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Horace's Ideal Italy: Sabines and Sabellians in *Odes* 1-3

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

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Within *Odes* 1-3 Horace consistently locates an idealized version of Rome in Sabinum and *Italia*. The former had long been a moral foil for Rome. The latter consisted of the regions of Italy that rebelled against Rome during the Social War and fought on the side of Marius in the civil wars that followed. Horace joins these two groups with the term Sabellians and places them together in moral opposition to the corruption and decadence of the late first century BC. Thus Horace elevates the formerly rebellious and still foreign *Italici* into Roman politics in the lofty position of virtuous outsider, a post formerly exclusive to the Sabines.

This dialogue of Italian morality can be seen in Horace's geography. Almost without exception, whenever Horace locates a poem within Sabinum or *Italia* he does so within the context of ideal Roman values. In contrast, his geographical references to the city of Rome and the areas of Italy that sided with Rome in the Social War and Sulla thereafter are almost all in the context of luxury, excess, and general moral bankruptcy.

Horace's use of Roman individuals and families divides Rome along the same lines. *Odes* 1.12 features a list of excellent Romans. Of the many possible and usual individuals, Horace chooses only the Sabellians. Throughout the *Odes*, Horace contrasts the proverbial luxury of the Etruscans with Sabellian simplicity and implicit moral superiority. His patron Maecenas is frequently the representative Etruscan for these sermons.

It has long been assumed that Horace wrote about Sabinum in such laudatory language because his famous Sabine farm was a gift from Maecenas. But, Horace's praise extends beyond the Sabine hills into *Italia* as well. He sees himself and his fellow *Italici*—Horace's hometown of Venusia sided with the rebels—as virtual Sabines. Thus his true motivations are the elevation of the formerly rebellious parts of Italy to the status of ideal Romans and the subsequently easier integration of the recently enfranchised *Italici* into Roman politics as virtuous examples for Rome to follow.

Keywords: Horace, Social War, Sabellians, Sabines, Ethnography

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Chapter One

The Sabellian Solution

Non his iuventus orta parentibus

infecit aequor sanguine Punico

Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit 35

Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;

sed rusticorum mascula militum

proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus

versare glaebas et severae

matris ad arbitrium recisos 40

portare fustis¹

Not from such parents sprang the men

who stained the sea with Punic blood

and cut down Pyrrhus, mighty Antiochus 35

and the deadly Hannibal.

That was the manly stock of farmer soldiers

taught to turn the sod

with Samnite mattocks and cut and carry logs

under the authority 40

of a strict mother²

¹ Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.33-41.

² D. West, *Horace Odes III: Dulce Periculum* (Oxford: University Press, 2002), 65. All translations from Horace are by David West with my changes noted. *Id.*, *Horace Odes I: Carpe Diem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); *Id.*, *Horace Odes II: Vatis Amici* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

Why in this most Sabine of passages does Horace choose *Sabellis ligonibus* rather than the metrically equivalent *Sabinis ligonibus*? In the first century BC, Sabines stood for all of the positive moral values tied up in the “Roman Odes” of which this statement is the cap. By contrast, Samnites and associated peoples of the Central Apennines, all bundled together in the blanket term *Sabelli*, still represented the wilder and much less Roman parts of the peninsula. Why would Horace elevate these ruffians to the lofty status of moral foil to the corrupt generation of Roman youth, as he certainly seems to do in this critical poem? For that matter, what other peoples does Horace depict in a similar fashion? Are Rome and Romans always as corrupt as Horace has them in *Odes* 3.6? Is the divide geographical or ethnic? Does Horace merely jab satirically at Rome, or is there a pattern to his moral lessons?

These are the questions that drive this study. I have confined myself to the collection of *Odes* 1-3 published in 23 BC. As I will demonstrate, Horace consistently locates corrupt, decadent, morally bankrupt, effeminate Romans within the city of Rome itself and among the ethnic groups and families that remained loyal to her in the civil wars of the first century BC. In contrast, Horace always depicts a more desirable version of Rome in terms of locations, ethnicities, and families that were either associated with Sabinum or rebelled against Rome during the same civil conflicts. Why would Horace divide Italian morals along these lines? By associating rebel Italy with the Sabines, Horace handily integrates the newly enfranchised Italians into Roman politics by filtering their “otherness” through the familiarly foreign Sabines. In other words, bringing Italian and Sabine together ensures both that the former will not be too strange to be a useful antithesis and that the latter remains different enough for the comparison to continue to have cultural force. Horace thus inducts the rebellious rustics of Italy into the formerly exclusive Sabine honor of favorite moral foil for Rome.

Sabines in the First Century BC

Gary Farney recently published a laudable catalogue of evidence for the Sabine character³ in the fifth and sixth republics and beyond (139 BC and following).⁴ His evidence suggests that the Sabine name stood for all of the good old Roman virtues that moral reformers and political candidates sought to foster. I repeat some of them here. He cites four of Horace's contemporaries: Ovid, Propertius, Vergil, and Livy. Ovid twice calls them *rigidi*. Propertius deliberately sets Rome and Sabines at odds when he asserts,

qui quaerit Tatios veteres durosque Sabinos,

hic posuit nostra nuper in urbe pedem;⁵

The man who seeks old Tatiuses and harsh Sabines

has only lately set foot in our city.

Vergil labels their capitol *Cures severae*.⁶ Livy relates Numa's role in the establishment of Roman religion and credits the Sabine king with the founding of various cults.⁷ Moving to the broader time period of Cicero's writing, Farney notes the orator's description of M. Crepereius (a Sabine) as *ex acerrima illa equestri familia ac disciplina*,⁸ Cicero's claim that the Sabines are *fortissimi*⁹ and *severissimi*,¹⁰ his assertion that the Sabines are the very bravest of men and

³ G.D. Farney, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome* (Cambridge: University Press, 2007), 97-101.

⁴ For divisions of Roman history before Augustus, I follow those put forward in H.I. Flower, *Roman Republics* (Princeton: University Press, 2010). See especially the paradigm, p. 33, which I reproduce in Appendix I.

⁵ Prop. 2.32.47-8. G. Lee, trans., *Propertius: The Poems* (Oxford: University Press, 1994). Propertius means that moral rectitude has only lately begun to creep into Rome, a point he makes in the lines that follow: "You'll have a better chance of drying ocean waves / And plucking down the stars by hand / Than of persuading our girls not to go astray" (49-51).

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 8.638.

⁷ Livy 1.17-21.

⁸ Cic. *Ver.* 1.30: "From that equestrian family and discipline, both extremely fierce."

⁹ *Id.*, *Rep.* 3.40.

Sabinum the flower and heart of the republic,¹¹ and his brief statement in the Catilinarians that Reate was a great place to recruit bodyguards, thus implying the Sabine excellence in all things relating to war.¹²

To these I add perhaps the most famous example of the *prisca virtus* exemplified by the Roman Sabines. When defending M. Caelius Rufus, Cicero invoked and impersonated Ap. Claudius Caecus—*ex barbatis illis*, for in the moral tradition Sabines are frequently bearded¹³—in a rare example of prosopopoeia and as a vicious attack against Clodia:¹⁴

Qui profecto, si exstiterit, sic aget ac sic loquetur: ‘Mulier, quid tibi cum Caelio, quid cum homine adolescentulo, quid cum alieno? Cur aut tam familiaris fuisti ut aurum commodares, aut tam inimica ut venenum timeres? Non patrem tuum videras, non patruum, non avum, non proavum, non abavum, non atavum audieras consules fuisse; non denique modo te Q. Metelli matrimonium tenuisse sciebas, clarissimi ac fortissimi viri patriaeque amantissimi, qui simul ac pedem limine extulerat, omnis prope civis virtute, gloria, dignitate superabat? Cum ex amplissimo genere in familiam clarissimam nupsisses, cur tibi Caelius tam coniunctus fuit? cognatus, adfinis, viri tui familiaris? Nihil eorum. Quid igitur fuit nisi quaedam temeritas ac libido? Nonne te, si nostrae imagines viriles non commovebant, ne progenies quidem mea, Q. illa Claudia, aemulam domesticae

¹⁰ *Id.*, *Vat.* 36.

¹¹ *Id.*, *Lig.* 32: *possum fortissimos viros Sabinos tibi probatissimos totumque agrum Sabinum, florem Italiae ac robur rei publicae, proponere.*

¹² *Id.*, *Cat.* 3.5: *et ego ex praefectura Retina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera utor adisue in rei publicae praesidio, cum gladiis miseram.*

¹³ Martial calls them *horribiles* at 11.15.2, Juvenal *horrida* at 10.298.

¹⁴ On prosopopoeia, see R.A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 123-4; notes on Cic. *Cael.* 33-4 in R.G. Austin, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro M. Caelio Oratio*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

laudis in gloria muliebri esse admonebat, non virgo illa Vestalis Claudia quae patrem complexa triumphantem ab inimico tribuno plebei de curru detrahi passa non est? Cur te fraterna vitia potius quam bona paterna et avita et usque a nobis cum in viris tum etiam in feminis repetita moverunt? Ideone ego pacem Pyrrhi diremi ut tu amorum turpissimorum cotidie foedera ferires, ideo aquam adduxi ut ea tu inceste uterere ideo viam munivi ut eam tu alienis viris comitata celebrares?’¹⁵

If he appears, this is, I am sure, how he will treat her, this is what he will say:

‘Woman! What do you think you are doing with Caelius, with a man much younger than yourself, with someone from outside your own family? Why have you been either such a friend to him that you lent him gold or such an enemy that you were afraid of poison? Did you not notice that your father, or hear that your uncle, your grandfather, your great-grandfather, your great-great-grandfather, and your great-great-great-grandfather were all consuls? And were you not aware that you were recently the wife of Q. Metellus, that illustrious and valiant lover of his country, who only had to step out of his front door to surpass virtually every one of his fellow citizens in excellence, fame, and standing? Coming from such a distinguished family yourself, and marrying into one so illustrious, what reason did you have for linking yourself so closely to Caelius? Was he a blood-relation, a relation by marriage, a friend of your husband? He was none of these. What, then, was the reason—unless it was some reckless infatuation? And if you were not influenced by the masks of the men in our own family, did my own descendant,

¹⁵ Cic. *Cael.* 33-4.

the famous Q. Claudia, not inspire you to rival our family's glory in the splendid achievements of its women? Or were you not inspired by the famous Vestal virgin Claudia who, at her father's triumph, held him in her arms and so prevented him from being pulled down from his chariot by a hostile tribune of the plebs? Why was it your brother's vices that influenced you, rather than the virtues of your father and ancestors, virtues that have been repeated down the generations from my own time not only in the men but particularly in the women of our family? Did I destroy the peace treaty with Pyrrhus so that you could strike the most disgraceful sexual bargains on a daily basis? Did I bring water to the city for you to foul with your incestuous practices? Did I build a road so that you could parade up and down it in the company of other women's husbands?'¹⁶

The force of the exercise and whole purpose for calling up this *gravis persona*¹⁷ is to contrast the morally numb Clodia with a parade of illustrious ancestors hailing ultimately from Regillum and Attus Clausus.¹⁸ Cicero too wishes to emphasize the number of famous women with the name *Claudia* as opposed to *Clodia*: the shamefulness of her plebeian condescension would not be forgotten. As for the Claudii, "It was an old family tradition that the Claudii came to Rome from Sabine country and it was true."¹⁹ So says Ogilvie. To the reader who recalls Suetonius' statement that *multa multorum Claudiorum egregia merita, multa etiam sequius admissa in rem publicam extant*,²⁰ I recommend T.P. Wiseman's persuasive argument that the *superbia Claudiana*—so pervasive in Livy—arose between the *Pro Caelio* in 56 BC and *De Natura*

¹⁶ D.H. Berry, trans., *Cicero: Defense Speeches* (Oxford: University Press, 2000).

¹⁷ Cic. *Cael.* 35: *ita gravem personam induxi*.

¹⁸ Livy, 2.16.

¹⁹ R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 273.

²⁰ Suet. *Tib.*, 2: There survive on record many outstanding deeds of many Claudii for the state, but also many crimes against it.

Deorum in 44 BC in the work of Valerius Antias.²¹ The forceful antiquity, austerity, and authority of this famous figure should certainly have shamed that shameless Clodia into toeing the Sabine line. And should that fail, the weight of past piety presented in the figures of the *Claudiae* might do the trick.

Cicero as Caecus invoked the authority of the *imagines* to teach moral behavior. These masks, which sat in cupboards in the atrium of every great house in Rome, recalled with placards the great deeds and offices of every notable member of the family.²² In addition to the many Claudian *imagines* which made their famous appearance at the funeral of the emperor Tiberius' son Drusus,²³ the Temple of Bellona, built by the very Ap. Claudius Caecus of Cicero's imitation, had at least since the days of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 79) been decorated with huge portrait shields which were hung at such an angle as to clearly display to all who visited the temple the long and illustrious lineage of the Claudii.²⁴ As this temple was on the Campus Martius and therefore outside the *pomerium*, it saw frequent use as a site for senate meetings with foreign emissaries and generals still under arms.²⁵ Perhaps Cicero, who had attended so

²¹ T.P. Wiseman, "The Legends of the Patrician Claudii" in *Clio's Cosmetics: Three Studies in Greco-Roman Literature* (Leicester: University Press, 1979); *Id.* "Valerius Antias and the Palimpsest of History" in *Roman Drama and Roman History* (Exeter: University Press, 1998).

²² H.I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 32-59, esp. 59.

²³ Tac. *Ann.* 4.9.2 and Flower (1996), 243-4; they surely appeared in every other Claudian funeral, but Drusus provides the best documented example.

²⁴ Plin. *HN* 35.3.12 and Flower (1996), 75-6, who notes that some argue that Q. Claudius Caecus himself installed the shields.

²⁵ For foreign ambassadors: Liv. 30.21, *Q. Fulvius Gillo legatus Scipionis Carthaginienses Romam adduxit; quibus vetitis ingredi urbem hospitium in villa publica, senatus ad aedem Bellonae datus est*; 30.40, *Legati ex Africa Romani simul Carthaginiensesque cum venissent Romam, senatus ad aedem Bellonae habitus est*; 33.24, *Macedones deducti extra urbem in villam publicam ibique iis locus et lautia praebita et ad aedem Bellonae senatus datus*; 42.36, *eos in oppidum intromitti non placuit, cum iam bellum regi eorum et Macedonibus et senatus decresset et populus iussisset. in aedem Bellonae in senatum introducti ita verba fecerunt*; for meetings with generals: Liv. 26.21, M. Claudius Marcellus (*RE* 220, Cos. 222, 215, 214, 210, 208); 28.9,

many senate meetings in that very temple, recalled the austere gaze of Ap. Claudius Caecus and used it for his inspiration.

Could we return to the Rome of Cicero's lifetime, I believe we would find ethnic advertisement on every corner. Doubtless the *imagines clipeatae* in the Temple of Bellona recalled the Claudian family's Sabine ancestry just as the statue group of three Claudii Marcelli must have included ethnic references.²⁶ Perhaps a better example would be the Aemilii, whose famous basilica was decorated "with friezes depicting the rape of the Sabine women and the killing of Tarpeia, alongside others of early Roman-Sabine history."²⁷ At the start of the first century BC the Aemilii claimed (in Rome), "a *pons Aemilius*, two *porticus Aemiliae*, two corresponding districts called *Aemiliana*, a *basilica Aemilia*, an *aedes Aemiliana*, and perhaps already also a *ludus Aemilianus*."²⁸ Surely their other monuments featured Sabine advertisement as well. For the great *gentes* of the Roman world, history and ancestry were inevitably intermingled. Aemilian history was Sabine history; and whenever the Aemilii, Claudii, Valerii, or any of the other great Sabine clans put their history into the public eye—and I believe *any* excuse was reason enough—that familiar promotion by nature included ethnic claims.

C. Claudius Nero (*RE* 246, Cos. 207); 28.38, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (*RE* 336, Cos. 205, 194); 31.47 L. Furius Purpurio (*RE* 86, Cos. 196); 33.22, C. Cornelius Cethegus (*RE* 88, Cos. 197) and Q. Minucius Rufus (*RE* 22 and 55, Cos. 197); 36.39, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (*RE* 350, Cos. 191); 38.44, Cn. Manlius Vulso (*RE* 91, Cos. 189); 39.29, L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus (*RE* 47, Cos. 179); 41.6, L. Postumius Albinus (*RE* 29, Cos. 173) and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (*RE* 53, Cos. 177, 163); 42.21, C. Cicereius (*RE* 1, Pr. 173).

²⁶ Asconius 12C; Flower (1996), 71-2.

²⁷ Farney, 87. See also recent discussion in D.A. Arya, "Il ratto delle Sabine e la guerra romano-sabina" in A. Carandini and R. Cappelli eds, *Roma: Romolo, Remo, e la fondazione della città* (Milan, 2000): 303-19.

²⁸ T.P. Wiseman, "Rome and the Resplendent Aemilii" in *Id.* (1998), 114.

Just how popular was Sabine ancestry in the years after Sulla? Studies have already enumerated many Sabine individuals employing the cognomen *Sabinus* to emphasize that origin.²⁹ But sometimes Sabine virtue could be borrowed, as Cicero notes:

Oratorem meum (sic enim inscripsi) Sabino tuo commendavi. Natio me hominis impulit ut ei recte putarem; nisi forte candidatorum licentia hic quoque usus hoc subito cognomen arripuit; etsi modestus eius vultus sermoque constans habere quiddam a Curibus videbatur.³⁰

My *Orator* – for I have so named [this book] – I have commended to your man Sabinus. The ethnic origin of the man has compelled me to think I have done so rightly. Unless, by chance, indulging also in the excesses of political candidates, he has only recently assumed this name; but I think that he has an honest face and manner of speech, just what you’d expect from someone from Cures.³¹

Thus it would seem that some men “clearly felt that just attaching the *cognomen* Sabinus to their name gave them an electoral advantage.”³² Farney illustrates various attempts by new citizens from Sabine country to heavily emphasize their origins for a perceived advantage by tacking Sabinus onto an already Italian-sounding name.³³ Likewise Wiseman notes that several of the families using this *cognomen* were certainly not from Sabinum, yet they employed the implications of such origins to their political advantage.³⁴ In short, Sabinity was increasingly popular, whether ancient, new, or feigned.

²⁹ *Id.*, *New Men in the Roman Senate, 139 B.C.-A.D. 14* (Oxford: University Press, 1971), 257-8; I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965), 51, 186

³⁰ Cic. *Fam.* 15.20.1.

³¹ Farney, 91.

³² *Ibid.*, 92.

³³ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁴ Wiseman (1971), 258.

In conclusion, Sabine identity in the first century BC implied a number of attributes that would likely boost success at the polls: severity, toughness, manliness, and piety. Horace's contemporaries support this view, as do his predecessors. The Sabine hills were a rich range for mining moral lessons and sharp contrasts. And as Farney and others have shown, Roman elites took advantage of the Sabines' elevated *Romanitas* to emphasize their own family's political worth. Ethnicity, in other words, became something of a shorthand by which *gentes* and individuals could indicate their alleged virtues.

Sabini, Sabelli, and Socii

The civil wars of 91-82 BC had an inestimable impact on Roman politics. That Sulla followed these conflicts with a new constitution fortifies their importance. As Harriet Flower notes,

In the face of this challenge republican government finally disintegrated...Losing control of Italy was, in this sense, the ultimate failure of Rome's political system. Although Romans and Italians had long fought and worked so closely together abroad, the outcome of the Social War was a political revolution.³⁵

As I emphasize below, the Social War—especially from the viewpoint of the Samnites—extended into the conflicts between Sulla and Marius' heirs. Of Sulla's subsequent "reforms," Flower writes,

Any vestige of a republic was gone and in its place there were rivers of blood and a dictator who imposed his own political vision by force in the form of a new constitution.³⁶

³⁵ Flower (2010), 110-1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 94.

In the midst and aftermath of this turmoil, what was the political establishment to do with thousands of new Roman citizens who shortly before wielded arms against the state? Flower asserts that this problem undid the last republic of the *nobiles* and ushered in Sulla's new republic, the sixth in Rome's history.³⁷ Italian citizens suddenly had to be integrated into the political system if Rome was to survive.³⁸ Fortunately, Rome was good at nothing if not integrating her neighbors.

Both Dench and Farney have argued that the term Sabellus threw together into one group the Sabines, Samnites, and other peoples of the Central Apennines not including the Marsi, Paeligni, and those further north.³⁹ Note that Sacred Spring myths tie these ethnic groups together:

Περὶ δὲ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ τοιοῦτός τις λόγος φέρεται, διότι πολεμοῦντες Σαβίνοι πολλὸν χρόνον πρὸς τοὺς Ὀμβρικοὺς εὗξαντο, καθάπερ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινές, τὰ γεγόμενα τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ καθιερῶσαι, νικήσαντες δὲ τῶν γενομένων τὰ μὲν κατέθυσαν τὰ δὲ καθιέρωσαν· ἀφορίας δὲ γενηθείσης, εἶπέ τις ὡς ἐχρήν καθιερῶσαι καὶ τὰ τέκνα. οἱ δ' ἐποίησαν τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς γενομένους τότε παῖδας Ἄρεως ἐπεφήμισαν, ἀνδρωθέντας δ' ἔστειλαν εἰς ἀποικίαν, ἠγήσατο δὲ ταῦρος· ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν Ὀπικῶν κατευνασθέντος (ἐτύγχανον δὲ κωμηδὸν ζῶντες) ἐκβαλόντες ἐκείνους ἰδρῦθησαν αὐτόθι καὶ τὸν ταῦρον ἐσφαγίασαν τῷ Ἄρει τῷ δόντι αὐτὸν ἠγεμόνα κατὰ τὴν τῶν μάντεων ἀπόφασιν. εἰκὸς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σαβέλλους αὐτοὺς ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων προσαγορευθῆναι, Σαμνίτας δ' ἀπ' ἄλλης αἰτίας, οὓς οἱ Ἕλληνες Σαυνίτας λέγουσι. τινὲς δὲ καὶ Λάκωνας συνοίκους αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φιλέλληνας ὑπάρξαι, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Πιτανάτας καλεῖσθαι. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Ταραντίνων πλάσμα

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁸ Note E. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley: University Press, 1974), 8-9, where he argues that Sulla designedly included as many troublesome people as possible in the political system in an effort to circumvent further violent dissent.

³⁹ Dench (1995), 103-7, 223-6; Farney, 206-10.

τοῦτ' εἶναι, κολακευόντων ὁμόρους καὶ μέγα δυναμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἅμα ἐξοικειουμένων, οἳ γε καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας ἔστειλλον ποτε τῆς πεζῆς στρατιᾶς, ἰππέας δ' ὀκτακισχιλίου.⁴⁰

Concerning the Samnitae there is another story current to this effect: The Sabini, since they had long been at war with the Ombrici, owed (just as some of the Greeks do) to dedicate everything that was produced that year; and, on winning the victory, they partly sacrificed and partly dedicated all that was produced; then a dearth ensued, and someone said that they ought to have dedicated the babies too; this they did, and devoted to Mars all the children born that year; and these children, when grown to manhood, they sent away as colonists, and a bull led the way; and when the bull lay down to rest in the land of the Opici (who, as it chanced, were living only in villages), the Sabini ejected them and settled on the spot, and, in accordance with the utterance of their seers, slaughtered the bull as a sacrifice to Mars who had given it for a guide. It is reasonable to suppose therefore that their name “Sabelli” is a nickname derived from the name of their forefathers, while their name “Samnitae” (the Greeks say “Saunitae”) is due to a different cause. Some say, moreover, that a colony of Laconians joined the Samnitae, and that for this reason the Samnitae actually became philhellenes, and that some of them were even called “Pitanatae.” But it is thought that the Tarantini simply fabricated this, to flatter, and at the same time to win the friendship of, a powerful people on their borders; because, on a time, the

⁴⁰ Str. 5.4.12.

Samnitae were wont to send forth an army of as many as eighty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry.⁴¹

Thus we see that, according to at least one tradition, the Samnites were originally Sabines. Dench has rightly stressed the historical unreliability of such stories. What is valuable here is the Italian and Greek ability to create helpful relationships through the mythography of common ancestry. Note that the Tarentines possibly fabricated a Spartan ancestry in common with the Samnites in order to ingratiate themselves with powerful neighbors.⁴² Such connections existed throughout Italy, and vestiges of them remain which hint at the shifting power dynamics in the early history of the peninsula as various groups tried to link themselves to Rome, Etruscans, Sabines, Greek cities, the Greek mainland, Carthage, and anyone else whose distant cousin it might be handy to impersonate.

Other Sacred Springs stories survive. A few lines later Strabo relates another: ἐξῆς δ' εἰσὶν Ἴρπῖνοι, καὶ τοὶ Σαυνῖται· τοῦνομα δ' ἔσχον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγησαμένου λύκου τῆς ἀποικίας· ἴρπον γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Σαυνῖται τὸν λύκον.⁴³ The Hirpini, south and east of Campania, are thus linked both to the Samnites (their ancestors) and the Sabines (ancestors once removed) through another Sacred Spring. Other such ties include a story in Alfius' *Carthaginian War* that the Mamertini are an offshoot of the Samnites,⁴⁴ one in Pliny the Elder and Strabo that the Picentes came from the Sabines,⁴⁵ and a note in Ovid—admittedly not as a Sacred Spring—in which the

⁴¹ Translation from the Loeb: H.L. Jones, trans., *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949).

⁴² Dench (1995), 53-61 explains this example at length.

⁴³ Str. 5.4.12. Jones (1949) translation: “Next after the Samnitae come the Hirpini, and they too are Samnitae; they got their name from the wolf that led the way for their colony (for “hirpus” is what the Samnitae call the wolf).”

⁴⁴ Festus 150 L and E. Dench, “Sacred Springs to the Social War: Myths of Origins and Questions of Identity in the Central Apennines,” in T. Cornell and K. Lomas eds., *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy* (London: Accordia Research Institute, 1997): 44-5.

⁴⁵ Plin. *HN* 3.110; Str. 5.4.2.

Paeligni are also descendants of the Sabines.⁴⁶ Thus we see that a number of the peoples represented among the rebel *socii* were tied together at one time or another by legendary common origins. As Dench argues, projecting these chronologically disparate identities onto the specific ideology of the Social War is problematic. Nevertheless, it is tempting to see a connection between the bull so frequent on the coinage of the rebel state and the Sacred Spring myths which at some point had linked its members mythologically.⁴⁷

The take-away here should be that Italian peoples were skilled at linking one another through stories religious and political. Therefore it should come as no surprise that the ethnic term *Sabellus* could be utilized beneficially by Romans and Italians alike. Why should such a term be attractive? As Dench has argued, after its conquest,

Sabinum was clearly inferior to Rome, and a desirable simplicity could be safely located there. During the second century, Sabinum was also such a convincing antithesis of Rome precisely because it was perceived to have a culture, or at least the remnants of a culture, which was sufficiently different from Rome, in a way that the Latins did not. But Sabinum was also culturally relatively close to Rome, and surely increasingly so... The closer to Rome the Sabines were perceived to be, the less satisfactory they would be as the antithesis of Rome.⁴⁸

Enter the recently enfranchised rebels. The folks of the Central Apennines continued to be labeled barbarians through the second century BC and remained far too wild and foreign to be any sort of “morally laden landscape in the way that Sabinum had become.”⁴⁹ And in the wake of the civil wars in the 80s BC, there must have been a great deal of unease surrounding these new

⁴⁶ Ov. *Fast.* 3.95-6: *et tibi cum poravis, miles Paeligne, Sabinis convenit.*

⁴⁷ Dench (1997), 48-9.

⁴⁸ Dench (1995), 105.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 98-103, citation from 99.

Romans. Accord had been reached, after all, not following some impressive defeat. The Samnites and their “kin” had not been brought to heel like the Sabines of old. About the mountain people there remained an aura of mysticism, magic, and foreign treachery.⁵⁰ So, in the wake of the Social War, the Sabines had begun to lose their acceptable amount of edginess, and the Samnites were still too alien to provide a worthwhile comparison.

The ethnic term *Sabellus* brings these peoples together under one morally and politically charged roof. Dench put it this way:

As a result of the enfranchisement of the peoples of the Central Apennines such as the Marsi and Paeligni, and of Sulla’s violent action against the Samnites in the course of the 80s BC, these areas could become a moral resource for Rome. With regard to the Samnites, it is interesting that it is the ‘Sabelli’ who come to have the most positive associations, rather than the Samnites alone, the most resilient and dangerous Italian allies of Rome. It is as if, through this new ethnic, the Sabines take on an added aura of foreignness and simplicity from the Samnites, without absorbing less desirable and antisocial qualities of the Samnites, such as their precivilized aspect as *montani atque agrestes* and as *Opikoi*, the worst of all Italian barbarians. The linguistic difference, and the austerity of the Sabines were emphasized by association with peoples such as the Pentri, occupying the highest parts of the Central Apennines, people who were using Oscan even in public documentation right up to the Social War. While the full impact of Samnite foreignness was apparently filtered through the more familiar Sabines in the creation of the ethnic *Sabellus*, it is interesting too that the distinctive character of

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 154-74.

Samnite society was much diminished through a variety of factors during the Augustan period, at which time *Sabelli* are frequently idealized. It is as if it is more comfortable to recreate the foreignness of the recent past than to make reference to present foreign reality.⁵¹

Farney takes it a step further:

While I agree with Dench on most points, I would like to emphasize the benefits that the “Sabelli” themselves accrued from this new term and suggest that Strabo’s inference that the “Sabelli” named themselves might be correct. Enabled by regular use of the word by Romans, Samnites and others would profit from their connection to one of the oldest and most respected ethnic groups at Rome, one that we have seen ambitious Roman politicians trying to force their way into by fraud...Rather than refer to themselves by old ethnic labels, men like Horace of Venusia and his ambitious central Apennine counterparts could now call themselves virtual Sabines, and thereby link themselves with the traditional aristocracy.⁵²

It is my argument that Horace does just that. In fact, I will go further than Dench and Farney by demonstrating that Horace consistently ties the Sabines not only to those people traditionally called Sabellians but also to the more northerly rebels of the Social War. He even treats the Marsi and Paeligni as exemplary Romans within the confines of *Odes* 1-3. Horace thus integrates his fellow Italians into Roman politics by marriage with the best possible ethnic group. Horace becomes a “virtual Sabine” by association, a role he plays all too well.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 105-6.

⁵² Farney, 208.

The War of Northern Aggression

As so much of this argument depends on knowledge of the civil wars from 91-82 BC, I will here provide a narrative of those events. Others have already dealt with this topic rather thoroughly. Previously the best works on the subject were Gaetano de Sanctis' *La Guerra Sociale* and chapters of E.T. Salmon's *Samnium and the Samnites*.⁵³ More recently, Emilio Gabba treated this subject quite admirably in the newer *Cambridge Ancient History*, but I wish to repeat his effort in order to focus more firmly on the geography and prosopography of the war.⁵⁴ Fortunately for the reader, the scope of this thesis excludes the causes and political machinations surrounding the outbreak of the relevant conflicts. I will confine myself to ancient accounts of the waging of these wars and treat them diachronically, as far as I am able.

