LIFE

OF

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS.

BY

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DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

With Illustrations.

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MDCCCLIV.

TO

HENRY MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, K.G.

DISTINGUISHED ALIKE FOR HIS LOVE OF LETTERS

AND OF THE FINE ARTS,

THIS ATTEMPT

TO ILLUSTRATE THE POET OF ROMAN MANNERS,

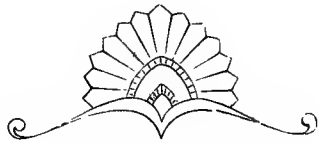
AND OF ROMAN SOCIAL LIFE,

FROM THE REMAINS OF ANCIENT ART,

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH SENTIMENTS OF HIGH ESTEEM, AND GRATEFUL REGARD,

BY THE EDITOR.



ILLUSTRATIONS TO

THE LIFE OF HORACE.

VENUSIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—BIRTH, PARENTAGE, EDUCATION OF HORACE—ATHENS—PHILIPPI—RETURN TO ROME.

THE POETRY of HORACE is the history of Rome during the great change from a republic into a monarchy, during the sudden and almost complete revolution from centuries of war and civil faction to that peaceful period, which is called the Augustan Age of Letters. His life is the image of his eventful times. In his youth he plunges into the fierce and sanguinary civil

war; and afterwards subsiding quietly into literary ease, the partisan of Brutus softens into the friend of Mæcenas, and the happy subject, if not the flatterer, of Augustus. Nor is his personal history merely illustrative of his times in its broader outline; every part of it, which is revealed to us in his poetry, is equally instructive. Even the parentage of the poet is connected with the difficult but important questions of the extent to which slavery in the Roman world was affected by manumission, and the formation of that middle class (the libertini), with their privileges, and the estimation in which they were held by society. His birthplace in the romantic scenery, and among the simple virtues of the old Italian yeomanry; his Roman education; his residence at Athens; his military services; the confiscation of his estate; his fortunes as a literary adventurer, cast upon the world in Rome; the state of Roman poetry when he commenced his career; the degree in which his compositions were Roman and original, or but the naturalization of new forms of Grecian poetry; the influence of the different sects of philosophy on the literature and manners of the age; even the state of religion, particularly as it affected the higher and more intellectual orders, at this momentous crisis when Christianity was about to be revealed to mankind—every circumstance in the life of the Poet is an incident in the history of man. The influences which formed his moral and poetical character, are the prevalent modes of feeling and thought among the people, who had achieved the conquest of the

world, and, weary of their own furious contentions, now began to slumber in the proud consciousness of universal empire. In him as in an individual example appears the change which took place in the fortunes, position, sentiments, occupations, estimation, character, mode of living, when the Roman, from the citizen of a free and turbulent republic, became the subject of a peaceful monarchy, disguised indeed, but not, therefore, the less arbitrary: while his acquaintance, and even his intimate friends, extending through almost every gradation of society, show the same influences, as they affect persons of different characters, talents, or station. Horace is exactly in that happy intermediate rank which connects both extremes. His poems are inscribed to Agrippa or Mæcenas, even to the Emperor himself, to his humbler private friend, or to his bailiff. He unites, in the same way, the literary with the social life; he shows the station assumed by or granted to mere men of letters, when the orator in the senate or in the forum ceded his place to the agreeable writer; the man who excited or composed at his will the strong passions of the Roman people, had lost his occupation and his power, which devolved, as far as the literary part of his fame, upon the popular author. The mingling intellectual elements blend together, even in more singular union, in the mind of the Poet. Grecian education and tastes have not polished off the old Roman independence; the imitator of Greek forms of verse writes the purest vernacular Latin; the Epicurean philosophy has not

subdued his masculine shrewdness and good sense to dreaming indolence. In the Roman part of his character he blends some reminiscences of the sturdy virtue of the Sabine or Apulian mountaineers, with the refined manners of the city. All the great men of his day are the familiars of the poet; not in their hours of state alone, but in the ease of social intercourse: we become acquainted with their ordinary manners and habits; and are admitted to the privacy of Mæcenas, of Augustus himself, of Virgil, and of Varius. Thus the Horatian poetry is more than historical, it is the living age itself in all its varied reality. Without the biography of the poet, even without that of some of his contemporaries, the poetry of Horace cannot be truly appreciated, it can hardly be understood; and by the magic of his poetry, the reader is at once placed in the midst of Roman society in the Augustan age.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born on the 8th of December, in the year U. C. 689, B. C. 65, during the consulship of L. Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus. His father (such was the received and natural theory) owed his freedom to one of the illustrious family of the Horatii, whose name, according to general usage, he was permitted to assume. Recent writers, however, have shown from inscriptions,[1] that Venusia, the town in the territory of which Horace was born, belonged to the Horatian tribe in Rome; and that the

[1] G. F. Grotefend in "Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopædie," Horatius; and C. L. Grotefend in the "Darmstadt Lit. Journal." Franke, Fasti Horatiani, note 1.

father of Horace may have been a freed-man of the town of Venusia. The great family of the Horatii, so glorious in the early days of the republic, certainly did not maintain its celebrity in later times. With one solitary exception, a legate of C. Calvisius in Africa (Cic. ad. Fam. xii. 30), it might seem to have been extinct. If the freed-man of an Horatius, the father of the poet does not appear to have kept up that connection, or civil relationship, which bound the emancipated slave, by natural ties of affection and gratitude, to the family of his generous master. The theory of this assumption of a Roman name was, that the master, having bestowed civil life on the freed-man, stood, in a certain sense, in the place of a parent. He still retained some authority, and inherited the freed-man's property, in case of his dying intestate. On the other hand, the freed-man was under the obligation of maintaining his patron, or even the father and mother of his patron, if they fell into indigence.(2) But there is no allusion in the

(2) Compare Pliny xxxi. 2, for an instance of the literary son of a distinguished man in those times paying a tribute of gratitude to his civil parent. Laurea Tullius the poet was a freed-man of the great orator. A warm spring had broken out in the academic Villa of Cicero, which was supposed to cure diseases in the eyes. The poetical inscription by L. Tullius (of which the feeling is better than the taste) described the spring as providentially revealed, in order that more eyes might be enabled to read the widely disseminated works of his master.

The freed-man and freed-woman were admitted into the family mausoleum with those who had emancipated them. See several inscriptions, especially a very beautiful one, Gruter, p. 715; Ciampini, p. 173.

poet's works to any connection of this kind. At all events, the freed-man has thrown a brighter and more lasting lustre around that celebrated name, than all the virtues and exploits of the older patriots who bore it. We know no reason for his having the prænomen Quintus, nor the agnomen, by which he was familiarly known, Flaccus. The latter name was by no means uncommon; it is found in the Calpurnian, the Cornelian, the Pomponian, and the Valerian families. Horace was of ingenuous birth, which implies that he was born after his father had received his manumission. The silence of the poet about his mother, leads to the supposition that she died in his early youth.

The father of Horace exercised the function of collector of payments at auctions.[3] The collector was a public servant. This comparatively humble office was probably paid according to the number of sales, and the value of the property brought to market; and in those days of confiscation, and of rapid and frequent changes of property, through the inordinate ambition or luxury of some, the forfeitures or ruin of opulent landholders, and the extinction of noble families in the civil wars, the amount and value of the property brought to sale (*sub hastâ*) was likely to enable a prudent public officer to make a decent fortune. This seems to have been the case with the elder Horace, who invested his acquisitions in a house

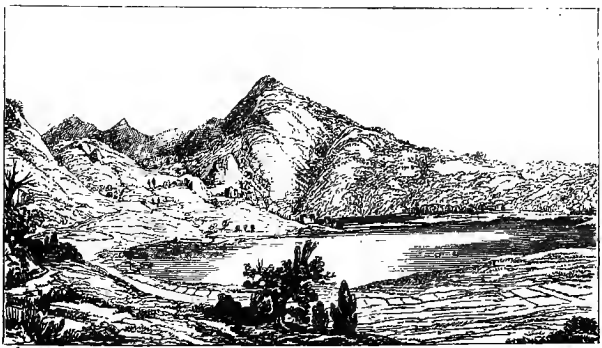
[3] Coactor exauctionum, Suet. in vit. Another reading, exactionum, would make him a collector of the indirect taxes, farmed by the publicans: the Roman municipalities in Italy being exempt from all direct taxation.

and farm in the district of Venusia, on the banks of the river Aufidus, close upon the doubtful boundaries of Lucania and Apulia. There he settled down into a respectable small farmer. In this house the poet was born, and passed his infant years. The romantic adventure of his childhood is told with his peculiar grace. One incident cannot but remind the English reader of our own old ballad of the Children in the Wood, "and Robin Redbreast piously did cover them with leaves."—Carm. III. iv. 9-20.

"Me, vagrant infant, on Mount Vultur's side,
Beyond my childhood's nurse, Apulia's, bounds,
By play fatigued and sleep,
Did the poetic doves
With young leaves cover. Spread the wondrous tale
Where Acherontia's sons hang their tall nests,
Through Bante's groves, the low
And rich Ferentine plain.
From the black viper safe, and prowling bear,
Sweet slept I, strewn with sacred laurel leaves,
And myrtle twigs—bold child,
Not of the gods unwatched."

The names and situation of the towns in this romantic district (the Basilicata) still answer to the description of the poet, the high-hung *chalèts* of Acerenza, the vast thickets of Banzi, and the picturesque peaks of Mount Voltore. There are no monuments to mark the site of Bante; bones, helmets, pieces of armour, and a few bad vases, have been picked up near Acerenza.(4) The poet cherished

(4) Keppel Craven's Tour in the Abruzzi. Lombardi, sopra la Basilicata, in Memorie dell' Instituto Archæologico.



MOUNT VOLTORE.

through life his fond reminiscences of these scenes, the shores of the sounding Aufidus (to whose destructive floods he alludes in one of his latest Odes), and the fountain of Bandusia.[5] He delights also in reverting to the plain life and severe manners of the rustic population. Shrewd, strenuous, and frugal, this race furnished the best soldiers to the Roman legions;

[5] The biographers of Horace had transferred this fountain to the neighbourhood of the poet's Sabine villa. M. Capmartin de Chaupy proved, by a bull of Pope Paschal II., that it was to be sought in the neighbourhood of Venusia. Some modern writers are so perfinaciously set on finding it in the Sabine district, that they have supposed Horace to have called some fountain in that valley by the name endeared to him by his youthful remembrances. But do we know enough of the life of Horace, to pronounce that he may not have revisited, even more than once, the scenes of his childhood, or to decide that he did not address the famous ode to the Venusian fountain?—Capmartin de Chaupy, Maison d'Horace, tom. ii. p. 363. See, however, letter of G. Dennis, Esq.; Appendix.

THE RIVER AUFIDUS.

their sun-burned wives shared in their toils (Epod. ii. 41-2). They cultivated their small farms with their own labour and that of their sons (Sat. II. ii. 114). They worshipped their rustic deities, and believed in the superstitions of a religious and simple people, witchcraft and fortune-telling (Sat. I. ix. 29, 30). The hardy but contented Ofella (Sat. II. ii. 112 et seqq.) was a kind of type of the Sabine or Apulian peasant.

At about ten or twelve years old commenced the more serious and important part of the Roman education. It does not appear how Horace acquired the first rudiments of learning; but as he grew to youth, the father, either discerning some promise in the boy, or from paternal fondness, determined to devote

himself entirely to the education of his son. He was by no means rich, his farm was unproductive, yet he declined to send his son to Venusia to the school of Flavius, to which resorted the children of the rural and municipal aristocracy—the consequential sons of consequential fathers—with their satchels and tablets on their arms, and making their regular payments every month.(6) He took the bold step of removing him at once to Rome, to receive the liberal education of a knight's or senator's son; and, lest the youth should be depressed by the feeling of inferiority, provided him with whatever was necessary to make a respectable appearance, dress and slaves to attend him, as if he had been of an ancient family. But though the parent thus removed his son to the public schools of the metropolis, and preferred that he should associate with the genuine youthful nobility of the capital, rather than the no less haughty but more coarse and unpolished gentry (the retired centurions) of the provinces, he took great care that while he secured the advantages, he should be protected from the dangers of the voluptuous capital. Even if his son should rise no higher than his own humble

(6) "Causa fuit pater his; qui macro pauper agello,
Noluit in Flavî ludum me mittere, magni
Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
Ibant octonis referentes idibus æra."—Sat. I. vi. 71.

Wieland and others interpret the last line, as if the boys were doing their sums by the way; those sums being calculations of the monthly interests upon loans, the ordinary occupation of young arithmeticians.

calling, as a public crier or collector, his good education would be invaluable; yet must it not be purchased by the sacrifice of sound morals. He attended him to the different schools; watched with severe but affectionate control over his character; so that the boy escaped not merely the taint but even the reproach of immorality.(7) The poet always speaks of his father with grateful reverence, and with honest pride.

His first turn for satire was encouraged by his father's severe animadversions on the follies and vices of his compatriots, which he held up as warning examples to his son.(8) To one of his schoolmasters the poet has given imperishable fame. Orbilius, whose flogging propensities have grown into a proverb, had been an apparitor, and afterwards served in the army; an excellent training for a disciplinarian, if not for a teacher: but Orbilius got more reputation than profit from his occupation.(9) The two principal, if not the only, authors read in the school of Orbilius, were Homer in Greek, in Latin Livius Andronicus.(10)

(7) "Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum,
(Qui primus virtutis honos) servavit ab omni
Non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi."
Sat. I. vi. 81-84.

(8) Sat. I. iv. 105 et seqq.

(9) "Docuit majore fama quam emolumento."—Sueton. de Grammat.

(10) Bentley doubted whether any patrician schoolmaster, at that time, would use the works of a poet so antiquated as Livius Andronicus. He proposed to read Lævius, the name of an obscure writer of love verses (Ἐρωτοπαίγνια), to whom he ascribes many of the fragments usually assigned to Livius, and which bear no marks of obsolete antiquity. But with due respect to

Homer, in this respect, it may be said without profanation, the bible of antiquity, was, down to the time of Julian, an indispensable part of Greek, and already of Roman, education.(11) Orbilius was, no doubt, of the old school; a teacher to the heart of rigid Cato; an admirer of the genuine Roman poetry. Livius Andronicus was not only the earliest writer of tragedy, but had translated the Odyssey into the Saturnian verse, the native vernacular metre of Italy.(12) Orbilius may not merely have thought the Euêmerism of Ennius, or the Epicureanism of Lucretius, unfit for the study of Roman youth, but have considered Accius, Pacuvius, or Terence, too foreign and Grecian, and as having degenerated from the primitive simplicity of the father of Roman verse. The more modern and Grecian taste of Horace is constantly contending with this antiquarian school of poetry; and his unpleasing remembrance of the manner in which the study of Livius was enforced by his early teacher, may have tended to confirm his fastidious aversion from the ruder poetry.

Horace, it may be concluded, assumed the manly

the great critic, the elder Horace might have objected still more strongly to the modern amatory verses of Lævius, than to the rude strains of Livius.

(11) Epist. II. ii. 41-2. Compare Quintil. i. viii. Plin. Epist. ii. 15. Statius Sylv. v. 3. Dan. Heinsius quotes from Theodoret, *τούτων δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι οὐδὲ τὴν μῆνιν ἴσασι τὴν Ἀχιλλέως.* Even as late as that Father of the Church, it was a mark of ignorance not to have read Homer.

(12) Cicero thought but meanly of Livius: "Nam et Odyssea Latina, est sic tanquam opus aliquod Dædali, et Livianæ fabulæ non satis dignæ quæ iterum legantur."—Brutus, c. 18.

robe (toga virilis) in his sixteenth or seventeenth year. It is probable that he lost his excellent and honoured father, before he set out to complete his education at Athens. But of what stirring events must the boy have been witness during his residence at Rome! He might possibly, soon after his arrival (B. C. 52), have heard Cicero speak his oration for Milo. Into the subsequent years were crowded all the preparations for the last contest between Pompey and Cæsar. The peaceful studies of the Roman youth must have been strangely interrupted by these political excitements. What spirited boy would not have thrown aside his books, to behold the triumphant entrance of Cæsar into Rome after the passage of the Rubicon? And while that decisive step was but threatened, how anxiously and fearfully must Rome have awaited her doom—ignorant who was to be her master, and how that master would use his power; whether new proscriptions would more than decimate her patrician families, and deluge her streets with blood; whether military licence would have free scope, and the majesty of the Roman people be insulted by the outrages of an infuriated soldiery! No man was so obscure, so young, or so thoughtless, but that he must have been deeply impressed with the insecurity of liberty and of life. During the whole conflict what must have been the suspense, the agitation, the party violence, the terror, the alternate elevation and prostration of mind! In the unruffled quiet of his manhood and age, how often must these turbulent and awful days have contrasted themselves, in the memory of Horace, with his

tranquil pursuits of letters, social enjoyment, and country retirement!

It was about the time of (probably the year after) the battle of Pharsalia (for the state of Greece, just at the period of the final conflict, must have been insecure, if not dangerous), that the youthful Horace left his school at Rome, to study in Athens. If his father was dead, the produce of the Venusian estate would no doubt suffice for his maintenance; if still living, the generous love of the parent would not hesitate at this farther expense, if within his power. During many centuries of the Roman greatness, down to the time when her schools were closed by Justinian, Athens was the university, as it has been called, of the world; where almost all the distinguished youth, both of the East and West, passed a certain period of study in the liberal arts, letters, and philosophy. This continued even after the establishment of Christianity. Basil and Gregory of Nazianzum studied together, and formed their youthful friendships; as Horace did, no doubt, with some of the noble or distinguished youth of his day. On this point, however, his poems are silent, and contain no allusions to his associates and rivals in study. The younger Quintus Cicero was at this time likewise a student at Athens, but there is no clue to connect these two names.[13]

The advantages which Horace derived from his residence in Athens may be traced in his familiarity with Attic literature, or rather, with the whole range of

[13] Weichert. de L. Vario, &c. p. 328.

Greek poetry, Homeric, lyric, and dramatic. In the region of his birth Greek was spoken almost as commonly as Latin;[14] and Horace had already, at Rome, been instructed in the poetry of Homer. In Athens he studied, particularly, the comic writers; the great models of that kind of poetry which consists in shrewd and acute observation on actual human life, on society, manners, and morals, expressed in terse, perspicuous, and animated verse; which he was destined, in another form, to carry to such unrivalled perfection in his own language. But he incurred a great danger,—that of sinking into a third or fourth rate Greek poet; if, in a foreign language, he could have obtained even that humble eminence. He represents the genius of his country under the form of Romulus, remonstrating against this misdirection of his talents. Romulus, or rather the strong sense of Horace himself, gave good reason for his advice.[15] The mine of Grecian poetry was exhausted; every place of honour was occupied; a new poet, particularly a stranger, could only be lost in the inglorious crowd. But this is not all. It is a law of human genius, without exception, that no man can be a great poet, except in his native speech. Inspiration seems impatient of the slower process of translating our thoughts into a second language. The

(14) "Canusini more bilinguis."—Sat. I. x. 30.

(15) "Atque ego cum Græcos facerem, natus mare citra,
Versiculos; vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:
In silvam non ligna feras insanius, ac si
Magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas."
Sat. I. x. 31-35.

expression must be as free and spontaneous as the conception; and however we may polish and refine our native style, and substitute a more tardy and elaborate, for an instantaneous and inartificial, mode of composition, there is a facility, a mastery, a complete harmony between "the thoughts that breathe, and the words that burn," which can never be attained except in our mother tongue.

The death of Cæsar, and the arrival of Brutus at Athens, broke up the peaceful studies of Horace. It had been surprising if the whole Roman youth, at this ardent and generous period of life, breathing the air of Pericles, Aristides, and Demosthenes, imbibing the sentiments of republican liberty, from all which was the object of their study, had not thrown themselves at once into the ranks of Brutus, and rallied around the rescued, but still imperilled, freedom of Rome. Horace was at once advanced to the rank of military tribune, and the command of a legion. Excepting at such critical periods, when the ordinary course of military promotion was superseded by the exigencies of the times, when it was no doubt difficult for Brutus to find Roman officers for his newly-raised troops, the son of a freed-man, of no very robust frame, and altogether inexperienced in war, would not have acquired that rank. His appointment, as he acknowledges, on account of his ignoble birth, excited jealousy. [16]

[16] "Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
* * * at olim,
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno."—Sat. I. vi. 46-8.

Yet he acquired the confidence of his commanders, and unless he has highly coloured his hard service, was engaged in some difficulties and perils.[17] It is probable that while in the army of Brutus he crossed over into Asia. Though it is not quite clear that he was present at Clazomenæ, when the quarrel took place between Persius and Rupilius Rex, which forms the subject of Sat. I. vii.; and his local knowledge of Lebedos, which has been appealed to, is not absolutely certain;[18] yet some of his descriptive epithets appear too distinct and faithful for mere borrowed and conventional poetic language. He must have visited parts of Greece at some period of his life, as he speaks of not having been so much *struck* by the rich plain of Larissa, or the more rugged district of Lacedæmon, as by the headlong Anio, and the groves of Tibur.[19]

The battle of Philippi closed the military career of Horace. His conduct after the battle, his flight, and throwing away his shield, have been the subject of much grave animadversion, and as grave defence. Lessing wrote an ingenious essay to vindicate the morals and the courage of Horace.[20] Wieland goes

[17] "O sæpe mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte, Bruto militiæ duce."—Carm. II. vii. 1.

[18] Epist. I. xi. 6.

[19] Carm. I. vii. 11.

[20] Werke ix. pp. 126, 173. Lessing is completely successful in repelling a more disgraceful imputation upon the memory of the poet. In a passage of Seneca some foolish commentator had substituted the name of Horatius for a certain L. Hostius, a man of peculiar profligacy.

still farther in his assertion of the poet's valour: "Horace could not have called up the remembrance of the hero (Brutus), by whom he was beloved, without reproaching himself for having yielded to the instinct of personal safety, instead of dying with him; and, according to my feeling, the *non bene* is a sigh of regret, which he offers to the memory of that great man, and an expression of that shame, of which a noble spirit alone is capable."(21) The foolish and fatal precipitancy with which Brutus and Cassius, upon the first news of defeat, instead of attempting to rally their broken troops, and to maintain the conflict for liberty, took refuge in suicide, might appear to the shrewd good sense of Horace, very different from the death of Cato, of which he has expressed his admiration. And Wieland had forgotten that Horace fairly confesses his fears, and attributes his escape to Mercury, the god of letters.(22) Lessing is no doubt right, that the playful allusion of the poet to his throwing away his shield, has been taken much more in earnest than was intended; and the passage, after all, is an imitation, if not a translation, from Alcæus. In its most literal sense, it amounts to no more than that Horace fled with the rest of the defeated army, not that he showed any want of valour during the battle. He abandoned the cause of Brutus, when it was not merely desperate but extinct. Messala had refused to take the command of the broken troops, and had

(21) Wieland, Horazens Briefe, t. ii. p. 161.

(22) "Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer,
Denso *paventem* sustulit aëre."—C. II. vii. 13.

passed over to the other side; a few only, among whom was the friend of Horace, Pompeius Varus, threw themselves into the fleet of Sex. Pompeius, a pirate rather than a political leader.[23] Liberty may be said to have deserted Horace, rather than Horace liberty; and, happily for mankind, he felt that his calling was to more peaceful pursuits.

Horace found his way back, it is uncertain in what manner, to Rome.[23a] But his estate was confiscated; some new coactor was collecting the price of his native fields, which his father had, perhaps, acquired through former confiscations; for Venusia was one of the eighteen cities assigned by the victorious Triumvirate to their soldiers.[24] On his return to Rome, nothing can have been well more dark or hopeless than the condition of our poet. He was too obscure to be marked by proscription, or may have found security in some general act of amnesty to the inferior followers of Brutus. But the friends which he had already made

(23) "Necdum finis erat, restabant Actia bella
* * * * *
Fœmineum sortita jugum cum pompa pependit,
Atque ipsa Isiaco certarunt fulmina sistro.
Restabant profugo servilia milite bella,
Cum, *patrios armis imitatus filius hostes*,
Æquora Pompeius cepit defensa parenti.
Manilius, i., 859, et seqq.

(23a) It is difficult to place the peril of shipwreck off Cape Palinurus, on the western coast of Lucania, Carm. III. iv. 28, in any part of the poet's life. It is not impossible that, by the accident of finding a more ready passage that way, or even for concealment, he may have made the more circuitous voyage towards Rome, and so encountered this danger.

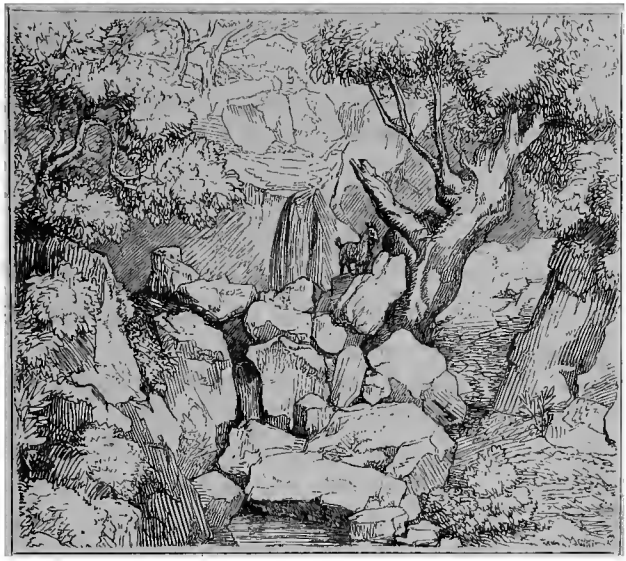
(24) Appian. B. C. iv. 3.

were on the wrong side in politics; he had no family connections, no birth to gild his poverty. It was probably at this period of his life that he purchased the place of scribe in the Quæstor's office; but from what source he derived the purchase-money—the wreck of his fortunes, old debts, or the liberality of his friends—we can only conjecture.[25] On the profits of this place he managed to live, with the utmost frugality. His ordinary fare was but a vegetable diet; his household stuff of the meanest ware. He was still poor, and his poverty emboldened and urged him to be a poet.

[25] "Scriptum Quæstorium comparavit."—Sueton. in vit. There is only one passage in his poetry which can be construed into an allusion to this occupation, unless the "hated business" (invisa negotia) which compelled him to go, at times, to Rome, related to the duties of his office. The college of scribes seem to have thought that they had a claim to his support in something which concerned their common interest:

"De re communi scribæ magnâ atque novâ te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti."—Sat. II. vi. 36-7.

But in the account which he gives of the manner in which he usually spent his day, Sat. I. vi. 120, there is no allusion to official business.



FONS BANDUSIA.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF ROMAN POETRY—THEORY OF EARLY ROMAN POETRY—CAUSES OF ITS TOTAL LOSS—ENNIUS—INTRODUCTION OF HEXAMETER VERSE—GREEK INFLUENCES—DRAMA—LUCRETIUS—CATULLUS—HORACE THE FRIEND OF VIRGIL AND OF VARIUS—POVERTY MAKES HIM A POET—INTRODUCTION TO MÆCENAS—INTIMACY WITH MÆCENAS—CIRCLE OF MEN OF LETTERS—FIRST BOOK OF SATIRES.

THE state of Roman poetry, and its history, up to the time when Horace began to devote himself to it, is indispensable to a just estimate of his place among the poets of Rome. Rome, according to the modern theory, had her mythic and Homeric age: her early history is but

her epic cycle transmuted into prose. The probability that Rome possessed this older poetry, and the *internal* evidence for its existence, is strong, if not conclusive.

If from the steppes of Tartary to the shores of Peru—if in various degrees of excellence from the inimitable epics of Homer to the wild ditties of the South Sea islanders—scarcely any nation or tribe is without its popular songs, is it likely that Rome alone should have been barren, unimaginative, unmusical, without its sacred bards, or—if its bards were not invested in religious sanctity—without its popular minstrels; Rome, with so much to kindle the imagination and stir the heart; Rome, peopled by a race necessarily involved in adventurous warfare, and instinct with nationality, and with the rivalry of contending orders? In Rome everything seems to conspire, which in all other countries, in all other races, has kindled the song of the bard. When, therefore, we find the history as it is handed down to us, though obviously having passed through the chill and unimaginative older chronicle, still nevertheless instinct with infelt poetry, can we doubt where it had its origin?

"The early history of Rome," observes Mr. Macaulay, "is indeed far more poetical than anything else in Latin literature. The loves of the Vestal and the God of War, the cradle laid among the reeds of Tiber, the fig-tree, the she-wolf, the shepherd's cabin, the recognition, the fratricide, the rape of the Sabines, the death of Tarpeia, the fall of Hostus Hostilius,

the struggle of Mettus Curtius through the marsh, the women rushing with torn raiment and dishevelled hair between their fathers and their husbands, the nightly meetings of Numa and the Nymph by the well in the sacred grove, the fight of the three Romans and the three Albans, the purchase of the Sibylline books, the crime of Tullia, the simulated madness of Brutus, the ambiguous reply of the Delphian oracle to the Tarquins, the wrongs of Lucretia, the heroic actions of Horatius Cocles, of Scævola, and of Clœlia, the battle of Regillus won by the aid of Castor and Pollux, the fall of Cremera, the touching story of Coriolanus, the still more touching story of Virginia, the wild legend about the draining of the Alban Lake, the combat between Valerius Corvus and the gigantic Gaul, are among the many instances which will at once suggest themselves to every reader."(26)

But this poetic cycle had ceased to exist in its original metrical form long before the days of Livy and of Horace. We read of the old arval songs, of the Salian verses, of songs sung at triumphs, or at feasts, by individual guests, in praise of illustrious men, and at funerals. But these were mostly brief, religious, or occasional. Of the panegyric, or *family* songs, Cicero deplores the total loss. The verses to which Ennius alludes, as sung by the Fauns and Bards, the ancient verses which existed before there was any real poetry, any general inspiration of the Muses (Ennius, no doubt, means poetry in Greek

(26) Macaulay, Preface to "Lays of Rome."

metres, and imitative of Greek poets), were from the Saturnian Poem of Nævius on the first Punic war.(27)

Yet how did this old poetic cycle so utterly perish that no vestige should survive?(28) Much, no doubt, is to be attributed to the ordinary causes of decay,—change of manners, of tastes, the complete dominion of the Grecian over the Roman mind, the misfortune that no patriotic or poetic antiquarian rose in time, no Percy or Walter Scott, to search out and to record the fragments of old song, which were dying out upon the lips of the peasantry and the people. There are, however, peculiar to Rome, some causes for the total oblivion of this kind of national record which may also seem worthy of consideration. The Grecian ballad poetry, the Homeric (distinguished, from all other ballads, and, indeed, from almost all other human compositions, by transcendent merit), had an inestimable advantage besides its other inimitable excellencies. At the time of its earliest, undoubtedly its most complete, development in the Iliad and Odyssey, the wonderfully and naturally musical ear of the Greeks had perfected that most exquisite

(27) "Scripsere alii rem
Versibu', quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant,
Cum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superârat,
Nec dicti studiosus erat."

Quoted in the Brutus of Cicero, which refers them to the verses of Nævius.

(28) Mr. Macaulay has acutely observed that the words of Dionysius Halicar, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ὑμνοῖς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἔτι νῦν ἄδεται, are either translated, or at furthest paraphrased, from Fabius Pictor, one of the earliest of the Roman annalists.

vehicle of epic song, the hexameter verse. From Homer to Nonnus this verse maintained its prescriptive and unquestioned right to be the measure of heroic and narrative poetry. None, indeed, could draw the bow like the old bard; but even in their conscious feebleness the later poets hardly ever ventured to innovate on this established law of epic song. The Saturnian verse was the native measure of Roman, or rather of Italian poetry. This Saturnian verse was unquestionably very rude, and if we are to trust the commentator on Virgil, only rhythmical. [29] When, therefore, Ennius naturalized the hexameter in Latin poetry, it is no wonder that all eyes were turned on the noble stranger, who at once received the honours of a citizen, and from that time was established in supremacy over Latin as well as Greek narrative poetry. In this verse Ennius himself embodied all the early history of Rome; and we have only to look back from the fragments of his work, which, though yet indulging in certain licences which were dropped by Virgil and the later writers, have some lines of very free flow and cadence, to the few Saturnian verses which survive from the Punic War of his rival Nævius, and we shall not wonder that the Roman ear became fastidious and distasteful of its old native melodies. The ballads, if they had still survived in common currency, were superseded by the new and more popular poetic

[29] "Carmina Saturnio metro compta ad rythmum solum componere vulgares consueverunt."—Servius in Georg. ii. 385.

history of Ennius.(30) The Saturnian verse was abandoned to farce and popular satire; though even satire soon began to set up for a gentleman, and, with Lucilius, to speak in hexameters. The Atellan farces (pantomimes in dialogue, according to our use of the word, not that of the classic writers) were still true to the Saturnian measure. But the Atellan farces were Italian, not properly Roman, entertainments: they were, perhaps, originally in the Oscan dialect; and whether or not they learned to speak Latin before they migrated to Rome, they were then taken up by popular poets, Pomponius and Novius, and became one of the regular amusements of the people.(31)

But probably the most extensively operative cause of the rapid extinction of the Roman popular poetry was the dissolution of the Roman people. The old plebeian families which survived had become a part of the aristocracy. As they had attained, either, like Cicero, having struggled upwards, the higher rank, or having reached it by less honourable courses, whichever side they might take in the great contest between the senate and the democracy, they assumed patrician manners, tastes, and habits. Except here and there

(30) "Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
Munditiæ pepulere."—Epist. II. i. 158.

(31) The Saturnian was the common measure, no doubt, of all the rude Italic verse in its various dialects. Grotefend professes to have found it in the Umbrian inscriptions of the tabulæ Eugubinæ. See a learned Treatise de Fabulis Atellanis by Dr. E. Munk. Lipsiæ. 1840.

some sturdy "laudator temporis acti," some rough Cato, who affected the old republican manners, they belonged to that class which had surrendered itself—which prided itself on its surrender — to Greek influences. If family pride was still Roman in its reminiscences, if it delighted to recall its ancestral glories, it would disdain the rude old verse, and content itself with the chronicles which had now assumed the more authentic tone of history. It would appeal to more authoritative public records or private archives. The man of rank would be ashamed or afraid, in a more prosaic age, of resting the fame of his ancestors, or the truth of his genealogy, on such suspicious testimonies. Cicero might have taste and wisdom enough to regret the loss of these ancient songs, both as poetry and as trustworthy records of former times; but in his day they had entirely, and, it should seem, long, vanished from the more refined banquets of the higher classes: they found no place amid the gorgeous magnificence of the Luculli, or the more enervating luxuries of the Clodii.

