioneers, partisan politicians, provincial speakers of Latin and pretentious playwrights. It is with Lucilius that Roman satire’s connections with outspoken invective and aggressive abuse are born, if only to be mourned as lost by his successors. The imagery he attracts is hyper-masculine: abrasive salt-rubs, skin-ripping, dog-bites, cavalry attacks and sword-wielding.<sup>55</sup> His satires reflect and construct the swaggering world of second-century BC Roman citizen performance: a world of litigation, xenophobia, anti-provincialism and big fish in small ponds (real and metaphorical, given the enduring fame of the trial of Lupus ‘Bass’ in Book I).<sup>56</sup> Only 1300 lines of his thirty books remain, giving Lucilius little chance to rebut H.’s criticisms or avoid being caricatured as he himself had belittled Homer, Ennius, Accius and other literary giants. He becomes the foil to H.’s own unobtrusive civility – aggressive, uninhibited and brash, like the upstart auctioneers he used to flay. Some of this reputation squares with the relaxed and self-possessed air of his writings, which offer an unabashed portrait of himself as others saw him: *improbo illo . . . Lucilio* (929–30W = 821–2M; 1075W = 1035M). The rest stems from his association with the perceived outspokenness of the late republic (especially with the Pompeian party), for which he became a figurehead; the anti-Caesarian convert Trebonius, writing to Cicero (*Fam.* 12.16), enshrines him as the epitome of republican free speech (*libertas*).<sup>57</sup>

Lucilius’ *chartae* gave him freedom in another sense too: *carte blanche* to ‘confide in friends’ (in reality, to broadcast) his inmost thoughts on any matter (2.1.30–1 *ille uelut fidis arcana sodalibus olim | credebat libris, 32–3 ut omnis | uotiuua pateat ueluti descripta tabella*),<sup>58</sup> somewhat like a modern newspaper columnist. Naming names (*onomasti komoidein*) as well as claiming friends and making enemies: this was the

<sup>53</sup> The link with comedy may derive from Varro: Leo 1889.

<sup>54</sup> Coffey 1976: 39–62 is a good introduction; see also Muecke 2005.

<sup>55</sup> 10.3–4 *sale multo | urbem defricuit, 2.164 detrahere . . . pellem*, Pers. 1.114–15 *secat Lucilius urbem, | te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis*, Juv. 1.165–6 *ense . . . stricto . . . Lucilius ardens | infremuit*.

<sup>56</sup> Gruen 1990: 272–317.

<sup>57</sup> Anderson 1963, DuQuesnay 1984: 29–31.

<sup>58</sup> Cucchiarelli 2005.

link H. and others perceived with Aristophanic comedy. Hard as it is to recover the alleged openness of Lucilian satire, it is possible to assess some of the ways in which he is and is not like H. Clearly, his satires were longer and more sprawling. A glance at an extended fragment, from the poem about his journey down the Italian coast in Book 3, H.'s model for the journey to Brundisium, shows an easy redundancy that H. avoids in his own clipped version:

uerum haec ludus, susque omnia deque fuerunt,  
 susque haec deque fuere inquam omnia ludus iocusque;  
 illud opus durum, ut Setinum accessimus finem,  
 αἰγίλιπτοι montes, Aetnaea omnes, asperi Athones.

(102–5W = 110–13M)

The self-conscious unevenness ('jogging and bumpy progress': Coffey 1976: 60), awkward elisions and colloquial repetition mixed with Grecizing grand style are generic fixtures entirely fitting for the subject and tone, but H. dismisses them as merely acceptable for earlier experiments in the genre, no longer satisfactory.<sup>59</sup>

The fact remains that Lucilius was inspirational for H. His casual labels for his satires, *ludus ac sermones* 'amusing chats' (1039W = 1039M) or *schedia* 'improvisations' (1131W = 1279M),<sup>60</sup> lie behind many of H.'s less guarded characterizations (e.g. 4.139 *illudo chartis*, 10.37 *haec ego ludo*). Lucilius' 'confessions of a columnist' put autobiography and the personal at the heart of Horatian satire. His sexual openness licenses H.'s earthy poem on sexual choice (S. 2) and account of a wet dream in S. 5, while his suspicious impressions of the centre of Rome (1145–51W = 1128–34M) paved the way for H.'s agoraphobic street scenes in S. 4, 6 and 9.<sup>61</sup> Lucilius' friendship with Scipio and Laelius was exemplary (for Cicero, as well as for H.), and established *amicitia* as H.'s basic satirical framework, with its characteristic blend of relaxed warmth (2.1.73 *nugari cum illo et discincti ludere*) and ruthless exclusion. Horatian-style paranoia can already be detected in fragments like 1085W = 1015M *gaudes, cum de me ista foris sermonibus differs*.<sup>62</sup> Lucilius also led the way in making satire a vehicle for literary as well as social criticism, promoting urbanity over rusticity, debating matters of taste, pretension and acceptability and probing language as a social phenomenon.<sup>63</sup>

Yet *Satires* I is largely an exercise in (genre-appropriate) defamation of Lucilius' legacy. H. caricatures his rival's productions as over-casual (4.10 *stans pede in uno*, 4.12 *piger scribendi ferre laborem*) or routinely spewed forth (10.60–1 *amet scripsisse*

<sup>59</sup> Morgan 2004: 8–15 defends Lucilian metre as appropriate for deformed subject matter.

<sup>60</sup> Lucilius never uses '*satura*': Martyn 1972.

<sup>61</sup> Henderson 2005: 312: Lucilius 'paraded authentic selfhood'.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. 1084W = 1014M, 1086W = 1016M, 1087W = 1021M, 1069W = 1030M.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. an urban praetor's rustic accent (232W = 1130M); Albius' inept use of *chaere* (1183–41W = 87M); Vettius mocked for speaking Latin like a Praenestine (1138–41W = 1322M); the gross statue of Accius (844W = 794M); grammatical questions in Books 9 and 10 (Puelma Piwonka 1949: 28).



*ducentos* | *ante cibum uersus, totidem cenatus*) and his (quite reasonable) chattiness as ‘loquacity’ (4.12 *garrulus*), despite Cicero’s verdict of *doctus et perurbanus* (*De or.* 3.171) and Varro’s *gracilis* (Gell. *NA* 6.14.6). With a few exceptions, Lucilius reached out to a demotic, middlebrow, Italian audience;<sup>64</sup> H. writes for exclusive Roman coterie and shuns the crowd. He twists Lucilius’ literary critical snipes back against him, turning him into a crudely debased Homer, a windy Aeschylus and a muddy anti-Callimachean. Although H. claims that he attempted satire because it was all that was left in the most recent parcelling out of Greek genres (10.45 *hoc erat*), this is disingenuous. Lucilius was a usefully superannuated pacemaker for his literary ambitions. He offered H. a licence to offer a personal viewpoint, together with a privileged ‘niche’ for an outsider to usurp and an existing model against which to determine what was and was not still possible, or desirable, in the matter of free expression.

#### *Horatian satire*

By his own account, H. turned satire from a bursting, angry genre into a slim and contented one. One reason we can guess that ‘satire’ is the name of what he is writing is that throughout Book I he hints at all the various explanations Diomedes was later to encode (see p. 8 above). Culinary etymologies (mixed dish, mixed stuffing) are embedded programmatically in the moral discussions of appetite and satiety (no longer ‘fullness’ but ‘sufficiency’) in *S.* 1 and the vignette of a tightly stuffed inn in *S.* 5: *differtum nautis atque cauponibus* (4).<sup>65</sup> Gestures to another of Diomedes’ etymologies, wrong but meaningful, from Greek *satyrus* ‘satyr’, can be found in the randy adulterers of *S.* 2, the ithyphallic Priapus of *S.* 8 and the finger-wagging statue of Marsyas at *S.* 6.120–1. The fourth possibility, from *lex per saturam*, a composite type of law, is nodded to most fully in the quasi-legal quandaries of *S.* II 1 (1–2 *ultra* | *legem tendere opus*), yet throughout *Satires* I the long arm of the law is an analogue for satire’s use (and abuse) of its powers of branding and censorship. The question of what constitutes ‘adequate’ or acceptable satire continues to haunt H.’s poems (10.7 *non satis est*), as though he was expecting the verdict ‘Unsatisfactory’ – duly delivered, after a long silence, at the start of *Satires* II.

H. picks and chooses from a crudely physiological Graeco-Roman image-bank for satirical production, rejecting poison (7.1 *pus atque uenenum*, 8.19 *uenenis*, 4.100–1 black squid ink and verdigris), biting and scratching (4.81 *rodit*, 6.46 *rodunt*, 4.93 *mordax*, 8.26–7 *scalpere* . . . *diuellere mordicus*), and turning those impulses inwards towards self-laceration: scratching his own head, biting his own nails (10.71) and inoculating his eyes with black ointment (5.30–1 *nigra* . . . *collyria* . . . *illinere*).

<sup>64</sup> 632–4W = 595–6M, 635W = 592–3M = Cic. *Or.* 2.25, 1146W = 1229M.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the nouvelle cuisine recipes for the new ‘satura’ in *S.* 2.4; with Gowers 1993a: 135–61.

Rather than offending (4.78 *laedere*, 9.70 *oppedere*) or staining society (4.36 *illeuerit*), his satire justifies itself as hygienic, the expulsion of other people's dirt (pus, phlegm, poison, vomit), with the satire-book itself at risk of contamination by its sweaty handlers (4.72 *manus insudet*) and, inevitably, by the lingering presence of the substances it endeavours to purge. The bitter flavours of Lucilius' satirical sausage will allegedly yield to indulgent teaching (1.25–6 *ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi | doctores*) and laughter, more effective than satirical spleen or ulcers.

H. also takes what he wants from a pro-Roman account of vigorously indigent satire. The 'dream of Quirinus' at 10.31–5 inaugurates an emphatically Roman tradition, but his attitude remains cautious towards the city 'where accusations and sharp-toothed resentment thrive'.<sup>66</sup> His journey south in *S.* 5 is partly a nostalgia trip in search of satire's native roots, found in the old-style flying of two buffoons near Atella, the ancient capital of pantomime. In *S.* 8, the witch Canidia with her *carminibus* (spells) and *uenenis* (poisons) is a Roman version of the poisoners of Greek iambics (falsely derived from *ios*, poison); her malevolence will re-surface in H.'s *Epodes*.<sup>67</sup> Against her is pitted a cowardly Priapus, not just cult-object of Hellenistic epigram or garden ornament, but primitive Roman mouthpiece for territorial threats and hypermasculine abuse; his revenge translates not into irate sodomy but an involuntary fart.<sup>68</sup> In *S.* 7, H. rediscovers native Italian 'salt and vinegar' invective (7.28 *salso multoque fluenti*, 32 *Italo aceto*), vineyard vitriol (Dryden's 'hedgerow notes'). These are impulses officially banished from his new civic order. The nearest he gets to traditional satirical physiognomy is the squinting, simmering impotence of his social entanglement in *S.* 9 (65 *distorquens oculos*, 66 *meum iecur uere bilis*), outdated now compared with the gently infuriating irony of Aristius Fuscus, H.'s new model for offensively 'inoffensive' satire (9.65–6 *male salsus | ridens dissimulare*).

*Sermo: Aristophanes, Bion, Cicero*

Another story is being told, meanwhile, about Horatian satire as a branch of *sermo* (*Sermones* being the alternative title of the two books of poems).<sup>69</sup> This many-faceted word does not just signify the basic unit of social interaction (speech, language or conversation, the illusion of which H. creates through his address to Maecenas in the third word of the book) but embraces a number of forms with which Horatian satire claims kin: diatribe, didactic, comic and philosophical dialogue, and subliterate gossip. The timeless playboys, whores and clod-hopping buffoons of *S.* 1–3 and the rustic, chatty interlocutor of H.'s satirical persona are figures partly derived from the comic stage.<sup>70</sup> In *S.* 4, fifth-century Athenian Old Comedy is explicitly admitted as congenial (*comis*) ancestor for satire, in its role as

<sup>66</sup> 3.60–1 *ubi acris | inuidia atque uigent ubi crimina*.

<sup>67</sup> Oliensis 1991 = 1998: 68–90 on Canidia as H.'s muse. See also *S.* 2.1, 2.8.

<sup>68</sup> Richlin 1992, Anderson 1972 = 1982: 74–83, Habash 1999.

<sup>69</sup> Van Rooy 1965: 50–89, Coffey 1976: 68–9 on the alternative titles.

<sup>70</sup> Freudenburg 1993, Turpin 1998.

outspoken moral deterrent, though it is the link with Lucilian *libertas*, not his own satire, that H. openly stresses. In fact, the rivalrous inter-generational bickering between Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes and their focus on *literary* criticism are what set the scene for H.'s own *agon* with his satirical forefather.<sup>71</sup> Apart from this half-recognized link, it is the artfully compressed dialogue of Terence (second century BC), somewhere between poetry and prose, and his rejection of named abuse in favour of coded criticism and generalized character types that supply the closest comic model for H., as well as a precedent for 'second-generation' refinement of a clumsy predecessor.<sup>72</sup>

As H.'s own retrospective description of the satires (*Ep.* 2.2.60 *Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro*) makes clear, Cynic diatribe, the most popularly disseminated brand of Hellenistic ethical philosophy, with its figurehead Bion of Borysthenes, blunt freedman and fishmonger's son (c. 325–255 BC), is another influence that authorizes his salty haranguing and supplies much of his autobiographical colouring, particularly in *S.* 1–3, the 'diatribe satires'.<sup>73</sup> H.'s hostility to avarice echoes Bion's hostile aphorism about the love of money as 'the metropolis of evil'; the speaking penis of *S.* 2 is an earthier version of Bion's personified Poverty; and the Cynic who told King Antigonus 'what he was' provides the most straightforward model for 'cat may look at a king' proreptic to a great man.<sup>74</sup> H.'s staged dithering between humour and gravity at 1.23–7 gestures to the more general concept of *spoud(ai)ogelion* (the serio-comic principle that infused Cynic teaching but was also associated with Aristophanes and Varro's Menippean satires).<sup>75</sup> The animal fables of the slave Aesop, with his speech impediment and deformed appearance, also add disarming simplicity and elementary wisdom to the moralizing sermons (1.33–8, 90–1, 110, 6.20) and H.'s portrait of his straight-talking freedman father.<sup>76</sup>

But *Satires* I also sets out to determine the proper limits of contemporary civil speech, whether in the street, at home or in a new social and political dispensation. Diatribe is useful to H. in finding ancestry for his blunt voice, but is repeatedly rejected (starting at 1.13–14) as hackneyed and relentless. He goes on to embrace a less aggressive, more civilized form of *sermo*, philosophical dialogue, which had set a precedent for discussing related theories of language and social interaction in the medium of simulated conversation between friends (in Cicero's case, a model inherited partly from Plato, partly from Lucilius).<sup>77</sup> In *De officiis*, Cicero had defined the right kind of *sermo*, restrained and sensitive, for civic interaction,

<sup>71</sup> Müller 1992, Cucchiarelli 2001, Keane 2002d, 2006. <sup>72</sup> Hunter 1985b: 486–90.

<sup>73</sup> See Oltramare 1926 on the history and themes of diatribe, Kindstrand 1976 on Bion, Moles 2007 on parallels with H.'s autobiography. Bion as humorist: Porph. ad *Ep.* 2.2.60 *Bion Aristophanis comici par dicitur fuisse*; ps.-Acro ad *Ep.* 2.2.60: *Ep.* 2.2.60: *Bion . . . mordacissimis salibus ea, quae ad poetas sunt, ita laceravit, ut ne Homero quidem parceret*; Cucchiarelli 2005: 196.

<sup>74</sup> For the ringing sound of κυνός 'dog/Cynic' in H.'s Cynic obscenity *cunnius*, see 3.107–10n.

<sup>75</sup> Giangrande 1972, Relihan 1993: 49–74. <sup>76</sup> Perry 1952, Holzberg 2002.

<sup>77</sup> The Socratic satirist comes into his own in *S.* II and *Ep.* I. But self-awareness, Socratic irony, dishevelled appearance, etc. determine one facet of H.'s persona in *S.* I; Anderson 1982: 50–73.

separating rhetorical from conversational speech.<sup>78</sup> In *De oratore*, he staged a discussion on the limits of humour, biased, under the influence of Aristotle, away from vitriol and obscenity and towards a milder, more liberal or ‘gentlemanly’ form of wit.<sup>79</sup> In *S. 4*, H.’s satirical style, *sermoni propiora* ‘close-ish to conversation’ (42), is disingenuously equated with prose (πεζῆ λέξις, ‘pedestrian diction’ = *AP* 95 *sermone pedestri*) or normal talking that ‘creeps along the ground’ (*Ep.* 2.1.250–1 *sermones . . . repentes per humum*). It is from Cicero, among others, that H. derives his ‘journey’ metaphor for the rambling, sporadic development of *sermo*, realized in the journey/conversation narratives of *S. 5* and 9, and possibly even the courtroom joke of *S. 7*.<sup>80</sup> However, H. departs from Cicero’s philosophical bias with the anti-Stoic quips that end *S. 1–3*, while *S. 4* dismantles his untouchable icon, Ennius, in a tricky demonstration of the pure ‘chattiness’ and virtual ‘prosinness’ of satire, which proves, despite appearances, that Horatian *sermo pedestris* is more finely wrought than archaic epic.<sup>81</sup> H. also embraces full-frontal frankness in his use of the Roman equivalent of four-letter obscenities in *S. 2*, by contrast with Cicero’s virtuoso periphrases in *Fam.* 9.22.

Another running joke in *Satires I* concerns the paradox of presenting ‘conversations’ that are recorded in writing. The first poem starts with the drama of a dislocated voice, an addressee, Maecenas, and a buzz of anonymous interlocutors, but ends by exposing this illusion as the compilation of a scribe or bookworm (1.120–1 *scrinia . . . compilasse*; cf. 5.104 *chartae*, 4.71 *libellos*, 10.47 *scribere*, 10.92 *subscribe libello*). This reflects H.’s broader picture of the evolution of satirical and personal speech, with *sermo* presented as blundering interruption (3.63 *quouis sermone molestus*), unstoppable loquacity (4.12 *garrulus*, 9.13 *garriret*) or unrestrained abuse (4.5 *multa cum libertate notabant*, 7.28 *salso multoque fluenti*), which undergoes refinement and, ultimately, effacement, with the ‘loquacious’ genre reduced to mumbles or even silent thoughts (9.12 *aiebam tacitus*, 4.138 *compressis . . . labris*). The chief bogeys of the book are not sinners but talkers – longwinded street philosophers, divas, malicious gossips, quacks, litigants and loud-mouthed salesmen – while the eye in the storm is the foundational ‘non-conversation’ between H. and Maecenas (*S.* 6.56–61).

With his Socratic motto ‘change the name and the story’s about you’ (1.69–70), H. also appears to reject satire’s ‘traditional’ prerogative or liability (*sermo* = gossip) to name names (*onomasti komoidein*), in favour of discreet generalization.<sup>82</sup> And yet *Satires I* leaks with a steady flow of names.<sup>83</sup> These can be divided as

<sup>78</sup> E.g. *Cic. Off.* 1.135 *habentur autem plerumque sermones aut de domesticis negotiis aut de re publica aut de artium studiis atque doctrina. animadvertendum est etiam, quatenus sermo delectationem habeat, et, ut incipiendi ratio fuerit, ita sit desinendi modus.*

<sup>79</sup> Freudenburg 1993: 96–108 on republican theories of humour.

<sup>80</sup> See introductory essay on *S. 5*; Gowers 2007, 2009b on further Ciceronian engagement in *Satires I*.

<sup>81</sup> Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995. <sup>82</sup> E.g. jokes on *nomen/notare/gnosco/ignosco*.

<sup>83</sup> Rudd 132–59.

follows: (1) individuals who are safely discredited: e.g. Sallust, Tillius, Brutus, Tigellius, Laevinus; (2) Lucilian type-names: Maenius, Nomentanus, Labeo; (3) 'appropriate' names: Apella (foreskin-less), Pantolabus (grab-all), Novius (new man), Crispinus (curly/mock-Chrysippus), Cupiennius (lusting-Ennius), Pantilius (nip-all); (4) metrically equivalent names: Canidia, thought to be Gratidia; (5) friends' names: Maecenas, Virgilius, Plotius, Aristius Fuscus; more admitted, in overload, in *S.* 10; (6) members of the poetic firmament: Homer, Aristophanes, Callimachus, Ennius, Accius, Lucilius; (7) 'anonymous' alphabetical names: Albius, Baius; (8) Caesar. Perhaps not to be named, as with those anonymous 'others' excluded from Horatian literary canons, is an even greater misfortune. But the most significant names are among those omitted: Cicero, M. Varro, Lucretius, Bion, Venusia, Philippi, the pest (1.3 *notus mihi nomine tantum*), *satura* itself.

#### 4 THE 'PLOT' OF *SATIRES* I

Zetzel's clear-headed article of 1980 finally redeemed Horatian satire from its ignominious position in the hierarchy of his works and reinstated *Satires* I as a polished, proto-Augustan poetry book. The handling of relative time, the coexisting illusions of speech and writing and the provisional nature of any ending are among the ongoing jokes of a book which we have no reason to suppose should be taken as anything but a finished whole.<sup>84</sup> Individual poems are no longer judged 'early' because crude (once the fate of 2 and 7), nor is *S.* 10 read as a late response to criticism incurred in an interval following the publication of 4.<sup>85</sup> H.'s readers are now more inclined to read the baffling structure and the uneven flow as purposeful gestures to generic traditions being claimed or experimented with.<sup>86</sup> The brief summary offered here is supplemented by more detailed discussion in the Essays on each poem.

The 'plot' of the ten poems is at first sight arbitrary (Freudenburg 2001: 24: 'an odd jumble') in accordance with the decorum of a genre definable as 'mixture'. *Satires* I opens with a voice coming out of thin air to approach Maecenas, a voice that by the end of the book will have acquired an approximate identity, a patchy history and a significant band of supporters.<sup>87</sup> Thus the opening appearance of randomness (*fors*) turns out to be underpinned by design (*ratio*), a dual aetiology that in the end takes us back to the beginning, to answer the original generalizing question (*Qui fit*) on a personal level: by what right or by what stroke of luck does H. come to be speaking to Maecenas? This context-free opening stands for all H.'s social interactions, past and future, and offers a basic paradigm of the underlying theme of the book, what Dryden called 'the first rudiments of civil

<sup>84</sup> Zetzel 1980; cf. DuQuesnay 1984: 20.

<sup>85</sup> As early as 1900, Hendrickson saw through this but the idea is occasionally reasserted (e.g. by LaFleur 1981: 1803).

<sup>86</sup> On the structure of *Satires* I: Van Rooy 1968, 1970, Knorr 2004. <sup>87</sup> Zetzel 1980.

conversation',<sup>88</sup> as H. seizes the prerogative of a long line of faux-naïf speakers to great men, Bion and Aesop in particular, to lay out the elements of a moral system apparently learned (we discover in *S.* 4) at his freedman father's knee. Much of this advice is close-to-the-bone protreptic for a snobbish millionaire-cum-adulterer (Lyne 1995), insidiously satirical. It also serves H. as a vehicle for voicing the outline of his moral inheritance and offering disarmingly modest credentials as the mouthpiece for something new. If H. is, more or less, satisfied with his lot, why should we begrudge him that?

A cycle begins, three one-way 'conversations', interspersed with anonymous interventions – the so-called 'diatribe poems' (*S.* 1–3), which urge moderation and innocuousness in various areas of ethics, financial, sexual and social. Variations on shades of a key word – *satis/contentus* (1), *medius* (2), *aequus* (3) – all three poems preach moderation in speech as well as behaviour and act out their own exemplarity, developing programmatically as narrow escapes from verbal excess, as they anatomize their own erroneous manoeuvres and break off prematurely with token sideswipes at wordy Stoics.<sup>89</sup> Thus the 'random-seeming' evolution of conversation is underlaid by systematic patterning.<sup>90</sup> Horatian satire can claim the licence and authority of a blunt pedagogical 'tradition' (cf. 4.117 *traditum ab antiquis morem*) while ultimately rejecting it as superannuated. Gradually, H. himself comes into focus not just as the sanctimonious preceptor but as the foolish target of his own admonitions (the unstoppable moralizer of *S.* 1, the adulterer of *S.* 2 and the unsocialized intruder of *S.* 3). Here we see the germ of the ironizing Socratic persona developed in *Satires* II.<sup>91</sup>

*S.* 4, H.'s first programmatic poem, works as a kind of *parabasis*, a confident authorial intervention, now that his satirical world has acquired a recognizable identity.<sup>92</sup> This is H.'s opportunity to stamp his mark on the form, but what results is a post-lapsarian history, an epitaph, even, for full-blown satire, which from flourishing with Lucilius' genial frankness, equivalent to the *multa libertas* of Aristophanes and the rest, has become a genre that effaces itself at the moment of classification, reducing itself from speech to reticence, from the public policing of vice to internalized self-correction, withdrawing from the public stage to the portico and shown its direction by other secondary generic 'refiners', such as Callimachus and Terence.<sup>93</sup> Lucilius' 'open tablet' has become H.'s closed book. H. experiments with various forms of self-exoneration for his genre – that it is harmless, unpoetic or otherwise exempt from inculpation – but the press gang of Jews enlisted at the end affirms that Horatian satire belongs inside, not outside, an exclusive group.

The fifth poem opens out again with escape from Rome. H.'s journey to Brundisium, while realizing the metaphor of travel latent in all earlier theory of

<sup>88</sup> Dryden, *A discourse concerning the original and progress of satire* (1693).

<sup>89</sup> Armstrong 1964. <sup>90</sup> Knoche 1975. <sup>91</sup> Anderson 1963b.

<sup>92</sup> Hooley 2001. <sup>93</sup> Scodel 1987.

*sermo* (from Varro's *Menippeans* to Cicero's dialogues), can be read as an exemplary, fast-moving alternative to Lucilius' rambling *Iter Siculum* and an allegory of the satirist's short-sighted inability to record the *magnae res* of a diplomatic mission. At the same time, this is a true shaggy dog story, a poem that lays out in map-form the digressions, misdirections, dead ends and cliffhangers typical of satirical discourse. H. stumbles on the origins of native satire while disguising a personal *nostos*. The poet is revealed here in all his bodily frailty, dyspeptic and sexually frustrated in line with the aborted peace treaties that lie just out of his line of vision.

The centre of the book is marked by emphatic 'false closure' and an apparent 'continuity error' with the next poem (5.104 *finis* ~ 6.2 *fines*), as H. rejoins Maecenas, his 'forgotten' interlocutor. The convergence of these two unlikely friends becomes an opportunity for H. to 'correct' his original, stuttering encounter with the great man (remembered at 6.56–61) with an articulate, man-to-man appeal for social and political equality, both on the personal level (snobbish patron and snub-nosed client are subtly equalized) and on the civic one (through a satirical history of political favour that mimics the inclusions and exclusions of the patronage system on a larger scale). Though he turns out, unexpectedly, to disavow all political ambition, H. has effectively promoted himself by the end of the poem to a life of quasi-aristocratic *otium*: proudly independent, the contented parasite finds a pure domestic *angulus* in the heart of the city, while familiar undesirables from his past, from Etruscans and provincials to dirty bathers or auctioneers like his father, are all ejected. But an image of the chafing undercarriage of a mule (6.106 *cui lumbos onere ulceret*) ensures that the irritability of the underling remains alive and kicking.

The three short anecdotes that follow also constitute a mini-cycle, each being a ritualized expulsion of unwanted detritus from a newly cleansed city. Bitter civil-war wranglers, demonized witches and would-be arrivistes – these figures are further incarnations of H.'s transcended past who negatively reinforce his preference for humour over violence and restraint over brashness. *S.* 7, set in Brutus' Asian assize-court in the early 40s, records a barbershop tale whose punchline, a speech-stopping pun, pokes at Rome's conscience, her habit of making and breaking kings. *S.* 8, a melodrama set in the pleasure-gardens built over an old burial-pit and donated to strollers by Maecenas, has a cowardly Priapus triumphing over the forces of darkness, temporarily expunging H.'s iambic enemy Canidia through a splintering fart. *S.* 9 is apotropaic in a more civil context, enlisting the sympathy of the reader for H. against a brash interloper who seeks an entrée to Maecenas. This is another journey, an urban parable written with impeccable elegance, in which the pair lead each other a merry dance through the streets of Rome until salvation appears in the form of civil law and the benign hand of Apollo, god of civilized poetry, and the Homeric/Lucilian ending – *sic me seruavit Apollo* – supplies at least a partial answer to the initial question *Qui fit*.

S. 10, a counterpart to S. 4 that appears to be a supplementary postscript or palinode, turns out to be a further affirmation of H.'s superiority over Lucilius, an intratextual nod to the earlier poem and already (as the spurious preface proclaims) entering the realm of scholarly 'meta-commentary'. H. discreetly appoints himself to a new canon of Roman poets, gathering his supporters around him in a crowd as threatening to those excluded from it (which includes the first generation of neoterics and their lesser imitators) as the gang of Jews in S. 4. Not surprisingly, although epic, tragedy, comedy and pastoral are colonized by others and recused by H., opportunities still lie open for those interested in satire, lyric, iambic and philosophical epistle. By the end, the book's disparate pages (*chartae*) have formed themselves into a finished volume (*libellus*), about to be published and even ready for the addenda of a second edition (*subscribe*). A world of institutionalized criticism and literary coteries has replaced the crude street preaching evoked at the beginning. The poems have seemed random on the surface, but *ratio* is now revealed, vindicating a new order as formed from the right people.

Yet satire's apparent progress from diatribe to restrained good manners has been punctuated every so often by a return of the atavistic impulses associated with its origins – Atellan farce, republican aggression, open obscenity, hedgerow abuse, legal wrangling, Priapic threats and curses. Even the final poem has a gratuitous sting in the tail, with its backlash against some familiar token victims from the out-crowd (reincarnations of Callimachus' Blame and Envy)<sup>94</sup> and the reminder that a *libellus* is also a lampoon or a court writ. The ending presents itself, along with its author, as only provisionally finished. In the distance, a few figures have offered themselves for future self-modelling: Aristius Fuscus, the ideal ironic satirist, and Fonteius Capito, the perfect gentle courtier (5.82–3 *ad unguem factus homo*). Ends and beginnings of poems experiment with ideas of breaking and joining (execution, circumcision, truncation) or including and excluding (press-ganging, release, afterthought). Parabasis, false closure, a proem in the middle: structure and architecture underlie the book's random appearance.<sup>95</sup> Satires merge almost continuously, with brief, stammering pauses for breath: thus the promise *uerbum non amplius addam* (1.120) is broken by the stuttered elision/resumption of 1.2 *Am-bubaiaarum*, 7.35 *iugulas* is curtailed by 8.1 *truncus*, 4.143 *turbam* eases into 5.1 *egressum*, 5.100 *Apella* is echoed by 9.78 *Apollo*, 10.92 *libello*.

H.'s history of a provisional genre shaped by many different literary and non-literary ancestors, 'natural' and adopted, and marked by progress from outspokenness to restraint, mixture to purity, crudeness to finesse, works in parallel with the poems' narrative of his own cultural assimilation. As with the varied stories of his autobiography, he does not commit himself to any exclusive myth of origins, but freely manipulates both tradition and rootlessness to suit his

<sup>94</sup> 10.90n.

<sup>95</sup> Knorr 2004.



purposes. Parallels for the history of satire can be found in H.'s history of the social contract (3.99–112, in which the development of civil *sermo* is, not surprisingly, paramount) and in his history of himself, the civilization of one individual from *rusticus* to *urbanus*, from grunting, scratching caveman (3.103–4), stuttering infant (1.25–6, 6.57) or blunt preacher to the literary perfectionist who bites his own fingernails. The satirical genealogy from brash Lucilius to underplaying successor is figured in the generational leap between H. and his finger-pointing freedman father, whose moral censorship is replaced by thoughtful irony and internalized self-criticism. Both Lucilius and H.'s biological father are handed to posterity as rough-and-ready prototypes, little to be regretted, seeing that they are fashioned in order to redeem H.<sup>96</sup>

Perhaps the most puzzling aspect of the book is the diatribe mode in which it is launched. Without doubt, H.'s own voice verges on the 'irritating' (Richlin 1992: 184), especially in these poems: his mottoes are clichéd, his examples trite. Why risk presenting oneself in an impression-making debut work as a *doctor ineptus*?<sup>97</sup> Some critics have harnessed 'persona' theory to distance H. from this incompetent-seeming mask,<sup>98</sup> anticipating the ironic move he goes on to make in *Satires* II, where tireless pundits take the stage while he merely 'listens' (2.2.2 *nec meus hic sermo*, 2.3.1 *sic raro scribis*), or explained the disarmingly banal voice as a device to claim kin with appropriately semi-literary generic ancestors. This is just one of many voices H. owns, then disowns before moving on to other ways of speaking: the cluster of names at the book's end focuses attention on a contemporary version of 'Horace'. Yet the plurality of anonymous interlocutors in the diatribic 'monologues', the ambiguity of who is speaking which lines to whom, already dramatizes the question of satire's liability.<sup>99</sup> What gives a (minor) sinner the right to preach? Is H. originator or victim of his criticisms (cf. 4.80 *est auctor quis denique eorum?*)? Is his addressee Maecenas or an unnamed interlocutor, a generalized void, the city of Rome or posterity?

H. is well aware that his 'private' dialogues are broadcast well beyond his circle of chosen readers: he cannot control the reception of his verse, especially the malevolent kind.<sup>100</sup> Satirical *sermo* can only pretend to disarm criticism, whether from fastidious Maecenas, invidious eavesdroppers or paranoid readers, by imposing a relentlessly apologetic and self-correcting self on top of the old, gauche one.<sup>101</sup> From his opening moves, H. thus personalizes the broader process of the civilization of *sermo*, while leaving traces of continued aggression and vulnerability. Perhaps the best guide to what he expected to achieve is the despairing report on the reception of *Satires* I at the start of *Satires* II: Horatian satire has

<sup>96</sup> Johnson 1993: 18–32, Schlegel 2000 = 2005: 38–58 on H.'s plurality of 'fathers'.

<sup>97</sup> Anderson 1963b = 1982: 13–49.

<sup>98</sup> Freudenburg 1993, 2001, Braund 1996c, Turpin 1998.

<sup>99</sup> Henderson 1993: 74–6 = 1999: 211–13 reads the words of H. and the pest in *S.* 9 as interchangeably blurred.

<sup>100</sup> Feeney 2009. <sup>101</sup> Seock 1991 on suspicion as the prevailing mood of *Satires* I.

‘failed’, in being construed as simultaneously too bland and too offensive.<sup>102</sup> In other words, it has succeeded in its lopsided goal.

## 5 INFLUENCES

### *Philosophy*

‘Eclectic’ is the word usually applied to H.’s philosophical views, and it would be wrong to try to extract any clear-cut system from his poems, even those on overtly ethical themes.<sup>103</sup> ‘Back to basics’ thinking, simple rules for moderate living common to many Hellenistic ethical schools, colours *S.* 1–3, such that Epicureanism is often hard to separate from Cynicism or even Stoicism, especially when H. is advocating making do with essentials and avoiding pomp and complication.<sup>104</sup> Practical ethics are offered both as the cornerstone of H.’s formation (as the primal scene where the child learns the ‘ten commandments’ from his father suggests) and as the genetic inheritance of satire. Lucilius, despite reckoning a philosopher (*sapiens*) less useful than a coat or a slave (507–8W = 515–16M), had depicted a society receptive to many strands of Hellenistic thought (the Stoic Panaetius and the Academic Clitomachus were among Scipio’s friends);<sup>105</sup> Cicero (*Acad.* 1.8) found as much philosophy and dialectic as humour in Varro’s *Menippeans*.

The most strident of H.’s opening voices is that of Cynic street philosophy and the diatribist Bion (see above p. 13). But he hints at 4.115–16 that his father’s homespun moralizing was followed by a more sophisticated philosophical education (*sapiens, uitatu quidque petitu | sit melius, causas reddet tibi*), possibly in the Academy at Athens (cf. *Ep.* 2.2.43–5; Brutus after Caesar’s assassination had also attended lectures by Stoics and Peripatetics there), possibly also through contact with Epicurean followers of Philodemus (c. 110–c. 40 BC) on the Bay of Naples (with whom Virgil, Varius and Maecenas were certainly associated). Behind the homely saws lie many concerns central to late republican socio-political thought: the limits of outspokenness, the threat of violence to community life, the compatibility of private virtue and public service.<sup>106</sup> Philodemus had written topical treatises on kingship, anger and free speech; Cicero’s philosophical and rhetorical writings had wrestled with the principles and reality of living under tyranny.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, H.’s Platonic, Peripatetic and Hellenistic ideas often come filtered through their republican interpreters: Epicurus through Cicero or Lucretius, for example.<sup>108</sup> H. is resistant to impractical dogma of all kinds, satirizing extreme and

<sup>102</sup> 2.1–4 *Sunt quibus in satira uidear nimis acer et ultra | legem tendere opus. sine neruis altera quidquid | composui pars esse putat similesque meorum | mille die uersus deducere posse.*

<sup>103</sup> Good short introductions are Rudd 1993: 64–88 (‘Horace as a moralist’), Mayer 2005, Moles 2007. See for more detail, DeWitt 1939, Kemp 2006, 2009, 2010, philosophical entries in *Enc. Or.*

<sup>104</sup> See e.g. 1.74, 2.68–72, 3.99–124.

<sup>105</sup> Gärtner 2001 finds in Lucilius a coherent philosophy of friendship.

<sup>106</sup> Griffin and Barnes 1989. <sup>107</sup> Gildenhard 2006, 2007. <sup>108</sup> Gowers 2009b.

long-winded versions of Stoicism (e.g. the paradox ‘all sins are equal’ in *S.* 3, which Panaetius had done much to soften),<sup>109</sup> the anti-social aspects of Cynicism and even the irresponsibility of his preferred Epicureanism. He never delivers philosophy ‘neat’ but always harnesses it to fit his primary concerns – self-preservation, independence and the development of non-aggressive civil speech.<sup>110</sup>

*Poetic ancestors: Homer, Ennius, Callimachus, Virgil, Lucretius*

Although he stresses satire’s affinity to prose, H. is really staking a claim to a humble (or not so humble) place among the *turba* of earlier and contemporary poets, while declaring his affiliations in contemporary debates about poetics. In particular, Philodemus’ *On Poems*, under the influence of the euphonist Crates of Mallos, had established a new theory of atomist poetics, pressing for the indissolubility of sound and meaning and elevating artistry above Stoic and Atticist principles of morality, rugged spontaneity and inspiration.<sup>111</sup> Homer’s noble flood of words had long since dispersed among other, less heroic voices.<sup>112</sup> Ennius, Homer’s Roman epic counterpart, comes in for less reverential treatment, with his jingoistic prayer for the Roman state debased into a curse on adulterers (2.37–8) and his dignified lines on civil war (4.60–1) excerpted and dissected, though H. recognizes Ennius’ rogue satirical streak through allusion to his intimate picture of Servilius and his ‘Good Companion’ (*Ann.* 268–86 Sk; cf. 3.63).<sup>113</sup>

By turning his back on epic, whether ‘original’ (e.g. 2.37–8, 4.60–2, 7.11–18) or spewed forth by modern imitators (e.g. 10.36–7), and by ‘epicizing’ Lucilius as a carrier of Euphratean mud, H. might seem, like many other late-republican and Augustan poets, to be marking himself out as a pure Callimachean. Callimachus’ third-century *Iambi*, with their sophisticated manipulation of oral and written, time and space, principled *polyeideia* (generic mixture) and ‘secondary’ toning down of first-generation aggression, are an obvious spiritual ancestor for both *Satires* and *Epodes*, which H. acknowledges through Callimachean-style homage and combative allusion (with the ithyphallic herms of *Iambi* 7 and 9 reincarnated as Priapus, avoidance of crowds and interest in libraries and alphabets). His pursuit of exclusiveness, linguistic purity, the poetic dream, the expulsion of Blame and Envy’s successors in *S.* 10, along with ear-tugging and Apollo in *S.* 9, suggest allegiance to the literary polemic of *Aetia* fr. 1 and the *Hymn to Apollo*.<sup>114</sup> But

<sup>109</sup> Grilli 1983: 270–1.

<sup>110</sup> Moles 2007: 168: ‘Philosophical programmes . . . can be presented piecemeal and unsequentially, implemented, Romanised, incompletely descriptive, ironised, redefined, subverted, etc.’

<sup>111</sup> See 2.93, 4.3–5, 53–6, 56–62, 7.3, 13nn.; Freudenburg 1993: 109–84 on late-republican style wars (and 139–62 on Philodemus versus the Stoics and Atticists), essays in Obbink 1995 (especially Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995), Gigante 2003, Armstrong *et al.* 2004, Kemp 2010. Tsakiropoulou-Summers 1998 doubts whether H. actually met Philodemus.

<sup>112</sup> Connors 2005 on epic parody in satire. H. avoids open critique of Homer (10.52), but see *S.* 7 for Iliadic resonances, *S.* 5 for Odyssean ones.

<sup>113</sup> Connors 2005: 131. <sup>114</sup> Scodel 1987.

Callimachus is mocked as a fantasist in love (2.105–10, compared with the realist Philodemus), and in *S.* 10 H. reproves even this purist for allowing a mixture of dialects. He reserves yet more scorn for the neoterics and their imitators, mocking their affectation and erotic idealism almost as savagely as he debases Ennian epic, thus conveniently relegating first-generation, revolutionary Roman Callimacheanism to the level of cliché.<sup>115</sup>

Virgil, H.'s queasy companion in *S.* 5, was ahead of H. in Maecenas' queue and midwife to his fortunes. *Satires* I walks hand in hand with the slender ten-poem *Eclogues*, H. offering a lightly satirized reading of the rival book, from the quarrelling goatherds who think each other's grass is greener to Virgil's sickly or effeminate tendencies.<sup>116</sup> Correspondences between poems are sometimes neatly arithmetical, sometimes pointedly oppositional. *Ecl.* 5 and *S.* 5, *Ecl.* 9 and *S.* 9 are all verse-journeys; the love-magic of *Ecl.* 8 becomes the witchcraft of *S.* 8, the passionate lover of *Ecl.* 2 the fornicators and adulterers of *S.* 2. Virgil's amoeban contests mutate into H.'s ritual slanging-matches; the Messianic hopes of *Ecl.* 4 are dashed in the symbolic frustrations of *S.* 5. Virgil seems to have returned the double-edged compliment, reusing the sticks of H.'s mock-heroic kitchen fire at Beneventum (5.73–4) for his epic conflagration of Troy in *Aeneid* 2.<sup>117</sup>

Another hexameter innovator, Lucretius, is less directly enlisted as mentor, through allusions that carefully single out the proto-satiric and self-consciously didactic elements in his poem.<sup>118</sup> The famous honey and wormwood and alphabet-atom images used of philosophical teaching (*DRN* 1.936–42 = 4.11–17, 1.824–7) converge in the ABC-lessons of *S.* 1 (25–6), while the scolding voice of Natura (*DRN* 3.392 *inrepet*) is heard, along with Bion's Poverty, in the 'natural' philosophy of the speaking penis in *S.* 2; Lucretius' virtuoso satire on lovers' blind endearments (4.1153–70) is adapted to commend indulgent fathers in *S.* 3. Virgilian and Lucretian components dovetail at the end of *S.* 1, where programmatic play on *satis* and *contentus* robs both the *Eclogues* (10.70 *sat*, 10.77 *saturae*) and *De Rerum Natura* (3.960 *plenus ac satur rerum*) of their monopoly on moderation and hands it to the genre where it belongs. But H. is allergic to both Virgilian prophecy and doctrinaire Epicureanism, as his mock-parroting of agnostic creed and rejection of miracles at 5.102–3 suggest. His rewriting of Lucretius' pessimistic history of human progress (3.99–124) is both more cynical and more positive, culminating as it does in the triumph of *sermo*.

## 6 STYLE AND METRE

By virtue of its 'miscellaneous' identity (*satura*), on the one hand, and its simulation of human speech (*sermo*), on the other, Horatian satire is, not surprisingly, a sampler of verbal *uarietas* that subsumes all the other genres (*polyeideia*). H. already

<sup>115</sup> Freudenburg 2001: 44. See 1.110–11, 118–19, 5.49, 10.44–5nn.

<sup>116</sup> Van Rooy 1973, Putnam 1995–6, Henderson 1998b, Freudenburg 2001: 35–44.

<sup>117</sup> Austin 1964 *ad Aen.* 2.312. <sup>118</sup> Murley 1939 on Lucretius as satirist.

shows what he is capable of with regard to highly wrought word-arrangement (*compositio*),<sup>119</sup> under the influence of atomist theoreticians like Philodemus,<sup>120</sup> while metrical versatility is showcased in a book that is unusually self-conscious about metre, especially in the theoretical poems, 4 and 10, and the journey poems, 5 and 9, which show how changes of pace work 'on the ground'. The hexameter, originally Ennius' epic metre but already adapted by Lucilius, Lucretius, Catullus and Virgil for less elevated forms of discourse, becomes in H.'s hands a flexible tool to convey anything from homespun mottoes to mock-heroic flights. Because this is neo-Callimachean satire, deformed genre made pure, H. walks a deliberate tightrope between wittily exaggerated parody of bad writing and stylistic exemplarity.

To reproduce the rhythms of colloquial speech or verse that approximates to it (*sermo merus, sermoni propiora*), H.'s starting models are the brusque questions and snappy interruptions of diatribe and comic dialogue, particularly Terence (e.g. the virtuoso exchanges of *S.* 9.4–6: 'quid agis, dulcissime rerum?' | *suauius, ut nunc est' inquam 'et cupio omnia quae uis.' | cum assectaretur, 'numquid uis?' occupo. at ille . . .*). Advancing on Lucilius' 'any old how' hexameters (10.59–60 *pedibus . . . claudere senis, | hoc tantum contentus*), H.'s main innovation was to break the standard 2- or 3-syllable ending, where accent (spoken emphasis) and ictus (metrical beat) coincide, a superannuated style nodded at symbolically, for example, in the end-stopped moralizing of the old-fashioned father at 4.112–20 or the outdated 'Discordia taetra' ending (noun + adjective), used of military victory at 1.8 (*uictoria laeta*) or lumbering wagons at 6.42 (*plaustra ducenta*).<sup>121</sup>

More often, H. experiments with meaningful and amusing tensions between metrical dictates and the flow of speech, specializing in perverse enjambment (dangling words like 2.26 *facetus*, 9.70–1 *unus | multorum*) and the largest proportion in his poetry of monosyllabic line-endings (11.6%, 10 times more than in Virgil or Catullus, usually conjunctions or pronouns), for informal or emphatic effect (especially in *S.* 4, the poem that argues for satire's similarity to prose *sermo*): e.g. 1.50–1 *iugera centum an | mille aret*; 1.81–2 *habes qui | assideat*; 1.82–3 *ut te | suscitet*; 9.57–8 *hodie si | exclusus fuero*; 9.62–3 *unde uenis et | quo tendis*.<sup>122</sup> Lucilian elisions, a form of metrical 'cheating', are replaced by ingeniously interlocking patterns of words.<sup>123</sup>

Far from being metrical prose, Horatian satire is more compressed and elliptical than either everyday speech or epic. H. commonly uses infinitives instead of *ut* constructions, dislocated prepositions (e.g. 2.40, 3.68, 70, 6.58), datives of agent instead of *ab* + abl. and *apo koinou* expressions (e.g. 5.49 *namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis*, 9.50–1 *nil me officit, inquam, | ditior hic aut est quia doctior*). Elegant 'golden' or chiasmic lines are 'wasted' on trivia (e.g. 5.14 *malis culicibus ranaeque palustres*, 5.85 *nocturnam uestem . . . uentremque supinum*). Lists of paraphernalia packed in asyndeton (e.g. 2.98 *custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae*) nostalgically recall Plautine

<sup>119</sup> Marouzeau 1936, Zetzel 1980, 2002.

<sup>120</sup> Freudenburg 1993: 139–62, Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995.

<sup>121</sup> Harrison 1991. <sup>122</sup> Nilsson 1952: 114. <sup>123</sup> Marouzeau 1936, 1949: 193–201.

or Lucilian superabundance. Lines relating to pace and space are predictably self-conscious, with contrasts between fast and slow movement (5.5–6, 9.9) or width and depth (8.12) expressed in iconically ‘divided’ lines. In H.’s prescription for fast-moving satire, brisk dactyls yield to dragging spondees: 10.9–10 *est breuitate opus, ut currat sententia neu se | impediatur uerbis lassas onerantibus aures*.

Following Lucilius’ adoption of the hexameter, satire had become the ‘evil twin’ of epic (Morgan 2000a: 113). Like other satirists, H. exploits its ability to parody epic values in epic metre.<sup>124</sup> Thus the Muse is summoned (5.53 *Musa uelim memores*) and great armies recalled (6.4 *olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent*, a ‘window allusion’ balancing the jingoism of Ennius with the sarcasm of Lucretian imitation).<sup>125</sup> Less gloriously, we hear the thumping progress of chamberpots and winejars (6.109 *laganum portantes oenophorumque*), the monstrous babel of *Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae* (2.1, a hybrid blend of Aramaic, Greek and Latin) and the melodrama of *fortissima Tyndaridarum* (1.100), where a 5-syllable line-ending elevates a lowborn murderess into a modern Clytemnestra. Friends and cliques are miraculously incorporated (4.1 *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae*, 10.81 *Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque*) and quotations embedded wholesale or translated, mostly famously Ennius’ *Discordia taetra*, Callimachus’ epigram on the thrill of the chase (2.105–8) and the Lucretian catechism (5.101–3). The uninhibited staining of Lucilian satire with fringe vocabulary like Gaulish *bulga*, Syriac *mamphula*, Umbrian *gumia*, Oscanizing *abzet* and lashings of colloquial Greek<sup>126</sup> is abjured and toned down with pointed Latinization (e.g. 10.59 *pedibus senis* for ‘hexameter’, 2.118 *tentigine rumphi* for Lucilius’ *psolocopoumai*, 9.73 *sic me seruauit Apollo* Latinizing both Homer’s original and Lucilius’ parroted Greek). But H. keeps a token smattering of Greek borrowings, from literary-critical terms (*poeta, poema, epos, rhetor*) to household equipment (*oenophorum, laganum*), and rejoices in bilingual puns: *onus* (ὄνος), *palus* (φάλλος), *cunnius* (κύνος).

Some of the most insidious ‘criticism’ in the book takes the form of spot-on stylistic parody of other authors. Lucretian dialectic words (*praeterea, dehinc*), for example, support an anti-Lucretian history of human progress; Sallustian asyndeton and rousing slogans (e.g. 2.52–3 *damno | dedecorique*) mark the hypocrisy of the historian-adulterer.<sup>127</sup> Not all of these literary in-jokes can be detected or fathomed, especially when some of the most sensitive critics of Latin literature have interpreted in opposite directions the register of a number of obviously patterned lines as either affectedly neoteric or consciously archaizing.<sup>128</sup> What is certain is that *Satires I* reproduces the full range of Latin ‘from the refined heights down to its vulgar and obscene depths’ (Coffey 1976: 51)<sup>129</sup> and that a poet’s entire formation through other people’s words (cf. 4.120–1 *sic me | formabat puerum dictis*) is embedded in its complex texture.

<sup>124</sup> Connors 2005. <sup>125</sup> Nilsson 1952: 104–5, Connors 2005.

<sup>126</sup> Petersmann 1999, Chahoud 2004. <sup>127</sup> Woodman 2009.

<sup>128</sup> See 5.72–4, 10.35nn. <sup>129</sup> Cited by Petersmann 1999: 310.

7 THE AFTERLIFE OF *SATIRES* I

H.'s satirical successors nod to the tradition he crystallized by performing their own acts of homage and hatchet jobs. The Stoic satirist Persius (AD 34–62) boiled down the images and mottoes of 'slimmed' Horatian satire into an intense Neronian decoction (1.125 *aliquid decoctius*), exposing their author in his own words as slyly cruel (1.116 *uifer . . . Flaccus*), snobbish (1.118 *callidus excusso populum suspendere naso*) and philosophically redundant.<sup>130</sup> Juvenal (*fl.* early second century AD), reinflating satire to an epic or neo-Lucilian scale in an age of social breakdown, pictured H. as the privileged beneficiary of a patron's slush fund (7.62 *satir est cum dicit Horatius 'Euhoe'*; 7.94 *quis tibi Maecenas?*) and rejoiced that the destiny H. dreaded in *S.* 10, of becoming a dusty school text, had already come to pass: 226–7 *cum totus decolor esset | Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni*.<sup>131</sup> Seneca borrowed Horatian imagery from *S.* 1 (*Tantalus, satis*) for the chorus' voice of moderation in his tragedy of excess, *Thyestes*, and moralized about social levelling (cf. *S.* 6) to *his* Lucilius in his *Epistles*.<sup>132</sup> Quintilian 1.10.94 played umpire in the rivalry between H. and Lucilius, affirming H.'s self-promoting characterization of himself as *multo tersior ac magis purus*, but defending Lucilius against charges of clumsiness.<sup>133</sup> Suetonius' *Vita Horati*, another chapter in H.'s reception, extracts further biographical detail from the poems: the portly poet acquires a fishmonger father (perfecting the links with Bion), scribal office, a mirrored bedroom, an Esquiline grave and an engaged imperial reader in the shape of Augustus.

In the Middle Ages, H.'s pedagogical predictions (1.25–6, 10.74–5) proved largely self-fulfilling. In medieval schoolrooms, the *Satires* offered ideal fodder for 'simple' moral instruction and practice in grammar and syntax (Dante even commemorates H. as plain 'Orazio satiro').<sup>134</sup> The moralizing veneer of the *Satires* continued to justify multiple later translations, often merrily bowdlerized,<sup>135</sup> from Thomas Drant's 'Medicinal moral' (1566) to Samuel Dunster's promise of 'just and true and lively sentiments of moral honesty and virtue' (1709). As for commentators, Denis Lambin (Lambinus) used Horatian images to commend his profession in his prefatory ditty (1561): ointment for sore eyes or a gypsy's crystal ball; Richard Bentley (1711) promised to 'dissimulate his resources that the dunces may find themselves taken in the toils unaware, a source of jest and merriment to men of a finer discernment'.<sup>136</sup>

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a dramatic revival of interest in satire for its own sake, both in theory and in practice, with the imitations and translations of Donne, Boileau, Regnier and others and Dryden's hugely influential, anti-Horatian *A discourse concerning the original and progress of satire* (1693). H.'s reflective attitude to patronage was now the chief point of engagement

<sup>130</sup> Hooley 1997: 29.      <sup>131</sup> Woodman 1983a.      <sup>132</sup> *Ep.* 44.

<sup>133</sup> Keane 2002d: 27.      <sup>134</sup> Reynolds 1996. Dante *Inferno* 4.89.      <sup>135</sup> Schlegel 2002.

<sup>136</sup> Cited by Christie 1968: 25.

(Dryden dismissing him as ‘a man who is afraid of laughing in the wrong place’), with *S.* 1.9 a special focus for expressing complacency or the sour grapes of a disappointed client.<sup>137</sup> Exiles from European courts like Ariosto and Wyatt turned to H.’s detached stance to dignify their rootlessness.<sup>138</sup> Ben Jonson found Horatian aloofness and polish sympathetic for his self-fashioning as an elite poet; his *Poetaster* sets London’s literary disputes on a Roman stage, with Jonson thinly disguised as ‘Horace’ and Marston as a wordy ‘Crispinus’ undergoing purgation.<sup>139</sup> Yet Elizabethan poets like Marston, Donne and Hall, surviving without patrons and drawn to crabbed and innovative language to convey their discontent, were attracted more to splenetic Persius and alienated Juvenal than to mild and protected H. (indeed, a continuing tradition of Horatian *synkrisis* pitted H. unfavourably, as half-blooded, against his rivals, e.g. in Dryden’s treatise).<sup>140</sup> Rochester found the clique-ish *S.* 10 a useful model for his ‘Allusion to Horace’ (1680), and hit back by casting (living) Dryden as the sacred cow Lucilius and amassing a threatening gang of poetic cronies.<sup>141</sup>

Many of the great eighteenth-century satirists chose to reflect on their art in a more mellow Horatian vein.<sup>142</sup> Swift noted the hypocrisy of the self-professed reformer, who ‘raiseth a mighty dust where there was none before; sharing deeply all the while in the very same pollutions he pretends to sweep away’.<sup>143</sup> Though he voiced the grudges of an outsider elsewhere, Pope compared his *Rape of the Lock* to a kind of inoffensive Horatian ‘tickling’ (Boileau had come clean about the selfish pleasure of writing satire: ‘Enfin, c’est mon plaisir; je me veux satisfaire.’). H.’s paean to rural quietude, *S.* II 6, with its miniature fable of the town and country mice, came to rival *S.* 9 as preferred model. Christopher Smart as Ebenezer Pentweazle translated *S.* 3 as ‘The Horatian canons of friendship’ (1750): ‘Who has not faults? Great Marlborough had one | Nor Chesterfield is spotless, nor the sun.’ In the later eighteenth century, urban H. was transported to a country vicarage by William Clubbe of Brandeston, Norfolk (1795), for whom eagle-eyed Lynceus becomes star-gazing Herschel and the fortune-teller a gypsy from Norwood, and to the Scottish Highlands by Alexander Geddes (1779), who updated the Old Comedians as ‘Chaucer, Shakespeare, Lydgate, Ben, and other such old comic men’ (with Milton playing Ennius), and set the *blandi doctores* in a dame school (‘As dames encourage imps to read | with sugar-plums and ginger-bread’). Expurgated Horace continued to shed a gentlemanly influence on nineteenth-century public school education.<sup>144</sup> The American anthropologist

<sup>137</sup> Griffin 1994: 142 on the satirist as ‘a gentleman in search of preferment’. *S.* 9 was translated by Oldham (1681, with the Mall as the Via Sacra; Poole and Maule 1995: 366) and twice by Donne.

<sup>138</sup> Burrow 1993. <sup>139</sup> Moul 2010. <sup>140</sup> Burrow 2005, Martindale 2005.

<sup>141</sup> Griffin 1994: 142.

<sup>142</sup> See Kupersmith 2007 and Weinbrot 1988 on eighteenth-century English versions of Roman satire; Poole and Maule 1995 give a selection.

<sup>143</sup> *Meditation upon a broomstick*. <sup>144</sup> Harrison 2009.



Lewis H. Morgan made Horace's mock 'history of civilization' the epigraph for his proto-Marxist *Ancient Society* (1877). In the twentieth century, Horatian satire came increasingly to represent relaxed Epicurean *amicitia* and nostalgic retreat from war and stress. Harold Nicolson (1944) imagined the coterie of *S.* 5 picnicking in the shadows of Monte Cassino; Frederic Raphael (1995) commemorated his friendship with classical scholar J. P. Sullivan in a dramatized account of a sunlit journey to Brundisium.

## 8 TEXT AND TRANSMISSION

Over 250 MSS survive of Horace, of which the earliest date from the ninth century AD, during the Carolingian renaissance. They fall into three groups. Klingner's group  $\Xi$  includes A, a, B (Bernensis 363), C/E (Monacensis 14685), K (St Claude 2, eleventh century). Of these, no individual MS contains a complete run of the *Satires*. Klingner's  $\Psi$ , marginally less reliable, includes R (Vatican, Reg. lat. 1703, probably the oldest MS) and other MSS, mostly in Paris, with Greek letter names. A significant alternative strand is represented by V, the oldest of four MSS (Blandinius vetustissimus) from the monastery of Mont Blandin near Ghent, now lost but preserved by Jacobus Cruquius of Bruges in his editions from 1565 onwards. This appears to mix the best of both traditions as well as offering some valuable unique readings, most famously 1.6.126 *campum lusumque trigonem* for the *rabiosi tempora signi* found in the other two traditions and the ancient scholia. The interpolated verses of *S.* 10 are found in a number of  $\Psi$  MSS,<sup>145</sup> and are the first sign of a tradition of commentary on the satires. The scholia of Porphyrio date from the early third century AD (he may have started the custom of ordering the *Odes* before the *Satires*); another collection, from the fifth century, is falsely attributed to Helenus Acron, 'ps.-Acro' (c. AD 200); a third group is known as Commentator Cruquianus, incorporating those scholia found by Cruquius in the lost Blandinius. These commentaries are intriguing but intermittently helpful: often they extrapolate information from the text or offer imaginative guesses (e.g. that Fannius was cremated on a pile of his own books), but they make a useful starting point for further speculation.<sup>146</sup>

The text reproduced here is based on the 1959 Teubner edition of F. Klingner, with some changes in punctuation and orthography (e.g. *volgus* changed to *uulgus*, *componere* to *componere*, *siguis*, *nescioquis*, etc. changed to separate words, *is* to *es* in acc. pl.). Different readings are listed here, with changes in punctuation where they affect meaning:

**1.81** *affixit* for *adffixit*

**2.19** *hic*. for *hic*?

**2.38** *moechos* for *moechis*

<sup>145</sup> See further Tarrant in Reynolds 1983: 182–6, Brink 1971: 1–43, Friis-Jensen 2007.

<sup>146</sup> On the scholia, see N–H 1970: xlvii–li, Zetzel 1981: 168–70.

- 2.82** *tuo* for *tuum*  
**3.65** *quouis sermone molestus*: for *quovis sermone*: ‘molestus, etc.  
**3.87** *Kalendae* for *kalendae*  
**3.132** *tonsor* for *sutor*  
**4.35** *excutiat, sibi non, non cuiquam parceret amico* for *excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parceret amico*  
**4.65** *Sulcius* for *Sulgius*  
**4.70** *sum* for *sim*, *Sulci* for *Sulgi*  
**4.102** *animo, prius ut, si quid* for *animo prius, ut siquid*  
**5.15** *absentem ut cantat amicam* for *absentem cantat amicam*  
**5.84** *Veneri* for *ueneri*  
**5.96** *adusque* for *ad usque*  
**5.97** *lymphis* for *Lymphis*  
**6.42** *plaustra* for *plostra*  
**6.66** *alioquin* for *alioqui*  
**6.67** *reprehendas* for *reprendas*  
**6.75** *Idibus* for *idibus*  
**6.113** *Circum* for *circum*  
**6.114** *Forum* for *forum*  
**6.126** *Campum* for *campum*  
**7.5** *etiam* for *et iam*  
**7.7** *tumidusque* for *tumidus*  
**7.25** *Canem* for *canem*  
**8.21** *Luna* for *luna*  
**8.29** *manibus* for *manis*  
**8.45** *Furiarum* for *furiarum*  
**9.1** *Via Sacra* for *via sacra*  
**9.30** *mota diuina anus urna* for *diuina mota anus urna*  
**9.47–51** *si tradere . . . cuique suus*: changes in punctuation and assignment of speech  
**9.48** *uiuatur* for *uiuimus*  
**9.69** *tricesima* for *tricensima*  
**10.20** *Graeca* for *graeca*, *Latinis* for *latinis*  
**10.28** *Publicola* for *Poplicola*  
**10.31** *Graecos* for *graecos*  
**10.37** *diffindit* for *diffigit*  
**10.68** *dilatus* for *delapsus*

Q. HORATI FLACCI  
SERMONVM LIBER PRIMVS



Q. HORATI FLACCI  
SERMONVM LIBER PRIMVS

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I

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem  
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa  
contentus uiuat, laudet diuersa sequentes?  
'o fortunati mercatores!' grauis annis  
miles ait, multo iam fractus membra labore. 5  
contra mercator, nauem iactantibus Austris,  
'militia est potior. quid enim? concurritur: horae  
momento cita mors uenit aut uictoria laeta.'  
agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,  
sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat. 10  
ille, datis uadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,  
solos felices uiuentes clamat in urbe.  
cetera de genere hoc – adeo sunt multa – loquacem  
delassare ualent Fabium. ne te morer, audi,  
quo rem deducam. si quis deus 'en ego' dicat 15  
'iam faciam quod uultis: eris tu, qui modo miles,  
mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc uos,  
uos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. eia,  
quid statis?' nolint. atqui licet esse beatis.  
quid causae est, merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas 20  
iratus buccas inflet neque se fore posthac  
tam facilem dicat, uotis ut praebeat aurem?  
praeterea, ne sic ut qui iocularia ridens  
percurram – quamquam ridentem dicere uerum  
quid uetat, ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi 25  
doctores, elementa uelint ut discere prima?  
sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo:  
ille grauem duro terram qui uertit aratro,  
perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque, per omne  
audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem 30  
sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,  
aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut  
paruula – nam exemplo est – magni formica laboris  
ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit aceruo

quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri. 35  
 quae, simul inuersum contristat Aquarius annum,  
 non usquam proreperit et illis utitur ante  
 quaesitis sapiens, cum te neque feruidus aestus  
 demoueat lucro neque hiems, ignis mare ferrum,  
 nil obstet tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter. 40  
 quid iuuat immensum te argenti pondus et auri  
 furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?  
 quod, si comminuas, uilem redigatur ad assem?  
 at ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus aceruus?  
 milia frumenti tua triuerit area centum: 45  
 non tuus hoc capiet uenter plus ac meus, ut, si  
 reticulum panis uenales inter onusto  
 forte uehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam  
 qui nil portarit. uel dic quid referat intra  
 naturae fines uiuenti, iugera centum an 50  
 mille aret? 'at suaue est ex magno tollere aceruo.'  
 dum ex paruo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,  
 cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?  
 ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna  
 uel cyatho et dicas 'magno de flumine malletm 55  
 quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.' eo fit,  
 plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto,  
 cum ripa simul auulsos ferat Aufidus acer.  
 at qui tantuli eget quanto est opus, is neque limo  
 turbatam haurit aquam neque uitam amittit in undis. 60  
 at bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso  
 'nil satis est', inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis.'  
 quid facias illi? iubeas miserum esse, libenter  
 quatenus id facit, ut quidam memoratur Athenis  
 sordidus ac diues, populi contemnere uoces 65  
 sic solitus: 'populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo  
 ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.'  
 Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat  
 flumina – quid rides? mutato nomine de te  
 fabula narratur: congestis undique saccis 70  
 indormis inhians et tamquam parcere sacris  
 cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.  
 nescis, quo ualeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?  
 panis ematur, holus, uini sextarius, adde

quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis. 75  
 an uigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque  
 formidare malos fures, incendia, seruos,  
 ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuuat? horum  
 semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.  
 ‘at si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus 80  
 aut alius casus lecto te affixit, habes qui  
 assideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget, ut te  
 suscitet ac reddat gnatis carisque propinquis.’  
 non uxor saluum te uult, non filius; omnes  
 uicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae. 85  
 miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,  
 si nemo praestet, quem non merearis, amorem?  
 an si cognatos, nullo natura labore  
 quos tibi dat, retinere uelis seruareque amicos,  
 infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum 90  
 in campo doceat parentem currere frenis?  
 denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus,  
 pauperiem metuas minus et finire laborem  
 incipias, parto quod auebas, ne facias quod  
 Vmmidius quidam. non longa est fabula: diues 95  
 ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus ut se  
 non umquam seruo melius uestiret, adusque  
 supremum tempus ne se penuria uictus  
 opprimeret metuebat. at hunc liberta securi  
 diuisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum. 100  
 ‘quid mi igitur suades? ut uiuam Naeuius aut sic  
 ut Nomentanus?’ pergis pugnantia secum  
 frontibus aduersis componere: non ego auarum  
 cum ueto te fieri uappam iubeo ac nebulonem:  
 est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli; 105  
 est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,  
 quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.  
 illuc unde abii redeo, qui nemo, ut auarus,  
 se probet ac potius laudet diuersa sequentes,  
 quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber, 110  
 tabescat neque se maiori pauperiorum  
 turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.  
 sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,  
 ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,

instat equis auriga suos uincentibus, illum 115  
 praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.  
 inde fit ut raro qui se uixisse beatum  
 dicat et exacto contentus tempore uita  
 cedat uti conuiuia satur reperire queamus.  
 iam satis est. ne me Crispini scrinia lippi 120  
 compilasse putes, uerbum non amplius addam.

## II

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae,  
 mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne  
 maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli.  
 quippe benignus erat. contra hic, ne prodigus esse  
 dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico 5  
 frigus quo duramque famem propellere possit.  
 hunc si perconteris, aui cur atque parentis  
 praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluuie rem,  
 omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis,  
 sordidus atque animi quod parui nolit haberi, 10  
 respondet. laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.  
 Fufidius uappae famam timet ac nebulonis  
 diues agris, diues positus in faenore nummis:  
 quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat, atque  
 quanto perditior quisque est tanto acrius urget; 15  
 nomina sectatur modo sumpta ueste uirili  
 sub patribus duris tironum. ‘maxime’ quis non  
 ‘Iuppiter!’ exclamat simul atque audiuit? ‘at in se  
 pro quaestu sumptum facit hic.’ uix credere possis  
 quam sibi non sit amicus, ita ut pater ille, Terenti  
 fabula quem miserum gnato uixisse fugato 20  
 inducit, non se peius cruciauerit atque hic.  
 si quis nunc quaerat ‘quo res haec pertinet?’ illuc:  
 dum uitant stulti uitia, in contraria currunt.  
 Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat, est qui 25  
 inguen ad obscenum subductis usque; facetus  
 pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.  
 nil medium est. sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas  
 quarum subsuta talos tegat instita ueste;  
 contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem. 30



quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, 'macte  
 uirtute esto' inquit sententia dia Catonis:  
 'nam simul ac uenas inflauit taetra libido,  
 huc iuuenes aequum est descendere, non alienas  
 permolere uxores.' 'nolim laudari' inquit 35  
 'sic me' mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.  
 audire est operae pretium, procedere recte  
 qui moechos non uultis, ut omni parte laborent,  
 utque illis multo corrupta dolore uoluptas  
 atque haec rara cadat dura inter saepe pericla. 40  
 hic se praecipitem tecto dedit, ille flagellis  
 ad mortem caesus, fugiens hic decidit acrem  
 praedonum in turbam, dedit hic pro corpore nummos,  
 hunc perminxerunt calones; quin etiam illud  
 accidit, ut cuidam testes caudamque salacem 45  
 demeterent ferro. 'iure' omnes; Galba negabat.  
 tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda,  
 libertinarum dico, Sallustius in quas  
 non minus insanit quam qui moechatur. at hic si,  
 qua res, qua ratio suaderet quaque modeste 50  
 munifico esse licet, uellet bonus atque benignus  
 esse, daret quantum satis esset nec sibi damno  
 dedecorique foret. uerum hoc se amplectitur uno,  
 hoc amat et laudat: 'matronam nullam ego tango';  
 ut quondam Marsaeus, amator Originis ille, 55  
 qui patrium mimae donat fundumque laremque,  
 'nil fuerit mi' inquit 'cum uxoribus umquam alienis.'  
 uerum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus, unde  
 fama malum grauius quam res trahit. an tibi abunde  
 personam satis est, non illud, quidquid ubique 60  
 officit, euitare? bonam deperdere famam,  
 rem patris oblimare malum est ubicumque. quid inter-  
 est in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?  
 Villius in Fausta Sullae gener, hoc miser uno  
 nomine deceptus, poenas dedit usque superque 65  
 quam satis est, pugnīs caesus ferroque petitus,  
 exclusus fore, cum Longareus foret intus.  
 huic si muttonis uerbis mala tanta uidenti  
 diceret haec animus 'quid uis tibi? numquid ego a te  
 magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum 70

uelatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?<sup>7</sup>  
 quid responderet? ‘magno patre nata puella est.’  
 at quanto meliora monet pugnantiisque istis  
 diues opis natura suae, tu si modo recte  
 dispensare uelis ac non fugienda petendis 75  
 immiscere. tuo uitio rerumne labores,  
 nil referre putas? quare, ne paeniteat te,  
 desine matronas sectarier, unde laboris  
 plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus.  
 nec magis huic, inter niueos uiridesque lapillos 80  
 sit licet, hoc, Cerinthe, tuo tenerum est femur aut crus  
 rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae.  
 adde huc quod mercem sine fucis gestat, aperte  
 quod uenale habet ostendit nec, si quid honesti est,  
 iactat habetque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet. 85  
 regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur: opertos  
 inspiciunt, ne si facies, ut saepe, decora  
 molli fulta pede est emptorem inducat hiantem,  
 quod pulchrae clunes, breue quod caput, ardua ceruix.  
 hoc illi recte: ne corporis optima Lyncei 90  
 contemplere oculis, Hypsaea caecior illa  
 quae mala sunt spectes. ‘o crus! o brachia!’ uerum  
 depugis, nasuta, breui latere ac pede longo est.  
 matronae praeter faciem nil cernere possis,  
 cetera, ni Catia est, demissa ueste tegentis. 95  
 si interdicta petes, uallo circumdata – nam te  
 hoc facit insanum – multae tibi tum officient res,  
 custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae,  
 ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,  
 plurima, quae inuideant pure apparere tibi rem. 100  
 altera, nil obstat: Cois tibi paene uidere est  
 ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi;  
 metiri possis oculo latus. an tibi mauis  
 insidias fieri pretiumque auellier ante  
 quam mercem ostendi? leporem uenator ut alta 105  
 in niue sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit,  
 cantat et apponit ‘meus est amor huic similis; nam  
 transuolat in medio posita et fugientia captat.’  
 hiscine uersiculis speras tibi posse dolores  
 atque aestus curasque graues e pectore pelli? 110

nonne, cupidinibus statuat natura modum quem,  
 quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum,  
 quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?  
 num, tibi cum faucis urit sitis, aurea quaeris  
 pocula? num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter  
 pauonem rhombumque? tument tibi cum inguina, num, si  
 ancilla aut uerna est praesto puer, impetus in quem  
 continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?  
 non ego: namque parabilem amo uenerem facilemque.  
 illam 'post paulo', 'sed pluris', 'si exierit uir'  
 Gallis, hanc Philodemus ait sibi quae neque magno  
 stet pretio neque cunctetur cum est iussa uenire.  
 candida rectaque sit, munda hactenus ut neque longa  
 nec magis alba uelit quam dat natura uideri.  
 haec ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laeuum,  
 Iliā et Egeria est; do nomen quodlibet illi.  
 nec uereor, ne, dum futuo, uir rure recurrat,  
 ianua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno  
 pulsa domus strepitu resonet, uepallida lecto  
 desiliat mulier, miseram se conscia clamet,  
 cruribus haec metuat, doti deprensa, egomet mi.  
 discincta tunica fugiendum est et pede nudo,  
 ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama.  
 deprendi miserum est: Fabio uel iudice uincam.

## III

Omnibus hoc uitium est cantoribus, inter amicos  
 ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati,  
 iniussi numquam desistant. Sardus habebat  
 ille Tigellius hoc. Caesar, qui cogere posset,  
 si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non  
 quicquam proficeret; si collibuisset, ab ouo  
 usque ad mala citaret 'io Bacchae!' modo summa  
 uoce, modo hac, resonat quae chordis quattuor ima.  
 nil aequale homini fuit illi: saepe uelut qui  
 currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe uelut qui  
 Iunonis sacra ferret; habebat saepe ducentos,  
 saepe decem seruos; modo reges atque tetrarchas,  
 omnia magna loquens, modo 'sit mihi mensa tripes et

concha salis puri et toga, quae defendere frigus  
 quamuis crassa queat.' deciens centena dedisses 15  
 huic parco, paucis contento, quinque diebus  
 nil erat in loculis; noctes uigilabat ad ipsum  
 mane, diem totum stertebat; nil fuit umquam  
 sic impar sibi. nunc aliquis dicat mihi 'quid tu?  
 nullane habes uitia?' immo alia et fortasse minora. 20  
 Maenius absentem Nouium cum carperet, 'heus tu'  
 quidam ait 'ignoras te an ut ignotum dare nobis  
 uerba putas?' 'egomet mi ignosco' Maenius inquit.  
 stultus et improbus hic amor est dignusque notari.  
 cum tua peruideas oculis mala lippus inunctis, 25  
 cur in amicorum uitiiis tam cernis acutum  
 quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? at tibi contra  
 euenit, inquirant uitia ut tua rursus et illi.  
 iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis  
 naribus horum hominum; rideri possit eo quod 30  
 rusticius tonso toga defluit et male laxus  
 in pede calceus haeret: at est bonus, ut melior uir  
 non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens  
 inculto latet hoc sub corpore. denique te ipsum  
 concute, num qua tibi uitiorum inseuerit olim 35  
 natura aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque  
 neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.  
 illuc praeuertamur, amatorem quod amicae  
 turpia decipiunt caecum uitia aut etiam ipsa haec 40  
 delectant, ueluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae.  
 uellem in amicitia sic erraremus, et isti  
 errori nomen uirtus posuisset honestum.  
 ac pater ut gnati, sic nos debemus amici  
 si quod sit uitium non fastidire. strabonem  
 appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male paruus 45  
 si cui filius est, ut abortiuus fuit olim  
 Sisyphus; hunc uarum distortis cruribus, illum  
 balbutit scaurum prauis fultum male talis.  
 parcius hic uiuit: frugi dicatur. ineptus  
 et iactantior hic paulo est: concinnus amicis 50  
 postulat ut uideatur. at est truculentior atque  
 plus aequo liber: simplex fortisque habeatur.  
 caldior est: acres inter numeretur. opinor,

haec res et iungit iunctos et seruat amicos.  
 at nos uirtutes ipsas inuertimus atque 55  
 sincerum furimus uas incrustare. probus quis  
 nobiscum uiuit, multum demissus homo: illi  
 tardo cognomen, pingui damus. hic fugit omnes  
 insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,  
 cum genus hoc inter uitae uersemur, ubi acris 60  
 inuidia atque uigent ubi crimina: pro bene sano  
 ac non incauto fictum astutumque uocamus.  
 simplicior quis et est, qualem me saepe libenter  
 obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem  
 aut tacitum impellat quouis sermone molestus: 65  
 ‘communi sensu plane caret’ inquam. eheu,  
 quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!  
 nam uitii nemo sine nascitur: optimus ille est,  
 qui minimis urgetur. amicus dulcis, ut aequum est,  
 cum mea compenset uitii bona, pluribus hisce, 70  
 si modo plura mihi bona sunt, inclinat, amari  
 si uolet: hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem.  
 qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum,  
 postulat, ignoscet uerrucis illius: aequum est  
 peccatis ueniam poscentem reddere rursus. 75  
 denique, quatenus excidi penitus uitium irae,  
 cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non  
 ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res  
 ut quaeque est, ita supplicii delicta coercet?  
 si quis eum seruum patinam qui tollere iussus 80  
 semesos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit ius  
 in cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter  
 sanos dicatur. quanto hoc furiosius atque  
 maius peccatum est: paulum deliquit amicus,  
 quod nisi concedas, habere insuauis; acerbus 85  
 odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,  
 qui nisi, cum tristes misero uenere Kalendae,  
 mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras  
 porrecto iugulo historias captiuus ut audit.  
 conminxit lectum potus mensaue catillum 90  
 Euandri manibus tritum deiecit; ob hanc rem,  
 aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini  
 sustulit esuriens, minus hoc iucundus amicus

sit mihi? quid faciam, si furtum fecerit aut si  
 prodiderit commissa fide sponsumue negarit? 95  
 quis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant  
 cum uentum ad uerum est: sensus moresque repugnant  
 atque ipsa utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi.  
 cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,  
 mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter 100  
 unguibus et pugnibus, dein fustibus atque ita porro  
 pugnabant armis quae post fabricauerat usus,  
 donec uerba, quibus uoces sensusque notarent,  
 nominaque inuenere; dehinc absistere bello,  
 oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges, 105  
 ne quis fur esset neu latro neu quis adulter.  
 nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus taeterrima belli  
 causa, sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,  
 quos uenerem incertam rapientes more ferarum  
 uiribus editior caedebat ut in grege taurus. 110  
 iura inuenta metu iniusti fateare necesse est,  
 tempora si fastosque uelis euoluere mundi.  
 nec natura potest iusto discernere iniquum,  
 diuidit ut bona diuersis, fugienda petendis,  
 nec uincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque, 115  
 qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti  
 et qui nocturnus sacra diuum legerit. adsit  
 regula, peccatis quae poenas irroget aequas,  
 ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.  
 nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire 120  
 uerbera, non uereor, cum dicas esse pares res  
 furta latrociniiis et magnis parua mineris  
 falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum  
 permittant homines. si diues, qui sapiens est,  
 et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex, 125  
 cur optas quod habes? ‘non nosti quid pater’ inquit  
 ‘Chrysippus dicat: sapiens crepidas sibi numquam  
 nec soleas fecit; sutor tamen est sapiens.’ qui?  
 ‘ut quamuis tacet, Hermogenes cantor tamen atque  
 optimus est modulator; ut Alfenus uaffer, omni 130  
 abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna,  
 tonsor erat: sapiens operis sic optimus omnisi  
 est opifex, solus sic rex.’ uellunt tibi barbam

lasciui pueri, quos tu nisi fuste coerces,  
 urgeris turba circum te stante miserque  
 rumperis et latras, magnorum maxime regum. 135  
 ne longum faciam: dum tu quadrante lauatum  
 rex ibis neque te quisquam stipator ineptum  
 praeter Crispinum sectabitur, et mihi dulces  
 ignoscent, si quid peccaro stultus, amici, 140  
 inque uicem illorum patiar delicta libenter  
 priuatusque magis uiuam te rege beatus.

## IV

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae  
 atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca uirorum est,  
 si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur,  
 quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui  
 famosus, multa cum libertate notabant. 5  
 hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus,  
 mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque; facetus,  
 emunctae naris, durus componere uersus.  
 nam fuit hoc uitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,  
 ut magnum, uersus dictabat stans pede in uno; 10  
 cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere uelles;  
 garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,  
 scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror. ecce  
 Crispinus minimo me prouocat: 'accipe, si uis,  
 accipe iam tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora, 15  
 custodes; uideamus uter plus scribere possit.'  
 di bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli  
 finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis:  
 at tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras  
 usque laborantes, dum ferrum molliat ignis, 20  
 ut mauis, imitare. beatus Fannius ultro  
 delatis capsis et imagine, cum mea nemo  
 scripta legat, uulgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,  
 quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuuat, utpote plures  
 culpari dignos. quemuis media elige turba: 25  
 aut ob auaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat.  
 hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum;  
 hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere;

hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo  
 uespertina tepet regio, quin per mala praeceps 30  
 fertur uti puluis collectus turbine, ne quid  
 summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem.  
 omnes hi metuunt uersus, odere poetas.  
 ‘faenum habet in cornu, longe fuge; dummodo risum  
 excutiat, sibi non, non cuiquam parcat amico; 35  
 et quodcumque semel chartis illeuerit, omnes  
 gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque  
 et pueros et anus.’ agedum pauca accipe contra.  
 primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis,  
 excerpam numero: neque enim concludere uersum 40  
 dixeris esse satis; neque si qui scribat uti nos  
 sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.  
 ingenium cui sit, cui mens diuiniior atque os  
 magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.  
 idcirco quidam comoedia necne poema 45  
 esset quaesiure, quod acer spiritus ac uis  
 nec uerbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo  
 differt sermoni, sermo merus. ‘at pater ardens  
 saeuit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica  
 filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset, 50  
 ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante  
 noctem cum facibus.’ numquid Pomponius istis  
 audiret leuiora, pater si uiueret? ergo  
 non satis est puris uersum perscribere uerbis,  
 quem si dissoluas, quiuis stomachetur eodem 55  
 quo personatus pacto pater. his, ego quae nunc,  
 olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si  
 tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine uerbum est  
 posterius facias praeponens ultima primis,  
 non, ut si soluas ‘postquam Discordia taetra 60  
 belli ferratos postes portasque refregit’,  
 inuenias etiam disiecti membra poetae.  
 hactenus haec: alias iustum sit necne poema.  
 nunc illud tantum quaeram, meritone tibi sit  
 suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer 65  
 ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis,  
 magnus uterque timor latronibus; at bene si quis  
 et uiuat puris manibus, contemnat utrumque.



ut sis tu similis Caeli Birrique latronum,  
 non ego sum Capri neque Sulci: cur metuas me? 70  
 nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,  
 quis manus insudet uulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli,  
 nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis idque coactus,  
 non ubiuis coramue quibuslibet. in medio qui  
 scripta foro recitent sunt multi quique lauantes: 75  
 suaue locus uoci resonat conclusus. inanes  
 hoc iuuat, haud illud quaerentes, num sine sensu,  
 tempore num faciant alieno. 'laedere gaudes'  
 inquit 'et hoc studio prauus facis.' unde petitum  
 hoc in me iacis? est auctor quis denique eorum 80  
 uixi cum quibus? absentem qui rodit, amicum  
 qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos  
 qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,  
 fingere qui non uisa potest, commissa tacere  
 qui nequit: hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caueto. 85  
 saepe tribus lectis uideas cenare quaternos,  
 e quibus unus amet quauis aspergere cunctos  
 praeter eum qui praebet aquam; post hunc quoque potus,  
 condita cum uerax aperit praecordia Liber:  
 hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque uidetur 90  
 infesto nigris. ego si risi, quod ineptus  
 pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,  
 liuidus et mordax uideor tibi? mentio si quae  
 de Capitolini furtis iniecta Petilli  
 te coram fuerit, defendas ut tuus est mos: 95  
 'me Capitolinus conuictore usus amicoque  
 a puero est causaque mea permulta rogatus  
 fecit et incolumis laetor quod uiuit in urbe;  
 sed tamen admiror quo pacto iudicium illud  
 fugerit': hic nigrae sucus lolliginis, haec est 100  
 aerugo mera. quod uitium procul afore chartis,  
 atque animo, prius ut, si quid promittere de me  
 possum aliud uere, promitto. liberius si  
 dixerō quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris  
 cum uenia dabis: insueuit pater optimus hoc me, 105  
 ut fugerem exemplis uitiorum quaeque notando.  
 cum me hortaretur, parce frugaliter atque  
 uiuerem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset:

‘nonne uides Albi ut male uiuat filius utque  
 Baius inops? magnum documentum, ne patriam rem 110  
 perdere quis uelit.’ a turpi meretricis amore  
 cum deterreret: ‘Scetani dissimilis sis.’  
 ne sequerer moechas, concessa cum uenere uti  
 possem: ‘deprensi non bella est fama Treboni’  
 aiebat. ‘sapiens, uitatu quidque petitu 115  
 sit melius, causas reddet tibi; mi satis est, si  
 traditum ab antiquis morem seruare tuamque,  
 dum custodis eges, uitam famamque tueri  
 incolumem possum; simul ac durauerit aetas  
 membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice.’ sic me 120  
 formabat puerum dictis et, siue iubebat  
 ut facerem quid, ‘habes auctorem quo facias hoc’  
 unum ex iudicibus selectis obiebat,  
 siue uetabat, ‘an hoc inhonestum et inutile factu  
 necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum 125  
 hic atque ille?’ auidos uicinum funus ut aegros  
 exanimat mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit,  
 sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe  
 absterrent uitiiis. ex hoc ego sanus ab illis  
 perniciem quaecumque ferunt, mediocribus et quis 130  
 ignoscas uitiiis teneor. fortassis et istinc  
 largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus,  
 consilium proprium; neque enim, cum lectulus aut me  
 porticus exceperit, desum mihi. ‘rectius hoc est;  
 hoc faciens uiuam melius; sic dulcis amicis 135  
 occurram; hoc quidam non belle: numquid ego illi  
 imprudens olim faciam simile?’ haec ego mecum  
 compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti,  
 illudo chartis. hoc est mediocribus illis  
 ex uitiiis unum; cui si concedere nolis, 140  
 multa poetarum ueniat manus, auxilio quae  
 sit mihi – nam multo plures sumus – ac ueluti te  
 Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

## V

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma  
 hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,

Graecorum longe doctissimus; inde Forum Appi  
 differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis.  
 hoc iter ignaui diuisimus, altius ac nos 5  
 praecinctis unum: minus est grauis Appia tardis.  
 hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, uentri  
 indico bellum, cenantes haud animo aequo  
 exspectans comites. iam nox inducere terris  
 umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat. 10  
 tum pueri nautis, pueris conuicia nautae  
 ingerere: 'huc appelle!' 'trecentos inseris: ohe!  
 iam satis est.' dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,  
 tota abit hora. mali culices ranaeque palustres  
 auertunt somnos; absentem ut cantat amicam 15  
 multa prolutus uappa nauta atque uiator  
 certatim; tandem fessus dormire uiator  
 incipit ac missae pastum retinacula mulae  
 nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.  
 iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem 20  
 sentimus, donec cerebrosus prosilit unus  
 ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno  
 fuste dolat: quarta uix demum exponimur hora.  
 ora manusque tua lauimus, Feronia, lympha.  
 milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus 25  
 impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.  
 huc uenturus erat Maecenas optimus atque  
 Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque  
 legati, auersos soliti componere amicos.  
 hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus 30  
 illinere. interea Maecenas aduenit optimus atque  
 Cocceius Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem  
 factus homo, Antoni, non ut magis alter, amicus.  
 Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter  
 linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae, 35  
 praetextam et latum clauum prunaeque uatillum.  
 in Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,  
 Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.  
 postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque  
 Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque 40  
 occurrunt, animae quales neque candidiores  
 terra tulit neque quis me sit deuinctior alter.

o qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!  
 nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.  
 proxima Campano ponti quae uillula tectum 45  
 praebuit et parochi, quae debent, ligna salemque.  
 hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.  
 lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque;  
 namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.  
 hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima uilla, 50  
 quae super est Caudi cauponas. nunc mihi paucis  
 Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,  
 Musa, uelim memores et quo patre natus uterque  
 contulerit lites. Messi clarum genus Osci;  
 Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti 55  
 ad pugnam uenere. prior Sarmentus 'equi te  
 esse feri similem dico.' ridemus, et ipse  
 Messius 'accipio' caput et mouet. 'o tua cornu  
 ni foret exsecto frons' inquit 'quid faceres, cum  
 sic mutilus minitaris?' at illi foeda cicatrix 60  
 saetosam laeui frontem turpauerat oris.  
 Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,  
 pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat:  
 nil illi larua aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.  
 multa Cicirrus ad haec: donasset iamne catenam 65  
 ex uoto Laribus, quaerebat; scriba quod esset,  
 nilo deterius dominae ius esse; rogabat  
 denique cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una  
 farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.  
 prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam. 70  
 tendimus hinc recta Beneuentum, ubi sedulus hospes  
 paene macros arsit dum turdos uersat in igni.  
 nam uaga per ueterem dilapso flamma culinam  
 Vulcano summum properabat lambere tectum.  
 conuiuas auidos cenam seruosque timentes 75  
 tum rapere atque omnes restinguere uelle uideres.  
 incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos  
 ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos  
 numquam erepsemus, nisi nos uicina Triuici  
 uilla recepisset lacrimoso non sine fumo, 80  
 udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.  
 hic ego mendacem stultissimus usque puellam

ad mediam noctem exspecto; somnus tamen aufert  
 intentum Veneri; tum immundo somnia uisu  
 nocturnam uestem maculant uentremque supinum. 85  
 quattuor hinc rapimur uiginti et milia raedis,  
 mansuri oppidulo quod uersu dicere non est,  
 signis perfacile est: uenit uilissima rerum  
 hic aqua, sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra  
 callidus ut soleat umeris portare uiator. 90  
 nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna,  
 qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.  
 flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.  
 inde Rubos fessi peruenimus, utpote longum  
 carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri. 95  
 postera tempestas melior, uia peior adusque  
 Bari moenia piscosi; dein Gnatia lymphis  
 iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,  
 dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro  
 persuadere cupit. credat Iudaeus Apella, 100  
 non ego; namque deos didici securum agere aeuum  
 nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id  
 tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto.  
 Brundisium longae finis chartaeque uiaequae est.

## VI

Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos  
 incoluit fines nemo generosior est te,  
 nec quod auus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus  
 olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,  
 ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco 5  
 ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.  
 cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente  
 natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi uere,  
 ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum  
 multos saepe uiros nullis maioribus ortos 10  
 et uixisse probos amplis et honoribus auctos;  
 contra Laeuinum, Valeri genus, unde Superbus  
 Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis  
 non umquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante  
 iudice quo nosti, populo, qui stultus honores 15

saepe dat indignis et famae seruit ineptus,  
 qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. quid oportet  
 nos facere a uulgo longe longeque remotos?  
 namque esto populus Laeuino mallet honorem  
 quam Decio mandare nouo censorque moueret 20  
 Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus:  
 uel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem.  
 sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru  
 non minus ignotos generosis. quo tibi, Tilli,  
 sumere depositum clauum fierique tribuno? 25  
 inuidia accreuit, priuato quae minor esset.  
 nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus  
 pellibus et latum demisit pectore clauum,  
 audit continuo ‘quis homo hic est? quo patre natus?’  
 ut si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi 30  
 et cupiat formosus, eat quacumque, puellis  
 inicit curam quaerendi singula, quali  
 sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo:  
 sic qui promittit ciues, urbem sibi curae,  
 imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum, 35  
 quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,  
 omnes mortales curare et quaerere cogit.  
 ‘tunc Syri, Damae aut Dionysi filius, audes  
 deicere de saxo ciues aut tradere Cadmo?’  
 ‘at Nouius collega gradu post me sedet uno; 40  
 namque est ille, pater quod erat meus.’ ‘hoc tibi Paullus  
 et Messalla uideris? at hic, si plaustra ducenta  
 concurrantque foro tria funera magna, sonabit,  
 cornua quod uincatque tubas: saltem tenet hoc nos.’  
 nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum, 45  
 quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,  
 nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, conuictor, at olim,  
 quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.  
 dissimile hoc illi est, quia non, ut forsit honorem  
 iure mihi inuideat quiuis, ita te quoque amicum, 50  
 praesertim cautum dignos assumere, praua  
 ambitione procul. felicem dicere non hoc  
 me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum;  
 nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim  
 Vergilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem. 55  
 ut ueni coram, singultim pauca locutus –

infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari –  
 non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum  
 me Satureiano uectari rura caballo,  
 sed quod eram narro. respondes, ut tuus est mos, 60  
 pauca; abeo, et reuocas nono post mense iubesque  
 esse in amicorum numero. magnum hoc ego duco  
 quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum  
 non patre praeclaro, sed uita et pectore puro.  
 atqui si uitis mediocribus ac mea paucis 65  
 mendosa est natura, alioquin recta, uelut si  
 egregio inspertos reprehendas corpore naeuos,  
 si neque auaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra  
 obiciet uere quisquam mihi, purus et insons,  
 ut me collaudem, si et uiuo carus amicis, 70  
 causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello  
 noluit in Flauī ludum me mittere, magni  
 quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,  
 laeuo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,  
 ibant octonos referentes Idibus aeris, 75  
 sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum  
 artes quas doceat quiuis eques atque senator  
 semet prognatos. uestem seruosque sequentes,  
 in magno ut populo, si qui uidisset, auita  
 ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos. 80  
 ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes  
 circum doctores aderat. quid multa? pudicum,  
 qui primus uirtutis honos, seruauit ab omni  
 non solum facto, uerum opprobrio quoque turpi  
 nec timuit sibi ne uitio quis uerteret, olim 85  
 si praeco paruas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor  
 mercedes sequerer; neque ego essem questus. at hoc nunc  
 laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.  
 nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, eoque  
 non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars, 90  
 quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,  
 sic me defendam. longe mea discrepat istis  
 et uox et ratio. nam si natura iuberet  
 a certis annis aeuum remeare peractum  
 atque alios legere ad fastum quoscumque parentes 95  
 optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos  
 fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens

iudicio uulgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod  
 nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum.  
 nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res 100  
 atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus  
 et comes alter, uti ne solus rusue peregre <ue>  
 exirem, plures calones atque caballi  
 pascendi, ducenda petorrita. nunc mihi curto  
 ire licet mulo uel si libet usque Tarentum, 105  
 mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos.  
 obiciet nemo sordes mihi quas tibi, Tilli,  
 cum Tiburte uia praetorem quinque sequuntur  
 te pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque.  
 hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,  
 milibus atque aliis uiuo. quacumque libido est, 110  
 incedo solus; percontor quanti holus ac far;  
 fallacem Circum uespertinumque pererro  
 saepe Forum, *assisto* diuinis; inde domum me  
 ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum; 115  
 cena ministratur pueris tribus et lapis albus  
 pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus  
 uilis, cum patera gutus, Campana supellex.  
 deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus mihi quod cras  
 surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se 120  
 uultum ferre negat Nouiorum posse minoris.  
 ad quartam iaceo; post hanc uagor aut ego lecto  
 aut scripto quod me tacitum iuuet unguor oliuo,  
 non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.  
 ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lauatum 125  
 admonuit, fugio Campum lusumque trigonem.  
 pransus non auide, quantum interpellet inani  
 uentre diem durare, domesticus otior. haec est  
 uita solutorum misera ambitione grauique;  
 his me consolor uicturum suauius ac si 130  
 quaestor auus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

## VII

Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque uenenum  
 hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor  
 omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.



Persius hic permagna negotia diues habebat  
 Clazomenis, etiam lites cum Rege molestas, 5  
 durus homo atque odio qui posset uincere Regem,  
 confidens, tumidusque, adeo sermonis amari,  
 Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis.  
 ad Regem redeo. postquam nihil inter utrumque  
 conuenit – hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti 10  
 quo fortes, quibus aduersum bellum incidit; inter  
 Hectora Priamidem animosum atque inter Achillem  
 ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima diuideret mors,  
 non aliam ob causam nisi quod uirtus in utroque  
 summa fuit: duo si Discordia uexet inertes 15  
 aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi  
 cum Lycio Glauco, discedat pigrior ultro  
 muneribus missis – Bruto praetore tenente  
 ditem Asiam, Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non  
 compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius. in ius 20  
 acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.  
 Persius exponit causam; ridetur ab omni  
 conuentu; laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem,  
 solem Asiae Brutum appellat stellasque salubres  
 appellat comites excepto Rege; Canem illum, 25  
 inuisum agricolis sidus, uenisse: ruebat  
 flumen ut hibernum, fertur quo rara securis.  
 tum Praenestinus salso multoque fluenti  
 expressa arbusto regerit conuicia, durus  
 uindemiator et inuictus, cui saepe uiator 30  
 cessisset magna compellans uoce cuculum.  
 at Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,  
 Persius exclamat: ‘per magnos, Brute, deos te  
 oro, qui reges consueris tollere, cur non  
 hunc Regem iugulas? operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est.’ 35

## VIII

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,  
 cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,  
 maluit esse deum. deus inde ego, furum auiumque  
 maxima formido; nam fures dextra coerces  
 obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus, 5

ast importunas uolucres in uertice harundo  
 terret fixa uetatque nouis considerare in hortis.  
 huc prius angustis eiecta cadauera cellis  
 conseruus uili portanda locabat in arca;  
 hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulchrum, 10  
 Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti  
 mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum  
 hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.  
 nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque  
 aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes 15  
 albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum,  
 cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque suetae  
 hunc uexare locum curae sunt atque labori  
 quantum carminibus quae uersant atque uenenis  
 humanos animos: has nullo perdere possum 20  
 nec prohibere modo, simul ac uaga Luna decorum  
 protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentes.  
 uidi egomet nigra succinctam uadere palla  
 Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo,  
 cum Sagana maiore ululantem: pallor utrasque 25  
 fecerat horrendas aspectu. scalpere terram  
 unguibus et pullam diuellere mordicus agnam  
 coeperunt; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde  
 manibus elicerent animas responsa daturas.  
 lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea: maior 30  
 lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem;  
 cerea suppliciter stabat, seruilibus ut quae  
 iam peritura modis. Hecaten uocat altera, saeuam  
 altera Tisiphonen: serpentes atque uideres  
 infernas errare canes Lunamque rubentem, 35  
 ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulchra.  
 mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquinat albis  
 coruorum atque in me ueniat mictum atque cacatum  
 Iulius et fragilis Peditia furque Voranus.  
 singula quid memorem, quo pacto alterna loquentes 40  
 umbrae cum Sagana resonarint triste et acutum,  
 utque lupi barbam uariae cum dente colubrae  
 abdiderint furtim terris, et imagine cerea  
 largior arserit ignis, et ut non testis inultus  
 horrerim uoces Furiarum et facta duarum? 45

nam displosa sonat quantum uesica pepedi  
 diffissa nate ficus; at illae currere in urbem.  
 Canidiae dentes, altum Saganae caliendrum  
 excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis  
 uincula cum magno risuque iocoque uideres.

50

## IX

Ibam forte Via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,  
 nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:  
 accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum  
 arreptaque manu 'quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'  
 'suauiter, ut nunc est' inquam 'et cupio omnia quae uis.'  
 cum assectaretur, 'numquid uis?' occupo. at ille  
 'noris nos' inquit; 'docti sumus.' hic ego 'pluris  
 hoc' inquam 'mihi eris.' misere discedere quaerens,  
 ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem  
 dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos  
 manaret talos. 'o te, Bolane, cerebri  
 felicem!' aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille  
 garriret, uicos, urbem laudaret. ut illi  
 nil respondebam, 'misere cupis' inquit 'abire:  
 iamdudum uideo; sed nil agis: usque tenebo;  
 persequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi.' 'nil opus est te  
 circumagi: quendam uolo uisere non tibi notum;  
 trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos.'  
 'nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger: usque sequar te.'  
 demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus,  
 cum grauius dorso subiit onus. incipit ille:  
 'si bene me noui, non Viscum pluris amicum,  
 non Varium facies: nam quis me scribere plures  
 aut citius possit uersus? quis membra mouere  
 mollius? inuideat quod et Hermogenes ego canto.'  
 interpellandi locus hic erat: 'est tibi mater,  
 cognati, quis te saluo est opus?' 'haud mihi quisquam:  
 omnes composui.' 'felicis! nunc ego resto.  
 confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella  
 quod puero cecinit mota diuina anus urna:  
 "hunc neque dira uenena nec hosticus auferet ensis  
 nec laterum dolor aut tussis nec tarda podagra;

5

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garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque: loquaces,  
 si sapiat, uitet, simul atque adoleuerit aetas.”’  
 uentum erat ad Vestae, quarta iam parte diei 35  
 praeterita, et casu tum respondere uadato  
 debebat, quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.  
 ‘si me amas’ inquit ‘paulum hic ades.’ ‘inteream si  
 aut ualeo stare aut noui ciuilia iura;  
 et propero quo scis.’ ‘dubius sum quid faciam’ inquit, 40  
 ‘tene relinquam an rem.’ ‘me, sodes.’ ‘non faciam’ ille,  
 et praecedere coepit; ego, ut contendere durum  
 cum uictore, sequor. ‘Maecenas quomodo tecum?’  
 hinc repetit. ‘paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae.’  
 ‘nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. haberes 45  
 magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,  
 hunc hominem uelles si tradere.’ ‘dispeream, ni  
 summosse omnes. non isto uiuitur illic,  
 quo tu rere, modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est  
 nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit, inquam, 50  
 ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni  
 cuique suus.’ ‘magnum narras, uix credibile.’ ‘atqui  
 sic habet.’ ‘accendis quare cupiam magis illi  
 proximus esse.’ ‘uelis tantummodo: quae tua uirtus,  
 expugnabis; et est qui uinci possit eoque 55  
 difficiles aditus primos habet.’ ‘haud mihi dero:  
 muneribus seruos corrumpam; non, hodie si  
 exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram,  
 occurram in triuiis, deducam. nil sine magno  
 uita labore dedit mortalibus.’ haec dum agit, ecce 60  
 Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum  
 qui pulchre nosset. consistimus. ‘unde uenis et  
 quo tendis?’ rogat et respondet. uellere coepi  
 et pressare manu lentissima bracchia, nutans,  
 distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. male salsus 65  
 ridens dissimulare; meum iecur urere bilis.  
 ‘certe nescio quid secreto uelle loqui te  
 aiebas mecum.’ ‘memini bene, sed meliore  
 tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata: uin tu  
 curtis Iudaeis oppedere?’ ‘nulla mihi’ inquam 70  
 ‘religio est.’ ‘at mi: sum paulo infirmior, unus  
 multorum. ignosces: alias loquar.’ huncine solem

tam nigrum surrexe mihi! fugit improbus ac me  
 sub cultro linquit. casu uenit obuius illi  
 aduersarius et 'quo tu, turpissime?' magna  
 inclamat uoce, et 'licet antestari?' ego uero  
 oppono auriculam. rapit in ius; clamor utrimque;  
 undique concursus. sic me seruauit Apollo.

75

## X

[Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone,  
 defensore tuo, peruincam, qui male factos  
 emendare parat uersus; hoc lenius ille,  
 quo melior uir et est longe subtilior illo,  
 qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis  
 exoratus, ut esset opem qui ferre poetis  
 antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,  
 grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. ut redeam illuc:]  
 Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere uersus  
 Lucili. quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est  
 ut non hoc fateatur? at idem, quod sale multo  
 urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.  
 nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera; nam sic  
 et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer.  
 ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum  
 auditoris; et est quaedam tamen hic quoque uirtus.  
 est breuitate opus, ut currat sententia neu se  
 impediat uerbis lassas onerantibus aures;  
 et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,  
 defendente uicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,  
 interdum urbani, parcentis uiribus atque  
 extenuantis eas consulto. ridiculum acri  
 fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.  
 illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca uiris est,  
 hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher  
 Hermogenes umquam legit neque simius iste  
 nil praeter Caluum et doctus cantare Catullum.  
 'at magnum fecit, quod uerbis Graeca Latinis  
 miscuit.' o seri studiorum! quine putetis  
 difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti  
 contigit? 'at sermo lingua concinnus utraque

5\*

5

10

15

20

suauior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.<sup>7</sup>  
 cum uersus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum 25  
 dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?  
 scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque Latini,  
 cum Pedius causas exsudet Publicola atque  
 Coruinus, patriis intermiscere petita  
 uerba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis. 30  
 atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,  
 uersiculos, uetuit me tali uoce Quirinus  
 post mediam noctem uisus, cum somnia uera:  
 ‘in siluam non ligna feras insanius ac si  
 magnas Graecorum malis implere cateruas.’ 35  
 turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque  
 diffindit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,  
 quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa  
 nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatri.  
 arguta meretrice potes Dauoque Chremeta 40  
 eludente senem comes garrire libellos  
 unus uiuorum, Fundani; Pollio regum  
 facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer  
 ut nemo Varius ducit, molle atque facetum  
 Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae: 45  
 hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino  
 atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,  
 inuentore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim  
 haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.  
 at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem 50  
 plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. age quaeso,  
 tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?  
 nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?  
 non ridet uersus Enni grauitate minores,  
 cum de se loquitur non ut maiore repressis? 55  
 quid uetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentes  
 quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit  
 uersiculos natura magis factos et euntes  
 mollius ac si quis pedibus quid claudere senis,  
 hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos 60  
 ante cibum uersus, totidem cenatus, Etrusci  
 quale fuit Cassi rapido feruentius amni  
 ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque

ambustum propriis? fuerit Lucilius, inquam,  
 comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem  
 quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor  
 quamque poetarum seniorum turba; sed ille,  
 si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aeuum,  
 detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra  
 perfectum traheretur, et in uersu faciendo  
 saepe caput scaberet uiuos et roderet ungues.  
 saepe stilum uertas, iterum quae digna legi sint  
 scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,  
 contentus paucis lectoribus. an tua demens  
 uilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?  
 non ego; nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax  
 contemptis aliis explosa Arbuscula dixit.  
 men moueat cimex Pantilius aut cruciet quod  
 uellicet absentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus  
 Fannius Hermogenis laedat conuiuia Tigelli?  
 Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,  
 Valgius et probet haec Octauius optimus atque  
 Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque.  
 ambitione relegata te dicere possum,  
 Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque  
 uos, Bibule et Serui, simul his te, candide Furni,  
 complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos  
 prudens praetereo; quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,  
 arridere uelim, doliturus si placeant spe  
 deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,  
 discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.  
 i, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

## COMMENTARY

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### SATIRE 1

*Satire* 1 is the first in the trio of so-called ‘diatribe satires’ (Herter 1951, Wimmel 1962, Armstrong 1964, Knorr 2004), in which we ‘overhear’ H. bending the ear of his friend Maecenas with a quizzical observation about human nature. The poem opens with a panorama of discontentment and envy (1–14), as H. ridicules people who complain but would not take the change offered by a puffing, jovial Jupiter, and offers a serious diagnosis of their motives (27–40): they put up, he deduces, with miserable lives because of anxiety about their financial future. The discussion broadens out into a dialogue between various anonymous opponents (41–107), and the financial motive becomes the new focus of the poem, as if by spontaneous train of thought. H. counters those who argue that hoarding makes good sense by arguing that money is an unhealthy obsession that buys neither popular support nor family love; people need only enough for the bare necessities of life and should not gloat or squander. At 108, he returns to his original theme, human discontent, but now ties it up with the central digression on greed to offer a final explanation: those motivated by competition measure their affairs against their rivals but never achieve contentment.

What are we to make of a poem in which the speaker launches himself as an accidental philosopher in order to recite some of the tritest commonplaces of Hellenistic ethics, both Cynic and Epicurean? And in which the organization and logic are almost ostentatiously loose? In common with the two subsequent diatribe satires, *Satire* 1’s opening tack turns out to be a false start, replaced by an apparent digression which is really the main body of the satire, where an ideal of moderation is contrasted with various examples of excess in different areas of life; all three poems end with a dig at verbose or foolish Stoics (Armstrong 1964).

One approach would be to say that *Satire* 1 is relating, between the lines, the story of H.’s formation. In *S.* 4, he reveals that he learned lessons in self-preservation at the knee of his freedman father (4.105–29): *S.* 1–3 in retrospect are the product of H.’s father’s ‘life-skills’ teaching (4.105–26; Armstrong 1964, Oliensis 1998: 25, Gowers 2003: 71), his philosophical education and his ‘finishing’ under Maecenas. To represent his ‘pre-history’, H. adopts the stance of the roughest diamonds of the ethical tradition – gruff mentors and critics like Aesop to Xanthus or King Croesus, or Bion to King Antigonus (Kindstrand 1976, Moles 2007) and recalls the strident homilies of Cynic street-philosophers (Oltromare 1926). Experimenting with a didactic model for satire, H. risks being not just the *blandus doctor* or Cynic *paidagōgos* sweetening the pill of philosophical truth with jokes, but a *doctor ineptus* (Freudenburg 1993, Turpin 1998), one prone to long-winded digressions, false logic and pat endings, or even an unformed



child, whose *primus sermo* rehearses the *elementa prima* of his educational universe: a cartoon Jupiter, sweet biscuits given for learning the ABC, animal fables (the ant, the donkey and the neighbour's goat) and the final quip about cribbing from Crispinus' writing boxes. Kindergarten arithmetic is imitated (adding, subtracting, dividing, measuring, calculating volume and summing up: cf. *fit* at 1, 44, 56, 117). Standard schoolboy exercises of précis and expansion are put into practice, as Horace pits the two sides of his education – Roman materialism and Greek anti-materialism – against each other.

The opening generalization *Qui fit*, then, has a coded application to H. himself. How did H. come to be the product of his ethical education, not a paragon but still awaiting construction, trailing an inchoate body of inherited lore from which to construct the means to speak to a great man? This is not just a symbolic display of 'talk' (*sermo*) to create solidarity between two individuals. H. unites himself with Maecenas in their splendid isolation from the rest of humanity: they look down from their rational high ground on a schematized ant-hill of restless movement and topsy-turvy impulses (*iactantibus, inflet, feruidus, turbatam, inuersum, terram uertit, mutatis, mutato, fugientes, fugientia*), from which, by virtue of their own satisfaction, they are bracketed apart. No context is given for H.'s abrupt approach, no hint as to Maecenas' response, or even presence (the length and continuity of the satire presuppose his compliance). The name-dropping, at least, is blatant. H.'s 'disembodied voice' will gather a context and a history as the satires bring into focus his patron's inner circle (Zetzel 1980). But there is one inescapable conclusion (*fit*) to be drawn and explained even from the first line. H. has already arrived: he is speaking to Maecenas.

Otherwise, politics and court gossip are frustratingly absent. At first sight, Horatian satire rejects the *sermo* that is *nominatim* abuse and malicious social commentary in favour of amicable ethical–philosophical discussion and abstraction (cf. 2.2.1 *Quae uirtus et quanta, boni, sit uiuere paruo; 2.6.71–3 sermo oritur . . . quod magis ad nos | pertinet et nescire malum est*). And yet, Maecenas' name cannot but give a political context to the tête-à-tête. This is a revolution characterized as a status quo, threatened only by the noise and ambitions of the disaffected. The commonplace material does not just establish H.'s philosophical basis but bolsters a reassuring impression of familiarity: his *sermo primus* is a refresher course in first principles, childlike in its simplicity, a moral ABC for a new social order. Though the wider historical context is largely written out of the diatribe satires, the disruptive activities they catalogue, like debt, greed, adultery and vindictiveness, happen to recall the charges of anti-social behaviour hurled about between the different sides in the civil wars (DuQuesnay 1984). Horace can preach tranquillity from ambition and greed because his own needs have already been satisfied. Thus the inverted priamel of the opening lines ('Each man is unhappy in his own way – except for me') is an indirect thank-you to Maecenas for making him self-sufficient, for lending him an ear and being among those who offered him a successful change of identity. In satire, with its black and jaundiced view of the world, direct gloating

would be misplaced. The message must be filtered through the dissatisfactions of a weary society, to divert attention from the well-fed parasite.

However, the name-dropping in the first line leaves H. vulnerable as well as self-satisfied. Marking out a sole addressee and launching seemingly *in medias res* is an aggressive snub to that unofficial audience of spies and eavesdroppers, alias the general reader. *mempsimoiria* renders in Greek the concept of *invidia* (Hubbard 1981) which sums up the Roman satirist's paranoia, the notion that all eyes are upon him with the hostile glare that his own hostile poetry excites. Some of the role models H. rehearses are unflattering: the *scurra* (23 *ut qui iocularia ridens*), the parasite (119 *uti conuiuia satur*) and the soft schoolmaster (25–6 *ut . . . blandi | doctores*). H. compensates by showing himself conspicuously consuming limited resources and minding his own business. Maecenas is vulnerable, too. He may appear to be a detached observer, exempt from the lashings of H.'s diatribe, but avarice, however generalized, is a touchy subject for a profiteer of the proscriptions (Lyne 1995), rich as Lydian Croesus (Hdt. 1.29–33), as are adultery and friendship. The ambiguous *tu* of diatribe will both protect and irk this captive listener.

The poem is also programmatic in restlessly searching out a literary context for this new brand of hexameter writing and its unfixed genre (Hubbard 1981, Freudenburg 1993, 2001). Intertextual echoes claim didactic (both grimly Hesiodic and seductively Lucretian), Cynic diatribe and Virgilian pastoral as ancestors. The poem's casual illustrations plot an informal genealogy, from exhausting, exhausted Cynic diatribe (14 *delassare*) and its pedagogical mode, Aesopic fable or *spoud(ai)ogeloion* (27 *sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo*), through the guffaws of comedy (23 *iocularia ridens*), superannuated Lucilius and updated Callimachus: all of these are moments in the production of H.'s self-correcting masterpiece-in-the-making. The poem is thus not just a sermon on the related human weaknesses of dissatisfaction, envy and avarice: it is also a blueprint for Horatian satire.

The genre in question is never named in *Satires* I (cf. 13 *genere hoc*). But we can assume that a mélange of *sermo* and *satura* (both terms that H. uses in his retrospectives on Book I: 2.1.1, *Ep.* 2.2.60, *Ep.* 2.1.250) is under construction. Opposed images of surfeit and sufficiency – granaries and lunch-boxes, huge rivers and tiny springs, the desires of Tantalus and the contented parasite's shopping-list – are pointers to the traditional etymology of 'satire' (from *satura* 'full dish') which will make of this genre a 'natural' candidate for the constraints of Callimachean aesthetics. A form constitutionally prone to bloatedness and deformity is reinvented as one of satisfaction and knowing limits; consumption of words and consumption of things become parallel activities. Meanwhile, different models of speech (*sermo*), from Cynic diatribe to fables, are experimented with, then bundled out of the way in favour of streamlined, self-curbing taciturnity. In this context, H.'s butts are not so much the exemplars of *moral* excess (Lucilian types like Naevius and Nomentanus) as over-consuming speakers: verbose and dogmatic Stoics, Fabius and Crispinus, and, by implication, Horace's garrulous predecessor Lucilius (these 120 lines may be a compressed version of Lucilius'

Book 19, 557–67M). The various strands interlock at the end, where another Lucretian image, the man who leaves life like a contented dinner-guest (119 *uti conuiuia satur*), puts the brakes on an uncontrolled horse-race (with 113–17 a sideways glance at H.'s poetic pace-maker, Virgil: cf. *Georg.* 1.512–14), followed by a self-conscious reining in of the *sermo* itself, 120–1 *iam satis est . . . uerbum non amplius addam* (parrying the gentle sundowner's song of Virg. *Ecl.* 10: 70 *haec sat erit, diuae, uestrum cecinisse poetam, 77 ite saturae domum . . . capellae*). At this point, the paradox of written *sermo*, 'conversations' composed by a professional *scriba*, a joke that lasts till the book's end, comes into view. The street-philosopher's spontaneous and relentlessly audible speech is 'exposed' as literary confection, plagiarized lore from the library of popular ethics, the 'bookboxes' of myopic Crispinus (or Chrysippus; Freudenburg 2001).

Arguments have raged over H.'s level of competence in the poem. Is he deft and exemplary in his handling of hackneyed material or parodically inept (Freudenburg 1993, 2001, Turpin 1998)? Is the tacking of the initial material, on discontentment, onto the excursus on avarice (Herter 1951, Rudd) clumsy or neatly stitched (Bodoh 1970, Hubbard 1981)? How can we explain away the awkward suture at 108 (Rudd, Wigodsky 1980)? One answer has been that *mempsimoiria*, dissatisfaction with one's own lot, is often paired in antiquity with *philargyria*, the universal desire for more money, or at least more money than the next man (Wimmel 1962, Fraenkel). H.'s roundabout and clumsy connection parodies the typical argumentation of diatribe (*contra* Knorr 2004: 15–36, who sees it as rhetorically coherent), and in any case his point is easy to understand (Armstrong 1964). Careless arguments and loose connections can be partly excused as a skeleton exposé of *sermo* (Knoche 1935), one that exaggerates its unpredictable logic – deviations, red herrings, false starts, returns to the beginning and open-endedness (the analogy between conversation and journeying is made more explicit in S. 5 but starts here). H. draws conspicuous attention to his manoeuvres, clipping potentially infinite lists, switching abruptly from joking to serious mode, labelling the main excursus as clumsy deviation, and eventually confining his words (just) within the bounds of Callimachean good taste. In speech as well as ethics, his role is not to be perfect but openly self-critical, to adjust to the demands of each encounter, to save his skin with tension-diffusing laughter or little apologies that anticipate the listener's boredom. The negative examples of wordy Stoics and Lucilius keep him always on the move. Yet from throwaway asides and interventions, it is possible to extract inklings of a new recipe for satire, firmed up in S. 10: palatable, not acerbic, small-scale, a mixture of funny and serious (nods towards Greek *spoud(ai)ogeloion*), didactic but self-correcting.

Although the poem looks like a plea for stability and restraint, H.'s manoeuvres here are paradigmatically restless, self-contradicting and experimental (Dufallo 2000). The evident moral conclusion of the poem, *sit finis quaerendi*, is undermined by the fact that it is H. who initiates an enquiry in the first place and raises it to a more ambitious plane (27 *quaeramus seria*). He skims the surface of things like the

rat race he despises (24 *percurram*; cf. 30 *currunt*, 7 *concurritur*), piles up examples (13 *cetera de genere hoc*), then whittles down his resources (14–15 *audi | quo rem deducam*). Like those offered a new start (19 *quid statis?*), he prefers to return to where he started (108 *illuc unde abii redeo*). Like a runaway slave, he pilfers before escaping. Even the final promise – 120 *uerbum non amplius addam* – a model gesture of reticence, is a resolution immediately broken by the flamboyant opening of S. 2.

*Further reading:* Armstrong 1964, Bodoh 1970, Classen 1993: 112–17, Dufallo 2000, Fraenkel 90–101, Freudenburg 1993: 3–51, 2001: 15–44, Gold 1992, Hubbard 1981, Knorr 2004: 15–36, Kraggerud 1978, Lyne 1995: 139–43, Maurach 2001: 57–64, Oltramare 1926, Putnam 1995–6, Radermacher 1920–1, 1929, Rudd 1–35, Wigodsky 1980.

**1–3** With no context or preamble, no clue to whether he is accosting him in the street or barging into his study (cf. 3.63–5), H. launches into conversation with Maecenas. Maecenas never replies. Is he *misere discedere quaerens* (9.8) or enduring this approach with stifled tolerance (3.63–5)? Or is he conceived as being there at all (this might just be an ethical debate inside H.’s head: cf. 4.133–9 and 9.2)? H.’s opening gambit is a broad and well-worn theme from Hellenistic diatribe: the paradoxes of human discontentment. See Gold 1992 on Horatian openings.

**1 Qui fit?** ‘How come?’ (*qui* = old abl. from *quis* and *qui*; unpoetic). H. bypasses polite conversational openers (e.g. 9.4 *quid agis?* ‘How are you?’ or *quid fit* ‘How are things?’), the banal ‘Where have you come from and where are you going?’ openings of Platonic dialogue (e.g. *Phaedrus* 227a; cf. 9.62–3, 2.4.1, 2.8.1) and the explanations offered by didactic (e.g. Virg. *Georg.* 1.1 *quid faciat*) and launches straight into a *problema*, here a philosophical enquiry about causes (cf. 2.2.1, 2.6.73–6, Pl. *Phaedo* 96a; many of ps.-Aristotle’s *Problemata* start διὰ τί). Aristophanes satirizes Euripides’ dramatic style as argumentative at Ar. *Ran.* 978–9: ‘I make all my speakers ask “How’s it going?” “Where is it?” “Who took this?”’ But *fit* is also a technical term for the end result of a calculation (cf. *AP* 329 *redit uncia, quid fit?*), the first of many ‘arithmetical’ terms in a poem that pits crude quantification against moral and stylistic moderation. Applied to H. in particular (how did *he* end up here?), the question is partly answered at 9.78: *sic me seruauit Apollo. Qui fit* is picked up at 117 *inde fit* and in the fresh start at 6.1–2, which scrambles the same words to confront H.’s relationship with Maecenas more directly: *Non quia, Maecenas . . . nemo.*

**Maecenas:** ‘blunt and minimal, the least elaborate dedication in all Latin literature’ (Freudenburg 2001: 21). But also the most blatant act of name-dropping in the book, ‘waving the banner of Maecenas’ name’ (Oliensis 1998: 17). H. avoids over-familiar use of the *praenomen* (e.g. 2.5.32 ‘*Quinte*’ *puta aut ‘Publi’* – *gaudent praenomine molles | auriculae*, 2.6.37 *Quinte*; Dickey 2002: 65), thus setting a pattern for dedications to his patron: cf. *Epod.* 1.1, *C.* 1.1.1, *Ep.* 1.1.1. The name instantly excludes all other listeners or readers or makes them eavesdroppers (cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 869 *sermonem captans*) or resentful outsiders, fostering the *inuidia* H. is discussing. C. Cilnius Maecenas (70–8 BC),

patron and dedicatee of Horace, Virgil, Varius, Propertius and others, was a contradictory figure (Vell. Pat. 2.88). An Epicurean but centrally involved in public life, he boasted of his descent from Etruscan kings but chose to remain an *equus*; vigilant statesman, Augustus' diplomatic aide (*S.* 5) and *custos urbis* during the war against Sextus Pompeius in 36 (*Eleg. in Maec.* 1.27), he was also an effeminate dresser, womanizer and decadent stylist (Sen. *Ep.* 114, Macr. *Sat.* 2.4.12), known for his luxurious gardens on the Esquiline (see *S.* 8): *Enc. Or.* 1792–803, Reckford 1959, André 1967, DuQuesnay 1984, Evenpoel 1990, Lefèvre 2001. Probably a millionaire as a result of the proscriptions (his involvement in the battle of Mutina is suspected), therefore a touchy choice as addressee of a sermon on avarice (just as adultery and friendship are risky subjects too): see Lyne 1995: 139–43, Muecke 1990 on the ambiguity of addressee(s) in the diatribe poems. **nemo**: an unpoetic word (Axelson 1945: 76–7); 117 *raro* modifies this blanket negative. The more conventional priamel found in *C.* 1.1 ('Each man is happy in his own way and I in mine'; cf. *C.* 4.3, *S.* 2.1.24–9, Prop. 2.1.43–5, Ov. *Am.* 1.15.1–8) is inverted here: 'No man is happy', except, by implication, Maecenas and H. (Hubbard 1981: 312 n. 27).

**1–2 quam . . . obiecerit** 'whether his lot was granted him by design or whether chance threw it in his way'. The casual-seeming parenthesis is thought to allude to the distinction between Stoic belief in divine order (*ratio*) and Epicurean belief in the randomness (*fors*) of human affairs (ps.-Acro), thus setting out in unspecific terms H.'s credentials as eclectic philosopher (Zetzel 1980: 69, Freudenburg 1993: 11). But the generalizing question also masks a specific one for this book: was H.'s *own* meteoric rise planned or accidental? At 2.6.49 he denies he is *Fortunae filius*; cf. 6.54 *nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit* (for other chance incidents, cf. 9.1 *forte*, 9.36, 74 *casu*, 9.61 *occurrit*, 5.41 *occurrunt*; cf. Cic. *Att.* 2.22.1 *quod fors obtulerit*). The nature of H.'s immediate intervention (staged or random?) is also questioned, while a prospectus is offered for the book as a whole: haphazard *sermo* underlaid with careful composition. Crowded dentals and sibilants register diffidence or the trace of a boyhood stammer (*sibi sortem* | *seu . . . dederit seu . . . diuersa sequentes*), recalling/anticipating H.'s account of his first faltering interview with Maecenas (6.56–7 *singultim pauca locutus*, | *infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari*). *dedit . . . obiecerit* = perf. subjs. *ob*-words are common in the *Satires*, describing random collisions, obstacles and accusations for the vulnerable citizen; cf. 1.40 *obstet*, 3.63–4 *me . . . obtulerim*, 6.69 *obiciet*, 6.107 *obiciet*, 9.50 *officit*, 2.6.27 *obsit*, 2.6.30 *obstat*.

**3 contentus . . . sequentes**: *quisque* is supplied from 1 *nemo*; ellipsis of *sed* between *uiuat* and *laudat*; chiasmus (*contentus* half-rhyming with *sequentes*) emphasizes the opposition. H.'s father trained him to be content with his lot (4.108 *uiuarem uti contentus*): the childhood lesson is generalized at 118 *contentus*.

**4–14** Once launched, H.'s loosely philosophical *sermo* mutates into a recognizable popular offshoot: aggressive, colourfully illustrated diatribe. Two pairs of ordinary people – soldier and merchant, farmer and juriconsult – illustrate

the contention that everyone envies another's way of life (*mempsimoiria*, a typical diatribe theme: Bion fr. 16A Kindstrand, Var. *Men.* 78B, Cic. *Off.* 1.20; Oltramare 1926, Herter 1951). The examples used by ps.-Hippocrates *Ep.* 17 (Fraenkel 93; Smith 1990 suggests a common source) – generals vs. kings, politicians vs. artisans – are avoided (too close to the unequal status of Maecenas and H., tackled later in *S.* 6<sup>2</sup>); cf. also Maximus of Tyre *Orat.* 21.1 (farmers vs. townsmen, civilians vs. soldiers; perhaps based on a lost mime: Fiske 1920: 219–20); Rudd 20–2, Hubbard 1981: 309 n. 15. H. knows that his examples are hackneyed (13n.), and they may have been part of the Roman schoolboy's repertoire: Liban. 8.29; cf. Lucr. 3.1060–70. All four types live passively, buffeted by fate (cf. *fractus*, *iactantibus*, *pulsat*, *extractus*); each one fails to see that his rival's life is not much different from his own. Thus the soldier envies the good fortune of the merchant, archetypal pawn of chance, who in turn envies the snap decisions of the soldier's life; the juriconsult, disturbed before daybreak, envies the early-rising farmer, who sees glamour in a long day in a city court. This looks more like satire on human irrationality and the ironies of *plus ça change* than deliberately incompetent logic on H.'s part (*pace* Freudenburg 1993: 23–4). Lines 4–12 are arranged with near chiasmus around the pivot of fortune (*horae momento*) that straddles 7–8: *fractus* balances *extractus*; *fortunati mercatores* mirrors *solos felices*; *iactantibus* is echoed by *pulsat*.

**4 grauis annis** 'carrying the weight of old age', mixing physical and metaphorical (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.246 *annis grauis*).

**5** Heavy spondees in the first four feet suggest the soldier's weary plod (cf. *fractus membra*; deliberately ungainly verse to match) and perhaps also the feebleness of his claim. A clapped-out example, or one that reinforces a mood-swing towards peace after the civil wars? **iam . . . membra** 'now that his legs have given way' (acc. of respect); Roman soldiers were discharged aged 45. **labore:** cf. 30, 33, 88, 93, 112.

**6 mercator:** this paradigmatic adventurer (*C.* 1.1.15–17 *lucantem Icaris fluctibus Africum* | *mercator metuens otium et oppidi* | *laudat rura*; Oltramare 1926: 122 (theme 52); Purcell 1995) paradoxically envies the snap decisions of a soldier's career. Military service was equally symbolic of a misguided life (Blickman 1989: 179). **iactantibus** makes merchants into passive victims (cf. 2 *obiecerit*), implying protracted tossing (cf. the spondees of Virg. *Aen.* 1.3 *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*). For winds as proverbial of fickleness: *Ep.* 1.8.12 *uentosus*, *Ep.* 1.19.37 *uentosae plebis suffragia*. H. might seem safe on shore as he contemplates these harried adventurers, but for the object of *inuidia* as 'wind-tossed', cf. Cic. *Ver.* 3.98 *ut ab omnibus uentis inuidiae circumflari posse uideatur*, Sil. 8.921. **Austris:** violent South winds (*C.* 3.3.4 *turbidus*, *Ep.* 1.11.15 *ualidus*).

**7 potior** 'preferable', punning on 'superior in power' in a soldier's mouth. **quid enim?** 'It goes without saying': a rhetorical question (= Greek τί γάρ) thrown out to elicit a less obvious alternative, 'If that's not the case, what is?' **concurritur** 'battle is joined'; impersonal, a characteristic Horatian expression for universal movement: 9.35 *uentum erat*, 9.78 *undique concursus*.

**7–8 horae momento** ‘in the space of an hour’; lit. ‘in the turning-point of an hour’ (*momentum* is a movement that tips the scales; cf. Livy 9.16.9 *momento unius horae*, Plin. *HN* 7.52; Reckford 1997). The moment of crisis straddles the pivot of the lines before the chiasmus of *cita mors . . . uictoria laeta*. For the military watershed in H.’s own career: 6.48, *C.* 2.7.9–14, *Ep.* 2.2.46–52.

**8 uictoria laeta**: along with 6.42 *plaustra ducenta* and 4.60 *Discordia taetra*, a rare example in *Satires* I of a type of hexameter-ending (Harrison 1991), noun followed by adjective, both with short endings, by now old-fashioned and a nod to cumbersome martial epic. Triumphant cliché and plodding verse downplay the charms of the soldier’s life.

**9 iuris . . . peritus**: i.e. a *iurisconsultus*, an expert in law (*ius*), including senatorial decrees, legal precedents, magistrates’ edicts and statutes (*leges*). Cic. *De or.* 1.212 lists his functions: *respondere* (to announce rulings on points of law), *agere* (to initiate legal proceedings), *cauere* (to protect a client at law). On the law in *Satires* I, see Cloud 1989, Mazurek 1997, McGinn 2001. H.’s jurists include Trebatius (2.1) and A. Cascellius (*AP* 371).

**10** A jaundiced view of urban responsibility, here clients’ dawn visits (H. complains of an obligation-heavy routine at 2.6.23–39); cf. Cic. *Mur.* 22, a humorous comparison between the lives of *iurisconsults* and soldiers: *uigilas tu, Sulpici, de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas, ille ut eo quo intendit mature cum exercitu perueniat; te gallo- rum, illum bucinarum cantus exsuscat. sub* ‘just before’. **pulsat** ‘pounds, knocks’, following 6 *iacrantibus*, continues the buffeting and leads to the crescendo of 12 *clamat*, before H. imposes silence. For H. as similarly pushy, cf. 2.6.30 *tu pulses omne quod obstat*.

**11–12** A cacophony of disaffected voices culminates with *clamat* (cf. climactic *exclamat* at 7.33), while the near-repeated line-endings *in urbe* ~ 10 *in urbem est* suggest the futility of further examples. **ille . . . urbe**: uprooted from the country for a one-off legal appointment, the farmer is excited by urban life, all too stressful for those who know it better. For town–country comparisons in satire, see Braund 1989. Alfius the loan shark, speaker of *Epod.* 2, aspires to country living but clings to the world of city finance. For H.’s own inconsistencies, see 2.7.28–9 *Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem | tollis ad astra leuis. datis uadibus: dare uades* = to provide bail against one’s court appearance or the preliminary stage of the praetor’s tribunal (Wolf 1985, Cloud 1989: 63–7). **qui rure . . . est**: mirrors H.’s own history as given at 6.76 *sed puerum est ausus Romam portare (contra 5.1 egressum magna . . . Roma)*. **solos . . . in urbe**: implying that the courts give the farmer a rosy picture of city life; it is not explained why he envies lawyers in particular. **felices**: in a farmer’s mouth, a pun on the meaning ‘fertile’?