At the outset of the war, forces under the two Roman consuls and their legates took the field against a very well-organized *Italia* under the command of consuls and military commanders in the Roman fashion. The Roman commanders during these conflicts appear with more complete biographical information in Appendix III.

The Social War—or Marsian War as it was called at first—began in 91 BC with the massacre at Asculum in which the praetor Q. Servilius and his legate, one Fonteius, both met their end. The Italians then killed all of the Romans in this Italian town.⁵⁵ Appian notes that this was due to a chance encounter with the praetor; the real Italian strategy involved attacking the Roman colonies.

⁵³ G. de Sanctis, *La Guerra Sociale* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1976); E.T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge: University Press, 1967).

⁵⁴ E. Gabba, "Rome and Italy: The Social War," in J.A. Crook, A. Lintott, and E. Rawson eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. IX (Cambridge: University Press, 1994): 104-128.

⁵⁵ App. *B. Civ.* 1.38; Vell. *Pat.* 2.15.1; Liv. *Per.* 72.

The spider web of roads leading from Rome into the territories of Italy originally served a distinct purpose: to quickly move the Roman armies against enemies and insurgent groups in Italy. The sites of the colonies along those roads were not accidental: these colonies commanded the roads as strategic fortresses. It must have been a sobering realization that, should the Italians command the fortresses, all roads really did lead to Rome.

Thus the first actions of the war included Vettius Scaton's siege of Aesernia (founded 263 BC), an important colony at a crossroads in Samnium;⁵⁶ a siege of Alba Fucens (303 BC), a very large colony intended along with Sora, Carseoli, and Narnia to separate the Samnites from potential allies and keep an eye on historically troublesome spots;⁵⁷ presumably a similar action against Carsioli, the next stop on the *Via Valeria* between Corfinium—the Italic capital—and Rome;⁵⁸ M. Lamponius' siege of Grumentum, a colony commanding the communication routes in Lucania;⁵⁹ and C. Papius' attack on Salernum (194 BC) which guarded the routes into Lucania.⁶⁰ Other cities immediately attacked include Venafrum, a Roman *praefectura* guarding the route from Campania to Samnium,⁶¹ and Nola and Nuceria, cities that C. Papius captured on his way to Salernum.⁶² Venusia joined the Italian side, the only colony to do so without a fight.⁶³

Had each attack in this opening salvo been successful, the Italians would have owned the *Via Valeria*, the only reasonable route from Rome into the lands of the Marsi and Paeligni; one of three roads from Campania into Samnium (the one through Venafrum and Aesernia); and the

⁵⁶ App. B. Civ. 1.41; E.T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization Under the Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 63-4.

⁵⁷ Liv. Per. 72; Salmon (1970), 59-60.

⁵⁸ Flor. 2.6.

⁵⁹ App. B. Civ. 1.41; A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 84.

⁶⁰ App. B. Civ. 1.42; Salmon (1970), 97-9.

⁶¹ App. B. Civ. 1.41; Salmon (1967), 20.

⁶² Nola: App. B. Civ. 42; Nuceria: Flor. 2.6.

⁶³ App. B. Civ. 1.42.

route from Campania into Lucania via Nuceria and Salernum. As Venusia, which from a strongly fortified position commands the roads from Apulia into Samnium,⁶⁴ sided with the Italians, the only remaining routes by which the Romans could have penetrated Italy would have been through Sola, Beneventum, and Aeclanum from the west and Ausculum and Aeclae from the east.⁶⁵ Fighting certainly occurred at Aeclanum and Ausculum and in the region surrounding Aeclae (Salapia, Canusium, Cannae). I submit that the Italians must have fought at Sola and Beneventum also. Perhaps the latter, now a colony but once a fortress of the Hirpini, came over as Venusia did. I do not believe the Italians could have left either out of their strategies.

By taking the colonies, the rebels would have accomplished two important goals: the control of routes to and from *Italia* and the elimination of Roman dissenters within the new state. Efforts to those ends commenced immediately following the massacre at Ausculum. The actions of the war may be divided into theaters for easier understanding: Campania, Apulia, *Via Valeria*, and Picenum.

Campania

In the Campanian theater, Vettius Scaton engaged the consul L. Iulius Caesar near Aesernia, presumably as Roman forces attempted to make their way into Samnium. Scaton won the battle and besieged Aesernia. L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes, the future consul of Sulla's return, and a certain L. Acilius managed to escape.⁶⁶ M. Claudius Marcellus was not as lucky.⁶⁷ The people of Aesernia held out heroically but, after even the dogs had been eaten, they gave in to famine.⁶⁸ Marius Egnatius (sometimes Ignatius) captured Venafrum, a feat that surely cut off

⁶⁴ Salmon (1967), 19.

⁶⁵ Salmon provides an excellent description of the topography of the region, *Ibid.*, 19-23.

⁶⁶ App. *B. Civ.* 1.41.

⁶⁷ Liv. *Per.* 73.

⁶⁸ App. *B. Civ.* 1.41; Diod. Sic. 37.19.

any hope of relief reaching Aesernia.⁶⁹ Meanwhile C. Papius arrived in southern Campania and proceeded to capture Nola, where he executed the praetor L. Postumius;⁷⁰ Stabiae; Surrentum; Nuceria; and the colony of Salernum, thus establishing a strong presence between Roman forces in northern Campania and rebel allies to the south.⁷¹ He attacked Acerrae, the fortress that commanded the road to Capua, but fell into a long siege.⁷² The consul L. Iulius Caesar attempted at least twice to relieve the siege at Aesernia, apparently from a base at Teanum Sidicinum, but failed.⁷³

An interesting problem arises here through Appian's odd story of Oxynta, son of Jugurtha, whom C. Papius used to trick the Numidians in L. Iulius Caesar's army.⁷⁴ Gabba asserts the following:

Before Acerrae, the armies of L. Caesar, reinforced by Gallic and Numidian auxiliaries, and of Papius Mutilus, in touch with Vidacilius in Apulia by means of the Via Appia past Aeclanum and Venusia, fought a series of indecisive engagements. Acerrae was in fact the keystone of the Roman defense, since it ensured the maintenance of links between Capua and the great Latin colony of Beneventum, firmly in Roman hands.⁷⁵

Beneventum, Badian asserts, stayed loyal to Rome.⁷⁶ Yet rebel generals were in communication over the *Via Appia*, the road overlooked and fortified by Beneventum itself. How to reconcile

⁶⁹ App. *B. Civ.* 1.41.

⁷⁰ Liv. *Per.* 73.

⁷¹ App. *B. Civ.* 1.42.

⁷² *Ibid.*; Gabba, 120.

⁷³ App. *B. Civ.* 1.42, 45.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.42.

⁷⁵ Gabba, 121.

⁷⁶ Salmon (1967), 352, supports him through a scholia on Cic. *Verr.* 1.38.

this seeming contradiction? Although none of our primary sources confirm it, Beneventum must, as I suspected above, have been under siege too.

At some point during the hostilities, the Romans, fearing perhaps the easy route from Campania to the capital, fortified the coast from Cumae to the city.⁷⁷

Via Valeria

On the *Via Valeria*, C. Perperna lost spectacularly to Publius Praesentius, probably near Alba Fucens.⁷⁸ As Gabba notes, this theater's importance can be measured by the fact that both the consul P. Rutulius Lupus *and* C. Marius commanded forces here.⁷⁹ Orosius conveys the strange story of Rutulius' distrust of Marius and the subsequent massacre in which the consul himself and 8,000 troops perished. This was not on the Liris River, as Appian has it, but on the Tolenus, right near Alba Fucens.⁸⁰ Rutulius was not replaced for the year, but Q. Servilius Caepio and his former legate C. Marius split his forces. Caepio promptly lost most of his army to a trick by the Italian consul Q. Popaediud Silo, and Marius absorbed what remained of his troops.⁸¹ At some point in the next year, the new consul L. Porcius Cato died fighting the Marsi, presumably after the Romans had pushed them back along the *Via Valeria*.⁸² The Marsi suffered further defeat at the hands of C. Marius *and* Sulla who entered the war for the first time in Marsium. Herius Asinius lost his life in one of these major conflicts.⁸³ This theater ultimately

⁷⁷ App. *B. Civ.* 1.49.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.41.

⁷⁹ Gabba, 121.

⁸⁰ Oros. 5.18; App. *B. Civ.* 1.43.

⁸¹ App. *B. Civ.* 1.44.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 1.50.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1.46.

closed with the defeat of the Marsi at the hands of Pompey, or perhaps his lieutenants L. Cornelius Cinna and Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius.⁸⁴

Picenum

Up north in Picenum, the generals entrusted the war to Cn. Pompeius Strabo. In the neighborhood of Falernio—and so within 20 miles of Asculum—a trio of Italian generals attacked Pompey and drove him to the Latin colony Firmum: C. Vidacilius, T. Lafrenius, and P. Vettius.⁸⁵ With Pompey's forces out of the way, Vidacilius went south to recruit in Apulia. By the time he returned, Pompey and his legate, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, had broken the siege, killed Lafrenius, and themselves besieged the survivors in the original site of the conflict, Asculum.⁸⁶ As Asculum was Vidacilius' own home, he managed to push past the siege and join his kinsmen in an attempt to rally the troops. Sex. Iulius Caesar, the consul of 91, would die reinforcing the siege; Vidacilius would die attempting to break it.⁸⁷ Pompey defeated an army trying to slip through to Etruria and carried the glory for the northern arena all the way to the consulship in 89 BC.⁸⁸

Apulia

In the Apulian theater, P. Licinius Crassus had apparently been sent by the consul Caesar to attempt to break into Samnium from the south. Marcus Lamponius intercepted him and besieged his remaining forces in the colony of Grumentum.⁸⁹ After besieging Pompey in the north, C. Vidacilius apparently recruited in Apulia, where Venusia, Canusium, and other towns

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.53; Liv. *Per.* 76.

⁸⁵ *App. B. Civ.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.47.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.48.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.50.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.41.

came over to the Italian side.⁹⁰ We next hear of action in the region when C. Cosconius, presumably a legate under Pompey, marched through and took Larinum, burned Salapia, accepted the surrender of Cannae, besieged Canusium, took Venusia and Ausculum, and invaded southern Apulia.⁹¹ Q. Caecilius Metellus apparently took over the campaign, as he was the one who invaded Iapygia and killed Q. Popaedius, although Diodorus Siculus gives the credit to Mam. Aemilius Lepidus.⁹²

In the last throes of the war, Sulla's name appears everywhere. His legend—and perhaps his memoirs—so overshadowed the entire conflict that it is impossible to separate truth from propaganda. Appian credits Sulla with cleaning up the war in Campania by defeating L. Cluentius in the Pompeian hills, presumably while besieging Pompeii. Stabiae and Herculaneum fell in April and June of 89 BC.⁹³ Sulla then moved into the Apulian theater, taking Aeculanum among the Hirpini, before moving into Samnium by lifting the siege at Aesernia and taking the new capitol Bovianum.⁹⁴ Velleius Paterculus claims that his ancestor Mintius Magius from Aeculanum aided T. Didius in the siege of Herculaneum and helped Sulla with Pompeii before occupying Compsa, a town on the route from Aquilonia to Lucania.⁹⁵ As the war came to a tentative end, Sulla returned to Rome to stand for the consulship.

Bellum Octavianum

So much for the Social War. The allies received the citizenship, some in 90 and some in 89 BC. But the Samnites, at least, continued to burn with resentment. In the brief but bloody

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.42.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.52.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1.53; Diod. Sic. 37.2.10.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1.51; Plin. *HN* 3.70 (Stabiae); Ov. *Fast.* 6.567-8 (Herculaneum); Gabba, 125.

⁹⁴ App. *B. Civ.* 1.51.

⁹⁵ Vell. Pat. 2.16.2.

conflict of 87 BC, Cinna and Marius wielded newfound influence with the newly-minted citizens to seize the city away from the opposing consul, Cn. Octavius.

Appian notes that as soon as the question of the Mithridatic command arose, Marius sought it by means of the tribune P. Sulpicius. He also insinuated to the *Italici* that, should he be given the command, they could expect a fairer distribution among the tribes, as they had very little political power in their present position.⁹⁶ After Sulla's march on the city, Marius famously had to flee Rome and was dragged naked from a marsh in which he had been completely submerged but for his eyes and nostrils. He was imprisoned in Minturnae, a city not far enough south to support him wholeheartedly, and barely escaped with his life.⁹⁷ He fled to Africa where, as Velleius Paterculus has it, *cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alteri possent esse solacio.*⁹⁸

As soon as Sulla left the city, Cinna changed his spots and cried for Marius' return. He also found political ammunition in the example of the brothers Gracchus and clamored for the equal distribution of the new citizens among the tribes.⁹⁹ When his multitude of Italians failed to win out, Cinna ran to the nearby Italian cities from Tibur to Praeneste and Nola to ask for money and support. He found the army at Capua willing to be persuaded away from Ap. Claudius for the right price.¹⁰⁰ He recalled Marius and his son from exile and joined with Q. Sertorius and the other Marians who had survived Sulla. Immediately this group began persuading the *Italici* to join their cause and seem to have met with great success. Both Appian and Livy single out the Samnites as particularly keen, but the whole of southern *Italia* seems to have supported

⁹⁶ App. *B. Civ.* 1.55.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.61-2; Vell. Pat. 2.19.2-4.

⁹⁸ 2.19.4: There Marius, as he gazed upon Carthage, and Carthage as she beheld Marius, might well have offered consolation the one to the other.

⁹⁹ App. *B. Civ.* 1.64; Vell. Pat. 2.20.2.

¹⁰⁰ App. *B. Civ.* 1.65; Vell. Pat. 2.20.4; Liv. *Per.* LXXIX.

Marius.¹⁰¹ Note that even Appian treats Etruria as a separate theater of influence: Marius had pull with the *Italici*, not *all* new citizens.¹⁰²

With an impressive army assembled, Marius marched on the city and cut it off from supplies. He took Antium, Aricia, and Lanuvium and sacked Ostia.¹⁰³ Bold actions around the city forced the consul Octavius and his lieutenants from their post on the Alban Mount and carried them into the city where they were slaughtered by the Marians.¹⁰⁴ The element of this egotistical bloodbath most important to this study is that the Samnites and other Italians entered the conflict willingly on the side of Marius. They would continue to support him and his successors against Sulla right up to the walls of Rome.

The Colline Gate

As soon as Sulla spoke of return, Cinna and Carbo began appealing to the *Italici* for aid against his arrival.¹⁰⁵ A mutiny killed Cinna and left Carbo in the unenviable position of master of the Marians.¹⁰⁶ With the consuls C. Norbanus and L. Scipio, his old friend Q. Sertorius, Carinas, and a hodgepodge of Italian generals, he set out to oppose Sulla, whose ranks had by now been reinforced by Metellus' army left over from the Social War and the bloodthirsty young opportunist Cn. Pompeius (not yet Magnus) with his privately raised three legions.¹⁰⁷

Sulla's landing at Brundisium and reinforcement by Pompey and Metellus were unopposed. According to Appian, he first ran into the Marians at Canusium where he and

¹⁰¹ App. *B. Civ.* 1.66, 68; Vell. Pat. 2.20.4; Liv. *Per.* LXXX.

¹⁰² App. *B. Civ.* 1.67

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1.67, 69; Liv. *Per.* LXXIX-LXXX.

¹⁰⁴ App. *B. Civ.* 1.69.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.76.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.77; Vell. Pat. 2.24.5.

¹⁰⁷ App. *B. Civ.* 1.80, 82, 85; Liv. *Per.* LXXXV.

Metellus inflicted heavy losses on Norbanus. The latter retreated to Capua.¹⁰⁸ Sertorius set out to reinforce Norbanus and took the important pass at Suessa Aurunca en route.¹⁰⁹ Sulla next met resistance near Teanum at the hands of Scipio. His soldiers were less anxious to engage the returning general and deserted en masse.¹¹⁰ Following this series of defeats—and presumably a great many more of which there is no surviving narrative—Sertorius fled to Spain and Carbo to Rome.¹¹¹

Appian's rapid and confused narrative continues with battles between the major players ranging as far north as Ariminum and as far south as Neapolis. Significant locations include Setia, Clusium, and most especially Praeneste.¹¹² Sulla importantly besieged the younger Marius in Praeneste following a battle near Sacriportus.¹¹³ The majority of actions fought after the siege were—if Appian is to be believed—assaults meant to raise the siege and rescue Marius. Note Sulla's specific antagonism toward Samnites: he killed only the Samnites among his prisoners because, as Appian has it, *ὦν τοὺς Σαυνίτας ἔκτεινε πάντας ὡς αἰεὶ χαλεποὺς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένους*.¹¹⁴ Note too that Praeneste was the scene of the most desperate fighting during the entire brief war. Not one but four separate attempts to raise the siege failed spectacularly.¹¹⁵ And Sulla dealt severely with the Praenestines as a result:

Λουκρήτιος δ' ἐπεὶ Πραινεστὸν εἶλε, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα Μαρίας στρατηγούντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνήρει, τοὺς δ' ἐς φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλλεν· οὓς ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἀνείλε. καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πραινεστῶ προσέταξε χωρὶς ὄπλων προελθεῖν ἅπαντας ἐς τὸ πεδίου καὶ προελθόντων τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῶ τι χρησίμους

¹⁰⁸ App. *B. Civ.* 1.84; Liv. *Per.* LXXXV; Vell. Pat. 2.25.

¹⁰⁹ App. *B. Civ.* 1.85.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Liv. *Per.* LXXXV.

¹¹¹ App. *B. Civ.* 1.86.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 1.87-9.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1.87.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*: because they had all along been ill-affected toward the Romans.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.90-92.

γενομένους, ὀλίγους πάμπαν, ἐξείλετο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἔς τρία ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαστῆναι, Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Πραινεστίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ διέστησαν, τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεκήρυξεν, ὅτι καὶ οἶδε ἄξια θανάτου δεδράκασι, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν ὅμως, τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας· γυναῖα δ' αὐτῶν καὶ παιδία μεθῆκεν ἀπαθείς ἀπιέναι. καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξε, πολυχρήματον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τότε οὔσαν.¹¹⁶

When Lucretius took Praeneste he seized the senators who had held commands under Marius, and put some of them to death and cast the others into prison. The latter were put to death by Sulla when he came that way. All the others who were taken in Praeneste he ordered to march out to the plain without arms, and when they had done so he chose out a very few who had been in any way serviceable to him. The remainder he ordered to be divided into three sections, consisting of Romans, Samnites, and Praenestians respectively. When this had been done he announced to the Romans by herald that they had merited death, but nevertheless he would pardon them. The others he shot down to the last man, but their wives and children he allowed to go unharmed. The town, which was extremely rich at that time, he gave over to plunder.

This slaughter of Samnites followed in the wake of the Battle of the Colline Gate and presumably within days of the famous execution of Samnite prisoners on the Campus Martius within earshot of the Temple of Bellona:

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς περιγενομένους εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀθροίσας παρὰ τὸν ἵππόδρομον, ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἐννοῦς ἱερόν. ἅμα δ' αὐτός τε λέγειν ἐνήρχετο

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 94.

καὶ κατέκοπτον οἱ τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους. κραυγῆς δέ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν
 χωρίῳ μικρῷ τοσοῦτων σφαττομένων φερομένης καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν
 ἐκπλαγέντων, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε λέγων ἀτρέπτῳ καὶ καθεστηκότι τῷ προσώπῳ
 προσέχειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ δ' ἕξω γινόμενα μὴ
 πολυπραγμονεῖν· νουθετεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐνίουσ τῶν πονηρῶν.¹¹⁷

However, the survivors of both parties alike, to the number of six thousand, were collected by Sulla in the circus at Rome, and then the senate was summoned by him to meet in the temple of Bellona, and at one and the same moment he himself began to speak in the senate, and those assigned to the task began to cut to pieces the six thousand in the circus. The shrieks of such a multitude, who were being massacred in a narrow space, filled the air, of course, and the senators were dumbfounded; but Sulla, with the calm and unmoved countenance with which he had begun to speak, ordered them to listen to his words and not concern themselves with what was going on outside, for it was only that some criminals were being admonished, by his orders.¹¹⁸

Indeed no one suffered Sulla's wrath more harshly than the Samnites, a fact not easily forgotten by the sons and grandsons of the slaughtered soldiers who, by Horace's day, were becoming entrenched in positions of political power in the new regime.

L. Cornelius Sulla built his new constitution on the corpses of the *Italici* and their erstwhile allies in Roman politics. The generation of young *nobiles* who cut their teeth on these dire conflicts included Pompey, Crassus, Sertorius, and Cicero. The impact of these events

¹¹⁷ Plut. *Sulla* 30.

¹¹⁸ Translation from the Loeb: B. Perrin, trans., *Plutarch's Lives* vol. IV (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968).

stretched across the first century BC and overshadowed even young Octavian and his older, wiser, and more peaceful avatar Augustus.

Conclusion

The political and social milieu in which Horace composed the *Odes* was heavily flavored by the changing position of the *Italici* as allies, enemies, new citizens, and suddenly noble examples for Rome. Horace's poetry speaks to a great many issues, certainly, but one of the most poignant and heretofore overlooked is the cultural integration of the *Italici* into the "Roman" identity. As I will demonstrate, Horace brilliantly blends Sabine and Italian themes, names, and locations into a seamless setting he might call "Ideal Rome." Thus he manages to slip some seedy characters past the reader by associating them with Sabinity and to shore up the Sabine image of "otherness" by adding a healthy dose of danger and foreignness through such peoples as the Samnites, Marsians, and Apulians. The end result is an overtone of ancient morality firmly rooted in a countryside only recently made legally part of Rome's political circle. Apulia and her sister regions of the Italian peninsula thus quickly and permanently acquire an air of long-standing *romanitas*.

To put it another way, picture for a moment the dastardly scene described above in which L. Cornelius Sulla spoke in an offhand way to the senate while thousands of Samnites were being slowly killed but a short distance away. Recall that the senate then met in the Temple of Bellona on the Campus Martius, a structure built by the Claudians and decorated with their Sabine ancestors all the way back to Attus Clausus and before. Sulla and the senate, I believe, would have made nothing at all in 82 BC of the fact that the suffering Samnites dying outside claimed common ancestry with the Claudians and the other Sabine families of Rome. By the time Horace published the *Odes* a mere 60 years later, the dialogue had shifted. Horace wished

the reader to equate the Claudians who built the Temple of Bellona with the Samnites who were executed outside it. This about-face in ethnography has gone largely unnoticed, a disservice to Horace and his fellow Italians. The poet and his like wish to be seen as Sabines themselves, although perhaps slightly wilder Sabines. From such high moral ground Horace presents his case and condemns the corrupt city of Rome while holding up the dying Samnites and their descendants as the solution.

Chapter Two

Locating Ideal Rome

Introduction

In the *Odes* Horace elevates landmarks of the Italian countryside to the lofty status held by the springs, mountains, and rivers of Greece. Most of the commentary and discussion of Horatian geography has dealt with the identification of Horace's often obscure choices and their frequently humble contrast with Greek antecedents. At first glance, the locus of the *Odes* seems about evenly divided between the city of Rome and the countryside, especially Sabinum and Horace's home country of Venusia in Apulia. These Italic—as opposed to Roman—geographical references seem to speak alternately well and poorly of rural life and morals. Horace also appears inconsistently to describe urban Rome and its surrounds as on the one hand a center of *romanitas* and on the other a veritable cesspool of laziness and corruption.

A close examination of Horatian geography reveals that the “Sabine” poet's moral division of Italy is both consistent and weighted heavily toward the Sabines and their alleged relations, the *Italici* of the Social and Sullan wars. Too frequently commentators have ignored the historical significance of Italic locations that appear in the *Odes*, choosing instead to focus on the many possible Greek corollaries. By placing Horace's geographical choices in the context of the very recent civil conflicts so important in the history of his own town and region, I will demonstrate the poet's division of Italy into desirable and undesirable Rome along the battle lines of the first century BC. Not surprisingly, Horace counts the Sabines in with the *Italici*—regardless of events in the wars—as representative of ancient and pristine Roman virtue. Thus he

both integrates the somewhat new citizens into the exemplary status held by the Sabines and invigorates the latter with new wildness and otherness as discussed in chapter one.

Rebel Groups

Social War geography falls under various names in the different sources. E.T. Salmon sifted through them in 1958 and declared for Appian. Salmon completes his study of the involved peoples with this paragraph:

Thus Appian's names can be accepted for the south no less than for the center of Italy, and for the sake of clarity both groups are worth repeating: *Central Italian (Marsic) Group*: Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini, Marrucini, Picentes, Frentani; *Southern (Samnite) Group*: Hirpini, Pompeiani, Venusini, Iapygii, Lucani, Samnites.¹¹⁹

Some of these groups can be confusing on a map. As Salmon agrees, the southern group of *Italici* should generally be understood as all the people south of an arbitrary line in Campania, excluding the "heel" and "toe" of Italy.¹²⁰ Some of Appian's names have fallen out of favor. For clarity, I will refer to ethnic regions according to the *Barrington Atlas of the Ancient World*, and therefore a few adjustments are in order.¹²¹ The Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini, Marrucini, and Frentani are so called in the *Barrington*.¹²² The Hirpini and Iapygii appear in the atlas, but the latter as Iapyges. The Pompeiani are Campanians, but Appian reflects in this choice the unclear divisions

¹¹⁹ E.T. Salmon, "Notes on the Social War," *TAPA* 89 (1958): 169. Salmon refers here to Appian, *Bella Civilia* 1.39.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*: "Between them his twelve peoples covered virtually all of Italy south of the Rivir Liris and of a line drawn in such a way as to continue the course of that river to the Adriatic coast, apart from the 'toe' and the 'heel' of the peninsula: so are we to interpret the words of Appian (*Bell. civ.* 1.39.175): 'all of the other tribes, as many as lie south of the River Liris' (which Appian confuses with the Liternus) 'both inland and on the litoral.'" The Liternus enters the sea near the Liternum and is probably today the outlet of the Lago di Patria.

¹²¹ R.J.A. Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton: University Press, 2000).

¹²² The Social War occurs in maps 42-5.

within Campania during the war. I will refer to “rebel Campanians” and “loyal Campanians” and make the division at Baiæ for reasons explained below. The *Barrington* includes the Oenotri, Chones, and Lucani in the region Lucania, and so shall I, under Lucanians. Venusini do not appear regularly anywhere. In fact, Appian’s plural *Οὐενούσιοι* for the people occurs only three times, all of them in the *Bella Civilia*.¹²³ I shall join them—as the *Barrington* does—with the Apuli, Daunii, and Peucetii and under the broader heading of Apulia and include the Garganus Mons in this group, Apulians, for ease of reference. This includes all of the land on the Adriatic side of the Apennines from the territory of Frentani in the north to that of the Iapyges in the south. Finally, as Emma Dench has argued, the term “Samnites” can be rather vague, especially as *Σαννῖται* in the Greek:

[W]hen ancient authors refer to the insurgents in the Social War, and the peoples of the Central Apennines subsequently, it can sometimes be seen that, through a process of elimination, ‘Samnites’ are only the Pentri. Other tribes, such as Hirpini and Frentani, let alone Lucani, are mentioned separately. It is surely no accident that, in the ancient sources as a whole, of the Hirpini, Frentani, and Pentri, the Pentri are mentioned by far the least frequently: ‘Samnites’ had come to be synonymous with the Pentri.¹²⁴

Lest there be any confusion, I shall label as Samnites those peoples dwelling in the Apennines from the territory of the Marsi to that of the Hirpini.

Principal Argument

In the discussion below, I will label each geographical reference or set of references in accordance with the number provided in Appendix II.

¹²³ App., *B. Civ.* 1.39, 1.42, and 1.52.

¹²⁴ Dench (1995), 207-8.

In the “Parade Odes” Horace makes thirteen references to places in Italy, all of which are in some way connected to Sabines and their newly discovered cousins, the former Socii. Of course, the *Odes* are about a great many other things, too. To attempt a unified theory of the work as a whole would be as fruitless as undesirable, for the genius of the collection lies in the interweaving of so many themes and concerns with the meticulous meter and brilliant language. One of those threads, and I believe a very important one, is Italian geography. But which Italy?

1 In *Odes* 1.1, Horace speaks with geographical ambivalence about contrastingly Greek and Roman activities. This list of nine occupations serves both to justify the tenth—Horace’s own—and to foreshadow the variety of topics in the collection. After the Olympic athlete, the Roman politician, the greedy businessman, the Roman farmer who hacks his unidentified ancestral glebe, and the following merchant seeking riches beyond his own land, Horace finally locates one of these possible occupations on familiar ground:

est qui nec **veteris pocula Massici**
 nec partem solido demere de die
 spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
 stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae¹²⁵

There is a man who sees no objection to drinking
 old Massic wine or taking time out of the day,
 stretched out sometimes under the green arbutus,
 sometimes by a gently welling spring of sacred water.

¹²⁵ Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.19-22.

Massic wine appears three times in the *Odes* and forms part of a larger dialogue in the collection: Sabine wine represents rustic simplicity and frugality in contrast to the rich, luxurious wines of loyal Italy.

Mount Massicus rises from the western edge of Campania. It sits but 25 miles from Venafrum where the Roman garrison was massacred by M. Egnatius in 90 BC.¹²⁶ But the mountain definitely sits in the *Roman* part of Campania. After naming the top three wines in Italy, Pliny says that they all compete with the Massic.¹²⁷ In other words, a Massic is a fine wine. The fact that Horace's rustic fellow drinks *veteris pocula Massici* should be a disappointment to the reader. A Massic would not be a good choice for working out in Sabine fields, but it would go very well with lying lazily under a tree on a rich estate. This man does not, in other words, have a worthy occupation. Horace employs a Massic wine specifically because of its connotations of luxury. That it comes from the loyal part of Campania does not hurt. Luxury should be equated with Rome, austerity with Italia and Sabinum.

2 The second location comes a few lines later. After the rustic who drinks Massic wine and a hardened soldier, Horace offers a hunter:

Manet sub Iove frigido
venator tenerae coniugis inmemor,
seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
seu rupit teretis **Marsus** aper plagas.¹²⁸

Staying out under a cold sky,
the huntsman forgets his tender wife

¹²⁶ App. *B. Civ.* 1.41.

¹²⁷ Plin. *HN* 14.64: *certant Massica*.

¹²⁸ Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.25-8.

if his faithful dogs catch sight of a hind
or a Marsian boar bursts the delicate nets.

The forgetful *venator* pursues a *Marsus aper*. It is significant that this manly, desirably Roman pursuit should be taken up not by a Roman but a Marsian. Certainly the Marsi are the most famous of the rebels. Horace himself refers to the Social War as *Marsum duellum*.¹²⁹ Their worth as a fighting force was legendary:

ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος πολεμικώτατον, καί φασι κατ' αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ
πταίσματι γενέσθαι μόνω, λεγόμενον πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὔτε ἄνευ
Μάρσων γενέσθαι θρίαμβον.¹³⁰

They are a very warlike race, and it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, “No triumph over the Marsians or without Marsians.”

