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Carpe Diem and Consolation

Horace's Imitation and Manipulation of Greek Lyric Models

A THESIS BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the influence of Greek lyric poetry, primarily Sappho and Alcaeus, on Horace's *carpe diem* poems. Horace weaves Greek lyric themes and meters into his poetry. He also imitates the structure of alternation scenes and injunction passed down in the lyric tradition from the poet Archilochus. However, Horace distinguishes himself by adding uniquely Roman elements and varying the tones of his speaker. He utilizes the variety of tones or perspectives in order to highlight the proper response to death, enjoying the symposium.

BIOGRAPHY

Ruth Wilmot majored in Classics with a concentration in Latin at the University of Mary Washington. In her free time, she enjoys reading and horseback riding. She is grateful to all the Classics faculty at Mary Washington for their support the last four years. She dedicates this work to her grandmother Arlene Wilmot. Despite suffering from both rheumatoid arthritis and Alzheimer's disease, she embodied the Horatian ethic of *carpe diem* by living every day to its fullest extent and appreciating the small blessings of life.

I hereby declare upon my word of honor that I have neither given nor received
unauthorized help on this work

Carpe Diem and Consolation

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The *carpe diem* poems of Horace draw heavily from themes attending consolation poetics in Greek lyric poetry. Horace borrowed heavily from the Greek lyric poets, particularly Sappho and Alcaeus, as he incorporated not only the metrical and structural elements of lyric poetry into his collection of *Odes*, but also its occasional themes, imagery, subjectivity, and personal voice.¹ In this respect, Horace was following a long-established tradition that was an integral part of the Roman literary world. Roman poets in the Late Republic and Augustan periods frequently alluded to Greek lyric poetry and literary models.² Horace imitated the Greek lyric poets in themes, structure, and meter; however, he diverged from these models by varying the tones of his poetic narrators in order to highlight the appropriate *carpe diem* response.

This paper endeavors to examine the similarities and differences between Horace's *carpe diem* odes and his Greek lyric models in order to understand how his view on death and moral injunctions are unique from his literary predecessors. I will begin with a review of scholarship, including the seminal works on Horace's *carpe diem* poetry and their relationships with Epicureanism and Greek lyric. Then, I will compare the similarities of themes, meter, and structure between Horace and the two Greek lyric poets, Sappho and Alcaeus. After this comparison, I will argue that the *carpe diem* poems differ from Alcaeus' consolation poems because Horace varies the tone of his speakers in order to highlight the appropriate *carpe diem* response. Finally, I will demonstrate that his poetry provided a method of obtaining immortality.

The main methodologies to accomplish this will be comparative studies and philological method. Using the tools of comparative studies, I will analyze and compare and contrast Horace's poems both to each other and to outside sources. I will also use the

philological method in order to study the texts and understand the literary similarities and differences between Horace and the Lesbian poets.

Section I: Review of Scholarship

Classical scholarship has historically focused on the Epicurean influences within Horace's *Odes*. Horace was very familiar with this philosophy due to his time studying in Athens. Scholars often approach Horace's poetry assuming that he is writing as an adherent to this tradition. Philip Thibodeau most clearly demonstrates this prevailing view in his article, "Can Vergil Cry? Epicureanism in Horace Odes 1.24." In the article, Thibodeau argues that Horace comforts Vergil by using *παρησία* or frank criticism, an Epicurean practice which both they, the deceased man Quintilius, and their literary circle supposedly espoused.³

The assumption that Horace primarily advocates for Epicurean philosophy in the *Odes* had already been challenged a half century earlier by scholar Philip Merlan. Merlan demonstrates that Horace does not faithfully adhere to Epicurean philosophy, particularly in the way he interacts with death. To an Epicurean, death is merely non-existence. If death is non-existence, then it should not be feared because it is incapable of producing any real harm on the deceased. Thus, the fear of death and desire for immortality expressed in the *Odes* are utterly contradictory to the ideals of a true Epicurean.⁴

Although the influence of Epicureanism on Horace has been well studied, much less emphasis has been placed on the influence of the Greek lyric poets. Scholars knew for centuries that Horace borrowed meters from Sappho and Alcaeus. However, Italian scholar Giorgio Pasquali developed a new approach to researching and interpreting the *Odes* by suggesting that Horace imitated the Greek lyric poets in content as well as style.

During Pasquali's lifetime, the Oxyrhynchus papyri had been recently discovered in an ancient Egyptian trash heap, revealing new fragments of Alcaeus. Before this discovery, scholars were not aware that Alcaeus wrote any parenetic poetry.⁵ Using this new discovery, Pasquali showed how the *Odes*' parenetic themes, which historically had been attributed as entirely original to Horace, were in fact influenced by Alcaeus.⁶

Pasquali argues that while Horace drew inspiration from Greek lyric models, he did not merely copy them, but developed the themes he drew in an original manner. For example, he argues that Horace used winter scenes not only as a setting for his poetry but also as a reflection of his own mental state: "sono non soltanto avvenimenti naturali ma anche fatti interni, stati di animo."⁷ He believed Horace's *carpe diem* poems represent the depression and sadness that the poet himself experiences when reflecting on the inevitability of death and the shortness of life. Furthermore, he argues that Horace does not merely translate his models but alters words and phrases to create a uniquely Roman product.⁸

Pasquali uses *Carm.* 1.9 as the best example of both Alcaeus' influence and Horace's originality. The poem has many similarities to fragments of Alcaeus. The first two stanzas in particular are heavily drawn from Alcaeus.⁹ Both poets wrote seasonal descriptions, and Horace's winter scene in *Carm.* 1.9 draws from the language of Alcaeus fr. 338.¹⁰

Despite the many similarities, there are significant differences between Alcaeus' poetry and Horace's poetry. Horace transforms his Greek model into a Roman product by tweaking words, phrases, and ideas. Thaliarchus is not a name taken from Alcaeus, Mt.

Soracte is located in Italy, and the wine Horace is inviting Thaliarchus to drink is Sabine.¹¹ From the third stanza on, the ode is largely original to Horace.¹²

Pasquali also argues that Horace drew inspiration for his *Odes* from the Greek epigrammists. Leonidas of Tarentum and Posidippus, in particular, both write on themes very similar to those of Horace's consolation odes.¹³ For example, in Epigram 6.472, Leonidas captures the inevitability of death and painfulness of life, which arrive regardless of the type of life one lives.¹⁴ Horace echoes Leonidas' injunctions to enjoy the simple things of life: ἠοῦν ἐξ ἠοῦς ὅσσον σθένος, ὦνερ, ἐρευνῶν/ εἴης ἐν λιτῇ κεκλιμένος βιοτῇ/ αἰὲν τοῦτο νόῳ μεμνημένος ἄχρισ ὀμιλῆς/ ζωοῖς, ἐξ οἴης ἡρμόνισαι καλάμης, ("Enquire of thyself at the dawn of every day, O man, what thy strength is and learn to lie low, content with a simple life; ever remembering in thy heart, as long as thou dwellest among the living, from what stalks of straw thou art pieced together.")¹⁵ Using these examples, Pasquali suggests that Horace used the form of Alcaeus' parenetic poetry with the content or ideas of the Greek Alexandrian epigrammists.¹⁶

Pasquali's *Orazio Lirico* is the seminal work for understanding Greek lyric influence on Horace's *Odes*, and many other scholars have expanded on his work in the century since its publication. A few years after *Orazio Lirico*, Tenney Frank built upon Pasquali's work by categorizing Horace's *Odes* according to their similarities to Greek lyric poetry. He classified the *Odes* as those influenced by Greek lyric meters, by content, or by both.¹⁷ Some, such as *Carm.* 1.9, 18, and 37, imitate Greek lyric poetry in both content and style, while others imitate Greek lyric poetry in their thematic elements but use an entirely different meter.¹⁸ He believes that even more ties between Greek lyric

poetry and Horace's *Odes* would be discovered if more lines of Greek lyric had survived.¹⁹

Henri Bardon also built on Pasquali's scholarship by researching the influence of Alcaeus on the *carpe diem* poems specifically. Bardon argues that the depictions of nature, which are so reminiscent of Alcaeus' poetry, engendered a feeling in Horace that was not sympotic but melancholic.²⁰ For Horace, the power of winter reveals in the poet his own personal weakness, and it is awareness of this weakness that causes him to feel sad.²¹ Even springtime, long considered a happy season, inspires a spirit of depression.²² His injunction to drink and celebrate life arises from the knowledge that death is inevitable, and through feasting man can forget the passing of time.²³

Three decades ago, Gregson Davis published *Polyhymnia: The Rhetoric Lyric Discourse*, which has since become one of the most influential publications on Horace's *carpe diem* poems since the *Orazio Lirico*. Unlike previous scholarship, Davis focuses on understanding the relationship between what he calls the "scene" and the "prescription" of the *carpe diem* poems.²⁴ He argues that the scene is intricately linked to the prescription in Horace's *carpe diem* poems: "the 'prescription' . . . is part of the 'response' to the scene and is grounded in a general 'insight' concerning the ephemeral nature of human existence."²⁵ Thus, the scene forms the rational basis for the injunction or, in other words, why man should react to the reality of death in the ways Horace suggests.²⁶

One of his most common "scenes" is the depiction of nature's cyclical seasons; these scenes were influenced by Alcaeus and often depicted either spring, winter, or the transition between seasons.²⁷ Horace uses the cycle of the seasons to draw a comparison

between nature, which is eternal, and man, who is not.²⁸ The eternality of nature reveals man's mortality and limitations. This theme is most clearly demonstrated in *Carm.* 4.7, *immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alium/ quae rapit hora diem* ("Don't hope for immortality, the year and hour which seizes the nourishing day warns.")²⁹ As Davis notes, "the main function of the seasonal motif is to convey the idea of an unattainable cyclicity."³⁰ Unlike nature, man is doomed to suffer death and thus should not hope either for immortality or for a long life.³¹

If man is doomed to die, then what is his consolation in life? According to Steele Commager, Horace's answer is wine.³² In his article "The Function of Wine in Horace's Odes," Steele Commager states,

[To the challenge of death's inevitability,] the answer is the same: 'show wisdom, strain clear the wine.' To accept death's unpredictability along with its inevitability is to free ourselves for commitment to the present, and wine becomes a token of that freedom and commitment.³³

Since death is inevitable, there is no reason to worry about the present (*Carm.* 1.9, 2.16, 2.17); inquire of astrology how many days in your life are left (*Carm.* 1.11); hope for immortality (*Carm.* 4.7); or leave behind undrunk wine which will only go to the heir (*Carm.* 2.3, 14). Wine, women, feasting, and the good things in life are consolations against the inevitability and darkness of death.³⁴

The models for Horace's *Odes* are more diverse and varied than scholars originally realized. Although Horace relied on different sources, such as Epicurean philosophy, Greek lyric poetry, and Greek epigram, he did not copy any of these models completely. Much of classical scholarship has focused on how Horace's poetry is imitative of his literary models. Fewer works have focused on how Horace adapts the consolation form to create a unique and innovative poetry.

