

## From Separation to Song: Horace, *Carmina* IV\*

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*for H.L.P.*

*minuentur atrae carmine curae*  
(IV. 11. 35–36)

### I. Introduction

The fifteen poems of Horace's *Carmina* IV, a collection published in 13 B.C., are the final lyric collection of one of the most meticulous poetic craftsmen that has ever lived, and not surprisingly they display a degree of control that defies complete analysis. Only when one approaches this collection repeatedly and from different critical stances does one begin to appreciate its richness of detail, its emotional and thematic complexity, its chiaroscuro of contrasting tones and moods, its carefully crafted interplay of image and reality, and the degree to which every detail contributes to the overall effect, shape and movement.

In several earlier studies I have taken what one might call an architectural approach to Book IV. Two of these studies have shown how Book IV combines the centrifugal thrust of violent contrast with the centripetal pull of motivic links.<sup>1</sup> Thus in Book IV Horace juxtaposes poems lamenting the passing of time and the approach of death with poems

\*I am particularly in debt to the following three studies of Horace: E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957); S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace. A Critical Study* (New Haven 1962); C. Becker, *Das Spätwerk des Horaz* (Göttingen 1963). For Book IV of the *Odes* I have also drawn heavily on W. Wili, *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur* (Basel 1947), pp. 354–72; D. Norberg, "Le quatrième livre des Odes d'Horace," *Emerita* 20 (1952), 95–107; J. M. Benario, "Book 4 of Horace's *Odes*: Augustan Propaganda," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 91 (1960), 339–52; W. Ludwig, "Die Anordnung des vierten Horazischen Odenbuchs," *Museum Helveticum* 18 (1961), 1–10.

Unless otherwise indicated, references in this article are to Horace's *Odes*.

<sup>1</sup>"The Recurrent Motifs of Horace, *Carmina* IV," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79 (1975), 189–228; "Motivic Transformation in Classical Literature and Music," *Classical World* 70 (1976–77), 257–66.

praising poetry and its power to confer immortality (IV. 1 with IV. 2; IV. 7 with IV. 8; IV. 9 with IV. 10), poems praising the peaceful accomplishments of Augustus with poems glorifying the violent wars waged by his stepsons (IV. 5 with IV. 4; IV. 15 with IV. 14), long and complex poems with short and simple poems (IV. 2 and IV. 4 with IV. 3; IV. 9 with IV. 10), and so on. As counterbalance to these potentially divisive juxtapositions the book contains a tight web of recurrent motifs which link the poems one to another while simultaneously underscoring their contrasts. Two other studies have shown how similar analysis of structure and motif can throw light on the interpretation of specific poems in the book and even on the question of whether the Vergil addressed in IV. 12 is the famous poet.<sup>2</sup>

This architectural approach is surely justifiable in studying the works of a poet who himself in the epilogue to his first collection of odes compares his poetry to the pyramids (III. 30. 1 ff.), but the approach is limited in that it stresses *static* relationships within a book—the placement of poems relative to each other, subtle verbal and thematic links between them, architectural parallels between different groups of poems, and so on. I have already indicated that Book IV yields its secrets only to those who come at it from many different directions, and in the present article I adopt what we might, for want of a better term, call a dynamic approach, stressing not the static relationships within the architecture of Book IV but rather its inner movement—how one mood or theme yields to another, how the emotional rhythm of the inner parts relates to that of the whole. If the architectural approach works from the surely correct assumption that the book was intended to be read and reread, to be viewed as a single entity incorporating an almost spatial interplay of parts, the dynamic approach works from the equally justifiable assumption that the book was also intended to be read aloud, and listened to, as an ongoing, shifting, moving entity gradually unfolding in time. A final assumption, of course, is that these two approaches effectively complement each other, that each helps counterbalance the distortions and limitations inherent in the other.

## II. The Dominant Rhythms of Book IV

In Book IV as a whole there is a clear shift of mood, theme, and attitude from the first poem to the last. IV. 1 opens the book with war, separation and loss. By the time Horace comes to IV. 15, he is singing of peace, plentiful sharing, and poetry. The completeness of this about-face becomes fully apparent if we juxtapose some key lines from each poem. The opening lines of IV. 1 lament the resumption of wars (IV. 1. 1–2):

<sup>2</sup>"Horace, *Carmina*, IV, 12," *Latomus* 31 (1972), 71–87; "The Motif of Spring in Horace, *Carmina* 4.7 and 4.12," *Classical Bulletin* 49 (1973), 57–61.



Ligurinus through the *volubiles aquae* (40). IV. 15 reverses the sequence of these motifs, beginning with Apollo's injunction to Horace not to set sail on the dangerous sea of epic poetry (1–4) and concluding with Horace's song of *almae progeniem Veneris* (31–32). The description in IV. 1 of the abundance of wealth and pleasure which Paullus possesses corresponds to the description in IV. 15 of the manifold joys of the Augustan era, and the long polysyndeton of IV. 1. 13 ff. (*et . . . et . . . et . . . et . . . et*) followed by the long chain of negatives (29–32: *nec . . . nec . . . nec . . . nec . . . nec*) is closely mirrored in the similar progression in IV. 15. 4 ff. (*et . . . et . . . et . . . et . . . et . . . et . . . et*) and 17 ff. (*non . . . non . . . non . . . non . . . non . . . non . . . non*). Horace's anguished prayers at the beginning of IV. 1 (*parce precor, precor*, 2) are recalled by his joyful prayers at the end of IV. 15 (cf. *apprecati*, 28), the song in which he has no part in IV. 1 (22–24) by the song in which he is central at the close of IV. 15.

These and similar links between IV. 1 and IV. 15 not only enclose the collection in two neatly joined poems but also call our attention to the gulf between these poems, to how far from IV. 1 we have progressed by the time we reach IV. 15. I have suggested above that this movement is one from separation to union, from war to peace and poetry, from loss to possession, and it is this movement in its many ramifications that provides the basic rhythm for Book IV and for its inner components.

We begin with the progression from separation to union. IV. 1 is above all a poem of separation, even of alienation. We have already cited the lines that evoke Horace's sense of separation most poignantly, but they are worth repeating as they sound a central theme of the poem (IV. 1. 29–32):

me nec femina nec puer  
iam nec spes animi credula mutui  
nec certare iuvat mero  
nec vincire novis tempora floribus.

The separations that lie behind these words are manifold—Horace from Ligurinus, that youth to whom he is attracted but from whom he feels so hopelessly isolated (33–40); Horace from Paullus, the young man whom in this poem he commends to Venus with only half-masked envy (10–28); Horace from the youths whose *blandae preces* (8) Horace implicitly contrasts with his own loss of eloquence (cf. 35–36); Horace from Cinara, the woman who had recently died and whom Horace mentions several times, always with feeling, in his late poems.<sup>4</sup> Even to Venus herself, the embodiment of love and, on another level, of lyric poetry, Horace can only say *abi*—go away (7).

