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## SATIRE 5

After the oppressive ending of *S.* 4, H. escapes from the big city and hits the open road. His 'Journey to Brundisium' is a brisk but often frustrating account. Porphyrio tells us that the model was the *Iter Siculum* described in Lucilius' third book of *Satires*, which, despite Marx's ingenious attempt to patch those fragments into a narrative, leaves us with few clues for interpreting H.'s peevish, diary-style entries on the minutiae of travel: dyspepsia, nocturnal disturbances, sore eyes, ball-games and culinary mishaps. Sightseeing is minimal and the focus is on low-level incidents, despite the fact that a major diplomatic mission, the official purpose of the journey, is somewhere just out of view. The route plots H.'s life's progress from S. Italy to Rome in reverse (cf. Lucan on Caesar's approach to Rome: *BC* 3.84-9); vital meetings with Maecenas and Virgil and Varius are also in reverse order. Rather than discussing the peace negotiations between Antony and Octavian, H. keeps events at the level of its *ego* narrator, a grumpy parasite (Freudenburg 1993: 203-5, Turpin 1998). The only war mentioned involves the 'starvation tactics' H. imposes on his runny stomach; the only treaty is an abortive one, his unlucky assignation with a fickle *amica*.

Since the Via Appia, highway to the South, whose end point is Tarentum, is specified at the start, the biggest surprises of the poem are its unexplained

derailment onto the Via Minucia and the decisive but unexpected ending at Brundisium. Which diplomatic mission and peace treaty are involved? There are three possible candidates from the Second Triumvirate (Musurillo 1954-5, Fedeli 1994). The Treaty of Brundisium between Antony and Octavian had been signed in 40 BC, thus too early for H. to have known Maecenas. The Treaty of Tarentum (end-point of the Via Appia) was signed in 37 (Reckford 1999: 'a major diplomatic victory for Octavian'), but only after Antony had tried to land at Brundisium and been blocked by the inhabitants. Antony and Octavian met in Athens in 38, for which Brundisium was a traditional point of departure (Pelling 1996, DuQuesnay 1984). The second option seems most likely, though Brundisium is still a perverse place to end up. Diplomatic frustrations are overlaid by H.'s sexual disappointment and the reader's own sense of blockage (Reckford 1999), while the important business of the poem (28 *magnae res*) is characteristically minimized as a tiff between friends (29 *amicos componere auersos*).

Anderson (1955-6) preferred to read the poem as 'poetic fiction', a conflation of several historical events. The poem is now read less as a literal account and more of a practical display of the poetic theory laid out in *S.* 4 (Lowe 1979, Freudenburg 1993, Gowers 1993b, Cucchiarelli 2001), not just in relation to Lucilius but to a wide range of other narrative forms: epic, topography and picaresque. The first lines parody Odysseus' opening words to the Phaeacians, and the journey unfolds in the shadow of this original traveller: a lucky escape, a siege, a Cyclops pitted against a puny stranger, a fire, Diomedes, the city of the Laestrygonians (Formiae), epic periphrases for night, invocation of a muse and hints of a final *nostos*. But a deceitful girl replaces faithful Penelope, a kitchen fire the fires of Troy, Formiae now belongs to Mamurra's family, and siege is laid to H.'s own stomach after a bout of diarrhoea. Such personal confessions, focused on stomach and groin, link H. with other, sub-Odyssean travellers: Aristophanes' Dionysus and Xanthus on their comic *katabasis* through a frog-infested marsh (Cucchiarelli 2001), Varro's Menippean picaros, the parasites of comedy (cf. *Ep.* 1.17.52-7) and Petronius' hapless Encolpius (Sallmann 1974).

H. also engages with more specialized forms of travel-writing, from the aesthetic to the functional (Illuminati 1938, Grupp 1953, Cavarzere 1995). His starting companion, Heliodorus, author of *Theamata Italica*, introduces the model of tourist guides, an expectation which is rapidly disappointed (as half-hearted gestures to 'sight-seeing' prove). At the other extreme are Caesar's *Itineraries*, which H.'s clipped logs about mileage and supplies sometimes resemble. Other candidates for a genre of Latin travel-poetry include: Varro's Menippean satires - *Marcapor*, 'Varro on the Road', *Periplus* 'The Voyage Round' and *Sescolixes*, 'Half-Ulysses'; Caesar's poem, *Iter* (Suet. *Jul.* 56), Valgius (Morel, *FPL* 106), Persius' *Hodeporicon* (a plausible textual reading in the *Vita*), Ausonius' *Mosella*, Rutilius Namatianus' *De reditu suo sive Iter Gallicum* and Sidonius' prose epistle (*Ep.* 1.5). There are probably more poetic in-jokes with H.'s companions on the journey, Virgil and Varius, than we can fathom. The dialogue with Virgil's *Eclogues* (which had celebrated

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the Treaty of Brundisium in *Ecl.* 4 and obliquely consecrated Caesar-Daphnis in *Ecl.* 5 through a convergence of shepherd-poets: 1 *conuenimus ambo*) continues (Van Rooy 1973, Putnam 1995–6, Welch 2008). Virgil restored the mock-epic kitchen fire to a genuinely epic context in *Aeneid* 2 (Austin 1964), while Varius' doleful departure recalls his real-life role of tragic or funereal poet to H.'s comic one.

In many ways, the poem is an extended *recusatio* (Ehlers 1985: 82, Lowe 1979: 130). H. focuses on satire's shortcomings in relation to its hexameter cousin epic, an opposition that his apology to Augustus at *Ep.* 2.2 for choosing crawling satire (250 *sermones . . . repentes per humum*) over the emperor's *res gestae* (descriptions of lands, rivers and high citadels) spells out. The vocabulary of reluctance and inadequacy is pervasive: *ignauus*, *minus grauis*, *lippus*, *crudus*, *supinus*, *inimicus*, *fessus* (Cucchiarelli 2001). Twice H. specifies crawling ((*e*)*repere*) as the chosen pace, and twice images of the travellers walking or riding mules suggest devotion to the *musa pedestris*. Another puzzle of the journey, the identity of a tiny town whose name will not fit into the hexameter, points to satire's limitations (Morgan 2000a).

This metrical joke derives from Lucilius, and though detailed links between *S.* 5 and the *Iter Siculum* will always be at the level of speculation (*pace* Fiske's extensive survey of parallels), it is likely that H.'s journey-poem was a conscious alternative to the equestrian Lucilius' account: more abject in its picture of the poetic *ego* – dispossessed, riding on mules and sexually unlucky – but also more streamlined and fastidious (despite worse conditions). The longest surviving fragment of Lucilius' poem (102–5W = 110–13M) suggests a leisurely approach to recording the ups and downs of travel (see p. 10). H. keeps something of its casual and improvisational quality as part of his satirical baggage, but the challenge to Lucilius launched in *S.* 4 is now framed in terms relevant to both journeying and composition: length vs. abbreviation (5), strenuousness vs. laziness (5–6). Rapid changes of tense, metrical pace and location spare the reader from getting bogged down. H. is exploiting a long history of comparing *sermo* to a journey, with random-seeming starts, stops, digressions and dead ends (cf. *periodos*, *deuerticulum*). Demetrius breaks up Thucydidean sentences with stops (*anapaulai*) which he compares to roadside inns (*De elocutione* 47). In Cicero's *De oratore*, Strabo had already used an inn on the Pomptine marshes, H.'s first port of call, as an image for a digression from which listeners are only too happy to emerge (2.234). Varro in his Menippean satire *Periplus* offers his reader resting-places (418 *ektropai*) from the narrative. Inns on H.'s journey replace narrative pauses or digressions: Aricia offers modest hospitality (2 *hospitio modico*) and Forum Appi is stuffed (4 *differunt*, recalling a traditional etymology of *satura*) with a mixture of seamy characters. The background theme of measuring and dividing space makes this poem particularly rich in self-conscious play on metrical possibilities (Nilsson 1952, Morgan 2000a).

In *De oratore*, Strabo's 'wayside inn' digression is the Roman *locus classicus* for Aristotle's theory of wit, both scurrilous and liberal. Laughter is a running theme on H.'s journey (35, 57, 98). The duel between the clowns Messius and Sarmentus

witnessed by the travellers at Caudium, the centrepiece of the poem (introduced with mock-invocation of the muse and contestants' genealogies), erupts with animal abuse and personal insult, representing the low humour that H. disowns. It can be no coincidence that the duel is staged in Campania, where traces of satire's native Italian ancestors, Atellan farce and Oscan obscenity, were thick on the ground. But the clowns' artificially vicious duel is replaced by innocent bonhomie (70 *iucunde cenam producimur illam*) more compatible with H.'s brand of conciliatory wit. The scene thus works as another potted history of satire, with republican venom tamed by the diplomatic humour of the new establishment (the *scurra* Sarmentus was adopted into Maecenas' household) on their nostalgia trip to discover the native roots of the genre.

More of the poem's humour is extracted at the expense of local rustics: pretentious small-town officials and superstitious citizens – alter egos for the poet in his previous, *S.* Italian incarnation. Class is a running theme, with H.'s humble origins displaced through the abjection of his characters. Aricia and Feronia are connected with runaway slaves; Sarmentus and Aufidius Luscius are *scribae*, an office commonly held by upwardly mobile freedmen and admitted to by H. himself in 2.6. Images of escape (*egressum*, *erepsimus*) followed by acceptance (1 *accepit*, 80 *recepisset*) replay H.'s life-story in reverse, ending with an Apulian *incipit* (77), then re-staging his emergence, in direct opposition to Odysseus' *nostos*. H. is commemorating all that he has safely left behind: the poem demonstrates 'how far the man of humble country origins has come' (Leach 1978: 90).

The journey can also be read as a framework for H.'s views on human experience, a record not simply of locations but of 'subjective emotions and reactions towards unfamiliar surroundings' (Ehlers 1985: 80). H. twice steps aside from his narrative to voice gnomic statements of belief (or non-belief) which virtually parrot the tenets of Epicurean philosophy. The first, praising friendship as the highest good, celebrates his reunion with fellow-Epicureans Virgil and Varius on the Bay of Naples (44). Near the end, H. recites an Epicurean credo on the indifference of the gods to human affairs, the final stage in his empirical education from unease (8 *haud animo aequo*) and sexual gullibility (82 *stultissimus*) to informed scepticism (101 *didici*). In both cases, H. is in dialogue with an intermediary Roman text: first, Cicero's *De finibus*, with its implied rejection of Epicureanism; secondly, Lucretius' Epicurean *De rerum natura*, with a further layer of allusion to Virgil's *Ecl.* 4, and its predicted miracle solution.

The unexpected last line of the poem highlights the notion of ending, and continues the dialogue with Cicero and Lucretius as it slices the book in two. 104 *Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque* raises as many questions as it solves. Without explanation, H. has diverged from the Via Appia, along which he travelled as far as Beneventum (it continued to Tarentum). There follows a villa near the dubiously located Trivicum, the place where H. has his wet dream, and then the famous town with no name. Only at Rubi can we be sure that H.

has drifted across to the alternative route to the south, the Via Minucia, which led to Brundisium. Scholars have proposed many candidates for the small town allegedly 24 miles from Trivicum: Equus Tuticus (Porph., ps.-Acro), Ausculum (Desy 1988), and Herdoniae (Radke 1989). More recently, it has been suggested that H. is hinting at a return to his home town Venusia (Gowers 1993b, 2009b), before frustrating our expectations. H.'s vagueness about his route may well be the whole point. On the final stretch, remarks about the quality of bread and water (88–91) or bad weather versus a good road (96) sound like Epicurean comments on the randomness of life's journey; the road 'damaged by rain' (95) hints that H. deliberately blurred this section of the map.

The abrupt and self-consciously final ending, reminiscent of epitaphs and drawing on Hellenistic equations between life, journeys and writing materials, allows H. to make yet another pre-emptive escape. The 'long' journey is shorter than we expected, the shortest poem in the book so far (363 miles in 104 lines). The narrative's drastic curtailment has been anticipated by the large number of mutilated characters along the way: Apella the circumcised Jew, the clown Messius, a Cyclops or 'wild horse' with a broken horn, Aufidius Luscius ('One-Eye'), even the blind founder of the Via Appia. H. may be suggesting that satire can only go so far in covering important political themes (Reckford 1999, Freudenburg 2001). The most emblematic moments in the narrative are its non-events. H. ignores his patron's arrival and concentrates on smearing black ointment onto his sore eyes (30–1): '[H]istory's witness has sealed his eyes shut' (Oliensis 1998: 28).

However, as with *S. 1*, the promise of finality is swiftly broken. *S. 6* returns to first base by recapitulating the first words of *S. 1* while reusing *finis* in a different sense (6.2). H. goes on to represent his personal freedom as the freedom of the road, and tells us he can go all the way to Tarentum if he wants, on a gelded mule – a statement which comes at line 105, the point at which *S. 6* goes beyond the self-imposed limits of the 104-line poem that preceded it.

*Further reading:* Brink 1995, Cavarzere 1995, Citti 2000: 183–209, Classen 1973, 1981, Cucchiarelli 2001: 15–118, Doblhofer 1980, DuQuesnay 1984: 39–43, Ehlers 1985, Freudenburg 2001: 51–8, Gowers 1993b, 2009b, Knorr 2004: 131–7, La Penna 1967, Miller 1998, Oliensis 1998: 26–30, Putnam 1995–6, Radke 1989, Reckford 1999, Rudd 54–64, Sallmann 1974, Schlegel 2005: 59–76, Testorelli 1977, Welch 2008.

