

A CRITICAL STUDY OF HORACE SERM. I. 10.



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PREFACE

An attempt has been made in the following study to form a critical estimate of Horace Serm. 1. 10 as a study of Horace's theory of Satire and as a piece of Latin. Consideration has been given to the studies of various scholars in this field from Baskerville to those of the present time.

The text is for the most part that of Orelli, fourth edition 1892. Differences are noted by underlining the word changed.

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INTRODUCTION

It is interesting to note that the word 'satura' with which the second book of Horace's 'Sermones' opens - 'sunt quibus in satura' - is there found for the first time in extant Roman literature as the designation of a literary form. Ennius, Lucilius, and Livy used the term, but not, it seems, as a literary title. The word occurs in two well known passages in Horace (Serm. II. 1 and 6) and in Livy VII.2 (with reference to the early dramatic performances), but after this it is not found until the latter part of the first century A.D.

Cicero nowhere refers to Lucilius as a writer of any specific literary form, but is satisfied to use general descriptive words as in De Or. II.25 : 'C. Lucilius homo doctus et perurbanus dicere solebat ea quae scribebat neque se ab indoctissimis', etc. and in De Fin. I.7. - 'et sunt illius scripta leviora, ut urbanitas summa adpareat', etc. The words suggest humorous or satirical writings.

Significant too, is the fact that there are passages in Horace's first book of Sermones which seem to demand the use of the word, but he does not employ the term. In Serm. I.4, he begins with a definition of the 'character Lucilianus'. In verse 56, the style and manner which Horace is cultivating are described not by reference to a generic name, but by reference to Lucilius : 'his ego quae nunc, olim quae scripsit Lucilius', and in verse 64, 'genus hoc' is used. In the tenth satire, the word 'satura' as a literary type might have been used also, as in verse 7 ff. - 'ergo satis --- est brevitae opus'. The absence of the word

may be due to the purist's aversion to a new word.¹ Horace wanted to create out of the 'character Lucilianus' a Roman satire, but as yet a recognized and current name for this revived Lucilianism was lacking. In two places he refers to his satirical writings with 'ludo' ('haec ego ludo' - Serm. 1.10.37) and 'inludo' ('ubi quid datur oti inludo chartis' - Serm. 1.4.138).

But Horace begins Book II with a technical designation of the Lucilian style - 'sunt quibus in satura'. One not only has the name now, but he perceives that some progress has been made toward defining it as a literary genre. Though the term appears again in Serm. II.6.17 ('saturis musaque pedestri'), it was slow to obtain a place in the recognized literary vocabulary of the language.

Even as late as 30 A.D. one may infer from the language of Velleius that the word was not yet thoroughly naturalized ('celebre et Lucili nomen fuit.'). The archaic phrase 'per saturam' is quoted from Laelius, from T. Annius Luscus (against T. Gracchus), and is found in a fragment of Lucilius. It was already obsolete by the time of Cicero and Varro, but was revived by Sallust.

Neither Varro nor Verrius explained the word 'saturation' as the name of a poetical form, nor alluded to it as such.

The positive teaching of antiquity on this matter makes satire begin with Ennius as will be seen later. Marx conjectures that the miscellaneous poems of Ennius bore the title 'poemata per saturation' and that following this model Lucilius used 'sermone per saturation'. Probably the word 'saturation' is

1. Hendrickson, G. L. 'Saturation. The Genesis of a Literary Form.'

derived from this phrase, although one does not know what the 'saturam' in the phrase 'per saturam' meant. The ancients did not know either. Some grammarians derived it from 'lanx satura', a dish filled with various kinds of fruit offered to the gods, or 'lex satura', a law which included a variety of provisions. This explanation seemed plausible because in the literary sphere, 'satura' at first was a miscellaneous work which was originally presented as a dramatic entertainment. This dramatic 'satura' was thought to be a combination of the Etruscan pantomime and the native Fescennine verses. It consisted of singing and dancing to flute accompaniment. There was no regular plot, but it was filled with spicy dialogue, enlivened with pantomimic gesticulation. These 'saturae' might be called a series of 'cantica'. The 'satura' was not always comic. The term was used probably to suggest the miscellaneous character of the performance. After the introduction of the regular drama from Greece, the 'dramatic saturae', like the mimes and the Atellanae, survived as after plays ('exodia') but the 'saturae' of Livius Andronicus and Naevius were probably of the earlier type.