By the time we reach IV. 15, in contrast, all is togetherness. The final scene (25–32) unites young and old, man and god, the ancient and the new,

<sup>4</sup>The other mentions of Cinara are in IV. 13. 21–22 and in *Epistles* I. 7. 28 and I. 14. 33.

male and female, in joyous communal song and festivity; there is no hint of the barriers that isolated Horace so completely in IV. 1. In place of the *abi* of IV. 1 we find Horace in IV. 15 celebrating return—the return of peace (8–9), the return of crops to the fields and of the Roman *signa* from the Parthians (4–8), the return of Rome to older and better moral standards (9–14), and, implicitly, the return of Augustus to Rome. For it is important to remember that behind the metaphorical separations referred to in IV. 1 and elsewhere in the book there are numerous literal separations which also cast their shadow on Book IV, whether or not they find explicit expression in it. Augustus' absence from Rome in the years immediately preceding the publication of Book IV is openly and emphatically mentioned in IV. 2. 33 ff. and IV. 5. 1 ff.; it is surely one of the separations that haunted Horace during this period, and just as surely Augustus' return in 13 B.C. lies behind the fulfilled joy of IV. 15 and its profusion of words of return. Book IV thus moves not only from a mood of separation and alienation in the beginning to one of union at the end but also from the literal separation of Augustus from Rome lamented in IV. 2 and IV. 5 to a celebration of his return in IV. 15.

Other literal separations also probably helped shape Book IV. Vergil, the poet whom Horace had once called "the half of my soul" (I. 3. 8) and with whom he had shared a long and fruitful personal and professional friendship, had died in 19 B.C. Another poet friend, Tibullus, had also died recently, as had Cinara, or what she represented (cf. IV. 13. 21–23). In addition, it seems that in the period following 23 B.C. there had been at least some tensions of a fairly serious sort between Horace and his patron, Maecenas; and we know that as a result of the Murena affair in 22 B.C. there had been a break in the erstwhile complete confidence of Augustus in Maecenas. From these separations there could be no complete recovery, no literal return which, like Augustus' return to Rome, would fully restore what had been lost. But several of the poems toward the end of the book strongly suggest some sense of healing. Horace's poem to Maecenas, IV. 11, certainly bespeaks warm reunion as well as underlying sadness, and his poem to Vergil, as I have suggested elsewhere, seems best interpreted as a recreation in immortal verse of the easy and close friendship which the poets had formerly shared.<sup>5</sup> And while IV. 15, like IV. 1, does not explicitly mention Maecenas or Vergil, it is significant that the song on which Book IV ends is one with decidedly Vergilian overtones and that, almost alone of Book IV, this final poem carries no reference to the ultimate separation of death.

In mentioning background events behind Book IV I am not suggesting that the movement of the book is a literal recreation of Horace's emotional history during these years. We cannot know what part the deaths of Vergil

<sup>5</sup>*Classical Bulletin* 49 (1973), 57–61; also *Latomus* 31 (1972), 87.

and Tibullus, the problems with Maecenas, the absence of Augustus from Rome played in the actual creation of Book IV; still less can we know whether Horace himself went through an emotional crisis in which he moved from a sense of lonely separation to one of fulfilled participation, or, if he did, what brought about the sense of restoration. What we do know is that in Book IV itself there is a clear progression from one mood to the other, and we shall see later that this progression finds reflections and extensions in many other aspects of the book as well. We can *surmise* from the mixture of sadness and joy, separation and reunion, in IV. 11 and 12 something of Horace's thoughts concerning Maecenas and Vergil at this time, possibly even something of the progression of those thoughts; we have fairly clear indications in the book itself of what Horace felt about Cinara's death and about Augustus' absence and return; we know that in *Epistles* I Horace explicitly suggests that his days as a lyric poet are over (I. 1. 1-12), and IV. 6 seems to suggest that the choice of Horace to compose the *Carmen Saeculare* in 17 B.C. may have been a critical step on the road to a renewed sense of poetic and personal vitality. In the end, however, these matters remain largely in the realm of surmise; what we must hold to is the certainty that in Book IV Horace has, for whatever reasons and from whatever sources, created a clear and emotionally compelling rhythm that carries us from alienated loneliness to joyful sharing.

The movement from isolation to togetherness finds a clear analogue and extension in the movement from war and violence to peace and harmony. We have already drawn attention to the stress on war at the start of IV. 1 and to the stress on peace and poetry in IV. 15. We should add that the warlike beginning of IV. 1 is sustained in the military language of lines 1 ff., 16 ff., and 38 ff., and that the peaceful character of IV. 15 is extended not only in the emphasis throughout on the peaceful rather than the military accomplishments of Augustus but also in the suggestion that universal peace will now reign—the separations between Roman and Roman, between Roman and barbarian, like the separations between the poet and those around him, will now heal (17-24). Furthermore, in IV. 1 Horace explicitly emphasizes his distance from song: it is the youths whose prayers are *blandae* (8), Paullus who is *non tacitus* (14), while of himself Horace says (IV. 1. 35-36):

cur facunda parum decoro  
inter verba cadit lingua silentio?

It is a dramatically different Horace who begins IV. 15 by describing himself as *volentem proelia me loqui* (1) and ends it with the word *canemus* (32). And the goddess driving new wars on a resisting Horace in IV. 1. 1 ff. is replaced by a god checking Horace from even singing of wars in IV. 15. 1 ff., the *saeva Venus* of IV. 1. 5 by the *alma Venus* of IV. 15. 31-32.

In connection with the book's progression from war to peace and poetry it is worth mentioning again the possible significance of the historical

background. We have already noted that the years 20 to 13 B.C. saw Horace move from the renunciation to the resumption of lyric poetry. The later years of this same period witnessed also a progression from war toward peace. Following the defeat of Lollius in 16 B.C. Augustus' stepsons and eventually Augustus himself became actively involved in the German campaign, an involvement which is clearly mentioned in Book IV and about which Horace apparently felt considerable anxiety. Augustus returned in 13 B.C., and though actual peace was not to come for a time to the northern frontiers, his return was celebrated by the erection of the *Ara Pacis*. Again it is only a conjecture, though seemingly a likely one, that this historical progression from war toward peace in 16 to 13 B.C. played some part in shaping the clearly parallel movement of the book of poetry which Horace was composing during these years. Again, however, what matters and what is certain, as our subsequent analysis will demonstrate, is the *poetic* progression from war to peace within Book IV itself.

We have mentioned a third movement also, that from loss to attainment, from death to new life. To this movement we shall return later in some detail. For now, suffice it to say that IV. 1 looks back to what Horace has lost (*non sum qualis eram*) and that in particular the mention of Cinara reminds us of the ultimate separation of death, a separation which hangs heavy over many other poems of Book IV; and that IV. 15, in contrast, emphasizes what Horace still has, looks resolutely and with seeming joy toward the future, and says not a word about death.

Between the outside poems of Book IV we can thus see several clear and related movements: from alienation and separation to union and participation, from war to peace and poetry, from loss and the shadow of death to recovery and joy in continued life. What do the thirteen intervening poems contribute to this progression from IV. 1 to IV. 15?

Clearly there is no gradual or steady progression along any one front. By the time we get to IV. 8 and 9, the theme of poetry is sounding loud and clear, and in the same poems the threat of death has yielded to the promise of poetic immortality. Similarly, the alienation of Horace in IV. 1 is clearly breaking down by the time we come to IV. 5 and 6. On the other side, however, there *is* something of a progression in the fact that *not until we reach IV. 15 do we complete the movement toward peace, poetry, harmony, life*; in all of the intervening poems something of the war, the separation, the death of IV. 1 remains, albeit in differing degrees. If the progression from IV. 1 to IV. 15 is thus in no way steady, at least it reaches its τέλος, its complete fulfilment, only in IV. 15; the remaining poems are at best only intermediate stages toward this fulfilment, stages arranged, to be sure, in no precisely graded order, but stages that always retain something of the darkness of IV. 1.