**13–14** H. imposes pre-emptive closure, telescoping into one brisk etcetera a potentially infinite list (cf. Lucr. 4.1170 *cetera de genere hoc longum est si dicere coner*, ending a list that H. imitates at 3.44–53). Here is his first example of model brevity, pointing to the long-windedness he has so narrowly avoided



(cf. 95, 120–1). **genere hoc:** draws attention not just to the type of examples used and rejected here but to the unnamed genre that contains them. Is this weary genre diatribe or (Lucretian) didactic or do the two overlap? H. is experimenting with generic ancestors for satire (Moles 2007: 167): cf. *loquacem, delassare*. **loquacem . . . Fabium:** the first of many garrulous bugbears: cf. Crispinus (1.120), Lucilius (4.12 *garrulus*), the pest (9.13 *garriret*, 9.33 *loquaces*). The pejorative *loquacem* stresses that *sermo* is one aspect of H.’s genre-in-the-making (John Moles *per litteras*) while also suggesting the attendant/genre-appropriate perils of long-windedness. Fabius may be Fabius Maximus (according to the scholiasts a Pompeian and a Stoic – allowing H. to kill two birds with one stone), the Theophrastus of his day (DuQuesnay 1984: 54; *genere hoc* may refer to a book he is said to have written on personality types, *genera hominum*). An anti-role-model for H.’s restrained *sermones* (cf. 2.134 *Fabio uel iudice uincam*); a ‘hot gospeller’, a ‘pedantic bore’ (Rudd 133). But H. allows himself to sail dangerously close to these windbags (Dufallo 2000: 582). John Henderson *per litteras* suggests an allusion to the Roman master of delaying tactics: Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator. **delassare:** as though of the fatigue of the overworked (4 *grauis*, 5 *fractus*) is transferred to those who catalogue them. Glosses Greek διατριβειν, ‘to wear out time (in talking)’, hence a further labelling of Horace’s manoeuvres so far as wearisome ‘diatribe’ (Gowers 2005: 54 n. 41, Moles 2007: 167).

**14–15 ne . . . deducam** ‘so I don’t hold you up, let me tell you where my thread is leading.’ Such signposts (cf. 95 *non longa est fabula*, 108 *illuc unde abii redeo*, 120 *iam satis est*) can be read as deliberately clumsy (Freudenburg 1993: 12), but may also denote pre-emptive good manners: cf. *Ep.* 2.1.4 (to Augustus) *si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar*; Vit. 1 pref. (ditto) *metuens, ne non apto tempore interpellans subirem tui animi offensionem*. **deducam:** this polyvalent word binds concise and pointed argument, concentration (rhetorical and material) and stylistic finesse. Many of its technical meanings, all suggesting reduction to a particular point or goal, are in play: (a) in logic, ‘to reduce a generalization to a single example’; e.g. Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 34, *ND* 2.164 *licet . . . uniuersitatem generis humani . . . deducere ad singulos*; though H. does *not* focus matters so much as go off into further generalization; (b) in rhetoric, ‘to bring to the point’ (Cic. *Cat.* 2.4) or ‘bring a case to court’ (Cic. *Att.* 1.16.2); (c) in arithmetic, ‘to reduce, deduct’ (cf. 10.14 *extenuantis*; *res* can also mean property, resources, capital: 2.8, *Ep.* 1.1.65–6), contrasting with the universal mania for accumulation: 32 *congesta*, 34 *addit*, 43 *comminuas, redigatur*, 46 *plus*, 48 *nihilo plus*, 54 *non amplius*, 74 *adde*, 92 *plus*, 93 *minus*, 100 *diuisit medium*, 121 *uerbum non amplius addam*; (d) in spinning, ‘to refine coarse wool into fine thread’, hence a common metaphor for Callimachean refinement in verse (from Callim. *Aet. fr.* 1.24 Pf. λεπτολέην ‘finely spun’): e.g. *Ep.* 2.1.225 *tenui deducta poemata filo*, Virg. *Ecl.* 6.5 *deductum carmen*; Wimmel 1960, Hinds 1987: 21–2; (e) ‘to escort (in the street)’; cf. 9.59, of a client; H. is offering the conversational equivalent of ‘giving the wall’ (cf. 2.5.17, 2.5.94–5), escorting his patron through an oppressive,



disgruntled crowd or away from the mud of verbosity; (f) ‘to divert away’; the argument, after several false starts, takes a turn towards its central ‘digression’ on avarice.

**15–22** A fantasy-scenario, reminiscent of Menippean satire (Oltremare 1926: 139 n. 4) or mime (Fiske 1920: 219–20), in which a beneficent Jupiter offers mortals the chance to change places, then ridicules the moaners who turn out to be reluctant to budge (thus validating H.’s own willing transformation). A significant parallel is Virg. *Ecl.* 1, whose unnamed *deus* (a thinly veiled Octavian) allows a beloved way of life to continue (for further parallels with the *Eclogues*, see Van Rooy 1973, Henderson 1998b). The hypocrisy of H.’s own *mempsimoiṛia* is attacked at 2.7.22–4: *laudas | fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem | si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses*.

**15–16 si . . . deus:** Jupiter (20); the *magnum flumen* of 55 is similarly specified as Aufidus at 58. For the *deus ex machina* who offers a new life, cf. Cic. *Sen.* 83 *si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis uagiam, ualde recusem*; Men. *Theoph.* (223K): offered the choice, Crato would want to be anything other than a human being (Radermacher 1929: 84). **en** ‘Hello there’ (sarcastic). Jupiter is a robust Plautine figure, puff-checked and snorting (cf. Pl. *Amph.* 1131 *bono animo es, adsum auxilio*). H. is already moving into the comic mode he embraces at 23 (*iocularia*). **iam** ‘at once’.

**17–18 hinc . . . hinc:** another chiasmus makes role-reversal as topsy-turvy as the scurrying that precedes it. **hinc:** colloquial: Pl. *Most.* 294 *abi tu hinc intro, Amph.* 639 *is repente abiit a me hinc*. **mutatis . . . partibus:** a theatrical metaphor. The world as a stage: Diog. Laert. 2.66 (Aristippus), 7.160 (Ariston), Men. 165 K = 130 KA, Cic. *Off.* 1.114; in connection with *mempsimoiṛia*: Maximus of Tyre 15.1 Hobein and Bion fr. 16A Kindstrand (Rudd 278 n. 50, Freudenburg 1993: 43 n. 92). The parable is mutedly relevant to H.’s own history: he himself took advantage of the chance to change parties (also *partes*) after Philippi, thanks to his meeting with Maecenas, ‘whose favor changed the “lot” of this former Republican considerably’ (Oliensis 1998: 17). **eia** ‘get a move on’; impatient; common in comedy, always at the end of a line.

**19 quid statis?** ironic, when the rat race never stops moving (cf. 30 *currunt*). By contrast with e.g. Maximus of Tyre’s types, who wanted their old lives back only once they had been transplanted (regretted transfers from country to town and vice versa: cf. the country mouse in *S.* II 6 and Vulteius Mena in *Ep.* 1.7), H.’s examples deny *mempsimoiṛia* by refusing the change as soon as it is offered (Hubbard 1981: 309); cf. Alfius at *Epod.* 2.68 *iam iam futurus rusticus*. **nolint:** apodosis to *si quis deus dicat*. **atqui . . . beatis** ‘and yet they have the chance to be happy’. *beatis* is ironic, given the general discontent (cf. 4 *fortunati*, 8 *laeta*, 12 *felices*).

**20–21 quid causae . . . inflat** ‘Why shouldn’t Jupiter be justified in puffing up his cheeks in anger?’ *sufflare se* = ‘blow up (in anger)’; cf. Pl. *Cas.* 582. *quin* = ‘why [he should] not’; cf. Pl. *Ps.* 534, *Rud.* 758; *MLS* § 185. The comically irascible

god (perhaps a wind god, offering to blow his subjects in different directions: cf. 6 *iactantibus Austris*) splutters in bemusement before taking back his offer.

**22 facilem** ‘compliant’. **aurem:** figures the reception of *sermo* by its listeners. At 9.77 H. lends an ear to the plaintiff (while *deus ex machina* Apollo lends an ear to H.); at 2.1.18–19 Caesar lends an ear to H.: *nisi dextro tempore Flacci* [‘flap-ears’] *uerba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem*. Maecenas (and behind him Octavian) has presumably offered H. his ear in this poem and beforehand (cf. 2.6.1 *hoc erat in uotis*). Cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3–4, where an ear-tweaking Apollo re-configures the listening *deus*/royal patron of *Ecl.* 1; cf. *Ep.* 1.19.43 *Iouis auribus*, i.e. *Augusti*.

**23–7** H. continues to experiment with generic influences, here the Cynic serio-comic didactic mode (Moles 2007: 167; Kindstrand 1976: 209, 47–8), ritually rejecting, then adopting humour as an essential ingredient.

**23–4 praeterea** ‘anyway’ (a breath-catching device for someone who has made a good joke and finds it hard to move on after the expected laughter); this Lucretian ‘transition’ word (e.g. *DRN* 1.269) anticipates further Lucretian allusion at 25–6. **ne . . . percurram** ‘so I don’t skim laughing over this subject like someone laughing at a string of jokes’ (= *ne sic (haec ridens) percurram ut qui iocularia ridens percurrit*). The comic scenario had implied obeisance to a patron. Now H. mock-apologizes for descending to the level of a *scurra*, a republican cultural composite of threatening socialite, tasteless joker and pushy freeloader (Corbett 1986, Damon 1997: 105–45), a role H. later associates with the caustic wit of Lucilius (cf. 4.86–90 with Anderson 1963b: 4–5 = 1982: 34–5), the dead republican Pantolabus (8.11, 2.1.22) and the clowns of southern Italy (5.52). An obvious negative role for the satirist to rehearse here (Freudenburg 1993: 33) and not unequivocally reject; cf. the ‘parasite’ image of 119. *percurram* ‘skim over’ (cf. Cic. *Clu.* 166 *paucis percurrit oratio mea*, Var. *LL* 8.2 *percurram breuiter*) recalls H.’s disdain for the scurrying rat race (e.g. 30 *mare qui currunt*). He may be setting a good example by checking his superficiality, or drawing attention to the need for variety of pace and tone in *sermo* (cf. 14 *ne te morer*, 10.9 *est breuitate opus, ut currat sententia*) or to his own breathlessness.

**24–5 quamquam . . . uetat:** a last-minute ‘shrug’ from an off-guard *praeceptor* (cf. 104 *ueto . . . iubeo*), who now ‘casually’ nods to a generic link between satire and *spoud(ai)ogeloion*, the serio-comic mode as pedagogical (esp. Cynic) tradition and offshoot/description of diatribe (Kindstrand 1976: 47–9, Moles 2007: 167). On this genealogy, see also Grant 1924: 57–61, Fiske 1920: 143–208, Rudd 96–7, Giangrande 1972. The idea of serio-comic mixture also has roots in comedy and other popular philosophy: Ar. *Ran.* 389–93 ‘Allow me to say many things in jest and many things in seriousness’; cf. Diog. Laert. 6.83; Epic. *Sent. Vat.* 41.

**25–30** A vignette of human life in the likeness of *spoud(ai)ogeloion*, from frivolous childhood (25 *pueris*) to serious adult labours (28–30; cf. Quint. 1.2.1 *sed nobis iam paulatim adlescere puer et exire de gremio et discere serio incipiat*) to retirement (31 *senes ut in otia tuta recedant*).

**25–6** The image of teachers sweetening the pill of instruction has a distinguished philosophical pedigree, e.g. in a fragment ascribed to Diogenes the Cynic: ‘Just as physicians sweeten the bitterness of their pills with honey, so philosophers sweeten their instructions to irritable men with cheerfulness’ (*ap.* Antonius Melissa = Diogenes V B 330 Giannantoni); cf. Pl. *Laws* 2.659e. The Cynic philosopher as *paidagōgos*: see Bion fr. 16 Kindstrand, Sen. *Ep.* 89.13, Epict. 3.22.17. In the first instance, H. is claiming kin with Lucretian didactic, alluding to the foundational honey and wormwood simile at Lucr. 1.936–8 (*sed ueluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes | cum dare conantur prius oras pocula circum | contingunt mellis dulci flauoque liquore*) and embracing an appealing teaching style (see Lloyd-Jones 1963, Trapp 2001 for the harsh alternative) with ‘back to basics’ analogies. A system of ‘childish’ or pedagogical imagery is launched: animal fables at 33–5, 90–1, 110–11, cautionary tales at 54–60, 94–100. **olim** ‘from time to time, on occasion’ (often used in exemplary similes). **crustula**: small cakes or pastries with a crust, offered as a bribe for learning letters (alphabetical in shape? Becker 1920); cf. Jerome *Ep.* 128.1. **blandi** ‘coaxing, indulgent’. **doctores** ‘teachers, schoolmasters’. The teaching paradigm is important in *Satires* I as one version of the moral impetus behind satirical production. H.’s father’s methods at 4.105–26 may recall Demea at Ter. *Ad.* 714–27, whose stern moral precepts are parodied as those of a *doctor ineptus* by the slave Syrus in the language of the kitchen (Leach 1971). However, Demea’s indulgent brother Micio seems a closer model here (Ter. *Ad.* 878 *blande dicere aut benigne facere*). **elementa . . . prima**: the letters of the alphabet (Suet. *Jul.* 56 *quartam elementorum litteram id est d*); also, the first rudiments of education (Quint. 1.1.23 *prima litterarum elementa*). H. proposes a refresher course in first principles, a moral primer. At *Ep.* 1.20.17–18, his writings come full circle, envisaged as a gaga schoolmaster teaching children their ABCs (*ut pueros elementa docentem | occupet extremis in uicis balba senectus*; cf. 10.74–5); Callim. *Iamb* 5.3 is addressed to a man who teaches *alpha* and *beta*; Gowers 2003: 69, 2009 on alphabet games in *Satires* I. H. makes philosophical first principles look rudimentary: *elementa* is also used of the building blocks of the Stoic universe (Sen. *Dial.* 4.19.1) and the four elements (Cic. *Acad.* 1.26). In the context of Lucretian pedagogical allusion and H.’s loyalties to Epicurean *compositio*, he is most likely to be harnessing Lucretius’ frequent analogy between atoms and alphabet letters, both *elementa* (e.g. *DRN* 1.196–8, 823–9, 907–14), for the basis of his own *De hominum natura*.

**27 sed . . . ludo**: for the idea of saying goodbye to fun or children’s games, cf. Martial 5.84.1–2 *iam tristis nucibus puer relictis | clamose reuocatur a magistro*. H. inverts Virg. *Ecl.* 7.17 *posthabui tamen illorum mea seria ludo*, with an allusion that ‘destabilizes the polarity between what is “serious” and what is “play”’ in both authors (Dufallo 2000: 584; cf. Putnam 1995–6: 312–13). **ludo**: humour or (pejoratively) buffoonery (as with *ridentem*, the level of humour in *ludo* is unclear): a pun on *ludus* ‘school’ (cf. 6.72, 10.75) is also in play. H.’s vacillations between humour and seriousness have muddled the reader temporarily while indicating

that satire will exploit the pedagogical potential of *spoud(ai)ogeloion*. Now he extricates himself from the contradictions to pursue a more serious line of enquiry, brushed aside by his final quip (120). H. models generic choice on human life; his rhetorical move is paralleled in the careers of those who leave school/play on a serious quest.

**28–107** An apparent digression turns into the central section of the satire: a diatribe against avarice. H. began with a question (1 *Qui fit*); now he puts his enquiry on a more serious footing (*quaeramus seria*) to expose the senselessness of pursuing money (also *quaerere*; cf. 38 *quaesitis*). 92 *denique sit finis quaerendi* is thus a lesson both to the avaricious and to himself as an enquirer after truth. The transition comes when H. alleges that people cite financial worries as a reason to persist in their hated careers (30–42). An imaginary adversary protests that this is sensible enough, but H. goes on to characterize the amassing of wealth as a limitless end in itself, which brings neither popularity nor family affection. Arguing for the drawbacks of having money, H. veers away from the solipsistic outlook of Cynicism and towards more Terentian anxieties about rubbing up against other people and fitting into society. From this point he is assailed by nebulous anonymous voices, an imaginary crowd beyond Maecenas' closet. But does Maecenas really fade away, or is H. cheekily going for the Achilles heel of his millionaire patron, the King Croesus to H.'s Solon or Aesop?

**28–30** A return to the examples of 4–12, with a slight change in personnel: innkeepers for jurisconsults, sailors for merchants, more obviously sordid and materialistic (Wimmel 1962: 13). These characters are reincarnated in the mixed 'satirical' clientele at Forum Appi at 5.4.

**28 ille . . . aratro:** as with the decrepit soldier (cf. 4 *gravis annis*), the farmer's burdensome work is suggested by a heavily spondaic line. **uertit:** soil is the only thing the intransigent farmer 'turns over' in a world of flux (cf. 36 *inuersum*, 38 *feruidus aestus*, 18 *mutatis . . . partibus*, 6 *iactantibus Austris*).

**28–9 ille . . . hic:** vivid demonstratives.

**29 perfidus . . . caupo:** the innkeeper (traditionally dishonest, esp. in watering down wine: cf. 5.4 *cauponibus atque malignis*; Kleberg 1957: 83) replaces the jurisconsult (unpaid for his consultancy work, thus a dispensable example here). Perhaps leading the reader momentarily to expect 'perjurious magistrate', an unvoiced satirical joke.

**30 currunt** 'sail' (cf. *Ep.* 1.1.45, *Ep.* 1.11.27 *caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*, where the busy merchant is the epitome of restlessness). Surprisingly, given the hidden notion of change in 28 *uertit*, 36 *inuersum*, H. does not exploit the possibilities of *muto* 'to trade, exchange', as he does at 4.29–30 *hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo | uespertina tepet regio. per omne | . . . mare . . . currunt* ~ 24 *percurram*.

**30–40** How the pursuit of money becomes an end in itself.

**31 senes . . . recedant:** the motive behind all this frenzied activity is the hope of withdrawing into a cosy retirement.

**32 aiunt** suggests a popular philosophical tradition while casting cynical doubt on its truth. **congesta** ‘heaped up’ prepares for the ant simile that follows. **cibaria** ‘rations, provisions’ (from *cibus* ‘food’).

**32–8 H.** draws on one half of Aesop’s ant and grasshopper fable (Babrius 140 = 373 Perry; cf. *Juv.* 6.360); the thrifty ant which lays in provisions for the winter. Aesop’s fables were commonly used in Greek diatribe and also in Roman education, where children were required to précis or expand nursery stories for moral and compositional purposes (Quint. 1.9.2, Philostr. *Apoll.* 5.14; Bonner 1977: 178, 254–6). For the ant as provident: cf. Hes. *Op.* 778, Virg. *Georg.* 1.185–6 *populat . . . ingentem farris aceruum | . . . inopi metuens formica senectae*; Plut. *Mor.* 525e; as acquisitive: Crates (*Julian Or.* 6.200a, 7.213c), Aeschryon (Knox 262) and Theoc. 17.107. At *Ep.* 1.1.10–12, H. turns a generic choice between *uersus et cetera ludicra* and philosophical wisdom into a shift from grasshopper-like frivolity to ant-like hoarding: 12 *condo et compono quae mox depromere possim* (Marchesi 2005b: 307–30, 319).

**33 paruula . . . laboris** contrasts the ant’s size with its industry. H.’s example is self-consciously miniature (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 1.23 *sic paruis componere magna solebam*). Such apologies are common in didactic literature: Lucr. 2.123–4 *rerum magnarum parua potest res | exemplare dare*, Sen. *NQ* 2.5.2 *pusillum tibi exemplar magnae rei ponam*. There may be etymological play here: *formica* = *forma* ‘model’ + *mica* ‘crumb’ (cf. 34 *ore trahit quodcumque potest*; Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* 4.402 *formica dicta est ab eo quod (ore) micas ferant*; Isid. *Orig.* 12.3.9) ~ *exemplum* + *paruula*. **exemplo**: pred. dat. ‘by way of an example’. H. acts to elevate his fable to the level of moral *exemplum* (Marchesi 2005b: 310 n. 11), though fables themselves bridged the divide between playful form and serious philosophical message: Arist. *Rhet.* 1393a23–1394a18 calls them a rhetorical and political device whose meaning is easily retrieved by those trained in philosophy; Holzberg 2002: 11–38. **magni . . . laboris**: mock-heroic gen. of quality, translating the epic adj. *πολύμοχθος*; cf. ps.-Phocyl. 170, a proverb recycled by the poet at 9.59–60.

**34** Self-consciousness about quantity again: *quodcumque potest* is humble meiosis, *haud ignara ac non incauta* perversely uneconomical.

**36–8** The simile becomes gradually less apt, as H. distinguishes the common-sense prudence of the ant (Schlegel 2005: 23; ‘the only *sapiens* in the poem’) from the miser’s insane hoarding. **quae** = *at ea*, adversative; ‘the very thin end of the wedge H. is about to drive between the ant and the greedy man’ (Rudd 29). **contristat** ‘saddens’, i.e. ‘darkens’ (cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3.278–9 *Auster | . . . pluuio contristat frigore caelum*). Combined with Aquarius (the sign of the water-carrier, which the sun enters on January 16), the verb could also mean ‘sobers up’ (cf. Sen. *Tranq. An.* 17.9 *tristis . . . sobrietas*): a dissolute year is doused in water after winter merry-making. **inuersum . . . annum** either ‘the turning year’ (the year on its cusp or pivot) or ‘the year turned inside out’, i.e. winter side out; cf. Manil. 3.479 *annique inuertitur orbis*. At *Epod.* 2.63, *uomer inuersus* is a ploughshare turned backwards so that it will not cut; at *C.* 3.5.7 *inuersi . . . mores*

are morals with their bad side out, changed for the worse. But at 3.55 *uirutes inuertimus* probably takes its sense from upturned wine-jars (cf. 2.8.39 *inuertunt Allifanis uinaria tota*), a sense that may also be in play here, with the year as a vessel upturned by Aquarius the water-carrier and made the instrument of its own dampening (cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3.304 *extremo . . . inrorat Aquarius anno*). Cf. Lucil. 586–7W = 561–2M *sic tu illos fructus quaeras, aduersa hieme olim | quis uti possis ac delectare domi te*.

**37 proreplit** ‘creeps out, emerges’, suggesting cautious animal movement (cf. 3.99 *cum prorepsent primis animalia terris, Ep.* 1.7.30 *uulpecula . . . repserat in cumeram frumenti*) and contrasting with 7 *concurritur*, 30 *currunt*, 24 *percurram*. Cf. 5.25, 79, *Ep.* 2.1.25 for the snail’s pace of satire. **utitur** ‘enjoys, consumes’ (cf. similar contrasts between *quaerere* and *uti* at *Ep.* 1.7.57, *AP* 170).

**37–8 illis . . . quaesitis** ‘the very things it acquired earlier’. **sapiens** ‘sensible’ (cf. *C.* 1.11.6, 1.7.17, *Ep.* 1.15.45, *C.* 4.9.48). Hesiod’s ant is called ‘the wise one’.

**38–40** The focus turns to the miser, first hunched immovably over his heap of gold, then unstoppable in his quest for supreme wealth (negatives abound; qualifying *demoueat* and *obstet*, they make the miser’s world a topsy-turvy one). *cum* governs both clauses (in asyndeton), whose sense merges: *ignis*, *mare* and *ferrum* go more naturally with *obstet*, *feruidus aestus* and *hiems* with *demoueat* (cf. *C.* 1.16.9–10, *Ep.* 1.1.45–6). **feruidus aestus**: i.e. the heat of summer (though both words add to H.’s picture of seething frenzy). **nil . . . alter**: echoed by H.’s disclaimer at 9.50–1 *nil me officit, inquam, | ditior hic aut est quia doctior*, undercut in turn by the charge at 2.6.30 *tu pulses omne quod obstat*. For life as an obstacle course, cf. 113 *sic festinanti locupleter obstat*. **dum ne** ‘so long as you can prevent’.

**41–2** Dismissing the ant analogy, H. launches into an attack on the greedy man (*auarus*) which, though it looks like a casual transition, comes to form the main body of the poem until the recapitulation at 107. As in the other diatribe poems, H.’s strategy is to expose the self-delusion behind self-seeking behaviour. **defossa . . . terra**: patterned alliteration (*de . . . de, t . . . t*) suggests finicky, methodical activity, with the burial of money a strange perversion of agricultural planting (*defossa, deponere*).

**43 quod . . . assem**: the miser retorts that, if plundered, his pile will dwindle. The vocabulary and deductive style of school arithmetic feature here: *si comminuas . . . redigatur* (for *si* beginning an arithmetical problem, cf. *AP* 327–8 *si de quinque remota est | uncia, quid superat?*). **quod si** = *at id si*.

**44 at . . . fit**: i.e. if the pile is not plundered. Picks up 1 *Qui fit* and looks ahead to 56 *eo fit* and 117 *inde fit*, again drawing on the language of calculation (cf. *AP* 329). H. ignores the possibility of total poverty. **quid habet pulchri**: a reply to this question is attempted at 51 *at suauē est ex magno tollere aceruo*, then neatly bypassed. *pulchri* is partitive gen.

**45–60** H. appeals to natural limits by dwelling on the two substances necessary for human subsistence: grain and water.

**45–6** Vivid paratactic conditional: ‘[Even if] you produce [will have produced] a large crop, it won’t follow that your stomach has a greater capacity than mine.’

**45 triuerit:** fut. perf. of *tero*, ‘thresh’, also meaning ‘wear away, spend’, helping to suggest the inane effort of hoarding; sc. *si*. Terence’s miser Demea sums up his life with a similar financial oxymoron: *Ad.* 369 *contriui in quaerundo uitam atque aetatem meam*. The ‘wearing away’ etymology of ‘diatribe’ may still be in play (cf. 14 *delassare*). **milia . . . centum:** sc. *medimnum* (partitive. gen. pl.).

Cf. the bullish complacency of Lucil. 581–3W = 554–6M *milia ducentum frumenti tollis medimnum, | uini mille cadum . . . aequae frumiscor ego ac tu*. This sounds like the start of a typical economics lesson, but H.’s value system reduces the figures to irrelevance. **area:** personified as doing its own threshing; Virg. *Georg.* 1.192 *teret area culmos*.

**46 non . . . meus:** among a host of vessels and containers used to measure capacity in the poem (heaps, money-bags, jugs, bushels, plots of land), the human stomach protrudes as a typically satirical hold-all, the kind of ignoble organ satire likes to highlight (cf. 5.7–8 *uentri | indico bellum*, 5.85 *maculant uentremque supinum*, 2.7.104 *obsequium uentris*, 2.8.5 *iratum uentrem*) and evoking the etymological origins of *satura* in a stuffed dish or gut, either ‘satisfied’ or ‘over-fed’ (Coffey 1976: 15). **hoc** ‘because of this, by this means’ (causal or instrumental abl.). **plus ac:** colloquial alternative to *plus quam*.

**46–8** A slave carrying a bread-bag (cf. Juv. 12.60 *cum reticulis et pane et uentre lagonae*) is a very different consumer from the agro-millionaire of 45. For bread as a bare necessity, cf. 5.90. Load-bearing and load-shedding are important images in *Satires* I: e.g. 6.99 *nollem onus haud unquam solitus portare molestum*, 6.106, 9.20–1 *ut iniquae mentis asellus, | cum grauius dorso subiit onus*, 10.10 *uerbis lassis onerantibus aures*.

**si . . . forte:** despite H.’s vacillations between *ratio* and *fors*, *fors* supplies his conversational examples, a nod to the conventions of the *ainos*: cf. 9.1 *ibam forte*. **uenales inter** = *inter uenales* (cf. 116). **accipias:** i.e. when they stop to eat; hence perf. *portarit*.

**49–51** Theoretical discussion displaces concrete examples. **uel** ‘or, if you prefer’: conversational shoulder-shrugging. **quid referat** + dat., by analogy with dat. of judging or interested person (*NLS* § 65; normally + gen., but cf. Pl. *Bacch.* 518 *tum quom mihi nihilo pluris [blandiri] referet*, Sall. *Cat.* 52.16).

**intra . . . fines:** a fairly universal philosophical stricture, recalling both Epicurus’ (*Ad Menoec.* 127 = Diog. Laert. 10.149 = *ER* 5.29) classification of desires, natural and necessary (to be cautiously satisfied) versus unnatural and unnecessary (to be avoided), and the Aristotelian golden mean (avoiding excess in either direction); see 106n. There is also a pun here on *finis* ‘physical boundary’, in the context of talk about acreage (cf. *medius* in *S.* 2 and *aequus* in *S.* 3 *passim*; and the pun on *finis* ‘end’ at 5.104/*fines* ‘territory’ at 6.2). **iugera centum:** a *iugerum* was 240 x 120 Roman feet, about two-thirds of an acre.

**51–3** See Oltramare 1926: 52, themes 38 and 38a for images of superfluity in Cynic diatribe.

**52 dum** ‘provided that, as long as’. **paruo:** sc. *aceruo*, H.’s ideal. **tantundem** ‘just as much’. **haurire** ‘scoop up’, of solids; the word channels H.’s flow of thought into a water image (cf. 60 *hauri*). **relinquas** ‘leave free, allow’; normally with *ut* + subj., but used poetically with dat. and inf.

**53 plus:** adverbial. **laudes** ‘why should you praise?’ subj. of deliberative (repudiative) question (*NLS* § 175). H.’s retort focuses on love of quantity, ignoring the *avarus*’ argument that he gets aesthetic pleasure out of a large heap.

**54–5 ut . . . cyatho:** while *urna* means ‘urn, pitcher’, and *cyathus* ‘ladle’, these were also specific measurements (*urna* = half an amphora, nearly 3 litres; *cyathus* = 1/12 of a *sextarius*, approx. 0.5 litres) and may thus have belonged to the vocabulary of schoolboy arithmetic problems (cf. 43).

**55–8 H.** begins to infuse his ethical lessons with Callimachean imagery for overflowing epic and small-scale poetry: the large muddy river Euphrates (*Hymn to Apollo* 108–12) is reincarnated as the Aufidus (58), versus the pure spring (56 *fonticulo*).

**55 mallem** ‘I would have preferred’ (*hoc fonticulo* is available now, *magno flumine* is hypothetical).

**56 tantundem:** with both *de flumine* and *ex hoc fonticulo*. **eo fit** ‘it comes to such a pass’; a fleeting answer to 1 *Qui fit*.

**57 plenior . . . iusto** ‘a more abundant supply than is justifiable’. **si quos** ‘all those whom’.

**58 cum . . . simul** ‘bank and all’. **auulsos:** with *eos* understood. **ferat** ‘would carry away’. **Aufidus:** H.’s childhood river, now the Ofanto, flows near Venusia, always noisily in his poetry: *C.* 3.30.10 *uiolens obstrepit Aufidus*, *C.* 4.9.2 *longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum*. Specifying the river’s name makes this a cautionary tale such as H. might have heard at his father’s knee. **acer** ‘raging’. By altering the image of the profligate drinking from golden cups (normal for diatribe; cf. e.g. 2.114–15) to one involving a raging river, H. introduces a literary-critical undercurrent, rejecting the idea of turbulent overflow (see Freudenburg 1990: 188–91; 59n.).

**59 eget** ‘feels the need of, desires’. **tantuli** ‘only so much’; looks ahead to or inspires the image of Tantalus at 68 (Hubbard 1981: 312); cf. 52, 56 *tantundem*, 62 *tanti*. **quanto:** abl. depending on *est opus*. The Cynic diatribist often boasted of his simple needs (Freudenburg 1993: 16); Bion fr. 17 Kindstrand claims to be a vegetarian who drinks only water and sleeps on a bed of leaves. For poets in general as small consumers, cf. *Ep.* 2.1.123 *uiuít siliquis et pane secundo*; for humble food as a generic marker in H., see Mette 1961. **is . . . undis:** muddy water suggests another link with Callimachean anti-epic imagery, later mobilized in H.’s duel with Lucilius (e.g. 4.11 *lutulentus*; cf. 10.50). Swollen rivers: cf. 7.26–7, 10.36–7, 10.62, *Ep.* 2.2.120, *C.* 4.2.5 (for Augustan parallels, see Freudenburg 1993: 158 n. 86).

**61** The central line of the poem is the pivot in Hubbard’s ring-composition argument (1981: 309). But Lejay sees a change of subject here: the first half dealing with *auaritia* in the sense of greed (28–60), the second half in the sense of



miserliness. **at:** the choice of most modern editors, over the better attested *ut* (Brink 1987: 16–17). Lejay translates *ut* as an archaic and conversational ‘since’ (cf. 9.42), but 63 *quid facias* is awkward as an apodosis and works better as a separate clause. **bona pars** ‘a good deal’. **cupidine:** masc. in H.

**62 nil . . . est:** the water-drawer utters the first example in the poem of the celebrated refrain, anticipating H.’s own pronouncement at 120: *iam satis est*. H. does not always keep to his own prescribed limits: he follows this motto with a ‘repetitive set of admonitions’ at 62–100 (Dufallo 2000: 585–6). **quia . . . sis** ‘for you are worth as much as you own’ (*tanti* = gen. of value; *habeas, sis* = indef. 2nd person subj.). Social standing as proportionate to wealth: cf. Lucil. 1194–5W = 1119–20M *aurum atque ambitio specimen uirtutis uirique est: | tantum habeas tantum ipse sies tantique habearis*; Sen. *Ep.* 115.14 quotes an unnamed Greek tragedian: *ubique tanti quisque quantum habuit fuit*; Pind. *Isth.* 2.11. The valuing of appearances and material wealth over inner worth is an eternal object of satire: cf. Juv. 3.143–4 *quantum quisque sua nummorum seruat in arca | tantum habet et fidei*; Petr. *Sat.* 77.6 *assem habeas, assem ualeas*.

**63 facias:** deliberative subj. **illi** = the man who has just spoken. **iubeas . . . esse** implies a contrast with the formula *iubeas ualere*, ‘say farewell to’ (jussive subj.), thus ‘say good riddance to’; cf. 10.91 *iubeo plorare*.

**64 quatenus** ‘insofar as’. H. despairs at the thought of self-inflicted misery, thus evading the crucial objection that money does buy prestige (Bodoh 1970: 166: ‘This shift momentarily flusters the speaker.’). He rallies by diverting attention to an *auarus* who, though wealthy, was mean and therefore unpopular and worth a lot only in his own eyes, not in other people’s (*tanti* is H.’s diversionary tactic). **ut . . . memoratur:** like 32 *aiunt*, a nod to popular philosophical tradition.

**64–5 Athenis . . . diues:** sc. *esse/fuisse*. Ps.-Acro identifies this unnamed misanthrope as Timon of Athens (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.25, 27), another Cynic type. H. might also refer to a miser in Attic comedy (cf. *fabula*), e.g. the Greek original for Euclio in Pl. *Aul.*

**65–6 populi . . . solitus:** H.’s rejection of the misanthrope’s contempt for public opinion seems anti-Cynic; as a conciliatory satirist, he is concerned with treading carefully in society. However, he is at times brazenly indifferent to popular acclaim: e.g. 10.76–7.

**66 me:** Palmer suggests *si* instead (often followed by *at* in Plautus), which has the virtue of generating more sibilant sounds in the line but removes the essential contrast between *me* and 66 *mihi*. **sibilat** ‘hisses’, uniquely with the acc. here (usu. dat.).

**67 ipse domi:** applause is usually multiple and public. The allusion to theatrical response would fit with the theory that this is some comic character (64–5n.). **arca** ‘chest, coffer’.

**68 Tantalus:** Tantalus stole the gods’ nectar and ambrosia and was punished by having to stand in a pool of water overhung by fruit trees and eternally grasp at water and fruit that eluded him (Hom. *Od.* 11.582–92, Sen. *Thy.* 149–75,

Ag. 18–22). A less apposite version of the myth has him standing under a stone which is perpetually threatening to crush him (Pind. *Ol.* 1.55–64, Lucr. 3.980–4; as a symbol of death, Cic. *Fin.* 1.18). For Tantalus as a symbol of misers, cf. Teles 34–5 Hense (probably derived from Bion), Lucian *Tim.* 18; see Cody 1976: 113–19; later offset by the satisfied feaster, 118 *conuiuia satur*. Tantalus' name is surrounded by punning expressions of quantity: 52, 56 *tantundem*, 59 *tantuli quantum*, 62 *tantum quantum* (Hubbard 1981: 312), suggesting an innate link with off-the-scale desires; cf. 95 *Vmmidius*. The first choral ode of Seneca *Thyestes*, where Tantalus illustrates insatiable desire (cf. 138 *peccatum satis est*), draws on this satire. **fugientia captat**: an erotic topos at 2.108.

**68–9 fugientia . . . flumina**: enjambment suggests Tantalus' yearning; cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.2.43 *poma fugacia*, Sen. *Ag.* 20 *aquas fugaces ore decepto appetit*, ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 12.28 *fugacibus cibus elusus*. H.'s emphasis on water fits in with liquid themes elsewhere in the satire (36, 53–60).

**69 quid rides?** 'Why are you laughing?' or 'What are you laughing at?' or 'What is your laughter for?' The expostulation is typical of diatribe. H. had laughed at those who refused the chance to change their lives (23); the implications now come home to roost; cf. 2.3.53 *qui te deridet, caudam trahat*.

**69–70 mutato . . . narratur**: in a satire relatively free from names, except for the gibes against prolix writers and sermonizers, H. makes the point that *nominatim* abuse is not necessary to achieve a salutary effect (cf. 2.3.320 *haec a te non multum abludit imago*). His jeering readers are the opposite of *invidi* in that they could not imagine wanting to change places with a victim like Tantalus, but from his detached perspective, H. suggests that everyone is prone to insatiable desires. **mutato nomine**: cf. 18 *mutatis partibus*.

**70–2** A vivid picture of the miser keeping watch over his hoard. **indormis** 'go to sleep on'; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2.507 *condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro*, H.'s irrational miser at 2.3.111–13 *si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper acerum | porrectus uigilet cum longo fuste neque illinc | audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum*. **inhians** 'gaping at, gloating over'; the link with Tantalus' endless thirst is kept up metaphorically (cf. Pl. *Aul.* 194 *inhiat aurum ut deouret*). **parcere** 'to protect', chosen for its links with *parcus* 'thrifty'. **sacris**: telling wordplay with 70 *saccis*, also in end-position. **pictis tabellis**: cf. *Ep.* 2.1.97 *suspendit picta uultum mentemque tabella*, Virg. *Aen.* 1.464 *animum pictura pascit inani*, SHA *Elagabalus* 25.9 for parasites tortured with food made of wax, wood, etc.

**73 quo** 'to what end? for what purpose?' **usum** 'enjoyment', in the Epicurean or financial sense. **nummus** 'cash' (technically, one sesterce). **ualeat** 'is good for': a pun on the alternative sense of 'have financial value' points to the difference between materialism and the search for the higher good.

**74 panis . . . sextarius**: this modest shopping list comprises the bare necessities of food and drink advertised at 46–9 and 54–5, leavened with a little wine.

Wordplay on Greek πᾶν ‘all’ and ὅλος ‘whole’ reinforces the idea of sufficiency. A diet for philosophers of all denominations, with a Roman flavour: Cynic, in its healthy disregard for luxury (cf. Bion fr. 17, 81 Kindstrand; for food, water and wine in diatribe, see Oltramare 1926: 50, Kindstrand 1976: 216–20); but also Stoic (e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.97–100) or Epicurean (cf. LS 1 116–20; the country mouse at 2.6.115–16 *me... tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur eruo*). Vegetables are on H.’s own shopping list at 6.112 *percontor quanti holus ac far* and 6.115 *ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum*; cf. the informal diet of Scipio and Laelius at 2.1.74 (*dum decoqueretur holus*). The slave Davus satirizes H.’s hypocrisy at 2.7.29–30 *si nusquam es forte uocatus | ad cenam, laudas securum holus*. **ematur**: either potential (‘might be bought’) or jussive (‘let it be bought’). **uini sextarius**: approx. one pint. Cf. *SHA Tacitus* 11 *fuit uitae parcissimae, ita ut sextarium uini tota die numquam potauerit*.

**74–5 adde... negatis** ‘together with the things that make human nature suffer if they are withheld’ (*quis* = abl. pl., *ea* understood). H. tacks on a few unspecified luxuries (Epicurus’ ‘natural but unnecessary’ desires). **adde**: more basic arithmetic (cf. 15 *deducam*, 121 *addam*) suggests a calculus of pleasures. **sibi doleat**: an unusually early example of ‘pleonastic’ reflexive dat. (cf. *sibi uelle* at 2.69, *Epod.* 12.1, Cic. *De or.* 2.269), as Jim Adams advises me *per litteras*.

**76–8 H.** stresses the un-Epicurean anxiety of the miser guarding his hoard. **uigilare... exanimem... formidare**: acc. + inf. depend on 78 *iuuat* (*NLS* § 210). **exanimem** ‘faint with fear, petrified’, acc. + inf. as subject of 78 *iuuat*. **noctesque diesque**: this phrase with double *-que* occurs almost only in epic or mock-epic poetry: e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 334 Sk., Pl. *Amph.* 168.

**77 malos** ‘nasty’; cf. 5.14 *malos culices*, 6.68 *mala lustra*. **seruos**: explained by 78 *ne te compilent fugientes*: runaway slaves traditionally pocketed what they could.

**78 compilent** ‘fleece’ + acc. of person or thing fleeced; from *pilus* ‘a hair’, *pilare* ‘to pluck’. Later, H. lays *himself* open to charges of filching: 120–1 *ne me Crispini scriinia lippi | compilasses putes*.

**78–9 horum... bonorum** ‘very poor in respect of this kind of good fortune’. *horum*: ironic = both material and abstract ‘blessings’; *pauperrimus* + gen.: *NLS* § 73 (3 n. 1). **optarim**: perf. subj. of cautious assertion.

**80–5** The miser argues that money at least keeps him in touch with his children. H. again bypasses the point that having money provides some kind of health insurance (Shackleton Bailey 1982: 27: ‘[W]hen rich curmudgeons fall ill they are not left unattended’). Instead, he dwells cynically on the hopes of the rich man’s heirs for his hasty death (Bodoh 1970: 166). SB prints a question mark at the end of 83, making this not the miser’s excuse but the speaker’s objection.

**80 condoluit** echoes 35 *contristat*, in this satire on the miseries of human life. **temptatum** ‘afflicted’; cf. 2.3.163 *quod latus aut renes morbo temptentur acuto*; Lucr. 3.147–8 *cum caput aut oculus temptante dolore | laeditur in nobis*.

**81 aut... casus**: H.’s tic of adding unspecified alternatives (cf. 74–5, 105) enhances the casual air of his conversation. **affixit** ‘has confined’, implying virtual paralysis; cf. Pl. *Phaedrus* 83d: pains and pleasures nail the soul to the body

and make it corporeal. The MSS have *affixit* (cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.11.1 *eo casu quo sum afflictus*), but *affixit* is better with *lecto* (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 67.2 *senectus me lectulo affixit*), suggesting a parallel with Tantalus' immobility (68–9).

**82 assideat** 'to sit by your bedside', complementing 81 *affixit*: the patient nailed to his bed, the attendant glued to his side; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 9.8 (quoting Epicurus on reciprocal friendship): *habeat qui sibi aegro assideat*. Are these attendants family or slaves? Is the miser saying he can buy service or love? *assideat* fits family better; *paret* and *roget* ('go to fetch') fit slaves better. The subjunctives are of purpose. **fomenta** 'poultice, compress', hot or cold, but the origin from *foueo* 'keep warm' adds a layer of metaphorical cherishing.

**83 suscitet**: links real resuscitation with the metaphorical revival of the miser's spirits (76 *exanimem*). **carisque propinquis**: the miser has a rosy view of his relatives, but they are only loyal because they stand to inherit his money. Lucr. 2.34–6 is emphatic that wealth and health do not necessarily go together. For the ethics of visiting the sick, see Yardley 1973.

**84 non . . . filius**: clarifies the sardonic undertones of 9.26–7 *est tibi mater, | cognati, quis te saluo est opus?*

**85 noti** 'acquaintances?'; i.e. not *amici*; cf. 9.3 *notus mihi nomine tantum*. The miser finds himself society's *inimicus*; H. gives us a satirical view of patronage and legacy hunting (later developed in 2.5). **pueri . . . puellae**: 'the very boys and girls', i.e. 'everyone' (Muecke *ad* 2.3.130); cf. Var. *Men.* 146B.

**86 miraris**: ironic. **si . . . amorem?** 'if no one is forthcoming with the love you don't deserve?' **post . . . ponas**: tmesis of *postponas*. **praestet**: subj. as if indirect question after *miraris* (*prae-* 'forth' playing on *post-* 'behind'). The idea that one's family is only interested in one's money is familiar from the Cynics: cf. Diogenes *ap.* Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 4.91 = Diogenes V B 582.91 Giannantoni. But H. is not advocating cutting oneself off from social networks.

**88–90** Relatives are a resource that comes free, unlike the miser's hoards of money (cf. 5, 30 *labore*), and costs little to maintain. Making a deliberate effort to conserve love (by pursuing money) is a waste of time (and indeed might damage it). **an . . . perdas?** 'Surely you don't want to waste your time in vain?' (by trying to deserve their love); *an* expects the answer 'No'. The alternative reading, *at*, is unjustifiable (Brink 1987: 17). **seruare**: (self-)preservation is 'a one-word summary of Horatian psychology' (Henderson 1993: 88 n. 17); cf. 3.54, 4.117, 6.83, 9.72. **amicos** 'as friends' (predicative; cf. Pl. *Capt.* 441 *serua tibi perpetuum amicum me*). *Satires* I is a paean to friendship and the desirability of acquiring and keeping non-related friends: e.g. 2.20, 3.54 *haec res et iungit iunctos et seruat amicos*, 4.135 *sic dulcis amicis | occurram*, 5.29 *aueros soliti componere amicos*, 5.44 *nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico*. **infelix** 'unsuccessful(ly)'.

**90–1** Contains the germs of another Aesopic animal fable (cf. the ant at 32–8, the goat at 110–11). You can take an ass to the Campus Martius (traditional training-ground for the Roman cavalry: cf. C. 1.8.4) but you can't make it gallop; cf. Jerome *Ep.* 57.2 *tritum uulgi sermone prouerbium: oleum perdit et impensas, qui bouem*

*mittit ad ceroma* (ring). The proverbial stubbornness of the ass is the feature highlighted (cf. *Ep.* 1.20.15, 2.1.199–200); its immobility contrasts with the careering horses and jockeys of 114–16. **parentem . . . frenis** ‘in obedience to the reins’.

**92 denique** ‘in short, to sum up’. As if prompted by the race image and anticipating audience restlessness, H. brakes and reverts to the more modest aims he had before launching into ‘serious’ diatribe. **sit . . . quaerendi** ‘Let there be a limit to pursuing money.’ *finis* is defined limit or goal (esp. philosophical) rather than chronological end (cf. Lucil. 1201W = 1331M *uirtus quaerendae finem rescire modumque*, *Ep.* 1.2.56 *certum uoto pete finem*), though the poem’s own end is in sight (cf. 93–4 *finire* | *laborem incipias*). H.’s call for an end to financial ambition also marks the limits of his second, more ambitious enquiry (cf. 27 *quaeramus seria*) and is in pointed contrast to the failure of his adversaries, who cannot impose any limit on their greed.

**92–3 cumque . . . minus** ‘and now that you have more, fear poverty less’. **cumque** ‘since’, with subj. *habeas* (rather than Muretus’ conjecture *quoque*, suggesting ‘the richer you are, the less you need fear poverty’, which goes against the speaker’s philosophy).

**93–4 finire . . . incipias**: summarizes H.’s own manoeuvres to end the poem. **parto**: abl. abs. (sc. *eo*).

**94–100** The story of Ummidius illustrates the opposite of H.’s advice: a (probably imaginary) man who was vastly rich but dreaded poverty and lived in squalor. H. relishes the sound of Ummidius’ name in telling his brief history: *ut met- . . . nummos . . . umquam . . . adusque supremum tempus*.

**95 Ummidius**: a significant name: either a man without moderation (cf. 22.28 *nil medium est*), or rhyming with *nummos* (Dufallo 2000: 586), or made up of *in* (or Greek οὐ ‘not’) + *medius*, a man so divided on either side of the golden mean that it is appropriate for his freedwoman to split him down the middle with an axe (100 *diuisit medium*; Freudenburg 1993: 50 n. 113). Like the Timon figure of 64–7, Ummidius is a walking oxymoron, both *sordidus* and *diues*, who enjoys contemplating his hoard of coins. **quidam**: a story-telling word (cf. 32 *aiunt*, 64 *memoratur*, 68 *forte*).

**non longa est fabula**: a sign that H. is imposing curbs on himself, putting the Callimachean hints of 55–6 (cf. 10.9 *est breuitate opus*) into practice and showing concern for a potentially jaded reader: cf. 14 *ne te morer*, 121 *uerbum non amplius addam*; Callim. *Iamb* 1.32 ‘I will not tell a long tale’; Dawson 1950: 138–40, Benedetto 1966, Clayman 1980, Scodel 1987. With its apologetic provisos, the Ummidius story matches the modest tale of the ant (33–8).

**95–6 diues . . . nummos**: a telegraphic style (sc. *tam, erat*) fulfils H.’s promises of brevity. **metiretur**: weighing or measuring money is proverbial for not being able to count it: cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27, Petr. *Sat.* 37 *Fortunata appellatur, quae nummos modio metitur*.

**96–7 ut . . . uestiret**: cf. 2.3.111–19.

**98–9 ne . . . opprimeret** ‘that lack of sustenance would overcome him’; *se* is reflexive in a *ne*-clause after *metuebat*; *uictus* is gen. after nom. *penuria*.

**99–100 at . . . Tyndaridum:** the miser who occupies two poles of existence is split down the middle in a parody of the golden mean by an axe-wielding freedwoman; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.750–1 *et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem | diuidit*. **liberta:** fulfilling the prophecy of 77 *formidare . . . seruos?* **securi:** an axe for the Romans was a symbol of authority; here, a *liberta* takes the law into her own hands, conjuring up images of tyrant-slayers. **diuisit medium:** picks up the sound of 95–6 *diues | ut metiretur*. **fortissima Tyndaridarum:** a heroic formula (cf. ‘best of the Achaeans’, 33 *magni . . . laboris*). *Tyndaridarum*, gen. pl. of *Tyndaridae*, can include both sexes, but here particularly refers to Clytemnestra, mythological queen of Argos, who murdered her husband Agamemnon with an axe. This *fabula* may not itself be *longa*, but its massive last word, straddling fifth and sixth feet, certainly is (as long as 1.2 *Ambubaiaurum*) and signals a place to stop.

**101 quid . . . suades?** points to the poem’s didactic intentions.

**101–2 ut . . . Nomentanus:** the miser retorts by forcing the speaker to make a decision and lay down principles for living: surely one extreme is as bad as the other. Naevius and Nomentanus are both examples of wastrels, as 104 *uappam . . . ac nebulonem* makes clear. **Naevius:** possibly a Lucilian miser (cf. Porph. *Naevius autem fuit in tantum parcus ut sordidus merito haberetur Lucilio auctore*), but H. makes him the opposite. The Naevius of 2.2.68–9, a host who makes his guests wash their hands in greasy water, does not clarify the issue. The alternative preferred by some scholars, *Maenius*, is a spendthrift in H. (*Ep.* 1.15.26–41) and the man who forgives himself at 3.21, but *Naevius* has better authority. **Nomentanus:** traditionally one of Lucilius’ favourite butts (80–1 W = 69–70 M, 82 W = 56 M), but his name is only Scaliger’s textual conjecture (Rudd 142). Perhaps L. Atilius Nomentanus, associate of Scaevola; probably not Cassius Nomentanus, whose cook Sallust the historian hired for a vast sum (Porph.). Elsewhere in H., ‘Nomentanus’ is usually a spendthrift: 8.11 *nepoti*, 2.1.22, 2.3.175, 224. As the *nomenclator*, toady and gastronomic maître d’hôte of Nasidienus at 2.8.23, ‘Nomen-tanus’ could also be a joke on the rejection of named abuse (cf. 69 *mutato nomine*, 2.126 *do nomen quodlibet illi*, 9.3 *notus mihi nomine tantum*) in favour of a quasi-anonymous ‘man with the name’; cf. Virgil’s pun on no-name ghost town Nomentum at *Aen.* 6.776: *haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae*.

**102–3 pergis . . . componere** ‘rush to equate’. The image is of reconciling the poles of avarice and extravagance as if military enemies (cf. Var. *ap.* Gell. 16.8 *omnia quae disiunguntur, pugnantia inter se oportet esse*; for *componere* used in the opposite sense of pitting fighters against each other, cf. 7.20).

**103 frontibus aduersis** ‘in head-on collision’ (cf. Lucr. 6.117, Virg. *Aen.* 12.717).

**103–4** H. resumes the role of *praeceptor* with *ueto* and *iubeo* (cf. 101 *suades*, 4.107 *hortaretur*, 4.112 *deterreret*, 4.121 *iubebat*), preserving his middle ground. **uappam** ‘roué, waster’: lit. wine that has gone flat (cf. 5.16), thus a spent or washed-out person. **nebulonem** ‘good-for-nothing, waste of space’; lit. ‘fog-man’;

found often in Cic.; Fest. p. 245M. Like *uappa*, abusive: cf. 2.12 *Fufidius uappae fama timet ac nebulonis*.

**105 Tanain . . . Viselli:** Porph. claims that Tanais was a eunuch, freedman to either Maecenas or L. Munatius Plancus, and Visellius' father-in-law was a man with a hernia. Palmer's alternative, that this is a roundabout way of picturing the proverbial East-West divide, is far-fetched. Nearer the mark must be the Greek proverb 'either a eunuch or a man with a hernia', i.e. 'the devil or the deep blue sea'. Castration may have been an accepted cure for hernia in the ancient world (Lascaratos *et al.* 2003; *contra* Papavramidou and Christopoulou-Aletras 2005). Two gonadic extremes make an appropriate image for the unacceptable extremes of 'satyric' satire, as interpreted by H.'s readers (despite his careful attempts to moderate his stance) at 2.1.1–2: *nimis acer* or *sine neruis*; cf. Juv. 4.106 on the outrage of having a pathic write (virile) satire: *improbior saturam scribente cinaedo*.

**106 est . . . rebus** 'things have their proper measure'. Technically *modus* is a measured amount, sometimes of land (cf. *modius*); here, connected with fixed boundaries (*certi fines*), it recalls physical images of plots of land (e.g. 45). H. simply duplicates the previous line, a sign that he risks infringing his own principles of brevity (Dufallo 2000: 586). **sunt . . . fines:** a return to 50 *naturae fines*, here a combination of two ideas (Rudd 23): (1) the Epicurean notion of dividing desires/pleasures into natural and necessary and unnatural and unnecessary (ultimately derived from Plato, e.g. *Rep.* 8.558d–559c, 9.571a–d and Aristotle, e.g. *NE* 7.1147b–1150a): e.g. *Ad Menoec.* 127–32 (LS 21E); *KD* 21 (LS 24C): 'The man who knows the limits of life realizes that what removes the pain due to want and renders the whole of life complete is easy to obtain; so there is no need for actions which involve competition'; (2) the 'golden mean': see e.g. Arist. *NE* 2.1106 a–b and 4 *passim*, Plato *Rep.* 1.349e, 4.443d, *Philebus* 31c–32b, 64d–65d; also Guthrie 1962: vol. 1, index s.v. 'medicine' and 'music', for Pythagorean and Sicilian theories of the 'mean'; cf. Lucil. 1201W = 1331M, Lucr. 5.1432–3, Cic. *Fin.* 1.45 *inanium autem cupiditatum nec modus ullus nec finis inueniri potest*. **denique** 'in short'.

**107 ultra citraque** 'beyond which or short of which'. Half of H.'s readers believe him to have gone beyond the pale at 2.1.1–2: *ultra* | *legem tendere opus*. **consistere** 'to lie, to remain'.

**108 illuc unde abii redeo:** 'kompositorische Selbstironie' (Wimmel 1962: 74); one of H.'s most blazoned signposts in the *Satires*, pointing to this poem's ring-composition and exploiting an old analogy between *sermo* and journeying (cf. 3.38 *illuc praeuertamur*, 6.45 *nunc ad me redeo*; see *S.* 5 introductory essay). H. marks off his serious discussion of *auaritia* as a digression (a natural hazard of *sermo*: Cic. *Off.* 1.135 *danda igitur opera, ut etiamsi aberrare ad alia coeperit, ad haec reuocanda oratio . . . ut incipendi ratio fuerit, ita sit desinendi modus*) and gestures self-mockingly towards the etiquette of conversation. Freudenburg 1993: 192: '[T]he satirist follows the conventions of diatribe in concluding that avarice, Bion's "metropolis of evil", is responsible for discontent.'

**108–9 qui nemo, ut auarus, | se probet** ‘how no one is satisfied with himself, on the grounds that he is greedy.’ The poem’s most vexed textual dispute. Only the lost Blandinius vetustissimus (V) has *qui nemo ut auarus*; all other MSS have *nemon ut auarus*. More editors prefer the former, on the grounds that *qui* recapitulates the start of the poem, as promised in 108–9 (108 *qui* = 1 *Qui*; 108–9 *nemo* . . . *laudet diuersa sequentes* ~ 1–3 *nemo* . . . *laudet diuersa sequentes*): H. returns to his original claim, that no one is satisfied with his lot. However, *ut auarus* adds a new dimension, so must be parenthetical, probably causal (*ut* = *utpote*; cf. 2.2.11), ‘because he [everyone] is a miser’; still, 104 *uappam* . . . *ac nebulonem* makes it clear that *not* everyone is a miser. Probably H. has abandoned his distinction between spendthrifts and misers and is now using *auarus* to cover any excessive greed or dependence on money. Fraenkel 97–9, following Bentley, prefers *nemon ut auarus*, as a repudiative question separated from *illuc unde abii redeo* (‘Can it be that no greedy person is content with his own situation?’); but no repudiation is needed. Rudd’s translation (13–14, cf. 274 n. 7) is better: ‘[I]s no one, because of his greed, to be content with his own situation, and is every man to envy, instead, those pursuing other ways of life?’ The whole sentence would then be an indirect question as far as 112 *laboret*, explaining 108 *illuc*. Wigodsky 1980 (cf. Witte 1931: 63–4, Wimmel 1962) believes a more fundamental ambiguity is being expressed via the obscurity (cf. 6.1–6, 4.53–62): the miser is paradoxically satisfied *with never being satisfied* (‘No one else approves of himself *in the way the miser does*’); yet at 110–16 *all* humanity is described as grasping.

**110–20** Instead of being content with this conclusion, which seems on the surface to have blended *mempsimoria* and *philargyria* satisfactorily, H. is insatiable in pasting on yet more illustrations.

**110–11 quodque . . . tabescat:** a vivid polarity has the miser wasting away at the sight of his neighbour’s goat’s distended udders (reinforcing the idea of paradox in *se probet*). H.’s golden mean of perfectly satisfied satire looms ahead as a potential corrective. It looks as though another fable lies behind this image; for ‘grass is greener’ sentiments, cf. Ov. *AA* 1.349–50 *fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris | uicinumque pecus grandius uber habet*; for wasting away in envy of others’ rich pickings, cf. *Ep.* 1.2.57 *inuidius alterius macrescit rebus opimis*, Lucr. 3.75 *macerat inuidia*. H. uses *capella*, *distendo* and *uber* only here, which suggests a pointed allusion to Virg. *Ecl.* 4.21–2 *ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae | ubera*, to deflate the Messianic predictions of that poem (Putnam 1995–6: 311, Reckford 1999, Welch 2008) and moralize divisive envy among Virgil’s goatherds (cf. *Ecl.* 3.1 *cuicum pecus?*), fallen from the paradise of Lucr. 1.259 *uberibus distentis*. **tabescat:** cf. Cic. *Cat.* 2.6, *Att.* 2.14.1.

**111–12 neque . . . comparet:** yet H. continues to make watchful comparisons: 109 *potius*, 111 *pauperiorum*, 113 *locupletior*, 121 *amplius*; cf. 40 *ditior*, 48 *plus*, 53 *plus*, 54 *amplius*, 55 *malle*, 57 *plenior* (John Henderson *per litteras*). **neque . . . laboret:** the miser should realize he is better off than the great majority of poorer people and stop trying to emulate those who have



more than him (cf. Democritus D 55 Taylor = B 191DK, Var. *Men.* 288B, Cic. *Sen.* 83; Rudd 278 n. 52). Failure to compare oneself favourably with the worse-off is discussed in Democritus D191 (Rudd 278 n. 52).

**112 turbae:** an important concept for H. Sometimes he blends into crowds or speaks from them, but much of the time he is indeed counting the blessings that separate him from them: 4.25 *quemuis media elige turba*, 4.39–40 *ego me . . . | excerptam numero*, 4.141–3 *multa poetarum ueniat manus . . . cogemus in hanc concedere turbam*, 6.18 *nos facere a uulgo longe longeque remotos*, 10.73 *neque te ut miretur turba labores*. **hunc . . . hunc** ‘this person, then that’. **laboret:** cf. 5 *labore*, 30 *laborem*, 33 *laboris*, 88 *labore* (all similarly at line-ends). The half-rhyme with 111 *pauperiorum* is a cue for the sentence to end.

**113** A brief summary of life’s obstacle course. **festinanti:** cf. 7 *concurritur*, 24 *percurram*, 30 *currunt*, 91 *currere*, 114 *currus*; but the strong clash of ictus and accent here suggests the obstructions facing participants in the rat race, leading to the chariot-race image. **locupletior** ‘wealthier’. **obstat:** cf. 40 *nil obstat tibi dum ne sit te ditior alter*.

**114–16** His home-stretch in view, H. picks up speed with the image of a competitive chariot race. The description is similar to Virgil’s final pessimistic simile for a world out of control at *Georg.* 1.512–14 *ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae | addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens | fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas*. It is usually argued that H. copied Virgil, but the imitation could just as easily have been the other way around (Putnam 1995–6: 313–14; cf. 5.73–4); there is also the precedent of Enn. *Ann.* 463–4 Sk. *quom a carcere fusi | currus cum sonitu magno permittere certant*. The image is a traditional one for poetic belatedness: Henderson 1995: 108. **carceribus** ‘traps’; i.e. barriers at the start of a racecourse, metaphorical for any starting-point (cf. Cic. *Sen.* 83 *nec uero uelim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce reuocari*, of the beginning of life; Alexis 235K = 237 Arnott; Var. *Men.* 288B *nemini Fortuna currum a carcere intimo missum | labi inoffensum per aecor candidum ad calcem siuit*). The word’s other meaning evokes notions of the body as ‘prison’ for the soul, thus anticipating the image of the man released from life at 118–19: cf. e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.74 *nec tamen ille [sc. sapiens] uincla carceris ruperit*, Sen. *Ben.* 3.20.1. **missos** ‘released from’ (cf. Var. *LL* 5.153 *in circo primum unde mittuntur equi*). **rapit** ‘sweeps along’ (cf. 5.86 *rapimur*). **ungula:** in penultimate position, imitating the rapid dactyls of Enn. *Ann.* 242, 263 *quatit unguia terram*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.596, 11.875 *quatit unguia campos*.

**115–16 instat** ‘presses hard on, bears down on’. **suos:** sc. *equos*. **illum:** sc. *aurigam*; pointing to another charioteer. **extremos . . . euntem:** the inverted word-order suggests the stragglers in the rear. In his desire to overtake the horses in front, the charioteer barely spares a backward glance for the riders trailing behind him (parallel to 111–12 *neque se maiori pauperiorum | turbae comparet*).

**117–19** The opening question 1 *Qui fit* is restated, with its stark generalization *nemo* softened into *raro*. **inde fit** ‘And so the end result

is . . . ’ **raro . . . queamus:** replaces 27 *quaeramus*, suggesting that H.’s own search is at an end.

**118–19 et . . . satur:** the image of the satisfied man leaving life like a contented dinner guest is a blend in the first instance of Lucr. 3.938 *cur non ut plenus uitae conuiuia recedis?* and 3.959–60 *ante | quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum?* (Glazewski 1971: 85–8). Yet H. also conflates Lucretius with the final line of Virgil’s *Eclogues*, 10.77 *ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae* (Virgil and H. use the word *satur* only here; cf. 120 *satis*), also a ten-poem book where ‘satisfaction’ signals closure and modest composition. Thus he takes from hexameter didactic and bucolic their monopoly on *satietas* and claims it (more appropriately) for Horatian satire. *conuiuia satur* also covertly labels the genre H. is writing in, now reshaped from Lucilius’ over-egged pudding into a form contained by proper limits. H. is promoting Virgil as a modern ‘classic’ here, as Virgil had Gallus in his tenth and final poem (Putnam 1995–6: 314–15). More generally, the contented guest image had been used by philosophers of all schools: Aristotle, Epicurus, Chrysippus and Bion (Kindstrand 1976: 281–2). The figure contrasts with Tantalus and the miser gaping over his savings, and stands in for H. himself, another contented parasite, the exception to the rule that everyone is dissatisfied (Hubbard 1981: 312): he signs off with an oblique thank-you to Maecenas (cf. *Epod.* 1.31–2 *satis superque me benignitas tua | ditauit*). By contrast, H.’s last satire, II 8, ends with an image of dissatisfaction: the dinner-guests leave without tasting a thing. **exacto . . . tempore** ‘once his time is spent’ (another financial metaphor; cf. the self-auditing of Demea at Ter. *Ad.* 855–81, with 870 *exacta aetate*).

**120** As if prompted by this image of satisfaction, H. calls it a day with *sermo*, tying together the moral and the aesthetic lessons of the poem (contrast the cautionary 62 *nil satis est*); Hubbard 1981: 312. For other endings prompted by an external break or act of confinement, cf. *C.* 3.4, Virg. *Ecl.* 10. The dialogue with Virgil is at its clearest here, with the closural cluster of *satur* and *satis* (cf. *Ecl.* 10.70 *haec sat erit*, 10.77 *ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae*; Putnam 1995–6: 315), though H. may also be harking back to Lucil. 208–10W = 203–5M *nam si, quod satis est homini, id satis esse potisset, | hoc sat erat; nunc cum hoc non est, qui credimus porro | diuitias ulla animum mi explere potisse?* – morally impeccable but verbally redundant. For philosophy as longwinded, cf. Pl. *Ps.* 687 *iam satis est philosophatum; nimis diu et longum loquor*. But *iam satis est* ‘also call[s] attention to the necessity of a self-imposed limit when treating a theme that, as H. has pointed out, would challenge the endurance of even a *loquax* poet’: Dufallo 2000: 588. **Crispini:** all three diatribe poems (*S.* 1–3) end with a sideswipe at the Stoics’ prolixity or moral dogmatism (cf. 14 *Fabium*). The scholiasts identify Plotius Crispinus as an *aretalogus*, narrator of virtues (Freudenburg 1993: 112 n. 6; Botschuyver 1 263); he seems to have been a Stoic (at 3.139 he is a hanger-on of another Stoic, at 2.7.45 he is a source of Stoic paradoxes, his competitive verbosity is mocked at 4.13–16). DuQuesnay 1984: 54 sees evidence of anti-republican propaganda in these trivial-seeming asides: Fabius the Stoic (1.1.4, 1.2.134) belonged to *Pompeianae partes*

(Porph.); if Crispinus' *nomen* was Plotius, that suggests a link with the proscribed L. Plotius Planus. The Stoics were associated with a particularly unruly brand of diatribe, learned from the philosopher Chrysippus (c. 280–c. 207 BC; *SVF* 2.27, Wallach 1974: 177–89, Freudentburg 1993: 113 n. 9), most famous for his notion of the paradoxically indefinable 'heap', a frequent image, both literal and programmatic, in *S.* 1: cf. 32 *congesta cibaria*, 34–5 *aceruo | quem struūt*, 42 *immensum . . . pondus*, 44 *constructus aceruus* (see Freudentburg 2001: 28–31 on H.'s use of the *sortes* 'how many grains make a heap?' paradox). Indeed, *Crispini* + *lippī* wraps up a cryptogram of Chrysippus' name (Freudentburg 2001: 40). **scrinia**: cylindrical boxes for holding papyrus rolls; cf. *Ep.* 2.1.113. *Cic. Mur.* 25 *Cn. Flavius, qui . . . ab ipsis his cautis [capsis cod. Sambuci, Madvig: book-containers, portfolios; cf. 10.63] iuris consultis eorum sapientiam compilarit* may be significant here. *Cn. Flavius* was the most famous *scriba* of the republic, proverbial as an upstart who faced hostility on attaining office, 'putting aside his writing tablets' to become curule aedile in 304 BC (Piso *hist.* fr. 27 Peter); possibly a model for H.'s self-characterization as *libertino patre natus* in *S.* 6 (Woodman 2009; cf. Lejay *ad loc.*; Piso, *ibid. patre libertino natus*; Livy 9.46.1, with Oakley 2005: 600–15). The arriviste *scriba* (another possible, but disavowed, characterization of H.) may inspire the image of plagiarism here. **lippī** 'bleary-eyed', 'suffering from conjunctivitis'. The first gibe at defective vision in the *Satires*. The word is used elsewhere of moral blindness (3.25), perverse indifference to one's surroundings (5.30, 49, of H. himself) and anaesthetized 'men in the street', the masses waiting in the apothecary's queue (7.3); Cucchiarelli 2001: 66–76. Crispinus is presumably *lippus* from peering too myopically at his documents or because he does not see the person cribbing over his shoulder. Sore eyes were famously an occupational hazard for scribes (e.g. *Cic. Att.* 7.13a.3 *si scriberem ipse, longior epistula fuisset, sed dictavi propter lippitudinem*), thus a 'badge of office', along with *scrinia*, for Crispinus, and for H. in this 'retirement speech' section of his *curriculum vitae* (for a *scriba lippus*, *breuitas* would be a necessary virtue: Cucchiarelli 2001: 70). The Stoic philosopher Dionysius 'the renegade' (fourth century BC) denied the existence of pleasure and pain, until an acute eye inflammation convinced him his principles were wrong (Diog. Laert. 7.37, 166).

**121 compilasse** 'to have pillaged', lit. 'to have plucked', appropriate when *crispus* (Crispinus) = 'curly-haired'. Like the slaves at 78 (*compilent fugientes*), H. escapes with impunity after ransacking the moralists' hoard and promoting his own wisdom; Hubbard 1981: 312 n. 32; cf. *Cic. Mur.* 25 (cf. 120 *scrinia sapientiam compilarit*). Demonstrating verbal neatness, H. recycles the elements of Crispinus' name: *scrinia*, *lippī*, *compilasse* (Armstrong 1964: 44). But he has himself been guilty of 'rustling' Virgilian and Lucretian pastoral images (Freudentburg 2001: 41–2). **uerbum . . . addam** 'I shan't add another word'. H. piously enacts the thrift he preaches (cf. 34 *addit*, 54 *non amplius urna*), once again pointing out his verbal manoeuvres and calculations (cf. 15 *deducam*, 74 *adde*). 120 *iam* is echoed in *amplius addam*, suggesting redundancy (Armstrong 1964: 44). Freudentburg 1993:

193 n. 25 notes the ‘mimetic syntax’ of the final promise: ‘Nothing can follow the satirist’s claim “I will not add” without, in turn, making a liar of him. Thus *addam* is the poem’s last word.’ The words also borrow from Lucr. 3.941 *cur amplius addere quaeris*, only three lines away from a dinner-guest image at 3.938 (Freudenburg 2001: 33–4). But H. is not as virtuously reticent as he seems (Dufallo 2000; 2.1n.). By the end of the book, he is still *adding* words: 10.92 *meo citus haec subscribe libello*. This parting quip would also make a good retirement speech or written memorial for a *scriba*, especially for one who knows his limits (cf. *CIL* I 1012.3 QVI ISTIC SEPVLTVS EST NEC LOQVI NEC SERMONARE POTEST; Suet. *Vesp.* 3 on Flavius Liberalis of Ferentium: *nec quicquam amplius quam quaestorio scriba*; Ferri 1993: 131–7 on H.’s debt to epitaphic formulas in the *Epistles*; Oliensis 1998: 178–9 on H.’s ‘epitaph’ in *Ep.* 1.20).

## SATIRE 2

In the second poem, H. turns to sex. His persona here, cynical, swaggering and Priapic, anticipates the poet who later anatomized old women’s decaying bodies in the *Epodes*. Because it seems so atavistic, the poem has been labelled H.’s earliest experiment in satire. Yet it forms the centre of a cycle of diatribes, and undermines the high-mindedness of *S.* 1 by focusing on earthier desires, though posing as another sermon on moderation. Another red-herring introduction, looping back to the financial imagery of the first satire, turns into an exposé of the delusions of the Roman adulterer, who undergoes severe stress, loss of capital, reputation and even body parts in the pursuit of Roman matrons, who are proved to have no advantages beyond their nebulous snob-appeal. A spectrum of sexual tastes is laid out: filthy brothel-prostitutes at one extreme, off-limits matrons at the other, and, in between, freedwomen who offer uncomplicated satisfaction. Similar three-fold choices between married women, prostitutes and *hetaerae* were a commonplace of both Cynic and Epicurean philosophy, with, in both cases, a slant towards the more undemanding mean (K–H, introduction 23–4; Gerhard 1909: 1–70, Rudd 24–5). Lucilius in Book 29 (*Fornix* ‘The Brothel’) expanded the choice to five types of women, but also ended up recommending brothels and boys.

H.’s fluid, even inconsistent use of the various categories suggests that it is the easiness of the satisfaction, rather than the specific class of the woman involved, that represents the real golden mean (Lefèvre 1975). He is ambivalent about his own tastes, veering between aristocratic disgust for the stinking brothel (30 *olenti fornice* 33 *taetra libido*) and self-preserving avoidance of rich men’s wives. What matters to his Cynic/Epicurean/satirical ego is less the ideal of moderation (despite the now familiar-sounding slogan *nil medium est*, 28) than that sex should be *in medio*, easily available. Contrary to the Roman erotic ideal found in elegy, which skirts round the centre of the woman in its physical descriptions (Richlin 1992: 46–7), H.’s satirical vision homes in directly on the *medium corpus*.

The first section of the poem recapitulates the themes of the first satire by illustrating various undesirable extremes of behaviour, though the train of thought is diffuse. First comes the funeral procession of a dead Roman patron, Tigellius, famous for his absurd generosity, satirically dissected as a mutually beneficial arrangement between a playboy and his undesirable hangers-on. The opening line, with its mixture of Aramaic, Latin and Greek words, displays the contaminated aspects of Rome so often suppressed in nobler representations, while hinting at the magical wiles used by women to undermine male power. Flute-girls and mime-actresses are already a clue that the main subject is going to be women in their role as commodity for men and this will be man-to-man conversation with Maecenas.

The sexual element begins as an extended illustration of polarities in men's tastes but soon gathers its own momentum. From the start, this is the world of comic patriarchy: stern fathers and spendthrift sons, male solidarity bolstered by capital and clubbability (1 'guilds of go-go girls' parodies male collectivity). Illicit sexual passion, which risks financial depredation, social disgrace and (somewhat fantastically) bodily mutilation, is seen primarily as a threat to the assets and integrity of the ruling class, particularly when exercised on the taboo objects of one's peers' wives. Stressing the secure aspects of his humble position, H. stands aloof from the more vulnerable aristocracy (the adulterer's justification at 72 *magno patre nata puella* will be echoed in the taunt against H., *libertino patre natum*, at 6.6, 45, 46). He wreaks humiliating Priapic revenge not only on women but also on his male superiors, mentally undressing the yashmaked matron and ending with the discomfiture of the adulterer caught without his toga.

Clothing is a persistent symbol in the poem, from the rites of passage that signify membership of or exclusion from social categories (16 *sumpta ueste uirili*, 71, 99 *stola* 63 *matrona . . . togata*) to the ironies of display and concealment in the workings of sexual desire, to the use of clothes and body odour as cultural markers of different degrees of manliness (Curran 1970). Masculinity is polarized into two extremes: crude goatish stench versus breath-fresheners (27), mincing along in trailing feminine robes (25) and exposing one's crotch to obscene limits (26). Women, too, are classed by the transparency of their wares: matrons are chastely covered up, fenced off by security-men and beauticians; brothel-prostitutes strut about nude; in between are courtesans and actresses, with tantalizingly diaphanous robes, through which one can measure their bodies at a glance. The perverse attraction of married women who have an extra flounce sewn to the bottom of their robes is marked by H. with a pun on *tetigisse / tegat* 'touch/cover up' (28–9). The hazards of getting to the forbidden fruit are described in the language of siege-warfare (cf. 96 *uallo circumdata*, 99 *circumdata palla*), not unlike the social minefield contemplated by the gatecrashing *cliens* in S. 9. Indeed, sexual desire is conceived as akin to other forms of male acquisitiveness: for food (116), merchandise (83, 105) or horseflesh (86–9). Both financial and sexual distress are described with similar images of stripping, mutilating and staining: 104 *auellier*, 8 *stringat rem*, 14 *mercedes exsecat*,

62 *rem patris oblimare* correspond to 45–6 *testes caudamque salacem | demeteret* and 132 *discincta tunica*. Even philosophies and delusions are couched in erotic metaphors (119 *parabilem amo uenerem facilemque*, 53 *hoc se amplectitur uno*).

The summary *nil medium est* (28) leads into a spectrum of deviant sexual tastes, and incidentally becomes H.'s cue for his own obscene hoisting of human draperies to reveal the taboo centre of the body. Sometimes he minces his words with salacious euphemisms; once he couches his thoughts in the banal abstractions of an Epicurean manual (73–6). But more often he uses the candid Latin equivalent of four-letter words: 36, 70 *cunus* and 68 *mutto* for the sexual organs (or standing for the whole person), 127 *futuo* for the sexual act. Cicero in his titillating letter on euphemism and obscenity (*Fam.* 9.22) had also used metaphors of clothing and nakedness to classify words ('covered' words and 'exposed' ones).

This frankness cannot simply be swept under the carpet, nor can the messiness of the poem. (See Schlegel 2002 for a comparison of translators' solutions, from the coy to the riotously frank.) As one critic has written, when we ignore it we are like cleaners in a brothel, tidying up the arguments like tangled sheets or scattered pillows (Curran 1970: 220). *S.* 2 may unsettle our assumptions so far about H., his purification of Lucilian filth and his detached and philosophical attitude to life. This is not quite the *os impurum* of the *Epodes* (Roman taboo on oral and anal intercourse is observed), but it becomes easier to imagine the 'satyric' facets of the H. who, according to Suetonius, had a room lined with mirrors so he could watch himself making love from different angles (*Vita Horati*). Sex is a part of life in the *pura domus* of Maecenas, and proving one's manliness an essential part of satire, the genre of satyrs and *res pudendae*.

Indeed, the poem illustrates one of the chief paradoxes of the genre: moralizing poetry is potentially besmirched by its filthy subject matter. This is Lucilian bawdy cleansed by rationality (cf. Augustus' nickname for H: *purissimum penem*). But H. still needs coarse language to uncover human hypocrisy (at 2.1.64 he praises Lucilius for stripping off the skin of Roman society and exposing the rot underneath). Lifting up clothes to reveal crude anatomies gives flesh to this satirical principle. The oxymoron 36 *cunni . . . albi* sums up the tension between culture and nature: euphemistic concealment above, the obscene region below.

The Priapic stance also involves humiliating parody of more dignified or sentimental genres of poetry and the ideals they encode: hence the paraphrase of a dignified line from Ennius, with 'adulterers' substituted for 'the Roman state' (37–8), signalled in advance by the joke-name Cupiennius 'connoisseur of cunts'. Although H.'s preference for clean sexual exchanges may equate to his stylistic adherence to purity and simplicity (Freudenburg 1993), he ends up rejecting the *recherché* tastes of Greek elegists and epigrammatists and their Roman successors, like Gallus (92–3, 105–8, 120–2); Philodemus' easy Epicurean tastes are preferred to Callimachus' perverse desire for what is out of reach. Matrons and censors, traditionally prudes and guardians of propriety, become the instigators of sexual licence; Roman republican heroes, Cato and Sallust, are

salty, lecherous men about town. Cato lurks outside a brothel to utter a coarse *sententia* (32–5); Sallust boasts that he does not lay a finger on married women (54). Both represent an outdated republican ideal of manliness, coarse-fibred and obscene, where virtue finds ‘an alter ego in low sexual gratification’ (Hooley 1999). Known elsewhere as an adulterer, Sallust is pilloried here equally for his moral hypocrisy and for his affected veneration of Cato’s rousing rhetoric (Woodman 2009). The modern male looks uneasily for a place between machismo and the other extreme: the mincing steps and minced words of the modern Greek-style effeminate (25 *Maltinus tunicis demissis* was thought by some scholiasts to be a cameo of Maecenas).

Obscenity is not just a powerful instrument for uncovering euphemism and hypocrisy: it is also the first target of censorship. An admirer of mime-actresses is called Marsaeus, reminiscent of the satyr Marsyas, whose image in the Forum was the Romans’ Statue of Liberty (6.120); in S. 8, Priapus, the outsize male god, takes over H.’s voice in another poem which victimizes women, ignominiously buries men out of favour and asserts the interloper’s point of view. The satirical portrait of Tigellius’ funeral smacks of the satyrs who brought up the rear in Roman state cortèges, compromising the dead man’s dignity with bathetic gestures (Dion. Hal. *RA* 7.71–2). H.’s satire has to be populated by satyrs and satyric behaviour in order to keep alive the functions of Lucilian satire as a vehicle of free speech.

Nevertheless, H. imposes significant limits on his own freedom. Personal liberty involves unrestricted desire (cf. 33 *libido*, 126 *quodlibet*), but this is necessarily channelled into uncontroversial areas: women whose names reflect his own upwardly mobile fantasies, not other men’s ancestries (cf. 126, 70–2). This warped moralist lectures (by implication) to a culpable master, the ladies’ man Maecenas, nicknamed *malagma moecharum*, ‘putty in adulteresses’ hands’ (Macrob. *Sat.* 2.4.12). His own sexual prowess is later exposed as hit-and-miss, squalid and above all unthreatening (5.82–5). The poem acts as a protective amulet against womanly charms and aristocratic male revenge. H. envisages himself ending up on top and out of harm’s way (125 *suppositui*, 134 *uincam*), though this may be because he is willing briefly to adopt a confessional mode and risk playing the hapless adulterer caught *in flagrante* in the final comic scenario (127–133). He flaunts his insouciance to social advancement (cf. the satirization of Tigellius and his hangers-on) and his cynicism about romantic ideals. Seizing on the most vulnerable chinks in the armour of the ruling class – the sexual transgressions of its womenfolk and the humiliation of the males who abet them – he ends with another triumphant demonstration of the outsider’s invulnerability.

*Further reading:* Armstrong 1964, Baldwin 1970, Bushala 1969, 1971, Cautadella 1950, Curran 1970, Dessen 1968, Fraenkel 78–86, Freudenburg 1993: 24–6, 39–46, 193–8, Gibson 2007: 19–42, Gigante 1993, Henderson 1989a = 1989b = 1999: 173–201, Hooley 1999, Hunter 2006a: 110–14, 143, Lefèvre 1975, Lejay

29–37, Richlin 1992, Rudd 9–35, Schmid 1948, Shackleton Bailey 1982: 10–14, Schlegel 2002, 2005: 25–30, Woodman 2009.

**1–30** A red herring opening, seemingly generated from spontaneous comments on a topical event (perhaps a nod to Lucilian *sermo*, e.g. the *Concilium deorum*; Fraenkel 79), turns out to herald the first in a series of examples of extreme behaviour, each represented by a pair of opposites: 1–6 expenditure on others; 7–22 expenditure on oneself; 25–6 clothing; 26–7 bodily comportment; 28–30 love affairs (Lefèvre 1975: 318). H. summarizes with the catchphrase 28 *nil medium est*, which leads into the main body of the poem. The opening overlaps with and expands the moralistic material of S. 1 and anticipates the opening of S. 3 (Armstrong 1964: 92).

**1–2** A spectacularly pompous flourish ushers in a troupe of mourners for the dead singer Tigellius, dredged from the seamy underside of Roman society: prostitutes, drug pushers, beggars, mime-artists and clowns. The three-word opening hexameter (cf. Hom. *Il.* 15.678: a colossal spear; Hom. *Hymn to Demeter* 2.31: the vastness of Hades; Lucr. 3.907: interminable grief) conveys the awesome solemnity appropriate to a funeral march, undercut by its motley participants. However, the babel-like mix of languages (Aramaic, Latin, Greek) already mimics the contamination of Roman institutions by foreign, especially female, influence, and suggests, rather, an Aristophanic *mêlée* (e.g. *Thes.* 392–4: the women’s complaint against their badmouthing by Euripides). Line 1 was used as the title of a satire by George Canning (1803). Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, chap. 4 quotes H.’s list to characterize the Parisian poor: ‘They will remain what they are. Beneath the obscure roof of their cavern, they are continually born again from the social ooze.’ Drant 1566 translates: ‘The stews, and stained house of drabs, | the apothecaries neat, The beggars, and the tumbling trulles, | The horehunters, the great | And flockyng rakehell rabblement | Of ragges and rascals all.’ **Ambubaiarum** ‘go-go girls’. Sex, the emerging subject of this satire, is hinted at in this commodity for men’s enjoyment, technically Syrian flute-girls, from Aramaic *abbuba*, ‘flute’, but by this time blurred with ‘prostitutes’ (cf. Suet. *Nero* 27.2 *inter scortorum totius urbis et ambubaiarum ministeria*, *Juv.* 3.62; Kurke 1997: 108 on flute-girls and dancers as the ‘large grey area’ behind every symposium; flute-girls in lists: Ar. *Ach.* 551). *ambubaia* also means ‘wild endive’ (*OLD* s.v.; Pliny *NH* 20.73), a bitter stimulant that recalls the sharp-flavoured simples gathered by H.’s witches (8.22 *ossa legant herbasque nocentes*; see Gowers 1993a: 174–9, Freudenburg 1995 on ‘witchy’ elements in Nasidienus’ dinner in *Sat.* 2.8) and sets an acrid tone for a satire that works as a prophylactic spell against both women and more powerful men. *Ambubaiarum* also provocatively flouts H.’s promise of silence at 1.120 (*uerbum non amplius addam*), a preposterous *uerbum amplius*, not to say *amplissimum*, whose first syllable reduplicates (or potentially elides with) the last of *add-am*, breaking the illusion of closure and flowing into *c-ollegia* like an alphabetically generated incantation (cf. ‘abracadabra’; cf. Lucian *Dial. Court.* 4.4–5; a Syrian



herbalist intoning ‘horrid, outlandish words’) or schoolroom tongue-twister for practising syllables (Quint. 1.1.37); Porph. notes its burred sound (*ebriate balbutientium uerborum*). The ABC of 1.26 *elementa . . . prima* is recapitulated here in another ‘back to basics’ satire. **collegia** ‘guilds, trade unions’. One for foreign prostitutes sounds like a parody of the organized Roman male solidarity that the poem embodies. In fact, the *pharmacopolae*, *mimae* and *psaltae* did have their own unions: *CIL* v 4489 *collegio farmacorum publicorum*; 6.10109 *mimarum*; *Bull. Comm. Arch. di Roma* 1888: p. 408–11 *synodus psaltum*; cf. *CIL* vi 6660 *collegium scabillariorum*, vi 2265 *sodales ballatores Cybelae*; Waltzing 1895 ii 139, 138. Ironic uses: cf. Apul. *Met.* 7.1 *collegium latronum*, Auson. *Ep.* 9.4.6 *collegia parasitorum*. **pharmacopolae** ‘quacks’ (Hooley 1999: ‘drug pushers’), itinerant pedlars of potions (Cic. *Clu.* 40 *pharmacopola circumforaneus*), untrustworthy confidence tricksters and chatterboxes (Cato *ap.* Gell. 1.15.9) of indeterminate gender (cf. 1.29 *perfidus caupo*, 6.114 *diuinis*). Possibly sellers of love-charms, to those wanting to attract a generous patron (cf. Winkler 1990: 76–7). **mendici** ‘fakirs’ (cf. Lucil. 745W = 728M); beggars or specifically mendicant priests, e.g. of Isis, Cybele (Apul. *Met.* 8.24) or the Jewish God (e.g. Juv. 6.543); Clem. *Paedagogus* 3.28.3: old women and mendicant priests teach rich ladies spells to gain lovers. These *mendici* are clearly poorer than H. thinks is the golden mean, and perhaps fakes anyway. **mimae** ‘mime-actresses’ (Hooley 1999: ‘strippers’), a classic ingredient of the Roman demi-monde, successors to Athenian *hetaerae*, a ruinous sexual taste (cf. 55–6 *Origo*, 58, 10.77 *Arbuscula*; Val. Max. 2.10.8: as nude performers at the Floralia). Skilled shedders of crocodile tears; like *Ambubaiarum*, they hint at the sexual focus to come. **balatrones** ‘buffoons, toadies’. An abusive, carnivalesque version of *scurrae* (Corbett 1986, Damon 1997: 105–45). One Servilius Balatro accompanies Maecenas to Nasidienus’ dinner in 2.8. Suggested etymologies include: (1) *barathrum*, the bottomless pit into which the buffoon pours his resources; (2) *blatae*, lumps of clay sticking to one’s boots; and (3) ‘chattering’ (cf. 2.7.35 *cum magno blateras clamore*). H.’s intertextual engagement with Lucretius (cf. 1.118, 1.120) continues: at *DRN* 3.955 *balatro* was used of the moaning old man who cannot leave life graciously like a satisfied dinner-guest (as Tigellius cannot end in a convivial context at 3.6–8). The garrulous parasite comes dangerously close to one of H.’s less flattering roles in relation to Maecenas, and so the list belatedly but hurriedly ends (cf. 1.13–14, 2.98). **hoc genus omne**: a colloquial etcetera (cf. 1.13 *de genere hoc*) deflates the mock-heroic opening. The miscellaneous crowd is dismissed with a holdall label that marks it simultaneously as ‘satire’.

**3 maestum . . . Tigelli**: As we go on, the motley company of those oriental pipers, beggars, and gipsies forms itself, as it were, into a kind of funeral procession’ (Fraenkel 76); *maestum* is mock-heroic. This is the stylistic equivalent of the troupes of satyrs who brought up the rear at Roman funerals and parodied the serious part of the procession (Dion. Hal. *RA* 7.71–2): a spondaic and elision-heavy line dignifies the rabble who stain a time-honoured Roman institution. Horsfall 1976: 91 suggests that the *collegium* of scribes and poets might have engaged in

funerary verse-writing. Thus the retiring *scriba* of S. 1 immediately finds a new use for his voice, as (loud-mouthed) *praeco*. **cantoris . . . Tigelli:** Hermogenes Tigellius, Sardinian musician, friend of Julius Caesar (3.5n.), the Pavarotti of his day. Defamed by Cicero (*Fam.* 7.24 *pestilentiores patria sua . . . bellum tibicinem*) and lampooned by Calvus, whose scazonic taunt *Sardi Tigelli putidum caput uenit* ‘The stinking head of Sardinian Tigellius is up for sale’ (fr. 3 Courtney) Cicero calls *Hipponactem praeconium* ‘Hipponactean [i.e. iambic] hype’. It is unclear whether this dead Hermogenes Tigellius is the same as the one mentioned elsewhere in *Satires* I: 3.3–19, 3.129, 4.72, 9.25, 10.18, 80, 90. Ullman 1915, Fraenkel 86, Rudd 292–3 n. 15, DuQuesnay 1984: 56 and Nisbet 1995c: 397 distinguish two separate individuals, the first mentioned at 2.3 and 3.4 and the second at 3.129, 4.72, 9.25, and 10.17–18, 80, 90. But Freudenburg 1993: 114 n. 13 prefers a one-man theory (since the joke at 3.129 is based on knowledge of Tigellius from the beginning of the same satire). Tigellius throughout epitomizes the tasteless, ostentatious prima donna (against the reticent H.); he is also a model of inconsistency (3.9) and adaptability (3.130 *optimus . . . modulator*). The scenario here, international scum mourning a notorious playboy, defames the Roman patronage system; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 14.1–3 on Catiline’s followers. The rich pervert Callias is an Old Comic precedent for this portrait of a star and his dubious hangers-on: Crat. fr. 2KA = Ar. fr. 583 (Freudenburg 1993: 40).

**4 quippe** ‘seeing that’, a captious conversational word for introducing an explanation (H–S 278): cf. 10.1 *Nempe*, 10.27 *scilicet*. **benignus** ‘generous’; the financial basis of the symbiosis is revealed. **hic:** insouciantly unnamed. Sometimes H. points to a face in the crowd, sometimes he homes in with a vicious personal swipe (Fraenkel 85–6).

**4–5 contra . . . amico:** Tigellius’ opposite, the miser (*auarus*) will not even give a few pence to his destitute friend for fear of being thought extravagant, familiar territory from S. 1. Fear for oneself or one’s reputation (5 *metuens*) becomes a significant theme: 12 *timet*, 127 *nec uereor*, 131 *metuat*.

**5 nolit:** potential subj.

**6 propellere** ‘to ward off’; cf. Lucil. 271W = 259M *nobilitate facul propellere iniquos*. Used of heat at Sen. *Ep.* 90.17 *opus est tamen calorem solis aestiui umbra crassiore propellere*; nowhere else of hunger.

**7–11:** H. switches back to the extravagant man, who has plundered his ancestral assets and justifies himself on the grounds that he cannot bear to be thought mean.

**7 perconteris** ‘if you were to ask’ (hypothetical). For the quizzical mode, cf. 6.112. **auī atque parentis:** formulaic language for aristocratic lineage (cf. 6.3, 131).

**8 praeclearam . . . rem** ‘ancestral estate’; *praeclearam*, indicating inherited *nobilitas* (cf. 6.64) is a transferred epithet from 7 *auī . . . atque parentis* and similarly pompous, but deflated by the abrupt final monosyllable *rem*. **stringat** ‘he strips’, a metaphor from pruning trees (e.g. Caes. *BC* 3.58.3 *foliis ex arboribus*

*strictis*), first used figuratively here. Assonance (*ingrata stringat . . . ingluuie*) and alliteration of *l* suggest compulsive behaviour, contrasting with the aristocratic dignity of the previous line (Fedeli); cf. the insistent effect of repeated *c*-, *-m*-, *-n*-, *-o* in 9. **ingrata** ‘ungrateful’, hence ‘insatiable’; cf. Lucr. 3.1001 (of insatiable desires). **malus** ‘wickedly’ (adv. use of adj.). **ingluuie** ‘gullet’. H. is the first to use the word metaphorically (cf. Var. *ap.* Serv. *ad* Virg. *Georg.* 3.431, Gell. 6.16.4 *profunda ingluuies*). A more common metaphor is *gurgis* (*OLD* s.v. 1b); e.g. Macrob. *Sat.* 3.13.6: a man called Gurgis, *a deuorato patrimonio cognominatum*.

**9 omnia** ‘of every kind’. **conductis . . . nummis** ‘on borrowed money’ (Porph., ps.-Acro; cf. Juv. 11.46 *conducta pecunia*). **coemens** ‘buying up’. **obsonia** ‘bought-in provisions’, as from a *traiteur*, from Greek ὀψώνιον ‘fine meat’; representing inessential luxuries (Davidson 1995).

**10 sordidus** ‘cheapskate’. For the miser in comedy, cf. Euclio in Pl. *Aul.* **animi . . . parui** ‘mean’ (gen. of description); cf. Pers. 6.21–2 *hic bona dente | grandia magnanimus peragit puer*, of an extravagant youth, also in the context of ‘eating up’ a fortune. **nolet haberi**: the poem repeatedly contrasts people who care about their reputations with those who do not: 4–5 *ne . . . metuens*, 12 *famae timet*, 35 *nolim laudari*; 59 *fama*, 61 *bonam deperdere famam*, 133 *fama*.

**11 laudatur . . . ab illis**: the same man can be called both generous and miserly, an opposition which leads eventually to the theme of irreconcilable tastes in women. For H. himself as the object of widely differing assessments, cf. 2.1.1–2, *Ep.* 2.2.58–64 (playing on the generic appropriateness of inconsistency in satire).

**12–17** Another symbiotic relationship, this time between spendthrift and usurer, a common comic scenario (cf. Misargyrides ‘Money-hater’ at Pl. *Most.* 568).

**12 Fufidius**: a miserly moneylender; a vignette perhaps suggested by 9 *conductis nummis*, as if following a shifting train of thought. One Fufidius is mentioned by Cicero in financial contexts in his letters and at *Pis.* 86 (*hominem ornatisimum*). **uappae . . . nebulonis**: 1.103–4n. Fufidius fears this reputation but his occupation encourages it in others. For the prodigal, cf. Philolaches in Pl. *Most.*

**13 diues . . . nummis**: Fufidius is both a landowner, a venerable occupation and the basis of his wealth, and a moneylender, parasitic on vulnerable aristocrats; cf. 2.3.184 *nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis*, Virg. *Aen.* 9.26 *diues equum, diues pictai uestis et auri*. Both these jingles may be based on some lost original. The line recurs at *AP* 421, so was possibly interpolated here as a gloss. **positis in faenore** ‘loaned’; cf. 2.3.23 *ponebam milia centum*, *Epod.* 2.70 *quaerit Kalendis ponere*.

**14 quinas . . . exsecat** ‘he trims five per cent off the capital’; lit. five interests (*centesimas* understood; *centesima pars* was 1% interest per month, a rate Cic. *Att.* 1.12.1 thought too high); i.e. Fufidius charges five times the normal rate of interest, deducting the first month’s interest when advancing the loan. **capiti** ‘the

principal'. **exsecat:** an agricultural metaphor, with shades of decapitating or barbering, given *capiti*; anticipating the castration at 46 *demeterent* (Dessen 1968: 205–6). Poetic justice after 8 *stringat*: despoliated masculinity, real or metaphorical, is a constant in the poem.

**15 quanto . . . urget** 'the more desperately in debt, the harder he presses them' (i.e. for payment). **urget:** cf. *instat* in the race-image at 1.115.

**16–17** Fufidius lures teenagers into borrowing money when they have only just assumed the *toga pura* of manhood. The first sign that clothing will be important: H. symbolizes the passage into adulthood with the change of toga, rather than the first cutting of the beard or the shedding of the *bulla*, the child's amulet (Curran 1970: 224). **nomina . . . tironum** 'his teenage creditors'. *nomina* are entries of a loan in a ledger (called *syngraphae* at Cic. *Vér.* 4.30); thus 'creditors' or 'debtors' (named at the top of the page, as in 'Lloyd's names'; *Ep.* 2.1.105 *nomimbus rectis* 'good security'). Names as a fetish: 64–5 *hoc miser uno | nomine deceptus*, 126 *do nomen quodlibet illi*. **sectatur:** the first allusion to pursuit: cf. 78 *desine matronas sectari* (cf. 1.92 *denique sit finis quaerendi*), 106 *sectetur*, 108 *captat*. The usurper pursues aristocratic 'names' just as the adulterer does (cf. 64–5). **modo . . . uirili** 'who have only just started wearing the adult toga' (strictly: *a quibus uestis uirilis modo sumpta sit*). *uestis uirilis* was the plain stripeless toga of the adult male, assumed at age 15 or 16 instead of the *toga praetexta*, with its purple band round the hem (cf. 5.36 *praetextam*), thus turning its wearer into a trainee male citizen. The point here is that the *lex Plaetoria* (c. 220 BC) forbade anyone under 25 to enter into a legal contract. **sub patribus duris** 'under their strict fathers' noses', stressing the austerity the young men have to endure at home and Fufidius' audacity in leading them into bad habits. For the *durus pater*, often miserly, as a comic type, see e.g. Menedemus in Ter. *Heaut.*, Demea in *Ad.*

**17–19** A mini-dialogue, a snippet of gossip (*sermo*), in which a scandalized and censorious reaction gives way to cynical acceptance of the ways of the world.

**17–18 'maxime . . . Iuppiter!'** 'Good Lord!' **'at . . . hic'** 'But he is [at least] spending on himself in proportion to his income.' Metaphors of getting and spending govern the economy of *Satires* I; miserly Fufidius at least trims his lifestyle to fit his profits. **se:** acc. (*OLD* s.v. 10, with verbs of spending; cf. Ter. *Hec.* 685 *sumptus quos fecisti in eam*). **hic:** Bentley first put a full stop after *hic*. Other editors follow it with a question mark (unnatural in a sentence starting with *at* and no interrogative); SB prints *facit: hic* and offers some conjectures; Brink 1987: 17–18 reconsiders the MS alternative *hoc* (agreeing with *quaestu*), which seems unnecessary.

**19–22** An allusion to father-son relations in Terence's *Heauton Timoroumenos*, 'The Self-Tormentor', a *Terenti | fabula* (19–20) identified by a Latin paraphrase of its Greek title (22) and résumé of the opening scene, where the stern father Menedemus tills his soil out of remorse for driving his son abroad.

**20 quam . . . amicus** 'how [little] he is a friend to himself'; i.e. how little he has his own interests at heart. The reflexive formula is germane to the title of

the play in question (cf. 22 *se cruciauerit*); for play on reflexives in the Terentian original, see Henderson 2004.

**22 inducit** ‘represents, presents (on stage)’, with acc. + inf. **se . . . cruciauerit**: glosses ‘*Heauton Timoroumenos*’; cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 81 *se ut cruciet. atque = quam* (colloquial; cf. 1.46).

**23 si . . . illuc** ‘If someone were to ask what the point of all this is, it’s this’ (sc. *pertinet* with *illuc*). H. disingenuously chastises himself for deviation and summarizes the point of the preamble. **quaerat** typifies the endless enquiries of Horatian *sermo* (7 *perconteris*, 113 *quaerere*).

**24 dum uitant . . . currunt**: alliteration and chiasmus give the generalization a gnomic feel. For the ‘Stoic’ flavour, cf. Sen. *Contr.* 7 *praef.* 4 *dum alterum uitium deuitat, incidebat in alterum*, Sen. *Ben.* 6.39 *in id uitium incidentis quod euitat*. Elision of *uitia* with *in* and change in vowel length (*uītant > ūtia*) suggest inadvertent toppling between extremes. Running is the characteristic speed of the zany world (cf. 1.30 *audaces mare qui currunt*), this picture of misguided movement recalling H.’s own apparent lack of direction in 23. **stulti**: noun, not predicate (with *homines* understood); H. does not subscribe to the Stoic view of *all* men as fools (*stulti = ὄρροφες*; S. II 3).

**25–7** H. moves into the Roman forum to pick on walking spectacles of excess. **Maltinus**: a *cognomen* apparently denoting effeminacy (cf. *CIL* ix 5073), thus a type-name (Rudd 143). *maltā* is a kind of tablet-wax; Nonius p. 37 ‘*maltas*’ *ueteres molles appellari uoluerunt a Graeco quasi μολθακούς*; Lucil. 744W = 732M ‘*insanum uocat quem maltam ac feminam dici uidet*’; Macrobian *Sat.* 2.4.12 (the effeminate Maecenas) *malagma moecharum* ‘putty in the hands of married women’. **tunicis demissis** ‘with trailing robes’, a periphrasis for *discinctus*, with its connotations of loucheness and effeminacy: cf. Pl. *Poen.* 1303 *sane genus hoc mulierosumst tunicis demissicis*, Dio 43.43.1–4 on Julius Caesar’s ungirt toga, Quint. 11.3.138 on the semiotics of tunic styles; see Edwards 1993: 63–90, Gleason 1990, Richlin 1993, Tracy 1976. Some scholiasts claim that ‘Maltinus’ is a cover-up for Maecenas, known for his trailing robes (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 114.4 *discinctus*, 6 *solutis tunicis*; Graver 1998; see Kurke 1992 for Greek precedents). In that case, his opposite, the priapic flasher, is a caricature of H. the satirist. **ambulat**: a change in pace from running. Presumably a mincing walk is meant, though *ambulare* covers many different gaits and is usually qualified: cf. Phaedr. *appendix* 10.1–3 *Magni Pompeii miles . . . | . . . ambulando molliter | famam cinaedi traxerat certissimi*, Macrobian *Sat.* 2.3.16 (Cicero to his daughter when she walked faster than her husband): *ambula tamquam uir*. **est qui**: sc. *ambulet*. H. uses a ‘colourless’ *est qui* for Maltinus’ opposite, some macho exhibitionist (cf. 28 *sunt qui*, and the unnamed type at 3.29).

**26 inguen . . . usque** ‘as far as his obscene groin’; cf. the Priapic threat at 8.5 *obsceno . . . ab inguine* (*inguen* is applied to sexual and excretory parts and functions, usually related to the display of crude masculinity). A kind of exposure unacceptable in polite company; cf. Theophr. *Char.* 4.1–5: the bumpkin (*agroikos*)

sits down with his clothes pulled up above his knee, leaving his privates exposed (Freudenburg 1993: 30). The pose complements H.'s posture in this satire: uncovering the sexual aspects of Roman society that are normally hidden. For similar sartorial contrasts, cf. Var. *Men.* 301–2B: bare ankles and bottoms v. full-length tunic. **subductis** 'drawn up, raised' (sc. *tunicis*); taking the notion of being *alte (prae)cinctus*, 'unencumbered (for work)' (cf. 5.5–6; Sen. *Ep.* 93.35 *alte cinctum* equated with *ingenium et grande et uirile*) to an extreme (cf. Petr. *Sat.* 126 on matrons' taste for servants *altius cinctos*). The bumpkin adds to the unflattering characterizations potentially applicable to H. himself (gauche intruder at 3.63, rustic with flopping shoe and trailing toga at 3.30–2); this sartorial continuum parallels the scale between rough, iambographic humour and tamed jesting along which H. oscillates (Freudenburg 1993: 96–108). **facetus**: if the traditional punctuation is kept and *facetus* taken with the rest of 26, the usage is ironic (cf. Pl. *As.* 351 *facetum . . . atque magnificum uirum*; *Cist.* 492, *Pers.* 306), since the word had come to mean 'elegant, refined' (cf. 10.44; Krostenko 2001: 59–64). Cic. *Off.* 1.104 contrasts low, insolent, shameful and obscene wit with humour that is *urbanum* and *facetum*; id. *Cael.* 6: *petulans* opposed to *facetus* and *urbanus*). To solve the problem K–H, Klingner, SB, Brown and Fedeli punctuate before and take *facetus* with 27 *Rufillus* (cf. 4.91 *ineptus*), thus making him an effeminate with over-delicate tastes.

**27** A spectrum of smells, with language to match. H. chooses to quote this line at 4.92 to disavow satirical malice (aptly, given the elemental 'chicken and egg' relationship between offensive smells and satirical victimization: Gowers 1993a: 306–7). Sen. *Ep.* 86.13 misquotes the line, substituting *Buc(c)illus* (with satirically inflated mouth, *bucca*; cf. 1.121 *buccas*) for *Rufillus* (Henderson 2004: 117–18). **pastillos . . . hircum**: internal limiting accs. with *olet*, 'smells of'. Assonance complements the meaning: delicate *l*-sounds followed by harsh panting *g*'s and *h*'s. *pastilli* are breath-fresheners (dim. of *panis* 'bread'): cf. Mart. 1.87.1–2 *ne grauis hesterno fragres, Fescennia, uino*, | *pastillos Cosmi luxuriosa uoras*; Suet. *Vesp.* 8.3 (Vespasian to a man who smelled of perfume) *maluisse alium oboluisse*. On Roman smells in general, see Fauré 1987. For the preposterously scented man as a comic type, cf. Pl. *Cas.* 226–7, 236–8. **Rufillus**: suggests 'red-haired', from Rufus, souping up the dim. *pastillos*. Perhaps an echo of Cat. 59.1, two redheads for the price of one from the red city: *Bononiensis Rufa Rufum fellat*. **Gargonius**: Cic. *Brut.* 180 mentions a graceless Sullan knight, C. Gargonius; another Gargonius is a rhetorician at Sen. *Contr.* 1.7.18. *gargarizo* = 'gargle', which suggests another type-name, with a reversal of roles: the rustic redhead overcompensates with pastilles, the effete gargler smells of goat. **hircum**: cf. *Epod.* 12.5 *grauis hirsutis cubat hircus in alis*, Pl. *Most.* 38–41: dung, goats, garlic and pigsties versus exotic perfume and delicate food.

**28 nil medium est**: the alternatives of 25–6, concealing or exposing the middle part of the body (cf. Cat. 80.5–6 *an uere fama susurrat* | *grandia te mediū tenta uorare uiri?*, Mart. 11.61.5 *mediumque mauult basiare quam summum*), lead punningly to

the idea of the Aristotelian happy medium; e.g. *Ep.* 1.18.9 *uirtus est medium uitiorum et utrimque reductum*. The focus is typically satirical; elegy, by contrast, skirts around the genitals and the middle regions of the body (Richlin 1992: 46–7).

**28–63** One might assume that *nil medium est* is a closing summary (Lefèvre 1975: 318), but a new example of extremes in sexual mores follows (a theme that continues for the rest of the poem). A variety of ‘positions’ on sexual choice are represented, either by named personalities or through anonymous dialectic. SB’s punctuation of 28–63 into specific interlocutors (1985 text, 1982: 11–14) is unnecessary (Brink 1987: 18). Two extremes, adultery and brothel-crawling, are laid out (28–30), then developed chiasmically, starting with Cato’s detached approval of the brothel-client (31–5), before Cupiennius declares his taste for noble matrons (36) and is quashed, amid parody of dignified Ennian Latin (37–46). A middle position is then proposed, represented sexually by *libertinae* (47–8). Even these attract obsession (*insanit*): the implication is that all liaisons that threaten a man’s self-control, finances and social position are inadvisable (49–54). This leads to a puzzled (and puzzling) question at 62–3.

**28–30** The main subject of the poem emerges: the easiest place to meet one’s (extra- or pre-marital) sexual needs. The two extremes presented here – adultery with highborn matrons and brothel-crawling – are a stereotypical opposition in elegy, though the bias is different (Gibson 1998). The stinking brothel is a demeaning place for the freeborn man, half-condoned by H., compared with his relentless attack on adultery (Rudd 11).

**28 sunt qui:** naming no names. **nolint tetigisse:** i.e. ‘refuse to be in a position where they have touched’, perf. inf. performing function of Greek aorist inf. (H–S § 194; cf. 2.3.187 *ne quis humasse uelit*).

**29 subsuta . . . ueste** ‘with a flounce sewn onto their dress’ (abl. abs.; *subsuta* is a hapax; cf. 99 *ad talos demissa stola*). A periphrasis for *matronae*, married women of rank and modesty, whose ankles were concealed by an extra flounce on their garments. In elegy they are usually distinguished by the *uitta* ‘fillet’ in their hair (Curran 1970: 225–6), but cf. Ov. *AA* 1.31–2 *este procul, uitae tenues, insigne pudoris, | quaeque tegis medios, instita longa, pedes*. Adulteresses were required to abandon the *stola* and wear the toga instead (like male citizens and female prostitutes); Gardner 1986: 129, Edwards 1993: 40. **tegat:** a pun with *tetigisse*, suggesting the natural but perverse wish to touch what is covered. **instita:** the border on the hem of a matron’s *stola* (Leon 1949).

**30 olenti . . . fornice:** for brothels as smelly; cf. Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.21 *redolet (puella) adhuc fuliginem fornicis*, Juv. 11.172–3 *nudum olido stans | fornice mancipium*. H. refers to the lowest class of prostitute, not *meretrices* (who might be *libertinae*). Shackleton Bailey 1982: 12: ‘The brothel condemns itself.’ **stantem** ‘posing’ for clients (= *prostantem*); cf. Cat. 55.6–7 for girls ‘standing’ in the portico of Pompey. Women are passive, fenced in or immobile in this satire of roving males with peculiar walks or making a dash for it. Pl. *Cist.* 331: a *meretrix* who poses in the street will be taken for a prostitute (*prostibulum*); cf. Petr. 7.3 *nudas meretrices furtim spatiantes*.



Matrons (paradoxically) posing for sale: Suet. *Gaius* 41.1, Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.7 (they are usually prudish viewers: Ov. *Tr.* 2.310). The final *-e* of *fornice* is short before *stantem* (cf. 71, 3.44, 5.35, 10.72), unusual in high poetry (see Fordyce *ad Cat.* 64.357).

**31–5** An anecdote (*ainos*) or philosophical *chreia* (Hawley 1993: 76, Gilula 2000: 429) relates Cato the Censor's bluff praise of a young man visiting a brothel (probably taken from the *Apophthegmata Catonis*). H. suppresses the rest of the traditional story, where the elder statesman goes on to urge moderation in brothel-visiting (ps.-Acro: '*adulescens, ego te laudavi, tamquam huc interuenires, non tamquam huc habitares*'). The anecdote belongs to a wider protreptic tradition: Diog. Laert. 6.88–9 (Crates outside a brothel advises his son to avoid both adultery and brothel-crawling); Philemon *Adelphi* (3KA = 4 Edmonds: Solon condones the use of prostitutes); Pl. *Curc.* 33–4 (the pimp Cappadox's house is Liberty Hall); cf. also Quint. 7.3.6 for the knotty *controversia* of whether a man caught in a brothel with another man's wife is an adulterer. Cato was usually cast in the role of stuffy moralist, often in the company of prim matrons (Richlin 1992: 11–12), so H.'s portrait of him as brothel-creeper is playfully subversive; censors and matrons become the instigators and objects of sexual scandal (Cato was said to have left the Floralia so that the crowd could enjoy it with a clear conscience: Buchheit 1961). Cato's 'permissiveness' may derive from his known opposition to adultery (Edwards 1993: 41; Gell. 10.23.5 = fr. 221 Malcovati). Hooley 1999 detects a 'dark social reality' behind this anecdote about virtue promoting vice: 'Cato and the boys about town take their pleasure in those over whom they have long-standing and unquestioned institutional power.'

**31 quidam notus homo** 'A well-known man', a typical story-telling opener (Fraenkel *ad Aesch. Ag.* 719; cf. 9.3 *accurrit quidam*). Male solidarity dictates closing ranks round the perpetrator of a sex scandal. Despite the anonymity, *notus* can indicate notoriety as well as social standing (Juv. 6.42 *moechorum notissimus*). **fornice:** picks up 30 *fornice* in the same line-position: said with relish? On the semantic debasement of *fornix* from 'arch' to 'brothel', see Wallace-Hadrill 1990: 144–6.

**31–2 macte uirtute esto** 'Bravo', 'Good man' (*macte* = voc. of *mactus*: lit. 'be honoured for your virtue' or, in this case, 'manliness', from *uir*; *uirtute* = abl.). Normally used in military contexts (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.641), here applied to another kind of masculine initiation. Possibly an imitation of Lucil. 245W = 225M *macte, inquam, uirtute . . . esto* (Woodman 2009: 161 n. 16) or a parody of Cato's own backslapping manner (*TLL* VIII 23, 77–83). *uirtus* is paradoxical here, as can be seen from Seneca's contrast (*Vit. Beat.* 7.3) between the traditional habitats of virtue (temples, lawcourts, senate-house) and those of pleasure (brothels, cookshops, bathhouses). **sententia dia Catonis** 'the divine pronouncement of Cato' inserts the story into the *chreia/apophthegma* tradition with a pompous circumlocution (cf. Lucil. 1240W = 1316M *Valeri sententia dia*, which may itself parody Ennius and inspire Lucr. 3.371 *Democriti quod sancti uiri sententia ponit*). For Cato as an oracle, cf. Gell. 6.3.48.



**33–5** Cato justifies brothels as a more straightforward outlet for natural lust than adultery, in rousing man-to-man language – unlikely endorsement by the tight-lipped censor (Hooley 1999); cf. Sallust’s characterization of the younger Cato at *Cat.* 52.8 *haud facile alterius libidini male facta condonabam*.

**33 uenas inflauit** ‘has swollen the veins’; by analogy with drinking (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.15 *inflatum hesternu uenas ut semper Iaccho*), sexual tension is imagined as dilating the blood vessels, with *inflare*, a medical term, used for the swelling. *uena* can signify ‘penis’ (*OLD* s.v. 1e); the plural allows Cato to speak in inflated euphemisms (reminiscent, perhaps, of his thunderous moralizing at *Orat.* fr. 163 *superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere*). **taetra libido** ‘rank lust’; cf. Lucr. 4.1046 *dira libido*, also in end-position and in the context of inconvenient desires (33 *simul ac* ~ Lucr. 4.1041 *simul atque; inflauit* ~ Lucr. 4.1046 *se contendit*). *taeter* means ‘foul’, ‘strong’, as in breath, smells, etc., with a tinge of ‘morally reprehensible’, implying the speaker’s detachment from gross instincts; cf. 3.107–8 *cunnu taeterrima belli | causa*, 4.60 (Ennius) *Discordia taetra* (‘abominable, overwhelming’); Sen. *De ira* 1.1: anger as *affectum . . . taetrum*; *Cat.* 76.25: love as *taetrum . . . morbum*. Cato himself used the word in a sexual context at fr. 68, 1 J *si quid peruerse taetrequ factum est a muliere*.

**34 aequum:** Cato pronounces on the reasonableness of this extreme, which H. is later to reject. **descendere** ‘to stoop to’, socially; with a pun on the literal sense, ‘to go underground’, to the vaulted cellars of brothels.

**35 permolere** ‘to grind (in a mill)’; the compound is found only here. A suitably coarse metaphor for the author of *De agricultura*. See Adams 1982: 152–5 for farming metaphors applied to sex: e.g. Lucil. 302W = 278M *hunc molere, illam autem ut frumentum uannere* (‘winnow’) *lumbis*, Var. *Men.* 331B *sed tibi fortasse alius molit et depsit* (‘kneads’).

**35–6** Cupiennius, connoisseur of upper-crust women, speaks for the other side. **laudari:** a metrically convenient archaic alternative to *laudari*; cf. 78 *sectari*, 104 *auellier*, 2.8.67 *torquerier* (Marouzeau 1954: 129). Perhaps Lucretian parody (Baldwin 1970: 461). **mirator** ‘connoisseur, fancier’. **cunni:** H.’s X-ray vision penetrates to the organ beneath. Curran 1970: 225: ‘woman is reduced to her sexual organs alone’ (cf. 68–70: the *mutto* speaks). Cic. *Fam.* 9.22 cites *cum nos [cunnos] te uoluimus conuenire* as an unusable turn of phrase (cf. *Orat.* 154), in a letter that uses clothing metaphors for ‘covered words’ and ‘exposed words’ (*tectis uerbis . . . apertissimis*). H. reuses *cunnu* at 70, 3.107–8. For calling a spade a spade as a Priapic stance, cf. *Priap.* 3.9–10 *Latine | dicere*, *CLE* 810 *cunno non dico curiose*. Exposing bodies and using candid language is the verbal equivalent of the prostitutes’ transparent robes. The slave Davus will accuse H. of concealing sin in decorous language: 2.7.41–2 *insectere uelut melior uerbisque decoris | obuoluas uitium* (cf. the play in 2.7 on 48 *nuda lucerna* and 55 *obscurante lacerna*). **Cupiennius:** Porph. ascribes the name to a particular individual; Cicero writes to a C. Cupienius (*Att.* 16.16). But probably another type-name, blending *cupere* ‘to desire’ with *Ennius*, anticipating the direct Ennian quotation

in 37–8. **albi**: transferred from a matron's dress (the white *stola*, as opposed to the prostitute's coloured dresses: Sen. *NQ* 7.31.2 *colores meretricii, matronis non induendi*; Edwards 1993: 68). *albi* suggests not just the physical colour but the idea of being dressed up in one's Sunday best, 'starched', the female equivalent of the aristocratic male's white and stripeless toga (e.g. Pers. 5.33 *candidus*).

**37–8 audire . . . uultis**: parodies the epic exordium at Enn. *Ann.* 494–5 Sk. *audire est operae pretium, procedere recte | qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere uultis* 'It behoves you to hear, all of you who wish the Roman state to advance and Latium to grow'. Ennius was 'the bard whose patriarch voice still carried the message of Roman *uirtus*, manliness' (Henderson 1989: 105; 10.54n.); cf. the more solemn *Carm. Saec.* 68 *remque Romanam Latiumque*, 2.4.63–4 (the dogmatic cook Catius) *est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris | naturam*. The text is doubtful here, with MSS split between *moechos* and *moechis*. The former works better with *non* and the inf. construction with *procedere* (though Fraenkel 82 n. 2 gives a few examples of impersonal *procedere* + dat., possibly with an archaizing resonance, but still departing from Ennius' construction). Clericus' emendation *rem* for *non* (adopted by SB; cf. Brink 1987: 18) brings the Ennian quotation nearer to its source and endorses Cupiennius' support for adultery in line 36. However, Porph. comments specifically on the witty change from *uultis* to *non uultis*. For sexual humour staining the authority of classic texts, cf. *Juv.* 9.37, where κινάιδος 'pervert' replaces the Homeric σιδήρεος 'sword' (Richlin 1992: 62). A suppressed quotation of Ennius' *rem [Romanam] augescere* (a common phrase in Cato, too: Levene 2000: 176; e.g. *Orig.* fr. 20 *eo res eorum auxit*) might still be understood, mobilizing the sexual meanings of *res* ('penis': Adams 1982: 62; or 'sex': Adams 1982: 203–4). Various examples follow in which adulterers' things do the opposite of grow (with *augescere*, cf. 33 *inflauit*, 71 *cum conferbuit ira*).

**38 moechos** 'adulterers', a colloquial Greek word (found in Plautus, *Cael. ap. Cic. Fam.* 8.7, *Cat.* 37.16), shocking after 'pure Roman Ennius' (Curran 1970: 240). Adultery was not a criminal offence at Rome until the *lex Julia de adulteriis* (18 BC) promoted it from a family affair to a state one (cf. *C.* 4.5.21–2 *nullis pollutur casta domus stupris, | mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas*). Fathers had had a long-standing patriarchal right (Twelve Tables) to kill or punish daughters and their lovers committing adultery in their houses. A husband might kill his wife's lover only if he was *infamis*, then divorce and prosecute his wife. If he did not, he could be prosecuted himself. The *lex Julia* reaffirmed the *patria potestas*, in cases where the son-in-law supported the father's action. However, during the Republic, '[N]o examples are known of offended husbands or fathers exercising a right to kill an adulterous wife or daughter' (Edwards 1993: 41). Paradoxically, given his role in *S.* 2, the only example of a high-status adulterer who underwent violent punishment is the historian Sallust, beaten by Milo when discovered in bed with his wife Fausta (Edwards 1993: 56 n. 79). For self-help punishments during the republic, see Reynolds 1946, Treggiari 1991: 271, Richlin 1981: 381–94, Richlin 1992: 215–19 (Appendix 1). **ut** 'how', indirect question after *audire*. **omni**

**parte** ‘in every way, in all respects’; with punning reference to the parts of the body threatened at 45–6. **laborent** ‘suffer stress’; also a pun on their sexual efforts (*labor*: see Adams 1982: 156–7). Adultery is not just unpatriotic but also anti-Epicurean: cf. Epicur. fr. 583 Usener; Origen *C. Cels.* 7.63.

**39–40 utque . . . pericla** ‘and how their pleasure is spoiled by intense suffering, and at that how rarely it comes their way in the midst of frequent severe risks’ (*saepe* goes closely, almost adjectivally, with *dura pericla*; cf. Prop. 1.3.44 *longas saepe . . . moras*). **uoluptas**: a catchword of Roman Epicureanism (cf. Lucr. 1.1), implying a carefree state of happiness (*ataraxia*). Curran 1970: 228: ‘[W]e are invited to consider the plight of adulterers in terms which suggest an Epicurean calculus of pleasure and pain.’

**41–6**: Examples of the consequences of adultery, in a mock-epic list (Gigante 1993: 65). H. plays Priapus, punishing his adulterers by reducing them to passive sexual roles, bugging or castrating them, ‘not only . . . to degrade the adulterer . . . but also to reassert the threatened masculinity of the husband’ (Edwards 1993: 56 n. 78). Physical punishments for adulterers recorded or imagined in Rome included prostitution, rape (oral or anal), flogging, castration and mutilation of ears or nose: 2.7.58–67, Rudd 274 n. 3, Mayor *ad Juv.* 10. 315–17, Richlin 1992: 215.

**41 hic . . . tecto dedit** ‘One man threw himself off the building’: a literal example of 40 *cadat inter . . . pericla*.

**41–3 ille . . . caesus**: identical to Sallust’s fate (Var. *ap.* Gell. 17.18), as ps.-Acro spots: *Sallustius enim Crispus in Faustae (filiae Syllae) adulterio deprehensus ab Annio Milone flagellis caesus esse dicitur*. **ad mortem** ‘nearly to death’. **fugiens . . . turbam**: out of the frying-pan into the fire; cf. 24 *dum ulant stulti uitia, in contraria currunt*.

**43 dedit . . . nummos** ‘He paid cash to save his skin’, i.e. from physical humiliation. The cost of adultery should be a further deterrent (cf. 9 *conductis nummis*).

**44 perminxerunt** ‘buggered’, probably, not just ‘urinated on’ (as at Lucil. 1183W = 1248M *perminxi lectum*; of male–female sex, cf. 2.7.52). For *irrumatio* and *pedicatio* as threatened punishments, see Adams 1982: 128, Richlin 1981: 389–91, 393–4. Apt revenge for 35 *permolere* (Curran 1970: 24). **calones** ‘servants, grooms’, typically coarse (*OLD*); here, the grouped henchmen of the injured husband. Cf. Val. Max. 6.1.13 on Furius Brocchus: (*eum*) *qui deprehenderat familiae stuprandum obiecit*.

**44–6 quin . . . ferro**: the climax of the trio is castration. **caudamque** ‘cock’, orig. ‘tail’ (cf. 2.7.49 *turgentis uerbera caudae*). Adams 1982: 37: a unique, *ad hoc* metaphor in H., here and at 2.7.49 (where the imagery is of riding). **salacem** ‘randy, rearing’. Curran 1970: 241: ‘[T]he organ has a life of its own; it is an animal leaping in rut’ (anticipating the speaking *multo* at 68–71). A flash of salacious sympathy here from the Priapic author (cf. Lucil. 305W = 281M *praecidit caulem* [‘cabbage-sprout’] *testesque una amputat ambo*). **demeterent** ‘mowed,

sheared', another agricultural metaphor (cf. 35 *permolere*, 8 *stringat*, 14 *exsecat*), placed for impact at the start of the line. Ironic with 79 *fructus* (Curran 1970: 241). The MSS alternative *cuidam . . . demeterent [calones]* adopted by Lambinus and Bentley (Brink 1987: 19) is preferable to *quidam . . . demeteret*, which disrupts the catalogue of adulterers from 40 on. **iure** 'justifiably, with good reason'. **Galba**: a member of the gens Sulpicia; Porph., probably motivated by *iure*, explains that Galba as judge of an adultery case demurred at severe punishment because of his own adulterous peccadilloes. Alternatively, the original joke in this quasi-legal scenario was a pun on 45 *testis*, 'witness'/'testicle' (Curran 1970: 241). Yet Galba may not have been an adulterer himself so much as a dissenter on the side of equity (another *chreia* personality; Cic. *De or.* 1.56.240 *Galba . . . multa . . . pro aequitate contra ius dicere*), who supported paying cash to the injured family rather than castration (Manfredini 2001).

**47–9** Horace appears to be advocating a happy medium between prostitutes and adultery – the intermediate class of freedwomen – but this turns out to be another red herring. **classe secunda**: parodies Servius Tullius' division of Roman citizens into classes, with a possible pun on *secunda* 'second'/'favourable' and *classis* 'fleet': *libertinae* ensure a trouble-free passage.

**48 Sallustius**: probably the historian Sallust (86–34 BC), or his great-nephew and adopted son (probably too late); the name is rare (Syme 1964: 281–2). Startlingly, H. makes Sallust an aficionado of freedwomen, when other sources name him as an adulterer for his affair with Fausta, Sulla's daughter; cf. 64. Ps.-Acro alleges that Sallust was tried for adultery in the senate but claimed that he preferred freedwomen (an attempt to square the two traditions? Syme 1964: 280–4). H. may have deliberately reversed the story to make a joke of the personal attack (Zetzel 1980: 64), or be suggesting the hypocrisy of a moralizing historian known for pursuing *matronae* (Var. *ap.* Gell. 17.18 refers to the *Histories*' hypocritical *notiones censoriae*). Sallust was obsessed with Cato's literary style to the point where he was accused of plagiarism; Pompey's freedman Lenaeus had written an *acerbissima satura* (Suet. *Gram.* 15.2 = fr. 1 Courtney) which indicted him as a 'thief' (*priscorum Catonis uerborum ineruditissimum furem*; Kaster 1995: 181). H. implies here that Sallust's hero-worship led him to parrot Cato's ethical views as well (Woodman 2009: 164).

**49 insanit** 'has a mad longing for, is crazy for'. Even the middle way can become an obsession. H. uses the same phrase of lust for married women at 4.27 *hic nuptiarum insanit amoribus*; Sallust is incorrigibly obsessive in every sphere (Ullman 1950: 411).

**49–50 si, | qua . . .** 'so far as'.

**50–2** Alliterative pairs (*res . . . ratio, modeste munifico, damno dedecorique*) point to the artificial neatness of the solution. **res** 'resources'. **ratio** 'good sense'. **modeste** 'moderately'.

**51 bonus atque benignus** 'honourable and generous'. Formulaic: cf. 4 *benignus*, Ter. *Phorm.* 767.

**52–3 nec . . . foret** ‘would not bring ruin and disgrace upon himself’ (*damno* and *dedecori* are predicative datives; cf. 2.2.96). The moralizing doublet, which nails the historian’s well-known hypocrisy in his personal life (cf. [Cic.] *In Sall.*), occurs in Memmius’ speech at *Jug.* 31 *damna atque dedecora*. For concern with reputation in Sallust’s oratory, cf. *Hist.* 2.44.5 McGushin *ut sine dedecore cum civibus fama et fortunis integer agas*. Rather than being dogmatic, Sallust might have kept his desires within limits and his resources and reputation intact: here is the first clue that it is the degree of self-preservation in sexual relations, not where the desires are directed, that is H.’s first principle.

**53–4 uerum . . . uno** ‘But this is the one point he is smug about’, lit. ‘hugs himself for’ + abl. ‘Embrace’, in Latin as well as English, covers principles and people alike (cf. Ter. *And.* 106 *mediam muliebrem complectitur*: what H.’s Sallust does, in his own way). **hoc amat** ‘he prides himself on this’; *hoc* is abl., with *se* understood: cf. Cic. *Att.* 4.18.2 *in eo me ualde amo*.

**55–7** It is possible for a man to be following excessive desires even when pursuing the middle of two extremes.

**55 Marsaeus**: unknown; perhaps there is a link with the satyriasis of satyrs, a taste for *libertas* matched by a taste for *libertinae*. For Marsyas in the forum as a Roman Statue of Liberty, see 6.120n. **amator**: Cic. *Cael.* 49 distinguishes between the adulterer who wants *expugnare pudicitiam* and the *amator* who simply wants *explere libidinem*. The word can also mean ‘literary devotee’, esp. in the context of Sallust’s love of Cato: cf. e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 66 *Origines eius [Catonis] . . . amatores huic desunt* (Woodman 2009: 165). **Originis** ‘Miss Newcome’ (Rudd), an upwardly mobile mime-actress (cf. 2 *mimae*, 10.77 *Arbuscula*). The name may be connected with the metamorphosis myths danced by pantomimes (whose repertoire began with Chaos and the primal *origin* of the world: e.g. Lucian, *Salt.* 37). There may also be a specific allusion here to Cato’s *Origines*, Sallust’s pet text (for a single book as *Origo*, cf. Gell. 10.1.10); Marsaeus’ favourite book will have been *Orig.* 2, where the origins of the Marsi are discussed (cf. fr. 39 Peter); Woodman 2009: 165–6.

**56 patrium**: resurrects the notion of patrimony. The proper transfer of wealth between father and son is disrupted or dissipated by lust for women; cf. 7–8: *aii . . . atque parentis | praeclaram . . . rem*. **mimae**: mime-actresses (cf. 2) were often *libertinae*: e.g. Antony’s friend Cytheris (Cic. *Fam.* 9.26.2). The allusion to mimes is a cue to present the world as a comic stage (Freudenburg 1993: 43); cf. 60 *personam*. **donat**: present tense, as often in an explanatory parenthetical clause; cf. 6.13, 2.3.60. **fundumque laremque** ‘hearth and home’; lit. ‘estate and household gods’ (cf. *Ep.* 2.2.51 *et laris et fundi*; C. 1.12.44 *cum lare fundus*), another mock-solemn formula, with epic *-que . . . -que*.

**57 ‘nil . . . alienis’**: echoing Cato’s advice at 34–5 *non alienas uxores*, Marsaeus espouses Catonian morality. **fuerit**: potential perf. subj.

**58 uerum . . . meretricibus** ‘But you do have dealings with mime-actresses and courtesans’ (sc. *aliquid tibi* with *uerum . . . est*): a snappy riposte. **unde** ‘as a

result'. Here, *meretrices* clearly belong to the middle category. Rhyming pleonasm, *unde . . . abunde . . . ubique . . . ubicumque*, suggests runaway promiscuity.

**59 fama . . . grauius:** reputation, the moralist argues, is the most important asset and the main casualty in the satirical city.

**59–61 an . . . euitare?** 'Or is it quite enough for you to avoid the role (of adulterer), and not avoid whatever overwhelmingly goes against your interests [i.e. loss of money and reputation]?' The lover of *libertinae* is not technically a *moechus* but still damages his reputation through excessive involvement with women.

**61–3** Loss of reputation and loss of property are paired as dangerous consequences of adultery (cf. Lucr. 4.1123–4: *res* and *fama* both jeopardized by passion). It is not clear what H. recommends from now on: Fraenkel thinks *libertinae*, Rudd sees inconsistencies, Van Rooy and Armstrong believe H. keeps to the contest between matrons v. prostitutes. It looks rather as though he believes that it is not any particular class of woman that can be recommended for sexual happiness, so much as unspecific absence of stress (Lefèvre 1975: 327).

**61 officit** 'stands in one's way' (cf. 63 *oblimate*, 97 *officent*, 101 *obstat*, 9.50 *officit*). Here linked with the *insania* of the adulterer in 49: both are the victims of un-Epicurean obstacles.