The works of Ennius (209 - 169 B.C.) included 'saturae', which were to be sure miscellaneous both in subject and in metrical form. His nephew, Pacuvius (220 - 132 B.C.) also wrote Saturae of which very little is known.

The writer uniformly recognized as the founder of literary Satire ('inventore'-Serm. I.10.48) was Caius Lucilius (180 - 103 B.C.) He turned satire into that groove which it has kept with little divergence ever since. He did not break entirely

with the old satire of Ennius. The form of dialogue was preserved. The subject matter was not narrowly restricted and the tendency toward digression was still strong. His thirty books of 'Saturae' (cited thus by grammarians but called by Lucilius himself, 'ludus ac sermones') were written partly in trochaics, elegiacs, and iambs, but mostly in hexameters, which metre was accepted after him as the proper form for satire.

The main work of Lucilius was in giving to satire a critical tendency. This it is that distinguishes Roman satire from the personal satire of the Greek iambic writers, as Archilochus, Simonides, or Hipponax. The tone of criticism varied from gentle protest to stern invective. This is the form of literature which Quintilian claims is altogether Roman, but which Horace attributes to the influence of Greek Comedy. And both are right. The study of comedy, both the old political comedy with its violent 'drubbing' of public characters and the newer comedy of manners with its 'unmannered exaggeration' of social and domestic evils, probably had its effect on Lucilius. And yet Quintilian is not wrong in claiming this a peculiarly Roman development ('satira quidem tota nostra est'—Quint.X.1.93).

The age in which Lucilius lived was peculiarly favorable to the development of satire. Men were opening their eyes to see and their lips to condemn. The words "'senatus' and 'nobiles' would not do to conjure with longer, either at home or abroad, Rome's armies were inefficient, her generals incompetent, her politicians venal, and that manly virtue which had distinguished her citizens in earlier days was passing away under the seductive influence of wealth and luxury". And so satire

1. Kirkland, James K. 'Horace. Satires and Epistles'. Introduction p VII.

became more severe, and dealt with public men and affairs of state.

There was no successful attempt made in satire between Lucilius and Horace. Varro of Reate (116 -28 B.C.) wrote the Menippean satire which was cultivated at a much later date by Petronius (died 66 A.D.). The form of the Menippean satire was a mixture of prose and verse, and the varied nature of the contents recalls the confused character of the satire of Ennius. Horace did not seem to have been influenced by these satires.

Servius Nicanor is only a name. Lenaeus attacked Sallust most bitterly in defense of his patron, Pompey the Great. Horace mentions as his predecessors Varro Atacinus, 'et quosdam alios' (Serm.I.10.46), meaning by the latter expression either those just mentioned or Albucius, who, as Varro says, wrote little books after the manner of Lucilius.

Horace's satires were by no means bitter. They lack, for the most part, that spirit of invective that characterized Lucilius. Horace wrote about avarice, parvenus, gormandizers, usurers, spendthrifts, adulterers, literary bores, selfish aspirants for Maecenas's favor. He excludes politics from his satirical writings. His satires represent a reaction when compared with Lucilius. While he reproves others he does not spare himself, but frankly confesses his sins and smiles at his own mistakes.

In form, Horace frequently makes use of the dialogue, the old inheritance of the dramatic 'satura'. Sometimes his scenes are so vivid that they could be put on the stage almost without a change. Every page contains some play of wit, some piece

of sarcasm, some specimen of humor.

After Horace came Persius (born in 34 A.D.), the first Stoic verse satirist of Rome. He and Juvenal (46 -130? A.D.) were both influenced by Lucilius and Horace. Juvenal's method of censure was fiery attack. His influence can be traced in Ammianus Marcellinus (fourth century), Ausonius, Claudian, Prudentius, Lactantius and Servius. In medieval times Chaucer apostrophizes him and from Elizabethan times onward the satirists of England and France have studied his poems. Boileau, Dryden, Pope, Johnson, and Byron are indebted to him.

The element of personal invective derived from the Old Comedy which Horace called 'acre' or 'sermo tristis' was repudiated by him as an exclusive ideal of satire. He believed in substituting for it 'ridiculum'. It is true that he used personal attack as the Old Comedy and Lucilius did, but he was restrained in its use. It is this restriction which Horace felt marked his satire as different from that of Lucilius. He believed in a sparing use of the 'direct method' of the Old Comedy, together with the 'enigmatic method' of the Middle Comedy, and the 'generalizing method' of the New Comedy. His theory of satire and his differences from his predecessors are set forth in detail in Serm.I.10.