If, then, they lingered anywhere, they would be on the lips and in the hearts of the Roman people. But where were the Roman people? where was that stern, and frugal, and strongly national plebeian race, which so long maintained the Roman character for order, virtue, freedom; and which, if factious and unruly, was factious for noble ends, and unruly in defence or assertion of its rights? In the city there was, and there always had been, a populace, which from the first, to a great extent, was not of Roman

descent, the mechanics and artisans, the clients of the wealthy—now swelled in numbers, and, though always held in low estimation, debased in character by the constant influx of strangers, not merely from Italy, but from remoter regions. This half-foreign population was maintained in a kind of insolent pauperism by largesses of corn and other provisions, and by the distributions of the wealthy with political views. This hybrid and shifting race, largely formed of enfranchised slaves and men of servile descent, would be but precarious and treacherous guardians of national song; probably in an antiquated dialect: they would keep up the old Italic licence (so indelible, it should seem, in the Italian character) of poetic lampoon and pasquinade: any wild traditions which heightened the fun and the revel of the Saturnalia might live among them: they would welcome, as we have seen, the low and farcical dramatic entertainments; but their ears would be unmoved, and their hearts dead, to the old stirring legends of the feuds and factions, the wars of neighbouring tribes, and the heroic deeds of arms of the kings or of the early republic. The well-known anecdote of Scipio Æmilianus may illustrate the un-Roman character of this populace of Rome. When the mob raised a furious clamour at his bold assertion of the justice of the death of Tiberius Gracchus, "Silence, ye step-sons of Italy! What! shall I fear these fellows, now they are free, whom I myself have brought in chains to Rome?" These were the operatives (operæ) who flocked, not merely from the workshops of Rome, but from all the

adjacent districts, to swell the turbulent rabble of Clodius.(32)

The territory of Rome, the demesne-lands formerly cultivated by Roman citizens, in which resided the strength of the Roman people, had been gradually drained of the free population. For several centuries it had filled the legions, and those legions had achieved the conquest of the world. But that conquest was not won without enormous loss. The best blood of the Roman people had fertilized the earth, almost from the Euphrates to the Western Ocean. The veterans who returned received apportionments of land; but more frequently in remote parts of Italy: the actual Roman territory therefore, that in which the old Roman language was the native dialect, and in which might survive that Roman pride which would cherish the poetic reminiscences of Roman glory, was now, for the most part, either occupied by the rising villas of the patricians, or by the large farms of the wealthy, and cultivated by slaves. The homestead, from whence a Camillus issued to rescue his country from the Gauls, may now have become a workhouse, in which crouched the slaves of some Verres, enriched with provincial plunder, or some usurious knight; a gang of Africans or Asiatics may have tilled the field where Cincinnatus left his plough to assume the consular fasces. For centuries this

(32) Vell. Paterc. ii. 2; Valer. Max. vi. 2; Cicer. ad Q. Fratrem, ii. 3.

"Mercedibus emptæ
Et viles operæ, quibus est mea Roma noverca."—Petron. v. 164.

change had been gradually going on: the wars, and even the civil factions, were continually wasting away the Roman population; while the usurpation of wealth and pride was as constantly keeping up its slow aggression, and filling up the void with the slaves which poured in with every conquest. The story of Spartacus may tell how large a part of the rural population of Italy was servile; and, probably, the nearer to Rome, in the districts formerly inhabited by the genuine Roman people, the change (with some exceptions) was most complete: the Sabine valleys might retain some of the old rough hereditary virtues, the hardihood and frugality; but at a distance from the city it would be their own local or religious traditions which would live among the peasantry, rather than the songs which had been current in the streets among the primitive commons of Rome.

Thus, both in city and in country, had died away the genuine old Roman people; and with them, no doubt, died away the last echo of national song. The extension of the right of Roman citizenship, the diffusion of the pride of the Roman name through a wider sphere, tended still more to soften away the rigid and exclusive spirit of nationality; and it was this spirit alone which would cling pertinaciously to that which laboured under the unpopularity of rudeness and barbarism. The new Romans appropriated the glories of the old, but disregarded the only contemporary, or at least the earliest, witnesses to those glories. The reverse of the fate of the Grecian heroes

happened to those of Rome—the heroes lived, the sacred bards perished.

The Latin poetry, that which Rome has handed down to posterity, was, like philosophy, a stranger and a foreigner.(33) She arrived, though late, before philosophy; at least she was more completely naturalized before philosophy was domiciled, except in a very few mansions of great statesmen, and among a very circumscribed intellectual aristocracy. It is remarkable that most of her early poets were from Magna Græcia. Nævius alone, the Saturnian or Italian poet, was from Campania, and even Campania was half Greek. Livius Andronicus was from Tarentum;(34) Ennius from Rudræ in Calabria; Accius was the son of a freed-man from the south of Italy; Pacuvius was a Brundusian; Plautus, of the comic writers, was an Umbrian; Terence an African; Cæcilius was from the north of Italy. In every respect the Romans condescended to be imitative, not directly of Nature, but of Grecian models. Ennius had confined her epic poetry to the hexameter, from whence it never attempted to emancipate itself. The drama of Rome, like all her arts, was Grecian; almost all the plays

(33) "Punico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu,
Intulit se bellicosam Romuli in gentem feram."
P. Licinius apud A. Gellium.

(34) Cicero, Brutus c. 18.—Livius was taken prisoner at the capture of Tarentum. It is supposed that he was a freedman of M. Livius Salinator. The Tarentines were great admirers of the theatre. Plaut. Menæchmi. Prolog. 29, et seqq. Heyne Opuscul. 2, 225, et seqq. Livius represented his own plays. Liv. vii. 2; Val. Max. ii. 4.

(excepting here and there a tragœdia prætextata) of Livius Andronicus, Accius, Pacuvius, Plautus, Terence were on Grecian subjects. So completely was this admitted by the time of Horace, that his advice to the dramatic poet is to study Grecian models by night and day:—

"Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ."

But, on the other hand, the wonderful energies which were developed in the universal conquests of Rome, and in her civil factions, in which the great end of ambition was to be the first citizen in a state which ruled the world, could not but awaken intellectual powers of the highest order. The force and vigour of the Roman character is manifest in the fragments of their early poetry. However rude and inharmonious these translations (for, after all, they are translations), they are full of bold, animated, and sometimes picturesque expressions; and that which was the natural consequence of the domiciliation of a foreign literature among a people of strong and masculine minds invariably took place. Wherever their masters in the art had attained to consummate perfection—wherever the genius of the people had been reflected in their poetry with complete harmony—there, however noble might be the emulation of the disciple, it was impossible that he should approach to his model, especially where his own genius and national character were adverse both to the form and to the poetic conception.

Hence, in the genuine epic, in lyric, in dramatic poetry, the Greeks stood alone and unapproachable. Each of these successive forms of the art had, as it were, spontaneously adapted itself to the changes in Grecian society. The epic was that of the heroic age of the warrior-kings and bards; the lyric, the religious, that of the temple and of the public games; the dramatic, that of the republican polity, the exquisite combination of the arts of poetry, music, gesture, and spectacle, before which the sovereign people of Athens met, which was presided over by the magistrate, and maintained either at the public cost, or at that of the ruling functionary—which, in short, was the great festival of the city.

But the heroic age of Rome had passed away, as before observed, without leaving any mythic or epic song, unless already transmuted into history. Her severe religion had never kindled into poetry, except in rude traditional verses, and short songs chanted during the solemn ceremony. The more domestic habits of her austerer days had been less disposed to public exhibitions; theatrical amusements were forced upon her, not freely developed by the national taste. No doubt, from the close of the second Punic war to the age of Augustus, dramatic entertainments were more or less frequent in Rome. The tragedies of Nævius, Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius, as well as the comedies of Plautus, Cæcilius, Afranius, and Terence, formed part of the great games which were celebrated during periods of public rejoicing. The fame of Æsopus and Roscius as actors implies great

popular interest in the stage. Still, as has been said, almost all, if not all, the tragedies, and most of the comedies, were translations or adaptations from the Greek.[35] The ovation and the triumph were the great spectacles of Rome; and when these became more rare, her relaxation was the rude Atellan farce, or the coarse mime; but her passion was the mimic war, the amphitheatre with its wild beasts and gladiators, the proud spectacle of barbarian captives slaughtering each other for her amusement. Rome thus wanted the three great sources of poetic inspiration—an heroic period of history, religion, and scenic representation. She had never—at least there appears no vestige of their existence—a caste or order of bards; her sacerdotal offices, attached to her civil magistracies, disdained the aid of high-wrought music, or mythic and harmonious hymns. Foreign kings and heroes walked her stage;[36] and even her comedy represented, in

[35] Lange in his "Vindiciæ Romanæ Tragœdiæ," and Welcker ("Græcische Tragœdie") are indignant at the general, and, as they assert, unjust disparagement of Roman tragedy.

[36] Nine names of tragœdiæ prætextatæ, tragedies on Roman subjects, have survived; more than one of which is doubtful: four only claim to be of the earlier age. I. The Paulus of Pacuvius, which Neukirch ("De fabulâ togatâ") and Welcker ("Græcische Tragœdie"), p. 1384, suppose to have represented not Paulus Æmilius Macedonicus, but his father, L. Æmilius Paulus, who, after the battle of Cannæ, refused to survive the defeat (Liv. xxii. 49). Yet, noble as was the conduct of Paulus, the battle of Cannæ would have been a strange subject for Roman tragedy. II. The Brutus of Accius (Cic. ad Att. xvi. 2 and 5). Cassius Parmensis wrote also a Brutus (Welcker, p. 1403). See the Dream of Brutus in Cic. de Divinat. i. 22, and Bothe, Scenic, Latin., Fragm. i. 191. From this fragment Niebuhr, R. H. vol. i. note 1078, rather boldly concludes that these were not

general, the manners of Athens or of Asia Minor, rather than those of Italy.

Still, however, in those less poetic departments of poetry, if we may so speak, which the Greeks had cultivated only in the later and less creative periods of their literature, the Romans seized the unoccupied ground, and asserted a distinct superiority. Wherever poetry would not disdain to become an art—wherever lofty sentiment, majestic, if elaborate, verse, unrivalled vigour in condensing and expressing moral truth, dignity, strength, solidity, as it were, of thought and language, not without wonderful richness and variety, could compensate for the chastened fertility of invention, the life and distinctness of conception, and the pure and translucent language, in which the Greek stands alone—there the Latin surpasses all poetry. In what is commonly called didactic poetry, whether it would convey in verse philosophical opinions, the principles of art, descriptions of scenery, or observations on life and manners, the Latin poets are of unrivalled excellence. The poem of Lucretius, the Georgics of Virgil, the Satires and Epistles of Horace, and the works of Juvenal were, no doubt, as much superior even to the poem of Empedocles—(of which,

imitations of the Greek drama, but historical tragedies like those of Shakespeare. III. The Æneadæ, or Decius of Accius. IV. The Marcellus of Accius is doubtful. V. The Iter ad Lentulum, by Balbus, acted at Gades, represented a passage in the author's own life. (Cicero ad Fam. x. 32.) The later prætextatæ were, VI. The Cato; and, VII. The Domitius Nero of Maternus, in the reign of Vespasian. VIII. The Vescio of Persius; and, IX. The Octavia in the works of Seneca, probably of the time of Trajan.

nevertheless, there are some very fine fragments),—or to any other Greek poems to which they can fairly be compared, as the Latin tragedians were inferior to Æschylus and Sophocles, or Terence to Menander.

Ennius, in all points, if he did not commence, completed the denaturalization of Roman poetry. He was in every respect a Greek; the fine old Roman legends spoke not in their full grandeur to his ear. The fragments of the Annals, which relate the exploits of Roman valour, are by no means his most poetic passages; in almost all his loftier flights we trace Grecian inspiration, or more than inspiration. If it be true that the earliest annalists of Rome turned the old poetry into prose, Ennius seems to have versified their tame history, and left it almost as prosaic as before. It may be doubted, notwithstanding the fame of Varius, whether there was any fine Roman narrative poetry till the appearance of the Æneid. But Lucretius had shown of what the rich and copious, and, in his hands, flexible Latin language was capable; how it could paint as well as describe, and whenever his theme would allow, give full utterance to human emotion. It is astonishing how Lucretius has triumphed over the difficulties of an unpromising subject, and the cold and unpoetic tone of his own philosophy. His nobler bursts are not surpassed in Latin poetry. Notwithstanding the disrepute in which Cicero's poetic talents have been held, there are lines, especially in his translation of Aratus, which, by their bold descriptive felicity and picturesque epithets, rise above the original. Lucretius was dead before Horace

settled at Rome, and so likewise was the only other great Roman poet who has survived (excluding the dramatists), Catullus. Notwithstanding their grace, sweetness, and passion, the lyric poems of Catullus do not seem to have been so pleasing as might have been expected to the Roman ear. His fame and popularity rested chiefly on his satiric iambics. His lyrics are mentioned with disparagement by Horace, and are not noticed by Quintilian; yet in his happier moments what Latin poet equals Catullus? Even if more of his poems than we suppose are translations, some of them, which we know to be translations, have all the fire and freedom of original poetry. If the Atys be but a feeble echo of a Greek dithyrambic, what must the dithyrambics of Greece have been?

When Horace returned to Rome, Virgil and Varius, with Asinius Pollio, the statesman and tragic writer, were the most celebrated names in Roman poetry. These two great poets soon admitted the young Horace to their intimacy. The fame of Varius, as an epic poet, does not appear to have been recognised even by his Roman posterity. Quintilian speaks of his Thyestes with the highest praise, as worthy to be compared with the noblest Greek tragedies; he does not mention his name among the epic writers. Varius, it should seem, wrote fine verses on the events and characters of the time; a poem on the death of Cæsar, and a panegyric on Augustus. That kind of poetry obtains high reputation in its own day, but loses its interest with the events which it celebrates. Yet of the few epic lines of Varius which survive,

all show vigour and felicity of expression, some great beauty.[37] The Eclogues of Virgil appeared in their collective form about the same time with the earliest publication of Horace, his first book of Satires. But Virgil had already acquired fame; some of his shorter poems had excited great admiration and greater hope; a few of his Eclogues must have been already known among his friends; he had the expectation, at least, of recovering his forfeited lands through the friendship of Asinius Pollio;[38] he was already honoured with the intimate acquaintance of Mæcenas.

The introduction of Horace to Mæcenas was the turning-point of his fortunes; but some time (at least two or three years) must have intervened between his return to Rome and even his first presentation to his future patron, during which he must have obtained some reputation for poetic talent, and so recommended himself to the friendship of kindred spirits like Varius and Virgil. Poverty, in his own words, was the inspiration of his verse.

"Paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem."—Epist. II. ii. 51.

The interpretation of this line is the difficult problem in the early history of Horace. What was this poetry? Did the author expect to make money or friends by it? Or did he write merely to disburthen himself of his resentment and his indignation, at that crisis of desperation and destitution, when the world was not his friend, nor the world's law, and so to revenge

[37] See in the Personæ Horatianæ: Poets: Varius.
[38] Compare Personæ Horatianæ: Virgilius.

himself upon that world by a stern and unsparing exposure of its vices? Did the defeated partizan of Brutus and of liberty boldly hold up to scorn many of the followers and friends of the Triumvir; whose follies and vices might offer strong temptation to a youth ambitious of wielding the scourge of Lucilius? Did he even venture to ridicule the all-powerful Mæcenas himself? This theory, probable in itself, is supported by many recent writers, and is perhaps not altogether without foundation.[39] In the second Satire, one unquestionably of his earliest compositions, most of the persons held up to ridicule belonged to the Cæsarian party. The old Scholiast asserts, that, under the name of Malchinus, the poet glanced at the effeminate habit of Mæcenas, of wearing his robes trailing on the ground; while more malicious scandal added, that this was a trick in order to conceal his bad legs and straddling gait. To judge of the probability of this, we must look forward to the minute account of his first interview with Mæcenas. If Horace was conscious of having libelled Mæcenas, it must have been more than modesty, something rather of shame and confusion, which overpowered him, and made his words few and broken.[40]

The dry and rather abrupt manner of Mæcenas, though habitual to him, might perhaps be alleged as rather in favour of the notion, that he had been in-

(39) Walkenaer, Histoire de la Vie d' Horace, i. p. 88.

(40) "Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus.
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari.")
Sat. I. vi. 54.

duced to admit a visit from a man of talent, strongly recommended to him by the most distinguished men of letters of the day; though he was aware that the poet had been a partizan of Brutus, and had held himself up to ridicule in a satire, which, if not published, had been privately circulated, and must have been known at least to Varius and Virgil. The gentlemanly magnanimity of Mæcenas, or even the policy, which would induce him to reconcile all men of talent with the government, might dispose him to overlook with quiet contempt or easy indifference, or even to join in the laugh at, this touch of satire against his own peculiarity of person or manner; but still the subsequent *publication* of a poem, containing such an allusion, after the satirist had been admitted into the intimacy of Mæcenas (and it is universally admitted that the satire was first published after this time), appears improbable, and altogether inconsistent with the deferential respect and gratitude shown by Horace to his patron, with the singular tact and delicacy through which the poet preserves his freedom by never trespassing beyond its proper bounds, and with that exquisite urbanity which prevents his flattery from degenerating into adulation. This is still less likely, if the allusion in the Satire glanced at physical deformity or disease. After all, this negligence or effeminate affectation was probably much too common to point the satire against any individual, even one so eminent as Mæcenas. The grave observation of the similarity between the names of Mæcenas and Malchinus, being each of three syllables and

beginning with an M, reminds us irresistibly of old Fluellin's Macedon and Monmouth.

The other circumstances of the interview seem to imply that Horace felt no peculiar embarrassment, such as he might have experienced if he was conscious of having libelled Mecænas. There was no awkward attempt at apology, but a plain independence in his manner; he told him merely that he was neither a man of family nor fortune, and explained who and what he was—

"Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
Sed, quod eram, narro."—Sat. I. vi. 58.

The question then recurs, what were these verses to which Horace was impelled by poverty? and how were they to relieve his poverty? Poetry cannot have been of itself a gainful occupation. The Sosii were not, like the opulent booksellers of our own day, ready to encourage, and to speculate in favour of, a young and promising author. In another passage, written late in life, the poet pleasantly describes himself as having grown rich and indolent, and as having lost that genial inspiration of want, which heretofore had so powerfully excited his poetic vein. Pope has imitated the humorous illustration of the old soldier with more than his usual felicity:—

"In Anna's wars, a soldier, poor and old,
Had dearly earned a little purse of gold.
Tired with a tedious march, one luckless night
He slept (poor dog), and lost it to a doit.
This put the man in such a desperate mind,
Between revenge, and grief, and hunger joined,
Against himself, the foe, and all mankind,

He leaped the trenches, scaled a castle wall,
Tore down a standard, took the fort and all.
"'Prodigious well!' his great commander cried,
Gave him much praise, and some reward beside.
Next pleased his Excellence a town to batter
(Its name I know not, and 't is no great matter);
'Go on, my friend,' he cried, 'see yonder walls,
Advance and conquer! go where glory calls!
More honours, more rewards, attend the brave!'
Don't you remember what reply he gave?
'D 'ye think me, noble general, such a sot?
Let him take castles, who has ne'er a groat.'"

From these lines it appears that the influence of poverty was more than the independent desire of exhaling his indignation against the partisans of the Triumvirs, or of wreaking his revenge; it was the vulgar but prudential design, in some way or other, of bettering his condition, which was his avowed inspiration. In truth, literary distinction in those times might not unreasonably hope for reward. The most eminent of the earlier poets had not disdained the patronage and friendship of the great statesmen. Ennius had been domiciliated in the family of the Scipios, and his statue was admitted after his death into the family mausoleum. Lucilius had been connected with the same family. Lucretius lived in the house of the Memmii; Terence with Scipio Africanus and Lælius. Decimus Brutus was the admirer and patron of Accius; as Messala of Tibullus; Vulcatius, or Ælius, Gallus of Propertius. Varius was himself a man of rank and birth; but Virgil owed to his poetical fame the intimate friendship of Pollio, and

of Mæcenas;(41) and though Horace, as a known republican, could hardly have hoped for the patronage of Mæcenas, there were others to whom the poet might have been welcome, though much prudence might be required in both parties, on account of his former political connections.

But whatever the motives which induced him to write, the poetical talents of Horace must soon have begun to make themselves known. To those talents he owed, in the first place, the friendship of Varius and Virgil, of Pollio, and perhaps of some others in that list of distinguished persons, which he recounts in the tenth Satire of the first book. Some of these, no doubt, he first encountered after he had been admitted to the society of Mæcenas. Under what other character, indeed, could the son of a provincial freedman, who had been on the wrong side in the civil wars, had lost all his property, and scarcely possessed the means of living, make such rapid progress among the accomplished and the great? Certainly not by his social qualities alone, his agreeable manners, or convivial wit. Nothing but his well-known poetical powers

(41) If Donatus is to be credited, Virgil received from the liberality of his friends no less than centies sestertium (£80,729 3*s*. 4*d*)., besides a house in Rome on the Esquiline, a villa near Nola, perhaps another in Sicily. Donati Vita Virg. VI. Hence Juvenal's well-known lines:

"Magnæ mentis opus, nec de lodice parandâ
Attonitæ, currus et equos, faciemque Deorum
Adspicere, et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnys;
Nam si Virgilio puer et tolerabile decsset
Hospitium, caderent omnes e crinibus hydri."—Sat. VII. 66.

can so rapidly have endeared him to his brother poets. When Virgil and Varius told Mæcenas "what he was," they must have spoken of him as a writer of verses, not merely of great promise, but of some performance. But were the two or three Satires, which we may suppose to have been written before his introduction to Mæcenas, sufficient to found this poetic reputation? That some of the Epodes belong to this early part of his poetical career, I have no doubt; the whole adventure with Canidia (that one of his poetical intrigues which has a groundwork at least of reality) belongs to a period of his life, when he was loose, as it were, upon the world, without an ascertained position in society, unsettled in habits, and to a certain degree in opinions. Nor does there appear to me any difficulty in the supposition that some of the Odes, which bear the expression of youthful feelings and passions, however collected afterwards, and published in books, may have been among the compositions which were communicated to his friends, and opened to him the society of men of letters, and the patronage of the great.[42]

[42] The chronology of the Epodes will be considered hereafter. The most untenable part of the Bentleian Chronology, which, however, as far as the publication of the separate books, is no doubt true, is his peremptory assertion, that Horace employed himself only on one kind of poetry at a time; that he first wrote all the Satires, then the Epodes, then three books of Odes. Dr. Tate, the faithful and unshaken disciple of Bentley, quoting the lines,

"Neque, si quis scribat, uti nos,
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poëtam,"

does not scruple to assert that Horace, Sat. I. iv., "says, as plainly as a man can say it, that he had not then written any-

Nine months elapsed between the first cold reception of Horace by Mæcenas, and his advances to nearer friendship.

Mæcenas, though still engaged in public affairs, and though he had not yet built his splendid palace on the Esquiline, had nevertheless begun to collect around him all the men, either eminent, or who promised to become eminent, in arts and letters. The friendship with Horace grew up rapidly into close intimacy. In the following year Horace accompanied him on his journey to Brundusium; to which Mæcenas proceeded, though on a political negociation of the utmost importance (the reconciliation of Antony and Octavius), as on a party of pleasure, environed by the wits and poets who had begun to form his ordinary circle.

The mutual amity of all the great men of letters, in this period, gives a singularly pleasing picture of the society, which was harmonised and kept together by the example and influence of Mæcenas. Between Virgil, Plotius, Varius, and Horace, between Horace and Tibullus there was not merely no vulgar jealousy, no jarring rivalry, but the most frank mutual admiration. If an epigram of Martial be not a mere fancy of the poet, Virgil carried his delicacy so far, that he would not trespass on the poetic provinces which seemed to belong to his friends. Though he might have surpassed Varius in tragedy, and Horace in lyric

thing which could entitle him to the name of a poet;" therefore, no single Ode. "But Horace," as has been well observed, "uses language much like this in his Epistles (Epist. II. i. 250, &c.), written after all his Odes."—Dyer, in Classical Museum, No. v. p. 215, &c.

poetry, he would not attempt either, lest he should obscure their fame.(43)

In the enjoyment of this society Horace completed the earliest of his works which has reached posterity (if indeed we have not his whole published works), the first book of Satires.(44)

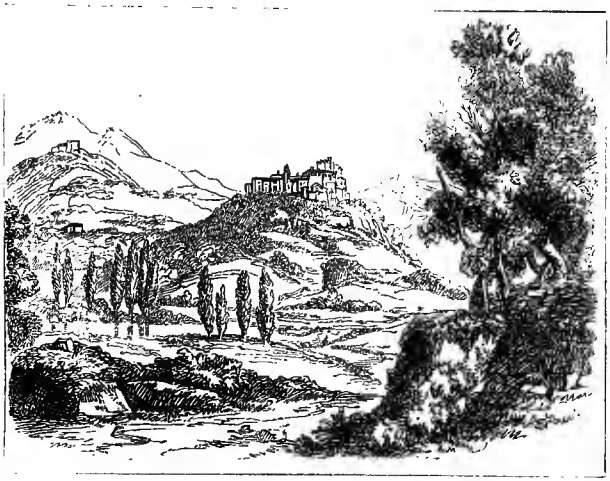
(43) "Si tua, Cirini, promas Epigrammata vulgo,
Vel mecum possis, vel prior ipse legi;
Sed tibi tantus inest veteris respectus amici,
Carior ut mea sit, quam tua fama tibi.
Sic Maro nec Calabri tentavit carmina Flacci,
Pindaricos nosset cum superare modos;
Et Vario cessit Romani laude cothurni
Cum posset tragico fortius ore loqui.
Aurum et opes et rura frequens donabit amicus,
Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus erit."
Mart., Epigram viii. 18.

(44) Even on the publication of the Satires, Odes, and Epistles, in separate books, there are more difficulties than at first sight appear in the chronology of Bentley. Several of the Satires in the first book, but especially the fourth, show that Horace had already made enemies by his satiric poetry. Horace was averse to the fashion of reciting poems in public which had been introduced by Asinius Pollio, and complains that his own were read by few:

"Cum mea nemo
Scripta legat, vulgo recitare timentis."

Compare line 73 et seqq. Some recited their works in the forum—some in the public baths.

No doubt he is in jest in this comparison between his poems and those of his rivals Crispinus and Fannius; but it seems to imply that his poems were already, some way or other, exposed to popular approbation, or neglect. Our notion of publication, the striking off at once a whole edition, probably misleads us. Before the invention of printing, each poem must have been copied and re-copied separately; perhaps they may not have been exposed for sale till made up in books. See for the chronology of the poems the "Fasti Horatiani."



DIGENTIA.

CHAPTER III.

SATIRIC POETRY—ITS ORIGIN—THE COMEDY OF ROME—STATE OF SOCIETY — SABINE FARM — CHRONOLOGY OF THE BOOKS OF SATIRES—EPODES—DATE OF COMPOSITION—OF COMPLETION.

THE satiric style of poetry was admirably suited to this way of living. It was the highest order of the poetry of society. It will bear the same definition as the best conversation—good sense and wit in equal proportions. Like good conversation, it dwells enough on one topic to allow us to bear something away; while

it is so desultory as to minister perpetual variety. It starts from some subject of interest or importance, but does not adhere to it with rigid pertinacity. The satire of Horace allowed ample scope to follow out any train of thought which it might suggest, but never to prolixity. It was serious and gay, grave and light; it admitted the most solemn and important questions of philosophy, of manners, of literature, but touched them in an easy and unaffected tone; it was full of point and sharp allusions to the characters of the day; it introduced in the most graceful manner the follies, the affectations, even the vices of the times, but there was nothing stern, or savage, or malignant in its tone; we rise from the perusal with the conviction that Horace, if not the most urbane and engaging—(not the perfect Christian gentleman) — must have been the most sensible and delightful person who could be encountered in Roman society. There is no broad buffoonery to set the table in a roar; no elaborate and exhausting wit, which turns the pleasure of listening into a fatigue; if it trespasses occasionally beyond the nicety and propriety of modern manners, it may fairly plead the coarseness of the times, and the want of efficient female control, which is the only true chastener of conversation, but which can only command respect, where the females themselves deserve it.

The satiric form of poetry was not original; there was something like it in the Silli of the Greeks, and Lucilius had already introduced this style of writing into Rome with great success. The obligations of Horace to Lucilius it is impossible fairly to estimate

from the few and broken passages of that writer which have survived. Horace can hardly be suspected of unworthy jealousy in the character which he gives of his predecessor in the art. Notwithstanding Quintilian's statement that there were some even in his own day who still preferred the old satirist not merely to all poets of his class, but even to every other Roman poet, there can be no doubt that Lucilius was rude, harsh, and inharmonious; and it is exactly this style of poetry which requires ease, and that unstudied idiomatic perspicuity of language, that careless, as it may seem, but still skilful construction of verse which delights the ear, at the same time that it is widely different from the stately march of the Virgilian hexameter, or the smooth regularity of the elegiac poets. It is so near akin to prose, as to require great art to keep up the indispensable distinction from it.

The poetry of Horace was the comedy of an untheatrical people. If the Romans had been originally a theatrical people, there would have been a Roman drama. Their pretextatæ were but Greek dramas on Roman subjects. The national character of the people was, doubtless, the chief cause of the want of encouragement to the drama, but we may go still further. The true sphere of the drama seems to be a small city, like Atheus, (we reckon its size by its free population,) London in the time of Elizabeth and James, Paris in that of Louis XIV., or Weimar at the close of the last century. In these cities, either all orders delight in living in public, or there is a large

and predominant aristocracy, or a court, which represents or leads the public taste. Rome was too populous to crowd into a theatre, where the legitimate drama could be effectively performed. The people required at least a Colosseum; and directly, as elsewhere, their theatres rivalled their amphitheatres, the art was gone. Society, too, in Rome was in its state of transition from the public spectacle to the private banquet or entertainment; and, as our own present mode of living requires the novel instead of the play, affords a hundred readers of a book to one spectator of a theatrical performance, so Roman comedy receded from the theatre, in which she had never been naturalized, and concentrated her art and her observation on human life and manners, in the poem, which was recited to the private circle of friends, or published for the general amusement of the whole society.

Lucilius, as Horace himself says, aspired to be in Rome what Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes had been in Athens (Sat. I. v. 1 et seqq.); and more than Cæcilius, Plautus, and Terence, excellent as the two latter at least appear to us, were at Rome.

The tone of society of which Horace is the representative, was that into which Rome, weary and worn out with civil contests, was delighted to collapse. The peace of the capital was no more disturbed; though the foreign disturbances in Spain and on the other frontiers of the empire, the wars with the sons of Pompey, and finally with Antony in the East, distracted the remoter world, Rome quietly subsided into the pursuits of peace. It was the policy no less than

the inclination of Augustus and his true friends, to soften, to amuse, to introduce all the arts, and tastes, and feelings which could induce forgetfulness of the more stirring excitements of the rostrum and the senate; to waken the song of the poet, that the agitating eloquence of the orator might cause less regret; to spread the couch of luxury, of elegant amusement, and of lettered ease, on which Rome might slumber away the remembrance of her departed liberties. Agrippa and Augustus himself may be considered as taking charge of the public amusements, erecting theatres, and adorning the city with magnificent buildings of every description, transmuting the Rome of brick into the Rome of marble; exhibiting the most gorgeous shows and spectacles; distributing sumptuous largesses; and compensating, by every kind of distraction and diversion, for the privation of those more serious political occupations in the forum, or at the comitia, which were either abolished by the new constitution, or had languished into regular and unexciting formalities.[45] Mæcenas in the mean time was winning, if not to the party, or to personal attachment towards Augustus, at least to contented acquiescence in his sovereignty, those who would yield to the silken charms of social enjoyment. Though in

[45] The pantomimes had begun to supersede the regular drama. Pylades was expelled by a faction, but recalled from exile by Augustus. In a dispute with Bathyllus, who was patronized by Mæcenas, Pylades cried out, "It is well for you, Cæsar, that the people trouble themselves so much about us, the less therefore about you."—Dion. Cass. LIV. 17. See on the pantomimes of the Romans an excellent dissertation by E. J. Gryser. Rheinisches Museum, 1834.

the Roman mansion, or Baian villa, as afterwards in the palace on the Esquiline, no test of opinion might be demanded, and no severe or tyrannous restriction be placed on the ease and freedom of conversation, republican sentiments, or expressions of dissatisfaction at the state of public affairs, would be so out of place at the hospitable banquets of Mæcenas, as to be proscribed by the common laws of courtesy or urbanity. Men's minds would be gradually reconciled to the suppression, if not to forgetfulness or abandonment, of such thoughts and feelings; they were gradually taught how agreeably they might live under a despotism.

Horace was not the only republican, nor the only intimate friend of Brutus, who took refuge in letters;

"Hæc est
Vita solutorum miserâ ambitione gravique."—

He excused himself from the hopelessness of the cause, of which he still cherished some generous reminiscences. He still occasionally betrayed old associations, as in his flashes of admiration at the unbroken spirit and noble death of Cato; yet, nevertheless, he gradually softened into the friend of the emperor's favourite, and at length into the poetical courtier of the emperor himself. Horace indeed asserted and maintained greater independence of personal character than most subjects of the new empire; there is a tone of dignity and self-respect even in the most adulatory passages of his writings.

Between the publication of the two books of Satires, Horace received from Mæcenas the gift of

the Sabine farm, the only productive property which he ever possessed, and on which he lived in moderate contentment. Nothing could be more appropriate than this gift, which may have been softened off, as it were, as a compensation for his confiscated personal estate: the act of generosity may have recommended itself as an act of justice. Virgil had recovered his own native fields, but the estate of Horace had no doubt been irrevocably granted away. The Sabine farm had the recommendation of being situated in a country as romantic, nearer to Rome, and at no great distance from the scenes in which Horace delighted beyond all others in Italy.

The Sabine farm of Horace was situated in a deep and romantic valley about fifteen miles from Tibur (Tivoli). The description of the farm, its aspect, situation, and climate, exactly correspond with the valley of Licenza, into which modern Italian pronounciation has melted the hard Digentia. The site, with some ruins of buildings, was first discovered, and discussed at length by Capmartin de Chaupy, in his "Maison de Campagne d'Horace." It has since been visited by other antiquarians and scholars, who have found almost every name mentioned by the poet still clinging to the mountains and valleys, the towns and villages of the neighbourhood. The reader will find (in the Appendix) a very clear and accurate, as well as a very lively and entertaining description of the whole region, in a letter by a recent traveller.

