HORACE AND HIS GREEK ORIGINALS

In Book I of the Odes

by

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS in the GRADUATE SCHOOL of the UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

1919
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PREFACE

It was the original purpose of this study to consider all the apparent imitations of Greek originals that occur in Horace's Odes and Epodes; and the material was collected with this end in view. It became apparent, however, that it would be impossible to cover this large number of examples in a Master's thesis, and therefore, the detailed discussion has been limited to the first book of Odes (except where comments on other of Horace's works were of interest or value in proving the point in question). This limitation is further justified in consideration of the fact that the first book is the one preeminently characteristic of Horace's tendency to follow Greek originals; for as Sellar says\(^1\): "In the Odes of the first book there are clearer traces than in the later books of the imitative process by which Horace formed his art."

M. C.

HORACE AND HIS GREEK ORIGINALES
In Book I of the Odes

Introduction

1. Definition and classification of subject

It is the purpose of this thesis to give specific examples of Horace's indebtedness to Greek originals in the first book of Odes. The term Greek originals, as used here, includes those parts of ante-Horatian literature, written in the Greek language, which he has translated, whose spirit he has caught, or whose thought he has imitated. Hence the classification of these collected examples is made, in respect to the degree of indebtedness, into the following divisions: 1) Lines which are unconscious echoes of the Greek, 2) lines which consciously imitate the Greek, 3) poems unconsciously imitative of Greek spirit or thought, 4) poems consciously imitative of the Greek, and 5) poems translated.
2. Evidence that Horace followed Greek models

1 Consciously

It is almost unnecessary to prove by a detailed discussion the general fact that Horace consciously imitated Greek authors. The point is made clear beyond all question by even a brief survey of first, his own statements; second, the character of his audience and influence of his environment; third, the general impression of his works; and fourth, the metres.

(1) His own statements:

That Horace felt that his aim was to clothe in Latin the Greek poems so familiar to him is shown in the following lines:

"mihi parva rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
Parce non mendax dedit? ---- "
"dicar - - - - -
princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos."3
"multa fero ut placem genus inritabile vatun."4

("Genus vatun" refers to Callimacus and Alcaeus)
"sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluonct

2G. 11, 16, 38 sqq.
3C. III, 39, 13 sqq.
4Spp. 11, 2, 102
et spissae nemorum comae
fingent Aeolis carmine nobilem."  

Not only does he thus state his general purpose; but he makes it clear that he considered only the best of Greek poetry worthy of serving as models when he urges the muse that rejoices in "pure sources" to "weave a garland of verse" for his Lamia:

"O quae fontibus integris
gaudes, apricos necte flores
necte meo Lamiae coronam,  
Pimplei dulcia."  

That the use of "fontibus integris" and "coronam" is figurative here, is clear when the fact that Horace wishes his Muse to immortalise Lamia, not to paint a nature picture — is supported by the last few lines of the same poem:

"hunc fidibus novis,
hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
teque tuaque decet sorores."  

(The Lesbian plectrum refers, of course, to Terpander, Alcaeus and Sappho — all of whom came from Lesbos and gave the name of their native land to the lyre.)

5 C. IV, 3, 10 sqq.
6 For the use of "coronam" as "garland of verses" see Ch. II, 1, 3'  
7 C. I, 26, 6 sqq.
8 C. I, 26, 10 sqq.
9 (Cf. "Lesbium barbiton" C. I, 1, 34
10 "Lesbium servate pædem meique pollicis ictum," C. IV, 6, 36
He even enumerates those whom he strove to imitate:

"Ne forte credas interitura quae
longe sonantem natus ab Aufidum
non ante volgatus per artis
verba loquor socianda chordis:

non, si priores Maecenius tenet
sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent
Caeque et Alcaei minaces
Stesichorique graves camenae;

nec siquid olim lusit Anacreon
delevit aetas. Spirat adhuc amor
vivontque commissi calores
Aeoliae fidibus puellae."\(^{10}\)

It will be noticed that this list includes Homer, supreme among epicists; Pindar, equally pre-eminent in the realm of lyrics; Stesichorus, whom Quintilian characterises as sustaining the burden of the epic with his lyre\(^{11}\); Simonides, the pathos of whose funeral odes equalled the polish and purity of his epigrams in celebration of Greek achievements; Anacreon, with his lyrics of personal emotion, full of levity and epicurean sentiments; Sappho, chief of Aeolian lyricists for the perfection and grace of her poetry.

\(^{10}\) Quint. Inst. Or. X, 1, 62: "Stesichorum --- epic carminis onera lyra sustinentem."
and the passion of her love songs; and Alcaeus, whose songs of revelry, war and civic struggles reveal a graceful, reflective and polished poet whose natural characteristics closely parallel those of Horace.

That Horace considers imitation of Pindar as unattainable as it would be desirable, is shown in the following:

"Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari
dile, ceratis ope Daedalea
nititur pinnis, vitreo daturus
nomina ponto.

monte decurrents velut amnis, imbres
quam super notas aluere ripas
fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore."12

And on thru half the ode, he speaks in the most extravagant praise of every kind of lyric that Pindar glorified -- the "daring dithyrambs", the hymns and prosodia, the epinicia for "those that the Elean palm exalts", and the threnoi for "the young hero snatched from his bride".

Horace's comparison of Pindar's poetry to an unrestrained torrent rushing thru the woods with thunderous

12 G. IV, 2, 1-8
voice, shows his realisation that such "magnificence of spirit, grandeur of figurative conceptions, and happy exuberance of thought and words" was not for wings like his. And it is indeed fortunate that he limits himself to short echoes and references to the inimitable lyricist; for Horace with all his grace and polish could never attain the fire and overwhelming splendor of the poet who was truly μοσφός ὁ ποιλλὰ εἰδωλίς φύς."  

Of Sappho, too, Horace speaks in laudatory fashion; and aside from Ode IV, 9 and Epistle I, 19, 28, he refers to her in the following passage:

"Aeoliiis fidibus querentem Sappho puellis de popularibus et te sonantem plenius aureo, Alcaee, plectro dura navis, dura fugae mala, dura belli. utrumque sacro digna silentio mirantur umbrae dicere."  

Archilochus was Horace's model metrically rather than otherwise and it is in this connection that Horace says:

13 Quint. Inst. Or. X, 1, 61: "Pindarus princeps spiritu magnificentia, sententiae figuris, beatissima rerum verborumque copia ----;
14 Pind. Ol. II, 86
15 Cited above p. 4
16 Cited p. 7
17 C. II, 13, 25-30
"Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque Lycambem.
ac ne me folliis ideo brevioribus ornes,
quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,
temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar."\(^{18}\)

But of all, Alcaeus was the one whom Horace followed most closely and it was as the 'Alcaeus of Rome' that he wished to be known. The following remarks will make this clear, as well as Ode IV, 9 and Epistle I, 19 already quoted:

"Age dic Latinum
barbitum, carmen.

Lesbio primum modulate civi
qui ferox bello tamen inter arma
sive factatum religarat udo
litore navim,

Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
semper haerentem puerum canebat,
et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
crine decorum."\(^{19}\)

\(^{18}\)Epp. I, 19, 23-29
\(^{19}\)C. I, 32, 3-13
"et te sonantem plenius aureo
Alcaee, plectro dura navis
dura fugae mala dura belli.

utrumque sacro digna silentio
mirantur umbrae dicere."20

(2) Character of his audience and influence of his environment:

Nor is it surprising that Horace should so express
himself, in consideration of the environment in which he
lived. Born in Venusia21, a Greek colony; he was probably
more familiar with the Greek than the Latin tongue. We
know that he went to school at Rome under Orbilius22 who
undoubtedly taught him Homer in the original Greek as well
as in the translation of Livius Andronicus. His deep love
of Greek drew him to Athens "inter silvas Academi quaerere
verum";23 and as Sellar says,24 "almost induced him to
forget his nationality and, instead of making a new place
for himself among the Roman poets, 'to attempt to add one
more recruit to the mighty host of Greek bards'."25 That he
did try his hand at writing verses in Greek, we learn
definitely from his own words:

20 C. II, 13, 26-30
21 C. IV, 9, 2; III, 4, 9; III, 30, 10; S. II, 6, 34
22 S. I, 6, 72 sqq. Epp. II, 1, 71
23 Rom. Poets of Aug. Age, p. 146
24 S. I, 10, 35: "magnas Graecorum implere catervas"
"atque ego cum Graecos facerem natus mare citra versiculos." 26

Hence his education must have fostered his inherent taste. Then, too, it must be remembered that Horace writes for an audience that must have been chiefly composed of men like Maecenas, 'docte sermones utriusque linguae'. 27 To be sure, Horace realised that his book would later have a large audience, and he even foresaw that it would be used as a text in the schools; 28 but he, as well as all writers of the time, was interested chiefly in the approval of a few, and speaks to his book thus:

"paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
non ita nutritus." 29

He even mentions the choice few that he wishes to please:

"Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus atque Fuscus et haec utinam Visorum laudet uterque?
Ambitione relegata, te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos

26. I, 10, 31
27. III, 8, 5
prudens pratereo; quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,  
adridere velim, doliturus, si placeant spe  
deterius nostra."30

(3) General impression of Odes:

It would be impossible after reading the Odes, not to have the impression that the author is following Greek models in both form and thought. The expressions are those of an artist transforming his subject matter into another tongue; and at that, an artist so thoroughly imbued with Greek spirit that "much of the old Greek grace and some of the fire are felt thru the colder medium of his translations."31 In Ode II, 6, for example, he gives expression to a seemingly very intense personal feeling for associations that are Greek. From the first Ode of the first book, which has such a strong Greek savour, throughout his entire works, the allusions and sentiment give a very definite impression of Graecism.

(4) Metres:

A full discussion or even an adequate survey of the metrical similarities between Horace and the Greek lyric poets would take much more time and space than such a study.

30 S. I, 10, 81-90  
31 Mahaffey: Gr. Class. Lit. (Ep. and Lyr.) p. 202
as this allows. Suffice it to say that in the Odes, the most common metres -- the Alcaic and Sapphic, as well as the Alcanian and the Archilochian, are named after the Greek poets that made them famous; while the variations of the Asclepiadean and all the rest are of Greek origin. In the Epodes and a few of the Odes, Horace avowedly uses the metre of Archilochus:

"Farios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latic, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi."

2' Unconsciously

"Independent of intentional imitations, we meet also with frequent reminiscences of Greek poets which we must not suppose to have been collected with bee-like industry." Chronology is a factor to be considered in discussing the likelihood of imitation occurring; and it would be as impossible, in the Age of Augustus, for subconscious echoes of his beloved Greek authors to be absent from Horace's poetry, as it would have been for Virgil's Aeneid to have no unconscious references to Homer. There are numerous parallel cases in the literature of other countries, illustrating the fact that an age when the classics are studied cannot but

32 C. IV, 7; I, 4
33 Epp. I, 19, 23 sqq.
34 Teuffel and Schwabe: Hist. of Rom. Lit., p. 463
reflect classic thoughts, even when the author had no such intention. Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Spencer and Bacon are full of the classical spirit and abound in subconscious allusions as well as out and out imitations and references. The same thing is true in France of Corneille, Racine and Boileau.

Certainly with these facts in mind, it is not surprising to find the number of Horatian passages similar to the Greek very large. Many of those here quoted have been previously noted by one of the following editors: Keller, Kiessling, Ritter, Page, Smythe and Bergk.\(^3^5\) Even by combining such passages as are given by these editors with those found by the writer in a parallel study of Homer, the Greek lyric poets and Horace, this collection is probably not complete. However, the classification, according to the above given divisions, has been made in each case only after a careful consideration of the probable indebtedness of Horace to the Greek author quoted.

\(^{35}\) For full titles see Bibliography
CHAPTER I

Lines Which Are Unconscious Echoes of the Greek

The shorter the passage that expresses the thought of a Greek original, the more difficult it is to determine whether or not the imitation is conscious or unconscious. Usually, if the thought is expressed in such a way as to be practically a translation, it would seem that Horace had a definite Greek passage in mind. It is frequently true that for one line, or group of lines expressing one sentiment, there may exist many possible models. Of these, it is conceivable that all were unconsciously followed; but it is more often the case that Horace had one clearly in mind, while the rest were merely influential as a vague background. In the latter case, the one outstanding pattern has been classed as a conscious imitation and the others unconscious. Sometimes, the lines classed as unconscious imitations bear no direct indications of a Greek model. In fact, if definite proofs exist, the parallels seem conscious. As a rule, doubtful cases of imitation of Greek poets by Horace have been discarded in this discussion, even though they may be quoted by the editors as noteworthy parallels; but some lines and expressions may be given here merely because of a strong personal feeling that the echo is real.
In four words Horace wishes to picture the most striking and characteristic feature of a chariot race; and in his description it is only natural that he should echo the Greek accounts of this time-honored contest. This is especially true since the arrangement of the Roman Circus Maximus with its three conical columns or "meta" at either end corresponded closely to that of the Greek hippodrome with its stones which served as a goal around which the charioteer had to turn. That this feat was the difficult part of the Greek races we judge from Nestor's advice to his son, and from the account of the chariot race as given in Sophocles Electra. It is, therefore, very likely that these two passages are the background for the following Horatian lines:

C. I. 1, 4 sq:

---"metaque fervidis evitata rotis."

Il. XXIII, 338-341:

ἐν νύσσῃ δὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἀριστερὸς ἐγχρυμοφθήτω, ὥς ἂν τοῖς πλῆμμι γε δοσομεταὶ ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι κύκλου ποιητοῦ-λίθου ὅ'ἀλεασθαι ἐτίαυρεῖν,

Tr. Let the near horse hug the post, so that the nave of the well-wrought wheel shall seem to graze it -- yet beware of touching the stone.

Il. XXIII, 465-467:
Tr. Or did the reins escape the charioteer, so that he could not drive well around the post and failed in the turn?

Soph. El. 720-723:

κεῖνος ὅτε ἄφην ἐσχάτην στήλην ἐχων ἔχρισεν ἀπὸ σύριγγα, θαλὸν ὁ ἀνέλει.

σεμαιοῦν ὑποτεύχει τὸν προσκελέμενον.

Tr. Orestes, driving close to the pillar at either end of the course, almost grazed it with his wheel each time, and, giving rein to the trace-horse on the right, checked the horse on the inner side. 36

Soph. El. 741-749:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἀσφαλεῖς δρόμους ὑπεσευοι ὁ τῆμων ὁρὸς ἐξ ὁρῶν δύρων.

ἔπετα λύσιν ἤνιαν ἄριστερὰν

καμπτότοντος ὑποτεύχει τοῖς ἀνθάνει στήλην ἀκραν πταῖσας. ἔθραυσε δ' ἄνωθεν μέσας κυνάς,

καὶ ἀντύγων ὕλωθε. σὺν δ' ἐλίσσεται τιμητοῖς ἴμασι. τοῦ δὲ καμπτότοντος πέδων πώλων διεσπάρθην εἰς μέσον δρόμων.

Tr. Hitherto the ill-fated Orestes had passed safely thru every round, steadfast in his steadfast car; at last, slackening his left rein while the horse was

36 Tr. by Jebb
turning, unawares he struck the edge of the pillar; he broke the axle-box in twain; he was thrown over the chariot-rail; he was caught in the shapely reins; and as he fell to the ground, his colts were scattered into the middle of the course. 36

Again, in the same Ode, the description in the Iliad of how the Icarian Sea is tossed by the winds, finds an echo in Horace:

C. I, 1, 15:

lucantem Icariis fluctibus Africum

II. II, 144 sq.:

--- κύματα μακρὰ Θάλασσης, πτόντων Ἰκαρίοιο, τὰ μέν τ᾿ Ἑὕρως τε Νότος τε ὑπρόφ'---.

Tr. The high waves of the Icarian main which the east and south winds raise.

The stormy Icarian was proverbial; but the well-known Homeric description probably had its influence on Horace's choice of this particular sea and wind as the type to arouse fear in the trader.

So, too, the idea of Apollo veiled in a cloud is so Homeric that Horace must have written the following passage with reminiscences of some or all of the Greek here quoted:
C. I, 2, 31 sq.:
--- nube candentis umeros
amictus augur Apollo;

Il. XV, 307 sq.:
--- πρῶτον δὲ πὶ αὐτοῦ Φοίβος Ἀπόλλων
εἰμένος ὄμους νεφέλην,

Tr. While in front of him went Phoebus Apollo, his shoulders veiled in a cloud.

Il. V, 186:

ἔστην’ ἀθανάτων, νεφέλη εἰλιμένος ὄμους,

Tr. Some one of the immortals stood nearby, his shoulders veiled in a cloud.

Similarity in thought does not necessarily mean imitation; it takes additional evidence to prove that one author is consciously borrowing the ideas of another.

However, a decided echo of sentiment, even though supported by no metrical or linguistic parallels, seems to offer an example of influence unconsciously felt:

C. I, 3, 9 sqq.:
illī robur et aes triplex
circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
commisit pelago ratem
primus, nec timuit praecipitem Africum.
Soph. Antig. 332 sqq.:

Πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ καύδεν ἄνθρωποι δεινότερον πέλευ.
Τοῦτο καὶ πολλοῦ πέραν πόντου κεφερίῳ νότω
χωρεῖ, περιβολίωσιν
περίων ὑπ' οἴδασιν.

Tr. Wonders are many, and none is more
wonderful than man -- the power that crosses over the hoary
sea, driven by the stormy south wind; passing thru waves
that threaten to engulf him.

To be sure, there are no definite proofs that
Horace is not giving expression to an original thought or
else to a sentiment of his Latin predecessors. Seneca
has made a similar remark in his Medea,\textsuperscript{37} and Propertius
probably wrote the seventeenth elegy of book I\textsuperscript{38} before
Horace composed the Ode to Virgil. As for Seneca, his
use of Greek originals was so extensive that the mere fact
of his having a similar passage really points to a common
Greek source. At any rate, the Hellenic echo in Horace
is present here.

\textsuperscript{37}Sen. Med. 301-305: Audax nimiun qui freta primus
rate tam fragili perfida rupit
terrasque suas post terga videns
animam levibus credit auris,

\textsuperscript{38}Written when poet thinks he will perish on the sea far
from his Cynthia. It contains(line 13 sq.):
"a pereat, quicumque rates et vela paravit
primus et invito gurgite fecit iter!"
The Greek myth about the descent of all manner of diseases after the theft of fire by Prometheus is referred to in lines 29-31 of this same Ode. Horace in his vivid word pictures "wasting disease" and "throng of fevers" seems to give more than a vague echo of Hesiod's description of the countless plagues that bring harm to men.

G. I, 3, 29-31:

post ignem aetheria domo
subductum macies et nova febrium
terris incubuit cohorum,

Hes. Works and Days, 100-104:

άλλα δὲ μυρία λυγρὰ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀλάληται.
πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαία μακῶν, πλείη δὲ Θάλασσα.
νοῦσοι δ’ ἀνθρώπουσιν ἐφ’ ἡμέρῃ, αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητῶσι φέρονται,

Tr. But other countless plagues wander amongst men; for earth is full of evils and the sea is full. Of themselves diseases come upon men continually by day and by night, bringing mischief to mortals.39

Although there is not sufficient similarity in the method of wording the following thought, to state that a deliberate imitation of the Greek is intended, the general

39 Tr. by H. G. Evelyn-White
sentiment that the folly of mortals leads them to aim at Heaven itself, as well as the reference to Zeus certainly recalls the Greek passage quoted as a parallel to:

C. I, 3, 38:

caelum ipsum petimus stultitia neque
per nostrum patimur scelus
iracunda lomem ponere fulmina.


--- ἐπιλήθεται οὐνεκα γαλαν
ποσιν ἐπιστεύει, ---
ἀλλ' ὑπεροπλίη και ἄμαρτυλήν νόον
Ἰσα Δ?(' βρομέει, ---

ἡ τιν' ἀτραπτόν τεκμαίρεται Οὐλυμπόνδε, οὐς κε μετ' ἀθανάτως ἐναρίσμως εἰλαπνάη.

Tr. He forgets for what reason he treads the earth, but with presumptuousness and sin of heart; he roars like Zeus, or he seeks to determine the path to Olympus, as though he would revel among the immortals.

And again the Hellenic spirit is echoed in Horace's picture of life in Pluto's hall:

C. I, 4, 16-20:

iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
nec regna vini sortiere talis,
nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet inventus
nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

Sappho, 68:40

κατθάνοισα δὲ κέισειαν οὐδὲ ποτα μμασούνα σέθεν
ἐσσετ’ οὐδ’ ἔρως εἰς υστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδήεις βρόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας· ἀλλ’ ἁμάνθη κην Ἀιδόα δόμοις
φοιτάεις πεδ’ ἁμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποιημένα.

Tr. Thou shalt lie as dead nor shall there be
any remembrance and love for thee hereafter; for thou dost
not share in the roses of Pieria. But unknown in the
dwelling of Hades, thou shalt wander with the pale ghosts.

Theognis Elegies, 973-978:

ὦδεὶς ἀνθρώπων, ὅν πότν’ ἐπὶ γαία καλυψῇ
ἔστ’ ἔρεβοι καταβῆς, δύματα Περσεφόνης,
τέρπεται οὔτε λόρης οὔτ’ αὐλητῆρος αἰκώνι,
οὔτε Διωνύσου δῶρον ἀειρόμενον.
ταῦτ’ ἔσορᾶν κράσην ἐὰν πείσωμαι, ἀφρ’ ἐτ’ ἐλαφρά
γούνατα καὶ κεχαλὴν ἀτεμέως προφέρω.

Tr. No man, when first he is concealed
beneath the earth and descends into Erebus, the dwelling of
Persephone, has delight in listening to the lyre or flute
player, or pledging with the gift of Dionysus. Observing

40 Text as found in Smythe; Sappho XXIV
these things, I shall easily persuade my heart while I advance light steps and carry my head without a qualm.


Καὶ πάνε νῦν, καὶ ἔρα, Δαμόκρατες, οὐ γὰρ ἐσ τοιόμεθα, οὐδ’ αἰεὶ πασί συνεσσόμεθα.
καὶ στεθάνως κεφαλᾶς πυκασώμεθα, καὶ μυρίσωμεν
αὐτοὺς, πρὶν τύμβοις ταῦτα ζέρειν ἑτέρους.

Tr. Drink now and love, Damocrates, for not always shall we drink nor always be with our loves: and let us put garlands on our heads and anoint ourselves with myrrh, before others bring these things to our tombs.


Φείδη παρθενής καὶ τί πλέον; οὐ γὰρ ἐσ Ἁιδην ἔλθονσ’ εὔρησες τὸν φιλέοντα, κόρη.
οστέα καὶ σποδή, παρθένε, κελόμεθα.

Tr. Thou art sparing thy maidenhood -- Why keep on? For when thou art come to Hades, girl, thou shalt not find thy loved one. Cypris's delights are among the living; in Acheron, maiden, we shall lie as bones and ashes.

There is no direct evidence that Horace deliberately used any one of these passages as a model; and yet the entire tone is so Greek that at least some of those quoted must have been subconsciously followed here. The last citation bears
the closest resemblance to Horace because of the definite reference to the absence of Cypris's delights in Hades; and yet from Horace's own statements about Sappho, we judge that her poems were more familiar to him than those of any of the above authors.

The phrase, "To drown one's cares in wine" is now commonplace. Horace, as well as many Greek authors, has numerous expressions of the same sentiment; and it is interesting to notice both how he varies its wording, and how closely parallel the citations from his poems are to Greek passages:

C. I, 7, 17-19:

síc tu sapiens finire memento
tristitiam vitaeque labores
molli, Plncc, meró, ---

C. I, 7, 31:

(mecum saepe viri), nunc vino pellite curas:

C. I, 18, 3 sq.:

siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit, neque mordaces aliter diffugiant sollicitudines.

C. II, 11, 17 sq.:

---- dissipat Euhius curas edacis.

[41 See introduction]
Epode XIII, 17 sq.:

'illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
deformis aegrimonie dulcis alboquii.

C. I, 11, 6 sq.:

---- sapias: vina lique et apatio brevi
spem longam reseces.

C. I, 18, 5:

quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem

Theogn, 1129:

Εἰ πίημα τενίης θυμοφόρον οὐ μελεξαίνω.

Tr. If I drink, I care not for life-

destroying poverty.

Simon. fr. 14:

Τἶνε, τῷ ἔπι συμφοράς.

Tr. Drink, drink over misfortunes.

Simon. fr. 86:

ὅιον ἁμύντορα συσφοσυνάων,

Tr. Wine that drives dull care away.

Meleag VI, 3sq. (Anth. Gr. I, 5):

Ζυροπότει, καὶ πλῆρες ἀφυσάμενος σκύφος οἰνας
ἐκκροσιαν στυγερὰν ἐκ κραδίας ὀδύναν.

Tr. Drink pure wine; helping thyself to

ea cup filled with wine, drive from thy heart wretched
sorrow.
Eur. Bacch. 278-284:

---

ο Σεμέλης γόνος
μότρος ύμηρόν πῶμ' ηῷρε κείσινέγκατα
Θεντοίς, ὅ ποτε τοὺς παλαμέρους βροτοὺς
λύπης, ὅταν πλησθοῦσιν ἄμπελος δόθης,
ὕπνον ς' ἄηθην τῷν καθ' ἐμέραν ἰκανών
δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἐστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόλων.

Tr. The son of Semele discovered the
flowing cup of the grape and introduced it to mortals. It
relieves miserable men from grief, whenever they are filled
with the stream of the vine; and it gives sleep that brings
forgetfulness of daily evils; nor is there any other balm
for ills.

Eur. Bacch. 375 sqq.:

Τὸν Σεμέλας, -- -- --

-- -- -- ὁς τάδ' ἔχει,

- - - - -

ἀποπαύσας τε μερίμνας,

Tr. The son of Semele, whose prerogative it
is to drive away cares.

Eur. Alc. 794 sqq.:

- - οὖκουν τὴν ἀγαν λύπην ἀφεῖς
πέλι

- - - - - - - - - -

- - - - καὶ σάφ' οἶδ' ὀδούνεκα
τοῦ υῖν σκυθρυμποῦ καὶ ξυνεστώτος φρενῶν
μεθορμεῖτε σε τίτυλος ἐμπεσῶν σκύψου.

Tr. Wilt thou not then banish excessive grief and drink? --- I feel sure the plash of wine falling in the cup will change thee from thy present dull and pent-up spirit.

Theogn. 883:

τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπᾶς στιχάδας μελετῶνας,

Tr. Drinking of it (wine) thou shalt dispel grievous cares.

Alcaeus 35:

Οὗ χρῆ κάκωσιν θύμον ἐπιτρέπην.
προκόψομεν γὰρ σύδεν ἀσάμενοι,
ὡς βύγχι, χάρμακοι σὕ ἀριστον
σίνον ἐνεκαμένοις μεθύσθην.

