

UM Libraries Depository



103334710012

Faint, illegible text on a rectangular label, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

THESIS 1914

Horace's attitude toward orientalization

UMLD

THESIS

XW580



This Thesis Has Been

MICROFILMED

Negative No. T- 1591

1953

Form 26











Horace's Attitude toward the Orientalization of Rome

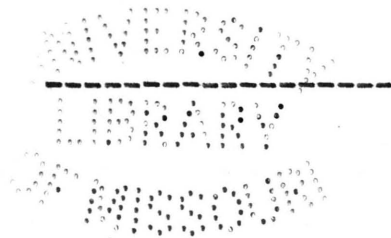
Dorrance S. White



HORACE'S ATTITUDE  
TOWARD  
THE ORIENTALIZATION OF ROME

by

Dorrance Stinchfield White, A.B.



SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS  
in the

GRADUATE SCHOOL

of the

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

*Approved.*  
*J. B. Callahan*



378.7/M71  
XW580

It has ever been the history of empire-development that nations face the West. Babylon, snugly esconced in the fertile Tigro-Euphrates valley, subdued its eastern neighbor, the Elamites, rose to power in wealth and court splendor, and fell a victim of its own luxury to its neighbor, the Assyrians. To the Assyrians, corrupted by the vices of their captives, was destined, in turn, a like calamity at the hands of the Medes and the Persians. When Athens had become mistress of the Persian world through the Heellenizing conquests of the intrepid Alexander, perverting her powers, she, too, succumbed to the vices of the Orient. Thus for five centuries the power of Eastern nations drifted westward, and Greece herself, corrupted, was compelled to yield her sceptre to the sturdy Roman conqueror. To legal and military Rome was now presented this test of empire strength, the power to resist the vices of luxury and the effeminating influences which had undermined the Grecian and Persian thrones.

Until the close of the last century of the Republic, Rome, torn by civil dissensions, had gradually dissipated the flower of her statesmen. Those who might safely hold to her course the ship of state had been sacrificed on the altar of the private greed of dictators. At the same time, the youth of the republic had been trained to vigorous manhood by the severe campaigns of the East and West. The military strength of the Roman state was at its best. The addition of vast territory followed a series of brilliant and successful campaigns by which the Roman republic was enabled to hold sway over the entire civilized world. 127115<sup>59</sup>



With the acquisition of rich provinces the wealth of the Romans grew apace. Increased wealth provided leisure time and the desire to be amused. A slight provocation gave the Romans an excuse to sack the city of Corinth and confiscate the enormous treasures of art and literature for which they had whetted their cultural appetites by contact with the more luxurious Greeks of Magna Graecia. Straightway Roman society underwent a process of Hellenization because of the current craze for Greek manners and customs, Greek modes of education, Greek literature and philosophy, which were becoming the fashion at Rome. But with certain elements of culture came great social and moral evils, until that simplicity and frugality which characterized the period prior to the last century of the Republic gave place to Graeco-Oriental luxury and corruption.

While the loss of Corinth to the Hellenic world brought to the Romans both the refining influence of higher culture and the enervating influence of luxury, the insatiate ambition of Roman society demanded greater wealth with which to gratify their passion for pleasure. After freeing the Mediterranean from pirates Pompey opened up with his legions the vast storehouses of Mithradates, king of Pontus, and presented to the Romans a well-nigh inexhaustible source of provincial revenue. The voice of Cato the censor, which nearly a century earlier had opposed with such vigor the inroads of Greek innovations, might well have reechoed its protests. But, whereas the advent of the treasures of Corinth had awakened a spirit of art and love of literature among the Romans, the treasures of Asiatic kings now sent them money-mad, while the influx of Asiatic slaves made yet easier the path to self-indulgence and



ease.

Perhaps the highest type of vicious Orientalism was to be found in the Egyptian court. Here, under the spell of Cleopatra's charms, Antony had forsaken the cause of his countrymen and had given himself over to a life of consummate ease. When the dynasty of the Ptolemies had come to an end with the battle of Actium and Antony and his faithless seducer had destroyed themselves, the very social charms which had enslaved the slayer of the virtuous Cicero were brought by the conquerors back to Rome. There were not lacking those who sought to stem this tide of corrupting pleasures. Horace was one who recognized that the attitude of the people toward the invasion of these bad customs pointed to the need of social and moral reform. That Horace saw beneath the surface is made clear by his utterance:

"Quid leges sine moribus  
Vanae proficiunt?"

It was evident that the enforcement of the republic's laws was useless unless the old Republican morality could also be restored. Whether the vision of Augustus in this problem was as penetrating as that of the poet or not, certain it is that by the laws which he caused to be enacted he was cognizant of that puritan feeling which had become so intense that it could not be neglected. Not the voice of a lonely prophet, but the demands of an everincreasing multitude of reformers importuned Augustus to call back the people to see the error of their ways and to resist the invasion of this moral laxity of the Orient. In this battle of social and moral reform, in this endeavor to revive traditional simplicity of living with which to combat eastern effeminacy, Horace held the golden mean, not content to renounce the materialistic and atheistic system of Epicureanism, loth to accept the severer morality of Stoicism,





inconsistent in Bacchic ode and pious epistle, so that from his works as a whole it is difficult to determine his exact attitude toward the orientalizing of Rome.

#### Houses and House Adornment

At Actium, Rome may have thought that the audacity of Egypt had been repulsed, but after the victory she was unable to resist a less obvious, but far more dangerous Egyptian invasion than that which Antony and Cleopatra led. Many of the distinguished members of Augustus' party had served for months in the Egyptian campaign, had lived for months in the houses of the rich lords of Alexandria. Men of simple Roman tastes, they must have been dazzled by the vast splendor of the palaces of the Ptolemies, and despite their profession of admiration for the ancient Roman simplicity, they brought back with them to Rome furniture, vases, fabrics, and above all, stories of treasures that aroused all Italy to a desire for luxury. Many of these men had grown wealthy themselves by the ruin of the Ptolemies, and with their wealth they attempted to erect at Rome residences that should equal in splendor their Alexandrine models, both in architecture and adornment. Their designs were furthered by the great influx into Italy of the artisans who had served the court of Alexandria, sculptors who were skilled in laying the walls and ceilings with precious marble, mosaic-workers who wrought wonderful designs upon the pavements and many traders who were ready to supply rich hangings, magnificent glass-ware, cups of onyx and myrrh. Horace not once sounded the praises of all this luxury. He admired objects of art for their own sake, for his servant Davus, reasoning with him, in Satire II, 7, 95 says:

"Vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,"



also the statue by Glycon, Epistle I,1,30:

"....quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,"

but why the desire to own such things privately should possess the people, Horace cannot understand;—Carmen III,1,1-6:

"Quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis

·     ·     ·     ·     ·     ·     ·  
delenit usus.....

·     ·     ·     ·     ·     ·  
cur invidendis hostibus et novo  
sublime ritu moliar atrium?"

He complains in C.II,15,1-2:

"Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae  
moles relinquent;"

and continues the same thought in C.III,1,33-7:

"Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt  
factis in altum molibus; huc frequens  
caementa demittit redemptor  
cum famulis dorminusque terrae  
fastidiosus;"

Of the uselessness of these luxuries Horace says;

C.II,16,9-12:

"Non enim gazae neque consulares  
submovit lictor miseros tumultus  
mentis et curas laqueata circum  
tectae volantis."

C.II,18 is also against the luxury of the Romans. He opens this ode with these lines:

"Non ebur neque aureum  
mea renidet in domo lacunar,  
non trabes Hymettiae  
premunt columnas ultima recisas  
Africa,"

In pursuing his favorite theme, the comparison of city and country life, to the disadvantage of the former, Horace questions ironically in Epist.I,10,19:

"Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?"

referring to the tessellated or mosaic pavement of Numidian marble about the great Roman houses.



Horace's philosophy with regard to these things is summed up in Epist. II, 2, 177-9:

"quid vici prosunt aut horrea? ....  
 .....si metit Orcus  
 grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?"

and prefers to be in that class mentioned in lines 180-2:

"Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrheni sigilla, tabellas,  
 argentum, vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas,  
 sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere."

### Foods

The especial room in the house which received the most attention was the dining-room, both as to its adornment and its service; yet many became so fastidious that dinner might be served in the picture gallery, in the fruit chamber, in the aviary, or even in the deer park. Different dining-rooms for winter and summer were common. The whole villa arrangement and villa life had ultimate reference to dining and no sort of luxury flourished at Rome so much as this, the coarsest of all, - the luxury of the table. The cook must be a graduate in gastronomy. Roasts had long ago been banished for marine fishes and oysters, and Italian river fishes were utterly banished from good tables and Italian wines were looked upon as vulgar. Imported wine must be set before the guests and in the cellar of Hortensius, the orator, there was found a stock of ten thousand jars of foreign wines. The epicures of that day ransacked sea and land for new culinary dainties. The menu must be varied and often consisted of so many different dishes that the circumstance of a guest taking an emetic after a banquet, created no surprise (Mommsen's History of Rome, Vol. 4, p. 613) Horace, consistent with his doctrine of the simple life, praises the homely fare provided by his Sabine farm, and devotes one of his satires to a most ludicrous account of a fellow



who places the summit of human felicity in the culinary art  
(Sat. II, 4, 1-3):

H. - "Unde et quo Catus?" (Cat.) 'Non est mihi tempus aventi  
ponere signa novis praeceptis, qualia vincant  
Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona'".