So distinctive and disruptive were the Marsi that Caesar named two of them by ethnicity as the ringleaders in an almost mass desertion from Curio’s army in 49 BC.¹³¹ Even Horace, who elsewhere respects their bravery and ferocity, invokes their mythical, magical traditions.¹³² And while they were “quintessentially *Roman* in their evocation of old Italian morality,”¹³³ the Romans proper were well aware of the “mixed blessings to Rome of having the Marsi as allies rather than fellow-citizens.”¹³⁴ Note for example the beginning of *Epode* 16:

Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit:

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.14.18.

¹³⁰ *App. B. Civ.* 1.46.

¹³¹ *Caes. BC* 2.27-9.

¹³² On their ferocity in war, cf. *Carm.* 1.2.39, 2.20.18; on magic, *Epod.* 5.76, 17.28.

¹³³ E. Dench, *Romulus’ Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford: University Press, 2005), 278.

¹³⁴ *Ead.* (1995), 129.

quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
 minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus¹³⁵

A second generation is ground down by civil wars,
 and Rome is falling, ruined by the might of Rome.
 What Marsian neighbours never could destroy,
 nor hostile armies of Etruscan Porsena

After listing the Marsi with Porsena, Horace puts them in very dangerous company: Capua—loyal to Hannibal—Spartacus, the Allobroges, Germania, and Hannibal himself. Truly there can be no victory without or against the Marsi. Manliness appears to be Italian.

3-7 In *Odes* 1.2.13-16 Horace paints a vivid picture in the city of Rome:

vidimus flavum **Tiberim** retortis
litore Etrusco violenter undis
 ire diectum **monumenta regis**
templaque Vestae

We have seen yellow Tiber wrench his waves back
 from the Tuscan shore and rush
 to hurl down king Numa's memorials
 and Vesta's temple

The Tiber stands out as the traditional boundary between Etruria and Sabinum.¹³⁶ *Litore Etrusco* is certainly a reference to Etruria, but Horace here emphasizes the Sabine land on the opposite shore. The river rises up *from* the Etruscan side and crashes *onto* the Sabine banks and beyond. This passage is one of very few Etruscan references in the collection. In all, Horace identifies six

¹³⁵ Hor. *Epod.* 16.1-4.

¹³⁶ Plin. *NH* 3.53.

Etruscan locations.¹³⁷ This is the first. I believe that Etruria only appears in the collection pejoratively or in tandem with Horace's patron—and not always flatteringly there either. Indeed, this particular reference really emphasizes the contrast between Etruscan and Sabine. This becomes clear in the last two lines: the monuments menaced by the Tuscan shore, the Regia and Temple of Vesta, are Sabine monuments. For the Romans believed Numa Pompilius, Sabine king of Rome, built them both.¹³⁸ That the Etruscans, so many of whom were in power with Augustus, should threaten the ancient piety of Rome's Sabine ancestors flatters neither Maecenas nor Augustus.

These two temples and the temple of Apollo in *Odes* 1.31 constitute the only allusions to any part of Rome within the *pomerium* until the Roman Odes. But the location, I argue, was chosen for its Sabine associations. The Tiber makes many more appearances in the collection, five in fact.¹³⁹ In all of these it serves a liminal function:

sed Tiberis propter aspera et confragosa ne sic quidem praeterquam trabibus
verius quam ratibus longe meabilis, fertur per CL p., non procul Tiferno
Perusiaque et Ocriculo, Etruriam ab Umbris ac Sabinis, mox citra XVI p. urbis
Veientem agrum a Crustumino, dein Fidenatem Latinumque a Vaticano
dirimens.¹⁴⁰

But the Tiber, owing to its rugged and uneven channel, is even so not navigable for a long distance except for rafts, or rather logs of wood; in a course of 150 miles it divides Etruria from the Umbrians and Sabines, passing not far from

¹³⁷ Numbers 4, 20, 85, 86, 104, and 108.

¹³⁸ For the Regia cf. *Ov. Fast.* 6.263f, *Tac. Ann.* 15.41 *Numaeque regia*; for Vesta cf. *Ov. Fast.* 6.259, *Livy* 1.20.3 and Ogilvie *ad loc.*

¹³⁹ *Hor. Carm.* 1.8.8, 1.29.12, 2.3.18, 3.7.28, and 3.12.7.

¹⁴⁰ *Plin. HN* 3.53-4. Translations of Pliny are from the Loeb: H. Rackham, *Pliny: Natural History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938-1952).

Tifernum, Perugia and Otricoli, and then, less than 16 miles from Rome, separates the territory of Veii from that of Crustumium, and afterwards that of Fidenae and Latium from Vaticanum.

Note that Pliny only allows the Tiber to separate Etruria and Sabinum down to 16 miles from Rome. This implies that Crustumium and Fidenae belong to some other region and ethnic group. But Pliny later carries Sabine influence all the way to Fidenae:

Sabinorum Amiternini, Curenses, Forum Decii, Forum Novum, Fidenates, Interamnates, Nursini, Nomentani, Reatini, Trebulani qui cognominantur Mutuesci et qui Suffenates, Tiburtes, Tarinates.¹⁴¹

In the Sabine [district], Amiternum, Correse, Market of Decius, New Market, Fidenae, Ferano, Norcia, Le Mentana, Rieti, Trebula Mutuesca, Trebula Suffena, Tivoli, Tarano.

This may explain why Pliny names Fidenae *and* Latium rather than one or the other. The editors of the *Barrington* label the area north and west of Antemnae “Sabina,” certainly in accordance with Pliny’s later statement. But how far south does Sabine influence go?

One popular approach to this thorny issue is to examine archaeological data in an attempt to identify an *historical* area of Sabinity. Far more relevant to Horace’s *Odes* is the question, what areas did Horace and his contemporaries think fell under the label “Sabine”? It is tempting for the sake of my argument to divide Rome into Latin and Sabine areas and label “Sabine” all the land from the *pomerium* north into the hills. The idea that Rome itself was partly Sabine has a long history. Tim Cornell’s explanation of the issues at stake, while lengthy, deserves to be read into the record:

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3.107.

A point of some interest is that the Septimontium group excludes the Quirinal, which archaeological and other evidence suggests was inhabited very early. This fact implies a separation, which is hinted at in other texts, between the people of the mounts (*montes*) and the people of the hills (*colles*), that is, the Quirinal and the Viminal. This distinction appears to be reproduced, at least in part, in other institutions and cult ceremonies which imply an opposition between the Palatine and the Quirinal. The clearest example is the division of the Salii, the dancing warrior-priests, into two corporations: the Salii Palatini who were associated with the Palatine and served Mars, and the Salii Collini who were linked with the Quirinal and served Quirinus. The *luperci*, the naked youths who took part in the Lupercalia, were also divided into two groups, the Luperci Quinctiales and the Luperci Fabiani. This fact is of special interest because the Roman clan of the Fabii was closely connected with the Quirinal (Livy 5.46.2). These facts are best understood as the result of a fusion of two originally separate communities, one on the Palatine, the other on the Quirinal.

There are many other indications of an ancient bipartite division in the organisation of early Rome. Apart from the priesthoods, we may note that the Romans had two names: Romani and Quirites – an extremely puzzling fact which has never been satisfactorily explained. Again, the Lares Praestites, the guardian gods of the state, were represented as twins – *di gemelli*. Since Lares were probably deified ancestors, a *lar familiaris* being the founder of a family, it would seem to follow that there is some connection between the Lares Praestites and the twin founders of the city, another puzzling phenomenon which might be

explained if the Roman state was the product of a union between two communities.

But the clearest evidence is undoubtedly the tradition that the original population of Rome was a mixture of Roman and Sabine elements, a story that begins with the rape of the Sabine women and ends with the fusion of the two peoples under Romulus and Titus Tatius. The idea that a significant part of the population was of Sabine origin pervades the tradition at every level. Of the first four kings, two were Latin (Romulus and Tullus Hostilius), and two were Sabine (Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius) – or three if one counts Titus Tatius. Even more significant, given the evidence we have just been discussing, is the fact that tradition connected the Sabines and Titus Tatius with the Quirinal (Varro, *LL* V.51).¹⁴²

Cornell concludes the issue by refusing to commit to any interpretation, a hallmark of his study. But he is concerned with reconstructing—or better, deconstructing—history as it really happened. I am concerned with what Horace believed. In the passage Cornell cites, Varro says this of the Quirinal: *Collis Quirinalis, quod ibi Quirini fanum. Sunt qui a Quiritibus, qui cum Tatio Curibus venerunt ad Romam, quod ibi habuerint castra.*¹⁴³ This bipartite theory of Rome has a strong, pervasive presence in Roman thought. And for the lands that extend from Rome to the firm Sabine country of the mountains from Tibur to Cures and beyond, their firmest border is the Tiber.

¹⁴² T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 74-5.

¹⁴³ Varro, *Ling.* 5.51: The Quirinal Hill is called that because there was a sanctuary of Quirinus on it. There are those who say the name is derived from the Quirites who came to Rome with Titus from Cures because there they established their camp.

When the Tiber appears in Horace's *Odes* it is frequently a reference to the Sabine country which borders it. This is born out in this first example. The river leaves [a] *litore Etrusco* and crashes down on Sabine monuments. These buildings on the *Via Sacra* are the furthest south Sabine influence will extend in the *Odes*. I believe that everything north of the *pomerium*, extending out in a sort of triangle to follow the Anio river, should be considered Sabine for the purposes of Horace's rhetoric. And we should recall that even Horace's contemporary Livy considered the land north of the Anio to be Sabine: he identifies this as the region settled by Attus Clausus. As Lily Ross Taylor has shown, this was the oldest part of the Claudian tribe. And what could be more Sabine than traditional Claudian stomping grounds? Closer to Rome, the Campus, as we shall see below, has special importance because it is outside the *pomerium*. This is the space where Rome and non-Rome meet. I believe that it can be read as specifically Sabine and non-Roman in light of its location on the path to Sabinum.

That Horace references places near Rome rather than name the city or locations within its walls is quite telling. In fact, all of Horace's allusions to Rome—after this first one—will refrain from entering the *pomerium* until the Roman Odes in book three. Before moving on, it is noteworthy that Horace refers to Roman citizens in the first ode, but does so by periphrasis: he calls them *Quirites*,¹⁴⁴ a name traditionally derived from the Sabine *Curenses*: *Quiritare dicitur is qui Quiritum fidem clamans inplorat. Quirites a Curensibus; ab his cum Tatio rege in societatem venerunt civitatis.*¹⁴⁵ Not until the "Roman Odes" does Horace use *Roma*.¹⁴⁶ The city will remain outside of his direct discourse until *Odes* 3.1. Until then, Horace will teach her

¹⁴⁴ Again at *Carm.* 1.2.46.

¹⁴⁵ Varr. *Ling.* 6.7.68: He is said to *quiritare* (shriek, call joyfully) who shouts calling on the protection of the Quirites. The Quirites are so called because they are from Curenses. From there they came with King Tattius and took a share in the state.

¹⁴⁶ Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.37, 44; 3.5.12; 3.6.2.

citizens by the example of her moral superiors: those who live on the way out of Rome, heading north up the Tiber and north-east along the Anio.

Thus Horace mentions Etruria and the Tiber only to emphasize the Etruscan threat to Sabinum and the monuments of Rome's Sabine ancestry. The first ode invoked loyal and rebel Italians, now this second calls up the most ancient Sabines with whom the reader is to associate the newly enfranchised Socii. As though to emphasize the connection, Horace again mentions those warlike Marsi, here depicted as frighteningly fierce:

heu nimis longo satiate ludo,

quem iuvat clamor galeaeque leves

acer et **Marsi** peditis cruentum

vultus in hostem¹⁴⁷

Come, god of war, sated with your sport,

exulting in the battle cry, in polished helmets

and the face of the Marsian foot soldier showing now pity

for his bleeding enemy.

Nisbet and Hubbard provide the long history of the clearly desirable emendation of *Marsi* for *Mauri* and its varying acceptability to editors from Bentley forward. The problems include a distinct lack of foot soldiers among the Moors, the difficulty of the stanza if Horace means *enemies* (Moors) instead of *allies* (Marsians), and Mars' apparent concern for Rome's opponents.¹⁴⁸ *Marsi* works far better and contributes nicely to Horace's emphasis on the virtues of the Socii.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.2.37-40.

¹⁴⁸ R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace Odes, Book I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) at 1.2.39.

8-11 The reader encountering the *carmina* sequentially finds no more Italian *loci* until partway through the seventh ode. And when the place names come, Sabine lands figure prominently:

me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon
 nec tam Larisae percussit campus opimae,
 quam domus **Albunae** resonantis
 et praeceps **Anio** ac **Tiburni lucus** et uda
 mobilibus pomaria rivis.¹⁴⁹
 As for me, I am not so struck
 by much-enduring Lacedaemon or the fat plain of rich Larisa
 as by Albunea's sounding home
 and the plunging Anio, by the grove of Tiburnus and its orchards
 soaked by swiftly flowing water.

The Anio divides Sabinum and Latium¹⁵⁰ and leaves the high country—morally and geographically—at the site of Tibur and the shrine of Albunea. Both the Anio and the city of Tibur are liminal locations. The river, as noted above, forms the southern boundary of Sabinum. As for Tibur, Horace later names Catilus as the founder of the city, at one time believed to be an Arcadian, certainly an appropriately rustic group.¹⁵¹ The oracle of Albunea at Tibur recalls Sabine piety and religious presence in Rome. It should be mentioned that while Tibur serves as the entryway to the land of the Aequi—Samnites conquered in 304 BC—it became part of

¹⁴⁹ Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.10-4.

¹⁵⁰ Plin. *HN* 5.4.

¹⁵¹ Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.1-2; Cato *Orig.* fr. 56.

Augustus' *regio IV* with Samnium and Sabinum and so must have still had strong associations with those neighboring groups.¹⁵²

This information might come as a surprise to the scholar checking most respected reference sources. Tibur is generally considered part of Latium, not Sabinum. But, as we have seen, Pliny listed the *Tiburtes* among the *Sabinorum*.¹⁵³ Were this not enough to convince us of Horace's intentions in choosing Tibur as a site for ideal Italy, very recent scholarship has established that Virgil too believed it to be a Sabine city. Jennifer Ferriss-Hill, in a 2011 article, declared that these lines from *Aeneid* 7 contain a Sabine gloss:

quinque adeo magnae positis incudibus urbes
 tela novant, Amitina potens Tiburque superbum,
 Ardea Crustumérique et turrigeræ Antemnae.¹⁵⁴

As Ferriss-Hill explains, *Tibur* is derived from the Sabine word *teba*, which Varro claims meant "hill".¹⁵⁵ Virgil's *superbum* glosses the geographical name in a manner copied by later poets.¹⁵⁶ Thus Horace's contemporary also knew that Tibur was a Sabine location and created wordplay accordingly.

Tibur also played a role in the civil conflicts of the 80s BC. There is an odd note in Appian that Cinna, desperate for support against the returning Sulla, lobbied for money and support in a few cities:

¹⁵² Conquered in 304 cf Livy 9.45.5-18. *Regio IV* cf Plin. *HN* 3.12.

¹⁵³ Plin. *HN* 3.107.

¹⁵⁴ Virg. *Aen.* 7.629-31.

¹⁵⁵ Varro, *Rust.* 3.1.6: *nam lingua prisca et in Graecia Aeolis Boeoti sine afflatus vocant collis tebas, et in Sabinis, quo e Graecia venerunt Pelasgi, etiam nunc ita dicunt, cuius vestigium in agro Sabino via Salaria non longe a Reate miliarius clivus cum appellatur tebae.*

¹⁵⁶ J. Ferriss-Hill, "Virgil's Program of Sabellic Etymologizing and the Construction of Italic Identity," *TAPA* 141 no. 2 (2011), 276-7. She cites work from Ceci (1987) and Bruno (1969) that ties *teba* to *Tibur* and parallel images from Horace (the passage to which I refer) and Martial.

Κίννας...ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τὰς ἀγχοῦ πόλεις τὰς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πολίτιδας Ῥωμαίων
γενομένας, Τίβυρτόν τε καὶ Πραινεστόν καὶ ὅσαι μέχρι Νώλης, ἐρεθίζων
ἅπαντας ἐς ἀπόστασιν καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συλλέγων.¹⁵⁷

Cinna...ran to the nearby cities which had not long before gained the Roman
citizenship, namely Tibur and Praeneste and as far as Nola, inciting all to revolt
and gathering money for war.

Whether or not Cinna received aid from Tibur at this time, it is noteworthy that he thought he
would. The tradition of rebellion against Rome remained strong at Tibur, even in the years
following the Social War. Finally, we should recall that M. Claudius of that most famous Sabine
family chose Tibur as his site of exile in 449 BC.¹⁵⁸

Horace mentions Tibur again at line 21 in the context of its picturesque *umbra*. We
should note the context of this locus. Horace here passes up Greece for Italy, certainly, but not
just any site. Horace prefers Tibur why? The city and surrounds are Sabine Italy, the best Italy.

12-13 In *Odes* 1.8.4-8 Horace establishes the action on the Campus Martius and in the adjoining
Tiber. Why does he name these liminal locations instead of the city, an equally accurate
descriptor? The field is, of course, associated with Mars, the god embraced by the rebellious
Socii on their coinage.¹⁵⁹ It also lies outside the *pomerium* and on the Sabine side of Rome. In
other words, Horace's selective diction refers to action not in the corrupt city but on the way out
of Rome and toward the Sabine country. This is especially significant for the context of the ode.
Horace's young man exercises on the Campus in this most traditional pastime for a Roman
youth. He must train in the *manly* pursuits and become athletic and adept at the basic skills of

¹⁵⁷ App. B. Civ. 1.65.

¹⁵⁸ Livy 3.58.10: *Et M. Claudius, adsertor Verginae, die dicta damnatus, ipso remittente
Verginio ultimam poenam dimissus Tibur exsulatum abiit.*

¹⁵⁹ A. Keaveney, *Rome and the Unification of Italy* 2nd ed. (Exeter: Bristol Phoenix Press, 2005),
123.

warfare. Sabines and, or so Horace will argue, their Italian counterparts epitomize the manliness represented by training on the Campus. It would be unpalatable to label such wholesome activity as urban by locating it within the city. Horace gets around this by invoking instead the Sabine field and liminal river, even if they are but a stone's throw from the city proper.

14 Finally, in the ninth ode Horace famously and beautifully approaches Mt. Soracte. The mountain sits on the course of the Tiber (technically on the Etruscan side) and overlooks the division between opulent and austere. A final transitional spot, Soracte provides a height from which to survey the “Parade Odes”. The mountain serves both as a signpost of poetic intent and as a bookend to the geographic location of these poetic purposes. Having swept south-east to Campania, north to Corfinium, and west to Tibur, Horace now puts a firm western boundary on the collection. His hard-working Italians will stray no further than the base of Soracte on the Etruscan banks of the Tiber.

Of course, the reader should see Sabine influence here too, for it extended at least this far into Etruria. There was a Sabine cult at the feet of the mountain at least as famous as the towering landmark. Strabo notes the cult: *ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ Σωράκτῳ ὄρει Φερωνία πόλις ἐστίν, δμῶνυμος ἐπιχωρία τινὶ δαίμονι τιμωμένη σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων.*¹⁶⁰ Varro asserted that it was Sabine: *Feronia, Minerva, Novensides a Sabinis.*¹⁶¹ Thus Soracte, a highly visible monument, can be Sabine by association with this religious center. I do not wish to suggest by this argument that the Tiber is not a firm boundary line between Etruria and Sabinum. Rather, I argue that Horace's first push beyond the river, while in Etruria, praises Sabine piety. It is as if Horace will only discuss Etruria if he can do so in Sabine terms.

¹⁶⁰ Strabo 5.2.9: The city of Feronia is at the foot of Mount Soracte, with the same name as a certain native goddess, a goddess greatly honored by the surrounding peoples.

¹⁶¹ Varro, *Ling.* 5.74: Feronia, Minerva, and the Novensides all come from the Sabines.

15 In the lines following *Soracte*, Horace names his second wine, or at least its container. This *Sabina diota* provides a further programmatic statement: the poetic substance of the collection will be drawn from Sabine vessels. And indeed, throughout the *Odes* these Sabines will continue to filter the other ethnic groups in Horace's rhetoric and provide the structure for his moral lessons. At the end of the "Parade Odes," 1.12 further reinforces this Sabine emphasis with its list of Roman heroes and *exempla*. I shall treat this in detail in the next chapter.

16-17 After 1.12, Horace next visits Italy in 1.17 where he names locations presumably near his Sabine farm. *Lucretilem*, in line one, must be a mountain near Horace's goats and horn of plenty. As Nisbet and Hubbard note, both Festus and Porphyrio claim that *Lucretilis mons in Sabinis*.¹⁶² Likewise Porphyrio clarifies that *Ustica mons in Sabinis est*.¹⁶³ This pleasant scene of idyllic country abundance—read frugality—and simple pleasure thus take place in the Sabine hills.

18 In 1.18, Horace again turns to Tibur, that liminal site on the Anio. Here, however, Horace emphasizes the founder of the city, one Catilus whom, as Iulius Solinus notes, citing Cato, was an Arcadian on the fleet of Evander.¹⁶⁴ Again, the Sabine country represents the best of Rome.

19-24 *Odes* 1.20 constitutes perhaps the best example of Horace's wine dialogue:

Vile potabis modicis **Sabinum**
 cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
 conditum leui, datus in theatro
 cum tibi plausus,
 care Maecenas eques, ut paterni 5
 fluminis ripae simul et iocosa

¹⁶² Nisbet and Hubbard, *ad. loc.* "The Lucretilis mountain is in the Sabine country."

¹⁶³ *ad. loc.* "The Ustica mountain is in the Sabine country."

¹⁶⁴ Iulius Solinus 2.7: *Tibur, sicut Cato facit testimonium, a Catillo Arcade praefecto classis Evandri*. This is Cato, *Origines* fr. 56.

redderet laudes tibi **Vaticani**

montis imago.

Caecubum et prelo domitam **Caleno**

tu bibes uuam; mea nec **Falernae** 10

temperant uities neque **Formiani**

pocula colles.

You will drink from plain cups an inferior Sabine wine

I put into a Greek jar and sealed

with my own hands the day you, Maecenas,

knight of great distinction,

were given such applause in the theater

that the banks of the river of your fathers

and the playful echo from the Vatican Mount

joined in your praises.

You can drink your Caecuban and the grape

tamed in the Calenian press;

no Falernian vines or Formian hills

soften my wine.

I have bolded the place names and underlined the words Horace uses in tandem with them to emphasize the geographical nature of these wine references. The first, his Sabine wine, he describes as *vile*. It comes, of course, from the Sabine hills. This is the vulgar, common wine that Romans should rejoice to drink. The rest are very fine wines, expensive, and therefore excessive and luxurious.

The second wine, a Caecuban, hails from the region around Fundi in Latium. The editors of the *Barrington* have labeled the triangular plain between Fundi and the sea the *Caecubus Ager*. Pliny does say that the *Caecubae vites in Pomptinis paludibus madent*,¹⁶⁵ and this would place them further north, but this claim disagrees with his own earlier statement: *antea Caecubo erat generositas celeberrima in palustribus populetis sinu Amynciano, quod iam intercidit incuria coloni locique angustia, magi stamen fossa Neronis, quam a Baiano lacu Ostiam usque navigabilem incohaverat*.¹⁶⁶ The *Sinus Amyncianus* must be that same bay of Martial:

Caecuba Fundanis generosa cocuntur Amyclis,
vitis et in media nata palude viret.¹⁶⁷

Here Martial places the *Sinus Amyncianus*, the Pomptine Marsh, and the Caecuban wine near Fundi. I suggest that the *Barrington* has the Caecubus Ager in just the right place, namely between Fundi and the bay. It appears this *sinus* closest to Fundi should be the *Amyncianus*, not the bay further down as the atlas has it. But Pliny is confused and perhaps Martial is not the most reliable of geographical sources. More importantly, Pliny reports that the Caecuban was once the most preferred of all wines. This is quite the contrast to Horace's simple, cheap Sabine.

Horace's third wine comes with a built-in geographical marker: *prelo Caleno*. Nisbet and Hubbard put this down to *variatio*—and this certainly fits the bill—but I believe Horace is doing more here. By naming the wine press, vines, and hills rather than just the wines, he firmly locates

¹⁶⁵ Plin. *HN* 17.3.31: The Caecuban vines are wet in the Pomptine marshes.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.8.61: Previously Caecuban wine had the reputation of being the most generous of all; it was grown in some poplar woods on marshy ground on the Bay of Amyclae, but the vineyard has now disappeared owing to the neglect of the cultivator and the confined area of the ground, though in a greater degree owing to the ship canal from the lake of Baiae to Ostia that was begun by Nero.

¹⁶⁷ Mart. 13.115: Generous Caecuban is ripened at Amyclae near Fundi. The green vine is born in the middle of the marsh. Translation in the Loeb: D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Martial: Epigrams* vol. III (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

these wines in Italy.¹⁶⁸ Cales is between the Liris and the Volturnus in that part of Campania that remained loyal to Rome. After naming the wines of Alba Longa the third best (after the Setinum and Falernian), Pliny says this:

Certant Massica atque a monte Gauro Puteolos Baiasque prospectantia. Nam Falerno contermina Statana ad principatum venire non dubie palamque fecere sua quibusque terries tempora esse, suos rerum proventus occasusque. Iuncta iis praeponi solebant Calena et que in vineis arbustique nascuntur Fundana et alia ex vicinia urbis, Velterna, Privernatia.¹⁶⁹

[The place of the top three wines] is contested by the vineyards of Monte Massico and the slopes of Monte Barbaro looking toward Pozzuoli and Baiae. For the Statana vineyards adjoining the Falernian territory unquestionably once reached the first place, and established the fact that each locality has its own period and its own rise and decline of fortune. The adjacent vintages of the Calenian hills used to be preferred to them, as were those of Fundi where the vines are grown on trellises or trained up small trees, and others from the vicinity of Rome, those of Castel del Volturno and Piperno.

Thus the Cales is a very good wine indeed, as is the Massican discussed above. That Pliny separates Caecuban from *Fundana* need not disturb either our geography or ranking of wines. His discussion is such that *Fundana* here and the *Caecubo* a few lines earlier (note 50) can happily refer to the same, previously prized wine.

The fourth wine is pressed from Falernian vines. Pliny is exact in his location for the vineyard:

¹⁶⁸ Nisbet and Hubbard *ad loc.*

¹⁶⁹ Plin. *HN* 14.8.64-5.

Secunda nobilitas Falerno agro erat et ex eo maxime Faustiano; cura culturaque id collegerat. exolescit haec quoque copiae potius quam bonitati studentium.

Falernus ager a ponte Campano laeva petentibus Urbanam coloniam Sullanam nuper Capuae contributam incipit, Faustianus circiter IIII milia passuum a vico Caedicio, qui vicus a Sinuessa VI M passuum abest. nec ulli nunc vino maior auctoritas.¹⁷⁰

The second rank belonged to the Falernian district, and in particular to the estate of Faustus in consequence of the care taken in its cultivation; but the reputation of this district also is passing out of vogue through the fault of paying more attention to quantity than to quality. The Falernian district begins at the Campanian bridge as you turn left to reach the Colonia Urbana of Sulla lately attached to Capua, and the Faustus estate begins about four miles from the village of Caedicium, which is about six miles from Sinuessa. No other wine has a higher rank at the present day.

The *Barrington* editors have so labeled the area east of the Mons Massicus. This is both the most luxurious wine in Horace's time and the one he references the most.

His fifth wine is grown in the hills above Formiae. As Nisbet and Hubbard have it, "the word [*colles*] evokes a vivid picture of the sunny vine-clad hills that rise suddenly from the coast behind Formiae."¹⁷¹ As they also discuss, the four wines after the Sabine create a nice chiasmus of locations: Latium, Campania, Campania, Latium. What they do not recognize, is that the Campanian wines are both from loyal Campania, and therefore especially extravagant and excessive in comparison with the Sabine. In other words, not only are these very expensive wines in contrast to Horace's simple, local Sabine, but they also come from wasteful and corrupt

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.8.62.

¹⁷¹ Nisbet and Hubbard *ad loc.*

places. This understanding becomes essential for interpretation because the ode is addressed to Maecenas, scion of luxury.

And speaking of Maecenas, Horace's second mention of Etruria appears here as the *Vaticani montis*. As we have already seen (note 25 above), this land is on the right hand side of the Tiber approaching Rome. Once again, Etruria comes into play only in terms of its luxury and stands in stark contrast to something Sabine. The Romans should appreciate, as Horace has elsewhere, *dapes inemptas*, and drink simple wines in place of this extravagance.¹⁷²

25 In 1.21, Horace locates the cults of Diana in such famous sites as Erymanthus (think of Homer's Artemis coming down the mountain) and Gragus.¹⁷³ Into the mix he throws Algidus, a mountain near Alba Longa. As Nisbet and Hubbard point out, this is an audacious move. The humble hill has no business in such noble company. Important for my discussion is Horace's continuing elevation of rural Italy. This ode is certainly a positive one and full of religious piety—a trait I would like to argue should be Sabine and Italic for Horace, and thus located in those regions. Yet, the mountain is firmly in Latium. I will dismiss this fact in two ways. First, there was possibly a cult of Diana in those hills at Castel Lariano.¹⁷⁴ But must Horace here refer to this obscure and tentative location? He clearly knew of a center for Diana somewhere in the vicinity:

quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,

quindecim Diana preces virorum

curat et votis puerorum amicas

¹⁷² Hor. *Epod.* 2.48. “meals unpurchased”

¹⁷³ Nisbet and Hubbard have excellent notes here on the two locations in Greek literature and beyond. For the Homer, *Od.* 6.102.

¹⁷⁴ *Idem* point to *RE* 1.1476.

applicat auris.¹⁷⁵

And Diana, ruler of Algidus and Aventine,
 heeds the prayers of the Fifteen
 and lends a loving ear
 to children's vows.

And his options were limited. If Horace were to refer to a cult of Diana in his own time and link it to Sabinum or *Italia*, qualified locations both *in* Italy and *outside* Rome were few. Martial names a *Tiburтинаe silva Dianae*, and, as we have seen, Tibur would be an excellent choice for Horace's rhetoric.¹⁷⁶ Cato describes the *lucum Dianium in nemore Aricino*.¹⁷⁷ This has been excavated and lies just below the Mons Albanus.¹⁷⁸ Nisbet and Hubbard make Algidus "probably the curving wall of heights that limits the Alban hills on the east and south-east, from Tusculum to Velitrae."¹⁷⁹ Could Horace's haunt for Diana be dependent on the famous shrine five miles to the west at Aricia? Nisbet and Hubbard are hardly sure here in any case. I suggest that Algidus is a learned allusion to the shrine of Diana at Aricia, a clever way to work this insignificant mountain into an otherwise lofty discourse.¹⁸⁰

So, Horace removes Diana from Aricia and lifts her up into the more fitting hills above. This still does not reconcile a positive religious reference with its location in Latium rather than Sabinum or rebel Italy. But, the pass through which runs the *Via Labicana*—the area between

¹⁷⁵ Hor. *Carm. saec.* 69-72.