**62 rem patris:** the transfer of wealth to women threatens patriarchal succession (cf. 56). **oblimate** 'to clog with mud, silt up' (though Porphy. derives it from *limare*, file down'; cf. *Ep.* 1.14.37–8 *commoda . . . limat*). The poem's connections between sex and filth (cf. 30 *olenti*, 33 *taetra*; Richlin 1992: 27) are here transferred to the sully of property and reputations. Lucilius' artistic sloppiness at 4.11 *lutulentus*, 10.50 (cf. 10.37) is also anticipated. The ideal is to avoid contamination in all spheres.

**62–3 quid . . . togata?** For the split of *inter-est* between two lines, cf. *Ep.* 2.2.93–4 *circum | spectemus*, *AP* 424–5 *inter | noscere*. Instead of further discussion of *libertinae*, this looks like a return to the old duality between matrons (*matronae*) and the lowest kind of brothel prostitutes (*ancillae*), wearing togas (again, clothing marks the distinction). However, Bushala 1969 (cf. Lejay) argues for a triple indirect question here, citing a tradition of three-fold options in Pl. *Laws* (8.841d), the Cynic tradition (life of Crates), Lucilius 29 (Cichorius) and Epicurean literature (Fiske 1920: 248–5), to iron out some otherwise irreconcilable factors: (1) brothel prostitutes (i.e. *ancillae*) did not wear togas; those who did were either adulteresses (Mart. 2.39, 10.52, Juv. 2.68–70) or free *meretrices* (2.82, Cic. *Phil.* 2.44, [Tib.] 4.10.3, Mart. 6.64.4); (2) to translate *ancilla togata* as 'brothel prostitute' is to ignore the context of 47–59, which deals with *libertinae*; (3) *ancilla* cannot mean *libertina* (82 *togata* and 117 *ancilla* mean 'slaves' or 'brothel prostitutes'; Schmid 1948: 182). Therefore *togata* would be a separate substantive and 59–63 a summary that includes all three types of women: 'What is the difference between sinning with a matron, a brothel-prostitute (*ancilla*) and a free courtesan (*togata*) [when they all deprive you

of your money and reputation]?’ But the asyndeton is still extremely unnatural Latin. Alternatively, *togata* might be an adjective shared by *matrona* and *ancilla*: ‘[For a man who has lost all his money and reputation] what difference does it make if you are sinning with a matron or a slave, once they are both wearing a toga?’ A disgraced adulteress was forced to shed her *stola* for the toga of an *infamis* (cf. Porph.: *negat interesse quicquam, utrum qui in matrona an in ancilla an etiam in adultera delinquat*); *matrona togata* would work well as a scandalous oxymoron like *quadranteria Clytaemnestra* (Caelius *ap.* Quint. 8.6.53) or *praetextatus adulter* (Juv. 1.78). H. asks: is it worth ending up with an ex-matron who is indistinguishable from a prostitute? Before she lapsed, there was all the difference in the world, but now even their outerwear is identical. This interpretation means abandoning *libertinae*, but provides a transition to the otherwise abrupt reappearance of *matronae* at 64. **ancilla** ‘prostitute’ or ‘pimp’s slave-girl’ (usu. ‘maidservant, slave-girl’, not a *libertina*). **peccesne** ‘step out of line, have an affair’ (OLD s.v. 3b, of offences against the sexual code: cf. 2.7.62). Euphemistic *pecces* is tied to blunt *in* ‘in [the body of]’; *peccare* with *in* + abl., cf. Caes. *BG* 1.47.4. **-ne**: in alternative indirect questions, H. usually uses *-ne* followed by *an*: e.g. 2.3.166–7, 2.3.251–3 *nec quicquam differre, utrumne . . . ludas . . . , an . . . plores*, *AP* 114 *intererit multum, diuosne | Dauosne loquatur an heros*, 237–9, *C.* 2.3.22. **togata**: Roman matrons wore the *stola* (cf. 71 *uelatum . . . stola*), prostitutes and other *infames* a coloured toga (OLD s.v. *toga* 2c: Cic. *Phil.* 2.44 *sumpsisti uirilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti*). This group would include adulterous matrons, as Porph. *ad* 63 saw: *togatae in publicum procedere cogebantur feminae adulterii admissi conuictae*, 29n.

**64–7** Back to the sufferings of adulterers, and the case of one who pursued aristocratic matrons (see DuQuesnay 1984: 34–5 for the historical basis of this passage). H.’s anti-adultery criteria are not moral; the story depicts matrons as intrinsically shameless (Lefèvre 1975: 332). The tale of Villius and Fausta parodically inverts the traditional *paraclausithyron* scenario: instead of being frustrated by non-admission, the lover is trapped inside the bedroom (anticipating the end of the poem). It also owes much to elements of the elusive Roman ‘adultery mime’: Reynolds 1946, McKeown 1979, Kehoe 1984, Fantham 1989.

**64 Villius**: lover of Fausta, notorious daughter of the dictator Sulla, Milo’s wife. Cic. *Fam.* 2.6.1 mentions Sextus Villius as *Milonis mei familiaris*. Macrob. 2.2.9 recalls other lovers of Fausta (one of them the son of a *fullo*. Her brother Faustus joked: ‘I’m surprised she got up to anything dirty when she had her own dry-cleaner.’). **gener**: goes with *in Fausta*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.24 *D. Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter*. Villius is satirically described as Sulla’s ‘son-in-law’ because of his liaison with his daughter; cf. Richlin 1992: 97 on Cic. *Clu.* 199 (of Sasia) *uxor generi, nouerca filii, filiae paelex*; cf. *Ep.* 1.2.28 *sponsi Penelopae*. The Cynic Cercidas similarly commended the easy lay (P. Oxy. 8.1082): ‘Fancy yourself son-in-law to Tyndareus’, i.e. that she is Helen of Troy (Rudd 25). **in Fausta**: like 67 *foret intus*, probably a *double entendre* (cf. 63 *in matrona*). *Fausta* means ‘lucky’ (Sulla,



known by the *cognomen* Felix, called his son and daughter Faustus and Fausta). Yet it is Sallust, not Villius and Longarenus, who is recorded as committing adultery with her by Varro and the scholiasts (contrast 48).

**64–5 hoc . . . deceptus:** Villius is taken in not just by Fausta's status but also by her propitious-sounding name, analogous to an impressive outer garment (cf. 15 *nomina* and contrast the freedom of 126 *do nomen quodlibet illi*). **miser** (cf. 38 *ut omni parte laborent*) pits the good omens promised by Sulla's family name against the sufferings of the adulterer who gets involved with them.

**65–6 usque . . . est** 'over and above what is adequate'; cf. 52 *daret quantum satis est*; a variation on *satis superque*: cf. *Epod.* 1.31–2, *Ep.* 17.19, *Priap.* 77.11 (all with verbs of giving). The idea of exceeding the golden mean or Epicurean limits is again suggested here. For 'Homeric' double *-que*, cf. 56, 5.104.

**66 satis est:** cf. 52, 60. **pugnis caesus** 'punched, beaten up'. **ferroque petitus** 'attacked with swords' (cf. 46).

**67 fore** 'by the door', sing. abl. The alternative fate is to be locked inside. **cum . . . intus:** Longarenus is in the bedroom, inside Fausta. **Longarenus:** a lover, presumably (for the name, cf. *CIL* xi 6259).

**68–72** Personification (prosopopoeia) and dialogue are typical features of ancient diatribe, but the talking penis here, arguing for the simplicity of instant gratification, stretches the device to the level of parody (Baldwin 1970: 464 n. 24), just as Encolpius' address to his penis at Petr. *Sat.* 132 consciously parodies Odysseus speaking to his heart or Archilochus and the lover at Theoc. 30.11 speaking to their souls (Gigante 1993: 74). Bion fr. 17 Kindstrand has τὰ πράγματτα 'Reality' and Πενία 'Poverty' addressing a man, with 'Poverty' advising him to live within nature's bounds; cf. *Infamia*, *Veritas* and *Existimatio* in Varro's satire *Eumenides*; Lucretius' *Natura* plays harsh critic (3.932 *increpet*) to those who cling to life beyond its natural span; 73–4n.

**68 muttonis** 'prick' (sometimes spelled *muto*), otherwise only at Lucil. 335W = 307M *at laeva lacrimas muttoni absterget amica*; Porph. *ad loc.*: *muttonem pro uirili membro dixit Lucilium imitatus* (Fiske 1920: 265 suspects a similar personification; *contra* Freudenburg 1993: 25 n. 64); cf. *Priap.* 52.10, Mart. 3.73.1, 11.63.2 *mutumiatu*s; Adams 1982: 62–3. Like *fronto*, *naso* and *bucco*, it suggests an exaggerated physical feature and was sometimes used as a proper name: Cic. *Scaur.* 23; cf. Lucil. 959M (= *catal* W), 1067W = 1031M *et Muttonis manum perscribere posse tagacem* (Non. *musconis*, printed by W). A possible pun on *mutto* and *mutus* (next to *uerbis*) adds to the absurdity of the personification.

**69 'quid uis tibi?'** 'What are you playing at?' (leads to a further exasperated question: Hofmann 1951: 44–5, 189); cf. 9.6 'numquid uis?'; 2.6.29 'quid uis, insane, et quas res agis?', *Epod.* 12.1 *quid tibi uis?* For the reflexive, cf. 1.75n. The penis's aggressive diatribic manner evokes the robust Cato figure of 31–5.

**69–71** The *mutto* takes over the *ego*, giving it a satirical-Priapic-Cynic perspective based on natural urges. It is normally assumed that its speech finishes at 71. **'numquid . . . ira?'** 'Have I ever asked you for a cunt descended



from a great consul and covered in a matron's robe, when my blood is up?' **numquid** 'in any way, at all' (= *num*, introducing a question expecting a negative answer, + *quid*, internal adverbial acc.). **prognatum** 'sprung, descended'; a dignified Ennian expression: cf. *Ann.* 521 Sk. *corpore tartarino prognata . . . uirgo*, *trag.* 291 Jocelyn *Tantalo prognatus Pelope natus*. The line has the same mock-epic effect as 36–8 (Fraenkel 82 n. 4 cites similar examples in Plautus); cf. 3.107–8, where *cunnius* is juxtaposed with 'Ennian' *taeterrima belli | causa*. **cunnum . . . stola**: Horace fuses the prudery of the matron's dress with the naked reality underneath: the *media mulier* (cf. 36 *cunni albi*). *-que* is short before *st-* of *stola*. The shocking *cunnum* is reserved for the line-ending. **consule**: polluted by its assonance with *cunnum* (contrast *uelatum stola* with *matrona togata* above; for a matron to be *togata* is virtually to reveal her private parts in public). The harsh sound of *-co con-* *cunnum* at the end of the line contrasts with the heavy spondaic rhythm earlier and the 'magnificence' of the obsolete *prognatum* (Fraenkel 82). **conferbuit** 'has boiled up' (cf. 33 *inflauit*; another prosaic term, found in Vitruvius and Columella); the alliterative build-up continues in *cum con-* before the penis predictably 'explodes' at the end of the line. Curran 1970: 234: '[T]here is metaphor in "ira" and even in "conferbuit", but the fundamental notion is the literal physiological sensation of heat and angry throbbing.'

**72 quid responderet?** apodosis to 68–9 *si . . . diceret*. Bion's personification of Penia at fr. 17 Kindstrand ends  $\tau\acute{\iota} \acute{\alpha}\nu \xi\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\upsilon\iota\varsigma$ ; cf. Lucr. 3.950 (after Natura's speech) *quid respondemus?* **'magno . . . puella est.'** The adulterer persists in his *idée fixe* about the girl's status. Villius' snobbish defence anticipates H.'s class paranoia in *S.* 6: 45, 46 *libertino patre natum*, 73 *magnis e centurionibus orti*. **puella** 'girl', normally an unmarried one, makes a pointed contrast with the *multo*'s 'cunnius' and reminds us that this matron is hardly behaving virtuously. Alternatively, *puella* = 'mistress', a term from elegiac extra-marital discourse.

**73–4 at . . . suae** 'But how much better is the contradictory advice of bounteous Nature.' H. now appeals to Nature: she is a rival to noble families, rich in her own way, but offering more opportunities for stress-free sex. He appears to borrow for satire the 'satirical' voice of Natura at Lucr. 3.931–77. But as often, Epicurean and Cynic philosophy are overlaid and inseparable: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.94 *obscenas uoluptates . . . in medio sitas esse dicunt, easque si natura requiret, non genere aut loco aut ordine, sed forma aetate figura metiendas putant*, Epic. *KD* 15 Usener = Diog. Laert. 10.144, Cic. *Fin.* 1.45 *ne naturales [cupiditates] quidem multa desiderant, propterea quod ipsa natura diuitias quibus contenta sit et parabiles et terminatas habet*. Cicero's *in medio sitas* and *parabiles* shed light on *S.* 2. What H. is advocating in sexual matters is not so much the middle class of women (cf. 28 *nil medium est*; Alexis fr. 216K = 219KA, Antiphanes fr. 258K = 258KA) as simply what is *in medio* 'easily available', the first resort of a man interested in getting to the middle of a woman's body. **opis** 'in riches' (gen. of sphere); the sing. normally means 'help'.

**74–6** The interlocutor begins to sound not just like Cato but also like H.'s bluntly moralizing father: 75 *non fugienda petendis* ~ 4.106 *ut fugerem exemplis uitiorum*

*quaque notando*, 4.115–16 *sapiens, uitatu quidque petitu | sit melius, causas reddet tibi*; cf. 3.114 *fugienda petendis*. **dispensare** ‘to manage’ (one’s life); getting and spending, as often in the *Satires*, are analogous to moral economies. **fugienda . . . | immiscere**: adulteration of any kind is to be avoided. The idea of pleasure as an ambivalent mixture of good and bad desires is Epicurean: Epic. *Ad Men.* 3.127 Usener = Diog. Laert. 10.129; *KD* 26 implies that sexual desire is a ‘necessary’ desire but does not require a specific partner.

**76–7 tuo . . . putas?** ‘Do you think it doesn’t matter whether your miseries are self-inflicted or caused by external events?’ **rerumne**: sc. *uitio*; cf. Bion’s τὰ πράγματα (fr. 17 Kindstrand).

**77–105** A four-pronged argument against adultery follows (Lefèvre 1975: 329): (1) the element of *labor* (78, 76; 39 *labor/dolor* and 79 *uoluptas/fructus* are equivalent to an Epicurean ἀλγηδών/ἡδονή contrast); (2) *matronae* are not necessarily paragons of *pudor* (cf. the Sulla-Fausta story); (3) *togatae* are better-looking; (4) *matronae* are grudging about showing their wares.

**77–8** H. picks up the point he made at 38–40; *ne sequerer moechas* is among H.’s father’s maxims at 4.113 (though he equally counsels against prostitutes: 4.111–12 *a turpi meretricis amore | cum detereret*). **sectarier** ‘to pursue’ (cf. 16 *sectatur*); archaic form of the deponent (or pass.) inf. (cf. 35 *laudarier*).

**78–9** From stressing the penalties of adultery, H. now suggests that its pleasures are no greater than those from sex with lower-class women, and may be illusory anyway. **laboris**: πόνος is used by Epicurus as a synonym for ἀλγηδών ‘pain, suffering’, e.g. at fr. 442, 447 Usener; cf. here 38 *omni parte laborent*, 39 *multo dolore*, 40 *dura saepe pericla*.

**79 est** ‘it is possible’. **ex re** ‘in the cold light of day’ (in opposition to empty illusions, κεναὶ δόξαι) or ‘from the situation’ (with *decepere*). **decepere fructus**: the fruit-picking metaphor conjures up Tantalus at 1.68, though water is the elusive substance there, not fruit (but cf. *haurire*); it also recalls the less metaphorical punishment reaped at 46 *demeterent*.

**80–2 nec magis . . . togatae est** ‘and this lady’s thigh is no more delicate, her leg is no straighter, despite her pearls and emeralds, than yours, Cerinthus, and very often a girl in a toga has an even better one’. Textually difficult: Bentley’s conjecture *tuo* for *tuum*, so that *nec magis . . . tenerum* governs abl. *hoc tuo* (sc. *femore*), is supported by Fraenkel 84–6 (*magis* + adj./adv. is common in Cicero’s speeches). **huic**: sc. *matronae*. **sit licet** ‘although’ goes with *inter . . . lapillos*. **Cerinthe** ‘Honey’ (*cerintha* = honeywort; *cerinthus* = bee-bread), presumably a beautiful youth, otherwise unknown (Cerinthus is aristocratic Sulpicia’s lowborn beloved at [Tib.] 3.9, 10, 11, 14, 17). Fraenkel 86: ‘[T]o be flattered as a παῖς καλός, with the emphasis upon *femur* and *crus*, is, in this society, an exceedingly doubtful compliment.’ Shackleton Bailey’s ‘ancient Fabergé’, with *sit . . . tuum* as parenthetical ‘granted that this jewellery is your work, Cerinthus’, is far-fetched. This is probably a typically Horatian (‘Lucilian’)

snipe at an otherwise unknowable character (cf. 2.95 *Catia*; 3.47 *Sisyphus*; 3.86 *Ruso*). **togatae** ‘girl in a toga’ (here, a sexually available maid or prostitute).

**83–105** Having mentally undressed all the women on show, H. now points to the merits of seeing what one is paying for by being able to inspect them scantily clad. Freudenburg 1993: 43: ‘[A] blend of Cynic ideology with comic illustration.’

**83 adde huc quod** ‘not to mention the fact that’ (prosaically Lucretian: e.g. 1.192 *huc accedit uti*; cf. 2.7–78, *C.* 2.8.17). **mercem**: cf. 47 *merx*. **fuscis** ‘dye, make-up’ (orig. the seaweed from which dye came), proverbial for disguise or sham; cf. Cic. *Pro Rab. Post.* 40 (*merces*) *fallaces quidem et fucosae chartis et linteis et uitro uelatae*. **gestat** ‘wear’. **aperte**: conspicuous at the end of the line.

**84–5** Unlike the matron, the *togata* cannot parade her good points and conceal the bad ones. Though she is still defined by her costume, it is no obstacle to displaying her charms. **iactat** ‘flaunts’; cf. the *hetaera* in Alexis fr. 98K = 103KA; and the scene in Philemon’s *Adelphi* (3KA = 4 Edmonds), where Solon appears in the role of Cynic moralizer (Freudenburg 1993: 44, Kurke 1997: 128–30). **quo . . . celet**: relative purpose clause.

**86–7** H.’s crude treatment of women takes a step for the worse with parallels from the practice of inspecting horses covered up to avoid being seduced by a superficially pleasing appearance. The point is that only virtual concealment or complete exposure allows unbiased appreciation of what is on offer. The *matrona*, like the defective horse, is most likely to seduce if only her best points are displayed. Horses were one of the traditional heart’s desires of the young male: cf. Pl. *Lysis* 211d: ‘From my earliest childhood I have had a desire for a certain something. . . horses, dogs, money, public office’ (Winkler 1990: 225 n. 23; see Kurke 1997 for horse imagery used of *hetaerae*). **regibus**: ‘sheiks, nabobs’ (i.e. foreign, horse-loving kings) or, more generally, suspicious tyrants, fearful of being tricked (Fedeli). **mos est**: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.47 *mos est regibus* (of Oriental kings); perhaps there is some tragic or Ennian source for this expression (cf. Pers. 5.1 *Vatibus hic mos est*). Kiessling suggested *Thraecibus* on grounds that Thracians were famous for horses (schol. Theoc. 14.48), but H. is often eager to show acquaintance with aristocratic mores: cf. *mos* used of Maecenas at 6.60, of H. at 9.1 (Turpin 1998: 136 suspects a pun on *rex* ‘patron’, in the mouth of a parasite). However, Caligula was said to appraise women naked: Suet. *Gaius* 36.2 *mercantium more considerabat*.

**87–9 ne . . . ceruix** ‘so that a pleasing appearance supported on a weak foot will not, as so often, seduce the buyer as he gapes at how fine the haunches are, how neat the head and how long the neck.’ H. has salaciously chosen parts of the horse’s body that are interchangeable with a woman’s (*facies, pes, clunes, caput, ceruix*; Curran 1970: 234), while indicating that these are only superficially commendable. A feeble (*mollis*) foot was traditionally pleasing in a woman (e.g. Cat. 68.70–1 *quo mea se molli candida diua pede | intulit*) but denoted weakness in a horse (Virg. *Georg.* 3.76 *mollia crura*, of a foal). A short *body* is condemned at 93

(*brevi latere*). **facies** reinforces the idea of surface good looks as opposed to more enduring qualities.

**88 inducat** ‘may lure’; cf. schol. *ad Ter. And.* 180 *induci, ut feras in retia*. **hiantem** ‘gaping’ recalls the miser’s lust for his money-bags (1.71 *inhians*) and suggests both desire and aesthetic appreciation: cf. *Lucr.* 3.1084 *sitis aequa tenet uitai semper hiantes*.

**89 quod:** causal. **pulchrae clunes** ‘fine haunches’ (masc. at e.g. *Juv.* 11.164, perhaps deliberately fem. here.). Cf. the female slave-rider at 2.7.50: *clunibus aut agitavit equum lasciva supinum*.

**90 hoc illi recte:** sc. *faciunt*. **corporis optima** ‘their best physical features’. **Lyncei:** an Argonaut famous for his keen sight: cf. *Ep.* 1.1.28 *non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus*. For the moral connotations of keen- and dim-sightedness, cf. 1.120, 3.25–7, 39, 5.30.

**91 Hypsaea . . . spectes:** asyndeton. Hypsaea is an unknown blind or metaphorically blind woman. **illa:** probably with Hypsaea, rather than *quae mala sunt* (cf. 55 *amator . . . ille*).

**92–3 ‘o crus! . . . longo est:** parodies an epigram by Philodemus on his Oscan sweetheart (*AP* 5.132 = 12 Sider: ‘Oh foot, oh legs, oh truly to die for thighs, oh buttocks’, etc.), tipping it into satirical reality. This girl has no buttocks, a long nose, a short body and big feet (over-small and over-large features alternate: cf. the grotesque description of Scybale at *Moretum* 33–5 *torta comam labroque tumens et fusca colore, | pectore lata, iacens mammis, compressior aluo, | cruribus exilis, spatiosa prodiga planta*). For Philodemus’ presence in *S.* 2, see Cautadella 1950, Gigante 1993, Hunter 2006a: 113–14. H. may also be thinking of the catalogue of feminine defects to which the *cupidine caeci* turn a blind eye at *Lucr.* 4.1160–9 (cf. *S.* 3.43–8). On catalogues of physical features: N–H *ad C.* 2.4.21. **depugis** ‘flat-buttocked’, from *puga* ‘rear’ (cf. 133), a coinage corresponding to Greek ἔπτυγος (Curran 1970: 241: ‘bluntly marks the shift from idealization to realism’). *depugis* and *puga* occur only in this satire and in a fragment of Atellan farce; ἔπτυγος and πτυγή appear in Greek comedy, iambics and technical writing. **nasuta** ‘with a huge nose’. Unflattering, then as now: cf. *Lucil.* 259W = 242M *non magnus homo est, nasutus macellus*. **latere:** the side of the body from shoulder to waist, flank, involved in lying down in bed or joined in sexual acts (*OLD* s.v. 1b); Rome was ‘a world of semisupine copulation’ (Henderson 1989b: 104; Vessey 1976 on *latus* as a Roman erogenous zone). For a long body as desirable, cf. *Ov. Am.* 1.5.22 *quantum et quale latus*, *Juv.* 6.504–5 *si breue parui | sortita est lateris spatium*. **pede longo:** elegant chiasmus with *brevi latere* parodically aestheticizes the list of defects. Yet a long foot was often looked on with approval: Monteil 1964: 267–8.

**94–105** H. returns to the case of the *matrona*.

**94 possis:** indefinite subj.

**95 Catia:** another poisonous aside, at the expense of an unknown matron (cf. 81 *Cerinthé*). Porph. has an elaborate explanation: Catia had beautiful legs, so wore her clothes hitched up and committed adultery with the tribune of the

people in the temple of Venus in the theatre of Pompey. In name and actions, she is the antithesis of Cato (like Catus in *S. II* 4).

**96–7 si . . . res:** Plaut. *Cure.* 32–8 similarly contrasts available prostitutes and fenced-off matrons and virgins in terms of open and closed space. **interdicta** ‘forbidden fruit’. This is another pivotal moment, leading to a section detailing the unavailability of matrons. **uallo circumdata** ‘surrounded by a barricade’, a military metaphor in asyndeton. The sound is conspicuously picked up by 99 *circumdata palla*. Just as clothes are an impediment to reaching the body underneath, so layers of attendants prevent access in the first place (cf. Prop. 3.12 on Rome as Sparta). Similar language describes the obstacles between the pest and Maecenas at 9.47–8, 54–6 (Oliensis 1997). **nam te . . . insanum** ‘for this is what drives you to insanity’ (H. addresses the adulterer directly). Maecenas’ inaccessibility gives added impetus to the pest: 9.53–4 *accendis, quare cupiam magis illi | proximus esse*. **multae tibi . . . res** ‘in that case many things will stand in your way’ (for the impedimenta of city life, cf. 61, 101, 9.74).

**98** Another catalogue of hangers-on (cf. 1–2) who preserve a matron’s mystique; cf. Pl. *Aul.* 501–2 *ancillas, mulos, muliones, pedisequos, | salutigeros pueros, uehicla qui uehar, 508–18 stat fullo, phyrigio, aurifex, lanarius; | caupones, patagiarii, indusiarii, | flammarii, uiolarii, carinari, etc.* **custodes** ‘bodyguards, chaperones’. **lectica** ‘sedan-chair’; cf. Juv. 1.121, Sen. *De clem.* 1.9.3; its curtains would hide the woman from view. **ciniflones** ‘coiffeuses’, who heat curling-tongs (*cinis* ‘ashes’; *flo* ‘blow, fan’); the private female equivalents of the public male *tonsors* of 7.3. **parasitae** ‘toadies’; cf. 2 *balatrones*, similarly ending a catalogue. Again, the point where H. touches on a caricature of himself becomes a good moment to move on.

**99** The matron’s ankle-length dress and swathing cloak finish off the list of impediments; cf. 29 *quarum subsuta talos tegat instita ueste*. S-B suggests *circum addita*; but cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3.487 *lanea dum niuea circumdatur infula uitta*. **palla:** a rectangular cloak worn by matrons over the *stola* (rhyming with 96 *uallo circumdata*: the extra layer corresponds to the outer palisade of a camp).

**100 inuideant . . . tibi** ‘might deny you a sight of’; lit. ‘begrudge’, normally with *ne* + subj. Women use their wiles to resist the critical gaze of their suitors (as H.’s *inuidia* towards the pest keeps him from the *pura domus* of Maecenas: 9.49, with similar military imagery). **pure** ‘in its unadorned state’, ‘for what it is’. **rem** ‘the real thing, the goods’; contrasting with 97 *multae res*, the trimmings.

**101 altera:** i.e. the *togata*. Daring asyndeton here complements the frank simplicity of the alternative, the prostitute with her see-through clothes. **nil obstat** ‘nothing stands in your way’ (see 97n.).

**101–2 Cois . . . nudam** ‘If she is wearing Coan silks, it is almost possible to see her nude.’ **Cois:** diaphanous Coan robes; cf. Ov. *AA* 2.298 *sive erit in Cois, Coa, decere puta*; Eubulus fr. 67 K = 67 KA: it is possible to see women naked as they stand in thin garments; pleasure can be bought cheaply. Cf. Caelius’

joke about Clodia (*orat.* 23 = Quint. 8.6.53): *in triclinio Coam, in cubiculo Nolam* ('At dinner Lolita, in bed Nolita').

**102 ne crure . . . turpi:** recalling the horse analogy of 88 and picking up 93 *pede longo*, as 103 *metiri latus* picks up 93 *breui latere*. The woman is again reduced to anatomical parts. **ne** + subj. depends, like the acc. (sc. *eam*) *ut nudam*, on *uidere*.

**103 metiri** 'to size up', recalling horse-buying. **possis:** indefinite subj. **oculo:** recalls 100 *inuideant*, 101 *uidere*.

**103–5 an . . . ostendi** 'Or do you prefer to be ambushed and have your payment snatched from you before you've seen the goods?' **auellier:** archaic pass. inf. **mercem:** cf. 47, 86 *mercantur*. A contrast between the flat down-payment for a prostitute and the insidious bleeding of one's fortune by noble adulteresses (cf. Kurke 1997 on the cultural difference in Greece between simple cash paid for a *pornē* and 'aristocratic' gifts for the favours of *hetaerae*).

**105–8** Paraphrases an epigram of Callimachus (*AP* 12.102 = *Ep.* 31 Pf.) on the thrill of the chase and the disappointment of easy quarry: 'The hunter, Epicyles, follows every hare and the tracks of every doe, afflicted by frost and snow. But if anyone says, "Here, this beast lies wounded," he does not take it. My love is like this too; it knows how to chase what flees, but passes by what lies at hand'; cf. *AP* 12.203 (Strato), Lucr. 3.957, Ov. *Am.* 2.9a.9 *uenator sequitur fugientia, capta relinquit*. The Roman lover assimilates his pursuit of women to his other gentlemanly pursuits: horse-buying, hunting, military manoeuvres and dining.

**105 ut** + subj. 'about how', depending on delayed 107 *cantat*. But the word order leads us to expect a simile ('just as the hunter': Hunter 2006a: 110), and this is how later poets transpose Callimachus' original.

**106 positum** 'one lying in his path' (wounded, according to the Callimachean original). **sic** 'accordingly'. **tangere:** according to all MSS: just as the hunter will not touch ready game (*positum*), so the adulterer will only *touch* unavailable matrons: 28 *sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas* (Dessen 1968: 207). However, Porph. has *tollere* (closer to Callim. *Ep.* 31.4 ἔλαβεν), which points to an antique variant (Brink 1987).

**107 cantat** 'maunders on, bawls', scornful frequentative of *canere* (cf. 10.19), assuming a subject, the blinded lover, who drags Callimachus down to the level of erotic cliché. **apponit** 'adds'. H.'s chiasmus, *transuolat . . . positum*, answers 106 *positum . . . tangere nolit*, just as 108 *fugientia captat* balances 105–6 *alta . . . sectetur*; *alta niue* matches 96 *uallo circumdata*. **in medio posita:** another pivotal point, twisting the idea of the golden mean into the idea of what is readily available, *parabilis Venus*. **fugientia captat** translates Callimachus' Greek τὰ γὰρ φεύγοντα διώκειν, but also recalls Tantalus at 1.68 *flumina . . . fugientia captat* (cf. 79 *fructus*); cf. the caution at 75–6 *non fugienda petendis | inmiscere*. The crazy world of 1.1, with its yearning 'grass is greener' mentality, is recalled. H. may also be scoffing at poetic pretensions that correspond to fussy sexual tastes: Freudenburg 1993: 196 nn. 34 and 35 compares the use of *captare* in discussions of word-arrangement

(Sen. *Ep.* 100.5) and the literary use of *de medio* (Cic. *Orator* 163) and *ex medio* (*Ep.* 2.1.168) ‘from everyday stock, not recherché’.

**109 hiscine** = *hiscē* (alternative abl. plural of *hic*) + suffix *-ne*. **uersi-culis** ‘verselets, poesy’ (the ‘neoteric’ diminutive is scornful; cf. 10.32); it is the choosy lover who adopts these verses as his motto that H. despises, rather than Callimachus himself.

**109–10 dolores . . . graues** ‘pain, passion and deep torment’. An Epicurean association of love with pain and anxiety (Curran 1970: 232); cf. Lucr. 4.1065 *curam certumque dolorem*. There may be specific mockery of Catullan anguish here: e.g. Cat. 2.7–10 *et solaciolum sui doloris, | credo ut tum grauis acquiescat ardor: | tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem | et tristes animi leuare curas* (Felgentreu 2005). See *Ep.* 1.1.36–7 for the curative potential of verse. **dolores . . . pelli** may translate the name of Callimachus’ love-interest at *AP* 12.43 = *Ep.* 28 Pf., Lysanias = ‘Pain Releasing’ (Hunter 2006a: 111).

**110 e pectore pelli** ‘to be banished from your breast’. The alliteration (Bentley chose the MS alternative *tollī* to avoid it; see Brink 1987: 19–20) may deliberately mimic the ‘Callimachean’ lover’s affectation.

**111–13** ‘Surely it is better to ask what limit nature puts on desires, what she can do without, and what she will not put up with losing’; lit. what, if denied, she will endure; what, if denied, she will feel pain about. A brief nod to the lessons of Epicurean philosophy (cf. 1.106 *est modus in rebus*) before the rumbustious finale.

**113 et . . . soldo?** ‘and separate the empty from the solid?’ i.e. learn to distinguish illusory desires and pleasures from real ones. H.’s appeal to realism is couched in the language of Epicurean physical theory: atoms and void (e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 60 *inania . . . quibus ex rebus nihil est, quod solidum tenere*); cf. Epic. *KD* 29; desires which are neither natural nor necessary are due to κενή δόξα (empty delusion); Cic. *Fin.* 1.45 *inanium autem cupiditatum nec modus ullus nec finis inueniri potest*. Epicurus’ own teachings on love are somewhat ill-defined (Rudd 24): e.g. *Sent. Val.* 51: ‘Providing you don’t break the law or good customs and do not cause annoyance to any of your neighbours or do yourself physical harm or waste your money, you may indulge yourself as you please. But you are bound to encounter one of these obstacles, for sexual pleasure never did a man any good, and he is lucky if it doesn’t do him harm.’

**114–16 num . . . rhombumque?** Analogies with hunger and thirst, necessary desires in Epicurean terms, which, if desperately felt, do not need gold cups and opulent food to be satisfied (cf. Epicurus fr. 456 Usener). Status symbols like gold cups are also the bugbears of Cynic philosophy: see Oltramare 1926: 52 (themes 38, 38a). Lefèvre 1975: 334–5 points out that strictly speaking H. does not mean ‘I prefer earthenware to gold’, but ‘I prefer gold, but would rather have earthenware than nothing’; i.e. ‘I’d prefer a matron, but will take an *ancilla*.’ For high-class *hetaerae* classified as ‘precious metals’, as opposed to the ‘common currency’ of *pornae*, see Kurke 1997. **urit:** recalls the *aestus* of love (110).

**esuriens fastidis omnia:** possibly an allusion to Callim. *AP* 12.43 = *Ep.* 28 Pf. σικχαίνω πάντα (τὰ δημόσια) ‘I disdain everything popular’;



σιχλαίνω is a metaphor from fastidious eating (Hunter 2006a: 112). **pauonem**: a luxury food; Var. *RR* 3.6, Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.2 (ironic): as necessary for a civilized dinner. **rhombumque**: flatfish, turbot, named for its diamond shape: cf. 2.2.42, 2.8.30.

**116–18 tument . . . rumpi?** H. advocates ready sexual gratification with servants for the release of sexual tension; cf. Lucr. 4.1063–72: passion for a specific person can be quenched by sex with others. The language is crudely anatomical, helped by the ballooning sounds of *tument tibi cum . . . num . . . rumpi*. **tument . . . inguina**: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.346 *tumidum . . . inguen* (satyric Faunus). **ancilla . . . puer**: it cannot be important for the *togata* specifically to be a freedwoman if her place is so conveniently taken by two servants, male and female (Rudd 12). **praesto** ‘on the spot, ready and waiting’ (cf. 106 *positum*, 108 *in medio posita*). **continuo** ‘immediately’. **fiat**: subj. of purpose. **tentigine** ‘with sexual tension’; cf. *Priap.* 23.4–5, 33.5. H. Latinizes the technical Grecism of Lucil. 332W = 304M *psolocopoumai* ‘I burst with an erection’.

**119 non ego** displays the complacency and self-preserving instincts of the Cynic ego (cf. 5.101, 10.76, also in first position), replicating the comic bravado of e.g. Philemon *Adelphoe* (3KA = Edmonds fr. 4: Solon on the brothels that protect Athenian marriage); cf. Lucil. 927–8W = 866–7M on easy brothel sex. **parabilem . . . facilemque**: recalls Lucr. 4.1071 *uulgiuaga Venus*, an antidote to the misery of *amor* (cf. Lucr. 4.1073 *nec ueneris fructu caret is qui uitat amorem*). *parabilem* ‘readily available’ corresponds to the Epicurean εὐπόριστον (*KD* 15 and 21 Usener). **facilemque** ‘ready to hand, stress-free’.

**120–34**: a rondo (Lefèvre 1975: 333) that repeats many previous motifs: 122 *nec cunctetur* ~ 96 *interdicta*; no husband: negates the *labor* motif; 123 *candida recta* etc. recalls the beauty motif; lack of concealment (124 *nec magis alba*) revives 83 *aperte*, 84–5 *nec quaerit quo turpia celet*.

**120–2** ‘Philodemus says the woman who says “In a minute” or “But it’ll cost you more” or “If my husband is out” is for (the) Galli; he prefers one who costs little and is there in a trice when she’s told to come.’ The source in Philodemus (c. 110–40/35 BC, Epicurean philosopher and poet; Freudenburg 1993: 196: ‘the perfect foil for Callimachus’) is uncertain, though Wright 1921 identified it with *AP* 5.126 (= *Ep.* 22 Sider), which describes in crude language the benefits of a cheap and easy lay called Lysianassa (‘Relief-giving lady’; Hunter 2006a: 114 contrasts Callimachus’ Lysanies; see 109–10n.), as opposed to more threatening liaisons; Gigante 1993: 82–3. For Philodemus’ influence on H. in ethics and *compositio*, cf. 92–3, 123–4nn. Naming Philodemus allows H. play on the (appropriate) etymology of his name, ‘lover of common people’ (Hunter 2006a: 113). **illam . . . sibi**: sc. *esse*. Curran 1970: 236: ‘H. endorses the judgment of Philodemus that the haughty or evasive treatment one can expect at the hands of a married woman as good as emasculates a man.’ It is not necessary to imagine different types of speakers here (*sed pluris* spoken by a *meretrix*, the



reference to *uir* and procrastination belonging to a matron). A matron could well say ‘It’ll cost you more in presents’ (cf. Pl. *Aul.* 500–2 on the trappings of rich wives); a *meretrix*’s keeper would be called her *uir*. Expense, delay and personal complications, regardless of social status, are at stake here. The excuses are clipped of superfluous words, in neat Terentian style.

**121 Gallis:** usually taken as either Gauls or castrated priests of Cybele. The latter would fit better with the idea of the frustrated lover: Ter. *Eun.* 665–6 on Cybele’s priests: *amatores mulierum esse eos maximos, | sed nil potesse*; Mart. 6.67, with Richlin 1992: 133–4 (a woman with eunuch slaves: ‘Caelia wants to be fucked and not give birth’). The Gauls were stereotyped as rich provincials; Mart. 9.32 wishes a cash-greedy woman on one of them: 5–6 *poscentem nummos et grandia uerba sonantem | possideat crassae mentula Burdigalae*. A third case can be made, in the context of elegiac ideals of unattainable love, for a sideswipe at Cornelius Gallus, love poet and emulator of Callimachus, presented by Virgil in *Ecl.* 10 and Propertius in the Monobiblos as the archetypal suffering lover (Freudenburg 1993: 196; cf. 2.1.13–15, with Freudenburg 1990: 194 n. 15).

**122 stet . . . cunctetur:** generic subjunctives. *stet* = ‘be available’ (for a price). with a hint at its other meaning in this poem (cf. 30): ‘pose as a prostitute’. **est iussa:** the indicative shows that this clause is treated as if independent of *ait*. The prerequisite for a man is to have complete control over his woman and keep his resources intact (cf. Caesar’s and Tigellius at 3.6 *iniussi . . . collibuisse*). H. himself is stood up by a prostitute, with messy consequences, at 5.82–5. The fear that women emasculate men through sex is typically Priapic: Richlin 1992: 59.

**123 candida rectaque sit:** possibly alluding to Quintia in Cat. 86 (*candida recta longa*), though Gigante suggests a further allusion here to Philodemus, P. Oxy. 3724 fr. I iii 15 λεύκη καὶ μακρή; cf. Sider 1997: 210. H. sets out the desirable qualities for a good lay: the woman should be genuinely good-looking and not overly made-up.

**123–4 munda . . . uideri** ‘elegant up to the point where she doesn’t try to look taller or whiter-skinned than nature intended’. Cosmetic aids included built-up hair, platform soles and lashings of make-up. Freudenburg 1993: 197 sees an aesthetic subtext: *candidus, rectus, mundus, longus, albus* are all rhetorical metaphors (Cic. *Orator* 78–9 compares unadorned oratory to an unadorned woman). But here the Cynic’s emphasis on simple lack of disguise seems more important: cf. C. 1.5.5 *simplex munditiis* (and N–H *ad loc.*). On Propertius’ surprisingly anti-Callimachean penchant for the *immunda* in 2.23 as a response to *S.* 2, see Gibson 2007: 19–34.

**125–6 haec . . . illi** ‘When she lets you put your leg over her, she becomes Ilia or Egeria: I give her whatever name I fancy.’ **dextro . . . laeuum:** matching left flank to the speaker’s right one would make him ‘lucky’, given ancient views on left and right (Henderson 1989b: 107): the ideal is for the man to come out on top (cf. 134 *uincam*). A typical erotic spell on lead (*Genava* 6 (1928): 56–63) demands

‘May she touch her thigh to my thigh, her privates to my privates’ (Winkler 1990: 236 n. 3).

**126 Ilia . . . Egeria:** the most venerable matrons of Rome, helpmeets who augmented the power of Roman statesmen. **Ilia:** also known as Rhea Silvia, daughter of Aeneas and mother by Mars of Romulus and Remus. **Egeria:** a nymph who gave advice to her future husband, the lawgiver King Numa (cf. *Juv.* 3.12). **do . . . illi** ‘I call her whatever name I fancy’ (this kind of libido is truly liberated). Bandyng names about and choosing to withhold them are the satirist’s prerogative; the casual lover ad-libs his preferred names to satisfy his fantasies of status with any anonymous woman (contrast 64–5 *hoc miser uno | nomine deceptus*).

**127–33** The satire ends with a restaged adultery mime (64–7n.), florid with alliteration and sound effects. H. moves from being a thankful spectator (119 *non ego, 127 nec uereor*) to centre stage as the discomfited adulterer (131 *egomet mi*), a voluntary self-abjection (Hooley 1999). The mime’s plot traditionally involved the unexpected return of a husband, the concealment of the wife’s lover, often in a chest, the wife’s play-acting, and finally the lover’s frenzied escape, as with comic adultery scenes: in *Pl. Merc.*, a *matrona* returns from the country to find her husband having an affair, and in *Mil.*, Purgopolynices is caught with a *matrona* (Freudenburg 1993: 45 n. 98).

**127 futuo** ‘I fuck’; Cynic degradation of the sexual relationship through straightforward language (Adams 1982: 118–22 rates *futuo* among the most obscene Latin words, along with *mentula*, *cunnus* and *culus*; cf. *Mart.* 1.35.1–3). Philod. *AP* 5.126.2, 4 (= *Ep.* 22.2, 4 Sider) used the Greek equivalent βῦνῆν. The short simple words cock a snook at the long asyndetic string of subjunctive clauses (Curran 1970: 238, who presses for a link, etymologically plausible, between *futuo* and φῦσις). **rure:** on the comic stage one door led to and from the country, where the husband would have been visiting his estates. The city, it is implied, is more prone to vice; see Freudenburg 1993: 46, Hunter 1985b: 90–2. Repeated *r*-sounds herald the barking dogs in the next line, aligned with the Cynic speaker (Lejay, K–H; Fraenkel 25; cf. *Epod.* 10. 3–6, *Cat.* 42.16–17 *ruborem | ferreo canis exprimamus ore*).

**128 ianua frangatur:** common in comedy where the two doors played an important role in the scenery and the action; cf. *Pl. As.* 384 *quis nostras sic frangit fores?* At *Prop.* 4.8.49, a screeching door (*rauci sonuerunt cardine postes*) heralds the unexpected return of an indignant mistress. **latret canis:** see 127n.

**128–9 undique . . . resonet** ‘The house is bombarded from all directions, and resounds with a crashing noise.’ An epic ring: cf. 2.6.111–12 *cum subito ingens | ualuarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque* (the mouse banquet, also with barking dogs and crashing doors), *Acc. trag.* 31 *sed ualuae resonunt [sic] regiae*. Loud noises in *Satires* I: cf. 7.31 *magna . . . uoce, 32 exclamat, 9.75–6 magna | inclamat uoce, 77 clamor utrimque*.

**129 uepallida:** most recent editors print this intensified form of *pallida*, only found here. *uae pallida* would suggest a histrionic gasp as the wife leaps from bed.

**130 desiliat:** the word is normally used of dismounting from a horse: e.g. *Virg. Aen.* 11.499–500 *ab equo regina... | desiluit*; but cf. 2.7.50 *clunibus aut agitavit equum lascivia supinum* (Adams 1982: 165–6: sex as riding). **conscia:** a complicit maid, the usual accomplice in illicit love affairs (e.g. Milphidippa in *Pl. Mil.*, the nurse in *Eur. Hipp.*); cf. 2.7.60 *peccati conscia erilis*.

**131 cruribus... mi:** a diminishing tricolon cuts to the chase. The *ancilla* fears for her legs (slaves could be punished by leg-breaking); corporeal aesthetics (92 *o crus*) are reduced to self-preservation. The wife fears for her dowry once she is found out (wives are presented as grasping materialists, like the *uxor dotata* of comedy; confiscation of the dowry was a common punishment for adulteresses). The lover, wrapped up in his Cynical/satirical ego, fears mostly for himself. As 131 *egomet mi* shows, H. pictures himself as both undisturbed fornicator and surprised adulterer.

**132 discincta... nudo:** the adulterer beats a bedraggled retreat, tunic trailing and barefoot, suffering the same humiliating display of his own wares as the women he pursues: *discincta tunica* picks up 95 *demissa ueste* and 99 *ad talos stola demissa*; cf. *Prop.* 4.8.61 (Propertius' fancy-women flee into the night on Cynthia's return) *direptisque comis tunicisque solutis. pede nudo* sheds an ironic light on earlier foot inspections (88, 93, 102).

**133** The adulterer now contemplates the price of his risk-taking. **nummi:** the fine for adultery (41–6n.) makes it equivalent to expenditure on brothel sex: the borrowed wealth of 9 and 13 dribbles away. **puga** 'buttocks', traditionally the site of beatings (cf. 41–2), rape (cf. 44) or inserted radishes or mullets (cf. *Juv.* 10. 317): the adulterer risks becoming *depugis* (cf. 93). **denique** 'in any case' (for this sense of *denique*, cf. *Ep.* 2.2.127). Brown argues for 'in the last resort': the unprincipled adulterer sees disgrace as the least of his evils. However, H. has emphasized *infamia*, the loss of citizen rights, as a serious penalty of adultery (61). The model of 43–6 – loss of money, buggery, mutilation, legal opinion – hints that the third item in the list will be something like *testes* (Curran 1970: 237). The asyndeton looks pointedly Sallustian: e.g. *Hist.* 1.48.11 *exutus imperio gloria iure*.

**134 deprendi miserum est** 'It's grim to be caught in the act', so blatantly obvious that H. says he could prove it easily. As usual, his aim is to get off scot-free, even if threatened with imagined prosecution: cf. 9.78 *sic me seruauit Apollo*, 2.1.86 *soluentur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis*. The finger-up gesture gives a triumphant, self-saving end to the poem, while its throwaway quality suggests the inconsequential ending of a mime. **Fabio uel iudice uincam** 'I could prove it even with Fabius as judge' (potential subj.). Again, a Stoic, presumably the chatterbox from 1.14, is brought in as a butt (Armstrong 1964: 93). Is this an ironic allusion to the Stoic principle that the wise man (*sapiens*) is immune from pain? Or does H. mean that he has a strong enough case, enough examples (cf. 1.13), to tire windbag Fabius out in any debate? Porph. speculates that H. cunningly shows Fabius as a supporter of the adulterer because he is one himself (cf. 46n. on Galba's legal bias). Similarly, H. may be saying disarmingly, *experto*

*crede* (Brown). The comic scenario ends with the comedian's traditional appeal for applause (Gigante 1993: 22); cf. the Terentian use of *iudicium*, *iudex*: e.g. *Heaut. praef.* 12 *uostrum iudicium fecit*, *Ad. praef.* 4 *uos eritis iudices*.

### SATIRE 3

The third satire is the last of the overtly moralizing poems, a peaceable treatise on friendship and tolerance, which on the surface could not be more remote from the traditionally acerbic spirit of satire. Behind it, however, lie threats of imperial control and the memory of civil war violence: this suave *captatio benevolentiae* offers the outlines of a peaceable social contract between ruler and subject, patron and satirist. The central picture of H. blundering into Maecenas' brown study, ignoring the 'Do not disturb' sign on the door, gives us an ironically self-deprecating picture of Horatian *sermo* – an unwelcome rant (65 *quouis sermone*) to test the tolerance of any listener. And yet H. indicates that he is comfortable enough with Maecenas to take this risk, freely (*libenter*) and repeatedly (*saepè*): these conversations depend on true friendship, which is what allows the presumption and enables H. to push Maecenas' *noblesse oblige* to its limits. The poem rehearses other, more strained relationships between speaker and listener: the opening scene of Tigellius exploiting the tolerance of his ruler (4 *Caesar, qui cogere posset*) and the captive audience of debtors constrained to listen to Ruso's unpalatable histories (85–9). But H. hints throughout that the way in which any human relationship is perceived depends on one's perspective and that of the participants.

By including his own experience of conversation and friendship among his illustrations, H. personalizes this petition for tolerant friendship as the basis of society (*amicitia* or *amicus* recurs at 5, 26, 33, 38, 43, 50, 69, 73, 84, 93, and 140) and as a universal benefit to mankind. The poem can be read on at least three levels: as a history of human civilization and social harmony; as another genealogy of satire; and as a further account of H.'s own civilizing. Each of these follows a progression from brutish violence to verbal abuse and finally mellow restraint. H.'s own evolution into *politesse* and his ease with Maecenas are demonstrated, rather than contradicted, by the urbanely self-deprecating portrait of their relationship: clumsy intruder versus indulgent patron.

Again, the beginning is oblique, with its sweeping generalization; all singers are prima donnas who perform only when they feel like it, and, having started, do not know when to stop (a paradoxically bigoted beginning to a poem that urges flexibility, and one that will expose the poet's own words, in the lengthiest *sermo* so far, to the charge of immoderate ranting). Tigellius, the larger-than-life singer whose death was mourned in Satire 2, kickstarts a discussion of human inconsistency and instability (9 *nil aequale homini fuit illi*), which veers off-track towards the poem's central theme: the inability of people to judge their friends as they would wish to be judged themselves. The words *aequus* and *aequalis* – level, consistent, fair – glue together the bumpy transitions. Tigellius is H.'s artistic

antitype, or so it seems – a presumptuous and narcissistic soliloquist who follows his own bent when singing: 6 *cum collibuisse*. A silent tussle takes place between him and Octavian, the future emperor making his only appearance here in *Satires* I, hiding his iron hand in a velvet glove and enduring an *enfant terrible* whose voice stretches from falsetto to basso profundo, from starter to dessert. These polarities are then extended to all aspects of Tigellius' moral life: his varying number of slaves, his grandiloquent speeches on kings, tetrarchs and *omnia magna* which quickly switch to eulogies of the simple life – three-legged tables and coarse togas. H. sums up: 9 *nil aequale homini fuit illi*; 18–19 *nil fuit unquam | sic impar sibi*. Of course, there is something familiar in this portrait of a social menace who presumes on his patron's good will and holds hypocritical moral views. We recognize it later in the portraits of H. by his critics in *Satires* II, and he is wise here to pre-empt criticism by admitting his own faults, which are, he says, still *alia et fortasse minora* (20), smaller as befits the small poet as opposed to the grand singer.

The poem might well at this point have expanded into a wider discussion of human inconsistency, but instead it turns specifically towards judgments about one's friends. The nub of the connection is again *aequalis*: 'consistent', 'of an equal degree' and 'fair'. H. exploits a verbal paradox at the expense of his old enemies the Stoics, hoisting them with their own petard and turning the Stoic paradox that all sins are equal and deserve the same drastic punishment (96 *paria esse fere placuit peccata*) on its head as being manifestly inequitable (52, 69, 74, 98, 114 *aequus*, 67, 113 *iniquus*). The Stoic doctrine of rational consistency in all areas of life (*SVF* 1.52.27–9) had been considerably softened by Panaetius into a version of socially integrated moderation (Cic. *Off.*), but it is the older, more rigid version that H. satirizes, thereby claiming moderation for the Epicureans (Kemp 2009). A further pun, on *ignoro* 'not know' and *ignosco* 'forgive', occurs in a small anecdote at 21–3: Maenius slandered Novius behind his back, which made someone ask 'Do you not understand yourself (*ignoras*) or do you think you can deceive us as though we didn't know you (*ignotum*)?' Maenius replies, 'I am understanding to myself' (*mihi ignosco*). Maenius is recognizable as a surrogate satirist, but he is also a victim inherited from Lucilius, associated with a column in the Forum under which the debtors' court met. H. manages to suggest Maenius' hypocrisy by calling him *dignus notari*, worthy of being branded himself, which reminds us of that police-court and again recalls the threat of official retribution which may or may not be a parallel to the traditional functions of satire. If H. is to be more clement than previous satirists (a theme further developed in *S.* 4), then Caesar must correspondingly avoid force and censorship. Tigellius' outré manners and the Stoics' vindictive penalties go equally beyond the pale of civilized behaviour: any new contract would involve give-and-take on both sides.

The theme of self-knowledge persists in the contrast between an unforgiving focus on one's friends' faults and the all-too-blurred perception of one's own.

The Stoics' exaggeration of sin, H. suggests, is their blind spot (later, at 73–4, the biblical proverb about seeing the beam in one's own eye rather than the mote in one's neighbour's is prefigured: 'If you want your friend to tolerate your carbuncles, you should excuse his warts'). Blindness to one's loved ones' faults (as satirized by Lucretius at 4.1153–70) is transformed into a positive virtue when it comes to one's *amici* (41 *uellem in amicitia sic erraremus*). H. provides a genealogy of Roman aristocratic naming, by noting the many abusive adjectives (44 *strabo*, 47 *uarus*) and euphemistic ones (45 *paetus*, 45 *pullus*, 48 *scaurus*) that came to inspire Roman family names, before listing a catalogue of vices readily interchangeable with virtues, according to one's perspective. These include the man who is 'aggressive and more outspoken than is right' (50–1 *truculentior atque | plus aequo liber*), who, in someone else's eyes, could just be called 'plain and forthright'; and the man 'who lies low and keeps himself out of harm's way', who is called 'insincere and cunning, when we ought to appreciate that he lives in times when sharp-toothed resentment (*acris inuidia*) and slanders (*crimina*) thrive'. The fact that H. can be seen in both these vignettes reminds us that he, too, is the picture of inconsistency. Behind this plea for tolerance lies recognition of the threat being posed to individual autonomy in contemporary Rome, as well as the suspicion that H. is expediently making the loss of *libertas* into a virtue. The author himself, again thinly disguised in anonymity, is on the receiving end of tolerance at 29: 'a certain man is liable to fly off the handle and messy in the way he dresses, with a sloppy haircut and flopping sandals, a potential object of laughter (*rideri possit*) but with a generous heart underneath'. This self-portrait of the writer as shambolic courtier and inept parasite (pissing on the couch and snatching other people's food) combines a disavowal of *inuidia* and ambition with disarming self-deprecation.

Lucretius, already claimed as a satirical ancestor in 38–48, is reworked again into H.'s compressed history of civilization from cavemen to the modern day (99–112). The focus here is often read as decisively Epicurean, as opposed to Stoic. Both law and language are treated as utilitarian and evolving practices, rather than natural or god-given ones; the social contract is presented as an expedient devised for mutual benefit, rather than as an innate instinct (111 *iura inuenta metu iniusti fateare necesse est*). And yet H. has no Lucretian nostalgia for the past or ambivalence about progress beyond a world where men come to blows over acorns, caves and women, voice inarticulate grunts and take the law into their own hands; he is even more Cynic than Epicurean in his reduction of sexual fulfilment to *cunus* (the lowest possible version of a *causa belli*). One way to explain the chosen priorities of this history is to see it as a carefully contrived parallel to H.'s own evolution. He, too, emerged from his native soil (the movement reversed in *S.* 5), put aside the unsheathed violence of the civil war, learned to shun married women (as recorded in *S.* 2) and became, through his education, civilized and articulate (*S.* 6). H.'s interest in *sermo* explains the special emphasis on the development of human language (though in this respect,

too, he is much indebted to Lucretius' prehistory). In the poem as a whole, he indulges more than usual in word-derivation, *figura etymologica* (e.g. 33 *ingenium ingens*, 36–7 *natura* . . . | . . . *innascitur*, 101–2 *pugnis* . . . | *pugnabant*, 103–4 *notarent*, | *nomina*, 117 *sacra* . . . *legerit* [= *sacrilegus*]), equating fond fathers' endearments for their sons with the first burlblings of infantile speech: 45 *appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male paruos*, 48 *balbutit* (cf. 40 *Balbinus*).

At the same time, the prehistory is a prehistory of satire, charting the emergence of verbal abuse out of naked aggression, followed by its toning down when the law takes over satire's traditional functions of branding and censorship (Gowers 2003, Keane 2006). The same process emerges from the vignette of H. disturbing Maecenas: here is a composite portrait of the author as social caveman, vicious censor (excluding his subjects from the human race – 66 *communi sensu plane caret*) and mellow Socratic humorist (too self-aware to cast the first stone), all rolled into one (Gold 1992). In the poem as a whole, H. plays satirist and Socratic ironist by turns, venting any remaining spleen only on the insensitive (1 *omnibus hoc uitium cantoribus est*) and the intolerant (67 *quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam*), while offering up his own imperfections for benign forgiveness and promising to draw in his claws in exchange.

The Stoics' vindictive universe, meanwhile, is represented as a mad Saturnalian world (a man who crucifies his slave for licking a dish of half-eaten fish and lukewarm gravy is called *insanior*). Law may be an essential social sanction, but H. appeals for a sense of proportion (*adsit regula* 117–8; cf. 1 *sit modus in rebus*) in those meting out punishment (*si tibi regnum | permittant homines*). The Stoics are seen as usurping that *regnum* through their sophistical argument that the *sapiens* is capable of being anything from a shoemaker to a king, a choice of paradox that draws further attention to the contract between ruler and subject (cf. 4 *Caesar, qui cogere posset*). H. turns Stoic kingship into a delusion of grandeur (136 *magnorum maxime regum*): the sad scene of the philosopher making his way to a cheap bath escorted only by his acolyte Crispinus and cheeky street-urchins turns him into a king with (almost) no clothes. Against him H. contrasts himself, blessed with tolerant friends and personal freedom: 141 *libenter* (cf. 63 *libenter*, 6 *cum collibuissest*). To be *priuatus* (142) is to be mercifully independent, not deprived. Behind all this lies the genuine version of the Stoic *sapiens/ rex*, Caesar himself, who, it is gently hinted, will permit autonomy and punish crime justly without having to use his undoubted force. The final apology, 137 *ne longum faciam* (at the end of the longest satire so far), again equates H.'s curbs on his own speech with ethical limits. He ends with another pointed contrast between himself and the Stoic windbag Crispinus (cf. 1.120). But H.'s onslaught on the Stoics does not dry up here: three hundred odd lines of/on Stoic incontinence are voiced by their disciple Damasippus in *S. II* 3.

*Further reading*: Campbell 2003, DuQuesnay 1984: 35–6, Fedeli 346–83, Fraenkel 86–90, Freudenburg 1993, 27–33, Gowers 2003: 72–5, Grilli 1983, K–H 44–6,

Kemp 2009, Knorr 2004: 71–90, 114–19, Maurach 2001: 67–70, Rist 1980, Rochette 2001, Rudd 1–35, Schlegel 2005: 30–7, Wimmel 1962: 46–73.

**1 omnibus . . . cantoribus:** H. begins his longest satire so far, on tolerance, with a sweeping condemnation of the paramount vice of singers: they go on too long (cf. the diatribic generalizations of 1.1 *qui fit . . . ut nemo . . . contentus uiuat*, 2.2 *hoc genus omne*, 4.6 *hinc omnis pendet Lucilius*). As with *S.* 2, the ghost of an elision/repetition with the last syllable of the previous poem (*uinc(am) | omnibus*) emphasizes the never-ending quality of H.'s own voice.

**1–3 inter amicos . . . desistant** 'When among friends, they can never be induced to sing when invited, and when uninvited they never stop.' *ut* + subj. (*OLD* s.v. 36) is the complement of the verbal phrase *est* + neut. n., with consecutive force (neg. = *ut non*). More commonly it is *hosts*, especially when they are also rulers, who are portrayed as exploiting captive *guests*: Bartsch 1994. **inter amicos:** a crucial distinction. H.'s world narrows from public aggression to the protected and indulgent sphere of exclusive groups bound by *amicitia* which will provide his model for an ideal society.

**3–4 Sardus . . . Tigellius:** back to the red-herring starting-point of *S.* 2, but now concentrating on 'Tigellius' inconsistencies and his tyranny at the dinner table. There is an appreciable distance between H.'s restrained moralizing treatment of Tigellius and Licinius Calvus' abuse of him (see 2.3n.); Cucchiarelli 2001: 122. **Sardus:** for contempt for Sardinians (perhaps because descended from Carthaginians), see Cic. *Fam.* 7.24.1 *non fero hominem pestilentiozem patria sua, 2 habes 'Sardos uenales alium alio nequiozem'*, Var. *Men.* 449B *Sardi Venales*. **ille** 'our old friend' (cf. 2.3; H.'s first intratextual reference). **hoc** 'this characteristic'.

**4 Caesar . . . posset:** the only direct reference to Octavian in the book, flattering his restraint, but still a sinister hint at his powers of control and censorship. Octavian took the *cognomen* Caesar when adopted in Julius Caesar's will in 44 BC; when H. was writing *Satires* I, he did not yet have supreme power. Griffin 1984: 189; '[T]he phrase is suggestive. He might have insisted, but he did not.' When H. addresses Augustus, he is more deferential: *Ep.* 2.1.3–4 *in publica commoda peccem, | si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar*. The model of Caesar's strained *aequitas* with Tigellius hangs over the poem, which urges unsatirical tolerance as the essence of social freedom: under the new dispensation, the terms of friendship must be renegotiated.

**5–7 si peteret . . . citaret:** impf. subjs. are used instead of the plupfs. regular in past hypothetical conditions (the tense is determined here by *posset*, which normally does service for the pluperf.).

**5 amicitiam:** friendship will be a central theme; Tigellius and Caesar provide the first (warped) model of give-and-take. See Hellegouarc'h 1972: 41–62; Kemp 2009 on H.'s engagement with Stoic and Epicurean (often curiously similar) theories and practices of friendship. **patris:** Julius Caesar, Octavian's adoptive father, friend of Tigellius.



**5–6 non . . . proficeret** ‘he would get no results’. **si collibuisset** ‘if the fancy had seized him . . .’: free will is presented as irrational (cf. 2.126 *do nomen quodlibet illi*). Plupf. used because there is no pres. *collibet*, only perf. forms *collibuit / collibitum est*. Tigellius’ wilful singing contrasts with H.’s reticence with regard to audience and patron: cf. 4.73–6, 6.56.

**6–7 ab ouo . . . ad mala:** from the first course of the meal (eggs, i.e. the *gustatio*; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.20 *integram famem ad ouum affero*) to the apples (i.e. dessert, *secundae mensae*), a proverbial phrase (cf. Var. *RR* 1.2.11); possibly with a pun on *ab ouo* as the origin or first stage of life (cf. *AP* 147 *nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ouo*; i.e. the egg that hatched Castor, Pollux and Helen), while *ad māla* (with a change in syllable length) could also mean ‘his sticky end’, ‘his just de(s)serts’. **citaret** ‘would call, invoke’. It is difficult to take *io Bacche/ae*, the MS reading, as the direct object of *citaret* (parallels like Cic. *De or.* 1.251 and Livy 45.38.12 are unconvincing). There may be something to be said for Bentley’s conjecture *iteraret*, which appears in a late MS and a Sorbonne codex (Brink 1987: 20); the sense of frequent repetition is paralleled at Apul. *Met.* 5.5.4–5 *diem totum lacrimis . . . consumit, se . . . perisse iterans*. **io Bacchae:** the MSS have either *Bacche* with long *e*, probably because the refrain (which sounds like the chorus of a drinking-song, especially an out-of-control, dithyrambic one) ended with an accent on the last syllable, or the more classic alternative *Bacchae* (Brown, K–H), which squares with e.g. Eur. *Bacch* 578, ἰὼ βᾶκχαῖ, ἰὼ βᾶκχαῖ (the repetition is assumed here, whether *citaret* or *iteraret* is preferred).

**7–8 modo . . . modo** ‘sometimes . . . sometimes’. **summa uoce** ‘at the top of the scale’. **hac . . . ima** ‘in the register that resounds lowest on the four strings’. Tigellius’ singing, like other aspects of his life, covers the whole gamut, from altissimo to basso profundo (cf. 130 *optimus modulator*). *chordis quattuor* translates Greek τετραχορδον, the descending musical scale of the lyre’s strings, spanning a perfect fourth, which was the basis of ancient musical analysis (West 1992: 160–4). Given that he is singing a Bacchic dithyramb, Tigellius’ lyre is probably tuned to the ecstatic Phrygian mode. H. is drawing on Pythagorean and Platonic ideas of the well-balanced soul as a harmony of its own parts, by analogy with musical harmony, based on numbers from one to four (Pl. *Rep.* 4.431a–c; cf. 1.1011n.); yet Tigellius’ warbling range is symptomatic of an imbalanced temperament. **resonat** implies that the voice responds to the pitch of the lyre.

**9 nil aequale . . . illi** ‘that man had no consistency in him’. Another generalization (cf. 1–2): the poem now lights on its motivating word *aequalis/aequus*. The principle of rational consistency in life, *aequalitas/ὁμολογία* (*SVF* 1.52.27–9), was associated not only with its walking exemplum Socrates, but primarily with the Stoics (cf. LS 63A–B), above all in Zeno’s much adapted formula of the consistent life (ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν); cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.90 (the Stoic Panaetius) *praecleara . . . est aequalitas in omni uita et idem semper uultus eademque frons, ut de Socrate . . . accepimus*. Ironically, H.’s poem will deal with the *limits* of strict consistency in achieving

harmonious social relations; he satirizes a particularly dogmatic version of Stoic philosophy which, thanks to Panaetius, had distinctly softened by his own time (Kemp 2006, 2009: 87).

**9–11 saepe . . . ferret:** very compressed: i.e. *saepe* [*curreret*] *uelut qui currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe* [e.g. *incedebat*] *uelut qui Iunonis sacra ferret* (generic-consecutive subj.). For the semiotics of pace: Arist. *NE* 1125a10–17 (the slow walk of the great-hearted man), Cic. *Off.* 1.131 (tardiness and briskness both condemned). For inconsistency in walking as a sign of an uneven character, cf. Sall. *Cat.* 15.5 *citus modo, modo tardus incessus*. Stately gait in religious processions: cf. 2.8.13–14 *ut Attica uirgo | cum sacris Cereris* (of slaves at a dinner), Ov. *Am.* 3.13.27–8 (the Greek-style festival of Juno at Falerii) *more patrum sancto uelato uestibus albis | tradita supposito uertice sacra ferunt*. Inconsistency in pace is part of H.’s prescription for satire at 10.9–14.

**11–12 habebat . . . seruos:** 200 commonly stood for any large round number: cf. 1.4.9, 6.42, 10.60. Ten was a modest number of slaves, undercut by H., who has eight on his Sabine farm (2.7.118), five in his praetorial retinue (6.108–9) and three in his modest Roman dining-room (6.116). M. Scaurus ‘only’ inherited ten slaves (Val. Max. 4.4.11).

**12–15** Inconsistency in Tigellius: sometimes magniloquent, boastful and pretentious, sometimes absurdly modest in his demands (just like the Saturnalian portrayal of H. in *S.* II 7, esp. 22–32). **12 tetrarchas:** Eastern potentates, e.g. in Galatia and Judaea (cf. 136 *magnorum maxime regum*). **omnia magna loquens** ‘blowing everything up’, translating Greek μέγα εἰπεῖν (cf. 7–8 *summa* | *uoce*). For *loquor* with acc. object, ‘speak of’, cf. Cic. *Att.* 9.2a.3 *Postumus Curtius uenit nihil nisi classes loquens et exercitus*. **mensa tripes:** an old-fashioned type of table with three legs (e.g. Philemon and Baucis’ table at Ov. *Met.* 8.661; back to manageable proportions after the numerical excess of 12 *tetr-archas*?), replaced by the *monopodium* introduced by Manlius after the Galatian War of 187 BC. **concha salis puri:** as opposed to a silver salt-cellar, which even H. thought not beyond the pale for a simple life: *C.* 2.16.13–14 *uiuatur paruo bene, cui paternum | splendet in mensa tenui salinum*. **puri** ‘unflavoured’, though H.’s own satires are compared to rough *sal nigrum* at *Ep.* 2.2.60. **defendere** ‘protect against, keep out’; cf. Lucr. 5.1429 (*uestis*) *dum plebeia tamen sit . . . quae defendere possit*.

**15 decies centena:** (sc. *milia sestertium*) one million sesterces, 2.5 times the equestrian census. **dedisses** ‘suppose you had given’ (supply *si*).

**16 quinque diebus:** another number creates bathos.

**17 nil erat** ‘there was sure to be nothing’ (ind. expresses inevitability in a conditional). **loculis** ‘coffers’.

**17–19 noctes . . . stertebat:** indifference to night and day is symptomatic of a would-be tyrant: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 5.3 *corpus patiens . . . uigiliae*. **nil . . . sibi:** H.’s summary – nothing was ever so internally inconsistent, so untrue to itself – is paraphrased at Sen. *Ep.* 120.22: *alius prodit atque alius et, quo turpius nihil iudico, impar sibi est: magnam rem puto, unum hominem agere*. But H. is to show himself as unreliable

a moralizer as Polonius. The phrase was commonly misquoted as *dispar sibi*, e.g. in a 1654 Rijksmuseum portrait of Gerhard Hultft, in an 1834 cartoon of the Duke of Wellington and in Emerson's journals (Chris Stray *per litteras*).

**19–20 nunc . . . minora:** an imaginary assailant, as if anticipating this thought, rounds on H. and asks about his own faults (just as the Saturnalian slave Davus nails him as a model of inconsistency in 2.7). A defining moment in *Satires* I: H. turns from complacent abuse (cf. the lampoon on Tigellius at the start of *S.* 2) to Socratic irony (Cucchiarelli 2001: 93, 122). H. admits to having faults, but also allows his guilt to be small-scale, as befits the small round poet of middling status (cf. 4.130–1 *mediocribus . . . uitiiis*, 6.65 *uitiis mediocribus*). This move anticipates the gradation of sins as opposed to inflexible Stoic doctrine at 117–24, while H. will be inculcated by his general remarks about blindness to one's own faults at 25–37.

**20 immo** 'Yes, but . . .' **fortasse:** the self-exoneration is tentative. **minora:** *paraprosdokian*: we are led to expect *maiora* as H. seems at first to be reinforcing the speaker's accusations (Fedeli). This is snappy quasi-comic dialogue.

**21–3** An anecdote plays on the pseudo-double meaning of *ignotus* 'unknown' and (if the verb were not intrans.) 'forgiven': 'When Maenius criticized Novius behind his back, "Hey you," says someone, "Do you not understand yourself (*ignoras*) or do you think you can deceive us as though we didn't know you (*ignotum*)?" "I *am* understanding to myself (*mi ignosco*)," says Maenius.' **Maenius:** the same Lucilian uncontrolled figure (1136–7W = 1203–4M) whose scurrilous humour is identified with profligacy at 1.101 (cf. ps.-Asconius *ad Cic. Divin. in Caec. 50 et scurrilitate et nepotatu notissimum Romae*, Porph. relates that Maenius said he wished he owed 400,000 sesterces. Why? Because he owed 800, 000). Maenius is a *scurra uagus* at *Ep.* 1.15.30 *quaelibet in quemuis opprobria fingere saeuus*. The so-called 'column of Maenius' in the Forum, the only part he saved from the sale of his house so that he could still watch gladiatorial fights, bore lists of debtors' names and was where the police-magistrates sat (Roman mythography has merged the person behind a topographical feature and the punishment linked with it). As usual with *scurrae*, there are uneasy comparisons to be made with H. the satirical scandalmonger (Freudenburg 1993: 203). Conversely, Maenius plays surrogate satirist: his justification is that self-knowledge and self-forgiveness license the upbraiding of others. Maenius does to Novius what H. has just done to Tigellius (Shackleton Bailey 1982: 23), though Tigellius was dead and not his *friend* – a crucial distinction in this poem. **Nouium:** unknown; but cf. 6.40, where he represents an upstart 'New Man'; 6.121 *Nouiorum . . . minoris*; also a play on *ignoras/ignotum*. Porph.'s claim that he was a moneylender may well be speculation but fits with the idea of opposition to a spendthrift. **carperet** 'pull to pieces'; frowns on satirical behaviour: cf. Cic. *Balb.* 57, Ov. *Met.* 2.781–2 *carpitque et carpitur una | suppliciumque suum est (Inuidia)*. **'heus tu':** aggressive; cf. 19 *quid tu?* **quidam:** typical of an anecdote/*ainos*: cf. 2.31, 9.3. **dare . . . uerba** 'to deceive, hoodwink' (+ dat.).

**23 egomet mi** stresses Maenius's dogged self-awareness (cf. 2.131), matching H.'s complacent *immo alia et fortasse minora*.

**24 stultus . . . dignusque notari:** H. condemns this arrogance. **improbis** 'brazen, flagrant'. **amor:** self-love. **dignus** + inf. (usu. pass.): the poetic equivalent of *dignus* + *qui* + subj. in prose. **notari:** the satirist's privilege, sometimes waived, is to name, point out or brand (cf. *nōta*); the shadow of the proscriptions, the triumvirs' public list of branded individuals (43 BC), hangs over *Satires* I as an alternative form of naming names and dispensing punishment. Here, H. says Maenius deserved to be branded for his arrant self-forgiveness: a further pun, on *nōtus* and *ignōtus*, is implied.

**25–8** Men look at their own faults with bleary eyes smeared with ointment, but paradoxically are sharper-eyed than eagles or serpents when it comes to the faults of their friends. In the light of 19–20, where he showed himself guilty of such double standards, H. is not so much being inconsistent as showing 'how easy it is to fall prey to inconsistency' (Kemp 2009: 93). The biblical gnome about motes and beams (Matt. 7:3) is echoed in 73–4: if you want your friend to excuse your boils, you should excuse his warts. The conceit is found already in an anonymous comic fragment, *Com. Adesp.* 359K = 725KA. **cum . . . inunctis** 'when you scrutinize your own faults through smeared and bleary eyes'; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 115.6 *sed, si quemadmodum uisus oculorum quibusdam medicamentis acui solet et repurgari, sic nos aciem animi liberare impedimentis uoluerimus, poterimus perspicere uirtutem*. **peruideas:** paradoxical with *lippus*, in implying especially sharp or deep vision (cf. 2.91 *caecior . . . spectes, C.* 3.7.21 *surdior . . . audis*). **mala** 'faults'; cf. *Ep.* 2.2.127 *dum mea delectent mala me*, Phaedr. 4.10.4–5 *hac re uidere nostra mala non possumus: | alii simul delinquant, censores sumus*. **lippus:** a crucial word in *Satires* I: see 1.120, 5.30, 7.3nn. **inunctis:** cf. *Ep.* 1.1.29 *lippus inungui*.

**26 in** 'in the case of'. **amicorum:** as with 1 *inter amicos*, 5 *amicitiam*, this is the important ethical distinction. Groups of friends should be protected internally from Lucilian-style aggression and intolerance. **cernis acutum** = Greek ὄξύ βλέπειν.

**27 aquila:** for eagles as proverbially sharp-sighted, cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.674–5, Porph. *rectis oculis solem intuetur*; cf. Otto s.vv. *aquila, Argus, Lynceus, miluus*. **serpens Epidaurius:** a snake sacred to Aesculapius at Epidaurus, where the god was worshipped in the form of a serpent. One of these snakes was brought to the Tiber island, where a temple of Aesculapius was built. All snakes were thought to see well (ὄράκων 'snake' from δέρομαι 'see'; at Ar. *Plut.* 733–47, Plutus' blindness is cured by two snakes licking his eyes in the temple of Aesculapius).

**27–8 at tibi contra . . . illi** 'Conversely, your fate is that they (i.e. your friends) scrutinize your faults in return.' Already the emphasis is on self-interest served through reciprocity. **at . . . contra:** conversational. **inquirant:** the *Satires* envisage a world of scrutinizing looks.

**29–32** A list of minor personal faults gradually comes into focus in the shape of a composite anonymous portrait of H. as clod-hopping rustic, given that

these faults tally with traits admitted elsewhere (Armstrong 1989: 37). Thus the addressee (27 *tibi*, 34 *te*) has correspondingly been assumed to be Maecenas, criticized for behaving *de haut en bas* to H. (Armstrong 1989: 37–41) but shielded by the ambiguous *tu* of diatribe (Lyne 1995: 139–43). The clumsy persona presented here is typical of the Cynics but probably has comic origins (Freudentburg 1993: 27). The same sloppy appearance is projected at *Ep.* 1.1.94–6, where H. consciously returns to his old diatribic pose. **iracundior . . . paulo** ‘somewhat prone to lose his temper’: cf. *Ep.* 1.20.25 *irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem, S.* 2.3.323 *horrendam rabiem. paulo* diminishes the fault in accordance with H.’s claim at 20 *fortasse minora*.

**minus . . . hominum** ‘not too attuned to today’s sniffy society’. The nose was metaphorically the organ of disgust and disdain, and also of wit, therefore quintessentially satirical; cf. 6.5 *naso suspendis adunco* [Maecenas], 4.8 *emunctae naris* [Lucilius]; at *Epod.* 12.3 *naris obesae* means ‘insensitive’; *acutis* may be inspired by 26 *acutum*. H. is characteristically transferring the role of satirical aggressor to his observers.

**30–1 rideri . . . quod** ‘He could be laughed at because’ (*eo = ideo*). **rusticius tonso** ‘with a bumpkinish haircut’ (*tonso* is dat. of reference with *toga defluit* and *calceus haeret*). H. has a similarly botched haircut at *Ep.* 1.1.94 *curatus inaequali tonsore capillos*. **defluit** ‘is trailing’; cf. *Ep.* 1.1.96 *toga dissidet impar*. SB proposes *diffluit* ‘billows’, but cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.404 *pedes uestis defluxit ad imos*. **male laxus | . . . haeret** ‘his loose shoe barely clings to his foot’. Flopping sandals are a rustic feature at Theophr. *Char.* 4.4 (Ussher 1960: 55), a sketch with comic roots: Antiphanes, Anaxilas, Philemon and Menander all wrote comedies called *Agroikos* ‘Farmer’; cf. Cleaenetus at Men. *Georgos* 97K: ‘I am a rustic, I cannot deny it, entirely unskilled in the ways of the city.’ Both this type and the persona of the satirist are social misfits, loud and unrestrained, sloppy in appearance but with an attractive bluntness (Freudentburg 1993: 27–33). H.’s perception of comic playwright Plautus at *Ep.* 2.1.174 is also as a slipshod clown: *quam non astricto percurrat pulpita socco*. On striking a balance in footwear, see Quint. 11.3.137 *et toga et calceus et capillus tam nimia cura quam neglegentia sunt reprehendenda*. **male** generally accentuates the negative and weakens the positive, thus here both reinforces *laxus* and weakens *haeret*.

**32–4** Three objections linked by *at* address the previous criticisms individually: H. has a good heart (despite being irascible); he is a good friend (despite not being up to scratch among snobs); and he has a heart of gold under his messy exterior. The satirist’s business lies in stripping off surfaces, but not usually in this charitable way (cf. 2.85 *quaerit quo turpia celet*, 2.1.64–5 *detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora | cederet, introrsum turpis*). The motto *ingenium ingens inculto latet hoc sub corpore* was once raised under a portrait of Dr Johnson, then removed by its new owner: ‘Johnson said complacently, “It was kind in you to take it off”; and then, after a short pause, “and not unkind in him to put it on.”’ (Boswell 1831: vol. 5, 59–60) **ut melior uir**: sc. *sit*; consecutive. For the (colloquial) ellipsis of *sit*, cf. 5.33 *Antoni non ut magis alter amicus*.

**ingenium ingens**: *ingenium* in the sense of innate ‘genius’ or ‘inspiration’ is generally used of other people by H., ironically

(e.g. 4.43, 10.63, 2.1.75, 2.4.47) or occasionally flatteringly (*Ep.* 1.3.21–2 *non tibi paruum | ingenium*). Here the phrase refers to great-heartedness or generosity of character, using *figura etymologica* to play on the idea that true worth is inborn (*ingens*), not based on superficial or artificially contrived impressions (cf. *inculto*).

**34–7** An exhortation to self-purge, presented as a mixed metaphor. Rudd 34: ‘[T]he personality begins as a garment in which the seeds of evil have lodged, and it ends as an overgrown field.’ **denique** ‘in short’, ‘at all events’. **con-cute** ‘shake out’, as if from the folds of a garment (usu. *excutere*; *OLD* s.v. *excutio* 3: shake off physical or mental conditions, attitudes, etc.). An apt image here in connection with H.’s messy toga: ‘Shake your *own* garments out first.’ Fedeli prefers the idea of tapping a vase for potential fissures, anticipating 56 *sincerum uas incrustare*. **uitiorum**: partitive, after indefinite *qua* ‘in any manner’. A pun lurks here on *uiciarum* ‘vetch’, before *inseuerit* (cf. Powell 1987: 257 on *Juv.* 1.87 *uberior uitiorum copia* as a pun on *uicia*, an ingredient of *farrago*; cf. *Juv.* 1.86). Pliny *HN* 18.300 names it as an agricultural weed burned to preserve the main crop, an appropriate role here. **inseuerit**: cf. *C.* 4.4.33 *doctrina sed uim promouet insitam*. **consuetudo** ‘habit’, but also part of the vocabulary of *amicitia*, denoting the frequency of encounters, the familiarity that leads to friendship (Hellegouarc’h 1972: 76–9). **namque** = Greek γάρ, implying an ellipse. Palmer: ‘and it is sure to do so just as . . . in fields that are neglected, ferns which have to be burned take root’. **filix**: cf. *Virg. Georg.* 2.189 *et filicem curuis inuisam pascit aratris*. **innascitur**: implies a link with *natura* (cf. *ingens*, *inculto*). For the distinction with *inseritur*, cf. *Sen. Ep.* 121.17 (*cura sui*) *animalibus inest cunctis nec inseritur, sed innascitur*.

**38–40** Another narrative ‘diversion’ is announced, misleadingly, as it gives only a slightly new slant on the subject. Lovers’ tolerance of or blindness to their beloveds’ blemishes was an old topos, but the paramount model here is *Lucr.* 4.1153–70, with a new twist. Rudd 26: ‘Whereas Lucretius says “Lovers are deluded, and what fools they are!”, Horace says “Lovers and parents are deluded – yes, and it’s a pity there aren’t more like them!”’ H.’s treatment is initially satirical, with the example of Balbinus, infatuated with Hagna despite her wart. This looks like a traditional comic predicament: ‘the doting lover and his forbidden, somewhat reluctant *meretrix*’ (Freudenburg 1993: 50).

**38 praeuertamur** ‘let us turn our attention to’; cf. *Quint.* 12.2.4 *ad illud sequens praeuertar*. **amatorem . . . amicae**: two words with shared roots lay the ground for the disjunction on *amicitia* starting at 41.

**39–40 decipiunt . . . delectant**: alliteration stresses the paradox. **turpia . . . uitia**: repulsive blemishes (*uitia* shifts from its moral to its aesthetic sense, after 35 *uitiorum*). **caecum** intensifies 25 *lippus*. **Balbinum**: another significant name, evoking *balbutire* ‘to stammer, lisp’; also ‘to wheedle with loving endearments or baby talk’; cf. 48 *balbutit*, of a doting father, 2.3.274 *balba . . . uerba* (of old men), *Ep.* 1.20.18 *balba senectus*.

DuQuesnay 1984: 53–4 identifies Balbinus and Pomponius (4.52) as two victims of the proscriptions who took refuge with Sextus Pompeius (App. *BC* 4.45, 50). **polypus**: nasal tumour, polyp or carbuncle (first syllable long, as in the Doric form of the word). **Hagnae**: from Greek ἄγνός ‘pure’, a common freedwoman’s name, oxymoronic with her implied *turpe uirtum*.

**41–2 uellem . . . honestum** ‘I wish we made the same blunders in friendship, and that virtue had given a respectable name to that blundering’; i.e. that indulgence was called ‘charity’, rather than ‘fault’. Even the ‘blindness’ of friends can be *re-named* in a softer way, Horace proposes, countering a current view that indulgence was a sign of *assentatio* or flattery: e.g. Cic. *De am.* 89 *molesta ueritas . . . sed obsequium multo molestius, quod peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit*. **uirtus**: the essence of all uirtues (55 *uirtutes*), the ethical assessment of human character (K–H); in this sense, cf. 2.6.74.

**43–4 at pater . . . fastidire** ‘but (given that it is called *error*) we ought, like fathers with their sons, not to be disgusted by a friend’s faults’: lit. ‘as a father (does not despise the faults) of his son, so we should not be disgusted by our friend’s fault, if any exists’. The final *-e* of *fastidire* is short before the *str-* of *strabonem* (cf. 2.30).

**44–53** A list of fathers’ charitable glosses on their children’s defects merges into a discussion about how to re-describe the faults of friends, four examples of each.

**44–8** The list of kind and unkind adjectives is a variant on the list of lovers’ mollifying names for their darlings’ defects at Lucr. 4.1160–9. But H. does away with Lucretius’ satirically Grecized language of love and plays on the defective physical characteristics that lay behind traditional Roman aristocratic *cognomina* (the names mentioned being associated with certain Roman *gentes*). This tradition of physical critique will find a counterpart in the early, aggressive stage of human civilization described at 99–110. Four grammatical objects are all indicated by different constructions (*strabonem*; *male paruus si cui filius est; hunc . . . distortis cruribus; illum . . . prauis fultum male talis*; with *appellat* in the first clause, *balbutit* in the last, the middle two verbs are understood). **strabonem** ‘cross-eyed’. **pae-tum** ‘squinty’; thought attractive and a feature of Venus: Ov. *AA* 2.659 *si paetaest, Veneri similis*, Var. *Men.* 344B *non haec res de Venere strabam facit*, Petr. 68 *quod strabonus est non curo; sicut Venus spectat*. **paetum . . . paruus**: alliteration of *p-* gives a satirical emphasis to this line and vocalizes 48 *balbutit*, suggesting the first stuttering sounds of a child (one of whose first words would be *pater*) and the indulgent baby-talk with which parents instinctively respond; cf. H.’s stammering ‘infantile’ conversation with Maecenas at 6.55 *infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari*, Pers. 2.17–18 *pueris pappare minutum | poscit*. **pullum** ‘chick’; also a name for a catamite or favourite pet (Fest. 284, 17L *antiqui . . . puerum quem quis amabat pullum eius dicebant*). Animal names for adored human beings: cf. 2.3.259 *catelle* (to a child), Pl. *As.* 666–7 *passerculum, gallinam, coturnicem, | agnellum, haedillum . . . uitellum*, 693–4 *dic igitur med aneticulam, columbam uel catellum, | hirundinem*,



*monerulam, passerulum putillum.* **male paruus** ‘sadly stunted’ (*male* reinforces *paruus*); cf. 4.66. **abortiuus . . . | Sisyphus:** Porph. identifies Sisyphus with a favourite dwarf of Mark Antony: *M. Antoni IIIuiri pumilio fuisse dicitur intra bipedalem staturam, ingenio tamen uiuax* (Philodemus *Peri semeion* 2.17 mentions pygmies Mark Antony imported from Syria). *abortiuus* means ‘born prematurely’, or showing similar deformity; also, of eggs, ‘addled’: Mart. 6.93.5 *pullus abortiuo nec cum putrescit in ouo*. ‘Sisyphus’ may suggest the hubristic ambition of the mythological figure who tricked the gods and was punished by having to roll a slippery rock uphill for ever in Hades (cf. 1.68 *Tantalus*). Dwarves with mock-grand names: cf. Prop. 4.8.41 *Magnus*. **uarum** ‘knock-kneed’ (Porph.: *uari appellantur introrsum retortis pedibus*). **balbutit** ‘gives the pet name’ (lit. ‘lisps’). **scaurum** ‘rickety’ (Porph.: *scauri sunt qui extantes talos habent*). **prauis . . . talis** ‘barely supported by his misshapen ankles’; cf. 2.87–8 *facies [sc. equorum] . . . decora | molli fulta pede, Iuv. 3.193 nos Vrben colimus tenui tibicine fultam*.

**49–53** Four examples of indulgence to friends’ faults (Ar. *Rhet.* 1367a 32 is a classic parallel). ‘Monotony is avoided at all costs’ (Fraenkel 88 n. 3): the four main verbs are varied (*dicatur, postulat ut uideatur, habeatur, numeretur*), the first and last examples short and metrically equivalent, the middle two more expansive.

**49–51 parcius** ‘rather stingily’. **frugi** ‘thrifty’ (pred. dat. of *frux*, thus an indeclinable adj.). **ineptus . . . est** ‘another is a bit tactless and overconfident.’ Not a bad summary of the pest (*S.* 9), whose problem is that he hasn’t any friends. According to Cic. *Or.* 2.17, the *ineptus* (*in-aptus*) is someone ‘who does not see what the occasion requires, talks too much and shows off, has no regard for the status or comfort of the company he is in (*dignitatis uel commodi rationem non habet*), and, in short, is in some way out of place or tedious’ (*aut inconcinnus aut multus est*); cf. H.’s characterization of the anonymous figure at 29 as *minus aptus*. **paulo:** indicates H.’s own measured tolerance. **concinus** ‘fitting in, good company’; H. studies for a similar social impression at 4.135–6 *sic dulcis amicis | occurram*. Monteil 1964: 180–1 sees *ineptus* and *concinus* as closely linked opposites, the first suggesting inability to fit into society, the second the indulgent acceptance of one’s friends. **postulat** ‘expects to, claims to’: he means his friends to find him entertaining.

**51–2 at** ‘on the other hand’. **truculentior** ‘over-aggressive’. **plus aequo liber** ‘more outspoken than necessary’. *aequo* revives the connection with the golden mean (cf. 9 *aequale*). **simplex fortisque habeatur** ‘you should call him frank and courageous’. H. considers himself *simplicior* at 63. *simplex* responds to *liber* (both refer to verbal candour), *fortis* is a benevolent gloss on *truculentior*. For a similar intertwining of *simplex* and *fortis* in the context of friendship, cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.63 *uiros fortes et magnanimos eosdem bonos et simplices, ueritatis amicos minimeque fallaces esse uolumus*.

**53 caldior . . . numeretur** ‘If he is a bit hot-headed, count him as dynamic.’ *caldior* is a syncopated version of *calidior*: cf. Cic. *De inv.* 2.28 *si dicamus idcirco aliquem*



*Calidum uocari, quod temerario et repentino consilio sit.* H. reports that he is regarded as *nimis acer* at 2.1.1, and *acer* is a negative adj. at 60–1 *acris* | *inuidia*.

**53–4 opinor . . . amicos** ‘In my view this attitude creates friendships and strengthens them’; lit. ‘both joins people and keeps them joined once they are friends’. The second *et* is postponed from before *iunctos*, the word order allowing several words to have a dual function. *seruare amicos* might be the text of this poem. **iuugit iunctos**: the emphatic resumption (*epiphloke*) of the idea of ‘joining’ brings out the idea of an indissoluble bond.

**55–67** H. continues to discuss the human tendency to regard other people’s failings in a negative light. These are the dilemmas of S. 4 in embryo: how objectionably outspoken a satirist can be, and how often he will be misinterpreted anyway.

**55–6 at . . . incrustare** ‘But we stand virtues on their heads and do our best to stain a clean vessel.’ The first metaphor is from winejars, i.e. we ‘upturn’ merits to make them into faults (cf. 2.8.39 *inuertunt Allifanis uinaria tota*). The second refers to the incrustation of sour wine left too long in its jar: cf. *Ep.* 1.2.54 *sincerum est nisi uas quodcumque infundis acescit*, Lucil. 129W = 135M *incrustatus calix*, S. 2.4.80 *si grauis ueteri craterae limus adhaesit*. Alternatively, H. refers to covering over something genuine with a stucco façade (cf. Sen. *Prov.* 6.3 *non est ista solida et sincera felicitas: crusta est*, where *crusta* is a thin slab used as overlay in panelling walls), but this fits less well with the idea of inversion. **furimus**: *cupimus* is offered by most MSS. Textual alternatives include *fugimus* (B) and the more plausible *furimus* (cod. g), the latter adopted by Vollmer and most later editors except Heinze and Borzák (Brink 1987: 21).

**56–7 probus . . . demissus homo** ‘We know a decent man, a very modest person’. *probus* (cf. 24 *improbus*) is often linked with *demissus*: e.g. Cic. *De or.* 2.182 *omnia quae proborum, demissorum, non acrium, non pertinacium, non litigiosorum, non acerborum sunt, ualde beneuolentiam conciliant*. **quis** = *aliquis*, virtually equivalent to *si quis* here (cf. 63 *simplicior quis*). The alleged identification with Virgil seems very unlikely: all the types are possible facets of H. (inconsistent to the core). **nobiscum uiuit**: i.e. is our *conuictor* (as H. is Maecenas’ at 6.47). H.’s *Satires*, and above all this one, deal with the problems of living in communities, small or large.

**57–8 illi . . . damus**: *tardus* and *pinguis* are attracted into the dat. of the recipient. The hyperbaton *tardo cognomen* for *cognomen tardo* is common: cf. Cic. *Ver.* 5.16 *Apollonio . . . cui Gemino cognomen est*; contrast 2.3.47–8 *nomen* | *insano*. **tardo** ‘slow, stupid’. **cognomen . . . damus**: cf. 2.125 *do nomen quodlibet illi*. Satire’s licence to name names is rejected. **pingui** ‘thick’ (mental stupidity assumed from physical stolidity); cf. 2.6.14 *ingenium tardum et pingue*.

**58–9 hic . . . apertum** ‘One man shuns all tricky situations and doesn’t expose himself to danger’, lit. ‘doesn’t offer his exposed flank to danger’ (*apertum* is a military metaphor; *OLD* s.v. *latus* 3). H. touches on the tendency of satire to spawn vindictive enemies.

**60–1 cum . . . crimina** ‘[and justifiably] since he is engaged in the kind of life where allegations and resentment thrive keenly’. H. vindicates these agoraphobic fears (*hoc genus uitae* might refer to satire-writing as a way of life; cf. 1.13 *de genere hoc*). *inter* and *uitae* suggest a social framework and etymology for *inuidia*: *uersemur* and *uigent* add emphasis; *acris* and *inuidia* balance *uigent* and *crimina*, suggesting an equivalence. **cum** ‘because’. **uersemur**: the reading of V (and ps.-Acro), defended by Bentley and adopted by most recent editors as referring to the contemporary socio-political minefield rather than an individual’s experience. The majority MS reading *uersetur* is the *lectio difficilior* (though Bentley argued that a scribe would be more likely to turn a 1st person pl. verb into a 3rd sing. one, by analogy with the subject of the sentence, than vice versa; Brink 1987: 21). **acris**: predicative, depending on *uigent*; ‘keen(ly)’, given the seeing metaphor in *inuidia* (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.20 *recentem aliorum felicitatem acribus oculis introspicere*). **inuidia**: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.20: *ut effugiamus ambiguum nomen inuidiae. quod uerbum ductum est a nimio intiendo fortunam alterius*.

**61–2 pro . . . uocamus** ‘Instead of sensible and cautious we call him devious and shift’y’; cf. 9.44 *mentis bene sanae* (of Maecenas).

**63–7** The list culminates with a character sketch of a gauche intruder, which gradually comes into focus as another self-deprecating portrait of H. and his relationship with Maecenas (‘exquisite’: Armstrong 1989: 39; ‘easy, almost casual’; Fraenkel 88). The idea of a tiresome bore butting into his friend’s brown study with no tact or timing provides a humorous scenario for *Satires* I as a whole (65 *quouis sermone molestus*): an unwanted invasion of Maecenas’ privacy. This crucial scene invites comparisons with Tigellius’ impositions on Caesar at 3–8 and Ruso and his captive audience at 86–9, and takes the generalizing subject matter of the poem straight to the heart of H.’s own situation as welcome or unwelcome satirist. The impression of ease here is carefully calculated: H. presumes that Maecenas, like Caesar, will be held to ransom by his own *noblesse oblige*, even if his own sense of behaviour strains the limits of acceptability (Armstrong 1989: 37–41, Gowers 2003: 73–4). Gold 1992: 170–1 sees three successive versions of H. here: the brash intruder, the suave courtier who tut-tuts about bad manners, and finally the Socratic satirist, who does not presume to cast the first stone (for this as a mini-history of H.’s socialization: Gowers 2003: 73–4).

**63–4 simplicior . . . Maecenas** ‘Or take someone rather gauche, the kind of man I would gladly strike you, Maecenas, as being, time and again.’ **et** belongs at the the beginning of the clause. **qualem**: sc. *talis*. **saepe libenter**: this behaviour is both deliberate and habitual. A striking allusion to Ennius’ famous ‘Good Companion’ passage (*Ann.* 268–86), describing an ideal friend to a great man (see Skutsch *ad Ann.* 268 *saepe libenter*; cf. below 93 *iucundus*); see Hardie 2007 for Ennius’ influence on the Horatian ideal of patron-client relations. For Aelius Stilo’s theory (Gell. 12.4) that Ennius, like H., may be thinly disguising himself, see Norden 1915: 132 and Skutsch 1985: 450. With the allusion H. identifies a ‘satirical’ element in the *Annales* (Connors 2005:

131). **me . . . obtulerim:** potential subj. (*libenter* implying a wish) referring to the future, not the past: ‘I would gladly give you repeated indications that I possess the qualities of *simplicitas*’ (Woodcock 1938). This is the first (not counting 1.1) of H.’s self-presentations to Maecenas: cf. 6.54 *nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit*. His relaxed self-exposure here contrasts with 59 *nullique malo latus obdit apertum*.

**64–5 ut . . . molestus** ‘so as to come crashing in on someone when he is reading or deep in thought and assail him annoyingly with some pointless bit of conversation’. Transpose this characterization of Horatian *sermo* to the beginning of *S.* 1, and 1 *Qui fit, Maecenas* . . . is cast as an unwelcome interruption of the patron’s peace (63–4 *me . . . obtulerim* ~ 1.2 *seu fors obiecerit*). **legentem aut tacitum:** the apparent contrast here has been used to support a widespread misapprehension that the Romans read aloud to themselves (e.g. Hendrickson 1929: 186; though ps.-Acro paraphrases: *legentem aut cogitantem*). Knox 1968 and Gavrilov 1997, esp. 72 argue that this passage (along with 6.122 and 2.7.1) positively supports the idea that silent reading was normal; even 2.5.68 *tacitus leget* does not contradict this, the point being that *of course* the treacherous Nasica would read his son-in-law’s will silently. **quouis** makes H.’s *sermo* sound insignificant and tiresome; cf. 9.2 *nescio quid*, 10.88 *sint qualiacumque*. **molestus:** probably with adjectival sense, ‘annoyingly’, adding to the self-criticism of *quouis sermone*. Thus SB (cf. Brink 1987: 21), but most modern editors take it with the next line (cf. 2.26 *facetus*) as part of the censorious judgment to come, where it is more cumbersome. For *molestus* used of an unwelcome visitor, cf. Crassus’ joke recorded at Cic. *De or.* 2.259. A man asked Crassus if it would be a nuisance if he called on him at crack of dawn. ‘You won’t disturb me [*molestus non eris*],’ he replied. ‘You mean you’ll ask to be woken?’ ‘I said, you won’t disturb me,’ said Crassus; i.e., true to his name, he would sleep on insensibly.

**66–7 ‘communi sensu . . . iniquimus** ‘We say he has absolutely no tact’ (not ‘common sense’ but ‘consideration for others’; Thompson 1920). H. pretends to join in with the condemnation; the man is not ‘one of us’; cf. Sen. *Ben.* 1.12.3 *tempus, locum obseruet, personas, quibus momentis quae damus grata et ingrata sunt*; Quint. 1.2.20. H. again confronts the problem of how a satirist can exist harmoniously in sensitive surroundings. When speaking to Augustus, he is obsessive about timing: see 2.1.18–19 (with Muecke), *Ep.* 1.13.3–5, 17–18 *Ep.* 2.1.4 (with Brink). For a similarly considerate approach, cf. Vitruvius *praef.* 1 *metuens ne non apto tempore interpellans subirem animi tui offensionem*. **ehue . . . iniquam!** ‘Lord, how rash we are to sanction such an unkind principle against ourselves!’ Self-interest is at the fore as usual: i.e. we are liable to be done by as we do ourselves; *ehue* is mock-exasperation. **iniquam** ‘unfair to others, cruel to ourselves’. Like its opposite *aequus*, *iniquus* is a multi-faceted catchword.

**68 nam . . . nascitur:** a proverbial phrase; cf. Prop. 2.22.17 *uni cuique dedit uitium natura creato*. In the context of (diatribic) satire, this is possibly ‘in quotation marks’ as a stereotypically pious motto, contrasting in tone with H.’s annoyed opening generalization: see 1.1–3, 3.1–3nn.

**68–9 optimus . . . urgetur:** a pragmatic approach to defects. **urgetur** ‘is beset’; cf. *AP* 53, Cic. *Tusc.* 2.67. *sine* goes with *utiis*.

**69–72 amicus . . . uolet** ‘A kind friend ought, if he’s being fair, to weigh [*compenset*] my good points against my defects and tip the scales towards the more numerous good points – supposing, that is, they are more numerous – if he wants to stay friends.’ The scales image is inspired by another sense of *aequus*, ‘level, balanced’ (*OLD* s.v. 4): balance in matters of friendship means, paradoxically, to *weight the scales*.

**amicus dulcis:** cf. 4.135–6 *sic dulcis amicis | occurram*, Cic. *De am.* 90 *melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri quam eos amicos qui dulces uideantur*.

**cum:** with *utiis*; when *compensare* means ‘to set one thing off against another’, it takes *cum* + abl.; cf. Cic. *Fin.* 2.30.96 *compensabatur tamen cum his omnibus animi laetitia, quam capiebam memoria rationum inuentorumque nostrorum* (the dying Epicurus weighs present pain against past happiness).

**si modo:** an ironic proviso. H. has given a model for this kind of benevolent assessment at 29–34. **hac lege . . . eadem** ‘By this principle, he will be weighed in the same balance.’ More self-interest.

**73–4 qui ne . . . illius:** returns full circle to the hostile approach of 25–7 and recalls Hagna’s carbuncle at 40. Warts and tumours as defects: Lucil. 573W = 546M *uerrucam naeuum punctum*, Sen. *Beat. Vit.* 27.4 *papulas obseruatis alienas, obsiti plurimis ulceribus. hoc tale est quale si quis pulcherrimorum corporum . . . uerrucas derideat*.

**74–5 aequum . . . rursus:** paired alliteration (*peccatis . . . poscentem, reddere rursus*) reinforces the idea of reciprocity.

**76–9** H. proposes a scale of punishments to fit the crime committed, an attack on the Stoic paradox that all sins are equal and deserve equal punishment; see e.g. Zeno fr. 224 = *SVF* 1.54, Cic. *Mur.* 61. Here the pun on *aequus* comes into full play. H.’s new paradox is that what is ‘equal’ is in this case not ‘fair’. To justify this, he begins with examples of punishments that are out of all proportion to the crime and adds more examples of intolerance towards friends’ faults.

**76–7 denique** ‘and then’: a Lucretian tic indicates a new part of the argument. **quatenus . . . haerentia** ‘given that the sin of anger and the other defects that cling to fools cannot be cut out completely’.

**excidi:** a medical metaphor from e.g. the cutting out of warts or uprooting of plants: Cels. 5.28.13c *ulcus usque ad sanam carnem excidi oportebit*, Lucr. 3.310 *nec radicatus euelli mala posse putandumst*. Despite the surface similarity, Lucretius follows Epicurean orthodoxy in lamenting the impossibility of perfect *ataraxia* because of the need to fulfil nature (e.g. fr. 555 Usener τῆ φύσει χρῆσθαι), while H. reproduces the gentler doctrine of Panaetius and the Peripatetics, that the emotions are permanently ingrained, and if completely removed (*apatheia*) rather than moderated (*metriopatheia*) would cause the subject harm (Grilli 1983: 270–1).

**stultis:** a joke at the expense of the Stoics, who held that all men except for the *sapiens* were fools (ἄφρονες), and yet whose own folly H. is trying to expose.

**haerentia:** suggests surface excrescences, but also recalls 31–2 *male haeret*.

**77–9 cur non . . . coercet?** ‘Why does reason not use its own weights and measures and check misdeeds with the punishment that each case deserves?’ lit. ‘according to what each case is like’. Weights and measures recall the balance of 70–2; cf. Epic. *Ep. Men.* 129 (*modulus* = Epicurus’ *κωνών*), Cic. *Planc.* 79 *sed ego haec meis ponderibus examinabo*. But there may be a specific connection with the work of the Roman aediles in preventing commercial fraud and maintaining *aequitas* in a more technical sense; cf. Var. *Men.* 245B *fortis, aecus uel ad aedilicium modium*. **ratio**: in this context, *ratio* has shades of its other meaning ‘reckoning, calculation’ (*OLD* s.v. 2).

**79 suppliciiis**: as in comedy, punishment in a hard physical sense.

**80–98** The Stoics’ vindictive vision of the universe is represented as a mad Saturnalian world, a theme developed at greater length in *S.* II 3, the vision of another Stoic, Damasippus, who perceives the whole world as bedlam (paradoxically a sign of his own madness) and the wise man as its only exception (another well-known Stoic paradox); McGann 1973: 72–84. While admitting that laws are an essential sanction for civilized life, H. appeals for a sense of proportion (117–18 *adsit regula*) in degrees of punishment from those to whom authority has been granted (123–4 *si tibi regnum | permittant homines*). The Stoics are seen as usurping that authority through their sophistical argument that the wise man is anything from a shoemaker to a king.

**80–3** An example of a preposterously harsh punishment: the crucifixion of a slave for licking cold fish and gravy when removing plates from the table. H. the parasite-client shunts the risks of being a *conuictor* onto his social inferior.

**80–2 tollere** ‘to remove from the table’; cf. 2.8.10 *his ubi sublatis*, Pl. *Men.* 464 *sublatum est conuiuium*. **semesos . . . ius**: the less-than-perfect state of the foodstuffs makes the punishment seem harsher. Half-eaten food: cf. 2.6.85 *semesa . . . lardi frusta*; Quint. 6.3.90 (Galba’s joke about half-eaten fish served up the next day): *festinemus, alii subenant*. **ligurrierit**: cf. 2.4.78–9 *puer unctis | tractauit calicem manibus, dum furta ligurrit* (a stomach-turning prospect for the fastidious cook); cf. Paul. Fest. p. 90M *catillorum ligurritores*. **ius**: the simplistic rationale behind this system of punishment comes out in a common pun: justice (*ius*) is meted out for licking gravy (*ius*); for similar puns, cf. 7.20–1, 2.4.38, 63, 2.8.45; Gowers 1993a: 77, 174–5. **in cruce suffigat**: a standard phrase: e.g. Cat. 99.4 *suffixum in summa me meminisse cruce*.

**82–3 Labeone . . . dicatur** ‘Among right-thinking men he would be called madder than Labeo.’ The most plausible candidate is C. Atinius Labeo, a Republican tribune of the plebs who tried to punish Metellus for rejecting him from the senate by ordering him to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock in 131 BC: Livy *epit.* 59; Cic. *De dom.* 123 *ille furor tribuni plebis* (cf. *insanior*, 83 *furiosius*). The Metelli had been attacked by Lucilius (e.g. 232W = 1130M, 637W = 676M), so this may be another typically ‘Lucilian’ sideswipe. The scholiasts’ suggestion, M. Antistius Labeo, a jurisconsult who spoke out against Augustus (*iurisconsultus: multa contumaciter aduersus Caesarem* [i.e. Augustus] *dixisse et fecisse fertur*; Tac. *Ann.* 3.75 *in corrupta*

*libertate*) would have been only in his teens when H. was writing; Bentley's *Labienus*, an orator nicknamed 'Rabienus' for his zeal (Sen. *Contr.* 5 *praef.*), who burned himself alive along with works censored in Augustus' book-burning of 12 BC, is also too late.

**83–5 quanto . . . peccatum est!** 'How much crazier and worse a sin is the one that follows!' H. exaggerates for dialectical effect: to shun a friend is even more culpable than to mete out absurdly draconian punishment. **paulum . . . insuavis** 'A friend has committed a slight peccadillo, which, if you don't forgive it, will make you look grudging.'

**85–6 acerbus . . . aeris** 'You [decide to] hate him bitterly and shun him like a debtor shunning Ruso.' **Rusonem:** presumably a moneylender (cf. 3.21, 6.121: the Novii) who forced debtors to listen to his boring histories (Porph.'s *acerbus fenerator* and *scriptor historiarum* are simply inferred from the text). On recitations, first fostered at Rome by Pollio, cf. 4.73–8, 22–3, *AP* 476, *Juv.* 1.1–3, 3.9, 7.29 (with Mayor *ad loc.*); *RE* s.v. *recitationes*, Binder 1995, Dupont 1997. The image of bullying performer versus captive audience recalls Tigellius and Caesar at 3–8 and H. and Maecenas at 63–5. At 4.73–8 H. is allegedly reluctant to enter into such a contract.

**87–9 qui . . . audit** 'who, poor creature, if he couldn't raise interest or principal from any source when the gloomy Kalends caught up with him, presented his throat to be cut and provided a captive audience for Ruso's histories'. **Kalendae:** the financial calendar was structured around the Kalends, Nones and Ides: money was lent, debts recalled, interest paid on these days; cf. *Epod.* 2.69–70 *omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam | quaerit Kalendis ponere*. Creditors similarly hound young spendthrifts at 2.14–17. **mercedem:** interest on a loan (cf. 2.14). **nummos:** hard cash, i.e. the original sum loaned; cf. *Cat. Agr.* 14.3 *qui . . . nummos fide bona soluat*. **unde unde** 'by hook or by crook' (Palmer). Elision and lingering repetition prepare us for the grimmer alternative: being unable to extricate himself from Ruso's recitations. **extricat** 'raise, liquidate'. **porrecto iugulo:** an image of *supplicium* is playfully used by H. as parallel to the slave's punishment (cf. *extricat*). The same image recurs at 7.34–5 *cur non | hunc Regem iugulas?*, also in the context of being a helpless listener (cf. 9.74 *sub cultro*). **amaras** 'gloomy, dreary' (cf. the bitter-flavoured trial in *S.* 7: 7 *sermonis amari, 21 acres, 32 Italo aceto*). The sour flavour of the lectures inspires the equivalent response in the listener (cf. 85 *acerbus*, 84 *insuavis*), as opposed to the 'sweetness' of relations between friends (93 *iucundus amicus*, 139–40 *dulces | . . . amici*). **historias:** the writer of histories, like other long-winded speakers, is an easy victim in the (brisk) *Satires*; cf. *Juv.* 7.98–102. **captivus ut = ut captivus;** like a prisoner-of-war.

**90–4** A list of friends' peccadilloes: breaches of dinner-party etiquette such as a bad parasite might commit (90–3), followed by larger social offences (94–5).

**90–1 comminxit . . . deiecit:** in the context of convivial bad manners, this is sometimes thought to be a portrait of the uninhibited *bon viveur* Lucilius (usually depicted eating in H.). But Armstrong 1964: 37–41 considers it part of H.'s own

boorish self-portrait all through *S.* 3; cf. Turpin 1998. Uncivilized table manners (H. was an Apulian, like those whose uncouth behaviour is deplored at *Pl. Mil.* 648–56: ‘I never fondle someone else’s girl at a dinner party, nor do I make a grab for the appetizers, or snatch the cup out of turn’; cf. 4.86–9) are equivalent to the bad dress sense exposed at 30–4. **comminxit** ‘urinated on’. **potus** ‘when drunk’. **catillum . . . tritum**: a dish touched by the mythical Arcadian king visited by Aeneas on arrival in Italy (*Virg. Aen.* 8) represents extreme antiquity (cf. 2.126: *Ilia* and *Egeria*; 2.3.21: the bronze footbath of *Sisyphus*; *Mart.* 8.6.9–10: a cup from *Nestor*’s time) or a lost golden age. Less likely is *Porph.*’s theory that *Evander* was a contemporary engraver (*caelator*): *tritum* ‘worn’ would be the wrong verb to use of his handiwork.

**90–4 ob hanc rem . . . mihi?** ‘For this reason, or if he greedily snatched a chicken served up on my side of the plate before me, would I like my friend any the less for that?’ **positum ante . . . parte**: intense alliteration (cf. 45, where *pullum* is a cooed-over human child) mocks the fussy protocol of feasts, miniature versions of communal organization (cf. *Cic. Fam.* 9.24.3). *ante* is adverbial (rather than split *ante-positum*); cf. *Pl. Men.* 274 *bonum ante ponam prandium pransoribus*. **mea . . . catini**: shared plates were common at Roman dinner parties. **hoc**: causal abl., variation on 91 *ob hanc rem*. **iucundus**: also of a good-tempered friend at 5.44 *nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico*; cf. *Enn. Ann.* 280 Sk. (the ‘Good Companion’; 63n.) *suauius homo, iucundus, suo contentus, beatus*. **sit**: subj. in a repudiative question.

**94–5 H.** turns to more serious social offences: theft, betrayal of confidences and going back on a legal pledge to stand guarantor. **faciam**: either a deliberative question: ‘What am I to do if . . .’ followed by an open future protasis; or (less vivid) a hypothetical condition referring to the future, combining present and perfect subjs.: ‘What would I do if . . .’ **si furtum fecerit**: corresponds to the Twelve Tables’ *furtum faxit* (8.12). Here, the alliteration with *faciam* reinforces the solemnity of a quasi-legal formula. **si prodiderit . . . negarit?** ‘if he betrays a confidence or goes back on a pledge?’ These crimes belong to the *de dolo malo* section of the Twelve Tables. Most editors think *fide* is an old dat. equivalent to *fidei* (i.e. ‘[secrets entrusted] to his confidence’; cf. 4.84–5 *commissa tacere | qui nequit*). This either refers to betrayal of a confidence or is more technical, roughly equivalent to the next item: having committed himself as a guarantor, the friend goes back on his promise (*fidepromitto* = ‘stand guarantor’).

**96–124 H.** attempts to refute the traditional Stoic doctrine that all sins are equal, according to a universal system of natural justice. Cicero (from whom H. apparently quotes the phrase used here) had already cast doubt at *Fin.* 4.55 on the Stoics’ belief that *recte facta omnia aequalia, omnia peccata paria . . . sensus enim cuiusque et natura rerum atque ipsa veritas clamabat quodammodo non posse adduci, ut inter eas res quas Zeno exaequaret nihil interesset*. H. appears to espouse the alternative, Epicurean belief that justice was created artificially as a social contract for mutual protection – nothing less than the universal version of his appeal for tolerance between friends



earlier in the poem (reflecting the pairing of friendship and justice as aspects of *oikeiōsis*, social obligation, in Hellenistic philosophy: Schofield 1999: 760–8). A long passage (99–124) is devoted to a history of civilization and the development of justice that owes much to Lucretius but adds a notably cynical element: the equation of *causa*, a catchword in Epicurean theory, with *cumus* (Freudentburg 1987). This ‘mock history of the social contract’ (Armstrong 1964:40) parodies Epicureanism almost as much as it does Stoic teaching (Freudentburg 1993: 26).

**96–7 quis paria esse . . . est** ‘Those who have decided that all sins are roughly equal are in deep water when it comes to real cases.’ **quis . . . placuit** ‘who have laid down’. *quis* is dat. with *placuit*, deliberately mock-pompous, as though this were a decree. **cum** ‘whenever’ (indicative).

**97–8 sensus . . . utilitas** ‘Instinct, morality and expediency itself militate against it.’ *sensus* pl. = Greek πάθος; cf. Epic. *Ad Men.* 129 (*sensus* is used in sing. at Cic. *Fin.* 4.55, also a polemic against ‘all sins are equal’). Cicero’s argument progresses from human experience to nature and universal reality; H. stays at the human level (Grilli 1983: 272). **mores** = Greek ἔθος; cf. Epic. *Sent. Vat.* 15, Philod. *Rhet.* 1 p. 254 S. **utilitas** = Greek τὸ συμφέρον. **iusti . . . aequi** ‘practically the mother of justice and fairness’. Justice is not natural, but born of expediency, like her twin sister fairness. At 111 H. will picture the subsequent development of a legal system, also through expediency: cf. Epic. *KD* 37 Usener = LS 22A (and, later, Hobbes and Mill). *prope* tones down *mater*, a daring metaphor which generates the account that follows of man’s emergence from Mother Earth (*primis . . . terris*).

**99–124** A satirical history of civilization and the social contract (for another comic perspective, cf. the cook’s eye view of civilization in Athenion *Samothracis ap.* Athen. 14.660e–661d). The picture owes much to Epicurean theories of social and linguistic evolution, especially as mediated through Lucretius’ adaptation of Democritus at 5.783–1457 (Rochette 2001: 18). Cf. Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 12 Smith, where clothes, weaving, speech, etc. are seen as arising from necessary invention, not divine providence; Campbell 2003, esp. 9–18, Vitali 1976. But despite the obvious pastiche of Lucretian sentiments and language (cf. 43–53), H. modifies some of the usual elements to make his history of civilization into a generalized version of the evolution of satire and his own evolution as a satirist: first mute, then over-aggressive, finally restrained and civil (Gowers 2003: 75, Keane 2006: 53). This may explain why he gives little scope to ‘golden age’ elements and emphasizes the nasty brutishness of primeval life and the outdated violence of the first stages of social coexistence before turning to the development of more tolerant views. For H. the author of *sermo*, it is the development of *language*, not material culture, that marks the decisive step between primitive life and civilization (Vitali 1976: 429).

**99–100 cum prorepserunt . . . pecus** ‘When living creatures crawled out from the primeval earth, a dumb and ugly race.’ The first mortals are indistinguishable from beasts, speechless and without organized life. *prorepserunt* suggests



man's laborious struggle to the surface, like an infant or some more basic creeping creature (Alcman fr. 89P); see on 5.25 *repimus*, 79 *erepsemus*, for crawling movements in the writing of H.'s childhood emergence. The *p*-sounds may mimic Lucretius' 'signature for the creative force of earth/nature/Venus' (Campbell 2003: 136), but they are also connected in H. with infantile speech and stammers: see 3.45, 6.57, 64. **primis . . . terris**: *primis* looks like a transferred epithet from *animalia*; but for the primeval earth cf. Lucr. 5. 790–1 *noua tum tellus herbas uirgultaque primum | sustulit, inde loci mortalia saecla creauit*, 800 *noua tellure*; 5.822–3 for the etymology of *humanus* from *humus* (Ernout–Meillet 297–8). For the Epicurean theory of 'mother earth' as source of all life, cf. Lucr. 2.1150–2, 5.781–836 (wombs growing in the earth; the line-ending *animalia terris* occurs at 5.797). **mutum et turpe**: both adjectives are synonyms of *brutus*, perhaps hinting at a transitional period in H.'s own evolution, his time with Brutus and the republicans (Gowers 2003: 75); 7.33–4n. H. characterizes himself as similarly inarticulate in his primary interview with Maecenas: 6.56–7 *singultim pauca locutus* – | *infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari*. **pecus**: for the earliest humans as 'animals' (cf. 99 *animalia*, 109 *more ferarum*), see Campbell, Appendix B 339. Here, dumbness and the lack of upright locomotion (cf. 99 *proreperunt*) are the points of comparison (Lucr. 5. 1087–8 speaks of *animalia . . . muta*); later, it is sporadic and competitive sexual behaviour (108–10). **glandem**: acorns were symbolic of the first raw primitive diet, afterwards replaced by bread. The myth is attested as far back as Hes. *Op.* 233; cf. Lucr. 5.939 *glandiferas inter curabant corpora quercus*, *Juv.* 6.10 *glandem ructante marito*; and see Campbell, Appendix B 343; on the evidence (sparse) for genuine acorn-eating, see Mason 1992. Squabbles over the barest necessities are the caveman equivalent of the table fights at 92–3. **cubilia** 'lairs, dens'; cf. Lucr. 5.987 *instrata cubilia fronde, 972 foliis ac frondibus*. Shelter, along with food and clothing, was considered 'naturally good' by the Epicureans (as opposed to 'naturally bad' things like avarice and ambition): i.e. this may have been a reasonable thing to fight over.

**101–2 unguibus . . . usus** 'They fought with claws and fists, then with clubs, and finally with weapons that expediency had fashioned.' Cf. Lucr. 5.1283–4 on makeshift weapons: *arma antiqua manus ungues dentesque fuerunt | et lapides et item siluarum fragmina rami*. H. appears to exaggerate the violence outlined in Lucretius' prehistory: Grilli 1983: 274 (though Perelli 1967 argues for a strong current of violence in Lucretius too). Campbell 2003: 218 compares Cic. *Sest.* 42.91 *fusi per agros ac dispersi uagarentur, tantumque haberent, quantum manu ac uiribus per caedem ac uulnera aut eripere aut retinere potuissent*. Hyper-Lucretian blending of word into word – *unguibus . . . pugnis . . . fustibus . . . porro pugnabant . . . post fabricauerat usus* – mimics the 'evolution' of raw materials and physical features into practical inventions. Here it is the articulated hand that differentiates man from beasts: Grilli 1983: 274; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.11. **unguibus**: the witches' scabbling (8.26–7 *scalpere terram | unguibus*) and H.'s self-directed punishment (10.71 *uiuos et roderet ungues*) indicate regression. **porro** 'in turn, in due

course'. **pugnabant armis:** *pugnabant* suggests the emergence of manufactured weapons out of 101 *pugnis* 'fists' (*figura etymologica* with *pugnis* 'fights', with a possible further pun on *armi* 'shoulders'); *armis* recalls the civil war battles in H.'s own past. **post** 'afterwards' (adv.). **usus:** emphasizing the role of utility in the Epicurean theory of evolution, *usus* blends πείρα 'experience' with χρεία 'necessity' (Grilli 1983: 275). For necessity as the 'teacher' of invention, cf. Diod. 1.8.9; Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 12 Smith; Lucr. 5.1452–3 *usus et impigrae simul experientia mentis | paulatim docuit pedetemptim progredientes*.

**103–4 donec uerba . . . inuenere** 'until they discovered words and names with which to label their sensations and grunts'. Cf. Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 12 Smith τῶν τε ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, ὧν ἐποίησαντο τὰς πρώτας ἀναφθέγγει; and the order of evolution at Diod. 1.8.9. Condensing Lucretius' account (which is in turn a condensed version of Epicurean language theory), H. implies that articulate speech is a form of expedient invention and an essential precursor to civilization; cf. Lucr. 5.1001–27, 1105–8, Vit. 2.1 *nutu monstrantes ostendebant quas haberent ex eo utilitates*. For *uerba* and *nomina* in their technical sense of 'verbs' and 'nouns', cf. *AP* 234–5. However, Lucretius uses *nomina* in the more general sense of 'names' (e.g. 1029 *utilitas expressit nomina rerum*, and cf. Epicurus' use of ὀνόματα at e.g. *Ep. Hdt.* 75.6). For *uoces* and *sensus* combined, cf. Lucr. 5.1087–8 *uarii sensus animalia cogunt | muta tamen cum sint uarias emittere uoces*. On the civilizing role of language, cf. *C.* 1.10.1–3. **quibus + subj.:** purpose. **notarent:** this potentially sinister word links the general development of speech with H.'s picture of the development of his own *sermo* from his father's pointing gestures at 4.105–6 *insuevit pater optimus hoc me | . . . quaeque notando* (endorsing Lucretius' 'double analogy' between the first human speech and children's language and between gestural language and spoken language: Campbell 299 *ad* Lucr. 5.1030–2; Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 12 Smith dismisses the Platonic idea that some divine instructor assigned names to objects 'like a schoolmaster'). The word also sets up another *figura etymologica* with 104 *nomina*: names are labels for the things we point at. H. is incidentally shaping a genealogy for satire, which also started from specifically finger-pointing satirical speech (4.106 *notando* ~ 4.5 *multa cum libertate notarent*), with *nomina* 'names' and *notare* 'to label' suggesting outdated *nominatim* abuse; cf. 24 *notari*. For cavemen in a similarly programmatic context, see Keane 2002a on Juvenal. **dehinc** 'from that point' (variation on 103 *donec*; cf. *deinde*, implying progress at e.g. Lucr. 5.1011, 1102; Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 12 Smith εἶτα). Like H., Lucretius and the Epicureans before him saw the development of language as intimately involved with the beginnings of socialization and justice: see Sedley 1988: 122, Obbink 1996: 306, 349–66, Campbell 2003: 15–18, 283, 322. **absistere:** historic inf.

**105 oppida . . . munire:** cf. Lucr. 5.1108 *condere coeperunt urbis arcemque locare*. For Lucretius, fortification is a sign of increasing dissatisfaction among mankind; for H., it is part of the 'civilizing process'. **ponere leges** = Greek νόμους τίθέναι. On Lucretius' theory of the development of justice, see Campbell 2003:

217–21, 252–62, and Appendix B 352 for earlier theories. The formal development of a legal system described here contrasts with the informal rules of social intolerance mentioned at 67 *quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam*. City-building and law-making linked: AP 399 *oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno*, Virg. *Aen.* 1.264 *moresque uirīs et moenia ponet*. H. is conflating the Epicurean idea of civilization based on fear and necessity with the Stoic idea of a natural instinct for socialized life (Vitali 1976: 430).

**106 ne quis . . . adulter:** the language parodies the formulas of the Twelve Tables (*si quis furtum faxit*), here transposed into the form of prohibitions, with repeated negatives stressing the utilitarian aspects of preventive law. The distinction between *furtum* (petty theft) and *latrocinium* (armed assault and burglary) foreshadows the distinction in the relative seriousness of crimes made at 116–17.

**107–10** A parenthesis on the socially destructive qualities of adultery. Long before Homer commemorated Helen's abduction by Paris as the cause of the Trojan War, *unsung cavemen* took the law into their own hands in disputes over women. H. warps Lucretius' picture of innocent promiscuity, 4.1071 *uulgūaga Venus*, to imply that adultery and the resulting violence are as old as society itself; after S. 2, the avoidance of married women is one of the lessons of H.'s own past (cf. his father's cautions at 4.113 *ne sequerer moechas*).

**107–8 nam fuit . . . causa** 'A cunt was the most abominable cause of war long before Helen.' Helen and her adultery with Paris are also condemned at Lucr. 1.473–7. **cunnus:** as at 2.36 and 2.70, the word reduces women to a basic commodity 'with a cave-man's finesse' (Freudenburg 2001: 16). H. again departs in spirit from Lucretius (Martindale 1993: 9: '[T]he voice seems rather that of Shakespeare's Thersites'). For debasement of Homer, see Richlin 1992: 125 on *Priap.* 68 *Taenario* [i.e. Spartan]... *cunno* (Helen), together with Agamemnon's *mentula*, as the cause of a whole war, Ulysses' travels as motivated by his *mentula*, not his *mens*, and Penelope as a randy old woman with a house full of adulterers. The dialogue with Homer continues with a bilingual pun on Greek κύνος, gen. of κύων 'bitch' (Kemp 2006: 124, 2009: 102), the word with which Hector insults Helen at *Il.* 6.344 and 6.356 (Graver 1995) and which labels H.'s graphic tone as 'Cynic' (i.e. dog-like); for other bilingual puns, see 6.99, 8.5, 20, 23. Christopher Smart (1750: 201) registers the obscenity with large gaps: 'For long before fair Helen's charms Had many a [lacuna] Hiatus magnus lachrymabilis [lacuna] set the world in arms.' **taeterrima:** a moral term here, but with connotations of filth when juxtaposed with *cunnus* (cf. 2.33 *taetra libido*). **belli:** an inflated term for fights over women. **causa:** H. demeans an Epicurean catchword by equating it with *cunnus* (Freudenburg 1993: 26–7, 1987: 59–74).

**108–10 sed ignotis . . . taurus** 'But they died uncommemorated deaths, killed off as they snatched haphazard, bestial sex by the one superior in strength, like a bull in a herd of cattle.' **ignotis:** by contrast with Homeric heroes, who had a bard to immortalize them. For a similar sentiment, cf. C. 4.9.25–8 *uixere fortes*

*ante Agamemnona* | *multi*; *sed omnes illacrimabiles* | *urgentur ignotique longa* | *nocte, carent quia uate sacro*. **illi**: the cavemen. **uenerem incertam**: for caveman sex as sporadic, cf. Lucr. 5.962 *et Venus in siluis iungebat corpora amantum*. **more ferarum**: a Lucretian clausula (5.932 *uulgiuago uitam tractabant more ferarum*, the unusual coinage *uulgiuaga* ‘promiscuous’ having previously been applied to Venus at 4.1071), but lacking Lucretius’ serenity (Grilli 1983: 277). **uiribus editior** = *fortior*. **ut in grege taurus** reinforces the comparison with animals (cf. 100 *pecus*), though *grege* suggests domesticated ones, as opposed to 109 *ferarum*.

**111–12 iura . . . mundi** ‘You must needs confess that laws were invented through fear of injustice, if you have the patience to unroll the calendar of world history.’ The utilitarian argument is reinforced (cf. Stob. *Ecl. phys.* 2.7. p. 184). **fateare necesse est**: Lucretian (e.g. 1.399, 624). *fateare* is paratactic jussive subj. **tempora . . . fastosque**: hendiadys for *fastos tempora*. **fastos**: calendar of annual festivals. **uelis**: indefinite subj. **euoluere**: used of thorough reading (e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.24 *euolue diligenter eius* [sc. *Platonis*] *eum librum*, Tac. *Dial.* 30.1 *in euoluenda antiquitate*) or of unfolding a narrative (Enn. *Ann.* 164 Sk. *ingentes oras euoluere belli*), esp. in the context of epic or annalistic histories, from the lengthy bookrolls that contained them.

**113 nec natura . . . iniquum**: the corollary of 111: if justice is institutionalized, it cannot be natural. Nature is cast in the role of an indiscriminating student of morality (unlike Maecenas at 6.63, *qui turpi secernis honestum*), while *ratio* is an unsuccessful dialectician (115 *nec uincet*). The strong antithesis between the two challenges the Stoic idea that φύσις (= *natura*) and λόγος (= *ratio*) were identical (Fedeli).

**114 diuidit . . . diuersis**: wordplay stresses the divide. **bona** = *commoda*, used more in an expedient than a moral sense. **fugienda petendis**: cf. 2.75 *fugienda petendis*. These kinds of moral distinctions are delegated to a philosopher (*sapiens*) by H.’s father at 4.115–16 *uitatu quidque petitu* | *sit melius, causa reddet tibi*.

**115–17 nec uincet . . . legerit** ‘and rational argument will not prove that the man who breaks off the tender stalks in another’s garden and the night-robber who steals sacred objects are committing a crime on the same level.’ H.’s hostility to *ratio* in this context suggests that he is writing in direct opposition to Cicero/Panaetius in *Off.*, where *ratio* is upheld as the motivating force behind human justice (1.12, 1.14) and where *constantia* is also under discussion (1.12, 1.14, 1.17): Kemp 2009: 101. This prelude to a further appeal for a scale of punishments exploits the distinction between *fur* and *latro* implied at 106, while the rhyme of *fregerit* and *legerit* sets up a spurious equivalence. Examples are taken from the law code of the legendarily stern Draco in Athens, who instituted the death penalty for vegetable thieves and temple-robbers as well as murderers: Gell. 11.18. Night-robbing of Roman temples: *Dig.* 48.13.7. **uincet**: in the sense of proving or winning a case, cf. 2.134, 2.3.225. **tantundem**: cf. 1.52. **sacra diuum legerit**: *legere* is the standard word used of stealing sacred objects (Lucil. 846W = 796M *omnia uiscatis manibus leget*; *Rhet. Her.* 2.49), here etymologizing the

paraphrased *sacrilegus*. *diuum* and *legerit* have an antique ring, as if H. is quoting part of an old statute, while the ordering *sacra diuum*, found in the best MSS, results in an appropriately archaic-sounding fourth-foot spondee of a type H. usually avoids (e.g. 2.64 *Sullae gener*), though codd. a and K, supported by Porph., have *diuum sacra*; see Housman 1972: vol. 1, 269; Brink 1987: 21–2.

**117–19 adsit . . . flagello** ‘Let there be a scale [of punishments] to impose penalties that fit the crimes committed, so that you don’t inflict the dreaded whip on a man who only deserves the strap.’ **scutica**: a single strap, used on schoolboys: Suet. *Gram.* 9.4 *fuit . . . naturae acerbae . . . in discipulos, ut significat . . . Domitius Marsus scribens: ‘si quos Orbilius ferula scutica cecidit’*; Pers. 5.131. Bonner 1977: 143 has examples of both *scuticae* and *flagella* being used in schools. **sectere**: 2nd sing. deponent. H. again addresses an imaginary Stoic opponent. The word is also used of following a philosopher at 139 (*OLD* s.v. 5b), suggesting a link here with irrational Stoic dogma. **flagello**: a whip with several lashes, ‘cat o’ nine tails’, often with metal inserted; used at 2.41 to punish an adulterer; at *Epod.* 4.11, *Dig.* 48.19.10 to punish slaves.

