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HORACE'S CONCEPTION OF FRIENDSHIP

by

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INTRODUCTION

Friendship is the most elevating of human affections, and yet it is a relation that cannot be explained or defined. It begins and ends in feeling*, and feeling is a matter of purely personal organization.' It is this subjective nature that causes one to be betrayed into inconsistencies the moment one endeavors to frame a definition of it that shall comprehend all its varieties; and yet it is intelligible enough when once it has been experienced. One can know happiness only by experiencing it; for the same reason, one who has never felt the ties of friendship cannot comprehend its meaning, for it is not translatable. / There are definitions, of course, in plenty, but they have all proved unsatisfactory. A citation of a few that are found in the leading dictionaries will show how futile these attempts have been; they have either defined it in terms of itself, which is no definition at all, - or they have given the factors relative to it and have, by no means, expressed the essential nature of the emotion. The New English Dictionary defines it wholly in terms of itself; 'the state or relation of being a friend'; 'association of persons as friends'; 'friendly relation or attachment to a

* For much of the thought and many of the phrases applied to Friendship, I am indebted to 'The Making of Poetry' by Dr. A. H. R. Fairchild.

person or persons;' 'affections arising from mutual esteem and good-will.' The Century Dictionary, on the other hand, gives the factors of friendship; 'mutual liking, esteem or regard, cherished by kindred minds, as the basis of mutual interchange of kind offices;' 'mutual interest resulting from congeniality of sentiments or community of interests, or from a close intimacy or acquaintance, and leading to sympathy or helpfulness.' Baldwin's Psychological Dictionary: 'The relation of mutual benevolence or love between two or more persons who desire one another's society.' Plutarch's definition, translated by Holland, will be included here: "A true and perfect friendship requireth these three things especially: virtue as being honest and commendable; society, which is pleasant and delectable; and profit, which is needful and necessary.' These reveal that there cannot be formulated an acceptable definition of friendship, therefore an understanding of it must be obtained from some other source.

Naturally, then, one turns to philosophy. Here, too, there is abundance of material, especially among the ancient philosophers, for not finding in their religion, nor in their domestic ties, the motive power to overcome the natural selfishness of man, they turned to friendship, and they found in it the germ of whatever is divine in the heart of man, the spark, that if fostered and fed, transfigured his whole being. Friendship was in reality the very soul of ancient life. But even these philosophers avoided making any definite statements of what friendship is, but devoted themselves to a discussion

of its origin, and the character of the persons between whom it can exist. There was, moreover, a wide divergence of opinions on these two questions; they were subjects of debate for centuries. Aristotle recognized the different views when he divided friends according as they have pleasure, utility, or the good as their object; but his acknowledgement of the last as the only true basis, serves to bring out the characteristic which gives to friendship its value in moral life. He considered that friendships founded on selfish advantage are no true friendships, for they disappear as soon as the advantage is no longer present; the same is true of those formed for mutual pleasures, they change as the pleasures change. Real friendship has no selfish motive, it seeks to bring about the highest good of the person loved. He, however, recognized that when this friendship exists, profit and pleasure are sure to follow.*

With these opposite views two schools developed; one claimed that people are drawn into friendship by a recognition of virtue; the other that the thought of advantage caused the union of friends. The stoics maintained that "all who are wise and virtuous are friends, for they all love one another's virtue." The doctrine of the Epicureans, on the

* Aristotle and The Earlier Peripatetics, Vol. II, p. 193.

other hand, was that profit is the fountain source of friendship. "No one", says Epicurus*, "loves another except for his own interest." "Human nature alone does not give natural affection for nothing, nor can it love without advantage to itself." He recognized the great value of friendship, for in his Golden Maxims XXVII he says, "Of all the means which are procured by wisdom to insure happiness throughout the whole of life, by far the most important is the acquisition of friendship."

Among the Roman philosophers the conditions were similar; there was the same disagreement about the causation of friendship, and the character of the persons between whom it can exist. In Cicero's *De Officiis* and in his *Dialogue De Amicitia* there is a breadth of view and a warmth of feeling similar to that found in Aristotle. He says: "Virtue itself both begets and constitutes friendship."** For nothing is more amiable than virtue, nothing which more strongly allures us to love it, seeing that because of their virtue and integrity we can in a certain degree love those whom we have never seen", *** finally, "I exhort you to lay the foundation of virtue without which

* Hicks: *Stoic and Epicurean*, pp.183-186.

** *ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest.* p. 34.

*** *Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil quod magis alluciat ad diligendum: quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem*

friendship cannot exist."* As regards advantage for the basis of friendship, he says: "But although many and great advantages ensued, yet it was not from any hope of these that the cause of our attachment sprang."** "Wherefore friendship hath not followed upon advantage, but advantage upon friendship."***

While a definition of friendship is impossible, and the philosopher can only discuss the factors conducive to it, one can learn more about it by turning to the poet. For he, realizing that he cannot express his feelings directly, produces images that are naturally connected with the feeling he wishes to express. The reader is stirred by these to a feeling akin to the poet's feeling, and in some measure duplicates the experience of the poet, - which for the present study shall be that of friendship - thereby learning more effectively what friendship is. It shall be the purpose of this paper to organize and present whatever Horace has said in his poetry that can throw any light upon his conception of friendship.

etiam eos, quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. p. 37

* Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem; vos autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis. p. 60.

** Sed quam quam utilitates multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causae diligendi profectae. p. 38.

*** Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam secuta est. p. 44.

FRIENDSHIP IN THE ABSTRACT

Satire II 6, 75

<p>Quidve amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos,</p>	<p>Does virtue or advantage draw us to friendship?</p>
---	--

Here is the same question that had troubled the philosophers throughout the ages. Horace had gathered a circle of friends at his Sabine farm for an informal dinner. They were men of strong character who were interested in important philosophical subjects and when he refers to their conversation he tells us the above question was discussed. The importance they attached to it can be judged from the nature of the other subjects considered at the same time: 'Is it wealth or virtue that makes men happy?' 'What is the nature of good?' and 'What is the highest good?'

Since this question will, to a certain degree, form the basis for the investigation of Horace's idea of friendship, there should be a definite understanding of the meaning of the terms employed in its statement. Usus has a large range of meanings; it is best translated 'advantage', and when the scope of this English word is realized, then *usus* will be understood. It may mean a selfish interest and profit in a material sense, or it may be above this and signify an intellectual benefit that is derived from association, or just the pleasure one receives from being in company with a friend. By rectum is meant value in respect of moral or personal qualities; uprightness, rectitude, virtue, worth, merit.

One realizes, after an examination of Horace's writings, that he believed both of these elements are to be found

Horace citations are taken from Kiessling, A., Q. Horatius Flaccus.

in friendship, and it is the object of this paper to learn in just what degree they are found, and what relation they bear to each other. In his abstract references to friendship, he incorporated some fundamental truths which will be considered under *rectum* and *usus*.

Rectum

There should be much care exercised in the choice of a friend, making worth an essential factor, but when the selection has once been made, there must be loyalty to the chosen friend. Epistle I 18, 76-81

qualem commendes etiam ad-	Consider carefully the
spice, ne mox	merits of such a one as
	you introduce
incutiant aliena tibi pec-	lest afterwards, the sins
cata pudorem.	of the other bring dis-
	grace upon you. It
fallimur et quondam non	is true we are sometimes
dignum tradimus: ergo	deceived and introduce
	an unworthy fellow; when
quem sua culpa premet, de-	once deceived cease to de-
ceptus omitte tueri,	fend one who suffers by
	his own bad deeds, but
ut penitus notum si temp-	confidently protect one
tent crimina, serves	whom you know so well that
	you cannot be mistaken in
tuterisque tuo fidentem	him,
	and with confidence guard
praesidio:	him with your patronage if
	unfounded accusations are
	made against him.

Friendship demands honesty and sincerity of heart, deceit is impossible among those who love one another, hence kings were said to have tested the worth of those seeking their friendship. Epistle II 3, 434-436.

reges dicuntur multis urgere	Kings are said to ply
culillis	with many bumpers, and
et torquere mero quem perspe-	by wine make trial of a
xisse laborent	man
an sit amicitia dignus:	whom they are anxious to
	know whether or not he
	be
	worthy of their friend-
	ship.

Together with this honesty and sincerity of heart, there must ever be loyalty; he who fails in this is not to be trusted. To speak ill of a friend, or even not to defend him against those, who attack him, is dishonorable and unworthy the name of friendship; while to ridicule his foibles for selfish interest is indescribably base. Satire I 4, 81-85; 94-101.

absentem qui rodit, ami-	He who maligns an absent
cum	friend, who does not de-
	fend
qui non defendit alio cul-	him when another is accus-
pante, solutos	ing him; who seeks to
	arouse the
qui captat risus hominum fam-	unrestrained laughter of
amque dicacis,	his fellows, and win the
	fame of a wit;
fingere qui non visa potest,	who can fashion things
commissa tacere	he has never seen; who
	cannot
qui nequit, hic niger est, hunc	keep a secret; he is a
tu, Romane, caveto.	black-hearted slanderer,
	be thou aware of him, O
	Roman.

mentio si qua	If someone happens to men-
de Capitolini furtis iniecta	tion
Petilli	the thefts of Petillius
	Capitolinus
te coram fuerit, defendas ut	in your presence, you de-
tuus est mos:	fend him after your custom
	thus:

'me Capitolinus convictore usus	'Capitolinus has en-
amicoque	joyed my intimacy and
	friendship from
a puero est, causaque mea per-	childhood, and when
multa rogatus	asked, has done many
	things for
fecit, et incolumis laetor quod	my benefit, I certainly
vivit in urbe;	am glad that he lives
	secure in the city,
sed tamen admiror quo pacto	but I can't help wonder-
iudicium illud	ing how in the world he
	escaped that punishment.'
fugerit.' hic nigrae sucus	This is the essence of
lolliginis, haec est	black malignity, this is
aerugo mera.	pure verdigris.

From 'commissa tacere qui nequit' it may be observed what a peculiarly high valuation the Romans placed upon the ability of friends to keep a secret. The same thought is contained in Epistle I 5, 24-25

ne fidos inter amicos	That there may be no one
sit qui dicta foras eliminat;	who will carry beyond the
	threshold
	the things said among
	faithful friends.

Friendship requires charity; one should emphasize the better qualities of a friend. Satire I 3, 38-44: 54

amatorem quod amicae	As a mistress's base de-
turpia decipiunt caecum, vitia	fects escape the notice
aut etiam ipsa haec	of the blinded lover, and
delectant, veluti Balbinum	even delight him, like the
polypus Hagnae.	polypus of Hagna does Bal-
	binus
	so I could wish that we
	made
vellem in amicitia sic errare-	the same mistake with re-
mus, et isti	gard to friendship, and
	that Ethics had attributed an

errori nomen virtus posuisset
honestum.

honorable name to this
error.

At pater ut gnati, sic nos de-
bemus amici

As a father ought not to
be too critical with his
son

si quod sit vitium non fasti-
dire. strabonem

if he has any deformity,
so we ought not be with
our friends.

adpellat paetum pater, -----
----- opinor,

The father calls his 'cock-
eyed son, little Blinky.
This method, I fancy, both
unites friends, and pre-
serves the bond when once
it has been formed.

haec res et iungit, iunctos et
servat amicos.

Epistle II 2, 210

ignoscis amicis?

Pardon your friends.

Satire I 3, 84-85

paullum deliquit amicus,
quod nisi concedas habere insua-
vis, acerbus

Your friend has done some
small wrong, which unless
you excuse it, you must
be looked upon as an em-
bittered, ill-natured fel-
low.

Usus

One advantage to be gained from true friendship is
that of obtaining helpful criticism. It requires a strong
friend to tell another of his faults and help him to overcome
them, but this is the duty of a friend.

Satire I 4, 130-134.

mediocribus et quis
ignoscas vitiis teneor. fort-
assis et istinc

I am possessed
only by moderate faults
which are pardonable, and
even from these, perhaps,
long age,

largiter abstulerit longa aetas,

liber amicus,
consilium proprium.

frank friends, and
my own reflections may
free me.

Friendship has certain claims upon it which must be met. A person when he is in trouble or in need, feels it is his privilege to call upon a friend for help. Satire II 6, 23-26

Romae sponsorem me rapis:	When I am at Rome, you
'eia,	snatch me away to be se-
ne prior officio quisquam re-	curity for a friend, Come
spondeat, argue.'	hurry lest another per-
sive aquilo radit terras seu	form the duty before you.
bruma nivalem	Whether
interiore diem gyro trahit,	Aquilo rasps the earth
ire necessest	or winter draws the
	snowy
	day into a narrower cir-
	cle, go I must.

HORACE AND MAECENAS

Horace was a man of many friends, and an idea of his conception of friendship should be had from a study of his relations with these. The friendship of which there is the most complete record is the one between Maecenas and Horace. In his writings, Horace has described their relations from their introduction to the close of life. He has unconsciously incorporated his idea of friendship, and as one reads all of his writings to and about Maecenas, one feels, to a certain extent, Horace's attitude toward this friend.

The relation was not entered into hastily, nor without necessary caution, and one recalls the advice previously mentioned (Epistle I 18, 76-81). First Horace was commended to Maecenas by Vergil and Varius, then he was invited to a personal interview, and not until nine months later did the invitation come to be one of his friends.

Satire I 6, 45-62

Nunc ad me redeo libertino
patre natum,

quem rodunt omnes libertino
patre natum,

nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas,
convictor, at olim

quod mihi pareret legio
Romana tribuno.