¹⁷⁶ Mart. 7.28.1 "grove of Tiburtine Diana"

¹⁷⁷ Cato fr. 58 (H. Peter, *HRR*) = Prisc. *Inst.* vol. 4 p. 129. "A grove of Diana in the Arician forest"

¹⁷⁸ G. Ghini, "La ripresa delle indagini al Santuario di Diana a Nemi," *Quaderni di Archeologia etrusco-italica* 21 (1993): 277-89.

¹⁷⁹ *ad loc.*

¹⁸⁰ David West simply notes that "Algidus is not far from Italy's most famous temple of Diana, at Aricia." I believe the connection is more than a coincidence: it is the whole point. West (1995), 102-3.

Praeneste and the Algidus hill south-east of Tusculum—has immense strategic importance: it was the scene of the bloodiest action in the civil war of 83-82 BC between Sulla on the one hand and Marius’ heirs, the Samnites, and a blurry list of Italian cities on the other. Recall from the first chapter that Sulla’s armies made their way from Canusium to Campania and are next heard of in Teanum, Capua, and Suessa.¹⁸¹ From there Sulla stormed up the *Via Latina* and attacked the consul Marius—son of the great Marius—near Praeneste. So serious was the defeat that young Marius had to retreat behind the walls of the city and make way for Sulla to reach Rome. According to Appian, Marius’ army only just made it to Praeneste and was pressed hard upon the walls, resulting in a blood bath. All of the captured Samnites were put to death because αἰεὶ χαλεποὺς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένους.¹⁸² Sulla fortified his siege position and left Q. Lucretius Ofella¹⁸³ in charge of the works. Thus it was a failed battle in this pass that led to the slaughter at Rome.

According to Appian’s narrative, after the devastation in Rome, Sulla next fought at Clusium in Etruria, quite a distance from the city. But he quickly returned to Praeneste as not one but four separate attempts to break the siege and relieve Marius failed spectacularly. First Carbo sent C. Marcius Censorinus¹⁸⁴ with eight legions to break the siege, but they were neatly trapped and nearly executed by that terrible young *adulescens carnifex*, Cn. Pompeius, almost Magnus. A mutiny followed. Marcius retreated with only seven cohorts remaining.¹⁸⁵ Next, M. Lamponius, Pontius Telesinus, and Gutta of Capua attempted to burst through, but ὁ Σύλλας ἐν

¹⁸¹ App. *B. Civ.* 1.84-5.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 87. “they were often difficult for Rome.”

¹⁸³ *RE* 25.

¹⁸⁴ *RE* 43

¹⁸⁵ App. *B. Civ.* 1.90.

τοῖς στενοῖς, ἧ μόνῃ διαβατον ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου.¹⁸⁶ The attempt failed. Carbo next sent the praetor L. Iunius Brutus Damasippus¹⁸⁷ with two *more* legions to join the effort. They failed. Carbo, upon hearing of defeats across Italy, fled to Africa. His lieutenants mustered their remaining forces and made one last attempt on the pass. They had Damasippus' two legions, Marcius' nearly one, and whatever remained of the 70,000 men—presumably Samnite forces—sent with M. Lamponius Pontius Telesinus and Gutta of Capua. Following a fourth defeat at Sulla's siege lines, the Marians marched on Rome.¹⁸⁸ Sulla chased after them, and there followed the famous battle of the Colline Gate.

In the aftermath of this battle, the Praenestines surrendered to the same Lucretius Ofella who had been holding the siege works under Sulla. Appian's description of the aftermath has already been cited in full.¹⁸⁹ The dictator allowed only the Romans to leave and proceeded to execute the Samnites and Praenestines. The city he gave over to plunder. Praeneste had a veteran colony founded on its smoking ruin, as Cicero reminds us in the *Catilinarians*.¹⁹⁰ Other cities suffered much the same fate. A note in the *Gromatici Veteres* reveals that Tusculum was among them.¹⁹¹ Thus the whole pass felt Sulla's wrath. I submit that this genocidal massacre lived long in the public memory. Neither the desperate attempts of Marius' commanders to relieve him nor the blood bath that followed would have been forgotten.

To return to this ode, the first explanation for locating a favorable religious reference within Latium is that Horace cleverly places it on the bloodiest battlefield of the resistance. He

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: but Sulla occupied a pass which was the only approach to the place, and blocked the road. Translation from the Loeb: H. White, *Appian: Roman History Vol III* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913).

¹⁸⁷ *RE* 58.

¹⁸⁸ *App. B. Civ.* 1.91-2.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.94; p. 25-6 above.

¹⁹⁰ *Cic. Cat.* 1.8.

¹⁹¹ *Gromatici Veteres* 1.238.10f.

alludes to the shrine at Aricia by naming the hills that shadow it. And these hills are, I argue, inseparable from the Italian lives claimed in the pass between them during six battles of the second Italian uprising. The second is that for any aficionado of Sabine affairs, nearby Tusculum must have been an almost sacred space: it was the hometown of M. Porcius Cato, the father of Roman sabinity.¹⁹²

In conclusion, this brief mention of *gelido Algido* deserves far more ink than Nisbet and Hubbard have spilled on it. Yes, Horace is brash to include this rough hill with more famous Artemisian haunts, but his reference is really so bold as to be nearly *audax*. In the middle of this otherwise lovely and pious piece, Horace has dropped a reminder of the bloody history which has brought Rome to this point: *bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem pestemque*.¹⁹³ Diana, whose hills were stained with the blood of Marians, now joins with Apollo to drive away war from Italy. Handy, is it not, that the Julians—staunchest Marians of them all—came from Alba Longa, and that Octavian was said to be sired by Apollo himself? Julius Caesar embraced his Marian connections and was loved for it. Octavian, thus beloved by the Diana of Alba Longa, embraced by the Italians who remembered Marius, and son of Apollo and Caesar, would ensure that no such disaster occurred again. Fixated as they are on parallels in Catullus 34, the commentators have missed this one. I submit that the *bellum lacrimosum* is not just any civil war; *gelido Algido* fixes it firmly in 82 BC before the gates of Praeneste.

26-27 In *Odes* 1.22, the poet again contrasts Italian simplicity with Greek poetic tradition and diction. A wolf ran from Horace *silva in Sabina*, locating the action within the Sabine hills. Yet a few lines later, Horace extends this rough country to include *militaris Daunias*. Daunia is a

¹⁹² For Cato's probable invention of the attitude toward Sabines in the later republics, see Farney, 105-11.

¹⁹³ Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.13-4: war with its tears and famine and pestilence with their misery

region of Apulia, as Pliny has it, and near to Horace's home Venusia.¹⁹⁴ Thus he connects the two as mutually wild and thereby insinuates that further commonalities exist as well.

28 Falernian wine, that very best of wines, appears again in 1.27 in the midst of very foreign dialogue. Horace calls this Falernian *severus*, an adjective Nisbet and Hubbard explain by citing Pliny's division of the wine into three subcategories. They claim that Horace uses *severus* to reference the category Pliny calls *austerum*.¹⁹⁵ I believe Horace is simply being funny. After the adjective *severi*, *Falerni* is the least likely of the wines to follow.

29-31 In *Odes* 1.28, Horace invokes three locations in Italy. The *litus Matinum* of line 3 is difficult to pin down. Nisbet and Hubbard explain with typical learnedness the various options, all of which are in Apulia. For this discussion, that will suffice. The *Venusiae silvae* of lines 26-7 must be near to Horace's boyhood home. This is the first reference to the Latin colony, the only one to rise up with Italy in the Social War. Tarentum, the *sacri Tarenti* of line 29, also lies within the boundaries of the *Italici*. Horace once again elevates places in the Italian countryside by selecting them as the scenes of high and difficult poetry.

32 In the next ode Horace again alludes to Rome by mention of the Tiber river.¹⁹⁶ As in 1.2, the Tiber reversing course or spilling its banks is an impossibility illustrating the absurdity of current events. In 1.2, it was civil war and Caesar's absence from Rome. Here, this hyperbole berates Iccius for leaving on campaign to the East. It is worth reflecting here that in 29 odes Horace has only once made reference to anything within the actual city of Rome, and that to monuments established by Numa Pompilius, Sabine king.

¹⁹⁴ Plin. *HN*. 3.103: *Hinc Apulia Dauniorum cognomina a duce Diomedis socero*

¹⁹⁵ Nisbet and Hubbard *ad loc.* and Plin. *HN* 14.8.63.

¹⁹⁶ Hor. *Carm.* 1.29.12.

33-36 *Odes* 1.31 sees only the second location in the city of Rome, the temple of Apollo recently finished on the Palatine hill.¹⁹⁷ But note the company it keeps. In the following lines Horace names three locations in rich, fertile, *excessive* regions of Italy and then rejects them all in favor of simplicity. I argue that Horace readily accepts Apollo, but by placing negative parts of the poem in regions loyal to Rome, he associates the location of the temple with avarice, sloth, and gluttony. The first of these, *aestuosae grata Calabriae armenta*, graze in the heel of Italy which, as we have seen (note 2), did not participate in the civil wars. The second, the *rura quae Liris quieta mordet aqua taciturnus amnis*, indicates Campania: the river was surely slowest in the *Paludes Minturnenses*.¹⁹⁸ The river would also be slow in the lovely valleys through which it flows in Latium and then as it divides Latium from Campania. Clearly Horace did not intend the reader to imagine the smaller, quicker Liris high above in the rustic Apennines. The third, the *Calena falce* which cuts the vine, recalls a second time the Calenian wine discussed above (note 54) and another part of rich Campania. These three regions are wealthy places, like the Palatine of Apollo's temple. Horace prefers to pray for simpler things than those associated with such lofty locations.

37-38 The *Apulis lupis* of *Odes* 1.33.7-8 recall the rough rusticity of Horace's home region and the source of so many Italian soldiers. The *Calabros sinus* of line 16 is of a stronger "otherness", a wilder association than Horace or Rome should find comfortable. Horace wishes to make Apulia only just wild enough to be a good foil for Rome. Calabria, unimportant to the *Socci*, can be as foreign as Cyrus himself.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.31.1.

¹⁹⁸ Respectively the lovely herds of sultry Calabria and the land gnawed by the quiet waters of the silent river Liris.

39-40 1.35, a poem to Fortuna, occurs throughout the Mediterranean. Yet, whenever Horace mentions Italian places, they are always in Latium. Antium, the poet's chosen epicenter of Fortuna's cult, is on the coast. But Horace's list of Fortuna's worshippers mixes Latium with a very foreign crowd:

Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae,
urbesque gentesque et **Latium ferox**
regumque matres barbarorum et
purpurei metuunt tyranni¹⁹⁹

The rough Dacian and Scythians famous in retreat,
the cities and peoples and fierce Latium,
the mothers of barbarian kings
and tyrants clad in purple

Note the adjective *ferox* juxtaposed with barbarian women and purple-clad tyrants. Horace here paints Latium with unkind colors. Yes, the cult of Fortune is universal. Yes, Horace infers that everyone appeals to the goddess. But he both identifies and condemns Latium by association with such a sordid crowd.

41 In the famous Cleopatra ode, Horace emphasizes the austerity of wartime by choosing a Caecuban of all wines for his illustration. Its excellence, discussed above, adds force to the difficulties imposed on Rome by Cleopatra's foreign hold over Antony.

42-44 The first ode of the second book contrasts Latin with Daunian soldiers:

Quis non **Latino sanguine pinguior**
campus sepulcris impia proelia

¹⁹⁹ Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.9-12.

testatur auditumque Medis

Hesperiae sonitum **ruinae**?

Qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris

ignara belli? Quod mare **Dauniae**

non decolorauere **caedes**?

Quae caret ora cruore nostro?²⁰⁰

What field is not fattened with Italian blood,

its graves testifying to impious battles

and the fall of Hesperia

heard by the Medes?

What sea, what rivers, have not known

this sorry war? What ocean has not been stained

by the slaughter of Daunians?

What shore is not soaked with our blood?

Latin blood has certainly watered many a field in impious battles, but I believe that, for Horace, civil wars are particularly irreligious because of the Daunian casualties. Note the use of the comparative *pinguior*. Latin blood makes the land fat and rich. In contrast the death of Daunians discolors, defaces, and disgraces the sea. One is clearly preferable to the other. After the distinction between *pinguior* and *decoloravere*, it should be obvious that *cruore nostro* refers to rebel and not Latin blood. The clash of Romans and Italians fighting against each other produced the deafening *Hesperiae sonitum ruinae*. Of the two types of casualties, Horace clearly feels one is less tragic.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.1.29-35.

45-46 The Falernian of *Odes* 2.3.8 becomes especially opulent when drunk *in remoto gramine*.²⁰¹ As Horace continues his discourse on the universality of death, he reminds Dellius that all of his wealthy possessions, including land along the Tiber, will fall to his heir someday. But the division is noteworthy. Horace separates Dellius' *coemptis saltibus, domo, and villa* distinctly.²⁰² This separation could have moral value. Just as Horace contrasts the pauper and the rich man in this poem, so the high pastures, town house, and country villa have separate moral values. Only the last can be lapped by the Tiber, whether in Etruria or Sabinum is unclear. Perhaps the passing Tiber adds some moral authority to the estate. Dellius will lose it just the same.

47-52 *Odes* 2.6 is full of Italian places. Horace here locates his ideal retirement, and it must be in rebel country:

Tibur Argeo positum colono
 sit meae sedes utinam senectae,
 sit modus lasso maris et uiarum
 militiaeque.
 Vnde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,
 dulce pellitis ouibus **Galaesi**
 flumen et **regnata** petam **Laconi**
rura Phalantho.
 Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnis
 angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto
 mella decedunt uiridique certat

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2.3.6.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 2.3.17-20: upland woods and pastures, house in Rome, villa in the country.

baca **Venafrum**,
 uer ubi longum tepidasque praebet
 Iuppiter brumas et amicus **Aulon**
 fertili Baccho minimum **Falernis**
 inuidet **uuis**.²⁰³

Let Tibur, founded by the settler from Argos,
 be the resting place of my old age. Weary as I am,
 let that be for me the end of roads and sea
 and soldiering.
 But if the cruel Fates keep me from Tibur,
 I shall make for the sweet waters of Galaesus
 with its leather-coated sheep, and the country kingdom
 once ruled by the Laconian Phalanthus.
 This, above all others, is the corner of the earth
 that smiles for me, where the honey does not yield
 to Hymettus and the olive is a match
 for green Venafrum,
 where Jupiter gives a long spring and warm winters,
 where the Aulon valley is a friend
 to fertile Bacchus and envies not at all
 the grapes of Falernum.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 2.6.5-20.

Tibur, founded by Catillus the Arcadian, we have already visited at length. But, should it be denied to Horace by the Fates, then the region around the Galaesus River will have to do. Nisbet and Hubbard cite parallels in Virgil, Propertius, Statius, and others.²⁰⁴ The river meanders near Tarentum, the *rura regna* of Spartan Phalanthus. Horace will use the adjective *Lacedaemonium* for the city at *Odes* 3.5.56. That Phalanthus founded Tarentum—at least in legend—is well attested.²⁰⁵ That Tarentum should be associated with the *Italici* can be confirmed through their very old relationship with the Samnites explained by Strabo and discussed at length by Emma Dench.²⁰⁶ At any rate, the city had a tumultuous history with Rome and should surely be included in the surrounding region as a definite participant in the Social War. The Greek Hymettus follows the Greek colony quite nicely. Venafrum, on the other hand, returns the reader to Italic places. The city sits in Samnite territory in the hills above Campania, another liminal spot to add to Horace's list of transitions. The Aulon valley must be near Tarentum.²⁰⁷ The Falernian grapes should be familiar to us by now.

Horace's geography in this ode divides nicely the desirable and the condemnable. The poet pines for Tibur, Tarentum, and the surrounds. He approves of locations where the land gives up its bounty with some difficulty and so encourages labor, that greatest of disciplines. Thus Hymettus, Venafrum, and the Aulon valley are far preferable to the Falernus Ager of Campania. Is it a coincidence that all of *good* Italy falls into Italic locales while the one unfavorable citation is to a vineyard loyal to Rome? Clearly Horace wishes the reader to associate ideal Rome in his own countryside, a sure step up for the newly enfranchised Italians.

²⁰⁴ R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace Odes, Book II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), *ad loc.*

²⁰⁵ Note for instance Diod. Sic. 8.21 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.1.2-4.

²⁰⁶ Strabo 5.4.12; Dench (1995), 53-61.

²⁰⁷ Mart. 13.125 and other citations by Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) *ad loc.*

53-54 In the very next ode, Horace calls attention to the rather vaguely located skies of Italy. I argue that they are Italic skies, absurd as that may seem. These lines provide a clue:

Quis te redonavit Quiritem

dis patriis **Italoque caelo**,

Pompei, meorum prime sodalium?²⁰⁸

And now who has made you a Roman again

and restored you to your Fathers' gods and Italian skies,

Oh Pompeius, first of my friends?

Horace's shorthand for the citizenship, *Quiris*, denotes the Sabine influence identified by Varro and cited above.²⁰⁹ And from where does this citizen hail? Well, if indeed he has association with the Pompeii of Brutus' army, then his *dis patriis* can only live in Picenum. And the Picentes, as we have seen, proudly joined *Italia* at the outbreak of the Social War.

Horace locates the Massic wine not in its native Campania but in as foreign a cup imaginable: *ciboria*.²¹⁰ As Nisbet and Hubbard note, this drinking vessel was unavoidably associated with Egypt: "No doubt the use of the artificial *ciborium* was diffused over the Greek East; the foreign vessel is a souvenir of the shared symposia of the past, and here pointedly contrasted with the juxtaposed *Massico*."²¹¹ I disagree with their conclusion. Horace rather intends the foreignness of the vessel to emphasize the absurd luxury of the wine. Massic wine, the Mons Massicus, and the people around it are as un-Roman and effeminate as this silly Egyptian cup.

²⁰⁸ Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.3-5.

²⁰⁹ n 29.

²¹⁰ Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.22.

²¹¹ Nisbet and Hubbard *ad loc.*

55 Barina must come from Barium, a town on the Apulian coast.²¹² Why Horace locates this poem there is a mystery outside the scope of this study.

56 The Mons Garganus makes a brief appearance in *Odes* 2.9.7-8 and waves the leaves of its oak trees pleasantly. Its Italian associations have nothing to do with its place in this list of natural phenomena except that Horace prefers wherever possible to deal with Italy instead of Rome.

57 The now famous Falernian wine makes yet another appearance, again one of excess.²¹³ Note Horace's contrast between the wealthy wine and the nearby stream, *praetereunte lympa*.²¹⁴ Indeed, the foreign Hellenism of this poem might do well with a dose of Italian water.

58 In *Odes* 2.13, Horace makes a Parthian soldier fear chains and a *robur*. But rather than a Roman dungeon, he makes it an *Italum robur*. Why? If a foreign enemy is to fear punishment at generally Roman hands, it might as well be at the hands of the toughest Romans, and therefore Italians.

59 In 2.14 the Caecuban wine makes its third appearance. Here it is more firmly than ever tied to pride and excess. Too stingy to offer it for priests at their banquets, Postumus' heir will finish the well-guarded and coveted wine.²¹⁵

60 Horace cleverly slings mud at Campania in *Odes* 2.15 where he describes the excesses of the wealthy: fish ponds broader than the Lucrine Lake will soon take the place of agricultural tracts. The lake sits near Baiae and its famous resorts, the southern-most defended position during the Social War. As Appian notes, Δείσασα οὖν ἡ βουλή, μὴ ἐν κύκλῳ γεινόμενος αὐτοῖς

²¹² Hor. *Carm.* 2.8.2.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 2.11.19.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.11.20.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.14.25-8.

ὁ πόλεμος ἀφύλακτος ἦ, τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ.²¹⁶ Cumae certainly includes the neighboring Lucrine and Baiae. The lake should then be associated both with the famously ridiculous fisheries of the wealthy and with the Roman line of defense in the Social War. Neither is meant to be flattering.

61-62 In *Odes* 2.18, our poet carefully skirts the line of censure as he condemns the extravagance of an unnamed friend, probably Maecenas.²¹⁷ Naturally Horace's own home, ambiguously named *mea domo* in line two and so left out of the table, becomes clearly located in the *unicis Sabinis*.²¹⁸ This presumably simple locale contrasts with the ivory, gold, and foreign woods of the unnamed fool's home. Among this man's greatest crimes is that he *marisque Bais obstrepentis urges summovere litora*.²¹⁹ This absurd effort Horace conveniently locates in an area of absurdity, and one loyal to Rome during the recent unpleasantness.

63 In the final ode of book two, the poet fancifully morphs into a bird-bard and soars through the air. This poetic allusion to fame touches on even the Dacian, whom Horace memorably characterizes as one *qui dissimulat metum Marsae cohortis*.²²⁰ As we have already seen (note 15), only a fool would underestimate the Marsians. At the opening of book two Horace made clear his preference for Daunians over Latins; now at its close he reminds the reader of those fierce Marsians. As ever, his program of Italian promotion thrives.

64-66 The "Roman Odes" have long been recognized as a distinct unit within the larger work. Horace's opening reference therein is his now familiar workaround for Rome: the Campus

²¹⁶ App. *B. Civ.* 1.49: The Senate, fearing lest they should be surrounded by war, and unable to protect themselves, garrisoned the sea-coast from Cumae to the city.

²¹⁷ Nisbet and Hubbard (1978), 288-90.

²¹⁸ Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.14: the one and only Sabine hills.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.18.20-1: struggling to push back the shore of the roaring sea at Baiae's beach.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.20.17-8: who pretends not to fear a cohort of Marsians.

Martius.²²¹ He next names the much-discussed Falernian wine.²²² Here it illustrates the wealth Horace rejects for his third geographical marker, his own Sabine valley.²²³ These three places form a moral discourse in themselves. Horace locates the action on the political battleground outside Rome, the Campus Martius, and then explains that wealth and success will not make happiness. In fact, even Falernian wine will not sooth sorrow. So why should he trade his rustic life for something more extravagant? Death comes to us all. By establishing the moral ground of his argument in Sabine country, Horace further entrenches Sabinum as the *locus* of moral correctness.

67-69 Finally Horace uses the proper name of Rome in *Odes* 3.3. But this is a slippery usage. In the poem he refers to Rome three times: *Romamque*, *Capitolium*, and *Roma*.²²⁴ But all of this is within the context of the Trojan War. This is Etruscan Rome to which Horace offers these apt warnings. He admonishes the city against gold in line 49 and then gives this injunction:

Sed **bellicosus** fata **Quiritibus**

hac lege dico, ne nimium pii

rebusque fidentes aviate

tecta velint reparare Troiae.²²⁵

But I decree this fate for the warlike Quirites

on condition that in excess of piety or confidence

they do not decide to rebuild

their ancestral homes in Troy.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 3.1.11.

²²² *Ibid.*, 3.1.43-4.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 3.1.47.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.3.38, 42, and 44 respectively.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.3.57-60.

Horace thus neatly ties the Quirites—Sabine derivation—to the adjective *bellicosus* while simultaneously linking the Trojan Etruscans with excessive piety and confidence. All excess is undesirable, even if of piety. When Horace finally turns to the city of Rome, it is Etruscan Rome with all of its proverbial effeminacy that he discusses.²²⁶ The city is yet again a site of cultural corruption.

70-78 *Odes* 3.4 is the single most geographically dense in the collection. Horace flits all over Italy but sticks to his program of promoting Italia and condemning Rome. His first location, *Vulture in Apulo*, is a mountain just west of his own Venusia.²²⁷ Thus the *nutricis Apuliae* of the next line follows nicely,²²⁸ as do nearby *celsae nidum Acherontiae*,²²⁹ *saltusque Bantinos*,²³⁰ and the *arvum pingue humilis Forenti*.²³¹ All of these are within a 10 mile radius of Venusia and so known to Horace if not to anyone else. Raising these humble locations to the lofty literature of Greek meters is a bold if typically Horatian thing to do.

Lines 21-4 introduce an interesting problem:

Vester, Camenae, vester in arduos

tollor **Sabinos**, seu mihi frigidum

Praeneste seu **Tibur** supinum

seu liquidate placuere **Baiae**.

I am yours, Camenae, yours as I climb

into the steep Sabine hills or delight in cold

²²⁶ On which see M.B. Bittarello, “The Construction of Etruscan ‘Otherness’ in Latin Literature,” *Greece & Rome* 56.2 (2009): 211-33.

²²⁷ Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.9.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.4.10: my nurse, the land of Apulia

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.4.14: the nest of lofty Aceruntia

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.4.15: the Bantine woods

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 3.4.16: down in the rich ploughlands of Forentum

Praeneste or the valley of Tibur

or limpid Baiae.

It is tempting to see this as an inclusive catalogue of Italy. After all, Horace flies from the Sabine country to Latin Praeneste and Tibur to Campanian Baiae. He presents all of them as excellent locations. But there is more here than meets the eye. Yes, Horace does invoke the distinctly Italian muses, but his Italy is more rebellious than inclusive. Praeneste, as we have seen, was the site of the most devastating battles of the Sullan civil war of 83-82 BC. For Horace to mention it in this context is to twist the knife a little deeper. *Frigidum* indeed. Tibur was a Sabine city and also involved in the same conflict. And Baiae, for all its picturesque qualities, was the southernmost fortification of the Romans during the Social War. Even in his catalogue of Italy, Horace manages to recall the war of northern aggression. What does this mean for the rest of the ode? I submit that to be part of Italy and under the influence of the Camenae is to be one of the *Italici*.

79-82 *Odes* 3.5 contains some of the sharpest pro-Italy rhetoric in the collection:

Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara
 turpis maritus uixit et hostium,
 pro curia inuersique mores!
 consenuit socerorum in armis
 sub rege Medo **Marsus** et **Apulus**
 anciliorum et nominis et togae
 oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
 incolumi Ioue et urbe Roma?²³²

²³² *Ibid.*, 3.5.5-12.

Has the soldier of Crassus lived in disgrace as the husband
of a barbarian wife, and have Marsian and Apulian grown old
--shame on the Senate and our changed ways—
serving the king of the Medes,
bearing arms for their enemies, their fathers-in-law,
and forgetting the sacred shields, their own names,
the toga, and eternal Vesta,
while Jupiter lives and the city of Rome still stands?

Horace opens with a condemnation of M. Licinius Crassus' defeat at Carrhae and the regime's failure to rescue Rome's brave soldiers. And whom does he select to represent the wronged legionnaires? Why, Marsians and Apulians of course. But Horace cannot leave it there. He links these Italians with the Sabines through the *anciliorum*, sacred shields under the care of the Salii. The first *ancile* fell from heaven in the reign of Numa. Eleven copies were made. This odd reference can only call Numa's reign to mind, as much an effort of Sabinizing the passage as mentioning Vesta whose temple the Sabine king built on the *Via Sacra*.²³³

The poem, it turns out, is a virtuosic eulogy of M. Atilius Regulus, hero of the First Punic War. I will discuss his ancestry in greater detail in the next chapter. Suffice it to say that he is himself a Sabine from Nomentum. To emphasize his sabinity and further connect it to Italian worthiness, Horace gives him two possible outlets for his imagined exit from Rome:

tendens **Venafronos** in agros
aut Lacedaemonium **Tarentum**.²³⁴

²³³ R.G.M. Nisbet and N. Rudd, *A Commentary on Horace Odes, Book III* (Oxford: University Press, 2004). Cf. Livy 1.20.4 and Ogilvie *ad loc.* On Vesta, see n. 22 above.

²³⁴ Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.55-6.

and he was leaving for the Venafran fields
 or Lacedaemonian Tarentum

Both Venafrum and Tarentum, as we have seen, are firmly within the borders of Italia. The first sits in the Samnite hills above Campania, the second near the Iapyges and Venusia. Thus Horace ties a Sabine hero to two Italian locales, further connecting them to their more acceptable counterparts.

83 The famous *Odes* 3.6 brings about the quintessential equation of *Italici* and Sabini:

Non his iuuentus orta parentibus
 infecit aequor sanguine Punico
 Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
 Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;
 sed rusticorum mascula militum
 proles, **Sabellis** docta **ligonibus**
 uersare glaebas et seuerae
 matris ad arbitrium recisos
 portare fustis,²³⁵

Not from such parents sprang the men
 who stained the sea with Punic blood
 and cut down Pyrrhus, mighty Antiochus
 and the deadly Hannibal.

That was the manly stock of farmer soldiers
 taught to turn the sod

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.6.33-41.

with Samnite mattocks and cut and carry logs
 under the authority
 of a strict mother

These are the perfect Roman soldiers, the manly offspring of a rustic farmer-soldier, and yet they have been trained not with *Sabinis ligonibus*, but with *Sabellis*. The other would fit the meter just fine. But by using the inclusive *Sabellus*, Horace manages to encompass a huge group of rural Italians, all of which rose up against Rome during the Social War. Rome's best and most moral soldiers are her former enemies, and she should look to them for an example.

84-5 Now that the primary message of the collection has been delivered, Horace has no trouble referring to Etruria. In 3.7 he again mentions athletic training on the Campus Martius, but this time the Tiber becomes *Tusco alveo*.²³⁶

86 A reference to Etruscan decadence is still within the poet's grasp, however. The *Tyrrhenus parens* of 3.10 implies the promiscuity of his daughter.²³⁷

87 Athletic effort again occurs in and around the Tiber.²³⁸

88 The famous and mysterious *Fons Bandusiae* has frequently been assumed to flow on or near Horace's Sabine estate.²³⁹ If indeed it does, the poet has located yet another idyllic scene in firmly rustic country.

89 That Horace calls the Social War the *Marsum duellum* is only fitting.²⁴⁰ It emphasizes the role of the fiercest participants while claiming the power of naming for the losing—if morally superior—side.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.7.26-8: Tuscan river.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.10.12.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.12.7.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.13.1. Cf. Nisbet and Rudd *ad loc.*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.14.18.

90 The wool of Luceria features in 3.15, and Luceria itself featured in the Social War on the winning side—a rustic location for a rustic economy.²⁴¹

91-92 In *Odes* 3.16, Horace contrasts his own poor holdings in Italia with rich and fertile tracts in Roman land: the *impiger Apulus* of line 26 opposes the *Calabrae apes* of line 33.²⁴² However productive and significant bees may be, they are on the wrong side of the Social War map. Yet Horace does not suffer poverty as a result; he is content with Italic frugality.

93-95 *Odes* 3.17 lumps together three references to Campania in an ambiguous sort of context. Since they are associated with a broad and wealthy domain, I will classify them with the pejorative mentions of Campania. The *Formiarum moenia*, Marica, and the Liris river are all on the wrong end of Campania for Horace to treat them nicely.²⁴³

96 *Odes* 3.19 contains the only direct reference to the land of the Paeligni: *Paelignis frigoribus*.²⁴⁴ Horace cannot escape this cold, a rugged descriptor for a rebel region.

97 Massican wine makes its final appearance as a choice for a special occasion.²⁴⁵

98-99 In *Odes* 3.23, Horace juxtaposes the wealthy religion of Latium with the simpler sort in his own countryside. Of course, that he chooses the Alban hills and Algidus in particular for his Latium reminds the reader of a different kind of blood spilt.²⁴⁶ All in all this is a good rebuke of the Latins.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3.15.14.