**1 egressum . . . Roma** 'When I left vast Rome, Aricia took me in.' The crowds of *S. 4* give way to open air and H. emerges (*egressum* suggests an out-of-bounds digression: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.715 *hinc me digressum*) from the city that absorbed him as a young boy (6.76 *Romam portare*, 6.51 *assumere*) to be taken in by a smaller town, Aricia, first stop on the road south, in a backwards version of his youthful emergence from Apulia (78–80n.). Condensed and inverted wording contrasts the narrator's small *ego* with the huge city that has supplied his satirical material

so far, recalling the start of the oldest first-person journey narrative, Hom. *Od.* 9.39–40 'When I left Troy the wind carried me and set me down at Ismarus, city of the Ciconians' (Ehlers 1985: 80–1), later imitated by Virg. *Aen.* 3.209–10 *seruatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum | excipiunt*. While Odysseus went on to slaughter the inhabitants of his new city, the only war H. declares is on his stomach (7–8). **magna . . . Roma:** the metropolis that once dwarfed the self-conscious child (6.79 *in magno ut populo*; cf. Var. *Men.* 53B *magna uti tremescat Roma*), named here first in the *Satires*. **accepit** 'received, took in'. There is not much to choose between *accepit* and variants *excipit* or *excepit* (Homer uses the past tense): both *accipio* and *excipio* are found with *hospitio*; *accepit* is more neutral; *excipit/excepit* adds the idea of rescuing exiles or fugitives, appropriately after the threat of press-ganging at 4.140–3 and the allusions to runaway slaves to come. **Aricia:** modern Ariccia, 16 Roman miles south on the Via Appia, at the foot of the Alban Hills, filled with suburban villas and prosperous freedmen and famous for its pilgrimage shrine to Diana Nemorensis (Green 2007, *Enc. Or.* 1 495). See Mazzarino 1968, Radke 1989 on H.'s route. According to legend, a runaway slave (cf. 24, 68) became priest of Diana or *rex Nemorensis* when he slew the incumbent priest (Strabo 5.3.12). Aricia was also the home of the Atii, Octavian's family through his grandmother Julia's marriage to M. Atius Balbus, a native of the town; see Green 2007: 34–9 for contemporaries' disparaging remarks about his 'servile' origins (Cic. *Phil.* 3.6.15, Suet. *Aug.* 4.2); his father Octavius was celebrated for a victory over runaway slaves (Suet. *Aug.* 3.1). The town was associated with the gens Horatia (*RE* s.v. Aricia), so perhaps 'obliged' to offer H. hospitality.

**2 hospitio modico** 'in a small inn' or 'with modest hospitality'; cf. Cic. *Att.* 2.16.4 *te in Arpinati uidebimus et hospitio agresti accipiemus*. Enjambment and a change from spondee to dactyls mark the change in scale. H. is later entertained more lavishly (50 *plenissima uilla*), but this unpretentious lodging looks programmatic, a modest setting for small-scale *sermo* (cf. *Ep.* 1.5.2 *modica . . . patella*), given the luxurious alternatives Aricia offered, including the giant villa Julius Caesar built and then destroyed (Suet. *Jul.* 46, Green 2007: 26–7). **rhetor . . . Heliodorus:** H.'s rhetorician companion cannot be clearly identified. Heliodorus 'Sun-given' may conceal the metrically impossible name of Apollodorus 'Apollo-given', Atticist rhetorician and tutor to Octavian (Frank 1920, Suet. *Aug.* 89); thus possibly anti-Epicurean (Welch 2008). But *comes* might also indicate a book rather than a person, a metaphorical 'companion guide' (Gowers 1993b: 32; cf. 2.3.11–12: Plato, Menander, Eupolis and Archilochus as *comites*; Mart. 14.188 on a parchment volume of Cicero: *si comes ista tibi fuerit membrana, putato | carpere te longas cum Cicerone uias*; *OED* s.v. 'cicerone'). One Heliodorus wrote a hexameter epic poem on the 'Sights of Italy' (*Italica Theamata*), of which 12 lines survive (Stob. 3 p. 244 Meineke) on a miraculous fountain at Cicero's villa at Puteoli (Plin. *HN* 31.3) which cured eye disease (significant, perhaps, in view of H.'s allusions to impaired eyesight on his sightseeing trip (cf. 30, 49 *lippus*, 34 *Lusco*, 63 *Cyclopa*).

H. may be acknowledging the generic influence of topographical wonder-writing on his 'blinker'd' account.

**3 Graecorum longe doctissimus:** the epithet phrase sounds Homeric, but *longe* also plays on topographical themes of length and breadth that run through the poem (cf. 89 *longe pulcherrimus*, 26 *saxis late candentibus*, 36 *latum clavum*). *doctissimus* is the first of many superlatives (50 per cent of those used in *Satires* I occur in S. 5, either because of their colloquial quality or because travellers tell tall tales). Given Heliodorus' obscurity, it may be ironic (Ehlers 1985: 70, Cavarzere 1995: 158). Hellenistic allusiveness (*doctrina*) is promised, but hopes of another *Theamata Italica* will be dashed. **Forum Appi:** the town (now Foro Appio) lay 27 miles beyond Aricia, at the edge of the Pomptine marshes (*Enc. Or.* 1497). Named, like the Via Appia, after Appius Claudius Caecus (see 6n.), it was a well-known dump of a town. Julius Strabo Caesar (*Cic. De or.* 2.234) chooses an inn on the Pomptine marshes as an example of stingy accommodation (*non nimis liberale hospitium*) to which to compare his digression on wit (cf. 2.290 *neque amoenum neque salubrem locum*). H.'s choice of Forum Appi for an unappealing stay reinforces links between the self-conscious stops and starts of his poem and the inn/digression metaphor in Cicero.

**4** The inn's dubious stuffing of canal-boatmen and innkeepers (recalling the generalized humanity listed at 1.29: *perfidus hic caupo . . . nauitaeque*) embodies Horatian satire in miniature: picaresque filth is mingled with refined learning. **dif-fertum** 'stuffed' (p.p. of notional *dis-farcire*, used of the Roman forum at *Ep.* 1.6.59). On connections with the etymology of *satura*, see Gowers 1993b: 63 n. 34; Diom. 1.485 *GLK referta uariis multisque primitiis . . . siue a quodam genere farcininis quod multis rebus refertum satiram dicit Varro uocatum*, Mart. Cap. 9.998-9 *docta indoctis aggerans, | fanda tacenda farcinat*. H.'s restrained vignette is nothing to Juvenal's roadside inn at 8.172-5: sailors, thieves, fugitives, hangmen, coffin-makers and eunuch priests (cf. *ibid.* 174 *permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitiuis*). **atque** postponed is a neoteric affectation (Zetzel 2002: 43), undercut here by banal vocabulary (e.g. *caupo*). **malignis** 'cheating, stingy' (cf. 1.29 *perfidus . . . caupo*); see Kleberg 1957: 6 for the tradition of landlords giving short measure.

**5 hoc iter . . . diuisimus** 'Being lazy, we split this stretch in two.' The language of *recusatio* (cf. *ignauus* used negatively at *Ep.* 2.1.67 *ignauae multa fatetur*): H. rejects the high road of continuous epic in favour of the laidback rambles of *sermo*. The line, too, divides itself neatly into two halves with *diuisimus* following the caesura (Morgan 2000a: 107 n. 37). A fragment from Lucilius' *Iter Siculum* (102-5W = 110-13M: see introductory essay above) suggests that he did not split the journey at this point but made the trip to Setia in one day. Lucilius varies the stages (*ludus iocusque . . . opus durum*) but there are traces of the 'mud' H. despised in the singsong repetition of *susque . . . deque* and a Greek word (Rudd 1973: 13: 'goat-forsaken'). H.'s style of travelling is less speedy on the road, snappier on paper.

**5-6 altius . . . unum** 'only one [*sc.* day's journey] for keener travellers'; i.e. the journey to Forum Appi took two days, punctuated by the stop at Aricia. *alte praecinctus* literally means 'with tunic hoist-up' = Greek εὐζωνος, usually applied to foot-travellers, e.g. messengers, who knotted up their clothes for agility (Strabo 6.3.5: these could manage the journey from Brundisium to Tarentum in one day; cf. the shadowy *uiatores* of 16-17 and 7.29): here, any less encumbered traveller (Porph. *id. est expeditius et agilius*). The contrast is not with literal walking (except for slaves or beasts of burden who pulled travellers' litters or carts, walking was an exceptional mode of transport: Plut. *Cato* 5) but with the metaphorical pace of 'pedestrian' satire (2.6.17 *Musa . . . pedestri*; cf. *AP* 95 *sermone pedestri*; cf. 6.111-12 *quacumque libido est, | incedo solus*, 6.122 *uagor*). Additional hints of epic parody, 'more girt up for battle', contrast with H.'s humbler literary aims (cf. 2.8.10 *alte cinctus*). There are thus three linked contrasts: (1) between H.'s disguised sightseeing trip and more urgent political or business missions; (2) between H. the humble traveller and the mounted *equus* Lucilius, who got through a faster journey more slowly on paper (see Marx II 52, Gowers 1993b, Cavarzere 1995: 153); (3) between the leisurely pace of the satirist and the more continuous speed of the epic poet. See Welch 2008: 50-2 on the 'lazy Phaeacian' Epicureanism of H.'s stance. **ac:** colloquial with a comparative (H-S 478); cf. 1.46.

**6 minus . . . tardis** 'The Via Appia is less punishing for slowcoaches.' This line also neatly divides itself into two halves; the further paraphrase shows that H. has time on his hands. Italy's major artery was built by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 as far as Capua, later (268) continued to Beneventum, and finally in the second century BC extended to Brundisium (*Enc. Or.* 1383-9; Macbain 1980 on the political benefits for Appius). Strabo 5.3.6 calls it the road most travelled: πλείστον δὲ δευομένη. Unhurried travellers could break a tediously long journey with frequent stops; ps.-Acro: *quia habitaculis frequentatur [Appia uia] ubi possunt manere, quocumque peruenerint*; cf. Var. *Men.* 418B *et ne erraremus, ectropas esse multas; omnino tutum esse, sed spissum iter*. Thus H. flies in the face of ancient geographers' advice on quickest routes (Cavarzere 1995: 153). For an alternative solution to arduous journeying, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 9.64 *cantantes licet usque (minus uia laedit) eamus. grauis*, like *altus*, often has programmatic associations with (unbroken) epic: e.g. Ov. *Am.* 1.1.1 *arma graui numero*. Here it also suggests the severity of the censor Appius himself (cf. Cic. *Cael.* 33).

**6-7 ego . . . bellum** 'I declare war on my stomach'. A metaphor from siege warfare: either H. has dysentery and starves his stomach into surrender, i.e. abstinence; or he cuts off suspect supplies in the first place. *ego* (cf. 30, 82) puts the focus on the satirist's personal needs, in this case on the most 'satirical' part of the body, the full stomach (cf. 85 *uentrem*), made famous by H.'s travelling predecessor Odysseus (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 7.216; with Pucci 1987: 178-9); also the body part that engenders bad temper: cf. 2.2.18 *latrantem stomachum*, 2.8.5 *iratum uentrem*, C. 1.6.5-6 *grauem | Pelidae stomachum*. This small-scale *bellum intestinum* marks the

start of a dyspeptic mood. **propter . . . deterrima:** presumably because of the Pomptine marshes. Problems with water recur: 88–9, 91.

**8–9 cenantes . . . comites:** H. is forced to wait (or look on) while his stronger-stomached companions (he is vague about the number in his party) eat dinner. The elegant alliterative clause is framed by *cenantes . . . comites* and centred on *animo aequo*. This is the first of many delays: H. dwells on what happens when travellers are *not* on the move. **haud aequo animo** 'grumpily'. *aequo animo* is appropriate to more elevated philosophical contexts: 2.3.16, *Ep.* 1.11.29–30, 1.18.112. H. succumbs to un-Epicurean impatience at the first hurdle, unlike Lucilius, who took the hilly country round Aricia in his stride. On insouciance as Lucilian, see Gell. 16.9.3 on the phrase *susque deque* at 102, 103W = 110, 111M: *significat . . . animo aequo esse et quod accidit non magni pendere atque interdum negligere et contemnere*.

**9–10** A scene-change begins mid-line (prosaic) with an epic periphrasis for nightfall (cf. *Virg. Aen.* 2.8–9, 4.522–5, 8.26–7; cf. the ridiculously grand scene-setting of the mouse fable at 2.6.100–1 *iamque tenebat | nox medium caeli spatium*); military metaphors continue. **iam:** equivalent to Homeric καὶ τότε δῆ, with imperf.; *iam* is followed by *tum* (11) with historic inf. (instead of *cum* with historic pres.). **inducere** 'to spread over' is also used of leading troops into battle.

**10 diffundere** 'to pour across' (*caelo* is abl.) can also mean 'to squander'. Reverts to the idea of saturation (cf. 4 *differtum*) after mean landlords and self-starvation. **signa** 'stars', here, but also 'battle standards'. These cosmic markers dwarf human signposts (88 *signis*).

**11–22** From Forum Appi, H.'s party goes 16 miles by the canal that ran through the Pomptine marshes beside the road, traditionally a night journey (Strabo 6.3.5). *Virg. Aen.* 7.801 refers to the same marshes as *Satura . . . atra palus*, with *Satura* replacing the more normal *Astura* (Horsfall *ad loc.*); the adjective *atra* may well be a nod back to H.'s satirical visit (Cucchiarelli 2001: 32: cf. *Sil. Pun.* 8.380 *Saturae nebulosa palus*); see 4.60–in. for another Virgilian allusion to H. and 6.59 *Satureiano . . . caballo*. The poem hints at several potential birthplaces of satire, like Atella and Tarentum (elided with its original Greek foundation Satyrion); see Barnes 2003 on Virgil's *satur* puns.

**11 pueri . . . nautae:** chiasmus is typical of confused battle-scenes (e.g. Thuc. 2.42 on the night-battle at Plataea).

**12 ingerere** 'heap upon'; generous abuse matches the largesse of 9 *inducere*, 10 *diffundere*, as well as the overcrowding that causes the quarrel.

**12–13 'huc appelle!' ' . . . satis est!'** 'Bring the boat over here!' 'You've packed three hundred [passengers] in there already: whoa, that's quite enough!' This condensed dialogue about an over-stuffed boat sounds like a retrospective caveat to poets like Lucilius not to try to pack too much in: *iam satis est* recalls H.'s curbs on bloated *satura* (1.120); *trecenti* is standard Latin for any large number (cf. 4.9 *ducentos*), a word emphasized here by a fourth-foot spondee (Nilsson 1952: 75);

*ohe* is the most colloquial braking device possible. The total length of this *longa via* is over 300 miles: H. knows stylistically when to call it a day.

**13 dum aes . . . ligatur:** typically, the actual departure is suggested elliptically through the preparations: collecting fares and harnessing the mule that is to drag the barge along the bank. **mula:** travel by mule is another humble mode of transport on this journey (cf. 47, 6.104–5), close to pedestrianism as a symbol of humble satire (Freudenburg 1993: 207, Gowers 1993b: 57). H. manufactures a social distinction between the freedman's son on his halfbreed mule and the *equus* Lucilius, who could afford to tour his S. Italian estates on horseback (6.58 *Satureiano . . . caballo*).