Section II: *Carpe Diem* Poem Type

The categorization of *carpe diem* poems laid out in this paper is deeply indebted to Gregson Davis' schematic laid out in his work *Polyhymnia*. For the purposes of this work, a *carpe diem* poem is a poem that includes a scene of "vicissitude" which reveals an "insight" or truth about human nature. Based on this insight, Horace gives an "injunction" about how man should react to the negative consequences of life's vicissitude, the ultimate consequence being death.³⁵ This includes *Carm.* 1.4, 1.9, 1.11, 2.10, 2.14, 2.18, and 4.7.³⁶

This paper focuses primarily on the influence of the Lesbian poets, Sappho and Alcaeus, because Horace's persona saw himself as a product of the Lesbian lyric tradition.³⁷ In *Carm.* 2.13, Horace's persona describes a near death encounter with a tree. He imagines going down to the Underworld and seeing Alcaeus and Sappho sing. By doing so, Horace aligns himself with the Lesbian poets and claims his own work, the *Odes*, "ought to be venerated on a par with those giants of Lesbian lyric, Sappho and Alcaeus."³⁸ The poetic narrator continues to draw parallels between himself and the Lesbian poets in *Carm.* 3.30.13-14 where he boasts that he is the first to have adopted Aeolian meters into Italian verse. The reference to Aeolic meters is unmistakably a reference to Sappho and Alcaeus "who wrote in the Aeolic dialect of Lesbos."³⁹ Horace's persona frequently referenced the Lesbian lyric tradition, and it was these poets that he primarily sought to imitate.

Section III: Similarities in Theme

Horace was a Roman poet who wrote in the tradition of Greek lyric poetry. As a successor in the Greek lyric tradition, Horace borrowed heavily from his literary

predecessors both metrically and thematically. For some of his *Odes*, he imitated Greek lyric poetry in both meter and theme, while in others he borrowed the theme but not the meter.⁴⁰ Since much of Greek lyric poetry only survives in fragmentary pieces, it is possible that more parallels between Horace and his Greek literary predecessors exist than is presently known.⁴¹

Horace wrote on themes similar to the Lesbian poets. Both the Greek lyric poets and Horace created personas who feared death and inveighed against its inevitability. Sappho's poetic persona was particularly distraught over the realities of aging and dying. In fragment 58, she laments how time has ravaged her body. Her knees had become too weak for dancing, her hair whitened, and her body withered: *πά]ντα χροά γῆρας ἤδη/ λεῦκαι δ' ἐγένον]το τρίχεσ ἐκ μελαίαν/]αι, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι/]ησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισιν* ("old age already (withers?) all (my) skin, and (my) hair (turned white) from black . . . (my) knees do not carry (me) . . . (to dance) like young fawns.")⁴² She grieves that it is impossible for her to escape dying. This view of death is reinforced by Sappho fr. 201. Although this poem no longer survives, Aristotle paraphrases it in his work, *The Art of Rhetoric*, saying, *φησὶν ἡ Σαπφὼ ὅτι τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακόν· οἱ θεοὶ γὰρ οὕτω/ κεκρίκασιν· ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ἄν* ("Or Sappho says, to die is an evil; for the gods have thus decided. For otherwise they would be dying.")⁴³ Although Sappho's work only survives in fragmentary form, her persona clearly denounces the process of aging and dying as evil.⁴⁴

Horace's descriptions and imagery of the underworld demonstrate that the narrator of the *Odes* is also disconcerted by death. Death is always described by negative adjectives, such as cold or pale. In *Carm.* 1.4.13, he refers to death as *pallida Mors* or pale Death.⁴⁵ *Carm.* 2.8 refers to death as *gelida* or cold and echoes Sappho fr. 201 by distinguishing the

gods as those who are *morte carentis* “free from death.”⁴⁶ His descriptions of the Underworld also depict the grimness of death. In *Carm.* 1.28, Horace describes the horror of death and the Underworld:

Dant alios Furiae torvo spectacula Marti;
 exitio est avidum mare nautis;
 mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera; nullum
 saeva caput Proserpina fugit.⁴⁷

The Furies give them as a show to fierce Mars;
 The sea is greedy for the destruction of sailors;
 The mixed funeral rights of old men and youths are packed together;
 Cruel Proserpina avoids no head.

This poem depicts a chilling scene of death’s consequences. After death, man will become a plaything for the gods, subject to the whims of death’s merciless queen and the terrible Furies. Death does not provide any comfort or consolation; its terrible consequences show it is not something to be wished for. *Carm.* 2.3 continues this tone by calling those who have died *victima nil miserantis Orci* “victims of compassionless Orcus.”⁴⁸ Through these words, Horace creates a verbal picture of death as harsh, cold, and unrelenting.

Since death is so terrible, it is something that should be feared, and man can never sufficiently prepare for its reality. The Horatian speaker expounds upon this theme in *Carm.* 2.13:

Quid quisque vitet numquam homini satis
 cautum est in horas: navita Bosphorum
 Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra
 caeca timet aliunde fata;
 miles sagittas et celerem fugam
 Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
 robur; sed improvisa leti.⁴⁹

What anyone shuns is never cautious enough for man in the hour; the sailor trembles at the Phoenician Bosphorus and he does not fear the blind fates further from elsewhere; the soldier fears the arrows and swift avoidance of the Parthians, the Parthian fears the chains and Italian strength; but he does not fear the unexpected death.

Horace's poetic identity feared death as a terrible, inevitable evil, and this character never presents the afterlife as a possible consolation. Horace depicts or references the Underworld several times, most notably in *Carm.* 1.28, 2.13, and 4.7, but the extent to which the Underworld was considered to be a tangible or real place within the world of Horace's poetry is unclear. The narrators Horace creates are inconsistent in their views of death. *Carm.* 1.28 "presupposes" that an afterlife did in fact exist since it assumes "that existence does not end with death."⁵⁰ The existence of the Underworld as a real place in the poetic world remains ambiguous in most of the *Odes*.⁵¹

The afterlife never provides a sense of comfort for the poet narrator. As demonstrated previously, Horace almost always depicted the afterlife as a merciless, dark, and horrible place, *Carm.* 1.10 being the notable exception.⁵² Here, Horace writes about Mercury leading souls to a place of eternal rest: *tu pius laetis animas reponis sedibus virgaque levem coerces aurea turbam, superis deorum gratus et imis* or ("you return pious souls to their happy settlements and with golden scepter you agreeable preserve the light crowd to the inmost heights of the gods.")⁵³ However, this poem provides only a vague sense of happiness or hope in the afterlife.⁵⁴ Based on the many other dark descriptions of the afterlife, it seems quite unlikely that readers were supposed to anticipate death positively.⁵⁵ Sullivan proposes that Horace may have believed in a *di manes* afterlife, a sort of shadowy, wandering existence in the Underworld.⁵⁶ As he notes, this kind of afterlife existence "could hardly [be] present . . . as a ground for consolation."⁵⁷ Horace never states whether or not his literary personas believed in an afterlife, but even if the afterlife was real for the purposes of his poetic universe, it was likely not intended to hold any degree of comfort for the reader.

Horace's poetic identity also never used the existence of an afterlife as a form of consolation.⁵⁸ In *Carm.* 2.9 and 17, Horace comforts his friend Valgius and patron Maecenas

respectively when they are faced with death (or fear of their own death). In both of these poems, Horace omits any mention of hope for a good afterlife. He does not even offer the possibility that Valgius will see his family members or that he and Maecenas might live together there.⁵⁹ Instead, in *Carm.* 2.17, he comforts Maecenas by promising that he will die with him so they can make the journey of death together.

a! te meae si partem animae rapit
 maturior vis, quid moror alteram,
 nec carus aequae nec superstes
 integer? ille dies utramque
 ducet ruinam. non ego perfidum
 dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,
 utcumque praecedes, supremum
 carpere iter comites parati.⁶⁰

Ah! If violence seizes you earlier [than me], part of my spirit, do I die later, I neither equally dear nor stand over [you] untouched? That day will lead ruin to each. I do not lead a faithless oath: I will go, I will go, and so that when you precede [in death], the final journey seizes ready companions.⁶¹

Although he and Maecenas travel together, the Horatian narrator omits the possibility that they will live together in any kind of blissful or even tolerable existence. He merely repeats the theme that death is undesirable by describing it as *ruina* or “ruinous.”⁶² The poetic Maecenas and Horace may make the journey of death together, but the trip is not a pleasant one.

Like Horace, the Greek lyric poet Sappho also expressed ambiguous views on an afterlife. The poetic persona she presents in Sappho fr. 95 views the afterlife as a positive reality: οὐ μὰ γὰρ μάκαιρα [ἔγωγ’ / ο]ὐδὲν ἄδομ’ ἔπερθα γὰρ [ἔοισα, / Καθάνην δ’ ἡμέρος τις [ἔχει με καὶ / λωτίνοις δροσόεντας [ῥ-/χ[θ]οις ἴδην Ἀχέρ[οντος (“I get no pleasure from being above the earth, and a longing grips me to die and see the dewy, lotus-covered banks of Acheron.”)⁶³ The attitude presented in this verse is inconsistent with the view of death presented in Sappho frs. 58 and 201. Furthermore, the numerous missing lines before and after this statement limits scholars’ ability to

interpret this statement within its original context. Is this the prevailing view towards death for Sappho's poetic persona or merely an interesting exception, like Horace's narrator in *Carm.* 1.10? Without more surviving fragments, this conundrum is impossible to resolve. However, it is significant to note that like Horace, Sappho never raised the afterlife as a form of consolation. As will be demonstrated later, Sappho's persona achieved immortality through her poetry.