²⁴² The tireless Apulian and the Calabrian bees.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3.17.6, 7, and 8 respectively. The walls of Formiae.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.19.8.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.21.5.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.23.9 and 11.

100-1 Horace condemns excessive building again in 3.24, this time in the *Tyrrhenum et mare Punicum*, before also censuring the wealth and greed of the Capitol in an effective rebuke of Roman elites.²⁴⁷

102 The Lanuvian fields in Latium make an appearance with religious overtones in *Odes* 3.27.2-3, but not in a particularly sinister way. Again, after the Roman Odes, Horace somewhat abandons his earlier ferocity.

103 The Caecuban wine makes its final appearance in *Odes* 3.28.3.

104-8 *Odes* 3.29 is Horace's grand sendoff for Maecenas. The opening line quickly recalls 1.1.1, but after the Roman Odes Horace has no problem with *Tyrrhena regum progenies*, the Etruscanness having been implied in the earlier ode.²⁴⁸ Horace offers his patron three locations for lingering: *Tibur*, *Aefulae declive arvum*, and *Telegoni iuga parricidae*.²⁴⁹ The first two are in Sabinum as we have noted. The third is a learned reference to Tusculum in Latium which suffered much the same fate as Praeneste at the hands of Sulla. All of these locations are therefore thoroughly immersed in Social War discourse. That they precede an injunction to abandon luxury only enhances their position as moral high ground. Maecenas receives his final nod in line 35 with the Etruscan sea.

109-12 The final ode puts a neat geographical cap on the collection. Horace's almost required reference to Rome occurs in lines 8-9 as the *pontifex* climbs the *Capitolium* with *tacita virgine*. Thus while nodding to the Capitol Horace includes the virgins installed by Sabine Numa. Horace's fame, he claims, will grow in specific places that speak to generalities: *Aufidus*, a

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.24.4 and 45: Tyrrhenian and Punic seas.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.39.1: Offspring of Etruscan kings

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.29.6-8: Tibur, the sloping fields of Aefula, and the ridges of Telegonus the parricide.

mountain in Samnium and *Daunus* in Apulia.²⁵⁰ These are fitting bookends to his programmatic statements. Finally, Horace signs off not with a claim to have set Lesbian songs to Roman meters, but *ad Italos modos*.²⁵¹ Italy, better Italia, is the home Horace claims, and the *Italici* will remember him best.

Wine

Horace's discussion of wine merits its own section. A survey of the literature would reveal eclectic and meandering studies that concentrate on the symposiastic nature of Horace's poetry and his hotly contended level of inebriation.²⁵² I propose that the Italian wines function quite simply: all but the Sabine frequently stand as symbols of excess, wealth, and Roman oppression.

The following table lists each of the Italian wines in the odes with citations and geographical markers:

Wine	Text	Geography
Caecuban	C. 1.20.9, 1.37.5, 2.14.25, 3.28.3; Epod. 9.1, 9.36; Sat. 2.8.15	Latium
Calenian	C. 1.20.9, 1.31.9-10, 4.12.14	Campania
Falernian	C. 1.20.10, 1.27.10, 2.6.19, 2.11.19-20, 3.1.43; Sat. 1.10.24, 2.2.15, 2.3.115, 2.4.19, 2.4.24, 2.4.55, 2.8.16; Epist. 1.18.91	Campania
Formian	C. 1.20.11	Latium
Massican	C. 1.1.19, 2.7.21, 3.21.5; Sat. 2.4.51	Campania
Sabine	C. 1.9.8, 1.20.1	Sabinum

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.30.10-11.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 3.30.13-14: to Italian measures.

²⁵² For example: S. Commager, "The Function of Wine in Horace's Odes," *TAPA* 88 (1957): 68-80; A.P. McKinlay, "The Wine Element in Horace," *CJ* 42.3 (1946): 161-7; *Idem*, "The Wine Element in Horace (Part II)," *CJ* 42.4 (1947): 229-35.

I have already discussed at length the geographical location for the production of each wine. All but the Sabine were produced in locations loyal to Rome during the Social War. While *Odes* 1.20 is perhaps the best example of the phenomenon I wish to identify, the same principles apply to the other odes mentioned in the table. In *Odes* 1.20, Horace contrasts his Sabine wine with four wines from Latium and Campania in a sort of chiasmus as noted above. While Nisbet and Hubbard declare *ad loc.* that the Formian is also a famous wine, I can find no reference to it outside of this Horatian ode. It may be a famous wine region now, but it cannot have been during any of the republics. Horace perhaps includes it only to provide balance and another spot on the right side of the Liris. All of these wines, in any case, are richer and more expensive than the simple, rough Sabine. And this, I argue, is indicative of the regions from which they hail.

Calenian wine is perhaps a good case study. The only other time it appears in the collection, this wine is a symbol of decadence in contrast with Horace's simple diet and lifestyle. Likewise the Caecuban and Falernian are a shorthand for excess. Not all of the passages in the table are the same, however. My argument is simply that these wines *frequently* are placeholders for *luxuria*. Horace participates himself in such indulgences (as with the Caecuban in 3.28.3), but he usually intends for the wine, its location, and its use to be pejorative in connotation.

Conclusion

Examined in this way, Horace's geographical choices become quite telling. Of the 112 locations in Italy, none refer to areas under Roman control during the Social War in anything approximating a pleasant way. Lanuvium in *Odes* 3.27 (number 102) is neutral at best. All others can be read as pejorative, and I firmly believe they should be. Horace likewise treats Etruria harshly: of the six locations in Etruria, all but one condemn the Etruscan influence on Rome. Maecenas might not have been terribly flattered. In *Odes* 1.20.7-8 and 3.29 (numbers 20, 104,

and 108), Maecenas himself suffers for his luxury. In 3.10 (86) an unnamed Etruscan is overly prideful, and in 1.2 (4) it is the Etruscan shore which threatens ancient Sabine monuments. The only pleasant Etruscan location is barely in Etruria at all: *Odes* 3.7.28 almost flatteringly calls the place of athletic competition the *Tusco alveo*. Horace consistently condemns Rome and her allies for extravagance and *luxuria*. Not all of the rebukes are perfectly plain, but I believe I have shown that nearly every mention of Rome and Etruria bears the mark of Horace's cutting remonstrations.

In contrast all but a handful of locations in Sabinum and Italia deliberately illustrate the positive attributes of both the regions and the people who inhabit them. Three references to the Tiber in 1.2, 1.29, and 3.12 (3, 32, and 87) can only be neutral. The only other uncommitted location is the Mons Garganus in 2.9 (56). Barine in 2.8 (55) is simply unfathomable. Beyond these five exceptions, in every reference to Sabinum or Italia Horace skillfully praises his fellow rebels and their austere cousins in the Sabine hills. In total, 25 references praise Sabinum, 32 laud Italia, and 44 condemn Rome and her allies (five in Etruria). This clearly goes far beyond coincidence. Horace has a program.

Horace deliberately separates Italy along Social War lines in his geographical choices. This dialogue confirms the Sabines in their long-standing position of moral foil for Rome and shores up their longevity with the introduction of still-wild *Italici* and all their inherent otherness. Likewise Horace includes the *Italici* in the lofty status of the Sabines, thus filtering their hostility through familiar faces. By equating Sabine geography with Italian geography, Horace fortifies this propagandistic effort in a previously unremarked way. And as he does so, the poet successfully sets himself up as a *vates Sabinus* and preaches to the *Italici* until they join his

congregation. Rome needs a great deal of correction, but Sabinum is no longer the only ideal Italy.

Chapter Three

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men

In addition to geographical references, Horace employs ethnic origins in his dialogue of elevating the *Italici* to the level of the Sabines and setting both against Rome in the contest of moral excellence. I treated ethnic groups such as the Marsi, Apulians, and other *Italici* along with their home regions in the previous chapter. Here I shall address individuals.

Many have already identified and dealt with the proper names appearing in *Odes* 1-3. Nisbet and Hubbard, and later Nisbet and Rudd, for example, have done an excellent job identifying the addressees of all of the poems.²⁵³ David West pays them close attention in his series of commentaries as well.²⁵⁴ Most recently, D.T. Barber's 2010 dissertation "Speaker and Addressee in Horace's *Odes*" provides thorough and current bibliography.²⁵⁵ With these thorough efforts already read into the record, I will not discuss the historical, legendary, and poetic individuals to whom Horace addressed the *Odes*. Rather, I will focus on his use of *exempla* in *Odes* 1.12 and his treatment of Etruscans vis-à-vis Maecenas.

Odes* 1.12, *Quem Virum

In *Odes* 1.12, Horace turns the reader's attention from Greek men, heroes, and gods to a sweeping catalogue of exemplary Romans culminating in the godlike Augustus. Whom should he praise? Beginning with Romulus, this Roman section lists 12 famous men before finally praising the Julii and Augustus himself:

²⁵³ Nisbet and Hubbard, (1970), *Idem* (1978), Nisbet and Rudd (2004).

²⁵⁴ West, (1995), *Id.*, (1998), *Id.*, (2002).

²⁵⁵ D.T. Barber, "Speaker and Addressee in Horace's *Odes*" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2010).

Romulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem, an superbos
Tarquini fascēs, dubito, an **Catonis** 35

nobile letum.

Regulum et **Scauros** animaeque magnae
 prodigum **Paulum** superante Poeno
 gratus insigni referam Camena

Fabriciumque. 40

Hunc et incomptis **Curium** capillis
 utilem bello tulit et **Camillum**
 saeva paupertas et avitus apto

cum lare fundus.

Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo 45
 fama **Marcelli**; micat inter omnis

Iulium sidus, velut inter ignis

luna minores.²⁵⁶

After these I wonder whether to speak of Romulus

or the peaceful reign of Numa Pompilius

or the proud rods of Tarquin

or Cato's noble death.

With the glorious muse of Italy I shall gratefully sing

²⁵⁶ Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.33-48.

of Regulus and the Scauri, of Paulus prodigal
of his mighty spirit in the Carthaginian victory
and of Fabricius
like rough-bearded Curius sound in battle,
and like Camillus, he was born
of cruel poverty on his father's farm
with household gods to match.
The fame of Marcellus grows like a tree
over time unseen; the Julian Star shines
among them all like the moon
among the lesser fires.

Such a catalogue of men is drawn from “the regular saints’ gallery of Roman rhetoric.”²⁵⁷ The gallery of *exempla* held many more than just these 12, certainly. Why did Horace choose to name *these* individuals and *gentes* in a poem ultimately praising Augustus? As West observed:

The list of Roman warriors is not a list of unbroken successes. Regulus was famous for being tortured to death by the Carthaginians, Lucius Aemelius Paulus for his defeat at Cannae, Marcus Aemelius Scaurus and Fabricius for their frugality. It is as though Horace is providing an austere setting for the brilliance of Augustus.²⁵⁸

Yes, it is an austere list, but not for the reasons West assumes. In fact, to the question “Whom shall I praise?” Horace gives a surprisingly ethnic answer.

²⁵⁷ Austin (1960), 103: “their names must have worn thin with time, yet we must remember the Roman passion for *exempla*, “precedents”, which made “history” an essential part of rhetoric.”

²⁵⁸ West (1995), 59.

Almost every man mentioned came from a Sabine or Italic family. Furthermore, this list of rustic men finishes with M. Claudius Marcellus, scion of that most anciently Sabine clan. Another Marcus Marcellus, inevitably implied in the praise of his famous ancestor, had just married Julia. And so, by choosing Sabine and Sabellian men to praise, Horace's enumeration becomes a promotion of the ethnic virtues of the newest addition to the Julian family. Appendix IV enumerates other lists drawn from this same pool and should provide helpful reference for the frequency or infrequency with which these men traditionally appear.

The list of Romans begins with Romulus, as it must. He is the logical transition from the gods and demi-gods in the Greek section of the preceding lines to mortal Roman heroes. That he is followed by Numa is not too surprising—they appear together often, probably to illustrate two different facets of early Rome: military might and religious piety; they stand in for king and priest.²⁵⁹ Vergil places them together in his own catalogue of Roman history. First Anchises lauds Romulus:

Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater
 educet. viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae
 et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
 en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma
 imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,
 septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,
 felix prole virum.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Note for example passage from Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum* below and Verg. *Aen.* 6.809-12.

²⁶⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6.778-784. Translation from D. West, *The Aeneid* (London: Penguin, 1990).

[Romulus] will be of the stock of Assaracus, and his mother, will be Ilia. Do you see how the double crest stand on his head and the Father of the Gods himself already honours him with his own emblems? Look at him, my son. Under his auspices will be founded Rome in all her glory, whose empire shall cover the earth and whose spirit shall rise to the height of Olympus. Her single city will enclose seven hills within its walls and she will be blessed in the abundance of her suns.

Note that Romulus' greatness depends entirely on his military might. Everything accomplished under his auspices enlarges the territory of Rome. Anchises then digresses on the glories of the Julii, but when he returns to the list of Romans it is with Numa:

nosco crinis incanaque menta

regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem

fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra

missus in imperium magnum.²⁶¹

I know that white hair and beard. This is the man who will first found our city on laws, the Roman king called from the little town of Cures in the poor land of the Sabines into a mighty empire.

Thus Numa commands the more pious parts of Roman government, and even Vergil implies that his religious and civil fervor come from his origins in *Curibus parvis* and the *paupere terra*.

Rustic men made Rome great, so Numa must be included in both Vergil's and Horace's catalogues.

²⁶¹ Ver. *Aen.* 6.809-12.

Tarquin's place has been somewhat problematic, but with those *superbos fascis* he can be no other than Tarquinius Superbus.²⁶² He is hardly a Roman hero, but Horace's first stanza may not be entirely heroic, as shall be seen with Cato. Perhaps including Tarquin is a rough reminder to Maecenas of the unsavory role of Etruscans in Roman history. This will be discussed further below.

The next name is a welcome one. Cato the Censor should be at home in such company. Note that he appears six times in the lists in Appendix IV. With the enjambment of *nobile letum*, however, Horace surprises the reader: this is not the elder Cato but Uticensis. This Cato's inclusion has been something of a puzzle. Nisbet and Hubbard call it a "notorious stumbling block."²⁶³ Such noble company make odd bedfellows for the bitter enemy of Caesar, particularly in a poem ultimately praising Augustus. However, much has been written on the tendency toward Cato's praise even shortly after his death: as Brown notes, "After his death, the name Cato became a political football, inspiring a series of tendentious pamphlets *pro* (written by Cicero, Brutus, and M. Fadius) and *contra* (Caesar)."²⁶⁴ He concludes that the mention of Cato would not have aggravated Augustus, and in fact this Porcius serves as an excellent example of the last days of the Republic. Cato the younger is indeed a marvelous *exemplum* for old Republican virtue in the face of recent change—changes from which Augustus tried to distance himself.

These first four figures, then, are not so much a list of Roman heroes as a sweeping overview of history, what Brown calls "a skeleton synopsis of Roman history featuring the

²⁶² Nisbet and Hubbard, caught up perhaps in his unheroic nature, put his place down Roman pride in his extensive empire (*ad loc*). Brown's explanation below is far better.

²⁶³ *Ad loc*.

²⁶⁴ R.D. Brown, "'Catonis Nobile Letum' and the List of Romans in Horace 'Odes' 1.12." *Phoenix* 45.4 (1991): 332.

pivotal moments”: the foundation with Romulus, the monarchy under Numa, the expulsion of the kings and founding of the Republic with Tarquin, and the continuing, old-school austerity in the person of Cato.²⁶⁵ Of the four, Horace perhaps had no choice except to start with Romulus, but he scores points for his rustic discourse with the other three: Numa and Cato exemplify all things Sabine and naming Tarquin jabs strongly at the Etruscan opposition. What Horace does with the rest of his catalogue cements this reading of the poem.

M. Atilius Regulus receives a fuller treatment in *Odes* 3.5. The story of his return to Carthage and subsequent torture and death illustrates stoic virtue in the face of misfortune. The origins of the Atilii are unclear, but there is enough evidence to claim that he was Sabine. Presumably the cognomen Regulus refers to descent, as the Aemilii claimed, from Numa the king.²⁶⁶ One coin, issued by an Atilius, may help establish the family’s ethnic claims. The moneyer, one L. Atilius usually called Nomentanus, breaks from established practice when he replaces ROMA on the reverse of the coin with NOM for *Nomentanus*. This “astonishing” substitution advertises this Atilius’ town of origin: Nomentum, a Sabine town situated about six miles east of the Tiber and six miles north of the Anio.²⁶⁷ Unfortunately, L. Atilius is not demonstrably related to any other Atilii, although many also use the praenomen Lucius. Nevertheless, this suggestion of pride in Sabine heritage may apply to M. Atilius Regulus as well.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 339.

²⁶⁶ Kajanto, (1965), 316f; T.P. Wiseman, “Rome and the Resplendent Aemilii” in *Id.* (1998) 183-4.

²⁶⁷ Astonishing in M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge: University Press, 1974), 261, where he calls it (coin 225) “unexplained”. Farney solves the problem: “I would suggest that this man is showing great pride in his origins by replacing Nomentum for Roma on the coin issue.” He labels the coin E1 in his appendix (p 253-4).

As further evidence, in his *Pro Roscio Amerino* Cicero invokes another Atilius to demonstrate the absurdity of accusing a rustic man of parricide:

Ne tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus, si illis temporibus natus esses, cum ab aratro arcessebantur, qui consules fierent. Etinam qui praesse agro colendo flagitium putes, profecto illum Atilium, quem sua manu spargentem semen qui missi errant convenerunt, hominem turpissimum atque inhonestissimum iudicares.²⁶⁸

In truth, Erucius, you would have made an absurd accuser if you had been born in the times when men were summoned from the plough to be made consuls. For, seeing that you think it a crime to superintend the cultivation of the land, you would assuredly have considered the well-known Atilius, whom the deputation found sowing his field with his own hand, a most base and dishonourable man.

A general called from the plow is about as rustically Roman as it gets, and certainly Sabine. It is noteworthy that in the “Roman Odes” Horace offers two possibilities for Regulus’ exit homeward: Venafrum and Lacedaemonian Tarentum.²⁶⁹ Perhaps his family had estates in both places.²⁷⁰ Venafrum sits at the junction of the Apennines and Samnium with Campania and Latium, another transitional spot on the borders of rebellious Socii. Spartan Tarentum had long association with the Samnites.²⁷¹ Of course, Spartan ancestry for Sabines was asserted by

²⁶⁸ Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 50. Translation from the Loeb: J.H. Freese, *Cicero: Pro Quintio; Pro Roscio Amerino; Pro Roscio Comoedio; The Three Speeches on the Agrarian Law Against Rullus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930).

²⁶⁹ Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.56.

²⁷⁰ Nisbet and Rudd, *ad loc.*, note two family members with cognomina suggesting origins near Venafrum.

²⁷¹ For extensive discussion and bibliography see Dench (1995), 53-61.

many.²⁷² Whether from Sabine Nomentum, liminal Venafrum, or Spartan/Sabine Tarentum, M. Atilius Regulus embodies all of Horace's geographic ambitions.

The Aemilii Scauri, famously proud of their Sabine heritage,²⁷³ are the only family represented in the plural. Why? It is usually assumed that the famous Scaurus, Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, is meant, along with his son whom he had killed after an act of cowardice:²⁷⁴

M. vero Scaurus, lumen ac decus patriae, cum apud Athesim flumen impetu
Cimbrorum Romani equites pulsi deserto <consule> Catulo urbem pavidam
repetent, consternationis eorum participi filio suo misit qui diceret libentius se
in acie eius interfecti ossibus occurrerem quam ipsum tam deformis fugae reum
visurum: itaque, si quid modo reliquum in pectore verecundiae superesset,
conspectum degenerati patris vitaturum: recordatione enim iuventae suae qualis
M. Scauro aut habendus aut spernendus filius esset admonebatur. quo nuntio
accepto iuuenis coactus est fortius adversus semet ipsum gladio uti quam adversus
hostes usus fuerat.²⁷⁵

A body of Roman horsemen who were routed by a Cimbrian attack at the river
Athesis fled in terror to Rome, deserting Consul Catulus. One of them,
participating in their panic, was the son of M. Scaurus, the light and ornament of

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 86-7.

²⁷³ See my previous discussion on page 7 of the first chapter.

²⁷⁴ Nisbet and Hubbard *ad loc.*: "Most editors assume that Horace is referring to the most famous bearer of the name, M. Aemilius Scaurus, *cos.* 115, *cens.* 109, and *princeps senatus*. His reputation for frugality and integrity went back to his own autobiography; cf. Val. Max. 4.4.11 'M. autem Scaurus quantum a patre hereditatem acceperit in primo libro eorum quos de vita sua tres scripsit refert'. Cicero speaks warmly of his character (*Font.* 24, *Brut.* 111), and Valerius Maximus recounts how when his son showed cowardice against the Cimbri Scaurus drove him to suicide (5.8.4)."

²⁷⁵ Val. Max. 5.8.4 Translation from the Loeb: D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Valerius Maximus: Memorable Doings and Sayings*, vol 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

his country, who sent him the following message: he would rather come upon the bones of his son killed in action than see him in person guilty of so disgraceful a flight; therefore, if he had any remnant of shame left in his heart, he would avoid the sight of the father from whom he had degenerated. For he was admonished by the recollection of his own youth what sort of a son M. Scaurus should have or should spurn. Receiving this message, the young man was driven to use his sword more bravely against himself than he had used it against the enemy.

However, in all the times Cicero mentions the elder Scaurus, he never once tells that story. It is an argument from silence, but I do not believe Cicero knew the tale of the young Scaurus' execution. This ode might be its earliest record. Certainly Valerius Maximus knew it,²⁷⁶ but he recorded it under Tiberius and after the Aemilii had fallen on hard and unpopular times. At any rate these Aemilii Scauri would be poor examples of great commanders. Certainly Cicero called the elder Scaurus *hominem gravissimum, civem egregium, fortissimum senatorem*,²⁷⁷ but Sallust did not share his rather generous opinion: *homo nobilis impiger factiosus, avidus potentiae honoris divitiarum*.²⁷⁸ And the younger Scaurus was famous for nothing but extortion and his rock collection.²⁷⁹ Even Cicero had nothing nice to say:

Cn. Octavio, qui primus ex illa familia consul factus est, honori fuisse accepimus, quod praeclaram aedificasset in Palatio et plenam dignitatis domum; quae cum vulgo viseretur, suffragata domino, novo homini, ad consulatum putabatur; hanc Scaurus demolitus accessionem adiunxit aedibus. Itaque ille in suam domum consulatum primus attulit, hic, summi et clarissimi viri filius, in domum

²⁷⁶ Val. Max. 5.8.4.

²⁷⁷ Cic. *Mur.* 17.36: “a most serious man, a famous citizen, and a powerful senator”

²⁷⁸ Sal. *Iug.* 15: “a noble, diligent, and factious man, greedy for power, honor, and riches.”

²⁷⁹ Plin. *H.N.* 37.5.

multiplicatam non repulsam solum rettulit, sed ignominiam etiam et calamitatem.²⁸⁰

We have heard that Cn. Octavius—the first of that family to be elected consul—distinguished himself by building upon the Palatine an attractive and imposing house. Everybody went to see it, and it was thought to have gained votes for the owner, a new man, in his canvass for the consulship. That house Scaurus demolished, and on its site he built an addition to his own house. Octavius, then, was the first of his family to bring the honour of a consulship to his house; Scaurus, though the son of a very great and illustrious man, brought to the same house, when enlarged, not only defeat, but disgrace and ruin.

Surely the idiot son of a corrupt general cannot be the second Scaurus of the catalogue.

Some have sought other Scauri to make up the plural. Nisbett and Hubbard creatively insert one of the Aurelii Scauri to fill the gap, namely the Marcus Aurelius Scaurus who was captured and killed following the battle of Arausio.²⁸¹ His circumstance certainly fits the bill—great self-sacrifice in the name of the state—but Aurelius Scaurus appears nowhere in Cicero. He is, before this ode, an *exemplum* of nothing. And in any case, combining two Scauri from different *gentes* seems an unnecessarily outlandish stretch.

I believe a different explanation is in order: the Scauri are plural because they take the typical place of the Scipiones: Gnaeus and Publius.²⁸² In other words, Horace knew the Scipiones belonged in the list and were the standard plural—they appear five times in the plural in Appendix IV; he omitted them in favor of an ethnically rustic *gens* and pluralized the name in

²⁸⁰ Cic. *Off.* 1.138. Translation from the Loeb: W. Miller, *Cicero: On Duties* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913).

²⁸¹ Liv. *per.* 67.

²⁸² Note the ten times they appear in Appendix IV.

homage to the standard list and as a play on the reader's expectations of plural names that begin in *sc.* Regardless of how many Aemilii Scauri there are, the family was Sabine. And if Nisbett and Hubbard are right and the Aurelii Scauri are meant to make up the difference, that is fine. They were also Sabine.²⁸³

L. Aemilius Paulus who died at Cannae completes the list of great commanders who sacrificed for the state. He, like the Scauri, descends from those resplendent Aemilii who decorated the Basilica Aemilia “with friezes depicting the rape of the Sabine women and the killing of Tarpeia, alongside others of early Roman-Sabine history.”²⁸⁴

The next three names traditionally belong together as *exempla* of poverty, just as Horace gives them. Cicero has them this way as well:

Ex hoc genere illos fuisse arbitror **Camillos, Fabricios, Curios** omnesque eos,
qui haec ex minimis tanta fecerunt.²⁸⁵

The have indeed been men like that, or so I believe—men like Camillus,
Fabricius, and Curius, and all the all the others who built Rome's greatness out of
nothing.

This passage has been noted as a parallel before,²⁸⁶ but unfortunately very little work has been done on Cicero's *exempla* in general let alone as sources for other writers.²⁸⁷ In fact, as Appendix

²⁸³ R.L. Porter, “The Republican Aurelii” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1968).

²⁸⁴ Farney, 87. See also recent discussion in D.A. Arya, “Il ratto delle Sabine e la guerra romano-sabina” in *Roma: Romolo, Remo, e la fondazione della città*, ed. A. Carandini and R. Cappelli (Milan, 2000), 303-19.

²⁸⁵ Cic. *Cael.* 17.39. Vergil has Camillus and Fabricius at *Aen.* 6.825 and 844 respectively. He neither lists them together nor includes M' Curius Dentatus.

²⁸⁶ Nisbet and Hubbard on *Odes* 1.12.40.

²⁸⁷ For example, the best works on the subject are around 100 years old: H.W. Litchfield, “National Exempla Virtutis in Roman Literature,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 25 (1914):1-71; M. Bloch in *Mélanges D'Histoire Ancienne: Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de L'Université de Paris XXV* (1909).

IV shows, Cicero preserves the same group in the *In Pisonem*²⁸⁸ and *Pro Sestio*.²⁸⁹ Curius and Fabricius also appear together with Aulus Atilius Calatinus²⁹⁰ and Ti. Coruncanius,²⁹¹ but neither of these individuals would be as suitable for Horace's poem: while the Atilii have already qualified, they are also already represented by Regulus; Tiberius Coruncanius, while from the same Tusculum as Camillus, with the short and two longs in *Cōruncānīus* is impossible to fit into a Sapphic stanza. Thus Camillus becomes Horace's third *exemplum* of frugality. His list becomes so standard that this group stays together far beyond the *Odes*.²⁹² Later, they become traditional enough as a trio that Milton remembers all three in the austere company of Cincinnatus:

canst thou not remember

Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?

For I esteem those names of men so poor,

Who could do mighty things, and could contemn

Riches, though offered from the hand of kings.²⁹³

Their poverty emphasizes Sabine qualities particularly fashionable for moralizing in the Late Republic.

Fabricium can only mean G. Fabricius Luscinus who was famous for his severity and frugality. According to Livy and Valerius Maximus, as censor he removed a Cornelius from the senate for owning 10 pounds of silver dishes.²⁹⁴ He was most famous for his honesty during

²⁸⁸ Cic. *Pis.* 58.

²⁸⁹ *Id.*, *Sest* 143.

²⁹⁰ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.110; *Planc.* 60; *In Pis.* 58.

²⁹¹ Cic. *Sen.* 15.43; *Amic.* 18; *Brut.* 55.

²⁹² Cf Cic. *Off.* 3.86; Val. Max. 4.3.6.

²⁹³ Milton, *Paradise Regained*, 2.445ff.

²⁹⁴ Liv. *Per.* 14; Val. Max. 2.9.4.

negotiations with Pyrrhus.²⁹⁵ Fabricius was a regular in the canon of *exempla*—15 appearances in Appendix IV—but Horace’s reasons for including him do not end there.

The Fabricii are from Praeneste, as shown by Munzer on the strength of an inscription.²⁹⁶ After Praeneste’s enfranchisement, its citizens became a handy moral foil for the destroying influence of luxury.²⁹⁷ Thus Fabricius was not a Sabine but enjoyed their virtuous reputation because he was a man from the rustic, “other” mountains. The argument might be left there but for the bloody role Praeneste played in the war between Sulla and Marius’ heirs. As discussed in chapters one and two, four major efforts to relieve the siege of Praeneste and rescue the younger Marius failed spectacularly and killed tens of thousands of *Italici* in the process. It was perhaps the most iconic battlefield of the war and, I believe, became a symbol for Italian opposition to Rome for the generations following.

Manius Curius Dentatus, as several records attest,²⁹⁸ had a small farm near that of Cato the Elder who praised him as a paragon of rustic virtue. This was probably in Nomentum, the same Sabine town of the unattached Atilius. His association with Cato, regardless of the particular location, ensures rustic airs.

M. Furius Camillus, six times consular tribune, five times dictator, three times interrex, and winner of four triumphs, for all his glory famously *ex minimis tanta fec[it]*.²⁹⁹ Unfortunately, Camillus is firmly from Tusculum and no more Sabine than Caesar himself.³⁰⁰ Like Fabricius, however, he is *not Roman*, and therefore contributes to Horace’s Sabellians vs. Romans

²⁹⁵ Cic. *Off.* 1.40. Plut. *Pyrr.* 18.

²⁹⁶ *ILLRP* 857; *CIL* XIV 3128-3134. Noted originally by Munzer (*RE* 6.1930); cf Farney, 43; Dench (1995), 74-6, 91.

²⁹⁷ Dench (1995), 74-6.

²⁹⁸ See lengthy footnote in Farney, 109.

²⁹⁹ Cic. *Cael.* 17.39.

³⁰⁰ The inscriptions on the family tombs at Tusculum have been published as *ILLRP* 895-903.

dialogue. Camillus does embody the Sabine frugality as much as they do, however, and so is part of this rustic group in that sense regardless of descent. He did share his hometown with Cato, after all. It is interesting that Horace calls attention to his unkempt hair: *incomptes capilli*,³⁰¹ as though ensuring that he belongs with the other two men, Sabine or not. *Incomptus* is a very rare adjective. Horace uses it one other time: to describe the hair of the witch Canidia.³⁰² In other authors it tends toward hard simplicity. It can certainly mean simply disheveled or untidy: Petronius equates it with ugliness;³⁰³ Propertius calls Calypso's hair *incomptus* as she neglected it mourning the loss of Odysseus;³⁰⁴ Suetonius uses the word to describe a woman blushing and disheveled after an illicit encounter with Augustus.³⁰⁵ But in Seneca's *Phaedra*, the titular character describes Hippolytus as more rugged than Apollo:

In te magis refulget **incomptus** decor:

est genitor in te totus, et torvae tamen

pars aliqua matris miscet ex aequo decus;

in ore Graio Scythicus apparet **rigor**.³⁰⁶

You are even better-looking, your beauty is unstudied.