To make people laugh was not the sole aim of satire in Horace's opinion ('Non satis est risu diducere rictum Auditoris'- Serm. I.10.7). There was need of brevity, a quality which Lucilius and his successors lacked (Serm.I.10.60 ff.). Brevity would tend to cut down the amount and virulence of personal attack. There was need occasionally of the rhetorical and poetical but more often of the urbane (Serm.I.10.11-14, 'Sermone ---consulto').

One of the fundamental features of satire is the use of names. Horace did not introduce the names of men known in his own day, but adopted those already used by Lucilius or coined some as 'Pantolabus', the 'Grab-all'.

The characteristic of satire had been that of attacking the 'famosi' in order to bring them to justice. On the other hand, Horace's purpose was moral reform. He tried to convince his reader not by invective against the objects of his censure, but rather by good-humored raillery and by the ridicule of things stupid and wrong.

Horace believed that satire was not an elaborated branch of poetry. Satire should be colloquial like Comedy. Hence he called his satires discourses, 'sermones', thereby disclaiming all title to the name of poet.

The theory of satire which Horace presented is identical with the post-Aristotelian theory of comedy, which demanded a union of τὸ πικρὸν (σφοδρὸν) with τὸ χαρῆεν. Horace's belief was the stylistic doctrine of pure Latin as against Latin embellished with Greek (Serm.I.10.20ff.); repression as against excess; popular against esoteric appeal ; breadth in the choice of literary forms as against the narrowness of Alexandrine imitation.

DATE

The date of the satire is uncertain. Weber and Grotefend put the date in 36 B.C., Franke and Kirkland in 35 B.C., Weichert and Kirchner in 31 B.C. Evidence, however, for the statements of these editors was unavailable. Evidently it was written after Serm.4 and therefore after 2, 7 and 8, all four of which were written before 38 B.C.

From his mention of Maecenas in *Serm.I.10* one would conclude that Horace had been introduced to him ; therefore the satire must have been written after 38 B.C. since this was the date of his introduction to Maecenas. Also in v. 44 and 45 of this satire, Horace probably refers to Vergil's earlier minor works and the 'Bucolics', the last of which were published in 38 B.C. The large circle of friends whose names are mentioned in the closing lines would indicate a late date. Bibulus (mentioned in v. 86) seemed to be in Rome at this time and it is known that he was in Rome in 35 B.C.(Appian v.132). Since this satire was probably written as a formal close to the first book, it probably belongs to the year in which this book was published - 35 B.C., which date is generally accepted as correct.

MANUSCRIPTS OF HORACE

In regard to the manuscripts of Horace, none is older than the ninth century. The manuscripts number about 250, the majority of which originated in France. There has been an endless discussion as to their mutual relations, their classification, their line of descent from a common original, and their comparative value. These questions have been made more uncertain by the incomplete knowledge which there is of the four Blandinian MSS. which were destroyed in 1566 when the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter, at Blankenberg near Ghent, was sacked by a mob. These MSS. had, however, been rather carelessly collated a few years before by Cruquius, who, beginning in 1565, edited separate portions of Horace and finally in 1578 published a complete edition of the poet at Antwerp. Of these lost Blandinian MSS. Cruquius valued most highly the one which he calls 'vetustissimus' and which Bentley, Lachmann, and later editors have regarded as the soundest foundation for the establishment of a correct Horatian text. Due to the fact that, unfortunately, doubt has been cast upon the accuracy of the statements of Cruquius, Keller and Holder depreciate the value of this lost MS.

Keller and Holder, the most painstaking editors of the Horatian text, have adopted a grouping of MSS. in three classes, each of which is based on a lost archetype. The three archetypes are ultimately derived from an original archetype of the first or second century. The claim is made that a reading found in the MSS. of two classes should take precedence over that found in only one. The three classes are distinguished from one another by the degree of systematic alteration and interpolation to which they have been subjected.

The MSS, of Keller and Holder to which Palmer attached the most weight are as follows :

Class I

- a - Avenionensis, Ambrosianus O 156, closely related to A of Keller (Parisinus 7900).
- γ - Parisinus 7975.
- D - Argentoratensis (of Strasburg).
- E - Emmerammensis, now Monacensis 14685.