Catus has learned the precepts by heart and goes on to quote to Horace the valuable rules regarding oblong eggs and round ones, how to choose cabbage, how to make tough old hens tender, how to tell good mushrooms, the efficacy of mulberries as an aid to digestion, and many other precepts equally elevating. Horace pretends to be so delighted with these teachings that he begs to be introduced to their author.

In Satire II, 2, 48-52, Horace condemns the taste changing according to the fashion:

".....Quid? tunc rhombos minus aequor alebat?  
Tutus erat rhombus, tutoque ciconia nido,  
donec vos auctor docuit praetorius. Ergo  
si quis nunc mergos suavis edixerit arsos,  
parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus,"

and adds one of his maxims in ll. 19-26:

".....Non in caro nidore voluptas  
summa, sed in te ipso est. Tu pulmentaria quaere  
sudando: pinguem vitilis albumque neque ostrea  
nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.  
Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone, velis quin  
hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,  
corruptis vanis rerum, quia veniat avro  
rara avis, et picta pandat spectacula cauda  
tamquam ad rem attineat quicquam."

Quintus Hortentius, most fond of foreign dainties, was the first to give the Romans a taste for peacock. It soon became a fashionable dish and all people of fortune served it on their tables.

Horace, discussing the usurer Alfius, expresses his own desires in Epode II, 48-60:

" dapes inemptas adparet;  
non me Lucrina iuverint conchyliis  
magisve rhombus aut scari,  
si quos Eois intonata fluctibus





hiems ad hoc vertat mare;  
 non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,  
 non attagen ionicus  
 iucundior quam lecta de pinguissimis  
 oliva ramis arborum,  
 aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi  
 malvae salubres corpori  
 vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus  
 vel haedus ereptus lupo."

In Satire I,6,114-8 Horace says that it is his custom after a walk in the evening:

".....inde domum me  
 ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.  
 Cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus  
 pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus  
 vilis, cum patera guttus, Campana suppellex."

Horace firmly believes that good health depends upon a temperate diet and upon good health earthly happiness.

#### Commercial Spirit and Wealth.

The early Romans were not sea-going people; and it is interesting to note that in the beginning of their religion they attached the greatest importance to the gods who presided over agriculture and the home. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans paid little attention to the gods of the sea. Horace, in this respect, is by nature an ancient Roman. Gemoll says (Die Realien bei Horaz--Heft 2, Abschnitt 2), "Unschwer erkennt man, dasz der Dichter kein Freund der Schifffahrt ist." Perhaps, because of the great peril of his return voyage from Greece in his young manhood, he never evinces any desire to visit distant lands that lay across the ocean and applies to ships and the sea unfavorable adjectives. He always mentions the perils of the sea and the hazard of trusting one's fortune to ships. At that time when every Roman of note desired to visit the celebrated shrines and magnificent palaces of Asia Minor and Egypt, and fashionable doctors were prescribing trips to sunnier climes for health, we find Horace endeavoring to recall



his friend, Bullatius, to Rome from Asia, -Epist. I, 11, 1-4:

"Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos,  
quid concinna, Samos, quid Croesi regia Sardis,  
Smyrna quid et Colophom? Maiora minorane fama?  
Cunctane prae campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?"

in delicate irony, and continues in lines 20-21,

"Dum licet ac vultum servat Fortuna benignum,  
Romae laudetur Samos et Chios et Rhodos absens.",

also in lines 28-9:

".....navibus atque  
quadrigis petimus bene vivere;....."

that is, foolishly seek to live happily by ships and chariots.

In Carmen II, 16, 18-9, he asks Grosphus:

"Quid.....quid terras alio calentis  
sole multamus?"

implying the uselessness of it. Addressing the ship about to take Vergil to Athens, he says (C. I, 3, 9 seq.)

"Illi robur et aes triplex  
circa pectus erat; qui fragilem truci  
commisit pelago ratem  
primus.",

and in lines 23-4 of the same ode, he says:

"Nequiquam deus abscidit  
prudens Oceano dissociabili  
terras, si tamen impiae  
non tangenda rates transiliunt vada."

It would be interesting to know just how these sentiments impressed the Romans who were becoming accustomed to Ocean travel and whose trade relations rested entirely upon the Ocean as a carrier. Horace laments the fact that the Romans are becoming a nation of merchants, and in his satires of wealth and the love of wealth he often refers to the hazards they are willing to take upon the sea for its sake. In Carmen III, 29, 57 seq. he says:

"Non est meum, si mugiat Africis  
malus procellis, as miseris preces  
decurrere et votis pacisci,  
ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces



addant avaro divitias mari."

Horace reproves Iccius for forsaking the noble study of philosophy, because of his desire for the opulent treasures of the Arabians (C. I, 29, 1, et 13-16):

"Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invidis....  
 .....  
 cum tu coemptos undique nobilis  
 libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum  
 mutare loricis Hiberis,  
 pollicitus meliora, tendis?"

and in his Art of Poetry laments that Roman youth are taught computation rather than to appreciate the beauties of poetry, (ll. 323-5):

"Graius ingenium, Graius dedit ore rotundo  
 Musa loqui, praetor laudem nullius avaris.  
 Romani pueri longis rationibus assem  
 discunt in partes centum diducere."

He again rebukes the Romans for their commercial spirit in Epist. I, 1, 45-80:

"impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos, (45)  
 per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis."

It is in this Epistle that Horace utters his famous

"Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum." (52)

but he says the Romans all cry:

"O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est,  
 virtus post nummos. Haec Ianus summus ab imo  
 prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque,  
 laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto." (53-6)

Horace himself seems to have had no desire for wealth. He repeatedly refused to be secretary to Augustus, a position which would have been both lucrative and honorary. But the greater part of the Romans had had their heads turned by the stories of the conquerors of the eastern nations, and probably by the accounts of slaves of the regal wealth of the kings of Egypt and Asia. Horace not



only rebukes the Romans for their covetousness of wealth,  
but also inveighs against wealth itself as impius and use-  
less(C.III,24,1seq.):

"Intactis opulentior  
thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae  
caementis licet occupes  
Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum  
si figit ad ~~ad~~mantinos  
summis verticibus dira Necessitas  
clavos, non animum metu,  
non mortis laqueis expedies caput."

and the first lines of C.I,15:

"Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae  
moles relinquent;"

In Ode I,31,Horace prays Apollo, not for gold or Indian iv-  
ory,and says in line 10 seq.,

".....dives et aureis  
mercator exsiccet culillis  
vina Syra reparata merce,  
dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater  
anno revisens aequor Atlanticum  
impune: me pascunt olivae,  
me cichorea levesque malvae."

Continuing the same thought(C.III.16,22-24):

".....Nil cupientium  
nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum  
partis linquere gestio."

ib.11.39-42:

"Contracto melius parva cupidine  
vectigalia porrigam  
quam si Mydonis regnum Alyattei  
campis continuem."

Also C.II,18,1-6:

"Non ebur neque aureum  
mea renidet in domo lacunar,  
non trabes Hymettiae  
premunt columnas ultima recisas  
Africa, neque Attali  
ignotus heres regiam, occupavi."

In Epistle I,6,17-18,Horace says sarcastically,to a  
man in search of happiness and what is of real value in





life:

"I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes  
suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores."

He sums up his ideas of the splendor of oriental wealth

which had been transferred to Rome in C.III.,1,41-48:

"Quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis  
nec purpurarum sidere clarior  
delent usus nec Falerna  
vitis Achaemeniumque costum,  
cur invidendis postibus et novo  
sublime ritu moliar atrium?  
Cur valle permutem Sabina  
divitias operosiores?"

### Degeneracy

When Horace sings:

"Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hoc  
pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa  
canos odorati capillos,  
dum licet, Assyriaque nardo  
potamus uncti?.....  
.....  
Quis devium scortum eliciet domo  
Lyden?" (C.II,11,13-23)

only a year or two later than when he exhorted in an excess of  
poetic fervor:

"Vel nos in Capitolium  
quo clamor vocat et turba faventium,  
vel nos in mare proximum  
gemmas et lapides aurum et inutile,  
summi materiem mali,  
mittamus, scelerum si bene paenitet." (C.III,24,45-50)

we find the poet writing in a somewhat contradictory strain;  
for, although a recipient of Maecenas' rich gifts, he recog-  
nizes and condemns the growing wealth of the Romans as the  
'summi materiem mali'; as a preacher of self control and one  
who questions the propriety of surrendering to wantonness, he  
admits himself a frail human subject to the temptations of  
a jovial society. It is when the poet is under the spell of  
this jovial society that we are least certain of his sincer-  
ity.