All your father lives again in you, but mixed with your mother,

that wild woman, who gives you an equal share of beauty.

You have Scythian fierceness in a Grecian face.

³⁰¹ Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.41.

³⁰² *Epod.* 5.16.

³⁰³ Petr. 128.3: *Dic, Chrysis, sed verum: numquid indecens sum? Numquid incompta? Numquid ab aliquot naturali vitio formam meam excaeco?*

³⁰⁴ Prop. 1.15.13-4: *multos illa dies incomptis maesta capillis / sederat.*

³⁰⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 69.1: *M. Antonius super festinates Liviae nuptias obiecit et feminam consularem e triclinio viri coram in cubiculum abductam, rursus in convivium rubentibus auriculis incomptiore capillo reductam.*

³⁰⁶ Sen. *Phaed.* 657-60. Translation from E. Wilson, *Six Tragedies*, by Seneca (Oxford: University Press, 2010).

Note that Phaedra links Hippolytus's untidy looks with his *torvae* mother and Scythian *rigor*. Clearly the word denotes more than ugliness. Perhaps the best parallel is in Tacitus' *Histories*. The historian describes Otho's toughness on campaign: *Nec illi segne aut corruptum luxu iter, sed lorica ferrea usus est et ante signa pedes ire, horridus, incomptus, famaеque dissimilis.*³⁰⁷ Note that for Tacitus, being *horridus*, *incomptus*, going on foot before the standards, and wearing the normal armor of the legion are all opposed to luxury and sloth. They are, in other words, indications of earthy manliness. Should Horace's use of the word here follow *this* meaning of *incomptus*, as I think it must, then the adjective draws attention to Camillus' simple rusticity and so ensures his participation in these rustic attributes even though he is not from Sabinum.

Of course, the seat of the Furii at Tusculum sits but a dozen or so miles from Praeneste and with it defends the pass where so much Sabellian blood was spilled in 82 BC. Perhaps Horace's trio of voluntary paupers is not so much Sabine but non-Roman. Note that thus far every *gens* represented hails from outside the city of Rome and its surrounding lowlands. Every Roman in the poem save Romulus and Tarquin comes from the hills, even if not from the Sabine hills. Numa, Cato, Regulus, whichever Scaurus, Paulus, and Curius are all from the rough country of Sabinum. It is appropriate that Praeneste and Nomentum, the ancestral seats of the Fabricii and Furii, should be both in the most mountainous region of Latium and at the sight of a famous struggle between Romans and Italian outsiders. Each of these men and their *gentes* represent the rustic otherness of the Sabines and the *Italici*, the strong dose of moral correction that effete, urban Rome so desperately needs.

Marcus Claudius Marcellus finds himself in the Ciceronian *exempla* quite regularly. Horace clearly means the famous Marcellus, five times consul and sword of Rome against

³⁰⁷ Tac. *Hist.* 2.11: Nor did he travel slowly in luxurious comfort. He wore a steel cuirass, and marched on foot before the standards, ill-shaven, unkempt, and contrary to his reputation.

Hannibal. As Ogilvie put it, “It was an old family tradition that the Claudii came to Rome from Sabine country and it was true.”³⁰⁸ And they never let anyone forget it. Nor could anyone forget, upon reading this ode, that a Marcus Marcellus had just married Julia. Alluding to the younger Marcellus in such company is a high compliment indeed.³⁰⁹

Having established that Horace’s catalogue is entirely pro Sabellian, the next question is how limited his choices were. How does this list stack up against others? The best surviving rhetorical catalogues that predate Horace are in the Ciceronian corpus. How closely does Horace stick to the traditional names? Some parallels have already been noted. But heretofore unnoticed (or at least unpublished) parallels merit examination. Please see Appendix IV for a more complete treatment of the rhetorical catalogues found in the works of Cicero.

In the *Paradoxa Stoicorum* Cicero provides his own catalogue of great Roman men:³¹⁰ Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tarquinius Superbus, Brutus, C. Mucius, Horatius Cocles, two Decius Mus (father and son), C. Fabricius, M’ Curius, Cn. and P. Scipio, Africanus the Elder and Younger, and Cato the Elder. Note the parallels with *Odes* 1.12. Cicero begins with Romulus, Numa, and Tarquin, surprisingly enough. Perhaps Tarquin’s name was standard in such overviews. Cicero then has Brutus instead of Horace’s Cato. It seems Horace strayed from the canon to pick up a prominent Sabine name. Cicero’s Mucius, Cocles, and Decius are of an older generation than Horace’s later *exempla*, yet quite common in Appendix IV. Cicero too includes Fabricius and Curius here and elsewhere he has them in the company of Camillus.³¹¹ But note

³⁰⁸ Ogilvie (1965) at 2.16.4.

³⁰⁹ For further discussion of M. Claudius Marcellus and the various traditions of his fame and infamy, cf. H. Flower, “Memories of Marcellus: History and Memory in Roman Republican Culture” in *Formen römischer Geschichtsschreibung von den Anfängen bis Livius: Gattungen—Autoren—Kontexte*, ed. U. Eigler et al. (Darmstadt, 2003), 1-17.

³¹⁰ Cic. *Parad.* 1.12. The passage appears in list form in Appendix IV and in full in Appendix V.

³¹¹ Cic. *Cael.* 17.39.

that instead of Horace's Regulus, Marcellus, and Paulus as heroes of the Punic wars, Cicero lists the Scipiones and the Africani, shorthand for P. Cornelius Scipio (2nd Punic War), his brother Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus (2nd Punic War), the former's son P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (Africanus the Elder, 2nd Punic War), and Africanus' adopted grandson P. Cornelius Scipio Aemelianus Africanus Numantius (Africanus the Younger, 3rd Punic War). This list of four Corneliis may seem excessive, but the Scipiones dominated the politics of the second century BC and became synonymous with the Punic Wars. And at least Africanus the Younger would have been an excellent moral *exemplum* for Horace's dialogue. He reportedly possessed all of the frugal, generous, and honest attributes claimed by the Sabines.³¹² That Horace excludes the Scipiones in favor of the Scauri should shock the reader of *Odes* 1.12. Finally, whereas Horace includes Cato Uticensis, Cicero includes Cato the Elder, and while Horace places his Cato immediately after Tarquin, Cicero separates the two names considerably.

In a selection from *De Natura Deorum* Cicero supplies a list of canonical men for each major war:

ut Pyrrhi bello **Curium Fabricium Coruncanium**, primo Punico **Calatinum Duellium Metellum Lutatium**, secundo **Maximum Marcellum Africanum**, post hos **Paulum Gracchum Catonem**, patrumve memoria **Scipionem Laelium**³¹³

For example, for Curius, Fabricius and Coruncanus in the war with Pyrrhus, for Calatinus, Duellius, Metellus, and Lutatius in the First Punic War, and for Maximus, Marcellus, and Africanus in the Second; and following after these, for

³¹² Polyb. 31.25ff.

³¹³ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.165. Translation from P.G. Walsh trans., *The Nature of the Gods*, by Cicero (Oxford: University Press, 1997).

Paulus, Gracchus, and Cato, or again the men whom our fathers recall, Scipio and Laelius

Curius and Fabricius are familiar; Tiberius Coruncanius, consul of 280, was an important general against Pyrrhus. A. Atilius Calatinus, C. Duilius, L. Caecilius Metellus, and C. Lutatius Catulus all commanded legions in the First Punic War. Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Africanus the Elder represent the Second Punic War. After these come L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus who conquered Macedon, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (father of the most famous Ti. Gracchus) who subdued Spain, Cato the Elder who famously participated in and advocated for the Punic Wars, Africanus the Younger and finally his legate and companion C. Laelius.

Of all of these Horace has two out of three for the Pyrrhic War but seems to have made substitutions for the Punic conflicts: only Marcellus makes both lists, since Cicero's Paulus is the son of Horace's.³¹⁴ Why choose some and abandon others? Many of these men represent the same austere and thoroughly Roman qualities embraced by the Sabines and *Italici*. Cicero even uses the old form *Maximum* to emphasize the ancient importance of the Fabii.³¹⁵ Surely they belong in *Odes* 1.12. None of the other commanders on Cicero's list, however, are Sabines. Horace has culled the catalogue for Sabines and Sabellians to build up to Marcellus. In fact, Maximus, the Scipiones, the Africani, and Brutus are quite conspicuous by their absence. Horace has not strayed outside the canon for his list, but in his choices he has deliberately left out the non-Sabine worthies.

³¹⁴ Recall that Horace's group of commanders seem all to have made great sacrifices on behalf of the state, so Nisbet and Hubbard *ad loc.*, and so his must be the L. Aemilius Paulus (cos. 216) who died at Cannae. The Paulus in Cicero's list was a great commander, but died at home of natural causes during his censorship in 160 BC.

³¹⁵ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "maximus."

Comparison to other catalogues in Cicero yields much the same result. All of the passages noted here appear in Appendix IV. In six other lists featuring Marcellus, the Scipios and Fabius Maximus also appear.³¹⁶ And the Scipiones usually make more than a single appearance: in four of the six, Cicero has the Scipios in the plural (*Scipiones* or *Scipionibus*) and at least one of the Africani.³¹⁷ Clearly they form a consistently important part of the canonical list of great Romans. Yet Horace has no trouble excluding them from *Odes* 1.12. Of all the men who consistently appear alongside Marcellus in Cicero's lists, Aemilius Paulus is the only one to appear in Horace's catalogue.³¹⁸ Naturally there is an exception: in one passage Cicero lists together Horace's Camillus, Curius, Fabricius, Marcellus, and Paulus alongside the standard Calatinus, Scipiones, Fabius Maximus, and Marius.³¹⁹ But Romulus, Numa, Tarquin, Cato, Regulus, and the Scauri are absent even from this Ciceronian catalogue. And, as noted above, the set of Camillus, Curius, and Fabricius is very rarely broken up. Besides the glaring absence of Fabius Maximus, Scipiones, and Africani, Horace's oddest choice is M. Atilius Regulus. His name appears in only one Ciceronian list.³²⁰ Thus, while Cicero frequently uses Regulus as an *exemplum*, he is a surprising addition to the catalogue in Horace's ode.³²¹ That fact that he appears to be at least Sabellian if not Sabine justifies his place here. Indeed, it appears Horace has created a hybrid list of history, great Romans, and rustic virtue, pulling from the standard canon of the Ciceronian corpus and adding unusual names as necessary to build up an appropriate Sabellian backdrop for Marcellus and Augustus.

³¹⁶ *Nat. D.* 3.80; *Tusc.* 1.110; *Rep.* 1.1; *Planc.* 60; *Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 47; *Pis.* 58.

³¹⁷ *Nat. D.* 3.80; *Tusc.* 1.110; *Rep.* 1.1; *Planc.* 60.

³¹⁸ *Nat. D.* 3.80; *Tusc.* 1.110; *Pis.* 58 (Marcellus also appears in these three); *Parad.* 6.48; *Mur.* 31; and *Sest.* 143 (where Marcellus does not appear).

³¹⁹ *Pis.* 58.

³²⁰ *Nat. D.* 3.80.

³²¹ Cf. *Sest.* 59.127; *Pis.* 19; *Phil.* 11.4.9; *Fin.* 2.65, 5.28.82-29.88; *Off.* 1.39, 3.99ff; *Parad.* 2.16.

Read this way, *Odes* 1.12 becomes a monument as much to Sabine virtue as to Roman history. But ultimately the poem praises Augustus. M. Claudius Marcellus and his ancient bloodline—full of attributes shared by the men in this list—would make a fine addition to the Julian clan. It is worth noting too that the Fabricii of Praeneste and Furiii of Nomentum—the only exceptions to comprehensive Sabinity besides Romulus—came from towns very near Alba Longa, ancestral seat of the Julii. Perhaps by his choice of *gentes* Horace suggests that the Claudii will enrich the already austere family of the *princeps* with virtues linked to the very mountains overlooking his estates. Regardless, Horace’s catalogue of exemplary Romans turns out to be designedly rustic.

This poem’s content is especially significant because of its place in the collection. *Odes* 1.1-9 have long been recognized as a sort of metrical and topical parade of possibilities.³²² Playing with the established tradition of giving the theme and meter for a collection in its first poems,³²³ Horace refuses to settle on specifics until 1.9-11. As Lyne has demonstrated, Horace finally reveals his choice of poetic model in these three poems: Alcaeus. *Odes* 9-11 allude in topic and meter to the first three poems of the Alexandrian collection of Alcaeus.³²⁴ These first eleven poems, then, are important for programmatic reasons. Horace here debates his subject

³²² For the history of the grouping and the term, cf. R.O.A.M Lyne, “Horace *Odes* Book 1 and the Alexandrian Edition of Alcaeus,” *CQ* 55.2 (2005): 545; M. Lowrie, “A Parade of Lyric Predecessors: Horace ‘C’ 1.12-1.18” *Phoenix* 49.1 (1995): 33-4.

³²³ Lyne, 545: “‘Metrical dexterity’, yes; but he provides us with a considerable tease too. We are waiting for a firm alignment with a Greek poet, the poet who will provide his new image, a well as a basis for his text: what Theocritus had been to Virgil, and Archilochus and Hipponax to the younger Horace.”

³²⁴ Lyne, 545-52. From 548: “When we arrive at the identifying poem (1.9), Horace then mirrors not only the metre of Alcaeus’ first poem in the Aristarchan book (Alcaic stanza), but the metres of the second and third poems too. 1.9, 10, and 11: Alcaic stanza, sapphics, and the ‘greater asclepiad’: the metres of Alcaeus’ ‘Apollo’, ‘Hermes’, and ‘Nymphs’.”

matter and style and shows off many topics and meters to which he will later return. At the end of this impressive series Horace's collection is now, as it were, open for business.

Lyne's conclusion hinges on the publication in 1968 of *POxy. 2734*, a fragmentary papyrus which provides the first three poems of Book One of the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus.³²⁵ Before 1968, Fragment 307aV was known to be the first poem of the book and 308V the second of the same, both positions established thanks to a scholiast on Hephaestion.³²⁶ Lobel's papyrus established 343V as the third poem, and as Lyne notes, this discovery "should have caused Horatian scholars much more excitement than it did."³²⁷ Indeed, it turns out that Horace copies the meters of these three poems in his 1.9-11: alcaic stanza, sapphics, and the greater asclepiad. Further, 1.9 alludes to Apollo, the subject of Alcaeus 1.1; 1.10 praises Mercury as Alcaeus 1.2 did Hermes; and 1.11 is addressed to the nymph Leuconoe, one of the nymphs in Alcaeus 1.3.³²⁸ Thus these three poems of the Alcaean Signature Sequence, as Lyne calls it, top off the parade of meters with a firm decision of Alcaeus as poetic model for the remainder of the collection.³²⁹

Because *Odes* 1.12 imitates Pindar in many elements, Lyne states that the programmatic poetry comes to a close with 1.11 as Horace "embarks on a series of allusions to different poets."³³⁰ The ties to Pindar's poetry—Nisbet and Hubbard have a characteristically learned summary—have unfortunately overshadowed the Roman section of the poem. It is not *merely* an imitation of Pindar; but it fits, I believe, into the larger programmatic picture of the two opening sequences: Parade Odes and Alcaean Signature Sequence. Although Nisbet and Hubbard note

³²⁵ E. Lobel, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 35 (Oxford: University Press, 1968), 2ff.

³²⁶ For all of this, see Lyne 547ff.

³²⁷ Lyne, 547.

³²⁸ This last is the shakiest, but Lyne argues convincingly in 549-50.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 548-9.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 551.

that the sapphic meter of 1.12 is “not altogether appropriate for the matter in hand,”³³¹ it should be remembered that Alcaeus used sapphics almost as often as Sappho herself. Indeed, one of the poems of the Alcaean sequence, 1.10, is itself in sapphics. By his use of this meter, Horace hints strongly to the reader that his programmatic discussion has not yet concluded. It is far better to break the sequence of opening statements with *Odes* 1.13 in the fourth asclepiad. *Odes* 1.12, on the other hand, belongs to Horace’s thematic program.

If *Odes* 1.1-9 are the parade of possibilities, a sort of priamel to the whole book, and 9-11 form this Alcaean Signature Sequence, then what is 12? It is the first “real” ode of the collection, a bridge between this grander priamel sequence and the *Odes* in general. It therefore plays a role of particular importance.

That Horace chooses in this programmatic position to laud Sabine and otherwise rustic *gentes* in this poem culminating in praise for both Augustus’ son-in-law and the princeps himself should not be overlooked. This will be the subject of his collection. The question *quem virum* has been answered with a catalogue of Sabines and tough Romans born in places drenched with Italic blood. The rest of the odes will reflect the same answer.

Tyrrhena regum progenies

Horace’s pervasive preference for rusticating farmers over effete city slickers comes into direct conflict with the entire identity of his patron, the famously effeminate and luxuriating Etruscan, Maecenas.³³² Note, for example, Gary Farney’s conclusions on the Etruscan reputation in Rome:

³³¹ Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), 146.

³³² For Maecenas specifically, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 19.9; 101.10-12; 114.4-6; Nisbet and Hubbard (1978), 288-90. For Etruscans in general, cf. *Ibid.*, 294-7 and the excellent discussion in Farney (2007), 133-40.

It is clear that Etruscan lack of self-control was proverbial. This reasoning is in line with what we have seen in all of our sources so far, that the Etruscans could not control their appetites in any area of human activity, whether when dealing with sex, food, drinking, or generic luxury. It is clear that the topos of the dissolute Etruscan, with variations of how and why, first detectable in Greek sources of the 600s B.C., survived into the empire, long after the Etruscans had assimilated into Roman society.³³³

This long-standing tradition certainly effected Maecenas and Horace's portrayal of him in this idealistic poetry. And, although "Horace sometimes gives immediacy to his moralizing by contrasting his own simplicity with the luxury of his friends (cf. 2.16, 3.16, 3.29, etc.),"³³⁴ I believe his dialogue with his patron frequently moves beyond "affectionate mockery"³³⁵ into the realm of genuine admonition. In fact, in many of the poems addressing Maecenas or treating Etruscans in general, Horace can be downright hostile. As the poet continues his effort to establish Sabines and *Italici* together as moral foils for corrupt Rome, the Etruscans and Maecenas provide an excellent contrast to his preferred rustic simplicity.

In the following poems, Horace addresses and critiques Maecenas and Etruscans in general:

Odes 1.1

That Horace's first poem in the collection owes a striking debt to the priamel and Pindar is beyond dispute. West points to the mocking, hyperbolic nature of the occupations Horace

³³³ *Ibid.*, 139-40.

³³⁴ Nisbet and Hubbard (1978), 289.

³³⁵ West (1998), 135.

supplies in his list.³³⁶ Nisbet and Hubbard note that while Greek in form, Horace imbues the poem with *latinitas*:

The Olympic victor, it is true, belongs to the traditional topic, but thereafter the actors are Roman (*Quiritium* marks the change of scene): we meet in turn the successful politician, the big landowner, the smallholder laboriously cultivating his mountain soil, and the sea-captain dreaming of a very Italian *oppidum*. The *φιλήδονος* is addicted to nothing more licentious than the countryside, much like Horace himself; the treatment both of the soldier and the *chasseur* is given local colouring. Only at the end, when Horace speaks of his devotion to poetry, is the Greek note emphasized: nymphs and satyrs, Euterpe and Polyhymnia, the foreign words *Lesboum* and *barbiton*. Yet even here one might easily miss the tone of *lyricis vatibus*: *lyricis* is still a Greek word, but *vatibus* is redolent of old Latium.³³⁷

I agree wholeheartedly with this assessment of primarily Roman ideas skillfully laid into Greek form; it is a theme to which Horace returns frequently. But I believe more is going on here than just the traditional naming of occupations. They appear to be opposed to one another in a pattern.

After the decidedly Greek Olympic victor, Horace's next possibility is firmly Roman:

hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium

certat tergeminis tollere honoribus³³⁸

one man is pleased if the fickle mob of Roman citizens

competes to lift him up to triple honours.

³³⁶ West (1995), 4-7.

³³⁷ Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), 3.

³³⁸ Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.7-8.

Yes, there is an element of humor here as West argues,³³⁹ but it is still an honorable citizen who can be lifted to triple magistracies. I do not understand the difficulty Nisbet and Hubbard find in *mobilium* and *certat*.³⁴⁰ By nature the voting at Rome was both competitive and changeable. The crowd had to be wooed, and every vote cast competed against the others. Horace does supply some help by his use of *Quiritium*: it is a name traditionally derived from the Sabine *Curenses*: *Quiritare dicitur is qui Quiritum fidem clamans inplorat. Quirites a Curensibus; ab his cum Tatio rege in societatem venerunt civitatis*.³⁴¹ This is an austere, frugal crowd of rustic farmers, then, or so the term implies. One must be a rather honorable citizen to be so elevated by such men. Thus this second occupation is a desirably Roman one, a manly and thoroughly traditional pursuit for old-fashioned men.

Horace's third option, a merchant of sorts, should not meet with nearly so much approval:

Illum, si proprio condidit horreo
quidquid de Libycis verritur areis.³⁴²

Another, if he stores away in his own granary
all the sweepings of the threshing-floors of Libya.

West rightly claims, “no grain merchant could pack *all* the grain winnowed on the threshing-floors of Libya into a single granary, let alone everything so winnowed, *quidquid verritur*.”³⁴³

Yet the thrust of Horace's exaggeration is the greed of this merchant. Not only has he strayed

³³⁹ West (1995), 4.

³⁴⁰ *ad loc.*, “On the other hand, it is hard to see why Horace should talk of successive victories; these are a sign of the crowd's consistency, not its fickleness. An even greater difficulty lies in *certat*: unless the people go round canvassing (and nothing here suggests it), the effort of one voter cannot be greater than that of any other.”

³⁴¹ Varr. *Ling.* 6.7.68: He is said to *quiritare* (shriek, call joyfully) who shouts calling on the protection of the Quirites. The Quirites are so called because they are from Curenses. From there they came with King Tattius and took a share in the state.

³⁴² Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.9-10.

³⁴³ West (1995), 4.

from Roman soil to seek riches elsewhere, a sin which will be repeated in a few lines, but he will not be pleased—each of these first individuals is governed by *iuvat*—unless he can gather “everything so winnowed.” This kind of avarice Horace finds incompatible with the sorts of men he will choose in 1.12, men *qui haec ex minimis tanta fecerunt*.³⁴⁴

Occupations four and five present alternately desirable and contemptible possibilities:

gaudentem patrios findere sarculo

agros Attalicis condicionibus

numquam demoveas ut trabe Cypria

Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.³⁴⁵

the man who delights to cleave his ancestral fields

with the mattock, you could never move, not with the legacy

of Attalus, to become a frightened sailor

and cut the Myrtoan Sea with Cyprian timbers.

The farmer content to turn the soil of his fathers with his mattock is all the more honorable for resisting exaggerated riches. No amount of money, in other words, would convince him to do something as shameful as become a sailor. That greed motivates men to build ships and seek the sea is a well-established theme which will influence *Odes* 1.3.³⁴⁶ Horace will return throughout the *Odes* to the theme that the refusal of troublesome riches in favor of rustic simplicity is both desirably Roman and firmly Sabine, but he does so most famously in *Odes* 3.1.41-8:

Quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis

nec purpurarum sidere clarior

³⁴⁴ Cic. *Cael.* 17.39. Spoken of Camillus, Fabricius, and Curius.

³⁴⁵ Hor. *Carm.* 11-14.

³⁴⁶ Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) list an impressive number of parallels at 1.3.12.

delenit usus nec Falerna
 vitis Achaemeniumque costum,
 cur invidendis postibus et novo
 sublime ritu moliar atrium?

Cur valle permutem Sabina
 divitias operosiores?

But if sorrow is not soothed by Phrygian marble,
 or the wearing of purple brighter than a star,
 or by Falernian wine

 and the balsam of the Achaemenids,
 why should I raise a lofty entrance hall
 in a new style with doorposts for all to envy?

Why should I give up my Sabine farm
 for riches which bring more labor?

The seeking of *divitias operosiores* represented by the *pavidus nauta* in 1.1.13 should be condemned by the reader as greedy, eastern, and thoroughly non-Roman, let alone non-Sabine. Note the adjectives Horace employs: the humble farmer is not tempted—read corrupted—by the wealth of Asia, *Atallicis condicionibus*, and the sailor navigates the sea east of the Peloponnese in a ship made of timber from Cyprus—this is a thoroughly eastern endeavor.

Likewise the merchant of lines 15-18 should be dismissed for the same reasons. Note that here Horace is more explicit: not only does the *mercator* sail *Icariis fluctibus* in the Eastern Aegean, he is also *indocilis pauperiem pati*, and that simply will not do.

The lazy drunkard of lines 19-22 has the right location, stretched out as he is under the verge or at the head of a sacred stream, but he spoils this simplicity with his lack of hard work, *nec partem solido demere de die spernit*, and his choice of expensive, luxurious wine, *veteris Massici*. He will not do either.

Options eight and nine at last return the reader to thoroughly desirable Roman ground:

Multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
 permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
 detestata. Manet sub Iove frigido
 venator tenerae coniugis inmemor,
 seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
 seu rupit teretis Marsus aper plagas.³⁴⁷

Some enjoy the camp, the sound of the trumpet merged
 in the bugle, the wars that mothers
 abhor; staying out under a cold sky,
 the huntsman forgets his tender wife
 if his faithful dogs catch sight of a hind
 or a Marsian boar bursts the delicate nets.

War, although unfriendly to mothers, is unquestionably an excellent Roman occupation. And both the *lituus* and *tuba* are Roman military instruments, rather than the *barbaton* below. Clearly this is a manly affair. The hunter confirms this. He is harsh, out in the cold and forgetful of his wife, and in dangerous company: the Marsi were the most feared of the *Italici*. West rightly explains that these two figures are connected by “allusions to domestic affections, of mothers, of

³⁴⁷ Hor. *Carm.* 23-8.

a wife and faithful dogs.”³⁴⁸ They are so linked because these two are appropriate pursuits for a tough Sabine man, far better than their immediate predecessors. It is no accident that the first Italian place named in the *Odes*, coming as it does as Horace settles on his last acceptable occupation, should be among the most famous of the rebellious lands. The poet wishes to make clear that desirable Rome in this collection will be located in the Italic parts of the peninsula. He will link them to Sabinum very shortly.

Last of all, Horace introduces his own desired occupation. Famously he juxtaposes the very Roman word *vates* with the Greek lyre as he concludes a very Greek group of lines.³⁴⁹ Indeed, much of the collection will mix Greek forms with Roman content. I suggest that Horace breaks up this Hellenizing with *vatibus* not only to foreshadow his combinations but to indicate his preference: the muses may elevate him in Greek terms, but they will elevate him not as a *ποιητής*, *μελοποιός*, or *αοιδός*, but as a *vates*.

Taken together as a group, these possible occupations leading up to Horace’s chosen proclamation of *Romanitas* in the midst of Hellenism provide an interesting pattern:

A	Olympic Victor	Eastern	Undesirable
B	Roman politician	Roman	Desirable
A	Greedy businessman	Corrupt	Undesirable
B	Simple farmer	Rustic	Desirable
A	Terrified sailor	Corrupt	Undesirable
A	Greedy merchant	Corrupt	Undesirable
A	Lazy drunkard	Corrupt	Undesirable
B	Soldier	Roman	Desirable

³⁴⁸ West (1995), 4.

³⁴⁹ Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.29-36.

B	Hunter	Rustic	Desirable
B	Bard	Roman	Desirable

Were there any confusion about whether or not Horace's choice was a good one, the pattern should clear it up. After three unacceptable possibilities, the reader finds three desirable ones. And although readers must wade through six lines of Hellenizing to reach *vatibus*, the thoroughly Greek context makes Horace's *Romanitas* all the more impressive. He will infuse Greek meters with thoroughly Roman ideas far beyond the corruptibility of the various merchants and businessmen who locate themselves in the East. In fact, a good deal of the collection—especially the Roman Odes—will preach repentance to these effeminized Romans. For Horace, true Rome must be rustic and therefore Sabine and Italic Rome.

Enter Maecenas. The only undesirable occupation on the list not easily associated with his Etruscan character is the Pindaric charioteer. The others, defined by greed or excess, are Etruscan through and through. That Horace rejects all of them in favor of the securely Roman *vates* both gently chides Maecenas and foreshadows the consistent timbre of the rest of the collection: honorable politicians, simple farmers, rough soldiers, and *Italici* from the wild will all be favorably compared to the likes of Horace's effete patron.

Odes 1.2

As I have dealt with it more completely in chapter two, I will only briefly mention here the jab at Etruria in lines 13-16:

vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
 litore Etrusco violenter undis
 ire deiectum monumenta regis
 templaque Vestae

We have seen yellow Tiber wrench his waves back
 from the Tuscan shore and rush
 to hurl down king Numa's memorials
 and Vesta's temple

The fact that the Tiber rises up *from* the Etruscan shore to crash down *onto* the Sabine monuments of Numa and Vesta suggests that it is Etruria's corrupting influence which causes such terrible portents.

Odes 1.20

As discussed in chapter two, the wines of Horace and Maecenas have geographical significance: Horace drinks a *vile Sabinum* in direct opposition to four wines from locations in Campania and Latium that opposed the *Italici* during the Social War. Here Horace's simplicity stands in stark contrast to Maecenas' luxury. And when the wealthy patron comes to visit his client's villa, however large it may be, he should expect a simple wine.

Odes 2.12

While this poem mentions Maecenas in the context of a *recusatio*, I find nothing particularly reproachful in it. Horace neatly places the responsibility for writing Caesar's wars in prose on Maecenas' shoulders. This is appropriate, as his patron had seen many of them in person.

Odes 2.17

In this ode Horace seems genuinely concerned for his patron's health. Note, however, that he dismisses Maecenas' astrology in favor of sacrifice and a votive temple:

me truncus illapsus cerebro
 sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum

dextra levasset, Mercurialium
 custos virorum. reddere victimas
 aedemque votivam memento:
 nos humilem feriemus agnam.³⁵⁰
 as for me, the tree would have fallen on my head
 and carried me off if Faunus,
 the guardian of Mercury's men, had not parried
 the blow with his right hand. Do not omit
 to offer sacrifices and build a votive temple;
 we will kill a little lamb.

Horace prefers old-fashioned piety to what he elsewhere calls *Babylonios numeros*, a clearly eastern and therefore undesirable practice.³⁵¹ But his concern for Maecenas allows him some license in the next poem in the collection.