In IV. 2, for instance, Horace's sense of separation from other persons and from poetry is beginning to break down (see especially 27 ff., 45 ff., 49 ff.), and mention is made of Augustus' return and of the peace associated

with him (33 ff., 37 ff.); on the other hand, however, war and violence still loom large (5 ff., 13–24, 34 ff.), death is emphatically mentioned at 21–24 and 53–60 (cf. also 1 ff.), and the focus of the whole poem is on the gulfs that divide Horace from Pindar and from Antonius, gulfs which surely recall the central contrast in IV. 1 between Horace and Paullus. In addition, the poem ends on a strong note of separation—not only the separation of Horace from Antonius (*te . . . me*, 53–54) but also the poignantly described separation-in-death of the young animal from its mother (IV. 2. 54–60):

me tener solvet vitulus, relicta  
matre qui largis iuvenescit herbis  
in mea vota,  
fronte curvatos imitatus ignis  
tertium lunae referentis ortum,  
qua notam duxit, niveus videri,  
cetera fulvus.

IV. 3 suggests Horace's sense of poetic power and achievement, but there remain many hints of separation: the distinctions, sharply drawn, between Horace and other men (3–9); the reference to the envy, diminished but still present (16), which Horace had so keenly felt and which had divided him from others; the definition of his poetic acceptance in terms of the fingers that now point him out as someone different (22–23), a far cry from the communal poetry in which Horace participates at the end of IV. 15. IV. 4 may celebrate the union of god and man (74 ff., cf. 1 ff.), of father and stepson (27 ff.), of new and old (37 ff.), but the poem is dominated by war, war from which Horace stands noticeably apart and which he describes in the most violent terms (note especially 9–16, 50 ff., 59 ff.). The poem may speak of new life out of old (39 ff., 53 ff.), but we retain more its ubiquitous images of death, destruction, and separation (note especially the sharp division drawn between Roman and barbarian [cf. IV. 15. 21 ff.], the poignant description of the young animal about to be torn from its mother [13 ff.—cf. IV. 2. 54 ff.], and the mention of Ganymede at 4). IV. 5 goes far toward stressing the union of Horace with other Romans in praise of Augustus and the precedence of Augustus' peaceful accomplishments over his military (17 ff.), and in these respects it is very similar to IV. 15; it differs from IV. 15, however, in that perhaps its most memorable passage deals not with union but with separation (IV. 5. 9–16):

ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido  
flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora  
cunctantem spatio longius annuo  
dulci distinet a domo,  
votis omnibusque et precibus vocat,  
curvo nec faciem litore dimovet:  
sic desiderii icta fidelibus  
quaerit patria Caesarem.



The joyful union envisioned at the end of IV. 5 thus remains only a vision, a hope shadowed by the separation, the pain, the longing, and the sense of distance evoked by these beautiful lines.<sup>6</sup> IV. 6, standing near the center of the collection, is literally split down the middle by the movement that characterizes the book as a whole. In its first twenty lines we have war, violence, death, and separation; in its final twenty, gentleness, new life, and, above all, poetry (the central four lines, 21–24, provide a deft transition between the contrasting outer panels). The Apollo of the second half is similar to the Apollo at the beginning of IV. 15, the Horace at the end of IV. 6, happily directing his young singers, similar to the Horace at the end of IV. 15. But how different is the violent Apollo at the start of IV. 6; and how different from the peaceful world of the final twenty-four lines is the hell that gapes in its first twenty! IV. 7 sings of springtime and the return of new life in the world of nature, but it emphasizes that for man there is no second springtime, no return, only the final separation; and while it ends on a note of friendship—man for man, goddess for man, it is of friendship that fails to overcome death and separation (IV. 7. 25–28):

infernus neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum  
liberat Hippolytum,  
nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro  
vincula Perithoo.

IV. 8 and IV. 9 emphasize poetry and its ability to confer what IV. 7 denies—a second springtime to man. Both poems, however, contain ample reminders of war, of violence, of separation, of death—see, for example, 8. 13 ff., 17 ff., 22 ff.; 9. 13 ff., 25 ff. In addition, Horace in IV. 8, as in IV. 3, describes his poetic vocation in terms that emphasize the differences between him and other men (1–12), and again he explicitly alludes to the dividing force mentioned in IV. 3. 16—*invidia* (23–24; cf. the allusion to the same force in the *lividas obliviones* of IV. 9. 33–34). Moreover, behind the whole of IV. 9 one senses inescapably the separations that had resulted from Lollius' military defeat in 16 B.C. Lollius' defeat probably contributed to the entry of Drusus, Tiberius, and eventually Augustus himself into the war, a fact to which the placement of IV. 9 exactly midway between IV. 4 and IV. 14 may well be related. Horace tactfully does not refer in IV. 9 to the anguish and the isolation that Lollius must have suffered during the years following his defeat, but the emphasis on inner qualities and on steadfast courage in the face of a hostile world (note especially 43–44) certainly reveals the poet's awareness of what Lollius was enduring. The mixture of separation with union, death with life, in IV. 10–13 is too obvious to require much comment. IV. 10 and IV. 13 both begin by emphasizing Horace's vindictive sense of standing apart from Ligurinus and

<sup>6</sup>Note also the poignant *abes iam nimium diu* of line 2 and the subjunctives of lines 25 ff. (cf. the more certain futures in the similar passage at IV. 15. 17 ff.).

Lyce and enjoying their suffering, but both move from this separation to a sense of sharing and of sympathy; IV. 11 and IV. 12 look forward to shared joys, to the renewed springtime of song, but both do so with numerous reminders of separation (e.g., 11. 21 ff., 25 ff., 29 ff.; 12. 5 ff., 26 ff.), death (11. 6 ff., 25 ff.; 12. 5 ff.), and violence (11. 25 ff., cf. the military language of 21–24; 12. 5 ff.). And, as we have seen, behind IV. 11 may well lie the tensions that had divided Horace from Maecenas, behind IV. 12 almost certainly is the fact of Vergil's death in 19 B.C. Finally, IV. 14, like IV. 4, balances its hints of togetherness, peace, and immortality against strong descriptions of the violence of war (see especially 9 ff., 18 ff., 25–32) and of the divisions between man and man (Roman vs. foreigner in the whole first section, cf. 41 ff. and 15. 21 ff.) and between man and nature (25 ff.).

One aspect of the larger movement of Book IV, then, is the way in which the book moves ahead on different fronts from poem to poem, advancing on this front in one poem, that in another, always progressing toward the full and concerted resolutions of IV. 15 but never quite reaching them until the final poem. There are other ways too in which the individual poems contribute to—and reflect—the overall movement of the book. For one thing, just as the inner components of a Greek tragedy often “imitate” the movement of the whole play,<sup>7</sup> so each poem of Book IV reflects one or more of the larger rhythms of Book IV.

