he retained the affection of an older man for a generation, and repaid it in many ways—not the least of which was the preservation of the memory of a fine character for the edification of posterity.

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NOTES

1 *E.g.* Manius Curius, *negotiator* in Patrae, for whose career *cf.* W. C. McDermott *CW* 41 (1948) 179-84. 2 *Cf.* von Arnim in *RE* s.v. "Diodotos 11" (1903); I. Coppa *"De Diodoto Stoico Ciceronis magistro," Cicero: comm. ausp. coll. studiis Cic. provehendis editi* 1 (Rome 1959) 21-29; P. T. Heesen, *Cicero's Literary Career to 50 B.C.* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Diss. 1965) 20-27. 3 Text of W. S. Watt (Oxford 1965). The reading of the mss. is *centie(n)s* (i.e. 10,000,000 HS) which is incredible. Manutius (1547) had the conjecture *c* (i.e. 100 HS) which is equally absurd. Constans (Paris 1934) letter 47 read $\bar{c}$ (i.e. 100,000 HS), *cf.* additional note (p. 294). He is followed by Watt and Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge 1965) letter 40. 4 *The Correspondence of Cicero* 1 (3rd ed. Dublin 1904) Intro. 30. 5 Text of Shackleton Bailey (letter 2). Watt read the conjectural restoration *frater* (i.e. *frater patruelis*, his cousin Lucius). 6 *Cf.* Tyrrell and Purser 4 (2nd ed. 1918) no. 466. 7 *Cf.* Tyrrell and Purser, no. 544; W. W. How, *Cicero: Select Letters* (Oxford 1925-26) no. 71. 8 *Cf.* especially the introduction of the edition of J. S. Reid (1884). In his note on the passage cited Reid speaks of Diodotus as "an inmate of Cicero's house" which is the source of the use of the word "inmate" by Tyrrell and Purser in the passage cited above. In the nineteenth century this word was more respectable than in current usage: *cf. The Oxford English Dictionary* 5 (1933) 307 s.v. "Inmate" (under 1 is the comment "Now *rare*").

Horace, *Carm.* 3.4: The Place of the Poet

The fourth Roman Ode, longest of Horatian odes, has two fully developed parts, the one personal and (ostensibly) autobiographical, the other purely didactic—a mythological paradeigma. These are joined by a characteristic "gliding transition," which has not always seemed adequate to withstand the tension between the two halves. Critics have called the poem disunified,[1] and, since those who dissent from this are compelled to prove the cohesion of the ode, analysis of the *Descende caelo* has turned largely on questions of structure.

The similarity of 3.4 to Pindar's first Pythian has long been noticed and exploited as a key to the plan of Horace's poem. Eduard Fraenkel writes:

> In both poems we perceive the extension of the idea of music, which at first is merely the music to be heard in the present *melos* and then gradually gains in depth and width until it becomes a universal principle of order and harmony, in conformity to which the whole world is ruled in fairness and justice (*imperio aequo*), the physical world and the political world, the sphere of the living and the sphere of the dead . . . .[2]

Fraenkel goes on to explain that the autobiographical half of 3.4 is demanded by the absence of a tradition of solemn musical performance "deeply rooted in the very life, religious and civic, of the society." Unlike Pindar, Horace "is alone, left to his experience as an individual and to his personal inspiration."[3]

Though the Pindaric ode incontestably had a nutritive influence on the poet of *Descende caelo*, critics have overindulged in *Quellenforschung*. Horace's art is never purely derivative; the first Pythian fell upon a mind attentive to its own Muse as well. The second part of 3.4, where congruity with the Greek model is most apparent (*cf.* especially *Pyth.* 1.39 ff. with *Carm.* 3.4.61-64), has received a disproportionate critical emphasis. The first half has often seemed an oddly prolonged excrescence in need of justification, if not apology. A strictly intrinsic analysis of the Horatian ode may thus have the salutary effect of disclosing a previously undetected inner logic:

> Descende caelo et dic age tibia
> regina longum Calliope melos,
> seu uoce nunc mauis acuta,
> seu fidibus citharaue Phoebi.
> auditis an me ludit amabilis
> insania? audire et uideor pios
> errare per lucos, amoenae
> quos et aquae subeunt et aurae
> (3.4.1-8).[4]

These first two stanzas achieve a swift transition from hymnic invocation to the expression of the visionary experience. The entire poem is a representation of the processes of inspiration: it is "about" nothing other than Horace's translation into poetry of the creative impulses received from the Muses.