Odes 2.18

This poem begins with a sharp comparison between the lifestyle of Horace's wealthy friends—and following on 2.17 this must imply Maecenas—and his own simplicity:

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

³⁵⁰ Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.27-32.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1.11.2-3.

nec Laconicas mihi
 trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.
 At fides et ingeni
 benigna vena est pauperemque dives
 me petit; nihil supra
 deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
 largiora flagito,
 satis beatus unicis Sabinis.³⁵²
 No ivory nor gold-coffered
 ceiling gleams in my house,
 no beams from Mount Hymettus
 bear down on columns hewn in furthest Africa,
 nor am I the unknown heir
 of Attalus come to take over his palace,
 nor do high-born women clients
 trail their robes of Laconian purple for me,
 but I have honesty, and a generous vein
 of talent, and though I am poor, the rich man
 seeks my company. I do not trouble
 the gods for more or ask a powerful friend
 for greater gifts, being blessed enough,
 with the one and only Sabine country.

³⁵² Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.1-14.

Note that Horace does not say, “I am blessed enough with the Sabine estate you gave me, Maecenas.” Rather, he is content to be in the Sabine country, *unicis Sabinis*.³⁵³ This is not, therefore, an ode thanking Maecenas for his alleged gift. Instead, the character of this singular Sabine country provides an acute counterpoint to the excesses that precede and follow it in the poem.

West argues that with the generalizing *tu* in line 17 this “sermon” switches from the personal (directed to Maecenas) to the impersonal: “Maecenas is not in any sense whatever to be associated with the acquisitive impious ruthless, plutocrat of this poem.”³⁵⁴ I do not agree that Maecenas escapes completely unblemished from this diatribe. However ambiguous the *tu* of this unaddressed ode may be, the excessive Maecenas has far too much in common with the admonished plutocrat to evade comparison. It speaks very highly of Horace’s relationship with his patron that he could get away with such things. I will argue later that this is because this sort of moralizing spoke well of and contributed to the Augustan image and program.

Odes 2.20

The closing ode of Book Two does not seem to chide its addressee in any way. I will simply point to the fact that in qualifying the locations to which his immortal poetry will soar, Horace chooses only one place in Italy: Marsium.³⁵⁵ His fame will spread eastward from Italy into lands like those of the Dacian *qui dissimulat metum Marsae cohortis*.³⁵⁶ Again, Horace

³⁵³ On the history of this problem and the proposed emendations, cf. Nisbet and Hubbard (1978), *ad loc.*

³⁵⁴ West (1998), 135. Nisbet and Hubbard (1978), 289-90, suggest that Horace “exploits the ambiguity of *tu* (17) to shift from the real Maecenas to the conventional plutocrats of *diatribe* (perhaps with an element of affectionate mockery).” R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Horace Behind the Public Poetry* (Oxford: University Press, 1995), 126-31, instead reads the poem as a thorough dressing down of Maecenas.

³⁵⁵ Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.18.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.20.17-8.

defines the East by its lack of good Roman *virtus* and does so by contrast with the manliest of *Italici*.

Odes 3.7

Following the Roman Odes, Horace depicts a young man in military exercises on the Campus Martius. This is a very complex and much-debated ode, but the Etruscan reference appears only in the penultimate stanza: Horace calls the Tiber *Tusco alveo*.³⁵⁷ This seems harmless enough. I will only suggest that in the context of wooing, which permeates throughout the poem, such a name for the Tiber would be quite appropriate: Etruscans were famously licentious.³⁵⁸

Odes 3.8

In this ode addressed to Maecenas, Horace notes his patron's surprise to find him celebrating something religious on the Matronalia:

Martiis caelebs quid agam Kalendis,

quid velint flores et acerra turis

plena miraris positusque carbo in

caespite vivo,

docte sermones utriusque linguae?³⁵⁹

What am I, a bachelor, doing on the first of March?

What are the flowers for, the censer full

of incense and the charcoal on the living turf?

Are you surprised,

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.7.28.

³⁵⁸ Note discussion in Farney (2007), 133-40.

³⁵⁹ Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.1-5.

you, a scholar of dialogues in both languages?

In fact, Horace is fulfilling a vow made when almost killed by a tree branch, as he explains in the lines following. This poem holds nothing sinister for Maecenas, except perhaps for a gentle reproach for his lack of religious knowledge. Sabine Numa, after all, brought true piety to Rome, not the Tarquins.

Odes 3.10

As Horace sits outside his erstwhile lover's house and suffers rain and snow while she ignores his pleas and abuse, he hurls an interesting insult:

non te Penelopen difficilem procis

Tyrrhenus genuit parens.³⁶⁰

Your Etruscan father did not bear a Penelope

to resist all suitors.

She should not be so chaste, Horace argues, having been born to Etruscan parents. This jab at the more licentious members of the Roman community may not be specifically directed at Maecenas, but condemns him in a roundabout way at the very least. Again, Etruscans represent the worst of the corrupt city in contrast to the Sabine and Italic countryside.

Odes 3.16

After two stanzas of bribery, Horace contrasts his own philosophy toward money with that of the greedy and wealthy like Maecenas:

Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam

maiorumque fames. Iure perhorru

late conspicuum tollere verticem,

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.10.11-12.

Maecenas, equitum decus.³⁶¹

As money accumulates, anxiety and hunger for more
come with it. I have been right to shrink
from lifting up my head for all to see,

Maecenas, glory of the Knights.

Horace continues his moral diatribe with praise for the self-denial practiced by such famous Romans as the Fabricius, Curius, and Camillus from *Odes* 1.12.40-2. He then contrasts the *impiger Apulus*—taken advantage of by the wealthy Roman who gathers the fruits of his labor into his own granaries—with rich regions of the Mediterranean including Calabria, one of the only areas of southern Italy to stay out of the Social War. Indeed, while this rebuke is couched in philosophical terms, Maecenas does not escape unscathed. Horace once again contrasts the frugal lifestyle of his Sabine countryside with the corrupt riches—and here *latifundia*—of the Roman elite.

Odes 3.29

The penultimate ode of the collection joins with the first to frame the work through its dedication to Maecenas. But whereas Horace left his patron's ancestors unidentified ethnically in the first poem lest such a positive attribution to the most effete group of Romans confuse his purpose, here he has already made his point—which culminated in the Roman Odes—and now can happily address Maecenas more fully:

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
non ante verso lene merum cado

³⁶¹ Hor. *Carm.* 3.16.17-20.

cum flore, Maecenas, rosarum et
 pressa tuis balanus capillis
 iamdudum apud me est. eripe te morae, 5
 nec semper udum Tibur et Aefulae
 declive contempleris arvum et
 Telegoni iuga parricidae.
 Fastidiosam desere copiam et
 molem propinquam nubibus arduis, 10
 omitte mirari beatae
 fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.
 Plerumque gratae divitibus vices
 mundaеque parvo sub lare pauperum
 cenae sine aulaeis et ostro 15
 sollicitam explicuere frontem.³⁶²
 Offspring of Etruscan kings, for you
 a jar of mellow wine never yet disturbed,
 and roses in bloom, Maecenas,
 and balsam pressed for your hair
 have long been waiting in my house. Delay no longer.
 Do not be forever contemplating watery Tibur,
 the sloping fields of Aefula, and
 the ridges of Telegonus the parricide.

³⁶² Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.1-16.

Give up your fastidiousness and luxury and your huge pile
whose neighbours are the soaring clouds.

Stop admiring the splendour of Rome,
its smoke, its wealth, and its noise.

A change often brings pleasure to the rich,
and wholesome suppers under the little god

of a poor man's home—no tapestries, no purples—
smoothe a worried a brow.

In the first line Horace adds to his original dedication the detail that the royal ancestors of his patron were Etruscan. Appropriately, the stanza that follows illustrates his ethnic luxury with Horace's promises of fine (yet light) wine, fresh roses, and balsam. The contrast here between Maecenas' riches and Horace's professed poverty, friendly as it may be, draws the line between the Sabine countryside and the excesses of the city.

The line Horace draws is on explicitly Sabine and Social War grounds: Maecenas contemplates Tibur, Aefulae, and Tusculum, three prominent places on the transitional horizon between Rome and the "other." West makes a "sporting guess" that Maecenas is staring out at the lofty, cool villa sites in the mountains and wishing he were there. Horace invites him to abandon stuffy Rome and visit him in the cool countryside.³⁶³ It is a fair reading, certainly, but I suggest that this parting ode contains a good dose of Horace's now familiar Sabellians vs. Romans dialogue.

In line five and following, Horace tells his patron to quit his delaying, stop staring at the foreign ridges, and just take the plunge. Abandon Roman luxury, Horace calls, and come to the

³⁶³ West (2002), 250-1.

high ground. These sites, both vertically and morally uplifted, have more significance than their ideal location for villas. Tibur is the great boundary to upper Sabinum and felt the pull away from Rome in the conflicts between Marius and Sulla. Aefulae sits but a little southeast of it on the map and was the sight of an ancient defensive structure by which the Anio valley could be closed off from invasion through Tibur.³⁶⁴ Clearly these are liminal locations. Finally Tusculum guards the pass wherein so many *Italici* lost their lives in the war between Marius' heirs and Sulla, an extension of the Social War of the previous decade.

Horace thus bids his patron leave luxury and fastidiousness and quit admiring the *fumum*, *opes*, and *strepitum* of Rome. In contrast to this rather bleak (morally) picture of the city, the poet advises clean, simple meals under the little god of a pauper's home. The absence of luxurious purple and tapestries—hallmarks of both Etruscans and kings—would do his patron good.

This passage provides one of the clearest examples of Horace's moral thesis. I submit that he depicts Maecenas not longing after but waffling over the division between Rome and Italy. The absurdly wealthy prince of Etruria stands on his tower and stares at natural fortresses far higher and far more impressive. Horace beckons him to lay aside the artificial happiness of wealth and enjoy instead the simplicity of a country more elevated and far superior to Rome. This friendly advice, not quite preaching, is both characteristic of the collection and an excellent conclusion to the poet's not always gentle admonitions.

Conclusion

Horace deliberately sets up his moral platform as early as the Parade Odes. His mini-parade of possibilities in *Odes* 1.1 foreshadows the treatment he will give the various geographic,

³⁶⁴ Liv. 26.9.9; S. Quilici Gigli, "Rome," in *Brill's New Pauly*.

ethnic, and moral groups of the peninsula and the larger Mediterranean world. With *Odes* 1.1-11 Horace wraps up his introductory remarks and begins the real event with 1.12. In the choices he makes of exemplary Romans to fill his catalogue in the second half of that poem, Horace cements his thesis for the collection: rustic men from rough parts of Italy join the traditional Sabines to show the decadent citizens of the city how to be truly Roman. As this thread continues throughout the *Odes*, it shines particularly brightly when it intersects with Maecenas and the Etruscans, polar opposites of Horace's ideal Romans. The sometimes rather direct moral lessons aimed at Maecenas—a safe target due both to sincere friendship and established Etruscan tropes—apply to many of the leading politicians of the day. And Maecenas is certainly a more forgiving punching bag than Augustus himself. In short, Horace ethnically locates ideal Rome within Sabine and *Italic* Italy. He then boldly contrasts this Sabellian group to the rich and famous and thus serves as a *vates* providing moral guidance to the fallen state.

Chapter Four

Q. Horatius Flaccus: Vates Sabinus

It is usually assumed that the Sabine farm in Horace's works was a gift from Maecenas and greatly improved his circumstances. Thus many poems written about the countryside, rusticity, and vague locations in Italy have been construed as ways to thank Maecenas specifically for this great gift. In fact, the list of Sabine places in the *Odes* could be put down entirely to gratitude for this very generous favor. But in 1989 Arnold Bradshaw exposed the circular reasoning behind this long-held assumption and demonstrated that there is equally good evidence that Horace came by the farm through his own means.³⁶⁵ After proposing several alternative explanations, Bradshaw settled on this:

Despised by jealous Romans, Horace the Sabellian parvenu, the political turncoat, the court toady (such must the lowborn Venusian have appeared to many), wanted a place where he could be his own master, where free from the constraints and ceremony of high society he could study or be idle as fancy took him and contemplate the good life while entertaining his cronies and his girls in simple comfort...For a poet irked by the irritations of Rome, where he was tethered most of the time by official and social duties, the Sabine farm represented an excellent retreat. For a patron, on the other hand, the distant valley of the Digentia seems a most inappropriate place to settle a protégé whose company he valued.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ A. Bradshaw, "Horace *In Sabinis*," *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 5 (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1989): 160-86.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 182.

Had Bradshaw known of the larger Sabellian dialogue present in the *Odes*, his argument may have carried more weight.

I propose that Horace's Sabine farm was not only his own purchase but also chosen for more than its distance from Rome and the accompanying possibility of raucous parties. Why indeed should a country bumpkin from Venusia purchase a farm in the lofty Sabine hills? Why should he write on Sabine topics and laud that ancient people and land? It is not because Horace was enamored with Sabinum or full of gratitude for a villa unfortunately situated. Rather, the poet wished to elevate his own people, the Venusians, Apulians, and the other *Italici*, to the same privileged status of the Sabines in Roman moral discourse. Horace, I believe, did not set out to paint a pretty picture of Sabinum but to mix the newest and most foreign citizens of Rome in with the austere Sabines and thus raise their position both politically and socially.

As I have shown, Horace accomplishes this by equating the Italian countryside both in Sabinum and in the rebellious parts of Italy with the rustic attributes of ideal Rome. He consistently locates the simplicity, honesty, and frugality of desirable Rome in the lands of the *Italici* and Sabines and the excesses, luxury, and decadence of corrupt Rome in the city itself and in those parts of Italy that remained loyal to her in the Social War and on the side of Sulla thereafter. Furthermore, Horace deliberately chooses Sabellian heroes to idolize and vilifies their Etruscan opposites, even going so far as to reproach his patron Maecenas. Horace has a program.

Horace's Sabine farm represents far more than an elaborate and learned series of nods to the symposiastic forms of his Greek predecessors. Instead the countryside of Horace's choosing—not Maecenas' preferred location—stands for the moral values of the poet's own people and their worth to Rome as foils and goads. Naturally Horace could not simply write poetry about Apulia, Lucania, Marsium, and Samnium. Such places still existed on the fringe and

produced laughable country bumpkins. But poetry about Sabinum, a long-established location of solid Roman virtue, would carry the weight of significant authority. And by mixing the Sabines and *Italici* together into one big, rustic pot—recall that the umbrella term *Sabelli* was already in use—Horace could both lift his lowly Italians to a status above that of Rome and invigorate the Sabine position by introducing new “otherness” to their increasingly familiar cultural reputation.

So, if Maecenas did not provide Horace with the Sabine farm and thus prompt this flurry of rustic poetry, why would Augustus and his de facto minister of culture wish to cultivate a relationship with such a poet? The Princeps himself betrays the need for Italian support: *Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua et me belli quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit.*³⁶⁷ Fighting a foreign war with Cleopatra required almost as much unification as a civil war with Antony would have. And that effort toward Italian unity continued. That Horace in his poetry promoted the elevation of Italian culture and the integration of Italian families and municipal aristocracy into the Roman political system made him the ideal candidate for Augustus’ patronage. The Princeps both showed his support for Italy by promoting an Italian poet and reaped the benefits of Horace’s influence as this pseudo-Sabine bard spread his gospel of the idealized countryside.

The toughness and manliness implicit in Horace’s poetry can only have helped Augustus’ image. The Princeps needed to distance himself from monarchy as much as possible, and Horace’s emphasis on simple and pious country life provided a sure antithesis to Caesar’s perceived royal aspirations and the Etruscan trappings of Augustus’ own inner circle.³⁶⁸ Through a confluence of circumstances, the young Octavian had been strongly supported by 19 influential

³⁶⁷ *R. Gest.* 5.25: The whole of Italy voluntarily took oath of allegiance to me and demanded me as its leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium.

³⁶⁸ For Caesar’s royal aspirations, A. Goldsworthy, *Caesar: Life of a Colossus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 499-500; App. *B.C.* 2.109; Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 61, *Ant.* 12; Cic. *Phil.* 2.84-7, *Div.* 1.52.119; Suet. *Iul.* 79.2.

Etruscans, many of whom—Maecenas and Agrippa are the most prominent—continued to enjoy close friendship with Augustus and participate in his inner circle.³⁶⁹ It is not surprising that with so many Etruscans at hand Augustus sought to distance himself from their proverbial luxury and licentiousness, however unfair the stereotype may be, and embrace the austere habits of the Sabellians through his client Horace. It would have been unwise for the Princeps to repeat the scene orchestrated by his adopted father and be offered a crown while wearing the regalia of an Etruscan king. It proved a far better policy to encourage this upstart from Venusia to take liberal shots at the wealthy and corrupt while simultaneously endearing remote regions of the peninsula to readers in Rome.

Perhaps the best example with which to conclude this study is the famous Regulus Ode. In its first stanzas Horace almost deifies Augustus, provided he can conquer Britain and the Persians, and then switches to the longtime prisoners:

Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
 regnare: praesens divus habebitur
 Augustus adiectis Britannis
 imperio gravibusque Persis.
 Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara 5
 turpis maritus vixit et hostium—
 pro curia inversique mores!—
 consenuit socerorum in armis
 sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus
 anciliorum et nominis et togae 10

³⁶⁹ J.F. Hall, “Etruscan Governance at Rome,” in *Idem* ed., *Etruscan Italy* (Provo: Brigham Young University and Museum of Art, 1996), 168-70.

oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
 incolumi Iove et urbe Roma?³⁷⁰

Jupiter Thunders in the sky, and we have come to believe
 that he rules; Augustus will be held to be a god
 in our midst when Britons and dread Persians
 are added to the empire.

Has the soldier of Crassus lived in disgrace as the husband 5
 of a barbarian wife, and have Marsian and Apulian grown old
 —shame on the Senate and our changed ways—
 serving the King of the Medes,
 bearing arms for their enemies, their fathers-in-law,
 and forgetting the sacral shields, their own names, 10
 the toga, and eternal Vesta,
 while Jupiter lives and the city of Rome still stands?

Are the soldiers of M. Licinius Crassus truly to blame for their tragic defeat at Carrhae? To whom should the shame belong? And can Horace really lambast his fellow Italians, the Marsians and Apulians?

In his chapter on the aforementioned oath of *tota Italia*, Syme allowed his disdain for Octavian to carry over onto Horace:

The Italian peoples did not yet regard Rome as their own capital, for the memory of old feuds and recent wars took long to die; and the true Roman in just pride disdained the general and undistinctive appellation of ‘Italian’. Within a few years

³⁷⁰ Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.1-12.

of Actium, a patriotic poet revolted at the mere thought that Roman soldiers, captives from the disaster of Crassus (and by implication of Antonius), could turn renegade and live in Parthia: *milesne Crassi coniuge barbara?* Shame that the Marsian and the Apulian could forget the sacred shields of Mars, the Roman name, the toga and eternal Vesta! But Horace, himself perhaps no son of Italian stock, was conveniently oblivious of recent Italian history. The Marsi had no reason at all to be passionately attached to Roman gods and garb.³⁷¹

Syme's view that Horace lays blame on the Marsian and Apulian was picked up by West, who claims also that "the case against them is thoroughly Augustan:" they have gone against marriage laws, betrayed their religious duties, and broken military oaths.³⁷² West, however, catches the thrust of the Italian names: these are the people *least* likely to so betray Rome. It would be an outrage for any Roman soldier to be captured and so forget his people and live among the enemy, but for *even the Italici* to do so is an example almost *ad absurdum*.

Note too that the third stanza only makes good sense if the Marsi and Apuli are predisposed toward the sacred shields, their names, their togas, Eternal Vesta, and Jupiter himself. Syme bemusedly exclaimed that the Marsi had no such attachment "to Roman gods and garb." But while I agree that the memory of the Social War and the wars with Sulla "took long to die," I believe Syme underestimated the Marsian and Apulian commitment to the citizenship. After all, it was for the sake of the franchise that the war began in the first place. And after 60 years of participation in Roman politics, these Italians did have a vested interest in Rome's success. While the toga may be quintessentially Roman, the deities and name are not so universal. The *anciliorum* are the sacred shields of the Salii, the first of which fell to earth during

³⁷¹ R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: University Press, 1939), 286-7.

³⁷² West (2002), 56-7.

the reign of Numa and were associated with his religious additions to early Rome.³⁷³ Likewise the temple of Vesta was built under Numa's care.³⁷⁴ Both religious references are to Sabine religion. As for their names, Horace implies with *nominis* that these soldiers have forgotten their own Italian heritage in addition to the citizenship implied with the last line. Indeed, the thrust of these two stanzas seems to be that in captivity even the very toughest and manliest of Romans, those from the rustic regions of the *Italici*, those linked mythologically and religiously to the Sabines, even they forgot themselves in Parthia.

Why would Horace write such a poem? In the end, even though it stresses the virtues of his countrymen, it still makes something of a backhanded compliment. After all, Crassus did lose the battle and they were captured. Why levy these details into what becomes an extended poem of praise for M. Atilius Regulus?

In fact, the next lines, given in Regulus' own voice, emphasize the uselessness of negotiating for or ransoming prisoners. In seven stanzas the hero argues for letting the soldiers die.³⁷⁵ A ransom would be a waste:

auro repensus scilicet acrior
 miles redibit. flagitio additis
 damnum: neque amissos colores
 lana refert mediata fuco
 nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
 curat reponi deterioribus.³⁷⁶

Will a soldier ransomed by gold come back

³⁷³ In addition to the Nisbet and Rudd references *ad loc.*, cf. Livy 1.20.4 and Ogilvie *ad loc.*

³⁷⁴ Ov. *Fast.* 6.259, Livy 1.20.3 and Ogilvie's comments at the same.

³⁷⁵ Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.13-40.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 25-30.

a bolder man? You are adding waste
 to shame. Dyed wool does not regain
 its former colours
 and true courage once lost does not care to return
 to men disgraced

Firmly Regulus denounces negotiation. Presumably this speech should refer to his own situation when, sent by Carthage to negotiate the ransoming of prisoners, he instead insisted he be returned to the Punic even though he knew full well that torture and death awaited him. Why would Horace thus argue against the return of his kinsmen by placing Regulus' famous stance next to their current plight?

Nisbet and Rudd brush over the answer but do not grab hold. In fact, Antony had tried to negotiate just such a return of prisoners with the Parthians in 36 BC.³⁷⁷ It had obviously failed. But the famous negotiation depicted on the breastplate of the Prima Porta Augustus would not occur until 20 BC, after the publication of the *Odes*. The only diplomatic talks with Parthia Horace could here be presenting are those of Antony. Therefore Horace does not praise nor censure Augustus' policies toward Parthia, which, according to the first stanza, must have swung more toward imperialism than conciliation, but instead lays the blame for unmanly, unwarlike action squarely at Antony's feet.

The question of what to do with Parthia was clearly an important one around the publication of the *Odes*. Whether Horace was asked to write a poem specifically on this topic or did so of his own volition, he manages to skirt the issue entirely by treating not Augustus' possible plans but Antony's failed actions. Horace further condemns Antony by juxtaposing his

³⁷⁷ Nisbet and Rudd *ad loc.* with bibliography.

soft, eastern action with the manliest of Rome's soldiers, the Marsians. Including the Apulians with them may be something of a stretch as far as military reputation goes. The Marsi were universally regarded as excellent and fearsome infantry, but the Apulians had no such claim to fame. Surely Horace would not include them here of all places simply as nod to his own origins.

In fact, the Apulians are particularly appropriate in this context because they precede the famous Regulus. I have already proposed that he was Sabine based on the evidence of two relatives, one a moneyer from Nomentum and the other called from the plow to serve Rome. I also emphasized the last stanza of the poem, in which Regulus leaves for Venafrum or Spartan Tarentum. And Tarentum, long associated with the Spartans and through them the Sabines, is in Apulia. Horace introduces the Apulians as a foreshadowing of Regulus, who had an estate there at the very least. Venafrum is not in Marsium but sits on the pass from Campania into Samnium and therefore controls one of the only routes into the Central Apennines and north to the Marsi. Thus Horace represents Regulus as both an exemplary Roman and a representative of the Italians imprisoned in Parthia. In other words, he establishes the *Italici* as excellent Romans in the opening stanzas and then proves it—and alleviates whatever guilt may be imposed by their original defeat under Crassus—by choosing Regulus as the voice of traditional austerity.

Regulus makes an excellent *exemplum* of Roman virtue and stoicism in the face of torture and death:

fertur pudicae coniugis osculum
 parvosque natos ut capitis minor
 ab se removisse et virilem
 torvus humi posuisse vultum
 donec labantis consilio patres

firmaret auctor numquam alias dato,
interque maerentis amicos
egregius properaret exsul
atque sciebat quae sibi barbarus
tortor pararet; non aliter tamen
dimovit obstantis propinquos
et populum reditus morantem.³⁷⁸

They say he refused his chaste wife's kiss
and pushed his young children away as though
no longer a Roman, grimly keeping
his manly gaze upon the ground
till by his authority he strengthened the wavering senators
by such counsel as had never before been given,
and then hurried away through grieving friends
into glorious exile.
And yet he knew what the barbarian torturer
was preparing for him, and parted the kinsmen
who blocked his way and the Roman people
delaying his return.

Here he embodies all of the virtues claimed by the Sabines and their kin: his *pietas* and *virtus* can hardly be surpassed. To put it another way, Regulus is all of the good possibilities from *Odes* 1.1 wrapped up into a single man. He is the successful politician, so successful in fact as to persuade

³⁷⁸ Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.41-52.

the senators simply by his impressive *auctoritas* and manly silence. He cleaves presumably ancestral glebes in Venafrum or Tarentum, both appropriate *loci* for such rusticity. As a soldier, he has been an excellent general for Rome even in defeat. Regulus' familiarity with deer in the metaphor of lines 31-3 qualify him to be the hunter in the Marsian hills, as do his estate in Venafrum and association with the Marsi of the poem's beginning. And what about the *vates*, the prophetic, oracular poet? Note Horace's choice of words in line 13: *mens provida Reguli*.

Through and through, Regulus is the ultimate Roman for Horace.

The hero's imagined retreat to his Sabellian home immediately precedes the culminating poem of the Roman Odes with which this study began. Nowhere does Horace more explicitly state Rome's ills:

Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,

Romane, donec temple refeceris

aedesque labentis deorum et

foeda nigro simulacra fumo.

dis te minorem quod geris, imperas:

hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum:

di multa neglecti dederunt

Hesperiae mala luctuosae

.....

fecunda culpae saecula nuptias

primum inquinavere et genus et domos;

hoc fonte derivata clades

in patriam populumque fluxit.³⁷⁹

Though innocent, Roman, you will pay for the sins
of your fathers until you restore the crumbling temples
and shrines of the gods
and their filthy smoke-blackened images.

You rule because you hold yourself inferior to the gods.
Make this the beginning and this the end of all things.

Neglect of the gods has brought many ills
to the sorrowing land of Hesperia.

.....
Generations prolific in sin polluted
first marriage, family, and home.

From this source streamed the troubles
Which have flowered over our land and its people.

Of course, by the time of this poem's publication Octavian had begun his magnificent building and rebuilding program to do just what the poet advises. But that does not detract from Horace's emphasis on piety, both religious and familial, as the strength of the state. Note that the statues are stained with the same black smoke Horace begged Maecenas to abandon in *Odes* 3.29.12. It will take a return to an older, simpler virtue to rid the city and the state from such pollution.

In the closing of the poem, Horace again provides his consistent answer to Rome's moral bankruptcy:

Non his iuventus orta parentibus

³⁷⁹ Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.1-8, 17-20.

infecit aequor sanguine Punico
 Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit 35
 Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum;
 sed rusticorum mascula militum
 proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
 versare glaebas et severae
 matris ad arbitrium recisos 40
 portare fustis, sol ubi montium
 mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
 bobus fatigatis, amicum
 tempus agens abeunte curru.³⁸⁰
 Not from such parents sprang the men 35
 who stained the sea with Punic blood
 and cut down Pyrrhus, mighty Antiochus
 and the deadly Hannibal.
 That was the manly stock of farmer soldiers
 taught to turn the sod
 with Samnite mattocks and cut and carry logs
 under the authority 40
 of a strict mother when the sun was moving
 the shadows of the mountains
 and loosing the yoke from weary oxen

³⁸⁰ Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.33-44.

as its departing chariot brought the longed-for hour.

At the beginning of this work I puzzled over the choice of *Sabellis* as opposed to *Sabinis* to describe those heavy clod-breakers swung by these toughest of Romans. It should now come as no surprise that Horace, at the very pinnacle of his dialogue, should choose to use this word that combines Sabine and *Italici* into one rustic group. As though Regulus had not clearly enough declared the poet's choice of moral foil for the troubles of Rome, now Horace explicitly declares his fellow Italians to be the new bedrock of Roman character.

In conclusion, Syme noted above that Horace had no understanding of recent Roman history. I believe I have established just the opposite. Horace was a son of the South, a thoroughly patriotic Italian, and as such he provided just what Augustus needed to shore up his position among the new citizens. Yes, Octavian was born decades after the *Italici* received the citizenship, but I believe civil war leaves long-lived and stubborn wounds that make for very ugly scars. Horace's sometimes-cryptic references to events of the Social War and the civil wars between Marius and Sulla would not have gone unremarked. This thread of Italian pride that weaves through the collection establishes nicely the contrast between Italians and Romans. And Horace puts this juxtaposition to excellent use. By praising *Italia* and Sabinum in almost the same breath, he manages to tie them together consistently in a grand crescendo leading up to the use of *Sabellis* in *Odes* 3.6. Horace thus preaches Italian and Sabine worthiness as a counter to the corruption in Rome that Augustus himself wished to correct.

Horace's Sabine identity does not clash with his Apulian origins. Rather, and largely through his own efforts, these two pictures of Horace meld together into one austere rusticity. Horace, then, as a Sabine of sorts, could preach to the city from his Sabine villa and recommend Sabine themes and virtues through a generous mix of Italian and actual Sabine locations,

individuals, and themes. Thus Sabinum and *Italia* alike become, for Horace, the very best Rome has to offer.

Appendix I

Harriet Flower recently proposed a very attractive chronological breakdown of the so-called “Roman Republic” in her book *Roman Republics* (Princeton: University Press, 2010). This project arose from the frequent difficulty of explaining the periodization of the period from the fall of the monarchy to the ascension of Augustus. As she notes in the preface, her father asked her how in the world the word “crisis” could refer to a period of 80 years (133-49 BC), when it by definition means “an acute event of short duration with a measurable outcome.” Further reflection on the topic and a decade of teaching Roman history surveys led her to conclude that the idea of an ongoing crisis in the republican period has become so thoroughly engrained in modern thinking as to color severely the very way in which we describe it chronologically.³⁸¹ The Roman republic was hardly a monolith.

The following paragraph and table reproduce her own periodization and its rationale. They are best understood in the context of the entire short and excellent book, one which I cannot recommend highly enough.

It is the aim of this study to use periodization as a tool and a framework, consciously constructed from the perspective of hindsight, to help make sense of republican political life over half a millennium. The division of this long and diverse period into several republics is helpful in distinguishing between very different political practices and times, which the Romans, according to their own political discourse, did not choose to designate with specific or technical names.

The thirteen chronological periods, including six republics, proposed here are:

³⁸¹ Flower (2010), ix-xi.