IV. 1, for instance, itself contains clear hints of these basic rhythms. At the beginning all is war, separation, loss, and Horace wishes for nothing more than to be uninvolved (*abi*, 7). At the end he remains isolated, but he now longs for Ligurinus and for the eloquence he once had; he now dreams of the human companionship and love he has just abjured (29–30). In most of IV. 2 the emphasis is on Horace's distance from Pindar and from Antonius: how different from him they are, how much greater than his is their poetry. But at the center of the poem Horace explicitly places his poetry beside Pindar's (27–32), and at the end he looks ahead to joining Antonius in shared celebration of Augustus' return. There is thus in each half of the poem a strong suggestion of the movement from separation to togetherness. Each half also suggests a movement from war and violence to peace: from the warlike and violent songs of Pindar (5–27; note especially 12 ff., 21 ff.) we move to the gentle songs of Horace (27–32), from Antonius' praise of Augustus' deeds of war (33 ff.) to Rome's and Horace's celebration of his return (37 ff.). IV. 3 reflects the book's basic rhythm in a somewhat different way, and we shall return to it, and to IV. 7, 8, and 9, later. Although the basic rhythms of the book are present only faintly in IV. 4 itself (see below), there are clear reflections of them in the progression from war in IV. 4 to peace and music in IV. 5, from Horace's aloof stance in

<sup>7</sup> Cf. my article, “Structural Parallelism in Greek Tragedy: A Preliminary Study,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 102 (1971), 465–96.

IV. 4 to his involved stance in IV. 5, from repeated mention of death in IV. 4 to the anticipation of renewed life in IV. 5 (shadowed always, however, by lines 9–16). Furthermore, IV. 5 itself moves clearly from anguished awareness of separation (2, 9–16—and we recall that the separation is caused by war) to blissful anticipation of reunion, from a memorable image of division (9–16) to a memorable vision of union in song (33–40). Of IV. 6 we have already spoken, and little more need be said: its movement from war, violence, death, and separation in the first twenty lines to peace, harmony, new life, and union in the last twenty is too clear to require further comment. Of IV. 10 and IV. 13 also we have perhaps already said what is relevant: both begin with Horace emphasizing his vindictive separation from Ligurinus and Lyce, but both then move from that stance to one of sympathy and shared sorrow. IV. 11 and IV. 12 by virtue of their very genre—invitations—move from an awareness of present separation to anticipation of union, and various aspects of each poem emphasize this movement. Both poems insert sharp reminders of death near their beginnings (11. 6–8; 12. 5–8), and lines 21 ff. of 11 remind us of the separations Phyllis has suffered, lines 14–24 of 12 of the present separation of Vergil and Horace. It is from these reminders of death and division that we progress to the pictures of union with which both poems end. Finally, in IV. 14 there is a clear movement from the largely warlike achievements celebrated in the first 34 lines to the largely peaceful vision of the last 18; there is also a shift, analogous to that from IV. 4 to IV. 5, from an emphasis on war in IV. 14 as a whole to an emphasis on peace and song in IV. 15, and from Horace's lack of explicit involvement in IV. 14 to his very involved stance in IV. 15.

This survey has concentrated on reflections that are largely coterminous with individual poems. One could also find similar reflections on both a larger and a smaller scale. Thus, for example, there is in the first triad of the book a clear progression along the lines we have suggested—from almost total isolation in IV. 1 to almost complete acceptance in IV. 3, with IV. 2 standing as a midway point in which Horace keenly feels the differences that divide him from others but also clearly senses ways in which he can share and participate. On a smaller scale we have already mentioned the movements of the two halves of IV. 2, and a little later in this discussion we shall see that several poems are structurally analogous to IV. 2.

For now, however, I wish briefly to mention several extensions of the movements we have been studying. First, in both the book as a whole and in a number of its individual poems there is a clear progression from what others do and have to what Horace does and has, from the world outside to the world inside. Thus in both IV. 3 and IV. 8 Horace begins with a catalogue of others' occupations or habits only to come around in the end to his own, and the movements in IV. 1 from Paullus (9 ff.) to Horace (29 ff.), in IV. 2 from Pindar (1 ff.) to Horace (27 ff.) and from Antonius (33 ff.) to

Horace (45 ff.), and in IV. 9 from other poets and their subjects (5 ff.) to Horace and his subject (30 ff.) are clearly analogous. Similarly, in IV. 7 and 12 Horace begins with descriptions of the world at large only to move from there to himself and his intimate friends. The movements of IV. 6 (Apollo in relation to others [1 ff.] → Apollo in relation to Horace [29 ff.]) and IV. 11 (description of house [1 ff.] → Horace and his friends [13 ff.]) are again analogous, and there are clear hints of the same progression in and between several other poems. In this repeated movement from others and the external world to Horace and his world there is an obvious extension of the movements from separation to union, from isolation to participation, which we have found at so many levels of the book.

Another obviously related extension is the movement, again found in and between many poems, from a sense of poverty, even impotence—what I don't have, what I can't do—to a sense of wealth and power—what I do have, what I can do. Near the start of IV. 1 Horace sings of what he has lost—*non sum qualis eram* (3); at the end his theme is much the same—he no longer has his former eloquence (35–36), and only in his dreams can he grasp his beloved (37–38); in between he sings of what others have and what he lacks (9–32). By contrast, IV. 15 begins with the poet so caught up by his subject that the god himself must check him (1 ff.) and ends with him surrounded by the *munera Liberi* (26) and pouring forth with others his abundant song of praise; in between the poem sings of the bounties in which Horace fully shares. The same progression is present in many of the individual poems as well. In IV. 2, for instance, Horace moves from extravagant and self-deprecatory praise of the rich talents of Pindar and Antonius to modest statements of what he himself has (27 ff., 45 ff.), in IV. 3 from vivid description of the deeds that are not his to forthright mention of the accomplishments that are, in IV. 8 from the gifts he would give if he were rich (1 ff.) to the gifts he can and does give (11 ff.). IV. 5 clearly moves from an image of loss and deprivation (9 ff.) to a vision of plenty (17 ff.), IV. 6 from scenes of taking away (1–20) to scenes of giving (21–44, especially 29 ff.), the concluding portions of IV. 11 and IV. 12 from a sense of what has been lost (11. 21 ff.; 12. 19 ff.) to a sense of what remains (11. 31–36; 12. 27–28).

Implicit in both the progressions we have just examined is the movement from external to internal—from what others have (usually externals) to what Horace has (especially his inner gifts), from the world “out there” to the world inside a person, from the physical to the spiritual. This last progression is obviously present in poems such as IV. 3 and IV. 8, but there are clear traces also in other poems and groups of poems. Thus we move in IV. 4–5 and 14–15 from the physical triumphs of Drusus and Tiberius to the largely spiritual and moral accomplishments of Augustus; in IV. 9 from the military accomplishments mentioned in the first half (17 ff.) to the more inner qualities stressed in the second half (34 ff.); in IV. 1 from Paullus' material possessions (9 ff.) to Horace's inner feelings (33 ff.); in

IV. 11 from the description of material preparations in the house to the inner joys promised at the end; in IV. 2 from the extravagant and showy brilliance of Pindar and Antonius to the quiet inwardness of Horace's poetry and sacrifice; and in IV. 6 from Apollo the doer of visible deeds of war to Apollo the giver of inner qualities (IV. 6. 29-30):

spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem  
carminis nomenque dedit poetae.