**14 tota abit hora:** time-wasting is minimized with an elision and Terentian compression (cf. *Eun.* 341 *dum haec dicit, abiit hora*). **mali . . . palustres:** troublesome mosquitoes and frogs, local marshland pests. *Cic. Fam.* 7.18.3 = SB 37.3 humorously protests that Pomptine frogs have come out in force to meet him like enthusiastic clients: *nam Vlubris honoris mei causa uim maximam ranunculorum se commosse constabat*. The detail clinches an extended allusion to the *katabasis* in *Ar. Ran.*, complete with unruly bodies (farting Xanthias), mule-borne travellers bickering with a ferryman, a murky marsh and an amphibian chorus (cf. *Juv.* 2.150 *ranas in gurgite nigras* with Braund 1996a *ad loc.*): Cucchiarelli 2001: 28.

**15–17** Another un-epic contest, a duel or duet between a drunken boaman and a *uiator*, singing not of wars but of their sweethearts, looks ahead to the contests of Sarmentus and Messius Cicirrus (51–70), H. and the pest in *S.* 9, and back to H. and Crispinus in *S.* 4 (all of which replay the *agon* of *Ar. Ran.*). For similar contests in Lucilius' *Iter Siculum*: Lejay 136, Cucchiarelli 2001: 35 n. 69.

**15 ut** 'while', present in most major MSS, linking the sleeplessness caused by *culices* and *ranae* with the boatman and traveller's songs (which also prevent sleep), Brink 1987: 28. *cantat* ('serenades') demeanes the type of singing (cf. 2.107, 3.2, 9.25, 10.19).

**16 prolutus** 'sozzled', with drink (cf. *madidus, irriguus*), an appropriate word in this watery atmosphere. **uiator:** either an anonymous passenger, an official courier or the man who led the mule along the bank. The boatman who eventually ties the mule up for the night (18–19) takes over his responsibilities (a *uiator* and a vociferous local exchange cuckoo-calls through Italian hedgerows at 7.29–31). This is H.'s first encounter with the 'Italian vinegar' of 7.32, indigenous ritual abuse, 'ancestor' of literary satire: *Ep.* 2.1.146 *uersibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit, 160 manserunt hodieque manent uestigia ruris*.

**18 pastum:** 'to graze'; supine expressing purpose.

**19 piger . . . stertit supinus:** the snoring sailor recalls the lazy traveller. *supinus* 'lying on his back' suggests 'idle'; H. uses the word of himself in a symmetrically opposite verse (85): 'laid-back' posture suggests lack of poetic ambition.

**20–1** The travellers come to a standstill, as they realize that the barge is not moving. **lintrem** 'skiff', humorous.

**21 cerebrus** 'hot-headed', not an Epicurean virtue (cf. 8 *haud aequo animo*); linked with *insanus* by Lucil. 519W = 514M *insanum hominem et cerebrusum*. The traveller is a more irascible version of H. (3.29 *iracundior . . . paulo*, 9.11-12 *'o te, Bolane, cerebri | felicem?'*, *Ep.* 1.20.25 *irasci celerem*).

**22-3** Mule and boatman are subjected to torrential blows from a rustic willow club (strong ictus/accents clash here). **lumbos** 'loins', like 7 *uenter*, are a 'satirical' part of the body, connected with sexual functions and carrying burdens (cf. 6.105-6 *mulo . . . cui lumbos onere ulceret*). Indeed, the parallel with the mule at 6.105 suggests that the beleaguering is primarily of sailor's *head* and mule's *loins*, but the confusion must be intentional.

**23 dolat** 'chops into shape' (colloquial; used of a wooden Vertumnus at Prop. 2.4.59 and a Priapus figure at *Priap.* 63.10), but here wood chops the man. **quarta . . . hora**: barely concealed frustration (*uix demum* = 'scarcely even then'), though at 6.122 H.'s daily *otium* involves staying in bed until the *quarta hora* (somewhere between 9 and 10 a.m.). **exponimur** 'we disembark'.

**24 ora . . . lympa**: after 16 miles on the canal, H. arrives, three miles from Anxur, for ablution in the pure waters of the temple of Feronia, ancient Italian goddess, equated with Juno, who protected freedmen (Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.564 *haec libertorum dea est in cuius templo raso capite pilleum accipiebant*), another place to be connected with freed slaves (cf. Aricia). The combination *ora manusque* belongs to the dignified context of epic (Virg. *Aen.* 6.496, Ov. *Met.* 15.38), as does the apostrophe to the goddess and the exalted name for her waters, *lympa* (cf. 97 *lymphis*). *ora* chases 23 *hora*. Virgil includes Feronia in his Italian catalogue at *Aen.* 7.800 *et uiridi gaudens Feronia luco* (with *Anxurus* at 7.799; 11-22 nn.).

**25** H. circumscribes a pilgrimage narrative in favour of breakfast (*pransum* was the morning meal; cf. 6.127 *pransus non auide*, as with *cenare*, the perf. part. is active in sense). The travellers then crawl three miles as far as Anxur, as though weighed down by food or the broken night. **milia**: sc. *passuum*: only here and at 86 does H. explicitly mention the distance travelled, unlike Lucilius, with his many 'prosaic' allusions to miles covered (Fiske 1920: 311). **repimus**: H. 'crawls' again at a symmetrically opposite line in this poem (79 *erepsemus*). In both places, *reperere* has a programmatic quality (cf. *ignauus, tardus, piger, supinus*), as emerges from H.'s *recusatio* in *Ep.* 2.1, in favour of ground-hugging satires (250-1 *sermones . . . | repentes per humum*), not the panoramic range of epic (252-3 *terrarum situs et flumina dicere, et arces | montibus impositas et barbara regna*). **atque**

**subimus**: the travellers abruptly run up against the beetling cliffs of Anxur. **26 impositum . . . Anxur**: the town's name makes a delayed appearance at the end of the line, as though the travellers are unaware of it until they have climbed the cliffs, or are too dazzled by the white limestone to identify it at first. Elegantly polarized participles and nouns are typically neoteric. The high point of the journey so far heralds the arrival of Maecenas and Cocceius, exalted enough to travel by sea (Coarelli 1993: 16). Fraenkel 110 sees the line as the earliest proper landscape description in Latin literature, but the scene's

human dimension is just as important. **late**: a rare line of latitude in a longitudinal poem, together with 36 *latum clauum* (cf. the purple patch at *AP* 15 *late qui splendeat*). **candentibus**: used by H. in elevated contexts, literally at *Epod.* 1.29, of a hilltop villa (*uilla candens*) or at *S.* 2.6.103 of purple garments shining above a dinner table (*tincta super lectos canderet uestis*). Maecenas himself is addressed as *candidus* at *Epod.* 14.5; cf. Virgil and Varius at 41. **Anxur**: 20 miles on from Forum Appi, where the Via Appia hit the sea. Anxur was the ancient Volscian name (cf. Enn. *Ann.* 152 Sk.) for the original hilltop settlement, Tarracina (modern Terracina) the name of the town that grew up below it (unscannable), where the travellers probably met (Coarelli 1993: 17; *Enc. Or.* 1.493-4). H. does not mention the famous temple of Jupiter on the cliff which dwarfed Feronia's temple (Coarelli 1987: 113-40, Radke 1989: 60; Lucil. 637W = 676M refers to *sanctum Anxur*), deliberately avoiding anything magnificent.

**27-8 Maecenas . . . Cocceius**: H. uses the word *optimus* affectionately of those who enabled his good fortune (4.105, of his father, 6.54, of Virgil), which would include Maecenas at this time, though H. might not have wanted to flaunt the fact. In its political sense, 'a member of the *optimates*', the senatorial elite, the word would exclude Maecenas, and anyway it is more elegant taken with *Cocceius* (cf. 4n.; 6.54-5 *optimus . . . Vergilius*, 10.82-3 *Octavius optimus atque | Fuscus*); contra Classen 1973: 241 n. 29, Brown, Fedeli. Maecenas is offered a compliment only to have it teasingly removed. **Cocceius**: L. Cocceius Nerva, *consul suffectus* in 39, great-great-uncle of the emperor Nerva.

**28-9** 'A masterpiece of understatement' (DuQuesnay 1984: 40-1). The political significance of the mission is condensed in two cryptic lines. **mag-nis . . . rebus** 'important business', glanced at tangentially as something outside the small scale of this poem. *magnae res* may hark back to a poet famous for writing about them, Ennius: e.g. *Ann.* 569 Sk. *olli cernebant magnis de rebus agentes*. via a 'window allusion' to Lucr. 5.393 *magnis inter se de rebus cernere certant*, or, more importantly, to Lucretius' view of his Epicurean vocation at 1.931 *magnis doceo de rebus*. **auersos . . . amicos**: a diplomatic mission to restore the triumvirate is familiarized into the repair of a friends' tiff by domestic peacemakers (cf. *C.* 2.1.3-4 *grauisque | principum amicitias*). Reckford 1999: 533: 'Satire 1.5 privatizes *amicitia*.' See Hunter 1985a and Kennedy 1992 on H.'s political use of the vocabulary of friendship, Classen 1973: 245-50 on friendship in *S.* 5. Tacitus' verdict on Octavian's diplomatic efforts is more jaundiced: *Ann.* 1.10.3 *sed Pompeium imagine pacis, sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium, Tarentino Brundisinoque federe et nuptiis sororis illectum, subdolae affinitatis poenas morte exsoluisse* (Reckford 1999: 536 n. 25). **soliti**: the only clue to the diplomats' earlier efforts, which had culminated in the Treaty of Brundisium (40 BC) and the marriage of Octavian's sister Octavia to Antony (Felling 1996: 17-19).

**30-1** Oblivious to these important events, H. chooses this moment to smear medicinal ointment on his sore eyes; the action occupies the main clause of his sentence. Conjunctivitis is a plausible after-effect of the marsh vapours (Livy 22.2

records that Hannibal lost an eye after an infection caught in the marshes of the Arno); Coffey 1989: 230 n. 56 suggests a direct link between the glare of the white cliffs and the sudden need for black ointment. But this is a special poetic interlude, interrupting the continuity between Maecenas' party's anticipated (27-8) and actual (31-2) arrival, not just a medical record but an incident that condenses two kinds of self-absorption in one action: (1) political insouciance; cf. the vignette of Vulteius Mena clipping his nails at *Ep.* 1.7.51; (2) poetic evasion; H. stays myopic and does not attempt to chart large-scale events or the details of sightseeing. Cucchiarelli 2001: 71 speaks of a 'physiology of *recusatio*', finding a pedigree (66-70) for the link between political inadequacy and bleary eyes in Aristophanes' Neocleides at *Ecl.* 397-404, to whom Blepyrus ('Big-Eyes') would wish to administer eye salve; see also Corbeill 1996: 25-9 on *lippitudo* as an impediment to political activity for Cicero. **hic**: black salve marks the spot previously (27 *huc*) signposted by the white cliffs of Anxur. The repeated adverb signals the divide between 'two worlds and two sets of values' (Cucchiarelli 2001: 68). **ego**: the first-person pronoun is used to focus on H.'s personal concerns (cf. 1 *me*, 7 *ego*). **nigra . . . collyria**: n. pl.; a type of black paste mentioned by e.g. Celsus (6.6.7). Here, a 'homoeopathic' remedy (Raphael 1995); the satirist gets a taste of his own dark medicine (cf. 4.100 *nigrae sucus lolliginis*, *Ep.* 2.2.60 *sale nigro*). Caesar, possibly in his travel-poem *Iter*, speaks of smearing ointment on his body (fr. 2 Courtney: *corpisque suavi telino unguimus*). Book 16 of Lucilius was known as 'Collyra', from the name of his mistress. Lambinus (pref.) chooses *collyrium* as a metaphor for the commentator's acts of guidance. **lippus**: for bleary eyes as a significant motif, see 1.120, 2.90-1, 3.25, 7.3n. H. uses an *aegrotat* to duck responsibility for recording topical events in full (cf. *Ep.* 1.17.3-4 *ut si | caecus iter monstrare uelit*). His traveller-narrator is a partially-sighted substitute for the blind epicist Homer. **illinere**: used at 4.36 of satirical 'smearing' (cf. *AP* 446 *allinet*).

**31 interea**: no more than a sideways glance at the arrival of Maecenas and his friends.

**32 Capito . . . Fonteius**: C. Fonteius Capito, third member of this miniature triumvirate, was consul in 33 and Antony's ambassador to Asia (*Enc. Or.* 1 740). See below on 38 *Capitone*.

**32-3 ad unguem | factus** 'a gentleman to his fingertips'. According to Porph., a metaphor from marble-cutting denoting a state of finish such that it would not be irritating to scratch a nail over the stone's surface, an interpretation most editors accept (cf. *AP* 294 *ad unguem*). But D'Angour 1999 suggests convincingly that the phrase translates Greek εἰς ὄνυχα, ἐν ὄνυχι, and refers to the statue's fingernails, not the sculptor's; the metaphor is from clay moulding of the extremities before casting (Polyclitus *ap.* Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 2.3.2 636a: 'the work is hardest when it is "at the nail [ἐν ὄνυχι]"'). The phrase thus denotes a perfect state of finish, precision in the smallest detail (*Ep.* 2.2.4 *talos a uertice pulcher ad imos* is a variation on the same idea). *Capito* (~ *caput*; cf. *Fonteius* ~ *fons*) may playfully

contrast with *unguem*. *Epod.* 14.8 *ad umbilicum* uses an alternative metaphor from book manufacture, the *umbilicus* being either the rod on which a finished papyrus was rolled or the knob at the end of the roll (see on 58-9 *cornu* and *frons*).

**33 non . . . amicus** 'so much so that no one is a better friend'; sc. *sit*; cf. 7.19-20 *uti | non compositum par melius cum Bitho Bacchius*, Nepos 15.2 *eruditus autem sic ut nemo Thebanus magis*. **alter**: more intimate than *alius*; Fonteius is an alter ego.