The estate was not extensive; it produced corn,

olives, and vines; it was surrounded by pleasant and shady woods, and with abundance of the purest water; it was superintended by a bailiff (villicus), and cultivated by five families of free coloni (Epist. I. xiv. 3), and Horace employed about eight slaves (Sat. II. vii. 118).

To the munificence of Mæcenas we owe that peculiar charm of the Horatian poetry, that it represents both the town and country life of the Romans in that age; the country life, not only in the rich and luxurious villa of the wealthy at Tivoli, or at Baiæ; but in the secluded retreat and among the simple manners of the peasantry. It might seem as if the wholesome air which the poet breathed, during his retirement on his farm, re-invigorated his natural manliness of mind. There, notwithstanding his love of convivial enjoyment in the palace of Mæcenas and other wealthy friends, he delighted to revert to his own sober and frugal mode of living. Probably, at a later period of life, he indulged himself in a villa at Tivoli, which he loved for its mild winter and long spring;[46] and all the later years of his life were passed between these two country residences and Rome.

The second book of Satires followed the first. It is evident from the first lines of this book that the poet had made a strong impression on the public taste. No writer, with the keen good sense of Horace,

[46] For Tibur, see C. I. vii. 10-14. C. II. vi. 5-8; iv. 21-24. C. IV. ii. 27-31; iii. 10-12. Epod. i. 29, 30. Epist. I. vii. 44, 45. I. viii. 12.

would have ventured on such expressions as the following, unless he had felt confident of his position:—

"Sunt quibus in Satirâ videor nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera, quicquid
Composui, pars esse putat, similesque meorum
Mille die versus deduci posse."—Sat. II. i. 1. ([47])

This is the language of a privileged egotist; of one who had acquired a right, by public suffrage, to talk of himself. The victim of his satire will be an object of ridicule to the whole city:

"Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! et ille
Qui me commôrit (melius non tangere! clamo)
Flebit, et insignis totâ cantabitur urbe."—i. 45.([48])

The sixth Satire of this book is the most important in the chronology of the life and works of Horace.

"Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus,
Ex quo Mæcenas me cœpit habere suorum
In numero, duntaxat ad hoc, quem tollere rheda
Vellet, iter faciens, et cui concredere nugas

([47]) I subjoin the imitation of his best interpreter at least, if not commentator:—

"There are (I scarce can think it, but am told),
There are to whom my satire seems too bold;
Scarce to wise Peter complaisant enough,
And something said of Chartres much too rough;
The lines are weak, another's pleased to say,
Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day."—Pope.

([48]) "Peace is my dear delight, not Fleury's more!
But touch me, and no minister so sore.
Whoe'er offends, at some unlucky time,
Slides into verse, or hitches in a rhyme;
Sacred to ridicule his whole life long,
And the sad burden of a merry song."—Pope.

Hoc genus: Hora quota est? Threx est Gallina Syro par?
Matutina parum cautos jam frigora mordent,
Et quæ rimosâ bene deponuntur in aure."(49)
Sat. II. vi. 40-47.(50)

It was in the eighth year(49) of his familiarity with Mæcenas that this Satire was composed. To this must be added the nine months after his first introduction. If Horace returned to Rome in the winter after the battle of Philippi (U. C. 712, 713), time must be allowed for him to form his friendship with Virgil and with Varius, and to gain that poetic reputation by pieces circulated in private which would justify their recommendation of their friend to Mæcenas. The first introduction could scarcely therefore be earlier than U. C. 715. It is impossible therefore that this book could be completed before late in U. C. 722, — the year before the battle of Actium. If, however, there be an allusion to the division of lands to the soldiers

(49) Some construe "Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus," as only six years and a half. The past, *fugerit*, surely implies that the seventh year had actually elapsed, and above half a year more.

(50) This pleasant passage is exquisitely adapted by Swift:—

"'Tis (let me see) three years and more
(October next it will be four)
Since Harley bid me first attend,
And chose me for an humble friend;
Would take me in his coach to chat,
And question me of this and that;
As, What's o'clock? or How's the wind?
Whose chariot's that we left behind?
Or, Have you nothing new to-day
From Pope, from Parnell, or from Gay?" &c. &c.

engaged in that war, the date cannot be before U. C. 724.[51]

The book of Epodes may be considered as in one sense the transition from satire to lyric poetry. Though not collected or completed till the present period of the poet's life, this book appears to contain some of the earliest compositions of Horace. In his sweet youth, his strong passions drove him to express himself in the sharp Iambic verse.—Carm. I. xvi., 22-24. Bentley's observation, which all would wish to be true, is perhaps more so than would appear from his own theory; that, as it proceeds, the stream of the Horatian poetry flows not only with greater elegance, but with greater purity.[52]

[51] This part of the Bentleian chronology is, it may almost be asserted, impossible. Bentley refers the partition of land alluded to in the celebrated line —

"Promissa Triquetrâ
Prædia Cæsar an est Italâ tellure daturus,"

to the division which followed the defeat of Sex. Pompeius. This defeat took place U. C. 718; the death of Pompeius U. C. 719. The eight years and a half alone would throw the presentation to Mæcenas above the date of the battle of Philippi, U. C. 712. The only way of escape is to suppose that the division was promised, not fulfilled, and took several years to carry out. But this is irreconcilable with the accounts of this division in the historians, and the allusion in Horace to its first enactment as to where the lands were to be assigned.

[52] "In cæteris autem singulis præcedentis ætatis gradus plenissimis signis indicat; idque tali ex hac serie jam a me demonstratâ jucundum erit animadvertere; cum operibus juvenilibus multa obscæna et flagitiosa insint, quanto annis provectior erat, tanto eum et poetica virtute et argumentorum dignitate gravitateque meliorem semper castioremque evasisse." —Bentleius in Præf.

But by Bentley's theory the worst of the Epodes were

The moral character of the poet rises in dignity and decency; he has cast off the coarseness and indelicacy which defile some of his earliest pieces; in his Odes he sings to maidens and to youths. The two or three of the Epodes which offend in this manner, I scruple not to assign to the first year after the return of the poet to Rome. But not merely has he risen above, and refined himself from, the grosser licentiousness, his bitter and truculent invective has gradually softened into more playful satire. Notwithstanding his protestation, some of his earlier Iambics have much of the spirit as well as the numbers of Archilochus.

The book of Epodes was manifestly completed not long after the last war between Octavius and Antony. The dominant feeling in the mind of Horace seems now to have been a horror of civil war. The war of Perugia, two years after Philippi, called forth his first indignant remonstrance against the wickedness of taking up arms, not for the destruction of Carthage, the subjugation of Britain, but to fulfil the vows of the Parthians, for the destruction of Rome by her own hands.(53) Both

written when he was thirty-two or thirty-three years old; hardly "annis juvenilibus." The fourteenth bears date after the intimacy was formed with Mæcenas.

(53) Read the seventh Epode:—

"Quo quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enses conditi?
Non ut superbas invidæ Carthaginis
Romanus arces ureret:
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacrâ catenatus viâ:

at that time and several years later likewise, just before the war of Actium, the date of the first Epode, the most ardent lover of liberty might deprecate the guilt and evil of civil war. It was not for freedom, but for the choice of masters between the subtle Octavius and the profligate Antony, that the world was again to be deluged with blood. The strongest republican, even if he retained the utmost jealousy and aversion for Octavius, might prefer his cause to that of an Eastern despot, so Antony appeared, and so he was represented at Rome, supported by the arms of a Barbarian Queen.(54) It might seem that the fearful and disastrous times had broken up the careless social circle, for whose amusement and instruction the Satires were written, and that the poet was thrown back by force into a more grave and solemn strain. Mæcenas himself is summoned to

Sed ut, secundum vota Parthorum, suâ
Urbs hæc periret dexterâ."

The tone of this poem agrees better with the entirely independent situation of Horace at the time of the war of Perugia, than later, when he was at least (although he was yet unfavoured by Octavius) the friend of the friend of Octavius. The seventeenth Ode, in which he poetically urges the migration of the Roman people to some happier and secluded land, seems likewise to belong to that period.

(54) "Interque signa, turpe, militaria
Sol aspicit conopium."—Epod. ix. 15.

So Virgil—

"Hinc ope barbaricâ, variisque Antonius armis,
Victor ab Auroræ populis et litore rubro
Ægyptum, viresque Orientis, et ultima secum
Bactra trahit, sequiturque (nefas) Ægyptia conjux."

Æneid, VIII. 685.

abandon his delicious villa, his intellectual friends, his easy luxury, and to mount the hard deck of the tall ship of war:

> "Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
> Amice, propugnacula."—Epod. i. 1.

Horace was in doubt whether he should accompany his patron. Mæcenas however remained in Italy; and, after a short absence, resumed the government of Rome. The first Epode expresses the poet's feelings on this trying occasion, and perhaps has never been surpassed by any composition of its kind. There is hardly any piece of the same length in which the delicacy of compliment is so blended with real feeling, or gratitude and attachment expressed with so much grace and dignity. The exquisite second Epode might naturally appear to have been written after the possession of the Sabine estate; the close, in which he seems to turn all his own rural sentiment into ridicule, is a touch of playfulness, quite in his own manner. The ninth Epode is, as it were, the poet's first song of triumph for the victory at Actium; the triumph not in a civil war, but over a foreign foe. In the fourteenth there is an apology for his tardiness in completing the book of Epodes, which he had promised to Mæcenas.(55) The whole book appeared most probably U. C. 725, the second year after the battle of Actium, in the thirty-sixth of the life of Horace.

(55) "Inceptos olim promissum carmen, iambos
Ad umbilicum ducere."

ROCCA GIOVANE.

CHAPTER IV.

HORACE A LYRIC WRITER—ORIGINALITY OF HIS ODES—DATE OF COMPOSITION—MERITS OF THE ODES—EPISTLES—GENERAL COMPOSITION — CHARACTER OF HORATIAN POETRY.

HORACE now became a lyric poet, or rather devoted himself entirely to the cultivation of that kind of poetry. The nine or ten years of his life after the battle of Actium (U. C. 724 to 734, V. H. 35 to 45) were employed in the composition, or the completion, of the three first books of Odes.

The Odes bear the character of the poet's life during this long period. He has reverted to his peaceful enjoyment of society. The sword of civil war is sheathed; one of his earliest and noblest bursts is the song of triumph for Actium, with the description of the death of Cleopatra. There is just excitement enough of foreign warfare on the remote frontiers in Spain, in Britain, in Arabia, to give an opportunity for asserting the Roman's proud consciousness of universal sovereignty. Parthia consents to restore the standards of Crassus; or at all events, has sent a submissive embassy to Rome; the only enemies are the remotest barbarians of the north and east, with harsh sounding names:

"Urbi solicitus times
Quid Seres, et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors."
C. III. xxix. 27.

Octavius has assumed the name of Augustus; the poet has acquiesced in his sole dominion; and introduces him for the first time into his poetry under this, his imperial title. Public affairs, and private friendships — the manners of the city — the delights of the country — all the incidents of an easy and honourable literary life — suggest the short poem, which embodies the feelings and sentiments of Horace. His philosophical views, and his tender attachments, enable him to transport into Rome such of the more pleasing and beautiful lyrics of Greece, as could appear with advantage in a Latin dress. Horace not only nationalizes the metres, but many of the poems of

the Greek lyrists. Much ingenuity has been wasted in forming a chronicle of the amours of Horace, almost as authentic, no doubt, as that in the graceful poem of our own Cowley. However fatal to the personality of the poet in many of his lighter pieces, I must profess my disbelief in the real existence of many of the Lalages, and Lydias, and Glyceras, and Lyces, and Chloes. Their names betray their origin; though many damsels of that class in Rome, may have been of Greek or servile birth, many of them, no doubt, occupy the same place in the imitation of the Greek poem, which they did in the original.(56) By a careful examination of each Ode, with a fine critical perception, and some kindred congeniality with a poetic mind, much might perhaps be done to separate the real from the imitative, the original from the translated or transfused. This would, at least, be a more hopeful and rational work of criticism, than the attempt to date every piece from some vague and uncertain allusion to a cotemporary event. Some few indeed, but very few, bear their distinct and undeniable date; as the Ode on the death of Cleopatra. (C. I. xxxvii.) (57)

(56) Compare an essay of Buttman in German, in the Berlin Transactions, and in his Mythologus, and translated in the Philological Museum, vol. i. p. 439 et seqq. Buttman carries out to the extreme his theory, that most of the love-lyrics are translations or imitations from the Greek, or poems altogether ideal, and without any real groundwork.

(57) Within a few years there have been five complete chronologies of the whole works of Horace, which pretend to assign the true year to the composition of every one of his poems; I. Kirschner, Quæstiones Horatianæ. Lips. 1834. II. Franke,

According to the rigid chronology of Bentley, this poem must have been the first, or nearly the first, attempt of Horace to write lyric poetry. But it is far more probable that the books of Odes contain poems written at very different periods in the life of Horace, finished up for publication on the separate or simultaneous appearance of the three first books. Even if written about the same time, they are by no means disposed in chronological order. The arrangement seems to have been arbitrary; or rather to have been made not without regard to variety of subject, and, in some respects, of metre. In the first book, the nine first and the eleventh might seem placed, in order to show the facility with which the poet could command every metrical variety, the skill with which, in his own words, he could adapt the Grecian lyric numbers to Latin poetry. The tenth, the Sapphic Ode to Mercury, is the first repetition. There is, likewise, a remarkable kind of moral order in the arrangement of these Odes. The first is a dedicatory address to his friend and patron Mæcenas, the object of his earliest

Fasti Horatiani. Berlin, 1839. III. Histoire de la vie et des Poèsies de Horace, par M. le Baron Walckenaer. 2 vols. Paris, 1840; a pleasing romance on the life and times of Horace. IV. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, als Mensch und Dichter, von Dr. W. E. Weber. Jena, 1844. V. Grotefend. The article Horatius in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædie. Besides these, there are, among later writers, the lives of Horace by Passow, and by Zumpt: the notes in the French translation of the Odes by M. Vanderbourg: the notes of Heindorf on the Satires: and of Schmid on the Epistles. The irreconcilable discrepancies among all these ingenious authors, show the futility of the attempt; almost every one begins by admitting the impossibility of success, and then proceeds to frame a new scheme.

and of his latest song. The second is addressed to the emperor, by his new title, Augustus. The third relates to his dear friend and brother poet, Virgil; then comes the solemn moral strain to Sestius, followed by perhaps the most finished of his love-songs, to Pyrrha. Throughout the whole book, or rather the whole collection of Odes, there seems this careful study of contrast and variety; the religious Hymn to the God of Mercurial men is succeeded by the serious advice to Leuconoe.

The just estimate of Horace, as a lyric poet, may be more closely connected, than appears at first, with these considerations. Neither was his the age, nor was Latin the language for the highest lyric song. The religious, and what we may call the national, the second inspiration of the genuine lyric, were both wanting. The religion in the Horatian Ode is, for the most part, the common-place machinery of the established creed, the conventional poetic mythology, of which the influence was effete. There is no deep and earnest devotion; even the Gods are rather those of Greek poetry, than of the old Roman faith. The allusions to passing events are those of a calm and self-possessed observer, ingeniously weaving them into his occasional pieces; not the impassioned overflow of the poetic spirit, seizing and pouring forth in one long and inexhausted stream, all the thoughts, and sentiments, and images, and incidental touches, which are transmuted, as it were, by the bard into part of his own moral being. As compared with the highest lyric poetry, the Odes of Horace are greatly deficient;

but as occasional pieces inspired by friendship, by moral sentiment, or as graceful and finished love-verses, they are perfect; their ease, spirit, perspicuity, elegance, and harmony compensate, as far as may be, for the want of the nobler characteristics of daring conception, vehemence, sublimity, and passion.

The separate or simultaneous publication of the three first books of Odes, and the date of their publication, mainly depends on one question. If the voyage of Virgil to the East, on which the third Ode of the first book was written, be that mentioned in the life of Virgil by Donatus, that book cannot have appeared before the year U.C. 735, and in such case the three books must have been published together about that time.

The Epistles were the work of the mature man. The first book was written about B.C. 20, 19, U.C. 734, 735. No one doubts that these delightful compositions are the most perfect works of Horace; but it is singularly difficult to define, even to our own conception, still more in language, in what consists their felt and acknowledged charm. They possess every merit of the Satires in a higher degree, with a more exquisite urbanity, and a more calm and commanding good sense. In their somewhat more elevated tone, they stand, as it were, in the midway, between the Odes and the Satires. They are that, in short, which Pope, their best, if not their one, successful imitator, is to English poetry.

The Æsthetic Law, which would disfranchise Horace and Pope, and this whole class of writers,

from the venerable guild of Poets, must depend upon what we mean by the word poetry. This question had already occurred to Horace himself. Some doubted whether comedy was a form of poetry; and whether Aristophanes and Menander were to be honoured with the name of poets.(58) If poetry must necessarily be imaginative, creative, impassioned, dignified, it is also clear that it must become extinct in a certain state of society, or, instead of transcribing the actual emotions and sentiments of men, it must throw itself back into a more stirring and romantic period. It must make for itself a foreign realm in the past or in the future. At all events, it must have recourse to some remote or extraordinary excitement: the calm course of every-day events can afford no subject of inspiration; the decencies and conventional proprieties of civilised life lie upon it as a deadening spell; the assimilating and levelling tone of manners smoothes away all which is striking or sublime.

But may there not be a poetry of the most civilised and highly cultivated state of human society; something equable, tranquil, serene; affording delight by its wisdom and truth, by its grace and elegance? Human nature in all its forms is the domain of poetry, and though the imagination may have to perform a different office, and to exercise a more limited authority, yet it cannot be thought, or rather cannot be feared, that it will ever be so completely extinguished

(58) "Idcirco quidam, comœdia, necne poëma,
Esset, quæsivere."

Sat. 1. iv. 45.

in the mind of man, as to leave us nothing but the every-day world in its cold and barren reality.

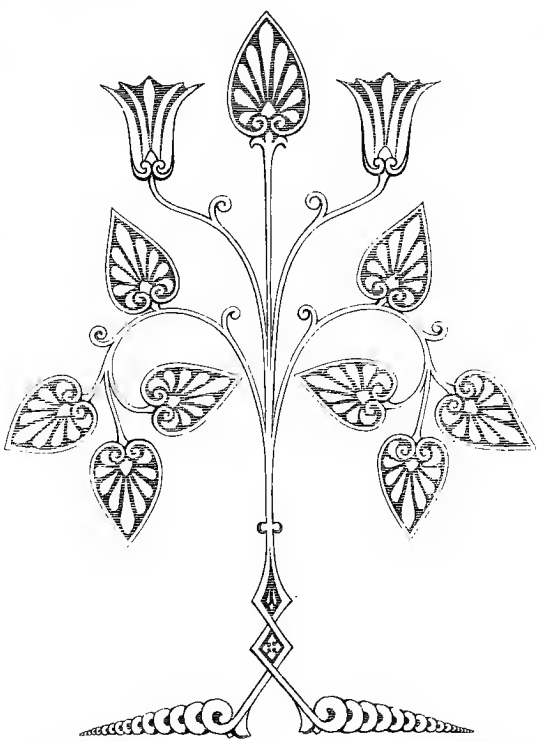
Poetry, indeed, which thrills and melts; which stirs the very depths of the heart and soul; which creates, or stretches its reanimating wand over the past, the distant, the unseen, may be, and no doubt is, a very different production of the wonderful mechanism of the human mind from that which has only the impressive language and the harmonious expression, without the fiction of poetry; but human life, even in its calmest form, will still delight in seeing itself reflected in the pure mirror of poetry; and poetry has too much real dignity, too much genuine sympathy with universal human nature, to condescend to be exclusive. There is room enough on the broad heights of Helicon, at least on its many peaks, for Homer and Menander, for Virgil and Horace, for Shakespeare, and Pope, and Cowper. May we not pass, without supposing that we are abandoning the sacred precincts of the Muses, from the death of Dido to the Epistle to Augustus? Without asserting that anything like a regular cycle brings round the taste for a particular style of composition, or that the demand of the human mind (more poetic readers must not be shocked by this adoption of the language of political economy) requires, and is still further stimulated by the supply of a particular kind of production at particular periods; it may be said, in general, that poetry begets prose, and prose poetry—that is to say, when poetry has long occupied itself solely with more imaginative subjects, when it has

been exclusively fictitious and altogether remote from the ordinary affairs of life, there arises a desire for greater truth—for a more close copy of that which actually exists around us. Good sense, keen observation, terse expression, polished harmony, then command and delight, and possess, perhaps in their turn too exclusively, for some time, the public ear. But directly this familiarity with common life has too closely approximated poetry to prose — when it is undistinguished, or merely distinguished from prose by a conventional poetic language, or certain regular forms of verse—then the poetic spirit bursts away again into freedom; and, in general, in its first struggle for emancipation, breaks out into extravagance; the unfettered imagination runs riot, and altogether scorns the alliance of truth and nature to which it falsely attributes its long and ignoble thraldom; till some happy spirit weds again those which should never have been dissevered, and poetry becomes once more, in the language of one of its most enchanting votaries —

"Truth severe in faery fiction drest."

Hence may, perhaps, be formed a just estimate of the poetical character of Horace. Of him it may be said, with regard to the most perfect form of his poetry, the Epistles, that there is a period in the literary taste of every accomplished individual, as well as of every country, not certainly in ardent youth, yet far from the decrepitude of old age, in which we become sensible of the extraordinary and undefinable charm of these won-

derful compositions. It seems to require a certain maturity of mind; but that maturity by no means precludes the utmost enjoyment of the more imaginative poetry. It is, in fact, the knowledge of the world which alone completely qualifies us for judging the writings of a man of the world; our own practical wisdom enables us to appreciate that wisdom in its most delightful form.



SORACTE.

CHAPTER V.

POSITION OF HORACE DURING THE DECLINE OF LIFE — FRIENDSHIP WITH AUGUSTUS — RELIGION OF HORACE — PHILOSOPHY — CLOSE OF HIS LIFE — POETICAL CRITICISM — EPISTLES TO AUGUSTUS AND ART OF POETRY — DEATH — HIS PERSON.

NEVER was position more favourable than that of Horace for the developement of this poetic character. The later years of his life were passed in an enviable state of literary leisure He has gradually risen from the favourite of the emperor's friend, to the poet in whose compositions the shrewd and sagacious

emperor is said himself to have desired to be enshrined for the admiration of posterity. The first advances to intimacy with the poet came from the emperor himself. Augustus had at first been his own secretary; he had written his own letters to his friends; he offered that honourable and confidential post to the poet. He requested Mæcenas to transfer *our* Horace, as he condescended to call him, into his service. When the poet declines the offer, Augustus is not in the least offended, and does not grow cool in his friendship. He almost tempts him to ask favours, he assures him of his undiminished regard; "If you," he says, "are so proud as to disdain my friendship, I shall not become haughty in my turn." He writes of him in terms of familiar, and it may almost be said, coarse admiration.(59) The fourth book of Odes and the Secular Hymn were written at the express desire of the emperor, who was ambitious that the extraordinary virtues of his step-sons, Tiberius and Drusus, should be commemorated in the immortal strains of the poet.

There is no reason to reproach Horace either with insincerity or with servility in his praises of the emperor. It is remarkable how much his respect for Augustus seems to strengthen, and his affection to kindle into personal attachment, as we approach the

(59) "Ante ipse sufficiebam scribendis Epistolis Amicorum; nunc occupatissimus et infirmus, Horatium nostrum te cupio addicere. Veniat igitur ab istâ parasiticâ mensâ ad hanc regiam, et nos in Epistolis scribendis adjuvet."—See the fragments of the other letters of Augustus, in Suetonii Vit. Horat. —"neque enim si tu superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisti, ideo nos quoque *ἀντυπερηφανοῦμεν*."

close of his poetical career. The Epistle to Augustus is almost, perhaps may have been quite, his latest poem. In the second book of Epistles (which no doubt comprehended the Epistle to Piso, vulgarly called the Art of Poetry), the one addressed to Augustus, whether prior or not in time of composition, would of course assume the place of honour. Nor is it difficult to account for the acquiescence of the republican in the existing state of things, and that with no degradation of his independence. With declining years increases the love of quiet; the spirit of adventure has burned out, and body and mind equally yearn after repose. Under the new order of things, as we have shown, Horace had found out the secret of a happy and an honourable life. His circumstances were independent; at least they satisfied his moderate desires. He enjoyed enough of the busy society of the capital to give a zest to the purer pleasures of his country retirement. He could repose in his cottage villa near Tivoli, amidst the most lovely scenery, by the dashing and headlong Anio, at the foot of the Apennines. Hither his distinguished friends in Rome delighted to resort, and to partake of his hospitable though modest entertainment. Should he desire more complete retirement, he might visit his Sabine farm, inspect the labours of his faithful steward, survey his agricultural improvements, and wander among scenes which might remind him of those in which he had spent his childhood. He could not but contrast the happy repose of this period of his life with

the perils and vicissitudes of his youth; do we wonder that he subsided into philosophic contentment with the existing order of things?

Augustus himself possessed that rare policy in an arbitrary monarch not to demand from his subjects the sacrifice of their independence farther than was necessary for the security of his dominion. The artful despot still condescended to veil his unlimited power under constitutional forms; he was in theory the re-elected president of a free people; and though these politic contrivances could only deceive those who wished to be deceived, yet they offered, as it were, honourable terms of capitulation to the opposite party, and enabled them to quiet the indignant scruples of conscience. Horace is a striking illustration of the success of that policy which thus tranquilly changed Rome from a republic to a monarchy; it shows how well Augustus knew how to deal with all classes of men; how wisely he wound the fetters of his personal influence over the Roman mind. Horace, on the other hand, may fairly be taken as a representative of a large, particularly the more intellectual, class of Romans. We see the government stooping to flatter that order of men by familiarity, and receiving in turn that adulation which could not but work into the public mind. For the first time, probably, writers began to have much effect on the sentiments of the Roman people; and when Virgil and Horace spoke in such glowing terms of Augustus, when they deified him in their immortal verses, we may be assured that they found or made an echo in the hearts of multi-

tudes. This deification, indeed, though we may not altogether exculpate its adulatory tone, must be judged according to the religious notions of Rome, not of Christianity.

The religion of Horace is the religion of Rome,—the religion of the age of Augustus. Almost every god in the Pantheon receives his tribute of a hymn from Horace, each has his proper attributes, his traditional functions; but it is the painter or the sculptor framing the divinity according to the rules of his art, and according to an established type, and setting it up for the worship of others; not the outpouring of real devotion. The very neatness and terseness of expression shows the poverty of religious sentiment. Almost the latest of his lyric hymns is the Carmen Seculare. In this there is something more of the energy and life of inspiration; but even this faint flash of enthusiasm is in character with the whole of the later Roman religion. The worship of the gods is blended with national pride. They are the ancestral and the tutelary deities of the Eternal Omnipotent City which are invoked; the Sun, which, in its course, can behold nothing so great as Rome. It is a hymn rather to the majesty of Rome than to the gods. The poetical apotheosis of the emperor is but this deification of Rome in another form; in him centered the administration of the all-powerful republic, and in him, therefore, its divinity.

Yet Horace, if we pursue the subject of his religion, is not without his apprehensions, his misgivings, his yearnings after more serious things; the careless and

Epicurean scorner of Divine worship is, or fancies, or feigns himself to be, startled from his thoughtless apathy by thunder from a clear sky; he is seized with a sudden access of respect for all-ruling Providence. As in the romantic adventure of his youth, so in the later accidents of life, his escape from perils by land and sea—from the falling of a tree—he speaks with gratitude, apparently not insincere, of the Divine protection; nor is he without some vague sentiment of the general moral government of the gods. The depravation of manners is at once the cause and the consequence of neglected religion:

"Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.
* * * * *
Dii multa *neglecti* dederunt
Hesperiæ mala luctuosæ."

And the cause of this vengeance is the general corruption of manners:

"Fœcunda culpæ sæcula nuptias
Primum inquinavere, et genus, et domos,
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit."

Nor is he altogether above the vulgar superstitions of the times. During his morning stroll through the city, whether for amusement, or not without some lurking belief in their art, he stops to consult the itinerant diviners, "who kept a kind of shop for the

sale of oracles."[60] The Canidia of Horace wants, indeed, the terrific earnestness of Lucan's Erictho. The twin passions of unbelief and superstition had by the time of Nero grown to a greater height. As Gibbon justly observes, Canidia is but a vulgar witch, yet, if we may judge from the tone, Horace is at least as earnest in his belief in her powers as in those of Mercury or Diana.[61] The ingredients of her cauldron thrill him with quite as real horror as the protection of Faunus, or the rustic deities which he invokes, fill him with hope or reverence. It is singular enough, that we learn from Horace the existence of the Jews and their religion in the great capital of the world, and may conjecture the estimation in which they were held. It seems to have been a kind of fashionable amusement to go to the synagogue for the purpose of scoffing. Yet there is an indication of respect extorted, as it were, from the more sober-minded by the rational theism and simpler worship of this strange and peculiar people.

The philosophy of the Horatian age, and of Horace himself, cannot but force itself upon our notice in connection with his religion. How far had our poet any settled philosophical opinions? To what extent did he embrace the doctrines of Epicurus? The secret of his inclination towards these opinions was probably that which had influenced many Romans

(60) "Assisto divinis," which the worthy Mr. Creech renders "went to church every day!"

(61) Compare the witch of Middleton with those of Shakespeare.

during the disastrous period of the civil wars. Weary with faction, unwilling to lend themselves to the ambition of the leaders in either party, when the great and stirring strife between the patrician and the popular interests had degenerated into the contest for personal supremacy between aspiring and unprincipled individuals, some, from temperament and apathy of character, like Atticus, others from bitter disappointment or sober determination, took refuge in the philosophy of self-enjoyment. *In hortulis quiescet suis, ubi recubans molliter et delicate nos avocat a rostris, a judiciis, a curiâ, fortasse sapienter, hâc præsertim republicâ:*—Even Cicero, in these expressive words, betrays a kind of regret that he has not abandoned the barren, ungrateful, and hopeless labours of a public man, and joined the happy idlers in the peaceful villa, or shady garden. It is a remarkable observation of M. Constant, and shows, after all, the singular discrepancy which so frequently exists between the opinions and actions of men, that, instead of unnerving the Roman spirit of liberty, or inducing a contemptuous apathy towards the public interests, the Grecian philosophy might seem to have inspired the last champions of Roman freedom with their generous sentiments of self-sacrifice—the devotion of their lives to the sacred cause of their country. Brutus was a student of every branch of Grecian philosophy; the genius which appeared to him on the field of Philippi is almost in the spirit of the later Platonism. Cato died reading the Phædo. Cicero, notwithstanding the occasional feebleness of his character, was unquestion-

ably a victim to his own exertions in the cause of freedom. Cassius, the dark, and dangerous, and never-smiling Cassius, was an avowed disciple of Epicurus.

The doctrines of Epicurus became doubly acceptable to those who sought not merely an excuse for withdrawing from public offices, but a consolation for the loss of all share in the government. Epicureanism and Stoicism began to divide the Roman mind. Those of easier temper, and whose intellectual occupations were of a more graceful and amusing kind, forgot, either in the busy idleness of a gay town life, or in the sequestered ease of the beautiful villa, that the forum or the senate had ever been open to the generous ambition of their youth. Those of a sterner cast, who repudiated the careless indolence of the Epicureans, retired within themselves, and endeavoured, by self-adoration, to compensate for the loss of self-respect. The Stoic, although he could not disguise from his own mind that he was outwardly a slave, boasted that within he was king of himself. The more discursive, and if we may so speak, tentative spirit of inquiry, which distinguished the earlier attempts of the Romans to naturalize Grecian philosophy — the calm and dispassionate investigation, which, with its exquisite perspicuity of exposition, is the unrivalled charm of Cicero's philosophic writings, seems to have gone out of vogue. Men embraced extreme opinions, either as votaries of pride or of pleasure, because they centered their whole energies upon the subject; and in the utter want of all other

noble or lofty excitement, threw themselves with desperate vehemence into philosophy. With Horace, however, that period was not arrived, nor does he seem to have embraced any system of opinions with that eager and exclusive earnestness. His mind was by no means speculative. His was the plain, practical philosophy of common sense. Though he could not elude those important questions in which the bounds of moral and religious inquiry meet; though he is never more true and striking than in his observations on the uncertainty of life, the dark and certain approaches of death—

"——— nec quidquam tibi prodest,
Aerias tentâsse domos, animoque rotundum
Percurrisse polum, morituro!"

though these sentences are more solemn, occurring as they do among the gayest Epicurean invitations to conviviality and enjoyment, yet the wisdom of Horace—it may be said without disparagement, for it was the only real attainable wisdom—was that of the world.

The best evidence indeed of the claims of the Poet as a moral philosopher, as a practical observer, and sure interpreter of human nature in its social state, are the countless quotations from his works, which are become universal moral axioms. Their triteness is the seal of their veracity: their peculiar terseness and felicity of expression, or illustration, may have commended them to general acceptance; yet nothing but their intuitive truth can have stamped them as

household words on the memory of educated men. Horace might seem to have thrown aside all the abstruser doctrines, the more remote speculations, the abstract theories, of all the different sects, and selected and condensed the practical wisdom in his pregnant poetical aphorisms.

So glided away the later years of the life of Horace: he was never married; he indulged that aristocratical aversion to legitimate wedlock, which Augustus vainly endeavoured to correct by civil privileges and civil immunities. In his various amours he does not appear to have had any children.

The three Epistles which occupy the last four or five years of his life, treat principally on the state of Roman poetry. Horace now has attained the high place, if not of dictator of the public taste, of one at least who has a right to be heard as an arbiter on such subjects.