Now I return to myself
born of a freedman father,
whom all

disparage as sprung from
a freedman father; now
because I

am a frequent guest of
yours, but formerly be-
cause, as a

military tribune I was in
command of a Roman legion.

dis simile hoc illi est; quia	The latter case is dif-
non, ut forsit honorem	ferent from the former;
iure mihi inuideat quivis, ita	men might justly envy me
te quoque amicum,	that office, but not so
praesertim cautum dignos ad-	your friendship,
sumere, prava	especially since you are
ambitione procul. felicem dic-	cautious to choose the
ere non hoc	worthy,
me possim, casu quod te sorti-	and men free from distort-
tus amicum:	ed ambition. I cannot call
nulla etenim mihi te fors obtu-	myself
lit; optimus olim	lucky for this, as if by
Vergilius, post hunc Varius	accident chance drew you
dixere quid essem.	for my friend, because
ut veni coram, singultim pauca	no mere fortune offered
locutus	you to me; first, that
(infans namque pudor prohibebat	best of
plura profari)	men, Vergil, and after him
non ego me claro natum patre,	Varius told you who I
non ego circum	was.
me Satureiano vectari rura	As I came into your pres-
caballo,	ence some time ago, stam-
sed quod eram narro. re-	mering(for
spondes, ut tuus est mos,	childish modesty rendered
pauca; abeo, et revocas nono	me speechless),
post mense iubesque	I did not pretend that I
	was sprung from an illus-
	trious father, nor that I
	rode about my estates on
	a Saturenian
	horse, but I told you
	plainly what I really was.
	You reply in
	a few words as is your
	custom, I go away, and
	after the ninth

esse in amicorum numero. mag-	month you recall me and
num hoc ego duco	bid me be in the number
	of your friends.
quod placui tibi qui turpi	I hold it an honor that
secernis honestum,	I pleased you who distin-
	guish worth from unworthi-
non patre praeclaro, sed vita	ness, not by the position
et pectore puro.	of one's father, but by
	his own uprightness of
	character.

In these last three lines Horace show that his joy in the invitation came from the knowledge that Maecenas had recognized his upright life. It was Maecenas's custom to give honor to true worth. Satire I 6, 1-8

Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum	Thou dost not, Oh Maecenas,
quidquid Etruscos	than whom there is not one,
	of all
incoluit finis nemo generosior	the Lydians who inhabit
est te,	the Etruscan fields more
	nobly born
nec quod avus tibi maternus	than thee, whose maternal
fuit atque paternus	and also paternal grand-
	fathers were
olim qui magnis legionibus im-	at one time in command
peritarent,	of great legions, thou
	dost not, I say,
ut plerique solent, naso sus-	as many do, turn up thy
pendis adunco	nose at the men of humble
	origin, like
ignotos, ut me libertino patre	myself, sprung from a freed-
natum.	man father; since thou dost
	say that
cum referre negas quali sit	it makes no difference from
	what parents a man is
quisque parente	
natus, dum ingenuus,	sprung so long as he is a
	man of worth.

There is a division among the commentators of Horace on the translation of *Ingenuus*. Morris* interprets it, freeborn, from which we must believe Maecenas excluded from his friendship anyone, however worthy he may have been, if not freeborn. He says: 'Horace is here dwelling on the liberality of the admission; the exclusion of freedmen seemed to him, as, indeed it well might, a natural limitation.' But the Scholiasts,** Doering, and Jahn view it as answering to the Greek *εὐγενής*, as denoting one who has education, manners, and feelings of a gentleman.*** Horace used the word in exactly this sense when describing the original manner of his writings. Epistle I 19, 33-34

<p>luvat immemorata ferentem <u>ingenuis</u> oculisque legi mani- busque teneri</p>	<p>It delights me as I bring out new productions, to be perused by the eyes and held in the hands of the <u>worthy</u>.</p>
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This meaning of the word was common in his age; Cicero used it thus frequently. When discussing whether a virtuous person would do a deceitful deed because it would be profitable, he said (*De Officiis* III, 57):

* Horace's Satires and Epistles, pp.98-8

** Keller, Otto, *Pseudacronis Scholia in Horatium Vetustiora* p. 74. *ingenuus ad probitatem morum pertinet*

*** Quoted by Keightley Horace Satires and Epistles, p. 59.

Hoc autem celandi genus quali
 sit et cuius hominis, quis non
 non videt? Certe non aperti,
 non simplicis, non ingenui,
 non iusti, non boni, versuti
 potius, obscuri, astuti fallaci-
 cis, malitiosi, callidi, veter-
 atoris, vafri.

Now as to this sort of
 concealment, who does
 not see what kind of a
 man will practice it?
 Certainly, ^{not} an open, not
 a single-minded, not
 an upright, not a just,
 not a good man; but
 rather a wily, close,
 artful, deceitful, knav-
 ish, crafty, double-
 dealing, evasive fellow.

His description of Panaetius is as follows:

De Finibus IV, 23, 10

Itaque homo in primis <u>ingenuus</u> et gravis, dignus illa familiari- tate Scipionis et Laelii, Panae- tius.	Therefore Panaetius - a <u>noble & dignified man,</u> worthy of the intimacy which he enjoyed with Scipio and Laelius.
---	--

There was a freedman in this famous circle of friends, Scipio and Laelius were wise men of high birth, and yet they became most devoted friends to Terence, a freedman formerly brought to Rome from Africa. Maecenas could have found in this friendship a good illustration of his theory in the quotation under discussion.

Since Horace used 'ingenuus' to mean worthy in another satire, and Cicero - a philosopher of his age - also used it in this sense, it is evident this meaning for the word was recognized at that time, therefore one is justified in interpreting it thus in this quotation.

When Horace refuted the right of the throng to envy him his friendship with Maecenas, he furnished another very strong argument that worth was demanded by Maecenas of anyone seeking his friendship. Satire I 6, 49-52

quia non, ut forsit honorem	Although anyone might
Iure mihi inuideat quivis, ita te	justly envy me of that
quoque amicum,	office, not so thy
	friendship.
praesertim cautum dignos adsumere,	Especially as thou art
prava	cautious to admit only
ambitione procul	the worthy, and men
	free from distorted
	ambition

Again, he intimated this cautious selection when he put into the mouth of the Bore. Satire I 9, 44

paucorum hominum et mentis bene	(Maecenas) a man of
sanae	few friends and of very
	sound judgment

Horace scorned even the implication that friendship could be formed for selfish interest, and when the Bore promised to be a secret aid to any intrigue he might plan if in return he should be introduced to Maecenas, Horace retorted in genuine disgust that their friendship would not admit of this, as baseness and jealousy did not exist in Maecenas's home. Satire I 9, 43-52.

'Maecenas quomodo tecum?'	'On what terms do you
hinc repetit. 'paucorum hominum et	now stand with Maecenas?'
mentis bene sanae.'	thus he begins again; 'he
'nemo dexterius fortuna est usus.	is a man of few friends
haberes	and of very sound
	judgment. No one has
	ever made better use of
	his opportunity;
magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre	you will have a great
secundas,	second who can play into
	your hand

<p>hunc hominem velles si tradere. dispeream ni summosses omnis,' 'non isto vivimus illic quo tu rere modo; domus hac ne purior ullast nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit, inquam, ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni cuique suus.'</p>	<p>if you would only see fit to introduce your humble servant; hope to die if you would not shove them all aside in a twinkling.' 'We live there on no such terms as you think, no home is more pure, more free from wicked deeds. It is no source of grief to me I tell you, that another is richer and more learned than I. Each one has his own place to fill.'</p>
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When once he had been admitted into the inner circle of this group of friends, he rapidly established himself there, for it was probably less than a year after his introduction that he made the well-known journey to Brundisium with Maecenas, who had been dispatched thither on a mission affecting a reconciliation between Anthony and Octavius. He and Heliodorus started from Rome together, and met Maecenas and Cocceius at Anxur.

Satire I 5, 27-29.

<p>huc venturus erat Maecenas opti- mus atque Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.</p>	<p>It had been arranged that Maecenas was to come here and with him the excellent Cocceius, both ambassa- dors sent on affairs of great importance, having been accustomed to recon- cile estranged friends.</p>
--	--

Satire I 5, 31-32

iterea Maecenas advenit atque	In the meantime Maecenas
Cocceius Capitoque simul Fonteius,	and
ad unguem	Cocceius came, and with
factus homo, Antoni non ut magis	them was Fonteius Capito,
alter amicus.	a polished gentleman, and
	a very
	warm friend of Anthony.

As the relation between Horace and Heliodorus, Cocceius, and Capito will not be discussed in another place, a digression will be made to say a word about it here. Nothing is known of Heliodorus except what the poet has said in this place and probably this is a friendly over-estimate. Cocceius and Capito both appear to have been men of worth, and one advantage derived from their friendship was their hospitality. Both of these friends had villas on the Appian Way, and they opened them to the entertainment of the party.

Satire I 5, 37-38

In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe	At length worn from
manemus,	our troubles, we re-
Murena praebente domum, Capitone	mained in the city of
culinam.	the Mamurrae,
	Maurena offering his
	home, Capito his kitch-
	en.

Satire I 5, 51-52

Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenis-	Here Cocceius received
sima villa,	us in his well stocked
quae super est Caudi cauponas.	villa
	which is above the inns
	of Caudi.

The intimacy between Maecenas and Horace increased and formed a remarkably strong union. Their relation will be discussed under three of the main elements in friendship:

1) respect, 2) congeniality, and 3) regard.

Respect

It is evident from what has been said before that Maecenas had the greatest respect for Horace, and there is also evidence that this feeling was mutual. Horace respected Maecenas for his attitude toward political honors. He was a man of royal lineage and had the real power of an official, yet he repeatedly declined official position and remained through life a simple 'eques'. By adding the words 'equitum decus' in the following quotation, Horace skillfully suggested that he was imitating his wise benefactor, and by this imitation he did not seek to tower above his fellows, but joined the ranks of the contented. Ode III 16, 18-20

iure perhorru	Oh, Maecenas, glory of
late conspicuum tollere verticem,	the knights, rightly
Maecenas, equitum decus.	have I shrunk from ex-
	alting myself before
	the world's gaze.

He did not deny the charges that he made Damasippus - in the personage of a Stoic philosopher - bring against him of 'aping' after Maecenas, because his imitation implied the feeling of respect that he really entertained for him. Satire II 3, 312-313

an quodcumque facit Maecenas, te	Is it suitable that
quoque verumst,	whatever Maecenas does,
	you, so
tantum dissimilem, et tanto certare	unlike him, so much
minorem?	inferior, should vie
	with him?

He showed this same respect in a similar way when he represented his slave as taunting him that when bidden to Maecenas's home at a very late hour, he rushed about in preparation for this unexpected invitation, leaving some guests he had previously invited to dine with him. To be sure these words are said in ridicule, nevertheless they represent his admiration for Maecenas. Satire II 7, 32-35

iusserit ad se	Should Maecenas bid you
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima	come, be a guest at his
venire	table when the hour is so
	late that the first lamps
	are lighted, you
convivam: 'nemon oleum fert	rush about exclaiming,
ocius? ecquis	'Won't some one bring the
	oil quickly?
audit?' cum magno blateras	Won't some one listen?'
clamore fugisque.	You bluster about and off
	you go.

Such titles as 'dilecte Maecenas' *Ide II 20, 7; 'Maecenas docte' Epistle I 19, 1; and 'docte sermones utriusque linguae' Ode III 8, 5 while they are mere titles of address, nevertheless contain a suggestion of admiration. One can hardly believe that Horace would invariably have used adjectives of this kind when speaking of Maecenas if he had not had the greatest respect for him.

Congeniality

These two men first found community of interest in literature, but this extended later to the most commonplace things, even to the cuisine. It is noticeable in the easy familiar style he used when he invited Maecenas to a celebration on the kalends of March. This was the day of the Matron-

* These words 'quem vocas dilecte Maecenas' are taken in two ways:
1) 'Whom thou, O Maecenas, dost call Dear friend; 2) 'Whom thou,

alia and also the anniversary of his escape from death by that falling tree; and so he hastened to explain to Maecenas why he, a bachelor, was celebrating on that day. He prayed him come and even in his humble position felt free to advise this man of power to cease anxiety and enjoy himself. The familiar tone expressed by the imperative and by the limitless number of cups he bade him drink shows the lack of any formality. Ode III 8, 1-5; 13-17; 25-29.

Martiis calebs quid agam Kalendis	O, Maecenas, learned
quid velint flores et acerra turis	in the lore of either
plena miraris positusque carbo in	tongue, dost thou wonder
caespitem vivo,	what I, a bachelor, am do-
docte sermones utriusque linguae.	ing on the Kalends of
	March; what mean these
	flowers, and the
	incense filled with in-
	cense and laid on an
	altar of green turf?

sume, Maecenas, cyathos amici	Come take a hundred cups
sospitis centum, et vigilantes lucer-	in honor of thy friend's
nas	escape and carry on the
	sleepless lanterns to
	the dawn. Far
perfer in lucem; procul omnis esto	distant be clamor and
clamor et ira	anger. Lay aside a
mitte civilis super urbe curas:	statesman's anxieties
	for the city.

neglegens ne qua populus laboreat,	Away with care, be a pri-
parce privatus nimium cavere et	ate citizen, spare thy
dona praesentis cape laetus horae:	over-anxiety lest in any
linque severa.	way the people should take
	harm. Joyfully take the
	gifts of the present hour
	and leave serious af-
	fairs.

Again when inviting him to his Sabine farm, he did not deem

O dear Maecenas, dost call'.

it unbecoming to bid the worn man of state lay aside planning and worrying over national problems, and come to drink the wine long ago stored up for him by the poet's own hand. In the form of his words - the imperatives and the personal pronoun, tu- he approached the closest familiarity. Ode III 29, 1-16; 25-28; 32-33.

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
non ante verso lene merum cado
cum flore, Maecenas, rosarum et
 pressa tuis balanus capillis
iamdudum apud me est: eripe te
 morae,
ne semper udum Tibur et Aefulae
 declive contempleris arvum et
 telegoni iuga parricidae.
fastidiosam desere copiam et
molem propinquam nubibus arduis;
 omite mirari beatae
 fumum et opes strepitumque
 Romae.