**34-5 Fundos . . . linquimus**: Fundi (modern Fondi), 13 miles either way between Anxur and Formiae, a one-horse town not worth the detour (literally: 'The Pits'), though it lay in the heart of the Caecuban wine region (Faller 2001). Caligula accused Livia of being descended from a decurion from Fundi (Suet. *Gaius* 23). H. spares us the fuss of an arrival; the party at least had the liberty (*libenter*) to leave the dismal place. Still, he allows himself a patronizing aside about small-town politics. **Aufidio Lusco praetore** 'during the praetorship of Aufidius "One-Eye"' (abl. abs. suggests a solemn record in the town's annals). Cic. *Agr.* 2.92 mocks the pretensions of small *municipia* where the local *duumviri* had pompous titles like *praetor* (*CIL* 1 1187-8 records that Fundi was in fact governed by three aediles, a more lowly office), but at *Fin.* 5.19.54 respectfully mentions a blind ex-praetor Cn. Aufidius: *praetorio, erudito homine, oculis capto*. Fest. p. 233M names Fundi as one of the *praefecturae* to which a *praefectus iuri dicundo* was sent every year from Rome to replace the magistrates elected by the local people. As the Aufidii lived at both Fundi and Rome, it is hard to tell if this mayor is a Roman import or a local big fish (*Enc. Or.* 1 650-1). Pers. 1.128-30 is targeting H. when he chastizes 'anyone who satirizes a one-eyed aedile from Arretium'; Cic. *De or.* 2.246: jokes against the one-eyed as a *uitium scurrile*; Nero wrote a satire called *Luscio* against a man of praetorian rank (Suet. *Dom.* 1.1). H., like Cicero a small-town boy, scoffs at what he has left behind (cf. Lucilius' pun on *praetor urbanus*: 232W = 1130M *Cecilus pretor ne rusticus fiat*), but the *nomen* Aufidius (cf. Aufidus, H.'s childhood river: 1.58, *C.* 3.30.10, 4.9.2) and the *cognomen* Luscius, following 30 *lippus*, make this municipal dignitary an alter ego for H. from his restricted past. On the Via Appia, one would expect a record of its blind originator, the censor Appius Claudius Caecus, not a one-eyed minor official (Cucchiarelli 2001: 23 n. 29).

**35-6** The travellers laugh at the mock-senatorial regalia of a small-town mayor. **insani** 'deranged' contrasts with H.'s psychic health (44 *ego . . . sanus*); see Van Rooy 1970: 52, McGann 1973: 72-84 on sanity/madness in the *Satires* (cf. 3.83, 6.89, 98, and *Π* 3 *passim*). **ridentes**: laughter is the prevailing mood of the journey (cf. 57 *ridemus*, 98 *risusque iocusque*), a search among other things for the roots of satire in rustic Italy. H.'s scorn for *praua ambitio* on the parochial level unites him with his grander friends. **praemia**: short final *a* before initial *scr-* of *scribae*: cf. 2.30, Fordyce *ad Cat.* 64.357. **scribae**: holder of one of the apparitorial offices associated in the late republic with the social mobility of freedmen and their sons (Purcell 1983, 2001). H. hints at 1.120-1 that he himself



held the office (cf. Suet. *Vita Horati*) and appears to disclose it fully at 2.6.36. But the mayor's delusions of grandeur (and later jokes about the scribe Sarmmentus, at 65–9) distance H. from lesser colleagues and their social climbing. **praetextam**: sc. *togam*, a toga with a purple border worn by curule magistrates at Rome (Livy 34.7) and in some *municipia*. **latum clauum**: the broad purple stripe down the front of a toga denoted senatorial rank, so a *scriba* could not strictly wear it. For the stripe as the mark of the political climber, cf. 6.28. **prunae uatillum**: a shovel of coals, probably carried in procession to a sacrifice or for holding incense (cf. Lex col. Genet. 62, 44 BC: *duumuiris aedilibusque dum eum magistratum habebunt, togas praetextas, funalia, cereos habere ius potestasque esto*). Bathetic after the first two items.

**37 in Mamurrarum urbe**: Formiae (now Mola di Gaeta), 13 miles on, labelled here (owing to metrical impossibility) as home of the family to which Julius Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* and Catullus' 'bankrupt of Formiae' (41.4 *decoctor Formianus*) belonged (cf. Cat. 43.5, 29, 57, 94, 105, 114, 115, Suet. *Jul.* 73); *Enc. Or.* 1.493. With his extravagance and limitless pretensions, Mamurra had been an arch-bogey for the neoterics. Here, a pompous circumlocution for his native town hints at the ignoble qualities of its eponymous hero (pl. *Mamurrarum* presumes a long line of equally notorious ancestors). Formiae was landfall on the Odyssean journey (Hom. *Od.* 10.80–132, Cic. *Att.* 2.13); in *C.* 3.17 the Lamiae and King Lamus are celebrated as its founders.

**38 Murena . . . culinam**: a cursory pair of ablative absolutes log the staging post in Caesarian style. Zetzel 2002: 43 notes that the 'fine rhetorical and metrical arrangement jars with the homely subject matter'. The hosts, L. Licinius Varro Murena (*Enc. Or.* 1.773–4) and Capito (32–3n.), are bound by a fortuitous double gastronomic pun. Their fishy names are punned on in earlier writers: for *murena* 'lamprey', cf. Var. *RR* 3.3.10 *non propter has [piscinas] appellati Sergius Orata et Licinius Murena?*; for *capito* 'mullet', cf. Cato. *Agr.* 158 *piscem capitonem* = κέφαλος (Cucchiarelli 2001: 23–4). Thus H. again claims a pedigree from early satire and comedy (cf. Lucilius' puns on Lupus: 46W=54M *occident, Lupe, saperdae te et iura siluri*). An alternative identification with A. Terentius Varro Murena, brother-in-law of Maecenas, cos. 23, executed for treason in 22, is unlikely. **praebente**: following the officialese of *praetore*, *praemia* and *praetextam*, suggests a more informal arrangement between friends. Murena may have lent a villa in his absence (cf. Cic. *Att.* 16.16.1 *fui libenter apud Talmam nostrum; nec potui accipi, illo absente praesertim, liberalius*). **culinam** 'catering' belongs to the low lexical sphere (cf. 2.5.80 *studiosa culinae*, Var. *Men.* 315B *modulus est uitae culina*).

**39 postera lux oritur**: another ascent into the high style. The next day marks an even greater climax on the journey (*multo gratissima*): H.'s poetic admirers arrive and steal Maecenas' thunder.

**40 Plotius . . . Vergiliusque**: this grouping of 'la brigata virgiliana' (Thomas 2001: 59–61) is extended at 10.81–4. H. owed his introduction to Maecenas to Varius and Virgil (6.55; also paired at *Ep.* 2.1.247, *AP* 55); in this backwards

journey towards his origins, they cross his path later than his patron does, aptly near Naples, centre of the Epicurean sect led by Philodemus (c. 110–c. 35 BC) and Siro with which Varius, Virgil and H. were associated, and near Herculaneum, where in 1752 a library of 1500 papyrus rolls was excavated, preserving lost Greek philosophical and poetical works, many of them by Philodemus (Gigante 2003; for Philodemus' influence on H., see Oberhelman and Armstrong 1995: 2.92–3, 120–2, 123–4nn.). Philodemus addresses the same list of friends, plus Varus, at PHerc. 253 fr. 12 and PHerc. 1082: 21–22 (Sider 1997: 21–3). **Plotius**: M. Plotius Tucca, with L. Varius, edited Virgil's *Aeneid* after his death (Brugnoli-Stok 1997: 7, 35, 52); wrote a *De morte*, now lost. The pair also start a line and are reunited with Virgil and Maecenas in the list at 10.81. **Varius**: M. Varius Rufus, described at 10.43–4 as *forte epos acer | ut nemo*, was author of a lost Epicurean hexameter poem, *De morte*, and a tragedy, *Thyestes*, perhaps critical of Antony (Leigh 1996); see Cova 1989, Courtney, Hollis 1996. **Sinuessa**: 15 miles from Formiae, though it looks as though the party stopped for the next night 9 miles on, at Pons Campanus. **Vergilius**: first mention of Maecenas' other most famous poet-client (70–19 BC), midwife to H.'s fortunes (6.55) and part of the literary firmament at 10.44–5 and 81. So far, author only of the *Eclogues* (10.44–5 *molle atque facetum | Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae*); for H.'s engagement with these, see 103n., Van Rooy 1973, Putnam 1995–6, Henderson 1998b, Welch 2008. Virgil returned the compliment by reworking H.'s lines in the *Aeneid* (9–10n., 73–4n.) and composing his own version of the Pomptine marshes at *Aen.* 7.799–80 (11–22n.).

**41 occurrunt** 'they run into us', an obviously planned meeting framed as a casual encounter.

**41–2 animae . . . alter** 'The earth never bore brighter souls, and none to whom I was more attached.' Unusually uninhibited praise from H., presumably to distract from the envy-inducing association with Maecenas. **quales . . . quis** = *et tales, quales non . . . et quibus non; animae*. cf. Cic. *Fam.* 14.14.2 *uos, meae carissimae animae*. **candidiores**: an ardently lengthy adjective picks up 26 *saxis late candentibus* and steals an epithet owed to Maecenas (cf. 27 *optimus*), who gets it back at *Epod.* 14.5. **terra tulit**: as though these poets were glorious autochthonous heroes (cf. 2.2.92–3 *hos utinam inter | heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset*; Virg. *Aen.* 3.94–5). **deuinctior** 'more attached, more bound'. H.'s life and lines are free: friendship is his only bond (contrast 13 *ligatur*, 18 *missae . . . retinacula mulae*, 65 *donasset . . . catenam*). **alter**: cf. 33.

**44** The strongest sentiment of the journey and a claim to contentment in the midst of privations (6.89 *nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius* is similarly unpromising). The location near the Bay of Naples and the presence of Virgil and Varius suggest that this is a specifically Epicurean allusion. Friendship was one of the central ingredients of the Epicurean good life, and 'friend' a label that identified Epicureans, like Quakers, across the world (Konstan 1997: 113; Philodemus *Epig.* 2.7 Sider has Piso and his *hetairoi* meeting to celebrate the sage's

birthday; see also Rist 1980, Mitsis 1987, Brown 2002). Several *sententiae* on the subject survive from Epicurus' writings, of which the best surviving match is *RS 27*: 'Of the things wisdom acquires for the blessedness of life as a whole, far the greatest is the possession of friendship' (LS 22E). But none is so close as Torquatus' words at Cic. *Fin.* 1.65 (*Epicurus quidem ita dicit, omnium rerum quae ad beate uiuendum sapientia comparauerit nihil esse maius amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil iucundius*), which make it likely, given the number of close verbal echoes, that H. is alluding to Epicurus *via* Cicero: *nil ~ nihil, amico ~ amicitia, iucundo ~ iucundius, sanum* replacing *sapientia; contulerim* referring to but twisting the meaning of *comparauerit*. In a poem concerned with ends of journeys, ends of paper and the ends of life (cf. 104 *finis*, 6.2 *fines*), the allusion to a work 'De finibus' is significant (Gowers 2009b). In addition, the sentiment pointedly displaces the statement by Odysseus at Hom. *Od.* 9.5-6 (before the start of his journey narrative) on conviviality as the chief end (τέλος) of life, moralized as proto-Epicurean by 'soft' Epicureans like Philodemus and as shamelessly hedonistic by 'hard' ones like Lucretius and by the Stoics (Gordon 1998), as well as his claim at *Od.* 9.34-5 that there is nothing sweeter than seeing one's fatherland and parents again. H. evades such a certain return to his origins. **nil . . . contulerim** 'there is nothing I would compare', perf. subj. for fut. hypothetical condition, indicating cautious assertion; cf. 4.39, 41. **iucundo** 'delightful, congenial'; cf. 3.93 *iucundus amicus*. **sanus** 'so long as I take a sound view of life'. It is often personal ties that convince H. he is in his right mind: cf. 6.89 (also with *sanus*).

**45 proxima** looks momentarily like the runner-up in H.'s list of the most valuable things in life, before it becomes clear that it denotes topographical proximity. **Campano ponti**: a bridge over the river Savo, marking the border with Campania, hinterland of Capua (*Campanus* originally meant 'Capuan') and home of the Oscans and of Atellan farce (Strabo 5.3.6). The ritualized abuse between Messius Cicirrus and Sarmentus is staged on home ground. **uillula**: the diminutive suggests yet more modest accommodation (cf. 2 *modico hospitio*, 2.3.10 *si uacuum tepido cepisset uillula tecto*).

**46 parochi**: government officials or commissaries, obliged to provide fuel, hay, salt and shelter to travellers on official business (Cic. *Att.* 5.16.3; DuQuesnay 1984: 41-2). At 2.8.36 the *private* host Nasidienus is called *parochus*. **ligna salemque**: the travellers will not just receive basic commodities (advertising Maecenas' restraint: DuQuesnay 1984: 41-2) but also their metaphorical equivalents in the shape of the two buffoons: Sarmentus (lit. 'bundle of sticks') represents *ligna* 'wood', while coarse *sal*, 'salt'/'wit' (cf. 7.28 *salso*, *Ep.* 2.2.60 *sale nigro*) is plentifully supplied by their knockabout humour.

**47 hinc**: a variation on *inde* (3, 94); cf. 50. **muli . . . ponunt** 'The mules put down their packsaddles [i.e. rested] at Capua in good time.' Preparing for a digression: everything in H.'s narrative, despite external delays, is done with time to spare (at 13 reined mules are a punctuating device). As a proverbial phrase, *clitellas ponere* has associations with shifting responsibility (Quint. 5.11.21 *non*

*nostrum . . . onus: bos clitellas; inc. pall.* 66 *clitellae boui sunt impositae; plane! non est nostrum onus*). H., too, shirks his duties to Maecenas, even leisure ones. **Capuae**: Cic. *Agr.* 2.76 called this provincial city *urbem amplissimam atque ornatissimam* and *altera Roma* (ibid. 2.86), and Lucilius, according to Marx, made a significant stop here on his Iter Siculum, but H. has little to say about it.

**48 Maecenas** takes a rest from state responsibilities. H. and Virgil trump that by opting out of his ball-game. This is tactical as well as lazy (DuQuesnay 1984: 41-2): even *playing* with Maecenas excites envy at 2.6.49 *luserat in campo*. H. similarly avoids ball-games at 6.126 *fugio Campum lusumque trigonem. lusum* and *dormitum* are supines of purpose (cf. 18 *pastum*).