1. Ca. 509-494 A pre-republican transitional period immediately after the monarchy
2. 494-451/0 A proto-republic before the first written law code
3. 450-367/6 **Republic 1:** An experiment, including the consular tribunes
4. 366-300 **Republic 2:** The emergence of a republic shared by patricians and plebeians
5. 300-180 **Republic 3:** The republic of the *nobiles* 1
6. 180-139 **Republic 4:** The republic of the *nobiles* 2
7. 139-88 **Republic 5:** The republic of the *nobiles* 3
8. 88-81 A transitional period (coup of Sulla, *domination* of Cinna, dictatorship of Sulla)
9. 81-60 **Republic 6:** The republic of Sulla (modified in significant ways in 70)
10. 59-53 A triumvirate (Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus)
11. 52-49 A transitional period
12. 49-44 The dictatorship of Caesar (and a short transition after his murder)
13. 43-33 Another triumvirate (Octavian, Lepidus, Antony)³⁸²

The remainder of Dr. Flower's book defends these divisions and explains what makes each so distinct from its chronological neighbors. Wherever relevant in this thesis, I employ these temporal divisions.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 33.

Appendix II

This table enumerates every geographical reference to Italy within *Odes* 1-3. The numbers in the left hand column correspond to those in chapter two. “Region” designations align with those from the discussion at the beginning of the same chapter. The “Judgment” column expresses Horace’s utilization of the geographical marker. Please see the appropriately numbered paragraph(s) in chapter two for justification.

Number	Geographical Marker	Poem	Region	Judgment
1	veteris pocula Massici	1.1.19	Campania	Against Rome
2	Marsus aper	1.1.28	Marsium	For Italia
3	flavum Tiberim	1.2.13	Sabinum	Neutral
4	litore Etrusco	1.2.14	Etruria	Against Etruria
5	monumenta regis	1.2.15	Rome	For Sabinum
6	templaque Vestae	1.2.16	Rome	For Sabinum
7	Marsi peditis	1.2.39	Marsium	For Italia
8	domus Albunee resonantis	1.7.12	Sabinum	For Sabinum
9	praeceps Anio	1.7.13	Sabinum	For Sabinum
10	Tiburni lucus	1.7.13	Sabinum	For Sabinum
11	Tiburis umbra	1.7.21	Sabinum	For Sabinum
12	apricum Campum	1.8.3-4	Sabinum	For Sabinum
13	flavum Tiberim	1.8.8	Sabinum	For Sabinum
14	Soracte	1.9.2	Sabinum	For Sabinum
15	Sabina...diota	1.9.7	Sabinum	For Sabinum
16	Lucretilem	1.17.1	Sabinum	For Sabinum
17	Usticae	1.17.11	Sabinum	For Sabinum
18	solum Tiburis et moenia Catili	1.18.2	Sabinum	For Sabinum
19	Sabinum	1.20.1	Sabinum	For Sabinum
20	Vaticani montis	1.20.7-8	Etruria	Against Etruria
21	Caecubum	1.20.9	Latium	Against Rome
22	prelo Caleno	1.20.9	Campania	Against Rome
23	Falernae vites	1.20.10-1	Campania	Against Rome
24	Formiani colles	1.20.11-12	Latium	Against Rome
25	gelido Algidio	1.21.6	Latium	Against Rome
26	silva lupus in Sabina	1.22.9	Sabinum	For Sabinum
27	Daunias	1.22.14	Apulia	For Italia
28	severi...Falerni	1.27.9-10	Campania	Against Rome
29	litus Matinum	1.28.3	Apulia	For Italia

30	Venusiae silvae	1.28.26-7	Apulia	For Italia
31	sacri Tarenti	1.28.29	Apulia	For Italia
32	Tiberim	1.29.12	Sabinum	Neutral
33	dedicatum Apollinem	1.31.1	Rome	Against Rome
34	aestuosae Calabriae	1.31.5	Calabria	Against Rome
35	Liris quieta	1.31.7	Campania	Against Rome
36	Calenam vitem	1.31.9-10	Campania	Against Rome
37	Apulis...lupis	1.33.7-8	Apulia	For Italia
38	Calabros sinus	1.33.16	Calabria	Neutral
39	Antium	1.35.1	Latium	Against Rome
40	Latium	1.35.10	Latium	Against Rome
41	Caecubum	1.37.5	Latium	Against Rome
42	Latino sanguine	2.1.29	Latium	Against Rome
43	Hesperiae sonitum ruinae	2.1.32	Italy	For Italia
44	Dauniae...cades	2.1.34-5	Apulia	For Italia
45	Falerni	2.3.8	Campania	Against Rome
46	flavus Tiberis	2.3.18	Sabinum	For Sabinum
47	Tibur	2.6.5	Sabinum	For Sabinum
48	Galaesi	2.6.10	Iapyges	For Italia
49	regnata petam Laconi rura Phalantho	2.6.11-12	Iapyges	For Italia
50	Venafro	2.6.16	Samnium	For Italia
51	Aulon	2.6.18	Iapyges	For Italia
52	Falernis uvis	2.6.19-20	Campania	Against Rome
53	Italoque caelo	2.7.4	Italy	For Italia
54	Massico	2.7.21	Campania	Against Rome
55	Barine	2.8.2	Iapyges	Neutral
56	Gargani	2.9.7	Apulia	Neutral
57	Falerni	2.11.19	Campania	Against Rome
58	Italum robur	2.13.18-19	Italy	For italia
59	Caecuba	2.14.25	Latium	Against Rome
60	Lucrino lacu	2.15.3-4	Campania	Against Rome
61	unicis Sabinis	2.18.14	Sabinum	For Sabinum
62	marisque Bais	2.18.20	Campania	Against Rome
63	Marsae cohortis	2.20.18	Marsium	For Italia
64	Campum	3.1.11	Sabinum	Against Rome
65	Falerna vitis	3.1.43-4	Campania	Against Rome
66	valle Sabina	3.1.47	Sabinum	For Sabinum
67	Romamque	3.3.38	Rome	Against Rome
68	Capitolium	3.3.42	Rome	Against Rome
69	Roma	3.3.44	Rome	Against Rome

70	Vulture in Apulo	3.4.9	Apulia	For Italia
71	nutricis Apuliae	3.4.10	Apulia	For Italia
72	celsae nidum Acherontiae	3.4.14	Apulia	For Italia
73	saltusque Bantinos	3.4.15	Apulia	For Italia
74	humilis Forenti	3.4.16	Apulia	For Italia
75	arduos Sabinos	3.4.21-22	Sabinum	For Sabinum
76	frigidum Praeneste	3.4.22-23	Latium	Against Rome
77	Tibur supinum	3.4.23	Sabinum	For Sabinum
78	liquidiae Baiiae	3.4.24	Campania	Against Rome
79	Marsus	3.5.9	Marsium	For Italia
80	Apulus	3.5.9	Apulia	For Italia
81	Venafronos in agros	3.5.55	Samnium	For Italia
82	Lacedaemonium Tarentum	3.5.56	Iapyges	For Italia
83	Sabellis lignonibus	3.6.38	Samnium	For Italia
84	gramine Martio	3.7.26	Sabinum	For Sabinum
85	Tusco alveo	3.7.28	Etruria	Neutral
86	Tyrrhenus parens	3.10.12	Etruria	Against Etruria
87	Tiberinis undis	3.12.7	Sabinum	Neutral
88	Fons Bandusiae	3.13.1	Sabinum	For Sabinum
89	Marsi duelli	3.14.18	Marsium	For Italia
90	Luceriam	3.15.14	Samnium	For Italia
91	impiger Apulus	3.16.26	Apulia	For Italia
92	Calabrae apes	3.16.33	Calabria	Against Rome
93	Formiarum moenia	3.17.6	Campania	Against Rome
94	Maricae	3.17.7	Campania	Against Rome
95	Lirim	3.17.8	Campania	Against Rome
96	Paelignis frigoribus	3.19.8	Paeligni	For Italia
97	lectum Massicum	3.21.5	Campania	Against Rome
98	nivali Alcido	3.23.9	Latium	Against Rome
99	Albanis in herbis	3.23.11	Latium	Against Rome
100	Tyrrhenum et mare Punicum	3.24.4	Campania	Against Rome
101	Capitolium	3.24.45	Rome	Against Rome
102	ab agro... Lanuvino	3.27.2-3	Latium	Neutral
103	Caecubum	3.28.3	Latium	Against Rome
104	Tyrrhena regum progenies	3.29.1	Etruria	Against Etruria
105	Tibur	3.29.6	Sabinum	For Sabinum
106	Aefulae declive arvum	3.29.6-7	Sabinum	For Sabinum
107	Telegoni iuga parricidae	3.29.8	Latium	Against Rome
108	Etruscum in mare	3.29.35	Etruria	Against Etruria
109	Capitolium	3.30.8	Rome	For Sabinum
110	Aufidus	3.30.10	Samnium	For Italia

111	Daunus	3.30.11	Apulia	For Italia
112	carmen ad Italos deduxisse modos	3.30.13-14	Italy	For Italia

Appendix III

These lists of Romans and Italians mentioned in the body of this thesis have been provided to clarify references to individuals with similar names. They are given alphabetically except in the section labeled “Illustrious Romans of the Rhetorical Tradition,” in which they are listed in the order found in Appendix IV. All of this data has been taken from that invaluable masterwork, T.R.S. Broughton’s *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. All dates are BC.

Social War*Roman Forces*

L. Acilius (*RE* 8) Leg. 90

Mam. Aemilius Lepidus (*RE* 80) Leg. 88, Pr. by 81, Cos. 77, Princeps Sen. 70

C. Baebius (*RE* 11) Leg. and Popr. 90

M. Caecilius Cornutus (*RE* 44) Pr. by 90, Leg. 90-88.

Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (*RE* 98) Pr. 89, Procos. 88-2, Leg. 87, Cos. 80, Procos. Farther Spain
79-1

M. Claudius Marcellus (*RE* 226) Leg. 102, 90. Pr. before 73.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher (*RE* 296) Q. 99, Aed. Cur. by 91, Pr. 89, Promag. 87, Cos. 79, Procos.
Macedonia 78, Interrex 77, Procos. Macedonia and Thrace 77-76.

L. Cornelius Cinna (*RE* 106) Pr. by 90, Leg. 90-88, Cos. 87-84

P. Cornelius Lentulus (*RE* 203) Leg. 90

L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes (*RE* 338) Leg. 90, Pr. by 86, Promag. Macedonia 85, Cos. 83

L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (*RE* 392) Q. 107, Proq. 106-5, Leg. 106-4, Tr. Mil. 103, Leg. 102-1, Pr.
urb. 93, Propr. Cilicia 92, Leg. 90-39, Cos. 88, Procos. Greece, Macedonia, Asia 87-4
and in Italy 83-1, Dict. r.p.c. 82-79, Cos. 80

C. Cosconius (*RE* 3) Leg. 89, Procos. Illyricum 78-6.

T. Didius (*RE* 5) Tr. Pl. 103, Pr. by 101, Procos. Macedonia 100-99, Cos. Nearer Spain 98,
 Procos. 97-3, Leg. 90-89.

Fonteius (*RE* 2) Leg. 91.

A. Gabinius (*RE* 9) Leg. 89

L. Gellius Publicola (*RE* 17) Aed. 96, Pr. Peregr. 94, Procos. Asia or Cilicia 93, Leg. 89, Cos. 72,
 Cens. 70, Leg. 67-3.

Q. Hortenius Hortalus (*RE* 13) Tr. Mil. 89, Q. 80, Aed. 75, Pr. de repetundis 72, Cos. 69

L. Iulius Caesar (*RE* 142) Pr. 95, Procos. Macedonia 94, Cos. 90, Cens. 89.

Sex. Iulius Caesar (*RE* 151) Pr. by 94, Cos. 91, Procos. 90

P. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 61) Aed. 102, Pr. by 100, Cos. Farther Spain 97, Procos. 96-3, Leg. 90,
 Cens. 89, Leg. 87

L. Licinius Lucullus (*RE* 104) Tr. Mil. 89, Q. 87, Proq. Greece 86 and Asia 85-80, Leg. 86-5,
 Aed. Cur. 79, Pr. 78, Promag. Africa 77-6, Cos. Cilicia 74, Procos. Cilicia 73-68, Asia
 73-69, Bithynia and Pontus 73-67, Italy 66-3

Q. Lutatius Catulus (*RE* 7) Pr. by 109, Cos. in Gall. Cisalp. 102, Procos. 101, Leg. 90, 87

L. Marcius Philippus (*RE* 75) Tr. Pl. 104, Pr. by 96, Cos. 91, Cens. 86, Leg. 82

C. Marius (*RE* 14, Supb. 6) Q. 121, Tr. Pl. 119, Pr. 115, Promag. Farther Spain 114, Leg. 109-8,
 Cos. Nmidia 107, Procos. 106-5, Cos. 104-100, Leg. 97, Procos. 90, Leg. 90, Procos. 88-
 7, Cos. 86

Cn. Papirius Carbo (*RE* 38) Tr. Pl. 92, Pr. Lucania 89, Leg. 87, Cos. 85, 84, Procos. 83, Cos. 82

C. Papirius Carbo Arvina (*RE* 40) Leg. 94, Tr. Pl. 90, Leg. 89, Pr. by 83

C. Perperna (*RE* 2) Praet. 91, Leg. 90

A. Plautius (*RE* 7) Leg. 90, 87

Cn. Pompeius Strabo (*RE* 14) Q. 104, Pr. by 92, Leg. 90, Cos. Picenum 89, Procos. 88-7

L. Porcius Cato (*RE* 16) Pr. by 92, Propr. 90, Cos. 89

A. Postumius Albinus (*RE* 36) Leg. 110, Pr. by 102, Cos. 99, Leg. 89

L. Postumius (not in *RE*)

P. Rutulius Lupus (*RE* 26) Pr. by 93, Cos. 90

Q. Servilius (*RE* 29) Pr. 91

Q. Servilius Caepio (*RE* 50) Q. 100, Pr. 91, Leg. 90, Procos. 90

Ser. Sulpicius Galba (*RE* 60) Pr. by 91 Promag. Lucania 90, Leg. 90-88, 86

M or M' Valerius Messalla (*RE* 56 or 57) Leg. 90

Italian Forces

C. Aponius Motilus (*RE* 7)

Herius Asinius (*RE* 5)

Marius Egnatius (*RE* 10)

Insteius Cato (*RE* 7)

T. Lafranius (*RE* only entry)

M. Lamponius (*RE* only entry)

C. Papius Mutilus (*RE* 12)

Plotius (not in *RE*)

Q. Pompaedius Silo (*RE* only entry)

Pontius Telesinus (*RE* 21)

Publius Praesentius (not in *RE*)

P. Vettius Scato (*RE* 16)

C. Vidacilius (*RE* only entry)

Civil Wars of 87 and 83-2

Marians

C. Carinas (*RE* 1) Leg. 83, Pr. 82

L. Cornelius Cinna (*RE* 106) Pr. by 90, Leg. 90-88, Cos. 87-84

L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes (*RE* 338) Leg. 90, Pr. by 86, Promag. Macedonia 85, Cos. 83

C. Marius (*RE* 14, Supb. 6) Q. 121, Tr. Pl. 119, Pr. 115, Promag. Farther Spain 114, Leg. 109-8,
Cos. Nmidia 107, Procos. 106-5, Cos. 104-100, Leg. 97, Procos. 90, Leg. 90, Procos. 88-
7, Cos. 86

C. Marius (*RE* 15) Cos. 82

C. Norbanus (*RE* 5) Tr. Pl. 103, Q. 102, Pr. 88, Promag. Sicily 87, Cos. 83, Procos. 82.

Cn. Papius Carbo (*RE* 38) Tr. Pl. 92, Pr. Lucania 89, Leg. 87, Cos. 85, 84, Procos. 83, Cos. 82

Q. Sertorius (*RE* 3) Tr. Mil. 97-3, Q. in Cis. Gaul 90, Leg. 87, Pr. 83, self-proclaimed promag. in
Spain 82-73

Sullans

Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (*RE* 98) Pr. 89, Procos. 88-2, Leg. 87, Cos. 80, Procos. Farther Spain
79-1

L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (*RE* 392) Q. 107, Proq. 106-5, Leg. 106-4, Tr. Mil. 103, Leg. 102-1, Pr.
urb. 93, Propr. Cilicia 92, Leg. 90-39, Cos. 88, Procos. Greece, Macedonia, Asia 87-4
and in Italy 83-1, Dict. r.p.c. 82-79, Cos. 80

Q. Lucretius Ofella (*RE* 25) Prefect 82

Cn. Octavius (*RE* 20) Pr. by 90, Cos. 87

Cn. Pompeius Magnus (*RE* 15) Prop. 83-79 (Italy 83-2, Sicily 82-80, Africa 80-79), vs. Lepidus 77, Procos. Nearer Spain vs. Sertorius 79-1, Cos. 70, Procos. vs. pirates 67, vs. Mithridates 66-1, Cos. 55, Procos. Spain 54-49, Cos. 52, Procos. vs. Caesar 49-8

Illustrious Romans of the Rhetorical Tradition

Romulus (*RE* 1)

Numa Pompilius (*RE* 1)

Tarquinius Superbus (*RE* 12)

M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (*RE* 20) Tr. Mil. 67-6, Leg. 67, Q. 64, Tr. Pl. 62, Q. pro. pr. to Cyprus and Byzantium 58-6, Pr. 54, Promag. Sicily and Greece 49-8, Propr. in Africa 47-6

M. Atilius Regulus (*RE* 51) Cos. 267, Cos. Suff. 256, Procos. Africa 255

M. Aemilius Scaurus (*RE* 140) Aed. Cur. 122, Pr. by 119, Cos. 115, Leg. 112-1, Cens. 109

M. Aurelius Scaurus (*RE* 215) Pr. by 111, Cos. Suff. 108, Leg. 106-5.

L. Aemilius Paulus (*RE* 118) Cos. 219, Leg. 218, Cos. 216

C. Fabricius Luscinus (*RE* 9) Leg. 283, Cos. 282, Leg. 280-79, Cos. 278, Cens. 275

M' Curius Dentatus (*RE* 9) Tr. Pl. 298, Cos. 290, Pr. Suff. 283, Cos. 275-4, Cens. 272

M. Furius Camillus (*RE* 44) Cos. 403, 398, Interrex 396, Dict. 396, Cos. 394, Interrex 391, Dict. 390, Interrex 389, Dict. 389, Cos. 386, 384, 381, Dict. 368-7

M. Claudius Marcellus (*RE* 220) Aed. Cur. 226, Pr. 224, Cos. Cisalp. Gaul. 222, Pr. Ostia, Canusium, Nola 216, Cos. Suff. 215, Procos. Nola 215, Cos. Sicily 214, Procos. Sicily 213-1, Cos. Samnium 210, Procos. Southern Italy 209, Cos. Southern Italy 208

L. Iunius Brutus (*RE* 46a, Supb. 5.356ff.) Cos. 509

C. Mucius Cordus Scaevola (*RE* 10)

Horatius Cocles (*RE* 9)

- P. Decius Mus (*RE* 16) Cos. 312, Leg. 310, Cos. 308, Mag. Eq. 306, Cens. 304, Cos. 297,
 Procos. 296, Cos. 295
- P. Decius Mus (*RE* 17) Cos. 279, Cos. Suff. 265
- Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus (*RE* 345) Cos. 222, Leg. 218, Promag. Spain 217-1
- P. Cornelius Scipio (*RE* 330) Cos. 218, Procos. Spain 217-1
- P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (*RE* 336) Tr. Mil. 216, Aed. Cur. 213, Procos. Spain 210-6, Cos.
 205, Procos. Africa 204-1, Cens. 199, Cos. 194, Leg. 193, 190, 184, Princeps Senatus
 199, 194, 189
- P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus (*RE* 335) Tr. Mil. 151, Leg. 150, Tr. Mil. 149-8, Cos.
 Africa 147, Procos. Africa 146, Cens. 142, Leg. 140-39, Cos. Nearer Spain 134, Procos.
 Nearer Spain 133-2
- M. Porcius Cato Maior (*RE* 10) R. Mil. 214, Q. 204, Aed. Pl. 199, Pr. Sardinia 198, Cos. Spain
 195, Procos. Spain 194, Leg. 194, Tr. Mil. 191, Leg. 191, 189, Cens. 184.
- Ti. Coruncanus (*RE* 3) Cos. 280, Dict. 246
- A. Atilius Calatinus (*RE* 36) Cos. 258, Pr. 257, Cos. 254, Dict. 249, Cens. 247
- C. Duilius (*RE* 3) Cos. 260, Cens. 258, Dict. 231
- L. Caecilius Metellus (*RE* 72) Cos. Sicily 251, Procos. Sicily 251, Mag. Eq. 249, Cos. 247, Dict.
 224
- C. Lutatius Catulus (*RE* 4) Cos. with fleet off Sicily 242, Procos. 241
- Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator (*RE* 116) Aed. Cur. by 235, Cos. 233, Cens. 230, Cos.
 228, Interrex 222, Dict. 221, Dict. 217, Cos. III Suff. 215, Cos. 214, Leg. 213, Cos. 209,
 Interrex 208, Princeps Senatus 209, 204

- L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus (*RE* 114) Q. 195, Aed. Cur. 193, Pr. Farther Spain 191, Procos. Farther Spain 190-189, Leg. 189-188, Cos. 182, Procos. Liguria 181, Cos. Macedonia 168, Procos. Macedonia 167, Cens. 164, Interrex 162
- Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (*RE* 53) Leg. 190, 185, Aed. Cur. 182, Pr. nearer Spain 180, Procos. Nearer Spain 179-178, Cos. Sardinia 177, Procos. Sardinia 176-175, Cens. 169, Leg. 165, Cos. Corsica and Sardinia 163, Procos. Corsica and Sardinia 162, Leg. 162-161
- C. Laelius (*RE* 3) Leg. 147-146, Pr. 145, Promag. Spain 144, Cos. 140
- Ap. Claudius Caecus (*RE* 91) Q. 316, Aed. Cur. by 313, Cens. 312, Cos. 307, Aed. Cur. 305, Interrex 298, Pr. before 297, Cos. 296, Pr. 295, Dict. between 292 and 285
- C. Marius (*RE* 14, Supb. 6) Q. 121, Tr. Pl. 119, Pr. 115, Promag. Farther Spain 114, Leg. 109-8, Cos. Nmidia 107, Procos. 106-5, Cos. 104-100, Leg. 97, Procos. 90, Leg. 90, Procos. 88-7, Cos. 86
- C. Servilius Ahala (*RE* 32) Mag. Eq. 439
- ? Cornelius Lentulus ? – Could be any number of Corneli Lentuli
- M. Aemilius Lepidus (*RE* 68) Leg. 201-199, Aed. Cur. 193, Pr. Sicily 191, Promag. Sicily 190, Cos. 187, Cens 179, Cos. 175, Leg. 170, Princeps Senatus 179, 174, 169, 164, 159, 154

Appendix IV

The following table illustrates the individuals presented in each rhetorical list in the Ciceronian corpus. Where Cicero gives the name of an individual in the singular or plural it is marked in the table with an “s” or “pl” respectively. The passages are given in no particular order except that they begin with the two discussed at length in chapter two (*Parad.* 1.12 and *Nat. D.* 2.165). The individuals are not organized alphabetically but according to the order in which they appear in the passages.

Please compare this document with Appendices III and V. The Romans listed here have full biographical information in Appendix III with the exception of the very ambiguous Cornelius Lentulus. All of the passages are given in full in Appendix V.

Appendix V

The following passages all contain lists similar to those found in Horace, *Odes* 1.12. Some of them refer only to the trio of poverty, some to commanders, and others to moral examples in general. Please compare these lists with the table in Appendix IV.

Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3.80

Cur igitur **duo Scipiones** fortissimos et optimos viros in Hispania Poenus oppressit, cur **Maximus** extulit filium consularem, cur **Marcellum** Annibal interemit, cur **Paulum** Cannae sustulerunt, cur Poenorum crudelitati **Reguli** corpus est praebitum, cur **Africanum** domestici parietes non texerunt?

Tusculanae Disputationes 1.110

multo autem tardius fama deseret **Curium Fabricium Calatinum, duo Scipiones duo Africanos, Maximum Marcellum Paulum, Catonem Laelium,** innumerabilis alios

De Re Publica 1.1

nec **C. Duellius A. Atilius L. Metellus** terrore Karthaginis, non **duo Scipiones** oriens incendium belli Punici secundi sanguine suo restinxissent, nec id excitatum maioribus copiis aut **Q. Maximus** enervavisset, aut **M. Marcellus** contudisset, aut a portis huius urbis avolsum **P. Africanus** compulisset intra hostium moenia. **M. vero Catoni** homini ignoto et novo

Cato Maior De Senectute 15.43

Saepe audivi ex maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum **C. Fabricium**, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cineas esse quendam Athenis, qui se sapientem profiteretur,

eumque dicere omnia, quae faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientis **M'. Curium** et **Ti. Coruncanium** optare solitos, ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat **M'. Curius** cum **P. Decio**, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat; norat eundem **Fabricius**, norat **Coruncanius**; qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex eius, quem dico, **Deci**, facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur.

Laelius De Amicitia 18

Numquam ego dicam **C. Fabricium**, **M'. Curium**, **Ti. Coruncanium**, quos sapientes nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes. Quare sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et obscurum; concedant ut viri boni fuerint. Ne id quidem facient, negabunt id nisi sapienti posse concedi.

Paradoxa Stoicorum 6.48

Si censenda nobis sit atque aestimanda res, utrum tandem pluris aestimemus pecuniam Pyrrhi, quam **Fabricio** dabat, an continentiam **Fabrici**, qui illam pecuniam repudiabat? utrum aurum Samnitum an responsum **M'. Curi**? hereditatem **L. Pauli** an liberalitatem **Africani**, qui eius hereditatis **Q. Maximo** fratri partem suam concessit?

Brutus 55

Possumus **Appium Claudium** suspicari disertum, quia senatum iamiam inclinatum a Pyrrhi pace revocaverit; possumus **C. Fabricium**, quia sit ad Pyrrhum de captivis recuperandis missus orator; **Ti. Coruncanium**, quod ex

pontificum commentariis longe plurimum ingenio valuisse videatur; **M'**.

Curium, quod is tribunus plebis interrege **Appio Caeco** diserto homine comitia contra leges habente, cum de plebe consulem non accipiebat, patres ante auctores fieri coegerit; quod fuit permagnum nondum lege Maenia lata.

Pro Cn. Plancio 60

quis nostrum se dicit **M'. Curio**, quis **C. Fabricio**, quis **C. Duellio** parem, quis <A.> **Atilio Calatino**, quis **Cn. et P. Scipionibus**, quis **Africano, Marcello, maximo?**

Pro Caelio 39

Ex hoc genere illos fuisse arbitror **Camillos, Fabricios, Curios** omnesque eos, qui haec ex minimis tanta fecerunt.

De Imperio Cn. Pompei 47

Ego enim sic existimo: **Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario**, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos.

In Pisonem 58

O stultos **Camillos, Curios, Fabricios, Calatinos, Scipiones, Marcellos, Maximos!** o amentem **Paulum**, rusticum **Marium**, nullius consili patres horum amborum consulum, qui triumpharint!

Pro Sestio 143

qua re imitemur nostros **Brutos, Camillos, Ahalas, Decios, Curios, Fabricios, Maximos, Scipiones, Lentulos, Aemilios**, innumerabilis alios qui hanc rem publicam stabiliverunt

De Natura Deorum 2.165

Sin autem consulunt, qui quasi magnam quandam insulam incolunt, quam nos orbem terrae vocamus, etiam illis consulunt, qui partes eius insulae tenent, Europam, Asiam, Africam. Ergo et earum partes diligunt, ut Romam, Athenas, Spartam, Rhodum, et earum urbium separatim ab universis singulos diligunt, ut Pyrrhi bello **Curium**, **Fabricium**, **Coruncanium**, primo Punico **Calatinum**, **Duellium**, **Metellum**, **Lutatium**, secundo **Maximum**, **Marcellum**, **Africanum**, post hos **Paulum**, **Gracchum**, **Catonem**, patrumve memoria **Scipionem**, **Laelium**; multosque praeterea et nostra civitas et Graecia tulit singulares viros, quorum neminem nisi iuvante deo talem fuisse credendum est.

Paradoxa Stoicorum 1.12

voltis a **Romulo**? voltis post liberam civitatem ab iis ipsis, qui liberaverunt? quibus tandem **Romulus** gradibus escendit in caelum? iisne, quae isti bona appellant, an rebus gestis atque virtutibus? quid? a **Numa Pompilio** minusne gratas dis immortalibus capudines ac fictilis urnulas fuisse quam felicitas Saliorum pateras arbitramur? omitto reliquos; sunt enim omnes pares inter se praeter **Superbum**. **Brutum** si qui roget, quid egerit in patria liberanda, si quis item reliquos eiusdem consilii socios, quid spectaverint, quid secuti sint: num quis existat, cui voluptas, cui divitiae, cui denique praeter officium fortis et magni viri quicquam aliud propositum fuisse videatur? quae res ad necem Porsennae **C. Mucium** inpulit sine ulla spe salutis suae? quae vis **Coclitem** contra omnis hostium copias tenuit in ponte solum? quae patrem **Decium**, quae filium devota vita inmisit in armatas hostium copias? quid continentia **C. Fabricii**, quid tenuitas

victus **M'. Curii** sequebatur? quid duo propugnacula belli Punici, **Cn. et P. Scipiones**, qui Karthaginensium adventum corporibus suis intercludendum putaverunt? quid **Africanus maior**? quid **minor**? quid inter horum aetates interiectus **Cato**? quid innumerabiles alii? - nam domesticis exemplis abundamus cogitassene quicquam in vita sibi esse expetendum nisi quod laudabile esse et praeclarum videretur?

De Oratore 2.71.290

"Ego vero, atque hilare quidem a te acceptus," inquit "et cum doctior per te, tum etiam audacior factus iam ad iocandum; non enim vereor ne quis me in isto genere leviolem iam putet, quoniam quidem tu **Fabricios** mihi auctores et **Africanos, Maximos, Catones, Lepidos** protulisti.

De Oratore 3.15.56

Hanc, inquam, cogitandi pronuntiandi que rationem vimque dicendi veteres Graeci sapientiam nominabant; hinc illi Lycurgi, hinc Pittaci, hinc Solones atque ab hac similitudine **Coruncanii** nostri, **Fabricii, Catones, Scipiones** fuerunt, non tam fortasse docti, sed impetu mentis simili et voluntate.

Cato Maior De Senectute 6.15

Nihil ergo agebat **Q. Maximus**, nihil **L. Paulus**, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, fili mei? Ceteri senes, **Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii**, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant?

Other Authors

Valerius Maximus 2.1.10

inde oriebantur **Camilli, Scipiones, Fabricii, Marcelli, Fabii**, ac ne singula
imperii nostri lumina simul percurrendo sim longior, inde, inquam, caeli
clarissima pars, diui fulserunt Caesares

Quintilian, *Institutiones* 12.2.30

An fortitudinem, iustitiam, fidem, continentiam, frugalitatem, contemptum doloris
ac mortis melius alii docebunt quam **Fabricii, Curii, Reguli, Decii, Mucii** aliique
innumerabiles?

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