O, Maecenas, Scion of
Etruscan kings, long hast
there been in my home
expressly for thee
some wine in a cask as
yet unbroached, with
choicest roses, and per-
fumes for thy hair. Tear
thyself away from any-
thing that may delay thee;
be not ever gazing wist-
fully at well-watered
Tiber, and the sloping
fields of Aefula, and the
summits of the parricide
telegonus. Quit the
plenty that but palls,

and the palace that
towers to the clouds; cease
to admire the wealth, the
smoke, the might, and the
roar of Rome.

plerumque gratae divitibus vices, A change is often pleasing
mundaeque parvo sub lare pauperum to the rich, and a simple
 meal
cenae sine aulaeis et ostro beneath the roof of the
 poor, devoid though it may
sollicitam explicuere frontem, be of hangings, has removed
the wrinkles from the brow
of care.

tu civitatem quis deceat status
curas et urbi sollicitus times

quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque dis-
cors.

Thy concern is for what
policies may become the state,
and anxious for the city thou
dost dread the plots of the
Seres and Bactria where Cyrus
ruled and the disagreeing
Tanais.

quod adest memento
componere aequus:

Be mindful to make the
best of the present.

There is one more ode in this strain: it was written to call
his patron to institute a thanksgiving banquet for the great
victory of Actium. Epode IX, 1-10

Quando repostum Caecubum ad fes-
tus dapes
victore laetus Caesare
tecum sub alta (sic lovi gratum)
domo,
beate Maecenas, bibam
sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,
hac Dorium, illis barbarum:
ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
dux fugit ustis navibus
minatus urbi vincla, quae dextrax-
erat
servis amicus perfidis.

When, blest Maecenas, shall
I overjoyed at
Caesar's victory
drink with thee beneath
thy
stately roof (so pleaseth
Jove),
the Caecuban stored away
for festal occasions, while
the lyre, breathing forth a
melody, blends with the flute,
that a Doric lay, these in
Phrygian strain. As recently
when the Neptunian leader,
driven from the main, and
his navy burned, fled after
threatening the city with the
very chains, he, as a friend,
had taken from the faithless
serfs.

Horace and Maecenas are on such intimate terms that
Horace felt free to go into Maecenas's presence at any time un-
announced. Satire I 3, 63-66.

simplicior quis et est, qualem me	Again is one more thoughtless
saepe libenter	to such a degree as I-when
obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut	often
forte legentem	in my eagerness; without
aut tacitum inpellat quovis ser-	reflection, I have intruded
mone : 'molestus;	myself upon you, Mae-
communi sensu plane caret,' in-	cenas -
quimus.	so as perchance to interrupt
	anyone while reading or in
	silent thought.
	We say he certainly lacks
	tact.

Can anything better illustrate the easy footing on which he stood with his patron than the sportive Epode on garlic. Horace was a man of weak stomach (Satire I 5, 7-8); he had evidently eaten something seasoned with garlic at Maecenas's table, which had disagreed with him. He treated the occurrence as a joke of his host and satirized him for it in a humorous diatribe against garlic. 'Garlic should be substituted for hemlock in the punishment of parricides. It is poison - very viper's blood, some decoction of Canidia - the very drug which Medea used to prevent the bulls from touching Jason, and to destroy Creusa. Let the host go unrewarded by his maiden's kiss if he ever serve such a dish again.' (Epode III, 1-20).

Where could be found closer familiarity if Terrentia, the wife of Maecenas, is referred to in the Licymnia of the following lines. Horace had evidently been asked by Maecenas to compose an ode on some national theme, some subject in which the deeds of Augustus might be introduced as a climax. He refused to do this, and attempted to make atonement by writing a poem on Licymnia as a theme more befitting his lyre.

Ode II 12, 1-4; 13-28

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum
mare
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis,

Thou certainly wouldst not
desire the long wars of sav-
age Numantia, or the dread
Hannibal, or the Sicilian
sea impurpled with Carthagin-
ian blood, to be set to the
lyre's gentle measures.

me dulcis dominae Musa Licymniae
cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
fulgentis oculos et bene mutuis
fidum pectus amoribus;

quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit
choris

nec certare ioco nec dare bracchia
ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro

Dianae celebris die.

num tu quae tenuit dives Achaemenes
aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
permutare velis crine Licymniae,

plenas aut Arabum domos,

cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
cervicem, aut facili saevitia

negat

quae, poscente, magis gaudeat eripi,
interdum rapere occupet?

It was the will of the Muses
that I sing the sweet strains
of 'The Queen Licymnia';
that I should celebrate her
brightly sparkling eyes and
her faithful heart full of
love, happy and mutual.

who can with a grace intro-
duce her foot into the dance,
or, sporting, contend in
raillery,

join arms with the virgins
in festal attire on the

sacred day that fills

Diana's temple.

would'st thou for Mydon's
wealth in fertile Phrygia,
or for all the riches Achae-
menes possessed, or even for
Arabia's full homes, barter

one lock of Licymnia's tresses?

Especially when she turns her
neck to meet thy ardent kisses,
or with yielding sternness
refuses them which, for all
that, even more than her
suitor, she loves to have stolen
from her, and sometimes is
herself the first to
snatch.

There are many evidences of the congeniality of these two men in their aesthetic natures. They found community of interest in literature. The support which Maecenas gave to literature is well known, and Horace alluded to him as a writer of historical prose. Ode II 12, 9-13.

tuque pedestribus
dices historiis proelia Caesaris,
Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias
regum colla minacium.

And thou thyself, Maecenas,
shalt recount better in
historical prose, the bat-
tles of Caesar and the
kings with chains about
their neck led through the
streets of Rome.

Probably in no way is the congeniality between these men better portrayed than in the harmony of their philosophical thoughts. They meditate together as one man with himself, and are interested in the same things. Life and its philosophy has a charm for them, and they are found discussing the discontent of man and his mad race for wealth. Satire I 1, 1-3.

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam
sibi sortem
seu ratio dederit seu fors obie-
cerit, illa
contentus vivat, laudet diversa
sequentis?

How does it happen, Maecenas,
that no one lives content
with that lot which choice
has assigned him or chance
has thrown in his way, but
every one praises the lot of
those following different
pursuits.

Horace felt their similarity of thought and training when he said: 'If the vulgar sometimes by chance act right', or in other words 'can see below the surface, how ought we, who have our minds elevated and refined by culture and philosophy, be able to see still more deeply into the truth.' (Satire I 6, 17-18).

Regard

There is much evidence of their regard and affection for each other; and it was when expressing his love for Maecenas that Horace wrote some of his finest odes. Early in 31 B.C., just before the battle of Actium, Octavian summoned the leading senators and men of equestrian rank to discuss the situation before he crossed to Epirus for the final struggle with Anthony (Dion Cassius 50, 11). Naturally Maecenas went, and from the following Epode, it is evident that he expected to go to the battle with his chief. Horace gives here an affectionate remonstrance with his patron, assures him of his own devotion and willingness to share every danger, pleading the unhappiness and anxiety he would suffer if separated from him, while deprecating the suspicion of any selfish motive. Epode I, 1-16.

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
amice, propugnacula,
paratus omne Caesaris periculum
subire, Maecenas, tuo:

quid nos, quibus te vita si super-
stite

iucunda, si contra, gravis:
utrumne iussi persequemur otium,
non dulce, ni tecum simul,
an hunc laborem mente laturi
decet

qua ferre non mollis viros?
feremus, et te vel per Alpium
iuga

Thou art then going, dear
Maecenas, with Liburnian
galleys among the
lofty battlemented ships
resolved at thine own
peril to share all
Caesar's dangers.

what shall I do to whom
life is pleasing if thou
dost survive, but otherwise,
burdensome.
whither shall I, at thy
bidding
consign myself to a life
of ease
which hath no pleasure if
not

shared by thee, or go to
bear this danger with a
hardy soldier's heart? I
shall go and with daunt-
less

inhospitalem et Caucasum,
 vel occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
 forti sequemur pectore?
 roges tuum labore quid iuven meo.
 inbellis ac firmus parum?
 comes minore sum futurus in metu,
 qui maior absentis habet,

soul follow thee through
 the Alpine peak and the
 inhospitable Caucasus, or
 to the furthest western
 nook. And shouldst thou
 ask, how I, unwarlike
 and infirm, could aid thy
 labors by mine, I shall
 be in less anxiety, which
 takes stronger possession
 of the absent.

There is a tone of tender affection in the lines in which he invited Phyllis to come drink with him on the Ides of April - the month of Venus - but above all the birthday of Maecenas 'more sacred to me than my own' (Ode IV 11, 12-20). The affection shown here is of chief value in studying their friendship, because it is the only reference to Maecenas in the fourth book of the Odes, and since the coolness between the Emperor and the Minister had probably sprung up at this time, his name could hardly be mentioned in a book written specially at Augustus's request. It is highly suggestive to find even this single reference, couched as it is in the language of genuine affection; such warmth shows that no shadow had fallen on the friendship between Horace and his patron. Epode XIV, 1-8

Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit
 imis
 oblivionem sensibus,
 pocula Lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos
 arente fauce traxerim,
 candide Maecenas, occidis saepe ro-
 gando;

Thou dost pester me, my
 noble
 Maecenas, by frequently
 inquiring
 why this soft indolence
 has diffused
 so great an oblivion on
 my inmost senses,
 as if I had quaffed with

deus deus nam me vetat
 inceptos olim, promissum carmen,
 iambo
 ad umbilicum adducere.

parched throat, the cups
 that bring on Lethean slum-
 bers; for it is god, god I
 tell thee who prohibits me
 from bringing to the end
 of the scroll the lays pro-
 mised- those iambs begun.

There is probably no time in which friends are drawn more closely together than when death seems to be approaching; at such a time affection shows itself in true sincerity. Horace and Maecenas had this experience, and one feels that the sympathy and affection between them is ideal. Maecenas was a confirmed invalid, suffering from fever and insomnia, * and as is usually the case, he had a passionate attachment for life, which made his frequent sicknesses occasions of gloomy forebodings.** At this time, however, Horace may have felt anxiety for his friend, because his heart seems to have been moved to its very depths;

* Plinius Naturalis Historiae VII 51 Quibusdam perpetua febris est, sicut C. Maecenati. Eidem triennio supremo, nullo horae momento contiget somnus.

**Maec. apud Sen. Ep. 101, 11

'Debilem facito manu
 debilem pede, coxa,
 tuber adstrue gibberum,
 lubricos quate dentes;
 vita dum superest, bene est.
 Hanc mihi vel acuta,
 si sedeam, cruce, sustine.

and his sympathy and affection well out in words, the pathos of which is still as fresh as the day they first came with comfort to the saddened spirits of Maecenas himself. The complaint sounded forth in such a word as *exanimas* gave Maecenas proof of his regard for him. Horace declared that they must pass into the vast unknown together, because he could not live with one half of himself gone. Here one recognizes Horace's conception of the perfect assimilation of true friends. He said that the fates had decreed their union, the gods had guarded it, and he recalled their common escape from immediate death, for which thank offerings were still due. Ode II 17, 1-32

Cur me querellis exanimas tuis?	Why dost thou kill me with
nec dis amicum est nec mihi te	thy boding fears? It is not
prius	pleasing to the Gods that
obire, Maecenas, mearum	thou dost pass away before me,
grande decus columenque re-	dear Maecenas, thou grand
rum.	ornament and support of my
a. <u>te meae si partem animae rapit</u>	affairs.
maturior vis, quid moror altera,	Alas, if an untimely blast
nec carus aequae nec <u>superstes</u>	snatch thee off, the <u>part of my</u>
<u>integer</u> ? Ille dies utramque	<u>life</u> , why should <u>I</u> , the other
ducet ruinam. non ego perfidum	<u>part remain</u> no longer dear to
dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus	myself as before thou wert
utcumque praecedes, supremum	snatched away, nor remaining a
carpere iter comites parati.	<u>complete whole</u> ? That day shall
me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae,	bring with it destruction to
nec si resurgat centimanus Gyas	us both. I have taken a soldier's
divellet unquam; sic potenti	oath and I will not break it.
	We shall go, we shall go, when-
	soever thou dost lead the way
	prepared to trod the last sad
	journey together.
	Me, neither the breath of the
	fiery Chimaera, nor hundred
	handed Gyas should he rise
	again shall never tear from
	thee; thus it is pleasing to
	powerful Justice and the Fates.

Iustitiae placitumque Parcis.
 seu libra seu me scorpios adspicit
 formidulosus, pars violentior
 natalis horae, seu tyrannus

Hesperiae capricornus undae,
 utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
 consentit astrum. te Jovis in pio
 tutela Saturno refulgens

eripuit volucrisque fati
 tardavit alas, cum populus frequens
 laetum theatri ter crepiuit sonum:

me truncus inlapsus cerebro
 sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
 dextra levasset, Mercurialium
 custos virorum. reddere victimas
 aedemque votivam memento;
 nos humilem feriemus agnam.

It matters not whether
 Libra or fierce Scorpio
 had the ascendent influence
 at my natal hour, or
 Capricorn, the blustering
 tyrant of the Western deep,
 our horoscopes agree in
 a wonderful manner. Thee,
 the benign
 protection of Jupiter flash-
 ing out rescued from impious
 Saturn and retarded the
 wings of swift flying fate,

when the thronging populace

thrice made their joyous

applause echo through the
 theatres; while me the
 trunk of a tree, falling
 upon my head, had carried
 off, had not Faunus, guar-
 dian of men and of song,
 with his right hand warded
 off the blow. Remember

to duly pay the victims
 and the votive temple: I
 will sacrifice an humble
 lamb.

In the portrayal of this friendship, there has not been any discussion thus far about the element of advantage. That there was advantage cannot be denied, and while worth has been shown to have been the basis, it is also a part of the purpose of this study to find in what degree advantage entered into their relation. The suggestion that advantage was a dominant consideration in the formation of friendship, was abhorred by Horace, and he set forth his view in a most striking manner by putting into the mouth of the Bore such an insinuation. This gave him opportunity to speak his own views. satire I 9, 43-52

'Maecenas quomodo tecum?'
 hinc repetit. paucorum hominum et
 mentis bene sanae.'
 'nemo dexterius fortuna est usus.
 haberes
 magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre
 secundas,
 hunc hominem velles si tradere.
 dispeream ni
 summosses omnis.' 'non isto vivi-
 mus illic
 quo tu rere modo: domus hac nec
 purior ullast
 nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi
 officit, inquam,
 ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est
 locus uni
 cuique suus.'