But when the poet touches upon the degeneration of his own race, he convinces us of his sincerity. In *Carmen Saeculare*, vss.17-20:

"Diva, producas subolem patrumque  
prosperes decreta super iugandis  
feminis prolisque novae feraci  
lege marita,"

he prays Diana to multiply Roman offspring and to strengthen the matrimonial laws. Although among the upper classes, as Mommsen writes in "History of Rome", Vol.4, p.619, "marriage had for long been regarded as a burden which people took upon them at the best in the public interest, we now encounter, even in Cato and those who shared Cato's sentiments, the maxim to which Polybius a century before traced the decay of Hellas (III,61), that it is the duty of a citizen to keep great wealth together and therefore not to beget too many children. Where were the times (Mommsen laments) when the designation 'child-producer' (proletarius) had been a term of honor for the Romans?" It was evident that those times were being supplanted by a period characterized by love of amusement and of ease in which those consummate imitators, the Romans, surpassed even the Alexandrine oriental whom they took for their model. Writing of this period, Ferrero in "Greatness and Decline of Rome", Vol.4, p.207, says: "Love had been the expression of a citizen's duty to perpetuate his race through the family; it now became personal pleasure, barren of results, the sensation of a moment, a caprice of the imagination, a source of aesthetic pleasure, or a subject of pleasantries." The same writer, depicting conditions and their causes, (vol.5, p.155) adds: "Rome was led to luxury by the great expenditure of the government and wealthy men, by the immigration of Orientals, especially Egyptians, and by the temper of the new generation, and



could no longer be a school of austerity and virtue. Actium, Cleopatra, Antony, and the vows of renunciation made during the great revolutionary crisis were now forgotten and enjoyment became the chief object of life." With a patriotism which showed his concern for the welfare of the state, Horace laments in C.I,2,21-4:

"Audiet civis acuisse ferrum,  
quo graves Persae melius perirent,  
audiet pugnas vitio parentum  
rara iuventus."

and to this depreciation of the number of youth by vice, ignoble end, compared to the thinning of youth by the formidable Persian, he adds in a more pious strain that it is of no use to importune Vesta with their hymns, who is inattentive because of their neglect. The home in the sense in which the Roman of the olden days invoked the protection of his tutelary deities had become an institution of the past.

In C.III,2, 1-2, he urges that the Roman youth be taught to endure pinching want in the active exercise of arms and continues in this strain:

"condiscat, et Parthos feroces  
vexet eques metuendus hasta,  
vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat  
iñ rebus;"

In *Carmen Saeculare*, vs.45, he prays for probity of manners on the part of the youth:

"di, probos mores docili iuventi."

From these four references the deduction may be made that Horace was eye-witness of vices at work upon the younger generation which had occasioned the downfall of Alexandria and four centuries hence would lay Rome herself open to the mercy of her foes.

The poet has much to say about the effeminacy of the youth in general as a form of racial degeneracy, but does not



hint that he attributes the condition to the luxury which had been imported from the Orient. C.I,8, dedicated to Lydia, a sketch of a young athlete in love, most nearly approaches a suggestion of oriental effeminacy. Sybaris, the name of a town in Magna Graecia, proverbial for its luxury, heightens the general effect. A volley of unanswered questions:

"Cur apricum oderit campum?  
 "Cur neque militaris inter aequalis equitat?  
 "Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere?  
 "Cur olivum...vitat neque iam livida  
 gestat armis bracchia,"

show that Horace was cognizant of those departments of youths' activities which degeneracy was affecting. The fifteenth Ode of Book I, dedicated to Paris and containing such verses as 13-15:

"Nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox  
 pectes caesariem grataque feminis  
 imbelli cithara carmina divides;"

indicates that the poet recognized the custom characteristic of effeminate youth. In Epistle I,2,27-31, he likens some modern Romans, 'nos' to 'Penelope's suitors, useless drones', and to 'Alcinuous' youth, employed above measure in pampering their bodies; whose glory was to sleep till mid-day and to lull their cares to rest by the sound of the harp;' In Satire I,8,37-9, he calls a knight 'fragilis' (the weakling) *Pediatus*, which may be finely rendered, 'Miss *Pediatus*'. Maecenas, whom Horace seeks to console for his illness in C.II,17, and whose poor health was due to his effeminacy and luxurious living, may be taken as an example of that type of seekers after sensual enjoyment, to whom Horace makes reference in Epist.I, 2,vss.33-4, wherein he warns Lollius against debauchery,

".....atqui  
 si nolles sanus, cures hydropicus."





Finally, while Horace was in spirit patriotic and 'non mollis', he admits his own effeminacy and personal aversion to war in these words:

"An hunc laborem, mente laturo decet  
qua ferre non mollis viros?"

and further, in verse 15 of Epode I:

"Roges tuum labore quid iuven meo  
imbellis ac firmus parum?"

Thus Horace himself, unversed in the arts of a soldier, saw clearly the need of virility in the youth of the imperial city and even more vigorously set forth the follies of this form of degeneracy than he opposed the numerous luxuries from the East which were responsible for this condition. With a pessimism strikingly foreign to the general nature of the Odes, he writes in C.III,6, 'It was not a youth born from parents like these (the sleek adulteress and her willing husband) that stained the sea with Carthaginian gore and slew Pyrrhus and mighty Antiochus and dread Hannibal; but a manly progeny of rustic soldiers, intrusted to turn the glebe with Sabine spades and to carry clubs cut at the pleasure of a stern mother; while he reaches the depths of pessimism in the last verses of this carmen(45-8):

"Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?  
Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit  
nos nequiores, mox daturos  
progeniem vitiosiore."

#### Wine and the Banquet Hall

Of all the orientalizing influences which came over the seas to the land of the Latins the drinking of fine wines is at once the most typical of eastern luxury and a most potent factor in the shaping of Roman social life. In view of this, it would be quite reasonable to expect that Horace indicated strong approbation or disapproval of this product of the vine.



But the exact reverse of this is true. While the poet refers to wine in no less than one hundred places, he in no instance gives us his true attitude toward wine as an oriental importation. An explanation of this unusual circumstance may be readily given. For centuries the Romans had been water drinkers. It is not even known when the ruddy beverage of Dionysos was first introduced into Italy; probably before the colonization of Magna Graecia, for an early name of Italy was Oenotria, 'land of the vine-pole'. At the beginning of the first century B.C. it was distinctly a luxury, gracing only the tables of the rich. Pliny, speaking of this period, says: "Tanto vero vino graeco gratia erat ut singulae potiones in convitu darentur." Many of the generation before Horace used wine only as a medicine. Women never partook of it, and stories are told of the penalty of death imposed on the woman reckless enough to indulge in this intoxicating potion.

Horace grew up in that period when an effort was being made to throw off the spirit which made Cato proud to drink cheap wine with his soldiers returning from Spain. It soon became the fashion of the day to drink a great variety of wines, to discard the poorer native brand for those choicer grades from Greece and Asia Minor, and especially for the sweet Mareotic and the Teneotic from the delta of the Nile. It was in the midst of this change from the feeling that the product of the grape held a mysterious medicinal potency to the belief that it was a legitimate and delectable "pellite curas", that Horace came to the understanding of full manhood. It is not surprising, then, that the bard of Venusia does not sound more frequently a note of warning either against drinking wine as a degenerating oriental custom, or against the



rapidly increasing consumption of native brands.

On the other hand, the amazing inconsistency with which Horace treats of wine, particularly in the Odes, should command our attention. Why, in so many of his odes, did the poet invite unrestrained indulgence at Bacchus' shrine, while in a few he preached the wisdom of temperance and moderation? Ferrero believes that Horace was fulfilling a well-defined purpose. In his lecture of "Wine in Roman History" (Character and Events) he says: "Rome diffused at once its wine and its literature; it also diffused its wine through its literature. .... This is the case with the odes of Horace. To understand all that they meant to say to contemporaries, one must imagine Roman society as it was then, hardly out of a century of conquest and revolution, in disorder, unbalanced, and still crude, notwithstanding the luxuries and refinements superficially imitated from the Orient;" They taught (ib.) " even the stern conquerors of the world to enjoy all the pleasures of civilization, alike literature and love, the luxury of the city and the restfulness of the villa, fraternal friendship and good cookery.....to enjoy wine, to use the drink of Dionysos not to slake the thirst, but to color, with an intoxication, now soft, now strong, the most diverse emotions: the sadness of memories, the tenderesses of friendship, the transports of love, the warmth of the quiet house, when without the furious storm and the bitter cold stiffen the universe of nature."

This interesting and beautifully expressed supposition of Ferrero's is well borne out by those Odes and Epodes which, in and of themselves, are true Bacchics (C.1, 36, 1-12):



"Et ture et fidibus iuvat  
 placare et vituli sanguine debito  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota  
 neu promptae modus amphorae  
 neu morem in Saliu sit requies pedum,"

in the celebration of the overthrow of Cleopatra, (C.I,37,1-2):

"Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero  
 pulsanda tellus, ....."

in greeting his old friend, Pompeius Varus, who returns to  
 Rome after a long absence, (C.II,7,21-8):

"Oblivioso levia Massico  
 ciboris exple---non ego sanius  
 bacchabor Edonis; recepto  
 dulce mihi furere est amico."

in C.II,11, wherein Horace preaches on a favorite theme, the  
 folly of taking too much thought for the morrow, vss.13-22:

"Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac  
 pinu iacentes .....Assyriaque nardo  
 potamus uncti? Dissipat Euhius  
 curas edacis. Quis puer ocius  
 restinguet ardentis Falerni  
 pocula praetereunte lymphae?  
 Quis devium scortum eliciet domo  
 Lyden?"

in C.II,19,9-12, which is a drinking song dedicated to Bacchus:

"Fas pervicacis est mihi Thyiades  
 vinique fontem lactis et uberes  
 cantare vivos atque truncis  
 lapsa cavis iterare mella;"

and also in C.III,8,13-6, where Horace begs Maecenas to cele-  
 brate with him his escape from death by the fall of a tree:

"Sume, Maecenas, cyathos amici  
 sospitis centum, et vigilis lucernas  
 perfer in lucem: procul omnis esto  
 clamor et ira."

in C.III,14,13-8, a joyous ode of thanksgiving on the recovery  
 of Augustus from severe illness:

"Hic dies vere mihi festus atras  
 eximet curas;.....  
 I, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas  
 et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,"





C.III,17,13-6, to a friend:

".....dum potes, aridum  
 compone lignum; cras genium mero  
 curabis et porco bimenstri  
 cum famulis operum solutis."