Section IV: Similarities in Structure

Horace was indebted to the Greek lyric poets not only for the thematic elements but also for the underlying structure. Horace imitated his Greek lyric predecessors in both meter and in the progression of the consolation elements.

Horace frequently borrowed meters from the Greek lyric poets. Of the fifteen poems he wrote on the theme of death,⁶⁴ eleven are written in three lyric meters – Alcaic strophe, Sapphic strophe, and Asclepiadean meters. Alcaic strophe is attributed to the Greek lyric poet Alcaeus from the island of Lesbos.⁶⁵ This particular meter was preferred by Horace; he used it for six of his poems on death and thirty-seven times overall.⁶⁶ Sapphic strophe, named after the lyric poet Sappho, was another meter Horace favored though he used it only twice in his death poems and twenty-five times generally.⁶⁷ Horace also used Asclepiadean meters in his *Odes*. Although this meter was attributed to the Hellenistic poet Asclepiades, it predated him and was used in the Archaic period.⁶⁸ Horace utilized this meter for three of his poems on death, *Carm.* 1.11, 24, and 3.30.⁶⁹ Horace used Greek meters for many of his *carpe diem* poems.

Horace also used the same underlying structure for his *carpe diem* poems as the Greek lyric poets did for their consolation poems. In his work *Polyhymnia*, Gregson Davis creates a schematic of the *carpe diem* type. He notes that every *carpe diem* poem has three components, the scene, the insight, and a moral injunction (which he calls the “prescription”).⁷⁰ Davis defines the scene as

“the descriptive component of *CD* odes.”⁷¹ These two components are intricately connected because the ‘prescription’ . . . is part of the ‘response’ to the scene and is grounded in a general ‘insight’ concerning the ephemeral nature of human existence.”⁷² A cursory examination of the *carpe diem* poems confirms Davis’ analysis. In *Carm.* 1.4, Horace begins by describing the transition between winter and spring. Lines 1-7 establish the connection between nature and human existence, just as winter turns to spring so will man’s life turn to death. Horace then ends with a moral injunction, phrased in lines 9-12: *nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto/ aut flore terrae quem ferunt solutae;/nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis./seu poscat agna sive malit haedo* (“now it is fitting either to obstruct the bright head with fresh myrtle or with a flower which the loosened earths bear; now it is fitting to sacrifice to Faunus in shady groves, whether he demands a ewe lamb or whether he prefers a young goat.”)⁷³ This schematic is also consistent with Horace’s other *carpe diem* poems, such as *Carm.* 1.9, 1.11, and 4.7.

The “descriptive component” contains expressions of life’s vicissitudes or alternations, often in the form of nature scenes.⁷⁴ This element preceded both Horace and even his Lesbian models.⁷⁵ The Greek lyric poet Archilochus used descriptions of the vicissitude of life in order to draw out truths about basic human nature. In Archilochus fr. 128, he says,

θυμέ, θυμ', ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε,
 †ἀναδευ δυσμενῶν† δ' ἀλέξεο προσβαλὼν ἐναντίον
 στέρνον †ἐνδοκοισιν† ἐχθρῶν πλησίον κατασταθεὶς
 ἀσφαλέως· καὶ μήτε νικέων ἀμφάδην ἀγάλλεο,
 μηδὲ νικηθεὶς ἐν οἴκῳ καταπεσὼν ὀδύρεο,
 ἀλλὰ χαρτοῖσιν τε χαῖρε καὶ κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα
 μὴ λίην, γίνωσκε δ' οἷος ῥυσμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει.⁷⁶

My heart, my heart, confounded by woes beyond remedy, rise up(?) and defend yourself, setting your breast against your foes(?) as they lie in ambush(?) and standing steadfastly near the enemy. Do not exult openly in victory and in defeat do not fall down lamenting at home, but let your rejoicing in joyful times and your grief in bad times be moderate. Know what sort of pattern governs mankind.⁷⁷

In this poem, Archilochus describes war and the natural alternations of victory and defeat. These alternations are “synecdochic for human experience” and contain truths about human existence.⁷⁸ These alternations then form the basis of the injunction.⁷⁹ The moral for these particular poems is that since victory and defeat come in equal, alternating measure, man should moderate his emotions: “γίνωσκε δ’ οἷος ῥυσμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει.”⁸⁰ By understanding life’s natural variations, man can formulate the proper moral response to life’s suffering.⁸¹

The moral truth presented varies based on the particular example of vicissitude the author uses. For example, in Archilochus fr. 130 the poet creates a pattern of misfortune and blessing.

τοῖς θεοῖς ἴτ’ εἰθεῖάπαντα· πολλάκις μὲν ἐκ κακῶν
 ἄνδρας ὀρθοῦσιν μελαίνῃ κειμένους ἐπὶ χθονί,
 πολλάκις δ’ ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ μάλ’ εὖ βεβηκότας
 ὑπτίους, κείνοις <δ’> ἔπειτα πολλὰ γίνεται κακά,
 καὶ βίου χρέμη πλανᾶται καὶ νόου παρήορος.⁸²

Everything is . . . for (to, by) the gods. Often when men are lying prostrate on the dark earth they raise them upright from their misery, and often they overturn on their backs even those whose stance was very firm. Then much misery is theirs and a man wanders about in need of livelihood and distraught in mind.⁸³

In line 1, τοῖς θεοῖς ἴτ’ εἰθεῖάπαντα, Archilochus highlights how all these alternations are controlled by the gods and completely outside man’s control.⁸⁴ Thus, the alternations of misfortune and blessing serve as a reminder of “those areas of our experience that are within our control from those that are not.”⁸⁵ This expression of vicissitude leads to a different conclusion than Archilochus fr. 130. Due to the poem’s fragmentary nature, the injunction is not explicitly stated, but Davis argues that the poem suggests an injunction like *Carm.* 1.9’s *permitte divis cetera*.⁸⁶ Since the scene is the rational basis for the injunction, the moral drawn from each poem varies with the particular expression of vicissitude the author uses.

Archilochus’ poetry also contains injunctions to enjoy life by means of the symposium, such as in fr. 13 where he says οὔτε τι γὰρ κλαίων ἴησομαι, οὔτε κάκιονθήσω τερπωλὰς καὶ θαλίας

ἐφέπων (“for I shall cure nothing by weeping nor shall I make matters worse by pursuit of pleasures and festivities.”)⁸⁷ Awareness of life’s alternations and man’s powerlessness naturally culminates in the desire to drink wine and enjoy the symposium. As Davis notes,

The core pleasures that constitute the *telos* of lyric are attainable only through a considered adjustment of behavior, enabling us to overcome, and in some measure to compensate for, our tendency to fixate on the dark side of our mortal destiny. The happy life, symbolized in the banquet, is grounded in a prior and full acknowledgment of our mortal condition—the philosophically necessary prelude to our recommitment to the present.⁸⁸

Through the symposium, man is able to overcome fear and despair over death. Through drinking wine, man is able to overcome his fear of death by committing to enjoy the present rather than worrying about a future beyond his control.

This pattern of alternation and injunction was then copied by Alcaeus and later by Horace. As Davis notes, “human vicissitude—the *rhusmos* of Archilochus—is the basic insight that determines the appropriate ethical response for both the archaic Greek lyrist and his Roman imitator.”⁸⁹ Alcaeus primarily used nature for his expressions of vicissitude and metaphors for human life. For example, in fr. 286, Alcaeus seems to connect winter and spring with death:

πο]λυανθέμω[
 κρ]υερος πάγος]. ὑπὰ Τάρταρον·
 ἐπ]ι νῶτ' ἔχειέ[
 ε]υσσῶας τύχοις
] [
] . . νουδ . [.] . . [
] . ησδ' ἀδαμα . [
] . ον φῆρα κατέκτ[αν-
]' [.] . [.] . . ων μεγ[
] . όσυνα . [
] . αναω[
 . .]μ' [.⁹⁰

. . . flowery (spring?) . . . cold frost (thaws)
 . . . down to Tartarus . . . (calm) covers
 the back (of the sea) . . . may you find
 safety . . . (untamed?) . . . killed the beast.⁹¹

Even in its incomplete state, Alcaeus fr. 286 clearly includes expressions of alternation through the descriptions of spring and winter.⁹² Alcaeus fr. 286 demonstrates how Alcaeus imitates Archilochus' vicissitude poems by using nature as his scene of alternation.

In Alcaeus fr. 38, Alcaeus describes the alternations of life as brought by the gods in a very similar vein to Archilochus fr. 130.