We are cleverly enlisted as witnesses of this special activity by the question in lines 5-6. The poet asks if we hear the sound of the Muses.[5] We do of course, indirectly, in the rhythm of the lines themselves. But we do not experience the "amabilis insania" that so distinguishes and exalts the poet himself.

Videor in line 6 continues the evocation of the god-sent hallucination and is the pivot of a syntactic ploy that propels us into the imagery of the vision: the infinitive *audire*, which

precedes the governing *uideor*, denotes the passive reception of the Muses' message; *errare*, which follows and is equally governed by *uideor*, denotes the active entrance of the poet into the world of the vision. We observe not only the poet's participation in the reverie, but also its realization in words:

> me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
> nutricis extra limina Pulliae
> ludo fatigatumque somno
> fronde noua puerum palumbes
> texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,
> quicumque celsae nidum Acherontiae
> saltusque Bantinos et aruum
> pingue tenent humilis Forenti,
> ut tuto ab atris corpore uiperis
> dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra
> lauroque collataque myrto,
> non sine dis animosus infans
> (9-20).

The prominent pronoun in line 9 announces the autobiographical portion of the poem. Until the introduction of Caesar in line 37, the poet's chief concern will be definition of himself and of his role within various perimeters of action.

Two stanzas (lines 9-16) localize the limits of his world as a child: the borderland of Apulia and Lucania.[6] The obscurity of the place-names in Venusian territory suggests a limited range of movement. In this rustic world, the destiny of the poet is signalled by the miraculous beneficence of nature.

As in the *Integer uitae*, Horace half-playfully magnifies his own inviolability: as an "animosus infans" (like a young Hercules, or Alexander, or Scipio Maior),[7] he enjoyed divine supervision. The tone of lines 17-20 is mock serious, as befits the fairy tale of the "spirited babe" safe from serpents and bears.

The words "non sine dis" look back to the hymic address of stanza one and forward to the apostrophe to the Camenae beginning in line 21:

> uester, Camenae, uester in arduos
> tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum
> Praeneste seu Tibur supinum
> seu liquidae placuere Baiae
> (21-24).

The guardian deities of his childhood are identified, as the poet shifts to the geography of the present (*tollor*): the Sabine farm, cool Praeneste, Tibur, the bay of Naples, and of course Rome itself, whence he travels to those places. Horace knows that the leisure and affluence he enjoys at these retreats are owing to his dedication to the Muses. Even when times were not good, and especially at moments of crisis, the goddesses have looked after him.

> uestris amicum fontibus et choris
> non me Philippis uersa acies retro,
> deuota non exstinxit arbos,
> nec Sicula Palinurus unda
> (25-28).

Vestris in line 25 echoes the "uester . . . uester" of the preceding stanza. The poet having moved from the fabulous past of his childhood (lines 9-20) to the actual present of the Sabine farm, Baiae, etc. (lines 21-24), reverts now to real events in his past.

Three instances of divine protection are listed in as many lines. His lusterless performance at Philippi is treated elsewhere in *Carm.* 2.7, where Mercury is credited with having saved the poet (à la, *e.g.*, Aeneas rescued by Poseidon in *Iliad* 20). Here in 3.4, there is simply the miracle of his having survived the broken ranks.

As for the close call off Cape Palinurus—mentioned only here—we may well imagine a votive tablet dedicated to a benevolent god (and inspiring the metaphor at *Carm.* 1.5.13-16?).