'How goes it with you
 and Maecenas?' he began
 again. 'He is a man of few
 friends and of very sound
 judgement, no one has ever
 made a better use of his
 opportunities.
 You would have a good sec-
 ond who should be able
 to play into your hands
 if you would only see fit
 to introduce your humble
 servant, I hope to die if
 you would not shove them
 all aside in a twinkling.
 'We do not live there on
 any such terms as you
 think; no home is more
 pure, more free from such
 evils. I tell you it is
 no grief to me that anyone
 is more wealthy, more learn-
 ed than I; everyone has his
 own place to fill.'

When, however the feeling of affection is deep, then advantages naturally come. Horace wrote some of his most affectionate odes to Maecenas, and cheered him when disheartened, which was the greatest service Maecenas, because of his temperament, could have received; while he himself was made happy by the gift of the Sabine farm. He alluded many times to the kindness of Maecenas, and avowed that he found his greatest contentment when in residence at his Sabine farm. Ode II 18, 11-14

nihil supra	For nothing more do I assail
deos laceSSo nec potentem amicum	the gods or my powerful
largiora flagito,	friend, completely happy
satis beatus unicus Sabinis.	in my own dear Sabine farm.

Horace realized that he gained many advantages by his friendship with Maecenas, and gratefully mentioned some of them in his writings: 1) the gift of his Sabine farm, 2) Maecenas's protection, and 3) the distinction conferred by having the friendship of so eminent a man. Ode I 1-2

Maecenas atavis edite regibus,	O Maecenas, sprung from
o et praesidium et dulce decus	royal lineage, my protector,
meum:	my delight, and my pride.

One sees a warmth of feeling in this that could not have been there if the friendship had been formed just for the help and the pleasure that is acknowledged. Respect and affection is felt to be permeating it, also. Ode II 17, 3-4

mearum	thou great honor and
grande decus columnenque rerum.	pillar of my affairs

Epistle I 1, 103

rerum tutela mearum	thou guardian of my fortunes
---------------------	------------------------------

What is of more service to a person than a friend on whose judgment he can depend and who will give kindly, sympathetic criticism in such a manner that it leads to improvement and self-confidence? It was just this aid and support to his writings that Horace received from Maecenas and his other literary friends. Satire I 10, 81-90

Plotius et Varius, Maecenas
 Vergiliusque,
 Valgius et probet haec Octa-
 vius optimus atque
 Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum
 laudet uterque.
 ambitione relegata te dicere
 possum,
 Pollio, te, Messala, tuo cum
 fratre, simulque
 vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his
 te, candide Furni,
 conpluris alios, doctos ego
 quos et amicos
 prudens praetereo; quibus haec,
 sunt qualiacumque,
 adridere velim, doliturus si
 placeant spe
 deterius nostra.

May Plotius and Varius, Mae-
 cenas and Vergil, Valgius
 and Octavius approve these
 Satires, and the most excel-
 lent Fuscus likewise. I
 could wish that the Visci
 also would mingle their
 praises; dismissing flattery
 I may mention you, too, Mes-
 sala, together with your bro-
 ther, and likewise you, Bibu-
 lus and Servius; together
 with these you, Oh honest Fur-
 nius; and many others who,
 though good critics and friends,
 I intentionally omit - to whom
 I could wish these Satires to
 be pleasing; and I should be
 disheartened should they satis-
 fy in a degree less than I
 expected.

He expressed a similar wish in his odes, and hoped
 that his achievement in Latin lyric might be regarded by his
 patron as making him worthy the ranks of the lyric bards.

Ode I 1, 35-36

quod si me lyricis vatibus
 inseris,
 sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

But if thou dost rank me
 among the lyric poets, I
 shall strike the stars with
 head sublime.

However, advantage was a very minor strain in Horace's conception of friendship. When he and Maecenas had long been friends, he resented any intimation that the advantage he had gained from his patron should in any way affect their regard for each other. Maecenas was conscious of his wealth and power, and it is not unnatural that at times he should have felt irritation at a seeming hint of independence on the part of one for whom he had done so much. But a broad-minded man like Maecenas could not long entertain this thought; yet at such a time he had evidently written to Horace, who was then in the country, reminding him of his promise to return sooner, and probably of his obligation to his benefactor. Horace replied with admirable independence and candor, and yet with most friendly consideration for the feelings of his patron. It was a difficult position, but Horace treated it as his idea of friendship demanded; he acknowledged the favors he had received from Maecenas, but declared that rather than lose his own independence in the slightest degree, he would forego the gifts of his friend, - dear as they were and grateful as he must have been for them. It was undoubtedly received by Maecenas with generous cordiality, since it was published and since there seems no indication that their friendship was lessened. Epistle I 7, 1-5, 15, 24-28, 34-39

Quinque dies tibi pollicitus me	Having promised you that I
rure futurum,	should be in the country but
sextilem totum mendax desideror.	five days, untrue to my word
atque,	I allow myself to be missed
si me vivere vis sanum recteque	throughout the entire month

valentem,
quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegro-
tare timenti,
Maecenas, veniam, -----

of August. And yet if you
would have me live in good
health and vigor, you will
grant me the indulgence when
I fear being sick that you
do when I am sick.

tu me fecisti lacupletem -----

You have made me rich.

dignum praestabo me etiam pro
laude merentis.
quodsi me noles usquam discedere,
reddes
forte latus, nigros angusta
fronte capillos,
reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere
decorum et
inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere
protervae

I, too will show that I am
worthy of your bounty. But if
you are unwilling that I should
ever go away, you must restore
my broad chest, and the black
locks on my narrow forehead,
you must restore to me the
power to speak pleasantly; you
must restore to me the power
of laughing becomingly, and
to mourn over my cups at the
flight of the wanton.

hac ego si compellor imagine,
cuncta resigno;
nec somnum plebis laudo satur
altilium, nec
otia divitiis Arabum liberrima
muto.

If you mean me by that illus-
tration, I resign all; neither
do I, sated with delicacies,
praise the repose of the com-
mon throng, nor would I
change my peace and freedom
for the wealth of Arabia.
Often have you praised me for
my modesty; in your presence,
you have been called king and
father, nor am I a word less

saepe verecundum laudasti, rex-
que paterque
audisti coram, nec verbo parcus
absens;

profuse in your absence. Try
and see whether I can give
back your gifts, and with-

inspice si possum donata re- out repining, too.
ponere laetus.

Conclusion

From the material available, the conclusion may be drawn that there existed between these two men a friendship of deep affection, based upon a recognition of worth and community of interest, and that mutual advantage resulted.

LITERARY FRIENDS

It is natural to expect that men of the same vocation will form the closest friendships; they are capable of deeper sympathy, and have more ability for helpful criticism. Sometimes, however, competition is so strong that instead of this feeling of friendly helpfulness, there arises one of bitter envy and jealousy. But Horace had a kindly and affectionate nature that won him a place in the hearts of his contemporaries, and he numbers among his friends almost all of the literary men of his age. It is true that he is bitter in his hatred of some spurious writers, but as their fame could only have been for a short time if at all, one readily suspects that he may have been justified in his feeling.

It was when protesting against the judgment of such critics as these that a goodly number of his literary friends are complimented. Satire I 10, 78-90

men moveat cimex Pantilius aut	Shall that reptile Pantilius
cruciet quod	bother me, or can it disturb
	me that Demetrius censures
vellicet absentem Demetrius aut	me behind my back, or because
quod ineptus	the pedantic Fannius, that
Fannius Hermogenis laedat con-	parasite of Tigellius Hermo-
viva Tigelli?	genes vexes me?
Plotius et Varius, Maecenas	May Plotius and Varius, Mae-
Vergiliusque,	cenas and Vergil, Valgius
Valgius et probet haec Octavius	and Octavius approve these
optimus atque	satires, and the most excel-
Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum	lent Fuscus likewise. I
laudet uterque.	could wish that the Visci

ambitione relegata te dicere	also would mingle their
possum,	praises; dismissing flattery
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum	I may mention you, too, Mes-
fratre, simulque	salla, together with your bro-
vos, Bibule et servi, simul his	ther, and likewise you, Bibu-
te, candide Furni,	lus and Servius; together
conpluris alios, doctos ego quos	with these you, Oh honest Fur-
et amicos	nus; and many others who,
prudens praetereo: quibus haec,	though good critics and friends,
sunt qualiacumque,	I intentionally omit - to whom
adridere velim, doliturus si	I could wish these Satires to
placeant spe	be pleasing, and I should be
deterius nostra.	disheartened should they satis-
	fy in less degree than I
	expected.

Horace expressed in this indirect way much of the regard he had for their literary judgment. Many of these men are alluded to in other places in his writings, but this is the only reference to Octavius, Servius, Bibulus and Furnius. It places them, however, in the list of his friends, but it gives no idea of the measure of their affection. As the friendship between Maecenas and Horace has been discussed, no further reference need be given here.

Vergil

The relation between Vergil and Horace is one of deep affection. Horace recognized Vergil as a poet of worth, and even before he had written his Aeneid, or before his Georgics were published, Horace said of him (Satire I 10, 44-45)

molle atque facetum	The muse that loves the rural
Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rurescenes	has loaned to Vergil
camenae;	its most delicate, tender
	charm.

When he wrote to Augustus concerning the selection of a poet to sing his praises, he lauded the writings of Vergil and Varius as having done honor to their emperor. Epistle II 1, 24b-247

at neque dedecorant tua de se	Vergil and Varius, thy
iudicia atque	beloved poets, do no discredit
munera quae multa dantis cum	to thy judgments and re-
laude tulerunt	wards which they receive
dilecti tibi Vergilius Varius-	with much credit to the
que poetae,	giver.

It was of Plotius, Varius, and Vergil that Horace said, 'they were sould than which never did the earth produce purer.' This is a recognition of virtue or worth as an element to unite friends. Candidiores is used here in the sense of purer, more free from stain. Satire I 5, 40-44

Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Ver-	Plotius, and Varius, and Ver-
giliusque	gil met us at Sinuessae, souls
occurrunt, animae quales neque	than which the earth has pro-
candidiores	duced none purer, and no other is
terra tulit neque quis me sit	more devoted to them than I.
devinctior alter.	What embraces and what joy
o qui complexus et gaudia quanta	was there! While I am in my
ferunt!	right senses, I shall hold

nil ego contulerim iucundo
sanus amico.

nothing dearer than a
pleasing friend.

In none of his writings was Horace more gentle than when he addressed the ship that was to conduct Vergil to Greece.

Vergil was of weak constitution (Satire I 5, 48-49), and doubtless Horace felt that he might never see this one he loved so dearly again. There is true pathos in the separation.

Ode I 3, 1-8

sic te diva potens Cypri,
sic fratres Helenae, lucida
sidera,
ventorumque regat pater
obstrictis aliis praeter
Iapyga,
navis, quae tibi creditum
debes Vergilium, finibus
Atticis:
reddas incolumem precor
et serves animae dimidium
meae.

On condition that thou dost
return Vergil safe to Attic
shores, and preserve the
half of my soul, may the
goddess who rules over Cy-
press, the brothers of Helen,
bright constellation, and the
father who tempers the winds,
keeping all except Iapyga
bound, direct thy course, Oh
ship, to whom Vergil has been
entrusted.

In this is expressed the zenith of friendship, there is no thought of self; one seems to have been the complement of the other, the two are merged into one.

The ode lamenting the death of their common friend, Quintilius shows Horace's affection for Vergil, whose grief seemed to have been excessive, and his consolation has a remarkable delicacy in it. Ode I 24, 1-12

quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
tam cari capitis? praecipe lugu-
bris

cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam
pater

vocem cum cithara dedit.

ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
urget? cui Pudor Iustitiae soror,
incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas

quando ullum inveniet parem!

multis ille bonis flebilis occi-
dit,

nulli flebilior quam tibi, Vergili.

tu frustra plus, heu, non ita credi-
tum

poscis Quintilium deos.

Oh Melpomene, to whom thy
father hast given a clear-
toned voice together with
the lyre. And so the
sleep that knows no waking
lies heavily upon Quinti-
lius. When shall Modesty,
and incorruptible Faith,
the sister of Justice, and
undisguised Truth ever find
his like again? He is
mourned by many good men,
but by none more than thee,
O Vergil; vainly devout,
thou claimest from the Gods
Quintilius, entrusted to
them on no such terms.

In so perfect a friendship there must necessarily
have been a proportionately great degree of advantage. They
received much enjoyment from each other's society; they assisted
each other in their literary efforts by kindly criticism. It
was to Vergil that Horace owed his introduction to Maecenas.
Satire I 6, 52-55

felicem dicere non hoc
me possim, casu quod te sortitus
amicum:
nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit;
optimus olim

Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere
quid essem.

I cannot call myself lucky
on this account, as if by
accident chance drew you
my friend, for no mere for-
tune bore you to me; first
that best of men, Vergil,
after him, Varius, told
you who I was.

The other literary friends whom he complimented in the first quotation are Plotius, Varius, Valgius, The Visci, and Messala. He has attributed to some of these the honor of being masters in their style of writing. satire I 10, 36-45

turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum

Memnona dumque

diffingit Rheni luteam caput, haec

ego ludo,

quae neque in aede sonent certan-

tia iudice Tarpa

nec redeant iterum atque iterum

spectanda theatris.

arguta meretrice potes Davoque

Chremeta

eludente senem comis garrere

libellos

unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio

regum

facta canit pede ter percusso; forte

epos acer

ut nemo Varius ducit, molle atque

facetum

Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure

camenae:

While bombastical Alpinus

slaughters Memnon and

while he fashions the muddy mouth of the Rhine, I amuse myself with these (satires), which cannot

resound in contest in the temple, with Tarpa as judge, nor be repeated again and again as plays

in the theatres. You, Fundanius, of all men living are the only one

who can rattle off witty tales elegantly, how an artful courtesan and a

Davus deceive an old Chremeta; Pollio sings the deeds of kings in iambic trimeter the

lofty spirit of varius

fashions the powerful

epic as no one else can

do; to Vergil the muse

that loves the rural

scenes has loaned her

tenderest charms.