The first of these, addressed to the Emperor, gains wonderfully in point and perspicuity, if we take the key which is furnished by a passage in the life of Augustus by Suetonius. Horace is throughout of a modern school of taste; he prefers the finer execution, the faultlessness, the purer harmony, the more careful expression, to the ruder vigour, the bolder but more irregular versification, the racy but antiquated language of the older writers. In this consisted much of his own conscious superiority over Lucilius. But Augustus himself was vulgar enough to admire the old comedy; he was constantly commanding in the theatre the coarse and somewhat indecent plays of Afranius

and Plautus.(62) The privileged poet does not scruple playfully to remonstrate against the imperial bad taste. His skill and address are throughout admirable. The quiet irony is perfectly free, yet never offensive; the very flattery of the opening lines, which exalt to the utmost the power and wisdom of Augustus, which represent him as an object of divine power and worship to the vulgar, is chastened, as it were, and subdued, because the emperor himself, in critical judgment, is to appear but one of the vulgar. The art with which the Poet suggests, rather than unfolds, his argument, seems at one moment to abandon and the next to resume it, is inimitable. He first gracefully ridicules the fashion of admiring poetry because it is old, not because it is good; then turns to the prevailing madness of writing poetry, which had seized all ranks, and thus having cast aside the mass of bad modern poetry, he nobly asserts the dignity and independence of the poetic function. He then returns by a happy transition to the barbarous times, which had given birth to the old Roman poetry; contrasts the purity of the noble Greek models with their rude Roman imitators, first in tragedy, and then in comedy; and introduces without effort the emperor's favourite Plautus, and even Dosennus, to whose farces Augustus had probably listened with manifest amusement. He does not, however, dwell on that delicate topic; he hastens away instantly to the general bad taste of the

(62) "Sed plane poematum non imperitus, delectabatur etiam comædiâ veteri, et sæpe eam exhibuit publicis spectaculis."—Sueton. Octavius C. 89.

Roman audience, who preferred pomp, spectacle, noise, and procession, to the loftiest dramatic poetry; and even this covert insinuation against the emperor's indifferent taste in theatrical amusement is balanced by the praise of his judgment in his patronage of Virgil and of Varius, and (though with skilful modesty he affects to depreciate his own humbler poetry) of Horace himself.

The Epistle to the Pisos was already, in the time of Quintilian, called the Art of Poetry; but it is rather an Epistle on Poetry, composed in a seemingly desultory manner, yet with the utmost felicity of transition from one subject to another, than a regular and systematic theory. It was addressed to Lucius Piso and his two sons. The elder Piso was a man of the highest character, obtained a triumph for victories in Thrace, but was chiefly distinguished for the dignity and moderation with which he afterwards exercised for a long period the high and dangerous office of Præfect of the city.

The happy conjecture of Wieland had been anticipated by Colman, that this Epistle was chiefly addressed to the elder of the sons of Piso, who aspired to poetical fame without very great poetical genius. It was intended to be at once dissuasive and instructive; to show the difficulties of writing good poetry, especially in a refined and fastidious age; and, at the same time, to define some of the primary laws of good composition. It maintains throughout the superiority of the modern, and what we may call the Grecian, school of Roman poetry.

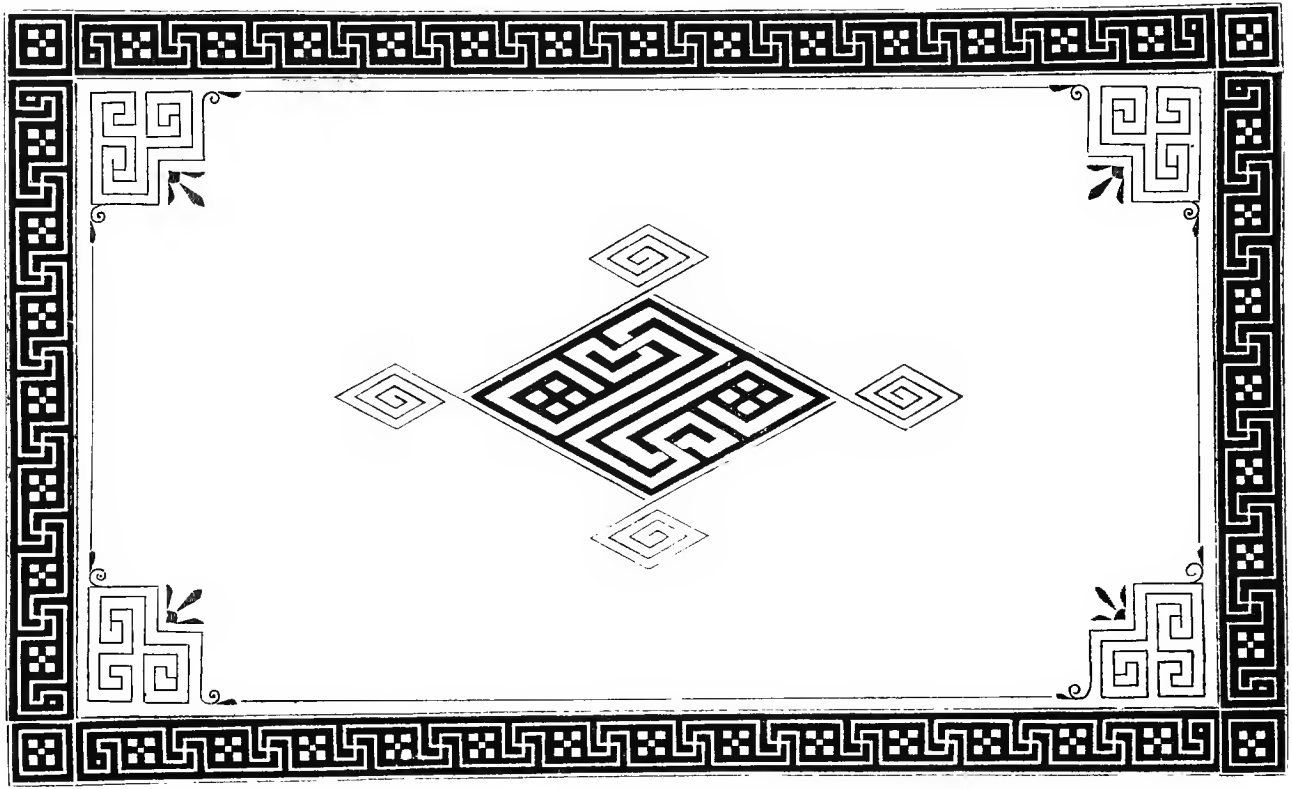
After all, the admiration of Horace for the poetry of Greece was by no means servile: though he wished to introduce its forms, its simplicity of composition, and exquisite purity of style, he would have even tragedy attempt Roman subjects. And, with Horace, we must acknowledge that even if the poet had felt ambition, it was now, indeed, too late for Rome to aspire to originality in the very highest branches of poetry. She was conquered, and could only bear the yoke with as much nobleness and independence as she might. To give her song a Roman character, if it still wore a Grecian form, was all which was now attainable. Literature was native, as it were, to Greece, at least the higher branches, Poetry and History. It principally flourished when the political institutions of Greece were in the highest state of developement and perfection; being a stranger and foreigner at Rome, it was only completely domiciliated when the national institutions, and with them the national character, had experienced a total change. It was not till the Roman constitution approached, or had arrived at, a monarchical form, that letters were generally or successfully cultivated. It was partly, indeed, her conquest of the world which brought Rome the literature and philosophy, as well as the other spoils of foreign nations. The distinction, nevertheless, must not be lost sight of; the genuine Roman character, even under the Grecian forms, might and did appear in her literary language, and in all the works of her greater writers; and in the didactic, or common life poetry, she could dare to be completely original.

In none was this more manifest than in Horace; he was, after all, in most respects, a true Roman poet. His idiom, in the first place, was more vernacular (in all the better parts of his poetry he departed less from common language, they were "sermoni propiora"). In the lyric poems we may sometimes detect the forms of Greek expression; he has imitated the turn of language, as well as the cast of thought and mechanism of verse. The Satires and Epistles have throughout the vigour and raciness of originality; they speak no doubt the language of the better orders of Rome, in all their strength and point. But these works are not merely Roman in their idiomatic expression, they are so throughout. The masculine and practical common sense, the natural but not undignified urbanity, the stronger if not sounder moral tone, the greater solidity, in short, of the whole style of thought and observation, compensate for the more lively imagination, the greater quickness and fluency, and more easy elegance of the Greek. Of the later Grecian comedy, for which the poetry of Horace, as we have observed, was the substitute, we have less than of almost any other part of their literature; yet if we compare the fragments which we possess, we shall perceive the difference—on one side, the grace and lightness of touch, the exquisite and unstudied harmony, the translucent perspicuity, the truth and the simplicity; on the other, the ruder but more vigorous shrewdness, the more condensed and emphatic justness of observation, the serious thought, which is always at the bottom of the

playful expression. Horace is addressing men accustomed to deal with men — men formed in the vigorous school of public life; and though now reposing perhaps from those more solid and important cares, maintaining that practical energy of character by which they had forced their way to eminence. That sterner practical genius of the Roman people survived the free institutions of Rome; the Romans seemed, as it were, in their idlest moods, to condescend to amusement, not to consider it, like the Greek, one of the common necessities, the ordinary occupations of life. Horace, therefore, has been, and ever will be, the familiar companion, the delight, not of the mere elegant scholar alone, or the imaginative reader, but, we had almost written, the manual of the statesman and the study of the moral philosopher. Of Rome, or of the Roman mind, no one can know anything who is not profoundly versed in Horace; and whoever really understands Horace will have a more perfect and accurate knowledge of the Roman manners and Roman mind than the most diligent and laborious investigator of the Roman antiquities.

The same year (U. C. 746, B. C. 8) witnessed the death of Mæcenas and of Horace. The poet was buried near his friend, on the verge of the Esquiline Hill. Mæcenas died towards the middle of the year, Horace in the month of November, having nearly completed his 57th year. His last illness was so sudden and severe, that he had not strength to sign his will; according to the usage of the time, he declared the emperor his heir.

Horace has described his own person (Epist. I. xx. 24). He was of short stature, with dark eyes and dark hair (Art. Poet. 37), but early tinged with grey (Carm. III. xiv. 25). In his youth he was tolerably robust (Epist. I. vii. 26), but suffered from a complaint in his eyes (Sat. I. v. 20). In more advanced age he grew fat, and Augustus jested about his protuberant belly (Aug. Epist. Fragm. apud Sueton. in Vitâ). His health was not always good; he was not only weary of the fatigue of war, but unfit to bear it (Carm. II. vi. 7; Epod. i. 15); and he seems to have inclined to valetudinarian habits (Epist. I. vii. 3). When young, he was irascible in temper, but easily placable (Carm. I. xvi. 22, &c.; III. xiv. 27; Epist. I. xx. 25). In dress he was somewhat careless (Epist. I. i. 94). His habits, even after he became richer, were generally frugal and abstemious; though, on occasions, both in youth and in mature age, he indulged in free conviviality. He liked choice wine, and, in the society of friends, scrupled not to enjoy the luxuries of his time.



FASTI HORATIANI.

U. C.	B. C.	V. H.		
689	65		Birth of Horace, on his father's estate, near Venusia, Dec. 8; vi. Id. Dec.	Sueton. in Vit. Carm. III. xxi. 1.
			L. Aurelius Cotta, L. Manlius Torquatus (Coss.)	Epod. xiii. 6. Sat. II. i. 34, 5.
			(Virgil was five years older, born U. C. 684.)	Carm. IV. xi. 2.
690	64	1	L. Julius Cæsar, C. Marcius Figulus (Coss.)	
691	63	2	M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius (Coss.) Catilinarian conspiracy; birth of Augustus; Orbilius comes to Rome.	
692	62	3	D. Junius Silanus, L. Licinius Muræna (Coss.)	
693	61	4	M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus, M. Valerius Messala (Coss.)	
694	60	5	L. Afranius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer (Coss.)	
			First Triumvirate of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus.	
			Adventure of Horace when a child (?).	Carm. III. iv. 9 20.
695	59	6	C. Julius Cæsar, M. Calpurnius Bibulus (Coss.)	
			Birth of Livy.	
696	58	7	L. Calpurnius Piso, Cæsoninus A. Gabinius (Coss.)	
			Exile of Cicero.	
697	57	8	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Q. Cæc. Metellus Nepos (Coss.)	

U. C.	B. C.	V. H.		
697	57	8	Recall of Cicero. Catullus thirty years old.	
698	56	9	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, L. M. Philippus (Coss.) Cæsar in Gaul.	
699	55	10	Cn. Pompeius Magnus II., M. Licinius Crassus II. (Coss.) Virgil, aged sixteen, assumes the toga virilis. Death of Lucretius the same day, aged forty-one. Catullus mentions Pompey's second Consulate.	Donat. Vit. Virgil. c. 2.
700	54	11	L. Domitius Ænobarbus, App. Claudius Pulcher (Coss.) War of Crassus against the Parthians.	
701	53	12	Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messala (Coss.) Horace in Rome for his education. Defeat and death of Crassus.	Sat. I. vi. 71-6
702	52	13	Cn. Pompeius Magnus; Con. sine collegâ. Death of Clodius. Cicero's speech pro Milone.	
703	51	14	Serv. Sulpicius Rufus, M. Claudius Marcellus (Coss.) Birth of Propertius (?).	
704	50	15	L. Æmilius Paullus, M. Claudius Marcellus (Coss.) Preparations for war between Pompey and Cæsar. Sallust, the historian, expelled from the Senate.	
705	49	16	C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Corn. Lentulus Crus. (Coss.) Cæsar crosses the Rubicon.	
706	48	17	C. Julius Cæsar II., P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (Coss.)	

U. C.	B. C.	V. H.		
706	48	17	Battle of Pharsalia. Horace takes the toga virilis.	
707	47	18	Q. Fufius Calenus, P. Vatinius (Coss.) C. Julius Cæsar, Dict., M. Antonius, Mag. Eq. Horace goes to Athens. Catullus mentions the Consulate of Vatinius, C. LII.	Ep. II. ii. 43.
708	46	19	C. Julius Cæsar III., M. Æmilius Lepidus (Coss.) Battle of Thapsus. Death of Cato. Cæsar's four triumphs. Reform in the Calendar.	Carm. I. xii. 35-6.
709	45	20	C. Julius Cæsar; Con. sine collegâ. Death of Cicero's daughter, Tullia; Oratio pro Deiotaro. Q. Cicero at Athens. Asinius Pollio, legate in Spain.	Ep. ad Att. xv. 15.
710	44	21	C. J. Cæsar V., M. Antonius (Coss.) P. Cornelius Dolabella, Suff. Death of Cæsar, aged fifty-six. Some of Cicero's philosophical works.	De Div. ii 1.
711	43	22	C. Vibius Pansa, A. Hirtius (Coss.) Brutus at Athens. Horace joins his army as military tribune; battle of Mutina, both Consuls slain; goes into Asia (?). Cicero's Philippics, V. to IX. Death of Cicero. Birth of Ovid.	Sat. I. vi. 48. Ep. II. ii. 46. Carm. III. xiv. 27, 8.
712	42	23	M. Æmilius Lepidus II., L. Munatius Plancus (Coss.) Battle of Philippi; flight of Horace.	
713	41	24	P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus II., L. Antonius Pietas (Coss.) In the winter, 712-713, Horace may have returned to Rome; his estate near Venusia confiscated.	

U. C.	B. C.	V. H.		
713	41	24	Virgil had also lost his estate in the division of lands during the Triumvirate; so also Tibullus, E. I. i. 19, and Propertius IV. i. 129.	
714	40	25	Cn. Domitius Calvinus, C. Asinius Pollio (Coss.)	Heyne Virg. Vit. sub an.
			War of Perugia; Virgil's estate restored.	Epod. vii. (?) Epod. xvi. (?)
			Horace in Rome; his friendship with Virgil and Varius; purchases the place of Scriba in the Quæstor's office; affair with Canidia (?). Epod. v. (?) Epod. xvii. (?)	
715	39	26	L. Marcius Censorinus, C. Calvisius Sabinus (Coss.)	
			First presentation of Horace to Mæcenas by Virgil and Varius; he must already have written and imparted to his friends some of his poetry, Satires and Epodes, perhaps Odes.	
716	38	27	App. Claudius Pulcher, C. Norbanus Flaccus (Coss.)	
			Intimacy with Mæcenas, after nine months had elapsed from his first introduction.	Sat. II. vi. 40.
717	37	28	M. Agrippa, L. Caninius Gallus (Coss.)	
			Journey to Brundusium.	Sat. I. v.
			Virgil's Eclogues published. The Georgics begun by advice of Mæcenas.	Heyne in Vit.
718	36	29	L. Gellius Poplicola, M. Cocceius Nerva (Coss.)	
			Defeat of Sex. Pompeius—of Antony in Parthia.	
719	35	30	L. Cornificius, Sex. Pompeius (Coss.)	
			Death of Sex. Pompeius. Division of lands, supposed by Bentley to be referred to Sat. II. vi. 55, but see Life.	

U. C.	B. C.	V. H.		
719	35	30	Publication of First Book of Satires.	
720	34	31	L. Scribonius Libo, M. Antonius II. (Coss.) Horace receives the Sabine estate from Mæcenas.	
721	33	32	C. Cæsar II., L. Volcatius Tullus (Coss.) Foundation of the Octavian Library. The Ædileship of Agrippa, alluded to Sat. II. iii. 195.	
722	32	33	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cn. Sosius (Coss.) The latter end of this year the earliest possible date for the publication of Sat. Book II.	
723	31	34	C. Cæsar III., M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (Coss.) Battle of Actium, Sept. 2. Epode I., before the beginning of the war; Epode IX., after the battle.	
724	30	35	C. Cæsar IV., M. Licinius Crassus (Coss.) Death of Antony and of Cleopatra. Publication of Satires, Book II., more probable. Cornelius Gallus, the poet, and friend of Virgil, præfect of Egypt.	Carm. I. xxxvii.
725	29	36	C. Cæsar V., Sex. Appuleius (Coss.) Temple of Janus closed. Publication of the Epodes of Horace: Franke assigns this date to Carm. I. ii.	Carm. III. viii. Compared with Dion. Cassius, Lib. LI.
726	28	37	C. Cæsar VI., M. Agrippa II. (Coss.)	
727	27	38	C. Cæsar VII., M. Agrippa III. (Coss.) Octavius Cæsar takes the name of Augustus, XVI. Cal. Feb.; accepts the empire for ten years.	Compare Dion. Cass LIII. xxii. with Carm. II. i.

U. C.	B. C.	V. H.		
727	27	38	Overflow of the Tiber.	
			Augustus meditates an expedition to Britain; goes into Spain.	Carm. I. xxxv. 30.
			Tibullus accompanies Messala into Aquitaine, Tibull. I. vii. 9.	Dion. LIII. 22.
728	26	39	C. Cæsar Augustus VIII., T. Statilius Taurus (Coss.)	
			Death of Cornelius Gallus.	
			Propertius (according to Mr. Fynes Clinton) twenty-five years old.	
729	25	40	C. Cæsar Augustus IX., M. Junius Silanus (Coss.)	
			Augustus wages war against the Cantabrians.	Carm. II. vi. 2. Dion. LIII. 25.
			Horace completes his fortieth year.	Carm. II. iv. 23.
			Temple of Janus closed. Virgil finished his Georgics.	Heyne in Vit.
730	24	41	C. Cæsar Augustus X., C. Norbanus Flaccus (Coss.)	
			Augustus returns from the conquest of Cantabria.	Carm. III. xiv. 2. Ep. I. xviii. 55, 6.
			Expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia.	Carm. I. xxix. 2.
			Virgil commences the Æneid.	
			Death of Quintilius Varus.	Carm. I. xxiv.
731	23	42	C. Cæsar Augustus (L. Sestius, Suffectus, the Sestius of Carm. I. iv.), A. Terentius Varro Murena (Coss.)	Carm. I. iv.
			Tribunitian power voted to Augustus for life.	
			Death of Marcellus. Tiridates in Rome, and Embassy from Parthia. Demand of restitution of the standards of Crassus. Publication of Odes, according to Franke, Fasti Horatiani.	Virg. Æneid. vi. 861,7. Propert. iii. 18. Dion. LIII. 30, 31, 33.

U. C.	B C.	V. H		
732	22	43	M. Claudius Marcellus, L. Arruntius (Coss.)	
			Conspiracy and death of Murena.	
733	21	44	M. Lollius, Q. Æmilius Lepidus (Coss.)	
			Augustus sets out for the East.	Carm. III. v. (?)
			Horace completes his fourty-fourth year in December.	Ep. I. xx. 27.
734	20	45	M. Appuleius, P. Silius Nerva (Coss.)	
			Voyage of Virgil to the East, according to Donatus.	Carm. I. iii. (?)
			Armenia subdued. Phraates humbled.	Ep. I. xii. 27.
			Restoration of the standards of Crassus.	Ep. I. xviii. 56.
			Agrippa finally defeats the Cantabrians.	Carm. IV. xv. 6.
735	19	46	C. Sentius Saturninus, Q. Lucretius (Coss.)	Ep. I. xii. 26.
			Publication of First Book of Epistles (Bentley); Franke places it in the year before.	Dion. LIV.
			Death of Virgil.	Donatus in Vit.
736	18	47	P. Cornelius Lentulus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus (Coss.)	
			Death of Tibullus, soon after that of Virgil.	Domit. Mars. Elegia. Ovid Tr. IV. x. 41-50.
737	17	48	C. Furnius, C. Junius Silanus (Coss.)	
			Ludi Seculares.	
			Carmen Seculare of Horace.	
			The Æneid intrusted to the care of Varius and Tucca.	
738	16	49	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, P. Cornelius Scipio (Coss.)	
739	15	50	M. Livius Drusus Libo, L. Calpurnius Piso (Coss.)	
			The Vindelici and Rhæti subdued by Tiberius and Drusus.	Carm. IV. 4.
			War with the Sicambri, Dion. LIV. 20.	

U. C.	B. C.	V. H.		
739	15	50	Horace completes his fiftieth year.	Carm. IV. ii. 36
			The Fourteenth Ode of the Fourth Book written, fifteen years after the taking of Alexandria.	[xiv. 51. Carm. IV. i. 6. Carm. IV. xiv. 37.
			Death of Orbilius, nearly one hundred years old.	
740	14	51	M. Licin. Crassus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur (Coss.)	
741	13	52	Tib. Claudius Nero, P. Quintilius Varus (Coss.)	
			Augustus returns from Gaul.	
			Publication of the Fourth Book of Odes.	
742	12	53	M. Valerius Messala, P. Sulpicius Quirinus (Coss.)	
			Drusus in Germany.	
			Death of Agrippa.	
			During these later years of Horace, he writes the Second Book of Epistles, and that de A. P. to the Pisos.	
743	11	54	Q. Ælius Tubero, Paullus Fabius Maximus (Coss.)	
			Drusus in Germany.	
744	10	55	Jul. Antonius, Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus (Coss.)	
			Augustus in Gaul.	Dion. LIV. 36.
745	9	56	Nero Claudius Drusus, T. Quinctius Crispinus Volcatius (Coss.)	
			Death of Drusus.	
			End of the History of Livy.	
746	8	57	C. Martius Censorinus, C. Asinius Gallus (Coss.)	
			Augustus assumes the Empire the third time.	
			Death of Mæcenas.	Dion. LV. 7.
			Death of Horace, Nov. 27, having nearly completed his fifty-seventh year.	

DE VILLA HORATII.

A LETTER BY G. DENNIS, Esq.

"Post fanum putre Vacunæ,"

Prid. Non. Sept., A.D. 1842.

Dear ——

I write from Licenza, hard by the site of Horace's Sabine Farm, where I have spent the last week,

"Excepto quod non simul esses, cætera lætus."

I am lodged in the house of the present possessor of the said Farm, and from my window look out on the wooded crests of the *amænus Lucretilis*, on the *Ustica cubans*, and the *reducta vallis* at their feet. The spot is still, as in the poet's time, the abode of rural simplicity — a calm retreat from the heat, the dust, the noise of "royal Rome." The mountain breezes, too — so cool and refreshing after the furnace-blasts of the Campagna—

"Incolumem tibi me præstant Septembribus horis."

You will be anxious to hear some description of my pil-

grimage to this spot, more holy to us both than Mecca, Loreto, or Compostella.

" Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri."

If you follow the banks of the Anio, eight miles above Tivoli you reach Vico Varo—the Varia mentioned by the poet as in the neighbourhood of his Farm, and probably at that time the nearest town. Its identity is determined by the Peutingerian Table, which places Varia eight miles from Tibur, on this, the Valerian Way. It is now a small place, standing on a steep rock, overhanging the road, and still preserving fragments of its ancient walls of rectangular masonry. You presently leave the Anio, and enter a valley which opens to the north. On a height which rises to the right stand two villages, Cantalupo and Bardela; the latter is supposed to be the Mandela, which the poet describes as *rugosus frigore pagus;* and, certes, it stands in an airy position, at the point of junction of the two valleys.(1) You

(1) In describing the site of his Farm, Horace says,—

" Continui montes, nisi dissocientur opacâ
Valle."

The meaning of this cannot be mistaken by him who comes from Tivoli. The mountains are evidently those which stretch thence in a "continuous" chain on this bank of the Anio, till they are "dissevered" or intersected by the valley of the Digentia; and this will be even more apparent when it is remembered that the road from Tivoli is also the direct road from Rome. The direction which the valley takes—due north and south—explains what follows—

" sed ut veniens dextrum latus adspiciat Sol
Lævum decedens curru fugiente vaporet."

soon come to a small stream, of no remarkable character, but it is the Digentia, the *gelidus rivus*, at which the poet was wont to slake his thirst—*me quoties reficit*—and which flows away through the meadows to the foot of the said hill of Bardela—*quem Mandela bibit*. You are now in the Sabine valley, so fondly loved and highly prized.

"Cur valle permutem Sabinâ
Divitias operosiores?"

A long lofty ridge forms the left-hand barrier of the valley. It is Lucretilis. Sir John Hobhouse says it is now called Campanile—but every peasant will point you out "Lucretile." It has no striking features to attract the eye—with its easy swells, undulating outline, and slopes covered with wood, it well merits the title of *amœnus*, though that was doubtless due to its grateful shade, rather than to its appearance. Ere long you espy, high up beneath the brow of the mountain, a village perched on a precipitous grey cliff. It is Rocca Giovane, now occupying the site of the ruined temple of Vacuna, of which more anon.

Five or six miles up this valley bring you to the foot of a conical height, on which stands the said town of Licenza; while still loftier heights tower behind, from which

The right and left sides of the valley are determined by the course of the stream. The term "shady" cannot be applied to the valley on account of its narrowness; for it is strictly a *valley*, not a glen; but it is more probably to be referred to the woods, which, from other passages, we are led to presume, clothed the hollow, in Horace's time, even more densely than at present.

the village of Civitella, apparently inaccessible, looks down on the valley like an eagle from its eyrie. In the foreground a knoll crested with chesnuts, rising some eighty or hundred feet above the stream, marks the site of the much-sung Farm.

This knoll stands at a bend of the stream, or rather at the point where several rivulets unite to form the Digentia. Behind the knoll stood the Farm. A few remains of brick wall, a scattered fragment or two of columns, not of marble or other foreign materials, but of ordinary travertine, and a small piece of mosaic pavement, mark the exact site. These are the sole traces now visible, but my host, Giuseppe Onorati, tells me that within his memory—some fifty years ago—the mosaic floors of six chambers were brought to light, but were covered again with earth, as nothing was found to tempt to further excavation. The mosaic, still shown, is black and white, in very simple geometrical figures, and, with the other remains, is quite in harmony with an abode where

> "Non ebur neque aureum
> Meâ renidet in domo lacunar;
> Non trabes Hymettiæ
> Premunt columnas ultimâ recisas
> Africâ."

From the poet's description, we learn that his land was little cultivated: —

> "Quid, si rubicunda benignè
> Corna vepres et pruna ferunt? si quercus et ilex
> Multâ fruge pecus, multâ dominum juvat umbrâ?"

You may remember, too, that he says of the neighbourhood —

"Angulus iste feret piper et thus ocyus uvâ."

Tempora mutantur, and soils may change also — the cultivation of nineteen centuries has rendered this more fertile; for vines hang in festoons from tree to tree over the site of his abode; the cornels and sloes have in great measure given way to the olive and fig; and the walnut and Spanish chesnut have taken the place of the oak and ilex. Nevertheless, the poet's description still holds good of the uncultivated spots in the neighbourhood, which are overrun with brambles and are fragrant with odoriferous herbs; and my host informs me, that within his time the ground was covered with wood — with *cere* and *quercie*, different kinds of oak, and with the scarlet-holm and Spanish chesnut; and as this is his *avitus fundus*, his testimony is not to be despised.

The Farm is situated on a rising ground, which sinks with a gentle slope to the stream, leaving a level intervening strip, now yellow with the harvest. In this I recognised the *pratum apricum* which was in danger of being overflowed. The *aprica rura* were probably then, as now, sown with corn—*puræ rivus aquæ, et segetis certa fides meæ*. Here it must have been that the poet was wont to repose after his meal: *prope rivum somnus in herbâ;* and here his personal efforts, perhaps, to dam out the stream, provoked his neighbours to a smile—

"Rident vicini glebas et saxa moventem."

As I mean to extenuate nothing, but to tell a plain tale, I must mention a fact, which may either call Horace's truthfulness into question, or show him to have availed himself of his professional licence, for private purposes. But in love and war stratagem is fair, says the proverb. He tells Miss Tyndaris that no serpents infest his lands: —

> "Nec virides metuunt colubras,
> Nec martiales hæduleæ lupos."

Of wolves I say nought, they are not now in season. It may be that the reptile population of the spot has altered in the course of centuries, yet it is scarcely likely to have increased with the cultivation; and I therefore fear the poet was guilty of wilful misrepresentation in order to coax a visit from the coy fair; for more than one green snake have I beheld on the site, and this very morning I have had a combat with a monster—not such as sucked Cleopatra's bosom—no fig-basket affair—no tress of Medusa—but

> "Horresco referens, immensis orbibus anguis!"—

six or seven feet long—black as death—rapid as thought. I would joyfully have despatched him, but he escaped my vengeance and found shelter among the débris of the villa. By-the-bye, there were five, or at least four, other houses anciently on this site, of Horace's slaves or dependents; for he tells us his little estate was

> "habitatum quinque focis, et
> Quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres."

Francis translates this

"Five prudent sires to Varia's council went"—

But it seems to me to signify nothing more than that Varia was the nearest town, whither these, not *patres conscripti* but *patresfamilias*, went to market, for it is evident that the farm was quite secluded, among *deserta et inhospita tesqua*, with not even a village near, where the steward might regale himself in a wine-shop. Eustace speaks of "the occasional pine" existing here as in the poet's time—*imminens villæ pinus*—but not one could I perceive, though half a dozen poplars rise on the site of the farm, and a pair of cypresses on the hill slope, some distance above.

I have been seeking far and wide for the Fons Bandusiæ. It is not said by the poet to have been in the neighbourhood of his farm; but we know there was a fountain hard by whose praises he sings—

"Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons,
Et paulum silvæ super his foret. Auctius atque
Dii melius fecêre.—

Puræ rivus aquæ, silvaque jugerum
Paucorum—

Fons etiam, rivo dare nomen idoneus, (ut nec
Frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus)
Infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo."

Hence I cannot think with Sir John Hobhouse, that it is strange to suppose that the Fons Bandusiæ, which he sings in similar terms, was in the vicinity of his Farm.

Such indeed seems to have been, with few exceptions, the opinion of critics in all ages, from the old scholiasts downwards. Those who place his Farm at Tivoli, point out a fountain on the banks of the Anio as the one in question; but in nothing beyond the purity of the water does it answer the description. Eustace speaks of a spring on the slope of Lucretilis, above the Farm, and commonly called "Fonte Bello," as the Fons Bandusiæ; but the very description he gives proves it not to correspond. I have taken the trouble to trace every streamlet for several miles round to its source, and in one only can I perceive the requisite analogy; and that so perfectly answers to the description, that I have no hesitation in asserting that, if the Fons Bandusiæ were in the neighbourhood of the Farm, the said spring is it. Moreover, it is now commonly called the "Fonte Blandusia," but whether the nomenclature be remotely traditional, or recently imposed, I cannot learn.

This spring rises at the head of a narrow glen, which opens into the broader valley of the Digentia just beyond the Farm, and stretches up for two or three miles into the heart of the mountains, dividing Lucretilis from Ustica. This is evidently the *reducta vallis*, to which Tyndaris was invited; and it is known by the peasants as the "Valle Rustica," than which no name could be more appropriate; though it probably was not conferred with reference to the scenery, but as a corruption of "Ustica." Hobhouse seems to mistake the long valley of the Digentia for the Valle Rustica. Whether

Ustica cubans were a mountain or a valley, or both, as hath been opined, I leave to the critics to determine; but the mountain on the right of the glen, which contrasts its recumbent form with the steep-browed Lucretilis, is still called "Ustica," and sometimes "Rustica," by the peasantry. The penultimate, however, is now pronounced short. The streamlet is called "Le Chiuse;" it is the same which flows beneath the villa, and threatens the "*pratum apricum.*" I ascended its course from the Farm, by the path which Horace must have taken to the Fountain. It flows over a rocky bed, here overshadowed by dwarf-willows, there by wide-spreading fig-trees, and is flanked by vineyards for some distance. Then all cultivation ceases—the scenery becomes wilder—the path steeper—the valley contracts to a ravine—a bare grey and red rock rises on the right, schistose, rugged, and stern; another similar cliff rises opposite, crested with ilex, and overtopt by the dark wooded head of Lucretilis. As I approached the Fountain I came to an open grassy spot, where cattle and goats were feeding.

"Tu frigus amabile
Fessis vomere tauris
Præbes, et pecori vago."

The spot is exquisitely Arcadian; no wonder it captivated the poet's fancy. It is now just as it must have met his eye. During the noontide heat, the vast Lucretilis throws his grateful shade across the glen,

"et igneam
Defendit æstatem capellis."

Goats still wander among the underwood, cropping the *arbutos et thyma* which cover the ground in profusion, or frisking among the rocks as smooth-faced—*levia saxa*—as when they reëchoed the notes of the poet's pipe; but Tyndaris, if she listened to his prayer, she has left no shadow of herself behind—no Dryad or Naiad now haunts the spot. Nothing in female shape have I beheld in this vicinity which could stir the muse of the most delicately-strung poet.

Crossing the stream by the huge rocks which almost choke its bed, I climbed through brambles and sloes to the fountain. It is a most picturesque spot. Large masses of moss-clad rock lie piled up in the cleft between the hills, and among them the streamlet works its way, overshadowed by hanging woods of ilex, beech, hornbeam, maple, chesnut, nut, and walnut,—which throw so dense a shade, that scarcely a ray of the all-glaring sun can play on the turf below.

> "Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ
> Nescit tangere: tu frigus amabile
> Præbes."