Taken together, Philippi and Palinurus suggest the peril of overseas military adventure and of travel by sea in general (*cf. Carm.* 1.3.9 ff.: "illi robur et aes triplex . . ."). Responsibilities incumbent upon the man have carried the Apulian boy into a larger world of unpredictable risks.

As in *Carm.* 2.13, *Ille et nefasto*, the "deuota arbos" is a counterpoint. There too, the dangers of sea voyage (2.13.14 ff.: "nauita Bosphorum / Poenus horrescit"—*cf.* 3.4.30-31) and of the battlefield are juxtaposed to the equally real, if more prosaic, threat of death in one's own garden: "sed improuisa . . ." (2.13.23 ff.). The point in 3.4 is similar: the poet has in the past been protected by the gods both in the travels and unforeseen commitments his life has occasioned,[8] and in the (deceptive) security of his own backyard. Again, the fulcrum is geography.

> utcumque mecum uos eritis, libens
> insanientem nauita Bosphorum
> temptabo et urentis harenas
> litoris Assyrii uiator,
> uisam Britannos hospitibus feros
> et laetum equino sanguine Concanum
> uisam pharetratos Gelonos
> et Scythicum inuiolatus amnem
> (29-36).

Line 29 continues the address to the Camenae and introduces another sequence of place-names, this time circumscribing a much larger area within which Horace, as a Roman citizen, might choose to move.[9]

Horace may confidently try his fate on the outskirts of the known world because the Muses are, at home and abroad, guarantors of the sanctity of his person (*cf. Carm.* 1.17.13 ff.: "di me tuentur . . ."). This, of course, further develops the theme of personal inviolability, but it also calls to our attention the vast extent of the civilized world, that is, of the Roman Empire.[10] This in turn brings to mind the man to whom falls the task of policing boundaries and of ensuring tranquillity within them—"high Caesar." So far the poem has defined geographically various (usually enlarging) spheres of activity. Horace's privileged position has been stressed; it is time now to indicate concomitant obligations:

> uos Caesarem altum, militia simul
> fessas cohortis abdidit oppidis,
> finire quaerentem labores
> Pierio recreatis antro.
> uos lene consilium et datis et dato
> gaudetis almae (37-42).

It is increasingly unfashionable to find in the Augustan poets a wholehearted endorsement of the principate and of what Ronald Syme has called its "National Programme."[11] Instead, strains of skepticism or reservation (previously inaudible) are amplified.[12] Still, the poets clearly felt, through Maecenas, some sort of accountability vis-à-vis Augustus.[13] So much is obvious, in Horace's case, from the *recusationes*.[14] The Roman Odes are his most sustained effort to accommodate a "iocosa lyra" to that sense of obligation, if not necessarily to "the glorification of the new order in state and society."[15]

Caesar is introduced in lines 37 ff. as another for whom the Muses have a special regard. Horace, whose autobiography has so far dominated the poem, seems to withdraw from view. What must be recognized, if we are to avoid the sense of disharmony that has so exercised critics, is that the poet does not disappear at all. Because the refreshment of "war-weary" Caesar by the Muses requires the inspiration of a human intermediary, and because of the strong affirmation earlier of the exceptional status of the poet, we continue to be conscious of Horace's presence in the ode. We now begin to witness the actual exercise of the poet's distinctive gift—of his ability to relay the message of the Muses to those who do not have direct contact with them.[16] The place of the poet is still the principal subject of the poem, even if the tone does change sharply from light and personal to earnest and didactic. The personality of the Roman poet, his intention to define his station and to display his art—these are the factors common to both parts of the ode.

> scimus ut impios
> Titanas immanemque turbam
> fulmine sustulerit caduco,
> qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
> uentosum, et urbes regnaque tristia
> diuosque mortalisque turmas
> imperio regit ununs aequo
> (42-48).

The lesson of the Muses is cast in mythic terms: the unruly forces of nature are controlled—by force if need be ("fulmine . . . caduco")—and disposed in a universal order. Jupiter suppresses the Titanic belligerents and effects the proper regulation of the various sectors, natural and supernatural, of the cosmos. The emphasis is on equitable authority: "imperio . . . aequo." Anchises prescribes for Rome a similar function on the level of the earthly *oikoumene*:

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem . . .
> (*Aen.* 6.851-53).