Pollio

In an ode dedicated to Pollio, Horace has skillfully woven in the various accomplishments and merits of this great

man. He was, as Maecenas, a patron of literature and he did a great service for the world. From the spoils of his Dalmatian campaign he established a library of Greek and Latin works, with busts of authors, and then threw it open to the people - it was the first public library in Rome. The respect and regard Horace had for him is realized from these lines. Ode II 1, 10-16

mox ubi publicas	When thou shalt have set in
res ordinariis, grande munus	order the history of the state,
Cecropio repetes coturno,	thou shalt resume thy glorious
insigne maestis praesidium reis	task on the Cecropian buskin,
et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,	O thou illustrious safeguard
cui laurus aeternos honores	to anxious defendants and to
Delmatico peperit triumpho.	the senate in its deliberations;
	thou, O Pollio, to whom laurel
	produced immortal honors in the
	Dalmatian triumph.

The Viscus and Varius

Horace expressed in an indirect way his close relation to Viscus and Varius when he had the Bore declare that he would be a better friend than they. Satire I 9, 22-23

'si bene me novi, non Viscum	As sure as I know myself, you
pluris amicum,	will not esteem Viscus and
non Varium facies:	Varius a better friend than me.

It is evident that Viscus must have been an intimate friend, and in the first quotation of this section, he and his brother are both mentioned as friends of whose esteem he was proud. One of these was a guest at the dinner given by Nasidienus, the satirical description of which was reported by Fundanius. The arrangement of the guests at the table will show the group of friends

that were invited to dine together. Satire II 8, 20-22

'summus ego, et prope me Viscus	First was myself, and next
Thurinus, et infra,	to me Thurinus; and below,
si memini, Varius; cum Servilio	if I remember rightly, Varius;
Balatrone	then Vibidius together with
Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat	Servilius Balatro, whom Mae-
umbras;	cenas brought along as shadows.

It was to this Varius as well as to Vergil that Horace owed gratitude for his introduction to Maecenas (Satire I 6, 52-55): his affection for him was strong, and he recognized in him a poet of merit. This friend was one of that group who made the journey to Brundisium together, and of whom Horace said that the earth had produced no purer souls. Many times did Horace praise his writings: Satire I 10, 43-44

forte epos acer	The lofty spirit of Varius
ut nemo Varius ducit	fashions the powerful epic.

Epistle II 1, 245-247

at neque dedecorant tua de se	Vergil and Varius, thy be-
iudicia atque	loved poets do no discredit
munera quae multa dantis cum	to thy judgments and rewards
laude tulerunt	which they receive with much
dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque	credit to the giver.
poetae,	

and when honoring Agrippa's request to be celebrated in his poetry: Ode I 6, 1-2

Scriberis Vario fortis et hos-	Thou shalt be written of by
tium	Varius, bird of Maeonian song,
victor Maeonii carminis aliti,	as brave and a conqueror of thy
	foe.

His affection for Valgius is understood from the manner in which he attempted to draw him from his sorrow. It is different from his lines to Vergil at the death of Quintilius, but Horace understood Valgius's temperament and realized that he required logical reasoning rather than sympathy to draw him from his grief. He wrote him thus Ode II 9, 1-24

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
manant in agros aut mare Caspium
vexant inaequales procellae

usque, nec Armeniis in oris,
amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
mensis per omnis aut aquilonibus
querceta Gargani laborant

et foliis viduantur orni:
tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi vespero

surgente decedunt amores

nec rapidum fugiente solem.
at non ter aevo functus amabilem
ploravit omnis Antilochum senex
annos, nec inpubem parentes

Troilon aut aut Phrygiae sorores
flevere semper: desine mollium
tandem querellarum, et potius nova
cantemus Augusti tropaea

Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten,
Medumque flumen gentibus additum
victis minores volvere vertices,

Showers do not forever fall
from the clouds upon the
shaggy fields, nor do the
fitful squalls continually
harass the Caspian Sea, nor
does the lifeless ice stand
stiff throughout all the
months on the Armenian
shores, Friend Valgius; nor
do the Garganian oaks
strain beneath the north
winds and the ash be for-
ever widowed of their leaves.
Yet thou dost pursue un-
weariedly with mournful
measures thy Mystes snatched
away, nor does thy love for
him abate at the rising of
Vesper, or when he flies

the rapid approach of the sun.

But the aged man who had pas-
sed through three generations
did not mourn Antilochus,
though so lovable, nor did

the parents and the Phrygian
sisters ever lament Troilus,
though cut off in the bloom
of his youth. Cease then,
these womanish laments, and
rather let us sing the new
trophies of Augustus.
Ceasar and the stiff frozen
Niphates, and that the Per-
sian stream added to the
conquered tribes rolls its
eddy waves less proudly,

intraque praescriptum Gelonos
exiguus equitare campis.

and the Geloni within fixed
limits career over their nar-
rowed plain.

FUSCUS

From the anecdote of the caprice of Fusus in the Bore scene, it is evident Horace appreciated his sense of humor.

Satire I 9, 60-74

haec dum agit ecce

Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus

et illum

qui pulchre nosset. consistimus.

'unde venis et

quo tendis?' rogat et respondet.

vellere coepi,

et pressare manu lentissima brac-

chia, nutans,

distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet.

male salsus

ridens dissimulare, meum iecur urere

bilis.

'certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui

te

atebas mecum.' 'memini benenssed

meliori

tempore dicam: hodie tricesima sabbata:

vin tu

curtis Iudaeis oppedere?' 'nulla mihi'

inquam

'relligio est.' 'at mi: sum paullo in-

While he (the Bore) is rattling along thus, behold Aristius Fuscus meets us, a dear friend of mine, and one perfectly well acquainted with my companion. We stop: 'Where did you come from and whither are you going is asked and answered. I began to pull his toga and to pinch his unresponsive arm, nodding and twisting my eyes to have him rescue me. The wicked wag laughs and feigns ignorance; my very blood boiled. I am sure you were saying that you wished to speak to me in private about something. 'I remember well, but I'll tell you at a more opportune time; today is the thirtieth Sabbath, would you insult the circumcised

Jew?' 'I haven't any scruples.' 'But I have; I am a trifle weaker, one of the throng. You must pardon me, I will speak of it at another time.' Has this sun arisen so black upon me?

firmior, unus	The wicked rogue runs
multorum. ignosces: alias loquar.'	away and leaves me
huncine solam	under the knife.
tam nigrum surrexe mihi! fugit impro-	
bus ac me	
sub cultro linquit.	

Horace knew that such a friend could appreciate the pleasantry of a mock serious poem and he wrote one to him - *Integer Vitae* - in the first two strophes of which he propounded an extravagant sentiment of noblest virtue, pointing to himself as the example by weaving in a trivial incident of his experience. (*Ode I 22*). It is from the letter addressed to him, however, that one learns of their congeniality and affection; they agree in all their sentiments except that Horace can not share his love for the city. *Epistle I 10, 1-11; 49-50*

Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere	A lover of the farm sends
iubemus	greetings to Fuscus, lover
ruris amatores. hac in re scilicet una	of the city. You know in
multum dissimiles, at cetera	this one thing only are we
paene gemelli	much unlike, while in other
fraternis animis (quidquid negat	things we are almost twins,
alter, et alter)	of brotherly sentiments; what-
adnuimus pariter, vetuli notique	ever one denies, the other
columbi.	denies; we bill and coo like
tu nidum servas, ego laudo ruris	a pair of old and intimate
amoeni	doves. You guard the nest;
rivos et musco circumlita, saxa	I greatly prefer the rivulets,
	the rocks overgrown with moss

nemusque.
 quid quaeris? vivo et regno, simul
 ista reliqui
 quae vos adcaelum effertis rumore
 secundo,
 pane egeo iam mellitis potiore pla-
 centis.

and the groves of the
 charming country. Let me
 tell you, I really live
 and am a king as soon as
 I have left those things
 which you extol with
 praises to the sky. And
 like a priest's fugitive
 slave, I reject the cakes;
 I prefer bread now to the
 honeyed dainties.

haec tibi dictabam post fanum
 putre Vacunae,
 excepto quod non simul esses cetera
 laetus.

From behind the mouldering
 temple of Vacuna comes my
 message to you; in all
 other things happy except
 that you are not with me.

M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus

The last of this group of literary friends, for
 whose esteem Horace had so much respect, was Corvinus Messalla.
 He was a man of noble rank (Satire I 6, 42), and a friend of
 Augustus. He had also won fame as an orator, and, as a writer,
 he was praised for his purity in Latin style. Epistle II 3,
 369-371

consultus iuris et actor
 causarum mediocris abest virtute
 disert
 Messallae

A juriconsul and a
 pleader at the bar of
 only moderate ability
 is far removed from the
 eloquent Messalla

Satire I 10, 27-30

scilicet oblitus patriaeque pat-
 risque Latini,
 cum Pedius causas exsudet Popli-

Would you forgetful of
 your country and your
 birth,- while Pedius, Pop-

cola atque	licola, and Corvinus sweat
Corvinus, patriis intermiscere	through their causes in pure
petita	Latin tongue, - would you, I
verba foris malis Canusini more	say, prefer to thrust in words
bilinguis;	borrowed from abroad after the manners of a double-tongued Canusian?

The intimacy and the affection Horace had for Corvinus is learned from the ode dedicated to him (Ode III 21, 1-24). They had been friends during their student days in Athens; they had fought together at Philippi, and both had later realized that the good of their country lay in the cause of Augustus. After the settlement, Messalla gave himself over to oratory and literature. He soon became a patron of literature; - like his brother-in-law, Maecenas, and Asinius Pollio - he gathered about him a circle of writers, the most famous of whom were Tibullus and Ovid.

Albius and Iullus Antonius

There are also two other literary contemporaries for whom he had great affection, Albius and Iullus Antonius. This Albius is in all probability Albius Tibullus, the well-known epic poet. In Horace's letter to him, he took occasion to commend his fortunes and himself; this may have been intended to cheer him, because while a man of attractive character, Tibullus was of somewhat melancholy disposition. Epistle I 4, 1-16

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide
 iudex,
 quid nunc te dicam facere in re-
 gione Pedana?
 scribere quod Cassi Parmensis
 opuscula vincat,
 an tacitum silvas inter reptare
 salubris,
 curantem quidquid dignum sapiente
 bonoquest?
 non tu corpus eras sine pectore:
 di tibi formam,
 di tibi divitias dederunt artemque
 fruendi.
 quid voveat dulci nutricula maius
 alumno,
 qui sapere et fari possit quae
 sentiat, et cui
 gratia, fama, valetudo contingat
 abunde,
 et mundus victus, non deficiente
 crumena?
 inter spem curamque, timores inter
 et iras
 omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse
 supremum:
 grata superveniet quae non sperabi-
 tur hora.

O Albius, thou fair critic
 of my satires, what shall I
 say thou art doing in the
 neighborhood of Pedana? Writ-
 ing what may rival the elegies
 of Cassius of Parma, or stroll-
 ing in a musing attitude among
 the invigorating groves, ab-
 sorbed in whatever is worthy
 a wise and good man? Thou wert
 not a body without a soul: the
 gods have given thee a comely
 form, they have given thee
 wealth and power of enjoying
 it. What more could a fond
 nurse pray for her beloved
 child than that he be wise
 and be able to express what he
 feels, and that to him befall
 friends, fame, and health in
 plenty, and a genteel life,
 with a never-failing purse.
 Amidst hope and care, amidst
 fears and the varying emo-
 tions of life hold each day
 that has broken upon thee as
 the last; then the hour which
 will not be expected, will

me pinguem et nitidum bene curata	shine forth more pleasing.
cute vises,	Come and find me fat and
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege	in good keeping - a hog from
porcum.	Epicurus's herd, when you
	wish to laugh.

Horace portrays Tibullus's melancholy spirit again in Ode I, 33, and the tones of Cheer are strong here also. The Cassius of Parma mentioned in the above Epistle was a fellow soldier of Horace in the campaigns of Brutus; his literary activity is esteemed by him and the comparison here is entirely respectful.

There is a glow and sincerity of feeling in the ode which he dedicated to Iullus Antonius; he lauded his literary ability, marking his own talents on a low scale. These lines were probably written to express his eager anticipation of Augustus's return and to pay Antonius a compliment. Ode IV. 2, 33-36

concinet maiore poeta plectro	Thee a poet of nobler touch,
Caesarem, quandoque trahet ferocis	shall celebrate Caesar when
per sacrum clivum merita decorus	adorned with his well-earned
	laurel, he shall lead the
	fierce Sygambri down the
	sacred way.
fronde Sygambros;	

Conclusion

From the study of Horace's relation to this group of men, it is evident that he had great respect for his contemporaries in the field of literature. He recognized their merit, and bestowed upon them appreciative praise. While entertaining this friendly feeling for them, he also considered the friendship to be mutual, and he took for granted their approval of

his writings. He has left no record of any thought of envy or jealousy toward them.

HIS COMPANIONS IN THE CAMP OF BRUTUS

The presence of danger, and a common purpose unite men closely, and the friendships formed under such circumstances are often most earnest and lasting. Comrades in war feel toward each other as brothers; on the march, in the camp, and on the battle-field they bare their hearts and show their inmost soul; there is no place for artificiality then. Just such a friendship did Horace realize with some of his comrades in the army led by Brutus, and in consequence some of his highest ideals of friendship are set forth in the odes and epistles dedicated to these comrades.