**49 H. and Virgil** present a joint *aegrotat*, H. conjunctivitis and Virgil indigestion (*crudis*; unless H. is also still feeling queasy). Both physical impairments suggest poetic reluctance as well as political feebleness: cf. 2.1.12-13 *cupidum . . . uirs | deficiunt, Epod.* 1.16 *imbellis ac firmus parum*. Virgil is still the modest poet of the *Eclogues*, who had abandoned *reges et proelia* (*Ecl.* 6.1-5) and was associated with delicate digestion (Suet. *Vita Verg.* 8, Don. *Vita Verg.* p. 10 Diehl = Brugnot-Stok 1997: 21 *nam plerumque a stomacho et faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat*), a malady also associated with the satirist Persius, who allegedly died of a *uitium stomachi* (*Vita Pers.*), presumably spleen-induced. Cf. Virgil's higher-flown visceral objections to writing Empedoclean epic at *Georg.* 2.484 *frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis* (Cucchiarelli 2001: 72 and n. 55). Anja Stadeler points out to me that Virgil would not yet have eaten (sports are played before dinner; cf. 2.1.71-4: Scipio and Laelius) and that *cruditas*, normally a digestive ailment of cows (Col. 6.6.105; *Epod.* 8.6 *crudae bouis*), is mockingly appropriate for a bucolic poet. **inimicum** 'harmful, injurious', pointed in the context of *amicitia* and suggesting the dangerous aspects of friendship with Maecenas.

**50 hinc** 'next'. If a night was spent at Pons Campanus, it is not mentioned. **Coccei . . . uilla**: Cocceius' turn to provide hospitality, 21 miles on, in his well-stocked villa (an appropriate setting for the fullest digression). **recipit**: a variation on 1 *accipit*, suggesting a more formal reception (cf. 80 *recepisset*).

**51 quae . . . cauponas**: like beetling Anxur, this villa looks down from a superior position; H. is saved from another picaresque adventure in the taverns below. The alliterative *Caudi cauponas* gives satirical associations to a place more solemnly connected with military defeat, the Romans' surrender to the Samnites in 321 BC at the mountain pass known as the Caudine forks (Livy 9.2.6). The ambiguity of levels prepares us well for the mock-heroic 'battle' (52 *pugnam*) of the buffoons that follows: Freudenburg 2001: 55-6.

**51-70** Central to the poem is an account of a battle of wits between Sarmentus (from Maecenas' entourage) and Messius Cicirrus (an Oscan local), staged for the travellers' diversion and heralded by a parodic appeal to the epic muse; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 875-84 (Cucchiarelli 2001: 29; Reckford 1999: 539 calls H.'s *agon* 'Aristophanic' in its comic travesty of larger political contests). Aristophanes' comic representation

of a tragic *agon* is replaced here by a satirical version of a farcical one: H. unearths double roots for verse satire in Greek satyr-drama (63–4 *pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat*: | *nil illi larua aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis*) and Italian (Atellan) slapstick (54 *Messi clarum genus Osci*) in this display of low iambographic humour involving physical deformities, low social status and animal comparisons (one to which the narrator gives space, despite being a detached spectator). Knorr 2004: 135 reads this as a duel between the wrong kind of humour (*scurrile*, personal insult, etc., represented by Sarmentus) and the right kind (*ridiculum/facetum*, poking at social ambition, represented by Cicirrus). But, as with the duel in *S.* 7, it is likely that both types of humour are coarser than H. prefers. Oliensis 1998: 29: 'Horace takes care to locate himself very definitely in the audience, far above the satiric boxing ring.' The episode may have been a shorter, thus stylistically exemplary, version (cf. 51 *paucis*) of a similar duel in Lucilius (Lejay 136, Warmington 109–10). It has also been read as political allegory, either representing the enmity of the triumvirs Octavian and Antony (D'Antò 1949–50) or hiding a caricature of Sextus Pompeius in the figure of Messius Cicirrus (Savage 1962); *contra* Reckford 1999: 538–43 and 539: 'a substitute for history's actual violence'. Cucchiarelli 2001: 100–1 sees it as political in a less specific sense: Sarmentus, pet *scurra* of a disgraced supporter of Pompey, has been reintegrated as an entertainer to Maecenas and a serene atmosphere masks contemporary tensions.

**51 nunc**: the only example of narrative rather than real time in the poem, suggesting epic immediacy, the summoning up of the Muse (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 16.122 *viv*; Virg. *Aen.* 7.37, 7.641 *nunc*). **paucis**: the epic poet traditionally laments his inability to include infinite subject matter, but H. is also making a pointed contrast with Lucilius' long-windedness. The word recalls the imagined contest between a puny and taciturn H. (4.17 *pusilli*, 18 *raro et perpauca loquentis*) and a windy Crispinus at 4.13–21.

**52 Sarmenti . . . scurrae**: identified (schol. *ad Juv.* 5.3) as the Etruscan slave of a Pompeian supporter, M. Favonius, freed by Maecenas after his master was killed in the proscriptions after Philippi and promoted to *scriba quaestorius* (Treggiari 1969: 271–2; La Penna 1967, 1993); a favourite of Antony (Plut. *Ant.* 59.4: partial to Falernian wine); and a favourite of both Augustus and Livia (Savage 1962: 413–14; hence perhaps 55 *domina*, 67 *dominae*), thus a low-life counterpart to more powerful *dramatis personae*. Sarmentus was notorious enough to provoke pasquinades such as *digna dignis: sic Sarmentus habeat crassas compedes. | rustici, ne nihil agatis: aliquis sarmentum alliget* (schol. *ad Juv.* 5.3); as the jingle shows, his name suggests a connection with *sarmenta* 'bundle of twigs' (n. pl.), for kindling, etc. Even without this background, he has strong similarities to H.'s satirical persona: a parasite entertainer with servile associations and modest physical needs (cf. 35 *insani . . . scribae*). On *scurrae*, see 1.23–4, 4.82–3nn.; Damon 1997: 179–80 on Sarmentus' reappearance as a type at *Juv.* 5.3. **pugnam**: a mock-heroic bout. Verbal skirmishing compared to a gladiatorial duel: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.20.1 *me autem a te ut scurram uelitem malis oneratum esse non moleste tuli*. **Messique**

**Cicirri**: no biographical details are given. Cicirrus translates Greek κικίρρος ('fighting) cock', which may allude to a 'Cock-man' character in Atellan farce; possibly an antecedent for Pulcinella, from *pulcino* 'chick' (Dieterich 1897: 94) or an animal *cognomen*, like 'Asina' or 'Catulus' (Cavarzere 1995: 149 n. 42); cf. the onomatopoeic *cuculum*, also in the context of rural abuse, at 7.31; Fowler 1989b; Cavarzere 1995: 148–51. The name may also allude to Lucil. 115–16W = 121–2M *ille alter abundans | cum septem incolumis pinnis redit ac recipit se* (thought either to refer to a *pinnirapus*, gladiator who aimed at his opponent's crest, or to cock-fighting: Cucchiarelli 2001: 35 n. 69). Messius is probably an Oscan name (La Penna 1967); the element of *messis* has suggested an allusion to the famine created by Sextus Pompey's severing of the grain supply in 39/38 BC (Suet. *Aug.* 16.1): Savage 1962: 412.

**53–5** An epic pre-combat request for genealogical information (cf. Glaucus and Diomedes, Hom. *Il.* 6. 119–236; 7.16–17n.) is deflated when *litis* 'dispute, court-case' replaces the expected 'battle' and Messius is revealed as an Oscan. Sarmentus as an ex-slave (cf. the similar mock-heroics of *S.* 7, with its similarly disreputable contestants: 2 *quo pacto sit Persius ultus*, 5 *lites*). Both H.'s Achilles' heels, his provincialism and his servile ancestry (more seriously faced off in *S.* 6), are thus exposed.

**53–4 Musa**: in first line-position (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 876), the *Musa pedestris* of satire understudies Calliope. **uelim** 'please' (polite subj.) suggests a modest and not desperate request, though Fraenkel 111 n. 1 ties it to an imagined epic formula *uelim memores* (cf. Sulpicia *Sat.* 58–9B *optima posthac, | Musa, uelim moneas*). **memores**: paratactic subj., restoring pseudo-archaic dignity. **quo patre . . . lites**: indirect questions after *memores*. *contulerit* echoes 44 *contulerim*. The query *quo patre natus* dogs H. himself through *S.* 6.

**54 clarum** 'renowned'; ironic. **Osci**: ps.-Acro notes a traditional etymology of *obsceus*: *nam Osci ignobiles, unde obsceni*; see 60–1n. Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.3 dismisses Campanian local politics as *Osci ludi*, a joke on the local entertainment, *fabulae Atellanae* (Dench 2005: 181: 'village pantomime'), 'Oscan' giving an added punch when Oscans were traditionally at the bottom of the cultural heap (cf. *opicus* 'Oscan, dense, philistine'; Dench 1995: 52–3, 77–8). In the context of a self-consciously farcical set piece, *genus Osci* also hints at 'Oscan genre', i.e. Atellan farce itself (cf. 1.13 *genere hoc*), known for its rustic settings and grotesque stock characters: Frassinetti 1953.

**55 Sarmenti . . . exstat**: i.e. he is derided as a runaway slave. **ab his maioribus orti**: anticipates 6.10 *nullis maioribus ortos*, 73 *pueri magnis centurionibus orti*.

**56–7 equi . . . feri**: traditionally translated 'unicorn' (cf. 58 *cornu*), though Plin. *HN* 8.76 describes a more fantastical hybrid animal. A portrait of a gladiator with protruding teeth or upper lip 'like a rhinoceros', ancestor to H.'s clowns, was assembled by J. Dousa from two Lucilian lines: Lucil. 109–10W = 117–18M *bruncus Bouillanus [MSS nouit lanus] dente aduerso eminulo hic est | rhinoceros uelut*

*Aethiopsis*. Animal insults are a traditional element in flying. For comparisons as a pastime of ancient banqueters, see Cavarzere 1995: 151. **ridemus**: H. takes the role of derider, not victim.

**58 accipio** 'Fair enough, touché'. **caput et mouet**: Messius Cicirrus either affably tosses his head in mock aggression, imitating the animal in question (cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 5.2 *nescio quid illum minari, assidue enim caput mouere*), or responds to the 'horse' insult by shaking a 'coxcomb' at Cicirrus, or tries out the boisterous satyr-dance requested of him at 63.

**58–9 'o . . . frons'**: Sarmentus refers to a scar where the creature's horn should be (*cornu . . . exsecto* is abl. of description). Given the programmatic value of horns as an image of iambic/satirical aggression (4.34 *faenum habet in cornu; longe fuge*, *Epod.* 6.11–12 *in malos asperrimus | parata tollo cornua*), the deformity suggests an amicable satire deprived of hostile characteristics. *frons* and *cornu* are also terms from book-binding (e.g. [Tib.] 3.1.13 *inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes*), so reinforce a link between physical mutilation and premature literary ending; see 104n. Ovid's Achelous, with his broken horn, excites tragic pity, not laughter, at *Met.* 8.883–4 (see Oliensis 2009: 108–10 on similar book symbolism there and at *Met.* 9.1–2 *truncae . . . frontes*, 9.86 *trunca . . . fronte*).

**60 sic**: *apo koinou* with *mutilus* and *minitaris*. **mutilus**: one of many significant mutilations in the poem, from the one-eyed praetor (34 *Lusco*) to the circumcised Jew (100 *Apella*); Gowers 1993b: 61. Var. *LL* 9.33 compares mutilated oxen, one-eyed men and lame horses: *si quis uiderit mutilum bouem aut luscum hominem claudicantemque equum*. **minitaris** 'threaten'; used of social/satirical aggression, cf. 2.1.47 *Ceruius iratus leges minitatur et urnam*.

**60–1 foeda . . . turpauerat**: H. mercilessly describes the actor's deformity (Monteil 1964: 310 n. 2). This grotesque Oscan staging may be born of a conflation of two common etymologies of *obscenus* from (a) *sc(a)ena* 'stage' (Var. *LL* 7.96 *obscaenum dictum ab scaena*) and (b) *Oscus* (Porph. *ad* 5.62 *Campani, qui Oscii dicebantur, ore immundi habitus sunt. unde etiam obscenos dictos putant quasi Oscenos*, 62n.). The Oscans were associated with both philistinism and 'filth': cf. Cato *Fil.* 1 Jordan *nos quoque dictitant barbaros et spurcius nos quam alios opicon* [= 'Oscans'] *appellatione foedant* (cf. on 54 *clarum genus*). **cicatrix** 'scar'; perhaps inspired by its assonance with Cicirrus' name (an appropriate 'crowing' sound erupts). **saetosam . . . frontem** 'shaggy forehead'.

**62 Campanum . . . morbum**: a mystery. Cruquianus claims that it produced warts, hence the scar. Other suggestions include: venereal disease, given the alleged lasciviousness of the Oscans (see above 60–1n.), foul Oscan language (see 60–1n.; Ferone 1993), gigantism (Brown; cf. 64: Cicirrus needs no high-heeled boots), and, most likely, Campanian arrogance (cf. ps.-Acro, Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1.20, 2.95, 2.97; Knorr 2004: 133). **permulta iocatus**: conscious abbreviation.

**63–4** Sarmentus' request to Cicirrus for a clownish dance with no need for mask and buskins perhaps evokes the comic *agon* between the tragedians Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes *Ran.* (Cucchiarelli 2001: 29; 53–4n.).

**63 pastorem . . . Cyclopa**: internal limiting acc. with *saltare*. Shades here of Euripides' satyr-play *Cyclops* (cf. *Ep.* 2.2.124–5 *ut qui | nunc Satyrum, nunc agrastem Cyclopa mouetur*), as though H. is claiming 'satyric' ancestry for satire as well as Old Comic ancestry. See Wiseman 1994 for speculation about a native tradition of satyr-plays (following Diomedes' usually discredited equation of *fabulae Atellanae* with Greek satyr-plays at *GL* 1 485K, H.'s claim to be *Satyrorum scriptor* at *AP* 235 and evidence of cultural familiarity with satyrs, if not satyr-plays, in Italy from the sixth century BC). At *AP* 229, H. relates that, when suppressed by law, satyr-plays 'migrated with their humble dialogue to obscure taverns' (*migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas*); *salto* 'dance' (from *salio* 'leap') suggests satyrs' movements (cf. *AP* 233 *Satyris . . . proteruis*). 'Dancing the shepherd-Cyclops' might conjure up either the Cyclops' meeting with Odysseus and his men (as in Hom. *Od.* 9 and the 'Cyclops dance' referred to at Ar. *Plut.* 290–1) or his unrequited pastoral love for Galatea (cf. Theoc. 11, Virg. *Ecl.* 2; *pastorem* would help to label an allusion to Virgil the pastoral poet; cf. 10.45 *rure*; see Payne 2007 on pastoral role-playing in Theocritus). Savage 1962 argues for allegory of Sextus Pompeius in Sicily embedded in both H. and Virgil's Cyclops-figures.