**120–2 nam ut ferula . . . latrociniiis** ‘As for your caning someone who deserves stronger punishment, I have no fear that will happen, since you say petty theft is equal to armed robbery’. **ut . . . non uereor**: ironic. An opportune pun on *uerbera* / *uereor* associates fear with the weapons of punishment. *ne* would normally be expected after *uereor*, but because the *ut* clause comes first, anacoluthon is involved: *non uereor* equates to ‘it is unlikely’. Since H. normally uses *ut* and *ne* correctly with fearing clauses, even when these precede the fearing verb (cf. 4.21, 2.1.60), several emendations have been proposed: Palmer’s *nunc* instead of *non* (‘As matters now stand, I fear you won’t be merciful’); Housman’s transposition of 120 *nam ut* transposed with 119 *ne*, similar line-beginnings (‘I have no fear you’ll be over-merciful’; Housman 1972: vol. 1, 142: ‘[H.] is pleading, not that punishment should be *lighter* than the punishment deserves, but that it should be *not heavier*’). Watt 1995: 609–10 prefers SB’s solution: *moror* instead of *uereor*, the full stop at the end of 119 deleted and 120 plus 121a taken as a parenthesis; *nam ut* may originally have been *ne* (corrupted to *nam*), with *ut* supplied to mend the grammar. **ferula**: less severe than a *scutica*: see *Juv.* 6.479–80 *hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello, | hic scutica*.

**122–4 et magnis parua . . . homines** ‘and you threaten that if you were crowned king you would chop down small offences with the same pruning-hook as big ones.’ For kings as choppers, see 7.3n. *magnis* is dat., *simili* is abl. (Palmer: *falce simili eius falcis qua magna recidi*). **falce recisurum**: as though the cabbage-thief of 116 were punished with his own weapon. **regnum**: the theme of kingship continues to the end of the poem (cf. 125, 136, 138, 14), picking up the allusion to Caesar at 4 (and to H.’s own *rex* or patron, Maecenas, at 64).

**124–33** The Stoics’ zeal for authoritarian punishment leads H. to explore another paradox with absurd possibilities, that the wise man or Stoic sage (*sapiens*) alone is king, i.e. capable of excelling and being self-sufficient in any area:

e.g. Cic. *Mur.* 61 *solos sapientes esse . . . reges*. There was already a tradition of satirizing this paradox: e.g. Lucil. 1189–90W = 1225–6M *nondum etiam <qui> haec omnia habebit, | formosus diues liber rex solus feretur*, Var. *Men.* 245B; and cf. the flurry of attributes at *Ep.* 1.1.106–8 *ad summam: sapiens uno minor est loue, diues, | liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum, | praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est*.

**124–6 H.** may be digging at the Stoics' disguised attempts at despotism in following the republicans Pompey and Sextus Pompeius (DuQuesnay 1984: 35–6). **si diues . . . est** 'If the wise man ('the man who is wise') is rich . . .'

**127 Chrysippus:** head of the Stoic school (c.279–c.206 BC), following Zeno and Cleanthes; 1.120n. The term *pater* implies (mock-) reverence for the leader of a sect: cf. Lucr. 3.9 (Epicurus), Cic. *ND* 1.93 (Socrates).

**127–8 sapiens . . . facit** 'The wise man never made sandals or shoes for himself; and yet the wise man is a shoemaker.' The Stoic is allowed to justify his case, arguing that the wise man is potentially, rather than literally, an expert in everything. Here he chooses a preposterous example, exploiting the cliché of the sandal-wearing philosopher. Juxtaposition of shoemaker and king: cf. Zeno (fr. 273 = *SVF* 1: 62–3, cf. Hense 1889: 46) on Crates the Cynic, who read aloud from Aristotle's *Protrepticus* in the workshop of the shoemaker Philiscus, and praised him for being more attentive than Alexander, Aristotle's intended reader; cf. Phaedr. 1.14. This fits well with H.'s Cynic slant here. **crepidas:**

sandals associated with philosophers: Cic. *Rab. Post.* 27 *non solum cum chlamyde sed etiam cum crepidis in Capitolio statuam uidetis*, Livy 29.19.12 *cum pallio crepidisque inambulare in gymnasio*. **soleas:** the Roman equivalent of the Greek *crepida*:

Cic. *Ver.* 5.86 *stetit soleatus praetor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo*. **qui?** 'how'; cf. 1.1.

**129–30** The example of the singer Hermogenes Tigellius recalls the cavalier relationship of Tigellius with Caesar at 3–8, an alternative paradigm for give-and-take between subject and ruler. His silence would have been a rare event (3 *iniussi numquam desistant*). This makes it more likely that H. is dealing with the same individual (see on 2.3). **optimus modulator:** Tigellius' musical versatility (cf. 3.7–8) becomes a metaphor for his ability to 'adjust his strings' to 'the changing political winds of the late Republic' (Freudenburg 1993: 114–17).

Porph. confirms that Hermogenes was a political trimmer or Vicar of Bray: he pleased Julius Caesar, Cleopatra and Augustus by turns. Thus the Stoic's high praise inadvertently mocks his (un)Stoic instability. The musician Tigellius may once again have 'changed keys' and defected to Sextus Pompeius, who was granted Sardinia in 39 (DuQuesnay 1984: 56).

**130–2 ut Alfenus . . . erat** 'just as shrewd Alfenus, after throwing down all the tools of his trade and shutting his shop, was still a barber'. Porph. and ps.-Acro identify this figure with P. Alfenus Varus, a jurisconsult praised by Virgil at *Ecl.* 6.6–12, 9.26–9, born in Cremona, cos. 39, supporter of Octavian (N–H 1970: 227–9). Fraenkel 89–90, Nisbet 1995c: 406–12, Fedeli 380 are all sceptical. DuQuesnay 1984: 55 cautiously cites a P. Alf(enus), *legatus pro praetore* in Achaëa (Broughton

1986: 14, Wiseman 1971: 279 n. 521), thus another possible subordinate of Sextus Pompeius, who was granted Achaea in 39 (App. *BC* 5.77, Dio 48.4.1). **uafer** ‘clever-clever’, a ‘jurist-appropriate word’ (McGinn 2001: 88), transferred to the minefields of the law itself at 2.2.131 *uafri iuris*; cf. Ov. *Her.* 20.30 *consultoque fui iuris Amore uafer*. **instrumento artis**: if Alfenus is a barber, this implies razors (*nouaculae*). **tonsor**: all MSS except V have *sutor*, supported by Porph., who offers the over-literal story that Alfenus gave up cobbling to become a lawyer. But *tonsor* is the more obvious reading (supported by Bentley, Palmer, Wickham and SB), with *sutor* having crept in from 128. Brink 1987: 22–5 argues that we expect another example of a profession, in addition to cobbling and singing, while Freudenburg 1993: 51 detects a joke parallel to 130 *optimus . . . modulator: tondere* in Plautus also means ‘to fleece, rip off’ (Fantham 1972: 102–4); thus, even when a lawyer, Alfenus is the same old crook. For traditional closeness and rivalry between barbers and kings, see 7.3n.

**132–3 sapiens . . . sic rex** ‘In this sense, the wise man is the best craftsman at every craft; he alone is a king’ Brink 1987: 23: ‘A conclusion is drawn (*sic*) and generalized (*omnis*).’ We can suspect a parodic aspect to such universalizing statements (see 1.1, 3.1) and to the smooth verbal logic with which the speaker equates supreme craftsman and philosophical king: *operis . . . optimus . . . opifex . . . rex*.

**133–9** Grandiose theory becomes ragged reality, as H. ends with a pathetic picture of the Stoic philosopher-king as Saturnalian king with no clothes, accompanied on his stately progress to the public baths by a one-man retinue and a crowd of hostile jeering children (cf. children’s games as background to the mad Stoic philosophy of *S.* II 3: 171: knucklebones and nuts; 247–9: dolls’ houses (cf. 275), mice-carts, odds and evens, hobby-horses; 251–2: sandcastles). A variant on the persecuted adulterer of *S.* 2.

**133 barbam**: the Stoic is clearly no barber, nor does he visit one. Beards and sticks (along with the sandals of 127–8) were the traditional emblems of philosophers, whether Stoic or Cynic, though it would be degrading to a Stoic to associate him with Cynic ragamuffins: 2.3.35 *sapientem pascere barbam*, Pers. 1.133 *si Cynico barbam petulans nonaria uellat*; van Geytenbeek 1963: 119–23.

**134 lasciuī pueri** ‘cheeky children’, token representatives of the satirist; transferred to the cupids of elegy by e.g. Prop. 29a.7, Ov. *Met.* 1.456 *quid . . . tibi, lasciuē puer, cum fortibus armis?* **fuste coerces** ‘you ward off with a club’. The philosopher’s self-defence is atavistic (cf. the cavemen at 101 with their *fustibus*) and anti-satirical (the *fustis* is the state’s instrument for punishing defamatory satire at *Ep.* 2.1.154). *coerces* is reminiscent of earlier beatings and punishments (4 *Caesar, qui cogere posset*, 79 *coerces*); the word is also used of philosophical Stoic self-control: e.g. Cic. *De or.* 1.194 *coercere omnes cupiditates*, Cic. *Tusc.* 2.47 *ut ratio coerces temeritatem*.

**135 urgeris** ‘you are mobbed’. **turba**: a parody version of the crowd gathering round a street-philosopher or a king’s retinue. The word denotes the worldly commotion against which a Stoic must preserve his integrity (cf. the



statesman at *Virg. Aen.* 1.148–53) as well as the mob from which H. differentiates himself. **circum te stante:** the word order (tmesis of *circumstante*; cf. 6.58–9 *circum . . . uectari*) suggests the fenced-in Stoic (for *circumstare* used of the worldly dangers and temptations that surround the *sapiens*: e.g. *Sen. Ben.* 4.27.1 *quos indiscreta et uniuersa uitia circumstant*).

**136 rumperis et latras:** hendiadys for *latrando rumperis*. *rumpi* is used of bursting with rage or emotion, anathema, again, to a Stoic: 2.118 *num . . . malis tentigine rumpi*, *Cic. QF* 3.9.1. Cynics (from Greek κύων ‘dog’) are again suggested by *latras* (cf. 106 *cunnius*), reducing the philosopher to a primitive, inarticulate state (cf. 100 *mutum et turpe pecus*); cf. 2.1.84–5 *si quis | opprobriis dignum latrauerit*, *Ep.* 1.17.18 *mordacem Cynicum*. As with the barking dogs at 2.128, H. lays on the *canina littera*, *r*, with a trowel; *latrare* is used of the ‘barking’ style in oratory, anathema to H.’s vaunted restraint: *Cic. Brut.* 58 *latrant enim iam quidem oratores, non loquuntur*. **magnorum maxime regum** ‘most mighty maharajah’. *rex regum* was a traditional title of Agamemnon and also of the kings of Persia, so this amplified formula smacks of Eastern-style obsequiousness, as H. seemingly prostrates himself before the self-styled Stoic ‘king’. See Bramble 1974: 156 on *magnus* in the *Satires*. Turpin 1998: 135 sees a pun here on *rex* ‘patron’, returning the third diatribe to the issue of patron-client relations: cf. *Pl. Capt.* 825 *non ego nunc parasitus sum, sed regum rex regalior*.

**137 ne longum faciam:** a brisk recapitulation, as H. mock-checks his outburst of ‘oriental’ flattery and disowns the Stoic style of long-winded homily: cf. 1.14 *ne te morer*, 95 *non longa est fabula*, 2.1.57 *ne longum faciam*. H.’s curbs on his own speech are the equivalent of his sense of proportion in ethical concerns, though this satire has already overtaken the previous ones in length (cf. the outsize Stoic sermon, II 3).

**137–9 dum tu . . . ibis:** the Stoic continues on his deluded progress towards the public baths, for which he will have to pay the standard entrance-fee (cf. H.’s scorn at 4.75 for *multi . . . lauantes*). **quadrante:** a quarter of an *as*, the bit-coin used to cut a thing or person down to size; cf. *Cael. orat.* 23 *quadrantariam Clytaemestram* (Clodia), *Sen. Ep.* 86.9 *cur . . . exornaretur res quadrantaria?* This makes nonsense of the Stoic being *diues* (124) in the real world. **lauatum:** supine of purpose with *ibis*. **ibis** implies walking in a stately manner (anticipating H.’s own regal *Ibam forte Via Sacra* at 9.1). **stipator** ‘escort’, member of a king’s entourage, normally plural; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 4.136 (Dido) *progreditur magna stipante caterua*. **ineptum:** the final blow is to accuse the Stoic of social gaucherie (cf. 29 *minus aptus*, 49 *ineptus*). The third of three *-un* end-rhymes (cf. 136 *regum*, 137 *lauatum*) puts on the brakes with a corresponding slackening of poetic taste. **Crispinum:** see 1.120n. H. brings the cycle of moralizing satires to a close by repeating the pointed contrast he made at the end of *S.* 1 with the windbag Crispinus: Crispinus’ verbosity is again a cautionary signal for him to stop speaking. **sectabitur:** *sectari* is a standard term for ‘be a philosophical acolyte, follow as a model’ (*OLD* s.v. 5b), as well as simply ‘follow’;



e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 16.22 (*Thrasea*) *habet sectatores . . . qui nondum contumaciam sententiarum, sed habitum uultumque eius sectantur.*

**139–42** H. returns to himself, blessed with tolerant friends and personal freedom.

**139–40 et . . . -que** ‘both . . . and’, reinforcing the idea of mutual tolerance. **dulces . . . amici:** H. rounds up the *amicus dulcis* of 69 and the *iuundus amicus* of 93 into a genial band of personal friends (multiple, by contrast with the vindictive Stoic’s lone escort). For H.’s views on friendship and on political freedom, see Hunter 1985a; on the importance of *pistis*, loyalty, in Epicurean friendship, see Rist 1980 (cf. *Sent. Vat.* 34). Given the Maenius anecdote at 21–3, there may be another implied pun on *ignotus* here: being forgiven results in anonymity, being spared *nominatim* abuse. DuQuesnay 1984: 36 reads a political appeal into these words: Octavian is being enjoined to pardon H.’s misdemeanors (a euphemism for his republican loyalties, glossed over at 48). **si quid peccaro:** self-knowledge causes H., unlike the deluded Stoic, to perceive his own faults. **stultus:** a Socratic modesty, contrasting with *sapiens* (124, 128, 132) and in tune with H.’s self-deprecating persona in this poem.

**141–2 inque uicem . . . delicta:** reciprocity is again seen as the incentive for a working social contract. *delicta* equates friends’ faults with the social crimes of 79. **libenter:** implies free will: cf. 63 *libenter*, 6 *cum collibuisset*, 2.126 *do nomen quodlibet illi*, 6.105 *si libet usque Tarentum*. Here it is also a gesture of spontaneity, mollifying the impending reality of coercion between monarch and subject. **priuatus . . . beatus** ‘as a private citizen I will live a happier life than you as king’. The *uita beata* or good life is an important philosophical concept: H. will find it through friendship rather than philosophical investigation. A mini-paradox is set up with puns on the secondary meanings of *priuatus* ‘deprived’ and *beatus* ‘rich’. **beatus:** the first line-ending so far not to allow potential elision with the first word of the next poem, signalling that the first three-poem unit is about to be broken.

#### SATIRE 4

*Satire* 4 is H.’s first overtly programmatic poem, in which he comes clean about the very existence of a satirical tradition and attempts to define his place in it. *Satires* 1–3 had laid the ground in creating H.’s satirical world; now he works more openly to position himself in relation to his poetic ancestors. Such is his defensiveness, it was once assumed that H. was responding to real-life attacks on his work. Now it is generally recognized (starting with Hendrickson 1900) that he is rehearsing traditional moves common to all branches of blame poetry: paranoid response to injury, self-justification, disavowal of malice, competition with rivals, technical nit-picking, defamation and caricature. In the course of the poem, H. claims kin with some seemingly incompatible relatives: Old and New Comedy (Greek and Roman), Archilochean and Callimachean iambic and

the republican satirist Lucilius. But he also works to detach himself from these precursors and find a place, time and protective authorization for an individual blend of satire (cf. 15–16 *detur nobis locus, hora, | custodes*), one adapted to a social and political context that leaves much less room for manoeuvre. The poet's injuries may be imaginary, but H. has a serious political point to make: post-republican satire can no longer exist in its mythical state of freedom, especially when, at the best of times, it is universally loathed.

H. pieces together a poetic identity from pre-existing literary and subliterate traditions, while continuing to assert his independence. By turns he inserts himself (or others) into 'crowds' or categories of poets (6 *hinc pendet omnis Lucilius, hosce secutus*, 131 *uitiis teneor*, 143 *concedere in turbam*), then removes himself, to escape incrimination and categorization (34 *longe fuge*, 40 *excerpam numero*, 100 *fugerit*, 101 *quod uitium procul afore*, 106 *ut fugerem*, 113 *ne sequerer*, 133–4 *me | . . . exceptit*). Finally, he reduces his satires to a blank page, with no voice, no allowable context and no audience. Sparring matches between the poet and a number of imaginary opponents tackle problems of alignment and affiliation, relevant to any discussion of genre, but especially complex in the case of unruly satire, with its defining spirit of reaction and counter-reaction. When caricature and defamation are also traditional satirical traits, it becomes impossible to extract any stable version of the genealogy or genealogies H. is proposing.

Questions of authority, responsibility, dependency and moral justification are thus central to the poem's literary-critical debates. Three social contexts supply its metaphors. One is the law, society's institution for containing aggression and adjudicating in hostile disputes, inseparable from any discussion of satire's social role and etymologically tied to literary concepts like *synkrisis* and *iudicium*. Satire's myth is that it once exercised equivalent moral authority, and yet the outspoken satirist always flouted society's rules (LaFleur 1981). Another context is the family (where the origins of the word *genus* 'genre' lie: 24, 64). The poem where H. discusses literary affiliations is also where he starts to shed details of an autobiography (Leach 1971, Schlegel 2005), supplying an alternative source for his satirical impulses in the ethical tradition handed down by his outspoken father (117 *traditum ab antiquis morem*). Familial notions of shame and blame, corruption and purity, formation, protection and independence infuse the literary-critical debate. A third context is the *conuiuium*, central ritual of *amicitia*, parading the symbiotic relationship of parasite and host: the *scurra* is a role model for the disloyal and transgressive satirist, whose back-biting tendencies H. openly deplores while secretly imitating them.

The poem opens under the aegis of three heavyweights of Athenian Old Comedy, Eupolis, Cratinus and Aristophanes, whose 'speaking names' offer a foundation myth for Roman satire by projecting an impression of long-lost urban utopias and power for the poets who inhabited them at a time when satire had moral efficacy. Old Comedy, H. claims, was a mechanism for social control comparable to the law or the censorship: 5 *multa cum libertate notabant* recalls

3.24 *dignus notari* and looks ahead to 25 *culpari dignos*; the thieves, adulterers and assassins who were allegedly its victims are recognizable scapegoats of the early societies in H.'s 'history' of civilization in *S.* 3. Initially, H.'s relationship to these founding fathers is unclear. The policing function of Old Comedy looks like a retrospective fiction that constructs a genealogy and moral authority for Lucilian satire, in line with the Roman myth of *libertas*. In reality, the Old Comedians tended not to censure generic 'sinners' but named individuals, usually politicians or sophists, or even each other. Athens legislated against *nominatim* attacks, and H. later shows himself well aware of the political risks of *libertas* (cf. *AP* 281–4), to which he appears to give a wide berth. Perhaps the real purpose of the first lines, then, is to label H.'s poem a para-comic *parabasis* in the Aristophanic tradition (Müller 1992). H.'s insistence on the deterrent function of Old Comedy obscures the more significant comic precedents of programmatic literary criticism and rivalrous abuse. Cratinus and Eupolis were Aristophanes' opponents, not his allies; the opening 'triumvirate' commemorates literary squabbles and infighting as much as like-mindedness.

H. next proceeds to stage an 'Aristophanic' *synkrisis* between himself and his Roman satirical 'father' Lucilius, the 'missing link' between H. and Old Comedy (6 *hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus*). Lucilius did not deserve to be caricatured as an unthinking acolyte, but such defamation is expected of H. and enables him both to claim kin and to differentiate himself by rendering the old version of satire obsolete (Hooley 2001). Equally, links between Old Comedy and *Horatian* satire are being forged (Cucchiarelli 2001): H.'s own first attack on 'vice' in this poem concerns a rival's literary failings, not a criminal's misdemeanours (9 *nam fuit hoc uitiosus*). Lucilius is reinvented as outdated and unoriginal: his virtues – ruggedness, indiscretion and frank wit – belong to the past, while his vices, prolixity and clumsiness, link him with the other verbose bogeys of the *Satires*, and disqualify him from meeting H.'s new poetic criteria. H. avoids direct competition by substituting the stooge Crispinus in a satirical version of the contest between Aeschylus and Euripides in *Ar. Ran.* In their speed-writing contest, Crispinus represents the laughably windy exertions of inept versification, while H. offers a modest but defeatist model of *sermo*, reducing its proper flow (cf. 12 *garrulus*) to a trickle (18 *raro et perpauca loquentis*). Lucilius' 'muddy stream' (11 *cum flueret lutulentus*) is not just anti-Callimachean, but also harks back to the 'flood imagery' that characterized the mutual abuse of Aristophanes and his 'drunkard' rival Cratinus (Cucchiarelli 2001).

After this theatrical opening, H. adopts defensive manoeuvres that define modern satire in the act of effacing it. He alludes in passing to authors who created their own generic space by defaming their predecessors in the name of refining them: Aristophanes, Callimachus in the *Iambs*, versus Archilochus and Hipponax, and Terence, who continued the Old Comic tradition of defensive *parabasis* to make New Comedy newer still, and Lucilius himself (Scodel 1987: 215: '[T]he true carrier of a tradition is not the slavish imitator but the poet

who adapts his master in the same spirit in which the master adopted his own predecessors.’). H. also enters a still-vigorous Hellenistic debate about the proper limits of humour: Aristotelian supporters of the so-called ‘liberal jest’, gentle or gentlemanly laughter, versus Cynics or iambographers who justified frank and aggressive abuse as a moral duty. This debate had acquired a topical edge in the late republic, when *libertas* was brandished as a slogan by both factions in the civil war, but was increasingly difficult to uphold in a climate of tight state control.

Where satirical *libertas* is concerned, H. is caught between nostalgia and sour grapes. His first response is paranoid self-defence. From its garrulous and frank beginnings, contemporary *sermo* simply evaporates, he claims, when faced with a universally touchy audience; the satirist himself is shunned like a mad bull (34: like Hipponax, as parodied in Callimachus’ *Iambi*), his product is treated as excrement (36) and in the streets malicious informers lurk, bent on incriminating him with their *libelli*, libellous lampoons or court writs (65–71). Again, this picture may record a genuine deterioration in civic liberties (a subject H. continues to skirt around in *S.* 10 and finally face in *S.* II 1). But it is also a timeless generic device: the so-called ‘disclaimer of malice’, found as far back as Aristophanes, through which satirists present themselves as the victims of misrepresentation and offload evil intent onto a disaffected audience (Dickie 1981). H.’s ‘solution’ is avoidance of publicity, claims to purity – he transfers his reputation for filth to street kiosks, the public baths, crowds, the sweaty hands that thumb his books, the water tanks where gossips congregate – and the life of a recluse. The satirist who offers us his public ‘face’ for the first time (Oliensis 1998) proceeds to blank it out completely. Horatian satire becomes paranoid, agoraphobic and self-effacing at the moment of definition.

H. invents specious alibis not just for himself but also for satire (39–62) which cannot be incriminated because it lacks the passion and lofty diction that characterize poetry. He takes on republican literary criticism in order to establish the outmodedness of its critical terms: Julius Caesar’s allegation that Terence lacked *uis* (Suet. *Vit. Ter.*) and Cicero’s Stoic views on the sacrosanct ‘natural’ order of Ennius’ poetry (in *ND* and *De div.*) are rejected between the lines, via H.’s own practical demonstrations of the Epicurean art of *compositio*, artful word order, as defined by Philodemus and Lucretius (Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995). Terentian New Comedy, which should be teetotal and prosy (*sermo merus*), is parodied in its tipsiest form. Ennius’ magnificent but outdated *Discordia taetra* lines are incorporated inside a convoluted, metathesizing Horatian sentence: the citation remains intact while its reputation is destroyed by the superior artfulness of its new frame. Under the satirist’s distorting scalpel, not a poet escapes with limbs intact (cf. 62 *disiecti membra poetae*): H. has proved that his own verse can absorb anything alien into its flexible hexameters. The question of whether satire is poetry (*uersus conclusus*; cf. 19 *conclusas auras*, 40 *concludere uersum*) or virtual prose (*uersus solutus*; cf. 55 *dissoluas*, 60 *soluas*) cannot in the end be separated from larger

concerns about the merits of incorporation or exclusion, freedom or confinement (*numerus* means both ‘group’ and ‘metrical line’ in this poem).

To deflect more serious concerns about the social suspicions attaching to satire, H. dissociates himself from vicious informers and public space in general – bookstands and bathhouses – and retreats from his daring *parabasis* (73–4), disowning the satirical impulse for backbiting. Frank *libertas* turns from a moral imperative into a threat to the mutually protective rules of *amicitia* laid down in *S.* 3. The unrestrained satirist is no longer a patrolling policeman but a rude dinner guest or *scurra* (the latest Roman incarnation of the anti-Aristotelian ‘illiberal’ humorist). Republican *libertas* is renamed as unacceptable *licentia* and forced into retirement, while satire is simultaneously defined and bad-mouthed as ‘black squid-ink’ and ‘poisonous copper-rust’. H. whitewashes his own intentions with a ‘sincere’ promise (102–3) that needs to be taken with a hearty pinch of salt. In *S.* II 8, in the persona of a comic poet, H. will mercilessly satirize the host of a dinner at which many of his friends are guests, and at *Ep.* 2.2.60 he defines the *Satires* as *sale nigro* ‘unrefined (or ‘malicious’) salt’.

For now, any vestiges of humorous malice H. reserves for himself (103–4 *liberius si | dixero quid, si forte iocosius*) can conveniently be blamed on another protective influence: his outspoken, traditionalist father. This figure supplies an alternative genealogy for Horatian satire in the autobiographical mode; the ‘sincere’ description of his moral teaching is a generic trope inherited from frank satirical predecessors like Bion and Lucilius (Leach 1971, Schlegel 2005). H. ‘reveals’ the blueprint for the first three satires’ moralizing obsessions in the elementary ethical education he received at his father’s knee. Literary dependence is less humiliating when framed as filial piety or ascribed to modest family tradition (117 *traditum ab antiquis morem*) – dutiful, irreproachable and deceptively static. However, H. also subtly indicates, via echoes and parallels with his ‘history’ of civilization in *S.* 3 and with the moralizing *libertas* of Old Comedy (*notando*), that this version of finger-pointing satire is fusty and superannuated (the most obvious model for H.’s father, Terence’s Demea from *Adelphoe*, had already been parodied in the original play; Leach 1971). Significantly, the father is not given total credit for H.’s formation: after playing his vital part (121 *me formabat*) and instilling in him moral probity and self-sufficiency, he hands his son over to other authorities (*auctorem*) – philosophers (*sapiens*) and jurists (*iudicibus*) – to understand the deeper causes (*causas*) of right and wrong.

H.’s personal ‘civilizing process’ has thus outstripped his father’s crude teaching. Correspondingly, satire in the Horatian vein locates itself at a later, less vindictive stage in the development of the genre. While the satirical impulse is typically characterized in the poem as the ‘flushing out’ of inner dirt or the removal of oppressive ‘build-up’ (8n.), H.’s penultimate move is to retreat inwards, internalizing his father’s important lessons and directing the moralizing impulse away from scandalous examples of public misbehaviour and towards his own acceptance in a chosen group of protective *amici* (133–5). He began by finding

the source of Roman satire in the policing functions of the Greek comic stage and the vocal and effective public condemnation of vice. He ends by removing it to the private sphere and reducing it to a harmless leisure activity, a silent thought-process: armchair doodles (133 *lectulus*, 139 *illudo chartis*) and pursed lips (138 *compressis . . . labris*).

But H. ends with a sting in his tail, a mock-aggressive riposte to his audience. He threatens to rustle up a band of poets to drum the opposition into their ranks (143 *cogemus in hanc concedere turbam*). The parallel he draws is with the proselytizing Jews, archetypal outsiders in Rome, whose menace Cicero had exaggerated in *Pro Flacco*. S. 4, H.'s own 'Pro Flacco', is a literary defence that with quasi-judicial casuistry exculpates Horatian satire but mobilizes the entire satirical tradition to caricature and to shelter behind. The final oppressive image is a reminder not just of the vast political gulf between Eupolis' Athens and Horace's Rome, but also of the inclusions and exclusions, the bargaining, solidarity and the scapegoating necessary for all satirical activity.

*Further reading:* Anderson 1963b = 1982: 13–49, Anderson 1974: 34–9 = 1982: 51–8, Brink 1963: 156–64, Classen 1977–8, 1981, Cucchiarelli 2001, Fraenkel 124–8, Freudenburg 1993: 33–9, 86–100, 119–28, 145–50, 156–62, 2001: 44–51, Gowers 2009a, Hooley 2001, Hunter 1985a, Keane 2002d, 2006: 77–9, LaFleur 1981: 1794–1801, Leach 1971, Muecke 1979, Müller 1992, Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995, Oliensis 1998: 18–26, Paratore 1967, Rudd 88–92, Rudd 1955a, 1955b, 1956, Ruffell 2003, Schlegel 2000 = 2005: 38–58.

**1–7** Heading the poem with the three canonized giants of Athenian Old Comedy, H. launches into his own comic *parabasis* or comic authorial defence (Müller 1992, Freudenburg 2001: 17, Keane 2002d: 25). The three names suggest a foundation myth for Horatian satire, or at least a gesture towards generic affiliation: the older genre is invoked to authorize satirical identity and reinforce a literary tradition that related comedy and satire as genres of invective and social criticism. However, H. does not *explicitly* admit the influence of Old Comedy on his own satire. The link he forges in the first instance joins Aristophanes and the others instead to Lucilius, via an idealized comparison of the political climates of fifth-century Athens and republican Rome and an over-simplified picture of the shared moral function of satire and comedy. H.'s own pedigree, it is often assumed, derives more naturally from *New Comedy*, with its more restrained and ethical stance (see Arist. *NE* 1128a22–5 for the difference in humour between Old and New Comedy, often replicated in Roman literary history in distinctions between Plautus and Terence, or Lucilius and H.); see 45–7, 48–52nn. But Cucchiarelli 2001: 21–55, 67, 168–9 makes a good case for believing that H. is, after all, claiming the Old Comedians (especially Aristophanes) as his poetic ancestors (at 2.3.12–13 he takes Eupolis as well as Menander as holiday reading to his Sabine farm). Diom. *GL* I p. 485, 30–2K links *both* Lucilius and H. with Old Comedy and the censorship of vice: *satira dicitur carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum uitia*

*archaeae comoediae caractere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius*; cf. Ioann. Lyd. *De magist.* 1.41. Meanwhile, H.'s emphasis on the moral function of the Old Comedians obscures the other precedents they set for this poem: for defensive programmatics, literary *synkrisis*, and parody and abuse of one's rivals. The three Old Comedians were notoriously competitive and used their plays to squabble over issues of supremacy and plagiarism (Eupolis fr. 8g; Sidwell 1993, Luppe 2000, Nesselrath 2000: 233–4, Rosen 2000): their appearance sets the stage for H.'s judgment of Lucilius.

**1 Eupolis . . . Aristophanesque:** the central 'triumvirate' of late fifth-century Athenian Old Comedy (listed in tandem by Platon. *Diff. com.* 3; Nesselrath 2000: 240–1) fit magically into H.'s hexameters. From the first two, only fragments survive; for Aristophanes we have eleven surviving plays, notorious for their attacks on individual politicians like Cleon; for the testimonia, see KA iv 116–20. Links with the republican legend of a politically engaged Roman nobility are anticipated in the Greek names themselves: *Eu-polis*, *Crat-inus*, *Aristo-phanes* (Freudenburg 2001: 20). **poetae:** *poeta* also occurs at 39, 42 and 62 (cf. 45, 63 *poema*), always in final position (and in 141, placed emphatically before the caesura). The trio *en masse* foreshadow the overpowering *turba* of poets at 143 and create ring-composition with 141 *poetarum*.

**2 atque alii . . . uirorum est:** *uirorum* is attracted into the gen. case of the relative (= *alii uiri quorum*; cf. 10.16 *illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca uiris*). This vague etcetera, which excludes the names of Phrynichus, Crates, Magnes and Plato (possibly cited at 2.3.1), among others, nods to Hellenistic canons of 'great authors' (Keane 2002d: 25). For another holdall list of the unnamed, cf. 10.87–8 *complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos | prudens praetereo*. **comoedia prisca** = κωμωδία παλαιά; *prisca* denotes not only antiquity but also generic primacy (cf. *Ep.* 1.19.1 *Prisco . . . Cratino*); *uetus* is used pejoratively of Old Comedy at *AP* 281 (Cucchiarelli 2001: 48 n. 109).

**3–5 si quis . . . notabant:** H. attributes republican-style powers of moral censorship to the Old Comedians, somewhat inaccurately, as they tended to pillory individuals – politicians and sophists, for example – rather than criminals. '[A]n absurd attempt to re-invent the writers of Greek Old Comedy as agents of public moral oversight' (Freudenburg 2001: 18); cf. Platon. *Diff. com.* 3, drawing on an earlier tradition. The comic poets did, however, label *other poets* with disreputable names: Euripides was a 'greengrocer's son' (Ar. *Thes.* 387 with Roselli 2005), Cratinus a 'drunkard' (Crat. fr. 203, Ar. *Eq.* 533–6; *Ep.* 1.19.1–10), Eupolis a 'thief', i.e. plagiarist (Ar. *Nub.* 551–7; cf. *fur*). Ar. *Ran.* 772–3 includes 'clothes-thieves, cutpurses, parricides and burglars' among Euripides' fans in Hades; Sidwell 1993, Rosen 2000, Luppe 2000. H.'s characterization of Old Comedy's moral function recalls the embryonic legal system in his 'history' of the social contract at 3.105–6 (*ponere leges, | ne quis fur esset neu latro neu quis adulter*; cf. 3.103 *notarent* ~ 4.5 *notabant*) and looks ahead to H.'s father later in this poem (5 *notabant* ~ 106 *notando*, 4 *moechus* ~ 113 *moechas*). Aristophanes and the rest equate

to the early, vindictive stage in the history of satire. Yet, while Lucilius is cast as the ‘missing link’, it is so far unclear where H. stands in relation to the tradition of frankness and moral censorship. For the reality of Athenian and Roman *libertas* and on legislation against *nominatim* attacks, see Sidwell 2000, LaFleur 1981; *AP* 281–4 on the Athenian legislation (282–3 *sed in uitium libertas excidit et uim | dignam lege regi*) and *S. II* 1 and *Ep.* 2.1.145–55 for Rome.

**3 describi** ‘to be slated’ (*OLD* s.v. 4); cf. *Pl. Mil.* 763 *bonus bene ut malos descripsit mores*, *Cic. Mil.* 47 *me . . . latronem ac sicarium . . . describebant*; cf. 3.24 *dignus . . . notari*, 4.25 *culpari dignos*. H. as literary critic will also revel in irreverent *descriptio*. **malus ac fur**: virtual hendiadys, as 1.77 *malos fures* shows. *malus* = ‘villainous, criminal’. For theft as a typical crime, cf. 3.106, 4.69 *latronum*, 94 *furtis*.

**4 quod . . . foret** ‘for being’; subj. in implied indirect speech after *describi*. **moechus**: cf. 2.38, 3.106, 4.113 *moechas*.

**5 famosus** ‘notorious’; cf. 83 *famam dicacis*, 114 *non bella est fama Treboni*. The ‘fame’ attached to and dispensed by satire is reputable. **multa . . . notabant** ‘they would brand him with great frankness’. *notabant* (cf. 105, 3.24) doubles for the finger-pointing of satire and the apportioning of the *nota*, or public black mark, administered by the Roman censor (cf. *Cic. Rep.* 4.11 on Old Comedy’s attacks on demagogues: *eius modi ciues a censore melius est quam a poeta notari*). **libertate**: this crucial word links satirical openness with political concerns in the face of imminent despotism (as with *notabant*, forcing a connection between republican satire and Athenian democracy); see Wirszubski 1950, DuQuesnay 1984: 29–32, Freudenburg 1993: 86–92. At the end of the Republic, *libertas* had become a rallying cry for both warring factions: Caesar claims to have led his army against Rome *ut se et populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in libertatem uindicaret* (*BC* 1.22.5); in 43 BC coins were minted to recall Caesar’s murder, displaying a cap of liberty; at *Cic. Phil.* 2.12.30 the tyrannicides are either murderers or *uindices libertatis*. The term was associated at the time with Lucilius, claimed as an honorary republican by the Pompeians, who exploited his kinship with Pompey; see also Trebonius’ letter to Cicero (*Fam.* 12.16.3 *deinde qui magis hoc Lucilio licuerit assumere libertatis quam nobis?*); DuQuesnay 1984: 29–30, LaFleur 1981, Heldmann 1988: 69–75. Meanwhile, the *literary* virtues of free speech (*libertas* = Greek παρρησία) were hotly debated (Rudd 1957, Muecke 1979: 64–5, Hunter 1985a: 487–9, Freudenburg 1993: 86–92). Unrestrained comedy of the Old Comic or Hipponactean kind had been connected by Aristotle (*NE* 4.4.1128a20–5) with ungentlemanly, anti-social taste for obscenity or vindictiveness. However, open aggression, justified on the grounds of its honesty and its curative function, kept staunch supporters among Cynics and iambographers in the Hellenistic period, and H. enters what was still a vigorous debate on the limits of humour. Both *Cic. De or.* 2. 236 and Philodemus’ treatise *On Frankness* advocate toned-down humour, laughter rather than aggression, in tune with current political restrictions. Hendrickson 1900 argues that H. aligns himself firmly with



the Aristotelian model of the ‘liberal jest’, leaving behind Aristophanic bawdy (cf. Parker 1986): he will pour scorn on *libertas* practised in an intimate social context (86–91) as outdated and uncivilized boorishness, punning on the wine-god’s name Liber at 89; cf. *Ep.* 1.18, where two extremes of *libertas* are represented: the Cynic moralizer and the flattering *scurra*. H. designates as the main feature of satire, as well as comedy, ‘free speech used in the stigmatizing of individuals’ (Muecke 1979: 64). In *S.* 4 H. takes what he requires from each of the two prevalent models of humour, justifying the Old Comedians’ aggression on the grounds that it hits out at the worst elements in society (as defined by Arist. *NE* 2.1107a9–13; Dickie 1981: 185–6, Freudenburg 1993: 92–108). The *Satires* transform the iambic model relatively mildly, compared with the *Epodes* (Cucchiarelli 2001).

**6–13** H.’s ‘verdict’ on Lucilius’ legacy effectively renders the *auctor* of Roman satire obsolete and provides an opening for the new satire he represents (Hooley 2001). This satirical caricature is exactly the crude misrepresentation the genre demands, defaming Lucilius with undignified physical remarks and distorting his legacy as messy and ‘muddy’, in the spirit of Aristophanic invective and Lucilius’ own criticisms of other writers. What H. gives with one hand he takes with the other: how did Lucilius ever get away with being *uitiosus* (cf. Petillius’ escape from *iudicium* at 99–100)? Quint. 10.1.94 defends Lucilius against H.’s claims; Puelma Piwonka 1949 re-labels Lucilius as fastidious Callimachean experimenter; *contra* Bagordo 2001.

**6 hinc omnis pendet** ‘is entirely dependent on this source [Old Comedy]’. Varro may have been responsible for this pedigree: Leo 1889. Along with *secutus* and *mutatis*, *pendet* diminishes Lucilius’ generic self-sufficiency; similarly, H. falls into line behind Lucilius at 2.1.34 *sequor hunc*. **Lucilius:** C. Lucilius, Roman knight, born at Suessa Aurunca near Campania in 180, died 103 BC. He wrote 30 books of satires, of which 1100-odd fragments survive; he was the great-uncle of Pompey and friend to Scipio Africanus and Laelius (cf. 2.1.65–6, 72). Unlike H. (in his satirical persona, at least), he had social status, substantial property in S. Italy and a reputation for being protected by aristocratic friends in his free attacks on rival political factions; see Gruen 1992: 278–9. As a hero of republican *libertas*, see 5n.

**6–7 hosce secutus . . . numerisque:** by claiming that Lucilius had only to change metre to claim kin with Old Comedy, H. canonizes the hexameter as the past and future vehicle of Roman satire while downplaying the new genre’s independence (many of Lucilius’ satires were written in other metres: Book 22 in elegiacs, 26 and 27 in trochaics, 28 and 29 in iambs, trochaics and hexameters). *numerus* is used of a defined literary group at 40. **facetus** ‘witty’; describes Aristophanes at Cic. *Leg.* 2.37 *facetissimus poeta ueteris comoediae*.

**8 emunctae naris** lit. ‘with a well-blown nose’ (gen. of description). Implies shrewd or sarcastic perceptions or satirical disdain, with an element of social snobbery too; extended to the *cognoscenti* at 3.29–30 *acutis | naribus horum hominum*,

to Maecenas at 6.5 *naso adunco*, and to H. himself by Pers. 1.118 *callidus excusso populum suspendere naso* (cf. Plato *Rep.* 1.343a ἀπομύττειν, of mopping up drivel; Bion's fishmonger father wiped his nose on his sleeve: Diog. Laert. 4.46 = fr. 1A Kindstrand). For the mechanics of satire as a 'flushing out' of inner dirt, cf. 25 *quemuis media elige turba*, 34–5 *risum | excutiat*, 40 *excerpam*, 55 *dissoluas*, 57 *eripias*, 60 *soluas*, 62 *disiecti*, 82–3 *solutos . . . risus*, 89 *aperit praecordia*; though 11 *lutulentus* gives room for further cleansing (cf. *erat quod tollere uelles*); cf. 10.4 *defricuit*. **durus . . . uersus** 'an indefatigable versifier'. *durus* can be both positive, 'rugged, tireless', and negative, 'harsh, leaden, wooden'. 10.1 *incomposito pede*, together with the explanatory 9 *nam*, suggests that the word here may mark a transition to the list of defects that follows. Freudenburg 1993: 157 takes 9 *hoc* as referring backwards to ruggedness as a *uitium* (contra Rackham 1916: 224 and Brink 1963: 158 n. 1): H.'s judgment makes sense in the context of a literary debate in the 40s BC between the proponents of careful composition (such as the Epicurean Philodemus) and those, often Stoics, who admired the 'rugged', artless style of e.g. Lucilius (Cicero was ambivalent: hostile to the Atticists at *Orator* 232–3, but admitting at *Brutus* 117 that a rough style was apt for a Stoic like Q. Aelius Tubero: *sed ut in uita sic oratione durus incultus horridus*). In *durus*, H. has chosen a word that is on the cusp of semantic change; if this is praise, it is out-dated praise (cf. 10.44 *molle*). **componere**: prolative infinitive, cf. 12 *piger ferre*; here refers to literary composition *per se*; elsewhere, specifically to the technical art of felicitous word order (see 56–62n.). Quint. 9.4.76 describes Brutus' studied ruggedness: *quos [iambic clausulae] Brutus ipso componendi durius studio saepissime facit* (Freudenburg 1993: 155–6 and n. 79).

**9 nam . . . uitiosus**: H.'s first attack on *uitium* is not against criminals (belying 3–5) but against Lucilius' technical shortcomings in a literary-critical context (in itself an Old Comic tradition); Van Rooy 1968: 61. If H. is weighing L. in the balance (as he recommends at 3.69–72), he now begins to find him wanting. **ducentos**: used to round off any large number: cf. 10.60, 3.11. Cicero was also famous for his rapid writing, 500 lines a night (Plut. *Cic.* 40).

**10 ut magnum** 'as though it were a big deal', 'making much of it'. Cf. 6.62 *magnum hoc ego duco* (Maecenas' approval means the world to H.); 10.20 *at magnum fecit* (Lucilius, again). The proper proportions of the amorphous genre are repeatedly quantified: e.g. 13 *ut multum*, 14 *minimo*, 16 *plus*, 17 *pusilli*, 18 *perpauca*, 24 *pluris*, 38 *pauca*. **pede in uno** 'with great ease' (proverbial, like Eng. 'standing on one's head'); cf. Quint. 12.9.18 *omni, ut agricolae dicunt, pede standum est*. A 'para-convivial' context (Cucchiarelli 2001: 58 n. 4) is suggested by other banqueting scenes in the poem and by Lucilius' reputation as an improviser: *RE* II 2, s.v. ἀσκολιασμός, Lissarrague 1990: 68–86 on symposiastic contests in balancing and on-the-spot improvisation, Ar. *Ach.* 410–11 (Euripides composing with his feet up). An expanded version follows at 10.60–1 *hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos | ante cibum uersus, totidem cenatus*. On the metrical metaphor in *pes*, see Cucchiarelli 2001: 46 and n. 105, Hinds 1987: 16–17, Barchiesi 1994: cf. 7

*mutatis . . . pedibus*, 47 *pede certo*, 10.1 *incomposito pede*, 10.59 *si quis pedibus quid claudere senis*, 2.1.28–9 *me pedibus delectat claudere uerba | Lucili ritu*.

**11 cum flueret . . . uelles** ‘when he flowed muddily on, there was plenty you’d want to remove’. H. alludes most obviously to Callimachus’ tirade against the muddy Euphrates versus the pure spring (*Hymn to Apollo* 108), aligning himself with Callimachean restraint and Lucilius is presented as being turgid excess. See Wimmel 1960, Freudenburg 1993: 158–60 on the Callimachean river/spring opposition in Augustan poetry; H.’s home river Aufidus is a symbolic *magnum flumen* (1.55), *limo turbatum* (1.59). Other topical literary debates over gushing bombast and rhetorical restraint may be involved: e.g. 7.26–7 (turgid rhetoric of court opponents), 10.36–7 (bloated Furius), 62 (Cassius), *Ep.* 2.2.120, *C.* 4.2.5 (Pindar); cf. Cic. *Brut.* 316 (the flooding river of bombast); Freudenburg 1993: 158–62 for more examples. But a still more ancient precedent is particularly relevant. The Old Comic poets’ *synkrisis* had harnessed water metaphors derived from Homeric simile (Luppe 2000: 15–21, Cucchiarelli 2001: 50–1): e.g. at Ar. *Equ.* 526–8 Aristophanes resents the all-consuming flow of his predecessor Cratinus (cf. schol. 526a, p. 130 Koster); at Cratinus fr. 198KA, rushing waters describe his own raging ‘twelve-mouthed’ invective (Rosen 1988: 39 and 2000: 29–31, Biles 2002, Ruffell 2002); Aeschylus at Ar. *Ran.* 1005 is enjoined to ‘send forth your torrent’. Given Cratinus’ (self-) characterization as a bibulous poet (fr. 203; Ar. *Equ.* 533–6; H. *Ep.* 1.19.1–10), H. may hint that Lucilius is ‘spewing forth’ verse; cf. drinking imagery at 51 *ebrius*, 88 *potus*.

**12 garrulus . . . laborem**: puts Lucilius, along with the long-winded Stoics and the pretentious but misguided pest (9.33 *garrulus*), at one extreme in the *Satires*’ continual debate about how to deliver *sermo*. H. is sometimes a purveyor of unwanted conversation (eg. 3.65), more often a man of few words: cf. 13 *nil moror*, 38 *pauca accipe contra*, 18 *raro et perpauca loquentis*. The ‘proper’ garrulousness of poetic *sermo* is thus disowned as a social and literary *uultum*. Poetry as *labor* was a Callimachean ideal (Wimmel 1960: 150); cf. *C.* 4.2.31–2 *operosa . . . carmina fingo*, *Ep.* 2.1.224–5 *labores | nostros*. Lucilius is presented as being too lazy to write and preferring to dictate: his spontaneous *schedia* (fr. 1131W = 1279M) are disparaged. For satire conceived of as written art, not just oral diatribe, cf. 36 *chartis*, 71 *libellis*, 101 *chartis*, and 5.104 *charta*, 10.92 *scribere*, closing the first and second half of the book respectively.

**13 scribendi recte**: the contrast is between indiscriminating verbiage and careful *compositio*; simple *scribendi* is carefully qualified, translating the Greek technical term *orthographia*. Precise Alexandrian scholarliness displaces *enthousiasmos* (cf. 43–4) as a virtue, provocatively when *orthographia* in the sense of ‘correct spelling’ was a theme of Lucilius’ satires (367–72W = 349–55M). **ut multum** reinforces 10 *ut magnum*. **nil moror** ‘I couldn’t care less’ (*OLD* s.v. 4); usually takes acc. or acc. + inf. (e.g. *Ep.* 1.15.16 *nam uina nihil moror illius orae*); here takes *ut*, with *scribat* understood.

**14–16 Crispinus . . . possit**. A *synkrisis* between H. and his rival Crispinus is proposed, after the classic one between bloated Aeschylus and nimble Euripides

at Ar. *Ran.* 830–1527 or the one between Aristophanes and Cratinus at Ar. *Eq.* 526–8 (Cucchiarelli 2001: 49–50). Any direct showdown with Lucilius (as anticipated by the criticisms of 6–13) is thus deferred. Oliensis 1998: 22: ‘[T]o issue a challenge is to concede the fact (but not the justice) of one’s inferior status. By casting himself not as Lucilius’ challenger but as Crispinus’ challengee, Horace preserves his authority intact.’ The contest never takes place, since H. modestly surrenders. **Crispinus:** 1.120, 3.139nn. Here, a twin or stand-in for Lucilius, both parodied as prolix writers (just as the Aeschylus–Euripides contest in Ar. *Ran.* was a substitute for a Cratinus–Aristophanes contest: Bakola 2009). **minimo** ‘betting his right arm’; the challenger threatens to lose more than his opponent. There is no parallel for this, but ps.-Acro explains that *minimo* stands for *minimo digito* (showing that one had more strength in one’s little finger than others in their whole body; cf. 10 *stans pede in uno*). Bentley proposed *nummo*: ‘with a tuppence halfpenny stake’ (i.e. a pathetic amount); cf. Pl. *Epid.* 700 *in meum nummum in tuum talentum pignus da*. **si uis** ‘please’. **accipe iam:** the repetition with 14 *accipe* suggests an importunate Crispinus (RΨV). Alternatively, this may be *accipiam* (deK), a virtual conditional: ‘If you pick up your tablets, I’ll pick up mine.’ **custodes** ‘seconds’ (as in a duel). Crispinus asks for a place, a time and backers; just so, H. seeks a place, a time and authority for himself in a poetic tradition. **uideamus . . . possit:** cf. the pest’s boast at 9.23–4 *nam quis me scribere plures | aut citius possit uersus*. The emphasis on quantity versus quality is pointedly anti-Callimachean.

**17–18 di . . . loquentis** ‘I thank the gods for fashioning me with an under-resourced and feeble intellect, one that expresses itself rarely and in few words.’ Oliensis 1998: 22: ‘Horace pretends to concede victory, depreciating his talents in language that Crispinus would approve.’ A new kind of *sermo* is proposed, based on reticence, not outspokenness. Hooley 2001: ‘a virtual study in negativity’; H. is *not* any of his named predecessors. **inopis . . . animi:** gen. of description. **finxerunt:** anticipates H.’s father’s formation of his son at 121 *me formabat* and the creation of the flimsy figwood Priapus at 8.1–3. The word draws attention to the fictive quality of the self-representation here (cf. 21 *imitare*): H., not the gods, constructs his poetic personality. **raro . . . loquentis:** Callimachean restraint modestly presented as inarticulacy; cf. 6.56 *singultim pauca locutus*, 9.12 *tacitus*; 6.60–1 (Maecenas) *respondes, ut tuus est mos, | pauca*.

**19–21 at tu . . . imitare** ‘But you choose to imitate wind trapped inside goatskin bellows, huffing and puffing till the fire melts the iron.’ Laboured verbosity suggests Crispinus’ laboured verbosity, perhaps recalling the scene of ‘epic’ creativity at Hom. *Il.* 18.372–7 where Hephaestus sweats to hammer out twenty tripods, or the ‘swollen’ state of tragedy Euripides inherits from Aeschylus at Ar. *Ran.* 940 (Cucchiarelli 2001: 49–50). **conclusus:** later used of enclosing words in metre (40 *concludere uersum*). The prose-verse opposition contributes to broader contrasts being drawn between freedom and confinement: cf. 40 *concludere uersum*, 55 *dissoluas*, 60 *soluas*, 76 *locus . . . conclusus*. **follibus:** a pair of

smith's bellows. Satirical goatskin is upgraded to *taurinīs follibus* in the Cyclopean parallel for busy bees at Virg. *Georg.* 4.171. For literary windiness, cf. Callim. *Iamb.* 1.29–30 = 191 Pf., ventriloquizing his iambic predecessor Hipponax: 'Baldy over there will waste his breath, huffing and puffing to keep his shirt on his back'; Petr. 2.7 *uentosa istaec et enormis loquacitas*; Pers. 5.10–11 *tu neque anhelanti, coquitur dum massa camino, | folle premis uentos.* **usque:** with *dum*, 'right until'. **lab-orantes:** the lazy writer (cf. 12 *piger scribendi ferre laborem*) is accused of fruitless exertions. **ut mauis** 'according to your preference', i.e. wrong-headedly.

**21–2 beatus . . . et imagine** 'Happy is Fannius with the free donation of his portfolios and bust.' *beatus* and *ultra* are ironic: Fannius is both misguided and pushy. **Fannius:** nothing certain is known. A personality hostile to H. can be constructed from the allusion to a satirically aggressive parasite at 10.80 (*coniuua Tigelli*) and references elsewhere to two historical Fannii who were anti-Caesarian (Syme 1939: 228, 333–4, Frank 1925, Freudenburg 1993: 118: 'His *nomen*, at least, carries this stigma'). It is unclear who deposited book-containers or portfolios (*capsae*) where (a library or, more likely, a bookshop: *Enc. Or.* 1 731–2), whether Fannius was a satirist or a legacy-hunter or both, and whether he was really cremated on a pile of his own books (Rudd 1956: 55). The emphasis here is on his love of public acclaim; in Asinius Pollio's library, there were busts of no living authors except Varro.

**22–3 H.**, by contrast, claims to have no readers and to be shy of giving recitations in public; cf. 73–4. An extreme posture of Callimachean exclusiveness, as well as a disclaimer of malice by a timorous satirist (Dickie 1981, Bramble 1974: 190–204). The denial of a readership is belied by 91–3, where H. cites imagined criticisms of an earlier poem. **uulgo:** for H.'s ambivalent in–out relations with crowds, cf. 25, 39–40, 143, 6.18. **recitare:** for public recitations of poetry, see 3.85–6n. **timentis:** gen. generated by the possessive *mea*. For fear, here a modest cover for exclusivity, as a motive in the satirist's life choices or in the performance and reception of satire, cf. 32, 33, 67, 70, 112, 129. **ob hanc rem:** very prosaic.

**24 quod . . . iuuat:** here is the nub of the satirist's difficulty: his readers cannot enjoy his work when they are themselves the guilty victims of its abuse. **genus hoc:** satire achieves solidity as a 'genre', rather than just a 'tradition' (Hooley 2001; cf. 65 *genus hoc scribendi*, 1.13 *de genere hoc*; 3.60 *genus hoc . . . uitae*), but is never dignified with a name (cf. 44 *nominis . . . honorem*) until after the event: 2.1.1 *satira*, *Ep.* 2.1.250 *sermones*, *Ep.* 2.2.60 *Bioneis sermonibus*. **minime iuuat:** artful understatement.

**24–5 utpote . . . dignos:** this echo of 3 *dignus describi* (cf. 3.24 *dignusque notari*) draws a line from Aristophanes to Lucilius to H. But the echo registers a significant shift in the object of Horatian satire from crime to universal folly (Muecke 1979: 57, Hunter 1985a: 486–7).

**25–33 H.** returns to the idea of satire's moralizing function, which, given that nobody's perfect, makes it inevitable that the genre and its poet are

universally loathed. He now shifts to ‘the world of Cynic diatribe, where, from the street corner or market stall, the moralizer harangues and lampoons those given over to avarice, ambition, greed, and lust, which are hardly equivalent to murder, theft, and adultery. This shift . . . at the same time takes the reader from the severe, public invective of Old Comedy to the softer practices of New Comedy and the actual world of Horace’s satires’ (Freudenburg 1993: 100). H. appears to abandon the influence of Old Comedy at this point (Hendrickson 1900, Heldmann 1987), but he will continue to meld Old and New Comedy programmatically. The familiar catalogue of benighted souls is a triumph for H.: thanks to *S.* 1–3, this is now a recognizable picture of his satirical world (Hooley 2001).

**25 quemuis . . . turba:** H.’s father also used this random finger-pointing technique, but it is only later that H. admits parental influence on his satirical method (109–14). On crowds in *S.* 4, see 22–3n. For selection from the crowd as the first premise of H.’s autobiography, see Gowers 2003: 60. H. himself is making a bid to be distinctive among poets.

**26–7 aut . . . puerorum:** the censure of avarice looks back to *S.* 1, that of adultery to *S.* 2, that of ambition forward to *S.* 6. Later in this satire, the generic explanation for H.’s moralizing tendency is replaced by a personal one: his father shaped his outlook (105–20). **laborat:** avarice and ambition result in un-Epicurean stress.

**28** H. satirizes the open-mouthed admiration of material objects: here, silver and bronze vessels; cf. 2.3.22, where the ruined antique-dealer Damasippus describes his former life. **hunc . . . Albius:** a typically casual opposition of an anonymous and a named character; later, we realize that H. was fed even the blueprint for this example (‘Man A’) by his father: 109 *Albi ut male uiuat filius*. **stupet:** cf. 2.7.95 *torpes* (the paintings of Pausias), *Ep.* 1.6.18 *mirare* (precious stones and metals), *Sen. Ep.* 115.8 (pictures and statues). In the context of gawping snobbery: 6.17 *qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus*.

**29–30 hic . . . regio** ‘One man trades his merchandise from the rising sun as far as the sun by which the evening zone is warmed’, i.e. the *mercator*, a type infected by *auaritia* at 1.38–40, trades from east to west; cf. *Pers.* 5.54–5 *mercibus hic Italiam mutat sub sole recenti* (i. e. the East) | *rugosum piper et pallentis grana cumini*. For a similar periphrasis for a spectrum (harmonic), cf. 3.7–8.

**30–2 quin . . . rem** ‘Yes, and he is hurled headlong through misfortune like dust swept up in a whirlwind, fearing he will dent his capital or eager to increase his profits’ (prosaic *ne quid* and monosyllabic *rem* interrupt the epic flow). The image of a dust storm, energy contained in a confined space (*collectus*), recalls Crispinus’ huffing and puffing versification (19 *conclusas . . . auras*) and looks ahead to the echo chamber at the baths (76). **summa deperdat** = *de summa deperdat*. **ut:** after *metuens*, fearing that something will not happen (*NLS* §188).

**33 omnes . . . poetas:** H. displaces the *inuidia* typical of the satirist back onto society in a typically satirical manoeuvre (22–3n.).

**34–5 ‘faenum . . . amico’** ‘He has hay on his horns. Keep your distance. As long as he can extract a laugh, he won’t spare himself or any friend.’ A wisp of hay on the horns marked out a dangerous ox, an image transferred to aggressive verbal attacks or their touchy recipients. Plutarch’s Scinius, when asked why he avoided attacking Crassus, said: ‘He has hay on his horns’ (Plut. *Crassus* 7.8, *Mor.* 280f); Hipponax in Callim. *Iamb.* 1.78–9 responds to the charge that his satires are like the attacks of a raging bull: ‘But if someone sees, he will say, “This is Alcmeon [a proverbial madman]. Run away from the man! He strikes! Run!”’); cf. *Iamb.* 13.52–3; the poet is enraged enough to use the horn (ἔξ κέρας); see Clayman 1980: 1, 14–15. H. adopts the bull for his Archilochean/Hipponactean iambic persona at *Epod.* 6.11–12 *caue, caue, namque in malos asperrimus | parata tollo cornua*. But Callimachus’ real relevance here may be as a model of a poet who entered an aggressive genre (iambic) and toned down the malice of his predecessor (Hipponax) through parody.

**35 *excuiat, sibi non, non cuiquam parcet amico***: the MSS are divided here between various versions of *non non* and *non hic* (Brink 1987: 25–6). Palmer prints *excuiat sibi, non hic cuiquam* (*sibi* = ‘at his witticisms’), but *hic* jars after the subject has already been understood in *excuiat*, and *non non* could easily have been corrected to *non hic*. With *sibi* (MSS), the sense and even phrasing have a close precedent in Arist. *NE* 4.1128a33–1128b2: ‘The buffoon (βωμολόχος) cannot stop jesting, and if he can cause a laugh he doesn’t spare himself or anyone else. And he says the sort of things the polite gentleman never says, and other things that he refuses even to hear’ (*excuiat* ~ εἰ γέλωτα ποιήσει; *sibi non* ~ οὔτε ἑαυτοῦ (ἀπὲχόμενος); *non cuiquam amico* ~ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλῶν). Büchner’s *excuiat, tibi non, non cuiquam parcet amico* makes some sense, but removes the idea of self-criticism, pertinent later. ***excuiat*** ‘can extract’ (of laughter); *OLD* s.v. 5: cause the emission of (especially from the body); s.v. 8b: blow nose. Pers. 1.118 *excusso . . . naso* (of H.) conflates this line with 8 *emunctae naris*; cf. Quint. 11.3.80 (*nares*) *impulso subito spiritu excutere*. Alternatively, the metaphor is from shaking out dirt, creases or folds from clothes (*OLD* s.v. 8): e.g. 2.3.19–20 *aliena negotia curo, | excussus propriis*; cf. 3.34–5 *te ipsum | concute*, Mart. 4.663 *raris togula est excussa Kalendis*.

**36–8** A contemptuous picture of the satirist’s daubs being read or heard as gossip (*OLD* s.v. *sermo* 4, 5) by old women and boys (or slaves); cf. the prostituted slave-book at *Ep.* 1.20.11–12 *contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere uolgi | coeperis*. For a still more squalid conception of the reception of satire, cf. the lavatory graffiti of Martial’s poet at 12.61.8–10 *nigri formicis ebrium poetam, | qui carbone rudi putrique creta | scribit carmina, quae legunt cacantes*. ***chartis***: rough sheets of paper made from papyrus: poetry as written but informal. ***illeuerit*** ‘he has daubed’, possibly with a hint of poison (anticipating 100 *nigrae sucus lolliginis*; cf. Ov. *Her.* 9.163 *illita Nesseo misi tibi texta ueneno*, Livy 5.2.3 *ueneno illitum*). An image of satire as publicly available filth: transferred to H.’s own body in an act of self-defacement (5.30–1 *oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus | illinere*), euphemized as



*illudo chartis* at 4.139. **gestiet** ‘will itch for, will eagerly await’. **furno:** a baker’s oven, where poor Romans went to get bread, meat, etc. cooked; or the bakehouse itself. **lacu:** a public water tank, a place for collecting gossip, (Pl. *Curc.* 477), associated with promiscuous women (Prop. 2.23.2, Ov. *AA* 3.89–96). The poetry/water imagery mobilized by 11 *cum flueret lutulentus* achieves its final, public and mundane dispersal, with the paper stains lapped up, appropriately, by water-haulers or laundrywomen. Cf. the contrast at Ar. *Pax* 749–50 between the poet’s ‘great art’ and ‘market-place abuse’. **pueros:** either boys or slaves, H.’s imagined street audience; the same ambiguity as at 3.134 *lasciui pueri*.

**38–62:** H. lays out his own defence of satire, a ‘red herring’ demonstration that satire does not qualify anyway as (hated) poetry (33 *odere poetas*) because it so approximates to prose. He appears to part company with the Old Comedians, whom he has already labelled ‘poets’ (1 *poetae*). But the defence is humorous obfuscation; H. goes only so far in answering the charges laid against him (63 *hactenus haec*) by attempting to exempt satire from the slurs attached to all malicious poetry. Ancient theory has no conception of comedy and satire as unpoetic (Freudenburg 1993: 124), and H. uses many poetic tricks to undermine his surface claims (Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995, Freudenburg 1993: 119–50). Lucilius himself may have started the tradition of not regarding satire as poetry: e.g. 1131W = 1279M *ego non poeta sum, qui schedium* (impromptu sketch) *faciam, tantum non carmina uera* (much of this is Marx’s imaginative reconstruction); he preferred prosier names for his verse: cf. e.g. *sermo, lusus* (contrast 1091W = 1013M *poema*); cf. H.’s unspecific 9.2 *nescio quid . . . nugarum*, 10.88 *haec, sint qualicumque*.

**38 agedum . . . contra** ‘Come now, consider a few arguments to the contrary.’ The quasi-legal self-defence (at 25 lines not exactly *pauca*) recalls H.’s understated response in the duel with Crispinus at 14–18 (cf. 14 *accipe*, 18 *perpauca*) and perhaps meaningfully compresses the pleonasm of Lucilius 1063W = 1027M *summatim tamen experiar rescribere paucis* (Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 240).

**39–40 primum . . . | . . . numero** ‘First, I would exclude myself from among those I grant are poets.’ Three adjacent pronouns (with *quibus* postponed to later in the clause) stress the opposition between H. and self-confessed poets. However, Anderson 1963b: 12–13 = 1982: 24–5 notes poetic tricks of elision here, *primum* into *ego* and *me* into *illorum*; the elided monosyllable (*me*) is a trademark of comedy; therefore draws attention to the difference in rank between lower and higher poets and shows how H. incorporates himself symbolically by fitting words to metre. Freudenburg 1993: 147 n. 67: ‘H. is firmly ensconcing himself into the group of poets from whose “number” (*numero*, also the word for “rhythm”) he claims to exclude himself.’ H. repeats the gesture by putting himself squarely back in a crowd at 143 *turban* (cf. 40 *numero*); he is later confident of being in Maecenas’s ‘in-crowd’: 6.62 *in amicorum numero*, 2.6.41–2 *ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum | in numero*. Voluntary withdrawal here, however tongue-in-cheek, protects his dignity from savage external judgments. **poetis:** attracted into dat. after



*quibus* (normally *poetas* in ind. statement). **dederim . . . excerptam**: potential subj. (*dederim* is a cautious assertion, therefore perf.). Along with the present subj. *putes* and *des*, it makes the whole question of H.'s exclusion from the ranks of poets a hypothetical one (Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 241–2). Line 39, taken alone, reads 'I myself the first of those to whom I would allow to be poets'. Freudenburg 1993: 148 n. 68: '[T]he satirist's position as "first among the poets" is only sluggishly reversed with the *excerptam* ("would exclude") beginning the next line.'

**40–1 neque . . . satis** 'For you wouldn't say that it was enough to confine a line within metre.' H. disingenuously disclaims never-satisfied literary perfectionism, again highlighting the etymology of *satura* from *satur* 'full'. The idea that poetry is more than metrical composition goes back at least to Aristotle, who argues that mimesis, not metre, is the defining characteristic of poetry (*Poet.* 9.1451b27–9); he also claims that mimes and Socratic dialogues can be recognized as 'poetic' in a way that the dry poems of Empedocles cannot (*Poet.* 1.1447b). Similarly, H. praises verisimilitude at *AP* 317–22 (Freudenburg 1993: 123). **concludere**: cf. 10.59 *pedibus claudere senis*, 2.1.28 *pedibus claudere uerba*. For metrical confinement as a parallel for other kinds of restricted space, see on 19 *conclusas . . . auras*; contrast *excerptam*, 134 *excepit*). **dixeris**: perf. potential subj.

**41–2 neque . . . poetam** 'Nor would you think that anyone who writes, like us, words that approximate to ordinary conversation, was a poet.' 'Nearish to prose conversation' is exactly what the Lucilian decorum of poetic *sermo*-writing demanded. Disproportionate alliteration in these two lines undermines the claim to be unpoetic (though the prosaic line-ending *uti nos* counters this). **nos**: unclear whether this is a genuine plural, but it suggests a certain satirical camaraderie with Lucilius.

**43–4** H. contrasts his pedestrian, lowly writings (cf. 2.6.17 *Musa . . . pedestri*, *Ep.* 2.1.250 *sermones repentes per humum*) with the inspired boomings of the epic or tragic *uates*, perhaps specifically Ennius (Porph. and ps.-Acro call these *Enniani uersus*, and *ing-enium* echoes 'Ennium'), assimilated here to the part of Aristophanes' Aeschylus. **ingenium** 'genius, inspiration', different from the *ingenium* 'good heart' claimed as the plain man's virtue at 3.33. H. compresses an age-old debate on the relationship of *ars* and *ingenium*, studied technique and spontaneous inspiration. While H. appears to be in awe of *ingenium* (as alien to satire), his manipulation of words in this passage, and in the satire-book as a whole, is a pointed demonstration of *ars* (Marouzeau 1936). For the contrast in an Ennian context, cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.434 *Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*; cf. *S.* 10.66 (Ennius?) *rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor*. **mens diuinior** 'an almost divine intelligence'. For the tradition of vatic inspiration as god-given, see Murray 1996: 6–12; Lucr. 1.731 *diuini pectoris* (Empedocles). H.'s gods have blessed him with more prosaic gifts (17–18). **atque . . . sonaturum** 'and a voice suited to booming grand words' (H.'s stance at 138 *compressis . . . labris* is at the other extreme). The monosyllabic

line-ending gives a clumsy archaic feel to the orotund climax of the tricolon, bringing grand poetry closer to satire in the process.

**45–7 idcirco . . . inest** ‘For that reason some people question whether comedy is poetry, because it lacks passionate spirit and intensity in language and subject matter.’ A sentence every bit as tricky and self-contradicting as the better-known discussion of Ennius (56–62) that follows. H. diverts the more relevant controversy of whether *satire* is poetry or not towards comedy, a related genre which also imitates *sermo* in verse. The idea that, metrical constraints apart, comedy might as well be prose and never rose to the heights of inspired poetry, in diction or subject matter, was common; e.g. Dion. Hal. *On word arrangement* (1st cent. BC); Freudenburg 1993: 145–6. But H. cannot belong to these *quidam* after terming the Old Comedians *poetae* at 1. His artful diction proves the opposite point: even *sermo* about the inadequacies of *sermo* (satire discussing comedy) exploits many possibilities of poetic word-order and sound-patterning: *acer spiritus ac uis | nec uerbis nec rebus*, a series of intertwined repetitions, rebuffs the very point being made, that forcefulness in prosy genres *nec . . . inest*. What H. is already saying (even before the riposte at 48–52) about the hidden artifice of comedy applies equally to the satirical *sermo* he is putting onto paper. A near-contemporary debate about the merits of the comic poet Terence (see also 48–52) may be relevant here. Terence had been criticized by Julius Caesar in a *synkrisis* with the Greek Comedians for his disappointing lack of *uis* (Suet. *Vit. Ter.*).

**45 quidam:** Cic. *Orator* 67 claims that rhythm and metre were once thought to be the defining characteristics of poetry, but to some (*nonnullis*) the language of Plato and Democritus is more like poetry than comedy is, which is very close to everyday speech. But he goes on (68) to reject the second thesis and propose that poetry’s defining characteristic is the artful combining of words (*compositio*): *licentiam . . . maiorem faciendorum iungendorumque uerborum* (Freudenburg 1993: 127–8). Word-arrangement was a standard criterion for good verse from Euripides and Aristotle onwards: Wilkinson 1959: 191. **necne:** after *utrum* understood, ‘whether or not’.

**46 esset quaesiure:** two very prosaic words to describe critical nit-picking. H. may be deliberately writing bad verse to illustrate comedy’s lack of *acer spiritus ac uis*: the unaccented spondaic word in the first foot after the punctuation (*quaesiure*) is unparalleled in the *Satires* (Nilsson 1952: 77). **quod acer spiritus ac uis:** the broken hacking sounds illustrate not so much comedy’s lack of force as the compositional defects of the inflated style favoured by H.’s critics (Freudenburg 1993: 147 n. 67). H. may well be parodying word-arrangement with final monosyllable, acceptable in Ennius’ time but now archaic, and further encumbering it with awkward preceding word/metre divisions. For final *uis*, cf. the Ennianizing tradition continued at Lucr. 4.681 *promissa canum uis*, 6.1222 *fida canum uis*, Virg. *Aen.* 4.132 *odora canum uis* (where Austin notes the excitement created by the combination of monosyllable, violent word, ictus-accent clash and

line-end position). H.'s version is deliberately clumsier (cf. 43, 46), but challenges Caesar's verdict on Terence by repeating the final positioning of the word *uis* in his verse complaint (45–7n.). At any rate, he is showing how 'with difficulty' (cf. 20 *laborantes*) passionate emotions can be confined within the constraints of metre: *spiritus* continues the idea of poetic output as channelled breath at 19–20, and the repetition of *ac(-)* suggests exertion.

**47–8 nisi . . . merus** 'except for differing from prose speech in having a strict metre, it is undiluted prose speech'. Differences in metre had tempered H.'s link between Lucilius' satires and Old Comedy: 6–7 *hosce secutus | mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque*. **pede certo**: the 'foot' pun of 10 (*stans pede in uno*) makes it hard not to see the paradox ahead, of disciplined verse that depicts drunkenness (cf. 51 *ebrius . . . et ambulet*); cf. *Epod.* 11.20, where *incerto pede* of a drunk man also draws attention to a new choice of metrical form (Watson *ad loc.*). **differt**: + dat. = a poetic alternative to *al de* + abl. **sermo merus**: conflates the concepts of ordinary prose speech, poetic, i.e. comic speech and (poetic) satire, otherwise unnamed in the poem, as well as the implied criticism 'mere prose speech'. A metaphor from undiluted wine, *merus* is paradoxical: 'undiluted' is appropriate for the carousing scene that follows, though it is the everyday sobriety of comedy that is being noted, as though modern comedy belonged stylistically in the 'water-drinking' camp as opposed to the 'drunken' flood of e.g. Cratinus (see also on 47 *pede certo*). The nominative *sermo* next to *merus* allows a virtual anagram and quasi-etymology (Joshua Katz *per litteras*), lending further point to *differt* (i.e. the choice of word does make a difference) but marking straightforwardness as the quintessential feature of *sermo*.

**48–52** An invisible opponent objects that comedy does have its moments of great passion. H., playing devil's advocate, resists the idea that this feature distinguishes dramatic events from real-life ones (though he refers to comedy 'raising its voice' at *AP* 93–4 *interdum tamen et uocem comoedia tollit | iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore*). The example chosen is a typical comic scene of an angry father blustering because his wastrel son is enslaved to a prostitute and refuses to marry a richly endowed wife; instead he prowls the streets with torches, i.e. serenades his mistress in a *comissatio*, a drunken carouse. Characters called Chremes appear in Ter. *And.*, *Heaut.* and *Phorm.* (the last fits this scenario best). H. thus 'incidentally' introduces another strand of his satirical pedigree: New as opposed to naturalized Old Comedy. The friction between these fictional fathers and sons contrasts with H.'s benign account of his own moral and literary parentage. Two kinds of passion are illustrated: the father's fury and the son's crazed love (as well as uncontrolled drunkenness). By contrast with the orderly Ennian lines at 60–1, the paraphrase of the father's complaint (49–52) is positively *ebrius* (51) in its poetic disorder: *ebrius* before *et*, *grandi* before *cum*, *nepos insanus* tucked between *meretrice* and *amica*.

**48–9 at . . . saeuit**: Juvenal adapts these words to describe the poetic fervour of another 'father', Lucilius, at 1.165–6 *ense uelut stricto quotiens Lucilius*

*ardens* | *infremuit*, using H.'s interlocutor's defence of passionate comic language to appropriate Lucilius as an 'epic', not a colloquial satirist (Woodman 1983a: 83). **meretrice . . . amica** 'courtesan girlfriend'. The feminine form occupies end-position, like *amicus* at 35, 132; cf. 135 *amicis*. **nepos** 'playboy'. **insanus** 'madly in love with'.

**50 uxorem . . . dote:** Paoli 1943 sees traces here of the Romanization of the *palliata*: Athenian dowries were minimal, Roman ones much more generous, especially if the bride-to-be here is endowed with an entire *patrimonium*, in the absence of a male heir (Greek ἐπικλήρος).

**51 ebrius . . . ambulet** 'and walk the streets in a drunken state' (= *et ebrius ambulet*); undoes the sober metaphors in 47 *pede certo* and 48 *sermo merus*.

**51–2 ante | noctem:** it was thought excessive to carouse before dark (hence the parenthesis, *magnum quod dedecus*); cf. 2.8.3 *de medio potare die*. The enjambment is pointedly prosaic. **facibus:** the last word makes the father's burning rage literal (48 *ardens*).

**52–3 numquid . . . uiueret?** The interlocutor retorts that this is a bad example: angry paternal speeches can be heard every day in Rome; it cannot be passion that separates poetry from prose. Brink 1987: 27 defends *numqui* (E, M and a few other secondary MSS), adopted by some editors, on the grounds that it is an archaizing adv. common with comparatives (cf. Pl. *Rud.* 736, Ter. *Ad.* 800). But parallels for *numquid* occur at 2.69, 4.136, 9.6 and 2.653. **Pomponius:**

presumably a contemporary Roman equivalent of the prodigal son of comedy. DuQuesnay 1984: 53–4 identifies him with a victim of the proscriptions and sympathizer with Sextus Pompeius (cf. 3.40 *Balbinum*), a man whose disobedience led to a riskier life than that of the dutiful H. **audiret** 'would have to listen to'. **leuiora** 'milder rebukes'. **pater si uiueret** 'if his father were alive'.

**53–6 ergo . . . pater** 'Thus it is not enough to write out verse in simple words so that, if you turned them into prose, anyone [in real life] would fume just like the father in the play.' In other words, metre and passion alone do not make poetry; H. subscribes to Philodemus and the Epicurean atomists' belief that poetry's essence is more than the sum of its ingredients and depends on the 'right' placing of letters and sounds (Armstrong 1995, Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995, 244–7).

**54 non satis est:** repeated from 41; again, H. makes himself (or his literary enemies) out to be excessively exacting. He is talking about comedy, but a nod towards the traditional etymology of 'satire' (*satir / satis*) now raises questions about the poetic integrity of his own chosen genre (56–7), which he identifies, on the surface at least, as *inadequate* compared with grand epic or polished verse. **puris . . . uerbis** 'simple words', i.e. prosaic ones. Quint. 5.14.33 contrasts *sermo purus* with *sermo elatus ornatusque*. H. indulges here in some light anagrammatizing and verbal interlacing (*puris uersum perscribere uerbis*) to highlight 'inadvertently' the role of arrangement even in satirical verse.

**55 quem . . . quiuis:** a mirrored patterning of sounds (*quem si dissoluas, quiuis*) again gives the lie to the artlessness of Horatian *sermo*. **si dissoluas:**

Latinizes the Greek concept of ‘metathesis’ (cf. 60 *si soluas*), but with the tongue-in-cheek intention of underrating the importance of arrangement in poetic composition. Freudenburg 1993: 146–7 spots uncharacteristic ‘disregard for mimetic realism matched by gross insensitivity toward matters of arrangement’; cf. the classic defence of metathesis at Demetr. *On style* 11 and 31. **stomachetur:** banalizes poetic inspiration into bodily eruption (cf. Crispinus’ bellows at 19–20, Aeschylus in Ar. *Ran.*), helping to downplay the element of passion in comedy or real conversation (though *quius* does contain the sound *uis*; cf. 46). Muecke 1979: 60: the anger ‘is not that of an Achilles’.

**56 personatus . . . pater:** a stage father, literally one wearing a mask. The alliteration makes the end of the period triumphantly unprosaic, with *personatus* picking up *perscribere*.

**56–62** A ‘serpentine sentence that at once flaunts and disavows poetic *ingenium*’ (Oliensis 1998: 23). H. disingenuously alleges that there is more poetry in an epic line of Ennius than in his or Lucilius’ satires, on the grounds that the former would still look poetic if decomposed into prose. Seeming to belittle the careful *compositio* that elsewhere he argues separates him from Lucilius, he displays it here in abundance, thus demonstrating that his own *sermo* is poetry which cannot be metathesized (i.e. rearranged) without ill effect. By contrast, the line he has chosen from Ennius, much-pilloried father of Roman hexameter epic, is positively prosaic in its straightforward word order; Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 242–4, Freudenburg 1993: 146–50. For mockery of epic as Lucilian in inspiration, see Lejay 139, Fiske 1920: 456 on Lucilius’ parody of Accius and Pacuvius. The choice of poet, poem and passage is pointed: ‘It is no accident that the Ennian verse Horace cites [*Ann.* 225–6 Sk.] for its exemplary poetic value represents the outbreak of discordant war as a rupture of constructed boundaries’ (Oliensis 1998: 23). The act of opening gates imitates the act of dissolving verses into prose: *refregit* ~ 60 *soluas*; cf. 19 *conclusas . . . auras*, 40 *concludere uersum*. H. seems to be in dialogue with Cicero’s disparaging remarks at *ND* 2.93: only a Democritean atomist would believe that if one poured sets of all the letters of the alphabet onto the ground they could ever form themselves into the *Annals* of Ennius (cf. *Div.* 1.24). For Cicero, the *Annals* was an Ur-work whose composition was irrevocably fixed, analogous to the ‘natural’ ordering of the Stoic universe. H. has chosen to carry out his irreverent (Epicurean) atomizing operation on this, of all venerable texts; Armstrong 1995: 224–5, Zetzel 2007, Gowers 2007. From another perspective, Ennius is a potential rival to Lucilius as father of Roman satire (cf. 10.66 *rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor*; see Courtney for the satirical fragments). He is thus a two-headed ‘sacred cow’: both ‘Aeschylean’ epic giant and satirical forefather.

**56–7 ego . . . Lucilius:** an unexpected alliance (‘pure irony’: Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 243 n. 48). At last, Crispinus is revealed as mere stooge and the true nature of the contest made clear. Proper chronological order is already being reversed, with *nunc* put before *olim*; for the *olim/nunc* contrast in H.’s own

autobiography, cf. 6.47, 8.1, 14: Lucilius is the poetic ‘past’ H. constructs for himself in this poem.

**57 eripias** ‘remove, banish’.

**58 tempora . . . modosque** ‘regular beat and rhythm’.

**58–9** A positively iconic demonstration of the vital importance of poetic word-arrangement in the ‘prosy’ outline of the suggested operation. In the context of metathesis, H.’s own word order is exceptionally convoluted: the idea of the earlier word (*quod prius ordine uerbumst*) is ahead of that of the later word (*posterius*); *ultima* is ahead (cf. *praepone*) of *primis*. A prose order might go as follows: *si his, quae olim Lucilius, quae nunc ego, scripsit, tempora certa modosque eripias, et uerbum quod ordine prius est posterius facias, ultima primis praepone, membra poetae etiam disiecti non inuenias* [or: *non inuenias etiam membra poetae disiecti*] *ut si soluas*. On H.’s compositional finesse already in the *Satires*, see Marouzeau 1936; cf. 39–40, 46.

**60 non:** Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 242 suspect an intentional ambiguity here: ‘Horace is again *not* saying that satire is not poetry.’ While most commentators take *non* with *inuenias*, the connection, even so, risks being forgotten, given the distance between the two words. If *non* is, less obviously, taken with *ut si*, as a subaudition, H. would be implying that it is his own satirical verse that one would disrupt by prosification, ‘as one would not if one were to prosify’ [Ennius’ epic verse]. For similarly obfuscating use of *non*, cf. 1.108, 6.1. **si soluas** ‘if you were to put into prose’ (lit., release from metrical restrictions).

**60–1 postquam . . . refregit** ‘After foul Discord burst apart the iron-bound posts and gates of War’ (= Enn. *Ann.* 225–6 Sk.). The lines, which refer to the opening of the doors of the temple of Janus in time of war (*Ann.* 7), are imitated by Virgil at *Aen.* 7.617 *recludere portas*, 622 *Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postes* (Virgil’s *Saturnia* may commemorate the discussion of the passage in H.’s *Satires*: Oliensis 2004: 38). Here are all the hallmarks of epic poetry: a military theme, personification (of War and Strife), grandiose diction (‘brazen posts’), alliteration (*postes* and *portas*, *ferratos* and *refregit*) and metaphor (War as fortress). Harrison 1991 uses *Discordia taetra* to christen this type of line-ending (noun followed by adjective), by now archaic in resonance (cf. 1.8, 6.42). At the same time, the citation contains no especially archaic diction and displays a ‘perfectly commonplace prose arrangement of subject-accusative-verb’ (Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 243); the subject matter, destruction and disruption, conflicts with the orderliness of the lines. By contrast, H.’s own verses (where *disiecti* picks up the segmentation implied in *Discordia*) are ‘convoluted and distorted’ and justify the very process of metathesis they are discussing; cf. distinctly poetic word-arrangement in H.’s paraphrase of the comic father’s splutterings at 49–52. **ferratos . . . refregit:** some compositional artistry here, with an alliterative chiasmus (*ferratos postes portasque refregit*) that H. might have found heavy-handed, but which conjures up the symmetry of the doorposts and the act of inversion as the barred doors are swung forwards (*refregit* suggests that they open outwards; see Skutsch *ad loc.*, Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* 7.622). As it happens, a prose version would keep the same order.

**62 inuenias . . . poetae** ‘you would not [as you would in the case of those Ennian lines] find the limbs of a dismembered poet’. Play on the double meanings of *soluere/dissoluere*, ‘to disintegrate’/‘to make prosaic’ and *membra*, ‘limbs’/‘sections of verse’ (Greek κῶλα; Cic. *Orator* 211, *Rhet. ad Her.* 4.26) produces the image of an Orphean *sparagmos*, with the manifestly poetic traces of a dismembered author imagined scattered in the prosified wreckage of the line (*membra* lies buried amid *disiecti . . . poetae*; see Armstrong 1995: 230, Oliensis 1998: 23–4). H.’s use of *poeta* rather than *poema* suggests a link with Aristotle’s idea of the plot as a living organism, susceptible to being ‘dismembered’ or ‘butchered’ (*Poet.* 1450b31–1451a35; Freudenburg 1993: 149–50; Schiesaro 1994 on Lucr. *DRN* as an organic entity). H. honours Ennius by extending the chiasmus *ferratos postes portasque refregit*, with *disiecti* recalling *Discordia* and *poetae* rehashing *postquam . . . taetra*. The act of poetic analysis is described in words that themselves ‘dissolve’ or ‘resolve’ the Ennian citation (cf. *si soluas*) and parade H.’s own *inuentio*.

**63 hactenus haec** ‘that’s enough of that’: H. self-consciously (and prosily) abandons his virtuosio comparison to speak for itself.

**63–5 alias . . . scribendi** ‘Another time I’ll ask if this kind of writing [i.e. satire] is proper poetry or not; but for now I’ll only ask whether your distrust of it is justified.’ Disingenuous, since H. has already *proved* that his satire satisfies the standards of artfully arranged poetry. He now turns (until he resumes the subject in *S.* 10) from the *uerba* of satire to its *res* (Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 247). **iustum . . . | . . . merito**: revives the legal analogy introduced at 3–5. **suspectum**: for suspicion as the prevailing mood of *Satires* I, see Seock 1991. **genus hoc scribendi**: satire, again (cf. 24 *genus hoc*) not named as such.

**65–7 Sulcius and Caprius** are usually taken as informers or accusers sniffing out crime on the streets of Rome (Porph. *delatores et causidici*; condemned by Cic. *Brut.* 130, *Off.* 2.50). Alternatively, they are fellow-satirists (Ullman 1917; Rudd 1956, Freudenburg 1993: 118). The ambiguity arises from satire’s links with other ways of censoring criminal elements (cf. 3–5). However, Sulcius and Caprius differ from H. in being loud, malicious and self-publicizing. **Sulcius . . . Caprius**: significant names? Sulcius is from *sulcus* ‘furrow’, Caprius from *caper* ‘goat’ (though *acer* ‘keen-nosed’, he may be smelly himself). But both may translate Greek συκοφάντης ‘informer’, lit. ‘fig-revealer’, since two types of fig were known as *ficus sulca* and *caprificus* (Radermacher 1935: 81). **ambulat** ‘prowls’. **rauci male** ‘horribly hoarse’ (*male* is intensifying), from reciting or hawking their accusations. **libellis**: either (1) legal indictments or accusations, court writs (*OLD* s.v. 3b); (2) libellous lampoons or defamatory pamphlets (*OLD* s.v. 1b); or (3) placards or public notices (*OLD* s.v. 4). Placing the same word in end-position in 71, in the different sense of ‘poetry book’ (*OLD* s.v. 1; cf. Cat. 1.1 *cui dono lepidum nouum libellum*), amounts to a provocation (Keane 2006: 79). By assimilating his product (cf. 10.92) to that of professional informers, H. is hardly reassuring about his innocence; cf. Freudenburg 2001: 67 n. 85 on

10.92. **magnus . . . latronibus:** for similar deterrents, cf. the law at 3.106, Priapus at 8.3–4 *furum auiumque | maxima formido*. *latronibus* is used here for generic criminals.

**67–8 at . . . utrumque** ‘But whoever lived his life decently and keeping his hands clean could despise them both’ (sc. *sit* after *si quis*). **bene . . . uiuat:** in a moral sense. **puris manibus:** in a poem that presents H. as ‘washing his hands’ of all kinds of poetic responsibility while reclaiming the moral high ground for his satires, the idea of physical purity is pervasive; the exclusive poet shuns the public baths, street kiosks, crowds, other people’s sweaty fingers and filth of all kinds and pursues a whiter-than-white ideal of moral purity (106 *ut fugerem exemplis uitiorum quaeque notando*). Those who lead pure lives have nothing to fear from censorship of any kind; cf. 54 *puris uerbis*, 6.64 *pectore puro*, 9.49 *domus . . . nec purior*. Quintilian, defending Lucilius at 10.1.94, endorses H.’s self-representation: *multum est tersior ac purus magis Horatius* (Keane 2002d: 7). **utrumque:** hints that Sulcius and Caprius represent two distinct groups of accusers.

**69–70** ‘Even if you were as bad as the armed robbers Caelius and Birrius, I am not like Sulcius or Caprius; why should you fear me?’ **Caeli Birrique:** unknown. Birrus is possibly from Birra, a gladiator employed by Milo, among those who wounded Clodius (Asconius *ad Cic. Mil.* 5; Rudd 1956). **sum:** following Porph.’s lemma (cf. SB) rather than the MS *sim*, which may well derive from the preceding *ut sis* ‘supposing you were’ and subsequent *metuas, habeat, insudat* (Brink 1987: 27–8). H. speaks of himself again in the indicative at 73 *recito*.

**71–4** H. proclaims his exclusiveness as a poet: his books are not publicly advertised and he recites under duress (by contrast with e.g. Fannius at 23, Ruso at 3.86 or Tigellius at 3.4–6).

**71 taberna:** a shop, here a bookshop. **habeat** ‘would have’ (potential). **pila:** a column (probably in an arcade) outside a shop, to which books were pinned to advertise the wares inside; Mart. 1.118.10–12 (shop doorposts adorned with poets’ works for easy browsing); cf. *AP* 373 *columnae*. For the idea that good wine needs no bush, cf. Mart. 7.61.5 *nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagonis*. H. avoids the Grub Street squalor of Cat. 37: 1 *salax taberna, 2 nona . . . pila*. **libellos:** 66n.

**72 insudet** ‘sweat over’; subj. of purpose. H. displaces the idea of the filth of satire (cf. 36 *illeuerit*) back onto its tainted readership (68 *puris manibus*; cf. *Ep.* 1.20.11–12 *contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere uulgi | coeperis*). Instead of satire being dirt, smeared onto paper, cheap scandal for boys and washerwomen, it is readers who are likely to defile his poetry with their sweaty fingers if it is sold on seedy street stalls (exertion is again mocked: cf. 20 *laborantes, 26 laborat*). **uulgi . . . Tigelli:** a pointed distinction between the faceless crowd and the prima donna Tigellius (2.3n.). It is unclear whether Tigellius is part of the *uulgus* or separate from it, but he is at the bottom of the heap as far as the sordid and stingy reception of literature goes; here he is spoken of as alive.



**73 coactus** ‘after much pressing’ (Palmer); used of cajoling, here, rather than tyranny (cf. 143 *cogemus*, 3.4 *Caesar, qui cogere posset*).

**74 non . . . quibuslibet** ‘not just anywhere and in front of no matter who’ (cf. 3.6 *si collibuisse*). **coram**: cf. 95 *coram*; for H.’s backwardness in coming forward, cf. 6.56 *ut ueni coram*.

**74–5 in medio . . . lauantes**: *sunt multi* goes with both *qui* clauses; *in medio* emphasizes the contrast between artistic promiscuity (cf. 2.108 *in medio posita*), or unexclusiveness in general (cf. 25 *media . . . turba*), and H.’s own exclusiveness. For recitation in bathhouses, cf. Mart. 3.44.12–13 *in thermas fugio: sonas ad aurem. | piscinam peto: non licet natate*; recitation in general, see 23n.

**76 suaue . . . conclusus** ‘An enclosed place gives back a pleasant echo for the voice.’ Tigellius at 3.8 also enjoys the echo (*resonat*) of his accompaniment. **conclusus** resolves *locus* with its own (Lucretian) palindromic echo and evokes the enclosing act of versification itself (19 *conclusas . . . auras*, 40 *concludere*). **inanes**: a Lucretian word, both moral (‘stupid’; e.g. *DRN* 1.639) and physical, evoking the emptiness of echoes (cf. Petr. *Sat.* 2.2 *inanibus sonis*, Sen. *Ben.* 4.27.1 *inanes sonos*). These artists seem unconcerned whether their recitals are inconsiderate or badly timed.

**77 sensu** = *communi sensu* ‘basic humanity’; cf. 3.66.

**78 alieno** ‘inappropriate, intrusive’. **‘laedere . . . facis’** “‘You love causing pain,” someone says, “and you’re mean-spirited enough to do it for fun.””

**79–91** H. puts the boot on the other foot by claiming that he has been the victim of malice, not the perpetrator, and expressing the paranoid view that the source must have been one of his own circle (79–81). The truly malicious man (*niger*) is not the satirist himself but his hidden enemy (a longstanding satirical ploy: the irony of having a satirist satirize satirists here is fully exposed).

**79–81 unde . . . quibus?** ‘Who is your source for this accusation? Forget that: is there someone close to me who’s started these rumours?’ *unde petitum* and *est auctor quis* mirror those general questions asked in the poem about the origins of the genre and H.’s particular version of it (cf. 122 *habes auctorem*, 10.66 *intacti carminis auctor*; cf. 2.4.11 *celabitur auctor*). The *auctor* was H. all along (as 92, the quotation about Rufillus and Gargonius from *S.* 2.27, reveals): Feeney 2009: 20.

**denique** waves away the question of identity and cuts to the main issue. **uixi cum quibus**: i.e. *conuictores*. H.’s satirical paranoia extends to those close to home.

**81–5** A portrait of the malicious backbiter whose *libertas* goes too far, closely linked with the discussion of loyalty and generosity towards friends in *S.* 3 (repeated *qui* (× 5) nails the offender and drives the contempt home). Many commentators ascribe these lines to H.’s imaginary opponent, as repeating the charges of 34–5 and anticipating those of 90–5 (e.g. Lejay, Hendrickson 1900: 133 n. 2, Voit 1980 and Hunter 1985a: 489 n. 53), in which case they are an attack on traditional satire by its injured audience. If the thoughts belong to H.,

which seems more likely, given the vehemence of the definition (K–H, Brown), they represent a paranoid delusion that he has been betrayed by one of his own circle, as well as a vehement disavowal of genuine malice. The ambiguity draws attention to the central issue of the poem: who indeed is the *auctor* of blame and abuse – satirist or audience?

**81 absentem . . . amicum:** K–H convincingly take *amicum* as the start of a new clause (with 81 *qui non defendit*; cf. 10.79 *uellicet absentem*), so that the repeated *qui* is consistently in second or third place in each clause. **rodit:** suggests repeated acts of malice (as with the relentless list of slurs at 96–100). Backbiters portrayed with related metaphors include Maenius (3.21 *absentem Nouium cum carperet*) and Demetrius (10.79 *absentem uellicat*); cf. 10.78 *Pan-tilius*. H. is on the receiving end of the treatment at 6.46 *rodunt omnes libertino patre natum*; for the metaphors combined, cf. Cic. *Balb.* 57 *more hominum inuidens, in conuiuuiis rodunt, in circulis uellicant: non illo inimico, sed hoc malo dente carpent*; cf. also *Ep.* 1.18.82 *dente Theonino . . . circumroditur*.

**82 defendit:** ends w. long syllable (*in arsi*; i.e. before 3rd-foot caesura); cf. 5.50, 7.7, 9.21, 2.1.82, 2.3.187.

**82–3** The satirist here blurs with the *scurra* (see 1.25n.; as caricature of H.’s social role as Maecenas’ dependant, see Damon 1997: 109–12). The capacity of laughter to diffuse tension mirrors the ‘free’ dissolution of verse into prose (cf. 55 *dissoluas*, 60 *soluas*). **captat . . . dicacis:** unseemly desire for fame is exposed as typically scurrilous.

**84–5 commissa . . . nequit:** the tendency to spill secrets or confidences was condemned at 3.95 as a serious threat to friendship. **tacere:** an important and paradoxical word within the context of *sermo*; H.’s poems are a test of his reticence about his friends (exemplified in *S.* 9).

**85 niger** ‘dastardly’ (*OLD* s.v. 9); black is the colour of death and poison; cf. 91, 100; Cic. *Caec.* 27 (comparison with a comic parasite) *Sex. Clodius, cui cognomen est Phormio, nec minus niger nec minus confidens quam ille Terentianus est Phormio*; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 12e on ‘black men’; cf. *Epod.* 6.45 *ater* (contrast *candidus* at 5.41, 10.86). H. is careful to defend Maecenas’ reputation behind his back in *S.* 9. **hunc . . . caueto:** a solemn, archaic-sounding conclusion (see on 2.37 *audire est operae pretium*). *Romane* recalls oracular language (cf. *C.* 3.6.2, with N–R). The speaker takes responsibility for addressing the citizens of Rome (as though he had won the Aristophanic competition for a poet to save the *polis*: *Ran.* 1418–19) in order to disclaim *libertas*, formerly a national characteristic; the tone smacks of the parental cautions of 110–11 *ne . . . | . . . quis uelut, 112 deterreret, 115 uitatu . . . petitu, 124 uetabat*.

**86–8** A *scurra* is described creating entertainment at a party by mocking all the guests to their faces, and even the host behind his back (just as in 2.8 Balatro mocks Nasidienus; cf. Maenius at *Ep.* 1.15.30 *quaelibet in quemuis opprobria fingere saeuus*).

**86 tribus lectis:** domesticates the Grecizing word *triclinium*. **quaternos** ‘foursomes’, i.e. gatecrashers who are squashed onto couches designed for three

people: a pointed parallel for the full canon of poets (cf. the trio of 1) which others are trying to infiltrate.

**87 quauis** ‘any old how’ (suggesting the *scurra*’s unscrupulousness). **aspergere**: the *scurra* usurps the water-pouring duties of the host (88n.) by publicly spraying the other guests with malice; cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* 4.62 *lingua aspergere*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.48 *seruili deinceps probro respersus est*; as a portrait of the convivial Lucilius, see Anderson 1963b: 4–5 = 1982: 16–17. With 88 *aquam*, perhaps a convivial watering-down of the Old Comic flood imagery alluded to at 11 *cum flueret lutulentus* (cf. 37 *lacu*); Cicero’s *in conuiuuis rodunt* (*Balb.* 46) similarly plays on the functions of feasting and mockery.

**88 eum . . . aquam** ‘the man who provides the water’, Romanizing Greek ὑδροφόρος and evoking the Greek *eranos*, contribution supper (the repetition in *praeter . . . praebet* suggests the taboo nature of disloyalty to one’s host or *amicus*). **post**: adverbial. **hunc quoque**: the host becomes a victim too. **potus** ‘when drunk’ (*OLD* s.v. *potō* 4b ‘[drink] with implication of excess’); cf. 2.8.36 *acres potores*.

**89 condita . . . praecordia**: more convivial puns, on *condita*, ‘hidden’/‘laid down’, *aperit*, ‘reveals’/‘uncorks’, and *praecordia* as seat both of the digestion (*Epod.* 3.5, 11.15) and of intimate secrets, reduce the vaunted spontaneity and frankness of Lucilius’ poetic persona to bodily incontinence (cf. Cratinus: 3–5, 11nn.): e.g. 670–1W = 590–1M *ego ubi quem ex praecordiis | efero uersum* (cf. 2.1.30–4). **uerax . . . Liber**: Bacchus, god of wine, but also a common pun on *liber* ‘frank of speech’; cf. 90 *liber, in uino ueritas*: Otto 372 s.v. *uinum*.

**90–1** The addressee, whether H. or his enemy, is seen as mired in Republican values, judging the *scurra* to be a witty (*comis et urbanus*) and candid (*liber*) member of society. Freudenburg 1993: 94: ‘H. has Romanized the Aristotelian βωμολόχος [Arist. *NE* 1128a14]’ into a *scurra*. **infesto nigris**: with *tibi*, ‘you [who claim to be] an enemy of the black-hearted’.

**91–3** If H. himself laughs at oddballs, is that grounds for being judged spiteful and cutting? A verbatim quotation from a previous poem (2.27 *pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargomius hircum*) comes in for reassessment. Rather than indicating that the poems were published piecemeal, this is a moment of fictive intratextual ‘stock-taking’ (thanks to John Henderson for this formulation). The backbiter H. is already a victim of back-biting gossip: despite his exclusive audience, something has been leaked to a larger public and its meaning distorted (Feeney 2009: 20). **ineptus**: probably refers forwards to Rufillus’ inappropriately effeminate behaviour (see on 2.26 *facetus*, 3.65 *molestus*). **liuidus** ‘malicious’, lit. ‘black and blue, as if bruised’; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 11.10.1 *summa malevolentia et liuore impediuntur*, Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.103 *liuentem satiram nigra rubigine*. Juv. 6.631 uses *liuere* of being discoloured with poison (as though the aggressor is himself responding to an injury; cf. Mart. 10.33.6 *malus liur*; Dickie 1981).

**93–100** An example of unacceptable vindictiveness: a man who besmirches the reputation of a long-term friend after he has been acquitted in court. Little

concrete is known about Petillius Capitolinus (cf. 10.26 *dura causa Petilli*): Porph. alleges that he stole the crown of Jupiter from the Capitol, as proverbial as stealing the Crown Jewels (Pl. *Men.* 941, *Trin.* 83–5), perhaps attempting to explain *Capitolinus* (a *cognomen* of the *gens Petillia*). Ties of *amicitia* and conviviality are piously invoked (making the relationship similar to the host-guest one at 86–9), but the sting in the tail lies in the last throwaway remark. The malevolent friend acts out H.’s own fears at 80–5 of betrayal by someone in his inner circle (81 *uixi cum quibus* ~ 96 *conuictore*; 82 *non defendit* ~ 95 *defendas ut tuus est mos*; 81 *amicum* ~ 96 *amico*). Echoes of 81–5 (91 *infesto nigris*, 100 *nigrae* ~ 85 *niger*, 93 *mordax* ~ 81 *rodit*, 95 *defendas* ~ 82 *defendit*) show H. continually courting and repelling accusations of genuine malice (rather than responding to charges levelled against him in the earlier passage, as Hunter 1985a: 489 n. 53 proposes).

**94–5 iniecta . . . fuerit** ‘were to crop up’. **te coram** = *coram te*. **ut tuus . . . mos**: cf. H.’s constitutional moralizing exercises at 105 (*insueuit*), 9.1. The satirical impulse is characterized as a habit, i.e. a generic tradition.

**96 conuictore . . . amicoque**: predicative. Capitolinus has been a friend and companion (i.e. probably a *cliens* or, dysphemistically, *parasitus*; cf. Augustus *ap.* Suet. *Vit. Hor.*; though Damon 1997: 129 labels him the patron) since childhood; cf. 80–1 *eorum* | *uixi cum quibus*, 6.47 *nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, conuictor*.

**96–7** Several elisions (including hypermetric *-que*; cf. 6.102) suggest the speaker’s excessive fluency. **permulta**: ironic, unctuous (cf. 7.4 *permagna*); echoes H.’s hollow praise of Lucilius at 7–8; cf. 10.3–4.

**97–8 rogatus | fecit**: i.e. he has performed the duties of a client. **incolumis** ‘scot-free’; the opposite of *damnatus* (Cic. *Clu.* 10 *contra damnatum et mortuum pro incolumi et pro uiuo dicere*); cf. 68 *contemnat*. Self-preservation is H.’s goal, too, in this satire (cf. 119 *incolumem*). **quod . . . urbe**: i.e. he has not been sent into exile (Brutus *ap.* Cic. *Ep. Brut.* 1.16.6 *an tu Romae habitare, id putas incolumem esse?*); cf. 1 *Eu-polis*.

**99–100 sed . . . fugerit** ‘Still, it beats me how he got off at that trial.’ The social ties binding Capitolinus and his *amicus* are broken by casual innuendo, a passing question that could equally have been asked of H.’s own poetic persona, both as miraculous adoptee of the new regime and as elusive satirist. By contrast, H. subjects Lucilius to merciless posthumous *iudicium* (i.e. stylistic criticism) while condemning malicious friends.

**100 hic . . . lolliginis**: satirical malice is likened to the ink of the black squid, with the epithet *niger* (cf. 85 *niger*, 90 *nigris*) transferred from ink to fish (normally white); this is the sting in the tail, *sermo* that sprays its subject (cf. 87 *aspergere*) with poison (as with the squid, an act of self-defence: Cic. *ND* 2.127 *atramenti effusione sepiae se tutantur*). Black ink is literally the satirist’s medium at Pers. 3.13: a pen trails *nigra . . . sepia*. **haec**: pronoun attracted into the gender of the predicate: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.347 *hic amor, haec patria est*, 6.130 *hoc opus, hic labor est*. The anaphora indicates passionate commitment.

**101 aerugo mera** ‘pure verdigris’. Unadulterated copper-rust (cf. 48 *sermo merus*) both corrodes the victim and stains the agent (*OLD* s.v. 2: cf. *AP* 330 (of greed), *Mart.* 10.33.5 *uiridi tinctos aerugine uersus*, *Plin. HN* 33.62 *non robigo ulla, non aerugo . . . quod consumet bonitatem*). A Latin equivalent for Greek ἰός, rust or poison, from which *iambos* was often etymologized. As with 6 *omnis*, 48 *sermo merus*, another sweeping generalization.

**101–3 quod . . . promitto** ‘This fault will be far removed from my pages and from my intentions, as it has been in the past; if I can make any other true promise about myself, I promise this.’ I follow Housman’s punctuation and interpretation (1972: 1: 143–4), with *prius ut* in parenthesis (= *ut prius*), rather than K–H and Klingner’s *animo prius, ut siquid*, etc. (where *animo prius* would mean ‘and from my mind before that’, i.e. intention preceding written commitment, and *ut si quid* would combine *ut quidquam promittere* and *si quid promittere possum*). A typical disclaimer of malice, not an admission. **uitium**: cf. 9 *uitiosus*. **procul afore**: cf. 33 *longe fuge*, 100 *figerit*, 106 *figerem*, 132 *largiter abstulerit*. **chartis . . . animo**: cf. the syllepsis at 5.104 *chartaeque uiaequae*. For satire as written, cf. 36 *chartis illeuerit*, 139 *illudo chartis*. **si . . . promitto**: a get-out clause; the satirist escapes again with his fingers crossed behind his back.

**103–4 liberius . . . iocosius**: H. apologizes for satire (now a spoken form again) as a kind of minor moral failing (cf. 3.50–1 *est truculentior atque | plus aequo liber*, 63–4 *qualem me saepe libenter | obtulerim tibi*), similar to the forgivable signs of gaucherie exonerated in *S.* 3 (and cf. 91 *ineptus*). Black humour is presented as something on the margins of social acceptability, mildly risky, life-and-soul-of-the-party-ish. *liberius* pleads for the same kind of indulgent interpretation as 90 *liber* did (twinned with *comis* and *urbanus*) – rejected there by H., who now uses his superannuated father as a way of excusing nostalgic forays into republican *libertas* (see Leach 1971: 630 on *liberius* as distinct and toned down from 5 *multa cum libertate*). For occasional lapses and unevennesses as part of the recipe for Horatian satire, cf. 2.1.1 *nimis acer*. The comparatives may indicate fear of ‘overstepping the mark’ (Rudd 1957: 327).

**104 forte**: casually brushing aside incrimination.

**104–5 hoc . . . dabis** ‘you will grant me pardon and allow me this degree of justification’ (*iuris* is partitive gen., *hoc* is shorthand for the rights of the satirical poet). The language of legal judgment is again in play: H. asks for acquittal. This ideal scenario was realized when Augustus quoted H. back to him in a letter (Suet. *Vita Horati*): *sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me*.

**105–26 H.** exchanges satire’s generic pedigree and the links with Greek comedy for a biological/biographical one, ‘recalling’ the elementary moral teaching instilled in him by his father, whose critical impulses he has internalized as a reflex. The paternal image is foreshadowed by the stock fathers of comedy (48, 53, 56) and owes much to those stage characterizations (another genealogical strand to bind New Comedy and Horatian satire), but with significant local differences. Here is an alternative aetiology for H.’s satirical method (see Wimmel 1960:

152–3 on the father as a substitute for Callimachean Apollo), an inculcated habit of moral scrutiny driven by ingrained instincts for survival, social conservatism and moral irreproachability (see Schlegel 2005: 49–50 on the advantages to H. of splitting his allegiances). The salient comic precedent is the severe father Demea in Terence *Adelphoe* (see Leach 1971, Anderson 1974: 37–8 = 1982: 53–6 and Armstrong 1989: 2–4 on the echoes, esp. of *Ad.* 414–17: *nil praetermitto; consuefacio; denique | inspicere tamquam in speculum in uitas omnium | iubeo atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi. | hoc facito . . . hoc fugito . . . hoc laudist . . . hoc uitio datur*), whose teaching had already been held up to ridicule by the slave Syrus' mock cookery instructions at *Ad.* 425–6 (*hoc salumst, hoc adustumst, hoc lautumst parum*). Freudenburg 1993: 36: 'The comparison, while perfectly suited to the persona of the diatribe satires, is by no means the loving tribute to the Elder Horace it pretends to be' (cf. Don. *ad Ter. Ad.* 418: Demea advises his son *ut idioticus et comicus pater, non ut sapiens et praeceptor*). As with the portrayal of the father's loud-mouthed ambition in *S.* 6, the passage in fact dissociates H. from outmoded and unnuanced moralizing, recycling as it does the clichés of diatribe and giving a 'catalogue' (Hooley 2001) of the stereotypical subject matter of satire (and the themes of *Satires* 1–3) in old-fashioned end-stopped lines. The father's punitive tone is roughly equivalent in the genealogy of Horatian satire to the outspokenness of Greek Old Comedy at 3–5 (106 *notando* ~ 5 *notabant*, 103 *liberius* ~ 5 *libertate*); H. subsequently pleads that he has advanced on this by redirecting his father's frank criticisms towards socially harmless self-improvement. For another father's precepts against *sermo* in a corrupting society, see Pl. *Trin.* 282 *neque in uia neque in foro necullum sermonem exsequi*.

**105 insueuit:** for poetry-writing excused as a habit of thought, for better or worse: *Ep.* 2.1.117, *Juv.* 7.52 *scribendi cacoethes*. Here satire is presented (deceptively) as a static habit formed over many generations of H.'s 'family' (cf. 117 *traditum ab antiquis morem*) rather than as the poet's *ad hoc* invention (a blend of Old and New Comedy, diatribe, Lucilian satire, etc.). **pater:** cf. 48, 53, 56. Used of those who have shaped pedigrees in all senses, generic, philosophical, moral (e.g. 3.126–7 *pater . . . | Chrysisippus*). **optimus:** used of those who have furthered H.'s prospects; H. immediately constructs himself as an unnaturally unrebelling son by contrast with the adolescent sons of comedy. **hoc:** the satirical instinct, acc. by analogy with *docere*, or abl., as with *assuescere/assuefacere*.

**106 ut . . . notando** 'by labelling the several vices by example so that I would escape them'. *uitorum* = partitive gen. with *quaeque*, to be taken *apo koinou* with *fugerem* and *notando*. **fugerem:** a keyword of the poem, with its emphasis on self-preservation: cf. 34 *longe fuge*, 100 *fugerit*, 39–40 *me . . . | excerptam*, 115 *uitatu*. **notando:** the father's finger-pointing lessons are the ethical equivalent of Greek comedy's branding of criminals (5 *notabant*) and the inspiration behind H.'s own labelling of literary-critical *uitia*, as well as his private self-critical mechanisms (133–9). But *notare* need not always imply moral censoriousness: cf. *notationes*, fictional representations of character-types for moral edification, whether

in New Comedy or in a wider ethical context (*Rhet. ad Her.* 4.65); Muecke 1979: 57; cf. Lejay, Brink 1963: 112 n. 1.

**108 uiuerem . . . contentus:** the inspiration for the central motto of *S.* 1. H.'s father's teaching has succeeded in making him the exception to the opening generalization: 1.1–3 *nemo . . . contentus uiuat*.

**109–10 'nonne uides . . . inops?'** H.'s moralizing tendency is revealed retrospectively as influenced by his father's traditional style of education, with elementary ethics as the second stage of learning after the *prima elementa* of 1.26. Albius ('Man A') was condemned for his love of bronze at 28; now it emerges that H. was putting into practice his father's random finger-pointing method (cf. 25 *quemuis media elige turba*). Baius, 'Man B' (perhaps also suggesting a connection with Baiae, sybaritic seaside town), comes next in this moral equivalent of the child's ABC; cf. 112–14 *Scetani . . . Treboni*; cf. alphabetical examples of aristocrats in Marius' speech at Sall. *Jug.* 85; *ac si iam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset*; alphabetical deaths at Sen. *Apoc.* 3.4: *unus erat Augurini, alter Babae, tertius Claudii*. These type-names put H.'s father in an ambiguous position where *nominatim* abuse is concerned. **male uiuat:** with *inops* and 110 *patriam rem*, *male* probably has an economic, rather than a moral sense.

**110 magnum documentum** 'an important lesson'. **patriam rem:** behind the paternal teaching is the idea of preserving the patrimony; at 6.79–80 H.'s father pretended that the family had ancestral wealth, *auita . . . re*, as well as moral capital; see also on 2.7–8 *aui . . . parentis | praeclaram . . . rem*.

**111–13** Gives the 'origins' of *S.* 2, where H. had counselled against sex with married women. Although he recommended sex with *meretrices* there, 111 *amore* probably means not (easy) sex but (stressful) love, which for Epicureans would be a humiliating waste of energy and resources (teaching regurgitated by H. at 2.55, 2.59, 2.61–2). The father's advice here tallies with the anger of the comic *pater ardens* at 49: *meretrice nepos insanus amica*.

**112 deterreret:** for satirical teaching as a deterrent, cf. 128–9 *sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe | absterrent uitii*; for fear in general in this poem, cf. 23 *timentis*, 32 *metuens*, 33 *metuunt*, 67 *magnus . . . timor*.

**112–14 Scetani . . . Treboni** 'Man X . . . Man Y'; another alphabetically adjacent pair. *Treboni* incidentally recalls C. Trebonius, Pompeian and tribune of the plebs in 43, who wrote 'Lucilian' verses against Antony (Cic. *Fam.* 12.16.3 with DuQuesnay 1984: 29–30), in which case H.'s father sides with those who keep their heads down politically.

**113 ne sequerer:** cf. 106 *ut fugerem*. H. is taught to preserve his independence (*contra* 6 *Lucilius, hosce secutus*) while obeying his father. **moechas:** adulterous married women, the main hazard for men in *S.* 2; cf. 27 *hic nuptiarum insanit amoribus*.

**114 deprensi** 'caught in the act' (cf. 2.134 *deprendi miserum est*), significant in this satire about self-preservation. **bella** 'pretty, nice'; repeated in H.'s self-help instructions at 136 *belle*.



**115–16 ‘sapiens . . . tibi:** H.’s father’s elementary philosophical system, based on empirical examples, resembles the abstract moral teaching of philosophical schools in that both are based on a mixture of dos and don’ts (with emphasis on the don’ts). But he defers to a philosopher (*sapiens*) to explain the underlying reasons (*causas*). H. thus indicates that his father is not owed all the credit for his ethical education; the fact that *Satires* I opens with a more sophisticated search for causes (1.1 *Qui fit*) hints at tertiary (philosophical) training such as H. might have received at Athens (*Ep.* 2.2.43–5), training that transformed H. into ‘a skeptical pluralist, who ironized the word *virtus* brilliantly’ (Johnson 1993: 21). For the difference between right and wrong as the basis of family ethics, cf. Pl. *Sophist* 229e, Sen. *Ep.* 95.13 *antiqua . . . sapientia nihil aliud quam facienda et uitanda praecepit* (by contrast with *docti*); as a particularly Stoic concern: Sen. *Ep.* 66.6 *animus intuens uera, peritus fugiendorum ac petendorum*. Here *uitatu* and *petitu* are supines attached to *melius*; cf. 124 *inhonestum et inutile factu*.

**116 causas reddet** ‘will explain’. For H.’s father himself as a cause, cf. 6.71 *causa fuit pater his*; he is also another version of the *auctor* he modestly points out at 122. **mi satis est:** even H.’s famous catchphrase is revealed as a paternal tic.

**117 traditum ab antiquis morem seruare:** contrast 110–11 *patriam rem | perdere*. Johnson 1993: 21: ‘*mos? maiorum?* Which? Whose?’ H.’s father, an ex-slave, has no notable ancestors but claims a moral ‘inheritance’ in imitation of the aristocratic *mos maiorum* (cf. his aspirations to *auita . . . re* at 6.79–80): his weak spot becomes a platform. *Satires* I is devoted to claiming a way of life for H. that looks inherited; at the same time, he clings to a satirical tradition while indicating how much he is breaking away from it.

**118 dum . . . eges:** Terence’s Demea similarly offers himself for the moral protection and education of his sons: *Ad.* 995 *ecce me qui id faciam uobis*. H.’s father is the *custos incorruptissimus* he needs during his Roman education (6.81; see above on 16 *custodes*).

**119 incolumem:** cf. 98 *incolumis*, 6.81 *incorruptissimus*. Safety is always the end-goal.

**119–20 simul . . . tuum:** H.’s adolescence is described as an organic process of ‘hardening-off’, akin to the tree-trunk that was transformed into Priapus (8.1 *olim truncus eram*); cf. the gypsy’s prophecy at 9.34 *simul atque adoleuerit aetas*, Lucr. 3.449 *ubi robustis adoleuit uiribus aetas*, Virg. *Aen.* 12.438.

**120 nabis sine cortice:** Roman ‘rubber rings’ for trainee swimmers were made of cork; cf. Livy 5.46.8 *Pontius Cominus . . . incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad urbem defertur*. But *cortex* also means ‘outer layer of a tree-trunk’ (119–20n.); the tender child grows to support his own existence without external protection (Habash 1999: 286–7).

**120–1 sic me . . . dictis:** the father as fashioner of his son’s moral personality takes over from the gods at 17–18 (*me . . . finxerunt*), foreshadowing the craftsman (*faber*) who shapes Priapus at 8.1–3. H. builds a composition out of words (*dictis*)



over the dismembered limbs of his rivals (cf. 62 *disiecti membra poetae*). For *formare* of shaping character: cf. *Ep.* 2.1.128, *AP* 307, *C.* 1.10.3, 3.24.54.

**121–4 iuebat . . . uetabat:** positive precedes negative advice, creating neat chiasmus with 115 *uitatu . . . petitu. iubere + ut* is unique in H. but possible by analogy with e.g. *hortari ut*.

**122 auctorem quo** = *eum quo auctore*, a man on whose authority (abl. abs.); for the construction, cf. Cic. *De or.* 3.54. H. similarly leans on various literary authorities and sources for his brand of satire.

**123 unum . . . obiciebat:** possibly a spurious gloss. Wickham prints in a separate clause with a semi-colon, though it works better as an explanation of the preceding clause. **iudicibus selectis:** jurors for the standing criminal courts (*quaestiones perpetuae*), selected annually from among senators, equestrians and *tribuni aerarii* by the urban praetor (Cic. *Clu.* 121 *praetores urbani qui iurati debent optimum quemque in lectos iudices referre*), i.e. from among H.'s father's social superiors, the classes to which he aspired for his son. The theme of legal justice in the poem (from the first lines, and cf. 99 *iudicium*) integrates the sphere of literary-critical judgment with the social sphere, through shared concepts of exclusion, authority and shaming. **obiciebat** 'he would suggest'.

**124 an:** to be taken before *addubites*, not after, equivalent to *num*. **inhonestum et inutile:** i.e. τὸ καλὸν and τὸ συμφέρον; cf. *Ep.* 1.2.3 *quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non. inonestus* foreshadows the debate over presumed links between morality and social class in *S.* 6 (e.g. 36, 63, 96); similar aspirations to 'gentlemanliness' underlie the terms here.

**125 addubites:** rhetorical deliberative question. **flagret . . . malo** 'goes up in a blaze of notoriety'. *flagrare* is a common comic and Ciceronian metaphor, e.g. Pl. *Cas.* 937 *maximo ego ardeo flagitio*, Cic. *Ver.* 1.43. Blush-making publicity is to be avoided (cf. 109 *nonne uides, 114 non bella est fama*).

**126–9** Public scandal often has a deterrent effect on impressionable young minds, just as those who overeat are deterred by the early deaths of their neighbours. This comparison from daily life has a Cynic flavour.

**126 auidos:** sc. *edendi* (cf. 5.75), soon disabled by delayed *aegros*. **uicinum funus** 'a funeral next door'.

**127 exanimat** 'scares stiff'; a metaphor from death is activated by the fear of death (diatribe exploiting the comic possibilities of a morally educative scene). **sibi parcere** 'hold back', contrasting with *auidos* (cf. *Ep.* 1.7.11 *ad mare descendet uates tuus et sibi parcat*).

**128 teneros** 'unformed' (contrast 121 *formabat*). **aliena opprobria** 'reproaches levelled at others'.

**129 ex hoc** 'thanks to this method' (of instilling morals by example into the young). Horace presents himself as a model product, acknowledging a debt parallel to Lucilius' debt to Old Comedy (6 *hinc omnis pendet*). **sanus ab** = 'free from'.

**130 mediocribus** 'minor'. For H.'s minor faults, cf. 3.20, 140, 6.65, *Ep.* 1.20.25 *irasci celerem*. **quis** = *quibus*, dat. after *ignoscas*.

**131 ignoscas:** cf. the *ignotus* pun at 3.21–3. **fortassis:** modest presumption. **istinc:** minor faults, rather than the habit of reflection.

**132 largiter abstulerit:** H. welcomes anything that aids his withdrawal from view (*abstulerit* = fut perf.); cf. 34, 101, 134.

**132–3 longa . . . proprium** ‘the wisdom of years, frank friends, private deliberation’.

**133–9** H.’s current habit of introspection, the internalized version of his father’s moral teaching: private and focused on his own failings rather than external ones. This amounts to a new charter for satire, born of self-scrutiny, not vindictive feelings against society, and diverted from serious public mission to games (*illudo chartis*) or leisure pursuits (*lectulus aut porticus*), from outspokenness to pursed lips (*compressis . . . labris*).

**133 lectulus:** daybed, couch for reflection; e.g. Cic. *De or.* 3.17 *Crassusposito lectulo recubisset*. H. claims to be just an armchair satirist.

**134 porticus:** colonnade for strolling, meditating or doing philosophy in, a Greek concept, now a prime location for Roman *otium*; cf. *Ep.* 1.1.70–1 *quod si me populus Romanus forte roget cur | non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruam isdem*. **excepit** ‘receives’; H.’s withdrawal matches his other evasive manoeuvres, away from incrimination, censorship and *invidia*; cf. 40 *excerpam*, 132 *abstulerit*, 5.1 *egressum*. He is also removing himself from the literary tradition he has established in the poem: public, aggressive and faulty in itself. **neque . . . desum mihi** ‘I do not leave myself alone’ (see 140–4n. on Cic. *Flacc.* 66 *neque enim desunt*). H. removes himself from the ‘crowd’ of satirical poets for the time being, but he is literally ‘not absent from himself’ when alone. The phrase is used in a more normal sense at 2.1.17–18: *haud mihi dero | cum res ipsa feret*. ‘I shan’t be found wanting when the opportunity arises’; and there is something of that sense here: ‘I shan’t let myself down’; H. will be an ever-present friend to himself (contrast 81 *absentem . . . amicum*).

**134–7** A sample of H.’s personal deliberations, suggesting that he has a partial eye on self-improvement, but hinting at hypercritical calculation. A quasi-philosophical pose (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 88e, 129d on Plato) or a comic monologue (e.g. Demea at Ter. *Ad.* 415–19).

**135–6 sic . . . occurram** ‘This is how to make a good impression on my friends.’ H. does not reveal the secret formula that the pest would have done well to absorb before getting off on the wrong tack: cf. 9.3 *accurrit quidam*, 4 *dulcissime rerum*. For H.’s ‘past history’ of inept encounters, cf. 3.63–4 *me . . . obtulerim*. **hoc quidam non belle:** sc. *fecit* (ellipsis); cf. 114 *non bella est fama*: H. has taken to heart his father’s cautionary mantras. **quidam:** by contrast with his father, H. has learned complete discretion (contrast 109–14, where Albius, Baius, Sctetanus and Trebonius are named).

**136–7 numquid . . . imprudens:** elisions and the proximity of *ego* and *illi* suggest the danger of exposure to other people’s example.

**136 illi . . . simile:** cf. 3.123. *illi* refers back to *quidam*. **imprudens** ‘unintentionally’ (cf. Greek ἀκώως). **olim** ‘one day’.

**137–8 haec ego . . . labris:** the opposite of the *scurra* of 86–9, who blabs about his friends behind their backs. To escape inculpation, *sermo* has to become an extreme ‘non-version’ of itself: silent talking; see 140–4n.; and cf. the Socratic stance of *Ep.* 1.1.

**138 agito** ‘ponder, consider’ (*OLD* s.v. 17 esp. with *secum, animo, mente*, etc.); also (s.v. 11) ‘to engage in (conversation, etc.)’: e.g. [Quint.] *Decl.* 19.14 *proditionis agitasse sermones?*; Apul. *Met.* 1.2 *dum ausculto quid sermones agitent*; also (s.v. 18) ‘to bring up for deliberation, discuss’. **ubi . . . oti:** we have no sense of what constitutes *negotium* in H.’s life (cf. the leisurely day described at 6.111–28).

**139 illudo chartis** ‘I make a mockery of paper’; i.e. he wastes it by jotting down his moral reflections (schol. *perdo chartas scribendo*). A particularly satirical description of writing satire: cf. 10.37 *haec ego ludo*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.50 *quia probosis sermonibus diuum Augustum . . . illussisset*; cf. Fortune as satirist: 2.8.62 *illudere rebus humanis*. The venom of 36 *illeuerit chartis* seemingly dissolves into innocuous scribbling, rather than publicly diffused *libelli* (contrast 36–8, 71–2). *illudo* (*OLD* s.v. 3) can also mean ‘gamble away’ (Ter. *And.* 822 *dum studeo obsequi tibi, paene illusi uitam filiae*); thus *quid datur oti* might be the object of *illudere*: ‘I fritter away whatever leisure I have on/with paper’. *chartae* are sheets of papyrus, paper; for fair copy, as opposed to notebooks (*tabellae*) or writing-tablets (*tabulae*; cf. 4.15); cf. 36, 5.104, *Ep.* 2.1.113 *calamum et chartas et scrinia posco*.

**139–40 hoc est . . . unum:** H. begs pardon for writing satire on the grounds that it is a minor and harmless failing. Thus his poetic activities are offered up to the ‘social contract’ of mutual tolerance between himself and his readership. For writing verse as sickness or weak point, cf. *Ep.* 2.1.117–18 *scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim | . . . haec insaniam*; of satire in particular: Juv. 7.52 (cf. 105 *insueui*).

**140–3** The civilized ‘social contract’ now breaks down, and H. reverts to primitive force, or at least the threat of it, defused with humour. As if from nowhere, the recluse mobilizes a multitude of poets, claiming solidarity with the group from whose number he had previously excluded himself (40), to pressgang the ill-disposed into its masses. This is a mock return to the atavistic aggression of earlier satire, but also a final joke about exclusion and inclusion, resistance and acquiescence, entrapment and evasion. H.’s comparison of the gang of poets to a swarm of proselytizing Jews contains a number of close verbal correspondences with the description of the Jews in Cicero’s speech *Pro Flacco*: 66 *scis quanta sit [Iudaeorum] manus* [cf. 141 *multa poetarum manus*], *quanta concordia, quantum ualeant in contionibus. sic submissa uoce agam* [cf. 137–8 *haec ego mecum | compressis agito labris*], *tantum ut iudices audiant: neque enim desunt* [cf. 133–4 *neque enim . . . desum mihi qui istos in me atque in optimum quemque incitent*]. The background of this legal case, one that memorably describes Rome as *tam suspiciosa ac maledica ciuitate*, ‘such a suspicious and gossipy city’ (68), helps to turn H.’s defensive poem into his own *Pro Flacco* (Gowers 2009a). **concedere . . . concedere:** the *quid pro quo* gels into a pun: (1) ‘condone, overlook’ (Cic. *De or.* 3.198 [*uulgus*] *poetae non ignoscit, nobis* [i.e. *oratoribus*] *concedit*; 3.85 *quod nisi concedas habere insuauis*); (2) ‘yield, be absorbed’.

**141–2 multa poetarum . . . manus:** complements the impressive list of Old Comedians in 1 (ring composition here with 1 *poetae*); *manus*, following 72 *manus insudet uulgi*, perhaps also suggests man-handling or unwelcome contact (cf. the counsel to avoid the *molestia* of *litterae* at Phaedr. 4.7.20). Collections of poets: the Roman *collegium poetarum* (Horsfall 1976); Cratinus fr. 2KA: ‘swarm of literati’, in his *Archilochoi*; Barchiesi 2001: 150; at *Ep.* 1.19.23 H. speaks of himself as ruling a swarm (of iambic poets), *dux reges examen* (a calque on Archilochus’ name: Katz 2007); 10.67 *poetarum seniorum turba*. Also evoking Greek πολύχειρ ‘many-handed’ (Furies: Soph. *El.* 488; armies: Aesch. *Pers.* 83). **auxilio:** predicative dat. The poets are H.’s *custodes* (cf. 16). **quae sit mihi:** H. now mockingly avails himself of his fellow-poets, admitting a dependency he earlier rejected (cf. 6 *hinc omnis pendet Lucilius*).

**142–3 ueluti . . . Iudaei:** the comparison is based on the Jews’ reputation for being numerous and evangelical: see Cic. *Flacc.* 66, Matt. 23:15; for Jewish proselytism under Rome, see Feldman 1993: 288–382. For the (unlikely) theory that H. was trying to cover up his own Jewish origins, based on the cognomen *Flacco*, see Alexander 1942. Jews in H. and other satirists are presented as the ultimate outsiders, people with alien beliefs and practices, cf. 5.100, 9.69–70; Feldman 1993: 107–96. Here, the irony is that (like anti-social satirists) they are momentarily the ‘in-crowd’.

**143 cogemus:** fut. ind., more vivid than a subj. for a remote fut. conditional. **in hanc . . . turbam:** see on 23 *uulgo*, 25 *turba*.

## SATIRE 5

After the oppressive ending of *S.* 4, H. escapes from the big city and hits the open road. His ‘Journey to Brundisium’ is a brisk but often frustrating account. Porphyrio tells us that the model was the *Iter Siculum* described in Lucilius’ third book of *Satires*, which, despite Marx’s ingenious attempt to patch those fragments into a narrative, leaves us with few clues for interpreting H.’s peevish, diary-style entries on the minutiae of travel: dyspepsia, nocturnal disturbances, sore eyes, ball-games and culinary mishaps. Sightseeing is minimal and the focus is on low-level incidents, despite the fact that a major diplomatic mission, the official purpose of the journey, is somewhere just out of view. The route plots H.’s life’s progress from S. Italy to Rome in reverse (cf. Lucan on Caesar’s approach to Rome: *BC* 3.84–9); vital meetings with Maecenas and Virgil and Varius are also in reverse order. Rather than discussing the peace negotiations between Antony and Octavian, H. keeps events at the level of its *ego* narrator, a grumpy parasite (Freudenburg 1993: 203–5, Turpin 1998). The only war mentioned involves the ‘starvation tactics’ H. imposes on his runny stomach; the only treaty is an abortive one, his unlucky assignation with a fickle *amica*.

Since the Via Appia, highway to the South, whose end point is Tarentum, is specified at the start, the biggest surprises of the poem are its unexplained

derailment onto the Via Minucia and the decisive but unexpected ending at Brundisium. Which diplomatic mission and peace treaty are involved? There are three possible candidates from the Second Triumvirate (Musurillo 1954–5, Fedeli 1994). The Treaty of Brundisium between Antony and Octavian had been signed in 40 BC, thus too early for H. to have known Maecenas. The Treaty of Tarentum (end-point of the Via Appia) was signed in 37 (Reckford 1999: ‘a major diplomatic victory for Octavian’), but only after Antony had tried to land at Brundisium and been blocked by the inhabitants. Antony and Octavian met in Athens in 38, for which Brundisium was a traditional point of departure (Pelling 1996, DuQuesnay 1984). The second option seems most likely, though Brundisium is still a perverse place to end up. Diplomatic frustrations are overlaid by H.’s sexual disappointment and the reader’s own sense of blockage (Reckford 1999), while the important business of the poem (28 *magnae res*) is characteristically minimized as a tiff between friends (29 *amicos componere auersos*).

Anderson (1955–6) preferred to read the poem as ‘poetic fiction’, a conflation of several historical events. The poem is now read less as a literal account and more of a practical display of the poetic theory laid out in *S.* 4 (Lowe 1979, Freudenburg 1993, Gowers 1993b, Cucchiarelli 2001), not just in relation to Lucilius but to a wide range of other narrative forms: epic, topography and picaresque. The first lines parody Odysseus’ opening words to the Phaeacians, and the journey unfolds in the shadow of this original traveller: a lucky escape, a siege, a Cyclops pitted against a puny stranger; a fire, Diomedes, the city of the Laestrygonians (Formiae), epic periphrases for night, invocation of a muse and hints of a final *nostos*. But a deceitful girl replaces faithful Penelope, a kitchen fire the fires of Troy, Formiae now belongs to Mamurra’s family, and siege is laid to H.’s own stomach after a bout of diarrhoea. Such personal confessions, focused on stomach and groin, link H. with other, sub-Odyssean travellers: Aristophanes’ Dionysus and Xanthus on their comic *katabasis* through a frog-infested marsh (Cucchiarelli 2001), Varro’s Menippean picaros, the parasites of comedy (cf. *Ep.* 1.17.52–7) and Petronius’ hapless Encolpius (Sallmann 1974).