Tr. We should not turn our thoughts to ills; for by worrying we do not progress at all. The best medicine, O Bacchus, is to become drunk when the wine is brought in.

Alcaeus 41, 3 sq.:

σίνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος μῖος λαθυκάδεα
ἀνθρώπους ἐδώκεν.

Tr. The son of Zeus and Semele has given to mortals wine which banishes care.
Some of these Horatian lines have clear individual models; but the majority show an unconscious reflection of Greek sentiment and thought, rather than a conscious imitation.

Closely allied in thought to these citations, are the lines that bring out Horace's Epicurean ideas; and many echoes of Greek poets naturally creep into his expression of a Greek philosophy.

The spirit of 'carpe diem' is reflected in all of the following passages with their ever-present advice to enjoy a life which is only too short:

C. I, 7, 31 sq.:

--- nunc vino pellite curas:
cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

C. I, 9, 15-18:

--- nec dulcis amores
asperne puer neque tu choreas:
donec virenti canities abest
morosa.

C. III, 29, 41-45:

--- ille potens sui
laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
dixisse 'vixi: cras vel atra

42See II, 1, 1
nube polum Pater occupato,
vel sole puro;
Epode XIII, 3-5:
--- rapiamus, amici,
ocasionem de die, dumque virent genua
et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus.
Theogn. 1047 sq.:
Νῶν μὲν πίνοντες τερτώμεθα, καλὰ λέγοντες,
ἀσυν δ’ ἔπειτ’ ἐσταλ, ταῦτα Θεοὶ μέλει.
Tr. Now let us enjoy ourselves, drinking
and talking; as for what is to come hereafter, that rests
with the gods.
Eur. Alc. 788-791:
εὐφραίνε σαυτόν, πίνε, τὸν καθ’ ἴμεραν
βλέν λογίσου σόν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τῆς τύχης,
tίμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πλείστον θαύσην Θεῶν
Κύπριν βροταίσιν.
Tr. Make merry, drink, and consider the life
from day to day thine own; the rest, Fortune’s; and also
honor Cypris, the sweetest of the Gods to mortals.
Antiphanes II, 3-5 (Anth. Gr. II, 188):
- - - - - ὅτ' οὖν χρόνος ύριος ὤμιν,
pάντα χύδην ἔστω, ψαλμόσ, ἔρως, προπόσεις.
χειμῶν τούντεθεν, γῆρως βάρος.
Tr. Now that the time is seasonable, let everything be unrestrained, the harp, love and the drinking of toasts. Let winter and the burden of old age be far off.

Ep. Adesp. 531 (Gr. Anth. IV, 230):

\[ '\text{O} \tau\omicron\nu \pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\nu\upsilon \tau\omicron\nu\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\nu\upsilon\alpha\nu\eta\nu\alpha\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon \gamma\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \iota\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \n
non semper idem floribus est honor
vernis neque uno Luna rubens nitet
voltu.

C. IV, 12, 25-29:
verum pone moras et studium lucri
nigrorumque memori, dum licet, igniun
miscet stultitiam consilia brevem;
dulce est desipere in loco.

Theocr. 2, 92:

χρόνος Φεύγων

Tr. Flying time

Simon. fr. 32:

"Ἀνθρώπος εἰών μή ποτε φάσηςς δ’ τι γίνεται αὕριον
μηδ’ ἄνδρα ἱδὼν ὀλβίων, ὁσον χρόνον ἔσεται
ἐκεῖα γὰρ, οὐδὲ ταυτιτερώγου μυής
οὐ τόσα μετάστασις.

Tr. Being mortal, never say what will
happen tomorrow; nor if thou seest man blessed, venture to
say how long time he will be so; for not even is the passing
of the gauzy-winged fly so swift.

Simon. 85, 11-15:

νηπίου, διὸς ταύτῃ θέλει νόση, οὐδὲ ζύλασθην,
ὡς χρόνος ἐσθ’ ἡθης καὶ βιότα’ ὀλύγος
Θεοτοίδες· ἀλλὰ σὺ ταύτα μαθῶν βιότου ποτὲ

Τέρμα
Foolish are they whose inclination lies
deep in this direction and who know not that short, for mortals,
is the period of youth and life. This learn, and continue
to the end of thy life to gratify thy soul with good things.

Mimnermus 5, 4–sq:

∀ωλ’ άλιμοχρόνιον γίγνεται ύστερ άναρ
ήβη τιμησα. το δ’άρχαλέον καὶ άμορφον
γέος άπερ κεφαλῆς αύτίχ’ δτερκρέματα.

Prized youth is like a flitting dream.

Grievous, unlovely old age hangs instant over our heads.

The uncertainty of the future and the impossibility
for any but an immortal mind to fathom its secrets furnish
the theme for the following citations; and again, the Greek
lyric and dramatic poets are full of possible models:

C. I, 9, 13-15:

quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere, et
quam fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
appone.

C. I, 11, 1-2:

Tu ne quaesieris (scire nefas) quem mihi quem tibi
finem di dederint.

C. II, 16, 25-28:

laetus in præsens animus quod ultra est
oderit curae et amara lento
temperat risu.
Car. II, 16, 11 sq.:

--- quid aeternis minorem
consiliis animum fatigas?

Car. III, 29, 29-33:

prudens futuri temporis exitum
caliginosa nocte premit deus
ridetque, si mortalis ultra
fas trepidat. quod adest memento

componere aequos.

Car. IV, 7, 17 sq:

quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
tempora di superi

Car. I. LX, 9:

permitte divis cetera\textsuperscript{43}

Theogn. 1048:

\[\delta'\ epsilon' \epsilon'\sigma\tau\alpha\theta'\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta\delta'\omicron\iota\nu\sigma\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\omicron\sigma\iota\nu\omicron\theta'\omicron\eta\omicron\rho\omicron\omicron\iota\omicron\nu\dot{\iota}\omicron.\]

Tr. As for the things which will be, they are the care of the gods.

Simon. fr. 32, 1:

\[\nu\varepsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\nu\iota\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\nu\omicron \mu\nu \nu\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\iota\nu \xi\omicron\o\omicron\sigma\upsilon\varsigma \omicron \tau\iota \gamma\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\omicron\upsilon \alpha\omicron\rho\omicron\iota\omicron\nu\iota.\]

Tr. Being a man, never say what will happen tomorrow.

\textsuperscript{43}Cetera refers to other things than those of the present

Τοὺς Θεοὺς τίθει τὰ πάντα.
Tr. Resign all things to the gods.

Aesch. Pers. 228:

Πάντα ὑπόσωμεν Θεοῖς.
Tr. We will leave all to the gods.

Theocr. 13, 4:

οἱ ἑναται πελόμεσθα, τὸ δ’ αὕριον οὐκ ἐσοφύμει.
Tr. We who are mortals and look not on the morrow.

Eur. Alc. 782-786:

βροτοῖς ἀνασά κατανεῶν ὁφείλεται,
κοῦκ ἐστὶ οὐ̄τῶν ὤστε ἐξεπιστάται
τὴν αὐριόν μέλλουσαν εἰ κριστατεῖ
tὸ τῆς τύχης γὰρ ἀφανῆς ὥς προβησταῖ
κατ’ οὖ διδακτὸν ὧδ’ ἀλήσκεται τεχνή.
Tr. Death is a debt owed by all men; and there is no mortal who knows if he shall live until the following day; for the path of fortune is out of sight -- neither can it be taught nor won by cleverness.
Theogn. 1075-1079:

Πρήγματος ἀπρήκτου χαλεπώτατον ἐστὶ τελευτὴν γνώμαν, ὡς ἡμέλλει τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τελεσθαι.

Tr. It is very hard to know the end of an unfinished matter -- how God intends to bring it to pass; for murky darkness is spread over it; and hiding that which is to be, are the bounds of helplessness unknowable to mortals.

Theogn. 159 sq.:

--- ὡς ἡμέρης ἀνεμέρως

Tr. For no human being knows how night or day will end for a single man.

Pind. Ol. II, 30-33:

--- ἦτοι θανάτων γε κείριτα

Tr. Truly the time of death is not revealed to mortals, nor the time when, in peace, we shall bring to
an end, with unimpaired happiness, a single day, the child of the sun.

Pind. Ol. XII, 7-10:

σύμβολον δ' οὐ πώ τις ἐπιχειρούν τινῶν ἀμφι προάγεις ἐσσομένας εὑρεν θεόθεν.

τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετύφλωνταί φραζαί.

Tr. No one of earth-born men has yet received from God a trustworthy token of what shall be; but wisdom is blinded as to the future.

Pindar, Pyth. 10, 63:

tά δ' εἰσ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀτέκμαρτον προνοησάλ.

Tr. The things of one year hence are not to be foretold by any sign.

In these many examples of Horace's belief in the enjoyment of the present, it is evident that there are some lines\(^{44}\) that seem to be conscious imitations of the Greek; whereas most of the Greek quotations merely furnish a strong subconscious background for the thought and words of the Latin.

Since Pausanias assures us that Alcaeus told of the theft of Apollo's kine,\(^{45}\) it is undoubtedly true that

\(^{44}\) See Ch. II, (1-1')

\(^{45}\) See Ch. V
the Alcaeus version was Horace's conscious model; nevertheless the similarity to Homer is clear in:

C. I, 10, 9-13:

\[\text{te, boves olim nisi reddidisses} \]
\[\text{per dolum amotas, puerum minaci} \]
\[\text{voce dum terret, viduus pharetra} \]
\[\text{risit Apollo.} \]

Horn. Hymn IV to Her. 254-5:

\[\Omega \; \tauαι, \; \deltaς \; \epsilonν \; \lambdaίκως \; \kατάκελαι, \; \muηνυε \; \muολβούς \]
\[\thetaάσιον. \; \epsilonπει \; \tauάχα \; νωμ \; \διωσόμεθα' \; \omega \; \kατά \; \κόσμον. \]

Tr. "O babe, that liest in the cradle, tell me quickly about my oxen, or very soon there will be an awful row between us." (Apollo to Hermes)

Ibid. 281:

\[\text{Τον} \; \sigma\; \acute{\alpha} \; \tau\; \alpha\ell\; \delta\; \nu \; \gamma\; \epsilon\; \lambda\; \acute{\alpha}\; \sigma\; \alpha\; \tau\; \iota\; \sigma\; \sigma\; \epsilon\; \phi\; \eta \; \epsilon\; \kappa\; \alpha\; \epsilon\; \rho\; \gamma\; \alpha\; \varsigma\; \delta\; \upsilon \; \lambda\; \nu. \]

Tr. Laughing softly, far working Apollo said:

In quoting Teucer's words as he fled from Salamis, Horace gives a decided echo of Odysseus as he encouraged his men when they had passed the Sirens, and again as he addressed his own heart before the slaughter of the suitors:

C. I, 7, 30:

\[\text{O fortæ peioraque passi} \]
Od. XII, 208:

".slice φίλοι, οὐ γάρ τι μακάων ἀδαμάμωνες εἰμιν."

Tr. "Friends, for since we are not ignorant of sorrows,

Od. XX, 18:

"Τέτλαθοι ὡς, κραδῆ καὶ κόντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτης,"

Tr. "Endure, my heart, for a worse thing thou once didst bear.

It is interesting to note that Horace again uses almost exactly these words, while Ovid and Vergil, too, have very similar lines -- a direct proof of the common source of all the Latin passages:

S. II, 5, 20 sq.:

--- 'fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo:

et quondam maiora tuli.

Verg. A. I, 198-199:

'o socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum)

o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.

Ov. Tr. V, 11, 7:

prefer et obdura: multo graviora tulisti,

Sappho was, in all probability, the model for Apollonius Rhodius and Meleager, as well as Horace, in the lines quoted below; but it is possible that these later Greek poets had their share in unconsciously influencing
the Latin of:

C. I, 13, 5-6:

tum nec mens mihi nec color
certe sede manet, umor et in genas
furtim labitur, arguens
quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus

App. Rh. III, 296-298:

toûs  ὑπὸ κραδῆς εἰλυμένος αὐθετεὶ λάθρη
οὐλὸς Ἄρως ἄπαλας δὲ μετετρωπάτο παρείδας
ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος, ἀκηθείησι νόοιο.

Tr. So cruel love, coiled around her heart, was secretly burning, and on her soft cheeks the color came and went in the distraction of her soul.

Meleager 53, 1 sq. (Anth. Gr. I, 17):

Αἰεὶ μοι γίνει μὲν ἐν οὐασιν Ἑχος Ἀρώτος,
ὁμα δὲ σίγα πόθους τὸ γλυκὰ δάκρυ φέρει.

Tr. The fluttering of Love's wings is always sounding in my ears; because of love, a tear of joy glides silently from my eye.

The citation from Meleager is particularly noteworthy because of its similarity to "umor et in genas furtim labitur".

Orelli claims that Horace in "quinta parte" of this same Ode had in mind the division that Pythagoras makes
of the elements; namely, earth, air, fire, water, and ether -- with the πέμπτον ὄν, πέμπτη ουσία, 'quinta essentia', the most perfect element. Thus he interprets Horace's words as meaning the purest and best of the nectar of Venus. There are, however, other possible sources for this Greek expression:

C. I, 13, 15-16:

--- oscula, quae Venus quinta parte sui nectaris imbuít.

Ibycus XXXIII (Ap. Athen. II 39 B):

"Ἰβυκος δὲ φησι τὴν ἀμβροσίαν τοῦ μέλιτος κατ' ἐπίτασιν ἐνναπλασίαν ἐχειν γλυκύτητα, τὸ μέλι λέγων ἐνατον εἶναι μέρος τῆς ἀμβροσίας κατὰ τὴν ἡδονήν.

Tr. Ibycus says that ambrosia has a sweetness nine times as great as that of honey; saying that in sweetness, honey is one ninth measure of ambrosia.

Scholiast on Pind. Pyth. 9, 116:

---μέλιτος---ο ὡς τῆς ἄθανασίας δέκατον μέρος.

Tr. Honey, the tenth part of immortality

Birds were so commonly considered omens by the ancients that the use of the word for bird instead of that
for omen may or may not imply imitation; but at any rate, Horace, in giving the words of Nereus, echoes Pindar:

C. I, 15, 5:

mala ducis avi domum,

Tr. Thou dost lead home (a bride) under evil omen (Lit. evil bird).

Pind. Nem. 9, 18 sq.:

--- ἀγαγον στρατὸν ἀνόρηταν αἰσθᾶν
οὐ κατ’ ἀρνίξαν ὀδὸν.

Tr. They led an army of men by a road of unlucky omens (Lit. unlucky birds).

Pindar also has a line very similar to Horace's description of the "locks of Paris defiled with dust" and although the conscious model for the Latin was undoubtedly the Iliad, there is a close parallel in the following:

C. I, 15, 20:

crines pulvere collines

Pind. Nem. 1, 68:

--- φαίδυμαν γαῖα οὗ φύρσε σια κόμαν
Tr. Their bright hair defiled with dust.

Horace many times46 advises moderation, (but only once does he apply it to wine), and then there are many

46C. I, 16, 22; I, 27, 1-9; II, 3, 1-4; II, 10, 1; III, 3, 1-4; III, 16, 39
possible models which may have influenced him, though the
one that bears the closest resemblance to the Latin is
the passage from Anacreon:

C. I, 18, 7:

ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi

Theogn. 479:

ἄσ ὅ᾽ ἄν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτι κεῖνος
τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτέρος οὐδὲ νόσον.

Tr. Whosoever exceeds moderation in
drinking, is no longer master of his tongue or mind.

Theogn. 509-510:

Οἶνος τινὸμενος τρολύτες κακόν, ἂν ἐν τὸι σκύτων
τινῆ ἐπισαμένως, οὐ κακόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἁγαθόν.

Tr. To drink much wine is bad; but if
any one drink with judgment, it is not bad, but good.

Od. XXI, 293-294:

οἶνος σὲ τρώει μελητής, ὅσ τε καὶ ἄλλοις
βλαπτεῖ, ὅσ ἄν μν χανοῦν ἔλη μηδ᾽ αὕτηα τίνη.

Tr. Honey-sweet wine injures thee, and
does harm to those others, who take it greedily and do
not drink in moderation.

Anacreon, 63, 5-11:

ἀναπρόσω,-ώς ἀναπρόσω
ἀναπρόσω βασαρῆσων.
That I may break forth in Bacchic revelry in no unseemly manner. Come now, and let us not with noise and shouts over our wine, indulge in the Scythian drink; but let us drink to the accompaniment of beautiful hymns.

This last citation is particularly close to Horace if the context of the Latin is observed in the next few lines:

Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euhius, cum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide Bassareu, invitum quatiam, nec varii obsita frondibus sub divum rapiam.47

47This citation is not as close to the Greek as that discussed in Ch. III.
The fear of the deserted fawn when it hears the rustling of leaves in the woods, has a close parallel in Apollonius Rhodius's description of Medea's terror; and though this conception is rather too commonplace to be a clear example of conscious imitation, it probably had an influence here:

C. I, 23, 5 sq.:

nam seu mobilibus vepris inhorrruit
ad ventos foliis

Apoll. Rhod. III, 954-955:

ἡ θαυμὰ δὴ, στηθεών ἔάγη κέαρ, διπτότε δοῦμιν
ἡ ποδος ἢ ἀνέμοιο παράθεθαντα δόσσαι.

Tr. Often her heart beat fast in her breast, whenever there seemed to be the passing sound of a footstep or of the wind.

So, too, with the evidences of fear in the beating of the heart and trembling of the knees, both of which are mentioned by Homer and Horace.

C. I, 23, 8:

et corde et genibus tremit.

Iliad III, 34:48

ὑπὸ τε πρόμος ἐλλαβε γυῖα

Tr. Trembling siezed his knees beneath him.

48Cf. Il VIII, 452; XIV, 506; XXIV, 170; Od. XVIII, 88; XXIV, 49
Iliad XIII, 282:49

ἐν δὲ τε ὅι κραδίη μεγάλα στέρνουσι ποιάσσει,

Tr. His heart beat loudly in his breast.

It is hardly probable that Horace was consciously imitating the following citation from Euripides when he says that no one mourns the death of Quintilius more than Vergil; and yet the parallel in wording is very noticeable:

C. I, 24, 9-10:

multis ille bonis flebilis occidit
nulli flebilior, quam tibi, Vergili.

Eur. Alc. 264:

οὐκτρὰν φίλους, ἔις δὲ τῶν μάλιστοις ἐμοὶ.

Tr. Sad for those that love thee,
especially so to me.

It is quite likely that the last two lines of Horace's Ode of Consolation are a conscious effort to make Vergil, on this occasion, live up to his own philosophy, which Donatus explains as follows: 'Solitus erat dicere

nullam virtutem commodiorem homini esse patientia, ac
nullam adeo asperam esse fortunam quam prudenter patiendo

49 Cf. II. VII, 216; XXIII, 370.
vir fortis non vincat. 50

Or, this Horatian passage can be easily explained as a mere statement of Horace's philosophy; for elsewhere 51, he preaches the same doctrine of patience and endurance of evils. However, there is one citation from Euripides that seems rather close to the Latin quoted below, in the spirit of sympathy combined with advice to bear up under grief:

C. I, 24, 19-20:

durum: sed levius fit patientia
quidquid corrigitere est nefas.

Eur. Hel. 252-253:

ἐχεῖς μὲν ἀλγείν, οὐδὲν ἀλλοποιον ὅτι τοι ὑπὸ βάστα τὰν αγκαία τοῦ μίου βέβειν.

Tr. Sorrows thou hast, I know; but it is well to bear what must be in life with as much resignation as possible.

Horace many times refers to the irrevocable character of death and his expressions of this sentiment were no doubt influenced by some of the following Greek

50 Donatus, Life of Vergil, Ch. 18.
51 C. I, 11, 3: ut melius, quidquid erit, pati
S. II, 2, 135 sq.: ---- quocirca vivite fortes
fortiaque adversis apponite pectora
rebus
passages which seem to be reflected in:

C. I, 24, 15-18:
  num vanae redeat sanguis imagini,
  quam virga semel horrida,
  non lemis precibus fata recludere
  nigro compulerit gregi?

C. II, 3, 27-28:
  ----- et nos in aesternum
  exsilium inpositura cumbae.

C. II, 3, 24:
  nil miserantis Ori

C. IV, 7, 21-28:
  cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
  fecerit arbitria,
  non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
  restituet pietas:
  inferinis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
  liberat Hippolytum,
  nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
  vincula Pirithoo.

C. II, 18, 34 sqq.:
  ------- nec satelles Ori
  callidum Promethea
  revexit auro captus

C. IV, 7, 16:
  pulvis et umbra sumus.
II. IX, 158:

Αί dus tov άνείλυχος

Tr. relentless death

Anacreon 43, 5-6:

Αί δέω γάρ έστι δεινός μυχός, άργολές δές αυτόν κάθοδος --καὶ γάρ έτούμον καταβάντι μὴ ἀνα-
βήναι.

Tr. For fearful are the depths of Hades;
painful is the downward journey to it; and for the one who has descended, no ascent is granted. 52

Moschus III, 103-106:

ἄμμες δ’ οί μεγάλοι καὶ παρτεροί, οί σοφοί άνδρες, ὃπποτε πράτα Θάναμμες, ἀνάκκοι ἐνθεοὶ κοιλαὶ εὖσιμες εὖ μαλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήμετον ὑπνον.

Tr. We men who are great and strong and wise, when once we are dead, unhearing in a hole in the earth, sleep sound and long an endless sleep that knows no waking.

52 Cf. Salis: Das Grab ist tief und stille
Und schauderhaft sein Rand;
Es deckt mit schwarzer Hülle
Ein unbekanntes Land.
Eur. Alc. 985 sq.:

τόλμα δ' οὖ γὰρ ἀνάβεις πρὸς ἐνεργεῖν κλαίων τοὺς θημένους ἀνω.

Tr. Be brave; for by mourning thou shalt never bring up from below those who have died.

Hes. Th. 465:

νηλεῖς ἦτορ ἔχων

Tr. Whose heart is relentless (said of Orcus).

One or two of these Greek quotations seem to have been consciously followed by certain of the above cited Latin lines; but even where this is not true there are present in every case some traces of the influence of every citation.

Three times Horace refers particularly to Death's inevitable and impartial nature, and in so doing, he was probably affected by both the citations given above and those quoted here:

C. I, 4, 13 sq.:

pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turris

53 See Ch. II, 3.
C. II, 18, 29-32:

nulla certior tamen
rapacis Orcl fine destinata
aula divitem manet
erum.

C. I, 28, 15 sq.:

----- sed omnis una manet nox
et calcanda semel via leti.

C. I, 28, 19 sq.:

mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera, nullum
saeva caput Proserpina fugit.

Pind. Nem. VII, 19 sq.: 54

αφνεός πενθρόσ τε θανάτου πέροις
άμα νεωται.

Tr. Rich and poor pass together to the

bourne of death.


εἰς Ἀιδήν μία πᾶσι καταβαςίς

Tr. One descent to Hades for all.

Some of these passages, too, show a closer
relationship than others and are discussed under conscious
imitations. 55

54 Text of Wieseler and Mommsen in place of Bergk, who
reads πόρον σάμα for πέροις ἁμα
55 See II, 3 and II, 1, 1
When Horace emphasizes the inevitable and impartial nature of Death by reference to the fact that even great heroes die, he may have had the following quotations definitely in mind, although there is not sufficient evidence to draw such a conclusion:

C. I, 28, 7:
occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum,

Iliad XVIII, 117 sqq.:

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆς φύγε κήρα,
ós perphištatos ἐσεκέ Δι Κρονίων ἀνακτη.

wód kai ἔγών, κελομ' ἐπεὶ κεθάνω.

Tr. Not even the mighty Hercules escaped death, though he was most dear to Zeus, King and son of Cronus; so I too, when I die shall be laid away.

Iliad XXI, 106-107:

ἄλλα, φίλος, θάνε καὶ σύ· τίς ὅλοφύρειν οὕτως,
κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὁ περ σεό πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

Tr. But, friend, thou, too, shalt die.

Why dost thou thus grieve? Patroklos is dead and he was far better than thou.
Greek tragedy is full of stories which illustrate the belief that the "iniquity of the father is visited on the children", and Greek poetry has more examples of passages that express the sentiment in a way that may have influenced Horace, at least subconsciously in the following lines:

C. I, 28, 30 sq.:

 neclegis inmeritis nocituram
postmodo te natis fraudem committere?

Aesch. Suppl. 434-437:

τοι θει γὰρ, παισὶ τάδε καὶ δόμων
ὅποτερ ἄν κτίσης, μένει δορὶ τίνειν
δομιόν Θεμν.
tάδε φράσατι δίκαια Διόθεν κράτη.

Tr. Whatever thou dost bring about, know that it remains for thy children and thy house to pay a corresponding reckoning in war. Consider these just commands of Zeus.

Theogn. 205-206:

αλλ’ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔτις εἰς κακὸν χρέος, ὁς δὲ ζηλόων

56 Cf. Ex. XX, 5; XXIV, 7; Num. XIV, 18; Deut. V, 9.
57 Text of Brunck in place of Bergk who reads οὐδὲ
One man himself pays his penalty for evil; while another brings ruin imminent upon his children in after time.

Horace illustrates Venus's cruelty by telling of the unrequited love of Lycoris for Cyrus and of Cyrus for Pholoe -- a possible imitation of Moschus's account of Pan's love for Echo, Echo's for the Satyr, and the Satyr's for Lyde:

C. I, 33, 5-7:

insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam
declinat Pholoen.58

Moschus V, 1-2:

\[ \text{Tr. Pan loved Echo, his neighbor; but Echo loved the skipping Satyr; while the Satyr was crazy about Lyde.} \]

58 Cf. Heine who was probably inspired by Horace:

Ein Jüngling liebt ein Mädchen,
Die hat einen andern erwählt:
Der andre liebt eine andre,
Und hat sich mit dieser verwählt.
Both of the following passages compare the bonds of Venus to a yoke; but the figure is so common that no more than a subconscious influence could have been exerted by the Greek:

C. I, 33, 11:

(Veneri) sub iugo aenea\textsuperscript{59}

Theocr. XII, 15:

\textit{\'A\ll\gamma\iota\nu\omega\upsilon \delta'\varepsilon\phi\iota\lambda\nu\sigma\alpha\nu \iota\omicron \upsilon \gamma \iota}.

Tr. They loved one another with an equal bond (lit. yoke).