The final two examples, and to a lesser degree many of the others as well, remind us of one other related progression within the book, one best defined in the technical terms of poetry: from the *grande* to the *tenue*. These words, whose technical significance goes back to the Alexandrians and especially to Callimachus (with *tenue* the Latin equivalent of the Greek *λεπτόν*), refer not just to the size but also to the spirit of poetry. They embody a tension between that which is grandiose and sprawling and that which is compact and tightly knit, between that which is powerful and unrestrained and that which is less imposing but more refined, between that which is external and obvious and that which is internal and subtle. That Horace, like most poets of his time, follows Callimachus' preference for the *tenue*, is clear from many of his poems<sup>8</sup> and not least from Book IV itself. For in this book he constantly moves from the large to the compact, the violently rushing to the gently flowing, the conspicuous to the unassuming, and always he associates himself with the latter qualities. This movement from the *grande* to the *tenue* is perhaps most apparent in IV. 2 as we move from the swan-like, grandiose, torrential verse of Pindar to the bee-like, modest, gently-flowing verse of Horace, from the lofty epic poetry in which Antonius will celebrate Augustus to the simple but exquisitely described offering of Horace. But the movement is clearly present also in IV. 1, IV. 3, IV. 6, and IV. 8, and there are sure traces of it in other poems as well. We see it unmistakably in the movement from IV. 4 and 14 (violent deeds described in long, grandiloquent, Pindaric poems) to IV. 5 and 15 (peaceful deeds described in shorter, simpler, more Horatian poems); and the movements from the lengthy and Pindaric IV. 2 and IV. 9 to the short and personal IV. 3 and IV. 10 represent yet further variations. Furthermore, in the book as a whole we move from an average length of forty-five lines in the first seven poems to an average length of thirty-five lines in the last seven—a significant, if subliminal, embodiment of the movement from the *grande* to the *tenue*.

<sup>8</sup> Among the relevant passages are I. 6. 9, II. 16. 37-40, and *Epistles* II. 1. 225; cf. also III. 3. 69-72 and *Satires* II. 6. 13-15. For a useful summary, see J. V. Cody, *Horace and Callimachean Aesthetics* (Brussels 1976), pp. 9 ff.; also Commager, *Odes of Horace*, pp. 37 ff. On Callimachus and Latin poetry, see also W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom. Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit* (Wiesbaden 1960); W. Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin Poetry," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964), 181-96; J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels 1967).

Two final comments on this movement. First, one of its subtlest manifestations comes in the contrast between the opening lines of IV. 1 and 2 and those of IV. 15. IV. 15 begins with a passage that immediately recalls the whole technical tradition surrounding the *tenue*: Apollo's warning to Horace (IV. 15. 1 ff.) not to embark on the seas of epic poetry and epic subjects has analogues not only in Callimachus himself but also in numerous Latin poets working in the Callimachean tradition. In contrast to these *tenue*-related words stand the *grande*-related openings of IV. 1 and IV. 2. IV. 1 begins with Venus driving new wars upon the poet—metaphorically, just the subject from which Apollo restrains Horace at the start of IV. 15. IV. 2 begins explicitly with the poet who, like Icarus, foolishly hazards flight over the vast seas of Pindaric poetry—an image obviously related to Apollo's warning to Horace in IV. 15 not to set sail on the treacherous waters of epic poetry. The movement of imagery from IV. 1 and IV. 2 to IV. 15 thus further weaves into the book the movement from the *grande* to the *tenue*.

Second, that the book's movement is consistently from the *grande* to the *tenue* and that Horace consistently associates himself with the latter must and should color our interpretation of those poems and those persons that carry overtones of the *grande*. The obvious preference for and movement toward the *tenue* must certainly, for instance, support those critics who have found an undercurrent of distaste in the Pindaric IV. 4 and IV. 14 and those who have detected irony in Horace's extravagant praise of Pindar and Antonius in IV. 2.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, Horace's rejection of the *grande* as unsuitable for himself in IV. 2 provides the necessary clue to the proper interpretation of IV. 4 and IV. 14. In IV. 2 he explicitly says that the soaring flight and rushing torrent of Pindar are not for him. Is this not a clear (if necessarily subtle) indication of how we are to respond to his obviously Pindaric descriptions of the soaring Drusan eagle in IV. 4 and the flooding Tiberian river in IV. 14? And as if to underline the point, he begins IV. 15 by having Apollo himself remind the poet that the singing of wars is not for him.

We have come some distance from the rather external movements—separation to union, war to peace—with which we began, but I trust that the close relationships between the different movements we have considered are apparent. The progression from the *grande* to the *tenue* is obviously analogous to that from war and violence to peace and poetry, and the progression from what others do and have to what the poet does and has is

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., on IV. 2: W. R. Johnson, "The Boastful Bird: Notes on Horatian Modesty," *Classical Journal* 61 (1965–66), 274; P. L. Smith, "Poetic Tensions in the Horatian *Recusatio*," *American Journal of Philology* 89 (1968), 62–65. On IV. 4: K. J. Reckford, "The Eagle and the Tree (Horace, *Odes*, 4.4)," *Classical Journal* 56 (1960–61), 23–28; W. R. Johnson, "Tact in the Drusus Ode: Horace, *Odes* 4.4," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* (1969), 171–81. On IV. 14: L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and his Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge 1946), p. 86; N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes* (London 1961), p. 75, note 2.

as clearly analogous to that from isolation to participation. It remains to consider one final extension, one that involves the movement of the book as a whole. One senses in Book IV a Horace who is not only separated from other persons but who is also divided within himself. There are, for instance, strong hints of inner division between the aging man, all too aware of time's passing and death's approach, and the increasingly revered national poet whose composition of the *Carmen Saeculare* in 17 B.C. had in a way marked the summit of his career. One feels also a split between Horace the private citizen and Horace the national poet, and in the latter role a split between the Horace who wholeheartedly praises Augustus and the Augustan peace and the Horace who finds it less easy to praise the military victories of Drusus and Tiberius. The book also suggests a haunting gulf in Horace's own mind between what he once was and what he is now—*non sum qualis eram*. The very structure of the book seems to articulate these inner separations. At one moment Horace speaks in one role, at the next in another, at the next in yet another, and the rapid shifts seem merely the reflection of his inner fragmentation. But from these suggestions of inner division we move again to a sense of harmony at the end: in IV. 15 the many roles Horace has played seem mysteriously to coalesce, the inner tensions to vanish. He speaks at once as private citizen and public figure, as poet and lover (his last song, like his first in Book IV, is of Venus), as a person who happily watches past flow into present and present into future. It is tempting to see behind Book IV not only an experience of loneliness and alienation broken at last by a renewed sense of acceptance and participation but also a time of self-doubt, turmoil, division, yielding at last to a fresh awareness of personal worth, integration, and direction. One could no doubt find evidence in *Epistles* I for such an interpretation, and Book IV itself would seem to offer further support. We must, however, again rest content with what we actually have in Book IV itself—a poetic creation that at every level suggests not only a progression from war, violence, and death to peace, poetry, and life, not only a movement from the outward to the inward, from others to oneself, from the *grande* to the *tenue*, but also a healing spiritual journey from inner conflict and division to inner peace.