The duty of prosecuting these tenets of the Roman mission rested, after Actium, in the conscience of Augustus. Horace, who portrays himself as interpreter of divine advice to that conscience, points to the hegemony of the Olympians as a symbol of the enforcement of political ideals.[17]

> magnum illa terrorem intulerat Ioui
> fidens iuuentus horrida bracchiis
> fratresque tendentes opaco
> Pelion imposuisse Olympo.
> sed quid Typhoeus et ualidus Mimas,
> aut quid minaci Porphyrion statu,
> quid Rhoetus euulsisque truncis
> Enceladus iaculator audax
> contra sonantem Palladis aegida
> possent ruentes? (49-58).

The Hecatoncheires, Otus and Ephialtes ("fratres tendentes"), Typhoeus, Mimas, and the other gigantic foes of Jupiter and the cosmic order he maintains are mindless (*audaces*)

personifications of brute strength. Their lack of distinctive personality is, as will be shown, in telling contrast to some in the list of *temptatores* with whom the ode closes. In lines 49-55, we have an epic-style catalogue of combatants. The mountain-moving, tree-hurling monsters are formidable,[18] if foredoomed, opponents for the mighty Olympians, against whose supernatural armor the giants can only crash in futility.

> hinc auidus stetit
> Vulcanus, hinc matrona Iuno et
> numquam umeris positurus arcum,
> qui rore puro Castaliae lauit
> crinis solutos, qui Lyciae tenet
> dumeta natalemque siluam,
> Delius et Patareus Apollo
> (58-64).

On the Olympian side, preeminence is not given to Jupiter or the three deities mentioned in lines 57-59, but to Apollo. His offices as "far-darter" and as *musagetes* (line 61 recalling stanza one) are indicated, and three place-name epithets are added. As patron deity of the emperor, Apollo is of course appropriately prominent here. Similarly, Virgil will oppose Actian Apollo and other Olympians to "yelping Anubis" and the rout of Egyptian gods allied with Antony and Cleopatra (*Aen.* 8.698-706).[19]

> uis consili expers mole ruit sua:
> uim temperatam di quoque prouehunt
> in maius; idem odere uiris
> omne nefas animo mouentis
> (65-68).

The "lene consilium" implicit in the story of the gods and giants is now driven home in a culminating *sententia*. The vocabulary of the moral is carefully selected: "uis consili expers" contrasts with the temperance of Jupiter and with Augustus' acceptance of and delight in the advice of the gentle Muses. "Mole ruit sua" recalls the "immanis turba" of the Titans (43) and the mad rush of the Giants ("contra . . . aegida . . . ruentes," 57-58). "Vis temperata" in line 66 suggests the moderating powers of Jupiter, coordinator of the energies of the universe (45 ff.). The censure of illicit exercise of force (67-68) is aimed at the "impii Titanae" (42 ff.), the hubristic Aloidae (50-51), and the other enemies of Olympian rule.

This stanza (65-68) might satisfactorily close the poem. Instead, it is a node between the lengthy paradeigma beginning with "scimus ut" in line 42 and a related, but less clear-cut, exemplum that concludes the ode.

> testis mearum centimanus Gyas
> sententiarum, notus et integrae
> temptator Orion Dianae,
> uirginea domitus sagitta.
> iniecta monstris Terra dolet suis
> maeretque partus fulmine luridum
> missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
> impositam celer ignis Aetnen,
> incontinentis nec Tityi iecur
> reliquit ales, nequitiae additus
> custos; amatorem trecentae
> Perithoum cohibent catenae
> (69-80).