The Greeks realized the power of God over the life and fortunes of man.\textsuperscript{60} Euripides especially is full of passages that show the ability of the divinities to exalt the lowly and abase the mighty. The common acceptance of this philosophy makes it unlikely that any of the Greek quoted below was more than an unconscious influence on Horace in:

C. I, 34, 12 sqq.:

\textit{valet ima summis}

\textsuperscript{59}Cf. C. III, 9, 18

\textsuperscript{60}I Sam. 2, 7: "The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich; he bringeth low and lifteth up." Cf. Luke I, 52: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and exalted them of low degree." Psalm LXXV, 6: "But God is the Judge; he putteth down one, and setteth up another."
mutare et insignem attenuat deus, 
obscura promens;
Eur. Troades, 612-613:

\[ \text{ὕ Θύγατερ, ὁ θεός ὃς ἔφυ τῇ ποικίλῃ καὶ δυστέκματος. ἐὰν δὲ ποις ἀναστρέψῃ ἐκεῖθε κακῆς, ἀναφέρων. ὁ μὲν πονησά, ὁ δὲ πονησάς αἰθεῖς ἀλλαται κακῶς, ἐβαλὼν οὐδὲν τῆς ἄεὶ τύχης ἔχων.} \]

Tr. O. daughter, how variable and inscrutable is the nature of God. Well does he vary the fortunes of men, turning them this way and that; one man suffers, another who has never known suffering is wretchedly destroyed, and he has no permanent assurance of his lot.

Eur. H. F. 508-512:

\[ \text{ιπατε μ' ὀστερ ἡ περὶβλεπτος βροτοῖς} \]
Behold me, a man who was an object of regard among mortals because of deeds of note -- in one day fortune has robbed me of it all, as a feather blown to the skies. Great prosperity or glory is not assured to anyone.

Od. XVI, 211-212:

Tr. It is easy for the gods that dwell in the heavens of wide extent either to honor a mortal or debase him.

Burr. fr. 716 (N):

Tr. Often God humbles and abases the greatest.

Archilochus 56, 1-4:

Tr. To the gods I give to the many, many men of me in a.
Andros orthonin melainh keimévous épi xhoin,
polláikis ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ μάλ' eu bêthiostas
upióous klínous'.

Tr. Leave all to the gods; often, after
ills, they set men on their feet who have been cast down
upon the dark earth; often, too, they overturn that one
that has made fine progress and bring him low.

Hes. Erg. 6:

ῥεῖα ἄριθμον μνύθει καὶ ἀδηλον ἀέκει,

Tr. Easily he (Zeus) humbles the proud
and exalts the lowly.

Ar. Lys. 772 sq.:

τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θήσει Ζεὺς
ὑψηβρεμέτης.

Tr. High thundering Zeus shall bring the
proud low.

Fortune, as the manipulator of man's uncertain
destiny, rejoicing in her power swiftly to reverse his lot,
is also a conception of the Greek poets who probably served
as a subconscious background for the following lines of
Latin:
Eur. Heracl. 610-614:

οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ βεβάναι δόμον
εὐτυχία: τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοιν ἄλλα
μοῖρα διώκειν.
τὸν μὲν ἀφ’ ψηλῶν βραχὺν ὠπίσε
τὸν δ’ ἀτίταν εὐδαιμονα τεύκει.

Tr. Nor does one house always advance in prosperity; one kind of fortune follows upon another; from a high position it makes one man insignificant, while another of no account it crowns with happiness.

Pindar gives his heroes many warnings to remember the fickleness of fortune and the power of the divinities completely to wreck or make human prosperity.61

Horace must have been somewhat influenced in his idea that Necessity must precede even Fortune by the following quotation from Euripides:

C. I, 35, 17:

te semper antea saevae Necessitas

Eur. Hel. 513-514:

λόγος γὰρ ἐστίν σῶς έμός, συμφῶν δ’ ἔτις
δεινῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἴσχυεν πλέον.

Tr. The saying is not mine, but the word of the wise that nothing is mightier than dread Necessity.

61 Cf. 01. II, 30-37; VII, 10-12; XII, 10-12; Pyth. II, 49-53, 88 sq.
C. I, 34, 14-16:

---hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

C. I, 35, 1-4:

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
mortale corpus vel superbos
vertere funeribus triumphos,

C. III, 29, 49-52:

Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et
ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
transmutat incertos honores,
nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.

Menander fr. 581 (M):

\[ \dot{\nu} \text{ meta} \beta o \lambda \alpha \varsigma \text{ xai} \rho \omega \upsilon \sigma \text{ ta} \ \tau \alpha \text{ ta} \ \tau \alpha \rho \omicron \omicron \upsilon \alpha \upsilon \text{ Ta} \ \nu \chi \eta \]

Tr. O Fortune rejoicing in all sorts of changes

Eur. fr. 420, 2-3 (M):

\[ \mu \iota \nu \text{ me} \varepsilon \alpha \tau \alpha \mu \varepsilon \nu \text{ kai} \theta \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \nu \nu \psi \omicron \omicron \nu \alpha \nu \text{ ta} \ \sigma \text{ deut} \rho \text{ a} \gamma \nu \]

Tr. One day brings down what is on high, and raises up other things.
A statement that friends are few in times of trouble is too commonplace perhaps to justify the existence of an original, and yet there are noteworthy points common to the following citations from Horace, Pindar, and Theognis that make a relationship possible:

C. I, 35, 26-28:

--- diffugiunt cadis

cum faece siccatis amici,

ferre iugum pariter dolosi.

Pind. Nem. X, 78 sq.:

--- παῦροι δ' ἐν πόνων πιστοὶ ἀδερτῶν

καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν.

Tr. Few are the mortals who, in time of trouble, are faithful in sharing trouble.

Theogn. 643-644:

πολλοὶ πάρ κρητὴρι φίλοι γίνονται ἐταῖροι,

ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

Tr. Many are the friendly companions over the mixing bowls; but in troubled affairs, they are fewer.

Pindar's καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν is reflected in 'ferre iugum pariter dolosi', whereas the κρητὴρι of Theognis introduces the same element as Horace's 'cadis fæce siccatis'.
It will be noticed that there are three particular kinds of passages that have been discussed under this chapter; namely, those whose sentiment, though similar to a Greek original, is too commonplace to point to conscious imitation without clearer evidence in wording, those that have one obvious source but traces of other possible influences, and those that embrace Horace's philosophy without revealing any one definite original. The last group makes up the bulk of the chapter; for the very numerous references to his opinions on death, its irrevocable, inevitable and impartial nature, and the consequent necessity of enjoying the present in this too-short life without worrying about an uncertain future, together with his advice as to the value of wine if it is used in moderation, and his realisation of the existence of a God and of the power of Fortune over human destinies -- all have equally numerous sources from which he may have drawn his opinions.

It is noteworthy that Euripides and Theognis are echoed with the greatest frequency and seem to have furnished a background for more of Horace's reflections than did other poets; while the other two classes of unconscious influence show more reminiscences from Homer than from any other one author. These conclusions are, however, only to be expected when it is considered that these were the Greek poets so commonly known to the Romans that subconscious references to them were inevitable.
CHAPTER II

Lines Which Consciously Imitate the Greek

1. Miscellaneous

Aside from translated lines there are other varieties of imitation that must be classed as conscious; namely, epithets, figures of speech (unless they are too common), obvious references to Greek stories, and general reflections which are sufficiently commonplace in their character to have been original or accidental were it not for the obvious traces of a Greek original in the number of parallel details.

1' Commonplace thoughts expressed with so many parallel details as to seem conscious imitations.

In the first Ode of the first book, Horace's leading idea is the very commonplace one\(^6\), that different men have different tastes. That this sentiment occurs in many Greek writings\(^6\), does not necessarily mean that Horace got it there; but other facts point to his having consciously borrowed from Pindar in lines three to seven.

\(^6\) Cf. Epp. I, 1, 65 ad fin.
\(^6\) Od. XIV, 228:
οὐλος γὰρ τ’ ἄλλουιν ἄνηρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργων.
Archil. 36:
’Αλλ’ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ καρδίῃν ἵανεταί.
Otherwise, the allusion to the Olympic games, an almost obsolete practice, seems out of place; for with the exception of this reference to the theme glorified in Pindar's epinicians, the illustrations are all taken from worldly pursuits, and are contrasted at the end of the poem with his own nobler aims. It seems quite clear that this allusion to former Greek customs was inspired by Pindar, when the added evidence of a decided similarity to one of Pindar's fragments is noted:

C. I, 1, 3-7:

sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
evitata rotis palmaque nobilis
terrarum dominos evehit ad deos;

Pind. fr. 221:

Αἰλλοποτόδων μὲν τιν' εὐφραίνοντιν ὑπ' αὐνήν
τίμα καὶ στέφανον, τούς δὲν πολὺ χρύσους
Θαλάμοις βιοτά.

τέρπεται δὲ καὶ τις ἔτη (φραγίν) οἴομέν ἐνάλιον
ναι θοᾷ σῶς διαστείβων.

Tr. One man is gladdened by honors and crowns won by steeds with feet of the storm-winds; another man, by living in chambers rich in gold, and there is one who rejoices in safely crossing the wave of the sea in a swift ship.
Not only is the reference to the type of man that delights in the Olympic games common to both Pindar and Horace, but so also is the mention of the sailor and the lover of wealth -- a combination of parallel details that makes the imitation obvious.

The same Ode pictures another well worn theme when it describes the joys of sleep. The mention in both the Greek and Latin of a shady tree and murmuring water, coupled with the fact that the general spirit of the lines is very similar and the picture identical -- except for the change in the name of the tree -- assures a conscious imitation in:

C. I, 1, 21:

nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput saecrae

Moschus 4, 11-13:

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γλυκῆς ὑπνὸς ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ βασιφέλλη
καὶ παγὰς χωλέομε τὸν ἑγγύθεν ἄχον ἀκοῦειν,
αὲ τέρπει ψυχέωσα τὸν ἀγρικόν, οὐχὶ ταράσσει.

Tr. But sweet sleep under the thick-leafed Plane tree for me; and I should love to hear the murmuring of the spring near by.
Greek and Latin poets as well as those of modern times have harped on the brevity of life and the insecurity of human plans; but in the expression "spem longam" Horace seems to be thinking definitely of the Greek passage quoted below:

C. I, 4, 15:

vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare
longam.

Neoptol. fr. ap. Diodorus XVI, 92:

\[\text{μακρὰς ἄφαυρομενός ἔλπίδας -- Ἀἴδας.}\]

Tr. Pluto taking away far-reaching hopes

The custom of putting a wreath upon the brow was common particularly among the Greeks, and Alcaeus and Sappho refer to it often. Horace's wording echoes Alcaeus particularly:

C. I, 7, 7:

undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam;

Alc. 36, 1 sq.:

'Αλλ' ἀνήτω μὲν περὶ ταῖς δέραισίν
περιβάτω τελέιταισ ὑπὸ θύμιδᾶς τῆς,

Tr. Now having twined garlands, put wreathes of dill around thy neck.

Sappho 78, 1:
When Horace writes of crowns that consist of fresh parsley and the quickly fading lily, he is combining the following two passages:

C. I, 36, 16:

non vivax apium neu breve lilium

Theocr. 23, 31:

λευκόν τὸ κρίνον ἔστιν, μαραίνεται ἄνικ', ἀπανθεῖ.

Tr. White is the lily; it fades when it is thru blooming.

Anacr. 54:

'Ετι ὁ ὀφρύστως σελήνων στεφάνασκοις
Θέμενα σάλελον ὀρτήν ἀγάμων
Διονύσῳ.

Tr. Placing garlands of parsley on our brow let us have a joyful feast in honor of Dionysus.

The many Greek and Roman passages which speak of wine as a care dispeller, have been quoted, and there is
undoubtedly a very close connection between them all. The following citations show such very close parallels as to seem conscious imitations:

C. I, 7, 31:

--- nunc vino pellite curas

Theogn. 883:

τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκέδασεις
μελέδυνας,

Tr. Drinking of it (wine), thou shalt dispel grievous cares.

Here the Greek uses τοῦ πίνων instead of 'vino' and speaks of cares as grievous; but aside from these slight differences Horace translates from Theognis.

C. II, 11, 17:

-------- dissipat Euhius

curas edacis.

Eur. Bacch. 375 sqq.:

τὸν Σεμέλας,—

--ος τάδ' ἐξελ,

---

ἀποταύσων τῇ μερίμνας,

Tr. The son of Semele, whose prerogative it is to drive away care.
Alcaeus 41, 3 sq.:

οἶνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος ὤιος λαθυκάδεα
ἀνθρώπους ἐδωκεν'.

Tr. The son of Zeus and Semele has given to mortals wine which banishes care.

Bacchus is called Euhius by Horace and son of Semele by Euripides and Alcaeus, but the statement of his power is almost identical.

The power of wine to drive away thoughts of poverty is referred to in both of the following:

C. I, XVIII, b:

Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?

Theogn. 1129:

εἰ πόμηλι, τενίς θυμοθέρατοι οὐ μελεθαίνω.

Tr. If I drink, I care not for life-destroying poverty.

C. I, 18, 4:

----------------------------- neque
mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines

Eur. Bacch. 283:

οὐδ' ἐστ' ἀλλο φάρμακον πόνων.
Tr. There is no other balm for ills.

Both these passages not only show the power of wine to do away with troubles; but both state that there is no other way of escaping cares.

The numerous possible models for Horace's expressions of Epicurean sentiment show a few that he seems to follow consciously:

C. I, 9, 15-18:

--- nec dulcis amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas:
donec virenti canities abest
morosa,

Antiphanes II, 3-5 (Anth. Gr. II, 188):

--- ὁτ' ὄν χρόνος ὑμῖος ἡμῖν,
πάντα χύδην ἔστω, ψαλμός, ἔρως, προπόσεις.
χεμῖν ταῦτα εἴη, γῆρως βάρος.

Tr. Now that the time is seasonable, let everything be unrestrained -- the harp, love and the drinking of toasts. Let winter and the burden of old age be far off.

Old age and winter are classed together by Antiphanes as disagreeable features of life which youth should disregard in favor of love, music and wine. It is significant that Horace, in the Ode from which the above
quotation is taken, also contrasts winter and old age to
the pleasures of youth as typefied in love, the dance and
wine.

Obvious parallels also occur in the two following
descriptions of swiftly-passing youth and old age that
comes to take its place:

C. II, 11, 5-9:

\[ \text{fugit retro}
\]
\[ \text{levis iuventas et decor, arida}
\]
\[ \text{pellente lascivos amores}
\]
\[ \text{canitie facilemque somnum}
\]

Mimnermus 5, 4 sq.:

\[ \text{āllī ὀλυσχρόνιον γὺνεται ὑπὲρ ἄναρ}
\]
\[ \text{γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίχ' ὑπερρημαται}
\]

Tr. Prized youth is like a flitting dream.

Grievous, unlovely old age hangs instant over our heads.

Any one of these Greek passages is close enough
to Horace to seem his conscious model:

C. I, IX, 9:

\[ \text{permitte divis cetera}
\]

Theog. 1048:

\[ \text{ἀσσά δ' ἐπετ' ἔσται, ταῦτα θεοῦσι μέλει.}
\]

Tr. As for the things which will be, they

are the care of the gods.

τοῖς θεοῖς τιθεὶ τὰ πάντα

Tr. Resign all things to the gods.

Aesch. Pers. 228:

πάντα Θεοὶμεν θεῖοι

Tr. We will leave all to the gods.

A very clear echo in thought, if not in wording, is evident in:

C. IV, 7, 17-18:

quis scit an adicient hodiernae crastinae summae tempora di superi

Eur. Alc. 783-784:

κοίν τε θεότητων θεῖας θεοῦς πολίτες τὴν αύριον μελλούσαν ἐν βλέψει.

Tr. And there is no one of mortals who knows if he shall live until the following day.

Horace evidently got his idea that the gods hide the future in darkness from the following lines of Theogonis:

C. III, 29, 29-30:

prudens futuri temporis exitum caliginosa nocte premit deus.

Theog. 1075-1077:

Πρὸς ψυχάς ἀπρόκειτο θαλαπώτατον ἔστι τελευτήν
γνώναι, ὡς μέλλει τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσαι.

ἀμφὶ γὰρ τέταται.

Tr. It is very hard to know the end of an unfinished matter -- how God will bring it to pass; for a murky darkness is spread over it.

Just as common as the realisation of man's inability to read the future is the idea of the sin of presumptuousness, a thought which Horace expresses in a manner that echoes one of the Anthology poets:

C. I, 18, 15:

et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem


ἀλλ' ὑπερανέτη καὶ ἀμαρτωλή τόνολ

ιῦα Διὸ γρομέει, κεφάλην ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐχένας ἵσχε.

Tr. But with insolence and sin of mind, he roars like Zeus and holds his head high.

Horace's conception of the impartiality of Death has been discussed, and the many possible influences in Greek literature quoted; but the passage in which definite reference is made to rich and poor faring alike as far as death is concerned, seems a conscious echo of

64 See Ch. I, under C. I, 28, 16
Pindar:
C. I, 4, 13:

pallida Mors sequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turris

Pind. Nem. VII, 19 sq.:

άφιεν τε τενιχρόος τε θανάτου πέρας
άμα νέοντα.

Tr. Rich and poor pass together to the
bourne of death.

Many times the poets of the Greek Anthology refer
to the necessity of the ceremony of burial, even though it
meant merely the scattering of a few handfuls of earth over
a corpse; and Diodorus Zonas\(^66\) even speaks of a ship-wrecked
body in a way that is very similar to Horace; but Elpenor's

\(^{65}\) Text of Wieseler and Mommsen in place of Bergk who
reads πόρον σάμα

\(^{66}\) Diod. Zonas IX (Anth. Gr. II, 69):

Ψυχράν κεφαλάς ἐπαυμὴσομαι αἰγυλίτιν
θινα, κατὰ κρυφοῦ χευάμενος νέκυος.

μη, ἔχε μὲν, ψωμάθε μάριον ἢραλῆ, τοῦτο μὲν ἄφρον
πολύ, ἐπείς εἰς ὅλην ἑδραμεῖς ἐμπορίνη.

Tr. I shall heap upon thy head the cold sand
of the sea shore, sprinkling it upon thy icy corpse; so
receive a small portion of sand but many tears, stranger,
since thou hast sailed on a fatal commercial voyage.
prayer to Odysseus is so very like the entreaty of the ship-wrecked soul to the sailor that it warrants the supposition that Horace was consciously imitating the Greek of the Odyssey when he writes:

O. I, 28, 23-25:

at tu, nauta, vagae ne parce malignus harenae ossibus et capiti inhumato particulam dare.

Od. XI, 66, 72-73:

νῦν δὲ σε τῶν ὀμήθεν γουνάγομαι, οὐ τομε- ὄντων,

μὴ μὴ ἀκλαυτον, ἀθαυτον, ἵνα ὀμήθεν κατα- λεύθειν,

νοσφιοθεὶς, μὴ τοὶ τι θεῶν μὴν μὴν γένωμαι,

Tr. Now by those left behind and not present here, I implore thee --- do not go away and thoughtless of me, leave me behind unwept and unburied, lest I bring down the wrath of the gods on thee.

2' Figures of speech

Whenever a few words contain a figure of speech that was common in Greek literature, the certainty that similarity means imitation is increased, and very often the similarity borders on translation.
The Greeks very commonly spoke of the heart as made of iron or bronze. Horace was evidently familiar with the figure and used it with the substitution of oak as a type of hardness in place of iron. Horace's lines savour particularly of the first Homeric passage quoted, and the other examples of the frequency with which the Greeks used "bronze" to describe a hard heart, are more likely subconscious models. Indeed it is entirely possible that Horace is merely imitating the general Greek conception rather than the lines of one particular author:

C. I, 3, 9 sq.:

_illi robur et aes triplex_
_circa pectus erat, qui ---_

Il. II, 490:

χάλικεον δε' μοι ήτορ ἐνείη

Tr. And (if) I had a heart of bronze within me.

Il. XXII, 357:

ἡ γαρ σοι ρε σιδηρέος ἐν ὀρεσσ' θυμός.

Tr. Truly thy heart is iron in thy breast.

Hes. Theogn. 764 sq.:

του δε' σιδηρέη μεν κραδίη, χάλικεον δε' σι ήτορ νηλεης ἐν στήθεσσιν.

Tr. His heart is as iron, and his ruthless spirit within him is as bronze.
Pind. fr. 123, 3 sq.:

- - - - - - \textit{ε}ξ \textit{άδαμαντος}

\textit{η} σιδέρου \textit{κεκάλικευτον} \textit{μέλαιναν} \textit{καρδίαν}.

\textit{Tr.} His black heart has been forged of adamant or of iron.

The following passage illustrates a figurative expression, almost identically in the words of its model:

C. I, 4, 13:

\textit{pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas.}

\textit{Callim. Hymn to Apollo, 3:}

\textit{καὶ δὴ ποιητὰ Θυρετρα καλῇ ποδὶ Φαέθων ἀφάσσει.}

\textit{Tr.} And it may be that Phoebus with his beautiful foot knocks at the door.

The ancient custom of knocking at doors by striking them with the foot, would furnish a natural explanation of the occurrence of this expression in Horace; and yet the peculiar wording, in addition to the fact that it is a divinity that knocks in both cases, makes the echo seem very strong here.

The "night of death" is another short figurative expression which seems to have a definite model, since it is used in both Latin and Greek in connection with the same sentiment:
C. I, 4, 16:
iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes.

C. I, 28, 15 sq.:
sed omnis una manet nox
et calcanza semel via leti.


--- μετά τοῦ χρόνου οὐκέτι πουλῦν,
σχέτλει, τὴν μακρὰν νύκτα ἀναπαιμῆθα.

Tr. After no long time, good friend, we
shall sleep the long night thru,

Very similar to this is the "endless sleep of
death" -- an expression used by both Horace and Moschus:

C. I, 24, 5 sq.:

Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
urget?

Moschus, III, 104:

εὖδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νῆγρετον

Tr. Sound and long we sleep an endless

sleep with no waking.

Theocritus and Pindar as well as Horace speak

of poets as birds of the Muses:
C. I, 6, 2:
Maeonii carminis alite (refering to Varius).

Theocritus 7, 47:
Μοισαν ὄρνιχες, — — Χιαν ἀπήσ

Tr. birds of the muses (in comparison with Chian nightingale.

Pind. Ol. II

--- ἀρακεὶς ὥς, ἄκραντα γαρ βετον

Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

Tr. Like crows, vainly chattering to the divine bird of Zeus (Pindar).

It is interesting in this connection to notice Horace's reference to himself as a swan:

C. II, 20, 10 sq.:

---- et album muter in alitem superne,

C. II, 20, 15 sq.:

(iam) canorus ales ————

Both Homer and Horace personify stormy winds by speaking of them at war with one another.

67 With reference to Simonides and Bacchylides.
C. I, 9, 10 sq.:
stravere aequore fervido
deproeliantis,
Il. 16, 765:

"Ως Ἅρκες τε Νότος τ'ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλουν"

Tr. As Eurus and Notus war with one another.

In comparing the increasing glory of Marcellus to the growth of a tree, Horace is using a Pindaric figure:

C. I, 12, 45-46:
crescit occulto velut arbor sevo
fama Marcelli;
Pind. Nem. VIII, 40 sqq.:

αὔνεται δ' ἀφετά, χλυμαίς εἴρησαι ὡς ὅτε
δένδρεον ἀγαθέλ,
(ἔν) σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀερθείς ἐν δικαίοις τε πρὸς ὅρρον
ἀλήθερα.

Tr. The fame of virtue, exalted to the upper air by wise and just men, grows just as when a tree shoots up beneath refreshing dews.

68 I have here adopted the text of Boeckh instead of Bergk, who reads: (ἀλήθερα)
So, too, in speaking of the Julian constellation as brighter than all others, we again have a Greek figure. In this case, tho, Sappho seems to have been the model consciously followed, in spite of similar comparisons in Pindar and Ibycus, because the phrase "the moon among the lesser lights" is translated from her:

C. I, 12, 46-48:

---- micat inter omnis
Iulium sidus velut inter ignis
luna minores.

Ibycus III:

Φλεγέθων, ἀμφε ὑπὲρ νύκτα μακρὰν σείρια
παμφανώντα
Tr. Shining out, just as the stars gleam from afar thru the night.

Pind. I, IV, 23 sq.:

--------------- λήμπτει
Ἀστερός Ἡλίας ὦς ἀστρολε ἥν ἄλλοις.
Tr. As the morning star shines forth, wondrous among the other stars.

Sappho III:

"Ἀστερεῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν
ἀεὶ ἀμφεκρύπτοις Φάεννον εἴδος,
ὅτι τοτε πλῆθουσα μάλιστα λάμπη
gαν (ἐπὶ παλάων.)
Tr. The stars about the fair moon in turn hide their bright light; whenever at her fullest she shines down on all the earth.

The μεν in this citation from Sappho indicates a comparison -- Smythe says\textsuperscript{69}, to some Lesbian beauty. At any rate, Horace shows that he was impressed by Sappho's picture when he again echoes her words:

Epode XV, 1-2:

\begin{quote}
Nox erat et caelo fulgebant luna sereno
inter minora sidera.
\end{quote}

Horace in telling of Paris's flight uses the simile of the deer fleeing from wolves, and clearly follows Homer's comparison of the Trojans to fleeting hinds:

C. I, XV, 29-32:

\begin{quote}
quam tu, cervos uti vallis in altera
visum parte lupum graminis immemor,
sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
non hoc pollicitus tuae.
\end{quote}

Iliad XIII, 101:

\begin{quote}
\begin{align*}
\text{Τρώας} & \quad \text{οἱ τὸ πάροι περ}
\phiυκακινῆς \text{ ἐλάφουσιν ἔσθεσαν, ὃ ὑπὸ ἐλην}
\text{θάων παρασαλὼν τε λύκων τῇ ἡδία πτέλονται,}
\end{align*}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{69} Greek Melic Poets, p. 237
Tr. The Trojans, who were formerly like flying deer that are the prey of jackals, pards, and wolves

That wine in abundance makes the drinker tell everything he knows, be it secret or otherwise, is a generally recognized fact, yet Horace's reference to the "faith that betrays its trust -- more transparent than glass" -- recalls the metaphor used in the following Greek passages:

C. I, 18, 16:

arcanique Fides prodigal, perlicidior vitro.

Alcaeus 53:

οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἰόπιτρον

Tr. For wine is man's looking-glass.

Alcaeus 57:

οἶνος, ὥ φίλε παῖ, καὶ ἀλάθεια.

Tr. Wine, my dear boy, and truth.

Aesch. fr. 288 (D) [393 Ν]

κάτοπιτρον εἰδοὺς χαλκός ἐστ', οἶνος δὲ νοῦ.

Tr. There is a bronze mirror for the face; wine is the mirror of the mind.

Parian marble was the type of pure and dazzling beauty to the Greek poets, and thus Horace's comparison of
Glycera's loveliness to it finds many possible originals:

C. I, 19, 6:

splendentis Pario marmore purius;

Pind. Nem. IV, 81:

στάλαν---Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέρων

Tr. A pillar whiter than Parian marble.

Theocr. VI, 37 sq.:

---------τών δὲ τ᾽ ὃδηντων

λευκοτέρα αὐγὰ Παρίας---λίθου.

Tr. The pearly whiteness of my teeth --

whiter than Parian marble.