### III. Parallelism of Form in the Odes of Book IV

Given the extensive parallelism of thematic and emotional movement that we have found in Book IV, it is scarcely surprising also to find a high degree of parallelism of form between the poems of the book. We begin with IV. 2 and IV. 4, two poems whose formal parallelism is striking. Each begins with a long opening section of highly Pindaric character (2. 1–27; 4. 1–28). Both of these opening sections contain multiple similes that emphasize the bursting energy and the violent sweep of their subjects, both involve soaring flight, death, and military achievement, and both lead into a decrescendo to a gentler subject—to Horace's quiet verse in 2. 27–32, to the

moral influence of Augustus on his stepsons in 4. 29–36 (especially 33 ff.). Following these initial sections both poems take off anew on subjects akin to their opening themes—in IV. 2, on Antonius' poem in praise of Augustus' military victories (cf. Pindar's poetry), in IV. 4, on the praise of the earlier military victories of the Neronēs (cf. the victories of Drusus). Each of these second sections looks back in time (2. 37–40; 4. 37 ff.), each deals with the great leaders of Rome (*Caesarem*, 2. 34; *Neronibus*, 4. 37), each speaks of the light these leaders have brought out of darkness (2. 46–47; 4. 39–41),<sup>10</sup> and each again leads around to a somewhat quieter close tinged by melancholy for a victim (2. 54–60; 4. 70–76). We note, of course, in this two-fold movement of both poems a double reflection of the book's frequent movement from violence to gentleness, war to peace, the *grande* to the *tenue*.

Closely akin in structure to these two poems are IV. 6 and IV. 9. Each of these again falls roughly into two sections, and in each both sections contain at least a hint of the falling or decrescendo movement we have noticed in the two halves of IV. 2 and IV. 4. IV. 6, like IV. 2 and IV. 4, begins with war and violence (1–20) but from there moves to the gentleness and peace of lines 21–24. After starting again in a lofty vein but on a different topic, poetry (25 ff.), it again moves from there to a conclusion which is intimate and which, like the conclusion of IV. 2, alludes to the passing of time (41–44).<sup>11</sup> IV. 9, after its introductory stanza, moves from an elaborate and rhetorical description of earlier poets and their subjects (often warlike: 5–30) to a gentle close which, like the end of the first half of IV. 2, focuses on Horace's own poetry (30–34). Its second half deals with a different subject, Lollius, and moves from description of his moral qualities to a close which has some of the pathos of the end of IV. 2 (51–52).

IV. 3 can be seen as a miniature version of IV. 2. It begins, after an introductory couplet, with a single long and elaborate sentence describing what Horace is *not* (3–9: cf. the description of Pindar in IV. 2. 5–27, again preceded by a brief introduction, lines 1–4), then ends the first half with a lovely and gentle description of what Horace *is* (10–12), a description that is strikingly reminiscent in word and tone of the passage that ends the first half of IV. 2 (27–32). And the second half of the poem, as in IV. 2. 33–60, moves from a lofty evocation of poetic achievement (13 ff.) to a humble and gentle close (24).

A second, obviously related structural pattern that is found in several poems of Book IV is most clearly seen in IV. 7. In this poem, twelve opening lines of description are followed by sixteen lines which place man's lot against that background and emphasize the darkness of human life—

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also *pulcher... ille dies* (IV. 4. 39–40) with *laetosque dies* (IV. 2. 41).

<sup>11</sup> See IV. 2. 54–55, 57–58; the passing of time is similarly focal at the end of the first half of IV. 4 (lines 25–36, esp. 33–34).



death, separation, the passing of time. The parallelism of IV. 12 to IV. 7 is so precise and so apparent as to obviate further comment, and Horace underlines the parallelism of the poems by making them the same length and by beginning them with strikingly similar descriptions of spring. IV. 11 is also parallel: again there are twelve opening lines of description, and again the remainder of the poem sets human life against that description and emphasizes separation, loss, sorrow. And like IV. 7 and IV. 12, IV. 11 also holds out amidst the darkness at least a hint of light: Phyllis may find consolation in song (IV. 11. 35–36), as Vergil and Horace may in drink (IV. 12. 19–20, 26–28), as Torquatus may in enjoying what he has while he can (IV. 7. 19–20). The parallelism of these three poems goes beyond even what we have mentioned. In all three, lines 13 ff., those lines immediately following the opening description, emphatically mention the passing of time; all three poems contain in their fifth to eighth lines strong hints of death and violence—foreshadowings of the darker tone of their concluding portions (see 7. 7–8, 11. 6–8, 12. 5–8); all three end with explicit mentions of darkness (7. 25, *infernis . . . tenebris*; 11. 35–36, *atrae . . . curae*; 12. 26, *nigrorum . . . ignium*)<sup>12</sup> and with human companionship; and, most obviously, all three are spring poems which move from bright openings to shadowed conclusions.

IV. 13 also adheres, though less obviously, to the same pattern. Again we begin with twelve lines describing the present situation, again we move from there to concluding stanzas which explore Lyce's and Horace's emotional reaction to the situation. The poem obviously does not start with spring, but its first three stanzas do contain seasonal imagery and, like the opening descriptions of the other three poems, do mix the dark with the light. Again the lines immediately following this opening description fix squarely on time's flow (13–16: cf. *tempora* in 12. 13 and 13. 14); again we meet fire amidst darkness in the final stanza (26–28), though the note of friendship is twisted here into the cruel friendship of Lyce's tormenters; and again the overall movement is from joy to shared sorrow over what has been lost.<sup>13</sup>

The structure of IV. 8 stands midway between that of IV. 3 and that of IV. 7. Its first twelve lines are closely parallel to the first twelve of IV. 3: lines 1–8, what others do (cf. IV. 3. 3–9); lines 9–12, what I do (cf. IV. 3. 10–12). Like IV. 3 it then moves to a somewhat more general plane and

<sup>12</sup> In IV. 11 and 12 note also images of fire and warmth in the final stanzas (11. 33–34; 12. 26) and foreshadowing of their dark conclusions in lines 11–12 of each poem (cf. the fire image of IV. 11. 11–12, with its dark smoke, with the mood and imagery of the final stanza, the *nigri colles* of IV. 12. 11–12 with the *nigrorum . . . ignium* of line 26).

<sup>13</sup> IV. 10 is too short to display extensive parallelism with these others, but in its general movement from springtime to sadness and loss it is obviously parallel to IV. 7, 11, and 12, and its movement from derision to sympathy aligns it with IV. 13. Note how the joy at the start of IV. 11, 12, and 13 is in each case emphasized by anaphora (*est . . . est . . . est* in 11, *iam . . . iam* in 12, *audivere, Lyce . . . audivere, Lyce* in 13).

ends, as does IV. 3, with the gods of poetry. With IV. 7, the poem it follows, IV. 8 shares a movement from the world "out there" (7. 1-12; 8. 1-8) to "our world"—note the shift to first person plural at 7. 14 and 8. 11 and the focus in the remainder of both poems on human mortality. But whereas IV. 7 emphasizes the certainty and permanence of death, IV. 8 stresses the possibility of new and permanent life through poetry; and whereas IV. 7 ends on a reminder of divine and human impotence against death, IV. 8 ends on the opposite theme (IV. 8. 25-34):

ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum  
 virtus et favor et lingua potentium  
 vatam divitibus consecrat insulis.  
 dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:  
 caelo Musa beat. sic Iovis interest  
 optatis epulis impiger Hercules,  
 clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis  
 quassas eripiunt aequoribus ratis,  
 ornatus viridi tempora pampino  
 Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