πῶνε [καὶ μέθυ' ὦ] Μελάνιππ' ἄμ' ἔμοι' τί
 [φαῖς † ὄταμε[. . .]διννάεντ' † Ἀχέροντα μέγ[αν
 πόρον
 ζάβαι[ς ἀ]ελίω κόθαρον φάος [ἄ]νερον
 ὄψεσθ'; ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ μεγάλων ἐπιβάλλεο·
 καὶ γὰρ Σίσυφος Αἰολίδαις βασιλεύς [ἔ]φα
 ἄνδρων πλεῖστα νοησάμενος [θανάτω κρέτην·
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πολυίδρις ἔων ὑπὰ κᾶρι [δὶς
 διννάεντ' Ἀχέροντ' ἐπέραισε, μ[έ]μηδε δ' ὦν
 αὐτῷ μόχθον ἔχην Κρονίδαις βα[σί]λευς κάτω
 μελαίνας χθόνος· ἀλλ' ἄγι μὴ τά[δ' ἐπέ]λεο·
 θᾶς] τ' ἀβάσομεν αἶ ποτα κάλλοτα ν[ῦν
 χρέων
 φέρ]ην ὄττινα τῶνδε πάθην τά[χα δῶ] θεός.
 ἄνε]μος βορίαῖς ἐπι. [⁹³

Drink and get drunk, Melanippus, with me. Why do you suppose that when you have crossed the great river of eddying (?) Acheron you will see again the sun's pure light? Come, do not aim at great things: why, king Sisyphus, 1 son of Aeolus, wisest of men, supposed that he (was master of Death?); but despite his cunning he crossed eddying Acheron twice at fate's command, and king Zeus, son of Cronus, devised a toil for him to have under the black earth. Come, do not hope for these things; now if ever, while we are young, it is fit to endure whatever of these things God may give us to suffer. . . . the North wind . . .⁹⁴

In this case, the alternations are not of misfortune and blessing like in Archilochus fr. 130 but of life and death. Because the gods and fate control the natural alternations of life and death, man cannot hope to avoid his demise. Like Archilochus, acknowledgement of these alternations leads to an injunction to enjoy the symposium. He urges Melanippus to drink with him because no one can hope to outlast death: πῶνε [καὶ μέθυ' ὦ] Μελάνιππ' ἄμ' ἔμοι' τί [φαῖς † ὄταμε[. . .]διννάεντ' †

Ἀχέροντα μέγ[αν πόρον ζάβαι[ς ἀ]ελίω κόθαρων φάος [ἄψερρον ὄψεσθ. Since man cannot be immortal, he should accept his natural limitations and enjoy the symposium.

Horace imitates the Greek lyric poets by using the alternations of nature as the basis for his moral injunctions. Like Archilochus and Alcaeus, he progresses from examples of life's vicissitude to an awareness of man's powerlessness to an injunction to enjoy the present and the time the gods have given.

Given that 1.9 heavily imitates several Greek lyric poems in both meter and content, such as Alcaeus fr. 338 and Archilochus fr. 130, it may be helpful to address *Carm.* 1.9 in its entirety, demonstrating how Horace imitates the structure of consolation poetry – the expression of vicissitude and injunction.

Carm. 1.9

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
silvae laborantes, geluque
flumina constiterint acuto?

dissolve frigus ligna super foco
large reponens atque benignius
deprome quadrimum Sabina,
o Thaliarche, merum diota:

permitte divis cetera, qui simul
stravere ventos aequore fervido
deproeliantis, nec cupressi
nec veteres agitantur orni.

quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et
quem Fors dierum cumque dabit lucro
appone, nec dulcis amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas,

donec virenti canities abest
 morosa. Nunc et Campus et areae
 lenesque sub noctem susurri
 composita repetantur hora,

nunc et latentis proditor intimo
 gratus puellae risus ab angulo
 pignusque dereptum lacertis
 aut digito male pertinaci.⁹⁵

Do you see how Soracte stands white with piled up snow, and the trees working do not now hold back the burden, and rivers remain fixed with sharp frost? Melt the cold placing wood above the bountiful fireplace and more generously let down the pure four-year-old Sabine wine from the jar O Thaliarchus. Entrust other things to the gods, who once have scattered the battling winds on the fiery sea, neither cypress wood nor old ash trees are shaken.

What may be about to come tomorrow flee to seek and whatever of days Fortune will give appoint as profit, as a boy neither reject sweet loves nor dances, as long as capricious white hair is absent from green [youth]. Now let both the Campus and the smooth spaces be sought again at night on the agreed upon hour. And now the traitor, the pleasing laughter of the concealed girl, arises from the corner and the symbol having been pulled off the arms or mischievously pulled from the obstinate finger.

Alcaeus, fr. 338

ὔει
 μὲν ὁ Ζεῦς, ἐκ δ' ὀράνω μέγας
 χείμων, πεπάγαισιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥοαί
 < ἔνθεν >
 < >
 κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμων', ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις
 πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως
 μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόραα
 μόλθακον ἀμφὶ<βάλων> γνόφαλλον⁹⁶

Zeus sends rain, a great storm comes from the heavens, running waters are frozen solid thence . . . Down with the storm! Stoke up the fire, mix the honeysweet wine unsparingly, and put a soft fillet round your brows.⁹⁷

Horace heavily imitates Alcaeus fr. 338 in *Carm.* 1.9; he writes in Alcaic strophe and follows the exact same consolation structure. Both poems begin with an alternation scene and an acknowledgment of the god's control over these variations. The first stanza directly imitates

Alcaeus fr. 338.⁹⁸ He begins with a scene of nature, the change of winter into spring, *vides ut alta stet nive candidum/ Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus/ silvae laborantes, geluque/ flumina constiterint acuto?* (“Do you see how Soracte stands white with piled up snow, and the trees working do not now hold back the burden, and rivers remain fixed with sharp frost?”)⁹⁹ which resembles ὕει μὲν ὁ Ζεῦς, ἐκ δ’ ὀράνω μέγας/ χεῖμων, πεπάγαισιν δ’ ὑδάτων ῥόαι (“Zeus sends rain, a great storm comes from the heavens, running waters are frozen solid.”)¹⁰⁰ He then demonstrates how these alternations are controlled by the gods: *permitte divis cetera, qui simul/ stravere ventos aequore fervido/ deproeliantis* (“entrust other things to the gods, who once have scattered the battling winds on the fiery sea, neither cypress wood nor old ash trees are shaken.”)¹⁰¹

The second stanza of *Carm.* 1.9 continues to imitate Alcaeus fr. 338.¹⁰² Here Alcaeus in fr. 338 and Horace in *Carm.* 1.9 follow the same progression as Archilochus. Acknowledgment of these alternations, *vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte*, and the realization of man’s powerlessness to control them as seen in the first stanza now becomes the basis of the injunction to enjoy the symposium.¹⁰³ Since man is subject to life’s vicissitude, he should drink wine while he can: *atque benignius/ deprome quadrimum Sabina,/ o Thaliarche, merum diota* (“and more generously let down the pure four year old Sabine wine from the jar O Thaliarchus”) and not worry about the length of his life.¹⁰⁴ Horace tells Thaliarchus not to concern himself with how many days he has left, *quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et/ quem Fors dierum cumque dabit lucro* (“What may be about to come tomorrow flee to seek and whatever of days Fortune will give appoint as profit, as a boy neither reject sweet loves nor dances”) whereas Alcaeus in fr. 338 tells his reader to mix and drink the wine, ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως/ μέλιχρον, ἀτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόραα/ μὸλθακον ἀμφι<βάλων> γνόφαλλον (“mix the honeysweet wine unsparingly, and put a

soft fillet round your brows.”)¹⁰⁵ Both Alcaeus fr. 338 and *Carm.* 1.9 share the same general encouragement: since the variations of life are short and outside man’s control, he should drink wine to help lighten his troubles.

Section V: Distinctions between Horace and Greek Lyric

Part I: Addition of Roman Elements

There are numerous commonalities between Horace’s *carpe diem* poems and the consolation poems of the Greek lyric poets. Although these poems used the same literary structure, Horace differed from his Greek models by adding Roman elements to his poems and varying the tones of his poetic narrators.

As previously demonstrated, *Carm.* 1.9 heavily imitates Alcaeus fr. 338 in its structure and themes; however, it also shows Horace’s originality. Horace diverges from his model at points by including Roman geographical and cultures features. Thus, he does not merely transpose Greek sentiments, ideas, imagery, and themes into Latin but transforms and adapts his descriptions to fit the Roman landscape.¹⁰⁶ For example, Mount Soracte is located in Italy, not Greece. Scholars have given much attention to the fact that this mountain was not visible from Rome, but, as R.G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard point out, Horace was not focused on creating a completely accurate physiographic representation of the region so much as he was giving “local colour to a Greek theme.”¹⁰⁷ In stanza two, Horace specifies the wine he is drinking is Italian in origin, specifically Sabine.¹⁰⁸ In her article “Wine and a Trial of Character in Horace’s Poems,” Anne Lill notes that as a sympotic poet Horace often varied the wines he used in his poetry and imbued them with “their own emotionally distinctive characteristics.”¹⁰⁹ Sabine wine is valuable to Horace because though other wines like Caecubum or Falernian are of better quality, Sabine wine could be found on Horace’s own farm. Horace’s literary persona drinks

Sabine wine with Maecenas, and thus this kind of wine contains warm, friendly, and intimate connotations.¹¹⁰ The name Thaliarchus is likely also a Horatian addition since Horace tended not to borrow Greek names very often in his poetry.¹¹¹

Horace also distinguishes himself from Alcaeus by providing specifically Roman advice on how man should respond to the knowledge that life is fleeting. Horace encourages man to respond to the reality of death by pursuing love while he is still young: *nec dulcis amores/ sperne puer neque tu choreas,/ donec virenti canities abest/ morosa* (“as a boy neither reject sweet loves nor dances, as long as capricious white hair is absent from green [youth].”)¹¹² Although love was a common theme in Greek lyric, the following description of a man pursuing a young girl in lines 18-24 is not indicative of Greek lyric poetry, as Pasquali argues in the *Orazio Lirico*.¹¹³ The object of love is not a prostitute but a regular girl.¹¹⁴ With the exception of Sparta, women in the ancient Greek world had limited freedom, both sexually and in their ability to move outside the home. Furthermore, the girl’s lighthearted attitude toward her lover’s advances strongly suggest that she is not a prostitute. The girl Horace presents in *Carm.* 1.9 appears to be inexperienced, shy, and playful. She hides in a corner until her giggles give her away, and then she gives him a symbol of her affection: *nunc et latentis proditor intimo/ gratus puellae risus ab angulo/ pignusque dereptum lacertis/ aut digito male pertinaci* (“and now the traitor, the pleasing laughter of the concealed girl, arises from the corner and the symbol having been pulled off the arms or mischievously pulled from the obstinate finger.”)¹¹⁵ This reaction is hardly characteristic of an experienced prostitute. Nisbet and Hubbard agree with Pasquali’s assessment saying,

The attitude to love, or at least the literary expression of it, is not found before Middle Comedy: Alcaeus would not have written about romantic assignations in public places with flirtatious girls who are neither secluded maidens nor coarse prostitutes. The scene is urban, and specifically Roman.¹¹⁶

Horace's description of the type of assignation is inconsistent with ideals of love shown during the period of Greek lyric and thus cannot be drawn from these poets. In this way, Horace adds original elements to the poem.