The comparison of foliage to the hair is made by Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides as well as Horace:

C. I, 21, 5:

nemorum coma

Od. XXIII, 195:

καὶ τὸτ᾽ ἐπελευθάνει Κόμην ταυρόμυλλον ἔλαιον.

Tr. Then I cut the leafy tresses of the thick-leaved olive tree.

Soph. Ant. 419 sq.:

---τιγάον αἰκίσσων φόρην

ὑλης.

Tr. Spoiling all the leafy tresses of the woods.
Eur. Alc. 172:

---μυρσίνης Φόβη

Tr. Tresses of the myrtle.

Eur. Bacch. 684:

ἔλατης--Φόβην,

Tr. Tresses of the pine.

In addition to the metaphorical parallel between
and 'coma', it is particularly noteworthy that 'coma'
is an obvious translation of the κόμην in the first citation.

It is also interesting to observe the similar
figure that Aristophanes uses when he speaks of the leafy
summits of mountains as "leafy heads".

Ar. Nub. 279 sq.:

ὑψηλῶν ὑπόνων κορυφᾶς εἰπὶ
δενδροκόμων.

Tr. To the tree-tressed summits of the
lofty peaks.

The simile that introduces and forms the back-
ground to Ode I, 23 is obviously borrowed from Anacreon:

C. I, 23, 1-4:

Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe,
quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
matrem non sine vano
aurarum et silvae metu.
Anaocr. 51:

"Ἀγανῦς ὁδὸν νεοθηλέα
γαλαθηνόν, ὅστ' ἐν ῥῆγος κεροέσσας
ἀπολευθεῖς ὑπὸ μυτρὸς ἐποηθὲ.

Tr. Shy as a little new-born fawn, that, left in the woods by its horned mother trembles with fear.

And again, the conclusion of this poem uses the power of the tiger and lion over the young fawn as a figure to emphasize the above quoted simile; and this time the Latin echoes the Iliad where the Trojans, in flight before the Argives, are similarly compared:

C. I. 23, 9-10:

atqui non ego te tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo frangere persequor.

II. XI, 113-117:

μής ὅε λέων ἑλάφωσ ταχεῖς νῆτη ὀκνά
ῥηιδώς συνέαξε, λαφίων πειρατείοιν ὅξουσιν,

Tr. As a lion easily crushes the young fawns of a fleet deer, siezing them in his powerful teeth.

The figurative use of "garland of verse", as well as the reference to the construction of a poem as the weaving of a garland, is quite Greek:
C. I, 26, 3 sq.:
necte meo Lamiae coronam,
Pimplei dulcis.

Antip. Sid. 70, 3 sq. (Anth. Gr. II, 25):

\[ \delta\varsigma \ \mu\varepsilon\tau\alpha \ \Pi\epsilon\lambda\omega \]
\[ \varepsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\kappa \ \delta\varepsilon\iota\zeta\mu\nu\omega\nu \ \Pi\iota\epsilon\rho\iota\delta\omega\nu \ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega\nu. \]

Tr. (Sappho) with whom Persuasion wove the evergreen garland of the Pierian goddesses.

Pind. Od. VI, 86 sq.:

\[ \alpha\nu\rho\rho\alpha\varsigma\iota\nu \ \alpha\iota\chi\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\iota \ \pi\lambda\epsilon\kappa\omega\nu \ 
\pi\tau\omicron\kappa\iota\lambda\nu \ \Upsilon\mu\nu\nu \]

Tr. As I weave my many-colored hymns for men mighty with the spear.

Pind. Od. IX, 48 sq.:

\[ \alpha\nu\theta\varepsilon\sigma \ \delta' \ \Upsilon\mu\nu\nu \]

Tr. Flowers of songs that are new.

Pind. Pyth. XII, 4 sq.:

\[ \sigma\iota\nu \ \\varepsilon\mu\nu\epsilon\nu\lambda\alpha \]
\[ \delta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota \ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\mu\alpha \ \tau\omicron\omicron' \]

Tr. Receive this garland with favor.

\[ \text{70 Cf. Pind. Od. VI, 106} \]
Keller and Holder quote in this connection Eur. Hipp. 73 sq. and even put 'hymnum' in brackets after ὑστέραν. Inasmuch as the context of Euripides clearly shows this to be a crown of flowers and even refers to it in verse 82 sq. as χρυσέας κόμης ἀνάδημα what grounds Keller and Holder have for giving the figurative significance is hard to see.

Horace tells of the youth caught in the whirlpool of love, and in his figure echoes Theocritus's description of Atlanta "leaping into the abyss of love":

C. I, 27, 18-20:

------------- a miser,
quanta laboras in Charybdi,
digne puer meliore flamma!

Theocr. III, 42:

ὣς ἠδεν, ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐσ βαθὺν ᾖλατ' ἔρωτα.

Tr. When she looked, how frenzied she became and how she leaped into the abyss of love.

The "road of death" or the "road to Hades" is frequently mentioned by the Greek poets:

C. I, 28, 16:
et calcanda semel via leti

Eur. Aloc. 263:

ὡς ἐν ἅ σειλωστάτα προβαίνω.
Tr. Most wretched am I who advance along the road (to death).


εἰς Ἁιδήν μία πάσιν καταίβασις.

Tr. One descent to Hades for all.

Plato Phaedo 108 A:

ὁ Αἰσχύλου Τήλεφος ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίου φησίν εἰς Ἁιδῶν ζήρευν,

Tr. Aeschylus makes Telephus say it is a simple road that leads to Hades.


ἀλλὰν ἰδίον ἐβρης Ἀιδών

Tr. Thou art gone on the woeful path to Hades.

Horace, apostrophising his lyre, echoes Sappho:

C. I, 32, 3 sq.:

age dic Latinum,
barbite, carmen

Sappho 45:

Ἄγε ὦν χέλιν ὀϊκόν

μναίσσον γένοιο.

Tr. Come, divine shell, I pray thee speak.

The lyre was often spoken of as having a
voice, but the use of 'age' with its Greek counterpart "age" and 'barbit', the specific name of the Lesbian lute, even in the same case as χέλυ, in addition to the parallel between 'die' and ψυνάξασσα assures this Greek citation as the original of Horace's lines.

The figure of speech that Horace uses when he represents Fortune's foot overturning the pillar of State savors strongly of the passage in Aeschylus which refers to the fear that wealth's foot overturn the prosperous fortune of Darius:

C. I, 35, 12 sqq.:

----- metuunt tyranni,
injuriosus ne pede proruas
stantem columnam,
Aesch. Pers. 162 sqq.:

οὐδὰμώς ἐμοινης οὕτως ἀδελφοντός Φίλοι,
μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κονίσας οὖδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ
ὁλοθυάν, ῆν Δαρείος ἦνεν.

Tr. Being my friends, by no means fearless for myself lest our great wealth speeding o'er the threshold overturn with its foot the prosperity that Darius

71 Cf. C. III, 4, 1 and Theogn. 761:

Φῶσιτ σ' αἷν Θεόνωθι ιερὸν μέλος ἦδε καὶ αὐλός.
Tr. Let the sacred melody speak out on lyre and flute
gained.

And again, when Horace speaks of Fortune reforging blunted swords, it is the same personification that Aeschylus uses when he pictures Doom at the forge:

C. I, 35, 36 sq.:

O utinam nova
incede diffingas retunsum (ferrum)

Aesch. Choeph.: 635:

προχαλκεύει δ' Αίδη φασμανουργός

Tr. Doom at the anvil forging the swords beforehand.

The simile that is found in the Iliad when Hector flees Achilles is the obvious model for the comparison that Horace uses in the description of Caesar's pursuit of Cleopatra:

C. I, 37, 17 sq.:

accipiter velut
mollis columbas.

Il. XXII, 139 sq.:

ἡ ὕπει κύριος ὄρεσφικ, ἐλαφρότατος πτετηνών,
ηδίδης οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρων πελελαν,

Tr. As the hawk on the mountains, swiftest of flying things, easily swoops after the trembling dove.
The metaphor "drunk with the favors of fortune" was used by Demosthenes in regard to Philip:

C. I, 37, 11 sq.:
fortunaque dulci ebria.

Dem. Phil. I, 49:

εὖρ δ' οίκμαλ μὲν, ὥ ἄνδερες Ἀθηναῖοι,
νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνον μεθύειν τῇ μεγεθεὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων.

Tr. But I think, O Athenians, by all the gods, that he is drunk with the magnitude of his achievements.

The metaphorical use of nails and molten lead is old and has other possible models aside from the one quoted in Ch. II, 3, 2'.

C. I, 35, 19 sq.:

---------- nec severus uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.

Pind. P. IV, 71:

τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατεροῖς ἀδάμαντος ὥστεν ἀλοιχαί?

Tr. What danger bound them with strong bolts of adamant?

Aesch. Supp. 944 sq.:

--- τῶν ἐφηλητα unnoticed.
Firmly thru and thru (these resolves) the bolt was driven so as to remain fixed.

3' References to Greek thought or story

There are many allusions to Greek thought and Greek stories of men and events that are clearly conscious, although the wording of the Latin is quite unlike its model.

When Horace speaks of the second Salamis promised by Apollo, he undoubtedly refers to Euripides' account of the naming of Cyprus by Apollo:

C. I, 7, 28 sq.:

certus enim promisit Apollo
ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.

Eur. Hel. 148-150:

εἰς γῆν ἐναλίαν Κύπρου ὑπὲρ ἐθέσσασσν
οἰκεῖν Ἀπόλλων, ὄνομα νησιωτικὸν
Σαλαμῖνα Θέμενον τῆς ἐκεί χάριν πάτρας.

Tr. To the sea-girt land of Cyprus, where Apollo hath declared that I should dwell, giving it the island-name of Salamis, in honor of my native land over there.
Horace's description of Achilles among the Lycians is an allusion to Pindar who also mentions Troy, and the war-like character of the Lycians:

C. I, 8, 13-16:

Horace's story of how Hermes leads Priam to recover the body of Hector is a definite reference to Homer:

C. I, 10, 13-16:
II. XXIV, 334-339:

"Ερμεία, σοὶ γὰρ τε μάλιστα γε σειτατόν ἐστὶν ἀνδρὶ ἐταφρίσσαι, ---
βάσκ' ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ Πρίαμον κούλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν 
μὴ ἀγαγ', μὴ μὴ τ' ἄρτις ἵππι μὴ τ' ἄρ τε νοήσῃ 
tῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν, πρὶν Πηλεύσατον ἐκέσσα.

Τὸς ἑφατ', οὐδ' ἀπείθησε διάκτορος Ἄργειάτης.

Tr. (Zeus to Hermes): "Hermes, since it is especially for thee to be a companion to man, -- go forth and so guide Priam to the hollow ships of the Achaean, that no one may see him, and that no one of the others, the Danaans, may be aware of him until he arrives in the presence of the son of Peleus." Thus he spoke, nor was the guide, the Argos-slayer, disobedient.

II. XXIV, 563:

καὶ δὲ σε γνώσοικ, Πρίαμε, γρεσίν, οὐδέίς με λήγεις,
ὅτι Θεῶν τίς σ' ἱκεῖ γεος ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

Tr. I realise, O Priam, nor is my mind unaware that it was some one of the gods that guided thee to the swift ships of the Achaean.

The tale of the invention of the lyre by Hermes is likewise Homeric:
C. I, 10, 6:72

curvae lyrae parentem

Hom. Hymn to Her. IV, 25:

Ερμής τοι πρώτησα χέλυς τεκτήνατ' ἀολόν

Tr. For it was Hermes that first made the tortoise a singer.

The power of Orpheus to make music that would affect all nature -- animate and inanimate -- was often mentioned by the Greeks, with special reference usually to the fish, wild animals and trees. It is to this myth that Horace refers:

C. I, 12, 7 sq.:

unde vocalem temere insecutae

Orphae silvae

Simon. fr. 40:

-- τοῦ καὶ ἀπελεύσθην
πτωτῶν τ' ὄρνισε ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς, ἀνα δὴ ἴχθυες ὑμνὸι
κυνέου ἕ ὐδάτος ἄλλοντο καλά σὺν ἄολοι

Tr. Countless the birds fly over his head; the fish leap up from the sea blue water, keeping time to the measure of his beautiful song.

72Cf. C. I, 21, 12: fraternaque (Apollinis) lyra.
App. Rhod. I, 568 sqq.:  

τοῖς δὲ φορμήσων εὐθύμονα μελιτεύμεν ἄοιδῇ
Οἰάγρου παιὸς νησσόν εὐπατέρελαν
Ἀρτέμιν—
------τοὶ δὲ βαθείσιν
⇏θύες ἄστοντες ὑπερθ' ἀλός, ἀμυния παύροις
ἀπελταὶ, ὑπακεύειν διασκαλοῦντες ἐίστοντο.

Tr. The child of Oeagrus sang for them to the accompaniment of the lyre, a well arranged song about Artemis, protector of ships, daughter of a noble father, — and the fish leaping up over the deep sea, promiscuously large with small, followed sporting along the watery ways.

Horace further emphasizes Orpheus's influence over wild beasts and inanimate nature in:

C. I, 24, 13:

quodsi Threicio blandius Orpheo
auditam moderere arboribus fidem,

Ars. P. 391-394:

silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.

Ode I, 15 is full of allusions to Homer; in fact, all of the subject matter is based on the Iliad. For
example, when Hereus bemoans the coming toil for men and steeds, his words recall the following passage from the Iliad:

C. I, 15, 9 sq.:

heu, heu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris sudor!

II. II, 388-390:

ιδρώσει μέν τευ τελαμών ἄμφη στηθεσφιν ἀσπίδοις ἄμφη βραδής, περί δ' ἐχθαὶ χεῖρα καμείται ἵνα

Tr. On many a breast, the strap of the protecting shield shall be wet with perspiration, many a hand will grow weak as it grasps the spear, and many a horse shall sweat as he draws the polished chariot.

And again, the description of the effeminate Paris, loved by Venus, is a clear reference to the description in the Iliad which even mentions the lyre, the beautiful hair, and gifts of Aphrodite -- all in common with the Latin:

C. I, 15, 13-15:

nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox peotes caesariem grataque feminis inbelli cithara carmina dividès;

II. III, 64 sq.:

οὐκ ἀν τοιχαίας κλαθείς τὰ τε θυρ' Ἀφροδίτης,
Neither the lyre nor the gifts of Aphrodite will be of help to thee, nor yet thy locks nor beauty, when thou dost grovel in the dust.

Then when Horace refers to the retreat of Paris to his 'thalamo' he not only uses a Greek word, but evidently alludes to Homer's story:

C. I, 15, 16-18:

nequiquam thalamo gravis

hastas et calami spicula Cnossii

vitabis ---

II. III, 380-382:

--- τὸν δ' ἐξήρθη Ἀφροδίτη ἑσα μᾶλ' ἢς τε θεός, ἑκάλυψε δ' ἀρ' ἦρει πτολῆ,

καὶ δ' εἰς ἐν Θαλάμῳ εὐώδει κηώεντε.

Tr. But easily, as a goddess, Aphrodite caught him (Paris) up, and hid him in a thick cloud, and set him in his fragrant perfumed chamber.

Horace's account of Paris's fall is given the same turn as that of the Iliad by the mention of the locks
and beauty defiled with dust:

C. I, 15, 20:

Crines pulvere collines

Il. III, 55:

η' τε κόμη τό τε εἰδὸς στ' ἐν κονίησι μαυεῖνς.  

Tr. (Neither the lyre nor gifts of Aphrodite will avail thee) nor thy locks, nor beauty, when once thou dost grovel in the dust.

Iliad XVI, 795 sq.:

μλάνθησαν δὲ ἐθεμαλάντα" 73  

άματι καὶ κονίησι.  

Tr. The crests of his helmet were defiled with blood and dust.

The one Latin word 'pollicitus' recalls the two Homerio lines that give the boast of Paris:

C. I, XV, 32:

non hoc pollicitus tuae

Iliad III, 430-431:

η μὲν δὲ πρὶν γ' εὔχε' ἀρημφιλοῦ Μενελάου  

σῆ τεβηγ καὶ χερσί καὶ ἐγχεί θέρτερος εἶναι.  

Tr. Indeed thou didst formerly boast that, in the might of hand and spear, thou wast superior to

73 Refers to the helmet of Patroclus
Menelaus, loved of Ares.

And finally, the prophecy of the burning of Troy by the Greeks finds its natural source in the Iliad:

C. I, XV, 35-36:
post certas hiemes uret Achaicus
ignis Pergameas domos.

Iliad XXI, 375:

μηδ' οτόν' ἀν Τροίη μαλερῶ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάναια
καμεάει, καίωσι δ' Ἀρήσιοι ὃ̔̈ς Αχαίων.

Tr. Not even when all Troy is burning, blazing in a devouring fire, and the warlike sons of the Achaïans give it to the flames.

As an example of the evils of immoderate drinking, Horace gives the contest of the Centaurs and the Lapithae -- a struggle often mentioned by Greek poets:

C. I, 18, 8:

Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa

Od. XXI, 295 sqq.:

οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, ἀγακουτὰν Ἐυρυτίωνα,
ἀαζός...
ἐς Λαπίθως ἐλθόνθε

Tr. Wine (crazed) the Centaur, famed Eurytion, as he was going to the land of the Lapithae.
Alcaeus (Messenia) XV (Anth. Gr. I, 241):

οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον, Ἐπίκρατες, οὐχὶ
σὲ μοῦνον
ἐλευν.

Tr. Oh, Epicrates, wine has not destroyed
the Centaur and thee alone.

The allusion to Tantalus admitted to the company
of the gods is, of course, a reference to the well-known
Greek myth:

C. I, 28, 7:

----- Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum.

Diod. Sic. IV, 74:

διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Διὸς εὐγένειαν,
υἱὸς Πασι, Φίλος ἐγένετο τῶν θεῶν
ἐπὶ πλέον.

Tr. Because of his high birth from father
Zeus, as the story goes, he was admitted to full friend-
ship with the gods.

Minos is mentioned as a close friend of Zeus in the
Odyssey:

C. I, 28, 9:

et Iovis arcanis Minos admissus, ---

Od. XIX, 178 sq.:
Minos

Tr. Minos, familiar friend of great Zeus.

That the lyre was welcome at the feasts of great Zeus, we learn in the Iliad:

C. I, 32, 13 sq.:

O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
grata testudo Iovis.

Iliad I, 602-604:

ὅλνυτ', οὐδὲ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτῶς έίσης,
οὐ μὲν Φόρμιγγας περικαλλέοις, ἡν έχ' Ἀπόλλων
Μουσάων θ', αὶ ἀείδον ἀμεμβόμεναι ὑπ' ἀλη

Tr. They feasted, and their hearts found nothing lacking in the bounteous banquet, nor in the music of the beautiful lyre, which Apollo held, nor of the muses who alternately sang with beautiful voices.

Horace's description of the effects of Zeus driving his chariot is, in the main, following Homer's account, though as Keller and Holder say: "Horatius hic

74Cf. too, Hom. Hymn to Merco. 31: "δαιτῶς ἐπάρη"  
Tr. companion of the feast
Homerum II. II, 781-783 imitatus est, sed ita ut pro Typhoeo Taenarum poneret eiusque euvás ad Homeri descriptionem II. XX, 65 adumbraret; praeterea ignotus Ἀρίμοιος in notiores τέρμωνας Ατλαντικῶς Euripidis mutavit”:

C. I, 34, 9-12:
quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina
quo Styx et invisī horrida Taenari
sedes Atlanteusque finis
concūtitur.

II. II, 781-783:

γαῖα δ᾿ ἐπεστενάξει Δίῳ ἦς τερπικεράνυσιν χωμένης ὡς τ᾿ ἀμφὶ Τυφώει γαῖαν ἴμασθη εἰν Ἀρίμοιος, ὅθεν βασὶ Τυφώεας ἐζέμεναι εὐνάσ.

Tr. But the earth groaned beneath them,
as when Zeus, that hurls the thunder, in his wrath smites
with lightning because of Typhoeus, the land in the
country of the Arimi, where they say is the couch of
Typhoeus.

II. XX, 64 sq.:

οἰκία——
σμεραδαλεideυμέντα,τάτε στυγέουσι Θεοὶ περ.

Tr. His (Aidoneus, lord of underworld)
dwelling place, terrible, dank and hated by gods.
Eur. Hipp. 3 and 1053:

τερμόνων τ’ Ατλαντικῶν

Tr. The bounds of Atlas.

2. Epithets

In the case of epithets and attributes of the gods and Greek heroes, Horace would naturally imitate the Greek, for the Odes treat the gods purely as so much artistic background rather than as Roman divinities; and there would be no object in not taking over the Greek qualifications to heighten the effect. Thus, in the passages where epithets are used, the imitation of the Greek is clearly conscious, although there may or may not be one sole model in Horace's mind.

1. Short epithets with one definite model

C. I, 2, 2 sq.:

misit pater et rubente
dextera sacras iaculatus arcis.

Pind. Ol. IX, 6:

Δία τε Φολυκοσ τερόπαν

Tr. Zeus hurling red lightning

Here the 'rubente' of the Latin strongly savor of the 'Φολυκο' of the Greek epithet -- a combination of
words which gives such an unusual picture as to make the imitation assured. Milton gives an interesting illustration of how this conception of the supreme being with a red right hand, has come thru Greek and Latin to English literature:

Milton, P. L. II, 174:

His red right hand -------

The epithet white applied to the South wind, Notus, clearly goes back to the \[\alpha \rho \gamma \epsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \tilde{o} \ \text{N\'o\'to} \] of the Iliad -- especially since the phrase 'putting the clouds to rout' is common to both the Greek and Latin passages:

C. I, 7, 15-17:

Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
saepe Notus neque parturit imbris
perpetuos,

Il. XI, 305 sq.:

\[--\;\bar{\omega} \; \delta \iota \tau \omicron \omicron \; \nu \epsilon \acute{\varphi} \epsilon \acute{\varphi} \omicron \sigma \zeta \nu \eta \omicron \eta \; \sigma \tau \omicron \varphi \epsilon \lambda \iota \acute{\iota} \gamma \eta \; \alpha \rho \gamma \epsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \tilde{o} \ \text{N\'o\'to} \]

Tr. Just as when the West wind puts to rout the clouds of the white Notus.

Ajax is described as swift nine times in the Iliad, but the following passage is particularly close to
Horace:

C. I, 15, 18 sq.:

------ celerem sequi
Aiacem.

Iliad XIV, 520-523:

ἔλειται δ' Άιας εἶλεν, Ὀιλῆς ταῦτα νῦς
οὐ γὰρ οἳ τις ὁμοίος ἐπιστρέφει ποτὲν ἦν
ἄνδρῶν προσόντων, ὅτε τε Ζεὺς ἐν φόβον ὁρᾷ.

Tr. Ajax, the fleet son of Oileus slew the most; for there was no one like him to pursue with fleetness of foot men that fly whenever Zeus sends panic on them.

In the description of Diomedes, there is a union of two Homeric passages. In the first one the son of Capaneus is speaking to Atreides about the sons of the Seven against Thebes and his words are very close to Horace's "Tydides melior patre", while the second Greek citation is parallel to the "furit -- atrox" of the Latin.

C. I, 15, 27-28:

---- ecce furit te reperire atrox
Tydides melior patre,

Iliad IV, 405:

ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ὁμέλινοις εὐχῆμεθ' εἶναι.

Tr. We declare that we are better than
our fathers.

II. VI, 100 sq.:  

--- ἀλλ' ὅτε λίγν  
μεῖνεται,  

Tr. He rages beyond measure  

The Pylian Nestor is so called also in the  

Iliad:  

C. I, 15, 22: 

non Pylium Nestora respicis?  

II. II, 54:  

Νεστορέῃ παρὰ νη Ἄυλαγενεός βασιλῆς.  

Tr. Beside the ship of King Nestor of  

Pyllos.  

"Zeus rushing down in fury" recalls the epithet  

that Aeschylus uses.  

C. I, 16, 12:  

Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu.  

Aesch. Prom. 358 sq.:  

Ζ εὺς καταβάτης  

Tr. Zeus rushing down  

75 Son of Tydeus (Diomedes)
Horace pictures Venus deserting Cyprus and rushing in all her power upon him, and in so doing he combines two Greek passages; for Euripides speaks of Aphrodite swooping in her might, and Alcman refers to her leaving lovely Cyprus:

C. I, 19, 9 sq.:

in me tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit,

Eur. Hip. 443:

Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸς, ἦν πολλὴ ροή.

Tr. For the Cyprian queen is unbearable
if she rushes down in her might.

Alcm. 21:

Κύπραν ἐμερτὰν λυτῶσα καὶ Πάφων ἰερομύταν.

Tr. Leaving lovely Cyprus and sea-girt
Paphos.

Erymanthus is mentioned by Homer as a favorite haunt of Artemis:

C. I, 21, 7 sq.:

(latam) nigris aut Erymanthi
silvis

Od. VI, 102 sq.:

οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀρτέμις εἷτε κατ' οἴκεσιν ἱοχέατρα,
η' κατ' Τηῦρεσων----η' Ἐρύμανθον,
Tr. Like the huntress Artemis, when she goes down a mountain, either adown the slopes of Taygetus or Erymanthus.

Again Horace refers to Venus's favorite haunts, this time mentioning (besides Cnidus) both Cyprus and Paphos as Alcman does:

C. I, 30, 1 sq.:

O Venus regina Cnidi Paphique sperne dilectam Cypron

Alcman 21:

Κύπρον ἐμερτὰν λυτοῖσα καὶ Πάφον τερπηρύταν.

Tr. Leaving lovely Cyprus and sea-girt Paphos.

Though Zeus is often mentioned driving his chariot, there is a line from Plato that must have definitely served as Horace's model in:

C. I, 34, 8:

egit equos volucremque currum

Plato Phaedr. 246 E:

Cf. C. I, 19, 9 sq. as quoted just above
Zeus ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα.

Tr. Zeus driving his winged chariot.

Even when Horace attempts to change the traditional picture, the very wording betrays his recollection of the Greek:

C. I. 2, 37:

heu nimis longo satiate ludo (said of Mars)

Il. V, 388:

Ἄρης ἀπατος πολέμου.

Tr. Mars insatiate of war.

'Satiate' is of course the direct opposite of but it is significant that the same root is in the two adjectives.

2' Short epithets with no definite model.

C. I. 2, 33:

sive tu mavis Erycina ridens,

Homer: 77

Φιλομμενής Ἀφροδίτη.

Tr. Laughter loving Aphrodite

77 Il. III, 424; IV, 10; V, 375; XIV, 211; XX, 40. Hymn to Aph. V, 17, 49, 56, 65, 155. Od. VIII, 262.
Hom. Hymn to Aph. X, 3 sq.:

--- ἐφ' ἴμερτῳ ἔκ προσώπῳ
αἰεὶ μεδίαει---

Tr. Smiles are ever on her lovely face.