Pompeius Varus

In the poem addressed to Pompeius Varus on his return from the wars, there is a glow of feeling that bursts from the heart in response to worth and congeniality. Horace had given up the struggle for the Republic after the defeat at Philippi, while this comrade had remained in the fight for many years. It is probable they had not seen each other since Horace's return to Italy, and now they felt the charm of recalling old experiences; there is an unveiled joy at the renewal of the friendship. Horace even spoke of his retreat in such a way that by implication, it contained a compliment, not ungraceful, to his friend, who had continued the struggle against the triumvirate, and had come home at last to find the more politic comrade of his youth one of the celebrities of Rome and on the best of terms with the very men against whom they had once

fought side by side. Ode II 7, 1-28

O saepe .mecum tempus in ultimum
deducte Bruto militiae duce,

quis te redonavit Quiritem

dis patriis Italoque caelo,
Pompei, meorum prime sodalium,
cum quo morantem saepe diem mero

fregi coronatus nitentis

malobathro Syrio capillos?
tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi, relictæ non bene parmula,
cum fracta virtus et minaces

turpe solum tetigere mento.
sed me per hostis Mercurius celer
denso paventem sustulit aere:

te rursus in bellum resorbens
unda fretis tulit aestuosis.
ergo obligatam redde Jovi dapem,
longaque fessum militia latus

depone sub lauru mea nec
parce cadis tibi destinatis.
oblivioso levia Massico
ciboria exple, funde capacibus

unguenta de conchis. quis udo
deproperare apio coronas
curatve myrto? quem Venus arbitrum
dicet bibendi? non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis; recepto
dulce mihi furere est amico.

O thou often led down with me
into uttermost peril when
Brutus was our leader, who
hast given thee back a full
citizen to thy Gods, thy
fatherland, and the Italian
skies? Pompey, the earliest
of my companions, with thee
have I with a garland on my
hair which was glistening
with Syrian perfume, whiled
away the tedious day. With
thee did I experience Philippi's
hurried rout having not over-
bravely left my poor little
shield when valor broken,
those but late so threatening
bit the disgraceful dust. But
Mercury swift bore me trem-
bling away in a thick cloud
through the ranks of the

enemy, while thee the ebbing
tide with its stormy waves
bore back again into the strug-
gle. Now then duly offer to
Juppiter the banquet as thou
art bound, and rest thy limbs,
worn by long wars, under my
laurel, and spare not the cask
stored away for thee. Fill
high the glistening bowls with
Massic that brings forgetful-
ness, pour forth the perfumed
ointments from the capacious
shells. Whose task is it speed-
ily to fashion garlands with
pliant parsley or with myrtle?
Whom shall Venus call the
master of the bout? 'Tis de-
lightful to me to lose my wits
when a friend is found again.

Sestius

There is a similar expression of the thought 'enjoy life while you may' in the lines to his old comrade Sestius. He, too, had been a partisan of Brutus, but later accepted the new order of things without, however, giving up his loyalty to Brutus's memory. He was appointed consul suffectus by Augustus. Ode I 4, 1-20

Solvitur acris hiems grata vice	Keen winter relaxes his
veris et Favoni,	grasp with welcome change
trahuntque siccas machinae	to springtime and the west
carinas,	wind, and windlasses draw
ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus	down the dry ships; the
aut arator igni,	cattle no longer rejoice
nec prata canis albicant pruinis.	in the stall, nor the
iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus in-	ploughman in the fireside,
minente Luna,	nor are the meadows whit-
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes	ened by the hoary frost.
alterno terram quatiant pede, dum	Now Cytherean Venus leads
gravis Cyclopum	forth by moonlight and
Volcanus ardens visit officinas.	the comely Graces hand in
nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput	hand with the nymphs shake
inpedire myrto,	the earth in rhythmic beat
aut flore terrae quem ferunt solutae;	while glowing Vulcan
nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet in-	makes the toilsome smithy
molare lucis,	of the Cyclops blaze. Now
seu poscat agna sive malit haedo.	it is fitting to entwine
allida Mors aequo pulsat pede pau-	the glossy head with ver-
perum tabernas	dent myrtle or with such
regumque turris. O beate Sesti,	flowers as the unbounded
	earth produces; now it is
	fitting to sacrifice to
	Faunus whether he bids us
	sacrifice with a lamb or
	prefer the kid. Pallid

vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat

incohare longam.

iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes

et domus exilia Plutonia; quo simul

mearis,

nec regna vini sortiēre talis

nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo

calet iuventus

nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt

death knocks with impartial foot at the cottages of the poor and the palaces of the great. Oh happy Sestius, the total of our days is small and forbids us to commence hope for a distant future. Presently night and the world of shades, and names, and the cheerless home of Pluto shall press round thee, where when thou shalt once have arrived thou shalt neither decide the master of the feast by the knuckle bones nor shalt thou feast thy eyes upon the tender Lycidas, with whom now all the youth are enamoured, and for whom ere long the virgins will wax warm.

Plancus

Again is there the exhortation to forget troubles and enjoy life in ode I, 7 addressed to Plancus. He, as Sestius, had accepted an office under Augustus's rule (Ode III 14, 28) consule Planco). Here in the words of Teucer to his followers, Horace expressed his relation to all of his comrades. Ode I 7, 30-31

O fortes peioraque passi

mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite

curas;

Oh gallant heroes, often my fellow-sufferers in greater hardships than these, now drive away thy cares with wine.

MILITARY FRIENDSClaudius Tiberius, Drusus, and others

Although Horace was not an ardent warrior himself, he was, nevertheless, in sympathy with the soldier. He has many friends among the younger men now in the army, and several of his poems are dedicated to these. The two step-sons of Augustus, Claudius Tiberius and Drusus, achieved many excellent victories in their campaigns, and Horace celebrated some of these in his verse, but the lines contain nothing of importance in studying his friendship for them more than the respect he entertained for their worth. In the Epistle (I, 9) which he wrote to Tiberius in behalf of Septimus, there is intimation that they held each other in mutual esteem, but that there was not strong affection between them.

However, there were in the retinue of Tiberius, who himself was fond of literature, a number of men of literary tastes for whom Horace had much affection. In the Epistle addressed to Florus, Titius, Celsus, and Munatius are mentioned in a friendly manner. Florus was, it appears, practising to become an orator or a juriconsul. Celsus was secretary to Tiberius. Whether the others had any defined occupation, or were just traveling to enlarge their experience and see the world is not stated. Horace assumed that they were not wasting their time, but were pursuing their studies and practising their pen; he inquired after them in a manner that showed interest, and offered such advice and encouragement as he thought they needed. He tried especially to reconcile Florus to Munatius,

with whom he had for some reason quarreled; there had evidently been an apparent reconciliation, but Horace questioned its sincerity. The familiar tone of the letter is expressive of close friendship. Epistle I, 3

Iuli Flore, quibus terrarum militet	I am eager to know, O
oris	Julius Florus, in what
Claudius Augusti privignus, scire	distant lands Claudius,
laboro.	the step-son of Augustus,
Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali com-	is waging war. Does
pede vinctus,	Thrace or Hebrus, bound
an freta vincinas inter currentia	with icy chains, or the
turris,	strait running between
an pingues Asiae campi collesque	the neighboring towers,
morantur?	^{the} or fertile plains and
quid studiosa cohors operum struit?	hills of Asia cause you
hoc quoque curo.	to linger there? What
quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere	writings are the studi-
sumit?	ous train planning? I de-
hella quis et paces longum diffundit	sire to know this, too,
in aevum?	who takes it upon himself
quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in	to write the military
ora?	achievements of Augustus?
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit	Who diffuses into the
haustus,	future his deeds in war
fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos	and peace? What is Titius
ut valet? ut meminit nostri? fidibusne	about who shortly will
Latinis	be celebrated by every
	Roman tongue, who dreaded
	not to drink of the Pin-
	daric spring, daring to
	disdain the common waters
	and open streams: how does
	he do? How mindful is he

Thebanos aptare modos studet aus-
 pice Musa,
 an tragica desaevit et ampullatur
 in arte?
 quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus mul-
 tumque monendus,
 privatas ut quaerat opes et tangere
 vitet
 scripta Palatinus quaecumque recep-
 it Apollo,
 ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit
 olim
 grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula
 risum
 furtivis nudata coloribus. ipse quid
 audes?
 quae circumvolitas agilis thyma? non
 tibi parvum
 ingenium, non incultum est et turpi-
 ter hirtum:
 seu linguam caulis acuis, seu civica
 iura
 respondere paras, seu condis amabile
 carmen,
 prima feres hederæ victricis præmia.
 quodsi
 frigida curarum fomenta relinquere
 posses,

of me? Does he study
 to adapt Theban measures
 to the Latin lyre with the
 help of the muses, or does
 he rave and bluster in
 tragic vein? What is my
 beloved Celsus doing? He
 has been advised and the
 advice may oft be repeated
 to seek material of his
 own and avoid using what-
 ever writings the Palatine
 Apollo has received; lest,
 if perchance, sometime the
 flocks should come to de-
 mand their feathers, he,
 like the crow stripped of
 his stolen plumage, be ex-
 posed to ridicule. Pray
 what do you attempt? From
 what flowers do you gather
 honey? Your genius is by no
 means small nor unculti-
 vated, nor unsightly rough.
 Whether you whet your ton-
 gue for pleading, or
 whether you make yourself
 ready to give counsel in
 civil law, or whether you
 compose some charming lay;
 you will reach the first
 rank, you will get the
 reward of the ivy wreath.
 If you now are ready to

quo te caelestis sapientia duceret,
 ires.
 hoc opus, hoc studium parvi propere-
 mus et ampli,
 si patriae volumus, si nobis, vivere
 cari.
 debes hoc etiam rescribere, sit tibi
 curae
 quantae conveniat Munatius; an male
 sarta
 gratia nequiquam coit et rescinditur
 ac vos
 seu calidus sanguis seu rerum insci-
 tia vexat
 indomita cervice feros? ubicumque
 locorum
 vivitis indigni fraternum rumpere
 foedus,
 pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva
 iuvenca.

abandon the comfortless
 solace of anxious cares;
 whithersoever heavenly
 wisdom would lead you,
 you would go. Let us both
 great and small push for-
 ward in this work, in this
 pursuit, if with our country
 if with ourselves we would
 be in harmony. I especially
 urge you to write me whether
 Munatius is as dear to you
 as he ought to be, or whe-
 ther the ill-patched recon-
 ciliation in vain closes
 and is rent asunder again?
 But whether hot blood or
 inexperience in life vexes
 you, wild as coursers with
 neck unyoked, you ought not,
 wherever you may be, break
 so close a friendship. A
 votive heifer is feeding for
 your return.

Epistle II 2 also addressed to Florus, gives no further evidence of Horace's idea of friendship; it merely portrays the close relations they bear toward one another.

There is but one epistle (I, 8) to Celsus and from this we learn merely of their intimate feelings for each other.

POLITICAL FRIENDS

Many of Horace's friends who were political leaders have been discussed in other divisions and, almost all of those who will be treated here could have been classified under his Literary Friends, but the most influential of the political leaders have been chosen for this section in order that Horace's attitude toward the powerful may be studied; this will reveal more effectively his true conception of the question raised in the introduction, 'whether thought of advantage or a recognition of worth draws us to friendship.' His relations with the following leaders will be discussed: Sallustius Crispus, Dellius, Proculeius, Lucinius Murena, Censorinus, Agrippa, and Augustus.

Caius Sallustius Crispus

In his political position, Sallustius was in many respects like Maecenas. He was an intimate friend of Augustus and a man of great powers, yet he refused all public offices, preferring the real, though only private, influence of a friend, to the titular distinctions of magistracy. He was the grand nephew of Sallust, the historian, whose great wealth he inherited, and Horace recognized the wisdom he showed in his use of it by dedicating to him an ode on the moderate use of wealth. Ode II 2, 1-24

Nullus argento color est avaris
 abdito terris, inimice lamnae
 Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
 splendeat usu.

vivet extento Proculeius aevo,

There is no lustre to silver
 hidden in the avaricious
 earth unless, Oh Sallustius
 Crispus, thou foe to bullion,
 it derive splendor from moder-
 ate enjoyment. Proculeius
 known of fatherly affection
 toward his brothers shall ever
 live, - his span of life

notus in fratres animi paterni;
illum aget penna metuente solvi

Fama superstes.

latius regnes avidum domando
spiritum quam si Libyam remotis
gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus

serviat uni.

crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
fugerit venis et aquosus albo

corpore languor.

redditum Cyri solio Phraaten
dissidens plebi numero beatorum
eximit virtus, populumque falsis

dedocet uti

vocibus regnum et diadema tutum
deferens uni propriamque laurum,
quisquis ingentis oculo inretorto
spectat acervos.

being extended beyond the
grave; surviving fame will
waft him on pinions that

dread to flag. Thou may'st
rule more by controlling
an eager spirit than if
thou wert to unite (under
thy empire) Libya with
distant Gades, and either
Carthaginian were to ac-
knowledge thy single sway.

The direful dropsy grows
by self-indulgence, nor
does the thirst cease un-
less the cause of the
disease has left the veins
and the watery faintness
from the pale frame.

Virtue disagreeing with
the mob separates from
the ranks of the happy
Phraates, though restored
to the throne of Cyrus,
and teaches people not to
use words wrongly by con-
ferring empire, and crown
and perpetual laurel on
him and him alone whoso-

ever views huge heaps of
treasures (and passes by
without one backward glance).

Proculeius and Murena

The Proculeius, whose kindness is celebrated in the
above poem, was a brother-in-law of Maecenas. His two brothers
lost their fortunes in the civil war, and Proculeius unselfishly
cared for them as a father and shared his own property equally
with them. Horace's recognition of this valor should be given
consideration in the discussion of his ideal of friendship. One
of these brothers of Proculeius was Lucinius Murena. He was
consul with Augustus in 23 B.C., but was charged with complicity

as an accomplice, in a conspiracy against the emperor and was put to death. Horace had been a helpful friend to Murena and had complimented him several times in his writings; his relations with Maecenas and Augustus forbade him referring to Murena after his death. The poem dedicated to him (Ode II, 10) has great significance in the study of friendship; he evidently was a very ambitious man and Horace felt it his duty to advise him - powerful as he was - to remember the advantages of the golden mean. If the reference in Ode III 19, 10 (da, puer, auguris Murenæ) is to this friend, one feels even more strongly the regard he entertained for Murena. It was this friend who entertained the party ^{which made the} journey to Brundisium (Satire I 5, 28).