Yet a third, again related, structural type appears in IV. 1, IV. 5, and IV. 15. The parallelism of 5 and 15 is striking at every point except the beginning. In 5. 17-32 we have four stanzas cataloguing Augustus' accomplishments, especially his peaceful accomplishments. Corresponding to these are five plus stanzas in 15 (4-24) containing a similar catalogue. Both catalogues begin with the newly productive fields (5. 17-18; 15. 4-5), both then mention the return of peace and morality (5. 19 ff.; 15. 8 ff.), and both move to a list of the foreign enemies whose threat is now diminished (5. 25-28; 15. 21-24). Finally, both poems end with two stanzas describing communal and convivial celebration of Augustus and the gods associated with him (5. 33-40; 15. 25-32). The poems are not parallel at their starts for a simple reason: IV. 5 opens with four stanzas in which the focus is on Augustus' absence from Rome. There is significantly no counterpart to these stanzas in IV. 15—for by the time of that poem Augustus has returned. Instead, the memorable simile of the mother looking across the sea for her long-lost son (IV. 5. 9-14) is replaced by the related injunction to Horace not to set sail on the seas of military poetry—and we recall that it was wars that occasioned the absence of Augustus which Horace laments in IV. 5. Furthermore, the blissful but as yet unrealized vision of Augustus' return in IV. 5. 5 ff., with its imagery of sunlight and springtime, becomes reality in the literal return of the crops to the fields in the roughly corresponding lines of the last poem (IV. 15. 4-5).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also the motif of light in the precisely corresponding lines of IV. 14—lines 5-6.

The structural similarity of IV. 1 to these two poems is obvious, a similarity that binds them to each other despite their vast differences of tone and subject. IV. 1 begins with two stanzas of introduction (cf. 5. 1-16 and 15. 1-4), follows with five stanzas describing the bounties of Paullus' house and way of life (cf. the bounties Augustus has brought in 5. 17-32 and 15. 4-24; cf. also the polysyndeton in these lines of IV. 1 with that in IV. 15. 4 ff.), and concludes with stanzas indicating Horace's place with respect to that plenty (1. 29-40; cf. 5. 33-40 and 15. 25-32). We may note also that the pattern of all three poems, 1, 5, and 15, is similar to what we meet in the opening portions of 2 and 9: lengthy descriptions of what others do or have (2. 1-27; 9. 5-30) followed by a thoughtful indication of Horace's place relative to these descriptions. And this overall pattern, in turn, is quite similar to that which we find in the IV. 7, 11, 12, 13 group—external description followed by placing of selected individuals, including Horace, against that setting.

We have omitted only IV. 14. Like IV. 8 it stands midway between different structural types. Its opening eight lines are strikingly similar to the opening of IV. 5—mention of *patres* and citizens in the first stanza, association of Augustus with the sun in the second. Its subsequent movement from extravagant, Pindaric description of the warlike deeds of Tiberius (7-32) to an emphasis in the falling close on Augustus' contributions reminds one strongly of the similar movement in 4. 1-36, and its conclusion has much in common with 15. 4-24. We should, of course, be neither surprised nor dismayed that this poem fits no one structural type—or that the structural types of the book fall into several sub-categories. Instead, what must amaze us is that, given the extensive parallelism of the book and the similarities even among its sub-categories, its basic patterns are varied so skillfully that we are scarcely aware of just how parallel everything is! This variety within sameness is yet one more mark of Horace's artistry; it is also, we might add, a type of artistry frequently found among poets dedicated to the *tenue*. Like Mozart, Horace can use the same materials, the same patterns over and over again, and always the result will seem new, fresh, different: "always the same, but in a thousand different appearances."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Anton Webem, *Briefe an Hildegarde Jone und Josef Humplik*, ed. J. Polnauer (Vienna 1959), p. 21 (a passage in which Webem, like Mozart a devotee of the *tenue*, is comparing his method of composition to the Parthenon frieze). Yet another manifestation of the parallelism of Book IV is the fact that in poem after poem anaphora and repetition, often involving the second person pronoun, appear in the final stanzas: e.g., *cur . . . cur . . . cur, iam . . . iam, te per . . . te per* in IV. 1; *io Triumphe . . . io Triumphe* in IV. 2; *o . . . o, tui est . . . tuum est* in IV. 3; *occidit, occidit* in IV. 4; *te . . . te . . . te, dicimus . . . dicimus* in IV. 5; *rite . . . rite* in IV. 6; *non . . . non te . . . non te* in IV. 7; *cur . . . cur* in IV. 10; *quo . . . quo . . . quos, illius, illius, quae . . . quae* in IV. 13; *te* seven times in IV. 14. 41-52; *non* six times in IV. 15. 17-24.

## IV. The Recurrent Motifs of Book IV

We turn last to the recurrent motifs of Book IV. As mentioned earlier, I have elsewhere shown how these motifs underscore the basic themes of the book, emphasize the sharp contrasts between its different poems, and by their recurrence lend needed cohesion to the collection as a whole. These same motifs also reflect and support the basic *movement* of the book, our subject in this article, as the following brief survey will suggest. Since elsewhere I have dealt with these motifs at considerable length, here I shall limit myself to only the most striking examples.

We have seen that one of the most significant aspects of Book IV is the way in which progressions begun in IV. 1 and reflected in many of the subsequent poems reach their complete fulfilment only in IV. 15. The same is true of the motifs. Motif after motif carries *mixed* associations, sometimes good, sometimes bad, in the first fourteen poems but appears with wholly positive associations in IV. 15. The motifs of Venus and of war, to start with those motifs that are prominent at the beginning of Book IV, are typical. In IV. 1 Venus represents all that Horace has lost, and while in IV. 6. 21 ff. she takes on more attractive connotations, in IV. 10, 11, and 13 she is again associated with the losses time brings. In IV. 15, as we have noted, we end with a Venus who is *alma* and who is closely linked not only with Rome and Augustus but also with Horace and his poetry. Metaphorical wars begin in IV. 1, and many subsequent poems also bring in war, almost always in a destructive context; in IV. 15 this motif too reaches its τέλος—war at last is purged (8–9, 17–24).

Other motifs behave in a similar fashion. Rivers and the sea, for instance, carry many different connotations in the first fourteen poems. In IV. 2 and 14 rivers are in violent flood, in IV. 3, 7, and 12 they are calm; in IV. 1 and 11 their flow suggests the flow of time, while at other places they are associated with poetry; the sea suggests danger and separation in IV. 2 and IV. 5—as well as also the Augustan peace in the latter poem (IV. 5. 19). In IV. 15 these motifs also come to rest: Horace, at Apollo's bidding, will not set forth on the dangerous sea of poetry that celebrates war; and Augustus' peace includes even those who drink the distant Danube (21).