C.III,19,9-28, which is a portrayal of a symposium:

"Da lunae propere novae,  
 da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris  
 Murenæ. Tribus aut novem  
 miscentur cyanthis pocula commodis  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 insanire iuvat; cur Berecynthiae  
 cessant flamina tibiae?  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Parcentis ego dexteras  
 odi; spargere rosas;.....  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 me lentus Glyceræ torret amor meæ."

C.III,21 is an undisguised praise of wine and is an ode which undoubtedly settled in Ferrero's mind the conviction that one of Horace's missions as a poet was to teach the Romans to drink wine.

C.III,28,1-4, an ode for the Neptunalia:

"Festo quid potius die  
 Neptuni faciam? Prome recunditum  
 Lyde, strenua Caecubum,  
 munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae."

C.IV,11,1-3, an ode in honor of Maecenas' birthday and a description of the preparation for a festival:

"Est mihi nonum superantis annum  
 plenus albani cadus;"

Epode IX, in celebration of the victory at Actium, vss.33-8:

"Capaciores adfer huc, puer, scyphos  
 et Chia vina aut Lesbia,  
 vel quod fluentem nauseam coerceat  
 metire nobis Caecubum.  
 Curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat  
 dulci Lyaeo solve."

Epode XIII, a maxim on the enjoyment of life, vss.17-8:

"Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,  
 deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus adloquiis."

All the foregoing excerpts from the Carmina and Epodon



are of a most evident bacchic strain, seeming to justify Ferrero's position stated above. It is possible, however, to view these as mere effervescences of the poet's nature,- the objective rather than the subjective, a reflection of the life which he saw about him luxury-loving Rome, an echo of the Greek models which he so well loved. For we need only to turn to C.I,38 and to C.II,3, to note that Horace favors the golden mean and would drink in repose away from the frenzied symposiums of the city. All this unrestrained indulgence, so characteristic of the oriental banquet-hall, sometimes palls on his senses, and we find him crying out, C.I,37,1-4:

"Persicos odi, puer, apparatus;  
 ....neque te ministrum  
 dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta  
 vite bibentem."

and also C.II,3,6-10:

"Seu te in remoto gramine per dies  
 festos reclinatum bearis  
 interiore nota Falerni.  
 Quo pinus ingens albaque populus  
 umbram hospitalem consociare amant  
 ramis?"

in C.IV,1,29-32:

"Me nec femina nec puer  
 iam nec spes animi credula mutui  
 nec certare iuvat mero  
 nec vincere novis tempora floribus."

We even find the poet preaching sobriety in C.I,18,7-10:

"Ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,  
 Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero  
 debellata,"

and also he tells Maecenas that at his (Horace's) house, C.I, 20,1-2:

"Vile potabis modicis Sabinum  
 cantharis,"



Despite his four "pellite curas" odes, (Carmina 7, 9, 11, and 17 of Book I) Horace declares in C.III, 1, 41-4:

"Quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis  
nec purpurarum sidere clarior  
delenit usus nec Falerna  
vitis Achaemeniumque costum."

Yet in Sat.I, 1, Horace shows that he considers wine one of the necessities of life, though it be of ordinary grade, vss. 72-4:

"Nescis quo valeat mummus, quem praebat usum?  
Panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius, adde  
quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis."

Epistle I, 5 indicates that Horace reflects, not necessarily accords with, the belief regarding the potency of wine, vss. 16-8:

"Quid non ebrietas designat? Operta recludet,  
spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudet inertem,  
sollicitis animis onus eximet, addocet artes."

In Ars Poetica, vs. 85, Horace says that it is given to the lyre 'iuvenum curas et libera vina referre' and in verse 120 he explains,

"Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem(et seq.)"

which we might well paraphrase to read, 'If as a writer you are, perchance, representing Bacchus, make him joyful, light-footed, extravagant in wine, and song, and dance; crown his hair with flowers, anoint him with Syrian perfume, and let him be attended with wanton Glyceras'.

That Horace had himself partaken of the joys of wine, even to excess, and crowned with flowers, his hair anointed with perfume, had indulged himself in true Persian fashion, we must judge from Carmen II, 7, dedicated to Pompeius Varus, his companion at the battle of Philippi, vss. 6-8:

"cum quo morantem saepe diem mero  
fregi coronatus nitentis  
malobathro Syrio capillos."

It is well, however, to remember that this event happened



when Horace was a young man, and the last ode of the first book in which Horace says: "Persicos odi, puer, apparatus," referring to the gorgeous and expensive chaplets of roses, was written many years later. Besides this, the poet is in the country, and the simplicity of the myrtle wreath is especially befitting the rustic picture he is painting and the mood of one, 'quaffing under a mantling vine'.

The shortness of life, and death inexorable creeping stealthily on, ever Horace to proclaim, "carpe diem". The vagueness of Horace's philosophy and religion leads him to consider the one only certain fact, death. In many of his odes he refers to it and at the thought shudders, reasoning with himself and his friends, 'since we know of a surety nothing further', (C. II, 11, 13-17):

"Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac  
pinu iacentis sic temere et rosa  
          canos ododati capillos,  
          dum licet, Assyriaque nardo  
potamus uncti?"

This thought he had expressed in his earlier Epode, the thirteenth: (vss. 3-9)

".....rapiamus, amici,  
occasionem de die, dumque virent genua  
Tu vina Torquata move consule pressa meo  
: : : Nunc et Achaemenio  
perfundi nardo iuvat."

But at times, especially in later life, it is certain, that Horace finds the symposia with all their oriental dissipation revolting and seriously admits (C. III, 1): "Nec Falerna vitis Achaemenique costum", have any power to compose a troubled mind.

The 'magister bibendi' is entirely out of place in Horace's quiet house, and when he entertains his guests he





declares they shall be free from mad laws, having only one 'culpa' in their cups, that of drinking to excess. (Sat. II, 2 & II, 6) He tells his steward in Epistle I, 14, 32-35:

"Quem tenues deeuere togae nitidique capilli,  
quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci,  
quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,  
cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba."

But we are inclined to agree with Davus, in Sat. II, 7, that his master is ever inconsistent with himself and like the Puritans, rejoiced in the simplicity of ancient Rome but often embraced the luxury and ease of the Orient.

#### Music and Dancing.

Music and dancing is constantly attendant upon wine in the Bacchanalian songs of Horace. C. I, 36, written to celebrate his friend Numida's victorious return from Spain is an example, (vss. 1-3):

"Et ture et fidibus iuvat  
o placere et vituli sanguine debito  
custodes Numidae deos,"

and vss. 12-15:

"neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum,  
neu multi Damalis meri  
Bassum Threicia vincat amystide,  
neu desint epulis rosae".

In C. I, 37, 1-2, in celebration of the victory at Actium:

"Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero  
pulsanda tellus,"

in C. II, 11, 13-16:

"Cur non . . . . .  
. . . . . sic temere et rosa  
canos odorati capillos,  
dum licet, Assyriaque nardo  
potamus uncti, . . . . .  
. . . . . Quis puer, ocius  
restinguet ardentis Falerni  
pocula praetereunte lympha,  
Quis devium scortum eliciet domo



Lyden? Eburna dic age cum lyra  
maturet."

also C.III,14,17-18:

"I, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas  
et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,

and vss.21-22:

"Dic et argutae properet Neaerae  
murream nodo cohibere crinem:"

C.III,19, a celebration of the appointment of Murena as  
augur, vss.13-15:

"Qui Musas amat imparis,  
ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet  
vates;"

and vss.18-20:

" insanire iuvat; cur Berecynthiae  
cessant flamina tibiae?  
Cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?"

Yet the poet enjoys music as an accompaniment of wine in  
the quiet of a sequestered vale, (C.I,17,17-22):

"Hic in reducta valle caniculae  
vitabis aestus et fide Teia  
dices laborantes in uno  
Penelopen vitriamque Circen;  
hic innocentis pocula Lesbii  
duces sub umbra,"

That Horace enjoyed music is certain, especially  
the more expressive and more refined music such as came  
to Rome from Greece. In his ode to Venus, C.IV,1,21-25, he  
says, that erected in marble near the Alban lake:

"Illic plurima narribus  
duces tura, lyraque et Berecynthia  
delectabere tibia  
mixtis carminibus non sine fistula;"

Horace invites Maecenas to celebrate the victory  
at Actium at his house, (Epode IX, vss.1-6:

"Quando.....  
.....  
tecum sub alta.....domo  
beate Maecenas, bibam,  
sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra  
hac Dorium, illis barbarum."