"Centimanus Gyas," the monstrous offspring mourned by Terra Mater, and Enceladus beneath Aetna all continue the theme of Gigantomachy. But a different tone is given to the "testis . . . sententiarum" by the introduction of Orion, Tityus, and Pirithous. The three are guilty of incontinence—each made unwelcome advances on a goddess. No megalomaniac threateners of cosmic harmony, they are, like the lustful in Dante, lesser sinners, certainly than Gyas and his ilk. Their lust, if reprehensible, is more easily understood (and sympathized with) than the sheer insane exertion of force by the Giants.

Though Tityus had long been, with Ixion, Sisyphus, Tantalus, et al. simply a traditional inmate of Tartarus, Orion and especially Pirithous are more favorably and humanly treated in mythology. Gordon Williams observes that

> Pirithous was no Giant, but the king of the Lapiths, an attractive character who went with Theseus to capture Proserpina from the Underworld and was caught (cf. *Odes* IV. 7.27-28 where again he closes the poem). It is a perfect *diminuendo* to close the poem with a venial sinner, unlike the horrific Giants.[20]

Horatian lyric often avoids a too static structural symmetry or consistency of tone by ending with an implicit qualification of the main sentiment of the poem. The Cleopatra Ode is perhaps the most striking instance of a radical tonal shift: we move from the vision of a wine-crazed, eunuch-attended madwoman to a noble queen serenely choosing death rather than humiliation.

Again, in the third Roman Ode, Horace allows Juno to qualify her complaisance in a long and increasingly stern statement of the conditions of her admission of Romulus and tolerance of Roman suzerainty (*cf. Aen.* 12.808-28, esp.

826-28). Horace there goes so far as to draw attention in the last stanza to the structural imbalance of the whole by berating his "Musa peruicax."

In *Carm.* 3.4 the last three stanzas avoid the over-neat finality of the *sententia* in lines 65-68. The distinction between good and evil remains clear, but our sympathy with the victims of divine retribution is stirred. The exaction of justice is necessary to be sure, but it carries a price in human suffering. As an allegorical rendering of the "lene consilium," the second exemplum is infinitely subtle: the illicit love of Antony for Cleopatra, of Antony who fondly fought the Olympians at Actium is just visible behind the allusion to "amatorem . . . Pirithoum."[21] It has been suggested that the parable is directed to those who might, like the Giants (Antonians), contemplate opposition to supreme Jupiter (Augustus). But the advice is more probably addressed to Augustus himself.[22] By 28 or 27 B.C., it was surely obvious that Caesar's political and military powers, if not yet fully consolidated, were unprecedented. But strength by itself is an inadequate feature of authority. The gods favor moderation. Their mandate is that of Anchises: "parcere subiectis et debellare superbos" (*Aen.* 6.853). The first half of the Virgilian formula is the better embraced for our sympathy with the unfortunate Pirithous.[23] The decisions of authority must be made, but the human consequences should be reckoned in the process.

The second part of the ode is an illustration of what Horace felt to be his special prerogative as a poet, a Roman poet. That he was not capable of poetic tribute on a large scale was due to Horace's consciousness of his own artistic *métier*. This awareness of his abilities and his duties, of his place as a poet, as much as any outright message to Augustus, is the central concern of the fourth Roman Ode. The poem emanates from Horace's exquisitely refined sense of allegiance—to his Muse, to Augustus, and to himself as a citizen and poet.