Part II: Tonal Differences

The most significant distinction between Horace and the Greek lyric poets is the difference in tone. The Greek lyric poets created narrators that present either a spirit of equanimity towards death or despair over aging and death's realities. The former view is presented by the personas in Archilochan and Alcaean lyric poetry. Moderation was a key philosophical idea in the Greek world, and the Greek lyric speaker often advocated for accepting life's circumstances as they were, without despair or hoping for relief. As demonstrated previously, in fr. 128 the Archilochan speaker tells his reader that awareness of the harshness of life's vicissitudes should inspire moderation.¹¹⁷ This attitude is also demonstrated in Alcaeus fr. 38. According to the Alcaean speaker, man should not hope to live a second time because even the clever king Sisyphus was unable to avoid death. In the midst of this depressing reality, he must cut back hope of immortality.¹¹⁸

Occasionally, the speakers of the poems provided opportunities for hope. Archilochus fr. 130 is one of the darkest consolation poems, but even it offers an avenue for hope, slim as it is. In fr. 130, Archilochus describes how man's fortunes can change in a moment from safety to misery or vice versa. Man's fortunes may be miserable now, but who knows when the gods may intervene and change his fate? Thus, the speaker of Archilochus fr. 130 advocates for an attitude of acceptance and perhaps even a little hope that circumstances could change: "τοῖς θεοῖς ἴτ' εἰθεῖάπαντα."¹¹⁹ In contrast to these speakers, Sappho's personas primarily exhibit an attitude of despair towards death and the aging process. As demonstrated previously, the Sapphic speaker

inveighs against the reality of aging and death, as seen through frs. 201 and 58. Horatian imitation of Sapphic methods of consolation against this despair will be expounded upon in the following section.

Horace differs from the Greek lyric poets in that his poetic narrators vary their tones. Sometimes his narrators encourage accepting the realities of life's vicissitude with equanimity while other times they speak from a position of despair. Like Archilochus and Alcaeus, the Horatian speaker often advocates for moderation, accepting man's limits without excess emotion.¹²⁰ For example, the speaker's argument in *Carm.* 2.10 is remarkably similar to Archilochus fr. 130.

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
 semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
 cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
 litus iniquum.
 auream quisquis mediocritatem
 diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
 sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
 sobrius aula.
 saepius ventis agitur ingens
 pinus et celsae graviore casu
 decidunt tures feriuntque summos
 fulgura montis.
 sperat infestis, metuit secundis
 alteram sortem bene praeparatum
 pectus. informis hiemes reducit
 Iuppiter, idem
 summovet. non, si male nunc, et olim
 sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
 suscitatur Musam neque semper arcum
 tendit Apollo.¹²¹

You will live rightly, Licinius, neither by always pursuing the deep sea nor, while you cautiously tremble at storms, by pursuing the disadvantageous [thing]. Whoever favors golden moderation, safely lacks the meanness of a worn-out roof, sensibly lacks the enviable hall. The ship is more often agitated by winds and they bring tall palaces to an end by more painful chance and lightning carries off high mountains. The heart well prepared hopes for hostile things, fears another lot from the next. Juppiter brings back horrible winters, he wards off the same, if now it is bad, and so it will not be as follows in

the future: once the lyre rouses the silent Muse nor does Apollo always draw the bow. Appear courageous and brave in poor matters; you will diminish the sails more wisely with second wind than too inflamed with passion.

Carm. 2.10 contains all the characteristics of the consolation type. The poem contains several expressions of vicissitude scattered throughout the poem: the alternations of the weather (lines 9-12), the removal and restoration of winter (lines 15-17), and the changes between good fortune and bad (lines 13-15). The Horatian speaker tells Licinius that if he is wise, he will accept man's limitations as demonstrated by the alternations of life and moderate his emotions appropriately.¹²² This injunction clearly echoes Archilochus' advice in fr. 130: γίνωσκε δ' οἶος ῥυσµὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει.¹²³ Like Archilochus fr. 130, there is the slight hope that life's alternations might change favorably for Licinius, which is particularly emphasized in lines 17-20: *non, si male nunc, et olim/ sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem/ suscitāt Musam neque semper arcum/ tendit Apollo.*

However, Horace differs from the Greek lyric poets in that his narrators sometimes speak from a position of despair. *Carm.* 1.11 exemplifies the overall darker tone of Horace's *carpe diem* poetry.

Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
temptaris numeros. ut melius, quidquid erit, pati,
seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum! sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.¹²⁴

Don't seek, to know is sin, what boundary for me, what boundary for you, the gods have given, Leuconoe, nor test the Babylonian numbers. Since it is better to endure whatever will be, whether more winters or the last Juppiter attributes, which now the Tyrrhenian sea weakens with opposing pumice stone. So, be wise, pour the wine, and for a brief time cut back a long hope. While we are speaking, a grudging age has fled: harvest the day, trusting as little to the future.

The elongated nature scene highlights the harsh reality of life's alternations. In his article "Horace's Carpe Diem," R.E. Grimm argues the scene of the sea and the rocks is violent. The "juxtaposition of oppositis with debilitat" depicts the sea and rocks not as peacefully co-existing elements but as enemy "combatants."¹²⁵ Both nature elements are fighting against one another, draining themselves, yet still mutually trying to destroy the other: the "sea [hurls itself] against the very rocks which both blunt the waves and in turn are blunted by them."¹²⁶ In other poems, Leuconoe's only consolation is the destructive sea and stone: "hiems quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare Tyrrhenum: this is their comfort."¹²⁷ This scene sets a tone of "hostility" and violence which continues to color the rest of the poem.¹²⁸

Carm. 1.11 also contains the typical reference to the seasons, in this case winter: *seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam*.¹²⁹ Here Horace mixes the "cyclical" and "rectilinear" in the same sentence.¹³⁰ *Pluris* indicates the "cyclical model," that seasons will end and return in an eternal sequence, while *ultimam* refers to the "rectilinear model," man's lifetime that will come to an end with no regeneration.¹³¹ The mixing of these two components again demonstrates the contrast between nature's eternality and man's limits. Both of these natural phenomena and the length of Leuconoe's life are assigned by almighty Juppiter.¹³² Unfortunately for Leuconoe, the detached connotations of *tribuit* indicate that Juppiter stands as a "dispassionate" deity. He may command the forces of nature and the length of Leuconoe's life, but he cares little for the outcomes.¹³³ Leuconoe fights not only against the universe but time itself. In *Carm.* 1.11.7-8, even time itself is *invida* or jealous and does not want to give Leuconoe "days from his abundant store."¹³⁴ Since Leuconoe lives in such a wretched universe and is subject to the authority of such an uncaring deity, Horace encourages her not to count the days of her life or seek to know the future.¹³⁵

This attitude of despair is highlighted most clearly in *Carm.* 4.7.

immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alium
 quae rapit hora diem; frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit
 aestas interitura simul pomifer Autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
 bruma recurrit iners.¹³⁶

Don't hope for immortality, the year and hour which seizes the nourishing day warns, the colds soften the west winds, summer crushes spring, summer about to cease once fruit bearing Autumn brings forth fruits, and soon the inactive winter returns.

The ode contains many of the typical *carpe diem* elements, including the scene of vicissitude (lines 1-6) and the injunction, *immortalia ne speres*.¹³⁷ Like *Carm.* 1.11, the elongated scene of vicissitude, containing two metaphors for nature instead of one, highlights the speaker's despair. The moon waxes and wanes while the seasons continue to cycle from cold to spring to summer to autumn, and back to winter. The "compressed cycle" of nature's changes, *frigora . . . ver . . . aetas . . . Autumnus . . . iners*, emphasizes the fleetingness of life, and Horace's choice of meter, varying long and short lines, reinforces this theme.¹³⁸ The continuous refrain of nature's eternity demonstrates the speaker's despair because it repeatedly echoes the immortality of nature which serves as a sharp contrast to the limits of his own life.¹³⁹

This connection between nature and man's lifespan, which he previously left implied, is now directly and brutally stated: *damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae: nos ubi decidimus quo pater Aeneas, quo Tullus dives et Ancus, pulvis et umbra sumus* ("nevertheless the quick moons renew the losses of the heavens: where we fall to where father Aeneas to where rich Tullus and Ancus [fell], we are dust and shadow."¹⁴⁰ While the moon can "die" and come back to life, man is not so fortunate; once he goes down to the Underworld he is not able to return. Thus, nature is a stark reminder of man's mortality because while the seasons and elements of nature arrive

and die in an infinite cycle, man is subject to a linear, limited lifespan.¹⁴¹ This tone of despair continues throughout the *exempla* in lines 15 and 16; not even Ancus or Tullus, two heroes of the Roman world, could escape from death. The arguments from nature and *exempla* force Horace to conclude: *pulvis et umbra sumus*.¹⁴² Man's death is inevitable, and the only fate awaiting him is an afterlife of shadowy nothingness.¹⁴³

Horace differs from the Greek lyric poets because his narrators speak from both despair and hope while Archilochus and Alcaeus advocate for acceptance of death's reality. For this reason, Anne Lill argues that "Horace as the creator of the Roman sympotic tradition in poetry . . . did not resemble his Greek counterparts – his *convivium* is mixed with anxiety that is far from the simple joy of drinking wine and lovely amusements."¹⁴⁴ However, it is a mistake to conflate the attitude of despair and anxiety that some Horatian speakers demonstrate with the tone of the *Odes* as a whole. The ultimate attitude of the Horatian speaker is not despair but hope.¹⁴⁵ In his article "Defining a Lyric Ethos: Archilochus lyricus and Horatian melos," Davis argues that Horace uses the tone of despair and anxiety in order to ultimately create an argument of hope. He states,

It is important to bear in mind that, in the larger lyric argument, the poets' representation of misfortune, however graphic, is the backdrop against which they draw explicit or implicit attention to the internal means available to mortals to surmount it. In sum, they offer a counsel, not of despair, but of hope. Thus the rhetorical function of the vicissitude motif in the context of lyric discourse is, at bottom, dialectical: it establishes a dark platform . . . for the disclosure of the antidote or solution—the uninhibited enjoyment of the here and now.¹⁴⁶

By focusing on the reality of death, the Horatian speaker highlights man's ability to overcome seemingly insurmountable challenges. Though awareness of death's inevitability brings sorrow, it ultimately acts as a seasoning that makes "life and its goods more desirable."¹⁴⁷ The juxtaposition of hope and despair makes the consolations of life, wine, women, and song, all the more meaningful.