Horace enjoyed vocal music, we judge, for he says, in C.III,vss.9-12:

"Nos cantabimus invicem  
 Neptunum et viridis Nereidum comas;  
 tu curva recines lyra  
 Latonam et celeris spicula Cynthiae;"

Horace dedicates C.IV.3 to Melpomene and declares that he prefers to be skillful with the lyra rather than to be the hero of an Isthmian contest, or the chariot race, or to be a distinguished general in war. He assures Maecenas in C.I,1 that, while the martial camp or the forest, suitable for hunting, is pleasing to other men, he is delighted with the dances of the nymphs and the satyrs, in some cool grove, if neither Euterpe withholds her pipe, nor Polyhymnia disdains to tune the Lesbian lyre. In C.I,31, a prayer to Apollo, he begs the god not for riches, but for an honorable old age not bereft of the lyre.

It is interesting to note the metonymy characterizing Horace's mention of the lyre. He binds together, as did the Early Romans and Greeks, the senses of rhythm and verse (Darstellung a.d. Sittengeschichte Roms-Friedlaender, Vol.3, p.335), often going so far as to mention the strings of his poetic powers as a poet, "septem callida nervis" (C.III,11,3-4). Again he refers to it as a charming shell, C.I,32,13-4:

"Odeus Phoebe et dapibus supremi  
 grata testudo Iovis,"

and addressing Melpomene as the one who regulates the harmony of the 'gilded shell', and is glad to be marked out as the 'stringer of the Roman lyre', that is, the originator of Roman lyric poetry.

In C.I,24 he tells Vergil that, although he (Vergil) could strike the lyre with more sweetness than the Thracian



Orpheus, he could not bring back his friend from the realms of death.

This, of course, is due to the origin of lyric poetry, when Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian verses were accompanied by the lyre itself. Gradually, the poetry of the nature of that best fitted to the lyre began to be recited without musical accompaniment. Choral poetry reached its height among the Greeks about the time of the Persian war, but no poet of Rome imitated successfully any of the lyric poetry until the time of Horace who perfected in the Augustan age the Aeolian form of this verse.

Music, in the highest sense of the word, was not native to Rome. The earlier forms of the Roman music were comminglings of the Greek and rougher Roman, but gradually the sweeter Greek overcame the Roman to such extent that music became an art and was appreciated and embraced as a profession by many of the higher classes. Festive dancing in celebration of the gods was participated in by the best class of women. Horace mentions, in C.II,12, that the wife of Maecenas:

"quam nec fere pedem dedecuit choris  
nec certare ioco nec dare braccia  
ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro  
Dianae celebris die."

He advises Thaliarchus, in C.I,9, not to disdain pleasant loves and dances while young. Horace seems to have shown a preference for this kind of music, the lighter, more artistic music of the stringed instruments, for he derides, in Sat.I,6, the noise and blare of the horns and trumpets of the funeral processions; also in C.I,18, vss.13-4, he cries:

".....Saeva tene cum Berecynthio  
cornu tympana,"

referring to the noisy worship of Cybele. This worship, im-





ported from Asia Minor, while it appealed to the vulgar, from its gesticulations--the priests often slashing themselves in their frenzy--to Horace its practises were absurd and its music harsh and strident.

Frequent mention is made in the odes to the 'tibia', the only instrument natively Roman, to the 'lyra', 'fides', and 'cithara', importations from Greece. The Greeks, in turn, no doubt imported these arts from the eastern countries, some authorities asserting that playing upon strings originated in Arabia, but different countries receive and treat the same kind of music very differently. According to Friedlaender, "Sittengeschichte Roms", Vol. 2, p. 155, the Alexandrine artists were especially skilled in zither playing. Their stringed music was a combination of the old Egyptian music and the new Greek. A zitherist could soothe an angry crowd, or, if he chose, could arouse the multitude to a pitch of fury. Zither playing in Egypt was a panacea for all evils.

The zither itself was very popular at Rome, and to play it was considered a great art. Friedlaender (ibid) vol. I, p. 485, quoting Juvenal, says: "Eine Frau aus einem der edelsten Häuser suchte, nach Juvenal, durch ein feierliches Opfer zu erforschen, ob ein damals berühmter Zitherspieler bei der nächsten Preisbewerbung den Kranz erhalten werde; was hätte sie mehr thun können, fügt der Dichter hinzu, wenn ihr Mann oder Sohn gefährlich erkrankt wäre?" and Friedlaender had preceded this with the statement: "Die Instrumente berühmte Zitherspiele wurden von ihren Verehrerinnen hoch bezahlt, als kostbarer Besitz geschätzt und zärtlich geküsst."

Horace shows great fondness for both the lyre and the zither and uses them interchangeably. In Epode IX he invites



Maecenas to a celebration at his house and says that 'we shall have the music of both the tibia and the lyra, some of which shall be in the Dorian and some in the Phrygian measure. But for the cheaper class of zither playing and flute playing, that which aroused the vulgar to frenzy, he had a feeling of contempt, deriding in Sat. I, 2, 1-3 one who will be mourned by such people as :

"Ambubaiarum conlegia, pharmacopolae,  
mendici, mimae, balatrones."

The Greek influence, both in literature and in music, came into Roman life so early that, to the younger generation, growing up with Horace, Greek masters seemed almost native, and the Greek music had so outshone the lesser Roman and become established with it, that it was not regarded as foreign. But the band of travelling musicians from Asia and Egypt who had such power over the multitudes of Orientals, with their accompaniment of obscene gesticulations and dances, did not, to Horace's mind, enter the realm of music as an art. Music itself he loves, and loves ardently, but 'noise', he just as ardently hates.

### Slavery

If Rome embraced the sensuous joys which the Orient offered her with wine and music and dancing, she no less eagerly welcomed the oriental slave as a means of obtaining this end. Thus at the opening of the Empire the greatest problem which confronted Augustus was the problem which dealt with slaves. At the same time, it was the most hopeless task undertaken by the young emperor. The extension of Rome's dominion over the countries bordering the Mediterranean, notably Asia Minor and Northern Africa, had brought such an



influx of slaves into Rome that this product of merchandise became almost a drug upon the market. A train of evils sprang up in the imperial city which had already drunk deeply of the corruption resulting from that ease of domestic life which an army of slaves, already large enough, had fostered. While, according to Gemoll (Die Realien bei Horaz, Heft 4) "Die Behandlung war im ganzen keine schlechte; dies lag schon in eignen Interesse des Herren, der in seinen Sklaven einen nicht unbeträchtlichen Teil seines Vermögens stecken hatte", we know that, in order to curb the passions of this motley horde, to whom was assigned the task of conducting almost every industrial activity of the city, the Romans resorted, in many instances to cruelties equal to the Pharaohs.

To a poet of Horace's dimensions we naturally ascribe a feeling of human kindness toward the humblest class of beings. But nowhere in his works does he express concern either about the slaves' own condition or about the social and economic conditions which their presence in such great numbers occasioned. He appears to have shared the popular attitude that the slave was but one degree removed from the brute, ordained by the gods to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. He must have been aware, as a man of affairs, that to slavery, more than to anything else, was due the marked change in the character of his countrymen which had occurred during the eventful years of his brief life. He must have observed, as a man observant of society, that with slaves virtually swarming in the household, ministering to luxury, pandering to appetites, directing amusements, managing business, even educating children, the old Roman virtues of simplicity, frugality, and temperance were declining and would soon perish. As a philoso-



pher, he must have had the foresight that the passing of Roman manhood into oriental effeminacy meant the passing of Roman sway over the civilized world.

Horace gives us no evidence that he disapproved of slavery; rather, he appears to view it as a natural and legitimate agency by which to conduct the industrial activities of a great city and the heavy labors of the country. But he does not approve of the growing custom of employing slaves to minister to the slightest whims of the master and sounds his note of disapproval in C.I,29 that Iccius, like a 'nabob', should have a cup-bearer in his service, vss.5-10:

".....Quae tibi virginum  
 sponso necato babara serviet?  
 Puer quis ex aula capillis  
 ad cyathum statuatur unctis,  
 doctus sagittas tendere Sericās  
 arcu paterno?"

With every campaign by which the dominion of Rome extended over the countries of the East, the slave population increased, until the humblest Roman had his coterie of servants. It became reprehensible not to have a slave for every sort of work. Satire I,3 12, "Habebat saepe ducentos, Saepe decem servos;" implies that ten was the minimum for one of restricted means, while in Sat.I,6,107-110:

"Obiciet nemo sordes mihi quos tibi, Tulli,  
 cum Tiberte via praetorem quinque sequuntur  
 te pueri, lasanum portantés cenophorumque.",

the poet talks of the ridicule thrown on Tullius, the praetor, because he had no more than five slaves to accompany him from the Tiburtine villa to Rome.

In contrast to this, Horace makes it clear that, were it possible for him to recall his youth and to choose as his parents a man of wealth in the place of his humble father, he





would prefer his first conditions, for otherwise would he be compelled to set about acquiring a larger fortune, more people would have to be complimented, this and that person would have to be taken along, until it would be impossible for him to take a quiet jaunt alone into the country, more attendants and horses would have to be fed, and more coaches to be drawn (Sat.I,6,89-104). His present condition was exactly suited to his tastes,-ib.105-6:

".....nunc mihi curto  
ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum."

He adds in vs.116,

"Cena ministratur pueris tribus"

that it was no disgrace for a Roman to be attended at dinner by only three slaves. It thus becomes certain that in his attitude toward the multiplying of slaves in the Roman household, a fashion among both the aristocracy and the middle class which was oriental at once in point of numbers and in the pomp and ceremony and extravagance accompanying it, Horace maintains much the same position as he holds in regard to other luxuries, notably wine,-that excess alone is culpable.