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NOTES

1 Tenney Frank, "Horace, Carm. III, 4: Descende caelo" *AJP* 42 (1921) 170-73, argues that Horace once intended the ode to be a dedicatory poem, "one of the few types of poems that may legitimately say two things." Though "this explanation does not increase the aesthetic value of 'Descende caelo,'" it does account, in Frank's view, for the "dispersion of interest" stemming from the combination of "Horace's youthful ramblings" and the Gigantomachy; so too, *Catullus and Horace* (New York 1928) 225-26. See also Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 274, n. 4. 2 *Horace*, p. 283; see also p. 276, with note 4, where Wilamowitz and Reitzenstein are credited with having "grasped the extent to which the very conception of this ode depends on [Pindar's] first Pythian ode." 3 *Horace*, p. 284. Steele Commager, *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study* (New Haven 1962) 207, comes nearer the mark: "By parading proof that he is a true spokesman of the Muses might he not hint to Octavian that their *lene consilium* is the Ode itself? Through their inspired poet they give to Octavian 'mild counsel' in the form of a mythical allegory." 4 The text of Horace is Wickham's as revised by Garrod, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Oxford 1912), excepting "limina Pulliae" for the unmetrical "limen Apuliae" in line 10. 5 *Auditis* is ambiguous; Gordon Williams, ed., *The Third Book of Horace's Odes* (Oxford 1969) 50, sees the question as addressed to the Muses. 6 Jacques Perret, *Horace*, trans. Bertha Humez (New York 1964) 6: "He would always retain the image of the high towns, like nests on the tops of the hills, and the dark woods where there were bears; below, great flat white horizons, dust rising from the Apulian soil at the gusts of the Atabulus; the two citadels, one brilliant, the other somber even in the sunlight, Garganus and Voltur; far off, the Adriatic with its terrible rages." 7 Commager, *The Odes of Horace*, p. 207: "The boast of divine protection (25 ff.) was familiar from the stories about Arion, Simonides, Ibycus, and Archilochus, while for his miraculous childhood (9-20) Horace could have consulted the myths about Aeschylus, Stesichorus, and Pindar." True, but the tone of "animosus infans" facetiously suggests the wonders of heroic rather than poetic infancy; on the very similar legend about Scipio Maior, see H. H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus: Soldier and Politician* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1970) 20-21. 8 Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 254: "He fought at Philippi, for the Republic—but not from Republican convictions: it was but the accident of his presence at a university city, at an impressionable age and in the company of young men of the Roman aristocracy." 9 Bengston *apud* Scullard, *Scipio Africanus* 292, n. 186: "hat Scipio das römische Volk gelehrt im Kontinenten zu denken." 10 The allusion to the perimeter of civilization is in Horace a kind of topos: *Carm.* 1.22.5-8, 2.6.1-4, 2.13.14-19; *cf. Aen.* 8.722-28 (peoples and lands subject to Rome). Perhaps the best known precedent in Latin verse is Catullus 11—Kenneth Quinn, ed., *Catullus: The Poems* (London 1970), at 11.9-12, notes that "provided we do not push the details of 5-8 too far, we can feel that we have moved steadily closer to home—away from India, the edge of the world, to the Nile. Now we launch out in a fresh direction to the edge of the world again—across the Alps, to Germany and Britain." So too, in Horace, *Carm.* 3.4, the intention is to define the extreme (approximate) eastern and western limits of the Roman world. 11 As long ago as 1921, Tenney Frank (note 1 above) could take Mommsen to task because he "undertook to interpret the cycle of six poems [3.1-6] . . . as an effort to promote Augustus' legislative program . . . . He read too much imperialism into these odes" (p. 170). 12 See, *e.g.*,