H. also engages with more specialized forms of travel-writing, from the aesthetic to the functional (Illuminati 1938, Grupp 1953, Cavarzere 1995). His starting companion, Heliodorus, author of *Theamata Italica*, introduces the model of tourist guides, an expectation which is rapidly disappointed (as half-hearted gestures to ‘sight-seeing’ prove). At the other extreme are Caesar’s *Itineraries*, which H.’s clipped logs about mileage and supplies sometimes resemble. Other candidates for a genre of Latin travel-poetry include: Varro’s Menippean satires – *Marcipor*, ‘Varro on the Road’, *Periplous* ‘The Voyage Round’ and *Sesculixes*, ‘Half-Ulysses’; Caesar’s poem, *Iter* (Suet. *Jul.* 56), Valgius (Morel, *FPL* 106), Persius’ *Hodeporicon* (a plausible textual reading in the *Vita*), Ausonius’ *Mosella*, Rutilius Namatianus’ *De reditu suo sive Iter Gallicum* and Sidonius’ prose epistle (*Ep.* 1.5). There are probably more poetic in-jokes with H.’s companions on the journey, Virgil and Varius, than we can fathom. The dialogue with Virgil’s *Ecloques* (which had celebrated

the Treaty of Brundisium in *Ecl.* 4 and obliquely consecrated Caesar-Daphnis in *Ecl.* 5 through a convergence of shepherd-poets: 1 *conuenimus ambo*) continues (Van Rooy 1973, Putnam 1995–6, Welch 2008). Virgil restored the mock-epic kitchen fire to a genuinely epic context in *Aeneid* 2 (Austin 1964), while Varius' doleful departure recalls his real-life role of tragic or funereal poet to H.'s comic one.

In many ways, the poem is an extended *recusatio* (Ehlers 1985: 82, Lowe 1979: 130). H. focuses on satire's shortcomings in relation to its hexameter cousin epic, an opposition that his apology to Augustus at *Ep.* 2.2 for choosing crawling satire (250 *sermones* . . . *repentes per humum*) over the emperor's *res gestae* (descriptions of lands, rivers and high citadels) spells out. The vocabulary of reluctance and inadequacy is pervasive: *ignauus*, *minus grauis*, *lippus*, *crudus*, *supinus*, *inimicus*, *fessus* (Cucchiarelli 2001). Twice H. specifies crawling ((*e*)*re**pere*) as the chosen pace, and twice images of the travellers walking or riding mules suggest devotion to the *musa pedestris*. Another puzzle of the journey, the identity of a tiny town whose name will not fit into the hexameter, points to satire's limitations (Morgan 2000a).

This metrical joke derives from Lucilius, and though detailed links between *S.* 5 and the *Iter Siculum* will always be at the level of speculation (*pace* Fiske's extensive survey of parallels), it is likely that H.'s journey-poem was a conscious alternative to the equestrian Lucilius' account: more abject in its picture of the poetic *ego* – dispossessed, riding on mules and sexually unlucky – but also more streamlined and fastidious (despite worse conditions). The longest surviving fragment of Lucilius' poem (102–5W = 110–13M) suggests a leisurely approach to recording the ups and downs of travel (see p. 10). H. keeps something of its casual and improvisational quality as part of his satirical baggage, but the challenge to Lucilius launched in *S.* 4 is now framed in terms relevant to both journeying and composition: length vs. abbreviation (5), strenuousness vs. laziness (5–6). Rapid changes of tense, metrical pace and location spare the reader from getting bogged down. H. is exploiting a long history of comparing *sermo* to a journey, with random-seeming starts, stops, digressions and dead ends (cf. *periodos*, *deuerticulum*). Demetrius breaks up Thucydidean sentences with stops (*anapaulai*) which he compares to roadside inns (*De elocutione* 47). In Cicero's *De oratore*, Strabo had already used an inn on the Pomptine marshes, H.'s first port of call, as an image for a digression from which listeners are only too happy to emerge (2.234). Varro in his Menippean satire *Periplous* offers his reader resting-places (418 *ektropai*) from the narrative. Inns on H.'s journey replace narrative pauses or digressions: Aricia offers modest hospitality (2 *hospitio modico*) and Forum Appi is stuffed (4 *differtum*, recalling a traditional etymology of *satūra*) with a mixture of seamy characters. The background theme of measuring and dividing space makes this poem particularly rich in self-conscious play on metrical possibilities (Nilsson 1952, Morgan 2000a).

In *De oratore*, Strabo's 'wayside inn' digression is the Roman *locus classicus* for Aristotle's theory of wit, both scurrilous and liberal. Laughter is a running theme on H.'s journey (35, 57, 98). The duel between the clowns Messius and Sarmentus

witnessed by the travellers at Caudium, the centrepiece of the poem (introduced with mock-invocation of the muse and contestants' genealogies), erupts with animal abuse and personal insult, representing the low humour that H. disowns. It can be no coincidence that the duel is staged in Campania, where traces of satire's native Italian ancestors, Atellan farce and Oscan obscenity, were thick on the ground. But the clowns' artificially vicious duel is replaced by innocent bonhomie (70 *iucunde cenam producimus illam*) more compatible with H.'s brand of conciliatory wit. The scene thus works as another potted history of satire, with republican venom tamed by the diplomatic humour of the new establishment (the *scurra* Sarmentus was adopted into Maecenas' household) on their nostalgia trip to discover the native roots of the genre.

More of the poem's humour is extracted at the expense of local rustics: pretentious small-town officials and superstitious citizens – alter egos for the poet in his previous, S. Italian incarnation. Class is a running theme, with H.'s humble origins displaced through the abjection of his characters. Aricia and Feronia are connected with runaway slaves; Sarmentus and Aufidius Luscus are *scribae*, an office commonly held by upwardly mobile freedmen and admitted to by H. himself in 2.6. Images of escape (*egressum, erepsemus*) followed by acceptance (1 *accepit*, 80 *recepisset*) replay H.'s life-story in reverse, ending with an Apulian *incipit* (77), then re-staging his emergence, in direct opposition to Odysseus' *nostos*. H. is commemorating all that he has safely left behind: the poem demonstrates 'how far the man of humble country origins has come' (Leach 1978: 90).

The journey can also be read as a framework for H.'s views on human experience, a record not simply of locations but of 'subjective emotions and reactions towards unfamiliar surroundings' (Ehlers 1985: 80). H. twice steps aside from his narrative to voice gnomic statements of belief (or non-belief) which virtually parrot the tenets of Epicurean philosophy. The first, praising friendship as the highest good, celebrates his reunion with fellow-Epicureans Virgil and Varius on the Bay of Naples (44). Near the end, H. recites an Epicurean credo on the indifference of the gods to human affairs, the final stage in his empirical education from unease (8 *haud animo aequo*) and sexual gullibility (82 *stultissimus*) to informed scepticism (101 *didici*). In both cases, H. is in dialogue with an intermediary Roman text: first, Cicero's *De finibus*, with its implied rejection of Epicureanism; secondly, Lucretius' Epicurean *De rerum natura*, with a further layer of allusion to Virgil's *Ecl.* 4, and its predicted miracle solution.

The unexpected last line of the poem highlights the notion of ending, and continues the dialogue with Cicero and Lucretius as it slices the book in two. 104 *Brundisium longae finis chartaeque uiaeque* raises as many questions as it solves. Without explanation, H. has diverged from the Via Appia, along which he travelled as far as Beneventum (it continued to Tarentum). There follows a villa near the dubiously located Trivicum, the place where H. has his wet dream, and then the famous town with no name. Only at Rubi can we be sure that H.

has drifted across to the alternative route to the south, the Via Minucia, which led to Brundisium. Scholars have proposed many candidates for the small town allegedly 24 miles from Trivicum: Equus Tuticus (Porph., ps.-Acro), Ausculum (Desy 1988), and Herdoniae (Radke 1989). More recently, it has been suggested that H. is hinting at a return to his home town Venusia (Gowers 1993b, 2009b), before frustrating our expectations. H.'s vagueness about his route may well be the whole point. On the final stretch, remarks about the quality of bread and water (88–91) or bad weather versus a good road (96) sound like Epicurean comments on the randomness of life's journey; the road 'damaged by rain' (95) hints that H. deliberately blurred this section of the map.

The abrupt and self-consciously final ending, reminiscent of epitaphs and drawing on Hellenistic equations between life, journeys and writing materials, allows H. to make yet another pre-emptive escape. The 'long' journey is shorter than we expected, the shortest poem in the book so far (363 miles in 104 lines). The narrative's drastic curtailment has been anticipated by the large number of mutilated characters along the way: Apella the circumcised Jew, the clown Messius, a Cyclops or 'wild horse' with a broken horn, Aufidius Luscus ('One-Eye'), even the blind founder of the Via Appia. H. may be suggesting that satire can only go so far in covering important political themes (Reckford 1999, Freudenburg 2001). The most emblematic moments in the narrative are its non-events. H. ignores his patron's arrival and concentrates on smearing black ointment onto his sore eyes (30–1): '[H]istory's witness has sealed his eyes shut' (Oliensis 1998: 28).

However, as with *S.* 1, the promise of finality is swiftly broken. *S.* 6 returns to first base by recapitulating the first words of *S.* 1 while reusing *fmis* in a different sense (6.2). H. goes on to represent his personal freedom as the freedom of the road, and tells us he can go all the way to Tarentum if he wants, on a gelded mule – a statement which comes at line 105, the point at which *S.* 6 goes beyond the self-imposed limits of the 104-line poem that preceded it.

*Further reading:* Brink 1995, Cavarzere 1995, Citti 2000: 183–209, Classen 1973, 1981, Cucchiarelli 2001: 15–118, Doblhofer 1980, DuQuesnay 1984: 39–43, Ehlers 1985, Freudenburg 2001: 51–8, Gowers 1993b, 2009b, Knorr 2004: 131–7, La Penna 1967, Miller 1998, Oliensis 1998: 26–30, Putnam 1995–6, Radke 1989, Reckford 1999, Rudd 54–64, Sallmann 1974, Schlegel 2005: 59–76, Testorelli 1977, Welch 2008.

**1 egressum . . . Roma** 'When I left vast Rome, Aricia took me in.' The crowds of *S.* 4 give way to open air and H. emerges (*egressum* suggests an out-of-bounds digression: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.715 *hinc me digressum*) from the city that absorbed him as a young boy (6.76 *Romam portare*, 6.51 *assumere*) to be taken in by a smaller town, Aricia, first stop on the road south, in a backwards version of his youthful emergence from Apulia (78–80n.). Condensed and inverted wording contrasts the narrator's small *ego* with the huge city that has supplied his satirical material



so far, recalling the start of the oldest first-person journey narrative, Hom. *Od.* 9.39–40 ‘When I left Troy the wind carried me and set me down at Ismarus, city of the Ciconians’ (Ehlers 1985: 80–1), later imitated by Virg. *Aen.* 3.209–10 *seruatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum | excipiunt*. While Odysseus went on to slaughter the inhabitants of his new city, the only war H. declares is on his stomach (7–8). **magna . . . Roma:** the metropolis that once dwarfed the self-conscious child (6.79 *in magno ut populo*; cf. Var. *Men.* 53B *magna uti tremescat Roma*), named here first in the *Satires*. **accepit** ‘received, took in’. There is not much to choose between *accepit* and variants *excipit* or *excepit* (Homer uses the past tense): both *accipio* and *excipio* are found with *hospitio*; *accepit* is more neutral; *excipit/excepit* adds the idea of rescuing exiles or fugitives, appropriately after the threat of press-ganging at 4.140–3 and the allusions to runaway slaves to come. **Aricia:** modern Ariccia, 16 Roman miles south on the Via Appia, at the foot of the Alban Hills, filled with suburban villas and prosperous freedmen and famous for its pilgrimage shrine to Diana Nemorensis (Green 2007, *Enc. Or.* 1 495). See Mazzarino 1968, Radke 1989 on H.’s route. According to legend, a runaway slave (cf. 24, 68) became priest of Diana or *rex Nemorensis* when he slew the incumbent priest (Strabo 5.3.12). Ariccia was also the home of the Atii, Octavian’s family through his grandmother Julia’s marriage to M. Atius Balbus, a native of the town; see Green 2007: 34–9 for contemporaries’ disparaging remarks about his ‘servile’ origins (Cic. *Phil.* 3.6.15, Suet. *Aug.* 4.2); his father Octavius was celebrated for a victory over runaway slaves (Suet. *Aug.* 3.1). The town was associated with the gens Horatia (*RE* s.v. Ariccia), so perhaps ‘obliged’ to offer H. hospitality.

**2 hospitio modico** ‘in a small inn’ or ‘with modest hospitality’; cf. Cic. *Att.* 2.16.4 *te in Arpinati uidebimus et hospitio agresti accipiemus*. Enjambment and a change from spondees to dactyls mark the change in scale. H. is later entertained more lavishly (50 *plenissima uilla*), but this unpretentious lodging looks programmatic, a modest setting for small-scale *sermo* (cf. *Ep.* 1.5.2 *modica . . . patella*), given the luxurious alternatives Ariccia offered, including the giant villa Julius Caesar built and then destroyed (Suet. *Jul.* 46, Green 2007: 26–7). **rhetor . . . Heliodorus:** H.’s rhetorician companion cannot be clearly identified. Heliodorus ‘Sun-given’ may conceal the metrically impossible name of Apollodorus ‘Apollo-given’, Atticist rhetorician and tutor to Octavian (Frank 1920, Suet. *Aug.* 89); thus possibly anti-Epicurean (Welch 2008). But *comes* might also indicate a book rather than a person, a metaphorical ‘companion guide’ (Gowers 1993b: 32; cf. 2.3.11–12: Plato, Menander, Eupolis and Archilochus as *comes*), Mart. 14.188 on a parchment volume of Cicero: *si comes ista tibi fuerit membrana, putato | carpere te longas cum Cicerone uias*; *OED* s.v. ‘cicerone’). One Heliodorus wrote a hexameter epic poem on the ‘Sights of Italy’ (*Italica Theamata*), of which 12 lines survive (Stob. 3 p. 244 Meineke) on a miraculous fountain at Cicero’s villa at Puteoli (Plin. *HN* 31.3) which cured eye disease (significant, perhaps, in view of H.’s allusions to impaired eyesight on his sightseeing trip (cf. 30, 49 *lippus*, 34 *Lusco*, 63 *Cyclopa*).

H. may be acknowledging the generic influence of topographical wonder-writing on his ‘blinkered’ account.

**3 Graecorum longe doctissimus:** the epithet phrase sounds Homeric, but *longe* also plays on topographical themes of length and breadth that run through the poem (cf. 8g *longe pulcherrimus*, 26 *saxis late candentibus*, 36 *latum clauum*). *doctissimus* is the first of many superlatives (50 per cent of those used in *Satires* I occur in S. 5, either because of their colloquial quality or because travellers tell tall tales). Given Heliodorus’ obscurity, it may be ironic (Ehlers 1985: 70, Cavarzere 1995: 158). Hellenistic allusiveness (*doctrina*) is promised, but hopes of another *Theamata Italica* will be dashed. **Forum Appi:** the town (now Foro Appio) lay 27 miles beyond Aricia, at the edge of the Pomptine marshes (*Enc. Or.* 1497). Named, like the Via Appia, after Appius Claudius Caecus (see 6n.), it was a well-known dump of a town. Julius Strabo Caesar (*Cic. De or.* 2.234) chooses an inn on the Pomptine marshes as an example of stingy accommodation (*non nimis liberale hospitium*) to which to compare his digression on wit (cf. 2.290 *neque amoenum neque salubrem locum*). H.’s choice of Forum Appi for an unappealing stay reinforces links between the self-conscious stops and starts of his poem and the inn/digression metaphor in Cicero.

**4** The inn’s dubious stuffing of canal-boatmen and innkeepers (recalling the generalized humanity listed at 1.29: *perfidus hic caupo . . . nauataeque*) embodies Horatian satire in miniature: picaresque filth is mingled with refined learning. **differtum** ‘stuffed’ (p.p. of notional *dis-farcire*; used of the Roman forum at *Ep.* 1.6.59). On connections with the etymology of *satura*, see Gowers 1993b: 63 n. 34; Diom. 1.485 *GLK referta uariis multisque primitiis . . . siue a quodam genere farciminius quod multis rebus refertum satiram dicit Varro uocitatum*, Mart. Cap. 9.998–9 *docta indoctis aggerans, | fanda tacenda farcinat*. H.’s restrained vignette is nothing to Juvenal’s roadside inn at 8.172–5: sailors, thieves, fugitives, hangmen, coffin-makers and eunuch priests (cf. *ibid.* 174 *permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitiuis*). **atque** postponed is a neoteric affectation (Zetzel 2002: 43), undercut here by banal vocabulary (e.g. *caupo*). **malignis** ‘cheating, stingy’ (cf. 1.29 *perfidus . . . caupo*); see Kleberg 1957: 6 for the tradition of landlords giving short measure.

**5 hoc iter . . . diuisimum** ‘Being lazy, we split this stretch in two.’ The language of *recusatio* (cf. *ignauus* used negatively at *Ep.* 2.1.67 *ignauae multa fatetur*): H. rejects the high road of continuous epic in favour of the laidback ramblings of *sermo*. The line, too, divides itself neatly into two halves with *diuisimum* following the caesura (Morgan 2000a: 107 n. 37). A fragment from Lucilius’ *Iter Siculum* (102–5W = 110–13M; see introductory essay above) suggests that he did not split the journey at this point but made the trip to Setia in one day. Lucilius varies the stages (*ludus iocusque . . . opus durum*) but there are traces of the ‘mud’ H. despised in the singsong repetition of *susque . . . deque* and a Greek word (Rudd 1973: 13: ‘goat-forsaken’). H.’s style of travelling is less speedy on the road, snappier on paper.

**5–6 altius . . . unum** ‘only one [*sc.* day’s journey] for keener travellers’; i.e. the journey to Forum Appi took two days, punctuated by the stop at Aricia. *alte praecinctus* literally means ‘with tunic hoist-up’ = Greek εὔζωνος, usually applied to foot-travellers, e.g. messengers, who knotted up their clothes for agility (Strabo 6.3.5: these could manage the journey from Brundisium to Tarentum in one day; cf. the shadowy *uiatores* of 16–17 and 7.29): here, any less encumbered traveller (Porph. *id est expeditius et agilius*). The contrast is not with literal walking (except for slaves or beasts of burden who pulled travellers’ litters or carts, walking was an exceptional mode of transport: Plut. *Cato* 5) but with the metaphorical pace of ‘pedestrian’ satire (2.6.17 *Musa . . . pedestri*; cf. *AP* 95 *sermone pedestri*; cf. 6.111–12 *quacumque libido est, | incedo solus, 6.122 uagor*). Additional hints of epic parody, ‘more girt up for battle’, contrast with H.’s humbler literary aims (cf. 2.8.10 *alte cinctus*). There are thus three linked contrasts: (1) between H.’s disguised sightseeing trip and more urgent political or business missions; (2) between H. the humble traveller and the mounted *eques* Lucilius, who got through a faster journey more slowly on paper (see Marx II 52, Gowers 1993b, Cavarzere 1995: 153); (3) between the leisurely pace of the satirist and the more continuous speed of the epic poet. See Welch 2008: 50–2 on the ‘lazy Phaeacian’ Epicureanism of H.’s stance. **ac:** colloquial with a comparative (H–S 478); cf. 1.46.

**6 minus . . . tardis** ‘The Via Appia is less punishing for slowcoaches.’ This line also neatly divides itself into two halves; the further paraphrase shows that H. has time on his hands. Italy’s major artery was built by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 as far as Capua, later (268) continued to Beneventum, and finally in the second century BC extended to Brundisium (*Enc. Or.* 1383–9; Macbain 1980 on the political benefits for Appius). Strabo 5.3.6 calls it the road most travelled: πλείστον ὁδοευόμενη. Unhurried travellers could break a tediously long journey with frequent stops; ps.-Acro: *quia habitaculis frequentatur [Appia uia] ubi possunt manere, quocumque peruenierint*; cf. Var. *Men.* 418B *et ne erraremus, ectropas esse multas; omnino tutum esse, sed spissum iter*. Thus H. flies in the face of ancient geographers’ advice on quickest routes (Cavarzere 1995: 153). For an alternative solution to arduous journeying, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 9.64 *cantantes licet usque (minus uia laedit) eamus. grauis*, like *altus*, often has programmatic associations with (unbroken) epic: e.g. Ov. *Am.* 1.1.1 *arma graui numero*. Here it also suggests the severity of the censor Appius himself (cf. Cic. *Cael.* 33).

**6–7 ego . . . bellum** ‘I declare war on my stomach’. A metaphor from siege warfare: either H. has dysentery and starves his stomach into surrender, i.e. abstinence; or he cuts off suspect supplies in the first place. *ego* (cf. 30, 82) puts the focus on the satirist’s personal needs, in this case on the most ‘satirical’ part of the body, the full stomach (cf. 85 *uentrem*), made famous by H.’s travelling predecessor Odysseus (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 7.216; with Pucci 1987: 178–9); also the body part that engenders bad temper: cf. 2.2.18 *latrantem stomachum, 2.8.5 iratum uentrem, C.* 1.6.5–6 *grauem | Pelidae stomachum*. This small-scale *bellum intestinum* marks the

start of a dyspeptic mood. **propter . . . deterrima:** presumably because of the Pomptine marshes. Problems with water recur: 88–9, 91.

**8–9 cenantes . . . comites:** H. is forced to wait (or look on) while his stronger-stomached companions (he is vague about the number in his party) eat dinner. The elegant alliterative clause is framed by *cenantes . . . comites* and centred on *animo aequo*. This is the first of many delays: H. dwells on what happens when travellers are *not* on the move. **haud aequo animo** ‘grumpily’. *aequo animo* is appropriate to more elevated philosophical contexts: 2.3.16, *Ep.* 1.11.29–30, 1.18.112. H. succumbs to un-Epicurean impatience at the first hurdle, unlike Lucilius, who took the hilly country round Aricia in his stride. On insouciance as Lucilian, see Gell. 16.9.3 on the phrase *susque deque* at 102, 103W = 110, 111M: *significat . . . animo aequo esse et quod accidit non magni pendere atque interdum negligere et contemnere*.

**9–10** A scene-change begins mid-line (prosaic) with an epic periphrasis for nightfall (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.8–9, 4.522–5, 8.26–7; cf. the ridiculously grand scene-setting of the mouse fable at 2.6.100–1 *iamque tenebat | nox medium caeli spatium*); military metaphors continue. **iam:** equivalent to Homeric καὶ τότε δῆ, with imperf.; *iam* is followed by *tum* (11) with historic inf. (instead of *cum* with historic pres.). **inducere** ‘to spread over’ is also used of leading troops into battle.

**10 diffundere** ‘to pour across’ (*caelo* is abl.) can also mean ‘to squander’. Reverts to the idea of saturation (cf. 4 *differtum*) after mean landlords and self-starvation. **signa** ‘stars’, here, but also ‘battle standards’. These cosmic markers dwarf human signposts (88 *signis*).

**11–22** From Forum Appi, H.’s party goes 16 miles by the canal that ran through the Pomptine marshes beside the road, traditionally a night journey (Strabo 6.3.5). Virg. *Aen.* 7.801 refers to the same marshes as *Satura . . . atra palus*, with *Satura* replacing the more normal *Astura* (Horsfall *ad loc.*); the adjective *atra* may well be a nod back to H.’s satirical visit (Cucchiarelli 2001: 32; cf. Sil. *Pun.* 8.380 *Saturae nebulosa palus*); see 4.60–11. for another Virgilian allusion to H. and 6.59 *Satureiano . . . caballo*. The poem hints at several potential birthplaces of satire, like Atella and Tarentum (elided with its original Greek foundation Satyrion); see Barnes 2003 on Virgil’s *satur* puns.

**11 pueri . . . nautae:** chiasmus is typical of confused battle-scenes (e.g. Thuc. 2.42 on the night-battle at Plataea).

**12 ingerere** ‘heap upon’; generous abuse matches the largesse of 9 *inducere*, 10 *diffundere*, as well as the overcrowding that causes the quarrel.

**12–13 ‘huc appelle!’ ‘. . . satis est!’** ‘Bring the boat over here!’ ‘You’ve packed three hundred [passengers] in there already: whoa, that’s quite enough!’ This condensed dialogue about an over-stuffed boat sounds like a retrospective caveat to poets like Lucilius not to try to pack too much in: *iam satis est* recalls H.’s curbs on bloated *satura* (1.120); *trecenti* is standard Latin for any large number (cf. 4.9 *ducentos*), a word emphasized here by a fourth-foot spondee (Nilsson 1952: 75);

*ohe* is the most colloquial braking device possible. The total length of this *longa uia* is over 300 miles: H. knows stylistically when to call it a day.

**13 dum aes . . . ligatur:** typically, the actual departure is suggested elliptically through the preparations: collecting fares and harnessing the mule that is to drag the barge along the bank. **mula:** travel by mule is another humble mode of transport on this journey (cf. 47, 6.104–5), close to pedestrianism as a symbol of humble satire (Freudenburg 1993: 207, Gowers 1993b: 57). H. manufactures a social distinction between the freedman's son on his halfbreed mule and the *equus* Lucilius, who could afford to tour his S. Italian estates on horseback (6.58 *Satureiano . . . caballo*).

**14 tota abit hora:** time-wasting is minimized with an elision and Terentian compression (cf. *Eun.* 341 *dum haec dicit, abiit hora*). **mali . . . palustres:** troublesome mosquitoes and frogs, local marshland pests. Cic. *Fam.* 7.18.3 = SB 37.3 humorously protests that Pomptine frogs have come out in force to meet him like enthusiastic clients: *nam Vlubris honoris mei causa uim maximam ranunculorum se commosse constabat*. The detail clinches an extended allusion to the *katabasis* in Ar. *Ran.*, complete with unruly bodies (farting Xanthias), mule-borne travellers bickering with a ferryman, a murky marsh and an amphibian chorus (cf. *Juv.* 2.150 *ranas in gurgite nigras* with Braund 1996a *ad loc.*): Cucchiarelli 2001: 28.

**15–17** Another un-epic contest, a duel or duet between a drunken boatman and a *uiator*, singing not of wars but of their sweethearts, looks ahead to the contests of Sarmentus and Messius Cicirrus (51–70), H. and the pest in *S.* 9, and back to H. and Crispinus in *S.* 4 (all of which replay the *agon* of Ar. *Ran.*). For similar contests in Lucilius' *Iter Siculum*: Lejay 136, Cucchiarelli 2001: 35 n. 69.

**15 ut** 'while', present in most major MSS, linking the sleeplessness caused by *culices* and *ranae* with the boatman and traveller's songs (which also prevent sleep); Brink 1987: 28. *cantat* ('serenades') demeans the type of singing (cf. 2.107, 3.2, 9.25, 10.19).

**16 prolutus** 'sozzled', with drink (cf. *madidus, irriguus*), an appropriate word in this watery atmosphere. **uiator:** either an anonymous passenger, an official courier or the man who led the mule along the bank. The boatman who eventually ties the mule up for the night (18–19) takes over his responsibilities (a *uiator* and a vociferous local exchange cuckoo-calls through Italian hedgerows at 7.29–31). This is H.'s first encounter with the 'Italian vinegar' of 7.32, indigenous ritual abuse, 'ancestor' of literary satire: *Ep.* 2.1.146 *uersibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit, 160 manserunt hodieque manent uestigia ruris*.

**18 pastum:** 'to graze'; supine expressing purpose.

**19 piger . . . stertit supinus:** the snoring sailor recalls the lazy traveller. *supinus* 'lying on his back' suggests 'idle'; H. uses the word of himself in a symmetrically opposite verse (85): 'laid-back' posture suggests lack of poetic ambition.

**20–1** The travellers come to a standstill, as they realize that the barge is not moving. **lintrem** 'skiff', humorous.

**21 cerebrosus** ‘hot-headed’, not an Epicurean virtue (cf. 8 *haud aequo animo*); linked with *insanus* by Lucil. 519W = 514M *insanum hominem et cerebrosum*. The traveller is a more irascible version of H. (3.29 *iracundior . . . paulo*, 9.11–12 *o te, Bolane, cerebri | felicem?*, *Ep.* 1.20.25 *irasci celerem*).

**22–3** Mule and boatman are subjected to torrential blows from a rustic willow club (strong *ictus*/accent clash here). **lumbos** ‘loins’, like 7 *uenter*, are a ‘satirical’ part of the body, connected with sexual functions and carrying burdens (cf. 6.105–6 *mulo . . . cui lumbos onere ulceret*). Indeed, the parallel with the mule at 6.105 suggests that the beleaguering is primarily of sailor’s *head* and mule’s *loins*, but the confusion must be intentional.

**23 dolat** ‘chops into shape’ (colloquial; used of a wooden Vertumnus at Prop. 2.4.59 and a Priapus figure at *Priap.* 63.10), but here wood chops the man.

**quarta . . . hora:** barely concealed frustration (*uix demum* = ‘scarcely even then’), though at 6.122 H.’s daily *otium* involves staying in bed until the *quarta hora* (somewhere between 9 and 10 a.m.).

**exponimur** ‘we disembark’.

**24 ora . . . lympa:** after 16 miles on the canal, H. arrives, three miles from Anxur, for ablation in the pure waters of the temple of Feronia, ancient Italian goddess, equated with Juno, who protected freedmen (Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.564 *haec libertorum dea est in cuius templo raso capite pilleum accipiebant*), another place to be connected with freed slaves (cf. Aricia). The combination *ora manusque* belongs to the dignified context of epic (Virg. *Aen.* 6.496, Ov. *Met.* 15.38), as does the apostrophe to the goddess and the exalted name for her waters, *lympa* (cf. 97 *lymphis*). *ora* chases 23 *hora*. Virgil includes Feronia in his Italian catalogue at *Aen.* 7.800 *et uiridi gaudens Feronia luco* (with *Anxurus* at 7.799; 11–22 nn.).

**25** H. circumscribes a pilgrimage narrative in favour of breakfast (*pransum* was the morning meal; cf. 6.127 *pransus non auide*; as with *cenare*, the perf. part. is active in sense). The travellers then crawl three miles as far as Anxur, as though weighed down by food or the broken night.

**milia:** sc. *passuum*: only here and at 86 does H. explicitly mention the distance travelled, unlike Lucilius, with his many ‘prosaic’ allusions to miles covered (Fiske 1920: 311).

**repimus:**

H. ‘crawls’ again at a symmetrically opposite line in this poem (79 *erepsemus*). In both places, *reperere* has a programmatic quality (cf. *ignauus, tardus, piger, supinus*), as emerges from H.’s *recusatio* in *Ep.* 2.1, in favour of ground-hugging satires (250–1 *sermones . . . | repentes per humum*), not the panoramic range of epic (252–3 *terrarum situs et flumina dicere, et arces | montibus impositas et barbara regna*).

**atque subimus:** the travellers abruptly run up against the beetling cliffs of Anxur.

**26 impositum . . . Anxur:** the town’s name makes a delayed appearance at the end of the line, as though the travellers are unaware of it until they have climbed the cliffs, or are too dazzled by the white limestone to identify it at first. Elegantly polarized participles and nouns are typically neoteric. The high point of the journey so far heralds the arrival of Maecenas and Cocceius, exalted enough to travel by sea (Coarelli 1993: 16). Fraenkel 110 sees the line as the earliest proper landscape description in Latin literature, but the scene’s

human dimension is just as important. **late:** a rare line of latitude in a longitudinal poem, together with 36 *latum clauum* (cf. the purple patch at *AP* 15 *late qui splendeat*). **candentibus:** used by H. in elevated contexts, literally at *Epod.* 1.29, of a hilltop villa (*uilla candens*) or at *S.* 2.6.103 of purple garments shining above a dinner table (*incta super lectos canderet uestis*). Maecenas himself is addressed as *candidus* at *Epod.* 14.5; cf. Virgil and Varius at 41. **Anxur:** 20 miles on from Forum Appi, where the Via Appia hit the sea. Anxur was the ancient Volscian name (cf. Enn. *Ann.* 152 Sk.) for the original hilltop settlement, Tarracina (modern Terracina) the name of the town that grew up below it (unscannable), where the travellers probably met (Coarelli 1993: 17; *Enc. Or.* 1 493–4). H. does not mention the famous temple of Jupiter on the cliff which dwarfed Feronia’s temple (Coarelli 1987: 113–40, Radke 1989: 60; Lucil. 637W = 676M refers to *sanctum Anxur*), deliberately avoiding anything magnificent.

**27–8 Maecenas . . . Cocceius:** H. uses the word *optimus* affectionately of those who enabled his good fortune (4.105, of his father, 6.54, of Virgil), which would include Maecenas at this time, though H. might not have wanted to flaunt the fact. In its political sense, ‘a member of the *optimates*’, the senatorial elite, the word would exclude Maecenas, and anyway it is more elegant taken with *Cocceius* (cf. 4n.; 6.54–5 *optimus . . . Vergilius*, 10.82–3 *Octavius optimus atque | Fuscus*); contra Classen 1973: 241 n. 29, Brown, Fedeli. Maecenas is offered a compliment only to have it teasingly removed. **Cocceius:** L. Cocceius Nerva, *consul suffectus* in 39, great-great-uncle of the emperor Nerva.

**28–9** ‘A masterpiece of understatement’ (DuQuesnay 1984: 40–1). The political significance of the mission is condensed in two cryptic lines. **mag-nis . . . rebus** ‘important business’, glanced at tangentially as something outside the small scale of this poem. *magnae res* may hark back to a poet famous for writing about them, Ennius: e.g. *Ann.* 569 Sk. *olli cernebant magnis de rebus agentes*, via a ‘window allusion’ to Lucr. 5.393 *magnis inter se de rebus cernere certant*, or, more importantly, to Lucretius’ view of his Epicurean vocation at 1.931 *magnis doceo de rebus*. **auersos . . . amicos:** a diplomatic mission to restore the triumvirate is familiarized into the repair of a friends’ tiff by domestic peacemakers (cf. *C.* 2.1.3–4 *gravesque | principum amicitias*). Reckford 1999: 533: ‘Satire 1.5 privatizes *amicitia*.’ See Hunter 1985a and Kennedy 1992 on H.’s political use of the vocabulary of friendship, Classen 1973: 245–50 on friendship in *S.* 5. Tacitus’ verdict on Octavian’s diplomatic efforts is more jaundiced: *Ann.* 1.10.3 *sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis illectum, subdoliae affinitatis poenas morte exsoluisse* (Reckford 1999: 536 n. 25). **soliti:** the only clue to the diplomats’ earlier efforts, which had culminated in the Treaty of Brundisium (40 BC) and the marriage of Octavian’s sister Octavia to Antony (Pelling 1996: 17–19).

**30–1** Oblivious to these important events, H. chooses this moment to smear medicinal ointment on his sore eyes; the action occupies the main clause of his sentence. Conjunctivitis is a plausible after-effect of the marsh vapours (Livy 22.2



records that Hannibal lost an eye after an infection caught in the marshes of the Arno); Coffey 1989: 230 n. 56 suggests a direct link between the glare of the white cliffs and the sudden need for black ointment. But this is a special poetic interlude, interrupting the continuity between Maecenas' party's anticipated (27–8) and actual (31–2) arrival, not just a medical record but an incident that condenses two kinds of self-absorption in one action: (1) political insouciance; cf. the vignette of Vulteius Mena clipping his nails at *Ep.* 1.7.51; (2) poetic evasion; H. stays myopic and does not attempt to chart large-scale events or the details of sightseeing. Cucchiarelli 2001: 71 speaks of a 'physiology of *recusatio*', finding a pedigree (66–70) for the link between political inadequacy and bleary eyes in Aristophanes' Neocleides at *Eccl.* 397–404, to whom Blepypus ('Big-Eyes') would wish to administer eye salve; see also Corbeill 1996: 25–9 on *lippitudo* as an impediment to political activity for Cicero. **hic**: black salve marks the spot previously (27 *huc*) signposted by the white cliffs of Anxur. The repeated adverb signals the divide between 'two worlds and two sets of values' (Cucchiarelli 2001: 68). **ego**: the first-person pronoun is used to focus on H.'s personal concerns (cf. 1 *me*, 7 *ego*). **nigra . . . collyria**: n. pl.; a type of black paste mentioned by e.g. Celsus (6.6.7). Here, a 'homoeopathic' remedy (Raphael 1995); the satirist gets a taste of his own dark medicine (cf. 4.100 *nigrae sucus lolliginis*, *Ep.* 2.2.60 *sale nigro*). Caesar, possibly in his travel-poem *Iter*, speaks of smearing ointment on his body (fr. 2 Courtney: *corpusque suavi telino unguimus*). Book 16 of Lucilius was known as 'Collyra', from the name of his mistress. Lambinus (pref.) chooses *collyrium* as a metaphor for the commentator's acts of guidance. **lippus**: for bleary eyes as a significant motif, see 1.120, 2.90–1, 3.25, 7.3n. H. uses an *aegrotat* to duck responsibility for recording topical events in full (cf. *Ep.* 1.17.3–4 *ut si | caecus iter monstrare uelit*). His traveller-narrator is a partially-sighted substitute for the blind epicist Homer. **illinere**: used at 4.36 of satirical 'smearing' (cf. *AP* 446 *allinet*).

**31 interea**: no more than a sideways glance at the arrival of Maecenas and his friends.

**32 Capito . . . Fonteius**: C. Fonteius Capito, third member of this miniature triumvirate, was consul in 33 and Antony's ambassador to Asia (*Enc. Or.* 1 740). See below on 38 *Capitone*.

**32–3 ad unguem | factus** 'a gentleman to his fingertips'. According to Porph., a metaphor from marble-cutting denoting a state of finish such that it would not be irritating to scratch a nail over the stone's surface, an interpretation most editors accept (cf. *AP* 294 *ad unguem*). But D'Angour 1999 suggests convincingly that the phrase translates Greek εἰς ὄνυχας, ἐν ὄνυχι, and refers to the *statue's* fingernails, not the sculptor's; the metaphor is from clay moulding of the extremities before casting (Polyclitus *ap.* Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 2.3.2 636a: 'the work is hardest when it is "at the nail [ἐν ὄνυχι]"'). The phrase thus denotes a perfect state of finish, precision in the smallest detail (*Ep.* 2.2.4 *talos a uertice pulcher ad imos* is a variation on the same idea). *Capito* (~ *caput*; cf. *Fonteius* ~ *fons*) may playfully



contrast with *unguem*. *Epod.* 14.8 *ad umbilicum* uses an alternative metaphor from book manufacture, the *umbilicus* being either the rod on which a finished papyrus was rolled or the knob at the end of the roll (see on 58–9 *cornu* and *frons*).

**33 non . . . amicus** ‘so much so that no one is a better friend’; sc. *sit*; cf. 7.19–20 *uti | non compositum par melius cum Bitho Bacchius*, Nepos 15.2 *eruditus autem sic ut nemo Thebanus magis*. **alter**: more intimate than *alius*; Fonteius is an alter ego.

**34–5 Fundos . . . linquimus**: Fundi (modern Fondi), 13 miles either way between Anxur and Formiae, a one-horse town not worth the detour (literally: ‘The Pits’), though it lay in the heart of the Caecuban wine region (Faller 2001). Caligula accused Livia of being descended from a decurion from Fundi (Suet. *Gaius* 23). H. spares us the fuss of an arrival; the party at least had the liberty (*libenter*) to leave the dismal place. Still, he allows himself a patronizing aside about small-town politics. **Aufidio Lusco praetore** ‘during the praetorship of Aufidius “One-Eye”’ (abl. abs. suggests a solemn record in the town’s annals). Cic. *Agr.* 2.92 mocks the pretensions of small *municipia* where the local *duumviri* had pompous titles like *praetor* (*CIL* I 1187–8 records that Fundi was in fact governed by three aediles, a more lowly office), but at *Fin.* 5.19.54 respectfully mentions a blind ex-praetor Cn. Aufidius: *praetorio, erudito homine, oculis capto*. Fest. p. 233M names Fundi as one of the *praefecturae* to which a *praefectus iuri dicundo* was sent every year from Rome to replace the magistrates elected by the local people. As the Aufidii lived at both Fundi and Rome, it is hard to tell if this mayor is a Roman import or a local big fish (*Enc. Or.* I 650–1). Pers. 1.128–30 is targeting H. when he chastizes ‘anyone who satirizes a one-eyed aedile from Arretium’; Cic. *De or.* 2.246: jokes against the one-eyed as a *uitium scurrile*; Nero wrote a satire called *Luscio* against a man of praetorian rank (Suet. *Dom.* 1.1). H., like Cicero a small-town boy, scoffs at what he has left behind (cf. Lucilius’ pun on *praetor urbanus*: 232W = 1130M *Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat*), but the *nomen* Aufidius (cf. Aufidus, H.’s childhood river: 1.58, *C.* 3.30.10, 4.9.2) and the *cognomen* Luscus, following 30 *lippus*, make this municipal dignitary an alter ego for H. from his restricted past. On the Via Appia, one would expect a record of its blind originator, the censor Appius Claudius Caecus, not a one-eyed minor official (Cucchiarelli 2001: 23 n. 29).

**35–6** The travellers laugh at the mock-senatorial regalia of a small-town mayor. **insani** ‘deranged’ contrasts with H.’s psychic health (44 *ego . . . sanus*): see Van Rooy 1970: 52, McGann 1973: 72–84 on sanity/madness in the *Satires* (cf. 3.83, 6.89, 98, and II 3 *passim*). **ridentes**: laughter is the prevailing mood of the journey (cf. 57 *ridemus*, 98 *risusque iocusque*), a search among other things for the roots of satire in rustic Italy. H.’s scorn for *prava ambitio* on the parochial level unites him with his grander friends. **praemia**: short final *a* before initial *scr-* of *scribae*: cf. 2.30, Fordyce *ad Cat.* 64.357. **scribae**: holder of one of the apparitorial offices associated in the late republic with the social mobility of freedmen and their sons (Purcell 1983, 2001). H. hints at 1.120–1 that he himself

held the office (cf. Suet. *Vita Horati*) and appears to disclose it fully at 2.6.36. But the mayor's delusions of grandeur (and later jokes about the scribe Sarmentus, at 65–9) distance H. from lesser colleagues and their social climbing. **praetextam:** sc. *togam*, a toga with a purple border worn by curule magistrates at Rome (Livy 34.7) and in some *municipia*. **latum clauum:** the broad purple stripe down the front of a toga denoted senatorial rank, so a *scriba* could not strictly wear it. For the stripe as the mark of the political climber, cf. 6.28. **prunae uatillum:** a shovel of coals, probably carried in procession to a sacrifice or for holding incense (cf. Lex col. Genet. 62, 44 BC: *duumviris aedilibusque dum eum magistratum habebunt, togas pra(e)textas, funalia, cereos habere ius potestasque esto*). Bathetic after the first two items.

**37 in Mamurrarum urbe:** Formiae (now Mola di Gaeta), 13 miles on, labelled here (owing to metrical impossibility) as home of the family to which Julius Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* and Catullus' 'bankrupt of Formiae' (41.4 *decoctor Formianus*) belonged (cf. Cat. 43.5, 29, 57, 94, 105, 114, 115, Suet. *Jul.* 73); *Enc. Or.* 1 493. With his extravagance and limitless pretensions, Mamurra had been an arch-boogey for the neoterics. Here, a pompous circumlocution for his native town hints at the ignoble qualities of its eponymous hero (pl. *Mamurrarum* presumes a long line of equally notorious ancestors). Formiae was landfall on the Odyssean journey (Hom. *Od.* 10.80–132, Cic. *Att.* 2.13); in *C.* 3.17 the Lamiae and King Lamus are celebrated as its founders.

**38 Murena . . . culinam:** a cursory pair of ablative absolutes log the staging post in Caesarian style. Zetzel 2002: 43 notes that the 'fine rhetorical and metrical arrangement jars with the homely subject matter'. The hosts, L. Licinius Varro Murena (*Enc. Or.* 1 773–4) and Capito (32–3n.), are bound by a fortuitous double gastronomic pun. Their fishy names are punned on in earlier writers: for *murena* 'lamprey', cf. Var. *RR* 3.3.10 *non propter has [piscinas] appellati Sergius Orata et Licinius Murena?*; for *capito* 'mullet', cf. Cato. *Agr.* 158 *piscem capitonem* = κέφαλος (Cucchiarelli 2001: 23–4). Thus H. again claims a pedigree from early satire and comedy (cf. Lucilius' puns on Lupus: 46W=54M *occident, Lupe, saperdae te et iura siluri*). An alternative identification with A. Terentius Varro Murena, brother-in-law of Maecenas, cos. 23, executed for treason in 22, is unlikely. **praebente:** following the officialese of *praetore*, *praemia* and *praetextam*, suggests a more informal arrangement between friends. Murena may have lent a villa in his absence (cf. Cic. *Att.* 16.16.1 *fui libenter apud Talnam nostrum; nec potui accipi, illo absente praesertim, liberalius*). **culinam** 'catering' belongs to the low lexical sphere (cf. 2.5.80 *studiosa culinae*, Var. *Men.* 315B *modulus est uitae culina*).

**39 postera lux oritur:** another ascent into the high style. The next day marks an even greater climax on the journey (*multo gratissima*): H.'s poetic admirers arrive and steal Maecenas' thunder.

**40 Plotius . . . Vergiliusque:** this grouping of 'la brigata virgiliana' (Thomas 2001: 59–61) is extended at 10.81–4. H. owed his introduction to Maecenas to Varius and Virgil (6.55; also paired at *Ep.* 2.1.247, *AP* 55); in this backwards

journey towards his origins, they cross his path later than his patron does, aptly near Naples, centre of the Epicurean sect led by Philodemus (c. 110–c. 35 BC) and Siro with which Varius, Virgil and H. were associated, and near Herculaneum, where in 1752 a library of 1500 papyrus rolls was excavated, preserving lost Greek philosophical and poetical works, many of them by Philodemus (Gigante 2003; for Philodemus' influence on H., see Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995; 2.92–3, 120–2, 123–4nn.). Philodemus addresses the same list of friends, plus Varus, at PHerc. 253 fr. 12 and PHerc. 1082: 21–22 (Sider 1997: 21–3). **Plotius:** M. Plotius Tucca, with L. Varius, edited Virgil's *Aeneid* after his death (Brugnoli-Stok 1997: 7, 35, 52); wrote a *De morte*, now lost. The pair also start a line and are reunited with Virgil and Maecenas in the list at 10.81. **Varius:** M. Varius Rufus, described at 10.43–4 as *forte epos acer | ut nemo*, was author of a lost Epicurean hexameter poem, *De morte*, and a tragedy, *Thyestes*, perhaps critical of Antony (Leigh 1996); see Cova 1989, Courtney, Hollis 1996. **Sinuessa:** 15 miles from Formiae, though it looks as though the party stopped for the next night 9 miles on, at Pons Campanus. **Vergilius:** first mention of Maecenas' other most famous poet-client (70–19 BC), midwife to H.'s fortunes (6.55) and part of the literary firmament at 10.44–5 and 81. So far, author only of the *Eclogues* (10.44–5 *molle atque facetum | Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae*); for H.'s engagement with these, see 103n., Van Rooy 1973, Putnam 1995–6, Henderson 1998b, Welch 2008. Virgil returned the compliment by reworking H.'s lines in the *Aeneid* (9–10n., 73–4n.) and composing his own version of the Pomptine marshes at *Aen.* 7.799–80 (11–22n.).

**41 occurruunt** 'they run into us', an obviously planned meeting framed as a casual encounter.

**41–2 animae . . . alter** 'The earth never bore brighter souls, and none to whom I was more attached.' Unusually uninhibited praise from H., presumably to distract from the envy-inducing association with Maecenas. **quales . . . quis** = *et tales, quales non . . . et quibus non*; *animae*: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 14.14.2 *uos, meae carissimae animae*. **candidiores:** an ardently lengthy adjective picks up 26 *saxis late candentibus* and steals an epithet owed to Maecenas (cf. 27 *optimus*), who gets it back at *Epod.* 14.5. **terra tulit:** as though these poets were glorious autochthonous heroes (cf. 2.2.92–3 *hos utinam inter | heroes natum tellus me prima tulisset*; Virg. *Aen.* 3.94–5). **deuinctior** 'more attached, more bound'. H.'s life and lines are free: friendship is his only bond (contrast 13 *ligatur*, 18 *missae . . . retinacula mularum*, 65 *donasset . . . catenam*). **alter:** cf. 33.

**44** The strongest sentiment of the journey and a claim to contentment in the midst of privations (6.89 *nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius* is similarly unpromising). The location near the Bay of Naples and the presence of Virgil and Varius suggest that this is a specifically *Epicurean* allusion. Friendship was one of the central ingredients of the Epicurean good life, and 'friend' a label that identified Epicureans, like Quakers, across the world (Konstan 1997: 113; Philodemus *Epig.* 2.7 Sider has Piso and his *hetairoi* meeting to celebrate the sage's

birthday; see also Rist 1980, Mitsis 1987, Brown 2002). Several *sententiae* on the subject survive from Epicurus' writings, of which the best surviving match is *RS* 27: 'Of the things wisdom acquires for the blessedness of life as a whole, far the greatest is the possession of friendship' (LS 22E). But none is so close as Torquatus' words at Cic. *Fin.* 1.65 (*Epicurus quidem ita dicit, omnium rerum quae ad beate uiuendum sapientia comparauerit nihil esse maius amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil iucundius*), which make it likely, given the number of close verbal echoes, that H. is alluding to Epicurus *via* Cicero: *nil* ~ *nihil*, *amico* ~ *amicitia*, *iucundo* ~ *iucundius*; *sanum* replacing *sapientia*; *contulerim* referring to but twisting the meaning of *comparauerit*. In a poem concerned with ends of journeys, ends of paper and the ends of life (cf. 104 *finis*, 6.2 *fines*), the allusion to a work 'De finibus' is significant (Gowers 2009b). In addition, the sentiment pointedly displaces the statement by Odysseus at Hom. *Od.* 9.5–6 (before the start of his journey narrative) on conviviality as the chief end (τέλος) of life, moralized as proto-Epicurean by 'soft' Epicureans like Philodemus and as shamelessly hedonistic by 'hard' ones like Lucretius and by the Stoics (Gordon 1998), as well as his claim at *Od.* 9.34–5 that there is nothing sweeter than seeing one's fatherland and parents again. H. evades such a certain return to his origins. **nil . . . contulerim** 'there is nothing I would compare', perf. subj. for fut. hypothetical condition, indicating cautious assertion; cf. 4.39, 41. **iucundo** 'delightful, congenial'; cf. 3.93 *iucundus amicus*. **sanus** 'so long as I take a sound view of life'. It is often personal ties that convince H. he is in his right mind: cf. 6.89 (also with *sanus*).

**45 proxima** looks momentarily like the runner-up in H.'s list of the most valuable things in life, before it becomes clear that it denotes topographical proximity. **Campano ponti**: a bridge over the river Savo, marking the border with Campania, hinterland of Capua (*Campanus* originally meant 'Capuan') and home of the Oscans and of Atellan farce (Strabo 5.3.6). The ritualized abuse between Messius Cicirrus and Sarmentus is staged on home ground. **uillula**: the diminutive suggests yet more modest accommodation (cf. 2 *modico hospitio*, 2.3.10 *si uacuum tepido cepisset uillula tecto*).

**46 parochi**: government officials or commissaries, obliged to provide fuel, hay, salt and shelter to travellers on official business (Cic. *Att.* 5.16.3; DuQuesnay 1984: 41–2). At 2.8.36 the *private* host Nasidienus is called *parochus*. **ligna salemque**: the travellers will not just receive basic commodities (advertising Maecenas' restraint: DuQuesnay 1984: 41–2) but also their metaphorical equivalents in the shape of the two buffoons: Sarmentus (lit. 'bundle of sticks') represents *ligna* 'wood', while coarse *sal*, 'salt'/'wit' (cf. 7.28 *salso*, *Ep.* 2.2.60 *sale nigro*) is plentifully supplied by their knockabout humour.

**47 hinc**: a variation on *inde* (3, 94); cf. 50. **muli . . . ponunt** 'The mules put down their packsaddles [i.e. rested] at Capua in good time.' Preparing for a digression: everything in H.'s narrative, despite external delays, is done with time to spare (at 13 reined mules are a punctuating device). As a proverbial phrase, *clitellas ponere* has associations with shifting responsibility (Quint. 5.11.21 *non*

*nostrum . . . onus: bos clitellas; inc. pall.* 66 *clitellae boui sunt impositae; plane! non est nostrum onus*). H., too, shirks his duties to Maecenas, even leisure ones. **Capuae:** Cic. *Agr.* 2.76 called this provincial city *urbem amplissimam atque ornatissimam* and *altera Roma* (ibid. 2.86), and Lucilius, according to Marx, made a significant stop here on his *Iter Siculum*, but H. has little to say about it.

**48** Maecenas takes a rest from state responsibilities. H. and Virgil trump that by opting out of his ball-game. This is tactical as well as lazy (DuQuesnay 1984: 41–2): even *playing* with Maecenas excites envy at 2.6.49 *luserat in campo*. H. similarly avoids ball-games at 6.126 *fugio Campum lusumque trigonem. lusum* and *dormitum* are supines of purpose (cf. 18 *pastum*).

**49** H. and Virgil present a joint *aegrotat*, H. conjunctivitis and Virgil indigestion (*crudis*; unless H. is also still feeling queasy). Both physical impairments suggest poetic reluctance as well as political feebleness: cf. 2.1.12–13 *cupidum . . . uires | deficiunt*, *Epod.* 1.16 *imbellis ac firmus parum*. Virgil is still the modest poet of the *Eclogues*, who had abandoned *reges et proelia* (*Ecl.* 6.1–5) and was associated with delicate digestion (Suet. *Vita Verg.* 8, Don. *Vita Verg.* p. 10 Diehl = Brugnoli-Stok 1997: 21 *nam plerumque a stomacho et faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat*), a malady also associated with the satirist Persius, who allegedly died of a *uitium stomachi* (*Vita Persi*), presumably spleen-induced. Cf. Virgil's higher-flown visceral objections to writing Empedoclean epic at *Georg.* 2.484 *frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis* (Cucchiarelli 2001: 72 and n. 55). Anja Stadeler points out to me that Virgil would not yet have eaten (sports are played before dinner; cf. 2.1.71–4: Scipio and Laelius) and that *cruditas*, normally a digestive ailment of cows (Col. 6.6.105; *Epod.* 8.6 *crudae bouis*), is mockingly appropriate for a bucolic poet. **inimicum** ‘harmful, injurious’, pointed in the context of *amicitia* and suggesting the dangerous aspects of friendship with Maecenas.

**50 hinc** ‘next’. If a night was spent at Pons Campanus, it is not mentioned. **Coccei . . . uilla:** Cocceius’ turn to provide hospitality, 21 miles on, in his well-stocked villa (an appropriate setting for the fullest digression). **recipit:** a variation on 1 *accipit*, suggesting a more formal reception (cf. 80 *recepisset*).

**51 quae . . . cauponas:** like beetling Anxur, this villa looks down from a superior position; H. is saved from another picaresque adventure in the taverns below. The alliterative *Caudi cauponas* gives satirical associations to a place more solemnly connected with military defeat, the Romans’ surrender to the Samnites in 321 bc at the mountain pass known as the Caudine forks (Livy 9.2.6). The ambiguity of levels prepares us well for the mock-heroic ‘battle’ (52 *pugnam*) of the buffoons that follows: Freudenburg 2001: 55–6.

**51–70** Central to the poem is an account of a battle of wits between Sarmenus (from Maecenas’ entourage) and Messius Cicirrus (an Oscan local), staged for the travellers’ diversion and heralded by a parodic appeal to the epic muse; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 875–84 (Cucchiarelli 2001: 29; Reckford 1999: 539 calls H.’s *agon* ‘Aristophanic’ in its comic travesty of larger political contests). Aristophanes’ comic representation

of a tragic *agon* is replaced here by a satirical version of a farcical one: H. unearths double roots for verse satire in Greek satyr-drama (63–4 *pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat: | nil illi larua aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis*) and Italian (Atellan) slapstick (54 *Messi clarum genus Oscii*) in this display of low iambographic humour involving physical deformities, low social status and animal comparisons (one to which the narrator gives space, despite being a detached spectator). Knorr 2004: 135 reads this as a duel between the wrong kind of humour (*scurrile*, personal insult, etc., represented by Sarmentus) and the right kind (*ridiculum/facetum*, poking at social ambition, represented by Cicirrus). But, as with the duel in *S.* 7, it is likely that both types of humour are coarser than H. prefers. Oliensis 1998: 29: ‘Horace takes care to locate himself very definitely in the audience, far above the satiric boxing ring.’ The episode may have been a shorter, thus stylistically exemplary, version (cf. 51 *paucis*) of a similar duel in Lucilius (Lejay 136, Warmington 109–10). It has also been read as political allegory, either representing the enmity of the triumvirs Octavian and Antony (D’Antò 1949–50) or hiding a caricature of Sextus Pompeius in the figure of Messius Cicirrus (Savage 1962); contra Reckford 1999: 538–43 and 539: ‘a substitute for history’s actual violence’. Cucchiarelli 2001: 100–1 sees it as political in a less specific sense: Sarmentus, pet *scurra* of a disgraced supporter of Pompey, has been reintegrated as an entertainer to Maecenas and a serene atmosphere masks contemporary tensions.

**51 nunc:** the only example of narrative rather than real time in the poem, suggesting epic immediacy, the summoning up of the Muse (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 16.122 *vũv*; Virg. *Aen.* 7.37, 7.641 *nunc*). **paucis:** the epic poet traditionally laments his inability to include infinite subject matter, but H. is also making a pointed contrast with Lucilius’ long-windedness. The word recalls the imagined contest between a puny and taciturn H. (4.17 *pusilli*, 18 *raro et perpauca loquentis*) and a windy Crispinus at 4.13–21.

**52 Sarmenti . . . scurrae:** identified (schol. *ad Juv.* 5.3) as the Etruscan slave of a Pompeian supporter, M. Favonius, freed by Maecenas after his master was killed in the proscriptions after Philippi and promoted to *scriba quaestorius* (Treggiari 1969: 271–2; La Penna 1967, 1993); a favourite of Antony (Plut. *Ant.* 59.4: partial to Falernian wine); and a favourite of both Augustus and Livia (Savage 1962: 413–14; hence perhaps 55 *domina*, 67 *dominae*), thus a low-life counterpart to more powerful *dramatis personae*. Sarmentus was notorious enough to provoke pasquinades such as *digna dignis: sic Sarmentus habeat crassas compedes. | rustici, ne nihil agatis: aliquis sarmentum alliget* (schol. *ad Juv.* 5.3); as the jingle shows, his name suggests a connection with *sarmenta* ‘bundle of twigs’ (n. pl.), for kindling, etc. Even without this background, he has strong similarities to H.’s satirical persona: a parasite entertainer with servile associations and modest physical needs (cf. 35 *insani . . . scribae*). On *scurrae*, see 1.23–4, 4.82–3nn.; Damon 1997: 179–80 on Sarmentus’ reappearance as a type at *Juv.* 5.3. **pugnam:** a mock-heroic bout. Verbal skirmishing compared to a gladiatorial duel: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.1 *me autem a te ut scurram uelitem malis oneratum esse non moleste tuli*. **Messique**

**Cicirri:** no biographical details are given. Cicirrus translates Greek κίκίρρος ‘(fighting) cock’, which may allude to a ‘Cock-man’ character in Atellan farce; possibly an antecedent for Pulcinella, from *pulcino* ‘chick’ (Dieterich 1897: 94) or an animal *cognomen*, like ‘Asina’ or ‘Catulus’ (Cavarzere 1995: 149 n. 42); cf. the onomatopoeic *cuculum*, also in the context of rural abuse, at 7.31; Fowler 1989b; Cavarzere 1995: 148–51. The name may also allude to Lucil. 115–16W = 121–2M *ille alter abundans | cum septem incolumis pinnis redit ac recipit se* (thought either to refer to a *pinnirapus*, gladiator who aimed at his opponent’s crest, or to cock-fighting; Cucchiarelli 2001: 35 n. 69). Messius is probably an Oscan name (La Penna 1967); the element of *messis* has suggested an allusion to the famine created by Sextus Pompey’s severing of the grain supply in 39/38 BC (Suet. *Aug.* 16.1); Savage 1962: 412.

**53–5** An epic pre-combat request for genealogical information (cf. Glaucus and Diomedes, Hom. *Il.* 6. 119–236; 7.16–17n.) is deflated when *litis* ‘dispute, court-case’ replaces the expected ‘battle’ and Messius is revealed as an Oscan, Sarmentus as an ex-slave (cf. the similar mock-heroics of *S.* 7, with its similarly disreputable contestants: 2 *quo pacto sit Persius ultus, 5 lites*). Both H.’s Achilles’ heels, his provincialism and his servile ancestry (more seriously faced off in *S.* 6), are thus exposed.

**53–4 Musa:** in first line-position (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 876), the *Musa pedestris* of satire understudies Calliope. **uelim** ‘please’ (polite subj.) suggests a modest and not desperate request, though Fraenkel 111 n. 1 ties it to an imagined epic formula *uelim memores* (cf. Sulpicia *Sat.* 58–9B *optima posthac, | Musa, uelim moneas*). **memores:** paratactic subj., restoring pseudo-archaic dignity. **quo patre . . . lites:** indirect questions after *memores. contulerit* echoes 44 *contulerim*. The query *quo patre natus* dogs H. himself through *S.* 6.

**54 clarum** ‘renowned’; ironic. **Osci:** ps.-Acro notes a traditional etymology of *obsenus*: *nam Osci ignobiles, unde obsceni*; see 60–1n. Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.3 dismisses Campanian local politics as *Osci ludi*, a joke on the local entertainment, *fabulae Atellanae* (Dench 2005: 181: ‘village pantomime’), ‘Oscan’ giving an added punch when Oscans were traditionally at the bottom of the cultural heap (cf. *opicus* ‘Oscan, dense, philistine’; Dench 1995: 52–3, 77–8). In the context of a self-consciously farcical set piece, *genus Osci* also hints at ‘Oscan genre’, i.e. Atellan farce itself (cf. 1.13 *genere hoc*), known for its rustic settings and grotesque stock characters: Frassinetti 1953.

**55 Sarmenti . . . exstat:** i.e. he is derided as a runaway slave. **ab his maioribus orti:** anticipates 6.10 *nullis maioribus ortos, 73 pueri magnis centurionibus orti*.

**56–7 equi . . . feri:** traditionally translated ‘unicorn’ (cf. 58 *cornu*), though Plin. *HN*8.76 describes a more fantastical hybrid animal. A portrait of a gladiator with protruding teeth or upper lip ‘like a rhinoceros’, ancestor to H.’s clowns, was assembled by J. Dousa from two Lucilian lines: Lucil. 109–10W = 117–18M *broncus Bouillanus [MSS nouit lanus] dente aduerso eminulo hic est | rhinoceros uelut*



*Aethiops*. Animal insults are a traditional element in flying. For comparisons as a pastime of ancient banqueters, see Cavarzere 1995: 151. **ridemus**: H. takes the role of derider, not victim.

**58 accipio** ‘Fair enough, touché’. **caput et mouet**: Messius Cicirrus either affably tosses his head in mock aggression, imitating the animal in question (cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 5.2 *nescio quid illum minari, assidue enim caput mouere*), or responds to the ‘horse’ insult by shaking a ‘coxcorn’ at Cicirrus, or tries out the boisterous satyr-dance requested of him at 63.

**58–9 ‘o . . . frons’**: Sarmentus refers to a scar where the creature’s horn should be (*cornu . . . exsecto* is abl. of description). Given the programmatic value of horns as an image of iambic/satirical aggression (4.34 *faenum habet in cornu; longe fuge*, *Epod.* 6.11–12 *in malos asperrimus | parata tollo cornua*), the deformity suggests an amicable satire deprived of hostile characteristics. *frons* and *cornu* are also terms from book-binding (e.g. [Tib.] 3.1.13 *inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes*), so reinforce a link between physical mutilation and premature literary ending; see 104n. Ovid’s Achelous, with *his* broken horn, excites tragic pity, not laughter; at *Met.* 8.883–4 (see Oliensis 2009: 108–10 on similar book symbolism there and at *Met.* 9.1–2 *truncae . . . frontes*, 9.86 *trunca . . . fronte*).

**60 sic**: *apo koinou* with *mutilus* and *minitaris*. **mutilus**: one of many significant mutilations in the poem, from the one-eyed praetor (34 *Lusco*) to the circumcised Jew (100 *Apella*); Gowers 1993b: 61. Var. *LL* 9.33 compares mutilated oxen, one-eyed men and lame horses: *si quis uiderit mutilum bouem aut luscum hominem claudicantemque equum*. **minitaris** ‘threaten’; used of social/satirical aggression, cf. 2.1.47 *Ceruius iratus leges minitatur et urnam*.

**60–1 foeda . . . turpauerat**: H. mercilessly describes the actor’s deformity (Monteil 1964: 310 n. 2). This grotesque Oscan staging may be born of a conflation of two common etymologies of *obscenus* from (a) *sc(a)ena* ‘stage’ (Var. *LL* 7.96 *obscena dictum ab scaena*) and (b) *Oscus* (Porph. *ad* 5.62 *Campani, qui Osci dicebantur, ore immundi habiti sunt. unde etiam obscenos dictos putant quasi Oscenos*; 62n.). The Oscans were associated with both philistinism and ‘filth’: cf. Cato *Fil.* 1 Jordan *nos quoque dicitant barbaros et spurcius nos quam alios opicon* [= ‘Oscans’] *appellatione foedant* (cf. on 54 *clarum genus*). **cicatrix** ‘scar’; perhaps inspired by its assonance with Cicirrus’ name (an appropriate ‘crowing’ sound erupts). **saetosam . . . frontem** ‘shaggy forehead’.

**62 Campanum . . . morbum**: a mystery. Cruquianus claims that it produced warts, hence the scar. Other suggestions include: venereal disease, given the alleged lasciviousness of the Oscans (see above 60–1n.), foul Oscan language (see 60–1n.; Ferone 1993), gigantism (Brown; cf. 64: Cicirrus needs no high-heeled boots), and, most likely, Campanian arrogance (cf. ps.-Acro, Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1.20, 2.95, 2.97; Knorr 2004: 133). **permulta iocatus**: conscious abbreviation.

**63–4** Sarmentus’ request to Cicirrus for a clownish dance with no need for mask and buskins perhaps evokes the comic *agon* between the tragedians Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes *Ran.* (Cucchiarelli 2001: 29; 53–4n.).



**63 pastorem . . . Cyclopa:** internal limiting acc. with *saltaret*. Shades here of Euripides' satyr-play *Cyclops* (cf. *Ep.* 2.2.124–5 *ut qui | nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa mouetur*), as though H. is claiming 'satyric' ancestry for satire as well as Old Comic ancestry. See Wiseman 1994 for speculation about a native tradition of satyr-plays (following Diomedes' usually discredited equation of *fabulae Atellanae* with Greek satyr-plays at *GL* 1 485K, H.'s claim to be *Satyrorum scriptor* at *AP* 235 and evidence of cultural familiarity with satyrs, if not satyr-plays, in Italy from the sixth century BC). At *AP* 229, H. relates that, when suppressed by law, satyr-plays 'migrated with their humble dialogue to obscure taverns' (*migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas*); *salto* 'dance' (from *salio* 'leap') suggests satyrs' movements (cf. *AP* 233 *Satyris . . . proteruis*). 'Dancing the shepherd-Cyclops' might conjure up either the Cyclops' meeting with Odysseus and his men (as in *Hom. Od.* 9 and the 'Cyclops dance' referred to at *Ar. Plut.* 290–1) or his unrequited pastoral love for Galatea (cf. *Theoc.* 11, *Virg. Ecl.* 2; *pastorem* would help to label an allusion to Virgil the pastoral poet; cf. 10.45 *rure*; see Payne 2007 on pastoral role-playing in *Theocritus*). Savage 1962 argues for allegory of Sextus Pompeius in Sicily embedded in both H. and Virgil's Cyclops-figures.

**64 nil . . . cothurnis:** the clown is already so fearsome and deformed he does not need stage props, a mask (*OLD* s.v. *larua* 1 'ghost, evil spirit') and the high boots of tragedy, as opposed to the low *soccus* worn by comic actors (cf. *AP* 80). But the rejection of tragic gear also suggests a programmatic preference for comedy (see *Juv.* 15.29 on a tragic act of cannibalism: *uulgi scelus et cunctis grauiora cothurnis*).

**65 multa . . . ad haec:** further conscious abbreviation (cf. 62).

**65–6 donasset . . . quaerebat:** Messius takes revenge by sniping at Sarmentus' freedman status: did he once dedicate his chains of servitude to the Lares? Either a parody of the tradition by which freeborn boys at puberty dedicated their childhood *bullae* or phallic amulet to the Lares (*Porph.*) or, more likely, a generalized parody of the practice of dedicating the tools of a trade to a tutelary deity on retirement. Here the allusion to fetters suggests that Sarmentus not only had servile origins but was a recaptured *fugitiuus*, runaway slave (see on 1 *Aricia*, 24 *Feronia*); cf. 68 *fugisset*. **ex uoto** 'honouring his vow'.

**66 scriba:** an unexpected and tantalizing link with H., the more exalted *scriba quaestorius*, also chafing at dependence on his masters; on upwardly mobile *scribae*, see Badian 1989, Purcell 1983, 2001, Damon 1992.

**67 nilo deterius** 'none the less valid' (*deterius* = *minus*), a juridical formula (*TLL* VI. 799, 54 ff.; cf. *ius bonum, ius optimum*). **dominae ius:** the mistress's legal rights pertained over a slave who had illegitimately escaped her service.

**68 denique cur** 'in short, why'; *Lucretian* (e.g. 1.199, 358).

**68–9 cui satis . . . foret:** short commons: a pound of grain was deemed the daily minimum for imprisoned debtors in the Twelve Tables (*Gell.* 20.1); *Don. ad Ter. Phorm.* 43 records that slaves received a hundred pounds of corn a month (i.e. three a day). The reference to dietary sufficiency recalls H.'s own precepts

at 1.74–5 and alleged practice at 6.112, 127–8. **gracili . . . pusillo**: shades again of H.'s own satirical persona, small and weedy: cf. 2.3.312–13 *an quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque uerum est | tanto dissimilem et tanto certare minorem*, 2.3.308–9 *ab imo | ad summum totus moduli bipedalis*, 1.4.17–18 *pusilli | . . . animi*. Messius' joke about Sarmentus' physique echoes the Cyclops' description of Odysseus at Hom. *Od.* 9.515: 'a puny, worthless weakling' (Barnes 1988: 59 n. 12).

**70** Having merrily participated as narrator and willing spectator (despite rejecting scurrilous humour in *Satires* 3 and 4) at this genial cockfight, H. is elliptical about the rest of the dinner but manages to suggest through ponderous spondees that it was long and somewhat predictable. The belly laughs of Lucil. 131W = 137M *malas tollimus nos atque utimur rictu* (possibly from the *Iter Siculum*) may have been more rumbustious. **prorsus** 'all in all'. **iucunde**: cf. 45 *iucundo . . . amico*.

**71** It is unclear whether the seventh day of the journey comprised the 36 miles from Caudium to Trivicum or the 11 miles from Caudium to Beneventum. **tendimus** 'we made for'. **recta** 'straight', sc. *uia*. **Beneuentum**: modern Benevento, euphemized from Maleuentum, suggesting 'inauspicious welcome' (Plin. *HN* 3.105), but derived from Greek Maloeis via Oscan Maluentum; Torelli 2002. Birthplace of H.'s schoolmaster L. Orbilius Pupillus, who was honoured with a statue there.

**71–6** Another farcical scene, a kitchen fire, in one of those *humiles tabernae* to which H. says satyr-plays retreated at *AP* 229.

**71–2 sedulus hospes**: probably another *caupo*, caught unawares by this impromptu invasion, more eager to please than those at Forum Appi but disaster-prone. *sedulus* is a standard epithet for a host (cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.640 *sedula Baucis*), and H. the satirist specializes in anxious ones: Nasidienus (*S.* II 8) and the town and country mice, 2.6.86–7 *cupiens uaria fastidia cena | uincere*, 2.6.107 *succinctus cursitat hospes*. **paene . . . igni**: unusual word order mimics the disruption (K–H) or shows Hellenistic refinement (Fraenkel III n. 2, Zetzel 2002: 44). **macros** 'skinny', a poor specimen of a delicacy (cf. 2.8., perhaps recalling Lucil. 479W = 453M *macros . . . palumbes*). **arsit** 'burned to death' (of the host); cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.311, Juv. 3.201 *ultimus ardebit*.

**73–4** Mock-epic elevates the collapse of a log fire and the resulting havoc to a universal conflagration. *Vulcano* stands metonymically for 'fire' and *u*-sounds (*uaga, ueterem*) build up to Vulcan's name (cf. corresponding sounds for his wife Venus at 84–90); *culinam* deflates the pretentious tone. The word-order (three adj.-noun pairs arranged abc ABC) is mannered. Zetzel 2002: 44 finds it neoteric, with an inversion here of the Callimachean tendency to find the domestic in the heroic (e.g. poems on Hecale and Molorchus); but Norden 1916 *ad Aen.* 6.397 n. 1 identifies it as parody of serious epic, comparing Enn. *Ann.* 487V = 509 Sk and several Virgilian passages. Austin 1964 *ad Virg. Aen.* 2.310–12 suggests that H. may have inspired Virgil's more serious description of the fires of Troy (*flamma culinam | Vulcano summum ~ ampla ruinam | Vulcano superare; 72 paene . . . arsit ~*

*proximus ardet* | *Vcalegon*), noting H.'s subsequent retrieval of his original idea from Virgil at *Ep.* 1.18.84 *nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*, nicely advertising the 'give-and-take' between the two poets (11–22n.).

**74 summum . . . tectum** prepares for 103 *alto . . . tecto*. **lambere:** a common epic metaphor for flames (Lucr. 5.396, Virg. *Aen.* 2.684), comic in a culinary context. The flames play either anxious host (cf. 2.6.109 *praelambens omne quod affert*) or parasitical guest (cf. 3.81 *semasos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit ius*).

**75–6** The rats leave the sinking ship. Alliteration with *u-*, stressing the idea of a debased 'Vulcan', disperses, then concentrates again in the narrator's summarizing verdict: *conuiuas auidos . . . seruosque . . . uelle uideres*. Salvaging the dinner from the ruins is a priority for greedy guests and frightened slaves (with *cenam* sandwiched between the two disputing parties), extinguishing the fire more of an afterthought.

**76 rapere:** hints at pillaging (*OLD* s.v. 2), suggesting a further link with Odysseus'/Aeneas' escape from the fires of Troy. **uideres:** past potential subjunctive. H. again watches the chaos with detachment (cf. 8.50 for another closural *uideres*).

**77–95** H. approaches but never definitively arrives at his home territory (specified as Venusia on the Apulian/Lucanian border only at 2.1.34–5 *Lucanus an Apulus anceps*: | *nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus*), while hinting periphrastically at the name of a metrically impossible town en route (87–8). A disappointing experience with a deceitful prostitute (82–5) is both a substitute for the larger frustrations of the peace process (Reckford 1999) and emblematic of his deviousness as narrator (Gowers 2009b). From Beneventum the Via Appia continued inland, by way of Trivicum (if that corresponds to modern Treviso) and Venusia, as far as Tarentum. A shorter but more rudimentary route, the Via Minucia (later the Via Traiana), struck out further north, via Equus Tuticus, Herdoniae and Canusium, then hugged the coast from Bari to Brundisium (see Strabo 6.3.7 on the choice of routes; Radke 1989: 63–4 cites a medieval MS tradition of ἡμιονική 'mule-track', a corruption of ἡ Μινυκία = *Via Minucia*). It becomes half-clear (at 79 *Trivici uilla*) that H. and his companions have continued on the Via Appia at least to that point (*if* the villa at Trivicum is correctly placed by the *Barrington Atlas* (p. 45), a few miles off the Via Appia). By 94 they have ended up on the Via Minucia at Rubi. Which route they chose in between is a mystery. A traveller starting from the villa Trivici could either go north on the Via Herdonitana, passing Ausculum and Herdoniae (two candidates for the mystery town), then east on the Via Minucia to Canusium (followed by Rubi, Barium and Brundisium), or else continue east on the Via Appia, past Venusia, turning off then from its continuation to Tarentum and taking the road north to Canusium, to reach Rubi on the Via Minucia. Canusium is mentioned, apparently as a point of comparison, but in fact must be passed on either route. It is thus quite possible that Venusia is the mystery town, being little more than 24 Roman miles from the site of the villa Trivici, close to the site of modern Treviso, and equally

unscannable in hexameters – an unnamed substitute for Odysseus' clearer destination of Ithaca. The fact remains that the route between Trivicum and Rubi *cannot* be worked out from the text: the lack of clarity may well be the point in a poem so concerned with circumlocution. At *Ep.* 1.18.20 H. gives the traveller's dilemma between the Via Minucia and the Via Appia a proverbial quality in the context of the randomness of life: *Brundisium Minuci melius uia ducat an Appi*. There is a similar 'swings and roundabouts' quality to the travellers' experience at this point, from local products (*uulissima, pulcherrimus, lapidosus*) to weather (96 *postera tempestas melior, uia peior*). The last stage of the journey illustrates the Epicurean conclusions drawn at 101–3: H.'s trajectory is not an Odyssean *nostos* but a blurred emergence towards a random-seeming terminus (Gowers 2009b).

**77–8 incipit . . . mihi:** H. greets the sight of his native territory and its 'blue remembered hills'. Another 'new man', Cicero (*Att.* 2.15.3 = fr. 13 (dub.) Courtney), writes of returning *in montes patrios et ad incunabula nostra* (possibly quoting from his epic, *Marius*, on yet another famous new man), and refers (*Att.* 2.11.2) to Arpinum (the Apennine home-town he shared with Marius) by quoting Odysseus on his rough but good nurse Ithaca at Hom. *Od.* 9.27: τρηχέϊ ἄλλ' ἄγαθῆ κουροτρόφος (C. 3.4.10 *nutricis extra limen Pulliae* has sometimes been wrongly emended to *nutricis extra limina Apuliae*); cf. Cic. *Planc.* 22 *ea nostra ita aspera et montuosa ut fidelis et simplex et faultrix suorum regio*. These descriptions of rugged, genuine hometowns are the new man's substitute for noble ancestors (Wiseman 1971: 113; here *notos* replaces *nobiles*). For those in the know, this is H.'s own *incipit*, with Apulia personified as a kind of 'show-and-tell' elementary teacher (*incipit ostentare*) after the manner of H.'s father, giving us every expectation that H. is planning a return to his birthplace.

**77 ex illo** 'from that point'. **montes:** among these is Mount Voltur, named in the mythical version of H.'s infant emergence at C. 3.4.9 *Vulture in Apulo*. **notos** 'familiar'; a less sinister meaning than is usual in the *Satires* (contrast 3.24, 4.5).

**78 torret** 'toasts'; like *lambere*, continuing the culinary (and incendiary) theme. **Atabulus:** the local Apulian name for the sirocco, a blistering south wind from the Sahara (Sen. *NQ* 5.17.5, Plin. *HN* 17.232); Gell. 2.22.25 calls it the *uentus Horatianus*.

**79 numquam erepsemus** 'we would never have crawled out'; contracted form of perf. subj. *erepissimus*; cf. 25 *repimus*, 3.99 *prorepserunt*. H.'s slow escape from the mountains (dragging spondees in the first half of the line), followed by gracious reception (80 *recepisset*) at Trivicum, re-enacts the crucial evolution of his life, from rustic beginnings to urban acceptance (cf. C. 1.22.10–11 *ultra |terminum . . . uagor*, C. 3.4.9 *extra limen*, *Ep.* 1.20.21 *maiores pennas nido extendisse* for similar trajectories). At Hom. *Od.* 9.79–81 (the identical line-numbers), Odysseus uses a similar hypothetical condition to describe the opposite situation: he would have reached Ithaca sooner if the sea and north wind (cf. 78 *Atabulus*, a south wind) had not combined, as he was rounding Malea (~ Malœis, the old Greek name of Beneventum), to

drive him off course and send him drifting past Cythera (Aphrodite's island ~ Venusia). Odysseus is temporarily diverted from reaching his homeland, H. from escaping his origins.

**79–80 uicina . . . | . . . recepisset:** a night spent at a villa, probably a *villa publica* (cf. 45), since the host is not named, allows the party to survive their arduous journey through mountainous terrain. Trivicum, the 'place where three roads meet' is marked 25 miles beyond Beneventum near modern Treviso in the *Barrington Atlas*, p. 45 'Tarentum', while Radke 1989: 66–71 places it on a minor road joining Beneventum to Herdoniae, equivalent to the modern Ponte Treconfini, to support Herdoniae as the mystery town. For similar receptions, cf. 1 *egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma* (the inverse of H.'s life journey), 50 *nos Coccei recipit plenissima uilla*. Called *uicina*, 'neighbouring', 'neighbour', the villa is almost personified; there is also etymological play on *uicinus* 'inhabitant of the same *uicus*' and *Tri-uici*.

**80 lacrimoso . . . fumo:** i.e. a smoky, tear-inducing fire (no fun for bleary-eyed H.). This dismal atmosphere anticipates the mournful parting from Varius at 93.

**81 udos . . . camino:** artful phrasing and a solemn abl. abs. make the fireplace the agent (*urente camino*; cf. 1.45 *triuerit area*).

**82–5 H.** confesses to having arranged a tryst at Trivicum with a girl who let him down, causing him to have a wet dream. This is the only treaty explicitly mentioned in the poem; the negotiations of *amicitia* are replaced by those of *amor* (Oliensis 1998: 28). The episode, like the failed miracle at Gnatia (97–103), stands in for larger frustrations, especially the abortive triumviral peace talks (Octavian is said to have stood Antony up for their arranged meeting at Brundisium in spring 38, causing the treaty to be signed the following year at Tarentum instead; Plut. *Ant.* 35) and H.'s narrative teasing of his readers with a premature finale (Reckford 1999: 543–8). Cryptic allusions here, repeated *u*-sounds and the phrase *intantum Veneri* (84), hint at 'Venusia', which may or may not be bypassed; see 79–95, 86–90nn. The scenario of illusory sex and nocturnal emission recalls Lucretius' famous discussion of the subject (4.1030–6) and enhances the Lucretian colouring of the end of the poem by raising questions about the empirical assessment of natural phenomena (the tutelary goddess of Venusia would be Venus, divine doyenne of the *De rerum natura*). A similar, probably more successful episode in Lucilius may be recalled (1183W = 1248M), whereas H. is here allowing a glimpse of himself as sexual failure; see Reckford 1999: 545 on H.'s persona as 'Flaccus' and 544 for the comic topos of 'the man who doesn't get laid' (e.g. Cinesias in Ar. *Lys.* and Scephario in Pl. *Rud.*). H.'s midnight frustration contrasts with Ovid's midday satisfaction in *his* fifth poem, *Am.* 1.5.

**83 hic ego:** narrative focus on the central figure of the poem again (cf. 30). **mendacem . . . puellam:** a match for the cheating landlords of 4 and a substitute for Odysseus' faithful Penelope. This is not the *parabilem . . . uenerem facilemque* commended at 2.119 but the *turpi meretricis amore* warned

against by H.'s father at 4.III. The lying girl mirrors H.'s own deceptions in diverting us from the promised Venusia. **stultissimus:** the start of a parallel in the last stage of the journey between journeying and education (cf. 3 *doctissimus*). H.'s 'original' stupidity (cf. Lucr. 3.939 *stulte*) is succeeded by native wit (90 *callidus* . . . *uiator*) and empirical learning (101 *didici*; see Fussell 1965: 262–82 on 'empirical tourism'). **usque** 'right up to', with 84 *ad mediam noctem*; *us*-repeated after *stultissimus* suggests the anticipation.

**83 expecto:** cf. 9 *expectans*, but H. is falsely raising *our* expectations too (elision after *noctem* continues the sense of longing). **somnus . . . aufert:** sleep becomes another mode of transport (cf. 15 *auertunt*, where *somnos* is the object) diverting H. from his object, while the journey, too, goes off-course.

**84 intentum Veneri** 'keyed up for Venus, bent on sex', but also (following 71 *tendimus*; cf. 2.7.47–8 *acris ubi me | natura intendit*) 'heading for Venusia'. **immundo somnia uisu:** the wet dream is called an 'unclean vision'; the many squalid sights of H.'s journey (seen through his own unclean eyes) culminate in personal filth. Lucretius' analysis of wet dreams in terms of effluvia and illusions (*simulacra*) precedes an account of the deceptions of *amor* (Brown 1987: 68–76, Reckford 1999: 544 n. 37).

**85** The idea of soiling continues, as does the provocative echoing of 'Venus'/'Venusia' in *uestem*, *uentrem*; cf. 84 *uisu*, 86 *uiginti*, 87 *uersu*, 88 *uenit uilis-sima*, 90 *uiator*. **uentrem:** H.'s stomach features again (cf. 7 *uentri*) again as locus of humiliating bodily experience (Cucchiarelli 2001: 30), appropriately for ignoble satire, euphemizing, say, *inguen obscenum* (cf. 2.26, 8.5) but indicating that this is a more Odyssean version of Iliadic suffering (cf. *supinum*; Pucci 1987: 178–9). **supinum** 'as I lay on my back', symmetrical with 19 *supinus* (also in final position), thus emphasizing H.'s passive, laid-back approach to journeying. The image of a frustrated lover on his back goes back to Achilles, sleepless over Patroclus at Hom. *Il.* 24.10–11, 'now lying on his side, now on his back (ὑπτιος), now facedown (πρηνής)'. *supinus* (like the Greek adjectives) is also a name for a dice throw, a middling one, with Venus and the dog (*canis*; cf. Venusia and Canusium) the highest and lowest scores (cf. Prop. 4.8.44 *reccidit inque suos mensa supina pedes*, 45–6 *me quoque per talos Venerem quaerente secundos | semper damnosi subsilueru canes*, 51 *totas resupinat Cynthia ualuas*). H. is thus plunged from the prospect of sexual satisfaction to dog-like (Cynic) squalor. His dissatisfaction here contrasts with the smugness of Cat. 32.10–11 *nam pransus iaceo et satur supinus | pertundo tunicamque palliumque* and Lucil. 926W = 1297M *si uero das quod rogat, et si suggeri(s) supps* (Fest. p. 290M: *supps* = *supinus*). Persius' *supinus* (1.129) may specifically implicate H.; see 34–5n.

**86–90** H. is equally cryptic about the next stop on the road, a town allegedly 24 miles from Trivicum whose name will not fit into hexameters, but which can be identified by its various amenities. Above all, he imitates Lucil. 252–3W = 228–9M, on a slaves' festival (possibly the August festival of Diana, patron of runaways) that will not fit into verse: *seruorum est festus dies hic | quem plane hexametro uersu non dicere possis*; but cf. e.g. Arcestratus *ap.* Athen. 7.284e (a fish),

Ov. *Ex Pont.* 4.12 (Tuticanus); Kassel 1975. Candidates for the town are as follows: (1) Equus Tuticus (Porph. and ps.-Acro, supported by Lambinus, Bentley and Orelli). Ovid's *Tuticanus* enigma (see above) might suggest a link, but it cannot be correct, as getting there would involve going backwards; (2) A(u)sculum (Desy 1988). This name *would* scan with syncopation or elision; (3) Herdōneae (Radke 1989), which could, however, have been named in the singular (cf. Sil. Ital. 8.567), though the singular/plural (i.e. satirical/epic usage) dilemma may be the joke (Brink 1995). See Morgan 2000a: 113–14 on the futility of all such speculations: both Lucilius and H. may be hinting that some humble subjects are too mundane to be enclosed in hexameters (thus drawing attention to the metre shared by epic and its 'evil twin' satire). None of the above possibilities quite justifies the elaborate periphrasis (Formiae is paraphrased at 37 quite easily). If H. is indeed hinting at the prospect of a return to his birthplace, the equally unmetrical Vēnūsīa (see 77–8 nn.), a special kind of mock-modesty is in play.

**86 quattuor . . . raedis:** another logbook entry. The pace and the level of comfort are now upgraded. **rapimur:** as with 83 *aufert*, H. makes himself a passive rather than an active traveller (cf. 75 *rapere*, of the guests whisking away the dinner). **et:** postponed after *uiginti*. **raedis:** carriages.

**87 oppidulo:** an underestimate if the town is Venusia; cf. 6.71 *macro . . . agello*, of H.'s no doubt comfortable family estate. **quod . . . non est:** i.e. cannot be fitted into hexameters (*non est* = 'it is impossible'; cf. 2.79).

**88 uenit:** from *ueneo*, 'is on sale'. Disregarding the long first syllable, which may in any case be a metrical joke on *uenit* with a short *e*, from which Venus' name was often etymologized (Maltby s.v.), Venus' name is virtually encrypted in *uenit uilissima rerum*. **uilissima** 'dirt-cheap'; in 'thirsty Apulia' (*Epod.* 3.16), water was at a premium.

**89 aqua:** *paraprosdokian* after the prostitute at 82? **panis longe pulcher-**  
**rimus:** a banal version of 3 *Graecorum longe doctissimus*; *longus* recurs at 94 and 104, suggesting the cumulative longeurs of the final lap. The bread is the compensating glory of this small town (contrast Lucil. 128–9W = 134–5M on local produce), a mundane distinguishing *signum*. Cucchiarelli 2001: 22 speaks of 'gastronomic periphrasis'. **ultra:** enjambment here (cf. 2.1.1) suggests the foresight of the canny traveller, who lays up stores of the excellent bread to carry on the next leg.

**go soleat:** the final syllable is lengthened in *arsi* (cf. 4.82). **umeris portare:** transferred expression: slaves would have carried any baggage (cf. 1.47–8: bread-carrying as a philosophical illustration).

**91 Canusi:** Canusium (modern Canosa), was built on the river Aufidus at the junction of the Via Minucia and the road north of Venusia, 84 miles from Beneventum. H. does not actually state that the party stayed the night there (hints from 89 *ultra* and 93 *hinc*), but a glance at the map shows that, whatever the route from Beneventum, they must have gone through Canusium. Being neuter, *Canusium* is metrically admissible in the gen. sing. form, and again helps to suggest its opposite, the unmentioned *Venusia*. **lapidosus:** either literally 'gritty', a



common problem in the ancient world (from the milling process), or ‘hard as stone’ (cf. Sen. *Ben.* 2.7.1 *panem lapidosum*, of an ungracious favour). **aquae**

**non ditior urna:** this awkward phrase is probably parenthetical; *qui locus* then picks up *Canusi* (as in SB: see also K–H, Brink 1987: 29). *ditior* depends on *aquae*. *urna* is abl. of difference.

**92 qui locus . . . olim:** the current parched and distinctly ungastronomic circumstances of the town deflate its onetime (*olim*) noble pedigree. Canusium was one of many towns in Magna Graecia, including Beneventum and Venusia, allegedly founded by the Iliadic hero Diomedes (but the only one H. chooses to grace with this distinction). Like Odysseus, Aeneas and Octavian’s ancestor Atys, he was part of the Trojan diaspora, a more illustrious forebear than the Mamurrae at Formiae. Perhaps the point is that only a tough antique hero could have endured these dietary privations, or else that the town has fallen on hard times. Bentley suspected a gloss here (*locum condere* is without parallel), but Brink 1987: 29 cites Herodotean foundation vocabulary (κτίζειν χώρην/γῆν) and upholds the line as a parody of guidebook contrasts between past and present.

**93 flentibus . . . amicis:** it is unclear why Varius left the party at this point, wearing his tragic mask (unlike the comic one at 2.8.63–4 *Varius mappa compescere risum | uix poterat*). The line could refer to a lost tragedy, or possibly to his *De morte*, given the double meaning of *discedit*, ‘leaves’ or ‘dies’. Word order wraps Varius in a huddle of grieving *amici*. H. may refer to the sorrowful myth in which Diomedes’ companions were transformed into screeching sea-birds (Virg. *Aen.* 11.272–4; Ov. *Met.* 14.497–509; Savage 1959–60 1–4, 9–10).

**94 inde . . . peruenimus:** the first clear indication of a route for some time. Rubi (modern Ruvo) lay 30 miles from Canusium on the Via Minucia, which from this point hugged the east coast down to Brundisium.

**94–5 fessi . . . corruptius imbrī** ‘weary with pursuing a long journey, one made muddier by rain’. *rubus* means ‘bramble’ or ‘blackberry’, suggesting that *carpentes* (from *carpo* ‘pluck’) is more than a dead metaphor; the idea may continue with the notion of damage by rain. For *utpote* giving a reason, cf. 4.24. *longum iter* will be echoed by 104 *longae . . . chartae uiaequae*; H.’s criticisms of Lucilius’ stylistic ‘muddiness’ (4.11, 10.50) may well be inspired by Lucilius’ record of his own muddy route at 98W = 109M *omne iter est hoc labosum atque lutosum*. Rainy weather among the miseries of a travelling parasite: *Ep.* 1.17.52–3 *Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus amoenum | qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbres*. A potential flaw in Radke’s argument in favour of Herdoniae should be noted. The stretch from Canusium to Rubi is equivalent (30 miles) to that from Herdoniae to Canusium, so it makes little sense to call it a specially long and wearisome journey. Radke (1989: 72) suggests that the Via Minucia had not been properly paved at this point. If H. had come up on a minor road from Venusia to Canusium and thence along the Via Minucia to Rubi, the complaint would be more understandable. H. may be hinting how playfully he has covered his traces: just as the road was waterlogged, so the writing on the map (cf. 104) was ‘smudged by rain’.



**96 postera . . . peior:** a string of comparatives (89 *pulcherrimus*, 91 *ditior*, 95 *corruptius*) suggests that H. has not lost his reflex for discrimination. Wry acceptance of the pluses and minuses of the journey prepares us for the equanimity of the finale. *tempestas* is an archaic alternative to *tempus* (making a mini-chiasmus: *post-tera*, *tem-pest-*). **adusque** = *usque ad* (cf. 1.97). More enjambment brings the party right up to the walls of the next city (cf. 25–6 *subimus* | . . . *Anxur*, 82–3 *usque . . .* | . . . *ad mediam noctem*).

**97 Bari . . . piscosi:** exemplary brevity; ‘fishy’ sounds like a Homeric epithet (Rudd 59: ‘worthy of Dylan Thomas’), balancing 92 *lapid-osus*; Ov. *Met.* 12.10 *piscosa Aulis* suggests that the adjective was automatic for fishing towns. Barium (modern Bari) was 23 miles from Rubi.

**97–103** The Gnatians’ belief in a miracle of spontaneously liquefying incense causes the party great hilarity, giving H. an opportunity to utter a philosophical credo (or non credo).

**97–8 Gnatia . . . exstructa:** Gnatia/Egnatia (modern Torre Egnázia) lay 37 miles beyond Barium. *lymphis* | *iratis* refers, by analogy with the abl. abs. *iratis dis* (e.g. 2.3.8), to the legendary anger of the local water nymphs (*lympa* Hellenizes an old Latin word, *lumpa* or *limpa*, falsely connected to Greek νύμφα ‘nymph’: Ernout–Meillet s.v.). According to the scholiasts, the periphrasis indicates a dearth of water in the town. A likelier explanation (K–H) is that *lymphis iratis* satirizes the addled brains of its superstitious inhabitants (*lymphati/lymphatici* often translated Greek νυμφόληπτοι; cf. 35 *insani*, C. 1.37.14 *mentem lymphatam*).

**98 risusque iocosque:** more laughter at the expense of people encountered. A mock-heroic *-que . . . -que* (cf. 104, 8.50 *risusque iocoque*) elevates a collocation inherited from Cicero: *Leg. agr.* 2.96 *per risum ac iocum*, *De or.* 2.236 *odiosas . . . res saepe . . . ioco risusque dissoluit*, *Fin.* 2.65 *risu aut ioco* (disclaimed by a Stoic as a route to happiness). H.’s laughing attitude to life is part of his Epicurean creed at the end of the poem.

**99 dum flamma . . . sacro:** Plin. *HN* 2.240 records a different Gnatian miracle: *in Salentino oppido Gnatia imposito ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum protinus flammam existere. flamma sine = sine flamma* (cf. 3.68). *liquescere* is a common Lucretian word: e.g. 1.493 (of ice, with *flamma*), 4.1114 (of orgasm, with *cupido*). The dactylic rhythm and alliteration of *liquescere limine* suggest rapid motion.

**100 persuadere cupit** ‘would have us believe’: ironic; the Gnatians’ pride in their miracle is hardly presented as fanatical (contrast the Jews at 4.143 *cogemus . . . concedere*). For Caligula’s contempt for Sicilian wonders, see Suet. *Gaius* 51 *peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi irrisis multum locorum miraculis*.

**100–1 credat . . . non ego:** H. contrasts his own scepticism with the notorious superstition of the Jews (cf. Ov. *AA* 1.76, Pers. 5.179–88, Juv. 14.96–106, Rut. Nam. 1.387–94), a satirical target also at the ends of *S.* 4 and *S.* 9. *Apella* was exposed by Porph. as a caricaturing type-name (*urbanissimum*; from Greek privative *a-* ‘lacking’ + *pellis* ‘(fore-)skin’); Pisani 1953, Feldman 1993: 155, 171. For circumcision as the Jews’ distinguishing feature in satire, cf. 9.70 *curtis Iudaeis*,

Pers. 5.184 *recutitaque sabbata*. This feature picks up other mutilations in the poem and is programmatic for its curtailed ending (Gowers 1993b: 61); cf. also 6.104–5 *curto* | . . . *mulo* (for a journey to Tarentum); Pers. *Sat.* 5 ends with 191 *curto centusse*, *Sat.* 4 with 52 *curta supellex*. **credat**: behind this lies a tradition of travellers' combined gullibility and mendacity (cf. 82 *mendacem*).

**101–3** Overstating his credentials as an Epicurean, H. quotes closely from Lucretius' injunction to his reader to interpret natural phenomena like thunder and lightning in terms of scientific law rather than divine vengeance (in the manner of *antiquae religiones*): 101–2 *namque deos didici securum agere aeuum* | *nec quid miri* ~ Lucr. 5.82–3 (= 6.58–9) *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aeuum*, | *si tamen interea mirantur*. Reckford 1999: 546: 'Horace speaks here as one who has memorized his Epicurean catechism, word for word.' Such perfect citation looks like a Lucretian sledgehammer used 'to crack the nut of a minor superstition' (Coffey 1976: 75). See Fraenkel 253–7 on *C.* 1.34, where H. appears to renounce his Epicurean heresy after hearing a thunder-clap: cf. *Ep.* 1.1.14 *nullius addictus iurare in uerba magistri*; contrast *Ep.* 1.18.96–103, 111–12. Generic considerations are in play too: religiosity is more fitting for lyric, scepticism for satire. H. plays obedient pupil (*didici*) to *doctus* Lucretius; this statement of his graduation with honours on life's journey completes the process started at 82 *stultissimus* and continued with 90 *callidus* (a process artificially devised to coincide with the hints about his birthplace and his subsequent emergence).

**101 namque . . . didici**: parodies the idea of travelling as empirical discovery, as though H.'s education, specifically Lucretius' *DRN*, has worked on him and he is now laying claim to be *Romanorum longe doctissimus*. **securum** 'without worry' ~ Greek ἀτάρρακτος, a keyword of Epicureanism; see Lucr. 2.646–51 for a clear statement of Epicurus' belief that the gods do not interfere in mortal affairs.

**102–3 miri**: partitive gen. **tristes** 'because they are angry': thus *lymphis iratis* was only a *façon de parler* (cf. 74 *Vulcano*, 84 *Veneri*). **ex alto . . . tecto**: a less obvious Lucretian echo: *DRN* 2.1154 *aurea de caelo demisit fumis in arua*, conflated with Virg. *Ecl.* 4.7 *iam noua progenies caelo demittitur alto*, where Virgil had replaced Lucretian scepticism about the creation with a Messianic message about a return to the golden age. 'By contrast Horace returns to Lucretian orthodoxy' (Reckford 1999: 547). The 'hotel up in the sky' is a mundane version (cf. 74 *tectum*) of Lucr. 1.988 *caeli tegmine*; cf. Cic. *Arat.* 275, Manil. 1.720; Pl. *Amph.* 863 [*Iuppiter*] *in superiore qui habito cenaculo*.

**104** An 'epilogue in the middle'. The first half of the book ends with the most definite and yet most open-ended ending in Latin literature, an example of classic 'gnomic' closure but also of 'false' closure (Fowler 1989b: 97–101 = 2000a: 259–63), preempting the real end of the poetry book (see Fowler 1989a: 20–21 = 2000: 305 on middles as pivotal points for 'premature' closure). Reckford 1999: 547: 'The abrupt ending works like a punch line elsewhere, or a blackout.' H. perversely labels his shortest poem so far a 'long sheet of paper' (*charta*). Brundisium, 44 miles

along the coast from Gnatia, is indeed the logical next stage, but makes havoc of the most probable trajectory for this journey: the peace summit at Tarentum of spring 37 BC (Reckford 1999: 527: ‘a major diplomatic victory for Octavian’; App. *BC* 5.93–4; Pelling 1996: 25–7 prefers a July/August date). Tarentum could have been reached from Brundisium by a diversion south (or by continuing directly on the Via Appia). Instead, H. ends with Brundisium, where an earlier treaty had been struck in 40 (too early for H. to have known Maecenas) but where the meeting of 37 would have taken place had Octavian’s legions not barred Antony from landing (Plut. *Ant.* 35). A third possibility is the meeting in Athens between Octavian and Antony in autumn 38 (App. *BC* 5.92) for which Brundisium is the obvious point of departure, but this is inconsistent with the spring setting of the poem (frogs and mosquitoes) and in any case H. remains on dry land. The two more likely options each involve a premature ending; H. does not take us, or himself, as far as the final destination. On the three possible missions, see Musurillo 1954–5: 159–62, Anderson 1955–6, Fedeli 1994: 411–12. The ending is also a calculated display of H.’s limitations (*fines*; cf. 1.106–7 *sunt certi denique fines*, | *quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*), his reluctance to deliver an insider’s account of affairs of state (Freudenburg 2001: 57–8). The divergence from Tarentum also represents a concerted avoidance of ‘Lucilius country’ (cf. 6.58–9 *non ego circum | me Satureiano uectari rura caballo*) and an opportunity lost for a ‘satirically themed’ journey, from Satricum in the Pomptine marshes (Wiseman 1994: 76) to Satyrion, the original Greek settlement next to which Tarentum was later founded (see Strabo 6.3.2 on the rich local soil, Virg. *Georg.* 2.197 *saturi Tarenti*). At 6.105, H. becomes free to ride to Tarentum. **Brundisium:** ring-composition with 1 *Roma*. Possibly recalls Enn. *Ann.* 457 Sk. *Brundisium pulcro praecinctum praepete portu*, though no such topographical description follows. Brundisium’s chief identity at this period, as now, was as the main port for Greece, a point of embarkation or arrival (where Gellius 9.4 picked up books of Greek travellers’ tales), not an end in itself. Coincidentally, it was the port off which H.’s companion Virgil met his end in 19 BC (*Vita Vergili* = Brugnoli-Stok 1997: 33, 64, 100); also birthplace of the tragedian (and satirist) Pacuvius. John Henderson *per litteras* suggests a pun on an etymology of Greek βροντήσιον, from βροντή ‘thunder’, and a self-deprecating allusion to Callim. *Aet.* fr. 1.20 Pf. ‘To thunder is not for me, but for Zeus’. **longae:** advertises the poem’s *brevitas* (*contra C.* 3.4.2 *longum . . . melos*), though the journey has been longer than it need have been (Pl. *Ps.* 2 *longa fabula*). The *Odyssey* was proverbially long-winded: *Paroem.* 1 210.8, II 13.79, Barnes 1988. Rut. Nam. 2.1–2 self-consciously shortens his second travel narrative:  *nondum longus erat nec multa uolumina passus*, | *iure suo poterat longior esse liber*. **finis . . . est:** mock-Homeric double *-que* and a bumpy ending with *est* (positive after 87 *non est*) are grafted onto a re-patterned version of Lucretius’ similarly neat syllepsis at 3.943 *non potius uitae finem facis atque laboris*, replacing *uitae* with *uiae* (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 96.3 *omnia ista in longa uita sunt, quomodo in longa uia et puluis et lutum et pluuia*) and *laboris* with *chartae*. The Lucretian phrase belongs to Natura’s diatribe (3.933–62),

enlisted in *S. 1* as proto-satiric. Similar syllepses are found at *De or.* 2.234 (the passage on pauses in *sermo* as rest-stops: see introductory essay and above on 3 *Forum Appi*) *defessus iam labore atque itinere disputationis meae*; and at the end of *Fin.* 2, summing up the discussion of Epicureanism: 2.119 *finem fecimus et ambulandi et disputandi* (*Fin.* 4.1 begins *quae cum dixisset, finem ille*). The wrap-up ending is equivalent to the Alexandrian *coronis* or graphic end-flourish on a papyrus (Citti 2000: 205–9): cf. e.g. *AP* 11.41 (end of the poem = end of the poet's madness), Apul. *Met.* 1.21 (on a picaresque journey) *is finis nobis et sermonis et itineris communis fuit*. For another decisive end to a journey narrative, coinciding with a death, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.714–15 *hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta uiarum, | hinc me digressum uestris deus appulit oris*, 717–18 *fata renarrabat diuum cursusque docebat. | conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quieuit*. The ending also has an epitaphic flavour, apt for the life of a *scriba* or a *uiator*. A real-life epitaph of a merchant found at Brundisium (*CIL* IX 60) plays on two meanings of *terminus*: *terminus hicc(e) est, | quem mihi nascenti quondam Parcae cecinere*. H.'s equation between the end of his journey and the end of the paper exposes his account as literary fabrication and frees him from the bonds of the text he has created: see Fowler 1989a: 109–13 = 2000: 270–4; cf. 10.92 *subscribe*. But then comes the glib start-up of *S. 6*, where H. redeploys *finis* in a new sense. Such repetition on the cusp or hinge of a poetry book may have inspired Virgil's similar 'continuity error' in relation to another port between the end of *Aen.* 6 (Caieta as harbour) and start of *Aen.* 7 (Caieta still as Aeneas' nurse); see Hinds 1998: 108–11 on the 'liminal' repetition of *litus* (6.900, 7.1).

## SATIRE 6

*Satire 6* finds H. back in Rome (cf. 45 *ad me redeo*), again in implied face-to-face dialogue with his patron. The firm stop at Brundisium is unexpectedly dislodged as H. travels further backwards to tell the story of his original arrival in Rome: how he ended up 'speaking to Maecenas' and how his envy-inducing position can be justified to those excluded from it. The poem is a paramount example of the poet's 'defence-work' (Oliensis 1998), generated by satirical reflexes of personal exoneration and preemptive denial (starting from the first words: *Non quia*). H. fills out the hints dropped in earlier poems by plotting several versions of his *uita*, all of which involve the seemingly involuntary transformation of stuttering rustic into confident Roman, for which the chutzpah of his freedman father and the discernment of his aristocratic patron are made jointly responsible. H. works to deflect accusations of pushiness, self-promotion and parasitism in the various stages of his emergence from anonymity, before fashioning an innocuous existence for himself as a new kind of 'nobody'. Indeed the poem offers another answer to the question *Qui fit . . . ut nemo* posed in *S. 1*, and offers many different perspectives on the time-lapse between obscure or disgraceful past (4, 47, 54, *olim*, 55 *quid essem*, 60 *quod eram*) and privileged present (45, 104 *nunc*, 128–9 *haec est | uita*).

H.'s self-defence needs to be read in the context of the fluid social and political situation of the late republic. He contributes here to an age-old debate over the merits of individual worth as opposed to noble pedigree (Kindstrand 1976, Rudd), a debate that bears witness to the social mobility and political competition possible at all stages of Rome's history. The aristocracy had always been regenerated by office-winners, some of them 'new men' who succeeded without ancestors, some from servile families a generation or two back (Treggiari 1969, Wiseman 1971). But this situation was particularly explosive in the 40s and 30s BC, when slaves, freedmen's sons and provincials became scapegoats for the narrowing opportunities of the established nobility and were blamed for the rising fortunes of emerging dynasts (Appius Claudius expelled all sons of freedmen from the senate in 50; Julius Caesar in 45 and the triumvirs in 39 restored them in droves). This was the great age of the *apparitores*, men who like H. the *scriba quaestorius* rose through the civil service and achieved equestrian status or a close equivalent (Purcell 1983, 2001). But those at the very top had pushed the limits of Rome's social structure too. Invisibly overshadowing the poem are the spectacular success stories of the biggest players: mobile poets from the Italian provinces and beyond 'fitted comfortably into a Roman society dominated in their time by Maecenas of Arretium, the obscurely born Vipsanius Agrippa, and the *princeps* himself from a small town in Latium' (Wiseman 1971: 52).

A staged 'conversation' with Maecenas on this subject has the aim of testing the alleged *noblesse oblige* of the new aristocracy towards their social inferiors: the poem looks like an important document for the vindication of the rights of the late republican new man. In many ways, however, H. defaults on that promise. Many benefited from the Caesarian and triumviral handouts, but equal numbers of dispossessed citizens spoke out or issued anonymous protests (Dio 43.47). It is in the face of imagined resentment that H. mobilizes the defensive rhetoric typical of 'new men', parading his virtue, innocuousness and minimal disruption of the status quo (Wiseman 1971: 110–16). Like Cicero (or his portrait of Octavian in the *Philippics*), he finds it politic to be 'constitutionally mixed', emphasizing both his humble birth and his innate princeliness, his rusticity and his urbanity, in a fine balancing act between homespun pride and learned deference. While H. challenges Maecenas' boundaries by questioning the meaning of terms like *ingenuus*, *honestus* and *nobilis* (all of which, thanks to Cicero and Sallust's attempts to redefine them in favour of innate rather than inherited worth, were hotly contested terms), this is a conservative poem that reinforces the gulf between elite and crowd, once H. has established his place in that elite, at a time when the power of the crowd was on the wane (Millar 1998). One form of elitism, traditional class distinctions, is replaced by another: the exclusivity of undefinable 'breeding', which includes judicious discrimination and scorn for the rat-race (17–18 *quid oportet | nos facere a vulgo longe longeque remotos?*). The part of the poem that deals with political opportunities is thus largely a smokescreen for H.'s more important agenda: defence of his social position and his friendship with Maecenas

(Oliensis 1998). After unexpectedly declaring his disregard for the *cursus honorum*, the time-honoured escalator to power and status that he has bypassed, he claims independence even from Maecenas in a tactful but vigorous critique of the patronage system.

Behind this lies the Hellenistic tradition of humble autobiography, a special intertext being the blunt self-presentation of the fishmonger's son and Cynic philosopher Bion in his letter to Antigonus Gonatas (Diog. Laert. 4.46–7 = fr. 1A Kindstrand; Moles 2007: 165–8). In thanking a hooked-nosed aristocrat for putting aside snobbery and accepting a social inferior as his *conuictor*, H. plays Bion to Maecenas' Antigonus, Aesop to his Xanthus or (Lydian) King Croesus, but subversively attempts to elide the differences between himself and his opposite number. He appears to honour Maecenas' illustrious pedigree and the military distinction of his ancestors (versus his own humble origins and minor military career), only to draw attention to their equally un-Roman and equally undistinguished origins: Maecenas' pretentious Etruscan family tree is traced further back to Lydia, i.e. Asia Minor, origin of many slaves; both their families travelled from rural or foreign beginnings to life at the centre of Rome. Further similarities isolate the pair from the rest of society (18 *a uulgo longe longeque remotos*): their contempt for traditional career paths (Maecenas unusually remaining an *equus* despite attaining the pinnacle of political power) and a shared value system which prizes innate worth over noble blood, silence over loud-mouthed speech and tranquillity over exertion.

H. meanwhile charts his own successful progress towards aristocratic fastidiousness and ease (60 *ut tuus est mos*; cf. 9.1 *ut meus est mos*). Two distinctive verbal techniques are in play throughout: liberal use of comparative expressions (1n.), indicating continual acts of discrimination; and the device of *anairesis*, 'not this, but that' (1n.), samples of which record H.'s attempts to 're-educate the moral judgment' towards an alternative philosophy (Rudd 52). Both techniques put into rhetorical practice the principles of discrimination H. learned from his father (cf. 4.106 *ut fugerem exemplis uitiorum quaeque notando*), then from Maecenas (cf. 63 *qui turpi secernis honestum*). Thus the poem is offered up as the end product of the educational process it commemorates, vindicating Maecenas' choice of companion. But these comparisons are provocative, stirring up the very prejudices they claim to stamp out and offloading the satirist's sneers and smears onto rejected and envious onlookers.

H. satirizes the history of the Roman republic (7–44) as both erratic and determined by bias, both popular and aristocratic. Many of the precedents he cites for social mobility in primeval times have parallels in his immediate experience. Among kings, the arrogant Etruscan Tarquinius Superbus recalls the snobbish Maecenas, the lowborn Tullius evokes the *nouus homo* Cicero. A randomly chosen contemporary aristocrat, Laevinus, is labelled *Valeri genus* (12), which might recall the Valerian ancestor who was co-consul with L. Iunius

Brutus, ancestor of M. Brutus, who is thus written out of history (DuQuesnay 1984), along with Horatius Cocles, ‘pseudo-ancestor’ of H. himself. H. mocks respect for blue blood among the people from whose ranks he has emerged (14–17). Maecenas is challenged over his generosity to his inferiors, as long as they are *ingenuus* (8), one of many slippery terms, denoting either free birth or gentlemanly demeanour. H. faces full on the *invidia* attaching to his presumptuous friendship by repeating an abusive formulation of his pedigree, *libertino patre natum*, a slur which perhaps is not to be taken literally: it may even be a convenient allusion to the temporary enslavement of the citizens of Venusia in the Social War (Williams 1995), exploited to link H. to literary ancestors like Bion and Aesop and introduce the central themes of personal and poetic liberty.

The poem then takes an unexpected turn. Instead of petitioning for political opportunity, H. uses his sense of difference from the crowd (17–18 *quid oportet | nos facere a vulgo longe longeque remotos?*) to promote Epicurean indifference to the whole political system. The pursuit of Glory by obscure and noble alike is portrayed as enslavement: her followers are chained to her triumphal chariot like slaves (23 *constrictos*) or stifled by the trappings of office (27–8 *quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus | pellibus*). Meanwhile H. promotes quietism, the Aesopic morality of ‘stay in your own skin’; the disavowal of political ambition, easy for H., simply masks the social leap that it is more pressing for him to justify (Oliensis 1998: 31). He distinguishes further between his errant past as Brutus’ supporter (47–8 *olim*) and his envied present as Maecenas’ *conuictor* (47 *nunc*), sheltering behind his patron’s protection and again firmly disowning the idea of ambition (51–2). H.’s personal history mirrors his political history in being a catalogue of ins and outs, take-ups and put-downs, acceptances and rejections: (*re*)*mouere*, *tradere*, (*ad*)*sumere*, *deponere*, *demittere*, *deicere* and *pellere* are used freely of political movements. His own success story, with its similar trajectory towards inclusion in an exclusive social group (62 *in amicorum numero*), is related more euphemistically.

The central focus of the poem is another primal scene, an elliptical memory of H.’s first interview with Maecenas (52–64), soundless against the din of late republican politics, but according to H.’s value system the ‘big event’ (62 *magnum hoc ego duco*) of a life that disregards big events. H. represents himself as the passive object of other people’s agency (Virgil and Varius propelled him towards Maecenas), no smooth talker but tongue-tied and faltering (56 *singultim pauca locutus*). We hear only what he did *not* claim for himself (ancestors and S. Italian estates – a clear contrast with another predecessor, the landed knight Lucilius), but are led to assume that he found a kindred spirit in the laconic interviewer (60–1) who hesitated so judiciously before taking him on board (51 *cautum dignos assumere*). H. rejects the idea of chance in his adoption (54 *nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit* – a familiar defence of ‘new men’), asserting that this was on the basis not of his poetic gifts but his moral purity. Thus the satirist becomes the finished product of his own preaching (minus a few token apotropaic blemishes: 66–7

*uelut si | egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naeuos*). The selection process appears to have been mutually reinforcing: 62–3 *magnum hoc ego duco | quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum*.

The rest of the poem that surrounds this partial memory can be read as filling in the gaps that remain (we learn in more detail *quid essem / quod eram* and about H.'s *uita pura*). H. repeats the act of coming face to face with Maecenas (cf. 56 *ut ueni coram*), but this time presses a claim to be more or less on equal terms. In this sense, the poem is the end result of a progress into civilized and confident speech, speech that has learned reticence and discretion (cf. 60–1 *respondes, ut tuus est mos, | pauca, 123 me tacitum*), by contrast with untrained blurtings (57 *infans*) or the noise associated with the upwardly mobile (44 *cornua quod uincatque tubas*).

Now the patron to whom H. has given such quietly flattering publicity is edged out (71–99) as his chief influence by a freedman father (*libertino patre*), towards whose memory he exercises the same generous *noblesse oblige* that Maecenas once showed towards him. H. praises his father for ambitiously removing his son from his meagre smallholding (71 *macro . . . agello*) and local bullies to educate him in style in Rome. He successfully displaces all accusations of loud-mouthed pushiness (76 *est ausus*) onto the rustic auctioneer with senatorial ambitions (another satirical 'type' associated with satire), turning up his nose at his erstwhile superiors (72–3 *magni | quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti*) while hardly blowing his own trumpet (70 *ut me collaudem*) except to claim moral purity. Given H.'s inconsistency about his father's assets, this alternative, homespun pedigree may have a metapoetic dimension, ascribing servile, not noble origins to his brand of satire and identifying it with freedom by dispersing the ties of influence (Schlegel 2005: 55). Most people would resent their humble origins, but H. is grateful for being thus relieved of social responsibility. Two journeys away from Rome are contrasted: H.'s modest but freewheeling (105 *si libet*) trek to Tarentum (a stage beyond S. 5), where all burdens are transferred to the humble mule, and the praetor Tillius' caravan of encumbrances, chamberpot and all.

To illustrate his personal freedom and his innocuousness, H. finishes by describing a typical day in his city life (128–9 *haec est | uita*), a 'Diary of a Nobody' which records a stroll around the markets, a simple meal (alone, not at Maecenas' table) and a siesta. Behind this laid-back account lies an invisible alternative: the routine of the scurrying parasite or client, lobbying and paying respectful calls in return for his keep. This alternative lurks in H.'s words for the inanimate objects that surround him, which draw on the vocabulary of *clientela*: attending, serving, supporting, obeying and advising. H., meanwhile, escorts himself (114–15 *me | . . . refero*), pleases himself (123 *me . . . iuuet*) and consoles himself (130 *me consolor*) with perfect freedom (111 *quacumque libido est*). The statue of Marsyas, Rome's Statue of Liberty, adorning the Forum with hand raised in seeming protest (120–1), is interposed as a symbol of the upstart's defiance and fiercely guarded independence. Nothing could be further from the frantic timetable of social obligations



about which a more established H. complains in *S. II 6* (McGann 1973: 63) and in which Maecenas is presumably already mired.

H. rounds off his frank conversation by claiming Epicurean contentment and parity with anyone despite his lack of impressive ancestors. He has matched the quiet aristocratic ease he observed in his patron with routines of his own; his worthy father and irreproachable life have made him equal to any senator and any aspiring arriviste; he has argued that a nobody can be as innately noble as a somebody (cf. 2 *nemo generosior est te*). But this latter-day Horatius can only fortify his position by warding off the other hopefuls in his path. Lightness of being is achieved by displacing the load onto slaves and other beasts of burden and belittling the squalor or failed pretensions of the rivals from whose masses he was sifted out: local centurions' sons (72–3 *magni* | . . . *pueri magnis e centurionibus orti*), pushy auctioneers, including, despite gestures of *pietas*, his own father (cf. 41 *namque est ille, pater quod erat meus*), his battered mule (106), the low-ranking cheapskate Tillius (107), a filthy co-athlete, Natta (124), the schoolmaster Flavius, and those families who made it to the lower rungs of the *cursus honorum* (131). In a poem that starts and continues with negatives, it is from this catalogue of negative types that the 'nobody' H. emerges to define his singular identity.

*Further reading:* Agnati 2000: 15–25, Anderson 1963b = 1982: 13–49, Armstrong 1986, DuQuesnay 1984: 43–52, Fabre 1981, Freudenburg 2001: 58–63, Gowers 2009c, Harrison 1965, Moles 2007, Nichols 2009, Oliensis 1998: 30–6, Rudd 36–53, Schlegel 2000=2005: 38–58, Toher 2005, Treggiari 1969, Williams 1995, Wiseman 1971.

**1–6** H. returns to the conversation with Maecenas begun at 1.1, contrasting grand seigneur with humble client as preliminary to a wider discussion of the social hierarchy. But between the lines he pokes fun at Maecenas' pet hobby, genealogy, and his pretensions to royal ancestry, pointing out that his patron, like himself, is technically an outsider in Rome, whose family followed the same path, from rural Italian (or even Asiatic) origins to military command and city life, as H. the humble schoolboy. 'Maecenas too was a *parvenu* from the traditional Roman standpoint, a "foreigner" like Cicero' (Shackleton Bailey 1982: 17).

**1–6** This involved sentence is the first of many examples of *anairesis* ('not this, but that') in the poem, an attempt to 're-educate the moral judgement' (Rudd 52; cf. 52–5, 58–60, 64, 68–9, 72–6, 85–7, 90–7, 127).

**1–2 Non quia . . . nemo:** a recapitulation of 1.1.1 *Qui fit, Maecenas* launches the book's second half. The indirect formulation 'Notwithstanding that no one' sets the tone for a poem whose defence-work is built on the basis of pre-emptive denials (cf. 3 *nec*, 7 *negas*, 14 *non*, 21 *non*, 24 *non*, 49 *quia non*, 58 *non . . . non*, 64 *non*, 68 *neque*, 72 *noluit*, 84 *non*, 87 *neque*, 89 *nil*, 91 *non*, 97 *nollem*, 99 *nollem*, 107 *nemo*, 119 *non*, 124 *non*), a habit that started, we learn, with H.'s negative statements about himself in his original interview (58 *non . . . non*). **Maecenas . . . te** 'whichever of the Lydians [i.e. of all the Lydians] that have settled on Etruscan territory,

no one is nobler than you.’ *quidquid* has an uncertain register between mildly derogatory (H–S: colloquial) and cultic (Watson *ad Epod.* 5.1 *o deorum quidquid*; cf. *C.* 2.1.25 *deorum quisquis amior Afris*), potentially implying ‘of all the Lydian nobodies that . . .’ (cf. *Cic. Pis.* 1 *Syrum nescio quem*). **Lydorum . . . Etruscos:** Maecenas is thought to have been a member of the Cilnii family from Arretium in Etruria on his mother’s side (*contra* Simpson 1995). His alleged descent from Etruscan kings is recognized at e.g. *C.* 1.1.1 *atauis edite regibus*, *C.* 3.29.1 *Tyrrhena regum progenies* (N–R: ‘a typical blend of flattery and teasing’), *Prop.* 3.9.1 *Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum*, *Sil.* 10.40; cf. *ps.-Acro ad C.* 1.20.5–6 *nam et Porsennae dicitur affinis fuisse*. Augustus (*ap.* *Macr. Sat.* 2.4.12) called him *ebur ex Etruria, lasar Arretinum . . . Cilniorum smaragde . . . berulle Porsennae*; on his vulnerability to accusations of ‘Etruscan’ *luxuria*, see André 1967: 55–60. On the late republican vogue for genealogy, see N–R *ad C.* 3.17.1, Horsfall *ad Nep. Att.* 18, Courtney *ad Juv.* 8, Rawson 1985: 231; for Etruscan genealogies, cf. *Pers.* 3.28, Heurgon 1964: 258–60, Flower 1996: 211–12, 339–51. Here, Maecenas’ claims to regal ancestry go unmentioned, though Etruscan kings are mentioned at 9 and 13. Despite appearances, H. is eliding the differences between himself and his patron, taking the line further back to the Lydian, i.e. Asian immigrants said to have migrated to Etruria (Hdt. 1.94) in primeval times (Scullard 1967: 34–57), probably a legend created by the Lydians themselves (Briquel 1991; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 4.55; *Dion. Hal.* 1.30 concludes that the Etruscans were autochthonous). This contemporary debate about Etruria and ‘the haunting question of “whence?”’ (Scullard 1967: 18) makes an appropriate start to a poem on the subject of individuals’ origins. Although King Croesus of Lydia offered a possible face-saving role here, the ‘Lydian’ element brands Maecenas with potentially servile descent: for *Lyde* as a slave-name in H., cf. *C.* 2.11, 3.11; cf. *Cic. Flacc.* 65. Maecenas’ immediate ancestry may have been none too distinguished either: for the theory that his father L. Maecenas was the *scriba Maecenas* present at the murder of Sertorius with fellow-Etruscans M. Perperna and C. Tarquilius (*Sall. Hist.* fr. 3.83), see MacKay 1942: 80: ‘[I]n what luster could the vanity of an elegant neurotic better hide the shabby paternal shadow of Perperna’s scribe than in the legendary glories of Etruscan royalty?’

**2 incoluit:** primeval Lydians had settled Etruscan territory. But another meaning of *incola* is ‘resident alien’ (*OLD* s.v. 2); Sallust’s Catiline (*Cat.* 31.7) had assailed Cicero across the senate-house floor as *inquilinus civis urbis Romae*. **finēs:** acc. pl., a pointed reuse of this word, in a different case and sense from 5.104 *finis*, stressing the renewal of H.’s *sermo* and marking a parallel with his own agricultural origins (71 *macro pauper agello*, *S.* 2.1.35 *nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrunque colonus*). For a different but contemporary treatment of agrarian settlement and migration to the city, cf. *Virg. Ecl.* 1.3 *nos patriae finēs et dulcīa linquimus arua*. **nemo:** a further link with the opening of *S.* 1 (cf. 1.1 *nemo*), significant in a poem that marks the contrast/equivalence between the ‘somebody’ Maecenas and the ‘nobody’ H. *Sen. Ep.* 44 asks the Roman knight Lucilius

to imagine he were a disenfranchised freedman (reviving H.'s vocabulary and concerns), arguing that everyone was 'nobody' once: 4 *Platon ait neminem regem non ex seruis esse oriundum, neminem non seruum ex regibus* . . . 5 *quis est generosus?* . . . *alioquin si uetera reuocas, nemo non inde est ante quod nihil est.* **generosior:** the first of many contested words in the poem, applicable to both ancestral and moral nobility.

**3 auus . . . paternus:** ring composition with H.'s defiant denial of ancestry at 130–1 *si | quaestor auus pater atque meus patruusque fuissent*; Maecenas' bogus ancestry contrasts with H.'s 'genuine' link with his freedman father. **maternus:** maternal pedigrees were especially important in Etruscan culture (Heurgon 1964: 108).

**4 olim:** an essential marker in a poem where H. records his own 'then' and 'now' (cf. 47, 54). **magnis:** another grand-scale contrast with H.'s humble past (47–8 *at olim, | quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno*). *magnus* appears often in this satire signifying remote grandeur, but it is also deflationary: e.g. 43 *funera magna, 90 magna . . . pars, 100 maior . . . res* (with reference to pedigrees, cf. 72–3 *magni | quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti, 2.70 magno prognatum . . . consule cunnum, 3.136 magnorum maxime regum*). **legionibus:** the military activities of his Etruscan ancestors hint at Maecenas' own action (or inaction) in more recent conflicts, especially those concerning land settlement in Etruria, above all the civil war battle at Perugia in 41 BC (Prop. 1.21, 1.22). His own military career was not necessarily so distinguished (Evenpoel 1990: 104; *pace* André 1967: 68). **imperitarent:** generic subj. in rel. clause; the stately five-syllable final word gives an 'Ennian' (i.e. jingoistically military) flavour to the line (Nilsson 1952: 105 on *imperium* as Ennian), via a 'window' allusion to Lucretian sarcasm at *DRN* 3.1040–1 *inde alii multi reges regumque potentes | occiderunt, magnis qui gentibus imperitarent*.

**5 ut . . . solent:** H. repeatedly distances himself and Maecenas from herd behaviour: cf. 18 *nos . . . a uulgo longe longeque remotos, 90 ut magna . . . negat . . . pars, 92 longe mea discrepat istis, 97–8 demens | iudicio uulgi, sanus fortasse tuo*. **naso . . . adunco** 'you look down your hooked nose at' (lit. 'dangle from your hooked nose'); possibly, given the reference to punishments at 39, a pun on *suspendere ab unco*, hanging from a hook. The metaphor is probably unique to H. (Bernardi Perini 1966–7). The idea of assessment is contained in (*sus*)*pendere*; for the verb in connection with (literary) genealogy, cf. 4.6 *hinc omnis pendet Lucilius*. Maecenas is credited with typically aristocratic features (see Gow 1951 on aquiline noses; H.'s own satirical nose may be assumed by contrast to be snub, simian and servile) and with the capacity for satirical scorn (see Marx *ad* Lucil. 979–80W = 942–3M *nasum deductius | quam pandius <si> paulo uellem*). Cf. also 3.29–30, 2.8.64 (the buffoon Balatro) *suspendens omnia naso*, Quint. 11.3.80. Persius at 1.40–1 *'rides' ait 'et nimis unci | naribus indulges'* and 1.118 *callidus excusso populum suspendere naso* (contaminating the Horatian phrase with 3.29–30 *minus aptus acutis | naribus horum hominum* and 4.8 *emunctae naris*) nails H. as hypocritically snobbish himself. A convenient enough arrangement is imagined here: Maecenas agrees to exempt H., while H. continues to be quietly satirical under his nose.

**6 ignotos . . . natum:** MS confusion here between *ut, aut, aut ut, et ut* and *at ut*, also between *natum, natus* and *natos*. *aut ut* sounds awkward, but is hard to account for if not genuine (as with *natos*); and cf. 86 *aut, ut*. Brown follows Palmer: *ignoto aut, ut me, libertino patre natos*: ‘at those born of an unknown, or, like me, of a freedman father’. Yet it is hard to see why *ignoti* and *libertino patre nati* are alternatives. Emendation is probably needed (Brink 1987: 30). **ignotos:** equivalent to *ignobiles*, ‘born of an unknown father’ (cf. 9 *ignobile*, 24 *ignotos*, 36 *ignota matre*). **libertino . . . natum:** a phrase that in different forms tolls throughout the poem (29 *audit continuo*): 7 *quali sit quisque parente natus*, 21 *si non essem patre natus*, 29 *quo patre natus*, 36 *ignota matre inhonestus*, 45, 46 *libertino patre natum*. H.’s first pre-empting of popular *invidia* (5 *ut plerique solent*), this ‘son of a freedman’ taunt is both metrically discordant and attention-seeking (Highet 1973: 268 speculates that it is trochaic-accentual and originally a street chant). Williams 1995 has argued that it should be understood in virtual quotation marks as a derisory label given to H. by other people (cf. *Ep.* 1.20.20): H.’s father may have been a slave only in the sense that he was sold temporarily into slavery when rebellious Venusia was repossessed by Rome during the Social War in 89 bc, then re-enrolled as a Roman citizen: the ‘freedman father’ is simply a rhetorical strategy to give H. a personal history equivalent to that of humble but outspoken philosophers like Bion: *libertino patre | natus* translates Bion’s ἐμοῦ δὲ πατὴρ ἦν ἀπελεύθερος in his outspoken speech to King Antigonos (fr. 1A Kindstrand = Diog. Laert. 4.47; cf. Fiske 1920: 216, Freudenburg 1993: 205; Moles 2007: 165–8), while also conveniently making him the aggrieved victim of popular abuse. The tag licenses H. to be a frank satirist (Marchesi 2005b) and drives home the fact that he is at least freeborn (Gowers 2009c). On Roman freedmen, see Treggiari 1969, Fabre 1981.

**7–8** Maecenas is praised for valuing innate worth over high birth, but it is not clear how generous he is allowed to be here: he might, like Octavian (Suet. *Aug.* 74), have drawn the line at consorting with freedmen. **referre negas** ‘you say that it does not matter’; another negative assessment indicates Maecenas’ unorthodox value system (and excuses H. from making the claim himself: Oliensis 1998: 30). **quali . . . | natus:** the indirect question translates King Antigonos’ Odyssean question to Bion (e.g. *Od.* 1.170 ‘Who are you among men and where are you from? What is your city and your parents?’). These are the very questions that H.’s reply at 58–9 suggests Maecenas asked *him* at his interview (questions partly answered in this poem); see Kindstrand 1976: 15 for evidence that Antigonos shared Bion’s liberal/Cynic views on the unimportance of birth; *ibid.* 185–6 for parallels, especially from Cynicism (cf. Stob. *Flor.* 4.29), for the view, commonly expressed in antiquity, that high birth does not entail true superiority. **ingenuus** here begs the question, implicating both Maecenas and the reader in the tendentiousness of H.’s claim. The word can mean either ‘free-born’ (*OLD* s.v. 2) or ‘liberal, gentlemanly’ (*OLD* s.v. 3) or both (cf. *honestus, generosus, nobilis*); it recurs at 21 (where H.’s lack of an *ingenuus* father

is framed as a remote condition) and at 91 (linked with *claros*, where it is implied that Horace's father was not *ingenuus*); a fluid term in H.'s poetry (Agnati 2000: 15–56). Rudd 37–8 takes it as meaning primarily 'freeborn' here (cf. Williams 1995: 310), though H.'s allusion at 9 to Servius Tullius, notoriously of servile origin, suggests the alternative meaning 'noble in nature' – unless H. is deliberately setting forward different standards from Maecenas; Harrison 1965 believes he is tactfully disagreeing with M. by going on to praise his own freedman father; see 20–2n. The ambiguity here is typical of the poem, which reflects contemporary questioning of aristocratic values and recent attempts, especially by 'new men' like Sallust and Cicero, to redefine virtue in terms of inner worth (Wiseman 1971: 107–16). **persuades . . . uere** 'you'd be right in this conviction'; Maecenas is encouraged to fly in the face of prejudice and take responsibility for an opinion H. dares not voice himself (contrast the failed *persuadere* at 5.100).