In this way, even the darkest *carpe diem* poems contain a measure of hope. For example, in *Carm.* 1.11, though Leuconoe lives in a violent universe, though time itself is envious and fleeing away, *dum loquimur, fugerit invida aetas*, she can still harvest the day and enjoy the time she has been given.¹⁴⁸ Horace tells her, *sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi spem longam reseces*, (“So, be wise, pour the wine, and for a brief time cut back a long hope.”)¹⁴⁹ Through wine and the *convivium*, Leuconoe is able to enjoy the present day and make the knowledge of death’s inevitability a little easier to bear.¹⁵⁰ In *Carm.* 4.7, the injunction is slightly more subtle but still present. The Horatian speaker encourages his reader to take advantage of the means of consolation within his grasp rather than leaving it to his heir (lines 19-20). Horace differed from his models by varying the tone of his speakers in order to show that despair is an inappropriate response to death. Enjoying the symposium becomes a method of asserting one’s individuality in face of death.¹⁵¹ The Horatian speaker urges his readers to enjoy wine, women, and song, which can all serve as a comfort against the reality of *pallida Mors*.¹⁵² He encourages enjoying today because he realizes, as Bardon puts it, “aux banquets . . . sont . . . le meilleur moyen de chasser l’angoisse du temps.”¹⁵³

For Horace, wine is the chief method to enjoy the present and temporarily forget about the ravages of time.¹⁵⁴ Since wine is such an important symbol for enjoying the present, Horace speaks quite harshly against those who leave life with wine undrunk (or wealth unused).¹⁵⁵ Those who store up wine are denying the reality of death because if they realized the harshness of death’s reality, then they would put away greed and avarice and enjoy the present (and their wine).¹⁵⁶ For this reason, Horace calls the heir in *Carm.* 2.14 *dignior* because unlike his predecessor he has the wisdom to consume wine while he can.¹⁵⁷

Section V: Horace's Poetic Consolation

The speaker in the Horatian *Odes* ultimately found his consolation, not through wine or women, but through his poetry. The Greek lyric poets often talked about the consolation of poetry so this idea undoubtedly preceded Horace. In fr. 55, Sappho says

κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσῃ οὐδέ ποτα μναμοσύνα σέθεν
 ἔσσειτ' οὐδὲ πόθα εἰς ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχῃς
 βρόδωντῶν
 τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κὰν Αἶδα δόμῳ
 δόμωφοιτάσῃς πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα.¹⁵⁸

But when you die you will lie there, and afterwards there will never be any recollection of you or any longing for you since you have no share in the roses of Pieria; unseen in the house of Hades also, flown from our midst, you will go to and fro among the shadowy corpses.¹⁵⁹

Pieria is the location where the Muses were born so the “roses of Pieria” are likely poems.¹⁶⁰ The other woman will die unknown because, unlike Sappho, she has no poetry or share in the Muses that would cause her to be remembered. The implied lesson is that Sappho will be remembered forever because she has written poetry and does have her share in the roses.¹⁶¹ Thus, poetry is a means to immortality.¹⁶²

This theme is further developed by Sappho in fr. 58.

ἰυγοῖσα[]
] . [. .] . . []ιδάχθην
]χῦ θ' .]οἱ[.]αλλ[.]ύταν
] . χθο.[.]ατί . [. . . .]εἰσα
]μένα ταν[. . . . ὠ]νυμόν σε
]νι θῆται στ[ύ]μα[τι] προκοψιν
]πων κάλα δῶρα παῖδες
]φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν
 πά]ντα χροά γῆρας ἤδη
 λεῦκαι δ' ἐγένο]ντο τρίχες ἐκ μελαίαναν
]αι, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι
]ησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισιν
 ἀ]λλὰ τί κεν ποείην;
] οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι
] βροδόπαχυν Αὔων

ἔσ]χατα γᾶς φέροισα[
]ον ὕμῳς ἔμαρψε[
 ἀθαν]άταν ἄκοιτιν
]μέναν νομίσδει
]αις ὀπάσδοι
 ἔγω δὲ φίλημι ἄβροσύναν,]τοῦτο καί μοι
 τὸ λά[μπρον ἔρος τῶελίῳ καὶ τὸ κά]λον
 λέ[λ]ογγε.¹⁶³

. . . (fleeing?) . . . (was bitten?) . . . (you of the many names?) . . . gives success to the mouth . . . fair gifts (of the deep-bosomed Muses?) . . . children . . . song-lover, (player) of clear-sounding lyres . . . old age already (withers?) all (my) 1 skin, and (my) hair (turned white) from black . . . (my) knees do not carry (me) . . . (to dance) like young fawns . . . but what could I do? . . . not possible to become (ageless?) . . . rosy-armed Dawn . . . carrying (to) the ends of the earth . . . yet (age) seized (him) . . . (immortal?) wife . . . thinks . . . might give . . . but I love delicacy . . . love has obtained for me the brightness and beauty of the sun.¹⁶⁴

Sappho fr. 58 contains all the typical elements of a consolation poem: a) Sappho grieves aging and the ravages of time on her body, b) “then . . . resigned acceptance of the limitations of the mortal condition (7-8),” and c) acceptance of her limitations is “backed by self-consolation in the form of an exemplary myth.”¹⁶⁵ The chorus of girls, the “young fawns,” surrounding her provide a contrast between their youth and Sappho’s aging body as well as a comparison between their beauty and the beauty of Sappho’s poetry.¹⁶⁶ Sappho’s own poetry becomes a form of self-consolation, knowing that while she must die her poetry will last for eternity.¹⁶⁷ The extant lines may even have been followed by a reference to her music being sung in the Underworld as Horace writes about in *Carm.* 2.13.¹⁶⁸ Although Sappho mourns the aging process, her poetic persona finds consolation in the immortality of her poetry.

Like Sappho, Horace’s poetic persona ultimately found consolation in the immortality of his poetry. In *Carm.* 2.20, Horace boldly states, *obibo nec Stygia cohibebor unda* (“I will not die, and I will not be restrained by the Stygian wave.”)¹⁶⁹ At first glance, this claim seems outrageously contradictory because Horace has repeatedly inveighed against the inevitability of death for the last eleven poems on death.¹⁷⁰ However, he explains himself in lines 17-20;

everyone, even those from the very edges of the known world, will know Horace through *supervacuos honores* or “superfluous honors” compared to the honor of his poetry.¹⁷¹ Thus, like Sappho, Horace can become immortal through his poetry, and in this sense he will not die. This idea is repeated in *Carm.* 3.30.6-8 where Horace states, *non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera crescam laude recens* (“I will not all die, and a large part of me will shun Libitina: continuously afterwards I will grow fresh with praise.”)¹⁷² The phrase *usque ego postera crescam laude recens* (“continuously afterwards I will grow fresh with praise”) highlights the eternity of Horace’s poetry.¹⁷³

Through his poetry, Horace can mimic the ever-renewing cycles of nature even as his body is still subject to the limits of time. All other consolations, such as wine and women, can only comfort against death temporarily. Even the time available to enjoy these things is subject to the whims of the Fates, Juppiter, and the *invida aetas*.¹⁷⁴ While all other things can be snatched away, Horace’s poetry provides an eternal consolation which cannot be destroyed. Thus, poetry is one means of consolation that can balance one’s despair over death. As Garrison notes, “Concluding the second book of the Odes, with its recurrent themes of mortality and human limits, this ode strikes a contrasting note by asserting the poet's transcendence.”¹⁷⁵ While the idea of poetry as a consolation is consistent with the Greek lyric poets, this attitude is markedly different from the rest of Horace’s *carmina* in Books 1 and 2.

Section VI: Conclusion

Horace’s consolation poetry was heavily influenced by the Greek lyric poets. This project specifically focused on the Lesbian poets, Sappho and Alcaeus, but a further avenue of research would be to examine Horace’s *carpe diem* poems through other lenses of influence. Horace borrowed meters, themes, and structures from Sappho and Alcaeus and weaved these into his

carpe diem poems. However, he did not create a facsimile of these writings but transformed them into a uniquely Roman product. Horace's *carpe diem* poems differed from the broader category of consolation poetry because Horace varied his tone in order to highlight man's ability to overcome death and life's vicissitude through different modes of consolation, such as wine. Poetry was another method of consolation for Horace's poetic person because through poetry the Horatian speaker could hope to gain immortality and overcome the limitations of human existence.

Endnotes

¹ Conte presents several theories of allusions in classical philology. He argues that traditionally, allusion has been seen as ‘aemulatio’ or deliberate imitation in order to surpass or compete with earlier authors (Conte, 26). This is seen in two main literary theories presented by Pasquali and Bloom. Pasquali views allusion as “Emulative allusions’ . . . refer to cases where the allusion stands primarily in a relationship of ‘aemulatio,’ of competition with and improvement over the original” (Conte, 26). Bloom theorizes that tradition creates frustration for the poet who has to work inside the preconditioned system of literary tradition and that the poet alludes to prior poetry in order to show his own genius: “For him literal activity is dominated by the poet’s need to establish individuality and identity in relation to former models” (Conte, 27). First, if scholars assume allusion is for the purpose of competition, then they are tempted to view every word or phrase as an allusion, or, in other words, to pick apart poetry *ad nauseam* to discover its models and influences (Conte, 27-8). Second, it assumes that in the moment of creative writing every allusion is deliberate and thought out (Conte, 26-8). Instead, Conte advocates for the (relatively) newer theory within philology of intertextuality. The theory of intertextuality removes the element of competition as the poet’s primary motive for allusion (Conte, 37). Instead, through allusion, the author creates a “dialectical relationship” between the author and reader wherein the reader brings their own knowledge of different texts and literary tropes to the passage (Conte, 29). As Conte notes, “it is therefore not difficult today to accept the idea that a text can be read only in connection with, and in opposition to, other texts. These texts form a grid through which the text is perceived according to the expectations of a reader capable of organizing its sense” (Conte, 29). In this method, Conte argues “the essential point . . . is not that the imitator-poet desires to surpass his model but that ‘tradition’ is a necessary pre-condition for both emulation and allusion. The tradition both conditions the later poet’s work and helps him to formulate its distinctive qualities. A more rigorous definition of this tradition may perhaps be given by calling it a poetic langue, a system of literary conventions, motifs, ideas, and expressions, with its laws and constraints, that each ‘speaker’ (writer) will use in his or her own way” (Conte, 37). Gian Biagio Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

² Garrison notes in his introduction how Horace followed this tradition by adapting Greek themes and meters to his own lyric poetry. His allusions were numerous and diverse; aspects of Callimachus, Pindar, Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, and Archilochus can be found in his poetry. Horace was also undoubtedly influenced by Catullus who often borrowed Greek lyric meters for his Latin poetry and like Horace, imitated Callimachean values of brevity. Thus, Horace was influenced by both Greek and Roman models. Horace, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, trans. Daniel Garrison (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), x-xi.

