

## COMMENTARY

## 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 (Oltremare 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 1993), 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, fervidus, turbatam, inuersum, terram uertit, mutat, 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. *mensimoiira* 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, diuiae, 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 *mensimoiira*, 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 *percurrant*; cf. 30 *currunt*, 7 *concurrunt*), 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 stas?*), 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 δὲ τι). 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 *sermone[m] 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*, 5.4 *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 . . . diu[er]sa 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*). *dederit . . . obiecerit* = perf. subj. *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 *obstet*, 2.6.30 *obstat*.

3 **contentus . . . sequentes**: *quisque* is supplied from 1 *nemo*; ellipsis of *sed* between *uiuat* and *laudet*; chiasmus (*contentus* half-rhyming with *sequentes*) emphasizes the opposition. H.'s father trained him to be content with his lot (4.108 *uiuere[m] 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 jurisconsult – illustrate

the contention that everyone envies another's way of life (*mempisnoiria*, 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?); 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 *luctantem 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 *obicevit*), 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 laetra*, 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. Triumphal cliché and plodding verse downplay the charms of the soldier's life.

**9 iuris . . . peritus:** i.e. a *urisconsultus*, an expert in law (*iuris*), 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 juriconsults and soldiers: *uigilas tu, Sulpici, de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas, ille ut eo quo intendit mature cum exercitu perueniat; te galorum, illum bucinarum cantus exsuscitat. sub* 'just before'. **pulsat** 'pounds, knocks', following 6 *iactantibus*, 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*. **dati 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 *garrivet*, 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 *sermone*s (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 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*; Vitruvius 1.1.14 (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 *nihil plus*, 54 *non amplius*, 74 *adde 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. λεπταλέην '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 *mempsimoria* 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-cheeked 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 *mempsimoria*: 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 *mempsimoria* 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 . . . inflet** '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; *NLS* § 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'] | *verba 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 reconfigures 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. *Laus* 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 | clauso 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 juriconsults, 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 *caupombus atque malignis*; Kleberg 1957: 83) replaces the juriconsult (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 *muta* '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 farvis 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 paruus componere magna solebam*). Such apologies are common in didactic literature: Lucr. 2.123-4 *rerum magnarum paruua 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. πολύμοχος; cf. ps.-Phocyl. 170, a proverb recycled by the pest 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 *virtutes 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 prorepsit** 'creeps out, emerges', suggesting cautious animal movement (cf. 3.99 *cum prorepsissent primis animalia terris*, *Ep.* 1.7.30 *uulpecula . . . repperat 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 *obstat*, 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 *obstat*, *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 doctor*, undercut in turn by the charge at 2.6.30 *tu pulsas omne quod obstat*. For life as an obstacle course, cf. 113 *sic festinanti locupletior 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 quincunce 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 suaue 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 *terō*, '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.* 869 *contriui in quaerendo 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 . . . aequo 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 uentreinque subinum*, 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 lassissis 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 plus [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 *haurit*). **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'. **anulosos**: 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 obstrepiit 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 *uiuitt 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 sis 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 *avarus* 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 *tanti quantum* (Hubbard 1981: 312), suggesting an innate link with off-the-scale desires; cf. 95 *Vimmidius*. 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 cibis 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 *nominatum* abuse is not necessary to achieve a salutary effect (cf. 2.3.320 *haec a te non inultum 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 aceruum | 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 deuoret*). **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 Ultramare 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 lagenique 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 nunquam 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 *uiuat* (*NLS* § 210). **exanimem** 'faint with fear, petrified', acc. + inf. as subject of 78 *uiuat*. **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 scrimia 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 *adfixit* (cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.11.1 *eo casu quo sum afflicto*), 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 propinquus**: 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 *auer-sos 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 prouerbum: 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 *uirius quaerendae finem re scire 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 serua*) 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 . . . unquam . . . 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 *ou* '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 . . . servos?* **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 *Ambubaiarum*) 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 *uappan . . . 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 *detereret*, 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 sana 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 (Lasaratos *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 scribentis cinaedo*.

**106 est . . . rebus** 'things have their proper measure'. Technically *modus* is a measured amount, sometimes of land (cf. *modus*); 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. 3.98 *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* . . . *laudat diuersa sequentes* ~ 1–3 *nemo* . . . *laudat 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 *menpsimoiira* 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 . . . | excepam 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 *concurratur*, 24 *percurrat*, 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 clausal 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 animam 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, Freudenburg 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 struit*, 42 *inmensum . . . pondus*, 44 *constructus aceruus* (see Freudenburg 2001: 28–31 on H.'s use of the *sortes* 'how many grains make a heap?' paradox). Indeed, *Crispini* + *lippii* wraps up a cryptogram of Chrysippus' name (Freudenburg 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. **lippii** '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*, *brevitas* 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 *serinia sapientiam compilarit*). Demonstrating verbal neatness, H. recycles the elements of Crispinus' name: *scrinia*, *lippii*, *compilasse* (Armstrong 1964: 44). But he has himself been guilty of 'rustling' Virgilian and Lucretian pastoral images (Freudenburg 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). Freudenburg 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 quaeis*, 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; 2.11.). 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 NEG LOQVI NEG 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*,