**9–17** A satirical history of the republican constitution records the vagaries of political entitlement in the earliest years and the legacy of inconsistency for those with powers to include and exclude their fellow-Romans from the political process. The catalogue of ins and outs (Tullius' dubious ancestry and invention of the class system, Tarquin's reign and exile, the plebs' capricious decisions to exclude the scions of traditional *gentes* from office) leaves H. and Maecenas exasperated but apparently content with their distance from traditional career-paths and constitutional machinery. In the background are more recent turbulent events: Appius Claudius' purge of freedmen's sons from the senate in 50 (20–1), followed by Julius Caesar's retaliation in 45 and the triumvirs' similar move in 39 (all for political rather than social reasons). The fluxes of political selection also provide a parallel for patterns of admission and exclusion in H.'s personal history (13 *fugit*, 18 *remotos*, 20 *moueret*, 25 *sumere . . . depositum*, 51 *assumere* ~ 97 *sumere*, 56 *ueni coram*, 61 *abeo . . . reuocas*, 126 *fugio*), as well as for the processes of intellectual discrimination (63 *qui turpi secernis honestum*).

**9 ante . . . regnum** refers primarily to the reign of Servius Tullius, Etruscan in origin (i.e. one of Maecenas' 'ancestors?'), sixth king of Rome (578–535 BC), said to have been born of a slave mother (an explanation of the name Servius?) and an unknown father (Livy 4.3 *patre nullo, matre serua*; Juv. 8.259). But the oxymoron 'ignoble reign' secondarily evokes the memory of the *nouus homo* M. Tullius Cicero, often called 'king' in his lifetime (*Att.* 1.16.10 *quousque hunc Regem feremus?*; *Sull.* 22 *cum Tarquinium et Numam et me tertium peregrinum regem esse dixisti*; Dunkle 1967). The cut-off point of Servius' reign (*ante*) is ambiguous: either he is an extreme example of freedom of opportunity or else H. is pointing to the hypocrisy of this humbly born king, who went on, through inventing the 'class' system, to determine voting rights according to wealth, restoring the balance of power to the patricians (*CAH* VII 2. 103–4); i.e. to some, his reign marked the birth of opportunity, to others the rebirth of tyranny and another kind of social stagnation.

**10 multos . . . ortos:** H. argues that it was normal in Rome from the earliest times for humble birth to be no impediment to success and virtue. It is not clear whether his claim includes *sons* of freedmen. These had greater opportunities than their fathers throughout the republic and were free from any legal obstacle to becoming *equites*, jurors, senators or magistrates, their only constraint being fear of social stigma (Treggiari 1969: 229–36; on *liberti* and *libertini*, Fabre 1981). *nullis* rhymes with 9 *Tulli*, in identical line position, giving the account a singsong quality; *maioribus ortos* is picked up by H.’s redirected snobbery at 73 *magnis e centurionibus orti* (cf. 2.70).

**11 uixisse . . . auctos** ‘led lives both upright and enhanced with distinctions’. Homoioteleuton (*multos . . . uiros* ~ *uixisse probos*; *nullis maioribus ortos* ~ *amplis et honoribus auctos*) drives home the paradox: those without *maiores* became *maiores* (*auctos*) in other ways. **probos:** H. goes on the defensive: the humbly born above all need to shield their personal integrity from moral smears.

**12 Laeuinum:** a modern-day aristocrat from the illustrious *gens Valeria*; according to Porph., his promotion from the quaestorship was blocked on moral grounds (a speculation that helps personalize the last line of the poem). Misadventure is predicted by Laevinus’ name (= ‘unlucky’). **Valeri genus:** one of the oldest Roman aristocratic *gentes* (cf. 42 Messalla). Laevinus’ ancestor P. Valerius Publicola (‘robust friend to the people’) had played a glorious role in the formation of the republic by helping L. Iunius Brutus to expel Servius’ successor, Tarquinius Superbus, and sharing the first consulship with him in 509 BC, before being ejected from it (and replaced by a new consul, *Horatius Pulvillus*, discreetly unmentioned here). Laevinus’ rejection is thus in line with family tradition. *Valeri genus* is a suitably heroic phrase: cf. 2.5.62–3 *ab alto | demissum genus Aenea*, C. 1.3.27 *Iapeti genus*, C. 2.18.37–8 *Tantali | genus*. **unde** ‘at whose hands’ (heroic substitute for *a quo*): even political events have their genealogies. In H.’s account, L. Iunius Brutus’ joint part in expelling Tarquin from Rome is pointedly underplayed, perhaps to the discredit of his descendant, H.’s disgraced ex-patron the tyrannicide Brutus (DuQuesnay 1984: 46): a kind of poetic *damnatio memoriae*.

**12–13 superbus | . . . fugit:** the fate of this Etruscan king of Rome (*superbus* ‘haughty’ is a pointed epithet, rather than just the standard *cognomen*) could be read either as a caution to Maecenas (cf. 1 *Etruscos*, 5 *naso . . . adunco*) or as indirect praise of his lack of *hauteur*. For *refugium* as the primal scene of the Roman republic, see Ov. *Fast.* 2.685–852. H. ‘happens’ to focus on the finest hour of his own noble Roman ‘ancestors’, the Horatii, and above all Horatius Cocles, whose defence of the Sublician bridge against Tarquin and his Etruscan ally Porsenna in 508 was legendary (Livy 2.10), though he is unmentioned here. H. had no genuine connection – the Horatian *gens* had died out by his time – but after the Social War the Venusians chose to join the *tribus Horatiana* (Williams 1995: 312–13). For the tense of *fugit*, cf. 2.56.

**13–14 unius . . . licuisse** ‘that he [Laevinus] had never been valued at more than one *as*’ [lit. ‘than the price of one *as*’]. *pretio* = abl. of comparison; *unius*

*assis* = gen. after *pretio*; *pluris* = gen. of value; *licuisse* = impersonal inf. of ind. statement after 8 *persuades*. The theme of popular valuation is pointed in the context of Servius Tullius' census-based reforms. Sibilants (*pluris licuisse . . . nosti . . . stultus honores saepe . . . indignis . . . seruit ineptus*) stress the crowd's hissing contempt (cf. 5 *solent, naso suspendis*) and recall Catullan scorn for snobbish value-systems (cf. Cat. 5.3 *unius aestimemus assis*).

**14–17** H. trots out a popular stereotype of the plebs as stupid (*stultus, indignis, ineptus*), servile (*seruit*) and blinded (*stupet*) by snobbish regard for ancestry as they exercise their power to remove individuals from office, while pinning responsibility for the stereotype onto Maecenas (*quo nosti*). This is simultaneously overturned: though the plebs are traditionally awed by aristocratic distinctions, in this instance they chose to overrule their snobbery by condemning a degenerate scion: in other words, uncharacteristically they exercised discrimination.

**14–15 notante . . . populo** 'given a black mark by those judges you know, the people'. The plebs are here cast in the role of censor (cf. 20), who de-graded citizens by giving them the *nota* or mark of condemnation. *notante* and *iudice* also suggest links with the impulses of the satirist as judge and censor (cf. 3.24, 4.5, 4.106); this is the moral version of the brand (στυγροφή) on the forehead of Bion's slave-father (fr. 1A Kindstrand = Diog. Laert. 4.47; Moles 2007: 166).

**16 indignis**: another 'trap' word, suspended between 'undeserving' and 'with no family tradition of receiving honours'. **seruit**: mental 'servility' is ascribed to the lowborn, thus keeping them in their place.

**17 stupet** 'is dazzled', a characteristically satirical description of an awestruck onlooker (cf. 4.28 *stupet Albius aere*), here disparaging the Roman plebs' proper regard for *honores*. **titulis**: tablets on which a person's achievements were engraved (cf. C. 4.14.1–5 *quae cura patrum . . . | . . . tuas | . . . uirtutes . . . | per titulos memoresque fastus | aeternet*, Ov. *Tr.* 3.3.72 *grandibus in tituli marmore caede notis*).

**imaginibus**: wax masks of ancestors kept in a noble family's atrium and paraded on public occasions (Plin. *HN* 35.4–14, Polyb. 6.53–4; Flower 1996; for disregard for *imagines*, cf. e.g. Prop. 1.5.24 *nescit Amor priscis cedere imaginibus*).

**17–18 quid . . . remotos?** A controversial question, one that, however it is interpreted, makes the link between sections 1–16 and 19–22 'perilously weak' (Rudd 38). The two main interpretations depend on the translation of *nos*: (1) 'How much more should we [H. and Maecenas] who stand apart from the mob [assess a man at his true worth]?' (Porph., ps.-Acro, Klingner 1935: 461–3). We would expect a statement of liberal policy to follow, to contrast with the people's conservatism about candidates' origins; but instead, H. climbs down at 22 and reinforces the social status quo by opting out of politics. (2) 'What am I [H.] to do, who am so far removed from the common people?' (ps.-Acro, Büchner 1962: 82–7). The implied answer, 'Stay out of politics altogether', now leads easily to the next section, but the link with the opening passage on Maecenas' liberality is consequently weaker (H.'s response would now arise solely from the attitude



of the people). In either interpretation, the logic is strained. Coming after Laevinus' expulsion and before 20 *moueret*, the technical sense of (*re*)*mouere*, 'remove (again) from office or status' (cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.56 *cum a re publica remotus atque . . . in exsilium pulsus esset*, *ibid.* 2.272 *cum Africanus censor tribu mouebat eum centurionem*) may also hang in the air, as though H. had been 'ejected (from office) by the people' (though *ab* after *remouere* usually denotes distance from: e.g. 2.1.71 *quin ubi se a vulgo et scaena in secreta remorant*). Whether or not H. includes Maecenas in his dilemma (he seldom uses the 'royal we'), he is parading splendid isolation and Epicurean retreat (cf. 92–3 *longe mea discrepat istis | et uox et ratio*, 97–8 *demens | iudicio vulgi, sanus fortasse tuo*, Lucr. 1.44–6 *dium natura . . . semota ab nostris rebus seiunctaque longe*, 1.51 *semotum a curis*), while making his indifference to honours into a grievance about forced exclusion. **vulgo**: a more derogatory word than *populus* suggests that H.'s exclusion from the crowd is desirable. **longe longaque**: unusually emphatic. Wills 1996: 112 n. 55 compares (with different syntax) Lucr. 2.106 *cetera dissiliunt longe longaque recursant*. But Lucr. 3.69 *longe longaque remosse* is closer, appearing in the more memorable context of an assault on the consequences of fearing death: avarice, blind ambition, civil war and *inuidia* towards those who hold high office (cf. Lucr. 3.76 *claro qui incedit honore*).

**19–22** H. is apparently sidetracked from his attempts to justify meritocracy on historical grounds by suddenly claiming that he would still be excluded from office, either on grounds of birth or of pushiness.

**19–20 namque . . . nouo** 'For even if the people would rather give office to Laevinus [despite their contempt for him] than to a new man like Decius'. *esto* is concessive; *mallet* is imperf. subj. with present potential. P. Decius Mus was a famous *nouus homo*, cos. 340. Although his *cognomen* is omitted here, a contrast might be intended between *Mus* ('mouse') and 30 *Barrus* ('elephant'), in this fable of a cat (Horace) looking at a king (Maecenas).

**20–1 censorque . . . Appius**: ambiguous, and perhaps deliberately so (Armstrong 1986: 271 n. 40): (1) Appius Claudius Pulcher was a notoriously strict censor who purged the senate of all freedmen's sons in 50 BC (Caelius *ap.* Cic. *Fam.* 8.14.4; Dio 40.63); (2) his ancestor, Appius Claudius Caecus, censor 312 (builder of the Via Appia), was famous for *adlecting* freedmen to the senate, though thwarted by the consuls (Treggiari 1969: 54–7, Williams 1995: 310). H. has chosen a family known for its inconsistent attitudes to eligibility for the senate (Clodius famously downgraded to become *tribunus plebis*), though in both cases the measures may have been motivated by political expediency, not principle. **moueret**: (sc. *me senatu*), the technical term for striking off the senatorial roll.

**21–2** H. gives two reasons for being excluded from political office: (1) technical: not having a freeborn father; (2) moral: ambition would be inappropriate. It is possible that each reason refers respectively to the two relevant Claudii.

**21 ingenuo . . . natus** '[he would have removed me] if I had not been born of a freeborn father' (protasis of remote 'contrary to fact' conditional). The possibility that H.'s father was not freeborn is framed here as a remote condition,



notes Williams 1995: 310. But this is to take *si non* very literally when the whole idea of H. trying to enter the senate is presented as improbable.

**21 uel merito:** this approbation reflects well on Appius' nephew, Appius Claudius Pulcher (cos. 38), one of Octavian's noble supporters (DuQuesnay 1984: 46). **quoniam . . . quiessem** 'or because I deserved it, on the grounds that I hadn't been prepared to rest in my own skin'; i.e. I had ideas above my station. An allusion to Aesop's fable of the ass in a lion's skin (Perry 1952: 188, 358; for Aesop in H., see 1.32–5, 90–1, 110–11; and cf. 2.5, 56, fox and crow, 2.3, 314, frog and ox, 2.3, 299, double wallet, *Ep.* 1.1, 73, fox and old lion) produces a sudden and unexpected twist. H. concludes that he would be deservedly punished for political ambition, since Epicurean quietism is the best policy for those, like himself, of humble birth (though cf. *C.* 2.20: the 'son of poor parents' acquires the rough *skin* of a swan; Marchesi 2005b: 311 n. 15). The allusion casts him in the role of the servile Aesop speaking in fables of sociological protest. It also suggests links with the malcontents of *S.* 1 (15 *mutatis . . . partibus*) and with Lucilius' protest that he would not change his condition for anything: 647W = 675M *mutare 'relinquere' – mihi quidem non persuadetur publice mutem meos*; cf. 648W, 649–50W = 671–4M (and 652–3W = 669–70M for 'skin-changing' as a metaphor for the ambitions of an ex-slave: *at libertinus tricornius Syrus ipse . . . quicum uersipellis fio et quicum commuto omnia*).

**23–4** Glory is personified as a triumphant general to whose dazzling chariot the defeated victims of political ambition are chained, the unknown, i.e. *noui homines*, as much as the aristocrats – a rejection of aspirations to *gloria* rather than of the ideal itself (*pace* DuQuesnay 1984: 47–8): anyone who pursues political success is a virtual slave, i.e. returned in some cases to his original state. **fulgente . . . curru:** suggests the lustre of worldly fame: cf. Val. Max. 3.5.1 *inter duo fulgentissima cognomina*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.39 *Crassum, egregis maioribus et fraterna imagine fulgentem*. **constrictos:** trapped, like the victims of ambition, between Glory and her chariot, preparing us for the restrictive clothing of 27–8. **non minus . . . generosis:** *generosis*, contrasted with *ignotos*, means primarily 'well-born, noble' here.

**24–44** An apparent digression, in which H. heaps abuse on one Tillius, who rose from humble beginnings to pursue a patchy and stressful political career, and then on other freedmen's sons. Armstrong 1986: 272 sees Tillius as a hypothetical version of H., who offloads the invective he himself would court if he were more ambitious.

**24–5 quo . . . tribuno?** 'What good would it do you, Tillius, to take up the stripe you had to relinquish, and become tribune?' *quo* = 'to what end?' **Tilli:** the scholiasts make him L. Tillius Cimber, assassin of Julius Caesar, removed from the senate by Caesar because he was a Pompeian, restored after Caesar's death and promoted to *tribunus militum* or *tribunus plebis*. His brother, another Pompeian, exiled by Caesar, is an alternative possibility (*RE* 6A.1 s.v. 'Tillius 1'; *Enc. Or.* 1 917–18). Both identifications are rejected by Taylor 1925: 168–9,

Fraenkel 102, Wiseman 1971: 266. Tillius might have been a freedman's son who incurred hostility when he attained senatorial rank (DuQuesnay 1984: 47 and Armstrong 1986: 272). Toher 2005 prefers the idea of the assassin, whose career was the inverse of H.'s: after *choosing* to take off the toga (i.e. giving up politics for a spell), he returned, egged on by revived *ambitio*, to become tribunes plebis and praetor, but was rewarded by ignominious death after Caesar's murder.

**25 sumere . . . clauum:** the scholiasts infer that Tillius re-entered the senate after being expelled from it (*depositum*, euphemistic); Toher 2005: 186–7 understands voluntary withdrawal from politics. Next to *sumere*, *depositum* suggests disquieting flux in the senate's constitution. **clauum** = *latum clauum*, the broad purple stripe those of senatorial rank were entitled to wear on their togas. **tribuno:** dat., attracted to case of *tibi*. Armstrong 1986: 272 spots a double here for H. the new man and former military tribune (cf. 48 *tribuno*). But Tillius is clearly here a tribune of the *plebs* (Toher 2005 does not rule out that he held both roles at different times).

**26 inuidia . . . esset:** the real issue, resentment towards politically successful people from humble origins, emerges. By disclaiming ambition, H. diverts attention away from the *inuidia* he fears, both as full-blooded satirist and as Maecenas' friend. *priuato* takes the place of the protasis of a conditional clause; *esset* should strictly be *fuisse*. The idea of simultaneous rising and falling continues with *accreuit* next to *priuato* (shades of 'deprived': cf. 3.142) and *minor*.

**27–8** A satirical/invidious view of the trappings of office: cumbersome senatorial sandals and toga, the Roman version of Aesop's extra 'skin'. **insanus:** sour grapes; cf. 15 *stultus*. **impediit** suggests encumbrance (with play on *pes*) and recalls 23 *constrictos*; an aspiring politician might as well wear the fetters (*compedes*) of a slave (cf. Cic. *Att.* 8.3.5 *has compedes, fasces, inquam, laureatas*). Vestigial slave-fetters of a more tangible kind were the Achilles heel of many Augustan *apparitores*, such as the *scriba* Sarmenius (5.65–6; *schol. ad Juv.* 5.3; when he pushed his way into the equestrian seats at the theatre, the crowd clamoured to 'tie up his fetters'; cf. *Epod.* 4.3–4 *Hibericis peruste funibus latus | et crura dura compede*). **medium . . . crus** 'his leg half-way'. The senatorial shoe had four black straps going round the calf (Mayor *ad Juv.* 7.192). **pellibus:** cf. 22 *propria pelle*; the candidate effectively dons a false skin. **latum . . . clauum** 'let the broad stripe run down his chest'.

**29 audit . . . 'quis . . . natus?':** echoes of *quo patre natus* in the first half of the poem (6, 21, 36, 45, 46) simulate ringing abuse.

**30–33** The morbid vanity of one Barrus ('Elephant'; cf. 7.8; see on 20 *Decio*), who flaunts his beauty only to expose himself to critical female scrutiny, becomes a parallel for the self-imposed vulnerability of the political candidate. **aegrotet . . . morbo:** satire is fond of the vocabulary of illness to describe folly (cf. 2.3.306–7 *quo me | aegrotare putes animi uitio*, 2.3.80 *mentis morbo*; McGann 1973: 73); *morbo* is attracted to the abl. of *quo*. **Barrus:** L. Betutius Barrus raped a Vestal Virgin in 114 BC (Porph.; Cic. *Brut.* 46, 169 mentions a

T. Betutius Barrus); Lejay and Fraenkel suspect Lucilian origins. Verdière's assumption (1952) that the man is 'elephantine' or 'suffering from elephantiasis' seems unlikely. **haberi** 'to be considered'.

**31 eat quacumque** 'wherever he may go'.

**31–3 puellis . . . capillo:** a reversal of the point-by-point male inspection of female flesh at 2.86–9. Repetitions of *cura* / *curare* and *quaerere* (32 *curam quaerendi*, 34 *curae*, 37 *curare et quaerere*) emphasize the un-Epicurean stress of public life (cf. 1.92 *sit finis quaerendi*). Perhaps Barrus is imagined as being inspected on the slave-seller's block.

**34–5** Similarly, the man who puts himself forward for public office exposes his origins to scrutiny. His hypothetical promises sound like a recital of true Roman values (e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 4.24 *de summa salute uestra populiue Romani . . . de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de uniuersa republica decernite diligenter*) or an electioneering slogan, interrupted by the resounding enquiries of the voters. Line 34 is appropriately weighty and spondaic. **urbem . . . Italiam:** three central spheres of Roman power, osmosis between which is the crucial theme of the poem. Maecenas and H. have come from Italy to Rome, slaves like those in 38 from further afield. **curae:** predicative dat. with *fore*.

**36 quo . . . num . . . :** indirect questions depending on 37 *curare et quaerere*. **ignota matre:** abl. abs. or giving the reason behind *inhonestus*. **inhonestus** 'unrespectable', another loaded word (cf. Cic. *De Rosc. Am.* 50 *hominem turpissimum atque dishonestissimum*).

**38–44** H. stages an imaginary debate thick with *inuidia* and mud-slinging: freeborn men resent the promotion of freedmen's sons to Roman magistracies; those freedmen's sons respond by claiming that their own rise pales next to that of the slaves' sons behind them (envisaged as one tier behind in the hierarchical ranks of the theatre). The slurs and misnomers of republican invective make it impossible to draw any historical inferences about the two groups: 'slaves' may in reality be freedmen and 'freedmen' freedmen's sons (e.g. Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 20 accuses Equitius of being a runaway slave; for play on the different terms, see Vell. 2.73.1: Sextus Pompeius as *libertorum suorum libertus seruorumque seruus*). Damon 1992: 229: 'When a man of Cicero's station wanted to insult a freedman, he didn't bring up servile origins, he asserted that the fellow was still a slave.'

**38 Syri . . . filius:** an imagined freeborn speaker uses stereotypical abuse for those from obscure backgrounds who have become magistrates (41 seems to imply that they are freedmen's sons, not slaves' sons). Most editors take *Syri* as an adjective, 'Syrian' branding Dama with the label of his despised fatherland (cf. *CIL* XI 198 *Damas auunculus natione Syrus*). But Syrus is equally a name in its own right (e.g. slaves in Ter. *Haut.* and *Ad.*; cf. Syra in *Hec.*); there might be three individuals here, just as there are three slaves in H.'s household at 116. **audes** 'Do you have the nerve?' Freedman mobility is framed as presumption: cf. 76 *est ausus*, 85 *nec timuit*. Wirszubski 1950: esp. 20: *audaces* 'belongs primarily to the typically

Optimate vocabulary of political reproach'; Kaster 1997: 16 n. 39: '*audacia* and *audax* are among Cicero's most commonly used scare-terms, stigmatizing any challenge to the interests he is defending'.

**39 deicere . . . Cadmo?** Two methods of execution: throwing criminals off the Tarpeian rock (cf. Cic. *Att.* 14.15.1 = 369 SB, Vell. 2.24) or handing them over to Cadmus, a public executioner (schol.) who strangled them in jail (presumably the Tullianum, below the Capitol). The supreme privilege of a magistrate (tribune or consul) was life-or-death decision-making over his countrymen, here a freedman's son's power over freeborn citizens (*ciues*). Cf. Dio 48.34.4: a praetor exposed as a slave (part of the influx into the triumvirs' senate in 39) was freed before being hurled down the rocks of the Capitol, so that he could be eligible for this style of punishment. The two punishments are described in language that connects them with the ups and downs of the socio-political situation in general: *deicere de saxo* suggests the physical equivalent of political humiliation (cf. 18 *remotos*, 25 *depositum*, 28 *demisit*); *tradere Cadmo* (Cadmus, judging by his pretentious mythological name, is an ex-slave himself) offers a cruel parody of patronage and recommendation, *tradere* supplying the crudely operative verb missing from the account of Varius and Virgil's introduction of H. to Maecenas at 54–5 but uttered by the pest at 9.47 *hunc hominem uelles si tradere*. **deicere:** three syllables (synizesis). **ciues:** expresses outrage; genuine citizens are in the power of upstarts.

**40–1 'at . . . meus':** the man with servile origins replies by looking down his nose at his inferior colleague, Novius (i.e. '[son of a] new man'), a freedman, not just the son of one. This backwards look is typical of H. himself in the poem, but here the censure is voiced by his dramatic persona (cf. 22). **gradu:** an allusion to tiers of seats (*gradus*) in the Roman theatre, a public demonstration of social rank (also *gradus*) in line with the *lex Roscia Othonis* (63 BC): senators sat in the orchestra, equestrians in the first fourteen rows behind. Though freedmen were technically debarred from office, shortages of candidates had allegedly led to emergency promotion of freedmen to the senate (e.g. by Julius Caesar in 45 and the triumvirs in 39: Dio 43.47, 48.34), to which the ranks deplored in the theatre testify. See DuQuesnay 1984: 44 (cf. *Epod.* 4.19–20, 9.9–10). Treggiari 1969: 61 cites Dio 53.27.6: C. Thoranius, tribune in 25, took his father to sit in the seats reserved for the tribunes at the games, thus sharing his position with an ex-slave.

**41–2 'hoc . . . | . . . uideris?'** 'Do you think that makes you look like an aristocrat?' *hoc* is abl. 'by reason of this': cf. 52, 87, 110. **Paulus . . . Messalla:** typical noblemen, e.g. Paullus Aemilius Lepidus and Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cf. 10.29, 85, a member of the gens Valeria, cf. 12), who were currently supporters of Octavian (DuQuesnay 1984: 46).

**42–4** The arriviste retorts that his inferior Novius' brash voice would drown out the sound of a city traffic jam created by two hundred wagons and three funeral processions which ended up in the forum accompanied by horns and

trumpets (see McGann 1973: 62–3 on the scarcity of local colour in the *Satires*). The first example of loud noise in the poem contrasts with the reticence of H.'s first interview (56–61) and the tranquillity of his daily life (123 *tacitum*). Raucous *r*-sounds (*plaustra . . . concurrant foro tria funera . . . cornua*) vocalize *sonabit*.

**42 *plaustra ducenta*:** another '*Discordia taetra*' line-ending (Harrison 1991; see 1.8n.). Together with *cornua* and *tubas* (cf. *Ann.* 451 Sk. *at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit*), it nods towards the martial sound of Ennian epic (4.60 = *Enn. Ann.* Sk. 225 *Discordia taetra*), parodied by this blaring pile-up (cf. on 4 *imperitent*). 200 is a typical large number.

**43 *concurrantque*:** pres. subj. protasis of remote fut. condition. ***magna*:** agrees with *funera* (the more magnificent, the noisier). Despite H.'s earlier use of *magna sonare* for 'sounding off' (4.43–4 *os | magna sonaturum*; cf. 10.38 *sonent certantia*, *Juv.* 7.108 *magna sonant*), the pl. does not fit well with the relative *quod* and singular *uincat* (44); still, an ambiguous merging of traffic noise and human response may be intended (contrast 56 *pauca locutus*). It implies that Novius is a *praeco*, emblematic profession of the arriviste, denoting either a public crier, a minor apparitorial office, or an auctioneer, a typical tradesman's profession; see Hinard 1976, *Ep.* 1.7, and on 86 *praeco* for the ambiguous limits of H.'s father's aspirations for his son; H. will display more generous *noblesse oblige* to his freedman father than Novius' superior did to Novius. Loud-mouthedness was associated with both roles (and with demagogues: e.g. *Ar. Eq.* 217–18). As 'promoter (of great men)', *praeco* was a famous Ennian term (*Cic. Arch.* 20), hence the lumbering Ennian tones here. For its current, pejorative sense, cf. 2.3n., *AP* 419 *ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas*; Hardie 2007): Horace would not want to become his father. But a cynic might call H. just a more discreet kind of *praeco* for Maecenas (at e.g. 56–7, 60–1, 123). ***sonabit*:** apodosis of open fut. condition, indicating a definite tendency.

**44 *quod uincat*** 'enough to drown out' (*uincat* adds to the atmosphere of competition); generic or possibly consecutive subj. ***saltem . . . nos*** 'by this means at least he will have a hold on us' (cf. 41 *hoc*).

**45–64** H. faces the issue he had deferred, by pre-empting criticism from his enemies over his friendship with Maecenas. He tries to exonerate himself with an account of their low-key first meeting.

**45 *nunc ad me redeo*:** H., as it were, leaves the din of the forum and returns *chez soi* (as he really does at 114–15 *inde domum me | . . . refero*). Fraenkel 103 imagines a 'sigh of relief. . . that now the parade of dreary characters is over and that we shall at last be allowed to enjoy the company of a far more interesting and pleasant man, Q. Horatius Flaccus'. Cf. *Lucil.* 1076W = 1227M *nunc ad te redeo* and H.'s own manoeuvres: e.g. 1.108 *illuc unde abii redeo*, 7.9 *ad regem redeo*. Armstrong 1986: 272 reads this withdrawal as ironic: 'Horace has never left the stage. Tillius is Horace.'

**45–6 libertino patre . . . natum:** H. returns to 6 *me libertino natum patre* and bangs the abuse home. Even when alone, he is assailed by the voices of his detractors (cf. 6; *Ep.* 1.20.20 *me libertino natum patre*). The first of several echoes of the first part of the poem (see below on 47, 48). For similarly emphatic line-final (6/6) repetition, Wills 1996: 420 compares *Ep.* 1.6.65–6 (*sin(e) amore icisque*, *Ep.* 1.17.13–14 *regibus uti*, *Ep.* 2.2.149–50 *radice uel herba*). **rodunt** ‘chew away at’ (lit. ‘gnaw’), part of the traditional vocabulary of satirical *inuidia* (4.81n.), an impulse here deflected onto H.’s enemies.

**47 nunc quia . . . Maecenas:** the phrase picks up 1 *non quia, Maecenas*. The vocative and the name are proof that H. *is* Maecenas’ companion as he speaks. *sim* = subj. of ‘alleged reason’, indicating H.’s critics’ subjective prejudice (cf. 48 *quod . . . pareret*). **conuictor** ‘companion’ (lit. ‘someone who lives with or eats with one’). The word conjures up the world of the *conuiuium* or dinner-party where parasites scrambled for seats and bit each other’s backs (cf. 46, 4.81, Cic. *Balb.* 57), though here it is primarily a euphemism for the patron-client relationship (cf. 4.96; *Ep.* 1.7.75 *mane cliens et iam certus conuiuia*). Augustus also framed his request for close companionship with H. in convivial terms: *sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me, tamquam si conuictor mihi fueris* (Suet. *Vita Horati*). But H. is careful to advertise his solitary domestic dinners at 114–18 and 127–8.

**47–8 at olim . . . tribuno:** *olim* contrasts with 47 *nunc*, in this frank summary of H.’s past and present, a lowlier version of Maecenas’ (cf. 4, 54, 8.1 *olim*, 8.14 *nunc*, 8.8 *prius*). H. had been military tribune in Brutus’ army (*Vita Horati*, derived from this passage?). This honour, shared between six officers for each of the consuls’ four legions and not exclusive to those of senatorial rank, was an obvious point of entry in a freedman’s son’s political career (Treggiari 1969: 64; cf. the self-reflexive attack on an ex-slave at *Epod.* 4.20 *hoc, hoc tribuno militum*; Treggiari 65: ‘probably a special case’). **mihi pareret:** a toned-down version of the ancestors’ military power at 4 *qui magnis legionibus imperitarent*.

**49 dissimile hoc illi est:** discrimination in practice, as H. separates two causes of resentment: his friendship with Maecenas (the real bone of contention) and his advancement to the military tribuneship. **illi:** dat. after *dissimile*.

**49–50 quia non . . . amicum** ‘in that no one could justifiably resent your being my friend, as they might in the case of my office’ (*quia non:* another echo of 1; *honorem:* cf. 11, 15, 19). *forsit* grudgingly concedes that resentment is justifiable.

**51–2 praesertim . . . procul** ‘especially when you are careful to adopt [adj. + inf: cf. 4.8, 4.12] deserving men who shun unscrupulous self-promotion’. **cautum** the opposite of brashness: 38 *audes*, 76 *est ausus*. A compliment to Maecenas’ good judgment, which, together with H.’s lack of presumption, is used to divert suspicion from their friendship, given that he is among those Maecenas has adopted. **dignos:** puts Maecenas’ protégés beyond reproach (cf. 16 *indignos*). **assumere:** a euphemism for patron-client relations (cf. 25 *sumere*). **praua . . . procul:** probably with *dignos*. Anticipating criticism,

H. resolutely decries ambition: cf. 4.26, 6.68, 128, 10.84. *praua* = ‘wrong-headed, perverse’ (*OLD* s.v. 2), originally ‘crooked’ (cf. 3.48). **ambitione**: not just ‘ambition’, but the whole idea of ‘putting oneself about, networking’. **procul**: cf. 18 *a uulgo longe longeque remotos*.

**52–3 felicem . . . amicum** ‘I couldn’t say that I was lucky in that I won your friendship by chance.’ This denial of arbitrariness in H.’s success personalizes the universal question at 1.1–2 *quam sibi sortem | seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit* (and cf. *Epod.* 4.6 *fortuna non mutat genus*). Here he anticipates rumours by coming down defensively on the side of *ratio* in his own history (contrast 8.2–3 and the vicious accusations at 9.45 *nemo dexterius fortuna est usus*, 2.6.49 *Fortunae filius*). For ‘new men’ fighting off charges of good luck, cf. Cic. *Sull.* 83 on achievements caused by *uirtus* and *consilium* rather than *felicitas*; id. *Fam.* 5.2.8, *Att.* 1.20.3, Sall. *Jug.* 85 (speech of Marius), Sen. *Ep.* 118.4, Plin. *HN* 2.22 on *Fortuna* as *indignorum fauatrix*; Rudd 41, 47, Wiseman 1971: 109. **hoc**: abl. of respect after *felicem*. **sortitus**: supply *sim* (alleged reason after *quod*).

**54 nulla etenim . . . obtulit**: an elaboration of the previous statement; *obtulit* suggests thrusting something in someone’s path ~ 1.2 *fors obiecerit* (as with the opprobrium of 68–9 *neque auaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra | obiciet . . . quisquam mihi*).

**54–5** Poets Virgil and Varius are presented as intermediaries in H.’s introduction to Maecenas, taking the burden of his literary ambition much as his father takes the burden of his social advancement. They approach Maecenas singly and in order of precedence (*post hunc*: knowing his place? cf. 9.51–2), not as a threatening body (4.143 *turbam*). **optimus**: cf. 5.27 (Maecenas), 4.105 (H.’s father): a gesture of confidence in one’s promoters. **olim** ‘some time ago’. **Vergilius . . . Varius**: 5.4on. **dixere . . . essem**: a verb of introducing or recommending (cf. 39, 9.47, *Ep.* 1.9.3 *tradere*, 51 *assumere*) is missing (and hence that whole stage in the sequence). Virgil and Varius did the necessary singing of H.’s praises (no word of praise is used, in contrast with 70 *ut me collaudem*, 88 *laus illi debetur*, *Ep.* 1.9.3 *laudare*), leaving him with only modest denials to make; the bare summary of their speech here (cf. 60 *quod eram narro*) is litotes, presumably, for H.’s literary talents, the unspoken alternative to *fors*.

**56–62** H.’s account of his first conversation with Maecenas, a non-*sermo* between a tongue-tied innocent and an equally reticent man of the world. Lack of fluency (suggesting sincerity) on both sides, Maecenas’ hesitation about accepting H., H.’s frankness about his humble origins – all contrast markedly with the examples of brashness and worldly ambition that surround them in this poem. H. tells us nothing about what he did tell Maecenas, only the claims he was *unable* to make for himself.

**56 ut . . . coram** ‘when I came face to face with you’, a scenario replicated in the surrounding *sermo*, whose implied listener is Maecenas. **singultim** ‘in gulps’, the first recorded occurrence of this rare adverb from *singultus*. **pauca locutus**: for H.’s reticence as innate cf. 1.14 *ne te morer*, 1.95 *non longa est fabula*,



4.18 *raro et perpauca loquentis*, 2.3.1 *sic raro scribis*. For less innocent injunctions to be taciturn, cf. *Ep.* 1.17.43–5 *coram rege suo de paupertate tacentes | plus poscente ferent – distat sumasne pudenter | an rapias*, *Ep.* 1.17.50–1.

**56–7 pauca . . . profari:** exaggerated alliteration suggests a diffident stammer. **infans** ‘speechless, tongue-tied’ (the pun on *infans* ‘infant’ suggesting childish innocence, almost a reversion to the p-sounds of baby-talk; cf. 3.45 *appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male paruus*, Pers. 3.17–18 *pueris pappare minutum | poscis*). **pudor** ‘embarrassment’. This efficacious word serves not just to indicate that H. is a naïf (though adequately aware of the social gulf between himself and Maecenas) but also that he has an unservile nature. An adj. more commonly attached to *pudor* is *ingenuus*: e.g. Vit. 6 *praef.* 6; Agnati 2000; slaves at Rome allegedly did not blush, as they had no moral expectations to fulfil (Kaster 1997, 2005: 23–4). H.’s father’s preservation of his innocence (82 *pudicum*) has paid off.

**58–9 non . . . caballo:** repeated *non* turns the interview into a rehearsal for the present *sermo* (1 *Non quia, Maecenas*). In both cases, the opening gambit provocatively renounces the usual social credentials in favour of a modest claim to innate worth, in which the speaker presumes that the listener shares his values. Repeated *ego* and *me*, however, bring H. to the foreground. H. denies having a distinguished or wealthy father and specifically being of equestrian descent (presumably Maecenas’ omitted questions were on the lines of the standard Odyssean/Bionic queries about parentage and origins: at 7, he is credited with not caring about the answers). Armstrong 1986: 260, arguing from the trio of equestrian attributes at *AP* 248 *equus et pater et res*, to which the replies seem to correspond, believes H. is implying that he is a ‘new’ *equus*, not an established one, like Lucilius, though the negative formulations might themselves derive from Lucilius’ *Iter Siculum*: e.g. 126W = 132M *ostrea nulla fuit, non purpura | nulla peloris*, 127W = 132M *asparagi nulli*. **non . . . patre** euphemizes the abuse of *libertino patre natum*. **circum . . . me . . . uectari:** tmesis for *me circumuectari* (perhaps hinting at the etymology of *ambitio*, ‘going round’; 41n.). **Satureiano . . . caballo:** Satoryion was a Greek settlement near Tarentum, confused with it in the mists of time. Latin made possible a pun with *satur* ‘rich, fertile’: e.g. Virg. *Georg.* 2.197 *saturi . . . Tarenti*; Strabo 6.3.2 (an oracle refers to ‘rich Tarentum’). *Satureiano* goes in sense with *rura* as much as with *caballo* (enallage), but the effect of combining learned adjective with homely *caballo* ‘hack, nag’ (cf. 103, *Ep.* 1.7.88, *Ep.* 1.14.43, Juv. 3.118, Pers. *prol.* 1; always at the end of a line) is deflating (Fraenkel 104 n. 3). *Satureiano . . . caballo* may well be a direct quotation from Lucilius himself. Sen. *Ep.* 87.8–11 admits to squalid journeys by broken-down nag, *cantherium/caballus*, in what may be a Lucilian tradition; cf. Lucil. 153W = 163M *succussatoris taetri tardique caballi*, 101W = 1207M *mantica cantheri costas grauitate premebat*. ‘Tarentine nag’ also suggests a meaningful connection with the humble hybrid mules associated with *satura*: 5.13, 18, 22, 47; 105n. **rura:** country estates, large enough to need a



horse to get round them; cf. Col. 1.3.12 *more praepotentium, qui possident fines gentium quos ne circumire equis quidem ualent*. Probably an allusion to Lucilius' estates in S. Italy, which he may have visited on his *Iter Siculum* (Book 3), though Marx's route does not take him past Tarentum.

**60 sed . . . narro** 'I told you what I was': an even balder summary of H.'s life-story than Virgil and Varius' account (55 *dixere quid essem*; a blunt ind. replaces the subj.), though this is subsequently fleshed out with the more explicit narrative of his education at 71–88. There is close imitation of the homespun style of the philosopher Bion's letter to Antigonus Gonatas: cf. 'Such is my story . . . Take me on my own terms' (Diog. Laert. 4.46–7 = fr. 1A Kindstrand); Rudd 49, Moles 2007: 165–8; cf. Hunter 2006b on the 'fiction of personal encounter'. The summarizing formula *non . . . sed* ('not this . . . but that') shows that *anairesis* (m.) is a long-standing reflex for H.

**60–1 respondes . . . pauca**: Maecenas' trained laconic response is symmetrical to H.'s innocently faltering one (the newly discreet H. follows suit by not revealing what his reply contained). **ut . . . mos**: the implication is that H. knows Maecenas well (by 9.1 he can proclaim his own unobtrusive *mos*; for H. as keen observer of aristocratic *mores*, cf. 2.86; also 4.95, 117). His patron is as detached from the snap decision-making associated with *clientela* as he is from conventional snobbery (5 *ut plerique solent*).

**61 abeo . . . mense**: after H.'s deferential withdrawal (contrast the pest at 9.15 *usque tenebo*, 9.19 *usque sequar te*), Maecenas takes his time to make a judicious decision (cf. 51 *cautum dignos assumere*). **nono . . . mense**: this detail has been used to date H.'s adoption by Maecenas (2.6.40–2 *septimus octauo propior iam fugerit annus | ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum | in numero*, together with 2.6.38–9, which dates that satire to late 31, would make this event seven years earlier, or eight years, if counted inclusively: i.e. between late 39 and early 37). The journey to Brundisium (either autumn 38 or spring 37) provides another *terminus post quem*. Maecenas' delay might also be due to his absence on a diplomatic mission to Athens in 38 (App. *BC* 5.92–3). However, 'nine' tends to be used for any indeterminately large number (Lejay: e.g. *C.* 4.11.1–2 *nonum superantis annum | plenus Albani cadus*, *AP* 388 *nonum . . . prematur in annum*). Henderson 1999: 184 sees a 'gestation period' (cf. 57 *infans*), with Virgil as 'midwife' before H.'s 'social re-christening'.

**61–2 iubesque . . . numero**: H. submits to Maecenas' bidding (the commander of 48 *quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno* becomes subordinate to the man with commanding ancestors: 4 *imperitarent*). Patronage is framed in terms of friendship (*amicorum*, cf. 50 *amicum*, 53 *amicum*); Maecenas is given full agency (*reuocas, iubes*), H. a new account of himself, *esse in amicorum numero*, to replace *quod eram / quid essem*.

**62 magnum hoc ego duco** 'it means a lot to me, I consider it a great honour'. A pronounced value judgment from H. contrasts with the ostensible

lack of fuss in the whole operation (cf. 56 *pauca*, 61 *pauca*, 65 *paucis*) and his sarcastic use of *magnus* elsewhere to describe visible worldly success: e.g. 72–3, 4.10).

**63 placui:** of being accepted as a client: *Ep.* 1.17.35 *principibus placuisse uiris non ultima laus est*, 1.20.23 *me primis urbis belli placuisse domique*. **turpi . . .**

**honestum:** both adjs. are probably m., not n., as at *AP* 213 *rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto*. Maecenas is given credit for good powers of discrimination of the kind that H. has put into practice at 49 *dissimile hoc illi est*.

**64 non . . . puro** ‘not because I had a distinguished father but because of my unblemished life and my integrity’; more *anaïresis* (1n.). The stammer reproduced in the *p*-sounds of 57 is given another run here.

**65 atqui** ‘don’t get me wrong’. **si:** the first of three falsely modest conditional conjunctions (cf. (66) 68, 70). **uitiis . . . paucis:** for H.’s minor imperfections, cf. 3.19–20, 4.130–1. Admitting these is advised at *Plut. Mor.* 542–3; *Cic. Dom.* 96 justifies self-praise in self-defence: *dicendum igitur est id quod non dicerem nisi coactus – nihil enim unquam de me dixi sublatius* [‘a little cautiously’] *asciscendae laudis causa potius quam criminis depellendi*.

**66–7** An outstanding body speckled with a few moles works well both as an apotropaic confession of minor moral blemishes and as an image of Horatian satire. A hiccough of an ending, *uelut si*, gestures to poetic deformity. **men-dosa** ‘blemished’. **alioquin** ‘in other respects’. **egregio** fits with H.’s perception of himself as removed from the crowd. **reprehendas:** the vocabulary of moral and aesthetic blame overlaps; for scrutiny of bodies, cf. 30–3, 2.86–92. Cf. *Macrob. Sat.* 2.4.8 (Galba to a litigious hunchback): *ego te monere possum, corrigere non possum*. Maecenas is himself being reprimanded for superficiality in his judgments. **naeuos:** one of the first names H. drops is Naevius (1.101); cf. the criticism of physical remarks in Roman nomenclature implied in the catalogue at 3.44–8; cf. also 3.73 *tuberibus*, 74 *uerrucis*.

**68–9** Vices condemned in the earliest satires and counselled against by H.’s father (4.108–14) resurface: avarice and stinginess from *S.* 1, brothels from 2. **mala lustra** ‘dens of iniquity’, cognate with *lutum*, mud (*Fest.* p. 121M), always *mala* (*Porph.*); cf. *Cic. Phil.* 13, 24, *Cael.* 57. **obiciet** ‘charge with’: reproaches are another obstacle in the citizen’s path. **uere:** cf. 8. H. cuts through inaccurate smearing.

**69–70 purus . . . amicis:** translate as if *si purus et insons et carus amicis uiuo*; cf. 63 *pectore puro*, 9.49 *domus hac nec purior ulla est*. On the goal of friendship, see 4.135–6, 5.44nn. **ut . . . collaudem** ‘to blow my own trumpet’ (*Palmer*). Disarming: H. allows himself a momentary boast before passing on the credit to his father. For similarly cautious self-praise, cf. *Cic. Dom.* 95 (65n.), id. *Har. resp.* 17, *Quint.* 11.1.18. For a less flattering picture of H., cf. 2.3.323–5.

**71–99** Another version of H.’s autobiography, further back in time, in which his present irreproachability is attributed to his freedman father’s good upbringing. See *Schlegel 2005*: 58 on the advantages for H. of sharing the credit between

Maecenas and his father: ‘This rebellion against the two profound influences of Lucilius and Maecenas leaves the originally socially burdened father-son relationship free of its traditional competition and tyranny.’ At the same time, the problem of competition is solved by H.’s apparently gracious pulling of rank over his biological father (Johnson 1993: 18–32).

**71 causa . . . his:** a partial answer to 1.1 *Qui fit* and a corrective to 64 *non patre praeclaro*. H.’s genealogy stretches only one generation back, but his father is singled out as an alternative kind of luminary. This is the climax of the poem (Harrison 1965); the paternal figure has been adumbrated many times (3, 6, 7–8, 21, 29, 36, 41, 45–6, 58, 64) but now appears centre-stage (Armstrong 1986: 273).

**qui . . . agello:** H. presumably exaggerates the poverty of a father who could evidently afford Roman schooling and, later, student life in Athens; the tiny plot contrasts with both Maecenas’ and Lucilius’ extensive estates: 2, 59. For similar trajectories cf. *C.* 3.30.12 *ex humili potens*, *Ep.* 1.20.20–1 *me libertino natum patre et in tenui re | maiores pinnas nido extendisse*, *Ep.* 2.2.50–2 *decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni | et laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax | ut uersus facerem*. Consistent, perhaps, with a story of dispossession in the Social War and re-emergence as a profiteer in the civil wars: 86n. **pauper** ‘although poor’; the farmer is enclosed within his narrow boundaries.

**72 noluit . . . mittere:** again, the father takes the burden of H.’s social ambition, refusing (with another against-the-grain negative) to settle for a standard small-town education. **Flau:** presumably the local (freedman) schoolmaster at (still unnamed) Venusia, not good enough for H.’s freedman father. **ludum:** school where elementary literacy and numeracy were taught. H.’s contempt is expressed again at 10.74–5 *an tua demens | uilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?*

**72–3 magni . . . orti:** big fish in a small pond. Another example of H.’s distaste for the outsize (Bramble 1974: 156: ‘an expression of scorn for his insensitive schoolmates’), especially magnificent pedigrees (cf. 4, 10), though here the low rank of centurion (Tac. *Hist.* 1.84 *ne miles centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur*) makes the swaggering genealogy ironic. *magnis . . . centurionibus* (despite its polysyllables and numerical cachet) is a virtual oxymoron. In Persius, centurions epitomize macho philistinism: 3.77–8 *aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum | dicat: ‘quod sapio satis est mihi . . .’*; 5.189–90 *dixeris haec inter uaricosos centuriones, | continuo crassum ridet Pulfenius ingens*. These may be the lumbering sons of Sullan veterans who lorded it over the dispossessed local population of a colonized Venusia (cf. 62 *macro . . . agello*); Williams 1995: 305. Fraenkel 3 detects an army school here and memories of schoolboy bullying. But H. himself retaliates with malice (Armstrong 1986: 275 n. 47: ‘If ever Horace associated with such children, they suffered from his snobbery, not he from theirs.’). The boys pay petty fees and have no slaves to carry their equipment (contrast H. at 78), while H. has already pulled rank as an ex-military tribune (47–8). **quo:** probably ‘to where’ (with *ibant* or *mittebantur* understood).

**74 laeuo . . . lacerto** ‘with their satchels and slates hanging from their left shoulders’ (leaving the right arm free for writing? cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.320–1 *ex umero pendens resonabat eburnea laeuo | telorum custos, arcum quoque laeua tenebat*). The first of several self-contained vignettes (cf. 106, 124), the line is repeated to Maecenas at *Ep.* 1.1.56, in the context of the petty materialism of Roman education. **suspensi:** imitates the Greek middle ‘having hung for themselves’, with *loculos* and *tabulam* acc. of respect in the Greek manner (H–S 37). H. is speaking *de haut en bas* (cf. 5 *naso suspendis adunco*) to the peers he has left behind. **loculos** ‘satchels’; compartmentalized containers for writing materials or books (cf. 4.22 *capsa*, Juv. 10.116–17 *quisquis adhuc uno partam colit asse Mineruam | quem sequitur custos angustae uernula capsae*); elsewhere for money (cf. 1.3.17 = coffers). The ambiguity is significant: the pupils’ moneyboxes suit future accountants. **tabulamque:** wax-coated wooden or metal tablet, for practising letters or doing arithmetic.

**75 ibant . . . aeris:** carrying their eightpenny fee on the Ides (derogatory specificity). **octonos:** (sc. *asses* or *nummos*). The Ides was a standard day of reckoning (cf. *Epod.* 2.69 *omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam*). An alternative reading is *octonis Idibus aera*, which would seem to refer to an eight-month school year (Mart. 5.84.2, 10.62).

**76 est ausus** ‘he had the nerve’ (cf. 38 *audes*), i.e. despite his low origins; cf. Lucr. 1.67 (Epicurus), Cat. 1.5 (Cornelius Nepos), Cic. *Pis.* fr. ix Nisbet *praeco . . . ausus est. Oliensis 1998:* 34: ‘[I]f there is presumption at work here, it is not the son’s but the father’s.’ For *audacia* as the virtual opposite of *pudor*, see Vitr. 6 *praef.* 6. **puerum . . . Romam portare:** a surprise: we might have expected H.’s father to educate him at home on the farm (cf. Demea in Ter. *Ad.*). The ex-slave appropriately has a burden to carry, this time H. (who himself remains burden-free throughout the poem). Palmer compares Lucil. 453W = 425M *inde uenit Romam tener ipse etiam atque puellus*; Harrison 1965: 111–12.

**77–8 artes . . . prognatos:** a periphrasis for *artes ingenuas / liberales*, the secondary education befitting a freeborn child (Cic. *Arch.* 4 *artes quibus aetas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet*): H.’s natural *liberalitas* is sealed with a diploma. This training would have included the study of Latin and Greek literature (at *Ep.* 2.1.69–71 H. refers to his own taskmaster, the cane-happy Orbilius, with whom he read Livius Andronicus, translator of Homer; at *Ep.* 2.2.41–2 he recalls studying the *Iliad* in Greek). This second stage followed elementary literacy (cf. 1.25–6) and led into rhetorical training; H.’s university studies seem to have involved philosophy (*Ep.* 2.2.43–5). **doceat:** generic subj. H. perpetuates the myth that aristocratic Roman fathers taught their own sons. *doceo* takes a double accusative of person and thing taught (*puerum, artes, prognatos*). **equus . . . senator:** aristocrats’ sons were more likely to have private tutors than attend school. **semet prognatos:** ‘their own children’ (*semet* is archaic abl. for *se*, depending on *prognatos*, also archaic).

**78 seruosque sequentes:** *pedisequi*, or specifically *capsarii* to carry his books (not available to centurions’ sons back at home). Typically, H.’s ascent is defined

by the social inferiors following two steps behind him. At 100–9 he rejects the need for paraphernalia; here, his father is responsible for the pretentious retinue.

**79 in . . . populo** ‘as happens in a crowded city’ (cf. 5.1 *magna . . . Roma*; contrast 6.71 *macro . . . agello*). The phrase is probably to be understood with *si qui uidisset*, not *seruos sequentes*: cf. Ov. *Ex Pont.* 4.5.11 *si quis, ut in populo, qui sitis et unde requirat*, Tr. 1.1.17 *si quis, ut in populo, nostri non immemor illic*. **uidisset**: pluperf., because seeing is prior to thinking. H. recreates the special self-consciousness of the newly arrived country boy. For *inuidia* on the street, cf. *Epod.* 4.7–10.

**79–80 auita . . . illos**: cf. 3 *auus*, 131 *auus*. H. seems untroubled by this skin-deep semblance of ancestry.

**81–2 ipse mihi . . . aderat**: H.’s father himself acted as his *paidagōgos* as he visited his teachers (cf. 4.118–19 *dum custodis eges, uitam famamque tueri | incolumem possum*). Another case of displaced abjection: the freedman, despising slaves’ morals, refuses to trust one as his child’s moral guardian. **incorruptissimus**: H. glorifies his father with a six-syllable superlative adj., hinting at the notoriously corrupting influence of pedagogues on their charges (cf. Petr. *Sat.* 85–6); for slaves as corruptible, cf. 9.57 *muneribus seruos corrupam*.

**82 circum doctores aderat**: an acceptable form of *amb-utio*. **quid multa?** ‘the point is, no need to elaborate’ (part of the poem’s rhetoric of unsuperfluousness).

**82–4 pudicum . . . turpi** ‘He kept me uncorrupted, which is virtue’s top credential, innocent not just of scandal but of filthy charges too.’ A pre-emptive strike to shift personal slurs: cf. Cic. *Cael.* 6 *sunt enim ista maledicta peruulgata in omnes quorum in adolescentia forma et species fuit liberalis*. H. tends to stress his unblemished morals rather than his literary gifts (cf. 69 *purus et insons*, 64 *uita et pectore puro*, 9.49 *domus hac nec purior ulla est*); for Roman education’s firmly moral basis, cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3.3, 4.13, Quint. 1.3.17, 2.2.14–15, Juv. 7.239, 10.224, 295–8. **qui**: relative pronoun *quod*, referring to *pudicum . . . seruauit ab omni | facto*, is attracted into m. gender of *honos*. **uirtutis**: cf. *Ep.* 1.20.22 for *uirtus* as a substitute for good breeding. New men used *uirtus* as a central part of their self-defence: e.g. Cato *Orig.* fr. 51, 73, 76; Cic. *Verr.* 5.1.180–2. See Earl 1967: 52–4, Wiseman 1971: 110–11, Paananen 1972: 48–89 on Cicero and Sallust’s attempts to redefine *uirtus* and *nobilitas*. **seruauit**: cf. 1.89, 3.54, 4.119, 6.83. **opprobrio**: blabbing about scandal (cf. 68–9 *si . . . obiciet . . . quisquam*) was a mainstay of republican politics.

**85–7 nec timuit . . . sequerer** ‘He was not afraid that he would get the blame one day [for laying out all this money] if I went into petty trade and earned my keep as auctioneer or middle-man.’ H. reserves timidity for himself. **uitio . . . uerteret**: lit. ‘would turn to his account as a fault’. *uitio* is predicative dat.

**86 praeco**: probably ‘auctioneer’ here, rather than ‘public crier’ (42–4n.); the Roman epitome of the ‘little man’ (e.g. Vulteius Mena in *Ep.* 1.7), who might

sometimes make it good (like the millionaire auctioneer Gallonius: 2.2.46–8 or the Pompeian auctioneer Caecilius Jucundus (*CIL* IV 3340); see Wiseman 1971: 72, MacMullen 1974: 72, 140. Advertising and salesmanship were considered vulgar in the ancient world (42–4n.): H. makes his father responsible for his upward mobility and any pushiness in the operation (Johnson 1993: 28–9: ‘Pop was always under foot, spouting hillbilly sentiments in hillbilly talk at the top of his lungs’). **ut fuit ipse**: the smallholder of 71 evidently diversified. **coactor**: *coactor argentarius* (schol.), a middle-man who earned commission passing on money from auction-buyer to auction-seller (an embryonic bank-manager); i.e. a profiteer from the radical transfer of property during the civil wars. Contradicts the pathetic picture of H.’s father as one of the dispossessed (70 *macro pauper agello*; cf. Williams 1995). The *Vita Horati* records *patre, ut ipse tradit, libertino et exactionum coactore* (where *exactionum* is probably a gloss on this passage; Fraenkel 4). This unsentimental autobiographical detail updates Bion’s story, where the father was a freedman salt-fish seller, who ‘wiped his hand on his elbow’ (fr. 1A Kindstrand = Diog. Laert. 4.46–7); an alternative tradition makes H.’s father a fishmonger too (*Vita Horati* 40).

**87 sequerer**: H. is not destined to be a follower (contrast 78, 108).

**87–8 neque . . . maior** ‘Nor would I have grumbled [if I had been pushed into one of these lowly but aspirational careers], but as things worked out I owe him all the more respect and gratitude.’ **at . . . nunc** = Greek *vñv δέ*. The whole of H.’s transformation into a poet is contained in this understatement. **hoc . . . maior** ‘greater in this respect’.

**89 nil me . . . patris huius** ‘As long as I am in my right mind, I could never be dissatisfied with this man as my father.’ H. applies to his view of his father the lesson of contentment he learned from him (cf. 96 *meis contentus*, 4.108 *uiuerem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset*). **sanum**: for the right-mindedness of putting personal relationships first, cf. 5.44 *nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico*.

**89–92 eoque . . . defendam** ‘so much so, that I wouldn’t defend myself like the majority, who say it’s through no fault of their own that they don’t have freeborn and distinguished parents’. More negatives. **dolo . . . suo** = *culpa sua*; with *defendam*, it has a legalistic tone.

**92–3 longe mea . . . ratio** ‘my words and thoughts are far out of tune with theirs’ (cf. 18 *longe longeque remotos*); a telling distinction between speech and thoughts.

**93–4 nam si natura . . . peractum**: H. would not choose different parents even if ordered to (though Johnson 1993: 18–32 suspects underlying resentment towards the father). Nature stands in as patron or pedagogue (cf. 61 *iubesque*) instructing him to relive his life, a personalized version of Jupiter’s munificence at 1.15–22, less romantic than Cic. *Sen.* 83 *si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam* (Lejay). H. is reliving his life in this poem, or rather rewriting it, on his own terms. **a certis annis** ‘beginning at a set year’. **remeare**:

archaic, and with the idea of repeating rather than turning back (K–H); cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.423–4 *repetitum Mulciber aeuum | poscit Erichthonio*.

**95–6 atque . . . quisque** ‘and to choose whichever different parents each of us wanted, in accordance with his pride’. *quoscumque* is relative, not indefinite; *parentes* is plural, though H.’s mother is otherwise conspicuously absent.

**96–7 meis . . . sumere** ‘I would be content with my own [parents] and not want to choose those who were distinguished by marks of office [as opposed to mine, distinguished by their virtue].’

**honestos:** encapsulates a contrast between the honorific distinction given by *fascibus et sellis* and the natural distinction of H.’s own parents.

**fascibus et sellis:** symbols of a magistrate’s power. The *fasces* were bundles of rods carried by lictors along with the *securis*, axe, before a consul or praetor; the *sella* was the ivory chair of censors and curule magistrates.

**sumere:** H. invents his own fantasy of patronage and choice (cf. 51 *assumere*).

**97–8 demens | iudicio . . . tuo:** once again, H. singles himself and Maecenas out as discriminating distinctly from the rest of the world; cf. 18 *uulgo*, 90 *magna . . . pars*. The emphatic *demens* in last position is quietly displaced by Maecenas’ presumed verdict of *sanus*.

**fortasse:** not presuming to prejudge Maecenas’ verdict, but expecting one that tallies with his well-known disdain for senatorial office; ps.-Acro: *egregie hoc dixit quia Maecenas eques Romanus permansit contempto senatorio ordine*.

**98–9 quod . . . molestum** ‘for refusing to bear a troublesome and unfamiliar burden’.

**nollem:** subj. of alleged reason, depending on *iudicio*.

**onus:** the metaphorical ‘burden’ is political office, a pursuit expected of the well-born, with a pun on *honus/onus* (DuQuesnay 1984: 50) and perhaps also (given 105 *mulo*), cross-linguistically, on Greek ὄνος ‘ass’ (cf. 3.107 *cunus*, 8.5 *palus*, 8.20 *perdere*, 8.22 *palla*, 9.21 *onus*).

The burden metaphor materializes in the image of a retinue weighed down by paraphernalia (102–9) and the contrasting image of a mule at 104–6 (cf. the simile of a loaded ass used of social obligation at 9.21: *cum grauius dorso subiit onus*).

**haud umquam solitus:** H. momentarily forgets the prospect of a *tabula rasa* and sees things only from his present perspective.

**molestum:** cf. 3.65; from *moles* ‘bulky weight’; the *inuidia* ascribed to the world (*quod nollem*) may also be H.’s own ‘sour grapes’ feeling.

**100 continuo** ‘immediately’ (contrasting with 99 *haud umquam solitus*).

**quaerenda:** the start of a string of gerundives (*salutandi, ducendus, pascendi, ducenda*) signalling the interminable obligations involved in *clientela*.

**res:** resources to fund a political campaign, as well as the standard senatorial property qualification (the funds available at 80 evidently do not stretch this far).

**101 atque salutandi plures** ‘there would be more calls to exchange’; i.e. ritual making and receiving of calls as part of the system of political canvassing; Quint. 12.11.18 *uanus salutandi labor* (for further complaints cf. Juv. 1.95–126, 3.



126–30, 5.19–23; Mart. 3.36.3–4, 4.8.1, Jer. *Ep.* 43). It is unclear whether H. imagines himself receiving or paying the calls. Both alternatives are conspicuously eliminated from his daily routine (119–20); at 2.6.30–1 he has only Maecenas to force his way through crowds for.

**101–3 ducendus . . . exirem:** H. sallies forth alone for a Roman stroll at 112 *incedo solus*. His proud disregard for entourages here shows us the flipside of the embassy in *S.* 5, where H. had been taken along as *comes* by Maecenas and was accompanied by Heliodorus (with *exirem*, cf. 5.1 *egressum*). For the grumbles of a travelling companion en route for Brundisium or Surrentum, cf. *Ep.* 1.17.52–7.

**101–2 unus . . . alter** ‘one or two companions’.

**102 rusue peregre<ue>:** either to the Italian countryside or abroad, widening the horizons of the poem beyond its epicentre, Rome (for the contrast cf. *Ep.* 1.7.75–6 *iubetur | rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis*). *peregre<ue>*, a medieval conjecture accepted perforce by most editors for MS reading *peregre aut*, is ostentatiously hypermetric, appropriately for the sense, cf. 4.96; *pace* Housman 1972: 1: 144, who emends to *uti ne aut rus solusue peregre*, accepted by SB and Fedeli (Brink 1987: 30).

**103 rusue calones atque caballi:** grooms (*calones*, servants to *equites*; cf. 2.44) are lumped together alliteratively with horses (*caballi*: 59n.), as H. invidiously pictures a squalid entourage.

**104 petorrita:** four-wheeled carriages, especially for carrying servants and baggage (Gaulish: *petor* = four + *rit* = wheel).

**104–5** ‘Horace’s description of travelling without retinue as far as Tarentum, even if comically exaggerated, presupposes an Italy that had been finally cleared of brigands, a task undertaken in 36 BC’ (Coffey 1976: 230 n. 61: App. *BC* 5.132, Brunt 1971: 291). For modest styles of travelling, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 87.10: the Elder Cato when censor made journeys *uno caballo contentus, et ne toto quidem; partem enim sarcinae ab utroque latere dependentes occupabant*; Polyb. fr. 166H: the younger Scipio took only five servants on an embassy to the East.

**104 nunc** ‘as it is’ (cf. 87, an alternative, rather than a time contrast). **mihī:** a defiant indication of personal liberty. **curto:** lit. ‘clipped’, usually assumed to agree with 105 *mulo*, in which case it means ‘gelded’ (Ashworth and Andrewes 1957) or ‘virtually gelded’ (mules, the offspring of male donkeys and female horses, are born sterile; Palmer’s euphemism is ‘bobtailed’) or more generally ‘humble, clapped out’, as suiting H.’s station or his paltry baggage (cf. Pers. 4.50 *curta supellex*). H. will use *curtus* to mean ‘circumcised’ at 9.70 *curtis Iudaeis*.

**105 licet . . . libet:** personal liberty is H.’s watchword in this poem; cf. 111 *quacumque libido est*. He approximates to the *equites* Maecenas and Lucilius in his ease of travel. **mulo:** appropriate for H. the half-breed, pedigree-less poet, riding in the footsteps of the landed *eques* Lucilius (cf. 58–9n.); Armstrong 1986: 19. For the mule as emblem of satirical poetics, see 5.13n. At Lucian *Bis Acc.* 33, Dialogue claims to be a hybrid form, ‘neither pedestrian nor mounted on



the back of metre'. For 'muleteer' as an insult for the upwardly mobile, cf. Gell. 15.4.3 on the haulage contractor P. Ventidius Bassus. The hobbledehoy mule here may correspond to Lucilius' similarly slurred *cantheri* at 101W = 1207M (see also 106n.). **uel . . . usque Tarentum** 'or all the way to Tarentum', expanding and defining the openness of his road. Probably a reference to Lucilius' S. Italian estates (cf. 58–9), but also alluding to the destination avoided in *S.* 5. The 105th line here extends beyond the limits of the 104-line *S.* 5: H. proclaims his renewed freedom to revisit unfinished business. For *Tarentum* ending a poem, cf. *C.* 3.5.56; at *C.* 2.6.10–14, Tarentum is H.'s retreat, his *terrarum angulus*.

**106 mantica . . . armos:** according to Porph., based on Lucil. 101W = 1207M *mantica cantheri costas gravitate premebat* (a similar description of a picaresque journey?); for Lucilius as *equus*, cf. *Juv.* 1.20; as horse-mad: e.g. Lucil. 505–6W = 476, 1278M, 507–8W = 515–16M, 511–13W = 506–8M. **mantica:** saddle-bag, central to a proverb (*Phaedr.* 4.10) about human intolerance: we see the bag in front filled with others' faults but not the one behind us filled with our own (cf. 2.3.299, *Cat.* 22.21, *Pers.* 4.24). Close to the theme of *S.* 3; perhaps the proverbial meaning is mobilized in a poem dealing with blind *invidia*. **onere:** 99n. In claiming personal freedom, H. shifts his own burden onto the mule that carries him: another case of displaced abjection. For parallels between slaves and beasts of burden, see Fitzgerald 1997: 99–102. **ulceret:** consecutive subj. The mostly openly painful word in the poem, suggesting festering resentment or the chafing of the underdog. Anticipating mud-slinging from onlookers, H. gets in first. Or is this a gloss explaining *curto* (pressure on the loins, *lumbos*, might explain why the mule was *curtus*)? **equus** 'rider', but pointing to H.'s middling social status too. The newly created *equus* has the power to lord it over subordinate beasts of burden. **armos** 'flanks, withers'. The mule's irritated limbs are reminiscent of the anonymous official's (*Tillius*?) at 27 *medium impediit crus*.

**107–9** Contempt for the mule's more sordid lot is now transferred to a human being, *Tillius*, the hapless *ignotus* who became tribune (i.e. gave up being *priatus*) at 24–5, but is elevated to *praetor* and finally *praeflare senator* in the course of this abuse. *Tillius*' entourage is made to look more squalid than H.'s equivalent: 78 *seruos sequentes* ~ 108–9 *quinque sequuntur | te pueri*; 76 *puerum . . . portare* ~ 109 *lasanum portantes oenophorumque*.

**107 obiciet nemo** 'no one will charge me with'. In a classic Horatian move (cf. *nemo* and *obiecirit* at 1.1–2, 6.68–9 *neque sordes . . . | obiciet . . . quisquam mihi*), an imaginary objector is preempted and blame deflected, in this case onto a cheap-skate traveller with a mobile home. H. has been more successful in renouncing the signs of his humble origins (cf. 80, 124). **sordes:** meanness, that un-medium vice decried in earlier satires and disclaimed by H. at 68–9. **tibi, Tilli:** repeated from 24, avoiding the metrically impossible *Tillio*, but also, with *Tiburte*, giving a chance for some spiteful spitting at someone on the same road (cf. *S.* 9 and *Epod.* 4). H. expresses the same *invidia* he claimed was directed against *Tillius* at 25.

**108 Tiburte uia:** the road to Tibur (Tivoli), 16 miles N-E of Rome, equivalent to the first stage of *S.* 5, a short hop (while *H.* is free to make a long journey unencumbered). Both Tibur and Tarentum are contrasted with Rome as modest places of leisure at *Ep.* 1.7.45 *uacuum Tibur . . . aut imbellē Tarentum*; Tibur precedes Tarentum as favoured retirement spot at *C.* 2.6.5–8. **praetorem:** an increasingly un-exclusive office in the unsettled years of the triumvirate: in 38 there had been no fewer than sixty-seven praetors (Dio 48. 43).

**108–9 quinque . . . portantes:** Tillius thinks he will look mean if he makes even a short journey without an entourage (104–5n.). **lasanum** = Greek λάσσανον ‘chamberpot’ (Ullman 1912: also, a portable stove or cooking pot; but putting the cart before the horse – pisspot before winejar – seems appropriately squalid). **oenophorumque** ‘winejar’ (cf. Lucil. 132W = 139M, Pers. 5.140). Another Greek word combines epic length and resonance with humdrum satirical subject matter.

**110–11 hoc ego . . . uiuo** ‘In this respect, blue-blooded senator, my life is more comfortable than yours, and in a thousand other ways too.’ Rehearses 130–1. **commodius** ‘more comfortably’ (contrast 27 *impediit*), paradoxical after the list of Tillius’ mod. cons.

**111–28** By way of contrast, *H.* gives an account of a day in his life in the city, with emphasis on its simplicity and corresponding freedom (111 *quacumque libido est*), deliberately emulating or even outstripping Maecenas in his independence and quasi-aristocratic ease. This is yet another version of *H.*’s *uita/bios* (cf. 128–9 *haec est | uita*), a *quod sum* to match 60 *quod eram*, in line with Bion’s autobiographical confessions. The freedman’s son, released by education from business and political ambition, has the leisure to do as he pleases and go where he likes by himself, unlike those tied to social obligations and hordes of followers, ‘playing the part of a nobody among nobodies’ (Oliensis 1998: 35). *H.* gives an illusion of frank disclosure and accounting, as if for a censor’s inspection, while performing the first of many disavowals of dependence and parasitism (cf. e.g. *Ep.* 1.1, 1.7); Coffey 1976: 77: ‘While expressing due gratitude to his patron he tactfully discourages any encroachment on his tranquillity.’ Although the description is framed as a contrast with the life of the political aspirant (110–11 *hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator, | . . . uiuo*; 128–9 *haec est | uita solutorum misera ambitione grauique*), the real contrast is with the social climber (Oliensis 1998: 34–5). Indeed, many of the activities described shadow the routines of *clientela*: *percontor, assisto, ministratur, sustinet, adstat, obeundus, iuuēt, admonuit, interpellet, consolor* all have their equivalents in the vocabulary of parasitism; cf. e.g. Pl. *Amph.* 993 *supparasitor, hortor, adsto, admoneo, gaudeo*. Monosyllabic or doubly monosyllabic line-endings, 112 *far*, 114 *me*, 119 *quod cras*, 120 *qui se*, give a stubbornly colloquial tone to this defiant statement, which contrasts distinctly with the equivalent passage at 2.6.23–39, with its catalogue of tiresome obligations and inclusion of Maecenas. For parallel descriptions of routines, see Lejay 513 and Muecke *ad* 2.6.23–39; Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.3

(*haec igitur est nunc uita nostra*), Plin. *Ep.* 3.1, 9.36, Mart. 4.8, Ausonius *Ephemeris*. In disowning social and political ambition, H. provocatively substitutes an impression of perfect Epicurean *otium*, calculated to excite even more envy, especially in Maecenas, himself loaded with burdens of state.

**111 quacumque libido est:** the account is a charter for personal liberty; cf. 105 *licet . . . si libet*.

**112 incedo:** statelier than *ambulo* (*OLD* s.v. 4 ‘to parade, strut, lounge’; Sen. *NQ* 7.31.2 *non ambulamus sed incedimus*). Later verbs are more directionless: 113 *pererro*, 122 *uagor*. McGann 1973: 61 contrasts this unshowy perambulation with the ostentation of H.’s journeys to school at 78–82; but there is something of a (jocular) ‘progress’ here, as though *solus incedo* were an oxymoron. See Breguet 1956: 89 on H. as Baudelairean flâneur. **solus:** at 9.10 H. admits to having one slave in attendance, but the emphasis here is on an unlikely solitude.

**112 percontor:** H. asks the prices of the simplest foodstuffs (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 172 *cum percontaretur ex anicula quadam quanti aliquid uenderet*) rather than making solicitous enquiries, like a client, censor or informer (cf. 2.7 *percontensis*, Cic. *Agr.* 2.94 *quae concursatio percontantium quid praetor edixisset*). **quanti:** gen. of cost. **holus . . . far:** for *holus*, green vegetables, moralized as the simplest food, cf. 1.1.74–5 *panis ematur, holus, uini sextarius, adde | quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis*, 2.1.74, 2.6.64, *Ep.* 1.5.2, Plin. *HN* 19.57–9; for *far*, cf. 5.68–9. The urban Epicurean makes no pretence of growing his own food (cf. Cic. *Pis.* 67 *pistor domi nullus, nulla cella; panis et uinum a propola atque de cupa*), though he does stoop to buying in a trouble-free meal.

**113–14 fallacem Circum:** the Circus Maximus, a large stadium between the Aventine and Palatine Hills; ‘slippery’ is a transferred epithet from the astrologers and fortune-tellers who set up their stalls there (Cic. *Div.* 1.132 *de circo astrologos*, Juv. 6.582–4); Tac. *Hist.* 1.22 uses the word *fallax* of astrologers themselves. H. is declaring his scepticism, but there may also be play on the marshiness of the soil or the ups and downs of gambling (Tac. *Ann.* 1.61 *umido paludum et fallacibus campis*). **uespertinumque . . . Forum:** the Forum, centre of business and political affairs in Rome, plays a part in H.’s routine after hours (just as men of affairs, like Philippus at *Ep.* 1.7.48 *redit . . . Foro*, are leaving it), thereby converted into a place of *otium* (Lambinus corrected to *uespertinus*, but a transfer of routine to locale is plausible: cf. 59 *Satureiano . . . caballo*). **pererro:** this is *amb-ito* made literal, thus defused. **assisto** ‘I stand near’ (in order to watch); but used elsewhere in connection with deferential attendance. We know from 5.100–1 that H. is sceptical of fortune-telling; cf. his hammed-up ‘childhood experience’ at 9.29–34. **diuinis** ‘fortune-tellers’ (most likely; see on *fallacem Circum*, though ‘ritual sacrifices’ could also be meant).

**114–15** H.’s homecoming after a stroll contrasts with that of Philippus, the man of affairs at *Ep.* 1.7.47–9 *ab officiis octauam circiter horam | dum redit atque Forum nimum distare Carinas | . . . queritur*. Eating at home (*domicinium*) is a sign of social

defeat in relation to Maecenas in II 7 (cf. Mart. 5.78.1), but here a token of H.'s independence. **me . . . refero**: as opposed to being escorted or escorting someone else.

**115 porri et ciceris**: plebeian, esp. urban food (cf. *Ep.* 1.12.21, Mart. 5.78.4, 21). Praise of vegetarianism: N–H *ad C.* 1.31.15. **lagani**: a kind of flat pasta or other dough-based food, origin of It. *lasagna*. The choice of word may be unconsciously inspired by 109 *lasanum* '(chamber) pot' (Ullman 1912: his theory that the *laganum* was combined with leeks and chickpeas into a kind of 'minestrone' may derive from a subconscious connection of his own with 116 *ministratur*). **catinum**: dish named after the vessel it is served in (cf. *patina*, *sartago*, Eng. 'casserole').

**116–18** Fraenkel 104 calls this description 'an exquisite still life', the commonplace equipment of a simple existence. No censor or other detractor spying into H.'s house could accuse him of conspicuous consumption. Oliensis 1998: 35: 'It is characteristic of Horace's defensive irony that the satire documenting his acceptance as Maecenas' *convictor* represents him as dining not at Maecenas' but at his own table' (the only example in Roman satire of contented solitary dining: Hudson 1989: 82; cf. Braund 1996b). But H.'s list of household goods is more than innocently picturesque. Inanimate objects understudy the roles of the faithful parasite: serving (116 *cena ministratur*), supporting (116–17 *lapis albus . . . sustinet*), waiting in attendance (117 *adstat echinus*; cf. 114 *assisto*).

**116 pueris tribus**: either dat. of agent, circumstantial abl. (K–H and Brown cite *Ep.* 1.1.94 *curatus inaequali tonsore capillos*) or abl. of instrument (slaves treated as part of the apparatus rather than as people); three is a more modest number than it sounds (cf. 3.11–12), less than Tillius' five slaves at 108–9. H. is on his guard against incriminating auditing. **lapis albus**: a table or sideboard; Porph. has *marmoream Delphicam* [i.e. three-legged, like a tripod] *significat*, a slab of cheap marble, as opposed to expensive wooden or marble tables; at 3.13 *mensa tripes* is a bare necessity, along with a salt-cellar. Contrasts with the trappings of office at 27–8 *nigris . . . pellibus*.

**117 pocula . . . duo**: cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.47, 4.49: a second cup was needed for a new kind of wine. **cyatho**: ladle for pouring wine (a Greek word is used for plebeian accoutrements; cf. 109 *oenophorum*). **sustinet** 'supports'. The sideboard props up the huddled receptacles (two cups iconically surround the ladle); OLD s.v. 3: e.g. Cic. *Rab. Post.* 43 *ueterem amicum . . . sustinuit re, fortuna, fide*.

**117–18 echinus | uilis**: probably a salt-cellar (cf. 3.14 *concha salis*, as a bare necessity) or else a vessel for mixing wine (K–H), the other utensil that needs mentioning; *uilis* cuts it down to size.

**118 patera**: a bowl for pouring libations into, or a saucer to catch drops of oil. **gutus**: narrow-necked flask, for pouring libations or for pouring oil onto salad. **Campana supellex**: cheap earthenware, as opposed to silver (cf. 2.3.144 *Campana trulla*), possibly bronze (K–H; Capua, from which *Campanus* derives, was a centre of bronze production). Apt equipment for a man with

S. Italian origins or connections (cf. 50 *Satureiano* . . . , 105 *Tarentum*) and recalling the cheap paraphernalia of 109.

**119–21** The emphasis here is on the advantages of an unpolitical life, comically expressed as exemption from paying a morning call to the statue of Marsyas in the Forum. This stone figure of a satyr with wineskin, Phrygian hat and right hand raised stood near the praetor's tribunal (Sen. *Ben.* 6.32, Plin. *HN* 21.8–9, Juv. 9.2), traditionally regarded as a Roman 'Statue of Liberty' (Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.20, 4.58 *in foro positus libertatis indicium est, qui erecta manu testatur nihil urbi deesse*) or plebeian symbol (Wiseman 2004: 68–70). Under the empire, copies were set up in provincial towns that possessed the *ius Italicum*. Marsyas might thus be considered a mascot of satirical *libertas*, ancestor of the 'talking statue' Pasquino, placed near Piazza Navona in 1501, a Roman torso to which caustic 'pasquinades' were pinned. Here, the raised hand is satirically interpreted as a protest against legal business; 'having to appear before Marsyas' is a comic version of *obire uadimoniam*, meeting one's bail requirements, a notoriously tedious urban duty (cf. 1.11, 9.36, Cic. *Quinct.* 54, Porph. *quia in foro uadimonium sistendum apud signum Marsyae sit*) or a parody of the morning *salutatio* (e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.3 *mane salutamus domi*). Marsyas' rival Apollo appears to intervene in a legal context at 9.78; for similar conceits, cf. Juv. 1.128 *forum iurisque peritus Apollo*, Mart. 2.64.8 *ipse potest fieri Marsya causidicus*. The joke here is that a symbol of liberty enslaves the most public-spirited Romans (*obeundus*).

**119 dormitum:** cf. 5.48. **non sollicitus:** another defensive denial, Romanizing Epicurean *ataraxia*.

**119–20 mihi . . . mane:** *mihi* goes in the *quod* clause, dat. of agent with *surgendum* and *obeundus*; *sit* is subj. of alleged reason after *quod*. **obeundus:** the equivalent of paying *salutatio* to a patron (cf. 2.6.34–5 *ante secundam | Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras*). **Marsya:** nom.

**121 negat:** this gesture of denial is in the spirit of the poem. **Noviorum:** according to Porph., usurers who set up their stall (*taberna argentaria*) in the same part of the Forum as the statue, whose raised arm is interpreted as a gesture of abhorrence (*duo Nouii fratres . . . quorum minor tumultuosus fenerator fuisse traditur*). This looks like typical inference from the context. At 40 Novius 'Son of New Man' is a political upstart, and the younger (i.e. even more presumptuous) Novius here could be a vulgarly energetic litigator, whom even the populist Marsyas abhors. Lejay compares the seventeenth-century legend that Bernini's statue of the Nile in Piazza Navona covers his face because he cannot bear to look at the baroque facade of S. Agnese in Agone.

**122 ad quartam iaceo** 'I stay in bed till mid-morning'. Elsewhere, H.'s routine is less languid: 5.23 *quarta uix demum exponimur hora*, 9.35–6 *quarta iam parte diei | praeterita*. He often claims to be up with the lark (*Ep.* 1.17.6, *Ep.* 1.18.34), industriously reading and writing (*Ep.* 1.2.34, *Ep.* 2.1.112–13). But here he needs to exempt himself from all accusations of political involvement, especially the morning *salutatio*; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.3 *ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me inuoluo, aut scribo*

*aut lego, ueniunt etiam qui me audiant, quasi doctum hominem . . . inde corpori omne tempus datur.*

**uagor:** like *pererro*, suggests aimlessness (or involvement with his own concerns: cf. 9.2). **aut ego:** like 123 *me*, contrasts H.'s activities with more overt career paths.

**122–3 lecto . . . scripto:** supply *eo* (abl. abs.).

**123 me tacitum iuuet:** H.'s literary activity is for his private pleasure only, by contrast with his bashful admission at 4.73–4 *nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus*, | *non ubiuis coramue quibuslibet* and 10.81–8, where he lists the friends whose approval he craves. The important word is *tacitum*: this writer of *sermones* is virtually inaudible, though the presentation of this poem as tête-à-tête with Maecenas gives the lie to that. H. pleases himself, rather than a patron. **unguor oliuo:** i.e. another invisible slave is involved; H. is anointed before taking exercise in the Campus Martius.

**124 non . . . lucernis:** H. hits the mean at least with his brand of oil, sniping at the miserliness (cf. 68, 107 *sordes*) of the unknown Natta, who scrapes old oil from lamps. **non:** more *anaïresis*.

**125–6** By midday, H. is hot and tired after exercise, and goes to bath, avoiding further sporting activity; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 9.36.4 *iterum ambulo unguor exerceor laour*. All this usually took place before dinner; ignoring protocol, H. does it before lunch. The Campus Martius (cf. C. 1.8.4), a Roman sports centre outside the pomerium beside the Tiber (cf. Cic. *De fato* 34 *nec quod in Campum descenderim id fuisse causae cur pila luderem*), was also the traditional site of popular assemblies, thus a metonym for the *comitia* themselves (*OLD* s.v.). As with the Forum, H. presents the place in its non-political aspect, but *fugio Campum* fits in well with H.'s disdain for the *populus* in this poem, and the 'three-sided ball-game', if the text is roughly correct, may represent the three-sided politics of the triumviral era (for the ball-game as a political image, cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.68 *tamquam pilam rapiunt inter se rei publicae statum tyranni ab regibus, ab iis autem principes out populi, a quibus aut factiones aut tyranni*).

**125 ast:** archaic, i.e. pompous form of *at*; parodic (K–H). **fessum:** part of the vocabulary of *recusatio*; cf. 5.94. **sol acrior:** though H. is a sun-worshipper at *Ep.* 1.20.24 *solibus aptum*. At 5.48–9 H. and Virgil opt out of Maecenas' ball-game.

**126 admonuit:** H. is trained in obedience (cf. 4.107 *cum me hortaretur*), but the sun plays surrogate for stern patron or advising client (cf. Pl. *Am.* 993 *admoneo*). H. keeps his own counsel. **fugio:** unlike Tarquin's (13 *fugit*), H.'s exile is voluntary. **lusumque trigonem:** a three-sided ball-game; cf. Lucil. 211–12W = 1134–6M *Coelius collusor Galloni scurra, trigonem | cum ludit, solus ludit et eludit*; Mart. 4.19.5, 7.72.9, 12.82.3. Memories of Lucilius might suggest H.'s reluctance to play *scurra* and *collusor* (cf. 47 *conuictor*); there is no mention of any co-players (he and Maecenas play in the Campus at 2.6.48–9). *lusum* is either a noun, in apposition to *trigonem*, or a participle, 'the playing of ball' (cf. *ab urbe condita*). Here lies 'the textual problem most strenuously discussed in Horatian scholarship':

Brink 1987: 30–1. Most MSS (except V, the Parisinus and g) have the startlingly different ending *rabiosi tempora signi*, probably a gloss on *sol acrior*, given H.'s frequent allusions to the dogstar, e.g. at 7.25, though no other mention is made of the particular season for this routine. But the alternative remains problematic too: *lusus* for *ludus* is not found in classical Latin (Müller) and the phrase *lusum trigonem* is unprecedented (Palmer).

**127–8** H.'s lunch illustrates in miniature the principles of Epicurean restraint laid out at 1.46, 1.59, 1.74–5. **non auide:** a parasite's disclaimer (*anaire-sis* again). **quantum . . . durare** 'enough to stop me having to last the whole day on an empty stomach'. The inf. *durare* is used instead of *ne* or *quominus* + subj., more normal in prose. **interpellet:** subj. of purpose after *quantum*. **domesticus** 'at home'; quasi-adverbial use of adjective. **otior:** jokily coined by Cic. *Off.* 3.58 *cum se Syracusas otianti . . . non negotiandi causa contulisset*. Again, H. avoids serious business (cf. 4.139 *illudo chartis*, 10.37 *haec ego ludo*). His slave Davus has a different impression at 2.7.112–13: *non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte | ponere, teque ipsum uitas fugitiuus et erro*.

**128–31** H. sets the seal on his *uita* by consolidating his contempt for ambition and the *cursus honorum*. A hypothetical condition, distinguished ancestry (represented by Maecenas: 2 *nemo generosior*), is defiantly swept aside in favour of the modest reality of a pleasant Epicurean life (*uicturum suauius*). The ending is reminiscent of 3.142 *priuatusque magis uiuam te rege beatus*, though H. here avoids putting Maecenas explicitly in the role of *rex* and polar opposite.

**128–9 haec est . . . grauique:** *grauis* recalls 99 *onus molestum*. Arrian 3.21.39 describes the ideal Epicurean life. **misera ambitione:** cf. 4.26 *aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat*, 2.6.18 *mala . . . ambitio*, Cic. *Off.* 1.87 *miserrima omnino est ambitio honorumque contentio*. **solutorum** 'of those released from'. The word allows H. an escape-route from his subject matter, as with many other endings (e.g. 9.78 *seruauit Apollo*, 2.1.86 *soluentur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis*, *Epod.* 9.38 *soluere*, *C.* 2.11.24 *religata*, *C.* 3.17.16 *solutis*).

**130–1** Contemptuous hissing and relentless sarcasm: *his . . . consolor . . . suauius . . . si | quaestor auus . . . meus . . . patruisque fuissent*. **consolor:** cf. 2.6.117 *solabitur*; used ironically, as though H. is pitiable for having no role in public life; Rudd 48: 'sarcastic . . . a word which betrays that his wounds were still smarting.' In the context, there may be a pun on *consul*. **uicturum:** not an infinitive with suppressed *esse* but a participle supplying the role of *quoniam uiuam*. **suauius** 'more pleasantly' (alluding to Epicurean ἡδονή). **ac si:** sc. *quam uixissem*; cf. 1.46.

**131 quaestor:** the lowest rung of the senatorial ladder (therefore suggesting an aspirational holder and a family awaiting further success). **auus . . . patruisque:** denotes the clustered stemma of successive generations of office-holders that H. lacks (58, 64). For sarcastic lists of ancestors, cf. Cic. *Cacl.* 34 (to Clodia) *non patrem uideras, non patruum, non auum, non proauum, non abauum, non atauum audieras consules fuisse*, Sen. *Ep.* 76.12 *auorum*

*proauorumque serie.* **auus:** cf. 3 *auus*, 79 *auita*. **patruus:** paternal uncle, a type of gruff authority (*OLD* s.v.; Bettini 1986: 27–49), satirically specific after *pater* (who is now downplayed as part of the list). **fuisset:** offered only by R among the major MSS, but a singular verb after a list is common in H. (Brink 1987: 31).

## SATIRE 7

The shortest of the satires is the most controversial, the first of three anecdotal poems (7, 8, 9) in which H. lances the boil of his republican past as a preliminary to reinvention in the bright new regime of Octavian. It records a vitriolic courtroom battle, presided over by M. Brutus in his Asian camp during his wilderness years between the Ides of March and Philippi (43–42 BC). The combatants are two despised characters, a ‘mongrel’ Greek-Oriental businessman, Persius, and the proscribed Praenestine, Rupilius Rex, who hiss invective against each other, before Persius fires the final salvo directly at the tyrannicide: ‘Why don’t you cut King’s throat, Brutus? That’s your family’s line of work.’

On the surface, H. does everything to blunt the edge of this pointed subject. He presents the incident as a storm in a teacup (cf. *permagna negotia*), remote in time and place. He makes it a mock-heroic saga of wrath and revenge by mixing in Homeric and gladiatorial allusions. He expunges himself from the record of Brutus’ entourage and labels the story stale barbershop gossip, rather than an eyewitness account. Indeed, the anecdote may well be a fiction anyway, the final regicidal pun something of an urban myth or courtroom chestnut (a pun on ‘Rex’ was famously twisted against Clodius by Cicero at his trial in 61; Cicero’s account of this in *Att.* 1.16 is very similar). Brutus’ verdict is choked off by the pun and the poem suddenly cut short, leaving no room for any response from the witnesses. As a result the poem has met with the sour reception it seems to be angling for. Dryden dismissed it as ‘garbage’. Fraenkel, though admiring its literary finesse, thought it had been included to fill up leftover space. Rudd 67 considers it a poor show: ‘After all the fanfare and skirmishing the knock-out punch comes as an anticlimax, and having paid for a ringside seat we feel like demanding our money back.’

For some commentators (Buchheit 1968, Schroeter 1967, Anderson 1972: 9–13 = 1982: 79–83, Bernardi Perini 1975), the key to the poem lies in the stylistic contrast between the protagonists, or between them and H. himself. By brewing up this rancid legal pickle of bitter flavours (*pus atque venenum, acres, ius, salso, Italo aceto*) and loud-mouthed abuse (*magno clamore, Clazomenis, exclamat*), H. offends against his own recipe for mild satire. The poem can be read as a literary-critical duel between two old kinds of satire, the Greek-influenced wit of Lucilius, sharp but uncontrolled, and the rustic and vinegary humour of Italy, both of which H. consigns to history while displaying his own virtuosity as a writer of mock-heroic courtroom satire.



However, the poem cannot be reduced to discussions of technique, nor can the ‘rhubarb rhubarb’ of the courtroom distract from its role as the most political of all the satires, the closest to the bone for Octavian’s regime (Kraggerud 1979, DuQuesnay 1984, Henderson 1994 = 1998a: 73–107). Once a camp-follower of Brutus, H. spies for the other side and performs a hatchet-job on the republicans, portraying their party as litigious, abusive and self-destructive, and effectively blaming them for the upheaval of the civil war. But far from giving ‘a direct and detailed picture’ (DuQuesnay), H. operates circuitously. Homeric duellists – Hector and Achilles, Glaucus and Diomedes – act out triumviral struggles at a distance. The noisy lawsuit is a screen behind which shadows of tyranny, violence, anger, proscription, freedom and revenge – a central motive in the revolution – loom large. Persius consistently has the upper hand, but the name of the cipher protagonist Rex reverberates throughout, opening the narrative (1 *Regis Rupili*), punctuating it (5 *Rege*, 6 *Regem*, 25 *Rege*) or sealing it (9 *Regem*, 35 *Regem*), giving H. the opportunity for a sideways glance at the taboo concept of *regnum*, from the expulsion of the Tarquins to the junta of Octavian, not to mention the loose plethora of ‘kings’ created by late-Republican invective (Caesar, Cicero and Clodius).

But the chief target of the poem is Brutus, H.’s own former *rex* (patron), who condemns himself without uttering a word. This small imaginary episode exploits some of the oddities of his history. The paragon of inflexible republican virtue is caricatured as a voiceless judge, a robot assassin and even an exiled puppet king (cf. 1 *Proscripti Regis*), lapping up oriental flattery as potentate of Asia and wielding an empty prerogative for violence. The gladiatorial bout over which he presides like a *praetor*-impresario is staged as his own mock funeral games, recalling the sham birthday games he put on for Caesar in July 44, when he was abroad and Caesar newly dead. His silence at the end fulfils the omens in his name (Brutus = ‘dumb’, ‘stupid’) and suggests the impotence of the tyrannicides, convicted of unlawful killing and proscribed in their absence by Octavian’s court. Meanwhile, the imagery of the poem performs a relentless series of stabs in the back. Everywhere, sharp blades anticipate the punchline pun: barbers’ razors, gladiators’ swords, executioners’ axes, vine-cutters’ sickles, right up to the tyrannicide’s knife. Each evasive-looking Homeric simile or rustic vignette ends on a pointed note. Unspoken puns on the names of Caesar (‘the cutter’) and Brutus (‘insensible, brutish’) float in the air, and Brutus himself, the pariah, the cuckoo in Caesar’s nest, the mini-tyrant, takes the sharp edge of insults intended for other people: *Canem, cuculum, Regem*.

Accordingly, this raucous Punch and Judy show can be read as a test case for satire under any new regime. H. gives a bad name to old-style abuse and takes the bold step of exposing Octavian’s Achilles heel, the fact that he was heir to a *rex*, in order to make Brutus the butt of Persius’s regicidal joke. Does he score a hit or miss the real mark? Is he really able to deflect his readers from the new tyranny staring them in the face by looking backwards to Brutus, not just the scapegoat but also the republican conscience of Rome? The pun does the

opposite of defusing tension. H. abandons the figures of his past squirming *sub cultro* and skips away. But Persius' appeal has implications for the future as well as for history. Far from being liberated and noisy, the poem is classically repressed in its attitude to the revolution: muted, blunted, truncated. H. himself is to be found in the poem, not in Brutus's camp, but among the faceless gossips in the streets of Rome (*lippis . . . et tonsoribus*), turning a blind eye, like *tricoteuses* under the guillotine.

*Further reading:* Anderson 1972: 9–13 = 1982: 79–83, Bernardi Perini 1975, Boes 1981, Buchheit 1968, Connor 1987, Dunkle 1967, DuQuesnay 1984: 36–8, Fraenkel 118–21, Gowers 2002, Griffin 1993, Henderson 1994 = 1998a: 73–107, Henderson 1998a: 13–36, Hinard 1985, Knorr 2004: 143–6, Kraggerud 1979, Matthews 1973, Radermacher 1970, Rudd 64–7, Schlegel 1999 = 2005: 77–89, Schröter 1967, Van Rooy 1971, Voisin 1984.

**1–4** A long-winded preamble imitating an epic protasis sets out the genealogies of two contestants in a seedy courtroom *aristeia*. The traditional invocation of the epic muse is replaced by the dubious testimony of gossip (*sermo*).

**1 Proscripti Regis** 'proscribed King'. The first word shockingly recalls the barbaric triumviral proscriptions of 43 (Kraggerud 1979: 104; *pace* Griffin 1993: 7: 'The proscriptions, the horror of the age, receive one word, quite easy-going and stingless'; Cic. *Dom.* 43 *proscriptionis miserrimum nomen illud*; Hinard 1985, Henderson 1998a: 15). Reversing the normal order of naming (*Regis Rupili* instead of *Rupili Regis*), H. parades a familiar spectre of outlawed filth: kings, traditional scapegoats of the Roman republic, in particular Tarquinius Superbus (534–510), ejected from Rome by M. Brutus' ancestor, L. Iunius Brutus (Lejay, Bernardi Perini 1975: 10–12). A momentary pun on the name Rex anticipates the punchline at 35, which again implicitly links Tarquin and Rupilius Rex and brings the poem full circle. For *rex* as a taboo word in Rome, see Dunkle 1967: 157: 'The charge of *regnum* is probably as old as the Republic'; for late republican *Rex/ rex* puns, see Matthews 1973. Other republican candidates for 'proscribed king' include: (1) Julius Caesar, who told the people who greeted him on his return to Rome in 44BC, 'My name is not Rex but Caesar' (Suet. *Jul.* 79.2, Dio 44.10.1, Appian *BC* 2.108); (2) Cicero, stigmatized as the first 'foreign king' (*peregrinus rex*) since the Tarquins (*Pro Sulla* 7.22), who, in another court-room drama, memorably turned Clodius' abuse (*Att.* 1.16.10 *quousque . . . hunc regem feremus?*) on its head (*regem appellas . . . cum Rex tui mentionem nullam fecerit?*; i.e. Rex, a dead relative, had omitted Clodius from his will); (3) Brutus himself, proscribed as Caesar's assassin in 43 (Syme 1939: 187) and willingly self-exiled (Vell. 2.62.3). Brutus' monarchical pretensions and regal prerogatives are satirized here by the man who once called him *rex* ('patron'). True, the notion of a *proscribed* Rex partly exonerates the triumvirs: what was more deserving of proscription, according to Roman tradition, than a king? **Rupili . . . uenenum:** 'the pus and poison of (that was) Rupilius Rex'. The illusory 'Tarquin' mutates into a humbler figure, Rupilius Rex, from

Praeneste (28), a praetor proscribed along with Brutus in 43 (Hinard 1985: 512 n. 114); he fled to Asia and, according to H., became involved in an acrimonious lawsuit there (*Enc. Or.* 1 845–6). Cic. *Fam.* 13.9.2 names a P. Rupilius as a tax-gatherer in Bithynia, a rough diamond, perhaps (Henderson 1994: 162 = 1998a: 97 n. 71 points to a derivation from *rupes* = ruffian, clown; cf. Fest. 226L). Parody of an epic periphrasis (Schröter 1967): e.g. Homeric βῆν Διομήδεος (*Il.* 5.781), ἱερῆ Ἴς Τηλεμάχοιο (*Od.* 2.409), Lucr. 5.28 *uis Geryonae*; similar parody at 2.32 *sententia dia Catonis*, Juv. 4.107 *Montani . . . uenter*. H. vents Lucilian or Catullan spleen (cf. Lucil. 37W = 44M *morbus, uenenum*, 532W = 494M *febris senium uomitum pus*; Cat. 14.18–19 *Caesios, Aquinos, | Suffenum, omnia colligam uenena*, 44.11–12 *orationem . . . plenam ueneni et pestilentiae*) on this proscribed victim, branding him a pestilence that needs to be expelled from the city. Cic. *Att.* 1.16.3 similarly describes the foul atmosphere (*contagione turpitudinis*) surrounding the trial of Clodius. The abusive phrase drips with the satirical venom H. disowned at 4.100–1 (*hic nigrae suscus lolliginis, haec est | aerugo mera*) and might even reverse Cicero's smug *uim atque uenustatem* (*Att.* 1.16.8). Spanning the caesura, *pili* – *pus* voices another taboo name relevant here: Philippi, site of Brutus' defeat in 42 (Gowers 2002: 153; see Citroni 2000 for memories of the battle in H.'s poetry).

2 Persius is a match for Rex with his bathetic 'pedigree' (cf. 5.51–6n.), his 'othering' epithet *hybrida*, which puts the two at chiasitic loggerheads (Van Rooy 1971: 74), and his equally 'royal' name. The continued underswell of spluttering anger (*Rupili . . . pus* echoed in *P . . . us . . . us*) suggests that the two are equal in their hatred and H. impartial in his distaste. **hybrida** 'half-breed, mongrel'; Porph.: a cross between a sheepdog and a hunting-dog; Plin. *HN* 8.213; a cross between a wild boar and a tame sow; *B. Afr.* 19 *quos equites . . . ex hybridis libertinis conscripserat* (people of mixed race); Suet. *Aug.* 19 *Asini Epicadi ex gente Parthina hybridae*, punning on 'son of an Ass' (i.e. hybrid mule). Like Rex, *Hybrida* was a common cognomen in the late republic, held by (1) the *tribunus populi Q. Varius* (Val. Max. 8.6.4 *propter obscurum ius civitatis*); (2) Cicero's fellow-consul, C. Antonius, perhaps because of his ambiguous political affiliations. The word is also redolent of ὕβρις, trait of tyrants (esp. the Persian Xerxes; cf. Soph. *OT* 873), and 'Persian mule' might well evoke the oracle at Hdt. 1.55, 91 (Cyrus as the halfbreed 'mule' destined to rule over the Medes). **quo pacto . . . ultus** announces a mock-heroic revenge saga (cf. 5.7–8, 8.44, 2.8.4–5) in long-drawn-out fashion, *quo pacto . . . opinor . . . notum . . . esse* (Bernardi Perini 1975: 7). For spitting *p*- and *s*-sounds (*pus . . . pacto . . . Persius ultus*) suggesting anger, cf. 4.55–6 *quius stomachetur eodem | quo personatus pacto pater*. **Persius**: nothing is known, except that he is a businessman (4 *permagna negotia*) with a Roman father. His *cognomen* means 'Persian', suggesting 'king of kings': Henderson 1994: 162 = 1998a: 78, 79; 32 *Graecus* and 5 *Clazomenis* may suggest Asiatic Greek blood; see *Enc. Or.* 1 845–6. Fraenkel 120 sees the two contenders as extreme representatives of Mediterranean stereotypes, stout native Italian and slimy Oriental capitalist. **ultus**: for revenge as a topical issue, cf. Aug. *RG* 2 *qui parentem meum trucidauerunt, eos*

*in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus* (DuQuesnay 1984: 205 n. 79, Henderson 1994: 151 = 1998a: 83). **opinor** ‘if I’m not mistaken’, ‘as far as I know’; this banal aside (cf. Cic. *Flacc.* 92, also in a mock-epic context) deflates the grandiosity and prepares for H.’s further descent into a dubious guarantee of truth.

**3 omnibus . . . esse**: one type of *fama*, the thousand tongues of epic (cf. the mock-heroic appeal to the Homeric muse at Cic. *Att.* 1.16.2), is replaced by another, the shaky testimony of wagging tongues in Roman chemists’ and barbers’ shops, expressed in the grotesque pairing ‘sore-eyed men and barbers’. H. parodies the protestation of truth that canonically preceded a factual account: Radermacher 1970: 283, Bernardi Perini 1975: 8: cf. Lucil. 53W = 55M *fandam atque auditam iterabimus famam*, at the start of Albius’ trial of Scaevola, which may have influenced S. 7 (Radermacher 1970, Fraenkel 118); cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 1.1–3, Juv. 4.35 *res uera agitur*. He devalues his credibility and dilutes his story’s sting by labelling it an old chestnut or urban myth. Given the debt to Cicero’s ‘Rex’ joke in another literary courtroom drama (*Att.* 1.16), it is more likely that the account is purely fictitious (pace DuQuesnay 1984: 37–8: ‘[E]very reader knows [H.] was there’). H.’s superficial detachment from the past (Fraenkel 118 n. 4, Bernardi Perini 1975: 8) is belied by his emphasis on the repetitions and unforgettability of history. A current of *s*-sounds suggests the continuous *susurrus* of gossip; echoes of *pus* in *omni-bus*, *lip-pis* and *tonso-ri-bus* make malicious rumour into a vile secretion. Its propagators, the *lippis* and the *tonsores*, one group obtuse, the other razor-sharp (*cernis acutum* is the opposite of *lippus* at 3.25), are an odd couple as bystanders in a revolution. **lippis** ‘conjunctivitis sufferers’ (i.e. with pus and poison running from the eyes); cf. 1.120, 3.25, 5.30, of the politically uninvolved and the morally insensible. H. hints that he is an unreliable eye-witness (Bernardi Perini 1975: 6–8) or that he himself is indifferent to wider political events. Like H. applying his *nigra collyria* (5.30), the sore-eyed patients at the apothecary’s find ‘homoeopathic’ solace in accounts of banished filth (*basilicon* and *basilium* ‘king’s balm’ are types of eye-salve; *OLD* s.vv.). **notum** ‘notorious, infamous’ (cf. 1 *proscripti*). The cause célèbre has filtered through even to the insensible (*lippis*): will they turn a blind eye? For the crowd as obtuse but judgmental observers, cf. 6.14–15 *notante | iudice quo nosti, populo, qui stultus*, Juv. 10.89–90 *hi sermones | . . . secreta haec murmura uolgi*. **tonso-ri-bus**: the barber’s shop was a centre of gossip in the classical world, like the *kapheneion* in modern Greece (Ar. *Plut.* 337–8, *Av.* 1441, Pl. *Amph.* 1013; Otto 350; Porph. *ferē autem, in his officinis otiosi solent considerare ac res rumoribus frequentatas fabulis celebrare*), an *angulus* for self-absorption as well as grooming (*Ep.* 1.7.50–1). For Philodemus (*De ira* 21.31 Indelli), it is a social setting where the irascible man is not welcome. Barbers have further significance in a poem that alludes to gladiators, axemen and vine-pruners (*tondere* also = ‘to prune’) and ends with the prospect of throat-cutting (*iugulas*). Two classic parables about tyrants ‘mowing down’ their rivals are evoked: Hdt. 5.92 (Thrasylbulus telling Periander to shear off the tallest ears of corn); Livy 1.54.6–10 and Ov. *Fast.* 2.701–10 (Tarquin telling his son to cut off the highest poppies’/lilies’ heads); Henderson 1994: 48.

Barbers were both the gossiping but feared confidants of kings (e.g. Midas' barber, a role played by another Persius, *Sat.* 1) and uneasy exemplars for tyrants and tyrannicides alike (cf. 3.132–3); Gowers 2002. *Juv.* 4.102–3 alludes to the 'bearded king' Tarquinius Superbus, duped by Brutus' ancestor L. Junius Brutus: *quis priscum illud miratur acumen, | Brute, tuum? facile est barbato imponere regi* (punning on *acumen* 'razor-sharp intelligence' and *brutus* 'dumb'): Henderson 1994: 149 = 1998a: 81.

**4 permagna negotia:** probably indicates that Persius is a *negotiator*, i.e. a Roman businessman or speculator who lent money to Asian locals. The business in hand, a storm in a teacup (cf. 21 *magnum*, 31 *magna*, 33 *magnos*), is a screen for H.'s real agenda, the embarrassment of Brutus; he never reveals the nature of the dispute.

**5 Clazomenis:** on the bay of Smyrna in the province of Asia, modern Turkey. Brutus was presumably holding a *conuentus* (circuit court) there (Burton 1975). The town had revolted from Athens in 412 BC (see on 27 *Praenestinus*). The etymology of the place, from Greek κλάζω 'screech', as coins depicting swans suggest, chimes with the cacophonous litigants. **Lites:** poetic plural for *lis* 'lawsuit'. **molestas** 'nagging, intractable' (cf. 10 *molesti*), a negative adjective from *moles*, typical of H.'s attitude to litigation (cf. 2.6.23–6): both sides exert equal pressure and are equally intransigent.

**6 durus** 'tough'; also used of Rex (29) and Lucilius (4.8). **odio:** as motivation for a court-case, cf. Cic. *Att.* 1.16.2 *ductus odio properavit rem deducere in iudicium*. **qui posset:** generic subj., 'a man capable of...' **uincere Regem:** the oxymoron anticipates the punchline pun (Henderson 1994: 155 n. 33 = 1998a: 86 n. 32 notes the string *regerit conuicia . . . uindemiator . . . inuictus*). The first of many military metaphors: 11 *fortes*, 11, 16 *bellum*, 17 *discedere*, 19 *pugnare*, 21 *acres procurrere*, 30 *inuictus* (Buchheit 1968). For *uincere* as the opposite of *ingulari* in a gladiatorial context, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.40 *ego lanista? et quidem non insipiens: deteriores enim iugulari cupio, meliores uincere*.

**7 confidens** 'over-confident'; cf. Lucil. 418aW = 385M *improbus confidens nequam*. **tumidusque** 'blustering, puffed up'; also referring to a bombastic style of rhetoric. With the reading *tumidus* (without *-que*) the last syllable of *tumidus* would be long (unique in H. except for verbs ending *-ti*); Brink 1987: 31. **sermonis amari** 'sharp-tongued' (gen. of quality), the first of many acidic or salty ingredients 'flavouring' this court-case (see below on *ius*). These contrast with H.'s professed satirical style, but here he lets himself be infected by his subject matter.

**8 Sisennas, Barros:** unknown scandalmongers; the plurals make them types. A Barrus ('Elephant'; cf. *Epod.* 12.1) is an effeminate at 6.30; the joke at Ter. *Eun.* 412 (cf. 35 *iugulas*) is against a man in charge of elephants. **equis . . . albis** 'he would surpass or outdo easily, beat by a long shot' (cf. Pl. *As.* 278–9). White horses proverbially pulled royal, divine and triumphal chariots: it is not surprising that they would outstrip elephants. H. may be alluding to Persius' *superbia regia*, equal to Rex's (K–H, Schröter 1967).

**9 ad . . . redeo** ‘to return to Rex’. H. affects to spot himself overrunning with hyperbole and reverts to the main subject; cf. 1.108 *illuc unde abii redeo*, 6.45 *ad me redeo*; Lucil. 1076W = 1227M *nunc ad te redeo*. Rudd 67 rumbles H.: ‘And what do we hear of Rex? Nothing at all. Instead we have a lengthy and highly wrought parenthesis designed to build up atmosphere.’ This may be another *rex* joke in the guise of narrative recapitulation (cf. 29 *regerit*), in the first instance a pun on *ad rem redeo* (‘to get back to the subject’, here ‘King’); indeed, Peerlkamp emended to *rem iam* (cf. the riposte of the French courtier asked to make a joke about Louis XV: ‘Your majesty is not a subject’; Freud 2003: 28). There may also be shades of ‘I return to (my) King’ (or ‘patron’: cf. 2.6.31 *ad Maecenatem . . . recurras*), alluding either to Brutus, H.’s old *rex* and the real subject of the poem or to H.’s change of sides and allegiance to a new regime. Perhaps there is no getting away from kings in Roman history (Henderson 1994: 169–70 = 1998a: 107): compare Tac. *Ann.* 1.1.1 *Vrbem Romam a principio reges habuere*, where a pun on *principium/princeps/principatus* indicates that the constitution has come full circle; Cic. *Ep. ad Brutum* 16.1 (Brutus): *ut prorsus prae te feras non sublata dominationem sed dominum commutatam esse*.

**9–20** H. slips sideways into a disproportionate digression on the theme of irreconcilable difference, focusing on Homeric conflicts (appropriate when Clazomenae lay between the rival Ionian birthplaces of Homer: Chios and Smyrna) but incidentally recalling the civil war. The litigants are first compared to the most famous Homeric antagonists, Hector and Achilles, subsequently reduced to a less intractable duo, Glaucus and Diomedes, then, still more ignobly, to a pair of Roman gladiators. H. hedges his bets with the first two comparisons: one a tragic impasse between exemplary personalities, the other a disreputable buying-out.

**10 conuenit** ‘terms are reached’, ‘they settle (out of court)’; vivid hist. pres., unusual after *postquam*. For Brutus as intermediary, cf. Cic. *Quinct.* 65 *M. Brutus intercessurum se dixit palam, nisi quid inter Alfenum et Naeuium conueniret*.

**10–11 hoc . . . incidit** ‘all troublesome [litigators] claim the same rights as brave [warriors] afflicted by head-on war’. The joke at Ter. *Eun.* 412–17 (see on 35 *iugulas*) is also against a man who is being *molestus*. **incidit**: war as an accident (cf. 15 *bellum incidat*).

**11–12 inter | . . . Achillem**: for repeated *inter* (mock-heroic), cf. *Ep.* 1.2.11–12 *Nestor componere lites | inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden*. **Priamiden**: Hector,

for one, had a distinguished pedigree. **animosum** ‘haughty, spirited’ (Hom. *μεγᾶθυμος*, with a hint of ἀνεμώδης ‘windy’, given nearby windy Troy; cf. 7 *tumidus*; Ov. *Her.* 8.3 *Pyrrhus Achillides, animosus imagine patris*). Rudd 65 presses for a specific contrast between Trojan Hector and Roman Rupilius and the Greeks Achilles and Persius. **atque**: postponed, like the second *inter*.

**13 ira . . . capitalis** ‘deadly (i.e. implacable) anger’; *capitalis* is a pregnant word in the context of executions. Another clue, perhaps (cf. 3 *tonsoribus*), that H. was influenced by Philodemus’ *De ira*. **ut . . . mors** ‘such that death would

divide them' (consecutive clause, depending on *capitalis*). This revives a dormant metaphor: the anger is quite literally 'deadly'; cf. *Ep.* 2.2.373 *morte suprema* (cf. Hom. τέλος θανατοῖο, e.g. *Il.* 5.553). H. epitomizes Achilles' speech at *Il.* 22.261–72.

**14–15 uirtus . . . summa:** it is hard not to see this as an allusion to larger players. Brutus (mentioned for the first time at the end of this parenthesis) was a paragon of republican courage: Porph. *uirtute se Cassius et Brutus praecipue iactabant*, *C.* 2.7.11 *uirtus fracta* (with N–H *ad loc.* on *uirtus* as a specifically republican quality). Here, *uirtus* is self-destructive.

**15 Discordia:** equivalent to Homeric Eris, but also a memory of Roman (Ennian) wars (cf. 4.60). The *dis-* prefix occurs three times in 15, 16, 17; cf. also *diuideret* 13. Contrast *duo*, *discordia*, *disparibus*, *Diomedii*, *discedat*, *diuideret* (13–17) with *cum*, *confidens*, *cum compositum*, *cum conuentu*, *cohortem*, *comites*, *compellans*, *consueris* (5–34). **inertes** 'cowardly, unadventurous'.

**16–18** A contrasting example of anger reconciled: the cessation of hostilities between Diomedes and Glaucus, who decided to exchange gifts rather than fight (Hom. *Il.* 6.119–236). H. gives a satirist's version of the story by presenting them as cowards (cf. *pignor*) who resorted to bribery to avoid fighting. Nonetheless, Glaucus is something of a role model for H., conciliatory rather than antagonistic (Kraggerud 1979: 105).

**16 aut . . . incidat** 'or if war descends on unequals'. The exchange between Diomedes and Glaucus, 'gold for bronze', was proverbial of an unequal deal: Otto s.v. *chrysius*; e.g. Pl. *Symp.* 218e, Gell. 2.23.7.

**17 pignor** 'the lazier one'. **ultra** 'spontaneously, into the bargain' (going beyond the call of duty).

**18 muneribus missis** 'sending (unsolicited) gifts' (represented satirically as an ignoble bribe; cf. 9.57 *muneribus seruos corrupam*). The phrase *muneribus missis* might also evoke images of the arena: *munus* was a public gladiatorial show, *mittere*, used of granting a reprieve to gladiators, is found in that context as the opposite of *iugulare* at *ILS* Dessau 5134 *Missos, missos, iugula, iugula*'. Here, centrally placed *missis* contrasts with 35 *iugulas*.

**18–19** Sure enough, Brutus makes a belated entry here, tucked away in a discreet but ominous abl. abs. at the heart of the poem (Kraggerud 1979: 100).

**Bruto . . . tenente:** the construction gives a satirical seal of officialdom and a 'historical' distancing to Brutus' unconstitutional power (Bernardi Perini 1975: 8; cf. *C.* 2.7.2 *Bruto militiae duce*). But *praetore tenente* is not neutral (*pace* Palmer): the 'official' phrase nails his irregular and self-serving manoeuvrings in the Near East. After the Ides of March, he overran Macedonia, Illyricum and Greece, where in 43 he was subsequently granted *maius imperium* by the senate, before being condemned with Cassius in his absence (under the *lex Pedia de interfectoibus Caesaris*); their names were added to the list of the proscribed and banished. Brutus had meanwhile taken unofficial control of Asia, where he threw his weight around and milked the province to marshal forces against Octavian.



In other words, he himself richly deserved the title *proscriptus rex* (1n.). On his career and afterlife, see Clarke 1981, *Enc. Or.* 1 663–5. The loose term *praetor* stands for the more precise *propraetor* ‘provincial governor’ (with *maius imperium*); it also covers Brutus’ judicial function in the scene (DuQuesnay 1984: 37, Crook 1967: 74–7). More distantly, it alludes to his role as *praetor urbanus* in 44 (Caesar’s gift to him; App. *BC* 2.146), when he staged posthumous July games for Caesar while absent himself from Rome; more immediately, to his role as *munerarius* (see above on 19 *muneribus*), a quasi-identification that persists to the end of the poem, where Brutus is cast as umpire in a ‘gladiatorial’ context. **ditem Asiam:** poisonously suggests the reason for Brutus’ choice of province: Asia was famously wealthy. The antique adj. also lends parodic dignity.

**19–20** The court case begins. **par** ‘the duellists’, the standard term for a pair of gladiatorial opponents (cf. 2.3.86 *gladiatorum dare centum . . . populo paria*). H. likens the court case to a bout in the arena, as Cicero did his dispute with Clodius: *Att.* 1.16.1 *spectatorem pugnarum, 2 plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret, 3 reus tamquam clemens lanista, 4 aperte iugula sua pro meo capite P. Clodio ostentarint, 11 ludis et gladiatoribus*; cf. Lucan 7.695–6 *par quod semper habemus, | libertas et Caesar*. **compositum** ‘pitted together’ (*OLD* s.v. 3b ‘match up pairs’); in a metaphorical sense, cf. 1.1.103–4 *pergis pugnantia secum | frontibus aduersis componere*. A culinary sense (*OLD* s.v. 7c ‘to compound’, of medicines, etc.) may also be in play; cf. the brew of acrid flavours and the *ius* pun at 20. *compositum* is the *lectio difficilior* (*compositus* D), sc. *par sit*; the cacophony of *composit-us melius . . . Bacchius in ius* might have been too much (K–H). **cum Bitho Bacchius:** presumably a well-known pair of gladiators. Porph. says they died at each other’s hands; ps.-Acro and Cruq. that they featured in (lost) Suetonius. After the Homeric comparisons, this reference to popular sport is bathetic (cf. Trimalchio’s pairing of Homeric and gladiatorial scenes at Petr. *Sat.* 29.9) but keeps images of the arena floating in the air.

**20–1** A Homeric *promachos* is staged, condensing *Il.* 6.120 (Glaucus and Diomedes face each other); cf. 5.56 *ad pugnam uenere*. **ius** ‘court’, with a pun on *ius* ‘sauce’ (cf. e.g. Lucil. 46W = 54M, Var. *RR* 3.17.4), appropriate for a blend (cf. *compositum*) of bitter and jarring flavours. The monosyllabic line ending is precipitous. **acres** ‘hostile, fierce [opponents]’, though the primary meaning, ‘acid’, is also activated. **procurrunt** ‘sally forth’ (for the crazy running pace, cf. 1.24, 1.30, 2.125, 3.10). The vivid present is appropriate to a battle narrative or sports commentary. **magnum:** cf. 4 *permagna*. **spec-taculum:** paradoxical after 3 *lippis*, but reinforcing the gladiatorial parallels; cf. *Cic. Att.* 1.16.1 *te spectatorem pugnarum mirificarum desiderauī*, Hom. θάμβος δ’ ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας (e.g. *Il.* 4.79) or μέγα θαῦμα ιδέσθαι (e.g. *Il.* 5.725); Schröter 1967.

**22–3** **exponit causam** ‘sets out the case’. The businessman lays out his wares (*exponere* = display for sale), though H.’s account suppresses the actual grounds (*causa*) for the case. **ridetur:** impersonal passive. (*Persius*) *ridetur* (ordinary passive) is possible, but cf. 2.8.83 *ridetur* (5.57 *ridemus*). As at 5.57, this reaction to round one is assumed to continue throughout the contest. The audience laughs at the



sycophancy of 23–6 before the reader has a chance to hear why. **conuentu** ‘the court’; technically the judicial assembly in the circuit town of a provincial governor, an *assize* (Burton 1975).

**23–5** Brutus receives sycophantic praise more appropriate to a Hellenistic king. The repetitions (*laudat, Brutum, appellat*) mimic ‘Asiatic’ flattery and prolixity (Kraggerud 1979: 101, Henderson 1994: 159 = 1998a: 92). **cohortem**: staff of a provincial governor, *aides-de-camp*. **solem . . . stellasque**: for Hellenistic encomium involving the constellations, cf. Ath. 6.253e, the hymn of the Athenians honouring Demetrios Poliorketes; Caesarian propaganda about Julius Caesar’s comet, the *Caesaris astrum* (DuQuesnay 1984: 37). H. compares Augustus to the sun at *C.* 4.5–8. **salubres** ‘auspicious’, rising at a time that indicated favourable weather conditions.

**25 excepto Rege** ‘King’ has the role of scapegoat or outcast here, in line with Roman tradition. But the wheel has come full circle now that Brutus, whose ancestor expelled Tarquinius Superbus, is also an exiled ‘monarch’. **Canem**: Sirius, the dog-star, rose in late July, heralding pestilence and drought (a baleful version of Julius Caesar’s comet). H. uses the star as an image of his own aggressive poetry: e.g. *Ep.* 1.10.16 *rabiem Canis*; cf. also Hom. *Il.* 22.28–31, a simile for Achilles. Sirius was regarded as a powerful influence on the grape-harvest (Plin. *HN* 18.272), which may prompt the comparison at 29–31.

**26 uenisse**: inf. of ind. statement after *appellat*.

**26–7 ruebat . . . securis** ‘He was in full spate, like a river in winter, to which the axe is seldom borne.’ Persius’ abusive torrent is compared to a river in flood, a Homeric-style simile, in keeping with the mock-heroic atmosphere (cf. *Il.* 5.87, of Diomedes). Palmer calls it ‘one of the few poetical touches in the Satires’. But the image may also have rhetorical significance: Cucchiarelli 2001: 50–1 n. 114 sees a further allusion to Cratinus’ outpourings at Ar. *Eq.* 526–8. For negative flood imagery used of other fluent writers or speakers, cf. e.g. 10.61–3 *Etrusci | quale fuit Cassi rapido feruentius amni | ingenium, C.* 4.2.1–8 (Pindar).

**27 flumen ut** (= *ut flumen*); cf. Cic. *Brut.* 325, *Marc.* 4. **fertur quo**: H. unusually divides the fourth foot between two words instead of one, to give an epic ring (K–H). **rara securis**: a woodman’s axe is ‘rarely borne’ either because the ravine is inaccessible and dangerous or because a torrent would uproot trees on its way and make woodcutting unnecessary; cf. Lucr. 1.282–4. The simile conjures up a remote landscape but ends on a topical note: *securis* was also the executioner’s axe carried in the fasces of Roman magistrates, or, earlier, the kings. The axe is a taster of Persius’ final blow (34 *ugulas*), as well as hinting at the conjunction of power and violence nearer home (cf. 3 *tonsoribus*, 13 *capitalis*, 30 *uindemiator*). *securis* (*OLD* s.v. 3) is also used of the chopping part of the blade of a vinedresser’s knife (Col. 4.25.1), which perhaps inspires the retaliatory vineyard image.

**28–31** Rex abuses Persius like a vine-dresser provoked by a passer-by, who has taunted him with the call ‘Cuckoo’.

**28 Praenestinus:** Rex is identified as a citizen of Praeneste, the Italian city with a history of rugged independence from Rome (H. re-reads Homer there at *Ep.* 1.2.2). After the Latin War it became a *civitas foederata* offering *ius exilii*, thus an appropriate refuge for a scapegoat. **salso multoque fluenti:** sc. *Persio:* ‘to Persius, while he was in full salty flow’ (*salso* and *multo* are predicative; cf. 4.11 *cum fueret lutulentus*). *fluere*, of vines, = ‘give a specified yield [of juice]’ (*OLD* s.v. 6c: Virg. *Georg.* 2.100, Col. 3.2.20). Here the saltiness may imply the sea, but probably combines fluent native wit, the excessive, anti-social, Lucilian kind (10.3 *sale multo*; cf. 9.65 *male salso*), with a more general allusion to post-Hom. μέγας ῥεῖν/μέγας ῥόος (Call. *Hymn to Apollo* 108, of the turgid Asian river Euphrates) or πολλῶ ῥέοντι, suggesting abundant speech. Cf. Philodemus *De ira* fr. 6 (Indelli): the symptoms of anger include bitter and salty saliva.

**29 expressa arbusto regerit conuicia** ‘retorted with abuse squeezed from the vineyard’ (*expressa* is a metaphor appropriate for grape-harvesting). Rex’s riposte to Persius’ ‘oriental’ hyperbole takes the form of native Italian wit. **arbusto:** a plantation of trees on which vines were trained. **regerit:** pres. of *rēgero*, ‘to retort’, but possibly punning on *rēx/rēgo*. **durus** ‘rugged’, the word used of Lucilius at 4.8; also 6 *durus homo*, of Persius: the two are well-matched.

**30 uindemiator:** a vinedresser, pruner of vines (four syllables, the second *i* becoming a consonant by synizesis; cf. 2.8.1 *Nasidiem*). The image picks up the alternative meaning of *securis* (27n.), and harks back to *tonsoribus* (3n.). Like a watchful tyrant or prompt tyrannicide, the vinedresser trims evil excrescences in the vineyard; cf. *Ep.* 2.1.219–20 *multa . . . nobis facimus mala saepe poetae | (ut uineta egomet caedam mea)*. The word also suggests *uindex*, *uindicare*, etc. (cf. 2 *ultus*, 6 *uincere*, 30 *inuictus*); the *triumuiri capitales* or *uindices rerum capitalium*, the board of three responsible for executions (cf. 13 *capitalis*; *Epod.* 4.11 *flagellis . . . triumuiralibus*), made a sinister parallel for the triumvirs. *Vindemiator* was also the name of a star in Julius Caesar’s calendar: the ‘Dog-Star’ retaliates in another guise. **inuictus** ‘invincible’ = Greek ἀμωχος; mock-epic (Nilsson 1952: 83; cf. *Ep.* 1.1.30 *inuicti membra Glyconis*); Rex is riding for a fall (6 *uincere Regem*).

**31 cessisset** ‘would have conceded victory’ (generic plupf.). **magna uoce:** heroic pitch; cf. 21 *magnum spectaculum*, 4 *permagna negotia*, 34 *per magnos . . . deos*. **compellans . . . cuculum:** ‘calling “Cuckoo”’ rather than ‘calling him “Cuckoo”’ (KH) (*compellere* = ‘call someone names, rebuke’; cf. 2.3.297 *posthac ne compellar inultus*). Pliny *HN* 18.249 explains that vine-dressers were thus taunted for being slow with their pruning, due to be finished before the cuckoo arrived; cf. Auson. *Mosella* 167 *probra canunt seris cultoribus*. Dunbar *ad Ar. Au.* 507 κόκκυ, ψωλοῖ πεδιονδε detects an obscure obscene joke about foreskins, cuckoos and female pudenda. Perhaps in Latin the similar sound of *culus* comes into play, or a link with cuckolding (Pl. *As.* 923 *cuculus = amator*). Like 27 *securis*, the word gives its vignette a topical sting in the tail. Brutus was the cuckoo in Caesar’s nest (for the bird’s habits, see Plin. *HN* 10.25–7); cf. Caesar’s alleged last

words ‘καὶ σὺ, τέκνον’. Brutus had sneered at the hypocrisy with which Octavian called Cicero ‘father’ (Syme 1939: 43). H. may be transferring this slur to Brutus himself, in relation to Julius Caesar. The analogy in any case anticipates Persius’ taunting of Brutus for his slow response to the call of duty.

**32 Graecus:** i.e. Persius. **Italo perfusus aceto** ‘soused in Italian vinegar’, taking up the wine-metaphors of the vineyard; Persius has had an earful of rustic abuse. An abusive name for wine represents the acidic native wit still preserved in the Italian countryside (cf. *Ep.* 2.1.160 *uestigia ruris*, 146 *uersibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit*); Cic. *Fam.* 9.14 sees the native wit of Latium as polluted by Transalpine infusions; Pl. *Ps.* 739 makes vinegar a metaphor for a sour disposition. The satirist Persius, ‘barber’ to Nero’s King Midas, uses vinegar for moral ear-opening: 5.86 *aurem mordaci lotus aceti* (cf. Pers. 1.126, 5.63–4).

**33 exclamat:** Persius packs a punch, a match for Rupilius’ *magna... uoce* (31). Cf. the satisfying uproar at Cic. *Att.* 1.16.10 *magnis clamoribus*. **per magnos... deos:** the deities of Samothrace (appropriate for an eastern Greek: Fraenkel 119 n. 1) or the Trojan Penates, Julius Caesar’s gods (Buchheit 1968). The taunt rises with a crescendo and a cuckooing trebling of sounds (*perfusus... Persius... per magnos* (cf. 4 *permagna*).

**34 consueries** (= *consueueris*) ‘have made a habit of’, causal subj. after *oro* and before *iugulas*. A snide allusion to Brutus’ part in the murder of Caesar on March 15, 44 BC; together with the plural *reges*, *consueries* implies that regicide was all in a day’s work (cf. 5.29 *soliti*) for Brutus the brutish automaton with tyrannicide in his blood. Among his ancestors, (1) L. Iunius Brutus had driven the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, into exile in 510; (2) C. Servilius Ahala had assassinated Sp. Maelius for aiming at *regnum* in 439 (DuQuesnay 1984: 37 n. 89). **tollere** ‘to remove’ (a standard euphemism for ‘to kill’); elsewhere (*OLD* s.v. 5c) ‘to extol’. Another pun (cf. 1 *Regis*) whose ambiguities where tyrants were concerned were extremely topical. Cicero had said pointedly of Octavian *laudandum adulescentulum, ornandum, tollendum* (*Fam.* 11.20.1), while Caesar had said he had no intention *ut tolli possit*, i.e. of being immortalized (Bennett 1935); cf. Suet. *Nero* 39 *sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem*: ‘One [Nero] removed his mother, the other [Aeneas] rescued his father.’ For *tollere* specifically of expunging the memory of kings, see Cic. *Off.* 3.40 *cognitionem Superbi nomenque Tarquiniorum et memoriam regni esse tollendam*. On the other hand, the pun drives home the ironies of Persius’ excessive praise of Brutus. For *tollere* in the context of royal prerogative, cf. Phaedr. 1.5.7, where King Lion takes his share: *ego primam tollo* (‘carry off’) *nomine hoc quia rex cluo*. For Cicero, tyranny was a hydra that reared its head again as soon as it had been eliminated: *Att.* 14.14.2 *sublato enim tyranno tyrannida manere uideo*; 9n.