³ Philip Thibodeau, “Can Vergil Cry? Epicureanism in Horace Odes 1.24,” *The Classical Journal* 98, no. 3 (March 2003): 243–56.

⁴ Philip Merlan, “Epicureanism and Horace,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1-, no. 3 (June 1949): 445–51, 447-8.

⁵ Parenetic poetry is defined here as poetry intended to encourage or exhort the reader to some action. *Carpe diem* and consolation poems are both parenetic because they encourage the reader on how to respond (or not respond) to the reality of death. Giorgio Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico: Studi Di* (Firenze: Felice le Monnier, 1920), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4450533&view=image&seq=7>, 123-4, 201.

⁶ Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 80-1, 201.

⁷ Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 81. Pasquali’s analysis errs by conflating the poet’s words with the poet himself. Garrison warns against this trap in his introduction, see also Horace, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, ed. and trans. Daniel Garrison (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), xiii.

⁸ Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 104-5.

⁹ Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 215.

¹⁰ Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 215.

¹¹ Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 75, 79, 80.

¹² Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 84-5.

¹³ Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 207.

¹⁴ W.R. Paton, ed. and trans., *The Greek Anthology: Volume III: Book 9: The Declamatory Epigrams* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), 359.

¹⁵ W.R. Paton, ed. and trans., *The Greek Anthology: Volume II: Book 7: Sepulchral Epigrams. Book 8: The Epigrams of St. Gregory the Theologian*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), 2.7.472.13-16, 257.

¹⁶ Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 207.

¹⁷ Tenney Frank, “How Horace Employed Alcaeus,” *Classical Philology* 22, no. 3 (July 1927): 291–95.

¹⁸ Frank, “How Horace Employed Alcaeus,” 291.

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- ¹⁹ Frank, “How Horace Employed Alcaeus,” 291.
- ²⁰ Henri Bardon, “Carpe Diem,” *Revue Des Études Anciennes* 46, no. 3–4 (1944): 345–55, 346.
- ²¹ Bardon, “Carpe Diem,” 346. Bardon falls prey to the same trap as Pasquali (see note 5). As Garrison points out, “The assumption that poetry is the frank outpouring of emotion, that it is sincere and spontaneous . . . must be discarded if we are to make authentic sense of Greek and Roman poetry.” Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, xiii.
- ²² Bardon, “Carpe Diem,” 347.
- ²³ Bardon, “Carpe Diem,” 349, 353.
- ²⁴ Gregson Davis, *Polyhymnia: The Rhetoric of Horatian Lyric Discourse* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 146.
- ²⁵ Davis does not fully define his terms here, but he refers to the “descriptive component” as the scene and the moral injunction as the prescription. Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 146.
- ²⁶ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 147.
- ²⁷ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 159.
- ²⁸ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 159.
- ²⁹ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 156. All Latin translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own. I am grateful to Professor Angela Pitts for her assistance polishing my translations as well as for Garrison’s excellent commentary, which clarified key nuances in the text.
- ³⁰ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 159.
- ³¹ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 155–6.
- ³² Steele Commager, “The Function of Wine in Horace’s Odes,” in *Horace: Odes and Epodes*, Oxford Readings in Classical Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/umw/reader.action?docID=472320#>, 40.
- ³³ Commager, “Function of Wine,” 73.
- ³⁴ Commager, “Function of Wine,” 41.
- ³⁵ Although the wording is my own, I am heavily indebted to Gregson Davis for the content of this definition. See Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 146. See also Gregson Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos: Archilochus Lyricus and Horatian Melos,” particularly the conclusion from pages 125–6. Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 109.
- ³⁶ This excludes several notable poems, such as *Carm.* 1.28 and 2.3. *Carm.* 1.28 is excluded because it does not include a seasonal scene or an injunction. *Carm.* 2.3 includes both a seasonal scene and an injunction; however, its scene of a river and trees does not reference the vicissitude of life. However, these poems still contain important information about Horace’s persona’s view of death so they will be referenced in this work.
- ³⁷ For a brief explanation of Horace’s other various lyric influences, such as Callimachus, Pindar, Archilochus, et. al., see Garrison’s introduction. Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, x–xi.
- ³⁸ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 80.
- ³⁹ David Kovacs, “Aeolic and Italian at Horace, Odes 3.30.13–14,” *The Classical Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (December 2015): 682–88, 682.
- ⁴⁰ For example, Horace borrowed the theme and the meter for *Carm.* 1.9 while in *Carm.* 3.30 he only adopted the theme. Frank, “How Horace Employed Alcaeus,” 291.
- ⁴¹ Frank, “How Horace Employed Alcaeus,” 291.
- ⁴² All text and translation comes from the Loeb edition unless otherwise noted. Sappho, *Greek Lyric, Volume I: Sappho and Alcaeus*, ed. and trans. David A. Campbell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), fr. 58.13–16, 101.
- ⁴³ Sappho, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 201. For the translation, I am indebted to Dr. Zellner who translated τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν in its most literal sense as the act of dying rather than death as many major editions, including the Loeb do. Harold Zellner, “Sappho’s Proof That Death Is an Evil,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 46, no. 4 (2006): 333–37, 333.
- ⁴⁴ The only possible exception is fragment 94 where a woman wishes for death. However, it is unclear whether these words are being spoken by Sappho or the other woman; the Loeb edition tends to favor the former. Sappho and Alcaeus, 117n1; Anne Carson, trans., *If Not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 370.
- ⁴⁵ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.4.13.
- ⁴⁶ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.8.11–12.
- ⁴⁷ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.28.17–20.
- ⁴⁸ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.3.23.
- ⁴⁹ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.13.14–19.
- ⁵⁰ Francis A. Sullivan, “Horace and the Afterlife,” *Classical Philology* 37, no. 3 (July 1942): 275–87, 279.

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- ⁵¹ The various speakers of the Horatian Odes rarely explicitly state whether the afterlife was a real place for the purpose of the poetic world or not. One of the exceptions to this general rule is *Carm.* 2.13 where the Horatian speaker imagines a near death experience where he travels down to the Underworld to see Sappho and Alcaeus play. Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.13.
- ⁵² See Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.13 and 1.28.
- ⁵³ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.10.17-20.
- ⁵⁴ Sullivan, “Horace and the Afterlife.” 280.
- ⁵⁵ J.F. D’Alton, *Horace and His Age: A Study in Historical Background* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1917), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cpi/pt?id=mdp.39015004115674&view=image&seq=11&q1=death>, 238.
- ⁵⁶ Sullivan, “Horace and the Afterlife.” 279.
- ⁵⁷ Sullivan, “Horace and the Afterlife.” 279.
- ⁵⁸ Sullivan, “Horace and the Afterlife.” 279.
- ⁵⁹ Sullivan, “Horace and the Afterlife.” 279.
- ⁶⁰ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.17.5-12.
- ⁶¹ As Garrison notes, the *maturior vis* is “euphemistic for an earlier death (than mine).” Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 284. The translation is my own with assistance from Garrison’s commentary.
- ⁶² Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.17.8-9.
- ⁶³ Sappho, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 95, 119; Alex Hardie, “Sappho, the Muses, and Life after Death.” *Zeitschrift Fur Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 154 (2005): 13–32, 20.
- ⁶⁴ Namely *Carm.* 1.9, 11, 24; 2.3, 6, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20; 3.30.
- ⁶⁵ Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 379.
- ⁶⁶ Garrison notes that Horace often used a spondee in the stanza’s first three lines, though the meter allowed for an iambic opening as well. He also was known for ignoring the dieresis. See *Carm.* 1.9; 2.3, 13, 14, 17, 20. Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 215, 262, 277, 279, 284, 289, and 379.
- ⁶⁷ Garrison comments that Horace often ended each line with a long syllable and tried to avoid placing vowels at the end of one line and the beginning of another. If the latter happened, he tended to elide between lines. See *Carm.* 2.6, 16; Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 267, 282, and 379.
- ⁶⁸ Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 380.
- ⁶⁹ Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 218, 237, and 337.
- ⁷⁰ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 146.
- ⁷¹ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 146.
- ⁷² Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 146.
- ⁷³ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.4.9-12. The translation is my own.
- ⁷⁴ Many of Horace’s *carpe diem* poems have often been misclassified as “spring poems.” Although spring is an essential part to understanding the moral injunction, spring’s significance lies in its value as an expression of vicissitude, not the season itself. To classify a poem by its season misses the point Horace is communicating here. In his work, Davis distinguishes “vicissitude” as referring to humankind while “alternations” refer to nature. However, he admits that this is an artificial distinction since they essentially mean the same thing. For the purposes of this work, the two ideas are treated as one and the same. Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 178, 182.
- ⁷⁵ Steele Commager misidentified the connection between nature’s changes or alternations with man’s life as original to Horace. As Davis demonstrates, this connection was established long before Horace was writing. Commager, *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1962), 277; Gregson Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos: Archilochus Lyricus and Horatian Melos,” in *A Companion to Horace* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 106.
- ⁷⁶ Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax, Greek Iambic Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, ed. and trans. Douglas Gerber, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), Archilochus fr. 128.
- ⁷⁷ Gerber, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax*, 167.
- ⁷⁸ Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 106.
- ⁷⁹ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 169.
- ⁸⁰ Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 106; Archilochus, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax*, fr. 128.
- ⁸¹ Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 106.
- ⁸² Archilochus, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax*, fr. 130.
- ⁸³ Archilochus, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax*, 169.
- ⁸⁴ Archilochus, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax*, fr. 130.1, p. 169.
- ⁸⁵ Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 108.