This is an example of Horace's use of a generally accepted Greek idea instead of one definite passage. With the exception of a doubtful passage from Hesiod\(^{78}\), this epithet is, however, decidedly Homeric, as is clear from the fact that he uses it five times in the Iliad\(^{77}\), five times in his long hymn to Aphrodite\(^{77}\), and once in the Odyssey\(^{77}\).

C. I, 3, 1:

Sic te diva potens Cypri

Pind. fr. 122, 14:

ὡς Κύπρου δέσποινα

Tr. Oh queen of Cypris.

This Pindaric passage may have been the definite model here, since the case and wording are both similar. It is, however, more likely that the general Greek conception was the influence; for Homer uses some form of

\(^{78}\)Hes. Theogn. 200: ἠδὲ φιλομηδέα (perhaps a perversion of φιλομειδής)
Iliad instead of 'Aphrodite' many times in the Iliad 79, and Hesiod does the same thing 80, while Homer's Hymn to Aphrodite has the following 81:

\[ \text{Aphrodite Kýpridos} \]

\[ \text{Tr. of (golden) Aphrodite of Cypris.} \]

C. I. 4, 8:

\[ \text{dum gravis Cyclopum} \]

\[ \text{Volcanus ardens visit officinas.} \]

II. XVIII, 468-9:

\[ \text{Thus saying, he left her there and went to his bellows and turned them on fire and commanded} \]

\[ \text{them to work.} \]

\[ \text{App. Rhod. III, 41:} \]

\[ \text{Tr. But he had gone early to his forge and anvils.} \]

Call. fr. 129:

---

79Ili. V. 330, 422, 458, 760, 883
80Hes. Theog. 199
81Hom. H. to Aph. V, 1 sq.
112

ἲηφαιστου καμίνως.

Tr. At the furnace of Hephaistos.

C. I, 6, 13:

tunica tectum adamantina (of Mars)

Il. V, 704:

χάλκεος Ἁρης

Tr. Brazen Ares.

Soph. Ajax, 179:

χαλκοθύματα... Ἐνυδάλιος

Tr. the mail-clad God of War.

Bacchus as the care-dispeller is a well known figure in Greek literature. When Horace definitely refers to him as such, he may have either of the following citations in mind; but it is more likely that he thought simply of the traditional God of Wine:

C. II, 11, 17 sq.:

----- dissipat Euhius curas edacis.

Eur. Bacch. 375 sqq.:

τὸν Σεμέλας,...

----- ὅσ τοῦ ἕχει,

-----

ἁπτομαῦσα τε μεράμας,
Tr. The son of Semele, whose prerogative it is to drive away care.

Alcaeus 41, 3 sq.:

οίνον γὰρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίως υἱὸς λασκωάςκε ἀνθεύμπουσιν ἐδωκε.

Tr. The son of Zeus and Semele has given to mortals wine which banishes care.

Almost all of the epithets that Horace applies to Mercury in Ode I, 10 are those commonly used by Greek poets:

C. I, 10, 1:

Mercuri, ------ nepos Atlantis,

Sim. 18, 1-2:

----- Ἕρμας-----,

Μαίάδας οὕρελας ἠλισθήλε φάκος παῖς ἑτεκε ὁ Ἀτλας


Res. Theog. 938:

Ζηνὸς ὁ Ἄτλαντις Μαῖᾷ τέκε κόσμον Ἕρμην,

Tr. Maia, daughter of Atlas, bore to Zeus Glorious Hermes.
Od. XIV, 435:

'Ερμῆ Μαλάδος νεεί,

Tr. To Hermes, son of Maia.

Homer, Hymn to Her., 1:

'Ερμῆ ὑμεῖν, Μοῦσα, Δίὸς καὶ Μαλάδος νεείν,


C. I, 10, 2-4:

qui feros cultus hominum recentum

--- formasti catus --- decorae

more palaestrae.

Sim. 18:

'Ερμᾶς ἐναγύνιος.

Tr. Hermes who presides over the games.

Pind. Ol. VI, 79:

---'Ερμᾶν---, ὁ δ' ἄρινας ἔχει μοῖραν τ' ἀέθλων,

Tr. Hermes who has charge of the games and allots the prizes.

Pind. Pyth. II, 10:

ὁ τ' ἐναγύνιος 'Ερμᾶς

Tr. Hermes who presides over the games.

Aesch. fr. 387:

Ἐναγύνιε Μαλας καὶ Δίὸς 'Ερμᾶ.
Tr.  Hermes, the son of Zeus and Maia who presides over the games.

Ar. Pl. 1161:

Ἐρ.: Ἠναχύνιος τούς θεούς ἔσωμαι

Tr.  Hermes: "I shall be god of the games."

C. I, 10, 5-6:

---- magni Iovis et deorum nuntium,

Hes.  Theog. 939:

κυρίριον ἄθανάτων

Tr.  Messenger of the gods.

Hom. Hymn to Her. IV, 3 and XVII, 3:

Ἀγγελόν ἄθανάτων

Tr.  Messenger of the gods.

Hom. Hymn II to Dem. 407-408:

εὐτέ μοι Ἐρμῆς ἡ θεότους ἐρμωνίας ἄγγελος ἦκες ἀνήλθεν πατέρωσι Κρόνιδας καὶ ἄλλων Οὐρανίων,

Tr.  When Hermes, the ready helper, came -- he who is the swift messenger of father Zeus and the other heavenly beings.

Hom. Hymn XIX to Pan, 29:

--- ἠπαυσί Θεοῦς θεὸς ἄγγελός ἦστε,
Tr. He is the swift messenger for all the gods.

Hom. Hymn to Hestia XXIX, 9:

ά'γγελε τών μακάρων

Tr. Messenger of the blessed gods.

Od. V, 29:

"Ερμελαοι, γαρ οὖν ἄφετε τὰ πάντα περ ἀγγελον ἐσος;"

Tr. (Zeus to Hermes): "O Hermes, for thou art my messenger in all things,"

The same Ode gives the usual 'great Zeus':

C. I, 10, 5:

magni Iovis

Homerio: 82

μέγας Ζεὺς

Tr. Great Zeus.

Hes. Works and Days, 4:

Δίας μεγάλου

Tr. Of great Zeus.

Zeus as the ruler of the affairs of men and gods recalls the Homeric "father of men and gods":

C. I, 12, 14:

82 Used in this case form 26 times in the Iliad; 13 times in the Odyssey; 6 times in the Hymns.
------------------- parentis
--- qui res hominum ac deorum
-------------------

temperat.

Homeric: 83

\[ \pi\alpha\iota\eta\rho\iota \ \alpha\nu\sigma\rho\omega\nu \ \tau\varepsilon \ \Theta\varepsilon\omega\nu \ \tau\varepsilon \]

Tr. Father of men and gods.

Four times Horace speaks of Diana in her well known sphere as goddess of the chase:

C. I, 12, 22 sq.:

--- et saevis inimica virgo
beluis,

C. III, 4, 71-72:

--- Orion Dianae
virginea domitus sagitta

C. IV, 6, 33 sq.:

Dediae tutela deae, fugaces
lyncas et cervos cohistentis arcu.

C. S. 1:

Phoebe silvarumque potens Diana,

Anacreon 1, 1-3:

\[ ^{83} \text{Used 12 times in Iliad; 3 times in Od.; once in Hymns.} \]
I beg of thee, slayer of deer, golden-haired child of Zeus, Artemis, queen over wild beasts.

(Od. VI, 102):

\[\text{Tr. As Artemis, the huntress, goes down the mountain.}\]

Callim. H. to Diana. 16 sq.:

\[\text{Art. to Zeus: } \text{δισσότε μηκέτι λύγικας μηδ’ ἐλάφους ζαλλομεν.} \]

\[\text{Tr. When I am no longer shooting lynxes and stags.}\]

Hom. H. to Diana XXVII, 9-10:

\[\text{--- γι’ δ’ ἄλκιμον ἀτοχ ἐχουσα πάντη ἐπιμετρήσεται θηρῶν ὀλέκουσα γενέθλην.} \]

\[\text{Tr. She with a brave heart turns on every side destroying the race of wild beasts.}\]

There is a particularly close parallel between

C. IV, 6, 33 and the Callimachus citation, since both mention particularly the lynxes and deer -- it is therefore
quite probable that this Greek hymn was the definite model for Horace's lines in this instance; although the remaining quotations are simply expressions of the traditional epithets of Diana.

Homer and Pindar, as well as Horace, apply to Apollo the commonly used epithet 'unshorn':

C. I, 21, 2:

intonsum --------- Cynthium

Homer (Il. XX, 39; Hymn to Ap. III, 134):

\[ \Phi \omega \beta \sigma \ \dot{\alpha} \kappa \epsilon \rho \sigma \iota \kappa \omicron \mu \nu \sigma \]

Tr. Phoebus of the unshorn locks

Pindar (Isth. I, 8, Pyth. III, 14):

\[ \dot{\alpha} \kappa \epsilon \iota \rho \epsilon \kappa \omicron \mu \alpha \ \dot{\pi} \rho \iota \beta \nu \]

Tr. To Phoebus of the unshorn locks.

'Supremo Jovi'\(^{84}\) of the Latin has its counterpart in the Greek cited below:


\[ \Delta \iota \sigma \ \dot{\psi} \iota \sigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \]

Tr. Of highest Zeus

Aesch. Nem. 28:

\[ \dot{\psi} \iota \sigma \tau \omicron \upsilon \ \Delta \dot{i} \alpha \]

\(^{84}\)C. I, 21, 3 sq.
Tr. Highest Zeus

Soph. Ph. 1289:

Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον σέβας

Tr. Highest majesty of Zeus.

Apollo as the archer is traditional with all poets. Pindar\textsuperscript{85} and Homer\textsuperscript{86} both represent him as ἀργυρόφαρος; Homer refers to him as ἀργυρότατος five times in the Iliad, twice in the Odyssey and eight times in the hymns, while he uses the epithet κλυτότατος once in the Odyssey and twice in the Iliad; ἐκλήβαλος is particularly common in the Iliad where it is used fifteen times, as compared to once in the Odyssey and five times in the Hymns. Horace's wording in the following lines seems to reflect one Homeric passage particularly:

C. I, 21, 10 sqq.:

\[\text{----- Delon Apollinis}\\
\text{insignemque pharetra}\\
\text{----- umerum -----.}\\
\]

Iliad I, 45:

\[\text{τὸδ' ῥμολογεῖν ἔχων ἀμφηρεθέα τε φαρέτρην.}\\
\text{Tr. (Apollo) bearing on his shoulders his}\\
\text{bow and covered quiver.}\\
\]

\textsuperscript{85} Poël. VI, 59
\textsuperscript{86} Hymn Ap. III, 126
After Homer, Apollo was invested with the office of Paeon, the physician of the gods, and he is invoked as Παιάν, the healer, by the three tragic poets particularly.87

Other references to his ability to ward off plague and famine are included in the two Greek epithets quoted below:

C. I, 21, 13 sq.:

----- hic miseram famem
pestemque a populo -----
------- aget -------

Ar. Av. 584:

Απόλλων ιατρός

Tr. Apollo, the physician.

Aesch. Eum. 62:

(Λοξίς) ιατρόμαντις ὅ ἐστι

Tr. (To Loxias) for he is a healer.

The lyre as a particular possession of Apollo's is a commonplace in Greek literature and Horace has three references to it:

C. I, 32, 13 sq.:

O decus Phoebi et dapibus supreami
grata testudo lovis,

See Aesch. Ag. 146; Eur. Alc. 220; Soph. Tr. 221, O. T. 154
Cf. Ar. Ach. 1212.
C. III, 4, 4:

seu fidibus citharaque Phoebi.

C. IV, 15, 1 sq.:

Phoebus --- me ---
--- increpuit lyra.

Pind. Pyth. I, 1 sq.:

Χρυσέα Φόρμιξ, Ἀπόλλωνις καὶ ἵπποκάμμων
σύνθηκον Μουσάν κτέανον.

Tr. Golden lyre, joint possession of Apollo and the dark-haired muses.

II. I, 603: 88

--- Φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ην ἐξ Ἀπόλλων,

Tr. The beautiful lyre which Apollo held.

Pindar is the chief poet that refers to the lyre and its songs as recompense or balm for troubles, and he is probably the model that Horace follows in:

C. I, 32, 14 sq.:

--- testudo Iovis, o laborum

dulce lenimen,

88 Cf. II. I, 472; Hymn to Ap. 131, 336.
Pind. Nem. IV, 1 sq., 4-5:

"Αριστος εὐφρασύνα πόνων ἱεριμένων
ιατρὸς. -------
οὐδὲ Θεμιὸν ὑδῶρ ἀτόσον γε μαλθὰκα τεῦχει
γυίᾳ, τόσον εὐλογία Θόμιγγι συνάθρος.

Tr. Joy is the best physician for toils
that have been experienced ---; nor does warm water soothe
the body as much as praise wedded to the lyre.

Pind. Isth. VIII, 1:

---λύτρον εὔδοξον---καμάτων

Tr. (The song of triumph), glorious
recompense of toils.

The characters and locations of mythology have
epithets as well as the gods, and Horace makes free use of
them.

C. I, 6, 7:

Duplicis Ulixes

Homer. 89

πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.

Tr. Crafty Odysseus.

89 Used 14 times in the Iliad and 66 in the Odyssey.
C. I, 6, 8:

nec saevam Pelopis domum

Soph. El.:

τιολυφθορόν τε ηώμα Πελαγιδων τόθε.

Tr. The tragic house of Pelops.

C. I, 6, 16:

Superis parem (Said of Diomedes)

Il. V, 438:

Δαίμονι ἴσος (Said of Diomedes)

Tr. Equal to a god.

Il. V, 884:

αὐτὰρ ἐπελτ' αὐτῷ μοι ἐπέσαυτο

(Δαίμονι ἴσος.

(Ares speaking of Diomede)

Tr. And then he rushed upon me, even me, like a god.

Castor is famous in all literature as a horse-tamer and Pollux is equally well-known as a boxer. Thus it is with no definite model that Horace says:

C. I, 12, 25-27:

--- puerosque Ledae,

hunc equis, illum superare pugnis

nobilem;
Alkman 9:

Κόστυρ τε πυλών ύικέων ἔματήρες, ἵπποταί σοφά, καὶ Πελοῦδεύκης κυρός.

Tr. Castor and noble Pollux, skilled horsemen and masters of swift steeds.

Od. XI, 300:

Κόστορα θ' ἰππόδαμον καὶ πυθ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκης,

Tr. Castor, the tamer of horses, and Pollux, good as a boxer.

Their equally familiar epithet "protector of seamen" is enlarged upon in the next few lines:

C. I, 12, 27-32:

-- quorum simul alba nautis stella refulsit,

defluit saxis agitatus umor,
concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto unda recumbit.

Terpander, 4:

Ω Ζηνὸς καὶ Λέδας κάλλιστοι σωτῆρες.

Tr. Oh best of saviors, sons of Zeus and Leda.
Theocr. XXII Dioscuri, 17-20:

And yet ye rescue from the deep,
ships with the sailors themselves though they expect to perish. Immediately the winds abate, a shining calm is over the sea and the clouds disperse this way and that.

The last Greek quotation was, in all probability, responsible for the wording that Horace used; for the two descriptions of the stilling of the storm at the appearance of the Dioscuri are almost identical, with the strikingly parallel expressions: 'The winds abate,' 'the clouds disperse', 'the waves become calm'.

Euripides is the one Greek author that most frequently refers to Paris as the shepherd, though Bion also uses the epithet:

C. I, 15, 1 sq.:  
Pastor cum traheret ---  
----- Helenem

Bion. II, 10:  
δ ὁμικόλος
Tr. The shepherd.

Eur. (Iph. at Aul. 180, 574):

Ττάρπος, ὁ βυτίκολος.

Tr. Paris, the shepherd.

Euripides refers to his flocks four times and five times mentions Ida as his home.

It is also Euripides that used the adjective that Horace had in mind when he said "perfidus hospitam":

C. I, 15, 1 sq.:

Pastor cum traheret ---
--- Helenem perfidus -- hospitam

Eur. Tr. 866:

'ευαναδής

Tr. Treacherous to his host.

Thracian Boreas was proverbial for his stormy nature and is therefore used by Horace after the Greek fashion:

C. I, 25, 11-12:

Thraco bacchante magis sub interlunia vento,

Hes. Erg. 553:

Ερημίκου ἠστῆρ

Tr. Of Thracian Boreas
Ibycus fr. I, 8:

Θρηκίως βορέας

Tr. Thracian Boreas

Black, as a 'epitheton ornans' to death, is found in the Iliad and in Horace:

C. I, 28, 13:

morti -------- atrie

Il. II, 834.90

μέλανος θανάτου

Tr. Of black death

The Cretan Sea was also noted for its storms and when Horace speaks of banishing cares and fear to the wild winds to carry over the Cretan Sea, he evidently had in mind some such passage as the one from Sophocles quoted below:

C. I, 26, 2 sq.:

tradam protervis in mare Creticum portare ventis,

Soph. Tr. 128 sq.:

---πολύπονον ὧ πείης κέλαιος

Kρῆσιον.

Tr. Stormy as the Cretan Sea.

90Cf. Il. II, 859.
Horace's "sweet Muse" recalls the adjectives honey-toned and honey-voiced that Greek writers applied to poetry and the Muses:

C. I, 26, 9:

Piplea dulcis

Pind. Ol. VI, 21:

μέλικοθαγγος—Μοίσαι

Tr. Honey-voiced Muses

Pind. Isth. II, 32:

μελικόμετων ἄουδαν

Tr. Of sweet-sounding songs

Pind. Nem. XI, 18:

μελιγιούπαυσι ἄουδαις

Tr. With sweet-toned songs

C. I, 7, 9:

aptum --- equis Argos

Il. II, 287:

Ἀργεος ἐπηποβότοιο

Tr. Of horse-pasturing Argos.

Eur. Suppl. 355; Troad. 1087:

ἐπηποβότοιον Ἀργος

Tr. Horse-pasturing Argos.
130

Eur. I. T. 700:

ιππίων τ’ Ἀργος

Tr. Argos, land of horses,

Pind. Nem. X, 41:

ἵπποτρόφον ἀστυ

Tr. Horse-rearing city

C. I, 7, 11:

Larissae —— campus opimae

II. II, 841:

τῶν οί Λάρισαν ἐρυθῶλακα ναετάδαικον.

Tr. Of those that inhabited deep-soiled Larissa.

II. XVII, 301:

ἀπὸ Λαρίσης ἐρυθῶλακος,

Tr. Near deep-soiled Larissa.

C. I, 7, 2:

bimarisve Corinthi

Pind. Ol. XIII, 40:

--- ἐν δ’ ἀμφιάλοιοι Ποσειδάνος τεθνόσων

Tr. In Poseidon's ordinances (held) between two seas. (Refering to the Isthmian games which were held at Corinth.)
C. I, 7, 9:

+++ ditisque Mycenae

Soph. El. 9:

Μυκήναις τὰς πολυχρόσους.

Tr. Mycenae rich in gold.

Homerica: (Il. VII, 180; XI, 46; Od. III, 304):

πολυχρόσολα Μυκήνης.

Tr. Of rich Mycenae.

Proof of the appropriateness of Mycenae's traditional epithet is given by Dr. Schliemann whose archaeological investigations revealed gold ornaments richly adorned with silver and ivory as well as alabaster slabs and other signs of great wealth discussed by Schuchhardt.\(^\text{91}\).

3' Long descriptions with a definite model

In the account of Venus and her dancing attendants, Horace clearly had a quotation from the Cypria in mind.

C. I, 4, 5 sq.:

iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,

divinaeque Nymphis Gratiæ decentes

alterno terram quasiunt pede,---

\(^\text{91}\) Excavations of Schliemann, Ch. IV.
Tr. And when laughter-loving Aphrodite
with her train, had woven fragrant wreathes of the
flowers of the earth, the goddesses crown their heads
with bright head-bands; the Nymphs and Graces, along with
golden Aphrodite sang a beautiful song on the slopes of
many-fountained Ida.

An analysis of the two descriptions shows Horace
mentioning first Venus, then her train, then the Nymphs
and Graces; whereas the Greek fragment has the same
characters and observes the same order of introducing
them, as well as the same general spirit.

C. I, 2, 31 sq.:

nube candentis umeros
amictus augur Apollo.

II. XV, 307 sq.:

πρόσθεν δ' ει' αυτοι φοίβος Ἀπόλλων
eἰμένος ὑμοίνυ νεφέλην,
Tr. While in front went Phoebus Apollo, his shoulders veiled in a cloud.

The practically identical wording here, makes this passage from the Iliad the evident model.

Argos, Mycenae, and Sparta are the three cities most frequently mentioned as sacred to Juno. Many passages refer to one or the other city as hers, but Horace's reference to the three recalls the lines from the Iliad:

C. I, 7, 8-10:

plurimus in Iunonis honorem
aptum dicit equis Argos ditisque Mycenas:
me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon

Il. IV, 51 sq.:

"η τοι έμοί τρες μὲν πολὺ φίλταται εἰσιν πόλης,
’Αργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγμα Μυκήνης.

Tr. Surely three cities are by far the dearest to me; namely, Argos, Sparta and wide-wayed Mycenae.

The lost portion of the Hymn that Alcaeus wrote to Hermes\textsuperscript{92} may have contained lines more similar to the

\textsuperscript{92}See Ch. V.
last stanza of Horace's Ode than Homer's account; and yet there are strong enough parallels between the following two descriptions for the Iliad to have been the model:

C. I, 10, 17-19:

\[ \text{tu pias laetis animas reponis} \]
\[ \text{sedibus virgaque levem coerces} \]
\[ \text{aurea turbam,} \]

Od. XXIV, 2-5:

\[ \text{--- ἔχε δὲ ράβδον μετὰ χερσὶ} \]
\[ \text{καλὴν χρυσεῖν, --- --- ---} \]
\[ \text{τῇ ὄρε τὴν κυνῆς, ταῦ δὲ τρίγουσα έποντο.} \]

Tr. (Hermes summons ghosts of suitors) In his hand he held a beautiful golden wand with which he started and led them, while they followed gibbering.

The following pictures of Athena arrayed for battle both mention her aegis, her helmet and her chariot--too close a similarity to be accidental:

C. I, XV, 11-12:

\[ \text{--- iam galeam Pallas et aegida} \]
\[ \text{currusque et rabiem parat.} \]

Il. V, 738, 743 sq., 745:

\[ \text{άμφι ὃ ὅμευσων βάλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσακέσσαν} \]
\[ \text{--- --- --- --- ---} \]
\[ \text{κρατὶ ὃ εἴπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνῆν θέτο τετραφάληπον} \]
\[ \text{χρυσεῖν, --- --- --- --- ---} \]
\[\varepsilon\,\delta\prime\,\alpha\chi\varepsilon\,\alpha\,\alpha\,\gamma\alpha\varepsilon\,\pi\sigma\iota\,\beta\upsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\tau\omicron\,\iota\]  

Tr. Around her shoulders she cast her tasseled aegis; upon her head she placed her two-peaked, four crested helmet of gold, and set foot in her gleaming chariot,---

Horace's invitation to the country opens with an account of Pan as guardian of flocks which recalls Theocritus who also mentions Lycaon.

G. I, XVII, 1-4:

*Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam defendit aestatem capellis usque meis pluviosque ventos.*

Theocrit. I, 123-126:

\[\omicron\,\Pi\alpha\nu\,\Pi\alpha\nu\,\varepsilon\iota\,\iota\,\varepsilon\sigma\iota\,\kappa\alpha\prime\,\alpha\gamma\rho\varepsilon\,!\,\mu\alpha\kappa\varepsilon\prime\,\Lambda\nu\kappa\alpha\iota\womicron\,\varepsilon\iota\,\tau\omicron\,\gamma\,\alpha\mu\iota\varphi\iota\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\varepsilon\iota\,\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\eta\iota\alpha\omicron\,\Lambda\mu\iota\nu\alpha\iota\nu\iota\delta\iota\omega\omicron\,\tau\omicron\,\kappa\,\mu\acute{\alpha}k\acute{a}r\acute{e}p\acute{e}s\,\delta\iota\,\mu\acute{a}m\iota\kappa\acute{a}\,\tau\omicron\,\kappa\,\mu\acute{a}k\acute{a}r\acute{e}p\acute{e}s\,\delta\iota\,\alpha\gamma\eta\iota\tau\omicron\].

Tr. O, Pan, Pan! whether thou art upon the lofty mountains of Lycaeus or dost guard over great Maenalus, hither to the Sicilian isle! Leave behind the high peak of Helice, the tomb of the famous son of Lycaon,
loved even by the blessed.

3. Translated lines and expressions

1' Translations of Greek expressions but of no definite original.

C. I, 3, 3:

Ventorum regat pater obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga

Callim. To Artemis, 230:

κατέδήσας ἄητας

Tr. Having bound down the winds.

Od. X, 20:

ἐνθα σὲ βυκτάων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κέλευθα
κελών γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε Ἰρονίων.

Tr. And in it bound the courses of the blustering winds, for the son of Kronos had made him steward of the winds.

Od. V, 383 sqq.:

ἡ τοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κελεύθους.

Tr. She barred the path of the other winds.

That the Latin expression 'ventorum aliis abstrictis' was suggested to Horace by the Greek is clear,
although it is not possible to say which of the passages quoted was particularly responsible for his translation.

The real originator of the definition of a friend as half of one's soul is Pythagoras; but Callimachus and Aristotle have used the same wording. That Horace consciously thought of the Greek means of emphasizing the closeness of friendship is further attested by his repetition of the phrase -- an indication of the impression the Greek made upon him.

_C. I, 3, 8:_

*animae dimidium meae.*

_C. II, 17, 5:_

*a, te meae si partem animae rapit maturior vis, quid moror altera nec carus aeque nec superstes integer?*

**Two definitions of Pythagoras:**

*οὐματα μὲν δύο, ψυχὴ οὐ μία;*

Tr. Two bodies, but one spirit

*ἔστι γὰρ, ὢς φίλεν, ὁ φίλος δεύτερος εἶναι.*

Tr. For a friend is, as we say, a second self.

_Ar. Eth. IX, 4, 5:_

*ὁ φίλος ἄλλος ὁμός*

Tr. A friend, another self.
Diog. Laertius V, 1, 20:

ερωτηθησας τι èστι φίλας, ἕφη,
"μία ψυχὴ δύο σώματιν ἐνοικίσασα."

Tr. When asked what constituted a friend, he (Aristotle) said: "One soul inhabiting two bodies."

Callimachus Ep. 42:

"Ἡμισὺ μεν ψυχὴς ἐτε, τὸ πνεόν, ἡμῖσὺ δὲν ὡς ἂδ'
ἐλτ' Ἐρός, εὔτ' Ἀδῆς ἤρπασε πλήν ἄφανές.

Tr. That which still breathes is but half my life; as for the other half -- I know not whether Hades or Eros has snatched it away; but it is gone.

For the first Latin quotation given, Horace evidently had Callimachus definitely in mind, because the word order as well as the words themselves seem an exact translation. His second reference to the same idea is closer to the definitions of the philosophers, and while it is not a translation of any one of the passages, it is worth noting here because of the similarity in sentiment to Ode I, 3, 8.