#### The Decay of Religion and the Invasion of Oriental Religions and Superstitions.

The Roman religion was an affair of the state; in the time of the kings, directed by the king, and in the republic, governed by the senate. In the last years of the Republic, politics had consumed all the considerations of the senate, and religion was allowed to take a secondary place. When the purity and solemnity of the Roman religion began to decay and Italy with Greece had imbibed the ideas of the philosophers, who had so distinctly pointed out the flaws in the old faith,



foreign and barbarous cults began to swarm into Italy, with headquarters at Rome; and the most degenerate forms of mysticism were imported from Asia Minor and Egypt. Caesar, recognizing this fact, that Rome had become a cosmopolitan city, made up of every nation and religion, did not attempt to give it once more a specially Italian character, but tolerated the worship of the new Egyptian gods, alongside of the Greek father Jove, besides allowing the Jews, in the very capital of the Empire, the free exercise of their strange rites. Under the Empire, due to the new spirit of deification of heroes, an artificial impetus was given to religion, but it chose, rather, to express itself in the new oriental rites because of their especial expiatory nature. (Mommsen 'History of Rome; Vol. IV, pp. 599-670; Harper's Class. Lit. 'Religion')

The philosophies of Epicurus, Zeno, and Plato were not sufficiently tangible to the rank and file of Romans. While they had lost their former belief in the reality of the gods, they preferred to substitute for it the more coarse magic and superstitions of the East. Horace was especially interested in the Grecian philosophies and, though declaring that he belongs to no particular school, Epist. I, 1, 14-5:

"Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri  
quo me cumque rapit tempestas, dereror hospes."

he at times preaches the Stoic doctrine so vigorously that we can hardly reconcile with it his Epicurean passages. He seems to take delight in holding up to the pleasure-seeking Romans the Stoic ideal of virtue for its own sake and yet for the benefit of the Stoical Romans he subjects virtue itself to his maxim 'nil admirari' if pursued beyond its proper limits (Epist. I, 6, 15-6). Horace mentions other philosophies and takes



occasion in Epist. II, 2, 43-5 to call Athens good and is happy that it gave him opportunity to seek after truth with Plato:

"Adiecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae,  
Scilicet ut possem curvo dinoscere rectum,  
Atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum;"

but he often laughs at their reasonings and holds up to ridicule such ideas as that of Pythagoras regarding beans:

"O quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque  
uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo? (S. II, 6, 63-5)

What Horace's own philosophy or religion was, it is hard to determine. It seems to have been ever changing, but it is certain that he lamented the great decay of religious sentiment among the Romans and the invasion of so<sup>r</sup>cery and superstition from the East. Ode 15 of Book II Horace devotes to censure that so much money is spent on private dwellings and so little for the public good. Speaking of Cato's time he says in vs. 13-20:

"Privatus illis census erat brevis,  
commune magnum, nulla decem pedes  
metata privatis opacum  
porticas excipiebat Arcton,  
nec fortuitum spernere caespitem  
leges sinebant, oppida publico  
sumptu iubentes et deorum  
templa novo decorare saxo."

In Satire II, 2, 103-5, Horace questions indignantly:

" . . . . . Quare  
templa ruunt antiqua deum? Cur, improbe, carae  
non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris acervo?"

Mommsen says (Hist, Rome, vol. 4, p. 598): "The ordinary houses of Rome were built of brick, negligently, and to a giddy height, mostly by speculative builders. Like isolated islands amidst this sea of wretched buildings were seen the palaces of the rich, beside whose marble pillars and Greek statues, the decaying temples with their images of the gods



still carved in wood, made a melancholy." Horace opens Ode 6 of Book III with this lofty sentiment, (vss.1-6):

"Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,  
Romane, donec templa refeceris  
aedisque labentis deorum et  
foeda nigro simulacra fumo.  
Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas;  
hinc omne principium, huc refer exitium."

Carmen Saeculare, pervaded with the most religious atmosphere of all Horace's works, must have been like the crying of a prophet, calling the people back to their ancient reverence and chastity. It is significant that, although nearly all the Persian gods had migrated to Rome by this time, among them Mithra, the sun-god, Horace in this song addressed directly to Apollo, gives so many of his names, Phoebus, alme Sol, Apollō, Augur, decoras arcu, acceptus novem Camaenis, but fails to address him as Mithra. However, Horace makes direct reference to the Persian goddess Cybele and in Carmen I, 18,13-6 denounces her worship:

".....Saeva tene cum Berecynthio  
cornu tympana, quae subsequitur caecus amor sui  
et tollens vacuum plus nimio gloria verticem  
arcanique fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro."

He mentions her again in Ode I,16,5-8:

"Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit  
mentem sacerdotum incolam Pythius,  
non Liber aequae, non acuta  
sic geminant Corybantes aera."

That this divination is jestingly referred to we may judge from Satire II,5, 57-60:

"Num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?  
O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non;  
divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo."

But Horace, along with many eminent Romans of his time, accepted the casting of horoscopes and the interpretations of dreams, arts partly original with the Romans, partly brought





from Asia, as scientific, to some extent. Lucius Tarutius, a very respectable friend of Cicero, with all gravity cast the nativity of kings Romulus and Numa, and confirmed by means of his Chaldean and Egyptian wisdom the accounts of the Roman annals. In the adoption of oriental religions, the higher moral elements were allowed to drop, and Horace finds in his journey about the 'fallacem circum' (Sat. I, 6, 113) only the cheap and tawdry representations of their practices. Astrology spread rapidly in Italy and was firmly established at the beginning of the Empire. This study is supposed to have arisen with the Chaldeans. Horace seems to have had some faith in their calculations, but warns Leuconoe, in C. I, 11, 1-3, not to meddle with those arts, for it is wicked:

"Tu ne quaesieris (scire nefas) quem mihi, quem tibi  
finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios  
temptaris numeros."

We may judge that he believed there were false practitioners of the art, for, as Gemoll (Die Realien bei Horaz, Die Astrologie, Heft II) thinks, 'fallacem' must apply to the astrologers, and yet he appears in C. II, 17, 17-20 to accept their teachings:

"Seu Libera seu me Scorpis adspicet  
formidulosus, pars violentior  
natalis horae, seu tyrannus  
Hysperiae Capricornus undae."

It is against magic, wonders, witches, and Thessalian prodigies that Horace levels his keenest satire. He chooses Canidia as the subject of his fiercest imprecations. In Epode V he seems to sound a note of warning that children must be kept out of the way of witches and shows that he does not at all doubt the evil practices ascribed to them, but by means of the prophesy in the words of the boy in the last verses, 97 to 100,

"Vos turba vicitim hinc et hinc saxis petens



contundet obscaenas anus;  
 post insepulta membra different lupi  
 et Esquilinae alites;"

he indicates that he did doubt their powers, in forcing the stars from heaven, in love potions, and in altering the conditions of human nature, and felt sure that some future day even the common people would disbelieve them and stone them from the city.

In the light of this we must consider Epode 17 as keenest satire. Witchery was known in Italy in very early times, and Horace applies the adjective 'Marsa' to it in both Epode V and 17, but he especially upbraids Canidia for her Colchian poisons, Epode 17,35:

"Cales venenis officina Colchicis."

and deems Thessaly the source of the most outrageous prodigies (Epode 5,45-6):

"quae sidera excantata voce Thessala  
 lunamque caelo deripit."

It is perhaps significant that the Epodes are among Horace's earliest compositions and since he has devoted two out of the seventeen entirely to witchcraft, we must feel that the poet was widely familiar with it and it had become at Rome especially obnoxious to the educated class. He closes Epistle II,2 with a description of a perfect man and as one of his questions puts this (vss.208-209):

"Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,  
 nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?"

While Horace mentions precepts and teachings of all the pagan philosophers of note up to his time, Zeno, Chrysippus, Stertinius, Pythagoras, Mimnermus, Epicurus, and his master, Aristippus, and takes pains to scorn many superstitions of the Orient, he fails entirely to mention, in a serious way, the



odd people of Palestine who had a wondrous 'Book of the Law' regarding human conduct, a subject with which Horace constantly deals in his satires and epistles. He seems to have had only the common knowledge of their beliefs and classes their religion with other oriental superstitions becoming established at Rome in the last century of the Republic. Of these superstitions, regarded by many as peculiarly pernicious and contemptible, none were less likely to meet with favor than those of the Jews, who were considered the most sordid, the most turbulent, and most unsocial of all oriental colonists. (Lecky's "History of European Morals", vol. I, p. 338)

There were, however, a few prominent Romans who were attracted to the monotheistic religion of the Jews and were impressed by its spiritual beauty. Tacitus in his 'Historiae' pays a high tribute to them and Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, visited the temple daily during his stay in Jerusalem. Because of the favors shown them by Julius Caesar, the Jews took a prominent part in the public mourning for his death. Augustus himself continued this leniency toward them. Just why Horace, who must have studied quite thoroughly all philosophies at Athens, and must have been broad-minded enough to allow truth in all, fails to mention the Jews in anything but a light and mocking tone, is hard to determine. We might judge, however, that Horace came in contact with only the lower strata of Jews and had only been able to observe their superstitions, their tendencies as trades-people, and their ability to proselyte. (Sat. I, 4, 143) Had Horace travelled more extensively and especially had he visited the land of Palestine, he must certainly have mentioned the Jews in a more serious tone. If he had come in contact with the High Priests



and the true interpreters of the Jewish faith, as did Agrippa, his own philosophy must have been altered by it and his treatment of the Jews more sincere.