The water springs from three small holes at the top of a shelving rock (not seen in the sketch) of no great height, and glides down into a sandy basin, which it overflows, trickling in a slender thread over the rocks into a small pool, and thence sinking in a mimic cascade into the rugged channel which bears it down the glen. From the rocks which separate the upper from the lower basin of the fountain, springs a moss-grown walnut-tree, which stretches

its giant limbs over the whole. The water itself merits all that has been said or sung of it; it is verily *splendidior vitro*. Nothing—not even the Thracian Hebrus—can exceed it in purity, coolness, and sweetness.

"Hæ latebræ dulces, et jam (si credis) amœnæ!"

Well might the poet choose this as a retreat from the fierce noontide heat. Here could he lie the live-long day on the soft turf, and sing

"ruris amœni
Rivos, et musco circumlita saxa, nemusque,"

while his goats strayed around, cropping the pink and purple cyclamen, which decks the brink of the fountain, or the wild strawberries and sweet herbs which scent the air around. Here, while all nature below was fainting beneath the heat, might he enjoy the grateful shade of Lucretilis; whose echoes, with those of Ustica opposite, he might awaken with his "sweet pipe," as he sang the charms of the fair Tyndaris, and wooed her in imagination and immortal verse. Or here might he well sing the praises of the fountain itself, as he listened to its "babbling waters," and feasted his eye on the rich union of wood and rock around it.

"Me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
Saxis; unde loquaces
Lymphæ desiliunt tuæ."

Just as it was then, so is it now,—even to the very ilices overhanging the hollow rocks whence it springs. And so

exactly, in every particular, does this fountain answer to the celebrated Fons, that my faith in its identity is firm and steadfast.(2)

Licenza bears no traces of antiquity. No town could have existed here in Horace's time, or his *villicus* would have found at hand the delights he sighed after,—*fornix et uncta popina, taberna, et meretrix tibicina.* It is pretty evident that Varia was the nearest town to the farm. Licenza is but a corruption of Digentia—a name which is thus singularly preserved, as the vulgar appellation of the river is "Rio Vecchio," not Licenza, as Eustace asserts. The town is small, containing less than one thousand inhabitants, of whom my host is one of the chief. "*En la casa de ciegos el tuerto es Rey*—in the house of the blind, the one-eyed man is king"—says the Spanish proverb. The accommodation he affords is the best to be had in the place, but it is so indifferent—even *mundæ parvo sub lare cœnæ* is here of questionable application—that I do not wonder most Horatian pilgrims make but a day's excursion from Tivoli to these localities. Few, very few, of the travellers who visit the Eternal City, extend their wanderings as far as this; and of those few, the greater part are English. In fact, it is commonly believed by the peasantry, that Horace was our countryman, for they cannot

(2) I have allowed Mr. Dennis to plead his own cause in favour of the Sabine Bandusia. My own opinion is, however, unshaken, as to the evidence in favour of the neighbourhood of Venusia for the *Bandusian* fountain.—EDITOR.

conceive of any other source of interest in one so long dead, and unsainted, than that of co-patriotism or consanguinity.

I have not omitted to make an excursion to Rocca Giovane, which is about four miles from Licenza. It stands on a precipitous, jagged rock of limestone, which juts out most boldly and picturesquely into the valley. The village does not occupy the site of the ancient temple —*fanum Vacunæ*— which seems to have stood about a mile distant, towards the head of Lucretilis. Here some large masses of brick and stone, apparently part of a vaulted roof, stuccoed, are shown as the remains of the temple. Hard by is an ancient conduit which still conveys water towards the ruins from the higher part of the mountain. Vacuna was a goddess of the Sabines, supposed to be identical with Victory, and that there was an ancient shrine to that deity in this neighbourhood, is proved by the following inscription, which I copied from a tablet preserved at Rocca Giovane, and said by the villagers to have been found among these ruins :—

IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIANVS.
P ONTIFEX. MAXIMVS. TRIB.
POTEST ATIS. CENSOR. AEDEM. VICTORIAE.
VETUST ATE. DILAPSAM. SVA. IMPENSA.
RESTITVIT.

Fragments of granite columns, and a small bas-relief, representing a female with a stag by her side, are also pointed out as having been found on the same site. It is most probable, then, that the ruins in question, are those of the "*Fanum*," which, though restored by Vespasian, is now more

putre than ever. Most commentators explain, *Hæc tibi dictabam post fanum, &c.* as meaning that the poet dictated that epistle from this very site. Doering, I remember, suggests that in his wanderings around his villa, Horace may have strolled up to this temple, and casting himself on the turf behind it, may have dictated the said epistle to his slave. It seems to me, however, quite unnecessary to suppose that he wrote from this spot; I would rather interpret it as signifying that he wrote from his own farm, which was actually behind the temple, as regards its position relatively to Rome, where Fuscus Aristius, to whom the epistle is addressed, was evidently staying—

> "Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere jubemus
> Ruris amatores. . . . . .
> Tu nidum servas," &c.

PERSONÆ HORATIANÆ.

ÆLIUS.—See "Lamia."

ÆSOPUS CLAUDIUS, or CLODIUS.—(Probably a freedman of the Claudian family.) Epist. II. i. 82. The great, the solemn (gravis) or impressive tragic actor. Quintilian describes the delivery of Roscius as more rapid (citatior); that of Æsopus, as more grave or solemn (gravior). Instit. Orat. xi. 3. 111. His consummate art was the effect of profound study; he attended public trials when great orators, such as Hortensius, pleaded, to catch the expression of the feelings and passions of mankind (Val Max. viii. 10. 2). Cicero speaks of the expression of his countenance and gesture: "In te scepe vidi; et * * * in Æsopo, familiari tuo tantum ardorem vultuum atque motuum, ut eum vis quædam abstraxisse a sensu mentis videretur" (De Divin. I. 37). Yet it is difficult to reconcile this with a passage in Fronto de Eloquentia. Æsopus is there said to have gazed intently for some time on his mask, in order to catch the expression of its character. To understand the position, character, and influence of a great actor like Æsopus, the passage in Cicero's Oratio pro Sextio, must be read. This perfect artist always, Cicero asserts, chose the noblest parts both as an actor

and as a citizen. (The translation expresses but ill, "mehercule semper partium in republicâ, tanquam in scenâ, optimarum.") In the character of the Banished Telamon (in a tragedy of Accius), Æsopus pleaded the cause of the exiled Cicero more powerfully than could any orator with the most consummate eloquence. By marked emphasis he applied passage after passage to Cicero, till the vast audience was kindled with indignation, or melted into tears. The climax of all, was the line,—

"Exsulare sinitis, sivistis pelli, pulsum patimini."

On another occasion he boldly substituted the name of Tullius for that of Brutus,—"*Tullius* qui libertatem civibus stabiliverat." At the dedication of Pompey's Theatre, U. C. 699, the voice of Æsopus failed, probably from age. Cicero ad Fam. vii. 1. The time of his death is unknown. Horace could hardly have seen him act, as he did not come to Rome before U. C. 701.

ÆSOPI FILIUS, CLODIUS.—Sat. II. iii. 239. The heir of the vast fortunes made by the great actor. He had anticipated the gorgeous prodigality of Cleopatra. His huge pearl, which he melted in vinegar and drank, though worth about £8072 3*s.* 4*d.*, was not of the enormous value of the famous unique gem of Cleopatra. The latter, which was estimated at the sum, at least, of centies H. S. (£80,729 3*s.* 4*d.*), she actually did swallow, and was prevented from swallowing a second, to make up her wager of supping at the price of a whole taxation, six times that sum—sex centies. But the son of the player had laid no wager, and did it for the whim of knowing how pearls would taste; and not content with this, treated all his guests with the same kind of draught.—Plin. Hist. Nat., IX. 35. Macrob. Sat. II. xiii.

AGRIPPA, M. VIPSANIUS.—Carm. I. vi. Sat. II. iii. 185. Epist. I. xii. 26. His portico, Epist. I. vi. 26. His Sicilian estate, Epist. I. xii. 2. Born U. C. 691, died U. C. 742. Horace could not but look up to Agrippa with honour and admiration, on account of his splendid victories and his magnificence in public works and in popular spectacles; but there is no passage in his writings which implies personal intimacy. The sixth Ode is a tribute to the military glory of Agrippa. The allusion in the Satire is to the applause which Agrippa received in the theatre, for the lavish costliness of his exhibitions; but in both cases the poet's tone is distant and respectful, totally different from that in which he indulged towards Mæcenas, and even later in his life towards Augustus. The Life of Agrippa, therefore, does not bear much relation to the Horatian poetry.

ALBINOVANUS.—See "Celsus."

ALBINI FILIUS.—Son of a famous usurer, A. P. 327.

ALBIUS.—Sat. I. iv. 28. An admirer of the fine arts, otherwise unknown. His son, Sat. I. iv. 109.

ALBIUS.—See "Poets," "Tibullus."

ALBUTIUS.—Sat. II. i. 48. He was notorious for having poisoned, by one account, his wife, by another, his mother. The Albutius (Sat. II. ii. 67) seems a different person, accused of cruelty to his slaves.

ALCON.—The slave of Nasidienus. Sat. II. viii. 15.

ALFENIUS VARUS.—Sat. I. iii. 130. A lawyer, who was brought up as a shoemaker at Cremona; studied under Sulpicius Rufus, and became so eminent as to attain the consulship and a public funeral. Everard Otto, in his professional zeal, as well as Wieland, endeavoured to relieve this famous lawyer from the imputation of his base origin.

ALFIUS, the Usurer.—Epod. II. 67. Unknown.

ALPINUS.—See "Poets," "Furius Bibaculus."

ANTONIUS IULUS.—See "Poets."

ANTONIUS MUSA.—See "Musa."

APELLA.—Sat. I. v. 100. The Jew. The Scholiasts interpret the name as "nomen fictum a defectu præputii;" but it was a common name among freed-men, of which class the Jews in Rome (who dwelt beyond the Tiber) mostly were. Cicero mentions a freed-man named Apellas. Ad Fam. vii. 25.

ARBUSCULA.—Sat. I. x. 77. A celebrated dancer of Pantomime, of whom Cicero writes to Atticus in the midst of graver matters. Ad Att. iv. 15. Quæris de Arbusculâ; valde placuit.

ARELLIUS.—Sat. II. vi. 78. A miserly neighbour of Horace in the country.

ARISTIUS FUSCUS.—Carm. I. xxii. Sat. I. ix. 61, and x. 89. Epist. I. x. Aristius seems to have been among those dearest friends of Horace, with whom, as far as their habits would allow, he lived on the most intimate terms. Aristius was a man of wit, and a lover of the town life: we may suspect not disinclined to money making, one of the vices of the day, which Horace touches in his Epistle with even more than his usual delicacy.

ARRIUS, Q.—Sat. II. iii. 86, 243. A famous spendthrift, son of the Q. Arrius, whose costly funeral banquet is mentioned in Cic. in Vatin. 12.

ASELLA VINNIUS.—See "Vinnius."

ASINIUS POLLIO.—See "Poets."

AUFIDIUS.—Sat. II. iv. 24. An epicure, perhaps the Aufidius Lurio who first took to fattening peacocks for food. Plin. H. N. x. 20.

AUFIDIUS LUSCUS.—Sat. I. v. 34. The Duumvir, or local magistrate, of Fundi, who gave himself the title and airs of a Prætor, met Mæcenas and his friends in official pomp, with a laticlave over his tunic, and with his pan of incense; and was laughed at for his pains.

AUGUSTUS, CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS.—See "Life of Horace," for his general relation to the Poet. The chronology of the works of Horace may be traced in his allusions to the successive events in the reign of Augustus; and from the tone in which he speaks of him, rising from cold indifference to awe and poetic adulation, and at length into easy and almost familiar friendship. In the first book of Satires (Sat. I. iii. 4), Augustus is the Cæsar "possessed of power, which a Tigellius would not venture to disobey." In the Epodes, some of which I believe to have been written before the second book of Satires, the danger of Augustus Cæsar is touched upon (i. 3), yet chiefly because Mæcenas, the patron of Horace, is about to share it. The ninth Epode, written later, is a hymn for the victory at Actium. Soon after, in the second book of Satires, the deeds of the unconquered Cæsar are spoken of as a high theme for poetry. Cæsar is now in possession of supreme power, and has begun to exercise it with moderation; he is just as well as valiant (II. 5, 16). The Odes rise to a higher kind of praise. Octavius is now (C. I. xi.) the avenger of Cæsar; he is father and prince of his country; he is an earthly Jupiter (C. I. xii. 52). In the second book of Odes he is become still more—he is Augustus (C. II. ix.); in the third he is deified (C. III. v. 3; III. iii. 11). In the magnificent ode on the death of Cleopatra, there are allusions to his projected and irresistible invasion of Britain (C. I. xxxv. 29). In the earlier Epistles Augustus is no longer only the remote and awful ruler, he

is the genial lover of the poetry of Horace. The Poet sends to him his works (Epist. I. xiii. 2, 18). The fourth book of Odes is now written at the imperial command; the adulation is at the same time more open and undisguised, yet in some degree more familiar. At length, in the first Epistle of the second book, Horace addresses the Emperor himself. Though with courteous deference for the supreme authority of Augustus, he yet maintains the independence of his own taste in poetry; and reads the Emperor a lesson in criticism with inimitable skill and urbanity. This poem gives a singularly pleasing view of the frank and easy intercourse which had gradually grown up between the man of letters and the master of the world.

AULUS.—Sat. II. iii. 171. A common name, used for a fictitious person.

AULUS CASCELLIUS.—Art. Poet. 371. A lawyer of great erudition. A witticism of Cascellius is recorded by Macrobius, Sat. ii. 6. A. Cascellius, a great property lawyer, is mentioned in Cicero pro Balbo, xx., and in Val. Max. viii. 12, 1. But as this A. Cascellius was an old man (See Val. Max. vi. 2, 12) in the time of the struggle between Cæsar and Pompeius, he could not have been alive when the Art of Poetry was written. This Cascellius was reproved for speaking too freely against the party of Cæsar. "Duæ res quæ hominibus amarissimæ videntur, magnam sibi licentiam præbere respondit, senectutem et orbitatem." If he be the Cascellius alluded to in Horace, his legal erudition must have become proverbial.

AVIDIENUS.—Sat. II. ii. 55. A miser; unknown.

BACCHIUS.—Sat. I. vii. 20. A celebrated gladiator.

BALATRO.—See "Servilius."

BALBINUS, L. CÆLIUS.—Sat. I. iii. 40. Proscribed by

the Triumvirate, but escaped. He afterwards made his peace with the conqueror, and was Consul, U. C. 724. App. B.C. iv. 50.

BARINE.—Carm. II. viii. 2.

BARRUS.—Sat. I. iv. 110; I. vi. 30; I. vii. 8. A spendthrift; unknown.

BAVIUS.—See "Poets," Art. "Mævius."

BESTIUS.—Epist. I. xv. 37. An old miser very severe against gluttons.

BIBACULUS.—See "Poets."

BIBULUS.—Sat. I. x. 86. One of the intimate friends of Horace; perhaps son of the colleague of Cæsar in the Consulship.

BIRRIUS.—Sat. I. iv. 69. A prodigal youth, who had perhaps turned robber.

BITHIUS.—Sat. I. vii. 20. A celebrated gladiator

BOLANUS.—Sat. I. ix. 11. A mad fellow, according to the Scholiast, who always spoke out what he thought of every one.

BRUTUS, MARCUS.—Carm. II. vii. 2; Sat. I. vii. 18-33. Horace commanded a legion in his army; perhaps was with him in Asia.

BULLATIUS.—Epist. I. xi. A friend of Horace, to whom an Epistle is addressed; otherwise unknown.

BUTRO.—Epist. I. v. 26. An unknown person, probably a wit, considered good company enough to be invited by Horace to meet Torquatus.

CADMUS.—Sat. I. vi. 39. The executioner, of notorious cruelty, adds the Scholiast.

CŒLIUS.—Sat. I. iv. 69. The companion of Birrius in his prodigality; perhaps in his robberies.

CALAIS.—Probably an imaginary name. Carm. III. ix. 14.

CALPURNIUS.—See "Bibulus."

CALVUS.—See "Poets."

CANIDIA.—The Scholiasts agree that this mistress of Horace (and in her case I should have no doubt of the reality of the personage) was a Neapolitan named Gratidia, the more tender name, Gratidia, being changed by the angry poet into Canidia, an insulting allusion to her grey hairs. But it is difficult to make out any satisfactory notion, either of this person herself, or of her imputed witchcraft, from the exaggerations of poetry, and, it should seem likewise, of bitter hatred. At the time when these poems, at least the last Epode, was written, Canidia must have been an old woman; she drops her false teeth, when disturbed in her magical operations (Sat. I. viii. 48). Horace, however, in another place, speaks of her youth and blooming colour as blighted by her enchantments (Epod. xvii. 21). I should have no doubt, therefore, that, if there was any intrigue between them, it was that of a woman of a certain age, with a young man, not unlikely on both sides to end in bitter hatred: he ashamed, or weary of the connection, and attributing it to the influence of witchcraft; she having recourse to any forbidden practices (and such practices were no doubt common) to regain or to revenge herself upon her faithless lover. I hesitate not to assign the adventure to the first years after the return of Horace to Rome. But the whole is a singular illustration of the ubiquity and perpetuity, even in the minutest circumstances, of popular superstition.

CANIS.—See "Avidienus."

CAPITO, FONTEIUS.—Sat. I. v. 38. He had a house or farm at or near Formiæ, from which the travellers to Brundusium were supplied with entertainment. According to the Scholiast Cruq., Fonteius Capito was the negociator on the part of Antonius in the treaty of Brundusium. A

medal of Fonteius Capito is given by Eckhel, D. N. v. p. 219.

Capitolinus.—See "Petillius"

Caprius.—Sat. I. iv. 66. A low lawyer.

Cascellius.—See "Aulus."

Cassius, Etruscus.—See "Poets."

Cassius, Parmensis.—See "Poets."

Cassius, Severus.—Acron, in the Comm. Cruq., supposes the sixth Epode to be addressed to a malevolent orator of this name. But it is objected that he died in exile, U. C. 786, and this Epode was written about U. C. 720.

Castor.—A gladiator of renown. Epist. I. xviii. 19.

Catia.—Sat. I. ii. 96. A woman of shameless profligacy.

Catienus.—Sat. II. ii. 61. An actor, who played the ghost of Deiphobus in a tragedy of Pacuvius. See "Fufius."

Catius.—Sat. II. iv. 1. Probably an imaginary interlocutor, as a great gastronome, in this Satire; erroneously supposed the same with an Epicurean philosopher whose death is noticed by Cicero ad Fam. xv. 16. There is nothing, in what Cicero says of Catius, to connect him with culinary taste or science.

Catullus.—Sat. I. x. 19. See "Poets."

Celsus.—Epist. I. iii. Perhaps Celsus Albinovanus, to whom the eighth Epistle is inscribed.

Celsus Albinovanus.—Epist. I. iii. 15; I. viii. An attendant and secretary of Tiberius. There were several persons who took the name of Albinovanus, among them Pedo the poet.

Censorinus, C. Marcius.—Carm. IV. viii. 2. Consul, U. C. 746. He was of distinguished birth (Vell. ii. 102), and died in the East, where he had been Proconsul, soon

after the death of Lollius. The death of Censorinus was generally lamented; that of Lollius a cause rather of rejoicing.

CERINTHUS.—Sat. I. ii. 81. A beautiful youth, probably the same mentioned in later life by Tibullus. Eleg. ii. 2; iv. 2.

CERVIUS.—Sat. II. i. 47. A sort of troublesome litigant, ready to prosecute any one: he is said (Comm. Cruq.) to have falsely accused Cn. Domitius Calvinus under the law de Sicariis.

CERVIUS.—Sat. II. vi. 77. A country neighbour of Horace.

CHLOE.—Carm. I. xxiii. 1; III. vii. 10; III. ix. 6, 9-19; III. xxvi. 12.

CHLORIS.—Carm. II. v. 18.

CHLORIS.—Carm. III. xv. 8. Wife of the poor Ibycus.

CICIRRUS.—See "Messius."

CICUTA.—Sat. II. iii. 69, 173. A nickname of the notorious usurer Perillius.

CINARA.—Carm. IV. i. 4; IV. xiii. 21. Epist. I. vii. 28; I. xiv. 33. I am inclined to believe that Cinara was a real mistress of the Poet.

CLAUDIUS, NERO.—See "Tiberius."

CLEOPATRA.—Carm. I. xxxvii. 7. Epod. ix. 11.

COCCEIUS NERVA.—On the authority of the Comm. Cruq., Cocceius Nerva has been supposed to be M. Cocceius M. F. Nerva, the great-grandfather of the Emperor Nerva, who was in favour both with Octavius and Antonius, and a friend of Agrippa. Consul, U. C. 718. Biondi has recently shown that this was his brother, Cocceius Nerva, who was Consul Suff. U. C. 715. Dissertat. dell' Academ. Rom. d'Archæol. vi. p. 286.

CORANUS.—Sat. I. v. 57. An usurer, a scribe, or notary.

COTISO.—Carm. III. viii. 18. A Dacian king: "Daci montibus inhærent. *Cotisonis* regis imperio, quoties concretus gelu Danubius junxerat ripas, decurrere solebant et vicina populari. Visum est Augusto, gentem aditu difficillimam summovere. Misso igitur Lentulo, ultra ulteriorem repulit ripam: citra præsidia constituit. Sic tunc Dacia non victa, sed summota atque deleta est." Florus IV. xii. 18. Cf. Suet. Octav. xxi. c. lxiii. Augustus is said to have betrothed his daughter Julia to Cotiso, King of the Getes, and to have sought the daughter of that king in marriage.

CRATERUS.—Sat. II. iii. 161. A celebrated physician of the times. Compare Cic. ad. Att. xii. 14.

CRISPINUS.—Sat. I. i. 121; I. iii. 139; I. iv. 13; II. vii. 45. The blear-eyed, lippus, a frequent object of the satire of Horace. Bentley is extremely indignant at the usual reading, which supposes that Horace would deride in another the malady under which he suffered himself. Compare Jacob's Lectiones Venusinæ, p. 305, who discusses the question like a man not only of sense but of taste.

CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS.—See "Sallustius."

CUPIENNIUS.—Sat. I. ii. 36. Libo. A friend of Augustus, notorious for his intrigues with Roman matrons. Schol.

CYRUS.—Carm. I. xvii. 25; I. xxxiii. 6. Perhaps imaginary.

DAMA.—Sat. I. vi. 38; II. v. 18, 101; II. vii. 54. The common name of a slave.

DAMALIS.—Carm. I. xxxvi. 13, 17, 18. Perhaps imaginary.

DAMASIPPUS.—A bankrupt tradesman, who had put on a beard and mantle, and set up for a Stoic philosopher: he is the interlocutor with Horace, Sat. II. iii. In his wealthier days Damasippus had been a lover of the fine arts, and a man of expensive, at least, if not of good taste. Cicero's friend had bought him three Bacchanalians, a Mars, and another statue, at a much higher price than Cicero was disposed to give; he hoped that Damasippus, or, if he should fail, some pseudo-Damasippus, would take them off his hands (Ad Fam. vii. 23). Damasippus appears again as owner or purchaser of certain gardens (Cic. ad. Att. xiii. 29).

DAVUS.—Sat. I. x. 40; II. ii. 5-92. Art. Poet. 119, 237. A conventional name.

DAVUS.—Sat. II. vii. 2, 46, 100. A slave of Horace.

DELLIUS.—Carm. II. iii. Dellius was notorious for the shameless manner in which he changed sides, during that period of almost universal political treachery. He was called by Messala, "desultor bellorum civilium." He betrayed Dolabella to Cassius, offering to purchase his own safety by the death of Dolabella. From Cassius he revolted to Antonius; from Antonius to Cæsar. Certain lascivious letters of Dellius to Cleopatra were well known (Senec. Suasor. et Vell. ii. 84). He served in the campaign of Antonius against the Parthians, and wrote a history of that war. At this time, no doubt, he belonged to the society of Cæsar and Mæcenas; and possessed a beautiful villa, in which he enjoyed the decline of life.

DEMETRIUS.—See "Poets."

DEMETRIUS.—Epist. I. vii. 52. Slave of L. Marcius Philippus.

DOLICHOS.—Epist. I. xviii. 19. A famous gladiator.

DOSSENNUS.—See "Poets."

ENNIUS.—See "Poets."

EUTRAPELUS.—Epist. I. xviii. 31. P. Volumnius, of whose elegance (εὐτραπελία) Cicero writes (Epist. ad Fam. vii. 32-33), seems to have acquired the name of Eutrapelus. Cicero appears to have appointed Eutrapelus as a sort of guardian over his reputation as a wit; as bound to take care that bad jokes were not imputed to him; and this in a strain of laboured pleasantry, which implies that Volumnius must have had a difficult office. Yet Volumnius seems to have been a man of solid and masculine character. Cicero, in his Orations, shows confidence in his judgment, and consults him on the affairs of the republic.

FABIUS.—Sat. I. i. 14. If the same alluded to Sat. I. ii. 134, a Roman knight, born at Narbonne, who wrote some books on the Stoic philosophy. He was a partisan of Pompeius (so Acron). Certainly not the Fabius Maximus mentioned by Quintilian (I. O. I. iv. 3); but he may have been a more obscure man than either.

FANNIUS.—See "Poets."

FLAVIUS.—The schoolmaster at Venusia. Sat. I. vi. 72.

FLORUS, JULIUS.—See "Poets."

FONTEIUS CAPITO.—See "Capito."

FUFIDIUS.—Sat. I. ii. 12. An usurer; possibly a Roman knight, mentioned by Cicero in Pison. xxxviii.

FUFIUS.—Sat. II. iii. 60. An actor, who fell asleep in the part of Ilione, in a tragedy of Pacuvius, and could not be awakened by the ghost of Deiphobus, who addressed her. The ghost was played by the stentorian Catienus. See "Catienus."

"Mater te appello, quæ euram somno suspensam levas,
Neque te mei miseret; surge et sepeli natum."
Cic. Tuscul. i. 44; Welcker die Griechische Tragödie, p. 1150.

FULVIUS.—Sat. II. vii. 96. A gladiator.

FUNDANIUS.—See "Poets."

FURIUS BIBACULUS.—See "Poets."

FURNIUS.—Sat. I. x. 86. The Comment. Cruq. describes him as an historian of credit and elegance. He is named in Senec. de Benef. i. 25.

FUSCUS ARISTIUS.—See "Aristius."

GABINIUS.—The Codex. Turic. has an inscription of Carm. II. v. Ad Gabinium. This might be a son or grandson of A. Gabinius, the enemy of Cicero.—Orelli.

GALBA.—Sat. I. ii. 46. Probably A. Galba, a noted wit, and parasite of Augustus, whose jests were not the most decent (Quintil. I. O. vi. 9). Juvenal calls him vilis (Sat. v. 5). See Martial. i. 42; x. 101. Plutarch. Erotic. Edit. Reiske. ix. p. 46.

GALLINA.—Sat. II. vi. 45. A famous Thracian gladiator.

GALLONIUS.—Sat. II. ii. 47. The crier (præco) who first served up a whole sturgeon, and became the object of satire to Lucilius:

> "O Publi! O gurges! Galloni: es homo miser, inquit;
> Cœnâsti in vitâ nunquam bene, cum omnia in istâ
> Consumes squillâ atque acipensere cum decumano."

GARGILIUS.—Epist. I. vi. 59. Unknown: a man who affected the character of an indefatigable hunter.

GARGONIUS.—Sat. I. ii. 27; iv. 92. Unknown: a man of filthy habits.

GLYCERA.—Carm. I. xix. 5; xxx. 3; III. xix. 28. A common name for a Greek slave.

GLYCERA.—Mistress of Tibullus. Carm. I. xxxiii. 2.

GROSPHUS POMPEIUS.—Carm. II. xvi. 8. Epist. I. xii. 22. A Roman knight: his connection with the Pompeii is

not to be traced; he is mentioned as resident in Sicily. Horace entertained a high opinion of him.

HAGNA.—Sat. I. iii. 40. A freed-woman, mistress of Balbinus.

HEBRUS.—Carm. III. xii. 6. A beautiful youth.

HELIODORUS.—Sat. I. v. 2. The most learned teacher of rhetoric at Rome; not certainly known from any other authority.

HELLAS.—Sat. I. iii. 277. The mistress of Marius.

HERMOGENES.—See "Tigellius."

HIRPINUS.—See "Quinctus."

HYPSÆA.—Sat. I. ii. 91. A woman of rank; blind.

IARBITA.—Epist. I. xix. 15. A certain Cordus (or Codrus), if the same mentioned in Virgil, "invidiâ rumpantur ut ilia Codro" (Ecl. vii. 26). He was a man of Moorish birth, who aspired to the fame of letters, and endeavouring to equal Timagenes in the force of his declamation, burst some of the vessels of his diaphragm, and died. He perhaps had taken the name of Iarbita to affect a descent from the ancient Mauritanian kings; or the wits of Rome had given him that name.—Weichert, Poet. Lat. p. 391.

IBYCUS.—Carm. III. xv. 1.

ICCIUS.—Unknown, except from the Ode (I. xxix.) and the Epistle (I. xii.) addressed to him by Horace. From the Ode, it appears that Iccius had devoted himself to philosophy; he had bought a library, and seemed determined to lead a life of tranquil and secluded meditation. But when the invasion of Arabia under Ælius Gallus took place, Iccius was seized with a sudden access of military ardour; the philosopher became a soldier. Arabia seem to have been a kind of El Dorado to Roman avarice and ambition. In all their Eastern campaigns, the Romans, notwith-

standing the fate of Crassus and of Antonius, dreamed of inexhaustible plunder, of gold and precious stones, of beautiful and royal captives. Arabia was supposed to be the happy country of gold and of rich spices; and if once reached, would fall an easy prey to Roman valour. Horace, with friendly playfulness, bordering on satire, touches on the sudden change of his friend from an unwarlike philosopher to an armed adventurer. The fatal issue of the campaign left Iccius poorer than before. In the Epistle he appears as the manager of Agrippa's Sicilian estates. Horace gently consoles him for his poverty. He leads him back, as it were, to his philosophy, to that practical philosophy which Horace himself professed and cultivated, through which contented poverty and honourable frugality might supply the place of wealth. In the midst of the sordid business and struggle after gain, which belonged to his present station, Iccius might altogether abstract his mind to nobler cares, and soar to the utmost heights of speculative philosophy. The whole realm of natural science is open to him, as well as the whole domain of moral inquiry. The poet commends to him the society of his honoured friend Pompeius Grosphus, who would willingly share his humblest fare, and expect nothing beyond the scanty vegetable diet to which Iccius might find it convenient to confine himself. He concludes with sending him some news from Rome to console him in his banishment. Wieland was certainly unjust to the character of Iccius; and Wieland has been followed by other commentators. Wieland represents him as the subject, rather of sly and bitter satire, than of gentle and friendly reproof, to the poet; as a vain man, whose pretensions to philosophy Horace intended to ridicule; as a man of insatiable avarice, whom he would hold up to

contempt. Fr. Jacobs, in his Lectiones Venusinæ, has pointed out that this, which Wieland treats as amiable raillery, would rather have been cruel insult and treachery to a man towards whom he professed friendship. He justly observes, that the Epistle is a commendatory one. Horace would hardly have introduced and associated Iccius in his poetry, with a man of the high station and character of Pompeius Grosphus, unless he had esteemed him for his virtues, though he might not be blind to his faults. It was the Poet's further object to reconcile Iccius with his situation in Sicily, with which he might be reasonably discontented, and might have complained to his friend. It was a banishment from Rome, and from good society; he was overpowered with business probably uncongenial to his tastes; and this, not the least bitter recollection, by his own folly in abandoning that philosophical quiet, which, like Horace, he might have continued to enjoy, had he not rashly joined in the disastrous expedition of Ælius Gallus. The easy and almost familiar manner in which Horace endeavours to persuade Iccius that happiness is yet in his power, since he had at least a sufficient maintenance, that he may find it in his own mind and in his philosophical pursuits, show rather the good sense and friendliness of the Poet, than the graceful cleverness which would conceal sarcasm and contempt under grave advice.

Inachia.—Epod. xi. 6; xii. 14, 15.

Julius.—Sat. i. viii. 39.

Julius Florus.—See "Poets."

Julus Antonius.—See "Poets."

Labeo.—Sat. i. iii. 82. A man notorious for some act of mad cruelty to a slave. The Scholiast interprets this of M. Antistius Labeo, son of the Labeo, who, after the defeat at Philippi, followed the example of Brutus and Cassius

and slew himself. This might seem a strong reason against Horace, at the early period at which this Satire was written, thus contemptuously exposing the son. Antistius Labeo became a celebrated Jurisconsult, maintained his hereditary principles of liberty even in the court of Augustus, and attained the honours of the Prætorship. At this time Labeo was young, and might have been guilty of some rash act. But the whole story of the Scholiast is more than suspicious; he adds, that Horace thus satirized Labeo in order to flatter Augustus, with whom, when this Satire was written, he had no connection. I do not scruple, with Bentley and Wieland, to refer this to some other Labeo. The name was by no means uncommon. See Wieland's observations on the passage.

Laberius.—See "Poets."

Lalage.—Carm. I. xx.

Lamia, L. Ælius.—Carm. I. xxvi.; III. xvii. Epist. I. xiv. 6. Of noble family: among the most intimate friends of Horace. Horace speaks of his royal descent (Carm. III. xvii.); and the nobility of the Lamiæ, to the time of Juvenal, was almost proverbial: "Quædam de numero Lamiarum ac nominis alti" (Sat. vi. 154). He was the son of L. Ælius Lamia (Prætor, U. C. 711), whom Cicero frequently mentions with praise. This first Ode to Lamia was written when the affairs of the East began to excite great interest at Rome. Phraates, grown insolent from his victory over Antonius, became so intolerable a tyrant, as to be driven into exile by his subjects. Tiridates, also of the family of the Arsacidæ, was placed upon the throne. Phraates had fled to the Scythians, and threatened, with a great horde of this nation, to overrun Parthia, and reconquer

his throne. (Justin. xliv. 5.) Virgil alludes to these rumours in his Georgics:—

"——— non purpura regum
Flexit, et infidos agitans discordia fratres." (II. 495.)

Lamia was Consul, U. C. 756: his death, in good old age, and his honourable funeral, are described by Tacitus, Ann. vi. 27. U. C. 786.

LEPOS.—Sat. I. vi. 72. A dancer.

LEUCONOE.—Carm. I. xi. From the serious character of this poem, Leuconoe might seem a real person; if the whole, name and all, be not a translation.

LICINIUS CALVUS.—See "Calvus," "Poets."