Gifts are associated in several poems with what Horace is not (e.g., IV. 1. 17–18; IV. 2. 19–20; IV. 8. 1 ff.; IV. 10. 1), elsewhere with his own poetry (see especially IV. 8. 11–12). This motif too finds its conclusion in IV. 15 as Horace stands *inter iocosi munera Liberi* (26). This joyful passage is the culmination also of the wine motif, a motif that until this final appearance has similarly carried mixed associations. In IV. 1 wine is associated with what Horace has lost, in 5 with Rome's celebration of Augustus, at the end of 8 (in the person of Bacchus) with poetry, in 11, 12, and 13 largely with the passing of time and with poetry. The idea of time's passing, perhaps more a theme than a motif, itself carries mixed connotations in the first fourteen poems (for a sample of the range, compare

the melancholy associations of this theme in IV. 5. 9 ff. and IV. 7. 14 ff., the mixed associations in IV. 2. 54 ff., the largely favorable associations in IV. 2. 37 ff., IV. 5. 6 ff., and IV. 6. 41 ff.), unambiguously favorable connotations in its final appearances in IV. 15 (4–5, 25–32). Similarly, the motif of return is tinged with melancholy and anxiety in many earlier poems (Will Augustus return safely? Why can't youthful beauty, like the spring in the cycle of the seasons, return to man? Does poetry alone offer such a return?), but is wholly joyous in IV. 15 (the return of crops to the fields, of the Roman standards from the Parthians, of the older morality, and, behind it all, of Augustus to Rome). While early poems suggest how easily family connections can be severed (e.g., 2. 21–24, 54–56; 4. 13–16; 9. 21–24; 12. 5–8), at the end of IV. 15 the family is solidly together (27). The motif of song itself, which has connotations of joy and life in 2, 3, 6, 8, and 9, of loss and death in 1, 11, 12, and 13, reaches its culmination only in the *canemus* with which the book ends. Even the minor motif of horses and of riding (e.g., 1. 6–7; 4. 44; 6. 13; 11. 26–28; 14. 22–24) makes its final joyous appearance also in IV. 15 (IV. 15. 9–11):

. . . et ordinem  
rectum evaganti frena licentiae  
iniecit. . . .

Before turning in somewhat greater detail to one last motif, by no means the most prominent but perhaps the most characteristic of Book IV, let me make two comments. First, the fact that motif after motif moves from its many and varied manifestations in the earlier poems to a sure and unambiguous conclusion in IV. 15 is clearly one further extension of the overall movement we have been following. Just as the book at every level moves from separation to union, so its many recurrent motifs are physically and thematically divided from each other and within themselves in the first fourteen poems but all come together with unambivalently joyous connotations in the final poem.

Second, the fact that the manifold parallelism of movement and structure comprehends even the minute verbal details of Book IV is further strong evidence that Book IV was written or at least revised with a clear view to its overall design, not, as some have suggested, hastily compiled from some new imperial poems and some leftover earlier pieces.

We have suggested elsewhere that Horace's use of the motif of spring sums up Book IV's central tension between human mortality and poetic immortality.<sup>16</sup> The same motif also clearly reflects the movement on which we have concentrated in this article. We meet two different springtimes in Book IV. One is a violent, exuberant, youthful spring—the wild spring floods of IV. 2 (Pindar) and IV. 14 (Tiberius), the spring winds that teach the Drusan eagle its violent flight in IV. 4, the spring of Ligurinus in IV.

<sup>16</sup> *Classical Bulletin* 49 (1973), 57–61, esp. 60.

10. The other is a peaceful, restrained spring—the gentle spring of IV. 7 and IV. 12, the spring to which Augustus is compared in IV. 5. 6, the springtime of Maecenas' birthday in IV. 11.

The two springtimes of Book IV differ in time and placement as well as in character: the youthful spring always comes first, the mellow spring later. In actual time, the rushing, flooding springtime of IV. 2 and IV. 14, with the rivers still in flood, clearly precedes the gentler springtime of IV. 7 and IV. 12, when the rivers have receded. More important, in the movement within the book the same order is preserved. The violent spring of IV. 4 is followed by the gentle spring of IV. 5 and IV. 7, the youthful spring of IV. 10 by the more mature spring of IV. 11 (April—see 16) and IV. 12 (and then by the winter of IV. 13. 12). It is tempting also to see the violent early spring floods of IV. 2. 5 ff. yielding to a later springtime in IV. 3. 10 ff.: certainly the gentle rivers there are strikingly similar to those that we meet in the late spring of IV. 7 (IV. 3. 10; IV. 7. 3–4):

sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt  
mutat terra vices, et decrescentia ripas  
flumina praetereunt;

In addition, I think we should see the violent spring floods of IV. 14 yielding to a gentler spring in IV. 15. For what does IV. 15 describe if not the second spring of Rome, a notion reinforced throughout by the many *re*-compounds with their reminiscences of the similar *re*-compounds in IV. 7? Furthermore, it is in the second stanza that the crops return to the fields (cf. the ravaging of the fields by the spring floods of IV. 14), and we recall that it was in the second stanza of IV. 5 that the image of the Augustan spring burst forth, ushered in by the *re*-compounds of lines 3–5. Given the extensive parallelism of the book and especially that between 5 and 15, this relationship is perhaps not accidental.

Horace knows where he stands with respect to the two springtimes of Book IV. Before the rushing, early springtime of Pindar and Drusus and Tiberius he feels admiration and awe, and into the descriptions of Pindar there even creeps a note of envy, the same envy that Horace feels toward the still-burgeoning springtime of Ligurinus in IV. 10 (cf. the springtime image in IV. 13. 6). But Horace knows that this springtime is not his: not only does he no longer have the exuberance and the rushing vigor of life's first springtime, but also there is in that early springtime an element of violence, of unrestraint, with which he does not wish to associate himself. Instead, he embraces for himself the later, gentler, more mellow springtime of IV. 7 and IV. 12, of IV. 3 and IV. 5 and IV. 15. It is a springtime which in IV. 7 and 12 is heavy with the melancholy awareness of the swift passing of man's one spring but which is also filled with profound joy over the perpetual spring that poetry alone can grant. For the springtime of IV. 7 and IV. 12 is strongly associated with Horace's poetry: as we have seen, it

vividly recalls a passage in IV. 3 which describes the sources of his poetry, and it partakes of the same gentleness and restraint as that poetry. Horace thus turns away from the more violent springtime associated with Drusus and Tiberius and Pindar both because it is unattainable for him and also because in some respects it is alien to his temperament.

From that lusty, youthful springtime he turns not only to the springtimes of IV. 7 and IV. 12 but also, in the end, to the sunshine of the Augustan spring. For if the spring of IV. 7, standing as it does at the center of the collection, above all suggests the tensions in Book IV between sadness and joy, death and poetic life, the spring of IV. 15 is that toward which Book IV moves and in which its tensions and divisions find a measure of repose. The springtime of IV. 15 is no ideal and eternal springtime of poetic immortality; rather, it is rooted firmly in the world and its realities, in the ongoing cycles of time with their alternation of birth and decay, in the pragmatism of political decisions, attempted moral renewals, and ritual observances; this springtime carries its reminders of human miseries as well as its hopes of human joys, and Horace describes it in full awareness that, like all creations made by and of humans, it is imperfect and doomed to die. But the springtime of IV. 15 is here and now, real and not metaphoric, present and not merely (as in IV. 5) hoped for, and that same Horace who so resisted Venus' renewed springtime of love and song in IV. 1 is fully a part of it.

The presence of *alma Venus* at the end of IV. 15 is the final proof that IV. 15 too deals with springtime: for who can read *alma Venus* without recalling the *alma Venus* of that greatest of all Latin descriptions of her, a description firmly set by Lucretius in the burgeoning rebirth of springtime?<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> M.C.J. Putnam's splendid book, *Artifices of Eternity. Horace's Fourth Book of Odes* (Ithaca 1986), reached me only after the present article had been accepted for publication. Given the fact that Putnam's approach and mine in most respects complement each other, covering the same group of poems but with rather different emphases, it has seemed appropriate to let this article stand on its own, rather than to lace it after the fact with cross-references to Putnam's book.