In the following citation, the Latin word order is taken directly from the Greek tragic poets who frequently inserted σε between the preposition πρὸς and its case:

C. I, 8, 1 sq.:

Lydia, dic per omnis

te deos oro,
Soph. Ph. 468 sqq.:

Πρὸς γύνιν τὸν πατέρας πρὸς τὸν μητέρας, ὥστε, 
ἐκέντης ἐκνομὴν,

Tr. Now by thy father and by thy mother, my son, --- solemnly I implore thee.

Eur. Med. 324:

μὴ, πρὸς γε γονάτων τὴν τε νεογόμνου κόρης.

Tr. (Medea implores Creon): Nay, -- by thy knees, and by thy bride, thy child!

Eur. Aloc. 275:

μὴ πρὸς σε θεῶν τὴν με προσούναι,

Tr. By the gods, do not forsake me, I beg thee.

It will be noticed that these lines have a very similar context as well as a parallel sentence construction. Equally close in thought are these passages:

Eur. Hec. 1127:

Πρὸς θεῶν σε λίσσωμαι.

Tr. By the gods, I beg of thee.

Soph. El. 428 sq.:

Πρὸς γιν θεῶν σε λίσσωμαι ---

Έμοι πείσομαι ---

Tr. By the gods, I beg thee hearken to me.

The liver, more often than the heart, was to the
ancients the seat of the emotions, and it is not surprising to find many possible models for Horace's following lines:

C. I, 13, 4 sq.:

`meum
fervens difficili bilet tumet iecur.`

C. I, 25, 15:

`(libido) saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum,`

C. IV, 1, 12:

`si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum.`

S. I, 9, 66:

`meum iecur urere bilis.`

Aesch. Choeph. 272:

`Ἥπαρ Θερμόν`

Tr. Hot anger (Lit. hot liver)

Archil. 131:

`χολήν γὰρ οὐκ ἐχέλεις ἔξω ἥπατε`

Tr. For thou hast no anger in thy heart (Lit. liver).

Horace's "felices ter et amplius"93, as well as Virgil's94 "terque quaterque beati" both can be traced to a Greek expression often used by Homer:

93C. I, 13, 17
94Virg. Aen. I, 94
Od. V, 306:

\[\text{τρισμάκαρες Δαναὶ καὶ τετράκεις,}\]

Tr. Thrice and four times blessed are the Danai.

Od. VI, 154-155:

\[\text{τρισμάκαρες μὲν σοὶ γε πατήρ καὶ πτέρνια μήτηρ,}\]
\[\text{τρισμάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητω.}\]

Tr. Thrice blest are thy father and thy queenly mother,—thrice blest thy brothers.

Ar. Pax 1332 sq.:

\[\text{Ω τρισμάκαρ, ώς δικαί—}\]
\[\text{ώς τάγαθα νῦν ἔχεις.}\]

Tr. Oh, thrice happy, how justly now thou dost possess good things.

Horace frequently advises others not to lose their temper; but in the wording of the following, he seems to have a Greek expression in mind:

C. I, XVI, 22:

\[\text{compesce mentem}\]

Iliad IX, 255 sq.:

\[\text{—οὐ δὲ μεγαλῆτορα θυμὸν}\]
\[\text{ἔσχεν ἐν στῆθεσι.}\]

Tr. Do thou restrain thy proud soul in thy breast.
Theogn. 365:

Θοιχε νόσων,

Tr. Restrain thy spirit.

The same Ode refers to the "primeval clay" that Prometheus used in the creation of man -- a translation from the Greek:

C. I, 16, 13 sq.:

fertur Prometheus addere principi
limo coactus

Aesch. fr. 373 D (369 N):

τοῦ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητὴ γυνή.

Tr. A mortal woman from the seed moulded of clay.

Aristoph. Aves 685.:

ἀνδρες ---
---πλάσματα πηλοῦ.

Tr. The clay of Prometheus

Call. 133:

εἴ σε ὁ Προμηθεὺς
ἐπλασε, καὶ πηλοῦ μὴ ἐτέρου γέγονας.

Tr. If Prometheus moulded thee, and thou art not from other clay.
The long deep Thracian draught to which Horace refers was proverbial with Greek poets:

C. I. 36, 13-14:
neu multi Damalis meri
Bassum Threicia vincat amystide.

Callim. fr. 109, 1 sq.:
καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θρηκύκην μὲν ἀπέστυρε χάνδον
ἀμυστίν

Tr. For he hated to drink greedily the Thracian draught.

Anacr. 63, 2-3, 9:

Tr. That I may drink the long draught --
the Scythian drink.

It is noteworthy that 'amystide' and ἀμυστίν
are of the same etymology, since both literally signify
'without closing the mouth'.

95 For the Thracians as hard drinkers Cf. C. I. 18, 9; I, 27, 2.
Very short expressions translated

It is unfair perhaps to assume that an expression has been translated when it contains only two or three words; but when the word combination is an unusual and striking one; it would seem that the similarity is no mere coincidence.

C. I, 2, 9:

piscium ------- genus

Soph. fr. 855 (N):

ιΧΘύων ------ γένος.

Tr. The tribe of fish.

Aside from this obvious translation, the combination of γένος with animals is quite common among Greek authors, as will be seen in the following quotations:

II. II, 852:

ηλιόνων ------ γένος

Tr. Breed of wild mules.

Soph. Ant. 342:

επετεύρ γένει

Tr. Breed of horses.

Od. XX, 212:

βοῶν γένος

Tr. Breed of cattle.
Horace, in using the expression "the might of Hercules" when he means Hercules, is translating the epic phrase

C. I, 3, 36:

Herculeus labor

Il. V, 638; Od. XI, 600:

βίον Ἡρακληένην.

C. I, 4, 7:

alterno terram quatiunt pede\footnote{Cf. C. I, 37, 1 sq.: --- nunc pede libero pulsanda tellus}

Callim. To Delos, 306:

αὐτ' ἐξε τοὺς ὀπλόν χορέουσιν ἀσφαλέσ σέδεσ. οὐδας.

Tr. The dancing Naiads strike the hard ground with their feet.

App. Rh. I, 539 sq.:

(ἐμμελέως) κρατυνόσιν πέδαν

ῥήσωσι πόησισ σισ.

Tr. They beat the earth with swiftly-moving feet.

In addition to the unusual expression for dancing, there is a slight additional testimony in the fact that both authors are referring to dancing nymphs.
C. I, 4, 9:

nitidum caput

Callim. Ep. Inc. XI, 4:

λιπαρὰν ἔθεγαν.

Tr. Shining hair.

The Greek adjective usually connotes 'shining with oil'; but whether that is the case here or not, makes no difference since nitidum, too, may or may not have that meaning.

C. I, 4, 15:

(vitae summa brevis) spat (nos vetat in choare) longam.

Neoptol. fr. ap. Diod. XVI, 92:

μακρὰς (ἀθαυρομένος) ἑλπίδας—(Ἀδας).

Tr. (Pluto having taken away) far-reaching hopes.

This unusual word combination is used in reference to the same thought.

C. I, 4, 16:

Iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes

II. XIII, 425:

’ή ἔ των Ἰτύων ἔρεβανή νυκτὶ καλύψαι.

Tr. Either to cover some one of the Trojans with black night,
Both 'nox' and Ψυκτὴ are used to mean death.

C. I, 5, 7:

nigris --- ventis

Il. XI, 747:

κελανη λαίλαττι

Tr. With black storm

Il. XII, 375; 20, 51:

ἐρεμνη λαίλαττι

Tr. Dark whirlwind

Il. XVI, 384:

λαίλαττι --- κελανη --- χθων

Tr. The ground black from a tempest.

C. I, 5, 13:

nites (Tr. thou dost appear dazzling -- in the of seeming fair).

Il. III, 392:

στίλβεν (Tr. to gleam -- refers to radiance in beauty and clothing).

C. I, 6, 7:

Duplicis Ulixeii

Eur. Rhes. 395:

Διπλούσ-ἀνήρ

Tr. Crafty man
This adjective is not only translated, but is practically the same as the Greek, and is used in both cases to mean crafty almost to the point of deceit.

C. I, 6, 13:

*tunica tectum adamantina*

Homeric: 97

\[ \chi \alpha k\alpha \chi \iota \nu \nu \]

Tr. Mail-clad

The Greek expression for mail-clad means literally "with tunic of bronze", while the Latin phrase literally signifies "with tunic made of adamant" -- an obvious translation when you consider how closely the "tunica" corresponded to the \( \chi \iota \nu \nu \).

C. I, 6, 16:

*super is parem.*

Homer:

\[ \tau \alpha \iota \mu o\nu \iota \iota \sigma \]

Tr. Equal to a god

\[ \Theta \epsilon o\iota s \ 'e n a l i \iota \gamma i o s \]

Tr. Equal to the gods

Δι' ἀτάλαντον ὀόο

Tr. Equal to Zeus.

Soft wine in the sense of mild wine is used in both the following quotations:

C. I, 7, 18:

molli ---- mero

Arist. Probl. III, 18:

οὐνω μαλακῶ

The graphic "nil desperandum" of Horace finds an exact counterpart in Greek:

C. I, 7, 27:

nil desperandum

Eur. fr.:101 and Archil. 74, 1:

"Αελπιτον οὐδέν

Tr. Nothing is to be despaired of.

C. I, 9, 3 sq.:

geluque acuto

Pind. Pyth. I, 20:

χύνων ὀξέιας

Tr. Sharp snow.

The parallel use of acuto and ὀξέιας to emphasize cold, recalls our English expression: "The air is sharp."

100I. II, 169.
101Cited by Browne in Hist. of Class. Lit. p. 295.
C. I, 9, 7 sq.:

deprome quadrimum Sabina
-------- merum diota,

Alcaeus 41, 2:

καὶ σὺ ἀεὶρε κυλίχναις μεγάλαις

Tr. Bring down in large cups.

Not only does καὶ σὺ ἀεὶρε exactly translate deprome but the two are used in precisely the same connection.

C. I, 11, 18:

carpe diem

Aesch. Sept. 65:

--καυρὸν --λάβε

Tr. Sieze the opportunity.

Another evident case where word order and choice of words both point to a translation is found in:

C. I, 12, 14:

res hōminum ac deorum

Od. I, 338:

ἐὰργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

Tr. The affairs of men and gods.

Horace speaks of poverty as distressing, hard and cruel -- all echoes of Greek expressions:

C. I, 12, 43:

saeva paupertas et avitus arto
cum lare fundus.
C. I, 18, 5:
gravem ------- pauperiem
C. III, 16, 37:
importuna ------- pauperies
C. IV, 9, 49:
duram ------- pauperiem
Alc. 92, 1:
'Αργάλεον πενία κάκον ἀσχέτον,
Tr. Poverty is a grievous evil hard to bear.

Hes. Op. 717:
---ουλομένην πενίην
Tr. Deadly poverty

Theogn. 1129:
πενίης θυμοφθοροί
Tr. Soul-consuming poverty

'Knowing the fight' is a very Homeric way of saying 'skilled in battle', and Horace seems to adopt it in:

C. I, 15, 24 sq.:
------- Sthenelus sciens pugnae.

Il. V, 11:
-------μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πᾶσης.
Tr. Well skilled in all the arts of war.
The interpretation of 'sublimi' is the key to the meaning of line 31 of Ode I, 15. If Horace meant to picture Paris fleeing Diomedes with his head thrown back ('sublimi') as a deer would flee at the sight of a wolf, there is no parallel between the Greek and Latin quoted below. This view is, however, as Shorey and Laing point out, more picturesque than probable. A more logical explanation is advanced by Wickham who keeps the literal meaning of 'sublimi' and shows its appropriateness in this connection, since the breath is stopped midway (μετεύρω) and stays at the entrance ('sublimi') of the lungs. Then the relation between Horace's expression and that of Menander is close enough to seem a translation:

C. I, 15, 31:

sublimi fugies mollis anheliter

Menander (ed. M.), p. 12:

μετεύρω πνεύματι

Tr. With breath half-stopped.

The following Greek expression for 'heavy spear' is used five times in the Iliad and is exclusively Homeric:

C. I, XV, 16 sq.:

gravis --- hastas

Iliad:

ἔγχος ἐρωθί

Tr. Heavy spear.
Another Homeric phrase is translated in
C. I, XVI, 18:

altis urbis

Homer (Iliad XIII, 625; VIII, 369; Od. 4 times):

\[ \tau \delta \lambda \nu \alpha \iota \iota \tau \iota \eta \nu \]

Tr. Lofty city.

The phrase "sweet flute" is taken from Pindar:
C. I, 17, 10:

utcumque dulci Tyndari fistula

Pind. Ol. X, 93 sq.:

\[ \gamma \lambda \nu \kappa \upsilon \sigma \\alpha \omega \lambda \varsigma \]

Tr. Sweet flute.

The Latin expression for "consuming cares" finds its exact counterpart in Greek:
C. I, 18, 4:

mordaces sollicitudines

Hes. Works and Days, 66:

\[ \tau \mu \alpha \beta \rho \omicron \omicron \mu \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \delta \iota \omicron \varsigma \varsigma \]

Tr. Consuming cares.

So, too, the graphic word combination, 'tearful war' has its Greek original:
C. I, 21, 13:

bellum lacrimosum,
11. v, 737:

τῖς λέων δακρυσέντα

Tr. Tearful war.

Aeschylus, as well as Horace, refers to a mountain as 'inhospitable' or desolate — and both poets are referring to Caucasus:

C. i, 22, 6 sq.:

sive facturus per inhospitalem

Caucasum

Aesch. Prom. 20:

προπασαλέισω τῷ δ'] ἀπανθρώπῳ πάγῳ

Tr. I shall bind thee to a desolate peak.

When Horace calls Juba dry nurse of lions, he may be recalling the Greek epigram which speaks of Phrygia in the same way:

C. i, 22, 15-16:

nec Iubae tellus generat, leonum aride nutrix


Θρέπτειγα λεόντων

Tr. Nurse of lions.

In reference to 'imagini' of Ode i, 24, 15, Keller and Holder say: "Homeri εἰσώδηλα reddidisse creditur
Horatius"; and this point is made clear in consideration of the qualifying words that both the Greek and Latin use, as well as the context in Homer where the unsubstantial ghosts must drink of blood before they can speak:

C. I, 24, 15:103

\[\text{num vanae redate sanguinis imagin\iri}\]

Od. XI, 476 (10 other places):

\[(\nu e k p o i) \delta ϕ ρ α \delta ε s \ldots \beta ρ ω t \delta υ n \varepsilon \iota ω \iota \alpha \kappa α μ ω ν t \nu n.\]

Tr. The senseless (dead), ghosts of toil-worn men.

So, too, the "throng of the dead" that Horace refers to has its counterpart in the Odyssey:

C. I, 24, 18:

\[\text{nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi}\]

Od. X, 526 (also XI, 34, 632):

\[\varepsilon \Theta ν ε α \nu e k p o i \nu n\]

Tr. The throng of the dead.

\[\varepsilon \Theta ν ε α\] and 'gregi' are both commonly used of flocks of animals.

Theocritus addressing a poet friend under the name of Lycidas, refers to him as Horace does to himself.

102 Od. XI, 98-99.
"dear to the Muses":
C. I, 26, 1:
Musis amicus (tradam)
Theocr. VII, 95:
Φίλος ἔπλεο Μοίσας
Tr. Thou art dear to the Muses.

The expression "sands without number" is proverbial, and it is perhaps unnecessary to point to any one Greek source for Horace's words, though Pindar has a direct counterpart in the following passage:
C. I, 28, 1:

 numerosque carentis harenae.
Pind. Ol. II:

 ψάμμος ἁρεμὸν περιπτεθευγεν.
Tr. The sands defy enumeration.

The Greek conception of souls sent down to Hades as a punishment is conveyed by the one word προίαψεν and finds its parallel in Horace's "demissum":
C. I, 28, 10 sq.:
Tartara Panthoiden --- Creo
demissum.
II. I, 3:
ψυχὰς Ἀδὲι προίαψεν
Tr. Hurled souls into Hades.
A phrase used in the Iliad seems to be responsible for Horace's:

C. I, 28, 19:
--- funera densentur

Il. I, 383:

Θυήσκον ἐπιασούτερος

Tr. They died one after another.

Literally ὀξύν and 'acrem' both mean 'sharp', and the unusual use of this adjective to refer to war makes the Iliad seem to be the pattern for Horace in:

C. I, 29, 2:
--- et a crem militiam paras

Il. II, 440:104

ἐγείρομεν ὀξύν Ἄρηα

Tr. Let us stir up furious Ares.

The word to "sport" or "play" is used in the sense of singing a trivial song by both Pindar and Horace:

C. I, 32, 2 sq.:
lusimus tecum105, quod et hunc in annum vivat et pluris.

104 and 7 other places.
105 'te' refers to 'barbite'
Pind. Ol. I, 16 sq.:

(μουσικὴς) ὁι ποίημαν ὀλιν
ὄντος ἐμφί θαμά τραπεζοῦν.

Tr. (Music) such as we men are wont to play at the banquet of a friend.

Horace's phrase "foolish wisdom" finds a direct counterpart in the Greek word combination of Euripides:

C. I, 34, 2:

insanientis ---- sapientiae

Eur. Bacch. 395:

τὸ σοφὸν ὁ ὀφὶ σοφία

Tr. Sophistry not wisdom.

The "clamps of molten lead" that Necessity holds in her hand in Horace's representation have a parallel in Euripides:

C. I, 35, 20:

uncus ---- liquidumque plumbum.

Eur. Andr. 266 sq.:

καὶ γὰρ εἰ περίκ σε ἔχει

τηκτὸς μάλησας, ἑγαναιτήσω σε ἐγὼ

Tr. For even if clamps held fast by molten lead surround thee, I shall make thee rise.
The unusual character of a short quotation is not always a trustworthy gauge, however, as will be seen in the following example:

C. I, 3, 34:

expertus vacuum Daedalus aera.

Pind. Ol. I, 6:

ἐρήμας ἄν' αἰγέρας

Tr. Thruout the empty air.

II. XVII, 425:

αἰγέρας ἀτρυγέτολο

Tr. Thru the desert air.

Here, in spite of the unusual and striking nature of the poetic conception, the empty air, it is easy to see that every poet has a different idea which he intends his adjective to convey. Pindar wishes his reader to picture the heavens deserted by all other luminaries because of the brilliancy of the sun. Homer characterises the sky as empty because it is free from the things that belong to earth; while Horace's idea is to emphasize the fact that Daedalus in his flight would find an air that contained no solid resting place. In view of these considerations, there seem to exist no grounds for the parallel that Keller and Holder as well as Shorey and Laing draw between the Latin 'vacuum' as used here and the Greek ἐρήμας and ἀτρυγέτολο.
Translations of a definite Greek passage

The general Greek atmosphere of Ode I, book I is heightened by expressions clearly translated from the Greek:

C. I, 1, 11 sq.:
--- patrios findere sarculo
agros ---

App. Rhod. I, 1215:

\[ \text{'\(\gamma\)\(\tau\)\(\alpha\)\(\omicron\) \(\omicron\) \(\mu\)\(\epsilon\)\(\nu\) \(\eta\)\(\nu\)\(\alpha\)\(s\) \(\tau\)\(\epsilon\)\(m\)\(n\)\(e\)\(s\) \(k\)\(e\)\(n\) \(\alpha\)\(r\)\(o\)\(t\)\(r\)\(o\)\(w\)'} \]

Tr. He was cleaving with the plough the soil of the new land.

C. I, 1, 13:
--- secat mare

Od. III, 174:

\[ \text{'\(\tau\)\(\tau\)\(\epsilon\)\(l\)\(a\)\(g\)\(o\)\(s\)\(\ldots\)\(\tau\)\(\epsilon\)\(m\)\(n\)\(e\)\(w\)'} \]

Tr. To cut the sea.

To be sure Seneca\(^{106}\) uses similar expressions, but he, too, was influenced strongly by the Greeks, and aside from the fact that \(\tau\)\(\epsilon\)\(m\)\(n\)\(w\) could well be translated by 'findo', the three words 'findere', 'sarculo' and 'agros' all have their counterpart in \(\tau\)\(\epsilon\)\(m\)\(n\)\(e\)\(s\) \(k\)\(e\)\(n\) \(\alpha\)\(r\)\(o\)\(t\)\(r\)\(o\)\(w\) and \(\gamma\)\(\upsilon\)\(a\)\(s\) - a similarity that adds evidence to the apparent translation.

\(^{106}\)Tröde 1021: rura qui scindunt opulenta bobus
Also: Phaedra, 88; Medea, 305; Thyestes, 590.
The same Ode shows:

C. I, 1, 30:

me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
dis miscent superis

Pind. Isth. II, 28:

---ιν' ἄθανάτους Αἰνησίδάμου
παιότες ἐν τιμαῖς ἔμυξθεν.

Tr. Where the sons of Ainesidamos shared
in immortal honors.

Here the Latin 'miscent' and the Greek ἔμυξθεν
are used in the same sense of exalting to a level with the
gods; and the dis superis finds its parallel in the
ἀθανάτους of the Greek.

Both sentiment and words are again deliberately
translated in:

C. I, 6, 9 sq.:

(neque haec dicere)

conamur ------ dum pudor

---------------------- vetat.

Alcaeus 55:

Θέλω τι ἔφην, ἀλλὰ με κυλύει θόνως

Tr. I wish to say something, but a sense
of shame forbids me.

All of Ode I, 9 is definitely modeled after
Alcaeus\textsuperscript{107}, and consequently contains many parallel expressions and lines:

C. I, 9, 3 sq.:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{---- geluque ------}\tabularnewline \textit{flumina constiterint acuto?}\tabularnewline \end{tabular}
\end{center}

Alc. 34, 2:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{πεπάγαςίςν \ ή \ ἱδώτων \ ῧδαλι}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Tr.} The streams of water have frozen.

C. I, 9, 5:

dissolve frigus

Alc. 34, 3:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{ιαζάβαλε τὸν \ χειμων'}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Tr.} Drive off the cold.

C. I, 9, 6 sq.:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{---- ligna super foco}\tabularnewline \textit{large reponens,}\tabularnewline \end{tabular}
\end{center}

Alc. 34, 3 sq.:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{επὶ \ μὲν \ θεοίς}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textit{Tr.} Heap up the fire.

C. I, 9, 6-9:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{--------- benignius}\tabularnewline \end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{107}See Ch. V.
deprome quadrimum Sabina,
O Thaliarche, merum diota.

Alc. 34, 4 sq.:

--- ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀμπελόειμος
μιᾷ ὁμοίωσιν,

Tr. Mixing honey-sweet wine unsparingly.

The question of how far Horace attempted to follow Pindar in Ode I, 12 has been much discussed;¹⁰⁸ but there can certainly be no doubt that his invocation is a translation of the opening lines of Pindar's second Olympian:

C. I, XII. 1-3:

Quem virum aut heros lyra vel acri

Clio, sumus celebrare, Clio,

quem deum?

Pind. OI. II, 1 sq.:

Ἀναθερμῆ γῆς ὑμοί,

τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἱρων, τίνα ἀνέφα κελαδήν

Tr. Lords of the lyre, my hymns, what god, what hero, what man shall we celebrate?

¹⁰⁸ For this point see Ch. IV.
Three times in Ode I, 13, Horace seems to have definite Sapphic passages in mind. The clearest case occurs in lines five to nine, where the passionate love poem of Sappho that has found so many echoes in literature

\[ \text{C. I, 13, 5-9:} \]

\[ \text{tum nec mens mihi nec color} \]
\[ \text{certe sede manet, umor et in genas} \]
\[ \text{furtim labitur arguens} \]
\[ \text{quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.} \]

\[ \text{Sappho II:} \]

\[ \text{- - - to mou man} \]

Many attempts have been made to translate this Greek poem -- the most successful probably being the French version by Nicholas Boileau Despreaux, the English of Ambrose Philips and especially the famous Latin traduction of Catullus (\text{II}). Tennyson, when he published "Fatima" quoted the opening lines of the Greek to show his indebtedness to Sappho for the following:

\[ \text{V. 15: Last night when some one spoke his name} \]
\[ \text{From my swift blood that went and came} \]
\[ \text{A thousand little shafts of flame} \]
\[ \text{Were shivered in my narrow frame.} \]

And again in Eleanore (II. 127-144) there is a longer parallel passage. Swinburne in line 35 of his "Sapphics" refers to the temples of Sappho as "paler than grass in summer" -- a direct allusion to her own words. Other clear cases of imitation occur in: Theocr. II, 106 sqq.; Apoll. Rhod. III, 962 sqq.; Lucri. III, 152 sqq.; Racine, "Phèdre" I, 3; Plutarch, "Life of Demetrius", 38; Plato, Phaedrus 251A.
That makes my heart flutter in my breast, for when I look on thee, soon my voice is gone, my tongue is paralyzed; a subtle flame runs thru my marrow; no longer do my eyes see; my ears ring; perspiration pours over me and a trembling siezes my whole frame; I am paler than grass, and seem very little better than one dead.

Horace keeps in his description the following expressions that were used in the Greek: "blushing and paling", "trembling", "confusion of the senses", and even the "consuming fire" -- a very close imitation to be so totally lacking in the ardour and passion of the
The very opening lines of this same Ode with their expression of a lover's jealousy recall another fragment of Sappho:

C. I, 13, 1-4:

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi cervicem roseam, cera Telephi laudas bracchia, vae meum fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.

Sappho 41:

'ΑΓΘυ, οι δ' ἐμεθεν μὲν ἀπήχθετο Φορντίσσην, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότη.

Tr. But to thee, Atthis, the thought of me is hateful; thou dost fly to Andromeda.

And third, the reference to the lips that Venus has imbued with a fifth part of her nectar, is also quite Hellenic, and has a possible original in Sappho:

C. I, 13, 15-16:

--- oscula, quae Venus quinta parte sui nectaris imbit.

Sappho V:

--- ἔλθε, Κύπρο, χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
συμμεμείγμενον θαλίασι νέκταρ
σίνοχέλω.

Tr. Come, O Cyprian goddess, and in golden goblets pour nectar delicately mixed with joy.

The first verse of Ode I, 18 is a very close translation of Alcaeus and even preserves the same metre as its original: 110

C. I, 18, 1:

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
Alcaeus 44:

Μὴ δεν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρὸτερον δέντρον ἄμπελω.

Tr. Plant no tree in preference to the vine.

"Sweetly laughing, sweetly speaking Lalage" is a clear reminiscence of Sappho:

C. I, 22, 23-24:

dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo
dulce loquentem.

Sappho II, 3-5:

--- ἄδου φωνεί-
σας ὑπακολέει

110 Except for the fact that Horace does not let the caesura fall in the middle of a word.
mai γελάσας ἵμμεροιν,

Tr. Who hears thy sweet voice and merry laugh.