**34–5 cur non... iugulas?** Touché. Not only a pun on Rex’s name but also an allusion to his *impotens ac prope regia ira* (Livy 39.4) and the impudence of his challenge. **iugulas:** slitting the throat was a method of dispatch used especially for defeated gladiators and sacrificial victims, not strictly relevant either to the Ides of March (Caesar was stabbed in the body) or to judicial execution

(to which 13 *capitalis* more suggestively alludes (though *iugulare* was a virtual synonym for *proscribere*: Hinard 1985: 41, Voisin 1984: 246). Brutus is cast here in the role of either (1) umpire-impresario in the arena, choosing between conflicting appeals from the crowd of *Missos, missos, iugula, iugula* ('Let them go free! Cut his throat!'), a privilege that might go crazily out of control (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 7.5 *intermissum est spectaculum: interim iugulentur homines, ne nihil agatur*); or (2) a sacrificing priest, the so-called *rex sacrorum/ rex sacrificulus*, who inherited the religious functions of the Roman kings (Var. *LL* 6.12 *dies Agonales per quos rex in regia arietem immolat*), another quasi-regal role for Brutus; or (c) a barber with a cut-throat razor, traditionally an object of fear to tyrants (see above on 3 *tonsoribus*). For *iugulare* used of tyrannical murderousness, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 3.8–10 (Antony butchering surrendered citizens); of executing the proscribed, see Hinard 1985: 41. The verb strikes home in other ways too. It is used figuratively of attacking any vulnerable point (Cic. *Phil.* 13.38 *Pompeianorum causa totiens iugulata*), as Horace is doing by reawakening memories of Brutus' albatross, the corpse of Caesar, and by exposing his kingly pretensions. Cicero had used the same image to give a gladiatorial/sacrificial flavour to his own palpable hit, the Rex joke scored against Clodius: *Att.* 1.16: 2 *cum illum [Clodius] plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret, 4 quae consurrectio iudicum facta sit, ut me circumsteterint, ut aperte iugula sua pro meo capite P. Clodio ostentarint (iugulum petere as a lawyer's cliché: Quint. 8.6.51). H. also uses the word to describe the sledgehammer literary technique of Furius Bibaculus at 10.36 (turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona; cf. the captive audience of 3.88–9: amaras | porrecto iugulo historias captivius ut audit). Most specifically, iugulare means 'go for the jugular with a joke, score a palpable hit' so as to silence the recipient. At Ter. *Eun.* 414–15 (cf. 9.44n.), Thraso, a smug soldier, recalls a joke he made at the expense of an annoying royal elephant-keeper: 'quaeso' inquam 'Strato, | eon es ferox quia habes imperium in beluas?' Gnatho, a parasite, congratulates him: iugularas hominem ('You had the man there, you slaughtered him'). The response? mutus ilico ('He was left speechless'). Clodius' response to Cicero's coup de grâce is similar: Cic. *Att.* 1.16.10 *magnis clamoribus afflictus conticuit et concidit*. Persius thus enacts his own challenge to Brutus and throttles this 'king' with his own sword (cf. the proverbial expression at Ter. *Ad.* 957: *suo sibi gladio hunc iugulo*). 'Slaughtered' by the joke, Brutus is struck dumb, as befits his name (= 'dumb, stolid') and the anecdotes that grew up around him (Henderson 1998a: 81–2, Boes 1981); cf. Cic. *Att.* 16.7.5 *'nam Brutus noster silet'*. **operum . . . tuorum est** 'It's just your sort of job', 'It's your family's line of business' (partitive gen.). Brutus is caricatured as a victim of his ancestry (cf. 34 *consueris*), pre-programmed to liberate Rome from kings; cf. Cic. *Ep. ad Brut.* 1.15.6 *consilia inire coepi Brutina plane (uestri enim haec sunt propria sanguinis) reipublicae liberandae*. For Brutus taunted with Hamlet-like delay, cf. Plut. *Brut.* 9, 10, Dio 44.12. For Brutus as conscientious judge, see Plut. *Brut.* 14: Brutus' impassivity when an actor and clown insulted Cassius' memory was taken as authority for the men's execution. The verdict on Persius's frozen provocation is thus left hanging in the balance. In a 'pre-play' of his own conviction by default*

under the *lex Pedia* in August 43, Brutus condemns himself by ineffectual silence. H. has lopped off the expected ending of the poem, leaving Brutus, Rex and the reader *sub cultro* (cf. 9.74). The silence hardly signals that the tension has been defused (*pace* Anderson 1972: 10 = 1982: 80; Cic. *De or.* 2.236 *odiosas res saepe, quas argumentis dilui non facile est, ioco risuque dissolui*). But H. gets off scot-free (cf. 2.1.84–6 *iudice . . . Caesare . . . tu missus abibis*), firing an oblique appeal to the new regime as his parting shot.

## SATIRE 8

After the strangulated ending of Satire 7, Horace's voice returns in the mouth of a figwood statue of Priapus, lowest of gods, the common or garden scarecrow whose crude red phallus protected Roman homes from the evil eye and cabbage-plots from marauding birds and thieves (Herter 1932, Parker 1988, Richlin 1992). H.'s Priapus is the warden of the *noui horti*, the new park built by Maecenas on the Esquiline over an old paupers' graveyard and cesspit (Häuber 1990, 1996, Bodel 1986, 2000). Replacing the grim prospect of whitened bones, a sunny terrace allows citizens to breathe wholesome air and promenade in peace. However, the poem recounts an episode of necromancy and 'sympathetic' magic witnessed by Priapus one moonlit night (either before or after the clean-up programme). He recalls to an implied passer-by, with much righteous indignation and camp frissons of horror, how two witches desecrated his garden. Canidia and her familiar, Sagana, scratch the earth with their nails, tear animals apart with their teeth, sprinkle the ground with blood and manipulate a reluctant lover with voodoo dolls. As the tension mounts, Priapus swears by his greatest dread (being stained by the excrement of pathics) that this story is no moonshine. Then he drops his bombshell: a giant fart that rips his buttocks in two. The witches are disarmed of their nightmarish accoutrements, streaming hair and vicious fangs, as they scuttle away in terror, dropping wigs and false teeth behind them.

H.'s poem draws on a vein of sexual humour that runs throughout Roman satire (Richlin 1992), as well as through the group of poems clustered around the god Priapus from Catullus onwards, and concentrated in the post-Augustan collection of *Priapea* (Büchheit 1962, Parker 1988). Priapus was an enduring model for Roman satirists, with his strong territorial sense, mix of swagger and insecurity, threats of rape against old women and pathics, and repeated appeals to male solidarity (Parker 1988, Richlin 1992, Uden 2007 and 2010). These and other elements of *S.* 8 can be paralleled in specifically Priapic literature: parody of higher gods and genres, impressive exaggeration, self-deprecation, exclusion of the chaste female viewer (here the Moon), crude language, as well as coy innuendo and puns (5 *palus*, for φαλλός; 46 *pepedi* 'I farted', for *pedicavi* 'I buggered'); while puns on *testis* 'witness/testicle' (36, 44) aggressively link reliable story-telling with male sexuality.

The poem is also a miniature aetiology. How does Priapus come to have a split in his figwood bottom? How does he justify his (limited) position of authority? The most important influences here are Callimachus' *Iamb*s, models of defensive writing, especially the two spoken by Herms (ithyphallic ancestors of Priapus): in 7, an offcut (*parergon*) of the man who made the Wooden Horse relates how he came by a dent in his shoulder; in 9 a Herm justifies his erect posture to a hostile passer-by. Priapus' casual description of his snap transformation into a god (instead of a footstool or pedestal) parodies Greek epigrams where a speaking statue or artefact accounts for its metamorphosis from crude material to work of art. The obsession with boundaries and dimensions in the poem hints at a specific link with Callim. *Iamb* 6, a surveyor's description of the statue of Olympian Zeus at Elis, together, significantly, with details of the length, height and breadth of the statue's pedestal and footstool. Parodies of Roman epigraphic formulae (prohibitions against defilement, exclusive claims to burial plots, dimensions, contrasts between past and present, addresses to an imagined passer-by) arise from the graveyard setting and reflect Priapus' territorial claims as righteous custodian of his small preserve.

Like *S.* 7, the poem is compact and self-deflating. But its little patch also offers a small-scale perspective on larger concerns. *S.* 8 is transitional, looking back at republican pus and poison and forward to the metropolitan civility of *S.* 9. Priapus the buffoon custodian is a gnome-sized version of Maecenas the enlightened mayor of Rome (*urbis custos*), and the prettified cemetery on the Esquiline, once the city's rubbish-dump, stands for a wide-scale programme of cleaning up and revitalization in 30s-BC Rome which the poem indirectly commends. Priapus' attempts to rid his garden of robbers, witches and filth are in the same spirit as the government measures they narrowly predate: the expulsion of thieves (36) and astrologers and witches (33) from Italy, and the sanitization of the city sewers (33) (Lejay, DuQuesnay 1984). The field of whitened bones recalls the killing fields of the civil war; the old inscription forbidding a burial-plot to pass to undesignated heirs suggests the question mark over Rome's future following the proscriptions and confiscations. Thanks to Maecenas, the citizens of Rome are now the inheritors of civic space (by contrast with the cramped lives and deaths of the cemetery's occupants).

*S.* 8 (like *S.* 7 and *S.* 9) acts out a symbolic purge against the background of this cleansing programme. It has been suggested that H. is using the witches to stand for the Pompeians, one of whom, Nigidius Figulus, was prosecuted for necromancy (DuQuesnay 1984). Canidia may be a figure for Canidius Crassus, the opponent Octavian finally put to death after Actium (Nisbet 1995b). But she is also a more particular figment of H.'s imagination, the ambiguous 'muse', enemy and lover who haunts H.'s iambic and satirical poetry (*Epod.* 3, 5, 7, *Sat.* 2.1, 2.8) and who is only exorcized with a venomous sting in her tail at the end of *Satires* 2 (Henderson 1987, Oliensis 1998). In *S.* 8 the witches are less Pompeians

in particular than the demonized focus of male citizen fear at a time of political stress (Oliensis 1998).

Above all, this first-person narrative projects a grotesque image of H. He, too, is in transition. The chance apotheosis of a piece of dead wood epitomizes his story: the battered survivor of Philippi reincarnated as a minor god, comically guarding the sacred territory of the new regime. The satirist's voice, lopped off by the truncated ending of 7 (cf. 8.1 *olim truncus eram*), is restored afresh. Armed with his phallus and ready to rape his enemies, Priapus looks like another satyr, the state's guardian of free and irreverent speech (like Marsyas 6.120–1 and the speaking penis of 2.68–71), very different from the image of the subversive satirist Persius pictures, a naughty boy pissing in sacred precincts (Pers. *Sat.* 1.112–14). Priapus is inside the garden, and his job is to keep it and himself undefiled by extraneous filth. Anderson 1972 = 1982: 74–83 is right to see the poem as a manifesto for H.'s reformed satirical programme. He has left behind the venomous invective of Lucilius and the republican past (exemplified by the epitaph for a dead playboy and *scurra* at 10–13). The fart turns the expected revenge-saga into a farce, and laughter wafts through the end of the poem, uniting speaker and listener in masculine hoots of derision (50 *cum magno risuque iocoque uideres*).

But Priapus's triumph is more ambiguous. If a figwood statue tries to explain how it came by the gaping crack in its behind, that must arouse suspicion. Priapus traditionally cloaked any sexual insecurity in noisome invective against the 'repulsive' old women and 'filthy' pathics who visited his garden; but here his figgy, distended rear suggests not just a frozen comic rictus but pathic tendencies of his own (Hallett 1981). The fart is a substitute for Jupiter's thunderbolt, but also a sign of fear, a loss of bodily control in the face of out-of-control women (see Oliensis 1991 = 1998 on *impotentia*). Puns on *testis* are meant to bolster the tale with an aura of masculine authority, but Priapus/H. is hiding behind a tall story (cf. H.'s craven escape into the role of supporting witness in 9). This Priapus/H. is a man of straw, as 'flaccus' as his name, an informer, literally a syco-phiant, servile *scurra* or 'footstool' to Maecenas. The anecdote is his own whitewashed *carmen* and *uenenum* (19) against the black magic of the enemies of the new state, but he is only brave enough to satirize easy targets: the defenceless dead, inadequate males, and witches, rational man's old enemy. Besides, the witches leave the cleaned-up Esquiline only to enter the city itself (47 *at illae currere in urbem*). There is plenty of poison left in Rome, though it will be filtered through politer noises in the urban setting of S. 9.

*Further reading:* Felgentreu 1999, Anderson 1972 = 1982: 74–83, Bückheit 1962, Edmunds 2009, Faraone 1991, 1999, Habash 1999, Hallett 1981, Henderson 1989a = 1989b = 1999: 173–201, Hill 1993, Ingallina 1974, O'Connor 1989, Oliensis 1991 = 1998: 68–90, Parker 1988, Purcell 1984, Richlin 1992, Rudd 67–74, Schlegel 2005: 90–107, Sharland 2003, Tupet 1976: 298–309, Uden 2007, 2010, Van Rooy 1971, Welch 2001, Wiseman 1998.



**1–3** A statue of Priapus, as yet unidentified, relates how he was transformed by chance from a piece of dead wood into a god. Genealogies with the formula ‘Once I was . . . now I am’ (πρόσθε μὲν . . . νῦν δέ) are found in many Greek epigrams where inanimate objects describe their metamorphosis from rough material into artefacts, often at the hands of a craftsman (2 *fāber*): e.g. *AP* 6.113 (a bow, once a pair of horns), 9.131 (a boat, once a pine tree), 9.162 (a pen, once a reed); Fraenkel 121–2. Two of Callimachus’ *Iambi* are spoken by herms (ithyphallic ancestors of Priapus), one a battered offcut of the carpenter who made the Wooden Horse, with a curious dent in one shoulder (*Iamb* 7 = fr. 197 Pf.), and another who explains to a passer-by why his phallus is erect (*Iamb* 9 = fr. 199 Pf.; Clayman 1980: 14–15, 39–40); Anderson 1972: 6 n. 9 = 1982: 76 n. 9. In Latin literature, talking statues made from trees include Prop. 4.2.59 (maple-wood Vertumnus); Priapi carved out of trees: *Priap.* 10.4–5 *lignum rude ulicus dolauit | et dixit mihi: ‘tu Priapus esto’*, *Priap.* 6.1–2, 25.1–3, 63.9–12, *Catalepton* 2.1, 3.1–4. For a comic prologue where Priapus relates his origins, cf. Afranius *ap. Macr. Sat.* 6.5.6.

**1** *Olim truncus eram* ‘Once I was a tree-trunk.’ But *truncus* also means ‘a headless human body’, or ‘maimed, mutilated’. Possible *paraprosdokian*: statues in a neglected place might more reasonably claim, ‘I started as a god, *now* I am a trunk’ (i.e. a decapitated body). Priapus’ new lease of life after unpromising beginnings epitomizes not just the reinvigoration of the graveyard and Rome as a whole under Octavian (Vell. Pat. 2.126.2 describes the obsolescence of republican virtues in graveyard metaphors: *sepultae . . . ac situ obsitae iustitia, aequitas*) but also H.’s own salvaged fortunes after the dead end of Philippi. Following the threat of throat-slitting in *S.* 7 and the premature truncation of that *sermo*, the poet gets a reprieve and a new voice (with 6 *uertex* and 37 *caput* restored); for Priapus and the garden as symbols of H.’s reinvention, see Hill 1993. The contrast 1 *olim* . . . 14 *nunc* is also appropriate to a graveyard setting (cf. such lapidary admonitions as *CE* 1496 *olim non fuimus, noti sumus, unde quieti | nunc sumus ut fuimus*; Petr. *Sat.* 34.10 *sic erimus cuncti*). **ficulnus**: figwood was proverbially tractable (cf. Plin. *HN* 16.209 *in sculpturis facilitatem*, Theoc. 10.45 σύκινοι ἄνδρες ‘men of straw’, lit. ‘of fig’), which explains the drastic split at the end (an apt fabric for Horatius *Flaccus*). In a Priapic context, obscene meanings come into play: *ficus* was slang for the anus, female genitals and haemorrhoids, regarded as the telltale symptom of repeated anal penetration: see e.g. *Priap.* 50.2 *ficosissima . . . puella*; cf. 41.4, 69.1–4 (a fig-thief threatened with anal rape), Mart. 4.52 (a pun on *ficus/caprificus*), 6.49.11 *inserta tibi ficus a cupressu* (a grafting pun); Buchheit 1960, Adams 1981: 246–8, Hallett 1981: 343–6. The choice of wood thus predetermines not just the split but also its bodily site. Figwood is also appropriate for Priapus because the fruit’s suggestive shape gave it apotropaic powers (similar to the powers of the *fascinum* in warding off the evil eye: D–S II 2, 983–7); on the ancient ‘fig’ gesture (closed fist with thumb tucked between first and second fingers depicting a penis in a vagina), see Sittl 1890: 102–3, 123. **inutile lignum**: because spongy and easily split, hinting at a persistent weakness for Priapus even in his new shape.



Anderson 1972: 6–7 = 1982: 76–7: ‘[T]he normally prominent *mentula* remains quite literally *inutile lignum* throughout the poem’ (*Priap.* 73.3 reinterprets *inutile lignum* in this obscene sense; cf. *Priap.* 6.1–2 *quod sum ligneus . . . falx lignea ligneusque penis*; *C.* 2.13.11 *triste lignum*). Ovid’s treacherous maple writing-tablets go from *uile acer* to *fidus ministras* (*Am.* 1.11.27–8) to *inutile lignum* again (*Am.* 1.12.13); cf. Ovid’s parody of himself as limp Priapus at *Am.* 3.7.15–16: *truncus iners iacui, species et inutile pondus, | et non exactum, corpus an umbra forem*. Priapus is steered towards utility, like the young H.: cf. 4.124–5 *an hoc inhonestum et inutile factu | necne sit addubites?*; Habash 1999: 286.

**2 cum:** inverted (cf. 5.20–1), emphasizing the surprise intervention. **faber:** craftsmen are often mentioned in metamorphosis epigrams (cf. *Priap.* 10.4, 63.10). Priapus pictures himself as a manufactured object (cf. H.’s passive fashioning by his father at 4.120–1 *sic me | formabat puerum dictis*) and emerges from his outer bark (cf. 1 *truncus*) like the young poet (4.119–20 *simul ac durauerit aetas | membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice*). **incertus:** Priapus admits that he owes his existence to a heads-or-tails decision (recalling the *fors/ratio* question at 1.1–2). H. is less content to allow that his own salvation is a fluke (e.g. 6.54 *nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit*). For serendipity in the production of a Priapus, cf. Col. 10. 31–2 [*neu*] *arte laboratur, sed truncum forte dolatum | arboris antiquae*. Ted Kenney *per litteras* suggests an allusion to the proverb *non ex quouis ligno fit Mercurius*. **scannum** ‘stool’, ‘pedestal’, ‘bench’ and ‘steps’ are all possible interpretations of this wooden construction (*OLD* s.v. 1). H. may allude to Callim. *Iamb.* 6 = 196 Pf., which, according to the Diegesis, tabled the dimensions of pedestal, throne and footstool along with those of the actual statue of Olympian Zeus at Elis (*scannum* might translate either βᾶσις, pedestal, or ὑποθρόνιον, footstool). The carpenter’s choice was thus between a lowly πῶρεργον (used of the herm at Callim. *Iamb.* 7.3 = fr. 197 Pf.) and the lowliest god. H. pictures himself as humble adjunct to the throne (‘Maecenas’ footstool; Henderson 1999: 191). For the craftsman’s dilemma, cf. Epicharmus fr. 131K (a collar or a god). *scannum* also meant ‘a strip of land measured breadthwise’ (*OLD* s.v. 3), which suggests that *scannum* the object always meant something low and basically horizontal in shape, as opposed to the most vertical of gods (cf. Richlin 1992: 284 on *Priap.* 54.1: ‘Judging by the material depictions of phalli, the beam is imagined as vertical, not horizontal’). An ‘agrimensorial’ conceit on ideas of breadth and length thus possibly determined some of the ingredients of H.’s poem: footstools and witches (*striga* ‘evil nocturnal spirit, vampire’ (> It. *strega* ‘witch’) is homonymous with *striga* ‘strip of land measured lengthwise’). The poetic patch proclaims its own longitudinal/latitudinal dimensions at 12: *mille pedes in fronte, trecentos . . . in agrum*. **Priapum:** son of Dionysus and Aphrodite, Priapus originated in Lampsacus in the Hellespont as a fertility god and protector of fishermen and was imported to Rome via Greece, where he was blurred with Pan and Hermes. In Rome, he superseded the local deity Mutinus Tutunus and found his niche as a glorified scarecrow in vegetable gardens, a

symbol of abundance and sexual intimidation, threatening predators with his outsize phallus or *fascinum* (Rudd 67–70, Herter 1932; for visual evidence: Grant 1975, Johns 1982), regarded as an antidote to the evil eye. Priapus' preposterous machismo, territorial sense and crude language made him a figurehead for Roman satire and sexual invective in general: Richlin 1992: esp. 57–63, 116–127, O'Connor 1989, Uden 2007, 2010. He spawned his own genre of comic, aggressively masculine poetry, *Priapea*, a mixture of bragging threats and forlorn self-pity, frank obscenity and scholarly innuendo: the Greek *priapea* of Xenarchus (4th cent. BC; Ath. 11.473f), Euphronius (3rd cent. BC; Strabo 8.6.24) and the *Greek Anthology* (37 poems, 3rd cent. BC–6th cent. AD) and the Latin ones of Cat. fr. 1 (GLK 6.406), Tib. 1.4, the post-Augustan *Priapea*, *Catalepton* 1a, 2a, 3a, and seven Martial epigrams (Buchheit 1962, Parker 1988).

**3 maluit . . . ego:** a shrug of the shoulders plays down the abrupt apotheosis (helped by the bald polyptoton *deum . . . deus*); contrast 7.33 *per magnos . . . deos* (Van Rooy 1971: 86): this is a very minor deity. **inde** 'so'.

**4 maxima formido** 'an almighty terror', 'who scares the life out of'. Priapus has related his origins; now, as befits a god, he demonstrates the extent of his powers, followed by his weapons (Habash 1999: 286 on parody of Homeric hymns). The hyperbole is characteristic: *Priap.* 20.6 *at me terribilem mentula tenta facit*, Mart. 6.16.1–2 *tu qui pene uiros terras et falce cinaedos | iugera sepositi pauca tuere soli*. At 4.67 Sulcius and Caprius are described as *magnus uterque timor latronibus*; thus far, Priapus looks ready to fulfil his traditional role as aggressive defender of his territory. **fures dextra coercet:** a god's right hand usually held a weapon, in Priapus' case a sickle (cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 110 *et custos furum atque auium cum falce saligna*); or is Priapus making a fig-sign (cf. 1 *ficulnus*)? Priapus traditionally reserved a special punishment of anal and oral rape for thieves (Richlin 1992: 121). A parallel is suggested with the free-speaking satirist as defender of his city: 4.3 *si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur*, 2.1.42 *tutus ab infestis latronibus*; the apotropaic gesture of the 'satirical' statue of Marsyas at 6.120–1. By implication, H. poses as the small-scale satirical equivalent of Maecenas, Caesar's right-hand man (*Eleg. in Maecenatem* 1.27 *Vrbis custos*; cf. 13–14 *tu Caesaris alti | dextera*).

**5 obscenoque . . . ab inguine:** the chief physical characteristic of Priapus was his exposed and erect phallus, a substitute here for the weapon a god might carry in his left hand (cf. *Priap.* 1.6 *qui tectum nullis uestibus inguen habet*, 9.1 *cur obscena mihi pars sit sine ueste, requiris?*). Exposed genitals proclaimed satirical frankness (*Priap.* 29.1–2 associates the god with *obsценis . . . improbisque uerbis*; cf. 49.2–3 *non nimium casti carmina pleni ioci, | uersibus obscenis offendi desine*, *Priap.* 14.8 *coleis apertis*, 29.4 *coleos patentes*) or Cynic insouciance (Diog. Laert. 6.46, 6.69: public masturbation by Cynics); 2.26n. The word *obsценus* 'filthy, sacrilegious, obscene' sums up the peculiar double identity of Priapus (and the satirist): guarding what society considers sacred against offensive outsiders (Virg. *Georg.* 1.470 *obsценaeque canes importunaeque uolucres*) while presenting an offensive, stained appearance

himself (see Richlin 1992: 9 on the ‘sacrosanct’ territory of the obscene, 26–31 on obscenity and staining). **ruber . . . palus:** Priapus teases the reader with a skin-of-the-teeth euphemism (cf. other Priapic ‘poles’ at *Priap.* 10.8 *columna*, 11.3 *conto*, 54.1 *tenonem*; Adams 1981: 257 lists topographical metaphors for private parts): *palus* also wittily glosses Greek φαλλός. For red paint signifying Priapic fertility or aggression, cf. *Priap.* 1.5 *ruber hortorum custos*, 72a.2 *rubricato . . . mutinio*, *Ov. Fast.* 1.400 *quique ruber pauidas inguine terret aues*.

**6 importunas** ‘cheeky’ (with the idea of disrespect for sanctions). The word can sometimes indicate serious sacrilege, ‘ungodly, accursed’ (cf. *Virg. Georg.* 1.470 *importunae uolucres*), but is used here with mock-outrage. Birds and thieves (cf. 3 *furum auiumque*) are either marauders associated with a vegetable plot (traditional territory) or else vultures and grave robbers who ransack the old cemetery despite its new function (cf. *Epod.* 5.99–100 *Esquilinae alites* tear apart *insepulta membra*) or stain the statue with their excrement (cf. 37). Birds might not be so unwelcome in Maecenas’ new pleasure-gardens: *Eleg. in Maec.* 1.35–6 *Pieridas Phoebumque colens in mollibus hortis | sederat argutas garrulus inter aues*. **in uertice harundo:** a reed-pole fixed to Priapus’ head, perhaps a bundle creaking in the wind like a rattle (cf. *Prop.* 4.7.25 *nec crepuit fissa me propter harundine custos*), gives the statue his third upright, after his raised hand and projecting phallus.

**7 fixa:** with *in uertice*. Priapus is a permanent fixture, unlike the birds (*uetat . . . considerare*) and old corpses (8 *ieicta*). The double meaning of *harundo*, reed/pen, may be in play (cf. the metamorphosis of reed into pen at *AP* 9.162): H. has found a settled position as *scriba* to the new state (cf. the ineffectual warrior, pen in hand, at 2.1.39–46; Habash 1999: 287–9). **uetat:** with the flavour of an official prohibition (cf. 14 *licet*). **nouis . . . in hortis:** Priapus reveals his domain (like a comic prologue; Rudd 67–8): not an old-style vegetable garden (*hortus*), but the new park (*horti*) Maecenas had recently created out of the old burial-mounds on the Esquiline used for paupers’ graves and dumping rubbish (Lanciani 1967: 14, Scobie 1986: 399–433, Bodel 1986, 2000) and given to the Roman people for their recreation (Porph.); Grimal 1984: 145–7 and Haüber 1990 and 1996 attempt to define the boundaries of the park. The gesture was typical of a philanthropic plutocrat (cf. *Plut. Brutus* 20 on Caesar’s popular bequest of gardens; cf. 9.18 *Caesaris hortos*). By not naming Maecenas here, H. pays him a more discreet compliment; the gardens have, as it were, an anonymous donor. The transformation of *hortus* into *horti* may signal a generic shift for *priapea* from scarecrow threats to court poetry (Edmunds 2009). **considerere** ‘settle’.

**8–16** With ghoulish alliteration, Priapus launches an excursus which contrasts the dark past of the site and the cramped lives and deaths of the slaves and down-and-outs buried there (*angustis, uili, miserae*) with the sunny open spaces provided for a new generation of citizens. Slaves were housed in narrow cubicles in life, then carted out for burial (8 *ieicta*) in communal pits (*puticuli*) on the Esquiline.

**8 huc:** with *portanda*.

**g conseruus** ‘fellow-slave’ (slaves paid for their own funerals by joining burial-clubs). **portanda locabat** ‘arranged to be transported’, ‘hired an undertaker to carry’. **arca** ‘coffin’.

**10–13** Alas, poor Yorick . . . A communal grave for paupers is exemplified by two ‘Lucilian’ types, Pantolabus the *scurra* and Nomentanus the playboy, dead victims who cannot bite back (cf. *CIL* I 1012.3 QVI ISTIC SEPVLTVS EST NEC LOQVI NEC SERMONARE POTEST). In a parody of aristocratic tomb epigraphy, a pillar is inscribed with the dimensions of the plot and a proviso to keep it out of the hands of the estate’s heirs, pointedly irrelevant in this case. The epitaph for this disreputable pair seems to signal a rejection of old-style personal satire on H.’s part; they are also a joking ‘worst possible’ representation of himself and Maecenas, parasite and spendthrift respectively (cf. 1.25, 1.102). At 2.1.21–2 H. exhumes the duo as aggrieved victims of satire: *tristi laedere uersu | Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem*. Maecenas and H. were allegedly buried side by side on the Esquiline (*Vita Horati*).

**10 hoc:** imitating the demonstrative ‘voiced’ by the inscription. **miseræ plebi:** free men down on their luck are buried here too. **stabat** ‘served as’. **commune sepulchrum** = Greek κοινοτάφιον. A literal version of Lucretius’ metaphor for the earth: 5.259 *omniparens eadem commune sepulchrum*; cf. Val. Max. 2.6.7 on communal graves at Massilia, Cat. 68.89 *Troia (nefas!) commune sepulchrum Asiae Europaeque*.

**11** Shades of Lucilian *onomasti komoidein* (Fraenkel 124), perhaps, though ‘Nomentanus’ is only Scaliger’s conjecture at Lucil. 80W = 69M, 82W = 56M. Scholiasts identify Pantolabus as the loan-scronger Mallius Verba and Nomentanus as Cassius Nomentanus, a contemporary of Cicero who overspent on food and sex. Both are probably fictitious type-names. **Pantolabo** ‘Grab-all’, a ‘typical’ comic parasite’s name: cf. 10.78 *Pantilius*; Gnatho ‘Jaws’ (Ter. *Eun.*), Saturio ‘Fill-stomach’ (Pl. *Persa*), Peniculus ‘Table-sweeper’ (Pl. *Men.*), Artotrogus ‘Nibble-loaf’ (Pl. *Mil.*), Capitones ‘Big-heads’ (Pl. *Persa* 57), Miccotrogus ‘Nibble-crumble’ (Pl. *Stich.* 242). **scurrae:** 1.23–4, 4.82–3, 5.52nn. **Nomentano** ‘the man from Nomentum’, a recurring spendthrift in the *Satires*: 1.101–2n. **nepoti** ‘playboy’ (*OLD* s.v. 4).

**12 mille . . . dabat** ‘1000 ft in frontage, 300 ft in depth’ (i.e. 26,000 sq. m.), a sizeable plot, presumably the whole of the paupers’ graveyard, rather than the exclusive plot of Pantolabus and Nomentanus. The pillar signifying its dimensions (cf. Petr. 71.6 *ut sint in fronte pedes centum, in agrum pedes ducenti*, *CIL* I 1319.9 *HOC EST MONVMENTVM NOSTRVM IN FRONTE P. XIII IN AGRVM P. XXIII*, *CIL* I 1272.9) bears an inscription appropriate to the plot of a noble family, not of paupers (Wickham). In a Priapic context, a pillar advertising the dimensions of an elongated shape is suggestive: cf. *Priap.* 80.1–2 *at non longa bene est, at non bene mentula crassa*, Mart. 7.14.10 *mentula . . . sesquipedalis*, *Priap.* 11.3 *conto . . . pedali*. Phallic monuments: *Priap.* 10.8, Mart. 6.49.3, 11.51.1 *columna*, *Priap.* (63) 14 *pyramis*. Innuendo aside, this is a sad comedown for Nomentanus: cf. 2.3.226 *hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta*.

**13 dabat** ‘granted’ or, ‘gave to understand’, followed by ind. statement with ind. command. **heredes . . . sequeretur:** *hoc monumentum heredem ne sequitur/sequetur* was a common territorial injunction in funerary inscriptions (making a burial place exclusive to designated heirs), often abbreviated to H.M.H.N.S.: e.g. *CIL* XIV 166.10, Petr. *Sat.* 71.8. *ne sequeretur* = ‘that it should not pass by inheritance’ (ind. command after *dabat*); N–H *ad C.* 2.14.24. The joke here is that these two indigent characters had nothing to leave their heirs in any case (or that they made sorry heirs to great estates: 12 *nepoti*, originally ‘nephew, grandson’, is the last in his line). The mass grave makes a mockery of such exclusiveness. By contrast, Maecenas is bequeathing the site to the citizens of Rome.

**14 nunc:** contrasts with 8 *prius*, but also 1 *olim*: H. turns to the bright new present of the converted graveyard. Habash 1999: 290: ‘Like the grounds themselves that Priapus oversees, satire too has been cleaned up, given a definite shape, and confined by the limits of law.’ **licet:** by contrast with 7 *uetat*. **Esquiliis . . . salubribus:** Maecenas owned a house on the Esquiline (*Epod.* 9.3, *C.* 3.29.6–10), where Augustus liked to stay when he was ill (Suet. *Aug.* 72); H. is thought to have lived there too. *salubribus* ‘wholesome’ (repeated from 7.24) is emphatic: the Esquiline was usually described in gloomier terms (e.g. 2.6.32–3 *atras* | . . . *Esquilia*s). The former ‘hotbed of infection’ (Lanciani 1967: 14) purged by Maecenas here stands for the wholesale purification measures of the new regime: thieves and robbers were expelled in 36 (App. *BC* 5.132), astrologers and witches in 33 (Dio 49.43.5), the city sewers were cleaned in 33 (Dio 49.431): Lejay, DuQuesnay 1984: 38, Henderson 1999: 190.

**15 aggere:** the embankment forming part of the wall built by Servius Tullius (Livy 1.44, Strabo 5.3.7) and enlarged by Tarquin (Plin. *HN* 3.67) to extend the city boundary, linking the Esquiline and Colline gates in NE Rome; now a raised promenade offering a view of the graveyard and the villas that lay beyond it; Wiseman 1998. **aprico** ‘sunny’, a deceptive ray of light before the nocturnal scene that follows. The word often has connotations of leisure: Cic. *Att.* 7.11.1 *unam me hercule tecum apricationem . . . malim*, Var. *Men.* 328B *licet videre multos cotidie hieme in sole apricari*. At *Ep.* 1.20.24 H. himself is *solibus aptum*. **spatiari** ‘stretch one’s legs’ (in a relaxed manner, from *spatium*), by contrast with 8 *angustis* and the circumscribed tomb plot (12). Maecenas has extended public space for present-day citizens: cf. 2.3.183 *latus* (‘swaggering’) *ut in Circo spatieret*. These leisured sightseers (cf. 16 *spectabant*, 34, 50 *uideres*, *CIL* I 1732.1 TV QVI SECVRA SPATIATVS MENTE VIATOR) are the implied addressees of the whole poem and the equivalent of the *uiator* commonly appealed to in funerary inscriptions or Priapic epigrams. **quo:** the MS reading, probably with *in* understood (cf. *aggere . . . in*). Bentley proposed *qua* (*quo* might be falsely assimilated to *modo*); SB prints *qui* (understanding *eis* after *licet*); Brown suggests *e quo*, on the grounds that the *informis ager* was not actually *on* the mound. **modo** ‘recently’.

**15–16 tristes . . . spectabant** ‘[people] had a gloomy view of’. *spectare*, normally of entertaining or beautiful prospects, contrasts alliteratively with *spatiari*. **albis . . . agrum** ‘a plot disfigured with white bones’, human or animal bones overflowing from the *puticuli* or unearthed by scavenging animals (cf. *Epod.* 5.99–100) or witches. On a larger scale, the killing-fields of the civil war are suggested (cf. Virg. *G.* 1.497; Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.65 *albis ossibus Italis Philippas*). Spondees complement the dismal mood of the spectators; a golden line (abVAB) is wasted on a gloomy prospect.

**17–22** As if reminded by 16 *ossibus*, Priapus begins a preamble to the central anecdote by introducing his chief annoyance: witches in search of bones and herbs for their spells.

**17 cum mihi** ‘whereas for me’. Priapus contrasts his own misfortunes with the ease of the strollers. **furesque feraeque**: ps.-Acro: *fures propter hortos, ferae propter cadauera mortuorum*. Doubled *-que* is mock-heroic. The pairing is a variation on 4 *fures* and 6 *uolucres*, with one word varied (Van Rooy 1971: 85; Geffcken 1927: 22–3). **suetae**: trisyllabic.

**18 uexare**: suggests misleadingly at first that Priapus is to be the victim of nocturnal sexual harassment by old women (cf. 7.15): cf. *Priap.* 26.3 *quod totis mihi noctibus fatigant*. For invective against lustful geriatrics, see Richlin 1992: 109–16. **curae sunt atque labori**: predicative datives (*atque* for the sake of metre). Ciceronian officialese (cf. *Off.* 2.36, *Fin.* 5.48) bolsters Priapus’ authority as park-warden, small-scale version of Maecenas’ *custos urbis*; cf. the promises of a political candidate at 6.34–5: *sic qui promittit ciues, urbem sibi curae, | imperium fore et Italiam*.

**19 carminibus** ‘spells’ (with undertones of ‘poems’; Canidia is H.’s satirical muse, a counter-poet). On *carmen* and ἐπιφῶδη, see Oliensis 1991: 110 = 1998: 76. **uenenis** ‘love-potions’, with tinges of its common secondary meaning, ‘poisons’. Anderson 1972: 9–10 = 1982: 79–80 sees a connection between real poison here and the metaphorical *uenenum* of republican invective at 7.1. On connections with satirical venom, see 34n. **quae uersant** ‘those [women] who manipulate’ (parallels with versifying may be pointed up by the choice of word). Alliteration (*uersant . . . uenenis*) and assonance (*humanos animos*) add lugubrious solemnity.

**20–1 nullo . . . modo**: the first suggestion of Priapic ‘impotence’. The hyperbaton is emphatic. **perdere** ‘destroy’. Further alliteration (*perdere possum | . . . prohibere . . . | protulit*) suggests that Priapus is warming to his theme or that (Priapic) frustration is building up (foreshadowing 46 *pepedi*). Brent Vine *per litteras* suggests that *perdere* is an anticipatory ‘Priapic’ pun on Greek πέρδειν ‘fart’; cf. 5 *palus*, 43 *abdiderint*.

**21–2** With a mock-epic periphrasis for ‘by moonlight’, Priapus personifies the moon, assigning to her the role of prudish female observer on the fringes of salacious poetry. In Priapic poetry, she may be a virgin goddess (as here, the moon, i.e. Diana; cf. *Priap.* 1.3–4 *non soror hoc habitat Phoebi, non Vesta sacello, | nec quae*

de patrio uertice nata dea est), a Muse (*Priap.* 2.4–8) or a supposedly chaste matron or girl (*Priap.* 8.1 *Matronae procul hinc abite castae*; cf. *Priap.* 10, 66.1–2 *tu quae ne uideas notam uirilem | hinc auerteris, ut decet pudicam*). See Richlin 1992: 8–12 on exclusions from the territory of the obscene in the *Priapea*, Ovid and Martial; cf. 35–6 *Lunam rubentem | . . . latere*. *Luna* is capitalized here for consistency with 35 *Luna* (cf. SB). **uaga** ‘vagabond’ (another passer-by; cf. 5.73 *uaga flamma*, *Virg. Aen.* 1.742 *errantem lunam*), or ‘fly-by-night’, with shades of a lover’s fickleness. Unlike *Priapus* (7 *fixa*), this goddess is footloose. **decorum . . . os** ‘beautiful, seemly face’ (cf. *Carm. Saec.* 1–2 *potens Diana*, | *lucidum caeli decus*), contrasting with 5 *obsceno . . . inguine* (*protulit* picks up 5 *porrectus*; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 8.591 (*Lucifer*) *extulit os sacrum*) and 16 *informem*. For the pairing of *salubritas* (cf. 15 *salubribus*) and *decus* in civic rhetoric, cf. *Plin. Ep.* 10.98, Woodman *ad Vell. Pat.* 81.2. *Priapus* turns a blind eye to the possibility that the moon is in league with the witches (drawing down the moon was a prerequisite to procuring a lover by magic; cf. *Epod.* 17.78, *Ar. Nub.* 749–52, *Pl. Gorg.* 513a, *Ov. Her.* 6.85). **ossa legant** ‘gather bones’ (cf. *Epod.* 5.23), on the grounds that in magic the part attracted the whole. **herbasque nocentes**: cf. *Tib.* 1.8.17–18 *num te carminibus, num te pallentibus herbis | deuouit tacito tempore noctis anus?* Herbs gathered by moonlight: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 4.513, *Ov. Met.* 7.179–80, 224–33.

**23 uidi egomet**: *Priapus* the peeping Tom begins his anecdote with a mock-heroic ‘eye-witness’ claim (ps.-Acro: *hic uersus tragice profertur*), which sets the stage for *testis* puns at 36 and 44; cf. *Prop.* 1.13.14 *uidi ego: me quaeso teste negare potes?* **nigra succinctam . . . palla** ‘with her black cloak gathered up’, a businesslike posture (cf. *Epod.* 5.25 *expedita*) perhaps parodying a bustling old woman (e.g. *Ov. Met.* 8.660 *succincta . . . anus*). *Canidia*’s *nigra . . . palla* is in similar metrical position to *Priapus*’ *ruber . . . palus* (5). **uadere** ‘walk abroad’, implying purposeful movement (unlike 15 *spatiari*, 21 *uaga*).

**24 Canidiam**: the hostile witch who haunts H.’s early poems (also *Epod.* 3, 5, 17, *S.* II 1, II 8), his enemy and iambic/satirical ‘Muse’. From antiquity, attempts were made to identify her with a historical figure: *Porph.* claims that the name is a metrically equivalent cover-up for *Gratidia*, a perfumer from Naples. Alternatively, it was a nickname from her grey hair (*canities*; cf. *Epod.* 17.23), though etymologies from *canis*, *canere* and *canicula* (the sexually oppressive heat of the Dog Star: 2.5.39–40 *rubra Canicula findet | infantes statuas*) are often also in play (*Oliensis* 1991: 110–38 = 1998: 68–90). *Canidia* may be a feminized representation of the general *Canidius* *Crassus*, executed by Octavian after *Actium* (*Nisbet* 1995b: 170–1). She is also one of those ambiguous enemies who are also doubles for H. (*Henderson* 1987: 111, 116, *Oliensis* 1991: 118). Her poison is pitted against H.’s *carmina*, embodying the potency and venom of his own poetry; she is vilified for being repulsive, but exercises sexual control over H. and haunts the *Epodes* and *Satires* until their last breath (*Sat.* 2.8.85). Specifically political interpretations may limit what is at heart a sexual battle between female overheatedness and male debility, two spheres which might be merged in the concept of ‘male hysteria

under political pressure' (Oliensis 1991: 126 = 1998: 77). The relationship is actually triangular: for Maecenas and Canidia as an 'odd couple' who often cross paths, see Oliensis 1991: 127 = 1998: 89–90: e.g. *S.* II 8 and *Epod.* 3 (Canidia and Maecenas); *Epod.* 1.31–2 *satis superque me benignitas tua ditauit* (Maecenas) with *Epod.* 17.19 *dedi satis superque poenarum* (Canidia); *Epod.* 14 suggests a possible 'erotic' poet-patron relationship between Maecenas and Horace (a poem 'discolored by the shadow of pathic *mollitia*', as is *S.* 8). Canidia's grey hair and superannuated appearance may also make her a 'symbol of Rome's senescence' (Mankin 1995: 300–1; cf. Anderson 1972: 11 = 1982: 81: 'the dead, destructive past'); like Brutus, the curse of civil war and the corpses of the Esquiline, she cannot be completely laid to rest.

**pedibus . . . capillo:** feet and hair are unrestrained because in magic someone who binds (cf. *uincula* 50) cannot be bound (Frazer *ad Ov. Fast.* 5.432, *Ov. Met.* 7.183 *nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos* (Medea), 7.257, *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* 4.518 *unum exuta pedem uinclis, in ueste recincta*). However, at *Epod.* 5.15 Canidia's hair is *brevibus illigata uiperis*.

**25–6 Sagana:** *Sāgāna* (*sāga* = 'witch' or, according to Nonius *ad Lucil.* 291W = 271M, a sexually rapacious woman) is also Canidia's companion in *Epod.* 5. Porph. identifies her with a historical character (cf. 24n.), but she is presumably fictitious.

**maiore:** perhaps 'bigger' is preferable to 'elder'; Priapus is doing everything he can to exaggerate a tall story (cf. 9.52 *magnum narras, uix credibile*) and justify his fears (cf. 30–1 *maior | lanea*, 36 *magna . . . sepulchra*, 44 *largior . . . ignis*, 48 *altum . . . caliendrum*).

**ululantem:** witches shrieked to counteract the shrieks of the dead; cf. *Tib.* 1.2.47 *iam tenet infernas magico stridore cateruas*, *Virg. Aen.* 4.609, *Ov. Met.* 14.405 (Circe); 7.190–1 (Medea). Tremulous alliteration sends shivers (*ululantem: pallor utrasque | . . . unguibus*).

**horrendas aspectu:** Priapus the *maxima formido* is now trembling (cf. 45 *horruerim*) at the horror show himself.

**26–9** Parody of *Hom. Od.* 11.24–36, where Odysseus raises ghosts from the underworld by filling a trench with blood.

**26–7 scalpere . . . diuellere:** seemingly bestial and pre-civilized (cf. 3.101 *unguibus*), the witches scabble in the ground and tear animals apart with their teeth. Parallels are set in play with vicious satire (cf. 10.79 *uellacet*) and with H.'s compositional self-lacerations (10.71 *caput scaberet uiuos et roderet ungues*).

**27 pullam** 'black' (cf. 23 *nigra*), associated with the underworld; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 6.249–51: Aeneas sacrifices a lamb *atri uelleris* to Nox and Terra. Note the 'phallic' alliteration with 5 *palus*, 23 *palla*, 24 *capillo*, 25 *pallor*.

**mordicus** indicates maenadic voraciousness (Tupet 1976: 301) but also iambic/satirical spite: cf. *Epod.* 5.47 *dente liuido*, *Epod.* 6.15 *atro dente*. Later, these teeth are exposed as false (48). For old women's sharp teeth described with relish, cf. *Lucil.* 1028–9W = 1065–6M *illo quid fiat Lamia et Bitto oxydotes | quod ueniunt, illae gumiae euetulae inprobae ineptae?*

**28 confusus** blends the sounds of *crur* and *fossam*, as the witches commingle the lamb's blood. **fossam** contrasts with 15 *aggere*.



**29 manibus** ‘ghosts’, from Porph.’s lemma, as opposed to the MSS reading *manis* (acc. in apposition to *animas*); supported by Housman (*ad Man.* 2.567) and SB; Brink 1987: 31. **elicere**: cf. Cic. *Vat.* 14 *inferorum animas elicere*.

**30–3** The witches stage a ‘ritual puppet show’ (Oliensis 1991: 112) with voodoo dolls, one administering punishment, the other supplicating, which anticipates the conflict between H. and Canidia in *Epod.* 17, where H. pleads with the witch who is setting him on fire (2 *supplex*; cf. *Papyrae Graecae Magicae* 4, with its instructions for making voodoo dolls, one male and dominant, the other female and supplicating; on voodoo dolls, see also Lejay 213, Faraone 1991, 1999: 41–2, Watson *ad Epod.* 17.76). This ritual seems unconnected to the necromancy of 23–9: Priapus may be conflating two separate episodes (Tupet 1976: 307).

**30 lanæa**: wool was apotropaic and much used in magic for binding (Theoc. 2.2 with Gow *ad loc.*; Virg. *Ecl.* 8.73–4, *Ov. Am.* 3.7.79), perhaps here allowing one figure to entwine the other. The repetition of *lanæa* at the start of adjacent lines suggests a ritual prayer for Canidia to prevail. **effigies**: ‘sympathetic’ magic with two dolls, a larger one of wool representing Canidia, a smaller one of wax representing her beloved, by implication H.? Serv. Dan. *ad Ecl.* 8.80 *se de limo facit, Daphnidem de cera*. Sticking pins into wax dolls: *Ov. Am.* 3.7.29, *Her.* 6.91–2. **cerea**: by implication, men melt or split at the hands of powerful women (cf. the fissile figwood Priapus). In Theoc. 2 Simaetha melts a wax doll; cf. *Epod.* 17.76 *cereas imagines*.

**31 quae . . . compesceret** ‘to crush’ (subjunctive purpose clause). The woman now has the upper hand (cf. 4 *dextra coerceat*).

**32–3 suppliciter . . . modis** ‘stood in supplication like a figure (sc. *effigies*) about to die in the manner of a slave’, i.e. by crucifixion, flagellation or torture. More exaggerated alliteration. See D–S III 2: 1518 for similar figurines.

**33 Hecaten**: the goddess of witchcraft, part of a triad with Diana and the Moon (the moon’s shame is thus implausible). The scene may be modelled on Jason’s supplication of Hecate at Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.1214–17 where Hecate appears crowned with snakes and escorted by hellhounds (Oliensis 1991: 111 n. 8 = 1998: 69 n. 9). For Hecate accompanied by shrieking, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.257–8 *uisaeque canes ululare per umbra | aduentante dea*.

**34 Tisiphonen**: one of the Furies; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.555. **serpentes**: snakes were associated with the Furies, but are also among Canidia’s accoutrements in H.’s poems: her hairstyle at *Epod.* 5.15 *breuibus illigata uiperis*; her cooking style at *Epod.* 3.6–7 *uiperinus his cruor | incoctus herbis* and her afflatus at *S.* 2.8.94–5 *uelut illis | Canidia afflasset peior serpentibus Afris*. Snake venom has an ambiguous affinity with satirical poison throughout the *Satires* and *Epodes* (e.g. *Sat.* 2.1.48 *Canidia Albuici quibus est inimica uenum*; *Epod.* 5.71–2); Oliensis 1991: 117–18. **uideres** ‘one would have seen’ (past potential subjunctive).

**35 infernas . . . canes** ‘bitches from Hell’, ‘female hellhounds’. H. often plays on ‘etymological’ and physical links between Canidia and *canis* ‘dog’ (26 *scalpere*, 27 *mordicus*, *Epod.* 5.23 *ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis*; 57–8 *senem . . . adulterum |*

*latrant Suburanae canes*), following a misogynistic tradition (Oliensis 1991: 111 = 1998: 69), while he draws on a more ambivalent analogy between *satirist* and dog, either malevolent cur (cf. Pers. 1.109–110; Anderson 1958) or protective watchdog (*Sat.* 2.1.84–5 *si quis | opprobriis dignum latrauerit*; Oliensis 1991: 117 = 1998: 76). Priapus portrays himself as the conscientious custodian, but he is still a vicious satirist. **errare** ‘on the loose’, with the idea of uncontrolled movement (cf. *spatiari, uaga*). The confused word order (Porph.) suggests the whirling activity of the witches.

**35–6** The moon is again personified as a modest female (see 21–2n.), hiding behind tall tombs in order to avoid witnessing what Priapus identifies as an obscene sight. He claims her as his ally in self-righteous indignation, yet she may have been successfully enlisted by the witches (Freudenburg 1993: 229 n. 113; cf. *Epod.* 17.77–8), while the notion of crouching behind tombs (commonly used as public conveniences: e.g. Petr. *Sat.* 71.9) may inspire the curse that follows. **Lunam . . . rubentem**: the maidenly blush (Tupet 1976: 300: the moon looks red when low on the horizon) imbues Priapus’s red phallus (5 *ruber . . . palus*) with a more modest colouring. Despite its ‘obscene’ roots (5 *obscaeno . . . inguine*), it often affects to be an upright organ of shame, but cf. Courtney 2003: 470 = *uersus populares* 1–2 *quem non pudet et rubet, non est homo sed sopio* (‘prick’; Richlin 1992: 282). Anderson 1972: 10 = 1982: 80 calls Priapus ‘easily shocked’. For the moon drawing a veil over evil nocturnal doings, cf. Lucian *Icaromen.* 21; blushing: cf. Prop. 1.10.8 *Luna ruberet*. **ne . . . testis**: anticipates the common Priapic pun on *testis* = testicle/witness (see 44n.); cf. Juv. 6.311 *Luna teste* (the moon witnesses women urinating on the statue of Chastity). With the moon in retreat, Priapus remains the lone (male) eyewitness. **magna . . . sepulchra**: if this episode postdates Maecenas’ clean-up operation, these would be inalienable tombs of noble families untouched by his improvements (Lejay, Tupet 1976: 299).

**37–9** A standard oath of veracity (cf. Ter. *And.* 863 *si quicquam inuenies me mentitum, occidito*; Petr. *Sat.* 62.14 *ego si mentior, genios uestros iratos habeam*) acquires a lavatorial, ‘queer-bashing’ flavour, as Priapus swears by his greatest dread, having his head smeared with the excrement of birds and of the pathics who haunt the gardens (perhaps in the hope of being impaled on the statue). Cf. Sen. *Ben.* 4.31.4, where Scaurus says: ‘Whatever I’ve said wrong, may it come to me and my head’ (an obscene joke on the formula for averting the evil eye: Richlin 1992: 281–2). This is the kind of humiliation against which Priapus normally issues apotropaic curses (cf. 3–4 *furum auiumque | maxima formido*; 6 *importunas uolucres*); night visitors usually threatened with rape are here incited, in the last resort, to defile *him* with their bodily waste. Priapus’ choice of words exploits the common Roman conflation of scatological and sexual vocabulary (2.44n.; Adams 1982: 245–6 on *mingo/meio*, 171–2 on *caco*; Richlin 1992: 169 for links between faeces/urine and anal intercourse: e.g. Lucil. 1182W = 1186M *inbulbitat*). Although the curse primarily concerns urination and defecation, *merdis*

*caput inquirer* and *in me ueniat* suggest faintly that Priapus fears being the victim of oral and anal rape himself. Against the background of 36 *magna . . . sepulchra*, this is also a parody of tomb epigraphy: cf. Petr. 71.8 *ne in monumentum meum populus cacatum currat*. For typical epigraphic injunctions against soiling public/sacred places, with threats of punishment and claims of ‘witnessing’, see Gordon 1951: 77–8, Lattimore 1962: 119–21 (e.g. CIL VI 31615 STERCVS LONGE AVFER NE MALVM HABEAS, CIL IV 5438 CACATOR CAVE MALVM).

**37 merdis . . . albis:** just as the Esquiline used to be disfigured by bleached bones (16 *albis informem . . . ossibus*). **caput:** acc. of part affected. For Priapus’ fears of having other parts of his body defiled by filthy animals, cf. *Priap.* 70.5–13 (a dog licking cake off his genitals), *Priap.* 83.17–18 (dogs and pigs rubbing his flanks).

**38 mictum . . . cacatum:** supines used of purpose.

**39** Three types of unmanly sexuality: possibly a *cinaedus* (or a *puer?*), a pathic and an *irrmator*. Such figures are often derided by the literary Priapus for positively courting the punishment with which he threatens them (e.g. *Priap.* 51, 64; Richlin 1992: 66: ‘The god has nothing but scorn for these people; so the satirist scorns the pathic’). Priapic victims often come in threes: e.g. *Priap.* 13.1–2 *percidere puer, moneo: futuere puella: | barbaturum furem tertia poena manet* (respectively threatened with buggery, rape and oral rape).

**Iulius** suggests a freedman of the gens Iulia, though most editors are uncomfortable with a name identical to Caesar’s (but for Caesar as a pederast, see Plut. *Ant.* 59). Conjectures include *Ulius* (Wilamowitz; cf. CIL IV 51.59) and *Iunius* (SB). *Villius* (Hertz) is perhaps most appealing, suggesting *uillus* ‘chest-rug’ and the hypocrisy of the shaggy, virile-looking Stoic pathic (Richlin 1992: 189). However, the Romans derived the name Iulius from Greek ἰουλος ‘down’: *Iulius* might suggest an under-age boy (cf. *Priap.* 13.1 *percidere puer, moneo*). **fragilis Pediatia** ‘cissy Pediatia’, a male pathic effeminate enough (cf. Phaedr. *App.* 10.2–3 *fracte loquendo et ambulando molliter | famam cinaedi traxerat certissimi; OLD* s.vv. *fractus* 4, *frango* 8) to have a woman’s name. *Pediatia* suggests *pedicare* ‘bugger’ (Hallett 1981: 346 n. 21). For contemptuous feminine nicknames, cf. Gell. 1.5.3 (Dionysia), Cic. *De or.* 2.277 (Egilia), *Att.* 1.14.55 (*filiola Curionis*).

**furque Voranus:** thieves were traditionally threatened by Priapus with anal rape, but here the name ‘voracious’ suggests reciprocal anal or oral insatiability (cf. Cat. 33.4 *culo filius est uoraciore*, Mart. 7.67.14–15 *non fellat . . . | sed plane medias uorat puellas*).

**40 singula . . . memorem** ‘to cut a long story short’ (repudiative subj.). Drawing a camp veil over further unmentionable acts, Priapus resumes the role of business-like narrator. For similar *praeteritio* in epic, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.123, 6.601, 8.483. **quo pacto:** cf. 7.2. **alterna loquentes** ‘speaking in turn’.

**41 resonarint:** the MSS have *resonarent*, but it is odd to have an impf. subj. in sequence with the perfects *abdiderint*, *arserit* and in any case after the pres. *memorem*. Lejay defends *resonarent* on the grounds that it conveys a more prolonged action, but cf. 45 *horruerim*. **triste . . . acutum:** internal accusatives after *resonarint*.

H. is mimicking the sound of Greek τρίζουσαι and τετριγυῖα, the noise made by ghosts at Hom. *Od.* 24.5, 9, *Il.* 23.101.

**42 utque** ‘and how’, indirect question after *memorem*. **lupi . . . colubrae:** antidotes to counter-charms hidden in the ground; cf. Plin. *HN* 38.157: a wolf’s muzzle nailed up on farmhouse gates for this purpose; 8.83 a wolf’s tail thought to contain a love philtre (*amatorium uirus*) in one tuft; Apul. *Met.* 3.23: a pinned-up owl. **uariae** ‘spotted’.

**43 abdiderint** contrives another bilingual pun, on Greek βδέω ‘fart’. **furtim:** pleonasm after *abdiderint*, suggesting a link with thieves, and hinting that appropriate punishment is to follow (though, according to Priapic poems, nothing was more distasteful to the god than old women: e.g. *Priap.* 12, 57; Richlin 1992: 122–3).

**43–4** The doll is set on fire to burn out its heart. **imagine cerea:** causal abl. (the wax helped the fire to spread); *cerea* is a disyllable (spondee) by synizesis.

**44 non . . . inultus:** restrained litotes before the final outburst; a link with *ultus* at 7.2, another miniature revenge-narrative (Rudd 67, Van Rooy 1971: 86, Anderson 1972: 9–11 = 1982: 79–81). **testis:** a typically Priapic pun on ‘testicle’/‘witness’ (e.g. *Priap.* 15.6 *magnis testibus ista res agetur*; Parker 1988: 92–3) makes us expect a specifically sexual revenge for these ‘Furies’, normally the wreckers of revenge themselves. Without the Moon (35 *ne foret his testis*), Priapus is the sole witness to these events (anticipating the defiance of *Juv.* 1.1 *semper ego auditor tantum?*). The mock-solemn oath incidentally enables H. to mark the poem as ‘testimony’ for his own salvaged fortunes; cf. 9.76 *licet antestari?*

**45 horruerim:** cf. 26 *horrendas aspectu*; P. presents himself as an ignoble, cowardly god (despite 4 *maxima formido*). **Furiarum . . . duarum:** melodramatic tremolo enters the narrator’s voice (cf. *horruerim*).

**46 displosa . . . uesica:** sets up expectations of a comic comparison between Priapus’ vengeful phallus and Jupiter’s thunder-bolt (cf. *Priap.* 68.5 *ille uocat, quod nos psolen, ‘psoloenta keraunon’, Priap.* 20 *fulmina sub Ioue sunt . . . at me terribilem mentula tenta facit*; Nicarchus *AP* 11.328: Cleobulus played Zeus, going to heaven holding his smouldering thunderbolt in his hand – a pun on φολόεν πῦρ ‘thunderbolt’ and φωλή ‘phallus’; Richlin 1992: 130). At *Lucr.* 6.130–1, a burst bladder (*uesicula*) illustrates the phenomenon of thunder; cf. *Ar. Nub.* 386–94, *Suet. Vita Lucani* 7. **pepedi:** what comes out at the end of the line is a fart, an alternative riposte from a comical god (statues are proverbially silent in H.: 2.5.39–40 *findet | infantis statuas*; *Ep.* 2.2.83–4 *statua taciturnius exit | plerumque et risu populum quatit*. Oliensis 1998: 72: Priapus is transformed ‘from a “speechless statue” into a garrulous one’. His first audible sound is a deflationary counter-blast to the screeching counterpoint of the witches (cf. *Callim. Iamb.* 7.44 = 197 Pf.: Hermes wards off destruction with his *epōidai*), a conversation-stopper like the excruciating pun at the end of *S.* 7 (Schlegel 1999: 350). Yet Priapus’ bodily outburst conceals his impotence. For one stuttering moment (cf. 6.57 *pudor prohibebat plura profari*), H. promises to deliver *pedicau* ‘I buggered’, the usual revenge of an irate Priapus

(cf. Henderson 1975: 196 on Ar. *Ach.* 256, where the scholiast explains βδεῖν ‘fart’ as a surprise substitute for βίβειν ‘fuck’). On *pedere* as an obscenity, see Cic. *Fam.* 9.22.4. It is unclear whether Priapus’ fart is the involuntary result of fear or a well-timed bombshell. H.’s uncharacteristically craven Priapus enshrines satirical laughter as an effective alternative to viciousness (Anderson 1972: 9–11 = 1982: 79–81; Sharland 2003). Farting from fear is frequent in Attic comedy (Ar. *Nub.* 1133, *Lys.* 354, *Plutus* 699, 700; Henderson 1975: 195–6), but Hallett 1981: 342 argues that fear in comedy produces incontinence, not farting, that Priapus does not really fear the witches and that his anal response is a comic reversal of the traditional phallic one, but equally combative. Either way, the fart has the desired effect of sending the witches packing with a gesture of contempt (cf. 9.70 *oppedere*): they are too undesirable for rape in any case.

**47 diffissa . . . ficus** ‘splitting my figwood buttocks in two’ (*ficus* in apposition to *ego*, *diffissa nate* = abl. abs.; see on 10.37 *diffindit*). A further aetiological point to the poem is revealed: ‘When he was walking in Maecenas’ gardens Horace may possibly have seen a wooden Priapus with an oddly warped posterior’ (Rudd 72). The explosion appears to be simultaneously physical and moral (Ingallina 1974: 192); for the satirist bursting with indignation cf. Pers. 3.8–9 *turgescit uivrea bilis*: | *findor*. Placed last as punchline or epiphany, *ficus* picks up 1 *ficulus* and highlights ‘fig’ (a word loaded with anal associations) as the root-cause and end-result of the aetiology (10.37 *diffindit* is similarly closural). The traditional Priapus taunted his victims with their penchant for anal rape and tell-tale piles (11.) and threatened to split them in two with his phallus (e.g. *Priap.* 54.1–2 *temonem . . . | qui medium uult te scindere*). A Greek expression for candour was ‘to call a fig a fig’; Priapus the witness becomes a grotesque kind of συκοφάντης (cf. the ‘figgily’ named Caprius and Sulcius at 4.55–6). This figwood rear reveals its ignominious origins, split into the shape of a squashed fig or a distended, pile-ridden anus (literally a *displosa uesica*) and exposing the god as an absurd pathic (cf. 30 *effigies . . . cerea*, 39 *fragilis Pediatia*). The power balance between Priapus/H. and his enemies is thus left rather more uncertain than he might want, with Priapic machismo undermined by anal innuendo and insinuations of passivity (cf. the *Priapea*; Hallett 1981: 341 n. 4). The speechless statues split by the burning dogstar at 2.5.39–40 are often cited (e.g. by Rudd 283 n.35) as evidence for the brittleness of wooden statues, but the image also exemplifies the conflict between female ‘heat’ and male impotence that runs through the *Epodes* and *Satires* (Fitzgerald 1988: 176–91, Oliensis 1991: 121 = 1998: 72–3). **at** signifies a further twist. **illae . . . in urbem**: it is significant that the witches escape into the city (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 9.1, 62: the road leads *in urbem*): pus and poison remain (Zetzel 1980: 71). By contrast, Daphnis is lured *ab urbe* at Virg. *Ecl.* 8.109. **currere**: hist. inf.

**48–50** The witches are disarmed as bogeys; their flowing hair and vicious teeth evaporate into wigs and dentures. Moribund creatures (Freudenburg 1993: 230), they undergo a reverse metamorphosis, from *deae* into *truncae*. **dentēs**: for false teeth, cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2.60, Mart. 10.56.3. **caliendrum**: a wig (schol.);

cf. Var. *Men.* 570B *tantis coturnis accipit Critonia caliandrum. incantata* ‘enchanted’. **uincula:** threads (*licia*) tied to a rhombus to entwine the wax doll (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8.73–4, 78; Tupet 1976: 44–6). Here, love-knots worn as bracelets; *lacertis* goes with *excidere*. **cum . . . iocoque:** cf. 5.98 *risusque iocosque*. The power of the witches’ chains is broken by comedy (cf. 10.14–15 *ridiculum acri* | *fortius et plurimum secat res*, Cic. *De or.* 2.236). The statue is frozen into an image of laughter, its rear imitating a grotesque comic rictus (*rideo* = ‘split open, gape’, of figs; e.g. Mart. 11.18.15–16 *non mariscaae | ridere . . . possunt*). Priapus wraps up the incident as a comic spectacle (contrast 10 *miseriae*, 15–16 *tristes* | . . . *spectabant*, 2.1.21 *tristi laedere uersu*) marking H.’s allegiance to laughing satire (Anderson 1972: 11 = 1982: 81). For Priapus as a risible god, cf. *Priap.* 10.1, 6–7 *insulsissima quid puella rides?* . . . *spectas me tamen et subinde rides: | nimirum tibi salsa res uidetur*; Richlin 1992: 127 ‘a divine buffoon’. In the dénouement of Ov. *Fast.* 1.415–440, Priapus tries to rape the nymph Lotis but is surprised by the braying of Silenus’ ass; the nymph flees and the god becomes the victim of laughter in the moonlight (437–8 *at deus obscena nimum quoque parte paratus | omnibus ad lunae lumina risus erat*). **uideres** ‘one would have seen’ (past potential subj.); cf. 34 *uideres*. Priapus appeals to the curious *uiator* for male solidarity against female *inuidia* and presents the spectacle as a shared joke at the expense of women (Richlin 1992: 58, Henderson 1999: 101).

## SATIRE 9

The man who pesters H. for an introduction to Maecenas in the streets of Rome is the final scapegoat (after the gangster-heroes of *S.* 7 and the witches of *S.* 8) to be driven from the city to preserve H.’s own position in it. This is another anecdote, a journey through the centre of Rome that is also a proper *sermo*, a verbal contest between the garrulous pest and a taciturn, squirming Horace. Although the poem looks delightfully casual and H. is at pains to emphasize his own helplessness, he controls the dialogue utterly, filtering it along his own sparing lines and enlisting the reader’s support through irony, innuendo or complicity. The result is a cruel and masochistic comedy of manners, which shows both the advantages and drawbacks of the new civility (the poem has much in common with *Cat.* 10, where the poet is disturbed in the Forum and dragged off to meet an embarrassing woman). City life is often represented by crowds in Horace: here, it becomes a series of annoying individual encounters (3 *accurrit*, 61 *occurrit*, 74 *uenit obuius*), obstacles in the way of the poet’s easy progress through his adopted city. Chance throws the pest in H.’s way and chance hauls him into court at the end, but he also stresses the element of design or poetic justice in human affairs, to the point of suggesting (menacingly) that he owes his miraculous escape to a provident *deus ex machina*.

The poem opens with H. strutting down the main street of Rome, the Via Sacra – 1 *sicut meus est mos*, as though he has always belonged there. This is a

metropolitan version of the progress *in urbem* of *Eclogue* 9, where the would-be poet Lycidas pesters Moeris (Henderson 1998b, Van Rooy 1973). But despite a few topographical markers, there is little sense of urban bustle (McGann 1973: 62). H. underplays the full impact of Octavian's revolutionary takeover through literal *praeteritio*, ignoring all the new monuments on his route; he takes the part of a satirist to suit the times, inoffensive, reticent and passive-aggressive. He refrains from naming the pest (this is not to be *onomasti kōmōideîn*), prefers non-intervention in civic life and silence to free speech, undertakes to play compliant witness, not active prosecutor, and apparently opts out of the cut-and-thrust of self-promotion and mutual back-scratching.

Many critics in the past have swallowed H.'s innocent protestations, praising him for his restraint and good humour towards an intolerably irritating intruder (e.g. Fraenkel 113). The pest is indeed an easy target for H., falling crashingly into all the errors of taste and manners that he has most condemned: pushy ambition and competitiveness, wasted words and the crude aesthetics of quantity over quality. In H.'s own cynical advice on flattery, as laid out in *II* 5 and *Ep.* 1.18, subtler procedures are recommended to those on the make: self-effacement and solicitousness, qualities H. displays in his own non-committal, quietly sardonic replies to the pest. His calculations about how to present his best face to his friends (4.135–6 *sic dulcis amicis | occurram*) were elevated to the level of mind-searching philosophy rather than self-seeking. But in his pared-down account of his own success-story, H. stressed how he himself was once just such an inept courtier, the bumbling *molestus* who barged in on Maecenas's brown study (3.63–6).

The open hostilities of the *Epodes* are muted here into the false sweetness of civility (4 *dulcissime*, 5 *suauius*) and potential *amicitia*. Yet bile simmers below the surface (66 *bilis*, 65 *male salsus*). H. is ruthless in preserving his own hard-won position and, like his namesake Horatius, in destroying the bridge that gives other adventurers access to the innermost sanctum. The meanness of the Roman streets will be laid bare in *S.* II 6, where H. is hailed by another anonymous bystander, and the veneer of polite greeting is replaced by accusations of naked ambition and social climbing: 29–30 *quid tibi uis, insane . . . | . . . tu pulses omne quod obstat*).

Zetzel 1980 first exposed the H. of *S.* 9 as 'smug, elitist and rude, with no sympathy for the man who is in the position in which he once found himself'. *S.* 1 saw H. trying to break into Maecenas' circle; in *S.* 9 he is comfortably settled with the in-crowd, trying to keep an outsider out. By conspiring with H. in his snobbery and *inuidia*, we fall into the trap of ignoring our own weaknesses: it is obvious that the pest, crude and unsubtle, is not 'one of us' (cf. 3.66 *communi sensu plane caret*), yet he is a caricature of everyone's ambitions. The anecdote is a classic case of 'change the name and the story is about you'. H. succeeds in shopping his victim to the law-courts, but not without first being put on trial himself. When Aristius Fuscus makes his excuses for not rescuing him (72 *ignosces*), he is gently reminding H. of his sermon on generosity and tolerance (*S.* 3), and of all the

obligations, however irritating, of city life. In the process of escaping, H. is forced to compromise his splendid isolation (*2 totus in illis*) to become *unus multorum* (71–2), sucked into the noise and bustle of the crowd. Henderson's acute socio-linguistic analysis (1993 = 1999) of the dialogue and body language of the poem reveals the ironies in the encounter. The pest is more than a match for H., reading his silent thoughts, and resisting the conversation-stopping signals (6 *num quid uis?*, 16–17 *nil opus est te | circumagi*). Despite their enmity, he is recognizably H.'s doppelgänger, just some stages behind in the game. When the conversation triangulates, H.'s frantic appeal to his mock-obtuse friend Fuscus is choreographed as a replica of the pest's frustrated approach to him. Bilious curses conceal H.'s admiration for the ideal satirist that he himself, with his mumbled responses, sweaty feet and shuffling gait, has not yet become: Fuscus is face-saving, self-effacing, scrupulously polite and yet a master of evasion in a way that leaves H. far behind.

Much has been made of the military imagery in the poem, sealed by the final quotation from the *Iliad* (via Lucilius), Apollo intervening in the duel between Achilles and Hector and whisking Hector away in a cloud of smoke (Anderson 1982). The pest is presented as the stronger adversary (42–3 *contendere durum est | cum uictore*), devising plans to storm Maecenas' citadel; H. is the weaker one, standing his ground (6 *occupo*), pouring with sweat like a Homeric hero and remembering, at the moment of crisis, an old woman's prophecy. But two other kinds of antagonistic *sermo* form a more important background: the court-case and literary polemic. H.'s *sermo* is framed as the inconsequential composition that happened to replace the one (*nescio quid nugarum*) forming in his mind as he set out. It can also be read retrospectively as his incriminating testimony in court: 'I was just walking along minding my own business . . . it was about ten o'clock when we reached the temple of Vesta . . . he said he'd rather come with me', etc. The progress of the ill-matched pair through the streets of Rome parodies an ancient ritual in which legal opponents walked to court together. The corrective hand of the law may be necessary to curb the excesses of citizens like the pest. But it is also a more sinister force, whitewashed by divine approval. The courts offer H. the feeble opportunist a lucky way out, but they are also the emblem of an authoritarian regime that offers convenient, de-personalized nemesis for personal enemies, replacing the aggression of satire and allowing the city to rid itself of scapegoats by more civilized means (Cloud 1989, Mazurek 1997).

The uneven dialogue between garrulous bore (13 *garriret*, 33 *garrulus*, 33 *loquaces*) and taciturn H. (12 *tacitus*), who can barely get a word in edgeways (26 *interpellandi* . . . *locus*) and has to whisper, talk to himself or gesticulate, is also a debate about poetics. This is a 'showpiece of compositional variety', with which H. justly vindicates his place in Maecenas' circle (Freudenburg 1993: 210). The pest's grandiose claims, gushings about the monuments of Rome and fulsome alliteration are set against H.'s own muffled negatives and muted words of praise. Like an attentive client, H. clears the route of debris and moves on the action (2.5.94–5 *extrahe turba | oppositis umeris*). Dialogue of almost Terentian compression



(H.'s handling of the encounter owes much to the description of a meeting with a tedious old man at Ter. *Eun.* 335–42) alternates with exaggerated mock-heroic (the gypsy's prophecy, images of Homeric battle-crisis); even variations of pace are expressed appropriately in dactyls and spondees (g *ire modo ocius, interdum consistere*). Maecenas' pure and incorruptible house offers Callimachean exclusiveness away from the well-trodden streets outside. Apollo is not only the god of justice and miraculous escapes: he is also the god of poetry, who does battle on H.'s behalf with a bumptious, grotesque satyr. When H. offers his ear to the *aduersarius*, that is a clear allusion to Virgil's sixth *Eclogue*, where Apollo touches the poet's ear and tells him to keep his poetry fine-textured: 5 *deductum dicere carmen*. In this urban *carmen deductum*, the poem becomes evidence: the pest damns himself through speech and H. abashedly preserves himself by keeping mum.

*Further reading:* Anderson 1956 = 1982: 84–102, Buchheit 1968, Cairns 2005, Cloud 1989, Courtney 1994, Henderson 1993 = 1999: 202–27, Henderson 1998b, Labate 1981, 2005, Mazurek 1997, McGann 1973, Musurillo 1964, Rudd 74–85, Van Rooy 1972, 1973.

**1 Ibam forte:** a typical beginning for an anecdote (or *aimos*: Fraenkel 112–13); cf. Lucil. 559W = 535M *ibat forte aries*, 258W = 270M *ibat forte domum* (a street-scene involving Scipio Africanus: cf. 78n.), *Ep.* 1.7.29 *forte per angustam tenuis uulpecula rimam*. A neutral word for H. the flâneur (cf. 6.112 *incedo solus*), but perhaps anticipating *Epod.* 1's opener, *Ibis*, which suggests generic leanings towards Callimachus' *Ibis* and its abuse of an unnamed literary opponent (Heyworth 1993). Henderson 1993: 78 = 1999: 218 detects 'a virtuoso design for careful casualness': a series of coincidences (cf. 36 *casu*, 60 *ecce*, 74 *casu*; contrast 6.52–4 *non . . . casu, nulla . . . fors*) plotted onto a grid of poetic necessity or divine justice (1 *Via Sacra*, 74 *obuius*, 78 *Apollo*); cf. 1.2. **Via Sacra:** the main thoroughfare of Rome linked the Palatine to the Forum and passed some of the city's most venerable institutions, the house of the Vestal Virgins, the Temple of Vesta and the Regia; a shopping street, a street for processions, glorious and disgraceful, a place to see and be seen (*C.* 4.2.35, *Cic. Att.* 4.3.3, *Prop.* 2.1.34, 2.24.14, *Suet. Vit.* 17.1). H. is sometimes assumed to be coming down from his house on the Esquiline (K–H; cf. 8.14, 2.6.33) into the city centre. A similar direction is taken at Virg. *Ecl.* 9.1 *an, quo uia ducit, in urbem?* and by the witches at 8.47 *at illae currere in urbem*. H. will meet his alter ego enemy the military tribune here at *Epod.* 4.7–10 *uidesne, Sacram metiente te Viam | cum bis trium ulnarum toga, | ut ora uertat huc et huc euntium | liberrima indignatio?* **sicut meus est mos:** H. takes his constitutional along his usual beat; though not born to it (cf. 6.76–82), he claims his own long-standing way of doing things; the haphazard (*forte*) is imposed on a set pattern. *mos* = 'custom'; also 'prerogative' (cf. 2.86, 4.95, 4.116, 6.60); as something that appears overnight after a regime change, see Henderson 1993: 80 = 1999: 220.

**2 nescio quid . . . nugarum** 'some nonsense or other' (partitive gen.), denying both malice and serious intent, exemplary modesty (*Porph. sic uerecunde poetae*

*nugae solent appellare uersiculos suos*; cf. 4.139 *illudo chartis*, 10.88 *qualiacumque*). Specifically of neoteric poetry: Cat. 1.4, H. *Ep.* 1.19.42, 2.2.141; but associated with Lucilius at 2.1.73, thus perhaps pointing to a Lucilian frame for the entire poem (cf. 1 *Ibam forte*, 78 *sic . . . Apollo*; Fiske 1920: 330–6, Fraenkel 118, Connors 2005: 134). **meditans** ‘pondering, turning over’ (*OLD* s.v. 5). H.’s ruminations sound innocent enough, but Q. Cic. *Pet.* 2 advises the election candidate: *cotidie tibi hoc ad forum descendenti meditandum est ‘nouus sum, consulatum peto’*. H. enters the forum casually along the path taken by the politically ambitious; cf. 6.113–14. Although he pictures himself isolated from urban struggles (cf. *Ep.* 2.2.71 *purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstat*), he might be privately dreaming up a lawsuit (despite 38–9; cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.144 *ut, si qui, cum causam sit acturus, in itinere aut in ambulatione secum ipse meditetur*) or meditating on moral topics, not poetry (Van Rooy 1972: 43; cf. 4.133–9); dignified *meditari* contrasts with *nugae*. **totus . . . illis** ‘all wrapped up in it’; cf. *Ep.* 1.1.11 *omnis in hoc sum*. Sen. *Ep.* 28.6 meditates on finding solitude even in the forum: *num quid tam turbidum fieri potest quam forum? ibi quoque licet quiete uiuere, si necesse est*. On this thoroughfare for civic display (cf. *Epod.* 4.9–10; *Rhet. Her.* 4.49.62: a man prowling about the Forum in search of enemies), H. carefully disclaims *inuidia*. Philto at Pl. *Trin.* 282 counsels his son to avoid all urban encounters: *neque in uia neque in foro necullum sermonem exsequi*.

**3 accurrit quidam** ‘a man ran up’. H.’s bubble is burst by an obstacle in his path (Catullus’ peace is similarly disturbed at 10.2 *duxerat e foro otiosum*). *accurrit* = hist. pres. (sometimes with a view to helping; K–H already see hints of canvassing or soliciting; cf. 6 *assectaretur*). H., like Terence, views urban life as a series of unwanted collisions: cf. Ter. *Eun.* 843–4 *notu’ mihi quidam obuiam | uenit*; at *Eun.* 335–42, Chaerea is approached in the street by a long-winded old man, asking him to remind his father to support him in court: 328 *is . . . fit me obuiam*, 335 *continuo occurrit ad me*, 338–40 *‘cras est mihi | iudicium.’ ‘quid tum?’ ‘ut diligenter nunties | patri, aduocatu’ mane mi esse ut meminerit.’* **notus . . . tantum:** an excellent joke, punning on *notus* and *nomine* (cf. Ter. *Eun.* 843 *notus mihi quidam*). H. is seemingly kind enough not to name the man whom he brands anonymously; this is Theophrastean ‘type’ satire, rather than *onomasti komōidein*.

**4–8** The anonymous intruder makes his opening approaches to H. (cf. *accurrit, assectaretur*), meeting with notionally civil but obstructive responses. H. shapes their polite *nugae* and anodyne sweet nothings into bilious or sickly innuendo. At 2.6.29–31, H. meets a man in the crowd who focuses naked *inuidia* on him and exposes him as a ruthless self-seeker: *‘quid uis, insane, et quas res agis?’ improbus urget | iratis precibus; ‘tu pulses omne quod obstat, | ad Maecenatem memori est si mente recurras?’* Here, *‘quid agis?’* could conceal the sense ‘What are you scheming?’, while *‘cupio omnia quae uis’* hints that the two are after the same things in life.

**4 arrepta . . . manu** ‘he grasped my hand’; but *arripio* also means ‘to jump at’, ‘pitch on’: the man’s gesture signifies his opportunistic attitude to life. Another meaning is ‘to arrest’; e.g. Cic. *Mil.* 60 *subito adrepti in quaestionem*. H. is ‘on trial’ from this point as far as the practice of his theories of proper citizen behaviour

in *S.* 1–4 is concerned. **quid agis?** corresponds to English ‘How are things? What’s up?’ (contrast 2.6.29 ‘What are you scheming?’); Cic. *Cat.* 1.27 *M. Tulli, quid agis? . . . tune eum . . . ? nonne . . . ?* **dulcissime rerum** ‘dear chap’, lit. ‘sweetest person in the world’ (partitive gen.); more presumptuously familiar even than the flatterer’s use of the first name (recommended at 2.5.32) and over-the-top compared with *H.*’s self-deprecating *nescio quid nugarum* (2). Superlative addresses ‘usually occur in moments of great emotion or when gross flattery is required’ (Dickey 2002: 141).

**5 suauiter** ‘fine, thank you’; cf. Cic. *ND* 1.114 *mihi pulchre est*; a blander sweetener than *dulcissime* (Henderson 1999: 208). **ut . . . est** ‘at the moment’, perhaps suggesting, ‘until you disturbed me’. *H.* is indeed sitting pretty: he has everything the other man wants. **cupio . . . uis** ‘all the best to you’. The syntax is either *cupio omnia* (sc. *euenire tibi*) *quae uis* or *omnia quae uis ea cupio*, a standard benediction (Pl. *Pers.* 483, 766, *As.* 844, *Epid.* 6) but ironic in this context.

**6 cum assectaretur** ‘when he pursued me’; *assectari* also = ‘kerb-crawl, solicit’, with undertones of ambition and desire. The pest is quick to launch in (contrast *Q.* Cic. *Pet.* 34–6 *huius autem rei* [sc. *assectationis*] *tres partes sunt, una saluatorum, altera deductorum, tertia assectatorum*), with monosyllable *cum* brusquely elided. **‘numquid uis?’** ‘Nothing else, was there?’ ‘Well, if that’s all . . .’ *H.* picks up *uis* and *quid agis?* and uses them to curtail the conversation. Another set formula, this time for parting company (cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 151 *DA. numquid, Geta, aliud me uis?* GE. *ut bene sit tibi*), but raw antagonism comes nearer to the surface. At Ter. *Eun.* 341–2, the old man who bothers the speaker at least withdraws when asked *numquid uelit: ‘recte’ inquit*. **occupo** ‘I get in first’; a military term; also = ‘seize to the exclusion of others’. *H.* takes possession of the conversational drift, or so he thinks (cf. *Ep.* 1.7.66 *occupat et saluere iubet prior*). **at ille:** the pest cuts to the chase.

**7 noris nos:** *noris* = *noueris*, contracted perf. subj. (sc. *uolo ut*), after *numquid uis* (‘I want you to get to know me’; cf. Pl. *Mil.* 575 sc. *numquid aliud me uis?* PE. *ne me noueris*) or future perfect (‘you’ll know who I am’). The pest is not shy of using the royal ‘we’. **docti sumus** ‘I’m an intellectual’; or, less likely, ‘we’re both intellectuals’ (or ‘poets’; Van Rooy 1972: 40). For *doctus* as a buzzword referring specifically to scholarly Alexandrian learning, see Kenney 1970, Hus 1965; an unlikely claim here, given the pest’s penchant for lowbrow art forms (23–5). In any case, the modest man should wait to have the term ascribed to him by others; e.g. *Ep.* 1.19.1 *docte Maecenas*, *Ep.* 1.18.39 *nec tua laudabis studia*. The young Lycidas at Virg. *Ecl.* 9.32–4 is similarly importunate: *et me fecere poetam* | *Pierides, sunt et mihi carmina, me quoque dicunt* | *uatem pastores* (Van Rooy 1973: 82, Henderson 1998b: 170). **hic ego:** *H.* shares with the reader his pleasure at getting an ironic word in edgewise.

**7–8 ‘pluris | . . . eris’** ‘So much the better’, lit. ‘I’ll rate you all the higher for that’ (*pluris*: gen. of value; *hoc*: causal abl.). This is empty insincerity as far as the

pest is concerned, but true as a general rule for H., whose reply is rhythmically parodic (*pluris hoc ~ noris nos; docti sumus ~ mihi eris*); with *mihi eris*, H. separates himself from the partnership presumptuously implied in *nos* (Henderson 1993: 72 = 1999: 209). **misere . . . quaerens** ‘desperately trying to escape’; a common idiom in comedy, e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 698 *misere hoc esse cupio uerum*. See Rudd 76, Henderson 1993: 77 = 1999: 215 on the blurring of narrative, private thoughts and direct speech: H. gives priority to his own unspoken opinions (11–13, 28–37), while sometimes considerably sparing us his own and the pest’s whittings (cf. 12–13 *quidlibet* | *garrivet*, cf. 2, 10, 67 *nescio quid*).

**9 ire . . . consistere:** dactyls (and an elision) followed by spondees convey the change in pace. The action on the ground also fulfils H.’s demands for variety of pace in satire: cf. 10.9 *ut currat sententia*. **consistere** ‘stood my ground’ (historic infinitive, like *ire*).

**9–10 in aurem | . . . puero:** H.’s aside to his slave (mimicking his shared joke with the reader) is the first reference to ears in the poem; cf. 20, 77. **nescio quid:** another sweet nothing, presented disarmingly as something an outsider would not be interested to hear, but actually a rude whisper which excludes the pest (and us).

**10–11 sudor . . . talos:** the all-over sweating warrior is Homeric: e.g. *Il.* 5.796; cf. *Ep.* 2.2.4 *talos a uertice pulcher ad imos*.

**11–12 ‘o . . . felicem!’** ‘O Bolanus, happy in your hot temper!’ (acc. of exclamation); for the brain as seat of anger, cf. 5.21 *cerebrosus*. H. disingenuously regrets being paralysed by good manners (*Ep.* 1.20.25 *irasci celerem*). The construction with gen. is common in Greek (e.g. Ar. *Eq.* 186), bold in the Latin of this time. **Bolane:** unknown: a satirist with a more open style of operation? Cic. *Fam.* 13.77 mentions a friend M. Bolanus.

**12 aiebam tacitus:** sums up the paradox of the satires: private thoughts made public; cf. 4.137–8, 6.122–3 and H.’s imagined interruption of Maecenas’ brown study at 3.63–5; Virg. *Ecl.* 9.37 *Id quidem ago et tacitus, Lycida, mecum ipse uoluto*. **quidlibet:** the pest has an enviable, if annoying, degree of free speech. H.’s more repressed *nescio quid* (2, 10) is less open than usual (6.105 *si libet*, 111 *quacumque libido est*).

**13 garrivet** ‘burbled on about’ (*quod in buccam uenerit*: Cic. *Att.* 1.12.4), a fatally critical word from the taciturn H.; cf. 33, 4.12 *garrulus* (Lucilius); Theophr. *Char.* 7 (*Lalos*) is his prototype. The pest is *simplicior quis* (cf. 3.63), not a subtle flatterer who rations his words to avoid offence: 2.5.90–1 *difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus: ultra | ‘non’ ‘etiam’ sileas*. H. relegates his inconsequential ramblings to a subordinate clause. **uicos:** blocks of houses, streets or districts into which Rome was divided. **urbem laudaret:** the pest exaggerates every subject, but *laudes Romae* are not a subject for H. to include; he turns a blind eye to Octavian’s rebuilding programme (McGann 1973: 62). For works recently completed or in progress at the time, see Rudd 81: the restored Regia (P–A 441–2, Richardson 328–9); the Basilica Aemilia (P–A 72; Richardson

54–6; the temple of Apollo Palatinus (work began in 36 BC, P–A 16, Richardson 14); the Villa Publica (probably restored 34 BC, P–A 581, Richardson 430–1).

**14 nil respondebam:** true to type, H. is doggedly unresponsive (cf. 6.55 *singultim pauca locutus*; cf. 6.60–1 *respondes, ut tuus est mos, | pauca, of Maecenas*).

**14–19** The second bout of the pest's approach, in which he plays both *enfant terrible*, open about his intent to latch on to H., and sinister doppelgänger, parrying every manoeuvre.

**14 misere . . . abire:** the pest gets irritatingly close to the heart of things (cf. 8 *misere discedere quaerens*), an uncanny mind-reader. Henderson 1993: 72 = 1999: 209: '*ille* tells H. all about H. . . he wields the negative (*nil* ~ *num*), seizes the future (*tenebo . . . persequar* ~ *eris*), seizes the moment (*nunc . . . est* ~ *nunc est*), masters H.'s ironic *mihi* with his emphatic jab at *tibi* (14–16).'

**15 nil agis** 'it's no use', picking up 4 *quid agis* and 14 *nil respondebam*. **usque tenebo** 'I'll keep with you all the way.'

**16 persequar** 'harry, dog' (in a military sense, of repeated attacks), a more sinister option (cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 551–2 *certumst persequi | aut perire*) than the textual alternative *prosequar* 'escort'. The pest is jokily open about his persistence. Cf. 2.5.16–17: the flatterer should walk on the outside of his victim when they walk together: *ne tamen illi | tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses*. **hinc . . . tibi** anticipates the Platonic 'whence and whither?' enquiries Fuscus makes of H. at 62–3 ('*unde uenis et | quo tendis?*'), which H. has not bothered to make of the pest.

**16–17 'nil . . . circumagi** 'There's no need for you to go out of your way' (also: 'be led round in circles, be bamboozled'); mock-solicitude. Each player tries to counter and annul the efforts of the other; *nil –agi* ~ 15 *nil agis*. Circumnavigation is an important strategy in the *Satires*, where both travellers and narrators take side-routes and roundabout paths (cf. 3.38 *illuc praeuertamur*).

**17–18** H. goes Bunburying. Visits to the sick were one of the chief duties of city life (Yardley 1973): cf. 1.80–3, *Ep.* 2.2.68–9 *cabat hic in colle Quirini, | hic in extremo Auentino, uisendus uterque. quendam* ~ 3 *quidam, notum* ~ 3 *notus*; H. tries to distance the pest from his circle of acquaintance.

**18 trans . . . longe:** Trastevere, across the Tiber, was a notoriously unhealthy part of Rome; here it equals 'the back of beyond'. H. evokes the legend of his namesake, Horatius Cocles, who cut the Tiber off from invading Etruscans (Polyb. 6.55, Livy 2.10), just as H. cuts off the pest's access to Maecenas. The Ponte Cestio (built 1st cent. BC) links the Tiber island with Trastevere; the famous wooden bridge, Pons Sublicius, defended by Horatius, Herminius and Spurius Lartius, was a little further down the river. Trastevere was also where many Jews lived (Philo *Legat.* 155). Thus H.'s own 'Judaizing' alibi anticipates Aristius Fuscus' at 69–70 (thanks to Aaron Kachuck for this suggestion). **Caesaris hortos:** on the Janiculum, bequeathed to the people of Rome by Julius Caesar in 44 BC, causing a wave of public affection (Plut. *Brut.* 20; Grimal 1984: 118). Caesar was also notoriously a friend to the Jews.

**19 nil . . . agam:** picking up 15 *nil agis*, the pest answers the friendly question that was never put to him: *quid agis?* The lack of any other business enables the pest to go about his networking (*agere*) as an *ardalio*, a busybody, a mover and shaker, an essential cog in the machine of patronage: Phaedr. 2.5.1–2 *est ardalionum quaedam Romae natio, | trepide concursans, occupata in otio*; Sen. *Tranq. an.* 12.4: the *ardalio* must be all over town at once, from a *salutatio* to a funeral, from a betrothal to a lawsuit, escorting a litter or even carrying it; Wiseman 1982: 29, Henderson 2001: 20. We discover only later (36, 74–5) that he had a prior engagement in court. **non . . . piger:** unlike Lucilius, a *garrulus* who *was piger* (4.12); unlike H., who pictures himself as supine in his private and public life. **usque . . . te:** persistent counter-attack: *sequar* ~ 16 *persequar*; *usque* ~ 15 *usque*; *te* ~ 16 *nil opus est te* (Henderson 1993: 73).

**20 demitto auriculas** ‘My ears drooped’; the second reference to ears (the Romans often used diminutives for their own body parts); *demittere aures* can mean ‘to deign to listen to’, ‘to bring oneself down to someone else’s level’ (*OLD* s.v. 10c): e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 10.2.5 *ille aures suas ad tua uerba demisit*. H.’s defeatist gesture foreshadows his submission to the petitioner at 77 (*auriculam opponere*); cf. Plato *Rep.* 10.613c: ‘ears on their shoulders’. **iniquae mentis** ‘grumpy’ (gen. of description); cf. 5.8 *haud animo aequo*. **asellus:** H. alludes to the proverbial ‘deaf ass’ at *Ep.* 2.1.199–200: *scriptores autem narrare putaret asello | fabellam surdo*; cf. 1.90.

**21 cum . . . onus:** H.’s duty as bearer of troublesome burdens recalls his servile ancestry (though he delights in transferring them to lesser creatures: 6.78, 99, 104–6). For the construction, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.708 *ipse subibo umeris*. The last syllable of *subiit* is lengthened in arsis. A cross-linguistic pun on Greek ὄνος ‘ass’ is likely (cf. 6.99, *Ep.* 1.13.12 *onus*, addressed to Vinnius Asinius); also a link with the injunction to avoid excessive verbiage at 10.9–10: *neu se | impediatur uerbis lassas onerantibus aures* (Van Rooy 1972: 50).

**22–8** Round three. The pest takes a new tack, but in recommending his artistic qualifications digs a deeper hole for himself by committing fatal errors of taste as far as H. and his circle are concerned: he prizes quantity over quality in writing, along with effeminate dancing and operatic singing.

**22 si . . . noui:** lit. ‘If I know myself well’, ‘unless I’m sadly mistaken’ (Brown), ‘. . . or I’m a Dutchman’. The pest is reduced to advertising the merits of acquaintance with himself (cf. 7 ‘*noris nos*’) rather than relying, properly, on an independent recommendation. Hidden here is the old Delphic *gnome* γνῶθι σεαυτὸν (cf. 72 *ignosces* 72, and the *gnosco/ignosco* joke at 3.21–3; *Ep.* 1.18.1 *si bene te noui*), with recollections of Oedipus: H.’s *anagnorisis* comes later.

**22–3 non . . . facies:** the pest twists H.’s words at 7–8 *pluris | hoc . . . mihi eris* (Van Rooy 1972: 40, Henderson 1993: 73 = 1999: 210). Seemingly privy to H.’s intimate writings, he revoices 5.40–4 *Varius . . . Vergiliusque | occurrunt, animae quales neque candidiores | . . . neque quis me sit deuinctior alter | . . . amico* (Henderson 1993: 77 = 1999: 214), placing himself potentially higher in H.’s value system. The pest is more brazen than Lycidas at Virg. *Ecl.* 9.35–6 *nam neque adhuc Vario uideor nec dicere*

*Cinna* | *digna* (Van Rooy 1973: 83). But at least his poetic pairing is on the right lines: ‘Viscus and Varius’ contaminates Virgil’s ‘Varius and Cinna’ (*Ecl.* 9.35) with Gallus’ ‘Viscus and Cato’ (Gall. fr. 9 *non ego, Visce . . . Kato*; with Hinds 1983: 43–54); Henderson 1998b: 170. **Viscum:** cf. 10.83, 2.8.20–21. The brothers Visci are otherwise unknown. There may be a pun here on *uiscus/-um* ‘mistletoe’ (a parasitic plant) or the sticky birdlime made from it: the pest will cling to H. (cf. 15 *usque tenebo*) and help him to trap Maecenas (cf. Pl. *Bacch.* 50 *uiscus merus uostrast blanditia*). **Varium:** 5.40n.; mentioned as another ideal admirer of H. at 10.81.

**23–4 nam . . . uersus?** The pest damns himself in literary terms (he has misread H.’s competitions with Crispinus at 4.13–16 and Lucilius at 4.9–10).

**24–5 quis . . . mollius?** Though fashionable, and later supported by Augustus, dancing and pantomime were often thought to be lowbrow, risqué and effeminate art-forms: Macrob. *Sat.* 3.14.6–8 (Scipio Aemilianus complained about dance schools for the young nobility), Lucr. 4.980 *cernere saltantes et mollia membra mouentes*, Sen. *Contr.* 1. pr. 8 *cantandi saltandique obscena studia effeminatos tenent*; see Hall and Wyles 2008. Here again the pest condemns his taste with immodest boasting; *mollitia* in men, indicating effeminacy, is in any case usually to be avoided (Edwards 1993: 63–97). The triple alliteration of *m-* suggests symptomatic affectation.

**25 inuideat . . . canto:** H. is careful to disclaim envy; cf. 50–1. Nevertheless, this is an ‘evil eye’ poem of a subtle kind. The pest is open about literary competitiveness, though to enlist the vulgar Hermogenes Tigellius is a red rag to a bull: 3.129n. and cf. 10.17, 10.70, 10.90. Rudd 83: ‘It is clear throughout that the pest’s attentions are inspired not by genuine liking and respect, but by *invidia*. Such *invidia*, however, is an index of Horace’s success.’

**26 interpellandi . . . erat:** H. gets a word in edgeways (potential elision with 25 *canto* suggests the interruption). Content, he claims later, with his *locus* in Maecenas’ house (51), he is caught here, metaphorically, in the act of insinuating himself (*interpello* = ‘obstruct, impede’: *OLD* s.v. 4).

**26–7 est . . . opus?** ‘Do you have a mother or relatives concerned for your well-being?’ Withering solicitude: if the pest is indeed such a priceless paragon, someone must care about him, though it would be blood relatives rather than *amici* (cf. 1.84 *non uxor saluum te uult, non filius*, 1.88–9 *si cognatos, nullo natura labore | quos tibi dat*). Rudd 284 n. 41, Shackleton Bailey 1982: 2 speculate about H.’s motives here. Another possibility is that H. assumes he is being approached in the street for his support in court; he could be a ‘friend’ in the absence of available relatives (cf. 37 *ades*; cf. Ter. *Ad.* 645–6 *amicus quidam me a foro abduxit modo | huc aduocatam sibi*, Cic. *Pro Sulla* 4 *omnes qui adsunt, qui laborant, qui saluum uolunt . . . defendunt*). **quis** = *quibus* (dat.). **saluo:** used in both wishes and imprecations: e.g. Cic. *Att.* 16.13(a).1 *ne sim saluus si aliter scribo ac sentio*. H.’s expression of concern is a curse in disguise; his own skin is the one he wants saved (cf. 78 *me seruauit*).



**28 omnes composui** ‘I’ve buried the lot of them.’ **felices! . . . resto** ‘Lucky them; now I’m left’ (sc. *tibi componendus*). H.’s internal thoughts are broadcast (cf. the *makarismos* of Bolanus at 12). A heroic tone creeps in at this point, as H. makes this awful encounter equivalent to Homeric or tragic destiny. Rudd 78 compares Hom. *Od.* 5.306: ‘thrice-blessed, four-times blessed are the Greeks who died [at Troy]’; cf. Pers. 3.97 *iampri dem hunc sepeli, tu restas*.

**29–34** A parody of heroic prophecy (see Fraenkel 117–18, Rudd 79, McGann 1973: 90 on mock-epic elements here), as H. ‘remembers’ having his fortune told as a child. A bathetic catalogue of ways of dying culminates in H.’s predicted cause of death: being worn out by a chatterbox, poetic justice for a sermonizer. Other means of death, by violence or disease, are eliminated.

**29 confice** ‘finish me off’. **namque . . . triste:** with similar words, Hector recognizes his death is near at Hom. *Il.* 22.303 (Anderson 1956: 158 = 1982: 94). **instat** ‘hangs over’. **triste** ‘grim’ (*OLD* 5), with mock-epic resonance; cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.24 *res tristissimas portendi*. **Sabella:** a woman of the Sabelli, the collective name for the Oscan speakers of Italy, including the Sabines and Samnites (see Dench 1995: 166–73 on central Italian fortune-tellers). H.’s old fortune-teller is a punning downgrade of *Sibulla*, mouthpiece of Apollo (Henderson 1993: 78 = 1999: 217; 59, 78nn.). Is H. hinting at Sabine origins for himself (predicting the site of his future country seat)?

**30 cecinit:** the right verb for prophecy (N–H *ad C.* 1.15.4). **mota . . . urna:** the transmitted text *diuina mota anus urna* is problematic. Elided *mota* is ambiguous: either *motā* ‘shaken’, abl. with *urna* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.432; this would stress the element of chance in H.’s fate), or *motā* ‘inspired’ (= *commota*), nom., agreeing with *anus*. Against *mota* as abl. is the fact that elision of a long vowel in the penultimate foot is unprecedented in H. (Nilsson 1952: 19 compares 2.30 *contrā alius*, which, however, begins a line, and produces no ambiguity) and is otherwise rare. But *diuinā* ‘fortune-telling’ would be unusually transferred from woman to urn (cf. *C.* 3.27.10 *diuina auis*, *AP* 218–19 *diuina sententia*, Sil. 3.344–5 *diuinarum . . . | flammaram*), leaving *anus* as a weak modifier to *Sabella*, whereas *diuinā* identifies the *anus* as a fortune-teller (*sortilega*; cf. 6.114). Cruquius and Bentley (who found the text *scabrum atque horridum*) independently transposed the order of words to *motā diuinā anus urnā* (followed by SB). David Butterfield *per litteras* helped to clarify this decision.

**31** A maximally dactylic line perhaps suggests the spinning of the urn before H.’s fate is settled. **dira** ‘dreadful’, momentous, used of *libido* at Lucr. 4.1046, *cupido* at Virg. *Georg.* 1.37, *Aen.* 6.373, 721, 9.185, dropsy at *C.* 2.2.13, Hannibal at *C.* 3.6.36. **hosticus:** a typical archaism since the time of Plautus: e.g. Pl. *Capt.* 246; *C.* 3.2.6 *ex moenibus hosticis* (again, in a ‘Homeric’ context). The word uncovers the hidden enmity in the destined social encounter (contrast 22 *amicum*). **ensis:** more poetic than *gladius* (Rudd 79), anticipating 74 *sub cultro* (cf. 10.36 *iugulat*).

**32 laterum dolor:** pleurisy (cf. Lucil. 1314M). *latus* here means the side of the chest (cf. Cic. *De or.* 3.6 *laterum dolore consumptus est*), an apt affliction for those



caught in crowds: cf. Livy 6.10.8 *pestem adhaerentem lateri suo*, 6.15.9 *circumfusa turba lateri meo*. **tarda podagra** ‘slow-footed gout’ (for the personification, cf. Cat. 71.2). Ennian resonances here, combining *trag.* 348 Jocelyn *tarda in senectute* with fr. 20 Courtney *numquam poetor nisi podager* (cf. *Ep.* 1.19.7). This ailment emphasizes H.’s state of paralysis, feet dragging (cf. 8–11), but may also recall the doomed Oedipus, whose name traditionally meant ‘swollen foot’ (cf. 22 *si bene me noui*, 59 *occurram in triuuis*, 78 *Apollo*).

**33 garrulus:** 4.12n.; picks up 13 *garriret*, also in first position: H. is staring his nemesis in the face. **quando . . . cumque** = *quandocumque* (tmesis, another archaizing detail); for this use, equivalent to *aliquando*, see H–S 608. In good oracular fashion, the fortune-teller hedges her bets about the exact date of H.’s demise (Fraenkel 117: ‘oracular mystery’). **consumet** ‘will devour him’ (continuing the parallels with wasting diseases: Rudd 79).

**34 si sapiat** ‘if he be wise’. The prophecy is connected with the adolescent’s getting of wisdom: avoiding the dangers of excessive *sermo* is H.’s destiny and goal. **uitet:** the traditional caveat of oracles (jussive subj.); cf. 4.85 *hunc tu, Romane, cauelo*, echoing a prophecy in Ennius (cf. Livy 5.16.9). Like Oedipus, the more Horace tries to avoid his fate, the more likely he is to run across it (cf. 59n.). **simul . . . aetas:** an echo of 4.119 *simul ac durauerit aetas*, from H.’s father’s precepts. Both episodes record formative scenes (cf. Lucr. 3.449 *robustus adoleuit uiribus aetas*, Virg. *Aen.* 12.438 *cum matura adoleuerit aetas*). Henderson 1993: 82 = 1999: 219: H. ‘comes of age, as programmed’. Oedipus similarly took steps to avoid his fate when he reached maturity.

**35–7** The first explicit appearance of the law in the poem. The pair arrive at the temple of Vesta, where the pest, having been released on bail, has a rendezvous with his prosecutor on an unspecified charge before going with him to the praetor’s tribunal to hear the charge assessed, as a preliminary to the actual trial. The ritual of walking into court together may be significant for the poem’s perambulatory structure: cf. Pl. *Cur.* 621 *ambula in ius*, Ter. *Phorm.* 936 *in ius ambula*. H. and the pest, at conversational loggerheads and walking together through the streets of Rome, mimic the archaic procedure connected with the kind of legal dispute the pest is avoiding in order to pursue H.

**35 uentum erat:** K–H and Rudd 77 take the use of the impersonal verb instead of *uenimus* or *ueneramus* to imply that H. is not prepared to associate with the pest even grammatically, though the construction is often neutral: e.g. Ter. *Phorm.* 135; contrast 62 *consistimus* (twinning H. with Fuscus). **ad Vestae:** sc. *templum*; at the east end of the Forum; Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.135 mentions a famous statue of a satyr housed there: another link with Apollo and Marsyas? **quarta . . . parte diei:** the fourth hour from sunrise (Romans divided the day into 12 parts), roughly mid-morning (depending on the time of year). H. expresses similar impatience around this time at 5.23 *quarta uix demum exponimur hora*; but at 6.122 he has not yet risen (*ad quartam iaceo*). Roman lawyers had already been in action for an hour: Mart. 4.8.2–3 *exercet raucos tertia causidicos, | in quintam uarios extendit Roma labores*.

**36 casu** ‘by chance, as it happened’; cf. 1 *forte*, 74 *casu*. **respondere** ‘to answer a summons to appear in court’ (*OLD* s.v. 6). This labels the pest a probable defendant and draws attention to two different spheres of challenge and response in the poem: conversation and the law (cf. 14). **uadato**: either (1) dat.: ‘to the man who has bound him over’ (i.e. the plaintiff); or (2) more probably, impersonal abl. abs. (‘bail having been granted’), as *respondere* is usually used intransitively; see Cloud 1989: 65–7. A Roman lawsuit had two stages: (1) the *in iure* stage, where the parties met before the praetor, who would clarify the legal form of the dispute; (2) the *in iudicio* stage, where the case was decided by an adjudicator (*iudex*). If the end of the poem (77 *rapit in ius*) must refer to the preliminary *in iure* stage, 35–41 cannot refer to the second stage, unless the pest had two cases in play at once (consistent, perhaps, with his interfering personality and ability to give offence). Alternatively, H. is being imprecise. If the pest did not turn up at the appointed meeting-place (here, the temple of Vesta: see Mazurek 1997: 8–9 on tablets specifying places and times to meet), to accompany the plaintiff to the praetor’s tribunal, he stood to forfeit his bail-money (*uadimonium*) to the plaintiff – rather than lose the case itself (37 *perdere litem*). Thus the plaintiff’s keenness to pursue the case at the end is hard to understand when he could just pocket the money. Mazurek 1997: 10 suggests that completing this process might be preferable to having to initiate further lawsuits for bankruptcy or bail. Cloud 1989: 66 believes that the reason for the departure from normal practice lies in the emblematic role of the law as custodian of right order, with H. representing the orderly approach to citizen duties (cf. *Ep.* 1.16.40–3) and the pest representing the violation of order and receiving poetic justice for jumping bail: ‘The poem *needs* the violent reassertion of law that only the archaic ritual seizure of the defendant would provide. . . . all that remained of the ritual was the walking together of plaintiff and defendant from the agreed meeting-place to the praetor’s tribunal.’ On bail, see also Crook 1967: 76, Wolf 1985, Paratore 1964; Cic. *Quinct.* 22–5, 48–58 deals with a case of dishonoured bail.

**37 fecisset**: plupf. subj. of virtual indirect speech (corresponding to future perf. indicative in direct speech; *debebat* implies *dixit se debere*).

**38–41** A brief fourth sally. The theme of the trial is introduced exactly halfway through the poem. At this stage it only makes life worse for H.: the pest is prepared to sacrifice his public responsibilities (and possibly money too) in order to pursue him.

**38 ‘si . . . amas’** ‘do me a favour’; cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 1031 *caue posthac, si me amas, unquam istuc uerbum ex te audiam*. The pest is already assuming ties of *amicitia* with H. (who as narrator chooses standard terms of civility which grate with the underlying enmity). **me**: not elided, but shortened before the vowel that follows (prosodic hiatus common in comedy). **ades** ‘give moral support [as a friend or relative, by one’s presence in court]’ or ‘appear as an advocate for’. It is unclear whether the pest is just asking for friendly support or for semi-professional help. H. chooses to interpret the demand as involving extensive legal competence

(perhaps because it would be indelicate to say ‘We simply aren’t friends’). Cf. schol. *ad Cic. Diu. Caec.* 11 *qui defendit alterum in iudicio aut patronus dicitur si orator est, aut aduocatus si aut ius suggerit aut praesentiam suam commodat amico*, 2.6.35 *sibi adesses ad Puteal* (in a list of H.’s obligations to his friends, with Muecke *ad loc.*: the schol. infer support in court).

**38–9 inteream** ‘I’m damned, blow me’: subj. for a wish used to guarantee the truth of the following statement. H.’s colloquial oaths suggest the underlying crisis (one of H.’s ‘death-wishes’, like 47 *dispeream*; Henderson 1993: 68 = 1999: 204).

**ualeo stare** ‘I am capable of standing up in court’; also with a transferred sense, ‘represent, take someone’s side in court’; e.g. Ter. *Phorm.* 269 *ni haec ita essent, cum illo haud stares*. H. is perhaps playing on his ‘feeble’ cognomen, Flaccus.

**noui . . . iura**: H. claims no knowledge of civil law, so cannot equal the upright public citizen praised at *Ep.* 1.16.40–3 (cf. 6.113–14). His meditations along the Via Sacra are entirely personal (though see 2n., Cic. *Off.* 1.144). At 2.2.131, Ofellus claims that *uafri inscitia iuris* can undo a man; Catius recommends acquaintance with *iura* = ‘saucers’: 2.4.38 *ignarum quibus est ius aptius*, 63–4 *est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris | naturam*. Unlike the pest (7 *docti sumus*, 19 *non sum piger*), H. is disingenuously modest about his experience and mean with his offers of service; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 213–14 on C. Scribonius Curio, cos. 76 BC, the most *indoctus* and *rudis* person he had ever met: *non publicum ius, non priuatum et ciuile cognouerat*. The keen legacy-hunter at 2.5.34 is encouraged to boast of his legal competence: *ius anceps noui, causas defendere possum.*’

**40 propero . . . scis**: a lame excuse. **dubius . . . faciam**: H.’s fate hangs in the balance as the pest publicly weighs his tactical dilemma; the jury is out.

**41 rem**: the court-case. **sodes** = *si audes*: ‘please’, informal; cf. Cic. *Orat.* 154 *libenter etiam copulando uerba iungebant, ut ‘sodes’ pro ‘si audes’, ‘sis’ pro ‘si uis’*. **non faciam** ‘I won’t [go to court]’. A snap assessment of the various opportunities. The pest’s failure to go to court may imply that he lacks civic *fides* (DuQuesnay 1984: 52).

**42 praecedere coepit**: the pest now takes a decisive lead, as his position in the street suggests. The hexameter ending in the first half of the line has an air of finality (Rudd 78).

**42–3** H. accepts defeat (confirming *non ualeo stare*), and follows the pest like a prisoner in a triumphal procession. The power balance has changed, it seems (contrast 16 *persequar*). **ut**: causal (archaic or familiar; see H–S 635).

**43–60** Round five. The pest gets to the point at last by mentioning the significant name ‘Maecenas’.

**43 Maecenas . . . tecum?** ‘How do you get on with Maecenas?’ ‘What’s life like with Maecenas?’ (echoing H.’s opener at 1.1 *Qui fit, Maecenas*). The crude verb *agit* is missing in a conversational ellipsis. *quomodo* is archaic or colloquial (H–S 459; cf. 1.1 *Qui*).

**44 hinc repetit** ‘he resumes from this point’; or ‘his next tack is . . .’; for *hinc* cf. 5.50.

**44–60** For this section, the two voices run together confusingly, indicating that H. may be paying lip service to the pest’s desires but on the other hand the pest may be painfully exposing H.’s own past strategies (Henderson 1999: 211 = 1993: 74). The attribution of words to each speaker is still unsettled; on the relative arguments, see Lejay, Rudd 285 n. 54.; on the richness of the ambiguity in the absence of original speech marks, see Henderson 1993: 74–6 = 1999: 211–14.

**44 paucorum hominum:** this is probably H.’s voice (cf. Oliensis 1998: 38, Labate 2005: 55), firmly responding that Maecenas’ social interactions are unassuming but discriminating (cf. 6.60–1, etc.), qualities we recognize as being in line with his own restrained tastes (4.18 *raro et perpauca loquentis*, 6.56 *pauca locutus*; 4.129 *ego sanus*, 5.44 *ego . . . sanus*). From the perspective of those, like the pest, who are thus indirectly but effectively excluded, this looks somewhat sinister. DuQuesnay 1984: 52 notes that the phrase could have undertones of oligarchy, citing Syme 1964: 218: ‘In the prologue of the *Bellum Jugurthinum* “potentia paucorum” denotes three men, precisely (3.4).’ Another unflattering nuance in this detail is suggested by Ter. *Eun.* 407–12, where the soldier Thraso boasts to the parasite Gnatho of his success with a king: 467 TH. *tum me conuiuam solum abducebat sibi . . .*; 408–12 TH. *immo sic homost: | perpaucorum hominum. GN. immo nullorum arbitror, | si tecum uiuūt. TH. inuidere omnes mihi, | mordere clanculum: ego non flocci pendere: | illi inuidere misere.* Thraso is presented as a smug fool: what does this say about the pious-seeming H.? See Skutsch 1985: 450–1, Hardie 2007 for connections with Ennius’ more positive ‘Good Companion’ sketch (*Ann.* 268–86); 3.63–4 adds further Ennian resonances to H.’s friendship with Maecenas. Brown gives the words to the pest, flattering H. as a carefully chosen client; otherwise H.’s resumption at 45 looks cryptic and abrupt. But the claim squares well with H.’s characterization of Maecenas at 6.51–2 *cautum dignos assumere, praua | ambitione procul. mentis . . . sanae:* sanity and caution are also linked at 3.61–2 *pro bene sano | ac non incauto.*

**45 nemo . . . usus** ‘No one’s used his good fortune more shrewdly.’ This comment is unlikely to be H.’s (on Maecenas), given his sensitivity to other people’s digs at his own meteoric rise (6.52–4, 2.6.49). It is most probably a snide interjection from the snubbed pest, directed either at Maecenas as successful creator of a circle or at H. as successful member of it. Alternatively, the pest speaks continuously from 43, pre-empting answers to his question ‘*Maecenas quomodo tecum?*’ and recognizing in either Maecenas or H. a sympathetic opportunist, still potentially open to his overtures.

**45–6 haberes . . . adiutorem** belongs unquestionably to the pest (a fan of the grand gesture), who counters H.’s litotes (44 *paucorum*) with hyperbole. *adiutor* is a secondary player in the theatre (Phaedr. 5.5.14) or a right-hand man (Anderson 1956: 161 = 1982: 97: ‘aide-de-camp’). **haberes:** hypothetical conditional.

**46 posset . . . secundas:** sc. *partes* (another theatrical metaphor, referring to the deuteragonist: Cic. *Diu. Caec.* 48). Although he has taken the lead in the street and the power struggle (cf. 42 *praecedere*), the pest is content for now with a minor role (like the subtle flatterer at *Ep.* 1.18.14 *uel partes mimum tractare secundas*; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 242 *Q. Arrius qui fuit M. Crassi quasi secundarum*).

**47 hunc hominem** ‘yours truly’ (colloquial): the pest is *ille* to H. **tradere** ‘to introduce’, a blatant term from *commendatio*; cf. *Ep.* 1.9.3, 18.78, Cic. *Fam.* 7.17.2 *sic ei te commendavi et tradidi*.

**47–8 dispeream . . . omnes:** often given to the pest, who is assumed to be flattering H. (despite H.’s protestations at 50–1 that everyone knows their place in Maecenas’ house), while also perhaps exposing the unsavoury truth behind his success story. The pest would envisage the kind of *purae plateae* H. dreams of at *Ep.* 2.2.71: *nihil ut . . . obstet*. Success lies in an uninterrupted right of way; he transfers his own bulldozing techniques to H. *summosses* = *summouisses* (potential subj.); sc. *si tradidisses* or *si traderes*: ‘you’d wipe the floor with all of them’ (lit. ‘you’d sweep them all out of the way’; *summouere* = ‘to clear from the path of a magistrate’ etc.) – just as the pest has done with his relatives (28 *omnis composui*). But the comment also works well as a wry aside from H., who is getting to know the pest well (cf. 38 *inteream si* and the similar encouragement at 54–5: *uelis tantummodo, quae tua uirtus, | expugnabis*). Of course the pest would wipe the floor: he himself is a bull in a china shop (H. displaces the accusations he receives at 2.6.30: ‘*tu pulses omne quod obstat*’). If the lines are given to the pest, H. goes on to give an indignant vindication.

**48–50** H. uses blocking manoeuvres again, piling on the negatives: *non, nec . . . ulla . . . | nec . . . , nil*; cf. 2.6.53 ‘*nil equidem*’ ‘no comment’. **isto . . . modo** ‘in the way you think’, disparaging the pest’s assumptions. **uiuitur:** the alternative reading (Σ) to *uiuimus*, defended by Bentley (*‘venustius’*), Müller and Brink 1987: 31 as more understated (cf. 53 *habet*). Fraenkel’s comment (116) that ‘Horace’s voice has a very different ring from the cool detachment and the irony of his other replies to the bore’ presumes that we have here the first example in the poem (see 35n.) of H. using the first person pl., to exclude the pest (thus the major MSS and Priscian).

**49–50 domus . . . malis:** Fraenkel 116 compares H.’s ‘superlatives’ at 5.40–2 for Virgil, Varius and Plotius.

**49 purior:** H. whitewashes the house as he does himself at 6.64 *uita et pectore puro*; cf. *Ep.* 2.2.71 *purae sunt plateae*.

**50 aliena** ‘unfamiliar, unconnected with’ (*OLD* s.v. 6); the house, like H., says ‘I don’t know you’. H. is finding new scapegoats and obliquely flattering Maecenas (Rudd 81). **malis:** presumably including *praua ambitio*. **nil . . . officit** ‘It’s no skin off my nose.’ **inquam** ‘I can tell you’; this ‘true confession’ probably belongs to H.’s speech, not to the narrator.

**51 ditior . . . doctior:** a calculated disavowal of *inuidia* and *ambitio*; contrast 1.40 *nil obstet tibi dum ne sit te ditior alter*. Maecenas’ clientele remains anonymous.

**51–2 est . . . suus:** H. is non-committal about his own place in the pecking order.

**52 magnum . . . credible** ‘You’re telling a tall story’ (cf. 3.12–13 *reges atque tetrarchas, omnia magna loquens*). **atqui** ‘all the same’, ‘and yet’; cf. 1.19; *OLD* s.v. 2: introducing a statement contrary but not contradictory to what precedes.

**53 sic habet** ‘that’s how it is’ (= *sic se res habet*).

**53–4 accendis . . . esse** ‘you make me all the keener (lit. ‘fire me up so I desire more to get close to him/be his right-hand man’, assuming e.g. ‘giving additional reasons’ before the ind. qu. with *quare = ut ea re*). **proximus:** cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.4.1 *intimus proximus familiarissimus quisque aut sibi pertimuit aut mihi inuidit*, *Ver.* 3.157. *proximus lictor* (*OLD* s.v. 3c) was the lictor who preceded a magistrate; cf. 59 *deducam*, 46 *adiutorem*.

**54–60** Tongue-in-cheek (because he would never openly admit to such deliberate tactics), H. encourages the pest to try to gain entry to Maecenas’ circle by violent or underhand means. The pest’s persistence recalls the *exclusus amator* of elegy (cf. 58 *exclusus*); for the overlap between the aims of *amicitia* and of *amor*, see Oliensis 1997, Gibson 1995; cf. the obstacles facing the adulterer at 2.96, 97–8.

**54–5** H. teases the pest by assuring him of success. **uelis tantummodo** ‘you have only to want to’ (paratactic jussive). **quae . . . uirtus** ‘such is your determination’ (equivalent to *pro ea uirtute, qua es*: H–S §304; *uirtus* = ‘spirit, determination’). A new round of military metaphors begins: *expugnabis, uinci, aditus primos, muneribus servos corrumpam*. **expugnabis** ‘you will storm, take possession’ (as of a fortress or citadel).

**55–6 et . . . possit** ‘and he’s open to being conquered’ (*possit*: generic subj.; *eo* = ‘for that reason’). **difficiles . . . habet** ‘he makes the initial approaches difficult’, lit. the first outworks (to the fortress); *difficiles* is proleptic. Henderson 1993: 76 = 1999: 213; the pest is thrilled ‘because (he believes) he has been shown how the normal “broking” system of *commendatio* (*tradere*, 47) can be finessed’.

**56–60** The pest takes up this promise enthusiastically, driving home his intentions with *corrumpam, quaeram, occurram, deducam* (three of these in identical metrical position) and ending with a proverb about persistence. **haud . . . dero** ‘I won’t let myself down.’ (lit. ‘be lacking in respect of myself’). H. had used the idiom himself at 4.133–4 *neque enim . . . desum mihi* (implying ‘rather than dance attendance on other people’).

**57 muneribus . . . corrumpam:** bribery was a typically underhand way of storming a city if straightforward military methods failed. **non hodie:** cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 3.49 (Menalcas to Damoetas) *numquam hodie effugies* (Van Rooy 1973: 83).

**58 exclusus** ‘denied entry’; cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1.10 *exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseris, Att.* 12.40.2 *dum tua me domus leuabat, quis a me exclusus?* **desistam** ‘give up’; in a legal context, ‘to cease prosecution of a case’. **tempora quaeram** ‘I shall seek out the right moment’ (suggesting that it is *ratio*, not *fors*, that throws people together sometimes; i.e. did the pest lie in wait for H. rather than running into him spontaneously?). *tempora* are not ‘opportunities’ but

‘auspicious moments’ (Palmer); cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.423 (Dido to Anna) *sola uiri molles aditus et tempora noras*. Judging from the pest’s crass behaviour to H., it is hard to have faith in his judgment. Maecenas’ verdict on H.’s intrusion at 3.66 would apply to equally to him: *‘communi sensu plane caret’ iniquimus*.

**59 occurram:** unlike *accurrit* (3), *occurram* suggests anything from ‘run into accidentally’ to a virtual roadblock. The word invites retrospective doubts about some other ‘accidental’ meetings: e.g. 61 *Fuscus Aristius occurrit*, 4.135–6 *sic dulcis amicis | occurram*, 5.40–1 *Variius . . . Vergiliusque | occurrunt*. **triuuis** ‘street-corners’ (*OLD*: ‘a place of public resort’); sometimes ‘the gutter’, the haunt of unscrupulous *scurrae* (Cic. *Mur.* 13 *non debes . . . arripere maledictum ex triuio aut ex scurrarum aliquo conuicio*); cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 3.26–7 *non tu in triuiis . . . solebas | . . . disperdere carmen*. *tri-uuis* also adds to the idea of a chance meeting, recalling Oedipus, who met his fate at the place where three roads met (cf. 32 *tarda podagra*, 34 *simul . . . aetas*), and the idea of running into someone by trying to avoid them (the folk-tale of meeting death in the marketplace is told by W. Somerset Maugham as ‘Appointment in Samarra’). **deducam:** the primary meaning of *deducere* here is to escort someone from their house or in the street (cf. 54 *proximus esse*), especially to the Forum (e.g. Cic. *Mur.* 70 *si interdum ad forum deducimur*, Cic. *Att.* 2.1.5 *cum candidatum deduceremus*), part of the ritual of client–patron support: cf. 2.5.17 *tu comes exterior*, 94–5 *extrahe turba | oppositis umeris*, Q. Cic. *Pet.* 34 *huius . . . rei [sc. assectationis] tres partes sunt, una saluatorum . . . altera deductorum, tertia assectatorum*. This is the civil version of more hostile forms of escorting: ‘bring to court’ or ‘bring as a witness’ (*OLD* s.v. 10d: e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 3.6, Livy 25.7.14 *deducti in comitium*, Phaedr. 3.13.3 *lis ad forum deducta est*, Cic. *Ver.* 4.91). For other senses of the word, see 1.14–15n., among which the literary notion of fine spinning may be in play (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3 *carmen deductum*, written after a word in the poet’s ear by Apollo). The pest is prolix, but H.’s *sermo* is *deductus*, culminating with ears and Apollo, the urban version of Virgil’s divinely ordered pastoral.

**59–60 nil . . . mortalibus** ‘Nothing ventured, nothing gained.’ The pest’s final flourish parodies H.’s familiar grudging voice: e.g. 1.40 *nil obstat tibi dum ne sit te ditior alter*, 1.62, 2.28 *nil medium est*, 3.9, 17, 18, 9.16, 14, 48–50. Debased in the mouth of an arriviste, the maxim may originate with ps.-Phocylides’ quotation of the Branchidae oracle of Apollo at Didyma (οὐδὲν ἄνευ καμάτου πέλει ἀνδράσιβιν εὐπετές ἔργον), but there are many variations (Tosi 1991: 750 n. 1685). On the futility of learning maxims: Sen. *Ep.* 33. The pest lives on a heroic plane (cf. 45 *magnum adiutorem*, 52 *magnum narras*), taunting H. with his feebleness. One man’s *labor* is another’s *dolis atque fallaciis* (Sall. *Cat.* 11.1–2; DuQuesnay 1984: 209 n. 158). But friends, unlike relatives, have to be worked at: cf. 1.88 *nullo . . . labore*.

**60–74** H.’s friend Aristius Fuscus shows up fortuitously, but he is neither the *deus ex machina* he seems to be nor the helpful *magnum adiutor* or player of *secundae partes* advertised at 46. Within the drama, however, he is recognizable as the comic foil or sidekick who leaves the hero in the lurch (Musurillo 1964: 66), an apt role



given his possible real-life identity as a comic poet. His function here is to give H. a dose of his own medicine and demonstrate how the ideal satirist might behave, extracting wry humour at other people's expense while extricating himself with perfect civility. The sphinx to H.'s Oedipus, Fuscus puts on a teasing, po-faced act of wilful misunderstanding. Henderson 1993: 85 = 1999: 224 detects devastating parody of H.'s first meeting with the pest, in both speech and body-language: H. urgently wants to communicate while Fuscus puts up a brick wall. Thus 61 *occurrit* ~ 3 *accurrit*; 62 *consistimus* ~ 9 *consistere*; 64 *et pressare manu* ~ 4 *arreptaue manu*; 65 *eriperet*, 73–4 *fugit... ac... linquit* ~ 8 *discedere*, 14 *abire*. The same power-relations are acted out: 73–4 *fugit... ac... linquit* ~ 16 *prosequar*, 19 *sequar*, 42 *praecedere*. Relationships are noted: 61–2 *mihī carus et illum | qui pulchre nosset* ~ 3 *notus mihī nomine tantum*; conversations occur in tandem: 62–3 *unde uenis... quo tendis?* ~ 4 *quid agis?*; 63 *respondet* ~ 14 *respondebat*. The petitioner's desires are similarly postponed: 68–9 *sed meliore | tempore dicam*, 72 *alias loquar*. By the time of S. II 6 H. has learned to play 'dumb': 53–5 *numquid de Dacis audisti?* 'nil equidem.' 'ut tu | semper eris derisor!' 'at omnes di exagitent me, | si quicquam...'; 57–8 *irantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum | scilicet egregiū mortalem altique silenti*.

**60 haec dum agit** 'while he was pursuing this theme'. **ecce:** partly suggests H.'s direct speech ('Look who's here'), as he hails Fuscus desperately. But the word also belongs to the narrative technique of anecdotes, announcing some surprise event (*OLD* s.v. 4). The adjudicator Palaemon similarly arrives at the singing contest at Virg. *Ecl.* 3.50 *audiat haec tantum – uel qui uenit ecce Palaemon*; cf. Crispinus at 4.13–14, also in the context of a literary competition: *ecce | Crispinus*.

**61 Fuscus Aristius:** among H.'s desired admirers at 10.82–3 *optimus atque | Fuscus*, he is also the addressee of *C.* 1.22, about H.'s miraculous escape from a wolf (9–12 *me... lupus... fugit inermem*), and of *Ep.* 1.10 (*urbis amatorem, Fuscum*), where H. names him affectionately as almost a twin brother, whose only difference of opinion is his preference for city life: 3–5 *cetera paene gemelli | fraternis animis, quidquid negat alter, et alter, | adnuimus pariter, uetuli notique columbi*. Porph. *ad Ep.* 1.10 calls Fuscus a writer of comedies (perhaps an inference from his role here: cf. 65–6 *male salsus | ridens*), but *ad S.* 1.9.60 calls him *praestantissimus grammaticus illo tempore*. Ps.-Acro calls him a tragedian, Comm. Cruq. a *grammaticus*; N–H *ad C.* 1.22, Nisbet 1995a: 3. McGann's 'poker-faced schoolmaster' (1973: 89) suggests a comic 'straight man'; at *Ep.* 1.10.45 H. teases him for his strict discipline: *nec me dimittes incastigatum*. **occurrit** 'rolled up, bumped into us' (for chance meetings, see 59n.).

**61–2 mihī... nosset:** Fuscus completes a triangle between the two acquaintances. H. presumes on his genuine friendship (at 6.70 he says his wish is *uiuō carus amicis*) while mocking his acquaintance with the pest: *qui pulchre nosset*, 'who would know him well' (generic subj. = *nouisset*, with undertones of 'only too well, perfectly'; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 10.23 *Lepidum pulchre noram*). What would seem to be an equal bond of acquaintance weights the newcomer against the pest; paradoxically, 'to know' means 'not to like, to have someone taped', rather than cosy familiarity



(*Ep.* 1.10.5 *uetuli notique columbi*, of H. and Fuscus). The pest does not speak again, and H. is the one who attempts *summouere omnes*.

**62 consistimus:** Rudd 77 takes this as referring to Fuscus and H. only: an act of exclusion is taking place.

**62–3 ‘unde . . . respondet:** deliciously compressed, as if H. is in a hurry to get the formalities over with (Comm. Cruq: *elegantier mixtum inter se et confusum sermonem interrogandi respondendi expressit*). The civil questions reminiscent of the ‘random’ opening of a Platonic dialogue (e.g. 2.4.1 *unde et quo, Catus?*, Pl. *Phaedrus* 227a) raise expectations for this *sermo* that are nipped in the bud. The questions could also be interpreted as cryptic enquiries about H.’s past origins and future ambitions, which he does not answer here (if we ignore the false alibi), though he has given versions of answers in *S.* 5 and 6. In a book that charts the evolution of the expert satirist, Fuscus shows H. how far he has still to go. His performance is H.’s *esprit d’escalier* (Gowers 2003: 86).

**63 uellere coepi** ‘I began to tug’; sc. *togam*. In view of the ear-tugging later, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3–4 *Cynthius aurem | uellit et admonuit*.

**64 pressare** ‘to squeeze’, preferred by most recent editors (and Brink 1987: 32) as more desperate than *prensare* (a, V) ‘to clutch at’, which interestingly also means ‘to buttonhole, canvass’ and is related to *prensio* ‘arrest’. Both verbs enhance the urgent hissing of *lentissima* and either way H. unwittingly reproduces the pest’s original approach (4 *arreptaque manu*) as well as a gesture connected with the subsequent legal process: grabbing onto someone with the hand (*manus iniectio*) to enlist him as a witness was an alternative to tweaking his ear (cf. 77). **lentissima** ‘unresponsive’, cruelly upstaging H.’s callous response to the pest; the superlative, comparatively common in this poem, given its colloquial tone (Büchner 1948), suggests frustration. **nutans** ‘nodding [furiously]’.

**65 distortuens oculos** ‘rolling my eyes’. Whereas *Ep.* 1.10 suggests that H. and Fuscus normally go hand in hand, nod in agreement (5 *annuimus pariter*) and see eye to eye, H. fails, even with exaggerated body language, to come to any understanding. His bodily contortions suggest the traditional gestures of the malevolent satirist: innuendo and squinting (cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4.49.62 on a malicious man: *circum inspectans huc et illuc*). **eriperet:** transfers the verb missing from the closing Homeric tag 78 *sic me seruauit Apollo* (~ *Il.* 20.443 τὸν δ’ ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων; 78n.).

**65–6 male . . . dissimulare** ‘sick joker that he was, he chose to laugh and fake incomprehension’ (what H. has been doing ineptly all along). Now that the joke is on him, proceedings turn sour (cf. 66 *bilis*). For evasion as a comic manoeuvre, cf. 10.41 *eludente*. **male salsus:** *male* intensifies or makes an adjective pejorative (cf. *C.* 1.9.24 *male pertinaci*; Hofmann 1951: 74), but here also suggests its skewed application (cf. *Cat.* 10.33 *insulsa male*). The wit (*salsus* = ‘salty’) is tasteless, off-colour. **meum . . . bilis** ‘I seethed with bile’; lit: ‘bile burned my liver’. H. undergoes the physiological process traditionally launched by satirical anger (cf. 11 *cerebri*); for the liver or spleen

as its seat, cf. *Ep.* 1.2.13 *ira . . . writ*, *C.* 1.13.4 *feruens difficili bile tumet iecur*, *Pers.* 1.12 *sum petulanti splene*.

**67–9** H.'s unarticulated meditations and asides (cf. 2, 10 *nescio quid*) turn to desperate fumbling for an alibi; he rustles up a pretext, once again trying to exclude the pest from his circle (*secreto*). Fuscus, obfuscating, saves H.'s face by conniving at his fib, but pleads time as his excuse (cf. the pest's 58 *tempora quaeram*: H. has fatally failed in this).