LICINIUS.—Carm. II. x. A. TERENTIUS VARRO MURÆNA was of the Licinian family, the son of that Muræna who was defended by Cicero, and adopted by Terentius Varro. He lost all his property in the civil wars, which was replaced by the generosity of Proculeius, who was called his brother. Licinius was the brother of Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas, and thence, no doubt, arose his intimacy with Horace. Licinius was employed by Augustus in a war against the Salassii, in the Alps, U. C. 729. The tribe was totally defeated, the men sold into slavery, and their lands assigned to the Prætorian soldiers. Augusta Prætoria is now Aosta. This success recommended Licinius to the Consulship, which he attained as Suffectus, U. C. 731. In the following year he was implicated, either through his bold and careless language, or more deeply, in the conspiracy of Fannius Cæpio against the life of Augustus. He was accused by Tiberius, and, notwithstanding the influence of Proculeius, who was a favourite of Augustus, and that of his sister Terentia, he suffered death. The Odes of Horace must have been written before the conspiracy and death of

Licinius, which took place in U.C. 731, according to some, or in the year after, according to Drumann. The publication of such a poem if later—though the grave warnings of Horace against ambition might gain the Poet credit for his sagacity, and might read almost as a prophecy of the fate of Licinius—could scarcely be very acceptable, either to Proculeius or to Terentia, as reawakening the memory of their brother, a condemned conspirator. I cannot, with Orelli, think that either would have so entirely forgotten him as to be indifferent to the mention of his name.

LICINUS.—Art. Poet. 301. A barber, advanced to a senator by Julius Cæsar: on him was written the celebrated Epitaph:

> "Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
> Pompeius nullo; credimus esse Deos?"

LICYMNIA.—Carm. II. xii. 13-23.

LIGURINUS.—Carm. IV. i. 33; IV. x.

LIVIA.—Carm. III. xiv. 5. The wife of Augustus. Liviam "dilexit et probavit unice ac perseveranter." Suet. Octav. lxii.

> "Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat æde,
> Livia, quam caro præstitit illa viro."—Ovid. Fasti, vi. 687.

LIVIUS ANDRONICUS. — See "Poets," and "Life of Horace."

LOLLIUS, M.—Carm. IV. ix. (Palicanus, or more probably Paullinus, for his daughter was named Lollia Paullina.) The name of Lollius was yet unsullied either by defeat or infamy, when Horace addressed to him the Ode IV. ix. He had served with distinction as Proprætor in Gaul; and was Consul with Lepidus, U.C. 733. Horace

takes his Consulship as the date of his own 44th year (Epist. I. xx. 28). Horace did not live to hear of the total defeat of Lollius in Germany, U. C. 738; a calamity, which is called after his name, and coupled with that of Varus both by Suetonius and Tacitus ("clades—Lollianam ac Varianam," Suet. Oct. xxvii. Tac. Ann. I. 10. Cf. Dion. liv. 20). That of Lollius, though less disastrous, was not less disgraceful. The eagle of the fifth legion was captured by the Barbarians. Yet Lollius found means to regain the confidence of Augustus; and was intrusted by him (U. C. 752) with a kind of military tutorship ("moderator juventæ, bellicus comes rectorque" Suet. Tib. xii.) of the young Caius Cæsar, the grandson and presumptive heir of Augustus, in the East, during the war of Armenia. There his rapacity, which even in his own day was thought inordinate and shameful, induced him to take bribes of the Parthians. His guilt was betrayed to Augustus; he escaped only by a sudden death, ascribed to his own hand, the disgrace of a public exposure. There was another charge against him, that by his arts he had perverted the mind of the young Caius, and estranged him from Tiberius, who was then in the East, and humbly sought an interview with Caius. It is singular that Horace should have chosen to celebrate the contempt of wealth as one of the virtues of Lollius:

> "est animus tibi,
> Vindex avaræ fraudis, et abstinens
> Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniæ."

The bitter expressions of Velleius, "homine in omnia pecuniæ, quam recte faciendi cupidiore," may perhaps be suspected as those of a partizan of Tiberius; but an anecdote in Pliny, concerning his granddaughter Lollia Paul-

lina, too forcibly illustrates his vast and ill-gotten wealth. Lollia Paullina was married to C. Memmius. Caligula having heard the fame of her beauty from her grandmother, determined to marry her, summoned her from the province in which her husband was governor, married her, divorced her, and condemned her to perpetual chastity. Lollia Paullina once appeared, not on any great public ceremony, or banquet, but at an ordinary marriage, with her whole person, head, neck, hands, covered with the most costly emeralds and pearls: the value of which amounted to 40,000,000 H. S. (£322,916 13*s.* 4*d.*) Nor were these the gifts of a prodigal sovereign; they were the family wealth, from the spoil of plundered proviuces ("provinciarum spoliis partæ"); the bribes received by M. Lollius from the princes of the East ("M. Lollius infamatus regum muneribus in toto Oriente"). Pliny confirms the report, that Lollius died of poison, administered by his own hand, Plin. H. N. ix. 35.

Lollius. M.—To whom the second Epistle is inscribed, was probably the son of the former. Wieland has conjectured that he is the person at whose request Pedo wrote his Elegy on the death of Mæcenas. Lollius is named Maximus as the eldest of his family. Horace seems to have taken the privilege of an intimate friend of the family to address Lollius, who was employed in studying oratory at Rome, and composing declamations. Throughout this graceful Epistle, he moralises to the young student out of Homer, as an Englishman might out of Shakespeare, as the great storehouse for examples of vice and virtue to which he might perpetually recur.

Longarenus.—Sat. I. ii. 67. A paramour of Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, and the wife of Milo: the rival of

Villius, and, according to a jest preserved in Macrob. Saturn. ii. 2, of many others; but see Weichert, Poet. Lat. p. 414.

Lucilius—See "Poets."

Lupus.—(Sat. II. i. 68.) Though Consul and Princeps Senatûs, yet an object of fierce satire to Lucilius—"Tubulus si Lucius unquam si *Lupus* aut Carbo, aut Neptuni filius, ut ait Lucilius, putâsset esse Deos, tam perjurus, aut tam impurus fuisset?" Cic. de N. D. i. 23.

Luscus.—See "Aufidius."

Lyce.—Carm. III. x. 1; IV. xiii.

Lycidas.—Carm. I. iv. 20.

Lyciscus.—Epod. xi. 10.

Lycoris.—Carm. I. xxxiii. 5.

Lycus.—Carm. I. xxxii. 11. Probably another Lycus, if not an imaginary person. Carm. III. xix. 23.

Lyde.—Carm. I. xi. 22; III. xi. 7; III. xxviii. 3.

Lydia.—Carm. I. viii. 1; I. xiii. 1; I. xxv.; III. ix. 7–20.

Mæcenas.—C. Cilnius. Passim, especially Carm. I. i. 1; II. xii.; III. viii.; III. xxix. Epod. I.; III.; IX.; XIV. Sat. I. i.; I. v.; I. vi.; I. iv. 43; IX. 81; II. iii. 312; II. vi. 31, &c.; II. viii. Epist. I. i.; VII. 1, 19.

"Mæcenas, although he deduced his family from the ancient Etrurian kings, had neither to maintain a high reputation inherited from his ancestors, nor does he appear to have been gifted by nature with those which belong to what is called *a great man*. He had rather to thank fortune for having placed him precisely in those circumstances which would raise him to the greatest importance, and his principal merit seems to have been that he knew how to derive the greatest advantage from those favourable

circumstances. Without strong passions, or ambition, but with shrewd sense and a clear head; with sufficient energy to be active in all decisive exigencies; prudent and cold-blooded enough to carry through all that he undertook; so sanguine as always to promise himself success, and not easily daunted with difficulties; but too easy and too fond of pleasure to love or to seek business when there was no strong impulse of necessity; agreeable in his person, cheerful in his address, with a considerable share of urbanity and good humour; as ready to bear a jest against himself as to make one upon others; pleasantly peculiar, even to singularity, in little things, but therefore more solid in affairs of importance; acute and supple in employing others for his own views; dexterous in deriving advantage from all sorts of men, but cautious in the choice of his more intimate friends; true and steady, when he had made his choice, and capable of any sacrifice in an emergency; with all these qualities Mæcenas appears to have been expressly formed to be the confidential friend of Augustus, and the very man who was absolutely necessary to that vain, ambitious, but weak, timid, irresolute, yet nevertheless sometimes hasty and precipitate, child of fortune. With these qualities he was able, from the beginning of their connection, to inspire him with a confidence which (excepting one passing coolness) continued unaltered to his death. Augustus was always at his ease with his friend Mæcenas, for with him he found precisely that which he wanted, advice, resources, decision, courage, and happy temper, and, that which is by no means the most immaterial, always some points on which he felt himself stronger and wiser, and on which he could play off his friend, without that friend losing in the least in his estimation.

Augustus delighted in jesting on the effeminacy of Mæcenas, his love for curiosities, precious stones, and gems, upon his affectation of mingling Etrurian words with Latin, or of coining new ones; and therefore Mæcenas could venture the well-known 'Surge tandem, carnifex,' without fear that the Emperor would take ill a sentence so sternly laconic.*

"Mæcenas, under other circumstances, would have been nothing more than what an Englishman in the time of Queen Anne and George the First would have called a man of wit and pleasure. When from circumstances he became the confidential adviser of a young man, who had perhaps to play the most difficult game that was ever committed to a statesman, Mæcenas was not a person (wit and the love of pleasure, after all, being the chief features of his character) to set up Epaminondas or Cato as his example in political life. In his advice to Augustus he regarded the safe and the useful, rather than the noble and heroic. . . . . .

"The modesty with which the favourite of Augustus declined the highest honours of the state, and passed that life, which he might have rendered illustrious by consulates and triumphs, as a mere Roman knight in the obscurity of a private station, has been considered a great effort of virtue. I doubt whether this virtue sprang from any source but his natural temperament, his love for idleness and pleasure, and perhaps his prudence. He possessed the substance of power; the ear, and the heart of Augustus, the love of the people, immeasurable wealth, and all that could make private life agreeable to a man of his way of thinking. What did he care whether his toga

* One day, when Octavius was sitting in judgment as Triumvir, and condemning a multitude of persons to death, Mæcenas handed up to him a tablet inscribed with those significant words.

had a broad or narrow stripe of purple? For himself there was no way so secure to maintain himself at once in favour with the Emperor and the people, as by this moderation, which kept him aloof from all dangerous collisions, all responsibility, all opportunities of incurring displeasure.

"He built upon the Esquiline hill a palace, a kind of Colosseum ("*molem vicinam nubibus*," as Horace calls it), which, probably on account of its height, was usually named the Tower of Mæcenas. From thence he had a prospect over the whole city and neighbourhood of Rome, as far as Forli, Tusculum, Palæstrina, &c., one of the most splendid which can be conceived; and here, in the midst of the voluptuous garden, into which he had converted the heretofore unwholesome Esquiline hill, he was enabled to enjoy the pleasures of the most beautiful villa. Here, after the toils and disquiets of the civil wars, and after he had at length attained the end of all his exertions, in the 727th year of Rome (which was about the fortieth of his life), and saw Augustus in quiet possession of a power and dignity which he was conscious was his work—here he altogether abandoned himself to his natural inclinations for quiet, pleasure, and those arts which are the offspring and the parents of contentment. His house, his table, his gardens, were the resort of all the wits, virtuosi, actors, joyous spirits, and agreeable idlers in Rome. Everything breathed enjoyment, mirth, and pleasure. It was a kind of court of Alcinous, where every one was welcome who could contribute anything to the amusement of the master and his company."—Extracted from Wieland.

MÆCIUS.—See "Tarpa."

MÆNIUS.—Sat. I. i. 101; I. iii. 21. Epist. I. xv. 26.

A notorious prodigal and miserable jester on his own prodigality and enormous debts. On the first day of the year he was heard to pray aloud, "O, Jupiter, that I owed 40,000 H. S.!" Some one asked the meaning of this extraordinary prayer. "I should gain 100 per cent.; I owe 80,000."

MÆCIUS.—See "Poets."

MALCHINUS, or MALTINUS.—Sat. I. ii. 25. See "Life."

MAMURRA.—Sat. I. v. 37. A man of low birth, employed by Julius Cæsar, as Præfectus fabrorum, in Gaul. There he accumulated enormous wealth. He was a native of Formiæ (Mola di Gaeta), which Horace calls his city. Though living in pomp and luxury, he was an object of hatred and contempt, and the butt of poetic satire. Compare two coarse epigrams of Catullus, xxix. and xciv.; in the latter he is called "decoctor Formianus."

MARCUS.—Sat. II. iii. 277. A person unknown, who stabbed his mistress and then killed himself.

MARCELLUS.—Carm. I. xii. 138.

MARSÆUS.—Sat. I. ii. 55. A person unknown; the lover of the Mime Origo.

MAXIMUS, PAULLUS FABIUS.—Carm. IV. i. 11. Probably the son of P. Fabius Maximus, a favourite of Augustus (Senec. de Controv., 11, 12). Consul, U. C. 743.

MEGILLA.—Carm. I. xxvii. 11.

MENA, VULTEIUS.—Epist. I. vii. 55. An imaginary name of a freed-man.

MENAS.—Epod. IV. SEXT. POMPEIUS MENAS, or MENODORUS? To him, according to several old MSS., this Epode is inscribed. Menas was an enterprising and successful naval commander, but noted for his perfidy. He commanded part of the fleet of Sex. Pompeius, wasted the

coast of Etruria, and, after a hard contest, became master of Sardinia. There, as Dion suggests, to leave an opening for the favour of Octavius, he liberated some of his prisoners without ransom, particularly Helenus, a favourite freed-man of Cæsar (Dion. xlviii. 30). At the interview between Antonius and Cæsar and Sex. Pompeius, Menas advised Pompeius to murder his rivals (Dion. xlviii. 38). Afterwards (Appian. B. C. v. 73), while still Prætor in Sardinia, being suspected of secret intelligence with Cæsar, or falsely accused by those who were jealous of his power (Appian. B. C. v. 71–78), he was summoned to the camp of Pompeius, to give an account of his administration. Instead of obeying this mandate, he put the messengers to death, and surrendered the island to Cæsar. Octavius not only refused to deliver him up to Pompeius, but treated him with great distinction, and, though a freed-man, promoted him to the equestrian rank ("*sedilibusque magnus in primis eques Othone contempto sedet*"). These lines singularly agree with the rise of Menas. In the naval service of Octavius, Menas defeated and slew Menecrates, his successor and rival in the favour of Sext. Pompeius. He saved part of Cæsar's fleet by his maritime skill, while the rest suffered shipwreck, and kept in check Apollophanes, the rear-admiral of Pompeius. In 718, from some disgust, or from the declared hostility of Antonius, or supposing that the affairs of Pompeius looked more hopeful, he revolted to him again (Dion. xlviii. 54. Appian. B. C. v. 96. And the next year, back again to Cæsar (Appian. B. C. v. 100), who once more, such no doubt was his value as a seaman, received him with undiminished confidence. He was slain afterwards at the siege of Siscia in Pannonia. It is singular how two at least of the allusions in this Epode

tally with the character and adventures of Menas,—his knighthood, and the first lines, which seem to refer to the fleet of Pompeius, manned by robbers and fugitive slaves. Yet, on the other hand, the personal vanity, the parading along the Sacred Way in a trailing toga, and on the Appian in his chariot, to visit his large farm, seem unlike the rude and adventurous life of so bold and skilful a sailor. Nor is the satire consistent with the weight and importance of Menas.—The chronology of the Epode is so utterly uncertain, that it might be adapted without violence to either period in the life of Menas, when he was at Rome. Vidius Rufus is likewise mentioned by some old Scholiast, as the name of this object of our Poet's invective. To this opinion Orelli inclines, rather, it should seem, from his dissatisfaction with the theory about Menas, than from any positive conviction.

Messala, M. Valerius Corvinus.—Carm. III. xxi. 7. The patron and friend of Tibullus. He was considered almost the last of the great Roman orators. In the civil wars he embraced the party of Brutus and Cassius. After the defeat of Philippi, Messala was the leader who was expected to rally the broken forces of the republican party. But Messala declined the perilous distinction, judging, no doubt prudently, that the cause was desperate. He sided at first with Antonius; but after the treaty of Brundusium, embraced the party of Octavius. He was Consul, U. C. 723. He was employed with distinction in Aquitain, and in the East. Tibullus served in his Aquitanian campaign. He triumphed over the Aquitanians, U. C. 727. The rest of his life was passed in dignified retirement, and in the patronage and enjoyment of letters.

MESSIUS.—Sat. I. v. 52. With the nickname, Cicirrhus, the cock—a buffoon.

METELLA.—Sat. II. iii. 259. The wife of Lentulus Spinther, from whose ear the son of Æsopus drew the pearl which he melted and drank. (See "Æsopi filius.") She was divorced by Spinther, on account of an intrigue with Dolabella (Cic. ad Att. xi. 23; xii. 52; xiii. 7). Mævius, the poet, wrote about her (Schol). See Bayle's Dictionary, "Metella."

METELLUS (Macedonicus).—Con. U. C. 611.

METELLUS, CELER.—Carm. II. i. 1. From his Consulate, U. C. 694, dated the first Triumvirate.

MILONIUS.—Sat. II. i. 24. A buffoon ("See Porphyrion").

MONÆSES.—Carm. III. vi. 9. Probably the Surena, or General, of the Parthian army; distinguished, first, by the defeat of Crassus, secondly, by that of Marcus Antonius.

MOSCHUS.—Epist. I. v. 9. A celebrated rhetorician of Pergamus; accused of poisoning. The cause seems to have been a famous one, in which Asinius Pollio, as well as Torquatus, was engaged (Schol.)

MUCIUS, SCÆVOLA.—Epist. II. ii. 89. The great orator of that name. Cic. de Orat. i. 48.

MULVIUS.—Sat. II. vii. 36. A parasite of Horace.

MUNATIUS, PLANCUS.—Carm. I. vii. Throughout the turbulent period of the civil wars, Plancus had been engaged in almost every contest and on every side. In his early youth, he had acquired the name of "the Orator," to distinguish him from others of his family. He first appears in active life as one of the legates in the Gallic war of Cæsar (B. C. 54, 55), of whose friendship he boasts. He held commands in Spain and in Africa. At the end of the year B. C. 46 he was, with Lepidus, præfect of the city;

and the next year celebrated the Apollinarian games. Cæsar entrusted him with the command of Transpadane Gaul; in 42 he was Consul with M. Lepidus. On the death of Cæsar he declared for an amnesty, returned to his province, and took up a position in Cisalpine Gaul, which might enable him to watch the issue of events. He engaged in an active correspondence with Cicero, which fills considerable part of the tenth book of his Letters. Cicero in vain attempted, by artful flatteries, by professions of attachment to his family and to himself from his earliest infancy, and even by insinuations that he was already thought a time-server, to persuade him to throw off his cold neutrality and the superiority to party which he affected, and to declare against Antonius. Plancus, in his turn, protested the most profound respect and love for Cicero, declared that he would be entirely guided by his counsels, but still maintained his prudent reserve. As Cicero becomes more urgent, Plancus becomes more cold, more embarrassed with difficulties, more unambitious. He evidently wants to retain the support of Cicero in his election to the Consulship, as well as his advocacy in some private cause, but has no intention of declaring himself against Antonius, and even suggests to the Senate the prudence of making peace with him. After the defeat of Antonius, he took the opportunity of settling a colony at Lugdunum. At length, however, he was forced out of his ambiguous neutrality. D. Brutus, after the battle of Mutina, fell back upon him, and compelled the junction of their forces. Together they awaited the declaration of Octavius; but when Asinius Pollio fell off to Antonius, Plancus followed the example, and Brutus, abandoned by their support, was slain in the Alps. During the proscriptions, Plancus

consented to the death of his brother. He was allowed a triumph over the Gauls, during which the bitter sarcasm was made, that he triumphed not "in Gallos" sed "in Germanos." In the war of Perugia he commanded for Antonius; on the surrender of Perugia, he fled with Fulvia to Athens. He received from Antonius, first, the province of Asia, afterwards that of Syria. It was supposed that the execution of Sex. Pompeius in Asia took place by his command, though he used the seal of Antonius. He was first coldly received at Alexandria, on account of his rapacious extortions in the province; but he threw himself into all the inordinate voluptuousness of the Egyptian court. Plancus was the judge in the celebrated wager, won by Cleopatra, by her swallowing pearls worth 10,000,000 H. S. He is said to have danced in public, at a pantomime. But he foresaw the fall of the soft Triumvir, and conspired with others at Ephesus (before Actium) to abandon his cause. Afterwards he betrayed the Will of Antonius, to which he had been witness, to Octavius, who ordered it to be read in public; for Antonius had been guilty of the un-Roman act of declaring the children of Cleopatra in part his heirs; and in the senate he inveighed so bitterly against Antonius, that he was reproved by Coponius. To Octavius, when Emperor, he was always ready to render flattering service. At his proposition Octavius was saluted by the name Augustus, and Plancus received his reward in honours. In B. C. 22 he was Censor; but his bitter enemy, Velleius, says that his character was so low, that he dared not venture any reproof against the young, from his consciousness, that they would retaliate upon the old man. The advice of Horace to Plancus, that he should surrender himself to pleasure, was congenial to his habits.

He was accused of adultery with Mævia Galla, and laughed off the charge with a jest. The Ode of Horace may imply that Plancus was not universally held in such disrespect and contempt, as appears from more hostile writers. The first lines of the Ode are addressed with great propriety to a former Præfect of the province of Asia, and who must have known Greece well. The villa of Plancus at Tibur was no doubt familiar to Horace, he and the poet felt a congenial admiration for that fine scenery; and the restless and adventurous life of Plancus might, according to the practical Epicureanism of Horace, wisely close in the enjoyment of repose and quiet conviviality in that beautiful neighbourhood. Compare Drumann, Geschichte Roms. iv. p. 207. An inscription on the tomb of Munatius, found at Gaeta, rehearses his titles. From this it should appear, that his triumph was over the Rhæti. He built a temple of Saturn, perhaps a flattering contribution to the great design of Augustus for the embellishment of Rome. To his titles it adds Imp. twice, Septemvir and Epulo:—

L. MUNAT. L. F. L. N. L. PRON.
PLANCVS. COS. CENS. IMP. ITER VII. VIR.
EPUL. TRIVMPH. EX. RAETIS. AEDEM. SATVRNI.
FECIT. DE MANUB. AGROS. DIVISIT. IN. ITALIA.
BENENTI. IN. GALLIA. COLONIAS. DEDVXIT
LVGDVNVM ET RAURICAM.

Munatius.—Epist. i. iii. 31. Unknown; possibly son of the above.

Murena, L. Licinius.—Carm. ii. x.; iii. xix. 11. Sat. i. v. 38. The brother of Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas. He appears to have had a villa at Formiæ.

Musa, Antonius.—Epist. I. xv. 3. Antonius Musa immortalized his name by the famous cure which he wrought on Augustus, whose freed-man he was; for the physicians of the great were, at that time, chiefly slaves, and learned medicine for the benefit of their masters' family. The malady of the Emperor was an obstinate attack of gout, attended with constipation and weakness, so as to threaten total exhaustion. His ordinary physician, Æmilius, had pledged himself to drive out the disease, by warm and vapour baths. He went so far as to cover the ceiling of the patient's chamber with furs; but the malady grew worse. Augustus was so reduced that he set his house in order, when the lucky thought occurred to Musa, since warm water had done no good, to try cold. The general opinion was strongly against him; but the state of the patient seemed to justify a desperate experiment. Musa set to work in the opposite way to his predecessor; ordered a cooling diet; let the Emperor eat hardly anything but lettuces, and drink cold water; and constantly poured cold water over him. He succeeded so well that Augustus recovered in a short time, and, notwithstanding his feeble constitution, lived thirty-six years after. (Sueton. in Oct. c. 59, 81. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxix. 1. Dion. lii. p. 517.) Musa received, besides a large sum of money from Augustus and the Senate, a statue, with the privilege of wearing a gold ring, which gave him the rights of the equestrian order: and cold water came so much into vogue, that the warm baths of Baiæ were less resorted to. Horace, who, at the time he wrote this Epistle, was about forty-six or forty-seven, began to suffer from defluxions, particularly in his eyes; and since the baths at Baiæ did him no good, was persuaded by Musa to try the cold baths at Clusium and Gabii; and this plan was so successful (as we may conclude

from the cheerful tone of this whole Epistle), that, to secure himself from a relapse, he thought of nothing but providing himself with warm winter-quarters. Wieland, Horazens Briefe, i. 230.

Mutus.—Epist. i. xv. 3. A rich man; unknown.

Myrtale.—Carm. i. xxxiii. 14.

Mystes.—Carm. ii. ix. 9. See "Valgius," "Poets."

Nævius.—See "Life."

Nævius.—Sat. ii. ii. 68. A simple man, who let his slaves have their own way, and serve dirty water to his guests.

Nasica.—Sat. ii. v. 5. Unknown, but from this passage.

Nasidienus.—Sat. ii. viii. No doubt an imaginary person, though there may be a covert allusion to some real character. He is the impersonation of a vulgar rich man, at the same time ostentatious and mean, prodigal and avaricious, aspiring to live with the great and the cultivated, with Mæcenas, and the distinguished poets of the day, but so dull as to be unconscious that he is the object of their contempt, and the butt of the coarser wit of their followers. He has, however, his parasites, his Nomentanus and his Porcius, to admire his magnificence. Nasidienus is a character of all times.

Natta.—Sat. i. vi. 124. A dirty fellow, who robbed the lamps of oil to drink.

Neæra.—Carm. iii. xiv. 21. Epod. xv.

Nearchus.—Carm. iii. xx. 6.

Neobule.—Carm. iii. xii.

Nerius.—Sat. ii. iii. 69. A well-known usurer.

Nero, Claudius. See "Tiberius."

Nerones.—C. iv. iv. 28. Tiberius and Drusus, the step-sons of Augustus.

NOMENTANUS.—Sat. I. i. 102; I. viii. 111; II. i. 22; II. iii. 175, 224; II. viii. 23, &c. A prodigal who had wasted an inconceivable sum on gluttony and lust. Sallust, the historian, is said to have bought his cook for 100,000,000 H.S. He is one of the guests in the supper of Nasidienus.

NOTHUS.—Carm. III. xv. 11.

NOVIUS.—Sat. I. iii. 21; I. vi. 40. Unknown.

NOVIUS MINOR.—Sat. I. vi. 121. An ugly usurer, always early at business near the statue of Marsyas.

NUMICIUS.—Epist. I. vi. A youth, of what family or of what rank is entirely unknown. There was a family of Numicii, of whom two persons only are named in history: 1. Numicius Priscus, Consul, U. C. 285; and 2. Numicius Thermus, Prætor, under Claudius, or Nero, a victim to the hatred of Tigellinus (Tac. Ann. xvi. 20). Wieland has drawn a fanciful character of this Numicius, by impersonating all the weaknesses and follies on which the Poet dwells, and supposing that the whole was intended as a moral lesson to Numicius. Numicius at once affected philosophy, love of the fine arts, pleasure, wealth, birth. But all this turns the gentle urbanity of Horace in his Epistle to bitter satire. Of Numicius we know nothing more than that he stood so high in the poet's regard and esteem, as to have his name inscribed in this pleasing poem.

NUMIDA PLOTIUS.—Carm. I. xxxvi. This Ode celebrates the return of Plotius, after ten years' absence, from the Cantabrian wars, in which he had been engaged with Augustus. The friendship of Horace for Plotius has alone preserved his memory. He is not the Plotius (Tucca) of the Satires.

NUMENIUS VALA.—Epist. I. xv. There are coins with

his name spelt Vaala, in Eckhel, D. N. 5, p. 263. Akerman, i. 20. He is called Vaala by the Comment. Cruq. This was the name of the unfortunate lieutenant of Varus, who had all the shame of flight, without the security. "Vala Numenius, legatus Vari, cetera quietus et probus, diri auctor exempli, spoliatum equite peditem relinquens, fuga cum alis Rhenum petere ingressus est. Quod factum ejus fortuna ultâ est; non enim desertis superfuit, sed desertor occidit" (Velleius, II. 219). The defeat of Varus took place U. C. 762; the peaceful and upright character of the friend of Horace might suit this description; but he must have been at that time too far advanced in years to leave his quiet villa between Velia and Salerno, to take a high military command. Most probably the lieutenant of Varus was his son.

OCTAVIA (sister of Octavius).—Carm. III. xiv. 6.

OCTAVIUS.—See "Poets."

OFELLA.—Sat. II. xi. 2, 53, 112, 133. An impersonation, as it were, of the old Roman frugality, strong sense, and contentment; the practical philosopher of his day. The Scholiast makes him out to have been a man engaged in the civil wars, probably, as Wieland observes, because he had lost his estate. But the estates of many cultivators, who were not engaged in the adverse faction, were shared in the partitions among the soldiery. Ofella was no doubt a neighbour of Horace, when the poet lived in his Sabine farm. Ofella speaks almost throughout against the luxury and prodigality of the city.

OPIMIUS.—Sat. II. iii. 142. A miser, unknown whether a real person.

OPPIDIUS AULUS.—Sat. II. iii. 171. Son of the Oppidius below.

Oppidius Servius.—Sat. II. iii. 168. A Roman knight, unknown but from this passage.

Oppidius Tiberius.—Sat. II. iii. 173. Son of the above.

Orbilius.—Sat. II. i. 71. The schoolmaster of Horace. See "Life," and among "Poets," "Domitius Marsus." He was of Beneventum, deprived of both his parents, who were killed in one day. He was first an apparitor; then served in the army in Macedonia, first as a trumpeter, then as a horse soldier; he then retired to the peaceful profession of rhetoric, in his native town. At the age of 50 he went to Rome (U. c. 691), during the consulship of Cicero, and taught with more credit than profit. He lived to be 100 years old, and before he died lost his memory, according to a verse of Bibaculus: "Orbilius ubinam est, literarum oblivio?" (Sueton. de Gram.) He left a son who followed his profession.

Orbius.—Epist. II. ii. 160. A great landed proprietor; unknown.

Origo.—Sat. I. ii. 55. An actress (mima), on whom one Marsæus wasted his patrimony.

Ornytus.—Carm. III. ix. 14.

Otho, L. Roscius.—Epod. iv. 16. By a law proposed by him when tribune of the people, the fourteen rows of seats in the orchestra of the theatres, next above the senators, were set apart for the equestrian order.

Pacideianus.—Sat. II. vii. 97. A gladiator.

Pacorus.—Carm. III. vi. 9. Son of Orodes, the Parthian King. See Dion Cassius, xxviii. 24, 26.

Pactumeius.—The offspring of Canidia. Epod. xvii. 50.

Pacuvius.—See "Poets."

Pantilius.—See "Poets."

PANTOLABUS.—Sat. I. viii. 11; II. i. 22. The buffoon. According to the Scholiast, his real name was Mallius Verna.

PARMENSIS.—See "Cassius," "Poets."

PAULLUS.—See "Maximus."

PEDIATIA.—Sat. I. viii. 39. Pediatius, an effeminate wretch who had wasted his patrimony.

PEDIUS.—Sat. I. x. 28, 85. A celebrated orator, called Poplicola.

PERILLIUS.—See "Cicuta."

PERSIUS.—Sat. I. vii. 2. A rich merchant of Clazomenæ.

PETILLIUS CAPITOLINUS.—Sat. I. iv. 94; I. x. 26. Was tried for stealing a crown from the Jupiter of the Capitol, and only escaped condemnation because he was a friend of Cæsar Octavianus. Hence some derived his name; but Capitolinus was also a name of the plebeian family, the Petillii.

PETTIUS.—Epode XI. Unknown, but from this poem.

PHYDELE.—Carm. III. xxiii. 2. A rustic.

PHILIPPUS.—Epist. I. vii. 46. The celebrated orator. Consul, U. C. 697. His wit is celebrated. Cic. Brutus, 47.

PHILODEMUS.—Sat. I. ii. 121. An Epicurean philosopher. Some of his epigrams, and his treatises on Music and on Rhetoric, have been decyphered among the Herculanean MSS.

PHOLOE.—Carm. I. xxxiii. 7; II. v. 17; III. xv. 7.

PHRAATES.—Carm. II. ii. 17. Epist. I. xii. 27. Phraates the IVth. Expelled for cruelty from the throne of Parthia, U. C. 724. He was restored to his throne by the Scythians (Justin. xlii. 5). The Epistle alludes to his submission to Augustus.

PHRYNE.—Epod. xiv. 16.

PHYLLIS.—Carm. II. iv. 4; IV. xi.

PISONES.—L. CALPURNIUS PISO was Consul, U. C. 739, with M. Lucius Drusus, afterwards Præfect of Pamphylia. In 743, he was employed to put down Vologeses, a fanatic priest of Bacchus, who was raising disturbances in Thrace. In advanced years he held the office of Præfect of Rome, under Tiberius; his character is highly drawn by Paterculus, who praises his happy union of vigour and subtleness (L. ii. c. 98). Even Seneca, though he accuses him of drinking all night and sleeping in the morning, praises his administration as Præfect of Rome (Epist. lxxiii.) In his debauchery, he was a boon companion of Tiberius himself (Suet. Tib. xlii. Plin. H. N. xiv. 22). He must have possessed some qualities well suited to his time, to have commanded the favour both of Augustus and Tiberius; and so he is described in the weighty words of Tacitus: "L. Piso, pontifex, rarum in tantâ claritudine, fato obiit: nullius servilis sententiæ sponte auctor, et, quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans. Patrem ei censorium fuisse memoravi. Ætas ad octogesimum annum processit: decus triumphale in Thracia meruerat: sed præcipua ex eo gloria, quod Præfectus Urbi recèns, continuam potestatem, et insolentiâ parendi graviorem, mirè temperavit" (Ann. vi. 10). Nine Epigrams addressed to Piso by Antipater of Thessalonica, may illustrate his taste for letters. Jacobs, Anthol. Græc. I. p. 97, 99. There is some difficulty about the date of the A. P. L. Piso was born 705. If the Art of Poetry was written between 743 and 746, Piso would have been from thirty-eight to forty-one years old. If he married at twenty, he might have a son from seventeen to twenty—a period in which youths not rarely suppose

themselves gifted with poetic talent. Of the lives of these sons nothing certain is known. One of them *may* have been the L. Piso, whose noble character and well-timed death is related by Tacitus (Ann. II. 24; IV. 21). Compare Wieland, or Orelli's Introduction to the Ars Poetica. But it is to me highly improbable that even the brevity of Tacitus, if this had been the case, would not have noted the relationship of two such distinguished men.

PITHOLEON.—See "Poets."