Dellius

Following the ode dedicated to Sallustius is one to another political leader, Dellius, but there is nothing in it to show friendship further than the honor of the dedication and its position as joining the one for Sallustius.

Censorinus

Another of his influential friends was Censorinus, who was consul in 8 B.C. He was evidently a man of literary tastes, for it is generally believed that Horace presented him the following ode on some occasion when an exchange of presents was customarily made, and he inferred that the poem would please his friend more than any gift he could purchase. His theme was the value of poetry as a vehicle of enduring fame, and he not only asserted its superiority over material monuments, but claimed for it the power to confer actual immortality and even divinity.

Ode IV 8, 1-12

Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
 Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
 donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
 Graiorum, neque tu pessima munerum
 ferres, divite me scilicet artium
 quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,
 hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
 sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
 sed non haec mihi vis, nec tibi talium
 res est aut animus deliciarum egens.
 gaudes carminibus, carmina possumus
 donare, et pretium dicere muneris..

Oh Censorinus, gladly
 would I, consulting
 the tastes of my friends,
 give them goblets
 and pleasing bronze; I
 would present them with
 tripods, rewards of the
 brave Grecians; nor
 would'st thou receive
 the poorest of my gifts,
 that is if I were rich in
 works of art which either
 Parrhasius or Scopas pro-
 duced, the latter in
 statuary, the former in
 liquid colors, skilled
 in producing now a man,
 now a god. But I have
 not the power to give
 thee these, nor do thy
 friends nor thy tastes
 demand such curios. Thou
 dost rejoice in verses;
 verses I can give, and
 assign a value to the
 gift.

Agrippa

Horace's attitude toward Agrippa is understood by
 the allusions to his greatness; these are couched in respect-
 ful and friendly terms. In the ode dedicated to him, it would
 seem that either Agrippa or some of his friends had asked
 Horace to celebrate his great achievements in song, and by
 pleading his inability, Horace paid him the highest tribute.

Ode I 6, 1-12

Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
 victor Maeonii carminis aliti,
 quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut
 equis
 miles te duce gesserit.
 nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec
 gravem

Thou shalt be sung by
 Varius, bird of Maeonian
 song, as valiant and
 victorious over thine
 enemies, whatever thy
 fierce soldiers shall
 have accomplished either
 on land or sea. We essay
 no more to tell this
 than the destructive
 wrath of Achilles, ig-
 norant of defeat, or the

Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii,
 nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei
 nec saevam Pelopis domum
 conamur, tenues grandia, dum Pudor
 imbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
 laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
 culpa deterere ingeni.

journey of crafty
 Ulysses over the sea,
 or the bloody home of
 Pelops, too vast a theme
 for our slender verse,
 while shame and the muse
 who presides over the un-
 warlike lyre forbids me
 to tarnish through defect
 of genius the praises of
 peerless Caesar and of thee.

In many hidden ways Horace celebrated Agrippa's greatness. When
 disparaging the tendency to ape the rich, he revealed his honor.
 Satire II 3, 185-186

'Scilicet ut plausus quos fert
 Agrippa feras tu,
 astuta ingenuum volpes imitata
 leonem!'

In order that perchance
 you may gain those ap-
 plauses which Agrippa
 gains, - like a cunning
 fox imitating a generous
 lion.

At another time he celebrated his service to the state when he
 mentioned the colonnade near the Partheon which was built by
 him. Epistle I 6, 25-26

Cum bene notum
 porticus Agrippae et via te con-
 spexerit Appi,

When Agrippa's portico
 and the Appian way shall
 behold you, well known.

And when writing to Iccius, Agrippa's agent on his Sicilian
 estates, he praised Agrippa's victories in war. Epistle I 12, 26

Cantaber Agrippae, Claudii virtute
 Neronis
 Armenius cecidit;

The Cantabrians have fal-
 len by the valor of
 Agrippa; the Armenians
 by that of Claudius Nero.

Augustus

The friendship between Horace and Augustus is of much importance in this study, because it will reveal his position on the idea of the importance of *usus* and *rectum* in drawing friends together. One feels the relation between Horace and Augustus was quite different from that between him and Maecenas. The basis was apparently the same, - a recognition of merit - but Horace had for Maecenas a feeling of affection that is lacking in his relations with Augustus. He recognized that Augustus had ability to do great service for his country, and he was ready to cooperate with one who was desirous of promoting the welfare of his state. There were many influences which caused Horace to look with favor upon Augustus: 1) the respect Horace entertained for Maecenas, who was one of Augustus's most beloved friends (Epode I, 1-4); 2) Augustus's strong love of literature, which naturally caused the poet to suppose that there was something worthy in this new leader; 3) the gradual recognition of his power for good. ¶ Horace had been a lover of the Republic, and had believed Brutus did a noble deed when he killed Caesar, who, they thought, was trying to gain absolute power for himself. It was natural then that he should be hostile against the party who had overthrown his leader. But Horace had keen sensibilities and a logical mind which could view a situation, study it carefully, and derive far-sighted conclusions that the ordinary man could recognize only when the results occur. He realized their ardor for the maintenance of a Republic long since dead had led them to kill a man who was effecting what would probably have been a well-ordered government. Now their

own leader had been slain, their position was hopeless, and their deed had cast the faint remains of the Republic into a struggle where the competitor, who should be triumphant, would be invested with absolute power. There was no longer any hope for their Republic, the serious question was how the country was to be saved from ruin. He saw that the nephew of Caesar was the ablest of the competitors for the leadership of his country and that popular favor was with him. Moreover his public life showed that Octavius had the welfare of his country at heart.

The first references to this new ruler were formal, with no touch of intimacy or kindly feeling. When he remarked on the selfishness of singers and their unwillingness to sing when asked, he said they would refuse even for Caesar. Satire I 3, 4-6

Caesar, qui cogere posset, si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non quicquam proficeret;	Had Caesar, who could have forced him to compliance, besought him on his father's friendship and his own, he would have had no success.
--	--

When he was justifying his satires, and Trebatius advised him that if he must write, at least give up satire and write the praises of Caesar, because then he should receive ample reward, he courteously denied his ability. Even when Trebatius urged him to write of Caesar's civil ability, he refused and compared him to a horse suspecting danger and retaliating when it comes. Satire II 1, 10-12; 18-20

aut, si tantus amor scribendi te
 rapit, aude
 Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa
 laborum
 praemia laturus.

But if so great a desire
 for writing sweeps you
 away, essay to sing then
 the deeds of invincible
 Caesar, it will bring you
 reward.

nisi dextro tempore, No verses of Horace unless
 Flacci well-timed will find ac-
 verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris cess to the ears of Caesar,
 aurem, who like a horse if you
 cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undi-stroke him the wrong way,
 que tutus. he, safe on all sides, will
 kick at you.

At another time when he was quibbling over the word mala, he
 lightly brought in Caesar's judgment. Satire II 1, 82-85
 Trebatius:

'si mala condiderit in quem quis car-	If anyone write bad
mina, ius est	(malicious) verses,
iudiciumque! Horace: 'esto, si quis mala:	there is right of ac-
sed bona si quis	tion and a legal remedy.
iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare?	Be it so if anyone write
	bad (poor) verses. But
	if one compose good ones
	and is praised by Caesar,
	as judge.

When he was accosted by the persons inquiring what Caesar was
 doing about the lands to be allotted to his soldiers, he made a
 direct denial of knowing Caesar's affairs. Even though this
 were not true, it expresses Horace's ideal of secrecy among
 friends. (Satire II 6, 54-59).

He early saw the greatness of his worth and ability,
 and in a complimentary way declared himself too weak to sing
 the praises of such a peerless man. Ode I 6, 9-12

dum Pudor	While shame and the muse,
inbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat	who presides over the
	unwarlike lyre, forbids

laudes egregii Caesaris
et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni.

me to tarnish through defect of
genius the praises of peerless
Caesar.

At another time he heralded his glory incidentally, but it was none the less effective because portrayed in this hidden manner. Ode III 25, 1-8

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
plenum? quae nemora aut
quos agor in specus
velox mente nova? quibus
antris egregii Caesaris
audiar

aeternum meditans decus
stellis inserere et consil-
io Jovis?
dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
indictum ore alio.

Whither, Oh Bacchus, art thou
hurrying me filled with thy in-
spiration? Into what groves, into
what recesses am I whirled by
impulse strong? Before what groves
shall I be heard essaying to set
the glory of Caesar, forever, amid
the stars and the Council of Juppi-
ter? Sublime, new, unsung as yet
by other lips shall be my theme.

Even at Maecenas's request he refused to celebrate Augustus in an ode, although in the very refusal he complimented him and accomplished what he had been asked to do. Ode II 12, 1-12

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum
mare

Poenno purpureum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis,
nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero

Thou certainly would'st not
desire the long wars of Nu-
mantia, or the dread Hanni-
bal, or the Sicilian sea im-
purpled with Carthaginian
blood, to be set to the lyre's
gentle measures nor the cruel

Hylaeum domitosque Herculeae manu
 Telluris iuvenes, unde periculum
 fulgens contremuit domus
 Saturni veteris; tuque pedestribus
 dices historiis proelia Caesaris,
 Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias
 regum colla minacium.

Lapithae, nor Hylaeus
 excessive in wine and the
 earth born youths, subdued
 by Herculean force from
 whom the splendid habita-
 tion of old Saturn dreaded
 danger. And thou, thyself,
 Maecenas, shalt recount
 better in historical prose
 the battles of Caesar and the
 kings led through the streets
 of Rome with chains about
 their necks.

On the good news from Egypt that Anthony and Cleopatra were
 dead and the war was over, he wrote a tribute to Caesar for
 his victory (Ode I 37, 12-21). He had been deeply moved by the
 horrors of the awful struggle just ended and Augustus was the
 only promise of a security that would enable the state to re-
 cover its property. Horace gave him his support, he prayed
 Fortune - the goddess who rules at will the vicissitudes of
 life - to guard Caesar in his undertakings. Ode I 35, 29-40

serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
 orbis Britannos et iuvenum recens
 examen Eois timendum
 partibus Oceanoque rubro.
 cheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet
 fratrumque. quid nos dura refu-
 gimus
 aetas? quid intactum nefasti
 liquimus? unde manum inventus
 metu deorum continuit? quibus
 pepercit aris? o utinam nova
 incude diffingas retusum in
 Massagetas Arabasque ferrum.

Mayst thou protect Caesar
 about to go against the
 Britains, at the ends of the
 earth, and the recently
 levied troops to be dreaded
 by the Eastern regions and
 the Red Sea. Ah me, scars of
 civil strife are our shame;
 a crime, a crime against our
 brothers. What have we, an
 age of iron, shrunk from?
 What wickedness have we left
 untried? From what have our
 youths withheld their hands
 out of fear of the Gods? What
 altars have they spared? O
 mayst thou on a new anvil
 reforge our blunted swords for
 use against the Massagetae
 and the Arabians.

The success of the battle of Actium meant the end of degradation which seemed almost ready to overthrow Roman loyalty and honor. Horace was rejoiced to learn that Augustus had won because he felt that he was the only one to bring Rome back to her virtues.

Ode IV 14, 1-16: 29-52

Quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium
plenis honorum muneribus tuas,

Auguste, virtutes in aevum

per titulos memoresque fastus
aeternet, o qua sol habitabilis
inlustrat oras maxime principum?

quem legis expertes Latinae

Vindelici didicere nuper

quid Marte posses, milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,

Breunosque velocis et arcis

Alpibus inpositas tremendis
defecit acer plus vice simplici,
maior Neronum mox grave proelium

commisit inmanisque Raetos

auspiciis pepulit secundis,

ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
ferrata vasto diriut impetu

primosque et extremos metendo

stravit humum, sine clade

victor,

te copias, te consilium et tuos

What zeal of the senators
or what of the Roman people
is adequate to immortalize
thy virtues, Oh Augustus,
thou greatest of princes
by rewards of magistracies
or by monuments wherever
the sun illuminates the
habitable regions? The Vin-
delici, ignorant of the Roman
sway, have lately learned
how powerful thou art in
war. For Drusus by means

of thy soldiery has more than
once bravely hurled down the
Genauni, merciless breed,
and the agile Brenci and the
citadels that crown the awful
Alps. The elder Nero soon
after fought a terrible bat-
tle and under thy happy aus-
pices smote the monstrous
Rhoeti.

When Claudius with impetuous
might dashed in pieces the
mailed ranks of the barbarians,
and by mowing down all alike
both front rank and back,
strewn the ground, a scath-
less victor; this they accom-
plished because thou didst
supply them with troops, with
thy counsels, and with thy
guardian powers.

praebente divos. nam tibi, quo die ,

portus Alexandria supplex

et vacuum patefecit aulam,

Fortuna lustro prospera tertio

belli secundos reddidit exitus,

laudemque et optatum peractis

imperiiis decus adrogavit.

te Cantaber non ante domabilis

Medusque et Indus, te profugus

Scythes

miratur, o tutela praesens

Italiae dominaeque Romae;

te fontium qui celat origines

Nilusque et Ister, te rapidus

Tigris,

te beluosus qui remotis

obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,

te non paventis funera Galliae

duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae

te caede gaudentes Sygambri

compositis venerantur armis.

He was glad to sing praises to Augustus for his great service and urges Valgius to join. Ode II 9, 18-19

cantemus Augusti tropaea

Caesaris

Since the day when suppliant

Alexandria opened her ports

and deserted court, fortune,

favorable to thee in the

third lustrum, has smiled on

all thy undertakings and grant-

ed as thy due this last suc-

cess, O thou strong pro-

tector of Italy and imperial

Rome. Thee the Spainard,

until now unconquered, and the

Parthian, and the Indian, thee

the vagrant Scythian admires.