**64 nil . . . cothurnis**: the clown is already so fearsome and deformed he does not need stage props, a mask (*OLD* s.v. *larua* 1 'ghost, evil spirit') and the high boots of tragedy, as opposed to the low *soccus* worn by comic actors (cf. *AP* 80). But the rejection of tragic gear also suggests a programmatic preference for comedy (see Juv. 15.29 on a tragic act of cannibalism: *uulgi scelus et cunctis grauiora cothurnis*).

**65 multa . . . ad haec**: further conscious abbreviation (cf. 62).

**65–6 donasset . . . quaerebat**: Messius takes revenge by sniping at Sarmentus' freedman status: did he once dedicate his chains of servitude to the Lares? Either a parody of the tradition by which freeborn boys at puberty dedicated their childhood *bullae* or phallic amulet to the Lares (Porph.) or, more likely, a generalized parody of the practice of dedicating the tools of a trade to a tutelary deity on retirement. Here the allusion to fetters suggests that Sarmentus not only had servile origins but was a recaptured *fugitiuus*, runaway slave (see on 1 *Aricia*, 24 *Feronia*); cf. 68 *fugisset*. **ex uoto** 'honouring his vow'.

**66 scriba**: an unexpected and tantalizing link with H., the more exalted *scriba quaestorius*, also chafing at dependence on his masters; on upwardly mobile *scribae*, see Badian 1989, Purcell 1983, 2001, Damon 1992.

**67 nilo deterius** 'none the less valid' (*deterius* = *minus*), a juridical formula (*TLL* VI. 799, 54 ff.; cf. *ius bonum, ius optimum*). **dominae ius**: the mistress's legal rights pertained over a slave who had illegitimately escaped her service.

**68 denique cur** 'in short, why'; Lucretian (e.g. 1.199, 358).

**68–9 cui satis . . . foret**: short commons: a pound of grain was deemed the daily minimum for imprisoned debtors in the Twelve Tables (Gell. 20.1); Don. *ad Ter. Phorm.* 43 records that slaves received a hundred pounds of corn a month (i.e. three a day). The reference to dietary sufficiency recalls H.'s own precepts

at 1.74-5 and alleged practice at 6.112, 127-8. **gracili . . . pusillo**: shades again of H.'s own satirical persona, small and weedy: cf. 2.3.312-13 *an quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque uerum est | tanto dissimilem et tanto certare minorem*, 2.3.308-9 *ab imo | ad summum totus moduli bipedalis*, 1.4.17-18 *pusilli | . . . animi*. Messius' joke about Sarmentus' physique echoes the Cyclops' description of Odysseus at Hom. *Od.* 9.515: 'a puny, worthless weakling' (Barnes 1988: 59 n. 12).

**70** Having merrily participated as narrator and willing spectator (despite rejecting scurrilous humour in *Satires* 3 and 4) at this genial cockfight, H. is elliptical about the rest of the dinner but manages to suggest through ponderous spondees that it was long and somewhat predictable. The belly laughs of Lucil. 131W = 137M *malas tollimus nos atque utimur rictu* (possibly from the *Iter Siculum*) may have been more rumbustious. **prorsus** 'all in all'. **iucunde**: cf. 45 *iucundo . . . amico*.

**71** It is unclear whether the seventh day of the journey comprised the 36 miles from Caudium to Trivicum or the 11 miles from Caudium to Beneventum. **tendimus** 'we made for'. **recta** 'straight', sc. *uia*. **Beneuentum**: modern Benevento, euphemized from Maleventum, suggesting 'inauspicious welcome' (Plin. *HN* 3.105), but derived from Greek Maloeis via Oscan Maluentum; Torelli 2002. Birthplace of H.'s schoolmaster L. Orbilius Pupillus, who was honoured with a statue there.

**71-6** Another farcical scene, a kitchen fire, in one of those *humiles tabernae* to which H. says satyr-plays retreated at *AP* 229.

**71-2 sedulus hospes**: probably another *caupo*, caught unawares by this impromptu invasion, more eager to please than those at Forum Appi but disaster-prone. *sedulus* is a standard epithet for a host (cf. *Ov. Met.* 8.640 *sedula Baucis*), and H. the satirist specializes in anxious ones: Nasidienus (*S.* II 8) and the town and country mice, 2.6.86-7 *cupiens uaria fastidia cena | uincere*, 2.6.107 *succinctus cursitat hospes*. **paene . . . igni**: unusual word order mimics the disruption (K-H) or shows Hellenistic refinement (Fraenkel III n. 2, Zetzel 2002: 44). **macros** 'skinny', a poor specimen of a delicacy (cf. 2.8., perhaps recalling Lucil. 479W = 453M *macros . . . palumbes*). **arsit** 'burned to death' (of the host); cf. *Virg. Aen.* 2.311, *Juv.* 3.201 *ultimus ardebit*.

**73-4** Mock-epic elevates the collapse of a log fire and the resulting havoc to a universal conflagration. *Vulcano* stands metonymically for 'fire' and *u*-sounds (*uaga, ueterem*) build up to Vulcan's name (cf. corresponding sounds for his wife Venus at 84-90); *culinam* deflates the pretentious tone. The word-order (three adj.-noun pairs arranged abc ABC) is mannered. Zetzel 2002: 44 finds it neoteric, with an inversion here of the Callimachean tendency to find the domestic in the heroic (e.g. poems on Hecale and Molorchus); but Norden 1916 *ad Aen.* 6.397 n. 1 identifies it as parody of serious epic, comparing *Enn. Ann.* 487V = 509 Sk and several Virgilian passages. Austin 1964 *ad Virg. Aen.* 2.310-12 suggests that H. may have inspired Virgil's more serious description of the fires of Troy (*flamma culinam | Vulcano summum ~ ampla ruinam | Vulcano superare, 72 paene . . . arsit* ~

*proximus ardet | Vcalegon*), noting H.'s subsequent retrieval of his original idea from Virgil at *Ep.* 1.18.84 *nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*, nicely advertising the 'give-and-take' between the two poets (11-22n.).

**74 summum . . . tectum** prepares for 103 *alto . . . tecto*. **lambere**: a common epic metaphor for flames (*Lucr.* 5.396, *Virg. Aen.* 2.684), comic in a culinary context. The flames play either anxious host (cf. 2.6.109 *praelambens omne quod offert*) or parasitical guest (cf. 3.81 *semesos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit ius*).

**75-6** The rats leave the sinking ship. Alliteration with *u*-, stressing the idea of a debased 'Vulcan', disperses, then concentrates again in the narrator's summarizing verdict: *conuiuas auidos . . . seruosque . . . uelle uideres*. Salvaging the dinner from the ruins is a priority for greedy guests and frightened slaves (with *cenam* sandwiched between the two disputing parties), extinguishing the fire more of an afterthought.

**76 rapere**: hints at pillaging (*OLD* s.v. 2), suggesting a further link with Odysseus'/Aeneas' escape from the fires of Troy. **uideres**: past potential subjunctive. H. again watches the chaos with detachment (cf. 8.50 for another clausal *uideres*).

**77-95** H. approaches but never definitively arrives at his home territory (specified as Venusia on the Apulian/Lucanian border only at 2.1.34-5 *Lucanus an Apulus anceps: | nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus*), while hinting periphrastically at the name of a metrically impossible town en route (87-8). A disappointing experience with a deceitful prostitute (82-5) is both a substitute for the larger frustrations of the peace process (Reckford 1999) and emblematic of his deviousness as narrator (Gowers 2009b). From Beneventum the Via Appia continued inland, by way of Trivicum (if that corresponds to modern Treviso) and Venusia, as far as Tarentum. A shorter but more rudimentary route, the Via Minucia (later the Via Traiana), struck out further north, via Equus Tuticus, Herdoniae and Canusium, then hugged the coast from Bari to Brundisium (see Strabo 6.3.7 on the choice of routes; Radke 1989: 63-4 cites a medieval MS tradition of ἡμιονικῆ 'mule-track', a corruption of ἡ Μινωκία = *Via Minucia*). It becomes half-clear (at 79 *Trivici uilla*) that H. and his companions have continued on the Via Appia at least to that point (if the villa at Trivicum is correctly placed by the *Barrington Atlas* (p. 45), a few miles off the Via Appia). By 94 they have ended up on the Via Minucia at Rubi. Which route they chose in between is a mystery. A traveller starting from the villa Trivici could either go north on the Via Herdonitana, passing Ausculum and Herdoniae (two candidates for the mystery town), then east on the Via Minucia to Canusium (followed by Rubi, Barium and Brundisium), or else continue east on the Via Appia, past Venusia, turning off then from its continuation to Tarentum and taking the road north to Canusium, to reach Rubi on the Via Minucia. Canusium is mentioned, apparently as a point of comparison, but in fact must be passed on either route. It is thus quite possible that Venusia is the mystery town, being little more than 24 Roman miles from the site of the villa Trivici, close to the site of modern Treviso, and equally

unscannable in hexameters – an unnamed substitute for Odysseus' clearer destination of Ithaca. The fact remains that the route between Trivicum and Rubi *cannot* be worked out from the text: the lack of clarity may well be the point in a poem so concerned with circumlocution. At *Ep.* 1.18.20 H. gives the traveller's dilemma between the Via Minucia and the Via Appia a proverbial quality in the context of the randomness of life: *Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi*. There is a similar 'swings and roundabouts' quality to the travellers' experience at this point, from local products (*uillissima, pulcherrimus, lapidosus*) to weather (96 *postera tempestas melior, uia peior*). The last stage of the journey illustrates the Epicurean conclusions drawn at 101-3: H.'s trajectory is not an Odyssean *nostos* but a blurred emergence towards a random-seeming terminus (Gowers 2009b).

**77-8 incipit... mihi:** H. greets the sight of his native territory and its 'blue remembered hills'. Another 'new man', Cicero (*Att.* 2.15.3 = fr. 13 (dub.) Courtney), writes of returning *in montes patrios et ad incunabula nostra* (possibly quoting from his epic, *Marius*, on yet another famous new man), and refers (*Att.* 2.11.2) to Arpinum (the Apennine home-town he shared with Marius) by quoting Odysseus on his rough but good nurse Ithaca at Hom. *Od.* 9.27: τρηχέϊ ἀλλ' ἀγαθῇ κουροτρόφος (C. 3.4.10 *nutricis extra limen Pulliae* has sometimes been wrongly emended to *nutricis extra limina Apuliae*); cf. Cic. *Planc.* 22 *ea nostra ita aspera et montuosa ut fidelis et simplex et fauix suorum regio*. These descriptions of rugged, genuine hometowns are the new man's substitute for noble ancestors (Wiseman 1971: 113; here *notos* replaces *nobiles*). For those in the know, this is H.'s own *incipit*, with Apulia personified as a kind of 'show-and-tell' elementary teacher (*incipit ostentare*) after the manner of H.'s father, giving us every expectation that H. is planning a return to his birthplace.

**77 ex illo** 'from that point'. **montes:** among these is Mount Voltur, named in the mythical version of H.'s infant emergence at C. 3.4.9 *Vulture in Apulo*. **notos** 'familiar'; a less sinister meaning than is usual in the *Satires* (contrast 3.24, 4-5).

**78 torret** 'toasts'; like *lambere*, continuing the culinary (and incendiary) theme. **Atabulus:** the local Apulian name for the sirocco, a blistering south wind from the Sahara (Sen. *NQ.* 5.17.5, Plin. *HN* 17.232); Gell. 2.22.25 calls it the *uentus Horatianus*.

**79 numquam erepssemus** 'we would never have crawled out'; contracted form of perf. subj. *erepsissemus*; cf. 25 *repimus*, 3.99 *prorepserunt*. H.'s slow escape from the mountains (dragging spondees in the first half of the line), followed by gracious reception (80 *recepisset*) at Trivicum, re-enacts the crucial evolution of his life, from rustic beginnings to urban acceptance (cf. C. 1.22.10-11 *ultra terminum... uagor*, C. 3.4.9 *extra limen*, *Ep.* 1.20.21 *maiores pennas nido extendisse* for similar trajectories). At Hom. *Od.* 9.79-81 (the identical line-numbers), Odysseus uses a similar hypothetical condition to describe the opposite situation: he would have reached Ithaca sooner if the sea and north wind (cf. 78 *Atabulus*, a south wind) had not combined, as he was rounding Malea (~ Maloeis, the old Greek name of Beneventum), to

drive him off course and send him drifting past Cythera (Aphrodite's island ~ Venusia). Odysseus is temporarily diverted from reaching his homeland, H. from escaping his origins.

**79-80 uicina... |... recepisset:** a night spent at a villa, probably a *uilla publica* (cf. 45), since the host is not named, allows the party to survive their arduous journey through mountainous terrain. Trivicum, the 'place where three roads meet' is marked 25 miles beyond Beneventum near modern Treviso in the *Barrington Atlas*, p. 45 'Tarentum', while Radke 1989: 66-71 places it on a minor road joining Beneventum to Herdoniae, equivalent to the modern Ponte Treconfini, to support Herdoniae as the mystery town. For similar receptions, cf. 1 *egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma* (the inverse of H.'s life journey), 50 *nos Coccei recipit plenissima uilla*. Called *uicina*, 'neighbouring', 'neighbour', the villa is almost personified; there is also etymological play on *uicinus* 'inhabitant of the same uicus' and *Tri-uici*.

**80 lacrimoso... fumo:** i.e. a smoky, tear-inducing fire (no fun for bleary-eyed H.). This dismal atmosphere anticipates the mournful parting from Varius at 93.

**81 udos... camino:** artful phrasing and a solemn abl. abs. make the fire-place the agent (*urente camino*; cf. 1.45 *triuerit area*).