**69 tricesima sabbata**: an alibi even more far-fetched than H.'s Bunburying ('a piece of pseudo-erudition': McGann 1973: 89): conscientious objection to civic duties (specifically serving as witness/prosecutor) because today is the thirtieth Jewish Sabbath (cf. *Ov. AA* 1.413–16). Traditional explanations include (1) the feast of the trumpets; (2) the day of atonement; (3) the feast of the tabernacles; or (4) some other Sabbath falling on the thirtieth day of the month (Feldman 1989–90, 1993: 509–10 n. 103); cf. Porph. *sabbata lunaria, quae vulgares homines ferias sibi assumunt*. Of these, the day of atonement (cf. 72 *ignoscet*) is most apt. On Jewish 'superstition', see 5.100n.; Smallwood 1976, Leon 1960, MacMullen 1974; *Commod. Instr.* 1.40.3 *et sabbata uestra spernit et tricesimas . . . resecurit . . . de lege*. **uin tu** 'surely you don't want' (= *uisne/num uis*). Cf. H.'s *numquid uis?* to the pest (5): this time, H. is made to feel his wishes do not matter.

**70 curtis Iudaeis** 'snipped-off Jews' (cf. 6.104–5 *curto . . . mulo*); a facetious name for the circumcised race (cf. 5.100 *Iudaeus Apella*). Roman satirists use this Jewish feature to promote their own superiority (Feldman 1993). **oppedere** 'to fart in the face of', a metaphor of contempt; cf. Greek καταπέρδεσθαι and προσπέρδεσθαι (Henderson 1975: 197) and Priapus' actual offensive gesture to the witches in 8 (cf. Joseph. *Bj* 2.224: a Roman soldier farts at the Jews). H. is exposed by Fuscus as an old-style offensive satirist who enjoys humiliating the impaired (Henderson 1993: 85 = 1999: 225).

**70–1 nulla . . . religio est**: another negative claim from H.; as is clear from S. 5, 6 and 8, he is proud of his freedom from superstition. **religio** 'religious scruple' (sc. *quominus id faciam*).

**71–2 sum . . . infirmior** 'I'm somewhat more susceptible'. Fuscus beats H. at self-effacement (cf. 38–9 *inteream si | . . . ualeo stare*). **unus multorum** 'one of the masses', mocking H., who started off trying to avoid crowds, 2 *totus in illis*, but was absorbed into a quasi-Jewish pressgang at 4.142 *nam multo plures sumus*, 4.143 *turbam*. Fuscus' cryptic message is really about social obligation. Along with Tibullus in *Ep.* 1.4 (1 *nostrorum sermonum candide iudex*), he has become H.'s chief critic.

**72 ignoscet**: H.'s third sermon returns to haunt him now: 3.139–40 *et mihi dulces | ignoscent, si quid peccaro stultus, amici*, 3.73–4 *qui ne tuberibus propriis offendet amicum | postulat, ignoscet uerrucis illius*, 3.21–3. For all his veneer of politeness, he has proved himself intolerant and critical. **alias loquar**: an unequivocal rebuff; Fuscus pockets H.'s alibi for himself. H. has failed in his calculations about how to approach his friends: 4.135–6 *sic dulcis amicis | occurram*.

**72–3 huncine . . . mih!** ‘To think that such an evil day had dawned on me!’ (*surrexe = surrexisse*). Fuscus (= ‘the shady one’) appears in the person of a satiric Apollo, a black sun-god, who refuses to rescue H. (Henderson 1993: 85 = 1999: 226); for *niger* as ‘evil, poisonous’, cf. 4.95 *hic niger est*, 4.100 *nigrae sucus lolliginis*. *nigrum solem* paraphrases *dies ater*, a day that was *nefastus*, unfit for conducting business (contrast the auspicious day and friendly friends at 5.39 *lux . . . gratissima*, 41 *animae . . . candidiores*). **fugit improbus** ‘the bastard did a bunk’. Fuscus loses his charm for H. (61 *carus*), though there may be no harm done to their friendship: H. has commemorated him as an accomplished satirist, with sneaking admiration for his success both in seizing the moral high ground and in making his escape so gracefully (cf. *C. 1.22.1 integer uitae scelerisque purus*).

**73–4 me . . . linquit** ‘left me in the soup’ (lit. ‘under the knife’; a metaphor from sacrifice or execution: see *Sen. Ep.* 87.9). H. is now in the same situation as the hapless Jews (Feldman 1993: 510–11 n. 103). *S.* 7 had ended with suspended *ingulatio*, but a more successful exit is made here.

**74–8** While Fuscus fails H., unexpected relief arrives in the shape of the pest’s opponent at law (*aduersarius*), who comes to haul him off to court. H. offers himself as witness, an altercation between plaintiff and defendant ensues (75 *inclamat*) and a crowd collects (78 *undique concursus*): the dialogue dissolves into the general hubbub of city life and H. gives thanks to his saviour Apollo. The sentiment is usually thought to be genuine, but Mazurek 1997: 13 reinterprets 78 *sic me seruauit Apollo* as ironic (the witness called upon may have had to accompany the litigants to court; *contra* Cairns 2005): ‘All that remains of the epic divine “salvation”, after it has been undermined by the comic subpoena, is the marginal triumph gained from seeing the Pest dragged off forcibly.’ The dénouement is undoubtedly glib, whatever the legal consequences. Whether H. escapes completely, or merely out of the frying pan into the fire, larger civil procedures have succeeded in banishing a scapegoat where individual manoeuvres have failed. By merely playing accessory to the arrest, by bending his ear, not using his voice, H. keeps his hands clean and leaves the dirty work of disposing of the pest to a larger machine. McGann 1973: 70: ‘Is the poet, unconsciously no doubt, pointing to the power which lay behind the good taste and relaxed civility of the circle? Does the arrest symbolize the confidence of an establishment group that its position and interests will be maintained and defended from without?’

Staccato clauses, ellipsis and chiasmus (*clamor utrimque: | undique concursus*) quicken the pace. Each line ends with a potential elision with the first syllable of the next line (or with the first line of the poem in the case of 78), suggesting a blurring of the narrative as H. is sucked into the fray (cf. line-ending elisions at 3, 25, 58, 63, 67). The deft reportage compares favourably with the bald narrative of a brawl condemned for dullness at *Rhet. Her.* 4.11.16: *nam istic in balineis accessit ad hunc. postea dicit: ‘hic tuus seruus me pulsauit.’ postea dicit hic illi: ‘considerabo.’ post ille conuicium fecit et magis magisque praesente multis clamauit.*

**74 casu . . . illi:** finally the pest meets an obstacle in his own path, his opponent in court (his postponed nemesis), offering H. a fortuitous escape as the wheel of chance comes full circle (cf. 1 *forte*).

**75 aduersarius** ‘plaintiff’. If a defendant jumped bail, the plaintiff did his own citizen’s arrest, using a witness (Twelve Tables, *Font. iur.* p. 17), and took him to the tribunal in the Forum for the first stage of the trial: clarification of the case by the praetor. The plaintiff seems here to be content to lose the bail-money in favour of a quicker settlement by prosecution (36–7n.). Rudd 80: ‘[A]lthough the *aduersarius* is acting in his own interests, he is also the agent of a higher power. If he comes on the scene *casu* (74), it is the sort of chance that brought Oedipus to the cross-roads.’ The pest, too, meets his fate in the marketplace, stumbling on his opponent when he had contrived to avoid him. ‘**quo . . . turpissime?**’ cuts out the social niceties of 4 ‘*quid agis, dulcissime rerum?*’ and 62–3 ‘*unde uenis et quo tendis?*’. The wolves reveal themselves under their sheep’s clothing, as the real hostility of Roman social relations is laid bare.

**75–6 magna | . . . uoce:** the first full-volume utterance in the poem recalls the yells of the litigants at 7.31 *magna uoce*, 7.33 *exclamat*; cf. the unveiled greeting at 2.6.29–30.

**76 ‘licet antestari?’** ‘Can I name you a witness to the arrest?’ (*inquit* or *rogat* implied); cf. Twelve Tables: *ni it antestamino* (*Font. iur.* p. 17), Pl. *Cur.* 621 PH. *ambula in ius. TH. non eo. PH. licet te antestari? TH. non licet, Pers.* 747 DOR. *nonne antestaris?* (Tandoi 1961). **ego uero:** suggests H.’s new eagerness to play the good citizen.

**77 oppono auriculum** ‘I proffer my ear’ (to be touched). An archaic gesture with obscure origins associated with agreeing to be a witness, allegedly because the ear was considered the seat of memory and the gesture of touching it a kind of aide-mémoire; Plin. *HN* 11.251 *est in aure ima memoriae locus, quem tangentes antestamur* [or: *attestamur*], Pl. *Pers.* 748 *quoiquam mortali libero auris atteram* (also in connection with *antestari*); cf. possibly also Pl. *Curc.* 624–5 TH. *seruom antestari?* CV. *uide.* | *em ut scias me liberum esse. ergo ambula in ius*; Sen. *Apoc.* 9.5. This is the final reference in the poem to ears (cf. 9–10 and 20), indicating H.’s symbolic choice, under the protection of the law, to respond passively to *sermo* rather than take an active speaking role; with 78 *Apollo*, it recalls the programmatic beginning to Virg. *Ecl.* 6, where the same god touches the poet’s ear and tells him to write *deductum carmen* (see 59n.). H. acted as a witness in S. 8 (36 *testis*, 44 *non testis inultus*), but avoided legal obligations at 6.120. Fuscus has been less willing to serve as H.’s witness (cf. 64 *pressare manu*, 68 *memini bene*): he is deaf to H.’s entreaties and raises a conscientious objection. H. had refused the pest in similar tones at 38–40.

**rapit . . . ius** ‘he hauls him into court’; i.e. before the praetor’s tribunal; cf. 7.20–1 *in ius* | *acres procurrunt*, 2.6.23, 2.3.72 (of the Protean satirist). Rudd 76: ‘The drama which began with one act of seizure (*arrepita manu*) ends with another (*rapit in ius*).’ **clamor:** cf. 76 *inclamat*, Pl. *Curc.* 626 CV. *o ciues, ciues!* TH. *quid clamas?* **utrimque** ‘on both sides’; cf. Pl. *Amph.* 227 *clamorem utrimque efferunt* (of a battle-scene).

**78 undique concursus:** recalls descriptions of battles or other conflicts: Cic. *Att.* 1.16.1 *clamor concursusque*, Sall. *Cat.* 45.3 *simul utrimque clamor exortus est*, Virg. *Georg.* 4.75–8, Livy 1.48.2 (a riot in the *curia*) *clamor... et concursus populi fiebat in curiam* (Fraenkel 118, Anderson 1956: 164 = 1982: 100). As the street fills with people, H. finds salvation in the crowd and, passively, in litigation; cf. 8.47 *currere in urbem*. McGann 1973: 62–3: ‘Only at this point, with the reference to people running from all directions... is the reader reminded that the walk has taken place through a busy city.’ At some time after 45 BC it became a criminal offence to gather a mob to stop someone being taken to court: *Dig.* 48.7.4 (Cairns 2005: 55). **sic... Apollo:** the main literary allusion is to Apollo’s rescue of Hector from Achilles at *Il.* 20.443 (ἔξήρπαξεν ‘snatched away’ being relocated to 65 *eriperet*), probably mediated through Lucilius, who had quoted the original Greek in Book 6 (267–8 W = 231–2M, Porph. *ad loc.*), though the context is not clear (an abusive street scene that was possibly also a literary *agon*? Buchheit 1968: 535, Van Rooy 1972: 50). Henderson 1998b: 170–1 sees H. sheltering under the multi-layered protection of two senior poets. Schmitzer 1994: 26 prefers an allusion to *Il.* 20.450 *νῦν αὐτέ σ’ ἐρύσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*, where ἐρύσατο ‘rescued’ is closer to *seruauit*. Either way, H. blesses the god who has rescued him from his quasi-epic conversational battle through civic commotion and the process of litigation. It is Mercury who rescues H. from Philippi (and abandons his friend Pompeius to the fray): *C.* 2.7.13–16 *sed me per hostes Mercurius celer | denso paudentem sustulit aere, | te rursus in bellum resorbens | unda fretis tulit aestuosis*. *sic* provides another ‘just-so story’ answer to H.’s original question at 1.1 *Qui fit...?*, and thus cuts *S.* 1–9 off from the ‘coda’ of *S.* 10. **seruauit:** H. is preserved and swallowed up by civic machinery (1.89n.). At *Ep.* 1.16.41, one definition of the *uir bonus* is a man *qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque seruat*. Plut. *Brut.* 24.4 records how H.’s old master at his birthday toast recited the last words of the dying Patroclus: ‘Fate turned against me, then the son of Leto’ (Hom. *Il.* 16.84–9); Brutus had chosen ‘Apollo’ as a password for his troops at Philippi (Plut. *Brut.* 24.5, App. *BC* 4.134). Greek Ἀπόλλων = ‘destroyer’, making *seruauit Apollo* a potential oxymoron. **Apollo:** the god has multiple roles here. As god of law and order, he was represented by a statue near the tribunal in the Forum of Augustus, to which H. may refer (cf. 6.120–1 *Marsya*, Mart. 2.64.8, Juv. 1.128 *iurisque peritus Apollo*; Plin. *HN* 7.53.180 on the death of a Roman knight, who died whispering in the ear of an ex-consul in front of the statue of Apollo). However, this forum was not built by the time this poem was written (Castagnoli 1952: 53). Salmon 1952 argues that H. and the pest walk down the Vicus Tuscus, through the Jewish area around the Forum Boarium (hence the reference to Jews at 70), and part company near the temple of Apollo Medicus (the only temple to Apollo at this period, situated outside the *pomerium*). Schmitzer’s theory (1994) that H. alludes to the temple of Apollo Palatinus, vowed by Octavian post-Actium, cannot be literally correct (that temple was only dedicated in 28 BC), though it makes more artistic sense for H. to be sucked into the centre of Rome.

Alternatively, H.'s words are a topical quotation from Octavian after his victory over Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus, who had taken over Apollo as his patron from Brutus and in 36 BC vowed the temple of Apollo Palatinus to celebrate the victory (see Zanker 1990: 48–51 on Apolline images in his propaganda). Apollo was the god who in Soph. *OT* decreed that the scapegoat who was polluting the city should be removed; cf. 1329 Ἀπόλλων τῶδ' ἦν 'this was Apollo's doing' (32, 59nn.). Final *Apollo* displaces the similar line-ending *Apella* (5.100), sending the Jews (and H.'s agnosticism) packing in favour of Roman religious protection (though Plut. *Lyc.* 6 actually derives *Apollo* from *apella*; Feldman 1993: 511 n. 111). Finally, Apollo was the god of poetry, notably the one who tweaked the poet's ear at Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3 and told him to keep his poetry slender (cf. Callim. *Aetia* prol. 24 = fr. 1 Pf.). By suggesting that he has Apollo's blessing here, H. puts himself on the side of law and order, civilization and tasteful, Callimachean poetry and manners, rejecting the grotesque and licentious boasts of Apollo's defeated rival, the satyr Marsyas (whose statue also stood near the praetor's tribunal; 6.120–1n.).

#### SATIRE 10

The final poem is appended as a last-minute supplement, a postscript that H. must urgently put into the collection before publication, which masks its status as a composed summing-up (with the emerging *libellus*, made of scattered *chartae*, equivalent to the woven basket of Virg. *Ecl.* 10.71). As a result, *S.* 10 has sometimes been read as a 'stop press' answer to criticisms following the appearance of *S.* 4 (Hendrickson 1902, Rudd). That is to get caught up in the illusion H. is creating. The surprise is that this is a confirmation, not a withdrawal of his views in the earlier poem, a defiant expression of confidence in the state of modern literature, with further definition, as yet inconclusive, of the generic position and literary ambitions of Horatian satire. The 'amateur' dissection of Ennius, Terence and the rest in *S.* 4, with its emphasis on potentially dangerous and out-of-line social performance and a farouche, unwelcome satirist, is swept away to reveal a backdrop of fully developed literary-critical institutions: rival poetic schools, a burgeoning tradition of neo-Alexandrian commentary, cliques of mutual admirers, educational structures, even an embryo canon of contemporary Roman writers to rival the Greeks and replace the botched attempts of earlier generations. Satire claims its place in this new literary order.

If we discount the first eight verses preserved by some less reliable manuscripts, the poem starts as if H. is taking up where he left off: 1 *Nempe* confirms his earlier criticisms of Lucilius' jolting verses (4.9–13). Indeed, the genuine opening is so abrupt and improvisational (in homage to Lucilius) that it is easy to see why the interpolator felt the need for a more elaborate prologue, one that acknowledges H.'s newly institutionalized milieu by placing the critique that follows in the context of the author's formation through two opposing educational

approaches to Lucilius: unthinking reverence (Orbilius) versus Alexandrian nit-picking (Valerius Cato). It also picks up on the 'forensic' style of enquiry to come in H.'s updated *iudicium* of a weighty but fault-laden 'ancestor'.

Superficially at least, H. nails his colours to a Callimachean mast, as he continues to shun indiscriminate publicity, vanity, stylistic impurity and sloppy composition. In practice, no literary school is exempt from his merciless scrutiny. His aim is nothing less than to establish a firm position for himself not just as rightful heir to Lucilius, but as member of a new canon of Roman heavyweights capable of seeing off the 'vast hosts' of Greek classic authors. Lucilius will occupy an ambivalent position in this new genealogy: sometimes crudely assimilated to other 'old' authors (Ennius, Accius, Plautus) as clumsy and prolix (50–1), sometimes accepted as a transitional figure, more urbane, at least, than the crude, unnamed originators of Latin satire (64–7). In this shifting assessment, H. in fact shows sensitivity to the hybrid nature of Lucilius' posthumous reputation as a satirist who scorned both superannuated authors and fussy newcomers, and was himself manipulated to fit the varied literary-historical narratives of his successors. Thus *S.* 10 is homage to Lucilius through affront: no palinode, but a further attack, one that harnesses Lucilius' satirical critiques of respected writers to license the *epigonus* H.'s defamation of his poetic 'father' (51–7).

H.'s criticisms of Lucilius here take a different tack from those of *S.* 4: fulfilling his earlier promise (4.63), he now emphasizes not the social consequences of satire but its stylistic faults (*uerba*, not *res*). While he claims credit for praising Lucilius' caustic, salutary wit (3–4 *sale multo | urbem defricuit*), he still deplores his slapdash composition and bristles at his uninhibited mixture of Greek and Latin (20–1). H.'s 'history' of Latin literature is of progress towards ever more stringent standards of composition. To excite broad laughter in one's audience is all very well, but *non satis est* (7). Hidden in this favourite catchword is a perverse pun on the generic name *satura*, conspicuously absent from this defining discussion (45 *hoc*, 37, 82, 83 *haec*). H. persuades us that he alone has 'fulfilled' newly strict criteria for this 'anything goes' literary form, even while simply 'filling up' the only space that was left (46 *hoc erat*). In the prescription for satisfactory satire that he proceeds to deliver (9–15), the chief virtues are brevity, variety and linguistic purity, accompanied by humour with a light touch and urbane *sprezzatura* – a recipe that had already been put into practice in the ups and downs of the journey narratives in *S.* 5 and *S.* 9. H. now further restricts the indiscriminating mélange that had been the only uniting feature of generic satire (Classen 1988), dismissing Lucilius' blending of Greek and Latin words as a gaffe equivalent to mixing Greek and Roman wines (23–4). Yet, neat as the recipe seems, its realization in this final satire is messier and more inconsistent (for example, the new literary institutions that support H.'s production can only be described in Grecizing words: *theatra*, *cathedrae*, *epos*, *mimus/mima*, *poemata*).

H. seems to be making a decisive attempt to clear out the lumber-room of early republican literature and take from Callimacheanism what was compatible with



late-republican *Latinitas*. There is room for only a select few in his new pantheon. One of the more unexpected features of *S.* 10 (foreshadowed in *S.* 2) is the extent to which H. also distances himself from his poetic near-contemporaries, in particular those whom Cicero had dismissed as *neoteri* ‘new boys’ – Catullus, Calvus and co. Despite their strong reaction against pomposity, H. here condemns them for affectation and internal inconsistency, turning their own distinctive vocabulary against them and gleefully caricaturing them (cf. *S.* 9) through the pale imitators who aspire to their *doctrina*, *suauietas* and *pulchritudo*. It is as though the grooming spectrum from goatish Gargonius to scented Rufillus (2.26–7) has been transferred to matters of composition, with both stylistic extremes now considered equally reprehensible.

In adopting this typical ‘second generation’ manoeuvre (an especially Callimachean one), H. uses the neoterics’ own now familiar imagery to usurp their position as newcomers and re-write literary history (Scodel 1987, Zetzel 2002). He shows equal scorn for Lucilius and the neoterics by making full use of the traditional machinery of poetic succession: the epiphanic dream (Homer-Ennius-Callimachus-Lucretius-Virgil) and the transferred crown of song. ‘Modestly’ avoiding any explicit narrative of how he acquired the mantle of satire, H. substitutes a burlesque dream vision in which the Roman god Quirinus dissuades him from writing otiose and affected Greek ‘verselets’ (*Graeci uersiculi*) (31–5). Killing with one stone Lucilius, for his casual use of Greek, and the neoterics, who had used it in the interests of euphony, he elevates the satirist to the unexpected role of lone custodian of pure Latin (thus rejecting the linguistic pluralism of Callimachus in *Iamb* 13, another ‘final’ poem of literary-critical polemic). Flood and mud imagery meanwhile clings to the more turgid poets (50 *lutulentum*, 62 *rapido feruentius amni*), little heirs to the great swell of Homer. Even Furius Bibaculus, small-scale poet par excellence, is mocked for bludgeoning his way through bloated panegyric complete with dirty rivers and pretentious mountains (36–7), indistinguishable in the end from Lucilius’ muddy flow (cf. 37 *diffindit Rhemi luteum caput*). Former ‘pioneers’ of Latin literature, the neoterics are portrayed as has-beens: aped and recited by inept imitators (*simius iste*), critics (*cimex Pantilius*) and finishing-school pupils (*discipularum inter cathedras*), their once-novel vocabulary (*pulchra poemata*, *suaui*, *doctus*, *uersiculi*) reduced to tweeness or cliché.

Many of those whose names H. drops – Catullus, Calvus, Pitholeon (Pitholaus) – were incidentally known as lampooners in the time of Julius Caesar. Thus H.’s stylistic criticisms are underlaid with social ones: the ‘sweet’ neoterics are aligned with the wrong kind of aggressive satire (14 *acri*). The clear Greek-Roman axis of the dream vision is covertly supplemented by another cultural boundary, *urbanitas* versus *rusticitas* – manifested here, given the origins of Catullus, Furius Bibaculus, Valerius Cato and Virgil, in the boundary between the hinterland of the metropolis and newly Romanized Cisalpine Gaul (even ‘delicate’ Virgil is rusticated). The region associated with the most innovative



and stylish movement in Latin literature is newly relegated to secondariness and provinciality, with Varro of Atax (from Narbonese Gaul (46), the Etruscan Cassius (61–4) and the bilingual Canusians (30) beyond the pale, while H.'s own S. Italian origins stay concealed (31 *natus mare citra*).

The struggle between the generations continues, as H. persists in his outwitting of Lucilius (cf. 41 *eludente senem*). Another gesture of deference (48–9 'I would not presume to remove the crown clinging with glory to his head') reads initially as further mudslinging: 'I would not dare to remove what sticks to his head . . .' (conjuring up the muddy head of the Rhine), before H. hastily supplants *multo cum luto* with *multa cum laude* and goes on to explain his joke by reiterating *at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum* (50). An unflattering picture of Lucilius' over-rapid poetic metabolism is given at 60–1: *amet scripsisse ducentos | ante cibum uersus, totidem cenatus*. At 65 he gets credit for being *limatior* 'smoother' than 'the crowd of old poets', but this word, too, derives from *limus* 'mud'. At least Lucilius is allowed a more solid place in H.'s literary history of satire than the shadowy founders and inventors of the genre referred to at 48 (*inuentore*) and 66 (*rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor*), variously explained as Ennius (through a pun on *rudis* and his birthplace Rudiae), Varro or Lucilius himself. H. may be modelling his genealogy on Hellenistic histories of Old Comedy (newly rehabilitated at 16–17 in the wake of Lucilius' displacement), in which the younger Aristophanes, representing the ideal between sharp and sweet humour, had supplanted both Eupolis and Cratinus (Cucchiarelli 2001). The concessions H. grants Lucilius, given the *duritas* of his times (57), only reinforce his 'oldness' while setting the scene for a self-consciously 'new' moment in literary history (68 *nostrum . . . aeuum*). Illusions of poetic insouciance (37 *haec ego ludo*) yield to a portrait of the author as obsessive perfectionist. Exacting self-criticism makes H. channel all vicious spite into his work: unlike other backbiters, he scratches his own head (71 *scaberet*) and gnaws his own body parts (71 *roderet*). Now his only living victims are his own fingernails: *uiuos et roderet unguis*.

Awareness of Greek models also influences another task for H. in this poem: to institute a new literary canon for his poetic generation at Rome, one that will include a special extra place for satire. Halfway through *S.* 10 comes a triumphant rollcall of all those contemporary authors who have displaced their Roman predecessors and responded decisively to the generic templates set by the Greeks: Fundanius in New Comedy, Pollio in tragedy, Varius in epic, Virgil in bucolic, with mime at the bottom of the heap (5 *Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer*, 76 *Arbuscula*), and iambic, lyric and epistle conspicuously unmentioned, awaiting their champion. This may be conceived as a Roman addendum to Callimachus' *Pinakes*, his catalogue of the contents of the Alexandrian library. What distinguishes satire (as the dream emphasizes) is that it is a form the Greeks had never touched (65 *Graecis intacti carminis*: the idea of external contamination again), even if H. defers to his *Roman* predecessors as *primi inuentores* and *auctores* of the genre and to himself and Lucilius as *non . . . maior* (i.e. *epigoni*). All other genres are diminished by trailing the residue of their Greek or Roman predecessors (cf. *ut*

*nemo, epos, unus uiuorum, Camenae*). Humble satire waits on the sidelines for leftover space. Yet all the distinguishing attributes of the other genres – *ludus, garrulitas, comitas, tristitia, facetiae, acritudo* and *fortitudo* – have already been subsumed into H.'s generic recipe for satire: 11–15 *et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso, | defendente uicem modo rhetoris atque poetae, | interdum urbani . . . | . . . ridiculum acri | fortius et melius plerumque secat res*. The modest claim that he is simply taking the untouched leavings from the literary heap (46 *hoc erat, 88 sint qualiacumque*) conceals a different truth: satire is a self-sufficient compendium of all stylistic registers. On the other hand, the stylistic purity H. advocates is endlessly stained by virtuoso parody of relegated authors.

The aggressive fantasy of literary fanatics (*turba*) with which H. ends *S.* 4 is replaced here by another aspirational list, one that is more individualized and more realizable: H.'s ideal audience, the necessary aficionados of this production, in ascending social order – *equites* followed by *nobiles* (thus giving the lie to H.'s humble claim: 76 *nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere*). Maecenas is cushioned between the future practitioners and enablers of Augustan poetry: Virgil, Varius, Plotius Tucca, Valgius, Octavianus Musa, Aristius Fuscus and the two Visci. For security (and here H. disingenuously disavows ambition: 84 *ambitione relegata*), he adds the other two great Augustan patrons, Messalla and Pollio, and a few more nobles, before a seemingly polite *etcetera*: 87–8 *complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos | prudens praetereo*. Octavian is notably missing (screened behind 'Octavianus'), but this is already a powerful, mutually supportive mafia, sunnily portrayed as a brotherly consortium of intellectuals and friends; Quirinus and the Camenae are supplanted as *fautores Horatii*. Out-of-favour individuals like Demetrius, Pantilius, Fannius and Tigellius are swept away into a rubbish heap of undesirable qualities, backbiting, parasitism and satirical poison, while as usual those who did not make H.'s new canon are consigned to literary oblivion (*complures alios*; cf. 35 *magnas . . . cateruas, 47 quibusdam aliis, 67 poetarum seniorum turba, 73 turba, 77 contemptis aliis*). Ahead of H. is the ambivalent fate of becoming a school classic, ready for dissection: 75 *uilibus in ludis dictari carmina*.

But H. cannot end his final poem without a few backward swipes. He lashes out at token victims excluded from his in-group: Demetrius and Tigellius. He entertains the idea that satire may fail to give pleasure (89–90 *doliturus, si placeant spe | deterius nostra*), and anticipates the dissatisfied reactions paraded as a generic badge of pride at *S.* 2.1.1–3: *Sunt quibus in satira uidear nimis acer et ultra | legem tendere opus: sine neruis altera quidquid | composui pars esse putat*. His last command to a subordinate (*puer*, slave or pupil), *i, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello*, is both clausal (finally destroying the illusion that H.'s words are just conversation) and open-ended. Does *subscribe* refer to a postscript, a projected second edition, or an opened lawsuit? Is *libellus* a choice little book of poems, a court summons or a libellous lampoon? Is the stop press simply the final curse, or the poem, or the book as a whole? In any case, this is a defiant final reassertion of the satirist's right to free speech. It looks strongly as if he is going to publish or be damned.

*Further reading:* Cucchiarelli 2001, Feeney 2002, Freudenburg 1993, 2001: 66–71, Hendrickson 1916, 1917a, 1917b, Hinds 1998: 63–74, Knorr 2005, Nisbet 1995c, Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995, Scodel 1987, Zetzel 2002.

**1\*–8\*** Attested only in the Ψ family and other less reliable MSS, these lines are regarded as spurious by most modern editors. Despite Hendrickson's extended defence (1916, 1917a, 1917b; cf. D'Anna 1955 and 1972, Freudenburg 2001: 66), they are seen normally as 'un-Horatian' (Rudd 1957, K–H 411), primarily on the basis of style (Freudenburg 1993: 170: '[T]he grammar is vague, the hypotaxis elaborate and uncharacteristic of Horace'), but also because no ancient commentator seems aware of them and no ancient author imitated them. The lines are probably roughly contemporary, given the personalities described (Fraenkel 1933: 392–9, Brink 1963: 167 n. 1), but could date from the age of Suetonius; Persius picks up the genuine opening *Nempe* at 3.1 (Brugnoli 1960: 344 n. 10). The interpolator may have been motivated in the first place to add extra text by H.'s too 'Lucilian' (i.e. improvised and conversational) opening. Even if they are not original, the lines constitute fascinating marginal comment on *S.* 10, which keenly embraces its newly institutionalized milieu of literary critics, stylistic debates, 'old' and 'new' poets and competing literary canons, while being phrased in contorted (Lucilian) language that H. would himself disown. Lucilius is presented as having achieved the fate openly dreaded by H. in *S.* 10: becoming a school text pored over by opposed literary partisans for their self-definition (Freudenburg 1993: 174), a 'classic' vulnerable to posthumous judgments, punished (as he is throughout *S.* 10), for pronouncing his own merciless 'verdicts' on the generation that preceded his own (e.g. his attacks on Accius and Ennius, especially his parody of Ennius' Council of the Gods; 53–5n.). But the fragment is an early chapter in H.'s reception as well. The legal flavour of its language and framing is striking (*teste, defensore, peruinam, male factos, emendare*); Freudenburg 2001: 67 n. 84 labels it 'a quasi-*praescriptio* that defines the scope of the suit, and names the parties involved'. The blending of moral and stylistic misdemeanours, forensic and critical *iudicium*, old and new poets, recalls the comic prologues of Terence: indeed, the supplement answers a perceived need for a 'prologue' before H.'s abrupt opening. The speaker, presumably an imagined H., is faced with the same dilemma as in *S.* 10: how to position himself vis-à-vis his great predecessor. He elects to present the case against Lucilius by stressing the refinements of modern literary criticism (cf. *subtilior, fastidia nostra*), rather than taking a moral or social line (as he did in *S.* 4) against those who show unthinking reverence for works of the past.

**1\*** **mendosus:** used only here of an author rather than his text (*TLL* s.v.); applied by H. to non-literary failings at 6.66, 2.4.25, *Ep.* 1.16.40. The spliced text may be drawing attention to faults in H.'s own composition, or alternatively noting its own interpolated status and inviting its own excision (cf. 3\* *emendare*). **teste Catone:** the speaker's *adiutor* or witness (cf. 8.36, 44, 9.76

*antestari*), most probably P. Valerius Cato, from Gaul (Kaster 1995: 151), possibly a freedman, who allegedly studied Lucilius as *pupillus* of the first-generation antiquarian Vettius Philocomus (Suet. *Gram.* 11.1) in the late 80s BC. Messalla (Suet. *Gram.* 4) dismisses him as a *litterator*, along with Furius Bibaculus and Ticidea; Gallus fr. 2.9 calls him a stern literary critic; Furius Bibaculus fr. 6 Courtney (*dubium*): *Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren, | qui solus legit et facit poetas* (Nisbet 1995c: 391: he ‘could be said to have formed a new canon single-handed’). He was also a neoteric poet, author of a *Lydia* and a *Diana*, now lost (Courtney 189–91, Crowther 1971). He thus shares several features with the *dramatis personae* of *S.* 10, and his interest in Lucilius sounds similar to H.’s own critical perspective (Courtney 190). He is portrayed here as a subtle commentator, on the Hellenistic prolegomena model (Hendrickson 1917a, 1917b, Pfeiffer 1968: 123–251).

**2\* peruincam** ‘I will prove decisively’. **male factos**: like *mendosus*, conflates style and morals; cf. Ter. *And. prol.* 23 *malefacta, Eun. prol.* 7–8 *easdem scribendo male | ex Graecis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas*. For *factus* of ‘finished’ verses, cf. 58 *uersiculos... magis factos*.

**3\* emendare** again, plays the technical sense ‘to correct bad style’ against the moral sense ‘to correct a moral fault’ (Feeney 2002: 173 on *Ep.* 2.1.3 *emendes*). The verb may be a precise technical term for replacing ‘corrupt’ with ‘pure’ Latin (Freudenburg 1993: 175–8), as practised by rival members of the analogist and anomalist schools in the 50s BC (Colson 1919), often focused on Lucilius (e.g. Cic. *Orator* 161), who had himself mocked the pedantic analogists (983–4W = 963–4M) but now appeared slapdash, for example in his omission of final -s. For orthographic fashions as an old/new opposition, see Cic. *Orator* 155 *atque etiam a quibusdam sero iam emendatur antiquitas, qui haec reprehendunt*. **hoc**: abl., correlative of *quo*.

**lenius**: the term used of Cato’s civilized approach reads H.’s attack on Lucilius in *S.* 10 as less brusque than in *S.* 4 and suggests opposition to stylistic *duritas*, ironically, given the clumsy and contorted syntax that follows. Lucilius had despised the art of smooth word-arrangement (*compositio*) as obscure and fussy: e.g. 186–93W = 181–8M *in collocandis uerbis immodice faciunt et rancide*; 84–5W = 84–5M *quam lepide lexeis compostae ut tesserulae omnes | arte pauimento atque emblemate uermiculato* (ap. Cic. *Orator* 149). However, at 389–92W = 377–80M, he is attentive to the sounds of letters; at 417–18W = 386–7M, word-arrangement is part of his definition of *iudicium* (poetic judgment). Not just a rugged and hard-hitting satirist, he was also an innovative stylist, anticipating Catullus, thus, like Ennius, a bundle of contradictions adaptable to the varied narratives of later generations (Puelma Piwonka 1949, Manuwald 2001).

**4\* melior**: the speaker again equates moral virtue and literary taste by linking Cato’s virtue with his refinement as a critic: *subtilis* translates Greek λεπτός ‘finely spun, subtle’. **longe subtilior**: *longe* with comparative is not otherwise used by H.; *subtilior* ascribes Alexandrian tendencies to Cato (cf. *fastidia nostra*). The hyperbole is typical of the agonistic flavour of literary debates (cf. 8\* *grammaticorum*

*equitum doctissimus*, 5.3 *Graecorum longe doctissimus*). **illo**: the second, anonymous party, bludgeoned into reverence for Lucilius as a child in the schoolroom, has been taken (from the whips) to be Orbilius, H.'s vindictive schoolmaster (*Ep.* 2.1.70 *plagosum* 'cane-happy'), conceived here as inured to cruelty by his own education (cf. his *cognomen* 'Pupillus'). H. did not share his knee-jerk antiquarian respect for Livius Andronicus, 'oldest' of Roman poets: *Ep.* 2.1.69 *delenda . . . carmina Livi*. For anonymous literary predecessors, cf. Ter. *Heaut. prol.* 22 *maleuolus uetus poeta*, *Phorm. prol.* 1 *poeta uetus*.

**5\* qui . . . udis**: a schoolroom scenario (cf. 74-5, *Ep.* 1.20.17-18) suggests that Lucilius has acquired textbook status: Orbilius is handing down a parallel kind of 'tradition' to his pupils, as schoolboys are whipped into unwilling reverence. Orbilius' advocacy of the 'old poets' is more abrasive and old-fashioned than Cato's fastidious approach. The whips and lashes are moistened (*udis*) to increase the pain.

**6\* exoratus** 'prevailed on'. **ut . . . qui** 'so that there might be someone to'.

**6\*-7\* poetis | antiquis**: the first poetic innovators of Rome, now relegated to undifferentiated *uetus* by their newer successors (see Hinds 1998: 74 on the provisionality of any narrative of literary historical change). Lucilius himself had referred to *archeotera* (411W = 1111M: Homer, according to Marx; Old Comedy, according to Fiske 1920: 109, 281); cf. Ennius' own disparaging remarks about Naevius: 207 Sk. *scripsere alii rem | uorsibus quos olim Fauni uatesque canebant*; *Ep.* 2.1's complaint about indiscriminating veneration of earlier poets: 54-6 *adeo sanctum est uetus omne poema. | ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert | Pacuuius docti famam senis, Accius alti* (with Hinds 1998: 69-70). **fastidia nostra**: smug self-mockery from the hyper-sensitive moderns; cf. H.'s picture at 67-73.

**8\* grammaticorum . . . doctissimus**: sardonic hyperbole responds to H.'s ambivalent respect for *equites* at 76. **ut . . . illuc** plasters together interpolated and genuine text (on the lines of H.'s half-humorous recapitulations at 1.108 *illuc unde abii redeo*, 7.9 *ad Regem redeo*), creating the second of two clumsy elisions in the line.

**1-2** It was long assumed that H. is replying to actual accusations that he maligned Lucilius, received in the interval between the appearance of *S.* 4 and this poem. Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 237 are rightly adamant: '[T]here is no evidence to support the hypothesis that the satires were published in "instalments" and not as a *liber*.'

**1 Nempe . . . dixi** 'Granted that I once said'; *nempe* states a fact that cannot be doubted, excluding anything still open to question (*OLD* s.v. 1); an intratextual link to 4.8-13, possibly a nod to Lucilius' own intratextual markers (e.g. 48-9W = 51-2M *ut diximus ante*); cf. 50. Assertive and typical of forensic *sermo* (cf. 27 *scilicet*), as though H. is in the middle of a courtroom apology (launched perhaps by the legal scene at the end of *S.* 9 and reflected in the concerns of the spurious preface), the opening phrase acts as quasi-chronological link and correlative to

4.63 *alias*, where H. postponed further discussion of the literary aspects of satirical poetry (Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 247). **incomposito** ‘slipshod’, of irregular speech or writing (e.g. Quint. 9.4.6 *fortius . . . qui incompositum potest esse quam unctum ac bene collocatum*) and clumsy movements. Elision of *Nempe* into *incomposito* may be a metrical nod to Lucilius’ sloppiness. Cf. the ‘loosely shod’ Plautus at *Ep.* 2.1.174 (a metaphor from the gait of one of his own *serui currentes*): *quam non astricto percurrat pulpita socco* (cf. *Ep.* 2.1.58). The proper pace of satire, as *S.* 5 suggested and as H. goes on to explain here, takes its cue from the immediate ‘terrain’. **pede**: punning, like *currere*, on physical and metrical feet (picking up 4.8 *durus componere uersus*); cf. 4.47 *pede certo*, 10 *stans pede in uno*; cf. Cic. *Orator.* 170 on limping, stationary and running oratory: *sin probae res, lecta uerba, quid est cur claudere aut insistere orationem malint quam cum sententia pariter excurrere?* Foot metaphors in Latin poetry: Hinds 1987: 16–17. **currere uersus**: the running image was not, in fact, used in *S.* 4 (though cf. 4.11 *fluere*; the idea may also flow from the confused *concursum* at the end of *S.* 9). Cf. Quint. 10.3.17 *eorum uitium qui primum decurrere per materiam stilo quam uelocissimo uolunt*.

**2–3 quis . . . fateatur?** ‘Who is such a hopeless supporter of Lucilius that he will not admit this?’ **fautor**: fan or holoqueur, at the games or theatre (e.g. Lucil. 295W = 270M, *Ep.* 1.18.66), continuing the comic analogy; as patron or political supporter: Cic. *Fam.* 13.64.2, *Planc.* 1.1. The *custodes* ‘backers’ of *S.* 4.16 have become fan clubs or literary coteries. Lucilius’ neoteric *fautores* supply his imaginary defence here and H. will parade his own *fautores* later in the poem. **inepte**: adv. because *fautor est = fauet* (cf. 3.49). A neoteric’s term of abuse (e.g. Cat. 6.14, 12.4), used opportunistically to deride the antiquarians.

**3–4** H. concedes that Lucilius’ abrasive satire had a salutary effect. Again, he did not actually make this point in *S.* 4; but cf. 4.7 *facetis, emunctae naris*. **sale** ‘wit [salt]’ (Cic. *Brut.* 128 *P. Scipio . . . omnes sale facetisque superabat*), an old-fashioned Roman asset and attribute of full-blooded satire (claimed by H. for himself at *Ep.* 2.2.60 *Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro*). **urbem**: i.e. Rome, harking back to Aristophanes’ idea of the poet as saviour of his city: see *S.* 4 introductory essay. **defricuit** ‘rubbed down’, used of abrasive ointments and solutions for bathing wounds (cf. Col. 6.33.1 *cicatrices oculorum . . . sale defricatae extenuantur*), cleaning teeth (Cat. 37.20) or rubbing down horses, esp. with salt (appropriate for the witty *eques* Lucilius); cf. Naevius *ap.* Charis. p. 198 Keil *facete et defricate*. If wounds are meant, to which salt was applied, the sore place would smart; if eyes, then they would see more clearly (cf. 5.30–1 *oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus | illinere*). The metaphor recalls the philosophical and satirical tradition of harsh but curative teaching, presented here in a brisk and salty form (Lloyd-Jones 1963; Bramble 1974: 26–7 on Persius’ ear-syringing metaphors at 1.107–8, 1.126, 5.63, 5.86; cf. 5.15 *palientes radere mores*). A harsher image is used by Persius at 1.114: *secuit Lucilius urbem*. **charta** retrospectively labels *S.* 4 a written text, rather than Lucilian conversations or doodles (cf. 4.36, 5.104, 10.92; contrast 10.1 *dixi*).

**5 nec . . . cetera:** H. resorts to the manoeuvres of S. 4, giving with one hand what he takes away with the other. **dederim:** subj. of cautious assertion: cf. 4.39 *dederim*, 4.41 *dixeris*.

**5–6** A sideswipe at the mimes of Laberius allows H. between the lines to deny the status of fine poetry to Lucilius as well, and imply that his own work has greater aesthetic merit. **sic** ‘on that principle’. **Laberi:** Decimus Laberius (106–43), author of mimes, ribald, semi-improvisational sketches with abrupt, haphazard endings, which he and his contemporary Publilius Syrus elevated to a literary form (a dramatic counterpart to Lucilius). Like Lucilius, he was a Roman knight connected anecdotally with *libertas*, not just in the sense of obscenity (Gell. 19.13: *uerba ignobilia nimis et sordentia*). His plays included such risqué lines as *Porro Quirites! libertatem perdimus*, and *necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent*. When Julius Caesar forced him to perform in one of his own mimes (degrading for a Roman knight), he retaliated with a prologue attacking tyranny (Macrob. *Sat.* 2.7 *asperae libertatis*). Laberius is the first of several authors H. cites for stylistic reasons who happened to practise outspoken invective: cf. Calvus and Catullus (19), Pitholaus (21–3), Bibaculus (36). On late-republican lampooning, see DuQuesnay 1984: 28–9, LaFleur 1981: 1803–6, Ruffell 2003. **pulchra poemata:** satirical alliteration and a Greek word allow H. to hold, not just Laberius’ mimes, but also the effete notion of aesthetically pleasing ‘poesy’ at arm’s length (cf. Pers. 1.31 *dia poemata*). Lucilius had dignified his own poems with this relatively pretentious noun: 1091W = 1013M *sola ex multis nunc nostra poemata ferri*. Although *pulcher* is an aesthetic adj., it also means ‘noble, admirable’; cf. *Ep.* 2.1.71–2 (*carmina Liuu emendata uideri | pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia*).

**7–8 non . . . satis est:** a negative echo of this Horatian catchphrase (1.62, 1.120) indicates that composition is the one area in which H. is not easily satisfied (and that his remarks here constitute an advance on S. 4). **risu . . . auditoris** ‘to make the listener grin from ear to ear’. An almost Lucretian process of word-blending, with *rīsu* and *dīducere* merging into *rīctūm*, and *r*-sounds (the satirical *canina littera*, as used by Lucil. 389–92W = 377–80M, Pers. 1.109–10) reinforcing the bestial associations of *rictus* (Lucr. 5.1064, Phaedr. 5.10.6), a tooth-baring grin, often vulgar or aggressive (cf. *Ep.* 2.2.126–8, Juv. 10.230 *diducere rictum*), broader and coarser than the laughing response practised by H. (1.24; cf. Quint. 1.11.9 *ne labra distorqueantur, ne immodicus hiatus rictum distendat*). *auditor* seems to restore the illusion that satire is oral performance (cf. 10 *aures*), but at e.g. Var. *LL* 6.1 *auditor* = ‘reader, student’.

**8 et est . . . uirtus:** the sense is parenthetical, indicating an equivocating shrug or conceded exception. This backtracking from the frank contempt of 7–8 recalls similar ambivalence over *ridere* at 1.24. **hic** ‘here’ (adv.); i.e. in the use of humour. **uirtus** ‘literary quality’. Possibly an allusion to Lucilius’ own disquisition on moral *uirtus* (1196–1208W = 1326–38M): e.g. *uirtus scire homini rectum utile quid sit honestum, | quae bona quae mala item, quid inutile turpe inhonestum*. But

closer to ‘judicious’ literary assessments like Cic. *De or.* 2.241, on comic narrative: *est autem haec huius generis uirtus, ut ita facta demonstras . . . ut iis qui audiunt, tum geri illa fierique uideantur.*

**9–15** A brief recipe for modern satire (see Gowers 1993a: 135–61 on nouvelle cuisine and ‘new poetry’ in *S.* II 4), a constructive antidote to the catalogue of malign satirical qualities at 4.81–5 and a subtler, more indirect condemnation of Lucilius’ prolixity than 4.8–21, this theoretical outline sums up the principles of variety and snappiness evident in H.’s verses so far. It confines the discussion to metrical pace (excluding questions of outspokenness or restraint; Nilsson 1952: 1). H.’s view of literary *sermo* accords with Cicero’s ideal of conversational *sermo*, adaptable to every situation: *Off.* 1.136.

**9–10** A deft illustration of the qualities contrasted, brevity and turgidity: two snappy clauses, with *brevitate* and *currat* illustrated in dactylic rhythms; 9 ends with a double monosyllable; the second and third foot spondee in 10 begin to drag, pulled down by the leisurely overload of *s*-sounds in *uerbis lassas onerantibus aures.*

**9 breuitate:** elided for brevity’s sake into *opus*; cf. 2.4.27–9 on sorrel, *lapathi breuis herba*, a food that unclogs the guts. **opus:** modest literary requirements balance the modest practical ones enjoined at 1.54, 1.59. **currat:** in. Even sluggish travelling is snappily described at 5.5–6, 14–15. Cf. Dionysius *On word arrangement* 19: the writer of ‘foot-going diction’ (πεζὴ λέξις) is free to vary his word-arrangement; *ibid.* 26: poetry that seeks to resemble pedestrian prose must efface regular metre and vary its rhetorical periods. H. allies himself elsewhere with pedestrian poetry: *Ep.* 2.1.250–1 *sermones . . . | repentes per humum*; *S.* 2.6.17 *Musa . . . pedestri*; cf. *AP* 95 *sermone pedestri*, of comedy that imitates everyday speech. **sententia** ‘train of thought’.

**10 uerbis . . . aures:** just as the pest’s talk burdens H.’s ears at 9.20–1.

**11 et . . . iocosus** ‘and a style is required that is sometimes harsh, often playful’ (theorizing the mood swings of 1.24–7). On variety as a desired quality in any literary genre, see Freudenburg 1993: 180–4; as a generic hallmark of satire, relative of *spoud(a)ogeloion*, see Classen 1988. Aristophanes (as 16 makes clearer) was once the paradigm of mixed humour. *tristis* translates Greek πικρός ‘bitter, severe’ or σπουδαῖος ‘serious’, *iocosus* Greek χαρίεις ‘pleasantly ironic’ (cf. *Ep.* 1.18.89 *oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosu*), and H. may refer to a tradition of *synkrisis* (Platonius: Kaibel fr. com. 1 p. 6) where Cratinus represented severity, Eupolis irony and Aristophanes blended the two, as the programmatic lines offering humour and seriousness at *Ran.* 389–90 suggest; cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 3.1.19 *epistulam . . . tuam . . . Aristophaneo modo ualde mehercule et suauem et grauem* (Cucchiarelli 2001: 40–1). For *tristis* of grave or hostile humour, cf. 2.1.21 *tristi laedere uersu*; Lucil. 1084W = 1014M *idque tuis factis saeuis et tristibus*; for *iocosus* of light, playful humour, cf. 4.104. *modo . . . saepe* is not just for variety: H. swings the balance towards *iocosus*, to make his satire look socially and politically innocuous. **sermone:** primarily ‘style’, but here indissoluble from the medium, satire (*sermo*). **opus:**



repeated from 9 *opus*. The ideal of variety here loses out to the insistent demands of the list (H. is being exaggeratedly *dirigiste* in promoting an oscillating style, indulging in Lucilian-style repetition to model its defects).

**12–13 defendente . . . urbani** ‘playing the part sometimes of the orator and poet and occasionally the sophisticated wit’ (for *defendere* in this sense, cf. 2.5.34, *AP* 193–4). The distinction here is between pulling out all the stops, either with the force of an orator or the sublime imagination of a poet, and writing in the deceptively laid-back manner of an urbane wit, developing the contrast between harsh and light humour in 11. Freudenburg 1990: 179–82; 1993: 101 argues that the entire argument has little to do with modes of humour, but is adapted from wider rhetorical theories of *compositio* and *uarietas*, as H. tightens up the more casual criticism of *S.* 4. But modes of humour are specifically tackled at 14–15. Quint. 10.1.95 implies that to innovate as a satirist is to inject more chaos into the jumble, but for H., variety is a subtler literary quality. Brink 1963: 166 n. 1: ‘[T]he demand is for a shifting and flexible mean between serious and humorous criticism.’ **rhetoris**: this Grecizing alternative to *oratoris* ‘orator’, rather than ‘teacher of rhetoric’ (Brink 1982: 318), is perverse given the subsequent hostility to Greek vocabulary at 21–2 (but cf. 6 *poemata*); perhaps it disguises an allusion to the master text *De oratore*. **poetae** corrects the disingenuous disclaimer at 4.39–42. **interdum** ‘from time to time’: aptly understated. **urbani** ‘sophisticate’; cf. 4.90; of Lucilius at 10.65. On *urbanitas* and restrained humour, see Ramage 1973 and the definition of Domitius Marsus (*ap.* Quint. 6.3.105): *urbanus homo erit cuius multa bene dicta responsaque erunt et qui in sermonibus circulis conuiuuiis, item in contionibus, omni denique loco ridicule commodeque dicet*. Cic. *De or.* 2.269–70 defines *urbana dissimulatio* as *genus perelegans et cum grauitate salsum* (cf. *Ep.* 1.9.9 *dissimulatio opis propriae*). Brink 1987: 32 argues for the less common MS reading *urbane* (Müller), but this reduces the balance in the sentence.

**14 extenuantis** ‘underplaying?’ (*OLD* s.v. 4; cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4.11: *unam [figuram orationis] grauem, alteram mediocrem, tertiam extenuatam uocamus*). Allegiance to the Callimachean quality of *tenuitas* may be implied as well. **consulto** ‘on purpose’. The pleonasm here deliberately (*consulto*) performs long-drawn-outness.

**14–15 ridiculum . . . res** ‘Humour is often more forceful and effective than hostile abuse when it comes to deciding important issues.’ Possibly paraphrases Cic. *De or.* 2.236 *odiosas res saepe, quas argumentis dilui non facile est, ioco risuque dissoluit*. The *tristis/iocosus* contrast is more fully explained: the distinction is now between offensive and inoffensive humour. **acri**: like *tristis*, connected with sharp flavours and hostility: 7.21, 3.60 *acris inuidia*. **secat** ‘decides’ (with the idea of severing a knot); cf. *Ep.* 1.16.42 *quo multae magnaequae secantur iudice lites*. The verb gives a theoretical gloss to the conclusions of *S.* 7 and *S.* 8, where *iugulas* (‘slit throat’/‘non-plus with a pun’) and *diffisa nate* (‘buttocks split’) suggest narrative closure through humorous solutions (as opposed to execution and malign witchcraft); cf. 10.36 *iugulat*, 10.37 *diffindit*. Cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.136 *ad urendum et secandum* (breaking off as a last conversational resort).

**16–17** After the possible allusion to Aristophanic mixed humour at 11, H. becomes more emphatic about the parallels between satire and Old Comedy first introduced at 4.1–6, though now the emphasis is more stylistic than political (Freudenburg 1993: 102). Here, Old Comedy is held up as a model at Lucilius' expense, whereas in *S.* 4 it was blamed for his deficiencies (Cucchiarelli 2001: 40–1). H.'s indirect purpose is to condemn the aesthetic judgment of those *fautores Lucili* who ignore antiquity (out-moded thanks to Lucilius himself) as they compose their own private canons of great authors – just as H. is doing in this poem (Keane 2002d: 22–6; cf. Scodel 1987: 200).

**16 illi . . . uiris** = *illi uiri quibus*; antecedent incorporated into the rel. clause. An echo of 4.2 *atque alii quorum comoedia prisca uirorum est*, though this time it is Aristophanes and the rest who are unnamed. **prisca**: not just 'old' but 'original'. H. uses the more dismissive *uetus* of Old Comedy at *AP* 281.

**17–19** Another sideswipe at contemporary aesthetics, this time at the blinkered literary tastes of Hermogenes (Tigellius) and one *simius iste*, devotee of the neoterics, neither of whom has conceded Old Comedy's stylistic example. It is unclear whether the two are twinned or contrasted. If this is the Tigellius of *S.* 2 and 3 (Freudenburg 1993: 168–9, *contra* Rudd 292–3 n. 15, Nisbet 1995c: 397), his reputation is as flamboyant and operatic, unlike the controlled neoterics, Calvus and Catullus (Brink 1963: 166: 'modernists after yesterday's fashion'), whom *simius iste* loves to recite. However, the pest (9.25) connects Hermogenes with banal recitation (*canto*; cf. 19), which puts him in the ranks of the effete literati whom H. as hyper-masculine satirist affects to despise. Calling these neoterics *docti* suggests a focus on their *poetic* identity, but they were also prominent figures in the history of invective (Suet. *Jul.* 73, 75; cf. 6 *Laberi*). 'Below-the-belt' words like *pulcher* and *simius* turn republican emasculating abuse back against the original lampooners. *Hermogenes . . . neque simius iste* and *Caluum et . . . cantare Catullum* ape the idea of the cosy Catullan coterie: e.g. *Cat.* 13 *mi Fabulle . . . tui Catulli*, 47.1–2 *Porci et Socraton, duae sinistrae | Pisonis*.

**17 stabant** 'held their own, were successful' (cf. *Ep.* 2.1.176 *cadat an recto stet fabula talo*, Ter. *Phorm.* 9–10, *Hec.* 15, of plays and playwrights). **hoc** sentimentiously repeated, may indicate the supremacy of *ridiculum* over *acre* (Porph. *et al.*) but, more likely, the skilful blend of rhetorical styles (cf. 9–15; Fraenkel 129, Brink 1963: 166 n. 2). **pulcher** 'fancy, swell'; cf. 6, *Cat.* 79.1 *Lesbius est pulcher*.

**18 Hermogenes**: see 2.n. Rudd 292–3 n. 15 argues that he was a fan of Calvus and Catullus (to support his argument that there are two separate Tigelliuses in *Satires* I: 2.3 and 3.4 versus 3.129, 4.72, 9.25 and 10.18). But Freudenburg 1993: 168–9 notes the antithetical structure of the stylistic advice (9–15) and sees a similar contrast in play here: flamboyant Tigellius versus the mincing neoterics. **simius**: a notoriously ill-favoured beast, contrasting with *pulcher* (cf. Enn. *Sat.* 69V = 23 Courtney *simia quam similis, turpissima bestia*), or alternatively a *small* beast (schol. *ad* 90 *Demetri*). Ennius' pun on *simius/similis* is implied: 'ape' mainly implies slavish imitation of fashionable neoteric poetry

(cf. Sen. *Contr.* 9.3.12: Argentarius as πῖθηκος ‘ape’; Arist. *Poet.* 1461b: Mynniscus called Callipides ‘monkey’ because he overacted). The ape’s identity is otherwise unknown; possibly either (1) Demetrius (paired with Tigellius at 90; Porph. *ad loc.*: *Demetrium autem modulatorem propter maciem ac paruitatem corporis hoc nomine appellat*); (2) Furius Bibaculus (Hendrickson 1917a: 87); (3) Pitholaus, called Pitholeon for metrical reasons at 22, thus a Greco-Latin pun, πῖθων ‘ape’ + *oleo*, ‘smell of’ (Freudenburg 1993: 169 n. 101); or (4) the unnamed pest of *S.* 9 (Cucchiarelli 2001: 78 n. 76).

**19 Caluum:** C. Licinius Calvus (b. 82, dead by 47), friend of Catullus and fellow-neoteric (Cat. 50, 53, 96; Ov. *Tr.* 2.431 *exigu*), Atticist (anti-Ciceronian) orator, anti-Caesarian (though eventually reconciled: Sen. *Contr.* 7.4.6, Gruen 1967: 222–4), author of an epyllion, *Io* (Courtney 201). Cic. *Fam.* 7.24.1 alleges that Calvus attacked both Vatinius (cf. Cat. 14.3, 53) and Tigellius (Porph. *ad* 3.1 ascribes to him the satirical scazon *Sardi Tigelli putidum caput uenit*, fr. 3 Courtney, which makes it unlikely that they were part of the same movement). **doctus** ‘trained’, transferred satirically to the less original *simius* from the most zealous bearers of the name, the neoteric poets themselves, who used it to mean ‘intellectual, scholarly’ (Kenney 1970); applied to Calvus at Prop. 2.34.89, to Catullus at [Tib.] 3.6.41; used sincerely by H. of his own friends at 87, to futile effect by the pest at 9.7. **cantare** ‘to recite’; frequentative of *canere*, the verb was associated satirically with the poetic *recitatio* and its bland, wearisome or institutionalized performances (cf. 2.107, 3.1–3 (Tigellius), 9.25). See Morgan 2000b: 67 on the *recitationes* established by Pollio as ‘a strange, circumscribed version of free speech’. H. reduces them further to meaningless regurgitation. **Catullum:**

C. Valerius Catullus (c. 84–c. 54 BC), most celebrated and best-surviving of the neoterics, author of the most famous *libellus* of all, which contained polymetric poems of polish and variety, from deceptively casual hendecasyllabics to the hexametric masterpiece, *Carm.* 64. From Verona in Cisalpine Gaul, he joined an elite group of poets in Rome, including Calvus and Furius Bibaculus, who defined themselves in opposition to a lumpen majority, rejected their provincial origins and stood for a revolution in Roman masculinity and literary technique, which put individualism and Hellenistic refinement above militarism and rhetorical pomposity. Suet. *Jul.* 73 records Julius Caesar’s reconciliation with Catullus and Calvus, despite their devastating lampoons. The relationship with H. is ambiguous too (Putnam 2006): they share a similar literary aesthetic, but H.’s attitude to love is more detached (*S.* 2) and he dissociates himself from the more effete aspects of Catullan poetry, often satirizing him through his own catchwords. See Quinn 1959, Wiseman 1987, Fitzgerald 1995.

**20–35** H. turns to another aspect of the mixed quality of Lucilian satire, its inclusion of Greek words. Mixing Greek and Latin was also typical of the neoterics, as much for euphony (cf. *suauior*) as for code-switching purposes (Wilkinson 1963: 9–24). Though his opponents have a good case for regarding mixture of any kind in satire as a generic necessity (Classen 1988, Freudenburg 1993: 181–2), H. vigorously defends linguistic purity, presenting the exclusion of Greek as

nothing less than a divine command from Quirinus for a Roman poetic mission. Cicero similarly uses metropolitan ‘purity’ as a defence of *Latinitas* at *De or.* 3.44: *neque solum rusticam asperitatem sed etiam peregrinam insolentiam fugere discamus*. H.’s attacks on the neoterics are also constructed on a Greek vs. Latin axis: e.g. *Tusc.* 3.45 (*cantores Euphronis* do not respect Ennius), *Att.* 7.2.1 (parody of a Greek-heavy verse with spondaic ending), *Orator* 161 (the new poets’ retention of final *-s* called *subrusticum*, also by contrast with Lucilius and Ennius). However, Greek was routinely used in contexts of luxurious living, abuse, medicine, cuisine and rhetoric (see Adams, Janse and Swain 2002, Adams 2003 on bilingual code-switching) and Lucilius unabashedly incorporated it (Korfmacher 1935), though the original contexts may not always have been his own speech (Rudd 111–14, Adams 2003: 20, Chahoud 2004). The relaxed atmosphere of *sermo* favoured its use (Horsfall 1979), for example by Cicero in his more informal letters (despite his sneers at *quidam Graeca uerba inculcantes* at *Off.* 1.111); at *Tusc.* 1.15 he alleges *scis enim me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine*. Although H. tones down colloquial Greek, his literary-critical topics are particularly permeable to assimilated Greek words (e.g. *poemata, rhetoris, poetarum, tragici, cathedras*; cf. 1.55 *cyatho*, 2.1 *Ambubaiaarum, pharmacopolae*, 7.2 *hybrida*). He may well be in dialogue here with Callimachus’ *Iamb* 13, also a final poem and a defence of the poet’s chosen style (Scodel 1987, Freudenburg 1993: 106–7; on its place in the collection, see Clayman 1976, Kerkhecker 1999, Acosta Hughes 2002). Both poets discuss linguistic mixture as an aspect of poetic blending, though H. presents himself as more of a purist in the matter than Callimachus; a Roman poet’s decision to mix languages would make him a provincial, not a fierce independent (Scodel 1987: 214).

**20–1** An unwitting interlocutor, presumably a neoteric, naively praises Lucilius’ bilingual skill (*magnum fecit* = ‘it was a great achievement’; or ‘it was a big deal to him, he took pains’). *Graeca* is embedded between *uerbis* and *Latinis*. Lucilius was indeed lavish with satirical Grecisms (Rudd 111–14), compared with H.’s pointed circumlocution (e.g. the Latinization of the Homeric tag at 9.73, where Lucil. 267W = 231M had used the original Greek, 10.59 *pedibus senis* for ‘hexameter’, 2.118 *tentigine rumpi* for Lucilius’ *psolocoupoumai*, 332W = 303M). Rudd 119: ‘[W]e are dealing with a controversy rather than straight literary theory; for it is unlikely that Lucilius would have given *suauitas* as a reason for using Greek, whereas a Neoteric might well have done so.’ In disowning bilingual poetry, H. disowns both Lucilian carelessness and neoteric affectation, though later he tolerates poetry that is easy on the ear (cf. 44 *molle*, 59 *euntes mollius*) and ‘forgets’ the anti-Stoic arguments of *S.* 4.

**21 *seri studiorum***: a pointedly artificial translation of Greek *ὀψιμαθεῖς* ‘late learners’ (Theoph. *Char.* 27; used jokingly by Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.2) makes H.’s point, repeating the satirical sneer of 19 *doctus* (H. jealously guards *doctrina*); *studiorum* is gen. of sphere of activity. **quine putetis** ‘seeing that you think’; causal relative clause; *-ne* adds the sense ‘do you really?’ (H–S 558).

**22 difficile . . . mirum:** sardonic disdain for the mystique attached to Greco-Roman intermixing. **Rhodio . . . Pitholeonti:** ps.-Acro's claim that this was a bilingual epigrammatist who came from Canusium and emigrated to Rhodes may just be inference from 22 and 30. More likely, he was the wit M. Otacilius Pitholaus (Macrob. 2.2.13), *Pitholeonti* being a metrically possible alternative; possibly identical with a lampooner of Julius Caesar (Suet. *Jul.* 75). In either case, as a writer of hybrid cultural identity, he is a candidate for the *simius* of 18 (πίθων 'ape' + λέων 'lion'), called *Rhodi* because he went native after years of study there (Cic. *Planc.* 84): the man with 'monkey odour' (a bilingual pun on πίθων and *olere*) ended up smelling of roses. The 'foreign' Greek letter *rho* is neatly contained in the word *Rhodio* (cf. 23 *Chi-o*).

**22–3 quod . . . contigit** 'what Pitholeon of Rhodes happened to achieve' (belying *difficile*).

**23–4** The interlocutor defends the blending of languages on the grounds that it is more harmonious, using the analogy of mixing dry Falernian (i.e. the best Italian wine) with sweeter Chian (i.e. the best Greek wine). At Call. *Iamb.* 13.19–21 = fr. 203 Pf., the poet's critics predict that if he continues to mix dialects his friends will tie him up and spill out his mixture (ἐγγέουσι τὴν κρᾶσιν) of Ionic and Doric dialects and generally 'mixed' quality (τὸ σύμικτον). At Nasidienus' dinner at 2.8.14–17, 47–9 there is a choice between native Caecuban and imported Chian wine (which, given 10.23–4, may have metapoetic significance: Marchesi 2005a: 399–401). H.'s choice of words is especially *concinnus*: *Chio* introduces the aspirated Greek letter *chi*, for which there is no Latin equivalent (as hard *concinnus* and *commixtus* emphasize; cf. 22 *Rho-dio*), while the fricative *f* in *Falerni* (difficult for Greeks to pronounce: see Quint. 1.4.14) replaces the Greek aspirate *phi*, thus producing a chiasmic commingling between Greek and Latin letters; the final elision of *Falerni est* makes a softly blended ending. Cf. the mixture of *p*- and *ph*-sounds at Pers. 1.333–5, satirizing lispng Grecized verse: *rancidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus | Phyllidas, Hypsipylas, uatum et plorabile si quid, | eliquat ac tenero supplantat uerba palato*.

**23 lingua . . . utraque:** Latin and Greek; cf. C. 3.8.5. On bilingualism and mixed cultural identity in S. Italy, see Adams 2003, Dench 2005. **concinnus** 'blended' (from *concinnare*, of blending wine; Monteil 1964: 172 claims that H. was the first to give it a literary sense).

**24 suauior** 'more harmonious' or 'sweeter to taste (or smell)'. Greek wine was traditionally sweeter than Italian, thus by ancient standards was more prestigious. **Chio:** a fine Greek wine which might evoke Ion of Chios (490/480–420 BC), a poet cited at Callim. *Iamb.* 13.43–7 for inspirational versatility across many genres (Acosta Hughes 2002: 84). Ion distributed his native wine to the Athenians when he won a double prize for tragedy and dithyramb at their Dionysia (T4 Lewin). **nota:** literally a wine label, here standing for a type of wine (cf. C. 2.3.8; Eng. 'label, brand', Fr. *marque*). On wine as a symbol for poetry, see Race 1978, Commager 1962: 28. **Falerni:** for Falernian as

strong stuff in a culinary mixture, cf. ps.-Acro *ad* 2.4.24: *Chium dulce est, Falernum austerum*. Quint. 12.10.77 notes equivalent differences in language sound: Latin is *durior*, while Greek sounds *dulcius*.

**25–30 H.** exploits the full semantic range of *sermo* (23), which embraces satire and casual conversation, letters and forensic speech, to support the case that Greek is as inappropriate in satire as it would be in a lawcourt (cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.111 on avoiding Greek in *sermo*, i.e. general conversation). The comparison may be influenced by Lucilius' satirical anecdote (87–93W = 88–94M) about the extreme hellenophile T. Albucius, who said *chaere, Tite* to the Roman praetor Scaevola in front of an Athenian crowd (quoted at *Fin.* 1.8 by Cicero, when criticized for speaking Greek in the Syracusan senate); Adams 2003: 353. H. expands on the distinction between orator and poet he made at 12. But this breaks down when scrutinized: 29n.

**25–6 te . . . percontor** 'I submit', quasi-legal; sc. *num suavior sit (facias and sit* are subj. because they belong to subordinate clauses in an ind. qu.). **an . . . cum:** the monosyllabic ending is as harsh as 24 *Falerni est* is smooth. *an* introduces a second alternative ('or'). **dura:** bolsters the case against *suauitas* in a legal context: *uerba* should fit *res*. **peragenda . . . sit** 'has to be fought'. **rei:** gen. of *reus* 'defendant'. **Petilli:** returns to the *causa capitalis* mentioned at 4.94, archetypally difficult for the defending lawyer.

**27 scilicet** 'obviously'; a typically sarcastic lawyer's word, common in Cicero (cf. 1 *Nempe*). **oblitus** refers to the man who prefers to blend languages, while *cum* = 'whereas', contrasting those who orate in pure Latin. Bentley read *oblitos* here, assuming ellipsis of *eos*: 'Would you prefer them [i.e. Pedius, Publicola and Corvinus] to forget?' **patriaque . . . Latini:** a rousing phrase anoints King Latinus of Latium (Virg. *Aen.* 7.92, 11.469) as figurehead of Latinity (though the words *patriae* and *patris* are virtually unchanged from their Greek antecedents). Some MSS have *Latine*, which would then go with the next line, but given that the main implication is that Roman orators speak in Latin, the adv. is not necessary. Var. *LL* 5.9 contrasts the Greek-influenced poetic language of Ennius with the older, plainer Latin of King Latinus (Ardizzoni 1965).

**28 Pedius . . . Publicola:** whether or not *atque* is postponed (cf. 2.14, 5.4) depends on which and how many individuals are thought to be involved. Pedius is perhaps the quaestor of 41 BC (*CIL* VI 358), not the son of Q. Pedius (cos. 43 BC), Caesar's great-nephew, who would not have been adult by 36 BC. Publicola suggests 'cultivator of the people', i.e. a demagogue; the cognomen is not normally associated with the gentilicium Pedius, thus we have a separate person here. Equally, however, Messalla Corvinus (29n.) did not use 'Publicola' (despite *Catalepton* 9.40 *Messallis Publicolis*). Knorr 2005 argues that H. refers to *three* distinct individuals: Pedius, Publicola and (Messalla) Corvinus, with Publicola being L. Gellius Publicola (Livy *ep.* 122, Dio 47.24.5), orator and Messalla's half-brother (cf. 10.85); thus *atque* is not postponed but introduces the last member of an otherwise asyndetic list (H–S 478). **causas exsudet:** synonymous with 26

*dura . . . peragenda . . . causa*. This satirical picture of the sweating orator mixes Messalla's exacting pursuit of pure Latinity (cf. *AP* 240 *sudet multum frustra que labore*) with the hard mental work and all-round bodily *exercitatio* involved in oratory: e.g. Quint. 6.7.1 *illum . . . ambitiosum declamandi sudorem*.

**29 Coruinus:** M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, military man, orator and patron of Tibullus, known as a stickler for Latinity (Sen. *Contr.* 2.4.8 *Latini sermonis observator diligentissimus*) and author of a treatise on the letter 's' (Quint. 1.7.23). Since Messalla wrote Theocritean bucolic and elegies in Greek (ps.-Virg. *Catal.* 9.13–22, 59–63), H.'s distinction between Latin-loving orators and Greek-loving poets breaks down and may be deliberately flawed (Knorr 2005).

**29–30 patriis . . . foris** 'to adulterate native words with recherché foreign ones'; *foris* = adv. 'abroad'.

**30 malis:** the first of three uses of this word (cf. 35, 75), implying that the contemporary poet has a choice of styles open to him. **Canusini . . . bilinguis:** typically for S. Italian settlements, Canusium in Apulia (cf. 5.91) was bilingual in the Greek of its founders and in local Italic, in this case Oscan dialect (though Latin was presumably later spoken there as well; Adams 2003: 20). For Lucilius' contemptuous use of Oscan words (1237W = 1318M *sollo*, 623W = 581M *abzet*), see Adams 2003: 120–2; cf. Titin. 104 *qui Obsce et Volsce fabulantur, nam Latine nesciunt*. According to Porphy., the phrase *Bruttace bilingui* 'two-tongued Bruttii' was used by both Ennius (*incert.* xxxi Sk.) and Lucilius (142W = 1124M); cf. Fest. p. 35 *bilingues Bruttaces Ennius dixit quod Brutti et osce et graece loqui soliti sunt*.

**31–5** H. relates a foundational (and obviously fictional) poetic dream-visitation (cf. 9.29–34): a burlesque of Apollo's encounter with Callimachus (*Aetia* fr. 1.21–4 Pf.), Homer's with Ennius (fr. 1.ii–x Sk; Lucr. 1.120–6) and Apollo's with Virgil (*Ecl.* 6.3–5; cf. H. C. 4.15.1, Prop. 3.3.13; Kambylis 1965). The poetic dream is pointedly naturalized as Roman, with the god Quirinus, the deified Romulus, replacing Apollo (cf. 45 *Camenae*), just as Priapus replaces Callimachus' Hermes in S. 8. The battle between epic and non-epic poetry is supplanted by one on nationalistic lines between Greek and Latin. H.'s efforts in Greek verse are redirected towards his native language and the Greek muses sent packing, not ceremoniously adopted. For adherence to Callimachean principles of brevity, clarity, nonchalance (concealing *labor*) and exclusivity elsewhere in *Satires* I, see Zetzel 2002: 40–2. But Zetzel (40) notes here another very Callimachean manoeuvre, using a poetic model (here, Callimachus himself) in order to attack it, or at least attack Callimachus' Roman imitators, the neoterics; cf. Lucretius' citation of Ennius' poetic dream at 1.120–6, Cicero's response to Lucretius in the *Somnium Scipionis* and Virgil's 'Lucretian' speech of Anchises about reincarnation (*Aen.* 6.724–51). Though the story is often thought to refer to juvenile experimentation (perhaps from H.'s student days in Athens or his youth in S. Italy), the 'autobiographical' progression from Greek to Latin composition artificially separates what in many poets were coexistent strands (31n.), making the disappearance of Greek from



Roman satire into a version of personal history (cf. 4.56–7 *his, ego quae nunc, | olim quae scripsit Lucilius*).

**31–2 atque . . . uersiculos:** matches H.'s predicament to his interlocutor's at 25 *cum uersus facias*. The self-deprecating 'verselets' are a typically neoteric formation (cf. 88 *qualiacumque, 9.2 nescio quid . . . nugarum*), perhaps Greek epigrams, as written by Romans in the *Greek Anthology* (K–H), or elegies (Freudenburg 1993: 168). **natus . . . citra** 'born on this side of the [Adriatic] sea', i.e. Italian (cf. 2.8.47 *citra mare nato, of wine*). Horatian satire will similarly be *tota nostra*, Latin through and through.

**32 uetuit . . . Quirinus:** Quirinus, the deified Romulus, takes over the admonitory role of H.'s own father or the poetic god Apollo as satiric muse (4.124 *uetabat*; cf. 27 *patrisque Latini*), advising not moral verse, but *Latin* verse.

**33 post . . . uera:** sc. *sunt*. Early morning dreams were believed to be true ones: cf. Mosch. *Europa* 2–5, Ov. *Her.* 19.195–6. More numinous than H.'s late-night wet dream (5.83 *ad mediam noctem, 84 immundo somnia uisu*). **uisus** 'appearing', the usual word to indicate a vision in a dream: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 38 Sk. *nam me uisus homo*.

**34–5** 'If you chose to swell the massed ranks of the Greeks, it would be crazier than taking timber to the wood' (main and subordinate clauses inverted; *ac = quam; feras = potential, as non* indicates). A subtle parody of Hellenistic poetic *recusationes* (Wimmel 1960: 137–8, 153–62) and variant on Greek proverbs 'owls to Athens', 'corn to Egypt', 'fish to the Hellespont' (*Paroem.* Z III 6); Ov. *Am.* 2.10.13 *quid folia arboribus . . . addis?* There is comic unevenness in the god's tone: a 'homely' first line (Zetzel 2002: 40), with double monosyllable *ac si* and *insanius* recalling diatribe rather than prophecy, but strong alliteration and 'ponderous concatenation of long syllables' in the second line, as if parodying early Latin poetry (though Feeney *ap.* Zetzel 2002: 211 n. 8 notes as *neoteric* the separated adjective-noun word-pair *magnas . . . cateruas*; cf. 49 *haerentem . . . coronam*).

**34 siluam . . . ligna:** the timber a Roman presumed to bring to the great wood of Greek literature would be truly *inutile lignum* (cf. 8.1). *silua* and *lignum* supply in Latin the two meanings of Greek word ὕλη, 'forest' and 'raw timber' (which *silua* then came to embrace: Wray 2007). The image is of an all-inclusive and impenetrable thicket of literary forms: cf. Gell. *praef.* 6: *Siluae* as a title for *uariam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam*; as a vast compendium of different examples, cf. Cic. *De inv.* 1.34: *siluam atque materiam . . . omnium argumentationum*; Quint. 10.1.88 on Ennius' works as a daunting 'sacred grove' to later Latin poets, with Hinds 1998: 10–14 on wood-invading as metapoetic image for intrusion into an earlier poet's domain; cf also Theoc. 17.9–12. Perhaps especially pointed in the case of Virgil's *Eclogues* (44–5): cf. *Ecl.* 4.3 *siluae*.

**35 magnas Graecorum . . . cateruas** paints the Greeks as a formidable military enemy (cf. 52 *magno . . . Homero*), in the spirit of quasi-oracular advice, though *cateruas* 'squadrons' (prosaic) could imply a disordered group of mercenaries (*OLD* s.v. 2). A Roman, it is implied, has little power to contribute to the



oppressive host of Greek texts. **implere:** military; cf. Caes. *BC* 3.4.6 *numerum (militum) expleuerat*. A paradox in the context of *satura*, the ‘filling’ genre. Greek literature is full: all that remains is satire.

**36–7** H. contrasts his own modest ‘doodles’ with the derivative epic poetry of his contemporaries. **turgidus Alpinus:** the scholiasts identify this poet as M. Furius Bibaculus of Cremona, neoteric poet and associate of Catullus (cf. Cat. 11), also mentioned at 2.5.40–1 *pingui tentus omaso | Furius hibernas cana niue conspuet Alpes* (Courtney 198–200, Nisbet 1995c: 393–5). H. is defaming his epic *Annales Belli Gallici* (Porph. quotes *Iuppiter hibernas cana niue conspuet Alpes* = Quint. 8.6.17 = fr. 15 Courtney; cf. ps.-Acro *ad* 2.5.41: *Pragmatia Belli Gallici*), which treated Caesar’s campaigns in Gaul, possibly including the bridging of the Rhine (cf. 37); unlike Ennius’, these *Annales* had little impact on Roman literary history. The nickname *Alpinus* derives either from this line or from the frigid mountainous associations of Gallic epic (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 10); *turgidus* suggests inflated style (cf. 2.5.40 *pingui . . . omaso* ‘rich tripe’), redirecting against the neoterics their own abuse (e.g. Cat. 95b.2 *tumido . . . Antimacho*; cf. Callim. fr. 398 Pf. παχύ γράμμα ‘fat poem’). Indeed, an epic of at least 11 books sounds like a μέγα βιβλίον ‘big book’ (see Courtney 199–200 on long neoteric poems). Cat. 11.10, sending (possibly the same) Furius off to the Alpine *Caesaris . . . monumenta magni*, distances himself from his friend’s epic ambitions. Although Furius also wrote more typically small-scale poems (e.g. the consciously diminutive epigram on his villa: 1–2 Courtney), it is bloated and quintessentially post-Homeric epic with which H. chooses to nail him, thus suggesting *plus ça change* where the innovations of neoteric poetry are concerned. Relations with authority were, again, ambiguous: the laudatory Alpine epic versus Tacitus’ claim (*Ann.* 4.34) that Furius attacked Julius Caesar and Augustus (Rudd 289–90). **iugulat . . . Memnona** ‘while he murders Memnon’. Either a different epic is meant, an *Aethiopsis* in the post-Iliadic tradition, about Memnon, Ethiopian king and son of Tithonus and Aurora, killed by Achilles while fighting for Troy (cf. Arctinus’ *Aethiopsis*, Ov. *Met.* 13.576–622), or else Memnon’s fight with Achilles appeared, perhaps in a simile, in Furius’ *Annales* (cf. *Bell. Hisp.* 25.4 *hic, ut fertur Achillis Memnonis congressus*). Either way, Memnon is emblematic of the supplementary ‘filling out’ of Homeric epic (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.489). *iugulat* ‘butchers’ refers not only to the killing of the hero by Achilles but to the poet’s secondary, figurative ‘murdering’ of his subject matter (a forceful, unpoetic word; cf. 2.5.41 *conspuet*; Mart. 1.18.5 *scelus est iugulare Falernum*). For the convention of poets ‘performing’ the subject matter of their poems, see Lieberg 1982, Nisbet 1995c: 395; cf. *Ep.* 1.3.14 *desaeuit*, 1.19.8 *prosiluit*. The pun at 7.35 on *iugulare* in its various senses (murder, joking and closure) makes the word pertinent here in the context of a final poem: how is H. himself to finish things off? **dum . . . dumque:** suggests the relentless blows of the murderer/poet.

**37 diffindit** ‘splits’ (Σ), Müller’s conjecture from MS variants *defindit*, *diffingit* (‘remodels’) and *defingit* (‘moulds into shape’) matches the violence of 36 *iugulat*

(cf. 2.5.39 *findit* as an alternative to *Furius' conspuet*; for head-splitting in epic: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.750–1, Enn. *Ann. spuria* 5 Sk., *saxo cere comminuit brum*), and aptly describes the natural fissure of the estuary while popping the ‘bladder’ of *Furius' rhetoric (turgidus)* à la *S.* 8 (cf. 8.47 *diffissa nate*). *diffingit* is the next best alternative, suggesting poetic ‘distortion’ of the river’s muddy head (by ice, Nisbet 1995c: 395 suggests; Porph. *quasi ab ipso poeta luteum fieri mala descriptione ostendit*) and of this poet’s reputation. **Rheni . . . caput:** the Rhine may well have been a theme of *Furius' Annales*, either being bridged or featuring in *Caesar's triumph*. Its ‘muddy head’ is either its source or, more likely with *diffindit*, the estuary’s split ‘mouths’ (cf. Callim. fr. 43.46 Pf. κεφαλή, Caes. *BG* 4.10.5 *multis capitibus in Oceanum influit [Rhenus]*, Luc. 2.52 *indomitum Rheni caput*). Nisbet 1995c: 395 sees a reference to the silt-bearing waters of the Rhine before it enters Lake Constance. *luteum* introduces anti-Callimachean poetics (the muddy Euphrates at *Hymn to Apollo* 108; cf. *lutulentus* at 4.11, 10.50); for the Rhine as another ‘Euphrates’, cf. Pers. 6.47 *ingentes . . . Rhenos*; *AP* 18 with Brink 1971 *ad loc.* on Rhine descriptions as empty epic digressions. Possibly suggesting the muddy-blond heads of the Rhenish Celts (punning on *luteus* ‘yellow’ and *caput*), *luteum* also carries a blunter meaning, ‘good for nothing, worthless’ (*OLD* s.v. 1b), so laying the criticism on thicker. **haec . . . ludo:** H. contrasts his own small-scale compositions, claiming for himself the neoteric position of *otium* and nonchalance, while in neoteric fashion disguising the hard work involved (cf. 4.139 *illudo chartis*, 10.88 *qualiacumque*; contrast 28 *exsudet*, 69–71). Brink 1963: 171 is irked by the inconsistency: ‘neither *persona* represents the whole of Horace the critic, let alone the poet’. But experimentation with literary *personae* is the point here. For the idea of the poet at ease, with epic landscape or ‘noises off’, cf. esp. Virg. *Ecl.* 10.47–8 *Alpinas, a! dura niues et frigora Rheni | me sine sola uides*; Georg. 4.559–60 *Caesar dum magnus ad altum | fulminat Euphraten*, 563–6 *Virgilium me . . . | . . . studiis florentem ignobilis oti, | carmina qui lusi . . . | . . . patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi* (see Scodel and Thomas 1984 on Callimachean resonances here).

**38–9 H.** continues to occupy the Callimachean high ground, declaring that he shuns competition, noise and publicity and the vulgarity of repeat performances; cf. Callim. *Epig.* 28.4 σικχάνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια. Meanwhile, the neoterics are condemned as publicity seekers. **in aede:** Porph. sees a reference to the Temple of the Muses, probably home of the *collegium poetarum* (Val. Max. 3.7.11, Tamm 1961: 157–61, Horsfall 1976: 82–6; Gruen 1990: 89 n. 39; Plin. *HN* 34.19 *aedes Camenarum*) and possibly equivalent to the *aedes Herculis Musarum* associated with M. Fulvius Nobilior (Plin. *NH* 35.66, Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.8; Suerbaum 1968: 347–9, Rüpke 1995: 334–6, Sciarrino 2004: 45–6). Fest. p. 333M also refers to a temple of *Minerva* on the *Aventine* where *Livius Andronicus* recited; 39n. **sonent . . . redeant:** generic subjs. For H.’s abhorrence of loud noise, cf. 4.43–4 *os | magna sonaturum*, 6.43 *sonabit*. **certantia . . . Tarpa:** Sp. *Mae-cius Tarpa*, appointed by *Pompey* in 55 as public licenser of play competitions (not a good judge, in *Cicero's* view: *Fam.* 7.1.1 *nobis autem erant ea perpetienda quae Sp.*

*Maecius probauisset*). Either he was still judging twenty years on or he continues to exemplify suspect critical authority (cf. *AP* 387 in *Maeci descendat iudicis aures*). *iudex* is H.'s standard term for 'literary critic' (Brink 1982: 419).

**39 redeant . . . iterum** with its own verbal redundancy, suggests the idea of stale repetition (H. is himself repeating many of his earlier criticisms of Lucilius). **spectanda** implies tasteless courting of publicity. **theatris**: possibly referring to Pompey's permanent theatre, opened in 55 (which incorporated older temples and a new temple, *aedes*, dedicated to Venus Victrix). Lines 38–9 may thus represent a composite picture of the entire complex with its institutionalized public performances.

**40–5** The allusion to theatres provides a transition into a hall of fame of contemporary literature, where H. will be the new compère. The list of Roman poets pre-eminent in specific genres (some of which are not the ones with which we now associate them) may 'inadvertently' recall the restrictive atmosphere of Pl. *Ion* 534b–c, where Socrates declares 'A writes dithyrambs, B encomia, C hyporchemata, D epics, E iambics, and each of them is no good at other kinds' or Callim. *Iamb.* 13.31–3 = fr. 203 Pf. 'You compose pentameters and you epics; the gods have allotted that you write tragedies.' Perhaps Callim. *Iamb.* 1 opened with a similar list of Alexandrian poets (Cucchiarelli 2001: 177 n. 208). While Latin literature as a whole is now a stylistic panorama (*comis/acer/molle atque facetum*), H.'s satires will compress all registers into one holdall genre. Predictably, the palms for lyric, non-dramatic iambic and epistle have yet to be awarded.

**40–2** The list kicks off with the comic poet Fundanius, typified by the stock characters of the *fabula palliata*: sly prostitute, plotting slave and duped father. This is a new chapter in New, not Old Comedy: Aristophanes and the rest retain their untouchable status. But Fundanius has had the good taste to imitate elegant Terence, not sloppy Plautus (cf. *Ep.* 2.1.58–9, *AP* 269–71), though his characters' names are still Greek-derived. **arguta**: usually translated 'sly', but also 'shrill, garrulous' (cf. *Eleg. in Maec.* 1.36 *several argutas garrulus inter aues*). The dramatis personae, summarized in abl. abs., define the sphere of these comedies; for a similarly programmatic list, cf. Ter. *Eun. prol.* 36–9. **Dauoque**: Davus is a cunning slave in Ter. *Andria*; also the Saturnalian slave who attacks H.'s inconsistencies in *S. II* 7. **Chremeta . . . senem**: Chremes is the duped father in Ter. *Phormio* (cf. *Eun. prol.* 39 *falli per seruom senem*, Manil. 5.473 *elusos . . . senes*). *eludente* cements the idea of comedy as fun, while the idea of outwitting the older generation is pointed in the context. **comes** 'congenial' puns on Greek *comoedia* (cf. 53 *comis* and *tragicis* contrasted; Cic. fr. 2.4 Courtney (on Terence) *quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens*). **garrire**: trans., obj. *comes . . . libellos*. For rattling *sermo* as a salient feature of comedy (a link with satire in its more ebullient form: cf. 4.12, 9.13, 33), cf. 4.48 *sermo merus*. **libellos** 'scripts'. **unus uiuorum** 'alone of those living'. H. acknowledges the unshakable supremacy of Plautus and Terence without naming them. **Fundani**: transfers the palm of comedy

to the tongue-in-cheek ‘narrator’ of Nasidienus’ tragicomic dinner-party in 2.8, otherwise unknown.

**42–3 Pollio:** C. Asinius Pollio, soldier, consul 40 BC, historian of the civil wars, tragedian, patron of the arts (*C.* 2.1, Virg. *Ecl.* 4), supporter of Antony, for whom he deputized in Cisalpine Gaul in 43–42 BC (where he may have met Virgil), politically aloof subject of Augustus, founder of the first public library in Rome (39 BC) and doyen of poetic recitations. A purist and a demanding critic (Quintilian 10.1.113 commends his *diligentia*), who upheld H.’s criteria of *Latinitas* and *urbanitas* and put Livy down for his *Pataunitas* (as Livy had criticized the Sabine Vettius before him: Quint. 1.5.56, 8.1.3) and Sallust for his archaisms (though Quint. 10.1.113 regards him as old-fashioned himself). See André 1949, Bosworth 1972, Woodman *ad Vell. Pat.* 2.78.2, N–H *ad C.* 2.1, Courtney 254–6, *Enc. Or.* 1 863–5, Morgan 2000b. **regum . . . percusso:** after Fundanius’ comedies, Pollio’s tragedies (H. side-steps the *Histories*’ more controversial narrative of dynastic struggles in favour of remoter plots, though he may hint at Pollio’s republican contempt for real-life *reges*, such as Julius Caesar). For kings as natural subjects for tragedy, see Arist *Poet.* 1453a, Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3, Ov. *Tr.* 2.553 *dedimus tragicis scripturn regale cothurnis*. **facta** ‘deeds, *res gestae*’; cf. *Ep.* 2.1.6, 130, 237, *AP* 287 with Brink 1971: 319. **canit** signifies tragic or epic diction (the real thing after 19 *cantare*, 41 *garrire*); cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 4.3 (to Pollio) *si canimus siluas, silvae sint consule dignae*; 6.3 *cum canerem reges et proelia* (H. hands to Pollio Virgil’s deferred task). **pede . . . percusso** identifies the iambic trimeters of tragedy, the ictus falling three times, on the first long syllable of each foot: Quint. 9.4.75 *trimetrum et senarium promiscue dicere licet: sex enim pedes, tres percussiones habet*. Rhyming *ter* and *per-* and alliteration of *pede* and *percusso* highlight the distinctive beat: cf. *AP* 80 *hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni*.

**43–4** On Varius, here representing epic poetry, see 5.40n., Cova 1989. Neither of his two surviving titles, *De morte* (Macr. *Sat.* 6.1.39, 2.19) and the tragedy *Thyestes* (29 BC), is referred to here. Varius is said, along with Plotius Tucca, to have prepared the *Aeneid* for publication (*Vita Verg.*) and is commended as an epicist worthy of Homer at *C.* 1.6.1–2. But his epic(s) sank without trace. **forte** ‘tough, vigorous’, applying both to majestic verse and to the heroes who populate it; cf. Dom. Marsus (fr. 7.3–4 Courtney): *ne foret aut elegos molles qui fletet amores | aut caneret forti regia bella pede*. **epos:** a standard Greek term for epic passes muster in this anti-Greek poem. **acer** ‘fierce’ adds to the idea of epic poet as military commander. Epic rectifies the deficiencies of comedy: cf. 4.46–7 *quod acer spiritus ac uis | nec uerbis nec rebus inest*. **ut nemo** ‘like nobody else’. **ducit** = (*dē*)*ducit* ‘composes verse’ (cf. 2.1.4 *mille die uersus deduci posse*), but punning on a military sense: Varius is the tough leader of his epic forces (cf. Prop. 2.1.18 *ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus*).

**44–5** By contrast, pastoral’s touch is lighter. H. canonizes the *Eclogues*, Virgil’s bucolic response to Theocritus (the *Georgics* were as yet unfinished). *molle et facetum* suits the *Eclogues*’ neoteric aspects, but the tone is ambiguous: these qualities

may be 'outright blessings from the goddesses of inspiration' (Putnam 1995–6: 307), demonstrating Virgil's two-fold superiority to Lucilius and hinting at H.'s witty engagements with him in *Satires* I, or else Virgil's poem is 'decadent and enervated' (Zetzel 2002: 46). **molle** 'daintiness' (adj. as substantive) indicates feminine charm appropriate to 'small' genres like pastoral or elegy (see Edwards 1993: 63–97 for its pejorative associations with effeminacy; Plin. *Ep.* 5.3.6 includes P. Vergilius among authors of erotic *lusus*), with suggestions of Callimachean 'finish'; cf. 58–9 *uersiculos . . . magis factos et euntes | mollius*. Often used self-referentially in the *Eclagues* of pliant plants: e.g. 1.81 *castaneae molles*, 2.72 *mollis . . . iunco*, 3.45 *mollis . . . acantho*. **facetum** 'charm'. Quint. 6.3.20, referring to this very passage, prefers to interpret it as 'elegant' where non-comic verse is concerned: *ideoque in epistulis Cicero haec Bruti refert uerba: 'ne illi sunt pedes faceti [or facti; cf. 58 magis factos] ac deliciis ingredienti mollius'*. The polish of *facetum*, often wrongly but meaningfully linked with *factus* (Don. *ad Ter. Eun.* 427, Isid. *Orig.* 10.95), contrasts with the simplicity of *rure*: Virgil has brought urban sophistication to country themes. **adnuert** 'have granted' (acc. of thing granted + dat. of person); short *e*, as in colloquial Latin, for added lightness (Leumann 608). These muses seem satisfied with poetry confined to *rus*; thus H. confines provincial Virgil to this sphere too, despite the more ambitious straining of *Ecl.* 4.1–2 *Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus. | non omnes arbusta iuuant humilesque myricae*. But he may also hint at Virgil's subsequent project: cf. *Georg.* 1.40 *audacibus adnue coepitis*. **Camenae**: specifically Roman muses (often etymologized from *carmen* and *canere*: Maltby s.v.); cf. *Latini, Quirinus*. Virgil's *Eclagues* are labelled indigenous products of the Italian countryside.

**46 hoc erat** 'this [genre, i.e. satire] remained?'. The phrase has the same flat candour as H.'s autobiographical statement at 6.60 *quod eram narro* and is similarly disingenuous (*pace* Fraenkel 130–1, Rudd 95). For another satirist's rejection of higher genres, see *Juv.* 1.1.1–21 with Woodman 1983a. For poetic *recusatio* in general, cf. 2.1.10–13, *Ep.* 2.1.250–9, *C.* 1.6.5–12; *Prop.* 2.1.17–25, 3.9.1–4, *Ov. Tr.* 2.333–4; Wimmel 1960. Quint. 10.1.93 was famously to agree about the unique Romanness of satire (*tota nostra est*); here, H. makes huge claims for its all-inclusiveness, if not for its novelty. **experto . . . Atacino**: H. justifies tackling satire on the grounds that the job was botched by a recent practitioner, P. Terentius Varro Atacinus, the adjective 'from Atax', either a district or, more likely, the river Atax, now the Aude, in Narbonese Gaul (Courtney 1993: 235–6), distinguishing him from the more famous M. Terentius Varro, from Reate, who wrote four books of verse satire and 150 books of Menippean satire and had recently been proscribed by Antony, and equally proscribed from H.'s satirical genealogy (Nisbet 1995c: 403–4 on Varro as antiquated republican survivor). Nothing is known about Varro of Atax's satires (this is our only testimony); like *Furius Bibaculus*, he allegedly wrote an epic on Caesar's Gallic campaigns, as well as an *Argonautica*, elegies and a translation of Aratus. Quint. 10.1.87 calls him *interpres operis alieni*, so perhaps he appears here as an unworthy inventor of a

new genre. H. may be imagining a triad of satirists, like the Old Comedians: the *inuentor*, the inadequate intermediary and himself, the perfectionist equivalent to Aristophanes (Cucchiarelli 2001: 53 n. 121).

**47 quibusdam aliis:** apart from Ennius, Lucilius and M. Varro, other known satirists include: Ennius Servius Nicanor (Suet. *Gram.* 5), L. Abucius (Var. *RR* 3.2.17 *cuius Luciliano caractere sunt libelli*), Pompeius Lenaeus, Pompey's freedman, known for *acerbissima satura* against Sallust (Suet. *Gram.* 15). For better or worse, they are not immortalized here (cf. 77, 87). **melius . . . possem** 'for me to improve'; generic or final subj.

**48–9 inuentore minor** 'of lesser stature than the inventor', presumably Lucilius (cf. 2.1.62–3 *cum est Lucilius ausus | primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem*); though Ennius may make an appearance at 66. *minor* is one of H.'s self-deprecating adjs, encompassing literary merit and social status: of course he is *minor* in the sense of taking up a lot less room (cf. 4.9–10 *ducentos, | ut magnum, uersus, 11 erat quod tollere uelles, 2.1.4 mille . . . uersus*). H. may seem to label himself an inadequate *epigonus* here (Cucchiarelli 2001: 53 n. 121; cf. 54 *grauitate minores*), but he is also an arrogant one who rises on the incompetence of his predecessors. For the advantages, normally, of being the *inuentor*, if only the first to introduce a Greek genre to Rome: cf. e.g. *Ep.* 1.19.21–2, *C.* 3.30.13–14, *Lucr.* 1.117–19, 926–30. **neque ego . . . coronam:** a mock-deferential bow from the inheritor to the inventor of satire conceals a mischievous joke. H. says he would not presume to remove the laurels of supremacy attaching to Lucilius' head (repeating the Roman's *recusatio* in the face of Greek poetry at 34–5; and cf. 46–8). Yet the word order suggests another ruse altogether. After *haerentem capiti* (cf. 37 *Rheni luteum caput* and the sneer of 4.11 *lutulentus*), we might expect *cum multo luto* 'with much mud'. Indeed, H. does revert at 50 to the theme of Lucilius' muddiness. **detrahere** 'drag from', but hiding its satirical sense (*OLD* s.v. 8) 'detract from, disparage', which is what H. is doing here, despite his protestations: cf. Prop. 3.1.21 *at mihi quod uiuo detraxerit inuida turba* (also of a poetic crown: was there a common Callimachean source?); cf. 1.4.11 *erat quod tollere uelles*. **ausim:** perf. subj. As usual, H. disavows ambition (contrast 6.76 *ausus*, 6.85 *nec timuit* (H.'s father), 2.1.62 *ausus* (Lucilius)), but this is the moment of his own crowning. **cum . . . laude:** implies the subjective judgment of others; cf. *AP* 281–2 *non sine multa | laude* (of the Old Comedians). Lucilius continued to be a Roman institution: Quint. 10.1.94 dismisses H.'s criticisms. **coronam:** the wreath of poetic fame (Brink 1971: 295) in particular recalls Lucretius' apparently deferential gesture to Ennius at *DRN* 1.117–19: *Ennius ut noster cecinit qui primus amoeno | detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam, | per gentes Italas hominum quae clara clueret*. But *detulit* 'bring down (from a sacred mountain)' is deformed by H.'s *detrahere* 'drag down'. Contrast Lucretius' open pursuit of a crown: 1.929–30 *insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam | unde prius nulli uelarent tempora musae*.

**50–1** H. duly explains the hidden joke by reviving his Callimachean criticisms of Lucilius' muddiness from *S.* 4 and reinforcing them. **at dixi** picks up *1 nempe . . . dixi*. **plura . . . relinquendis** 'more that needed to be removed than (needed to be) left': more severe than 4.11 *quod tollere uelles*.

**51–5** H. justifies his criticisms of Lucilius by invoking a satirical tradition of criticizing great authors. Lucilius himself had ridiculed Accius and alluded to a tradition of faulting details in Homer and Ennius at 408–10W = 345–7M *uersum unum culpata, uerbum, enthymema, locum unum*, thus is punished for belonging to the nit-picking critical tradition, which H. himself continues: *AP* 359 *indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*.

**51–2:** Homer is called *magnus* here, *bonus* at *AP* 359, but even the greatest and most original poet is not above criticism. The 'muddy river' image itself derives ultimately from Homeric simile and had been adapted to describe (more favourably) Homer's own abundant flow (Cucchiarelli 2001: 50 n. 114); 7.28n. *doctus* sardonically ascribes discernment and suggests Alexandrian allegiances; cf. 9.7, 10.19.

**53 nil . . . Acci?** H. claims a precedent for satire's demolition of its predecessors. Lucilius gets a dose of his own medicine. **comis:** next to *tragici*, may suggest a false lexical link with *comoedia*, as at 41. **mutat** 'tries to change', i.e. correct his faults; conative force, common in decrees (K–H); synonymous with 3\* *emendare*. In a theatrical context, there may be an idea of a scene-change or mask-change, as if from tragedy to comedy (cf. 2.8.84 *redis mutatae frontis*). Possibly alluding to the hypocrisy of Lucilius' cocksure claim at 650–1W = 671–2M *uno hoc non muto omnia*, or indicating that he indulged in paratragic parody of Accius (paying homage as well as critiquing). **Acci:** L. Accius, republican tragedian (Col. *praef.* 30), called *altus* at *Ep.* 2.1.56, his trimeters 'noble' at *AP* 258–9. Porph. records a tradition that Lucilius criticized him, among other poets, in Books 3 (*Iter Siculum*), 9 and 10 (Corn. Nepos *ap. Gell.* 17.21.49; *Vita Persi* on Persius' universal attacks as an imitation of Lucilius Book 10).

**54 ridet:** like 52 *reprehendis*, indicating a typically satirical stance. **uersus . . . minores** 'verses that fell short of [epic] dignity'; abl. of respect (cf. 2.3.323–4 *cultum | maiorem censu*). For *grauis* of epic dignity and metre, cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.1.1 *arma graui numero* (with McKeown *ad loc.*). *uersus* is satirical catachresis for *carmina/epos/poemata*, focusing on Ennius' metrical technique, too heavy for modern taste. For mockery of Ennius, cf. Lucilius' parody 413W = 1190M of the heavily spondaic line *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret* (var. 14 = 3 Courtney; Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.601–2), for which he suggests the alternative ending *horret et alget*, i.e. the line is stylistically 'frigid'; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.412 on the shocking tmesis of *saxo cere comminuit brum* (= *spuria* v–vi Sk.); Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.601 on *at tuba terribili tonitru taratantara dixit* (= *Ann.* 451 *incert.* Sk.); Virgil on Ennius' works as 'dung' (Virg. *ap. Vita Verg.* Donat. auct. 71 Brugnoti-Stok = Cassiod. *Inst.* 1.1.8); Sen. *Ep. ap. Gell.* 12.2.3 and *ap. Gell.* 12.2.11 on his poems as ridiculous and rustic. More

reverential characterizations: Cic. *De rep. ap. Aug. Civ.* 2.21 (an oracle); Quint. 10.1.88 (a sacred grove).

**55 cum:** with indic. to convey simultaneity. **non . . . reprehens** ‘not pretending to be greater than those he criticized’. H.’s criticisms of others are excused by his inclusion of himself in those criticisms (cf. 48 *inuentore minor*), a posture predetermined by Lucilius’ ‘modest’ autobiographical model.

**56–71** The consequences of Lucilius’ satirical example: he will find himself among the great predecessors he has licensed his successors to attack. If he were alive today, he would apply stricter Callimachean standards to his verse. H. renews his negative analysis of Lucilius’ style, playing pedantic Alexandrian critic but making allowances for Lucilius’ place in the history of the genre as an ‘old’ satirist (cf. 54).

**56 quid uetat:** cf. 32 *uetuit*. **legentes:** acc. pl. with *nosmet*.

**57–60** ‘Whether it was Lucilius’ own nature or the harshness of his subject matter which prevented him from writing verselets that were more finished and ran more smoothly than if he were simply content with having words versified in hexameters . . .’ H. appeals to supposedly heightened literary standards in his current audience, while parodying Lucilius’ shortcomings in a cumbersome sentence. The long second *i* of *illius* (only here) and elided monosyllable *num* parody halting or forced rhythms. Sen. *Ep. ap. Gell.* 12.2.8 makes patronizing allowance for Cicero’s critical judgments on the grounds of his old-fashionedness: *non fuit Ciceronis hoc uitium, sed temporis* (cf. Cicero on Thucydides at *Brut.* 288).

**58–9 factos** ‘finished, polished’; cf. Cic. *De or.* 3.184 (*oratio*) *polita ac facta quodam modo*, *Brut.* 30 (*oratio*) *accurata et facta quodam modo*. The phrase is significant in the poem that will bring H.’s book to a finished state. **euntes | mollius:** continues the play on physical and metrical feet (cf. 1, 43); *mollis* ‘supple, smooth’ refers to the unresistant flow of contemporary metre (compared with the bumpiness of some archaic verse; e.g. 57 *dura*); for soft feet as emblematic of elegiac poetry, cf. Prop. 2.12.24 *molliter ire pedes*; as with 44 *molle*, there may be undertones of (undesirable) effeminacy, but H. seems to swing towards approval of neoteric technique. **ac = quam** (cf. 34). **pedibus . . . senis:** i.e. the Latinized name for hexameters; lit. ‘six feet apiece’. **quid:** unpretentious (cf. 88 *qualiacumque*).

**59–60 claudere . . . contentus:** cf. 4.40–1 *neque enim concludere uersum | dixeris esse satis*; there is a possible pun on *claudere* ‘close’ and *claudus* ‘lame’ (and one on *sēnis* ‘six’ and *sēnis* ‘of an old man’: cf. 67 *seniorum*, 2.1.32–4 *omnis . . . uita senis*). The expression is picked up at 2.1.28–9 *me pedibus delectat claudere uerba | Lucili ritu*. In *S.* 4, vatic inspiration was briefly promoted as the proper criterion for poetry, rather than the simple use of metre; now it is metrical finesse that is considered to give modern satire its edge (Rudd 106 sees Lucilius’ abundant elisions as H.’s main grievance). *satura* is never named but crystallized (in its Lucilian state, at least) in the combination of *pedibus . . . senis* with *contentus*.



**60–1 amet . . . cenatus** follows on from the *si* clause: i. e. *ac si quis contentus hoc tantum, pedibus quid claudere senis, amet . . .* The ‘convivial’ image at 4.9–10 of Lucilius writing 200 verses ‘standing on one foot’ turns into one of mechanical regularity: industrial-style productivity, interlocked with meals, with hints of confusion (ingestion? regurgitation?) between the two (cf. 36 *turgidus*, and 2.5.40 *pingui tentus omaso . . . conspuet*), a far cry from H.’s picture of his own literary regimen at 6.122–8 (*scripto . . . pransus non auide . . . domesticus otior*); see Anderson 1963b: 20–1 = 1982: 32–3 on Lucilius as always at a banquet in H.; Johnson 2000 on the place of reading as part of a civilized Roman’s daily regimen. Perhaps a parody of Lucilius’ own crude measurements (e.g. 140–1W = 107–8M *bis quina octogena uidebis | commoda te, Capua quinquaginta atque ducenta*). The image leads easily into the comparison with Cassius.

**61–4** A mock-Homeric simile compares Lucilius’ poetic inspiration to the torrential verbal flood of Cassius the Etruscan, so prolific that his writings served as fuel for his funeral pyre. Like the ‘muddy’ Lucilius, Cassius is a degenerate descendant of Homer himself (52), the original poet of inspiration, via other vatic but faulty poets. See Brink 1971: 553–6 on the Hellenistic conceit of Homer as fountainhead or great sea of poetry; Ael. *Var. hist.* 13.22 describes an ancient picture of Homer vomiting and other poets collecting his vomit.

**61–2 Etrusci . . . Cassi:** unknown; wrongly identified by Porph. with Cassius Parmensis (cf. *Ep.* 1.4.3), who was still alive. *Etrusci* carefully rules out identification with the proscribed assassin of Caesar, and marks this Cassius out as belonging to a dying provincial power.

**62–3 quale . . . ingenium:** sc. *tali ingenio*. The loose construction adds to the messiness of the period. *ingenium* ‘poetic inspiration’, as at 4.43–4, implies un-Callimachean prolixity. **rapido . . . amni:** for other ‘flood’ metaphors, cf. 1.58, 4.11, 7.26–7, 10.36–7, 10.50–1 (Lucilius), *C.* 4.2.5–8 (Pindar).

**63–4 capsis:** writing-cases (cf. 4.21–2). **librisque . . . propriis:** according to the scholiasts, the senate ordered Cassius’ worthless works to be burned with him after death, though the story may be no more than a pyromaniac’s fantasy about those books that, unlike H.’s, will not stand the test of time. The word order is iconic, with author consumed in the middle of his books (cf. Fannius at 4.21–2). *ambustum* = ‘cremated’; cf. Cic. *Mil.* 12 (satirical, of Clodius) *huius ambusti tribuni plebis*. Macfarlane 1996 reads ‘singed around the edges’, because Etruscans were decadent and fat, therefore incombustible (though fat might have made them *more* flammable). For the conceit of the functional recycling (here, for fuel) of literary works, along with their authors, cf. Cat. 95.6–7, *Ep.* 2.1.267–70 *una | cum scriptore meo capsas porrectas operatas | deferat in uicum uendentem tus et odores | et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis*, Mart. 8.44 *fartus papyro dum tibi torus crescit*.

**64 fuerit** ‘granted’; jussive subj. H.’s usual tactic of conceding virtues before he hacks away at the faults. Also picking up *fuit* in the simile: Lucilius and Cassius

are both ‘has-beens’. With 65 *fuert*, the first of many ‘redundant’ repetitions that need editing out. **inquam**: highlighting a concession, and returning with exaggerated relief to the subject of Lucilius after an unwieldy Lucilian sentence.

**65 comis . . . urbanus**: two adjectives that would admit Lucilius to H.’s literary coterie (cf. 13, 41); also paired at 4.90, referring to the two-faced dinner-guest – significantly, as this is the very treatment H. is now meting out to Lucilius behind his back (Frank 1925); cf. 4.96–100, esp. 99–100 *sed tamen admiror quo pacto iudicium illud | fugerit*. Lucilius escaped judgment in an earlier age, but he will not escape contemporary criticism.

**limatior** ‘more polished’, a metaphor from filing; cf. Cic. *Orat.* 20 (*oratores*) *subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati*, *AP* 290–1 *si non offenderit unum | quemque poetarum limae labor*. An advance on *durus* (4.8, 10.1, 10.57–9). *lima* ‘file’ is from the same root as *leuis* ‘smooth’ and *limus* ‘mud’ (cf. 1.59 *limo turbatam . . . aquam*): this is a politer version of the hidden mud-slinging of 49 *haerentem capiti*.

**66 rudis . . . auctor** ‘crude originator’. The Roman inventor of satire gets more irreverent publicity than the Greek inventor of epic. Unlikely to refer to Lucilius himself: it is hard to square an understood potential verb (‘might have been’) with the indicative *erat* (‘was’) understood after the second *quam* (67); the sentiment also conflicts with H.’s point about Lucilius’ dependence on Greek comedy. The *auctor* may either be some generic Roman writer of native, e.g. Saturnian verse, unpractised by the Greeks (Fraenkel 131 n. 3, Rudd 1960), or allude specifically to Ennius as the first practitioner of satire, assuming a distinction between *auctor*, originator, and *inuentor*, establisher, of satire (cf. 10.48, 2.1.63), via a kenning involving *rudis* and his birthplace Rudiae; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.424 *ingenio maximus, arte rudis*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.7.75 *cedet Musa rudis ferocis Enni*. H. makes no other direct reference to Ennius as a satirist (but presses several of his epic lines into satirical service: e.g. 2.37, 2.36 Cupi-ennius, 4.60–1). **Graecis**: dat. of agent.

**67 poetarum . . . turba**: a dismissive grouping (cf. 4.143 *turbam*) of the first Roman poets to experiment with Greek metre: traditionally the trio of Ennius, Accius and Pacuvius, the first and third of whom wrote satires, and perhaps Plautus as well. For *sen(ior)es* used of veteran poets, cf. 2.1.34 *senis* (of Lucilius), *Ep.* 2.1.56 (Accius and Pacuvius), Virg. *Ecl.* 6.70 *Ascraeo seni*, Pers. 1.124 *praegrandi . . . sene* (Aristophanes). The traditional generational divide between these poets is suppressed: cf. the young Accius’ visit to old Pacuvius at Tarentum (Gell. 12.2); the young Terence’s visit to Caecilius (*Vita Terenti*); see Nesselrath 2000, Sidwell 2000 on the generational struggles between Aristophanes, Eupolis and Cratinus, as variously invented by grammarians. For *turba* of an undistinguished literary group: Prop. 3.1.12 *scriptorum turba*, 4.1.136 *scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo*; cf. *Ep.* 1.19.19–20 *seruum pecus . . . | . . . uestri tumultus*.

**67–71** H. sketches the exacting perfectionism of the modern satirist, conceding that Lucilius’ inadequacies could be attributed to his rugged historical milieu. The idea of changing places resurfaces from 1.18 *uos hinc mutatis discedite partibus*,

while the work of self-criticism is more expansively detailed at *AP* 445–50: *uir bonus et prudens uersus reprehendet inertes, | culpabit duros, incomptis allinet atrum | trauerso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet | ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget, | arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit: | fiet Aristarchus*. Here, an exaggeratedly pleonastic style (*ille* ~ 57 *illius*; cf. 64, 65 *fuerit*, 69–71 *detereret, recideret, scaberet, roderet*) goads us with its verbal excess (cf. 60–1 *ducentos . . . totidem*).

**68 nostrum . . . aeuum:** H.'s focus on his own *tempus perdu* (6.94 *aeuum peractum*) turns into consciousness of a current literary 'moment'. **dilatatus** 'postponed, delayed' (Bentley, K–H); cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.75 '*utinam*' inquit C. Pontius Sannius, '*ad illa tempora me fortuna reseruauisset et tum essem natus quando Romani dona accipere coepissent*.' MSS alternatives *dilapsus* and *delapsus* contain ideas of degeneration and drifting that conflict with *fato*; Brink 1987: 32–4.

**69 detereret . . . multa** 'would be filing away much of his work'; *sibi* = ethic dat.; cf. 4.112 *detereret* (of the father's moral lessons). **recideret** 'would keep cutting back'. Cf. 3.123 *falce recisurum* (of cutting away small offences). A significant repetition: satirical instincts for pruning and gnawing are sublimated into self-chastizing writing. These 'chopping' manoeuvres may also be connected with the approaching end of *Satires* 1 (cf. 15 *secat*, 36 *ingulat*, 37 *diffindit*). **ultra:** for the apt enjambment, cf. 2.1.1–2 *ultra | legem tendere opus*.

**70 traheretur** 'stretched beyond'.

**71 scaberet** 'would scratch', cf. Lucil. 356W = 333M. **uiuos** 'to the quick', predic. with *roderet* (cf. Col. 6.12.3 *extrema pars . . . unguis ad uiuum resecatur*, Pers. 1.106, 5.162 *crudum . . . unguem abrodens*; Luc. *Dial. deor.* 22.1: a metaphor for perfectionism; cf. 5.32 *ad unguem*; *Epod.* 14.8 *ad umbilicum*). **roderet:** cf. 3.81 *absentem rodit amicum*, 3.93 *mordax*, 6.46 *quem rodunt omnes* (of himself). **ungues:** as the final word in the sentence, perhaps clausal. For Maecenas' irritation with H.'s jagged nails, cf. *Ep.* 1.104.

**72 saepe . . . uertas** 'cross things out'; lit. 'turn your pen upside down' (jussive subj.; cf. 73 *labores*); a *stilus* had a pointed end for writing on a tablet and a flat end for deleting mistakes (Cic. *Verr.* 2.101 *uertit stilum in tabulis*). The joke is that in this poem H. ends up underlining his earlier criticisms. **saepe:** last *e* short before *stilum*. **iterum . . . sint** 'the kind of things worth a second reading' (generic subj.) – as H. subjects us to a second round of criticisms of Lucilius (cf. 39).

**73–4 neque:** *neue* is more usual before final subj. (*labores*). **miretur:** the open-mouthed wonder of an easily impressed audience: cf. 6 *ut pulchra poemata mirer*, 22 *difficile et mirum*. **turba:** for Horatian contempt for the crowd, see 4.23 and 10.67nn. **contentus . . . lectoribus:** avoidance of publicity as a Callimachean position: cf. 4.71–4, C. 3.1.1 *odi profanum uulgus et arceo*, Callim. *Ep.* 28.4.

**74–5 an . . . malis?** A fate worse than death for literary works: to become school dictation texts, the most extreme form of promiscuity and ignominy for the Callimachean poet (cf. Callim. *Iamb* 1.11; *Iamb* 5, addressed to a *grammatodidaskalos*).

H. may thus be dismissing the entire literary-critical industry. Such dissection was already a certainty for Lucilius (as the spurious prologue shows) and prophetic for Virgil and H. himself, as *Juv.* 7.226–7 delights in revealing: *quot stabant pueri cum totus decolor esset | Flaccus, et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni*. H. takes a similarly jaundiced view of his literary destiny at *Ep.* 1.20.17–18 *hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem | occupet extremis in uicis balba senectus*, and reminisces about school dictations at *Ep.* 1.1.55 and *Ep.* 2.1.70–1. But Feeney 2002: 175 sees this rather as H.’s covert acknowledgement of an exciting literary ‘first’: contemporary authors stood to become classics in their own lifetime, a ‘two-edged fate’. **demens:** diatribic scorn (cf. 34 *insanius*). **uilibus . . . carmina:** for the discrepancy in tone, cf. *Juv.* 7.28 *in parua sublimia carmina cella*. For grammarians/critics disparaged as ‘schoolmasters’, cf. Messalla (*ap.* Suet. *Gram.* 4) on Cato as *litterator*, i.e. ‘elementary school teacher’.

**76 non ego:** repeats the defiance of 5.101, as H. again separates himself from popular opinion. A Lucilian move (cf. 650–1W = 671–2M *pro Lucilio id ego nolo ut uno hoc non muto omnia*), but one that differentiates him from Lucilius’ democratic tastes (76–7n.). **nam . . . plaudere:** the quip returns us (cf. 39) to the scenario of the Roman theatre, where palpable applause and hisses measured the success of a performance (cf. 89 *placeant*). **equitem:** probably collective for *equites*, equestrians, who after the *lex Roscia* of 67 BC were entitled to occupy the first fourteen rows of seats, behind the senators in the orchestra, though individual significant *equites* like Maecenas and Lucilius may be in play too. Here is the last use of *satis* in the book (recalling the closural markers of *S.* 1 and the *Eclogues*: cf. *Ecl.* 10.70 *sat*, 77 *saturnae*): restrictive and modest again after the perfectionism of 7 *non satis*. **audax:** 48n.

**76–7** Arbuscula ‘little tree’ (thus the shortest shrub in the new Roman literary wood) was a successful mime actress of Cicero’s time (*Att.* 4.15.6 *quaeris nunc de Arbuscula; ualde placuit*) or courtesan (Serv. *ad Virg. Ecl.* 10.6 *fuertunt autem uno tempore nobiles meretrices tres: Cytheris, Origo [cf. 2.55], Arbuscula*): the *arguta meretrix* of 40 now steps into the limelight. The Mae West of her day (cf. e.g. ‘I only have yes men around me. Who needs no men?’ or ‘It’s better to be looked over than it is to be overlooked’); see Hawley 1993 on courtesans’ wit. By recycling her quip, perhaps a proverbial one for a choosy lady, H. makes her ventriloquize his artistic defiance; at *Ep.* 2.1.185 highbrow knights are contrasted with *indocti stolidique*. By contrast, Lucilius had appealed to a less elevated audience: 635W = 592–3M *Persium non curo legere, Laelium Decimum uolo* (which another Persius reduced to absurdity by requiring an audience of next to zero: *Pers. Sat.* 1.2–3); cf. also 632–4W = 595–6M = Cic. *De or.* 2.25 *neque se ab indoctissimis neque a doctissimis legi uelle*; *Fin.* 1.7: Lucilius wrote for the people of Tarentum, Consentia and Sicily because he was afraid of intellectuals. Yet *equitem* may also be pitched lower than some contemporary authors’ sights; H. could be alluding to his ‘modest’ friendship with the *eques* Maecenas (cf. 81), as opposed to Virgil’s cultivation of the consul

Pollio in the *Eclogues* (there are echoes here of *Ecl.* 4.2–3 *non omnis arbusta iuuant humilesque myricae; | si canimus siluas, siluae sint consule dignae*).

**77 contemptis aliis** sums up H.'s clear-cut division of supporters and detractors (for *alii* as dismissive, cf. 4.2, 6.11, 10.47, 87). **explosa** 'hissed off the stage'.

H. declares that he will not be bothered by hostile literary critics, whose abusive nicknames have an acerbic, Lucilian flavour. Once again, he disclaims malice, making himself as satirist the innocent victim of his enemies' behind-the-back aggression. Rudd 1960: 163 correctly divines that these backbiters are just 'men whose taste in poetry happened to differ from Horace's own'.

**78 men moueat** 'should [Pantilius] bother me?' (*men = me ne*) **cimex** 'bed bug', *Cimex lectularius*, Greek κόρις (Davies and Kathirithamby 1986: 46–7). Antiphanes *AP* 11.322.6 = *GP* 776 calls pedantic grammarians who live off inspired authors 'bedbugs' (Davies and Kathirithamby 1986: 111 for other 'insect'-parasites, esp. 'moths'). **Pantilius**: from Greek πᾶν τίλλειν 'pick at everything' (ironic reversal: nits are what you pick yourself). Probably a carping critic (Rudd 144), though the name is attested (*CIL* IX 527, X 5925). H.'s own nitpicking (cf. 71 *scaberet*) is allegedly self-inflicted. **cruciet**: screws up the level of exacerbation (cf. 6.105 *ulceret*).

**79 uellicet absentem**: cf. 81 *absentem qui rodit amicum*; *uellicet* 'pick at' glosses Pan-tilius. **Demetrius**: associated with Tigellius Hermogenes at 90–1, therefore possibly identifiable with the *simius* of 18. **ineptus**: Catullan-style abuse for Fannius (Cat. 12.4, 39.16), an untranslatable negative that with one blow excludes the victim from *savoir-faire* and taste.

**80 Fannius**: as self-publicizing, cf. 4.21, with Rudd 1956, Freudenburg 1993: 117–18. Syme 1939: 228 and 333–4 mentions two Fanniuses, both anti-Caesarians. **Hermogenis . . . Tigelli**: mentioned at 18 and 90 as very much alive. Freudenburg (1993: 168–70) argues against Rudd that he is identical with the dead Sardinian Tigellius of 2.3 and 3.4, not a neoteric (Rudd has confused him with the *simius*) but opposed to H.'s aesthetic tastes (cf. 9.25). **conuiuia**: i.e. a parasite of Hermogenes (H. avoids using this word of his own coterie; see 4.96n.): the enemy gang thickens up. If H. refers to C. Fannius or one of his relatives, then *conuiuia* might indicate that he and Tigellius were army messmates.

**81–90** H. arrays his own gang (cf. 4.143 *turba*) or clique of back-scratchers, appealing for their approval of his poetry as he has approved of theirs. A prediction for the Augustan literary age, though Feeney 2002: 174 notes that the entire crowd is absent from *Eph.* 2.1: 'Before, there had been many estimable poets: now there is only one' (Virgil and Varius being dead). H. may be expanding on a similar list of detractors and supporters in Lucilius (cf. 76–7n.): perhaps not so much a compliment to Lucilius (Fraenkel 131) as an attempt to make his literary world seem a thing of the past (Brink 1963: 169).

**81** Maecenas is embosomed in the centre of the travelling-party of 5.40. The words *conuiuia* and *conuictor* are suppressed. Varius and Virgil also appeared in the

list of modern masters (43–5); mutual admiration is the pay-off. H. allies himself with the in-crowd around Maecenas, without actually asserting his own place in it (cf. 9.51–2).

**82–3 Valgius:** C. Valgius Rufus, elegist addressed in *C.* 2.9 and placed equal in a *synkrisis* with Homer at *Panegyricus Messallae* 180 *Valgius, aeterno propior non alter Homero*. **probet haec** ‘let [him] give approval to my work’. *haec*, like 46 *hoc*, 88 *qualiacumque*, is exaggeratedly modest and blurred. **Octavius:** Octavius Musa, historian; *Catalepton* 11.5–6 *scripta quidem tua nos multum mirabimur et te | raptum et Romanam flebimus historiam*. Perhaps *probat* particularly belongs to him via a pun on his *cognomen* Musa (cf. *Catalepton* 4.10, Cic. *Fam.* 7.23 *Musis omnibus approbantibus*; 45 *adnuerunt Camenae*). With the two Visci, the list of poets adds up to nine, the number of the muses (or the number of an ideal three-couch dinner party: Var. *Men.* = Gell. 13.11). The shadow of Octavian, more conspicuous by his absence, lurks behind this name (Feeney 2002: 174). **optimus:** if *atque* is postponed, this is a pun on Fuscus’ *nomen* Aristius = Greek ἀριστος ‘best’, though K–H takes the adj. as conveniently embracing the whole group (cf. 5.27–8 *Maecenas optimus atque Cocceius*, Virg. *Aen.* 12.561 *Mnesthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum*). **Fuscus:** the friend (comic/tragic poet/*grammaticus*) who refused to relieve H. of the pest; 9.61n. Fuscus is H.’s ‘best’ in neither comedy nor tragedy. **Viscorum:** 9.22n. One of the two brothers, Viscus Thurinus, attends Nasidienus’ dinner party (2.8.20).

**84 ambitione relegata:** a disclaimer of parasitism to match the disclaimers of malice (Comm. Cruq.: *repudiata assentatione* ‘without flattery’); cf. 48 *neque . . . ausim*. K–H and Fraenkel 132 n. 2 include *ambitione relegata* in the previous clause, ‘without flattering me’ (cf. 6.51–2 *praua | ambitione procul*), on the grounds that (a) the anaphora of *te* in 84, 85 is more pronounced, and (b) H. is allaying suspicions that the Visci would pay insincere compliments. However, the phrase is more appropriately apotropaic just before H. clambers open-endedly up the social ranks in 85–6. **dicere** ‘mention’.

**85–6** The next group consists of aristocrats (76 *nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere* proves to be hollow in H.’s case), though Pollio was a *nouus homo*. H. expects praise from the first group; he only hopes for it from the second. In their midst are two powerful Augustan literary patrons: H. is hedging his bets.

**85 Pollio:** 42–3n. **te . . . fratre:** also twinned at 28–9. Messalla’s half-brother was L. Gellius Publicola, cos. 36 (Dio 47.24.6: friend to Brutus and Cassius in the civil war), coyly unnamed here. Both were literary patrons and statesmen; H. is more deferential here, after placing Maecenas in a cosy atmosphere of unaristocratic men.

**86 Bibule:** probably L. Calpurnius Bibulus, whose father as consul opposed Caesar in 59, stepson of Brutus; he transferred his loyalty to Antony and died in 32. His presence in Rome in the winter of 36/5 (App. *BC* 5.132) may supply a date for the book’s publication (DuQuesnay 1984: 20). **Serui:** either son of the jurist Servius Sulpicius Rufus, brother-in-law of Messalla, or this man’s son,

or an otherwise unknown erotic poet (Ov. *Trist.* 2.441). The name Servius was used almost exclusively by the Sulpicii Rufi and Galbae, so is often used instead of the name of the *gens*. **simul** = *cum* + abl. **candide Furni**: an orator Furnius is mentioned at Plut. *Ant.* 58, cos. 29; his son was cos. 17. Comm. Cruq. identifies him as a historian of great clarity (hence *candide*). Palmer interprets *candide* as ‘open-hearted’ (perhaps as a partisan of Antony, though his father, trib. pleb. 51, was with Octavian); the opposite of *niger* ‘malicious’.

**87–8**: in this holdall of ‘numerous other friends and intellectuals’ (coveted status for an outsider at 9.7, 23; cf. ironic uses of *doctus* at 19 and 52), no distinction is made between those narrowly excluded from H.’s canon and those who would never have made it: they all blur into the same anonymous crowd. **com- plures alios**: irritatingly diplomatic, the phrase chimes tellingly with 77 *contemptis aliis*, in identical line-position. **prudens praetereo**: the prudent *praeteritio* enacts the *Satires*’ aesthetic of ‘enough’s enough’.

**88 haec . . . qualiacumque**: a Catullan shrug, another cliché of neoteric modesty (1.8–9 *quidquid hoc libelli*, | *qualecumque*; cf. 92 *libello*), offers little by way of return to these patrons; satire continues to escape definition. *sint* is concessive.

**89–90 arridere** ‘to be pleasing to’ (*OLD* s.v. 2), but with the element of shared *risus* activated in a satirical context (cf. 7.14). **doliturus . . . nostra** ‘I shall be hurt if they meet with less approval than I’d hoped’. The fear is realized at 2.1.1–2, as H. claims to encounter the same mixed response he gives to Lucilius’ legacy. An unlikely picture of a benevolent satirist: the giver of pleasure and potential victim (*doliturus*, *placeant*) rather than the dealer of pain.

**90–1** The list of positive names appears to have been a parenthesis. But the rival party has dwindled in the meantime to two sorry individuals, Demetrius and Tigellius (parasite and patron, or acolyte and master; cf. 3.137–9: Crispinus and the philosopher); 79, 8onn. Named satirical equivalents of Callimachus’ ‘othered’ Envy (*Phthonos*) and Blame (*Momos*) at *Hymn to Apollo* 105–13. **dis- cipularum . . . cathedras**: the satirist ends, true to type, with a malediction, not a valediction. The two literati are represented as girls’ tutors, i.e. second-class teachers. This desultory but snide picture of a pampered ‘finishing school’ may allude to the female readers of maudlin neoteric love elegy (cf. *plorare* ~ *flere*), as satirized in *S.* 2 (cf. Prop. 3.3.19–20), but is probably an imaginary, feminized school of *grammatici* and students. Again, the experts are reduced to cogs in a socializing industry; cf. 75 *ludis*. **iubeo plorare** ‘get lost’; a Latin translation of a Greek curse: κλαίειν κελεύω, οἰμώζειν λέγω; opp. *iubeo ualere* ‘be well’. In addition, *plorare* puns on both ‘wail’ (in suffering) and ‘sing in a [womanish] whining voice’, a satirical counterpart to *cantare*. H. updates Callimachus’ final curse at *Hymn to Apollo* 113: ‘Blame, go where Envy dwells.’ Apollo has already been claimed as H.’s saviour at 9.78; now a crowd of supporters stands in for any specific protective deity. **cathedras**: comfortable chairs; cf. *Juv.* 6.91, *Mart.* 3.63.7–8 *inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras | desidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat.*

H.'s victims are feminized (and Grecized) along with their pupils (Nisbet 1995c: 396–7).

92 H. orders an imaginary slave-scribe (though 5\* *puer* suggests a pupil, provocative replacement for *discipularum*) to add a postscript to his book. **i**  
**atque:** H–S 783. The humble parasite invents his own sidekick for his final thrust; cf. *ubeo plorare*, counteracting e.g. 32 *uetui*. It is deliberately ambiguous whether the addendum is the last few lines or the whole poem (itself an addendum to S. 4). The command conjures up promiscuous publicity and slipshod last-minute composition, both disowned throughout: cf. *Ep.* 1.20.1–2 *Vortunnum Ianumque, liber, spectare uideris, | scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus, 11 contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere uolgi coeperis*; cf. 4.38 *chartis illeuerit*. Prop. 3.23.23 is the closest imitation: *i puer et citus haec aliqua proponere columna* (though the context, an appeal for Cynthia to return his tablets, is very different; there might be a common Callimachean intertext). Callimachus was the first cataloguer of Greek literature in the library at Alexandria (in his *Pinakes*). S. 10 is H.'s addendum to that gargantuan catalogue, incorporating modern Roman authors and the stop-press extra genre, satire. Play on the double meanings of *libellus* and *subscribere* resurrects the question of satire's socio-legal dilemma, forgotten in the enclosed bibliophilic milieu of S. 10. The ending is both closural and anti-closural, a forward glance to Book II in its role of eager-to-please supplement, which proposes for *satura* a less straightforward kind of self-limiting than the superficially similar ending of Virg. *Ecl.* 10.77 *ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae*. **subscribere** 'add to a list', as if dictating to a scribe; also, 'enter an offence in the censorial roll' (e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 135 *leue est quod censores de ceteris subscripserunt*), 'sign a charge or indictment'. Forensic meanings suit the poem's aggressively defensive mode: this endpiece is a quasi-legal sealing or endorsement. At 2.1.5 *praescribe*, H. reverts to the role of receptive student; the interpolater of verses 1–8\* takes the cue by adding his own *praescriptio*. **libello:** affirms the written or 'published' status of this pseudo-conversational *sermo* (cf. 5.104) and seals *Satires* I with a self-referential *sphragis* and a literary identity. The incriminating potential of *libellus* 'court writ', 'libellous pamphlet' is not entirely lost (cf. 4.66 ~ 4.71). But H.'s loose *chartae* (cf. 4.139, 5.104, 10.4) have finally been pulled together into a self-respecting poetry-book (Cucchiarelli 2005: 176).



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