In the year 139 B.C. the Jews were banished from Rome, but in a century's time Lucullus and Pompey had brought captive Jews from Asia Minor and many of these were afterward freed. (Friedlaender, 'Sittengeschichte Roms' vol. 3, p. 617) Besides this, the relations between the Orient and the Occident were all the time becoming more intimate, especially the trade-relations, and it is altogether likely that many Jews came to Rome, or had Jewish agents in Rome, for the sale of the fine fabrics of Asia Minor. It must have been with this class of Jews that Horace came in contact.

Outside of a casual reference to Herod, the king of the Jews, the poet mentions by name only one Jew, Apella. In referring to a superstition about the portal of Gnatia that the people of the town tried to make him believe that here the incense melted without fire, he says (Sat. I, 5, 100):

".....Credat Iudaeus Apella  
non ego;"

The commoner Jewish beliefs must have been widely disseminated and (according to Harper's Dict. of Class. Lit. and Antiq. 'Jews') when the Romans began to import oriental rites, the Sabbath was superstitiously observed by many. Horace mentions this observance in a mocking tone in Sat. I, 9, his most ludicrous satire, and also refers here to their custom of circumcision, vs. 71-3:

".....hodie tricesima sabbata vin'tu  
curtis Iudaeis oppedere? 'nulla mihi' inquam,  
'religio est'."

In Sat. II, 3, 282, he probably refers to a custom of the Jews,





"lautis manibus", and this also in a mocking tone. It is very evident that Horace, along with many other eminent men of his time, philosophers and statesmen, failed to attach any importance to that small sect of people, settled together beyond the Tiber, who worshipped only in their own synagogue, and held strictly to the beliefs of their fathers. Their religion he classed with all other superstitions and superstitions of all kinds he subjected to severe ridicule.

#### Citizens of the Orient.

Horace mentions few citizens of the Orient by name. He takes occasion in Epistle II, 1, 237-247 to compare Alexander to Augustus to the disadvantage of the former. In writing this Epistle, dedicated to Augustus, Horace enters into discussion of ancient and modern poets and poetry and mentions the fact that, while Alexander was a great general, perhaps comparable to Augustus, he was lacking in literary judgment in that he allowed that bad poet, Choerilus, in his train, although demanding to be painted by the greatest artists of his age. Augustus, Horace says, has shown great literary wisdom in patronizing such poets as Vergil and Varius.

Another Oriental of prominence whom Horace mentions is Cleopatra. The most extravagant reports of the designs of Cleopatra were believed at Rome and her absolute power over Antony gave real cause for anxiety. The burst of joy with which C. I, 37 opens, written upon the news of her death, is justified by the great terror felt at Rome of coming under her dominion. Horace exultingly portrays her ignominious flight, deriding her court of eunuchs, but with sudden transition, he contemplates with admiration her determination to die rather than grace a Roman triumph, and closes his ode with a



warm tribute to her lofty spirit.

The fate of Tiridates, king of Parthia at the time of the battle of Actium, who, driven out by Phraates, was forced to find an asylum with Augustus, gives Horace little concern (C.I,26,1-5). Evidently he considered the petty strifes of the small Asiatic kings as unworthy the serious attention of an illustrious Roman citizen.

To be king of Persia was the summit of earthly happiness, according to the prevailing Roman idea. But Horace says that virtue exempts Phraates from the number of the happy, although he is king of Persia, Phraates who had slain his own father, thirty brothers, and his eldest son in vain endeavor to keep for himself the perpetual reign of the Syrian kingdom.

#### Countries of the Orient.

Horace, in so close contact with Augustus and Maecenas, could not but be acquainted with the affairs of Asia Minor and many peoples in far distant lands. It is conjectured that Horace visited in person, under the command of Brutus, some of the Grecian colonies in Asia. He speaks of many of them very intimately, but this might have come about from his contact with Grecian scholars at Athens who had visited the Greeks of Asia Minor. Of the more distant lands Horace seems to show some knowledge of their geography and the particular characteristics of their people. The stories that the officers of the army brought back from their conquests must have been discussed often before Horace, and by his wide reading of the Greek language, he could become very familiar with the remotest people with whom the Greeks were acquainted. He refers to the 'arrogant' Indian, the 'deceitful' Persian, the 'furious'



Parthians, the 'fear-inspiring' Medes, the 'vagrant' Scythian, the 'wealthy' Arabian, the 'magic-producing' Chlchians, the S&ccambrians who 'delight in slaughter', the Seres 'of the far eastern coast' (probably China), the 'double-tongued' Canu- sinians, the 'remote' Gelonians, and the 'treacherous' Armen- ians.

Many cities, especially Greek, are familiar to him, at least by name. His knowledge of the mountains and the rivers of Asia Minor might have been gained from the well-known myths, as he mentions such rivers as the Scamander, Simois, Pactolus, Xanthus, Tigr&ccaron, Hydaspes, and the mountains Ida, Caucasus, Niphates, Corycius, Dindymene. The Caspian sea, Horace de- scribes by several adjectives, chief of which is 'Atrox'.

Of Africa, Horace seems to have had little accurate knowledge. The arch enemies of R&ccaronme, Cleopatra and Hannibal, he mentions with bitter hatred. He confounds Egypt with Ethiopia and scornfully applies the adjective 'formidatus' to the fleet intoxicated with Mareotic wine. The wonders of Egypt he almost entirely let alone, barely mentioning the Nile and Pyramids. It is his great delight to picture Alexandria lying suppliant at the feet of the conquering Augustus. From the fact that Horace often confounds eastern names such as Syria with Assyria, Parthia with Persia, Egypt with Ethiopia, we judge that he had taken little pains to obtain a perfect knowledge of the peoples and the countries that were perplex- ing Augustus and Maecenas and trusted that Augustus, in what- ever relation they entered with the Roman state, would preserve the sovereigty of the 'Populus Romanus'.



### Alexandrinism

One of Horace's marked characteristics as a poet is his freedom from Alexandrinism, which dominated Roman education and Roman poetry in his youth. Because of the especial erudite character of these poems they were introduced into the school instruction of Italy even before the generation of Horace (Mommsen 'History of Rome', vol. IV, p. 673). The erotic poems of Euphorion, of Callimachus, and of Lycophron, contained many sentences laboriously involved and difficult to analyse, mystic combinations of antiquated myths and passages so hard to interpret, that they made excellent text-books for the young Roman trying to master the Greek language. Many of these poems treated of astronomy and astrology, subjects especially attractive to the prevailing religious delusions. Horace uses to advantage his technical knowledge gained from this source and draws freely from their stock of mythological and astrological material. But he never adopts the style of the strictly Alexandrine poets and never sacrifices freshness and good taste for formality and erudition. In spirit and form of verse Horace took as his models the older Greek poets, and he firmly believed that he could make for Italy, not mere copies of the ancient and sublime Greek models, but Italian poetry that should be as lyrical and perfect as the odes of Alcaeus and Sappho. In *Ars Poetica* Horace makes no reference to the Alexandrines,-- that they were important studies-- but he applies the adjective 'excellent' to Homer and Tyrtaeus, declares that the Socratic papers will direct the poet in the choice of a lofty subject, that Archilochus shows judgment in adapting Iambic feet to the expression of wrath, and that the criticisms of Aristarchus are ever just. That he was indebted to Alcaeus for his models is





shown by C.I, 32,3-5:

".....age dic Latinum,  
barbite, carmen,  
Lesbio primum modulate civi."

and that he believed Pindar, Sappho, and Anacreon were as immortal as Homer, we must decide from C.IV,9,5-12:

"non, si priores Maeonius tenet.  
sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent  
Caeaeque et Alcaei minaces  
Stesichorique graves camenae,  
nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,  
delevit aetas; spirat adhuc amor  
vivuntque commissi calores  
Aeoliae fidibus puellae."

With a beautiful simile he celebrates the glory of Pindar in C.IV, 2,1-10, declaring that he has no rival. Thus it is evident that Horace did not join in with the fashionable multitude in the praises of the erotic Alexandrine poetry, that which must have been written when Egyptian culture was at its height, and pictured so unblushingly all the sensual delights of love; but preferred the more delicate, the more refined, and patriotic poetry produced in the days 'when men knew what they owed their country and what their friends, with what affection a parent, a brother, a stranger are to be loved; what was the duty of a senator, what of a judge, and what the duty of a general sent out to war.'

#### Patriotism.

The poetic soul of Horace loved to contemplate with Pindar, Alcaeus and Sappho, the grandeur of the past, its simplicity, its patriotism, its men like unto the gods in physical power and bravery, willing for the sake of honor and country, to sacrifice wife and children and all the tender joys of home, considering Rome first, last, and in all things. (C.I,12, 33-40):



"Romulum post hos prius an quietum  
 Pompili regnum memorem an superbos  
 Tarquini fascis dubito, an Catonis  
 nobile letum.  
 Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae  
 prodigum Paullum superante Poeno  
 gratus insigni referam camena  
 Fabricumque."