**82-5** H. confesses to having arranged a tryst at Trivicum with a girl who let him down, causing him to have a wet dream. This is the only treaty explicitly mentioned in the poem; the negotiations of *amicitia* are replaced by those of *amor* (Oliensis 1998: 28). The episode, like the failed miracle at Gnatia (97-103), stands in for larger frustrations, especially the abortive triumviral peace talks (Octavian is said to have stood Antony up for their arranged meeting at Brundisium in spring 38, causing the treaty to be signed the following year at Tarentum instead; Plut. *Ant.* 35) and H.'s narrative teasing of his readers with a premature finale (Reckford 1999: 543-8). Cryptic allusions here, repeated *u*-sounds and the phrase *intentum Veneri* (84), hint at 'Venusia', which may or may not be bypassed; see 79-95, 86-90nn. The scenario of illusory sex and nocturnal emission recalls Lucretius' famous discussion of the subject (4.1030-6) and enhances the Lucretian colouring of the end of the poem by raising questions about the empirical assessment of natural phenomena (the tutelary goddess of Venusia would be Venus, divine doyenne of the *De rerum natura*). A similar, probably more successful episode in Lucilius may be recalled (1183W = 1248M), whereas H. is here allowing a glimpse of himself as sexual failure; see Reckford 1999: 545 on H.'s persona as 'Flaccus' and 544 for the comic topos of 'the man who doesn't get laid' (e.g. Cinesias in Ar. *Lys.* and Sceparnio in Pl. *Rud.*). H.'s midnight frustration contrasts with Ovid's midday satisfaction in his fifth poem, *Am.* 1.5.

**82 hic ego:** narrative focus on the central figure of the poem again (cf. 30). **mendacem... puellam:** a match for the cheating landlords of 4 and a substitute for Odysseus' faithful Penelope. This is not the *parabilem... ueneram facilemque* commended at 2.119 but the *turpi meretricis amore* warned

against by H.'s father at 4.111. The lying girl mirrors H.'s own deceptions in diverting us from the promised Venusia. **stultissimus**: the start of a parallel in the last stage of the journey between journeying and education (cf. 3 *doctissimus*). H.'s 'original' stupidity (cf. Lucr. 3.939 *stulte*) is succeeded by native wit (90 *callidus* . . . *uiator*) and empirical learning (101 *didici*; see Fussell 1965: 262-82 on 'empirical tourism'). **usque** 'right up to', with 84 *ad mediam noctem*; *us*-repeated after *stultissimus* suggests the anticipation.

**83 expecto**: cf. 9 *expectans*, but H. is falsely raising *our* expectations too (elision after *noctem* continues the sense of longing). **somnus** . . . **aufert**: sleep becomes another mode of transport (cf. 15 *auertunt*, where *somnos* is the object) diverting H. from his object, while the journey, too, goes off-course.

**84 intentum Veneri** 'keyed up for Venus, bent on sex', but also (following 71 *tendimus*; cf. 2.7.47-8 *acris ubi me | natura intendit*) 'heading for Venusia'. **immundo somnia uisu**: the wet dream is called an 'unclean vision'; the many squalid sights of H.'s journey (seen through his own unclean eyes) culminate in personal filth. Lucretius' analysis of wet dreams in terms of effluvia and illusions (*simulacra*) precedes an account of the deceptions of *amor* (Brown 1987: 68-76, Reckford 1999: 544 n. 37).

**85** The idea of soiling continues, as does the provocative echoing of 'Venus'/'Venusia' in *uestem*, *uentrem*; cf. 84 *uisu*, 86 *uiginti*, 87 *uersu*, 88 *uenit uilissima*, 90 *uiator*. **uentrem**: H.'s stomach features again (cf. 7 *uentri*) again as locus of humiliating bodily experience (Cucchiarelli 2001: 30), appropriately for ignoble satire, euphemizing, say, *inguen obscenum* (cf. 2.26, 8.5) but indicating that this is a more Odyssean version of Iliadic suffering (cf. *supinum*; Pucci 1987: 178-9). **supinum** 'as I lay on my back', symmetrical with 19 *supinus* (also in final position), thus emphasizing H.'s passive, laid-back approach to journeying. The image of a frustrated lover on his back goes back to Achilles, sleepless over Patroclus at Hom. *Il.* 24.10-11, 'now lying on his side, now on his back (ὑππίος), now facedown (πρηνής)'. *supinus* (like the Greek adjectives) is also a name for a dice throw, a middling one, with Venus and the dog (*canis*; cf. Venusia and Canusium) the highest and lowest scores (cf. Prop. 4.8.44 *reccidit inque suos mensa supina pedes*, 45-6 *me quoque per talos Venerem quaerente secundos | semper damnosi subsiluerunt canes*, 51 *totas resupinat Cynthia ualuas*). H. is thus plunged from the prospect of sexual satisfaction to dog-like (Cynic) squalor. His dissatisfaction here contrasts with the smugness of Cat. 32.10-11 *nam pransus iaceo et satur supinus | pertundo tunicamque palliumque* and Lucil. 926W = 1297M *si uero das quod rogat, et si suggeri(s) suppus* (Fest. p. 290M: *suppus = supinus*). Persius' *supinus* (1.129) may specifically implicate H.; see 34-5n.

**86-90** H. is equally cryptic about the next stop on the road, a town allegedly 24 miles from Trivicum whose name will not fit into hexameters, but which can be identified by its various amenities. Above all, he imitates Lucil. 252-3W = 228-9M, on a slaves' festival (possibly the August festival of Diana, patron of runaways) that will not fit into verse: *seruorum est festus dies hic | quem plane hexametrum uersu non dicere possis*; but cf. e.g. Arcestratus *ap.* Athen. 7.284e (a fish),

Ov. *Ex Pont.* 4.12 (Tuticanus); Kassel 1975. Candidates for the town are as follows: (1) Equus Tuticus (Porph. and ps.-Acro, supported by Lambinus, Bentley and Orelli). Ovid's *Tuticanus* enigma (see above) might suggest a link, but it cannot be correct, as getting there would involve going backwards; (2) A(u)sculum (Desy 1988). This name *would* scan with syncope or elision; (3) Herdōneae (Radke 1989), which could, however, have been named in the singular (cf. Sil. Ital. 8.567), though the singular/plural (i.e. satirical/epic usage) dilemma may be the joke (Brink 1995). See Morgan 2000a: 113-14 on the futility of all such speculations: both Lucilius and H. may be hinting that some humble subjects are too mundane to be enclosed in hexameters (thus drawing attention to the metre shared by epic and its 'evil twin' satire). None of the above possibilities quite justifies the elaborate periphrasis (Formiae is paraphrased at 37 quite easily). If H. is indeed hinting at the prospect of a return to his birthplace, the equally unmetrical *Vēnūsia* (see 77-8 nn.), a special kind of mock-modesty is in play.

**86 quattuor . . . raedis**: another logbook entry. The pace and the level of comfort are now upgraded. **rapimur**: as with 83 *aufert*, H. makes himself a passive rather than an active traveller (cf. 75 *rapere*, of the guests whisking away the dinner). **et**: postponed after *uiginti*. **raedis**: carriages.

**87 oppidulo**: an underestimate if the town is Venusia; cf. 6.71 *macro . . . agello*, of H.'s no doubt comfortable family estate. **quod . . . non est**: i.e. cannot be fitted into hexameters (*non est* = 'it is impossible'; cf. 2.79).

**88 uenit**: from *ueneo*, 'is on sale'. Disregarding the long first syllable, which may in any case be a metrical joke on *uenit* with a short *e*, from which Venus' name was often etymologized (Maltby s.v.), Venus' name is virtually encrypted in *uēni uilissima rerum*. **uilissima** 'dirt-cheap'; in 'thirsty Apulia' (*Epod.* 3.16), water was at a premium.

**89 aqua**: *paraprosdokian* after the prostitute at 82? **panis longe pulcherrimus**: a banal version of 3 *Graecorum longe doctissimus*; *longus* recurs at 94 and 104, suggesting the cumulative longeurs of the final lap. The bread is the compensating glory of this small town (contrast Lucil. 128-9W = 134-5M on local produce), a mundane distinguishing *signum*. Cucchiarelli 2001: 22 speaks of 'gastronomic periphrasis'. **ultra**: enjambment here (cf. 2.1.1) suggests the foresight of the canny traveller, who lays up stores of the excellent bread to carry on the next leg.

**90 soleat**: the final syllable is lengthened *in asi* (cf. 4.82). **umeris portare**: transferred expression: slaves would have carried any baggage (cf. 1.47-8: bread-carrying as a philosophical illustration).

**91 Canusi**: Canusium (modern Canosa), was built on the river Aufidus at the junction of the Via Minucia and the road north of Venusia, 84 miles from Beneuentum. H. does not actually state that the party stayed the night there (hints from 89 *ultra* and 93 *hinc*), but a glance at the map shows that, whatever the route from Beneuentum, they must have gone through Canusium. Being neuter, *Canusium* is metrically admissible in the gen. sing. form, and again helps to suggest its opposite, the unmentioned *Venusia*. **lapidosus**: either literally 'gritty', a

common problem in the ancient world (from the milling process), or 'hard as stone' (cf. Sen. *Ben.* 2.7.1 *panem lapidosum*, of an ungracious favour). **aquae non ditior urna**: this awkward phrase is probably parenthetical; *qui locus* then picks up *Canusi* (as in SB: see also K-H, Brink 1987: 29). *ditior* depends on *aquae*. *urna* is abl. of difference.

**92 qui locus . . . olim**: the current parched and distinctly ungastronomic circumstances of the town deflate its onetime (*olim*) noble pedigree. Canusium was one of many towns in Magna Graecia, including Beneventum and Venusia, allegedly founded by the Iliadic hero Diomedes (but the only one H. chooses to grace with this distinction). Like Odysseus, Aeneas and Octavian's ancestor Atyis, he was part of the Trojan diaspora, a more illustrious forebear than the Mamurrae of Formiae. Perhaps the point is that only a tough antique hero could have endured these dietary privations, or else that the town has fallen on hard times. Bentley suspected a gloss here (*locum condere* is without parallel), but Brink 1987: 29 cites Herodotean foundation vocabulary (κτιζειν χωρην/γην) and upholds the line as a parody of guidebook contrasts between past and present.

**93 flentibus . . . amicis**: it is unclear why Varius left the party at this point, wearing his tragic mask (unlike the comic one at 2.8.63-4 *Varius mappa compescere risum | uix poterat*). The line could refer to a lost tragedy, or possibly to his *De morte*, given the double meaning of *discedit*, 'leaves' or 'dies'. Word order wraps Varius in a huddle of grieving *amici*. H. may refer to the sorrowful myth in which Diomedes' companions were transformed into screeching sea-birds (Virg. *Aen.* 11.272-4, Ov. *Met.* 14.497-509; Savage 1959-60 1-4, 9-10).

**94 inde . . . peruenimus**: the first clear indication of a route for some time. Rubi (modern Ruvo) lay 30 miles from Canusium on the Via Minucia, which from this point hugged the east coast down to Brundisium.

**94-5 fessi . . . corruptius imbri** 'weary with pursuing a long journey, one made muddier by rain'. *rubus* means 'bramble' or 'blackberry', suggesting that *carpentes* (from *carpo* 'pluck') is more than a dead metaphor; the idea may continue with the notion of damage by rain. For *utpote* giving a reason, cf. 4.24. *longum iter* will be echoed by 104 *longae . . . chartae usaeque*, H.'s criticisms of Lucilius' stylistic 'muddiness' (4.11, 10.50) may well be inspired by Lucilius' record of his own muddy route at 98W = 109M *omne iter est hoc labosum atque lutosum*. Rainy weather among the miseries of a travelling parasite: *Ep.* 1.17.52-3 *Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus anoenum | qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbres*. A potential flaw in Radke's argument in favour of Herdoniae should be noted. The stretch from Canusium to Rubi is equivalent (30 miles) to that from Herdoniae to Canusium, so it makes little sense to call it a specially long and wearisome journey. Radke (1989: 72) suggests that the Via Minucia had not been properly paved at this point. If H. had come up on a minor road from Venusia to Canusium and thence along the Via Minucia to Rubi, the complaint would be more understandable. H. may be hinting how playfully he has covered his traces: just as the road was waterlogged, so the writing on the map (cf. 104) was 'smudged by rain'.

**96 postera . . . peior**: a string of comparatives (89 *pulcherrimus*, 91 *ditior*, 95 *corruptius*) suggests that H. has not lost his reflex for discrimination. Wry acceptance of the pluses and minuses of the journey prepares us for the equanimity of the finale. *tempestas* is an archaic alternative to *tempus* (making a mini-chiasmus: *post-tera, tem-pest-*). **adusque = usque ad** (cf. 1.97). More enjambment brings the party right up to the walls of the next city (cf. 25-6 *subimus | . . . Anxur*, 82-3 *usque . . . | . . . ad mediam noctem*).

**97 Bari . . . piscosi**: exemplary brevity; 'fishy' sounds like a Homeric epithet (Rudd 59: 'worthy of Dylan Thomas'), balancing 92 *lapid-osus*; Ov. *Met.* 12.10 *piscosa Aulis* suggests that the adjective was automatic for fishing towns. Barium (modern Bari) was 23 miles from Rubi.

**97-103** The Gnatians' belief in a miracle of spontaneously liquefying incense causes the party great hilarity, giving H. an opportunity to utter a philosophical credo (or non credo).

**97-8 Gnatia . . . exstructa**: Gnatia/Egnatia (modern Torre Egnázia) lay 37 miles beyond Barium. *lymphis | iratis* refers, by analogy with the abl. abs. *iratis dis* (e.g. 2.3.8), to the legendary anger of the local water nymphs (*lymp̄ha* Hellenizes an old Latin word, *lumpha* or *limpha*, falsely connected to Greek νύμφα 'nymph'. Ernout-Meillet s.v.). According to the scholiasts, the periphrasis indicates a dearth of water in the town. A likelier explanation (K-H) is that *lymphis iratis* satirizes the addled brains of its superstitious inhabitants (*lymphati/lymphatici* often translated Greek νυμφόληπτοι; cf. 35 *insani*, C. 1.37.14 *mentem lymphatam*).

**98 risusque iocosque**: more laughter at the expense of people encountered. A mock-heroic *-que . . . -que* (cf. 104, 8.50 *risusque iocoque*) elevates a collocation inherited from Cicero: *Leg. agr.* 2.96 *per risum ac iocum*, *De or.* 2.236 *odiosas . . . res saepe . . . ioco risuque dissolvit*, *Fin.* 2.65 *risu aut ioco* (disclaimed by a Stoic as a route to happiness). H.'s laughing attitude to life is part of his Epicurean creed at the end of the poem.