Thee both the Nile who con-

ceals his fountain heads, and

the Danube, the rapid Tigris

and the ocean, teeming with

monsters, that roars against

the remote Britains, thee the

region of the Gauls that dread not death and that of hardy Iberia obey; the blood-thirsty Sygambri with weapons laid to rest, worship thee.

Come let us sing the fresh

trophies of Caesar.

There were other evidences of Caesar's greatness

which were as marked as his military achievements. It had been customary for the victor to use his forces to secure tyrannical power, and the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla were by no means forgotten. But Augustus's desire was seen to have been universal peace; he disbanded his soldiers and gave more attention to the cultivation of literary tastes. Such a character was worthy to be recognized as a leader; Horace felt it and reminded his contemporaries that foolish rebellion against Caesar's kindly rule was as vain as the attack of the Titans upon Jove's power. Ode III 4, 37-58

vos Caesarem altum, militia simul	Mayst thou also to exalted
fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,	Caesar, longing to end his
finire quaerentem labores	labors as soon as he has
Pierio recreatis antro.	disposed among the towns
	his war-worn squadrons,
	give repose in a Pierian
	cave.
vos lene consilium et datis et	Thou gentle counsels give and
dato	when they are given, rejoice
gaudetis, almae. scimus ut impios	with kindly care. We all
Titanas inmanemque turmam	know how he rules the inac-
fulmine sustulerit caduco,	tive earth and the gusty
	main, the cities and the
	realms of gloom, and alone
	governs with impartial sway
	both gods and human kind,
qui terram inertem, qui mare tem-	how he destroyed the impious
perat	Titans and the gigantic
ventosum, et urbis regnaque tristia,	troop with down-rushing
divosque mortalisque turbas	bolt. That horrid youth pre-
imperio regit unus aequo.	sumptuous with their bristl-
magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi	ing arms and the brethren
fidens iuventus horrida bracchiis,	striving to have piled
fratresque tendentes opaco	Pelion upon shady Olympus
Pelion imposuisse Olympo:	had brought fear even to

sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas,
aut quid minaci Porphyriion statu,
quid Rhoetus evolsisque truncis
 Enceladus iaculator audax
contra sonantem Palladis aegida
possent ruentes?

Jove. But what could Typhoeus and the mighty Mimas, or what Porphyriion with threatening mien, what Rhoetus and Enceladus the bold hurler of up-turned trees, what could they avail rushing against the echoing shield of Pallas?

In the Spring of 24 B.C., Augustus returned victorious from a hard-fought campaign in the west. While away he had suffered through a severe illness which had caused Horace and the Roman people generally, to consider what he meant to them and into what peril they would be thrown at his death. It was then Horace wrote the following lines; they came from a heart full of gratitude for the sense of security and peace brought about by Augustus's rule. Such contemplations drew Horace to Augustus and formed the bond of friendship between them. Ode III 14, 1-4: 13-16

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte venalem petiisse laurum
Caesar Hispana repetit penatis
 victor ab ora.

Augustus Caesar, O ye people, who a little while ago was said like another Hercules to have gone in quest of the laurels death alone can buy, revisits his Lares, a victor from the Spanish shores.

hic dies vere mihi festus atras
exiget curas: ego nec tumultum
nec mori per vim metuum tenente
 Caesare terras.

This day a real festival to me shall drive away gloomy cares. I shall fear neither civil strife nor violent death so long as Caesar is in possession of the earth.

Augustus's victory over the Sygambri and a couple of other German tribes who had previously crossed the Rhine and had devastated Roman territory in Gaul, and had laid Lollius low, added its testimony to his ability.

Although it required military genius to bring the world into subjection, a character founded on justice and stability was needed to elicit regard from the conquered peoples. Augustus possessed this strong personality, and Horace paid him the tribute it demanded. He eulogized Justice and Stability, then accorded these virtues to Augustus. Ode III 3, 1-12

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
 non civium ardor prava iubentium,
 non voltus instantis tyranni
 mente quatit solida, neque
 Auster,
 dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
 nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis:
 si fractus inlabatur orbis,
 inpavidum ferient ruinae.
 hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
 enisus arcis attigit igneas,
 quos inter Augustus recumbens
 purpureo bibet ore nectar;

Not the rage of mobs that instigate wrong, not the face of a menacing tyrant can shake from his rock like purpose the upright and steadfast;
 Nor can Auster, the boisterous ruler of the restless Adriatic, nor the mighty hand of thundering Jove; should the shattered universe overwhelm him, the ruins will strike him dauntless. By such virtue Pollux, by such the wandering Hercules striving upwards reached the starry heights, among whom Augustus quaffing nectar with ruddy lips is now reclining.

National spirit in Rome was at low ebb and to Augustus, Horace looked to see it raised, expressing his own readiness to share in the effort. This union in a common cause brought the two

men into^a more sympathetic relation. He felt justified in speaking of the divinity of Augustus in a poetical way.

To be sure, he did not believe in this divinity, it was merely a custom to describe divine honors to great men. Can anyone imagine him to have been a light flatterer when he spoke of Augustus as the heaven-sent son of Maia (Ode I 2, 42-43)^m and in the quotation above as reclining among the Gods and quaffing nectar 'with lips of deathless bloom', or in the following: from Gods benign descended; 'we believe Jove rules thundering in Heaven, Augustus shall be held a god in very presence when the Britains and the vexing Persians shall have been added to the empire' (Ode III 5, 1-4). These are just poetical expressions, filled with a strong glow of feeling. When, on the other hand, he spoke of him conversationally, though with equal feeling, he said he was a man on whose shoulders the weight of the empire rested, who defended the state by the strength of his arms, and who aimed to uplift it by his virtue and his laws (Epistle II 1, 1-3). True, Horace did say that they reared alters where the name of Augustus was to be sworn by (Epistle II 1, 16; Ode IV 5), but this is anhistorical fact.

Now peace was so well established that the people had a strong feeling of gratitude toward this man who by his strength of character had brought tranquility out of chaos. Augustus had been in Gaul for a couple of years and the great body of people longed to see him back, and Horace wrote to him with a genuine warmth of feeling not found before and which no official position or court could call forth. Ode IV, 5, 1-40

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulae
 custos gentis, abes iam nimiumdiu;
 maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
 sancto concilio, redi.

lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae:
 instar veris enim voltus ubi tuus
 adfulsit populo, gratior it dies
 et soles melius nitent.

ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido
 flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora
 cunctantem spatio longius annuo

dulci distinet a domo,
 votis omnibusque et precibus vocat,
 curvo nec faciem litore dimovet,
 sic desideriiis icta fidelibus

quaerit patria Caesarem.
 tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
 nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
 pacatum volitant per mare navitae,

culpari metuit fides,
 nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
 mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
 laudantur simili prole puerperae,
 culpam poena premit comes.

quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum
 Scythen,
 quis Germania quos horrida parturit
 fetus incolumi Caesare? quis ferae

Oh best guardian of the
 Roman people, whose birth
 was the good gift of heaven,
 already art thou absent too
 long, having promised thy
 speedy return to the au-
 gust assembly of the
 fathers, come back.
 Restore, Oh excellent
 chieftain, thy light to
 the country, for like the
 spring, wherever thy
 countenance has shown more
 gladly passes the day and
 the sun has a pleasanter
 light. As, when her boy
 is detained by the south
 wind with its jealous
 breath and stays more than
 a year beyond the Carpa-
 thian sea, the mother calls
 him home with vows, omens,
 and prayers, nor turns
 aside her face from the
 curving shore, so pierced
 with loyal yearning, his
 country seeks for Caesar.
 For (under thy protection)
 the kine in safety traverses
 the meadows; Ceres nourishes
 the ground, and abundant
 Prosperity; the sailors wing
 their way through the calm
 ocean, and Faith shrinks
 from being blamed. The now
 pure family is polluted
 by no fashion and law; the

matrons are praised for
 off-spring who resemble their
 fathers; punishment dogs the
 heels of guilt. Who can
 fear the Parthian? Who the
 frozen Scythian? Who the
 swarms that shaggy Germany
 breeds, so long as Caesar
 be safe? Who cares for the

bellum curet Hiberiae?
condit quisque diem collibus in suis
et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores;
hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
te mensis adhibet deum;

te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
defuso pateris, et laribus tuum
miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
et magni memor Herculis.

'Longas o utinam, dux bone, ferias
praestes Hesperiae!' dicimus integro
sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi.

cum sol Oceano subest.

wars of fierce Spain?
Every man sees the sun
down amid his own hills,
and weds the vine to the
widowed elms; hence he
goes back with a merry
heart to his wine and in-
vites thee as a god to the
second course.

Thee with many blessings
thee with wine poured out
he pursues and joins thy
deity to that of the Lares,
in like manner as Greece
was mindful of Castor and
the great Hercules, 'Long
mayst thou live and may
thy life secure thy land
in peace!' This is our
prayer, when the day is
still before us; this is
our prayer when dry-lipped
and flushed with wine, at
the time the sun is beneath
the ocean.

The same feeling permeates the closing ode of Book IV. He recog-
nized Caesar had established universal peace and brought back
the ancient virtues, which built the state. Ode IV 15, 1-32

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
victas et urbis increpuit lyra,

ne parva Tyrrhenum peraequor
vela darem. tua, Caesare, aetas
fruges et agris retullit uberes
et signa nostro restituit Jovi
derepta Parthorum superbis
postibus et vacuum duellis

Phoebus checked and warned
me, when meditating to sing
of battles and conquered
cities on the lyre, not
to spread my little sails
along the Tyrrhenian sea.
Thy age, Oh! Caesar, hath
both restored plenteous
crops to the fields and
brought back to our Jup-
piter the standards torn
down from the proud pil-
lars of the Parthians and,
free from wars hath closed

Janum Quirini clausit et ordinem
rectum evaganti frena licentiae

iniecit emovitque culpas

et veteres revocavit artis
per quas Latinum nomen et Italiae
crevere vires famaue et imperi
porrecta maiestas adortus

solis ab Hisperio cubili.

Custode rerum Caesare non furor
civilis aut vis exiget otium,

non ira, quae procudit ensis

et miseras inimicat urbis.

non qui profundum Danuvium bibunt
edicta rumpent Julia, non Getae,

non Seres infidive Persae,

non Tanain prope flumen orti.

nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
inter iocosi munera Liberi,

cum prole matronisque nostris

rite deos prius adprecanti,

virtute functos more patrum duces

Lydis remixto carmine tibiis

Troiamque et Anchisen et almae

progeniem Veneris canemus.

the gates of Quirinus, and
curbed license that strayed
outside the narrow path,
and hath extirpated crimes
and recalled the ancient
virtues, by which the
Latin name and the strength
of Italy have increased;
the fame and majesty of the
empire is extended from
the sun's western bed to
the east. While Caesar
is guardian of fortunes,
neither civil madness nor
violence shall banish tran-
quility nor hatred which
forges swords and sets at
variance hapless cities.
Not those who drink of the
deep Danube shall now
break the Julian decrees;

not the Getae, not the

Seres, nor the perfidious

Parthians, nor those born

upon the river Tanais. We

shall celebrate on common

and on festal days, amid

the gifts of joyous Bac-

chus, together with our

wives and families; having

first duly invoked the gods

celebrate after the manner
of our ancestors with songs
accompanied by Lydian
flutes, the heroic deed, and
Troy, and Anchises, and the
offspring of kindly Venus.

The glorification of his service to the state and the recognition
of his virtue is shown in Ode IV 14, 1-3

quaecura patrum quaeve Quiritium
 plenis honorum muneribus tuas,

What zeal of senators or what
 of the Roman people is ade-
 quate to immortalize thy
 virtues, Oh Augustus.

Auguste,

This purity of character and generosity of spirit is found not only in his relation to the problems of his country, but also in his home life; in his attitude toward his two step-sons. He cared for Tiberius and Drusus as a father (Ode IV 23-27).

In the study of Horace's friendship for Augustus, the sincerity of his attitude might have been open to criticism had he become the panegyrist of Caesar immediately upon the acceptance of his amnesty, but it must be remembered that thirteen years at least had elapsed, between the battle of Philippi and the composition of Ode I, 2 in which, for the first time, he directly acknowledged Augustus as the chief of the state and made declaration of allegiance to him. There he announced that they had seen and felt enough of the wrath of the gods, that the population was thinned by civil war, and the Parthians defied their safety. Mercury alone could save their falling empire, and atone for their guilt; furthermore, that he was amongst them in human shape submitting to be called the avenger of Caesar. At the very last he revealed that it was Augustus who was to divinely live and protect the state.

Again did he acknowledge Augustus as their sovereign ruler Ode I 21, 14-

principe Caesar

also Epistle I 12, 27-28

ius imperiumque Phraates
 Caesaris accepit genibus minor;

Phraates suppliant on his
 knees has admitted the
 laws and powers of Caesar.

Through the long story of the fortunes and sorrows of his ancestors, Horace presented Augustus as the culmination of the great line of benefactors - gods, heroes, and men, - to whose activity or suffering, mankind is most indebted for its progress. Ode I 12, 45-46

Summary

From the material studied, it is evident that Horace's feeling for Augustus was that of patriotic admiration and gratitude. Augustus was a man of wonderful ability, and he had brought Rome safely through a sanguinary struggle that, for a long time, seemed hopeless. He was also a just man and because of this quality he had succeeded in bringing the Roman name to honor and establishing universal peace. It was these qualities that drew Horace to him, he recognized his virtues and the great service he had rendered the state. The feeling of affection such as is shown for Maecenas or Vergil is lacking, but the friendship is wholesome and throws light on Horace's conception of ideal friendship. The suggestion of selfish interest as having been the dominant factor in effecting this relation is, from this study, discountenanced. Horace had already won the prizes of life that he most valued and court favor could add nothing that he really cared for, he gave proof of this in his refusal to become the private secretary of Augustus.

CONCLUSION

It is seen from this study that Horace considered friendship a relation which must be based on a recognition of merit. His attitude toward Augustus is an acknowledgment that friendship may arise without any affection, but with worth as the essential element. He clearly teaches, also, that while advantage is an incident in friendship, it is never its motive.

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