PLANCUS.—See "Munatius."

PLAUTUS.—See "Poets."

PLOTIUS NUMIDA.—See "Numida."

PLOTIUS TUCCA.—See "Poets."

POLLIO.—See Asinius among the "Poets."

POMPEIUS, SEXTUS.—Epod. ix. 7.

POMPEIUS, GROSPHUS.—See "Grosphus."

POMPEIUS, VARUS.—See "Varus."

POMPONIUS.—Sat. I. iv. 52. A youth of prodigal habits, unknown.

POPLICOLA.—See "Messala."

PORCIUS.—Sat. II. viii. 23. A parasite of Nasidienus.

POSTUMUS.—Carm. II. xiv. 1. Unknown, unless the same Postumus to whom a beautiful Elegy of Propertius (III. 12) is addressed. Propertius reproves Postumus for wishing to leave his chaste and beautiful wife, Ælia Galla, in order to follow the banner of Augustus into the East. The "placens uxor" of Horace may be but a commonplace, but it is a slight touch of resemblance, which may make the identity of the Postumi in the two poems more probable

PRISCUS.—Sat. II. vii. 9. Of senatorial rank; unknown.

PROCULEIUS.—C. PROCULEIUS VARRO MURÆNA, a Roman knight, brother of Licinius (Carm. II. x. 1), and of Terentia,

the wife of Mæcenas. Proculeius is mentioned by Plutarch (vit. Anton.) as having endeavoured to persuade Cleopatra, by the offer of leaving Egypt as a succession to her sons, to surrender to Octavius. After the civil wars, Proculeius nobly shared his fortune with his brothers, whose estates had been confiscated. C. Proculeius was one of the Roman knights, whom Augustus thought of as husband for his daughter Julia, being a man of high character, who lived in tranquil retirement, aloof from public affairs (Tac. Ann. IV. 48).

PUPIUS.—See "Poets."

PYRRHA.—Carm. I.

PYRRHIA.—Epist. I. xiii. 14. The character of a pilfering and tipsy maid-servant, in a comedy of Titinius.—Schol.

QUINTILIUS.—See "Varus."

QUINCTIUS HIRPINUS.—Carm. II. xi. Not improbably the Quinctius to whom is inscribed Epist. I. xvi. Nothing further is known about him.

RHODIUS.—See "Pitholeon," "Poets."

ROSCIUS Q.—Epist. II. i. 82. The Tragedian, sufficiently known by the Oration of Cicero.

ROSCIUS.—Sat. II. vi. 35. A friend of Horace.

RUFILLUS.—Sat. I. ii. 27; I. iv. 92. A perfumed coxcomb.

RUPILIUS REX.—Sat. I. vii. A soldier of the army of Brutus, of Præneste by birth.

RUSO.—Sat. I. iii. 86. A harsh usurer and bad writer of history, which he used to read to his unhappy debtors.

RUTUBA.—Sat. II. vii. 96. A gladiator.

SABINUS.—Epist. I. v. 27. Several Sabini are men-

tioned in history, any one of whom might have been the friend of Horace, but which of them is mere conjecture. The reason assigned for the uncertainty, as to his joining the poet's feast, might point to A. Sabinus, a friend of Ovid (named de Amor. II. xviii. 27), who wrote answers to some of his heroic epistles. Sabinus Tiro wrote a book on Gardening (Cepurica) dedicated to Mæcenas (Plin. H. N. xix. 40). Others have suggested, T. Flavius Petro (the ancestor of the Flavian family), who took the name of Sabinus from his mother. This Sabinus filled the office of publican (farmer of the revenues in Asia) with great success.

SAGANA.—Epod. v. 25. Sat. I. ii. 25, 48. A witch, the assistant of Canidia.

SALLUSTIUS, C. CRISPUS.—Carm. II. ii. Sat. I. ii. 84. Grandson of the sister of Sallust, the historian; satirized for his profligate habits. As he died at an advanced age, U. C. 773, he must have been a young man at the date of Horace's satire, about U. C. 714. To him Horace afterwards addressed the second Ode of the second book. Sallust succeeded Mæcenas as the confidential counsellor of Augustus, and though not guiltless of some of the crimes of the age, died in peace and, at least, with the appearance of favour, under Tiberius. His character is nobly drawn by Tacitus: "Fine anni (U. C. 773), concessit vitâ Sallustius Crispus. Crispum equestri ortum loco, C. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor, sororis nepotem in nomen adscivit. Atque ille quanquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Mæcenatem æmulatus sine dignitate senatoriâ multos triumphalium consulariumque potentiâ anteiit; diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias, copiâque et affluentiâ, luxu propior; suberat tamen

vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior, quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. Igitur incolumi Mæcenate proximus, mox præcipuus, cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur; et interficiendi Posthumi Agrippæ conscius, ætate provectâ, speciem magis in amicitiâ principis, quam vim tenuit. Idque et Mæcenati acciderat; fato potentiæ raro sempiternæ; ceu satias capit, aut illos, cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum jam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant?" (Tac. Ann. iii. 30.) Wieland triumphantly refuted the old notion that the satire was aimed at Sallust the historian. Horazens Satiren, in loco.

Sarmentus.—Sat. i. v. 52. A buffoon of some note, if the same mentioned as a parasite of Augustus in Juvenal, Sat. v. 3 (Quintilian. I. O. vi. 3, 58). Most likely not the one named in Plutarch. Vit. Anton. 59; though this may be reckoning too much on the accuracy of Plutarch. See Weichert, Poetæ Latini, p. 224.

Scæva.—Sat. ii. i. 53. A debauched youth, who poisoned his mother in honey.

Scæva.—Epist. i. xvii. Not Scæva Lollius, as the Scholiasts have made out, confounding him with the Lollius of the next Epistle. It has been suggested that he may have been a son of Cæsar's brave centurion. Bell. Gall. iii. 53. Cic. ad Att. xiv. 10. Plutarch. in Cæsar.; but the name occurs in other families.

Sectanius.—Sat. i. iv. 112. A profligate youth.

Septicius.—Epist. i. v. 26. The reading of some MSS. for Septimius—otherwise unknown.

Septimius.—Carm. ii. vi. 1. Epist. i. ix. One of the most honoured of the friends of Horace. Augustus, in his letter to Horace, calls him Noster Septimius. But compare "Titius," "Poets."

SERVILIUS, BALATRO.—Sat. II. viii. 21. A buffoon. Compare Sat. I. ii. 2.

SERVIUS, SULPICIUS.—Sat. I. x. 81. A friend of Horace; perhaps, as Orelli conjectures, son of Servius Sulpicius, a famous Jurisconsult: a man devoted to philosophy and the liberal arts.

SESTIUS, L.—Carm. I. iv. 19. Augustus, after his unexpected recovery from his illness (U.C. 731), appointed L. Sestius as Consul in his own place. L. Sestius had been a faithful adherent of Brutus (his Quæstor, according to Appian), had served in his wars, cherished a deep attachment to his memory, and preserved his statues in his house (Dion. Cass. liii. 32). This and other such acts of liberality to the republican party, by Augustus, were celebrated by Ovid (Trist. i. 5, 39, and i. 2, 43). Horace, no doubt, had formed his friendship with L. Sestius during his campaign with Brutus. The date of the Ode inscribed to Sestius by Horace is uncertain, whether before or after the Consulate of Sestius.

SISENNA.—Sat. I. vii. 8. Proverbial for bitter jests. A bold speech of L. Sisenna in the senate is related in Dion. liv. 27; but on a subject rather serious for a jest.

SISYPHUS.—Sat. I. iii. 47. A favourite dwarf of Antonius, not more than two feet high, but called Sisyphus from his clever tricks (Comment. Cruq.) The fashion of keeping dwarfs was so common, that Augustus was remarked for his dislike of them (Suet. Oct. 83).

SOSII.—Epist. I. xx. 2. Art. Poet. 345. The famous booksellers of Rome.

STABERIUS.—Sat. II. iii. 84, 89. Even the Scholiasts are silent about this man.

STERTINIUS.—Sat. II. iii. 35, 296. Epist. I. xii. 20. A Stoic philosopher. According to the Scholiast, he had written books on those tenets.

SULPICIUS.—See "Servius."

SYBARIS.—Carm. I. viii. 2.

SYRUS.—A gladiator. Sat. II. vi. 45.

TANAIS.—Sat. I. i. 105. Spado. Said to have been a freed-man of Mæcenas.

TARPA.—Sat. I. x. 38. Art. Poet. 387. A distinguished critic. Compare Cic. ad. Fam. vii. 1. See Weichert, Poet. Lat. p. 334, Note.

TELEPHUS.—Carm. I. xiii. 1; III. xix. 26; IV. xi. 21.

TERENTIUS.—See "Poets."

THALIARCHUS.—Carm. I. ix. 8.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO.—Carm. IV. xiv. 14. Epist. I. ii. 2. In the poetry of Horace, Tiberius appears as the dutiful step-son of Augustus; as the successful general against the barbarous Rhæti; and entrusted with an important command in the East.

TIBULLUS.—See "Poets."

TIGELLIUS, L.—Sat. I. ii. 3; I. iii. 4. A Sardinian; perhaps either himself or his father, a freed-man of the family of Tigellius. He was celebrated for his musical talents and his wit. These accomplishments, as they might in our days, recommended him to the society of the great,—of Julius Cæsar and of Octavius, in which (the parallel still holds good) he became notorious for his insolence, fastidiousness, and affectation. He was also received into the society of Cleopatra, either in Egypt, whither he may have accompanied J. Cæsar, or during her visit to Rome. This Tigellius was an object of hatred to Cicero, who writes of his familiarity with Cæsar (Ad. Fam. v. 24),

and of his insolence and venality. He was satirized by Calvus, the friend of Catullus :—

"Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit."

The death of this Tigellius is mentioned by Horace (loc cit.) as lamented by all the quacks and cheats of Rome. His character is described at length—Sat. I. iii. 1 et seqq. These are doubtless among the earliest of the poems of Horace; therefore this Tigellius, then dead, must not be confounded with

Tigellius Hermogenes.—Sat. I. iii. 129; I. ix. 25; I. x. 18, 80, 90. Probably a Greek; and, according to the conjecture of Wieland, the adopted son of the former—adopted from congeniality of tastes and talents. Tigellius Hermogenes was of a lower rank in society. He was an enemy and detractor of Horace, who seizes every opportunity of revenging himself by some of the bitterest touches of his satire. See Kirschner, "Quæstiones Horatianæ," for the distinction between the two Tigellii, p. 47; also Weichert, Poet. Lat. 299.

Tillius.—Sat. I. vi. 24, 107. According to the Comm. Cruq., was expelled from the senate by Cæsar, as a partisan of Pompey. He resumed the laticlave after the death of Cæsar. He may have been the brother of Tillius Cimber, one of the assassins of Cæsar.

Timagenes.—Epist. I. xix. 15. A celebrated orator and historian. His historical writings (one a book De Regibus, another on the affairs of Gaul) are praised by Quintilian, I. O. x. i. 75. Ammian. Marcell. xv. ix. 2. He was said to have been an Alexandrian, brought as a captive to Rome by A. Gabinius, and redeemed by Faustus, the son of Sylla. According to Seneca (Controv. v. 34), he was first a cook, then a litter-bearer. The more probable

account is, that it was as a teacher of rhetoric that he was admitted into the intimacy of the great. He had been high in favour with Antonius (Plutarch. *in* Anton.), and was so also with Octavius Cæsar, till he forfeited it by his boldness and freedom of speech. When Cæsar banished him from his house, he revenged himself by burning a history which he had written of Cæsar's acts, as though to banish him in return from history: hence he was called παῤῥησιαστὴς. Even after he was discarded by Augustus, his wit recommended him to Asinius Pollio. Augustus warned Pollio that he was keeping a wild beast, θηριοτροφεῖς. Pollio began to make his excuse. "Make the most of him," retorted the Emperor; "et fruere, mi Pollio, fruere!" The malignity of the wit of Timagenes equalled its cleverness and causticity. One of his bitter jests is given in Seneca, Rhet. Epist. xci. See Weichert, Poet. Lat. p. 393.

TIRIDATES.—Carm. I. xxvi. 5. Raised to the throne of Parthia, during the banishment of Phraates, the conqueror of Antonius (Justin. xlii. 5. Dion. Cass. LI. 18; LIII. 33). This was about U.C. 730, 731.

TITIUS.—See "Poets."

TORQUATUS.—Carm. IV. vii. Epist. I. 5. If of the ancient family of the Torquati, the grandson of that L. Manlius Torquatus during whose Consulship Horace was born. The son of that L. M. Torquatus was an orator of high distinction and promise (Cic. Brut. 76). He died in Spain (Hist. Bell. Afric. 96); and the Torquatus of Horace may have been his son. Weichert, however, has conjectured that the friend of Horace was C. Nonius Asprenas, who, in a representation of the siege of Troy, at the command of Augustus, with other youths of noble birth, was hurt by an accidental fall. Augustus bestowed on him a golden chain,

and allowed him and his posterity to take the name of Torquatus (Sueton. Oct. 43). It may be inferred from this, that the old famous family of Torquatus was extinct in the person of the companion of Scipio, named above, who died in Spain. This Nonius Asprenas appears as Consul Suffectus, but without the name of Torquatus, U.C. 748. The tone of the Epistle, and still more of the Ode, imply that Torquatus was a man of high rank and importance; of noble birth, eloquence, and piety.

TRAUSIUS.—Sat. II. ii. 99. An unknown spendthrift.

TREBATIUS TESTA.—Sat. II. i. 4, 78. C. Trebatius Testa was the first distinguished man of his old but obscure family; in his earlier career the intimate friend of Cicero. To Trebatius many of the orator's letters are addressed: in his old age he was looked up to with friendly respect by Horace. He lives in their works. See the Letters of Cicero to Trebatius (Ad Fam. vii.) The legal knowledge and agreeable manners of Trebatius had recommended him to the friendship of Cicero. He was already an authority in the law; possessed a strong memory and great learning. The law, however, was but a slow way to wealth. The aspirant after fortune must attach himself to the governor of some province. Cicero had intended, if he had undertaken any foreign employment, that Trebatius should accompany him; and recommended him most earnestly to the care and protection of Cæsar in Gaul. But Trebatius looked back with regret to the pleasant life of Rome; and Cicero reproved him for his indolence in pushing his fortunes. Cæsar had offered him a tribunate, at the same time excusing him from its duties; but this offer was declined by Trebatius. Either timidity, or the love of ease, induced Trebatius to refuse likewise to accompany Cæsar into Britain, where Cicero exhorts

him to be on his guard against the British charioteers. Perhaps the discovery, which was soon made, that the hopes of finding gold and silver in Britain were vain, may have had some influence. Cicero congratulates his friend on his preference for quiet winter-quarters at Samarobriva (Amiens), where he jestingly says, that he must undoubtedly be the best lawyer in the city. It is difficult for us not to regret that which delights Cicero, the absence of Trebatius from this campaign. Any information on the subject of Cæsar's expedition to Britain, from a man like Trebatius, would have been of singular interest. Cicero says, that an account of the Gallic war would have been more trustworthy, coming from a man who took so little part in it as Trebatius. "Tu me velim de ratione Gallici belli certiorem facias. Ego enim ignavissimo cuique maximam fidem habeo" (Ad Fam. vii. 18). So may we say of the conquest of Britain. Trebatius, however, grew reconciled to his situation; he was consulted by Cæsar, and began to share in the spoils. After his return to Rome, unfortunately, with his early friend Cicero, he espoused the party of Pompeius, and was obliged to throw himself on the clemency of his patron Cæsar, whom he had deserted in the great contest for supremacy. Cæsar not merely forgave him, but admitted him into his confidence. On the occasion when Cæsar gave the deepest offence to the pride of the Senate, by refusing to rise when they appeared before him, Trebatius had the prudence and the courage to suggest that he should pay this usual mark of respect (Sueton. Cæs. 78). But Trebatius, from the time of his pardon by Cæsar, appears to have withdrawn from public affairs, and devoted himself entirely to his profession. He was tribune indeed in 707. From the playful tone of

Cicero's Letters, he must have been a man who loved wit, as well as learning; he belonged, no doubt, to the intimate society in which Horace passed his life; and though now of advanced age, would be flattered rather than displeased at the quiet comic humour with which Horace impersonates the great Lawyer, as regularly consulted on the important questions of taste and poetry, and giving his opinion with legal precision and sententious gravity. His advice to the Poet how to make his fortune, "multa laborum præmia laturus," might almost seem like a sly allusion to the manner in which Trebatius first made his own in Gaul. At all events the prudence of the old lawyer is admirably sustained. There is another curious slight coincidence. Trebatius advises Horace to try swimming in the Tiber for his diversion. Cicero jokes with Trebatius upon his love of swimming—"Studiosissimus homo natandi" (Ad Fam. vii. 10).

Trebonius.—Sat. i. iv. 114. A man of intrigue.

Turbo.—Sat. ii. iii. 310. A gladiator of small stature but great courage.

Turius, C. Marcus.—Sat. ii. i. 49. A corrupt judge.

Tyndaris.—Carm. i. xvi. 1.

Umbrenus.—Sat. ii. ii. 133. Perhaps an imaginary name, or that of a man to whom had been awarded the confiscated estate of Ofella.

Ummidius.—Sat. i. i. 95. A person unknown, but from this passage. The name is not uncommon.

Vala Numonius.—See "Numonius."

Valgius.—See "Poets."

Varius.—See "Poets."

Varro Atacinus.—See "Poets."

Varus.—Carm. i. xvii. The Scholiasts add to this name

that of Quintilius. He was probably the Quintilius Varus, the friend of Virgil and of Horace, whose death, U. C. 730, Horace laments in his twenty-fourth Ode. He is, no doubt, the same Quintilius to whom Horace alludes (A. P. 438) as a consummate critic; and with this the passages of Virgil seem to agree; as well as with the fond attachment to his memory, expressed in the mournful Ode on his death:

> "te nostræ, Vare, myricæ,
> Te nemus omne canet: nec Phœbo gratior ulla est,
> Quam sibi quæ Vari præscripsit pagina nomen."—Ecl. v. 10.

Compare vi. 6, 7; ix. 27, 35. Of the other Vari of this period none agrees so well with the language of the two Poets, and the authority of the Scholiast may perhaps be admitted, who joins the names of Quintilius and Varus. The other Vari are, 1. Quintilius Varus, Consul, U. C. 760, whose disastrous fate in Germany (U. C. 763) gave a sad celebrity to the name. 2. P. Alfenius Varus, a distinguished jurisconsult, Consul (Suffectus), U. C. 715. 3. His son, Consul (Suffect.), U. C. 755. 4. Q. Atius Varus, Commander of the Horse under Cn. Domitius Calvinus. Cæs. B. Civ. iii. 37, and Hirtius B. Gall. viii. 28. This was probably the Varus who presided over the division of the confiscated estates in Cisalpine Gaul, and the Q. Varus sent by Augustus to put to death Cassius Parmensis at Athens. 5. L. Varus, an Epicurean, a friend of Cæsar. Quintil. I. O. vi. 378. 6. Pompeius Varus, the old fellow-soldier of Horace, whose return to Italy he celebrates, Carm. II. vii. Varus, it appears, with less prudence than Horace, plunged again into the civil wars. The time of his return to Rome is uncertain, as is the date of the Ode.

VARUS.—Epod. v. 73. The faithless lover of Canidia

—Quintilius Varus? I should doubt their identity. Compare rather a perplexed Dissertation of Weichert, De diversis, qui Cæs. August. ætate vixerunt, Varis. p. 121.

VEIANIUS.—Epist. I. i. 4. A gladiator, who, having fought many battles, obtained leave to retire from the arena, and consecrated his arms to Hercules.

VIBIDIUS.—Sat. II. viii. 22, et seqq. The second umbra of Mæcenas at the feast of Nasidienus.

VILLIUS, SEXT.—Sat. I. ii. 64. An intimate associate of Milo, with whose wife, Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, his intrigue was so notorious, that he was called his son in-law. Cic. ad Fam. xi. 6.

VINNIUS (ASELLA, OR ASINA).—Epist. I. xiii. Horace confided to his care a volume of his works, which, on a favourable opportunity, was to be presented to Augustus, then perhaps in Spain.

VIRGILIUS.—See "Poets."

VISCUS, VIBIUS.—See "Poets."

VISCUS, THURINUS.—Sat. II. viii. 20. A guest of Nasidienus.

VISELLIUS.—Sat. I. i. 105. Visellii socer; herniosus.

VOLANERIUS.—Sat. II. vii. 15. A buffoon, unknown.

VOLTEIUS, MENA.—Epist. I. vii. 55. Probably imaginary.

VOLUMNIUS, EUTRAPELUS.—See "Eutrapelus."

VORANUS.—Sat. I. viii. 35. A thief: a story is told of his thievery in the Comm. Cruq.

XANTHIAS, PHOCEUS.—C. II. iv. A youth unknown, if not imaginary, or the Poem may be a translation from the Greek.

PERSONÆ HORATIANÆ.

POETS.

Albius.—See "Tibullus."

Antonius Iulus.—Carm. iv. ii. Son of the Triumvir by Fulvia. He was left in the west when Antonius devoted himself to Cleopatra. Octavia, his stepmother, undertook the care of his youth; and, through her protection, he escaped the fate of his eldest brother. He married Octavia's daughter, Marcella, and grew up in wealth and distinction in the Court of Augustus. He was raised to the Pontificate, to the Prætorship, u. c. 741, and to the Consulate, u. c. 794. Finally, he was convicted of adultery with Julia, the daughter of Augustus. Antonius was condemned to death, Julia to exile in the island of Pandataria: this took place after the death of Horace. Antonius wrote an Epic Poem, in twelve books, called Diomedea, on the Settlement of Diomede in Daunia. It has been conjectured that this Poem was imitated from Antimachus.

Asinius (Caius) Pollio.—Carm. ii. i. Sat. i. v. 42, 85. Born u. c. 679. In his twenty-second year he stood forward

as an Orator, in an accusation against C. Cato. In the civil war he took the side of Cæsar, and crossed the Rubicon with him. He served under Cicero in the reduction of Sicily and Africa, was present at Pharsalia, and was with Cæsar a second time in Africa. He was one of the fourteen Proprætors, and took the command in the further Spain. He was there defeated by Sex. Pompeius, and supposed to be slain; but peace was made with S. Pompeius by the intervention of Lepidus. From Spain Pollio wrote three letters to Cicero (Ad Fam. x. 31, 2, 3), in which he described himself as more inclined to peaceful pursuits than to war, as abhorring the dominion of one, and as ready to obey the Senate; but that he was unable to move, because Lepidus lay, with his forces, between him and the Alps. He afterwards joined Antonius and Octavius, and was Consul, U. C. 714; he was the Lieutenant of Antonius in Cisalpine Gaul, and there took Virgil under his protection. He was one of the Mediators in the treaty of Brundusium. He afterwards commanded in Illyria, where he defeated the Parthini, a Dalmatian people, over whom he obtained a triumph (Oct. 25, U. C. 715). He refused to accompany Octavius to Actium, and passed the rest of his life in literary ease and quiet. He died at his villa in Tusculum, U. C. 749.

Pollio was distinguished as an Orator, a Poet, and a Historian. Though highly praised by his contemporaries, the fame of his Tragedies does not appear to have been lasting. He is not named by Quintilian. Of his poetry not a line survives: he lives in his Epistles, contained among those of Cicero, and in the grateful praises of Virgil and of Horace. Weichert insists that the Tragedies of Asinius Pollio were not performed in public; that a man of his rank would not have submitted to the tumultuous

verdict of the theatre. The words of Horace seem to imply public representation :—

> "Paulum severæ Musa Tragœdiæ
> Desit theatris."
>
> Carm. II. i. 9.

Virgil speaks of Pollio's Tragedies in lofty terms :—

> "Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno."
>
> Ecl. viii. 10.

As an Orator the name of Asinius Pollio occurs frequently and honourably in the Dialogue de Claris Oratoribus. The rhythm of his speeches was greatly admired (Numerosior Asinius, c. xxv.) But, from one passage, it is clear that, while his Orations were still read, his fame, as a Tragic Writer, was forgotten : "Nec ullus Asinii aut Messalæ liber tam inlustris est, quam Medea Ovidii, aut Varii Thyestes" (c. xiii.) Drumann, Geschichte Roms. II. p. 1. Weichert, De Lucio Vario, &c., p. 148.

There is a good treatise of Thorbeck, "De Asinio Pollione."

Bibaculus.—See "Furius."

Calvus.— Sat. I. x. 19. C. Licinius Calvus, the Orator and Poet, the friend of Catullus. He was born U. C. 672 (Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 50). He was of the Licinian, an ancient Plebeian family. According to Weichert's conjecture, C. Licinius Calvus was the son of Licinius Macer, the Historian cited by Livy and Dionysius Hal., and mentioned in Cic. de Legg. i. 2, 3, and Valer. Max. ix. 12, 7. Calvus, at an early age, came forward as an Orator : he was not twenty-one when he made his first splendid speech against Vatinius (Dial. de Cla. Orat. 34). (Weichert makes him twenty-seven.) This speech had

such an effect, that Vatinius suddenly rose and exclaimed, "I demand of you, O Judges, whether, because this man is so eloquent, I am to be condemned?"—"Rogo, vos, Judices, num si iste disertus est, ideo me damnari oportet?" (Senec. Controv. iii. 19.) Catullus alludes to his speech:—

> "Risi nescio quem modo in coronâ,
> Qui cum mirificè Vatiniana
> Meus crimina Calvus explicasset,
> Admirans ait hæc, manusque tollens,
> Dî magni! Salaputium disertum!"
>
> Carm. I. x.

The meaning of "salaputium" is doubtful; but it alludes to the short stature of Calvus, who is called by Ovid, "exiguus Calvus." Calvus was expected to contend for the palm of eloquence with Cicero himself; but, as he grew older, his vehement Demosthenic vigour seems to have been oppressed by over-laborious study, as well as by some singular ascetic practices, and his language to have been so carefully polished as to have lost all its energy. Senec. Controver. loc. cit. Cic. in Brut. c. 82. Quintil. I. O. x. i. 3; x. ii. 25. Cl. Orat. c. 17, 21, 25.

As a Poet, the name of Calvus is always associated with that of his friend Catullus:—

> "Ista meis fiet notissima forma libellis,
> Calve, tuâ veniâ, pace, Catulle, tuâ."
>
> Propert. ii. 19, 40.

> "Obvius huic venias, hederâ juvenilia cinctus
> Tempora, cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo."
>
> Ovid. Amor. iii. 9, 61.

Their Poems were recited at the same time, as we see from Horace. Even as late as Pliny the Younger, their names were together proverbial as the models of grace, sweetness, plaintiveness, and tenderness, though with lines occasionally

hard and inharmonious. It is the great praise of Pompeius Saturninus to have written verses, "quales Catullus, aut Calvus, quantum illis leporis, dulcedinis, amaritudinis, amoris. Inserit sane, sed data opera, mollibus levibusque duriusculos quosdam; et hoc quasi Catullus aut Calvus" (Plin. Epist. I. xvi.) A few Poems of Catullus and Calvus only, among the Roman Poets (according to Aulus Gellius, xix. 9), could compete with the flowing sweetness of Anacreon. Like Catullus, Calvus wrote elegiac verses on his mistress, Quintilia (Catull. xcvi. Propert. II. xxv. 89); short amatory Poems, probably in hendecasyllabic metres; and bitter pieces, even against the highest persons in the state; against both Pompeius and Cæsar. Suetonius mentions his opprobrious epigrams ("famosa epigrammata") against Julius Cæsar (Jul. Cæs. c. 73). This is the meaning of the haughty spirit ("ingens animus") ascribed to Calvus by Pliny. One or two fragments, sufficiently bold and coarse, of his epigrams against Pompeius and Cæsar survive. Weichert, Poetæ Latini, p. 89 et seqq.

Cassius Etruscus.—Sat. I. x. 64. A bad Poet, who wrote with great rapidity. Horace supposes him, in jest, to have written books enough to serve, with their cases, for his funeral pile.

Cassius Parmensis.—Epist. I. iv. 3. A writer of some short but highly-finished works—Elegies and Epigrams. He was one of the assassins of Cæsar; a Military Tribune in the army of Brutus and Cassius, at the time of the battle of Philippi, on the coast of Asia. After Philippi, he joined Sext. Pompeius, and, afterwards, Antonius. Some time after the battle of Actium he went to Athens: he was there killed by Q. Varus, at the command of Octavius. Cassius was likewise a writer of Tragedies, one of which was called

Thyestes. From a confusion between Q. Varus, the assassin of Cassius Parmensis, and L. Varus, the Poet, the latter was idly said to have taken the Thyestes of Cassius from his writing-desk, and published it as his own. A Letter to Cicero (Ad Fam. xii. 13) is ascribed to him by Drumann; with Weichert, I more than doubt this. Not a single line of Cassius is known to be extant, though Weichert attributes to him an epigram against Octavius, preserved by Suetonius (Octavius, c. 70), and more doubtfully, a line in Quintilian, Instit. Orat. v. ii. 24. See Weichert, De Cassio Parmensi. Drumann, Geschichte Roms. in Cassio.

CATULLUS.—Sat. I. x. 19. On his poetry, see observations in Life of Horace, p. 37. He was born at Verona, according to Hieronymus in the Eusebian Chronicle, B. C. 87 (U. C. 667), but the same authority states that he died in his thirtieth year. It is clear that he was alive during the Consulship of Vatinius, B. C. 47 (U. C. 707), the year when Horace probably went to Athens. How long he lived after that time is uncertain.

DEMETRIUS.—Sat. I. x. 18, 79, 90. He was called the ape, on account of his short stature and deformity, say the Scholiasts (Acron, Porphyrion, and more fully Scholiastes Cruq.) He was a *modulator*, or phonascus, a musician who gave the tone to the actor, and also to the orator (Cic. de Orat. III. 60. Quintilian. I. O. I. 10, 27). Part of this office was the instruction of the female mimes (the discipulæ of v. 90). The mimes, of both sexes, recited poems, accompanying their recitations with attitude and gesture (they *danced* them, saltabant), both in private and in the theatre. And these poems, so recited, were of all kinds, by no means necessarily dramatic. When the verses of

Virgil were thus represented in the theatre, the whole people rose and paid the same respect to Virgil which they would have done to Augustus (De Clar. Orat. c. 13). The sixth Eclogue was recited by Cytheris, the mime, in the theatre (Donat. Vit. Virgil). Ovid writes,—

> "Et mea sunt populo saltata poemata sæpe;
> Sæpe oculos etiam detinuere tuos."
> Ovid. Trist. ii. 519.

And these lines probably refer not to the Medea, but to other poems of Ovid. Even rhetorical exercises were in later times chanted and danced. "Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriæ et ingenii loco plerique jactant, cantari saltarique commentarios suos" (Dial. de Cl. Orat. c. 26). Demetrius had thus obtained a name for reciting, or teaching others to recite, the poems of Calvus and Catullus. The Scholiast likewise asserts Demetrius to have been a Poet, or rather a poetaster, but of his poetical compositions, if there were any, nothing is known.—Weichert, Poetæ Latini, p. 283.

Dossennus Fabius.—Epist. II. i. 173. A Comic Poet, a writer some suppose of Atellanæ, others, more justly, of Palliatæ and Togatæ. His most famous play, I should venture to conjecture from his epitaph, preserved by Seneca (Epist. 89), was called Sophia: "Hospes resiste, et Sophiam Dossenni lege:" though this word may perhaps refer to the general wisdom of his plays. Two lines, one from an uncertain play, one from the Acharistes, are quoted by Pliny, H. N. XIV. 13. It is curious that Dossennus was one of the characters in the Atellanæ. The Dossennus was a hunchback, half philosopher, half conjurer and diviner; who cheated the rustics by his magical arts. Munk, De Fabulis Atellanis, pp. 35, 121.

ENNIUS.—See "Life of Horace."

FANNIUS.—Sat. I. iv. 21. A bad poet, who wrote with great rapidity. He was a parasite of Hermogenes Tigellius (Sat. I. x. 80). The Scholiast says, that he presented his Poems in their cases, as well as his statue, to the Public Library:

"Ultro
Delatis capsis et imagine."

But it is doubtful, whether the library of Asinius Pollio, founded U. C. 715 or 716, existed at this time; and Varro was the only author whose statue was placed in the library of Pollio. The library of the Palatine Apollo was opened still later. Recent interpreters, after Lambinus, suppose that the admirers of Fannius had presented him with a case for his books, and a statue of himself.

FLORUS JULIUS.—Epist. I. iii.; II. ii. The Scholiast Porphyrion speaks of Florus as a writer of Satires. "Hic Florus fuit Satirarum scriptor, cujus sunt Electæ ex Ennio, Lucilio, Varrone." Weichert supposes that Florus only republished the best passages from these poems; very likely he modernised them, as Pope did those of Dr. Donne: his title therefore to be called a writer of Satires may be questionable. But Horace, by the words "amabile carmen" applied to Florus (Epist. II. ii. 24), can hardly mean satire. Casaubon, followed by Wieland, F. ii. 129, construes the word as signifying love verses (Ἐρωτικά), but it may mean no more than graceful and pleasing verses. On the birth and family of Julius Florus, all is purely conjectural. He went into the East with Tiberius, among the younger men attached to his person (contubernales). Horace seems to suggest that the wars and treaties of

Augustus (to whom the fame of all the oriental successes of Tiberius would of course be attributed), might be a fit subject to be immortalised in a panegyrical poem by Florus, or by some of his young noble and studious companions. Weichert has adopted and expanded the conjecture that Julius Florus, later in life, retired to Gaul, to avoid the tyranny of Tiberius, and was the Julius Florus mentioned by the elder Seneca as in his earlier life a hearer of Portius Latro (Controvers. iv. 25), and by Quintilian, as famous throughout Gaul, as an eloquent pleader (Instit. Orat. x. 3, 13): and who finally became the leader in the great insurrection in Gaul, in the eighth year of Tiberius. "Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem æris alieni rebellionem cœptavere: cujus exstimulator acerrimus inter Treveros Julius Florus, apud Æduos Julius Sacrovir" (Tacit. Ann. iii. 40). Orelli well observes, that Julius Florus must by this time have been sixty-five years old; a time of life in which men are rarely disposed to engage in desperate rebellion. Weichert, Poetæ Latini, p. 366. Orelli, Note in Epist. I. iii.