(C.III,5, 41-48) Of Regulus:

"Fertur pudicae coniugis osculum  
 parvosque natos ut capitis minor  
 ab se removisse et virilem  
 torvus humi posuisse voltum,  
 donec labantis consilii patres  
 firmaret auctor numquam alias dato,  
 interque maerentis amicos  
 egregius properaret exsul,"

But the everyday Horace, whose senses were played upon by all the light joys surrounding his companions, seems often to indulge in civic laziness and urges his friends to do the same. (C.II,11, 1-3):

"Quid bellicocus Cantaber et Scythes,  
 Hirpini Quincti, cogitet Hadria  
 divisus obiecto, remittas  
 quaerere."

C.III,8, vs. 17, 25-28:

"Mitte civilis super urbe curas"

"Neglegens ne qua populus laboret,  
 parce privatus nimium cavere et  
 dona praesentis cape laetus horae;  
 linque severa."

We are to hope, however, that Horace is merely strengthening the unity of his ode and its care-free mood, while his real feeling was ever for the glory of his state. Certain it is that he takes great delight in portraying Augustus as the great conqueror of the other nations, cities lying suppliant at his feet, and hostile tribes trembling at his name. (C.IV,5, 25-28):

"Quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,  
 quis Germania quos horrida parturit  
 fetus, incolumi Caesare? Quis ferae  
 bellum curret Hiberiae?"



C.IV,14, 5-9:

".....o qua sol habitabilis  
 inlustrat oras maxime principum?  
     Quem legis expertes Latini  
             Vindelici didicere nuper  
 quid Marte posses,"

and the closing verses:

"Te.....  
 Medusque et Indus,.....  
     miratur, o tutela praesens  
             Italiae dominaeque Romar:(seq)"

Furthermore, Horace instructs the virgins and boys in C.I,21, 13-16, to pray the god Apollo that he drive away calamitous war, and miserable, and the plague, from the Roman people and their sovereign Caesar; and inflict them upon the Persians and the Britons.

It may be possible that Horace accomplished some great good in his efforts to save his countrymen's hands from slaying one another. His feeling is especially strong in these passages and he laments that Roman blood should be spilled by Romans, and if an expenditure of life must be made, exhorts them to let it be made against the inferior nations, the Persians or the Parthians.(C.I,2, 21-24):

"Audiet civis acuisse ferrum,  
 quo graves Persae melius perirent,  
 .....  
     rara iuventus,"

C.I,35, 33-40:

"Eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet  
 fratrumque. Quid nos dura refugimus  
     aetas, . . . . .  
 . . . . .O utinam nova  
     incude diffingas retusum in  
             Massagetarum Arabasque ferrum."

Epode VII most fiercely assails the Romans for spilling their own blood. In bitter sarcasm he says 'agreeably to



the wishes of the Parthians, this city may fall by its own might. This never obtained even among savage lions. They fight against a different species. Does blind frenzy or some crime hurry you on at this rate? And continuing this thought in Epode XVI, he cries:

"Altera iam territur bellis civilibus aetas,  
suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruet."

and also in ib. vss. 9-10:

"impia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas,  
ferisque rursus occupabitur solum."

Horace is not a Jeremiah in his lamentations of decaying Rome. He does not grieve and sigh for its decaying religion, or its decaying militarism, but he strikes at the laxity of his companions with an effective weapon, and by shame and ridicule attempts to recall them to a part, at least, of their former sturdy glory. (C. III, 6, 1-4):

"Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,  
Romane, donec templa refeceris  
aedisque labentis deorum et  
foeda nigro simulacra fumo."

C. III, 24, 25-30:

"O quisquis volet impias  
caedis et rabiem tollere civicam,  
si quaeret pater urbium  
subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat  
refrenare licentiam,  
clarus post genitis."

Yet at times he is almost tender, as he considers how great storms the Roman state has encountered, and looking upon her pitiable condition, exhorts, likening her to a ship, C. I, 14, 1-2:

"O navis, referent in mare te nove  
fluctus! O quid agis? Fortiter occupa  
portum!"

ib. vss. 17-20:

"Nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,  
nunc desiderium curaque non levis





interfusa nitentâs  
vites aequora Cyclades."

Horace's failure to mention Antony, when exultantly celebrates the victory over Cleopatra, shows the poet's strong feeling of patriotism toward any fellow Roman. Celebrating the same victory, in Epode IX, he again fails to mention Antony and cries, (vss. 21-28):

"Io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos  
currus et intactas boves,  
Io Triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem  
bello reportasti ducem,  
neque Africanum, cui super Carthaginem  
virtus sepulcrum condidit.  
Terra mariquâ victus hostis Punico  
lugubre mutavit sagum."

Perhaps Horace rises to his loftiest patriotism, with the exception of Carmen Saeculare, in C.III,3. It had been feared at Rome that Augustus intended to move the capital of the Empire from Rome to the ancient site of Troy. Horace in this Carmen boldly attempts to dissuade Augustus, and in verses 42-48 earnestly prays:

". . . . . stet Capitolium  
fulgens triumphatique possit  
Roma ferox dare iura Medis;  
horrenda late nomen in ultimas  
extendat oras, qua medius liquor  
secernit Europen ab Afro,  
qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus."

Whatever vices had become common to the Romans, because of their increase of power and wealth, Horace is able to forget in the thought 'we are Roman citizens, the imperial masters of the world'. He is ever ready to admit his own shortcomings and tendency toward ease, and is not guilty of conniving at the faults of his friends while excusing his own. If we could imagine a Rome untouched by Oriental influences, we could easily imagine a Horace there, just as happy, just as content, as



he was in receiving the handfuls of the rich Maecenas. Wherever Horace might have been born, he would find there an environment to make him happy, people whom he could call brothers, whose lives were only slightly more culpable than his own, and as genial a sun as shone on his Sabine farm.

It is this disposition of Horace, this happy mental attitude, this subjective optimism, which hides from our view any more positive assurance that he was allied with the Puritan party whose demands Augustus so strenuously endeavored to gratify. The poet's attitude toward the Romans' increasing wealth and love of luxury is unmistakable; he decried both. His attitude toward the moral laxity which arose from this increase of wealth and love of luxury is less easy to discern. It is certain that he questioned the efficacy of Augustus' laws enacted to counteract the growing immorality. We believe Horace is sincere when he cries:

"Felices ter et amplius,  
 quos inrupta tanet copula nec malis  
 divolsus querimoniis  
 suprema citius solvet amor die."

This is the creed of the Puritans, the antithesis of Oriental eroticism. Horace was also Puritanic in that he accepted that adjunct of Puritanism, the preservation of Rome's military strength. Not of a military temperament himself, he yet realized that Rome's greatness in the future, as in the past, must lie in the sterner discipline of the camp. He sees in the youth with 'pared nails', redolent with oriental myrrh, a corruption which weakens and destroys the bulwarks of empire. Not so radical and censorious as Cato, he yet perceives as clearly that the tide of orientalism must be stayed if Rome were to retain her title as mistress of the world. No less a destructive influence



of the greatness of Rome he recognized in its vulgar acceptance of the lower forms of superstitions of the Orient. Although he could not define for himself an exact creed, or even ally himself wholeheartedly with any one school of philosophy, he exhorts the Roman people to repair the ancient altars of the gods, satisfied in his own mind that, only by a common return to the old faith on the part of the masses at Rome, could the state hope to hold its supremacy among the nations. Upon the religious and moral tone of the nation depended the citizen's conception of duty to his country and upon this conception was founded the increase or decline of the Roman power. Horace is ready to accept from Greece all things that are cultural, its music, its literature, and its works of art; but to the 'sordid' wealth of the Persians and the contagious vices of the court of Alexandria, he attributes the mad frenzy of his countrymen in forsaking the ancient virtues and simplicity of the Roman state. When we remember that the realm of politics was forbidden ground to a poet in the time of Horace, we must credit Horace with especial diplomacy in his treatment of this subject so perplexing to his emperor. Not openly allying himself with the puritans, he furthered as far as he could those laws of Augustus which aimed at the re-establishment of the Empire upon the grounds of pristine Roman morality and rectitude.



## Bibliography

- Smith & Greenough..Horace (Ginn and Company-N.Y.-1903).
- Mommsen.....History of Rome (C.Scribner's Sons-N.Y.-1891).
- Ferrero.....Greatness and Decline of Rome (G.P.Putnam's Sons--N.Y.-1908).
- Ferrero.....Character & Events of Roman History (G.P. Putnam's Sons-N.Y.-1909).
- Becker.....Gallus (Longmans, Green-N.Y.-1895).
- Lecky.....History of European Morals, Vol.I (D.Appleton and Company-N.Y.-1890)
- Johnston.....Private Life of the Romans (Scott, Foresman and Company-N.Y.1903).
- Abbott.....Society & Politics in Ancient Rome (Charles Scribner's Sons-N.Y.-1909).
- Fowler.....Social Life at Rome (The Macmillan Co.-N.Y.-1909).
- Harper.....Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities-American Book Co.-N.Y.-1897)
- Friedlaender.....Darstellung aus der Sittengeschichte Roms- (German edition, S.Hirzel, Leipzig, 1901 ).
- Gemoll.....Die Realien bei Horaz (R.Gärtner, Berlin, 1892).



















010-100971263

378.7M71  
XW580

RECEIVED  
OCT 2 1914  
UNIV. OF MO.

This thesis is never to leave this room  
Neither is it to be checked out over-  
night