Adam Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*" *Arion* 2.4 (1963) 66-80; rpt. in S. Commager, ed., *Virgil: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs 1966) 107-23; or M. C. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965)—see, *e.g.*, the admonition on p. xiii. L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge 1951) 65, says of Horace's patriotic poetry in *Odes* 1-3 that "his heart was not really in it"; *cf.* 84-85. 13 A. Dalzell, "Maecenas and the Poets" *Phoenix* 10 (1956) 151-62, expresses doubts about the traditional portrayal of Maecenas as "minister of propaganda." 14 See P. L. Smith, "Poetic Tensions in the Horatian *Recusatio*" AJP 89 (1968) 56-65. 15 Syme, *Roman Revolution* 459. 16 Perret, *Horace*, p. 83, is wrong to see Augustus, in lines 37-44, "conversing familiarly with the goddesses"; Horace has been at pains to claim that familiarity for the poet alone. 17 To ask (with, *e.g.*, Fraenkel, *Horace*, pp. 282-83, or Commager, *The Odes of Horace*, pp. 199-200) whether Horace might actually have seen the sculptural Gigantomachies of the Parthenon or the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum is otiose biographical speculation. The story of Olympian victory over the forces of unreason had for nearly a millennium (at least since Hesiod) been ingrained in Greco-Roman mythical thought, in both plastic and verbal arts; there is little point in seeking precise sources. 18 Similarly, in *Aen.* 1.52-63, the winds Juno would loose are a real threat, one taken seriously by Jupiter, whose precautions are being circumvented. 19 Fittingly, Antony chose to be identified with Dionysus; see Syme, *Roman Revolution* 273-74. The rift between Apollonian reason and Bacchic madness (anticipatory of Nietzsche) underlay much of Octavian's political propaganda. 20 *The Third Book of Horace's Odes*, p. 53. 21 See Commager, *The Odes of Horace* p. 203. 22 Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry*, p. 71: "Ostensibly this [lines 65-68] refers to the Giants, but the victors too are in their turn powerful and in danger of hubris. The Muse's mouthpiece is appealing for *uim temperatam*." *Cf.* Roger A. Hornsby, "Horace on Art and Politics (*Ode* 3.4)" *CJ*, 58 (1962) 104. 23 See Wilkinson, *loc. cit.*, and Commager, *The Odes of Horace*, p. 201.

Symmetry, Poetry and Geography

The mathematical approach to Virgil based upon a ratio theory of construction has perhaps by now largely run its course; instead, critics seem to be turning to the different—and surely more fruitful—question of symmetry. In any work of art there will be some kind of harmonious disposition of parts, though we cannot always expect a narrow exactitude in this to have necessarily formed part of the artist's aim. To explore symmetry in Virgil in terms of meaning and content appears to open up wider, more hopeful vistas to us. To write his hexameters he did, of course, as Maury (one of the founding fathers of the mathematical school) observed, "count his syllables," but there is no evidence at all that the "Golden Section" principle or anything of that kind was known to him and exercised any influence upon him. Anyway, the Romans were not very likely to be attracted by so abstract a conception.

Symmetry, however, is widely and impressively displayed in the natural, material world about us, and has always had an aesthetically pleasing appeal. Symmetry was in fact the first geographical theory.[1] Herodotus remarks (4.36) that if Hyperboreans ("people beyond the north-wind") exist, there must also be Hypernotians ("people beyond the south-wind"). On the same assumption of symmetry he argues (2.33f.) that the Nile must flow from west to east before turning north in order to balance the Danube running from west to east before turning south — the effect of which hypotheses remained in the maps of Africa down to the time of Mungo Park.[2]

The old instinctive idea of symmetry was taken up by Crates of Mallos, the Stoic philosopher who was the royal librarian at Pergamum and came as its envoy to Rome, probably in 168 B.C. He postulated two inhabited and balancing worlds in each hemisphere, a notion which had continuing fascination, passing down to the Middle Ages by way of Macrobius.[3] Echoes of Crates occur in Cicero (*de Republica* 6) where Scipio in his dream sees the globe with its four island-worlds separated by Oceans, and these echoes were repeated by Macrobius in his commentary.

Latin poetry notoriously had a strong predilection for "romantic geography" and the evocative use of place-names with musical sounds. At a more scientific level, the poets were familiar with the globe and its five zones, two of them habitable;— we may cite Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 233-51; Manilius 1. 242-5; Pseudo-Tibullus 4.1. 152-9; Horace, *Odes* 1.22.17-22; Ovid, *Met.* 1.44-51. At *Georg.* 1. 233-51 Virgil echoes Eratosthenes, who accepted Antipodes, but he shows misunderstanding, and later, at *Georg.* 2. 475-82 (with which compare *Aen.* 1. 742-6), he reveals that he has had it in mind to explain earthquakes and eclipses, the courses of the heavenly bodies, and "why the winter suns make such haste to dip in Ocean."

Symmetry is a constant feature of the phenomenal world, as obvious to the observer as the sun. Contemplation of it gives us a feeling of satisfaction, and its incorporation in art is not