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- ⁸⁶ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.9.9; Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 108.
- ⁸⁷ Archilochus, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax*, fr. 11, p. 87.
- ⁸⁸ Gregson Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 110.
- ⁸⁹ Gregson Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 169.
- ⁹⁰ Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 286.
- ⁹¹ Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, 335.
- ⁹² The fragmentary nature of much of Greek lyric makes it difficult to compare with Horace’s more complete poetry and see larger structural patterns. Davis highlighted this limitation when speaking about his analysis of Horace and Archilochus, saying, “An inherent limitation of my proposed analysis is the fact that I shall be comparing whole poems in the Horatian corpus with fragments of Archilochus, some of which are not only incomplete but also lacunose.” Fragment 286 is a prime example of this difficulty. The poem clearly includes seasonal alternations, and if it follows the pattern of other consolation poems, the missing lines would also include an injunction. Unfortunately, this cannot be known with complete certainty unless the lines are rediscovered. Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 105.
- ⁹³ Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 38A.
- ⁹⁴ Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 38A and p. 251, 253.
- ⁹⁵ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.9.
- ⁹⁶ Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 338.
- ⁹⁷ Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, 375.
- ⁹⁸ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 151.
- ⁹⁹ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.9.1-4.
- ¹⁰⁰ Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 215-6; Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 338.1-2, 375.
- ¹⁰¹ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.9.9-10.
- ¹⁰² Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 215.
- ¹⁰³ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 151.
- ¹⁰⁴ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.9.6-8; Bardon, “Carpe Diem,” 353.
- ¹⁰⁵ Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 338.5-8, 375.
- ¹⁰⁶ Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 78.
- ¹⁰⁷ Horace, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1*, trans. R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 116.
- ¹⁰⁸ Giorgio Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 79.
- ¹⁰⁹ Anne Lill, “Wine and a Trial of Character in Horace’s Poems,” *Journal of Wine Research* 11, no. 1 (35-47): April 2000, 37.
- ¹¹⁰ Anne Lill, “Wine and a Trial of Character,” 40.
- ¹¹¹ He rarely borrows Greek names except in the case of the Greek poets. The obvious example to this trend is *Carm.* 2.13 where Horace describes Alcaeus and Sappho in the Underworld as Pasquali notes in *Orazio Lirico*. Giorgio Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 80.
- ¹¹² Horace, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.9.15-18.
- ¹¹³ Although Anacreon’s fr. 417 includes a vaguely similar scene of a man pursuing an inexperienced girl, rather than a *hetaira* as some scholars argue (see David Hullinger, “Chasing a Dark Horse: Pursuit and Identity in Anacreon’s ‘Thracian Filly’ Fragment [417 PMG],” *Mnemosyne* 69, no. 5 (2016): 729–41.), it is not a true parallel to the situation in *Carm.* 1.9. First, he does not pursue her in the public square as in *Carm.* 1.9. Second, the object of his desire is an unwilling partner. The text depicts the girl as reluctant to accept the man’s advances: as Hullinger notes, “the speaker emphasizes the ‘filly’s’ avoidance of him while boldly arguing that she should become his ‘mount.’” (Hullinger, 733). The “Thracian filly” does not encourage the Anacreonic speaker as the Horatian girl does by giving Horace’s persona a *pignus* or symbol. Thus, this is not an accurate parallel to the situation presented here. Giorgio Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 83.
- ¹¹⁴ Giorgio Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 84.
- ¹¹⁵ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.9.21-24; Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico*, 84.
- ¹¹⁶ Nisbet and Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace*, 117.
- ¹¹⁷ Archilochus, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax*, fr. 128.7-8.
- ¹¹⁸ Alcaeus, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 38A.4-13.
- ¹¹⁹ Archilochus, *Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax*, fr. 130.1.
- ¹²⁰ Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 106.
- ¹²¹ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.10.
- ¹²² Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 168; Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 2.10.13-16.

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- ¹²³ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 169; Archilochus, Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax, fr. 128.7-8.
- ¹²⁴ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.11.
- ¹²⁵ R.E. Grimm, “Horace’s ‘Carpe Diem,’” *The Classical Journal* 58, no. 7 (April 1963): 313–18, 315.
- ¹²⁶ R.E. Grimm, “Horace’s ‘Carpe Diem,’” 315. See also Anne Lill, “Carpe Diem: Hedonistic, Sceptical or Frightened?,” *Trames* 1, no. 2 (1997): 109–24, 122.
- ¹²⁷ Grimm, “Horace’s ‘Carpe Diem,’” 316.
- ¹²⁸ Lill “Carpe Diem,” 122.
- ¹²⁹ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.11.4.
- ¹³⁰ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 159.
- ¹³¹ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 315.
- ¹³² Rudd, Odes and Epodes, Carm. 1.11.7-10.
- ¹³³ Grimm, “Horace’s ‘Carpe Diem,’” 315.
- ¹³⁴ Grimm, “Horace’s ‘Carpe Diem,’” 316-7.
- ¹³⁵ Anne Lill, “Carpe Diem,” 316; Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.11.1-3.
- ¹³⁶ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 4.7.9-12.
- ¹³⁷ Rudd, Odes and Epodes, Carm. 4.7.1-7.
- ¹³⁸ Commager, *The Odes of Horace*, 278.
- ¹³⁹ Commager, The Odes of Horace, 279.
- ¹⁴⁰ Commager, *The Odes of Horace*, 278; Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 4.7.13-16.
- ¹⁴¹ Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 159.
- ¹⁴² Rudd, Odes and Epodes, Carm. 4.7.16.
- ¹⁴³ Sullivan, “Horace and the Afterlife,” 279.
- ¹⁴⁴ Lill, “Carpe Diem,” 122.
- ¹⁴⁵ Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 109.
- ¹⁴⁶ Davis, “Defining a Lyric Ethos,” 109.
- ¹⁴⁷ Merlan, “Epicureanism and Horace,” 446.
- ¹⁴⁸ Grimm, “Horace’s ‘Carpe Diem,’” 316.
- ¹⁴⁹ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm.* 1.11.6-7.
- ¹⁵⁰ Lill, “Carpe Diem,” 122; Davis, *Polyhymnia*, 159.
- ¹⁵¹ Grimm, “Horace’s ‘Carpe Diem,’” 317.
- ¹⁵² Commager, “The Function of Wine,” 41.
- ¹⁵³ Bardon, “Carpe Diem,” 349.
- ¹⁵⁴ Rudd, Odes and Epodes, Carm. 1.7.15-21, 1.9.6-7, 1.11.6, 2.3.13-16, 2.14.26-27.
- ¹⁵⁵ See *Carm.* 1.4, 2.3, 2.14.
- ¹⁵⁶ Commager, “The Function of Wine,” 41.
- ¹⁵⁷ Davis, Polyhymnia, 160-1; Rudd, Odes and Epodes, Carm. 2.14.25.
- ¹⁵⁸ Sappho, Greek Lyric, fr. 55.
- ¹⁵⁹ Sappho, Greek Lyric, 99.
- ¹⁶⁰ Miglina Nikolchina, “Questions of Immortality in a Fragment by Sappho,” Journal for Politics, Gender, and Culture III, no. 2 (Winter 2004): 155–68, 156.
- ¹⁶¹ Nikolchina, “Questions of Immortality,” 157.
- ¹⁶² Nikolchina, “Questions of Immortality,” 159.
- ¹⁶³ In 2016, Brill published the so-called “New Sappho,” found amongst the Oxyrhynchus papyri (See Dirk Obbink, “Ten Poems of Sappho: Provenance, Authenticity, and Text of the New Sappho Papyri,” in *The Newest Sappho: P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC Inv. 105, Frs. 1-4; Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Song*, Vol. 2 (Boston: Brill, 2016), 34–54). Originally, Dr. Obbink, head of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project, claimed the fragments originated in a mummy cartonnage; however, he later claimed they originated from an industrial cartonnage (See C. Michael Sampson and Anna Uhlig, “The Murky Provenance of the Newest Sappho: Special Issue on the Papyrus Thefts,” *Eidolon*, last modified November 5, 2019, accessed April 28, 2021, <https://eidolon.pub/the-murky-provenance-of-the-newest-sappho-aca671a6d52a>). The provenance of these fragments has been vigorously questioned, and the chapter on the new fragments’ origins has been redacted by the publisher (See Anton Bierl and Andre Lardinois, eds., “Retraction Notice,” in *The Newest Sappho: P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC Inv. 105, Frs. 1-4; Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Song* (Boston: Brill, 2021). A few scholars, such as Dr. Nongbri, question whether these new fragments are authentically Sappho at all (See Brent Nongbri, “The Retraction of Dirk Obbink’s Sappho Chapter and the Question of Authenticity,” *Variant Readings* (blog), March 30, 2021.) Due to the controversy surrounding

the provenance and authenticity of the new Sappho fragments, the Loeb edition has been used rather than Obbink's edition. Sappho, *Greek Lyric*, fr. 58.

¹⁶⁴ Sappho, *Greek Lyric*, 101.

¹⁶⁵ Hardie, "Sappho," 28.

¹⁶⁶ Hardie, "Sappho," 29.

¹⁶⁷ Hardie, "Sappho," 28-9.

¹⁶⁸ Hardie, "Sappho," 23.

¹⁶⁹ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm. 2.20.7-8*; the translation is my own.

¹⁷⁰ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm. 1.4, 1.9, 1.11, 1.24, 1.28, 2.3, 2.13, 2.14, 2.16, 2.17, 2.18.*

¹⁷¹ The translation here is my own. Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm. 2.20.21-24.*

¹⁷² Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm. 3.30.6-8.*

¹⁷³ Rudd, *Odes and Epodes, Carm. 3.30.7-8.*

¹⁷⁴ See *Carm.* 1.11.4, 2.13.14-15.

¹⁷⁵ Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, 289.

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