When Horace summons the Muse, Melpomene, and bids her use song and lyre, to sing a dirge for Quintilius, he echoes Stesichorus who also calls upon a 'clear-voiced' muse to sing to the accompaniment of her lyre.

C. I, 24, 2-4:

------ præcipe ------
cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater vocem cum cithara dedit.

Stesich. 44:

Ἄγε Μοῦσα λίγει, ἀρφον ἀουδᾶς ἑρατυνύμου
Σαμίων περὶ παιδίων ἑρατῇ Θεγγομένα λύρῃ.

Tr. Come, clear-voiced Muse, and begin a love song about the children of Samos, to the accompaniment of thy lovely lyre.

The conception of the winds carrying off cares and troubles is found in Sappho, as well as Horace:

C. I, 26, 1 sqq.:  

Musis amicus tristitiam et metus tradam protervis in mare Creticum
portare ventis

Sappho 17:

τὸν δ’ ἐπιπλακτόντες ἁμοὶ θέραλεν
cal μελεσώνας

Tr. This, may the wandering winds carry away with my troubles.

When Horace speaks of the small gift of paltry earth that confines Archytas, his language echoes Antipater whose κατέχει corresponds to 'cohibent'; this while κόνις finds a clear counterpart in 'pulveris':

C. I, 28, 2 sqq.:

(Τε)----- cohibent, Archytas,
pulveris exiguì prope litus parva Matinum munera,
Antip. Sidon. 79, 2 (Anth. Gr. II, 28):

κατέχει Πίνδαρον ἀδε κόνις

Tr. A mound of earth confines Pindar.

The wording of the following citation from

---

111 This parallel can be drawn only if 'cohibent' means 'confines' in the sense that the grave confines.

112 Very similar, too, is the passage from another Anthology poet Simias I, 2 and 5 (Anth. Gr. II, 100):

οἱ τῶν τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα
tύμβους κατεχεὶ καὶ τῆς ἐλλογον μέρος

Tr. Thee (Sophocles), star of tragic Muse, the tomb and a little portion of earth holds.
Asclepiades points to a translation of the Latin of:

C. I, 28, 35:

quamquam festinas, non est mora longa;

Asclep. 37, 1 (Anth. Gr. I, 152):

ι᾽ω παρέρπτων μυκρόν, εἰ τι κάγκονεις, ἄκουουν.

Tr. Even if thou art in a hurry, o passer-by, hear me a minute.

When Euripides wishes to illustrate the lengths to which the change in the old order had gone, he uses as a type of the topsy-turvy condition of the world a picture of the rivers flowing backwards, and Horace, in emphasizing the change in Icarius evidently has this passage in mind:

C. I, 29, 10 sq.:

---- quis neget ardius
pronos relabi posse rivos

Eur. Med. 410-411:

ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγάι,
καὶ δίκα πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται.

Tr. The waters of the sacred rivers flow upwards; and justice with all else is reversed.

The silence of a stream ('quieta' -- ἡσύχιος;
'taciturnus' -- λήθει), as well as its cutting powers
('mordet' -- ὑποτρώγων), are points common to both the quotation from Callimachus and Horace's evident translation of it:

C. I, 31 7 sq.:

non rura quae Liris quieta
mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.

Callim. Ep. 45, 4 (Vol. I Sohn.):

--------πολλάκις λήθει
τοῖχον ὑποτρώγων ἡσύχιος παταμός.

Tr. Many times a silent river imperceptibly eats thru the wall.

The Homeric expression for the decree of the gods is evidently the model for:

C. I, 33, 10:

sic visum Veneri cui placet ---

Il. II, 116:

ἄτω την Δίω μέλει --- φίλον εἶναι,

Tr. Thus it doubtless is pleasing to Zeus--

The Greeks considered the union of wolves and sheep as a type of a highly improbable occurrence, and Horace seems to imitate Aristophanes particularly when he emphasizes the absurdity of Pho-le-marving Cyrus:
C. I, 33, 7 sq.:
--- sed prius Apulis
iungentur caprae lupis. 113

Ar. Pax 1076:

\[ \text{Τιρ'ν κεν λύκος} \ \text{ἄν ὑμεναῖοι} \]

Tr. Sooner would a wolf mate with sheep.

To the care of Fortune, the preserver, Horace commends Augustus who was meditating an expedition against the Britons; and his introductory prayer is in such close imitation of Pindar, who commits the sons of Himera to Σωτερα Τύχα that it warrants classification as a translation. It is noteworthy, too, that Horace follows the Greek custom of addressing a god or goddess by the title of the particular divinities' chief seat of worship:

C. I, 35, 1, 6-10, 29 sq.:

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
--- te dominam aequoris
quicumque Bithyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina,

serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
orbis Britannos

113 Cf. sim. passage in I. XXII, 263:

\[ \text{οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες δύσφρονα οὐμῶν ἔχουσιν.} \]

Tr. Nor can wolves and sheep be of one mind.
Pind. Ol. XII, 1-6:

Λίσσομαι, παί Ζηνός 'Ελευθερίου,
Τιμέραν εὕρουσεν ἀμφιπόλες, σώτευκα Τύχα
τίν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θεοὶ
νῆσες, ἐν χερσὶ τε λαυγηροὶ πόλεμοι
κάγοραι βουλαφόροι. οἵ γε μὲν ἀνθρῶν
πόλλ' ἄνω, τὰ δ' αὖ κάτω ψεύδη μεταμόνια
τάμνονται κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπίδες.

Tr. I beg of thee, child of Zeus, the Liberator, Savior Fortune, to guard and make mighty in power Himera; for by thee are swift ships piloted on the sea, and on land quickly decisive wars and the advising assemblies of men are piloted. The hopes of men are tossed now up and now down as they cut thru the sea of treacherous deceit.

Horace undoubtedly modeled the opening of Ode I, 37\textsuperscript{114} on the Ode of Alcaeus that was written to celebrate the death of the tyrant Myrtilus. The similar feeling that Horace would have at the fall of Cleopatra would naturally make him recall the following passage of

\textsuperscript{114} Sellar (p. 125) calls this Ode an imitation of Anhilocharus; but he gives no proofs for such a statement.
which he makes this translation:

C. I, 37, 1:

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus

Alcaeus 20:

Νῦν ἠρή μεθύσθην καὶ τίνα πρὸς βίαν
πτώνην, ἐπείδ' ἴκαθὼν Μύρσυλος.

Tr. Now one must drink one's fill and
drink against one's will since Myrsilus is dead.

The extensive evidence that Chapter II has given
of Horace's conscious use of Greek sources in lines and
expressions would, in itself, establish his deep indebted-
ness to Greek originals. Lyric, dramatic, elegiac and
epic poets were drawn upon with the greatest freedom.
Particularly is it noticeable what a large part Homer
played in furnishing the material for epithets and stories,
while Pindar and Alcaeus supplied the originals for a
large proportion of the translated lines; and even the
dramatic poets were surprisingly influential -- mainly
thru Euripides.

A consideration of the clear Greek source for two
hundred and fifty-six lines or expressions in book I of the
Odes, would prove Horace a plagiarist were it not for the
Roman context and application of Greek material to Roman life, history and ideals. This viewpoint is a necessary one and can be gained only thru a study of the poems as a whole.
CHAPTER III

Poems Unconsciously Imitative of Greek Spirit or Thought

The general Greek spirit of the first Ode of the first book which gives examples of the various pleasures of different classes of men, has been attested by the clear reference to Pindar in lines three to seven.\textsuperscript{115} In addition to this conscious model, Horace seems to echo throughout this poem, the words of Solon in regard to the same subject:

C. I, l, 3-36: \textsuperscript{116}

Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
evitata rotis palmaque nobilis
terrarum dominos evehit ad deos;
hunc si mobilium turba Quiritium
certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
illum, si proprio condidit horreo
quicquid de Libycis verritur areis.
gaudentem patris findere sarculo
agros Attalicis condicionibus
numquam demoveas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secat mare:
luctantem Icariis flotibus Africum
mercator metuens otium et appidi

\textsuperscript{115}Ch. II, 1, 1'.
\textsuperscript{116}The two dedicatory lines are omitted.
laudat rura sui: mox reficit rates
quassas, indocolis pauperiem pati.
est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
nec partem solido demere de die
spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.
multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
detestata. manet sub ilove frigidο
venator tenerae coniugis inmemor,
seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus
seu rupit teretis Marsus aper plagas.
me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
Nympfarumque leves cum Satyris chori
secernunt populo, si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboym refugit tendere barbiton.
quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

Solon, 13, 43-53:

σπεύδειν ὁ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὃ μεν κατὰ
πόντον ἄλατοι
ἐν νυσίν χρῆσιν ὀλίκασε ἀκόδος ἀγεῖν
ἐκούσεντ', ἀνέμουι φορεύμενοι ἄργαλέσςων,
One hastens hither, another thither.

The one, bourne along by troublesome winds, not at all sparing of his life, wanders over the fishy sea in ships, in order to bring home gain. Another, cutting his way thru woody land, serves for a year those to whom the crooked plough is a care. Still another, having learned the works of Athena and of Hephaestos, skilled in various arts, earns his living by his hands; and another, taught by the gift of the Muses of Olympus, understands the measure of gladsome minstrelsy.

Here there is no direct evidence that Horace had Solon in mind; but the same theme is illustrated by almost the same classes of men. Horace mentions the Olympic prize-winner, the politician, the lover of wealth, the sailor, the trader, the Epicurean, the soldier and the hunter -- all contrasted with the poet; while Solón
enumerates the sailor, the fisherman, the farmer and the skilled workman; making the poet the climax of his examples. Thus, although Horace has Latinized and modernised his theme, the general arrangement strongly savours of Solon.

The entire eleventh Ode of the first book, embodying as it does Horace's Epicurean philosophy, is a good example of a poem written under the influence of Greek poets. For the opening advice not to attempt to read the future, thru to the warning about the flight of time, the spirit of Simonides, Theocritus, Theognis, the minor lyric poets and especially of Euripides and Alcaeus; is ever re-appearing:

C. I, 11:

Tu ne quaequieris (scire nefas) quem mihi, quem tibi finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios temptare numeros. ut melius quidquid erit pati, seu pluris hiemes seu debilitat pumicibus mare Tyrrhenum. sapias: vina liques et spatio brevi spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.

Kiessling speaks of this Ode as "the beautiful poem with its injunction of the Alcaic rule of life -- vina liques", and refers to this statement of Athenaeus that the poet Alcaeus is found drinking at all seasons and under

117See citations ch. I 27 sqq.
118Kiess. C. I, XI: Das kleine Gedicht mit seiner Einschreibung der alkaischen Lebensregel -- vina liques.
There is surely a decided Alcaic ring throughout the entire Ode and yet not sufficient evidence exists to say that Horace was consciously modeling his lines after Alcaeus rather than echoing the spirit of Greek poets in general.

Maclean calls attention to the fact that Ode I, 13 is quite typical of all of Horace's amatory compositions in that the jealousy is merely poetical while the entire Ode is Greek in its spirit. This assertion is well supported by an analysis of the many references to Greek poems, especially to those of Sappho; for although lines four to nine are no such direct translation of her famous poem as Catullus gives, they are more than a mere echo.

119 Athen. X, 430: κατά πάσαν γὰρ οὔραν καὶ περίστασιν πάνων ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος εὑρίσκεται.
120 Maclean, Introd. C. I, XIII: "The same remark applies to this Ode as to many others, that those who believe it to have reference to real persons, and the jealousy to be anything but a poetical jealousy, have mistaken the character of Horace's writings. --- The Ode is too slight for us to judge whether it was taken from a Greek original; but the expression in V. 16 shows that Greek ideas were running in the writer's head, which may be said, I feel satisfied of almost every one of his amatory compositions." Just what Maclean means by his expression "too slight" is hard to determine. It could not be "too short" since this Ode is the same length as Ode XIV, which he definitely asserts is an imitation of Alcaeus, and there is no other interpretation of his words that would affect the case.
121 Sappho II. Cp. discussion in Ch. II, 3, 3'.
122 Cat. 51.
Then, too, Homeric and Hellenic expressions\textsuperscript{123} accentuate the impression that the writer of this Ode was neither really jealous while he composed it, nor even possessed of a first-hand knowledge of such a passion; but was merely attempting a graceful love poem in the spirit of his Hellenic predecessors, with Sappho -- the most faultless and ardent of erotic bards as his natural -- though probably unconscious -- model.

In the discussion of the relation of Ode I, 14 to Alcaeus \textsuperscript{124}, it is made clear that Horace intended the ship disabled in the storm to represent the state and its political difficulties. The comparison of a ship to the state was common among Greek poets\textsuperscript{125}, and Horace was no doubt influenced by some of the following citations, even though he was obviously imitating Alcaeus:

\begin{quote}
Eur. Rhes. 248-250:

\begin{align*}
&\text{σταν \gamma}\text{υ}
&\text{δυσάλιον \ εν πελάγει και σαλεύ\gamma}
&\text{πόλεως}
\end{align*}

Tr. When it is sunless and the city is tempest tossed on the sea.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{123}See Ch. II, 3.
\textsuperscript{124}See Ch. V.
Soph. O. T. 101:

ὡς τόδε αἷμα χεμάγων πόλιν

Tr. Since this murder is causing our city to be tempest tossed.

Ibid. 22-24:

πάλις γάρ, ὡσπερ καύτως εἰσορᾶς, άγαν ἡδή σαλεύει κάνακουφίσαλ κάρα (ὅθεν ἐτ' οὖχ άλα τε θανίου σάλου

Tr. For our city, as thou thyself seest, is now storm-tossed and is not able to lift its head from the depths of the weltering surge of blood.

Antig. 163-164:

ἄνδρες, τὰ μὲν ἄνεος ἀσφαλῶς θεοὶ πολλῷ σάλῳ σείσαντες ἔρωσαν πόλιν.

Tr. Sirs, the gods have safely brought to harbor again our ship of state after they have seen her tossed in tempest wild.

There are various parallels in Greek literature for Horace's ideals as stated in Ode I,
and yet Pindar's prayer in the eighth Nemean is the only one that has any claims at all as a consciously followed model. However, all of the following Greek citations are interesting because their similarity to the Latin makes them seem at least unconscious influences toward the formulation of Horace's prayer for a life that could be happy with a few necessities rather than the many kinds of wealth desired by most men:

C. I. 31:

Quid dedicatum Apollinem vates? quid orat de patera novom fundens liquorem? non opimae Sardiniae segetes feraces,

non aestuosa grata Calabriae armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum, non rura quae Liris quieta mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.

126 Cf. the similar sentiment of: Epode I, 25-35:
non ut iuvencis inligata pluribus arata nitantur mea, pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum Lucana mutet pascuis, neque ut superni villa candens Tuscoli Circasea tangat moenia. satis superque me benignitas tua ditavit: haud paravero, quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam, distinctus aut perdam nepos.

127 And there is not enough direct evidence to prove it such.
premant Calenam falce quibus dedit
Fortuna vitem, dives ut aureis
mercator exicctet culillis
vina syra reparata merce,

dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater
anno revisens aequor Atlanticum
impune: me pascunt olivae,
me oichorea levesque malvae.

frui paratis et valido mihi,
Latoe, dones, at precor integra
cum mente, nec turpem senectam
degere nec cithara carentem.

Pind. Nem. VIII, 37-39:

Some pray for gold and others for boundless lands; may it be mine, when my body is buried in the earth, to be beloved of my fellow-citizens, honoring what is worthy of honor and sowing rebuke on the sinful.

Aloman's preference for plain diet is somewhat
in the tone of Horace (vs. 15-16):

Alcman XXXIII, 6-8:

οὕτω γὰρ ἦν τετυμένον ἐσθείων
ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ γὰρ, ὥσπερ ὁ ὁμοιός,

ἧσαθεὶς.

Tr. In fact, he (Alcman) does not eat dainties, but rather desires the plain food such as the common people have.

Horace's prayer that Latona may make him content with his present possessions especially if they include a sound mind and body together with enjoyment of the lyre (vs. 17-20), is an echo of the three following Greek passages:

Men. Ἡλίας ἡ (Ap. Athen. XIV, 659):

Θεὶς Ὀλυμπίως εὐχήμεθα
Ὀλυμπίασι, πάσος πάσαις --
--- διδόναι σωτηρίαν,
ὠθεῖαν, ἄγαθά πολλὰ τῶν ὀντῶν τε γύν
ἄγαθῶν ὀνησιμίν πάσιν.

Tr. To the divinities of Olympus let us pray, to them all that they may give us safety, health, many blessings, and enjoyment of all the good things of the present.
Eur. Hero. fur. 676-679:

μὴ ἠσόην μετ' ἀμοιβίας
αἰεὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπον εἰς τοι γέρων ἄοιδος
κελαδεῖ Μναμοσύναν

Tr. Never may I live without music; but always may I be where poets' crowns are. The aged bard still celebrates Mnemosyne.

Theogn. 789-792:

Μὴ ποτέ μοι μελέδημα νεώτερον ἄλλο φανεῖν ἀντ' ἄρετης σοφίας τ', ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀεὶν ἔχων τερποίμην φόρμαν καὶ ὀρχηστῆ καὶ ἀοιδῆ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσθέλον ἔχωμι νόσον.

Tr. Never may there appear to me any other newer care to take the place of the excellence of minstrelsy; but always in possession of this, may I take pleasure in the lyre, the dance and song; and in addition to these blessings may I have a noble mind.

In Ode I, 34, Horace has heard a thunderclap in a clear sky, and hastens to acknowledge the
existence of God. Most editors seem to think that he had in mind a refutation to Lucretius who had denied the possibility of such a phenomenon. Such a theory is quite conceivable; but it is also true that he may have, as Shorey and Laing think, been playfully recording a poetical mood which it is foolish to interpret as a serious recantation. But thunder in a clear sky was regarded as very ominous by the ancients, and the very close parallel to Horace that is found in Archilochus, supports the conclusion that in the following Greek citation we have a passage that is influential -- though perhaps unconsciously so -- in the writing of the following Ode:

128Which in S. I, 5, 101-103, he seems to doubt when he refers to the gods dwelling in a state of tranquility:
--- namque deos didici securum agere sevom,
nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto.
129
Lucr. VI, 247 sq.:
--- nam caelo nulla sereno
nec leviter densis mittuntur nubibus umquam.
Ibid. 400-401:
denique cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro
Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?
130
Od. XX, 112 sqq.:

ΤΖΕΟ ΠΤΑΤΕΡ---
ἡ μεγάλ’ ἐριάντησας ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἀστεράεντος
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νέφος ἔστι. τέρας νύ τεύ τόδε φαίνεσ.

Tr. Father Zeus, loudly hast thou thundered from the starry sky, tho there is nowhere a cloud. Surely in this thou dost show a sign.
C. I, 34:

Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens, insanientis dum sapientiae consultus erro, nunc retronsum vela dare atque iterare cursus coger relictos: namque Diespiter, igni corusco nubila dividens plerumque, per purum tonantis egit equos volucremque currum;

quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina quo Styx et invis Conorrota Taenari sedes Atlanteusque finis concutitur, valet ima summis mutare et insignem attenuat deus, obscura promens; hinc apicem rapax Fortuna cum stridore acuto sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

Archil. 74, 1-4:

Χρημάτων ἕλειταν οὐδὲν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀτιώμοτον, οὐδὲ Θαυμάσιον, ἔπειτα Ζεὺς πατὴρ Ὀλυμπίων ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἔθηκε νῦντ' ἀποκρύψας φάος ἥλιον λάμποντος. λυγρὸν τρ' ἥλιον ἄγοι ἀνθρώπων ἄροι.
Tr. Nothing is beyond hope nor to be declared impossible on oath, nor miraculous, since Zeus, the father of the Olympian gods has sent night out of mid-day and concealed the light of the shining sun; so that sore fear fell upon men.

Aside from the similar experience of Archilochus that may have prompted the writing of Horace's Ode, there are other indications of Greek spirit and thought, especially in the philosophy that realises the power of Zeus and his daughter Fortune over men's destinies as well as the reference to the effects on earth and the underworld of Zeus's trip across the heavens in his chariot. A translated expression and epithet further enhance the Greek atmosphere.

An entire poem in the spirit of a Greek poet or poets is much fairer evidence of Horace's attempt to clothe a Greek original in Latin garb than mere lines or short passages could ever be, even though they seem consciously imitative of their model. This is due to the fact that the factor of possible Roman application does not so often

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\textsuperscript{131} Cf. citations under I, 34, 12 sqq. and 14-16 in Ch. I, \textsuperscript{72} 5 \textsuperscript{3} \textsuperscript{5} 4

\textsuperscript{132} See citations under I, 34, 9-12 in Ch. II, 1, 3.

\textsuperscript{133} See C. I, 34, 2 in Ch. II, 3, 2'.

\textsuperscript{134} See v. 8 in Ch. II, 2, 1'.
have to be considered, though even in poems Horace usually manages to reduce the Greek tone by enough Roman touches to Latinize his source and bring it within a setting that would be sure to prove of interest to his Roman audience. The Hellenic background for most of the poems quoted in this chapter was furnished chiefly by the dramatic and lyric poets, with Sophocles, Euripides, Alcaeus, and Archilochus the main individual models.
Entire Poems Consciously Imitative of Greek Spirit or Thought

Greek influence pervades all of Ode III of book I. The first two verses have a definite model, and that fact in addition to numerous Greek expressions and similar lines throughout the entire poem, seems to make the imitation obviously a conscious one. The first stanzas are the clearest evidence:

C. I, 3, 1-9:
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 incolumen, precor,
et servis animae dimidium meae.

Callim. fr. 114:
'A vauds α' το μόνον Φεγγος έμιν
το γλυκ' τας γης
ἀρταφας, ποτι τε Ζανος ἤκνευμαι
λυμενος κότω.
Tr.  O ship, thou that hast taken away
the sole light of my life, I beg thee, by Zeus who guards
the harbour ---

The points of similarity are quite apparent.
Both poets are addressing a ship which is carrying off a
much loved friend whom a deity is called upon to protect.
The wording, too, shows many parallels. The friend is
called in Latin "half of my soul", and by the Greek "the
sole sweet light of my life". The order of words in the
second verse of the Latin corresponds quite closely to
that of Callimachus.

The rest of the poem shows words, expressions,
lines, and thoughts that are clearly Hellenic as has been
proved in Chapters I and II. Then, too, the stories of
Prometheus and Hercules are pure Greek in origin; so that
from first to last, it is clear that Horace was aiming at
Greek spirit and thought in this Ode.

That the opening lines of Ode I, 12 are obviously
a translation of Pindar, no one doubts. Shorey and Laing
say that all attempts to go farther than this in tracing a
Pindaric influence throughout Horace's Ode are purely fanciful;
and Macleane and Long also consider the rest of the Ode
original. Most editors agree, however, that the framework
as well as the invocation follow the Greek model -- a
natural claim in view of the fact that the admittedly translated introduction is a statement of the plan of the poem.

To decide the point it is necessary to consider the way each poet develops his theme.

Pindar asks his hymns what god, what hero, what man they shall celebrate; and answers his own question by naming Zeus, as the god, Heracles, the hero, and Theron, the man. From this time on, he never loses sight of his trio — they are in the background of every tale he tells with "God, the disposer; the hero, the leader, and man, the follower".135 After telling of Theron's ancestors, the poet advances to the tale of the House of Cadmus and draws a moral from their history. He then brings in the descent of Theron from the heroes, Thersander and Adrastus, and draws a lesson involving the power of the gods, before he returns to the praise of his Olympic victor.

Horace, as Kiessling says, seems to have built up his arrangement of Pindar's Triad on the question: "What gods, what heroes, what men shall we celebrate?"136 At any rate, he does not confine himself to any one god or hero,

135Gildersleeve, on Pind. Ol. II.
136Notes on Ode XII: hat Horzz auf die Dreifachheit dieser Frage seine Disposition aufgebaut: 'wohl könnte und möchte mein Lied manchen Gott, Herren, Menschen feiern'.
though he does make Augustus the central figure and climax of his poem.

Thus the following parallel can certainly be drawn. Just as Pindar introduces the praise of Theron, after telling the long story of the fortunes of his ancestors, so Horace presents Augustus as the culmination of a lengthy account of many gods, heroes and men.

It is, however, undeniable that Plüss is excusable for his sarcasm when he says that Horace manages rather easily to conceal his imitation of Pindar, for certainly the unity and finish of the Latin poem can not compare with that of its model; and though this seems an attempt to imitate Pindar, we can agree with Horace that,

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari
Iulle, ceratis ope Daedalea
nititur pinnis,

and be glad that he realised his unworthiness to attain such a goal.

In Ode I, 15, Horace has attempted the Stesichorean task of "supporting the weight of an epic

\[137\]\text{Plüss Horaz St. p. 81: er will die Reminiscenz nicht verhehlen (vermeiden Können hätte er sie sonst leicht)}

\[138\]C. IV, 2, 1-3.
theme on his lyre," for this Ode is undoubtedly an early poem which he composed out of Greek materials. Porphyrion claims that the idea was borrowed from an Ode of Bacchylides in which Cassandra foretells the events of the Trojan War; but it is as impossible to verify this statement in a parallel analysis of the two poems, as it is to support Ritter's theory that an allegorical significance, with Anthony and Cleopatra represented in Helen and Paris, is intended. The imagery is certainly that of Homer, as is clear in consideration of the fact that there are six definite allusions to the story of the Iliad, one figure of speech and three translated lines from the same source, as well as four Homeric epithets and a Homeric theme. Surely, then, this is a

139 Quint. Inst. X, 1, 62: "Stesichorum -- epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem."

140 Porph. : "Haec ode Bacchyliden imitatur; nam ut ille Cassandram facit vaticinari futura belli Troiani ita hic Proteum." This statement is also made by the Schol. on Stat. Theb. VII, 330 -- a passage very similar to Horace.

141 Bacchyl. 29:

Ω Τρώες ἄρηφυλοι, Ζεὺς ὑψιμέδων, ὡς ἀπαντα δέρκεται,

οὐκ ἄιτιος ἔναστις μεγάλων ἀχέων ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται κιχεῖν

πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις Δίκαιον δόγμα, ἀγάσ

Εὐνομίας ἀκόλουθον καὶ πιθυτὸς θέμιδος.

ἀλώσιν πεταλίδας νὴν εὐρὺντες σύνολοκο.

Tr. O Trojans, dear to Ares, Zeus ruling on high, who sees all things, is not to blame for the great misfortunes of mortals; but it rests with every man to meet half-way pure Justice, attendant of Chaste Order and Wise Law. Children of the blest find her an associate.

142 See Ch. II, 1: 31;

143 See Ch. II, 3: 28;

144 See Ch. II, 2:
youthful experiment of Horace's, as Maclean says, "composed merely to exercise his pen," with the materials taken primarily from the Iliad.