**99 dum flamma . . . sacro**: Plin. *HN* 2.240 records a different Gnatian miracle: *in Salentino oppido Gnatia imposito ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum protinus flammam existere. flamma sine = sine flamma* (cf. 3.68). *liquescere* is a common Lucretian word: e.g. 1.493 (of ice, with *flamma*), 4.1114 (of orgasm, with *cupido*). The dactylic rhythm and alliteration of *liquescere limine* suggest rapid motion.

**100 persuadere cupit** 'would have us believe': ironic; the Gnatians' pride in their miracle is hardly presented as fanatical (contrast the Jews at 4.143 *cogemus . . . concedere*). For Caligula's contempt for Sicilian wonders, see Suet. *Calig.* 51 *peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi irrisis multum locorum miraculis*.

**100-1 credat . . . non ego**: H. contrasts his own scepticism with the notorious superstition of the Jews (cf. Ov. *AA* 1.76, Pers. 5.179-88, Juv. 14.96-106, Rut. Nam. 1.387-94), a satirical target also at the ends of S. 4 and S. 9. *Apella* was exposed by Porph. as a caricaturing type-name (*urbanissimum*; from Greek privative *a-* 'lacking' + *pellis* '(fore-)skin'); Pisani 1953, Feldman 1993: 155, 171. For circumcision as the Jews' distinguishing feature in satire, cf. 9.70 *curtis Iudaeis*,



Pers. 5.184 *recutitaque sabbata*. This feature picks up other mutilations in the poem and is programmatic for its curtailed ending (Gowers 1993b: 61); cf. also 6.104-5 *curto* | . . . *mulo* (for a journey to Tarentum); Pers. *Sat.* 5 ends with 191 *curto centusse*, *Sat.* 4 with 52 *curta supellex*. **credat**: behind this lies a tradition of travellers' combined gullibility and mendacity (cf. 82 *mendacem*).

**101-3** Overstating his credentials as an Epicurean, H. quotes closely from Lucretius' injunction to his reader to interpret natural phenomena like thunder and lightning in terms of scientific law rather than divine vengeance (in the manner of *antiquae religiones*): 101-2 *namque deos didici securum agere aevum | nec quid miri* ~ Lucr. 5.82-3 (= 6.58-9) *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevum, | si tamen interea mirantur*. Reckford 1999: 546: 'Horace speaks here as one who has memorized his Epicurean catechism, word for word.' Such perfect citation looks like a Lucretian sledgehammer used 'to crack the nut of a minor superstition' (Coffey 1976: 75). See Fraenkel 253-7 on *C.* 1.34, where H. appears to renounce his Epicurean heresy after hearing a thunder-clap: cf. *Ep.* 1.1.14 *nullius addictus iurare in uerba magistri*; contrast *Ep.* 1.18.96-103, 111-12. Generic considerations are in play too: religiosity is more fitting for lyric, scepticism for satire. H. plays obedient pupil (*didici*) to *doctus* Lucretius; this statement of his graduation with honours on life's journey completes the process started at 82 *stultissimus* and continued with 90 *callidus* (a process artificially devised to coincide with the hints about his birthplace and his subsequent emergence).

**101 namque . . . didici**: parodies the idea of travelling as empirical discovery, as though H.'s education, specifically Lucretius' *DRN*, has worked on him and he is now laying claim to be *Romanorum longe doctissimus*. **securum** 'without worry' ~ Greek ἀτάρακτος, a keyword of Epicureanism; see Lucr. 2.646-51 for a clear statement of Epicurus' belief that the gods do not interfere in mortal affairs.

**102-3 miri**: partitive gen. **tristes** 'because they are angry': thus *lymphis iratis* was only a *façon de parler* (cf. 74 *Vulcano*, 84 *Veneri*). **ex alto . . . tecto**: a less obvious Lucretian echo: *DRN* 2.1154 *aurea de caelo demisit fumus in arua*, conflated with Virg. *Ecl.* 4.7 *iam noua progenies caelo demittitur alto*, where Virgil had replaced Lucretian scepticism about the creation with a Messianic message about a return to the golden age. 'By contrast Horace returns to Lucretian orthodoxy' (Reckford 1999: 547). The 'hotel up in the sky' is a mundane version (cf. 74 *lectum*) of Lucr. 1.988 *caeli tegmine*, cf. Cic. *Arat.* 275, Manil. 1.720; Pl. *Amph.* 863 [*Iuppiter*] *in superiore qui habito cenaculo*.

**104** An 'epilogue in the middle'. The first half of the book ends with the most definite and yet most open-ended ending in Latin literature, an example of classic 'gnomic' closure but also of 'false' closure (Fowler 1989b: 97-101 = 2000a: 259-63), preempting the real end of the poetry book (see Fowler 1989a: 20-21 = 2000: 305 on middles as pivotal points for 'premature' closure). Reckford 1999: 547: 'The abrupt ending works like a punch line elsewhere, or a blackout.' H. perversely labels his shortest poem so far a 'long sheet of paper' (*charta*). Brundisium, 44 miles

along the coast from Gnatia, is indeed the logical next stage, but makes havoc of the most probable trajectory for this journey: the peace summit at Tarentum of spring 37 BC (Reckford 1999: 527: 'a major diplomatic victory for Octavian'; App. *BC* 5.93-4; Pelling 1996: 25-7 prefers a July/August date). Tarentum could have been reached from Brundisium by a diversion south (or by continuing directly on the Via Appia). Instead, H. ends with Brundisium, where an earlier treaty had been struck in 40 (too early for H. to have known Maecenas) but where the meeting of 37 would have taken place had Octavian's legions not barred Antony from landing (Plut. *Ant.* 35). A third possibility is the meeting in Athens between Octavian and Antony in autumn 38 (App. *BC* 5.92) for which Brundisium is the obvious point of departure, but this is inconsistent with the spring setting of the poem (frogs and mosquitoes) and in any case H. remains on dry land. The two more likely options each involve a premature ending; H. does not take us, or himself, as far as the final destination. On the three possible missions, see Musurillo 1954-5: 159-62, Anderson 1955-6, Fedeli 1994: 411-12. The ending is also a calculated display of H.'s limitations (*finis*; cf. 1.106-7 *sunt certi denique fines, | quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*), his reluctance to deliver an insider's account of affairs of state (Freudenburg 2001: 57-8). The divergence from Tarentum also represents a concerted avoidance of 'Lucilius country' (cf. 6.58-9 *non ego circum | me Satureiano uectari rura caballo*) and an opportunity lost for a 'satirically themed' journey, from Satricum in the Pomptine marshes (Wiseman 1994: 76) to Satyrion, the original Greek settlement next to which Tarentum was later founded (see Strabo 6.3.2 on the rich local soil, Virg. *Georg.* 2.197 *saturi Tarenti*). At 6.105, H. becomes free to ride to Tarentum. **Brundisium**: ring-composition with 1 *Roma*. Possibly recalls Enn. *Ann.* 457 Sk. *Brundisium pulcro praecinctum praepete portu*, though no such topographical description follows. Brundisium's chief identity at this period, as now, was as the main port for Greece, a point of embarkation or arrival (where Gellius 9.4 picked up books of Greek travellers' tales), not an end in itself. Coincidentally, it was the port off which H.'s companion Virgil met his end in 19 BC (*Vita Vergili* = Brugnoli-Stok 1997: 33, 64, 100); also birthplace of the tragedian (and satirist) Pacuvius. John Henderson *per litteras* suggests a pun on an etymology of Greek βροντήσιον, from βροντή 'thunder', and a self-deprecating allusion to Callim. *Aet.* fr. 1.20 Pf. 'To thunder is not for me, but for Zeus'. **longae**: advertises the poem's *breuitas* (*contra C.* 3.4.2 *longum . . . melos*), though the journey has been longer than it need have been (Pl. *Ps.* 2 *longa fabula*). The *Odyssey* was proverbially long-winded: *Paroem.* 1 210.8, II 13.79, Barnes 1988. Rut. Nam. 2.1-2 self-consciously shortens his second travel narrative: *nondum longus erat nec multa uolumina passus, | iure suo poterat longior esse liber*. **finis . . . est**: mock-Homeric double *-que* and a bumpy ending with *est* (positive after 87 *non est*) are grafted onto a re-patterned version of Lucretius' similarly neat syllepsis at 3.943 *non potius uitae finem facis atque laboris*, replacing *uitae* with *uia* (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 96.3 *omnia ista in longa uita sunt, quomodo in longa uia et puluis et lutum et pluuia*) and *laboris* with *chartae*. The Lucretian phrase belongs to Natura's diatribe (3.933-62),

enlisted in *S. 1* as proto-satiric. Similar syllepses are found at *De or.* 2.234 (the passage on pauses in *sermo* as rest-stops: see introductory essay and above on 3 *Forum Appi defessus iam labore atque itinere disputationis meae*; and at the end of *Fin.* 2, summing up the discussion of Epicureanism: 2.119 *finem fecimus et ambulandi et disputandi* (*Fin.* 4.1 begins *quae cum dixisset, finem ille*). The wrap-up ending is equivalent to the Alexandrian *coronis* or graphic end-flourish on a papyrus (Citti 2000: 205–9): cf. e.g. *AP* 11.41 (end of the poem = end of the poet's madness), Apul. *Met.* 1.21 (on a picaresque journey) *is finis nobis et sermonis et itineris communis fuit*. For another decisive end to a journey narrative, coinciding with a death, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.714–15 *hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta uiarum*, | *hinc me digressum uestris deus appulit oris*, 717–18 *fata renarrabat diuum cursuque docebat*. | *conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quieuit*. The ending also has an epitaphic flavour, apt for the life of a *scriba* or a *uiator*. A real-life epitaph of a merchant found at Brundisium (*CIL* IX 60) plays on two meanings of *terminus*: *terminus hicc(e) est*, | *quem mihi nascenti quondam Parcae cecinerunt*. H.'s equation between the end of his journey and the end of the paper exposes his account as literary fabrication and frees him from the bonds of the text he has created: see Fowler 1989a: 109–13 = 2000: 270–4; cf. 10.92 *subscribe*. But then comes the glib start-up of *S. 6*, where H. redeploys *finis* in a new sense. Such repetition on the cusp or hinge of a poetry book may have inspired Virgil's similar 'continuity error' in relation to another port between the end of *Aen.* 6 (Caieta as harbour) and start of *Aen.* 7 (Caieta still as Aeneas' nurse); see Hinds 1998: 108–11 on the 'liminal' repetition of *litus* (6.900, 7.1).

### SATIRE 6

*Satire 6* finds H. back in Rome (cf. 45 *ad me redeo*), again in implied face-to-face dialogue with his patron. The firm stop at Brundisium is unexpectedly dislodged as H. travels further backwards to tell the story of his original arrival in Rome: how he ended up 'speaking to Maecenas' and how his envy-inducing position can be justified to those excluded from it. The poem is a paramount example of the poet's 'defence-work' (Oliensis 1998), generated by satirical reflexes of personal exoneration and preemptive denial (starting from the first words: *Non quia*). H. fills out the hints dropped in earlier poems by plotting several versions of his *uita*, all of which involve the seemingly involuntary transformation of stuttering rustic into confident Roman, for which the chutzpah of his freedman father and the discernment of his aristocratic patron are made jointly responsible. H. works to deflect accusations of pushiness, self-promotion and parasitism in the various stages of his emergence from anonymity, before fashioning an innocuous existence for himself as a new kind of 'nobody'. Indeed the poem offers another answer to the question *Qui fit . . . ut nemo* posed in *S. 1*, and offers many different perspectives on the time-lapse between obscure or disgraceful past (4, 47, 54, *olim*, 55 *quid essem*, 60 *quod eram*) and privileged present (45, 104 *nunc*, 128–9 *haec est | uita*).

H.'s self-defence needs to be read in the context of the fluid social and political situation of the late republic. He contributes here to an age-old debate over the merits of individual worth as opposed to noble pedigree (Kindstrand 1976, Rudd), a debate that bears witness to the social mobility and political competition possible at all stages of Rome's history. The aristocracy had always been regenerated by office-winners, some of them 'new men' who succeeded without ancestors, some from servile families a generation or two back (Treggiari 1969, Wiseman 1971). But this situation was particularly explosive in the 40s and 30s BC, when slaves, freedmen's sons and provincials became scapegoats for the narrowing opportunities of the established nobility and were blamed for the rising fortunes of emerging dynasts (Appius Claudius expelled all sons of freedmen from the senate in 50; Julius Caesar in 45 and the triumvirs in 39 restored them in droves). This was the great age of the *apparitores*, men who like H. the *scriba quaestorius* rose through the civil service and achieved equestrian status or a close equivalent (Purcell 1983, 2001). But those at the very top had pushed the limits of Rome's social structure too. Invisibly overshadowing the poem are the spectacular success stories of the biggest players: mobile poets from the Italian provinces and beyond 'fitted comfortably into a Roman society dominated in their time by Maecenas of Arretium, the obscurely born Vipsanius Agrippa, and the *princeps* himself from a small town in Latium' (Wiseman 1971: 52).

A staged 'conversation' with Maecenas on this subject has the aim of testing the alleged *noblesse oblige* of the new aristocracy towards their social inferiors: the poem looks like an important document for the vindication of the rights of the late republican new man. In many ways, however, H. defaults on that promise. Many benefited from the Caesarian and triumviral handouts, but equal numbers of dispossessed citizens spoke out or issued anonymous protests (Dio 43.47). It is in the face of imagined resentment that H. mobilizes the defensive rhetoric typical of 'new men', parading his virtue, innocuousness and minimal disruption of the status quo (Wiseman 1971: 110–16). Like Cicero (or his portrait of Octavian in the *Philippics*), he finds it politic to be 'constitutionally mixed', emphasizing both his humble birth and his innate princeliness, his rusticity and his urbanity, in a fine balancing act between homespun pride and learned deference. While H. challenges Maecenas' boundaries by questioning the meaning of terms like *ingenuus*, *honestus* and *nobilis* (all of which, thanks to Cicero and Sallust's attempts to redefine them in favour of innate rather than inherited worth, were hody contested terms), this is a conservative poem that reinforces the gulf between elite and crowd, once H. has established his place in that elite, at a time when the power of the crowd was on the wane (Millar 1998). One form of elitism, traditional class distinctions, is replaced by another: the exclusivity of undefinable 'breeding', which includes judicious discrimination and scorn for the rat-race (17–18 *quid oportet | nos facere a uulgo longe longeque remotos?*). The part of the poem that deals with political opportunities is thus largely a smokescreen for H.'s more important agenda: defence of his social position and his friendship with Maecenas