FUNDANIUS — CAIUS. — Sat. I. x. 42; II. viii. 19. A Comic Poet, greatly admired in his day, whose poetry has entirely perished; and whose fame did not reach Quintilian. He was a friend of Mæcenas, and the guest at the banquet of Nasidienus, in whose mouth, as a comic poet, the account of the entertainment is fitly placed.

FURIUS—CAIUS BIBACULUS, under his nickname ALPINUS. — Sat. I. x. 36; II. v. 41. Furius Bibaculus must be distinguished from Furius Antias, a poet from whom Virgil did not disdain to adopt several verses, of which the originals have been preserved by Macrobius (Saturn. vi. 1, 3, 4). Aulus Furius Antias was the intimate friend of L. Lutatius Catulus, Consul, U. C. 652.

Furius Bibaculus was a native of Cremona. His name Alpinus, under which he is satirized in the first passage in Horace, is explained by the second. "Furius hibernas canâ nive conspuit Alpes." The three Scholiasts, Acron, Porphyrion, and Comment. Cruq., agree that the poem of Furius on the Gallic war opened with the line

"Jupiter hibernas canâ nive conspuit Alpes."

From this, or perhaps from the whole turgid description of the Alps (the Poem, as Weichert conjectures, may have celebrated the campaigns of Cæsar), either the wits of Rome, or Horace himself, had given Furius the fatal name of Alpinus. This name, at least, was so familiar to the popular ear, that it is used alone in the first passage in which Furius appears:—

"Turgidus Alpinus jugulat dum Memnona, dumque
Defingit Rheni luteum caput."

It is clear from these lines that Bibaculus had written two Epic Poems, one, it is probable, an Æthiopis, a cyclic subject, imitated from Arctinus, and containing the death of Memnon; the other was probably the Poem which commenced with the unlucky passage about the Alps. The fountain of the Rhine, made muddy in his verse, might naturally occur in a Poem descriptive of the Alps; or if, as Weichert insists, and shows, by many incontestable authorities, the "luteum caput" is used for the mouth of the Rhine (in which case "the muddy" would be a true and happy epithet), it might well be found in a Poem on the campaigns of Cæsar, which extended to Belgium. Six indifferent lines are quoted in Aulus Gellius (Noct. Att. xviii. 2), which are assigned (if the "Lemma" to this

chapter be authentic) by Gellius himself to Furius Antias; but appear so much more in what we may suppose to have been the style of Bibaculus, that doubts may be entertained of the accuracy of Gellius.

But though thus turgid and ridiculous as an Epic Poet, Bibaculus was so successful as an Epigrammatist, as to rank among the most celebrated writers of that class. We are surprised to find his name in Quintilian between those of Catullus and Horace. It is true that the praise is of the bitterness of his Iambics: "Cujus acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio: quanquam illi epodos intervenire reperiatur" (Quint. Orat. Inst. x. i. 96). Diomedes likewise, the Grammarian, recounts the chief writers of Iambics, among the Greeks, Archilochus, Hipponax; among the Romans, Lucilius and Catullus, Bibaculus and Horace (Lib. iii. c. 6). The suspicion naturally arises that Bibaculus, who, when Horace began to write, was already advanced in years, had offended the young Poet by some bitter Epigram; for Bibaculus was as bold as he was bitter in his Iambic satire. He, who had neither spared Julius Cæsar, nor even Augustus, would hardly respect a young rival poet, who had launched fearlessly into satire, and lashed about him on all sides. Bibaculus may, indeed, have found that it was safer to attack those in power, than the irritable race of his brother Poets. Cæsar and Augustus bore in silence, perhaps smiled at, his idle malice: "Carmina Bibaculi et Catulli, referta contumeliis Cæsarum leguntur; sed ipse divus Julius, ipse divus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere; haud facile dixerim, moderatione magis an sapientia" (Tac. Ann. iv. 34). Horace took a cruel revenge in his own undying verses.

Compare Weichert, De Poetis Latinis, p. 331.

DECIMUS LABERIUS, the author of some celebrated Mimes. These Mimes, with the ordinary and coarser writers, were a kind of scurrilous or obscene farce, in comparison with which Ovid asserts, that his own verses were chaste and modest; yet they were beheld with delight by the unmarried virgin, by the matron, by the youth, and sanctioned by the presence of the Senate, and even of the Emperor himself (Ovid. Trist. II. 497, 516). With Laberius and his rival Publius Syrus, the Mimes rose to moral sublimity: their Apothegms contained the concentrated wisdom of the times. They were held in the same rank with the Mimes of Sophron the Syracusan, which Plato is said never to have been weary of reading.

Laberius, a Roman knight, a man of "the old rugged liberty," had devoted himself to the composition of these Mimes, which were, no doubt, performed by the ordinary players. Either with the deliberate design of breaking the spirit of the stubborn republican; or from vanity that the Spectacles which, after the defeat of Pompeius, he celebrated in every part of Rome with unparalleled magnificence should have everything extraordinary and out of the common course; or in the wanton pride of power, Cæsar supplicated Laberius himself (and the supplication of Cæsar was a command) to appear upon the stage. The old man (for he had lived sixty years in unblemished honour) must submit to this most degrading indignity; for the Roman feeling, notwithstanding the fame of Roscius, held the actor in supreme contempt, and the profession as that of a slave. The verses which Laberius recited might almost have retrieved his dignity, and avenged his insulted order:—

> "Necessitas, cujus cursûs transversi impetum
> Voluerunt multi effugere, pauci potuerunt,

Quo me detrusit pæne extremis sensibus?
Quem nulla ambitio, nulla unquam largitio,
Nullus timor, vis nulla, nulla auctoritas
Movere potuit in juventa de statu,
Ecce in senecta ut facile labescit loco,
Viri excellentis mente clemente edita,
Submissa placide, blandiloquens oratio.
Etenim ipsi Dii negare cui nihil potuerunt,
Hominem me denegare quis posset pati?
Ergo, annis bis tricenis actis sine nota,
Eques Romanus ex Lare egressus meo,
Domum revertar *Mimus*. Nimirum hoc die
Uno plus vixi mihi quam vivendum fuit.
Fortuna, immoderata in bono æque atque in malo,
Si tibi erat libitum literarum laudibus
Florens cacumen nostræ famæ frangere,
Cur, cum vigebam membris præviridantibus,
Satisfacere populo et tali cum poteram viro,
Non flexibilem me concurvasti ut carperes?
Nunc me quo dejicis? Quid ad scenam affero;
Decorem formæ, an dignitatem corporis?
Animi virtutem, an vocis jucundæ sonum?
Ut Hedera serpens vires arboreas necat,
Ita me vetustas amplexu annorum enecat;
Sepulchri similis nil nisi nomen retineo."

Nor was this the only remonstrance of indignant liberty. Laberius chose for representation one of his Mimes, in which a Syrian slave, under the scourge, cried out,—

"Porro Quirites, libertatem perdimus."
"Marry, O Romans! but we lose our freedom!"

It was followed by a sentence, equal to the most pregnant of Tacitus:—

"Necesse est multos timeat, quem multi timent."
"He must fear many, whom so many fear."

All eyes were fixed on Cæsar, who does not seem to have had magnanimity enough to refrain from a bitter and ungracious revenge. He awarded the prize to the rival of

Laberius, Publius Syrus: "Though I favoured you, Laberius, Syrus has won the victory." To Laberius, however, he showed his prodigal magnificence; he gave him the equestrian ring of gold, and 500,000 sesterces (about £4,036); and from the orchestra Laberius was ordered to take his seat on the highest bench among the knights. As he passed, his rival addressed him in courteous and respectful language:—

> "Quicum contendisti scriptor, hunc spectator subleva."

Laberius was ready with his answer, which struck again obliquely at Cæsar himself:—

> "Non possunt primi esse omnes omni in tempore,
> Summum ad gradum cum claritatis veneris,
> Consistes ægre, et citius, quam ascendas, cades;
> Cecidi ego, cadet qui sequitur; laus est publica."

> "All cannot be at all times first; 't is hard
> To reach the topmost step of glory, to stand there
> More hard; even swifter than we mount, we fall;
> I 've fallen, and he that follows me, shall fall."

But the equestrian order would not submit to the insult of receiving, at the will of Cæsar, a man dishonoured by his appearance as a Mime; they spread themselves over the fourteen benches assigned to them; and Laberius could find no seat. Cicero, whose wit was not always the happiest, attempted a jest, at the expense of Laberius and of Cæsar, who had filled the Senate with so many new men, his partisans. "I would willingly make room for you, if we were not already so much crowded." "It is extraordinary," retorted Laberius, "that you have not room enough, who always sit on two stools."

Even that noble Prologue of Laberius may want some of the perfect finish of language, required by the fastidious

taste of Horace; but this was no doubt a very favourable example of his style. Aulus Gellius has almost a whole chapter of strange compound words, in which Laberius appears to have allowed himself boundless licence; and which are exactly the words, which disappear among, and seem to have been proscribed by, the Augustan Poets. Macrob. Saturn. II. vii. 4. Aulus Gellius, xvi. 7.

C. Lucilius.—Sat. I. iv. 6; I. x.; II. i. 17. Was born, according to S. Hieronymus, U. C. 605, and died aged forty-six, U. C. 651. Notwithstanding the distinctness of this statement, and the ingenuity with which many writers have attempted to explain it, it appears to me utterly irreconcilable with facts. Lucilius accompanied his patron, L. Scipio Africanus Æmilianus, to the war of Numantia, A. U. 620, then only fifteen years old. Precedents are alleged for this abuse, as to the ordinary service, but Lucilius is said to have served as *eques* at that premature age.

He is also said to have been distinguished as forming part of the familiar society of Scipio and Lælius, and as having acquired fame as a satirist; yet Scipio died in the year 625, when, by the date in Hieronymus, Lucilius was but twenty. The expression of Horace, who calls him Senex, may refer to the legal distinction of old age, which was allowed at 46, or to his antiquity as a Poet; or may be got rid of by subterfuges, more or less satisfactory: but I cannot help suspecting that the whole statement is erroneous; that Lucilius was born earlier than 605, and lived more than forty-six years.

Lucilius, I conceive, was the first writer of Hexameter Satire. The Satires of Ennius and Pacuvius seem to have been in irregular metres. I can discover nothing peculiar, or unfairly disparaging, in the language of Horace,

concerning his great master in the art. Even the few broken fragments of Lucilius, show great force, vehemence, and even picturesqueness of expression, but his verses are hard and harsh; his language, though at times strongly vernacular, strains after Greek compounds: and we can even now, I think, if we compare the idiomatic pellucidity of Horace, understand the sense of the word, muddy (lutulentus), as applied to the flow of the verse of Lucilius.

See on the Chronology: Fynes Clinton, F. H.; Bayle, Art. Lucile; Van Heusde, Stud. Crit. in Lucil.; and a very good preface to a collection (with a French translation) of the fragments, by E. F. Corpet, Paris, 1845.

Mævius.—Epod. x.

"Qui Bavium non odit, amęt tua carmina, Mævi."

These two unhappy names have thus descended to posterity as proverbial for bad poetry. Martial, when he would fill up a verse with a notorious name, uses that of Mævius (Epigram x. 76). The Gloss (Cod. A. of M. Vanderbourg) says, that Mævius described very wretchedly the triumphs of Augustus. Another Commentator (Cruquianus) describes him as envious of all good writers, and as affecting antique words. Of the personal history of these worthies little is known. Hieronymus in Eusebii Chronicon places the death of Bavius in Cappadocia, Olymp. CLXXXVI. 3. "Bavius Poeta, quem Virgilius in Bucolicis notat, moritur in Cappadocia." It appears that Bavius was a Roman by birth; and exercised the office of Curator, but what that office was is doubtful. There is an Epigram upon him by Domitius Marsus. The origin and condition of Mævius, is even more obscure; all that we can conclude from the Epode of Horace is, the immoderate hatred and contempt of the Poet for the man.

Marsus.—Domitius Marsus, and Propertius, are the only famous Poets of that age, of whose names Horace is silent. I venture, for this reason, to notice them here. Weichert has suggested that Domitius Marsus as a bitter Epigrammatist, and Horace as a Satirist (as he before conjectured in the case of Bibaculus), may have had some hostile encounters. Marsus, as we infer from an Epigram of Martial, was not excluded from the society, at least not from the admiration of Mæcenas:

> "Et Mæcenati Maro quum cantaret Alexin,
> Nota tamen Marsi fusca Melænis erat."
> Lib. xiv. 187.

This Melænis may have been either an Eclogue, or an Elegy; it is cited by the Grammarian Apuleius in Mai. Nov. Collect. But it is as an Epigrammatist that Marsus is quoted by Martial with such constant praise as, with Catullus, the great master in that style of poetry:

> "Protinus aut Marsi recitas, aut scripta Catulli,
> Hæc mihi das, tanquam deteriora legam,
> Ut collata magis placeant mea? credimus illud:
> Malo tamen recites, Cæciliane, tua."
> II. 71.

He alleges the length of the Epigrams of Marsus as an excuse for his own:

> "Marsi, doctique Pedonis
> Sæpe duplex unum pagina tractat opus."
> ii. 77.

He adduces Marsus as a precedent for a graver fault, the licence of his poetry:

> "Sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gætulicus."
> Epist. ad. Lect. lib. i.

He requests the keeper of the Palatine Library to find a place for his works :

"Qua Pedo, qua Marsus, quaque Catullus erat."
Lib. v. 5.

And in an adulatory Poem to Crispinus (the Crispinus of Juvenal's fierce Satire), he entreats him to recommend his Poems to the Emperor, as not much inferior to those of Marsus and Catullus :

"Nec Marso nimium minor est, doctoque Catullo,
Hoc satis est : ipsi cætera mando Deo."
vii. 99.

Marsus was likewise an Epic Poet; but his great admirer, Martial, is by no means flattering in his allusion to one of the works of Marsus of this class. The single book of Persius is more often remembered than the whole Amazonis of Marsus.

"Sæpius in libro memoratur Persius uno,
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide."
iv. 28.

But in another Poem he re-establishes the fame of Marsus, by ranking him with Varius, and all the gifted names of the older Poets, and as only inferior to Virgil.

"Quid Varios, Marsosque loquor ditataque vatum
Nomina, magnus erit quos numerare labor ?
Ergo ero Virgilius, si munera Mæcenatis
Des mihi ? Virgilius non ero, Marsus ero."
viii. 56.

In the age immediately following his own, the name of Marsus stood high as an Epic Poet. Ovid names him with Rabirius.

"Cum foret et Marsus, magnique Rabirius oris."
De Ponto iv. xvi. 5.

But while Rabirius is slightly mentioned, Marsus is unnoticed by Quintilian. The most singular coincidence, however, between the life of Horace and that of Marsus, is, that a fragment of Marsus mentions, apparently from the Poet's personal reminiscence as a fellow-student and fellow-sufferer, the proverbial cane and rod of the Schoolmaster Orbilius.

"Si quos Orbilius ferulâ scuticâque cecidit:"

Marsus also mentions another schoolmaster, Q. Cæcilius Æpirota, a freed-man of Atticus, who lived on the most friendly terms with Cornelius Gallus, and after his condemnation and death set up a school.

"Epirota, tenellorum nutricula vatum."
Suetou. de. Illus. Gramm. c. 16.

In this line, Weichert imagines that he has discovered the cause of the animosity (an animosity, which he has almost as fancifully assumed) between Marsus and Horace. Cæcilius, he supposes, had introduced the modern Poets, Virgil and Horace, into his school, instead of the older writers, against the pedantic worship of which Horace is continually protesting, especially in his Epistle to Augustus, and in his Art of Poetry. But this line is part, Weichert further conjectures, of a bitter Epigram of Marsus, against the Grammarian, for this tasteless innovation.

Of the Poetry of Marsus remains, 1. The Epitaph on Tibullus, which, as on the friend of Horace, may find a place here.

"Te quoque Virgilio comitem non æqua, Tibulle,
Mors juvenem campos misit in Elysios:
Ne foret, aut elegis molles qui fieret amores,
Aut caneret forti regia bella pede."

2. An Epigram, expressive of strong contempt for those same

small Poets, who were hostile to Virgil and Horace. It is rather, indeed, against the character, than the poetry of Bavius.

"Omnia cum Bavio communia frater habebat,
Unanimi fratres aicut habere solent.
Rura, domum, nummos, atque omnia, denique, ut aiunt,
Corporibus geminis spiritus unus erat.
Sed postquam alterius mulier communis utrique
Nupsit, deposuit alter amicitiam."

It is rather a strange fancy of some, that Mævius was this brother of Bavius. See Weichert, Poetæ Latini, p. 243.

Octavius.—Sat. i. x. 82. An Historian as well as a Poet. There is an Epitaph in the Catalecta of Virgil which may apply to this Octavius. These lines form part of it:—

"Scripta quidem tua nos multum mirabimur, et te
Raptum, et Romanam flebimus historiam."

Pantilius, the Bug.—Sat. i. x. 78. One of the wretched Poets, who belong to the Dunciad of Horace. Weichert thinks this an opprobrious name given to some obscure person παρὰ τοῦ πᾶν τίλλειν—quævis vellicando—a sort of synonym of the pestering cimex.

Pitholeon, the Rhodian.—Sat. i. x. 22. A freed-man of M. Otacilius, whose name he bore, prefixed to that of Pitholeon (or Pitholaus, as it is written in Macrobius, Saturn. ii. 2, where a witticism of his is related). He is, no doubt, the same person whose opprobrious satire Cæsar is said to have borne with such dignified forbearance. "Pitholai carminibus maledicentissimis laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit" (Suet. Cæs. c. 75).

Plotius.—Sat. i. v. 40; i. x. 81. A Poet named, with Varius and Virgil, as among the dearest friends of Horace. He is one of those to whom Augustus

entrusted the publication of the Æneid. Not a line of his poetry is known to exist.

Propertius (with Marsus, one of the two contemporary Poets, whose name we are surprised to find unnoticed by Horace).—Propertius, like Horace, enjoyed the patronage if not the friendship of Mæcenas, and of Augustus. Like Horace, he seems to have been at times urged to devote himself to panegyric on the exploits of the Emperor. But he delicately reminds Mæcenas that in declining such lofty subjects he is but following the example of his patron, who preferred humble retirement to more public and distinguished station.

> "Mæcenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum.
> Infra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam."—Eleg. III. vii. 1.
>
> * * * *
>
> "Parcis, et in tenues humilem te colligis umbras,
> Velorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus."
>
> 23.—Compare Eleg. II. i. 1-71.

The more quiet or less social habits of Propertius may have kept him aloof from the genial circle, which assembled in the palace or villa of Mæcenas. His praises of Augustus may likewise be compared with those of Horace. Compare Hertzberg, Quæstiones Propertianæ, I. p. 27.

Puppius.—Epist. I. i. 67. Of this writer of doleful tragedies nothing is known but an Epitaph, said by the Scholiast to have been written by himself; but much more probably by some wit in his person.

> "Flebunt amici et bene noti mortem meam,
> Nam populus in me vivo lachrymavit satis."

Compare Welcker, Griechische Tragödie, p. 1434.

Tibullus—Albius.—Carm. I. xxxiii. Epist. I. iv. (His prænomen is unknown.) Was of equestrian family.

The date of his birth is uncertain: it is assigned by Voss, Passow, and Dissen to U.C. 695, by Lachman and Paldanus to U.C. 700; but as he died young (see Epigram in Marsus), soon after Virgil, whose death took place U. C. 735, the later date is more probable. He would then be about eleven years younger than Horace. There is a singular coincidence in the lives of the two friends. Each served at least in one military campaign. Each lost his estate in the partitions during the civil wars; each found a powerful patron with whom he lived in the most familiar friendship. Messala was the Mæcenas of Tibullus. The patrimonial estate of Tibullus was at Pedum, between Tibur and Præneste. It was either entirely or partially confiscated; yet he retained or recovered part of it, and spent there the greater portion of his short and latterly peaceful and happy life. His household gods, indeed, had once been the guardians of a flourishing, now they were those only of a poor patrimony. He no longer gathered in the plentiful harvests of his grandsire (Eleg. 1. i. 41-4). A single lamb was now the sacrifice of a family, which used to offer a calf out of countless heifers. On this estate he had been brought up as a child: he had played before the simple wooden images of the same household gods.

The gentle mind of Tibullus does not seem, like that of Horace, at the later period of his life, to have recoiled in horror from the crimes only of civil war. His poetry, in one passage, betrays a natural yet un-Roman aversion to war altogether. Yet Dissen, his recent biographer and editor, has condemned him to ten years' hard and compulsory service before the only campaign in which he is known to have been engaged, that of Messala, in Aquitain. The tenth Elegy of the first book is thought to express the

inglorious reluctance of a youth, compelled, as a knight's son, to serve for a certain period—at one time not less than ten years. "He is dragged to war; and the enemy is already girt with the arms by which he is to be mortally wounded" (Eleg. I. x. 13). "Let others have the fame of valour; he would be content to hear old soldiers recounting their campaigns around his hospitable board, while they draw their battles on the table in their wine." But this Elegy is too exquisitely finished for a boyish poem: and there is nothing whatever to fix its date. It is clear, however, from the first Elegy of the first book, that he declined to follow his patron, Messala, to the war of Actium. But when Messala, immediately after the victory in the autumn of U. C. 723, was detached by Cæsar to suppress a formidable insurrection which had broken out in Aquitain, the Poet overcame his repugnance to arms, and accompanied his patron in the honourable post of Contubernalis (a kind of aide-de-camp) to Gaul. A part of the glory of the Aquitanian campaign (Appian. B. C. iv. 38), for which four years later (U. C. 727) Messala obtained a triumph, and which Tibullus celebrated in language of unwonted loftiness, redounds to his own fame. He was present at the battle of Atax (Aude, in Languedoc), which broke the Aquitanian rebellion. Messala, it is probable, then received the submission of all the Gaulish tribes in that province, and was accompanied on his triumphant journey by Tibullus. The Poet invokes as witnesses of his fame the Pyrenean Mountains, the shores of the sea in Xaintonge, the Saone, the Garonne, and the Loire, in the country of the Carnuti (near Orleans). In the autumn of the following year (U. C. 724), Messala having pacified Gaul, was sent into the East, to organize that part of the empire under the sole dominion of Cæsar. Tibullus set

out in his company, but was taken ill and obliged to remain at Corcyra (Eleg. i. 3), from whence he returned to Rome. So ended the active life of Tibullus. He retired to the peace for which he had longed. His Poems are now the chronicle of his life, and of those tender passions which inspired his verse. The Epistle of Horace gives the most pleasing view of the quiet retreat of Tibullus, written by a kindred spirit. He does homage to that perfect purity of taste which is the characteristic of Tibullus's own Poems, and takes pride in the candid judgment of his friend as to his own Satires. The time of Tibullus he supposes to be shared between the finishing of his exquisite small Poems, which were to surpass even those of Cassius of Parma, and the enjoyment of the country. The personal beauty of Tibullus, as described by the old biographer, is confirmed by Horace; and Tibullus seems to have died in the midst of what Horace thought true happiness. He had all the blessings of life—a competent fortune, fame, health; and knew how to enjoy those blessings.

It should be observed that the first two books only of the Elegies of Tibullus are authentic. The third is the work of a very inferior Poet, and a younger one, for he was born in the year of the Battle of Mutina (U. C. 711), unless these lines (III. v. 17, 18) are an interpolation. The name of Lygdamus may be real or fictitious. The hexameter Poem on Messala, which opens the fourth book, is so bad, that, although an Elegiac Poet might have failed when he attempted epic verse, yet it cannot be ascribed to a writer of such fine taste as Tibullus. The shorter Elegies of the fourth book, on the other hand, have all his inimitable grace and simplicity. With the exception of the thirteenth, they relate to the love of Sulpicia, a woman of noble birth,

for Cerinthus, the real or fictitious name of a beautiful youth. Sulpicia seems to have belonged to the intimate society of Messala (Eleg. iv. 8). Tibullus may therefore have written these verses in the name of Sulpicia. But if Sulpicia was herself the Poetess, she approaches nearer to Tibullus than any other elegiac writer. The first book of Elegies alone was published during the lifetime of Tibullus, probably soon after the triumph of Messala. The birthday of the great General gives the Poet an opportunity of describing all his victories in Gaul and in the East. The second book celebrates the cooptation of Messalinus, son of Messala, into the College of the Quinquennii. The second book was published after the Poet's death.

Titius. — Epist. I. iii. 9. Probably the same Titius addressed by Tibullus (Eleg. I. iv. 73)—

"Hæc mihi, quæ canerem Titio, Deus edidit ore."

The Scholiast (Cruq.) gives him the name of Septimius; and, on this ground, he has been identified by Broukhusius, and several of the older commentators, whom Weichert follows, with the Septimius to whom is inscribed Carm. II. Ode vi. (see "Septimius"). I am inclined to reject the authority of the Scholiast, with Masson, Vanderbourg, Orelli, and others. It seems clear to me that this Titius was one of the young companions or attendants on Tiberius: but Septimius was about the same age as Horace. Titius was a Poet of high aspirations; he had attempted either to translate or to imitate Pindar, and also to write Tragedies, but his works were yet unpublished, "Romana brevi venturus in ora." It has been concluded, chiefly from the contemptuous manner in which the Scholiasts speak of Titius (his works were thought by Acron of no value), and they were

quite lost in the time of the later commentator (Cruq.), that there is a covert irony in the language of Horace. The opposite opinion is very gracefully maintained by Jacobs, Lectiones Venusinæ XV., art. Titius. I cannot help conceiving some secret struggle in the mind of Horace himself, between his kindly feeling towards Titius, and the scepticism of his taste, as to Titius being really equal to his own lofty designs.

VALGIUS: CAIUS VALGIUS RUFUS.—Sat. I. X. 81. Carm. II. ix. The family of Valgius is so obscure, that it is unknown whether he was of Plebeian or Patrician descent. One or two persons of the name are mentioned by Cicero; but it owes its first distinction to the Poet, the friend of Horace. There seems no good ground for rejecting the tradition of the Scholiast, that he is the same Valgius Rufus who was Consul (Suffectus) with C. Caninius Rutilius, on the demission of the Consulate by M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, and P. Sulpicius Quirinus, U. C. 742. Valgius has been ranked among the Epic Poets, on the authority of two lines in the Panegyric of Messala, among the works of Tibullus:—

> "Est tibi, qui possit magnis se accingere rebus
> Valgius, æterno proprior non alter Homero."

But this passage stands alone; neither does any contemporary writer, nor does Quintilian mention this second Homer among the Epic Poets. No Epic line of Valgius survives; and this wretched Poem concerning Messala is certainly not by Tibullus, and, therefore, of very doubtful date. Yet when Horace urges Valgius to cast aside his elegiac strains, and sing the eastern triumphs of Augustus, he must have thought that he had aspired, or was capable of aspiring, to a loftier style. Of the poetry of Valgius a few couplets

survive: two of them are elegiac, but hardly seem to belong to the mournful strains in which he lamented the loss of his beloved Mystes—they have more the turn of a Descriptive Poem:—

"Et placidam fossæ qua jungunt ora Padusam,
Navigat Alpini flumina magna Padi."
Apud SERVIUM AD VIRG. ÆNEID. XI. 457.

"Huc mea me longo succedens prora remulco
Lætantem gratis sistit in hospitiis."
Apud ISIDOR. ORIGG. XIX. 4.

The following seem to be from a Pastoral or Bucolic Poem:—

"Sed nos ante casam tepidi mulgaria lactis,
Et sinum vini cessamus ponere Baccho."
Apud PHILARGYRUM AD VIRG. GEORG. III. 176.

Valgius was likewise a Prose Writer: he wrote on the Art of Rhetoric, as a scholar of Apollodorus. From this, or from similar works, he was called Grammaticus. He is not unfrequently quoted as an authority on the use and signification of words. Aulus Gellius (xiii. 3) and the Grammarian Charisius (i. p. 84) cite a work De Rebus per Epistolam quæsitis.

Compare Weichert, Poetæ Latini, 203, 240. A long and laborious treatise "De Valgii Rufi Poematis" has just appeared, by Robertus Unger; full of ingenious *conjecture*. Halis. 1848.

L. VARIUS.—Of his family and birth nothing is certainly known: his birth is placed by ingenious conjecture, U. C. 672; in the Consulship of C Marius and Cn. Papirius Carbo. By this calculation he was younger than Catullus —born U. C. 667; six years older than Asinius Pollio, twelve than Virgil, seventeen than Horace. This scheme of Weichert's depends materially on the reading of the

name of Varius in Catull. x. 1; which, if correct, shows the intimacy of Varius with that Poet (Weichert, De Lucio Vario, p. 15). The respectful tone in which Virgil speaks of Varius (Ecl. ix. 35) confirms this view: At the date of that Eclogue, Varius, with Cinna, was already a Poet of established fame. In his earlier Poems (Sat. I. x. 44) Horace only mentions the Epic Poetry of Varius; in Carm. I. vi. he alludes to the Thyestes. Varius, therefore, wrote that famous Tragedy between the Satires and Odes of Horace. Varius survived Virgil, who died U. C. 735: he was one of those friends who saved the Æneid from the flames, and assisted in correcting it. He died before U.C. 744-5—the date of Epist. II. i. 247. Weichert's conjectural dates for the Poems of Varius, are for the De Morte (Julii Cæsaris), after Philippi, U. C. 713 or 714; the Panegyric on Octavius, before U. C. 727; the Thyestes, U. C. 727. Of the Poem De Morte some lines survive, all pure and spirited; some of masculine beauty; and, it is remarkable, almost all imitated by Virgil: to this, indeed, we owe their preservation by Macrobius.

"Vendidit hic Latium populis, agrosque Quiritum
Eripuit, fixit leges pretio, atque refixit."
Apud MACROB. SATURN. VI. 1. confer. VIRG. ÆNEID VI. 621.

* * * * *

"Incubat et Tyriis, atque ex solido bibit auro.

* * * *

Quem non ille sinit lentæ moderator habenæ,
Qua velit, ire: sed angusto prius orbe coercens
Insultare docet campis, fingitque morando."

* * * * *

"Ceu canis umbrosam lustrans Gortynia vallem,
Si celeris potuit cervæ compendere lustra,
Sævit in absentem; et circum vestigia lustrans
Æthera per nitidum tenues sectatur odores.

Non amnes illum medii, non ardua tardant;
Perdita nec seræ meminit concedere nocti."
Macrob. Saturn. vi. 2. Compare Virg. Ec. viii. 88. Georg. iii. 254.

Of the Panegyric on Augustus, two lines are supposed to be preserved in Horat. Epist. I. xvi. 27, 28. Compare Weichert, De Lucio Vario.

Of the Thyestes of Varius some imperfect fragments only remain; the longest reduced to prose. But the Tragedy appears to have been extant in the eighth century. A MS. which contained it was written over with the Origines of S. Isidore This MS., now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, not merely gives the name of the Tragedy, but adds the date of its representation, at the games after the battle of Actium. The author received for it "sestertium deciens," £8,072 8*s.* 4*d.* Schneidewin in Rheinisches Museum. Orelli, note on Carm. I. vii.

In the Autumn of last year (1847) I took the opportunity of inspecting this MS. To my eyes, unpractised in such reading, it was not more curious than perplexing. The writing of this remarkable passage, very clear and distinct, seemed to me absolutely the same with that of the text of Isidore which preceded and followed it, part of a grammatical treatise. It was an entirely insulated paragraph, as to its meaning; but the characters and writing appeared continuous. The solution which occurred was that it was not a Palimpsest (and of this there appeared no evidence), but a copy of a Palimpsest by an ignorant scribe, who had supposed some lines on the top of the page, imperfectly erased, to be part of his author's text.

On Varius. Weichert de Lucio Vario.

Varro Terentius Atacinus. — Sat. I. x. 46. He was called Atacinus from Atax (Aude) in Gaul, the scene

of Messala's great victory. Varro was a translator of respectable talents, but not remarkable for the copiousness of his diction (Quintil. Instit. Orat. x. 1, 8). Besides his satires, he wrote "Argonautics," in imitation of Apollonius, a poem on Cæsar's wars in Aquitain, a translation from Aratus, and a Leucadia, probably elegiac, on a mistress of that name.

Virgilius Publius Maro.—Born u. c. 684, at Andes, near Mantua: five years before Horace. Took the toga virilis, according to Donatus, under the same Consuls as those under whom he was born, u. c. 699 (Cn. Pompeius Magnus II., M. Licinius Crassus II.) His estate was confiscated by the Triumvirate, the territory of Mantua being seized in order to make up the deficient quantity belonging to Cremona. "Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ, u. c. 713." He obtained the patronage of Asinius Pollio, the legate of Antony in Cisalpine Gaul. His estate, as it appears, was ordered to be restored, but the poet was ill-treated by a soldier in possession of it. The final restitution did not take place till after the battle of Perugia, u. c. 714. His intimacy with Horace commenced about the same year.

Virgil wrote poems earlier than the Eclogues, one named the Culex, but those extant under his name, contain but little, if any, of his work. Heyne dates the Eclogues in the following order:—Before u. c. 713, the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th; in 713, the 1st, 9th, and 6th; in 714, the 4th; in 715, the 8th and 7th; in 717, the 10th; this latter date, therefore, he assumes for their publication. The Georgics were finished u. c. 729. The Æneid was unfinished at his death. In 735, Virgil, according to Donatus, set out for Greece; he was taken ill at Megara,

and died the same year, x. Kal. Octob. at Brundusium, on his return to Rome. To this journey the third Ode of the first book of Horace is usually referred, and this raises the most embarrassing point in the Horatian chronology.—See Life, p 62.

Virgilius.—Carm. iv. xii. 13. Though probably no poet, is here inserted on account of the identity of name. He is the most perplexing personage in the Horatian poetry. That he is not the great Poet is clear. The whole fourth book of Odes was published, and most probably written after the Poet's death. Nor can this Ode possibly be a poem put by and forgotten, and revived at the time of the publication of the fourth book. For this Virgilius seems altogether an humbler person, "the client of noble youths." Nor is there that intimacy or rather tenderness of attachment, expressed in all the poems of Horace, in which he names his brother Poet. The title of Unguentarius given by one scholiast to this Virgilius, is no doubt from a misinterpretation of the words "Nardo vina merebere." Another old commentator names a certain Virgilius the physician of the Neros, who may have been the noble youths of whom he was the client. A grandson of P. Virgilius or Vergilius, the Prætor, the friend of Cicero, has likewise been suggested, but there is no clue to the labyrinth.

Viscus.—(Sat. i. ix. 22, 83.) One of two sons of Vibius Viscus, of the equestrian order. The Scholiast, Acron, and Schol. Cruq. assert that they were both poets, and xc ellent ones. If so, their fame has entirely perished.