About the only point on which editors are all agreed in regard to Ode I, 16 is that it is a recantation. Of what, about whom, or in imitation of what, if any, Greek author, are questions on which there is a decided difference of opinion. To attempt to refer the retraction to any one poem written about any one person is unnecessary in establishing Horace's indebtedness to Stesichorus. The opinion of Acrōn who says: "Hanc Oden in satisfactionem facit amicæ suæ, imitatus Stesichorum poëtam Siculum qui vituperationem scribens Helenæ caecatus est et postea response Apollinis laudem eius scripsit et oculorum aspectum receptit," has lately been in disrepute -- usually because of a misinterpretation of his words which do not say that Horace translated Stesichorus but that he followed his example in writing a Palinode. Surely there are sufficient grounds for that statement. In the first place, Horace was evidently very familiar with the story that Plato tells about the recantation of Stesichorus; for he refers to it in Epode XVII. Then, too, the Greek Ode was very

146 Epode XVII, 42-45: infamis Helenæ Castor offensus vicem fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece, ademptæ vati reddidere lumina.
famous\(^{147}\), and it would only be natural for Horace to follow the example of Stesichorus and compose an Ode in retraction of some lines he had previously written.\(^{148}\) It is even possible that he had no definite poem or passage in mind; but that here, as in the previous Ode, he was trying his hand at another style of Greek composition. In either case, it seems difficult to disprove a relation --and a conscious one, at that,-- to the well known lines of Stesichorus which Plato quotes:

Phaedr. 243 A (Vol. II H):

\[
\text{ἐστί δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνοις περὶ μυθολογίαν καθαρμὸς ἀρχαῖος, ἀν ὁμήρος μὲν οὐκ ἤσθεν, Στησίχορος δὲ τῶν γὰρ ἐν μάτων στερηθέως ὅλη τὴν Ἑλένης κατηγορεῖν οὐκ ἦνόησαν ὥσπερ ὁμήρος, ἀλλ’ ἀτε μουσικὸς ὕπνοι ἐγνώ τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ ποιεῖ εὖθὺς οὐκ ἔστ’ εὔτυμος λόγος οὗτος: οὐδ’ ἐβας ἐν ναυσὶν εὐσέλμως, οὐδ’ ἐκεῖ πέργαμα Ἰτρώας, καὶ ποιήσας δὴ πάλαιν τὴν καλομένην πιαλινώδαν παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν.}
\]

\(^{147}\) Smyth, Gr. Mel. P., p. 265: "These three verses of the Palinode, the most famous perhaps in all Greek poetry are quoted by a host of later writers and passed into a proverb."

\(^{148}\) "celeres iambos" C. I, 16, 24.
Tr. There is for those who have sinned in their treatment of myths, an ancient method of purification, which Homer did not realize, but Stesichorus did; for when he was deprived of his eyesight because of his slander of Helen, he was not, like Homer, ignorant; but as a scholar recognized the reason and immediately composed:

My story is not true; thou didst not embark in well-benched ships nor ever come to the walls of Troy.

And when he had written all the poem called the Palinode, straightway his sight returned to him.

The closing and opening lines of the Latin poem are the ones that particularly show the influence of the above citation:

C. I, 16, 1-4, 25-28:

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior, quem criminosis cumque voles modum pones iambis, sive flamma sive mari libet Hadriano.

-------- nunc ego mitibus mutare quaero tristia, dum mihi fias recantatis amica opprobriis animumque reddas.

If we were fortunate enough to possess more than one line of the fragment from Alcaeus that Horace so
literally translates in the opening verse of Ode I, 18, where he even retains the original meter, where we should probably find as close an adaptation in the rest of the Ode. But even without this key to the source, it is clear throughout the poem that the Greek spirit of Horace's favorite model is quite in evidence:

C. I, 18:

NULLAM, VARE, SACRA VITE PRIUS SEVERIS ARBOREM
CIRCA MITE SOLUM TIBERIS ET MOENIA CATILI;
SICCIS OMNIA NAM DURA DEUS PROPOSUIT NEQUE
MORDACES ALITER DIFFUGIUNT SOLLICITUDINES.
QUIS POST VINA GRAVEM MILITIAM AUT PAUPERIEM
CREPAT?

QUIS NON TE POTIUS, BACCHE PATER, TEQUE, DECENS VENUS
AC NE QUIS MODICI TRANSILAT MUNERA LIBERI,
CENTAUREA MONET CUM LAPITHIS RIXA SUPER MERO
DEBELLATA, MONET SITHONIIS NON LEVIS EUHIUS,
CUM FAS ATQUE NEFAS EXIGUO FINE LIBIDINUM
DISCERNUNT AVIDI. NON EGO TE, CANDIDE BASSAREN,
INVITUM QUATIAM NEC VARIIS OBSITA FRONDIBUS
SUB DIVOM RAPIAM. SAEVA TENE CUM BEREICYNTIO
CORNU TYPANANA, Quae subsequitur caecus

Amor sui

et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem
arcanique Fides prodiga, per lucidior vitro.

149 See II, 3, 3'.
It is even possible to find very similar passages in Alcaeus for almost every line of Horace. Line one is an obvious translation of Alcaeus 44, while line two merely applies the first statement to Roman environment. Verses three and four are quite like Alcaeus 35 and 41, whereas drinking after campaigns and to forget poverty's cares is equally in accord with the 'Alcaic rule of life'. The plea for moderation in preference to quarreling over wine is more like Anacreon; but the last line has a clear counterpart in Alcaeus 53 and 57. So, it is easy to see that Horace was not only consciously imitating Greek spirit; but that he was following Alcaeus particularly, and in all probability was, at least in part, translating the entire Greek poem of which we have only a fragment.

Ode I, 23, is another case where the almost certain original has been lost with the exception of a fragment, which, in spite of its shortness, bears such a close resemblance to Horace that it seems very probable

150 See II, 3, 3'.  
151 See I.  
152 See footnote on C. I, 11 in Ch. III.  
153 See C. I, 18, 7 under Ch. I.  
154 See II, 1, 2'.
that it was, in its entirety, the model for the Latin of:

C. I, 23:

Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe,
quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
matrem non sine vano
aurarum et silvae metu.

nam seu mobilibus veris inhorruit
adventus foliis, seu virides rubum
dimovere lacertae
et corde et genibus tremit.

atqui non ego te, tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo, frangere persequor:
tandem desine matrem
tempestiva sequi viro.

Anacr. fr. 51:

‘Αγανίως ἄα τε νεθρόν νεοθηλέα
γαλαζηνόν, ὥστ' ἐν ὑλής κεραέσσης
ἀπολείψας ὑπ' μυτρὸς ἐπιτονηθ.

Tr. Shy as a little new-born fawn that,
left in the woods by its horned mother, trembles with fear.

Aside from the fact that the simile which forms
the very substance of the entire Ode is Anacreon's, it has
been shown that every line has a possible Greek
model— all of which points to this poem as another example of one of Horace's early studies or experiments in imitation of Greek poets.

The Falernian wine that Horace mentions in line ten of Ode I, 27, is the only Roman touch in a poem of which Kiessling says: "Alles hat hier griechische Farbe." Shorey and Laing mention this as another Greek exercise, and certainly its similarity to the words of Anacreon quoted below justifies Porphyrius's statement that the substance of the Ode was taken from Anacreon: 156

C. I, 27:

Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis
pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
morem verecundumque Bacchum
sanguineis prohibete rixis.

vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
inmane quantum discrepat: impium
lenite clamorem, sodales,
et cubito remanete presso.

voltis severi me quoque sumere
partem Falerni? dicat Opuntiae
frater Megyllae, quo beatus
volnere, qua pereat sagitta.

155 See Ch. I under discussion of I,23,5 sq.,8; and Ch.II, 1,2', under C.1,23,1-5 and 9.10.
156 Porphyrius, "Cuius sensus sumptus est ab Anacreonte ex libro tertio."
cessat voluntas? non alia bibam
mercede. quae te cumque domat venus,
non erubescendis adurit
ignibus igenuoque semper

amore peccas: quidquid habes, age
depone tutis auribus. a miser,
quanta laborabas Charybdi,
digne puer meliore flamma!

quae saga, quis te soluere Thessalis
magus venentis, quis poterit deus?
vix inligatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimaera.

Anacr. 63, 7-11:

'Αγε ἵντε μηκέθ' οὐτώ
τιμαγῳ τε καλαλητῷ
Σκυθηκὴν πέσων πορ' οὖν
μελετῶμεν, ἄλλα καλοῖς
ὑποπτύνωντες ἐν θυμοῖς.

Tr. Come now, and let us not indulge in
the Scythian drink with noise and shouts over our wine; but
let us drink to the accompaniment of beautiful hymns.

The theme of Anacreon and that of the first two
stanzas of Horace both consist in advice for moderation in
drinking, and against violence or quarrels over wine; but aside from this common sentiment there are other points not only in these stanzas, but also in the rest of the Latin poem that reveal the Greek spirit of the entire Ode:

Anacreon, as well as Horace\(^\text{157}\) mentions the Thracians as proverbially hard and quarrelsome drinkers when he refers to the \(\Sigma\kappa\nu\theta\iota\kappa\nu\nu\) πόσων.

The "Medus acinaces" was an oriental type of short dagger -- never worn by the Romans at a convivium and evidently borrowed here to intensify the impression gained from 'barbarum morem'.\(^\text{158}\)

'Immane quantum' has a close parallel in form to the Greek \(\delta\mu\eta\gamma\lambda\alpha\nu\nu\) πόσων or θαυμαστών πόσων.

Megilla is a Greek name\(^\text{159}\) and the challenge to give the name of a lady love as a toast\(^\text{160}\) has its parallel in Theocritus:\(^\text{161}\)

\[\gamma'\nu\nu \delta' \pi\rho\alpha\io\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\upsilon \varepsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon \varepsilon'\pi\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\omicron\sigma\omicron\theta\alpha\iota \alpha\iota\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \varepsilon\tau\iota\nu\nu\sigma\nu\nu\ \varepsilon'\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon.\]
\[\varepsilon\mu\mu\mu\varepsilon \mu\nu\varepsilon \varphi\iota\nu\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\nu\tau\omicron\sigma\upsilon\varepsilon \varepsilon'\iota\nu\nu\vomicron\nu\vomicron\nu, \mu\nu \varepsilon\varepsilon\delta\sigma\omicron\kappa\tau\omicron.\]

\(^{157}\) c. I, 18, 9; I, 27, 2; Cf. to I, 36, 14.
\(^{158}\) cf. Plato Rep. 8 p. 553.
\(^{159}\) Megillus (masc. form) is name of interlocutor in Plato Legg.
\(^{160}\) c. I, 27, 10-12.
\(^{161}\) XIV, 18-20.
Tr. Now as things advanced, we determined that each should pour forth unmixed wine to the health of whomsoever he chose; only he was bound to say whose. We drank naming our loves as had been agreed.

The fatal whirlpool in which Horace says the young man is caught, recalls the many comparisons that Anaxilas makes of the snares of love, to Scylla, Charybdis, the Chimaera, etc.

The story of the slaying of the Chimaera is of Greek origin as is the reference to the 'triformi Chimaera'.

Thus in spite of the fact that the loss of all of Anacreon's poem has, in all probability, deprived us of an obvious original, the fact still remains that Horace was consciously imitating Greek spirit throughout this poem.

The short Ode that closes book I is undoubtedly in the spirit of Anacreon. In fact, one of the Anacreontaean offers what would be a sufficiently close

---

Anacreontaean 30, 1-3:

'Εμι μυρσίνας τερείνας, ἐπὶ λυτίνας τε πολίας
στορέσας θελω προπίνειν.
Tr. Reclining on tender myrtle, on lotus leaves, I would wish to drink.
parallel to justify the conclusion that Horace used it as a model, were it not for the probable late date of this Greek imitation of Anacreon. It is certainly fair to suppose, however, that both the Anacreonteum and the Ode of Horace were following the same genuine poem of Anacreon which has been lost along with many of his lyrics; for surely the tone is that of the Teian bard. The garland of myrtle, and drinking beneath the shade of the vine are both so decidedly after the manner of the graceful yet trivial lines of the Greek poet of pleasure, that together with the added point of evidence in the Greek word 'philyra' the indications are that Maclean and Long are right when they call the following a "good imitation of Anacreon":

Persicos odi, puer apparatus;
displiant nexae philyra coronae;
mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
sera moretur.

simplici myrto nihil adlabores
sedulus, curo; neque te ministrum
vite bibentem.

Although there are only nine Odes in which Horace seems to be throughout consciously imitating Greek spirit or thought, this is almost one-fourth of the
entire first book, and illustrates very clearly the fact that the echoes of Greek sources are intentional and not accidental. All of the very significant examples in this Chapter are in imitation of a Greek lyric poet, and some are almost close enough to their original to be classed as a translation.
CHAPTER V

Poems Translated From the Greek

Ode I, 9, offers the first illustration of a poem that is throughout such a close imitation of one model as to seem a translation:

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus silvae laborantes, geluque flumina constiterint acuto?

dissolve frigus ligna super foco large reponens atque benignius deprime quadrimum Sabina,
o Thaliarche, merum diota.

permitte divis cetera, qui simul stravere ventos aequore fervido deproeliantis, nec cupressi nec veteres agitantur orni.

quid sit futurum cras fuge quaeerere, et quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro appone, nec dulcis amores sperne puer neque tu chores:
donee virenti canities abest
morosa, nunc et campus et areae
lenesque sub nootem susurri
composita repetantur hora.
nunc et latentis proditor intumo
gratus puellae risus ab angulo
pignusque dereptum lacertis
aut digito male pertinaci.

Alcaeus, 34 and 35:

"Υει μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐκ σ’ ὀφάνις μέγας
χείμων, πεπτάγασεν δ’ θυάτων ῥάατ.

κάραλλε τὸν χείμων’, ἐπὶ μὲν τίς εἰς
πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κύριοις οἶνοι ἁφελὸς,
μέλιχρόν, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρος
μάλθαιον ἀμφὶ ἡγόφαλλον.

Οὐ χρή κάκουσι θύμον ἐπιτρέπτην.
προκάψιμην γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀσάμενον,
ὡς βύκχα, ἀρνάκοιον δ’ ἀρίστον
οἶνον ἐνεκαμένους μεθύσθην."
Tr. Zeus sends rain; from the heavens a great storm descends and streams of water freeze. -- Beat down the cold; build up the fire and having mixt honey-sweet wine unsparingly, put a soft cushion about thy temples. -- We should not turn our thoughts to evils; for by worrying we do not progress at all. The best medicine, O Bacchus, is to become drunk when the wine is brought in.

The opening lines of the Latin, in fact the first two stanzas, stick particularly close to the original in the description of the winter storm, with the streams all frozen, and in the command to build up the fire and pour out the wine. From this point on, the Latin departs a little from the Greek, although the sentiment is still that of enjoyment of youth, wine, and love with no thought of future cares -- the only difference being the introduction of Roman scenes and customs in the Latin verses. A more detailed discussion of the lines and expressions that were imitated has already been given. The Greek name Θαλίαρχος or 'one in the fresh bloom of youth' was invented to suit the context and general Greek spirit.

Even more evidence is at hand to prove that Ode i, 10 is a translation of Alcaeus. In the first place, we have the testimony of Porphyrius who states in his note on the opening lines of Horace: "Hymnus est in Mercurium,
ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta"; and also in his remarks on line nine: "Fabula haec ab Alcaeo ficta"

C. I. 10:

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis
qui feros cultus hominum recentum
voce formasti catus et decorae
more palaestrae,
te canam, magni Iovis et decurum
nuntium curvæque lyrae parentem,
callidum quidquid placuit iocosco
condere furto.

te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
risit Apollo.

quin et Atridas duce te superbos
Ilio dives Priamus relictus
Thessalosque ignis et iniqua Troiae
castra fefellit.

tu pias laetis animas reponis
sedibus virgaque levem coerces
aurea turbam, superis decurum
gratus et imis.
Alcaeus V:

Χαίρε Κυλλάνας ὁ μέθεις, σὲ γὰρ μοι
Θύμας ὑμνην, τὸν καρύφανον ἐν ἄγναις
Μαία γέννατο Κρονίδα μύγεσα
πομφασίλη.

Tr. Hail, thou that dost care for Cylene;
for my spirit bids me sing a hymn to thee, to whom Maia,
the wife of all-ruling Zeus, gave birth on the mountain
tops.

The similarity between the fragment of the Greek
poem and the first of Horace's hymn is obvious; and it is
more than probable that the lost part of Alcaeus' version
was equally close to the Latin. At least we know that
the Greek, too, contained the story of the theft of
Apollo's kine; for Pausanias says: "Alcaeus has shown
that Apollo rejoice especially in oxen, in the Hymn that
he wrote about Hermes -- how Hermes stole the oxen of
Apollo."166 Another thing that clinches the proof that

166 Paus. VII, 20, 2:

βαυὶ γὰρ χαίρειν μάλιστα Ἀλκαῖος
ἐδήλωσεν ἐν ὑμνῳ τῷ εἰς Ερμῆν γράφασιν
ὑπὶ ἕπελεν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.
Horace is following a Greek model is the fact that here, as elsewhere in the Odes, he gives his god Greek attributes; for it is of Hermes and not of the Roman Mercury, that he sings when he praises the god of eloquence (λόγιος), the god that presides over games (ἀγώνιος), messenger (ἄγγελος), god of music (μουσικός), thief (κλέπτης), guide (διάκτορος or ἐργούνιος), and marshal of the shades with golden wand (χρυσόφραττης, ψυχοπομπός).

If Ode I, 14 is a description of an actual ship in a storm, or if it is an allegory, its model is certainly Alcaeus. To be sure, many facts point to

167 Besides this passage, Horace mentions Mercury five times in the Odes:
   C. I, 24, 18, as the god who marshals shades;
   C. I, 30, 8, as the companion of youth;
   C. II, 7, 13, as the guide or messenger;
   C. II, 7, 29, as the patron of poets;
   C. III, 11, 1, as the god of music.
   The two references to him in the Satires are, however, to his Roman character -- as god of Commerce in S. II, 3, 25 and god of luck in S. II, 3, 68.

168 Chief proofs to the allegorical significance are found in the testimony of Heraclides who says that the Ode of Alcaeus refers to the trouble at Mitylene caused by the tyrant Myrtillus, and that of Quintilian (Inst. VIII, 6, 44) who quotes this Ode of Horace as an example of an allegory. (Quint. Inst. Or. VII, 6, 44: 'Ut "O navis referent" etc., totusque ille Horatii locus quo navem pro republica, fluctuum tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace atque concordia dicit.')
the allegorical significance of both the Greek and the Latin, and with this in view, the imitation is even more assured, although the many points common to both poems would alone prove the translation:

C. I, 14:

O navis, referent in mare te novi
fluctus: o quid agis? fortiter occupa
portum: nonne vides ut
nudum remigio latus,
et malus celeri saucius Africa
antemnaeque gemant, ac sine funibus
vix durare carinae
possint imperiosius

aequor? non tibi sunt integra lintea,
non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo,
quamvis Pontica pinus,
silvae filia nobilis,

iactes et genus et nomen inutil:
nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
fidit. tu nisi ventis
debes ludibrium, cave.

nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
interfusa nitentes
vites aequora Cycladas.

Alcaeus 18:

Ἄθυμεν τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν.
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθὲν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,
τὸ δὲ ἐνθὲν ἄγμας σὰ ὄν τὸ μέσον
ναῦτι φορίμεθα σὺν μελαίνα,
χεῖμωνι μοχθεύτως μεγάλῳ μάλα.
περ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἵστοτέοδον ἔχει,
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν θάληθρον ᾤδηκ
καὶ λάκκιδες μεγάλαι κατ' αὐτὸ.
χόλαισι δὲ ἄγυλαι.

Tr. I know not the condition of the winds;
for the waves roll from side to side, and we, utterly worn
from the severe storm, are carried out to mid sea with the
black ship; the hull overflows with bilge-water; the sails
are shreds and tatters, and there are great rents in them;
the ropes of the yards fail to hold.

Alcaeus 19:169

Τὸ δὲ αὐτὲ κῦμα τῶν προτέρων ὀν

169 Probably same poem as 18.
στείγει, παρέβελε ἀνυμμένα πάνων πτόλεμων ἀντλημένα, ἔπειτα κε νάσας ἐμβραγνή (ατα).

Tr. Again waves advance higher than the former ones, it will cause us great difficulty to bale out the bilge water, since it is in the hold of the ship.

First consider the parallels in the description:
Both poets address a ship which is again ('referent' -- τὸ δ' αὖτε) borne out to sea by the waves ('referent in mare fluctus' -- ἀμμές δ' ἄν τὸ μεσον -- Φορήμεθα); the sails of both vessels are full of holes ('non tibi sunt integra linteae' -- λαίμωσ δὲ πάν Ἰαθηνέων ἥδε καὶ λάκιδες μεγάλαι καὶ ἀὕτων); the storm is 'celeri Africo' in Latin, and ξείμων μεγάλω with ἀνέμων in Greek, and in both accounts of the condition of the ship, the ropes are referred to -- both times as useless (Bine funibus' -- χόλαις δ' ἀγυλαι).

When the literal interpretation of the allegory is applied to the details of the poems, it is difficult to make them fit in either case, and it would be still more difficult to draw a parallel between the significance that Horace meant his Ode to have and that which Alcaeus intended for his. But the mere fact that both are, to my mind, evidently referring to political difficulties --
even though, in the Greek poem, the ship is merely the picture of the political situation of the citizens of Mitylene, while, in the Latin Ode, it is the personified Commonwealth -- is sufficient evidence, in addition to the close similarity in wording, to assure Horace's indebtedness to Alcaeus.

This chapter has shown Horace as the "Alcaeus of Rome"; for the three Odes quoted above -- the only ones in the first book that have a right to be called translations of Greek models -- are patterned after the one of all the Greek lyric poets whom Horace was temperamentally most fitted to imitate. Horace's poems, easily understood and of simple structure in comparison to the elaborate splendor of Pindar's Odes, are quite in the spirit of Alcaeus who sang of wine, women and wars with a grace that Horace could and did attain.
CONCLUSION

Quotations from Horace were given in the Introduction to prove that he aimed to reproduce in Latin the masterpieces of Hellas, and that there were certain definite poets that he avowedly used as models; namely, Homer, Pindar, Stesichorus, Anacreon, Sappho and Alcaeus. After studying the examples that have been collected from book I of the Odes, it is possible to judge more or less satisfactorily to what degree he carried out these intentions, though such conclusions cannot be as valuable as they would be if the detailed study had included Horace's complete works.

The following table shows rather graphically the comparative indebtedness of Horace to the various Greek authors of the various types of literature:

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| Alcoman    |       | (3)    | (1)     | 4      |       | 4     |
| *Anacreon  | 2     | (2)    | (1)     | 1      | 4     | 4     | 10    |
| Bacchyl.   |       | (1)    | 1       |       |       | 1     |
| Ibycus     | 1     | (1)    | (1)     | 2      |       | 3     |
| *Pindar    | 7     | (12)   | (14)    | (7)    | 33    | 1     | 1     | 42    |
| *Sappho    | 1     | (3)    | (6)     | 9      | 1     |       | 11    |
| *Simonides | 4     | (2)    | (2)     | (1)    | 5     |       | 9     |
| *Stesichorus | 2   |       |         |       |       | 2     |
| Terpander  |       |        | (1)     | 1      |       |       |
|            | 24    | (28)   | (23)    | (28)   | 79    | 4     | 8     | 3     | 118   |</p>
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An examination of the above table shows that six of the seven starred names, representing the seven models that Horace set for himself, are clear sources of
primary importance from which he drew the Odes of book I. Stesichorcas is the only one that does not seem to have exerted an obviously large influence; but it is significant that the two contributions he does make are to poems and not to short passages. Homer is reflected most (particularly the Iliad); but he is never responsible for an entire poem, and his greatest influence is found, as would be expected, in the epithets. In the light of Horace's realisation of the inimitable nature of the supreme lyric bard, it seems surprising to find that Pindar has furnished the second largest total of apparent originals, until it is considered that he, too, exerted no obvious influence except on lines and phrases. To Sappho, Anacreon and Simonides, Horace is about equally indebted. As for his avowedly favorite model, Alcaeus, there is no doubt but that the character of the nineteen traces of Alcaic influence amply justifies the conclusion that Horace did draw his chief inspiration from this source; for the only three Greek poems that are followed closely enough to seem translated are Odes of Alcaeus, whereas one-fourth of the poems whose spirit or thought is Hellenic can be attributed to his influence, as well as a large number of consciously imitated shorter passages.

170With possible exception of C.I,12--See Ch. IV.
The table further shows that a surprisingly large percentage of examples are imitations of Euripides, Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Theognis, none of whom were mentioned in the choice few discussed above. However, as was stated at the end of Chapter I, the tragic dramatists were responsible mainly for Horace's philosophy -- and that usually unconsciously -- while Theognis has contributed merely subconscious reflections, or, at most, epithets.

Surely a total of three hundred and seventy-three examples of Greek imitations, of which two hundred and seventy-eight are conscious, together with the fact that twenty-four of the thirty-eight poems of book I were, in their entirety either consciously or unconsciously following a Greek model warrants the generally admitted conclusion that Horace's Odes as typified in book I are primarily of Greek source.

So much for the statistics that prove Horace's undeniable indebtedness to Greek poets -- chiefly the lyricists. It is interesting to reflect on the results of an imitation that is of such a surprising range; for Horace in his attitude toward the Greek lyric poets was as much of an eclectic as he was in his philosophy.

It would seem that any author who so fully carries out his intentions of uniting the sweeping grandeur and magnificence of Pindar, the passion of Sappho, the
light-hearted grace of Anacreon, the pathos of Simonides and the heavy dignity of Stesichoros with the ever-present tones of the "golden lyre" \footnote{171} of Alcaeus, would have produced a conglomeration of Graecism that would result in an effect far from pleasing and brand him as an obvious plagiarist. Yet Horace's mobile and versatile genius blended these predominant moods with an irreproachable grace of form that intuitively omits and adopts just the proper phrases of his many originals and results in a very artistic production, even though it may be far from its native force. Nor is it fair to call his imitations plagiarisms; for the reproduction of this poetry of the past, thru the inspiration of Hellenic sources, is made with special application to occasions of contemporary history with a Roman sympathy that "glorifies the realism of Roman public life and pleasure" \footnote{172}; while the very form that is, on the surface, a clear adaptation from the Greek is in reality a combination of "Greek grace and subtlety with Roman strength and concentration" \footnote{173}, so that the gratification of the reader is increased thru the discovery of the Hellenic background.

\footnote{171}{"aureo plectro" C. II, 13, 27 sq.}
\footnote{172}{Sellar: Rom. Poets of Aug. Age., p. 147.}
\footnote{173}{Ibid. p. 148.}
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5. MISCELLANEOUS


NOTE: Unless otherwise stated, Keller and Holder's text is used for the citations from Horace, and that of Bergk for the passages quoted from the Greek lyric, elegiac, and iambic poets.
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