Class II

- B - Bernensis 363 - perhaps the oldest of Horatian MSS.
- C - Part of Monacensis 14685.
- g - Codex Gothanus.
- σ - Codex Sagallensis (312).

Class III

- Φ - Parisinus 7974.
- Ψ - Parisinus 7971.
- F - Supposed archetype of Φ and Ψ.
- λ - Leidensis (Leyden, Lat. 28).
- λ - Parisinus 7972.
- λ' - Supposed archetype of λ and λ.
- δ - (Bentley's Graevianus) Harley MS. in British Museum 2725.
- d - Harley MS. 2688.
- z - Leidensis Vossianus 21.
- δ' - Common archetype of δ and d in Holder's larger edition; the archetype of δ and z in his minor edition
- v - Nienburgensis, now Dessaviensis.
- u - Parisinus 7973.
- v - Parisinus 8213.

u' - Supposed archetype of u, v.

L. or Lips. - Lipsiensis.

π - Parisinus 10,310.

π' - Supposed archetype of L and π.

R - Romanus (Vaticanus Reginae Christinae, 1703.)

This elaborate classification of Keller and Holder has proved too complicated and has failed to win general acceptance. Professor Vollmer of Munich, in his recension of 1906 (second edition - 1912) in which he endeavors to reconstruct the sixth century Mavortian edition attempts a simpler grouping. He enumerates fifteen MSS. which he divides into two groups - I and II. In Class I he includes K (Codex S. Eugendi, now St. Claude - 11th. century), a codex unknown to Keller and Holder. The 'vetustissimus' (V) he places in Class II along with the MS. R (Vaticanus Reginae - 1703) of the ninth century and the Gothicus of the fifteenth century which reveals its kinship with V. The readings of Class II are often preferred to those of Class I.

Fairclough divides his MSS. into two classes as follows:

Class I

a - Codex Ambrosianus 136.

A - Parisinus 7900.

B - Codex Bernensis 363.

C and E - Codex Monacensis 14685 (2 parts).

D - Codex Argentoratensis.

K - Codex S. Eugendi, now St. Claude.

M - Codex Mellicensis.

Class II

R - Vaticanus Reginae 1703.

δ - Codex Harleianus 2726.

- λ - Parisinus 7972.
) - Leidensis Lat. 28.
 π - Codex Parisinus 10310.
 φ - Codex Parisinus 7974.
 ψ - Codex Parisinus 7971.
 Goth. - Gothanus.

Besides these, of course, Fairclough takes into account the four Blandinian MSS., the chief of which was 'vetustissimus'. Although no MS. stands out as conspicuous for its accuracy, as a group, the MSS. of Class I are distinctly superior to those of Class II, though the latter preserve correct readings which the former had lost.

Collections of Horatian scholia, or explanatory notes, have come down to us from antiquity under the names of Porphyrio and Acron. These scholars lived, probably in the third century of our era, Acron being the earlier of the two, but the scholia now surviving under Acron's name are as late as the fifth century. It may be that these are Pseudo-Acronian Scholia instead of the genuine scholia of Acron, since he was earlier. Both collections are largely interpolated. They are at least several centuries older than any MS. of the poet, either extant or known to us by testimony; hence they must be considered of very high value.

The term 'Commentator Cruquianus' is given to a collection of notes gathered by Cruquius from the marginalia in his Blandinian MSS. These annotations are to a large extent a transcript, or paraphrase, of Acron and Porphyrio.

It is with these classifications of Horace's MSS. in mind that the author of this thesis made her classification on page 25 (Sigla).

ABBREVIATIONS

Bask.	Baskerville, Joannis.
Bent.	Bentley, Richard.
Lam.	Lambinus, Dionysius.
Kir.	Kirchner, C.
Pau.	Pauly, Franciscus.
Cur.	Currie, Joseph.
Peer.	Peerlkamp, P.Hofman.
Dunt.	Düntzer, Heinrich
Hold.	Keller, O. et Holder, O.
Leh.	Lehrs, K.
Mue.	Mueller, Lucianus (1874).
Frit.	Fritzsche, Ad.Th. Hermann.
Haupt.	Haupt, Mauricius.
Sch.	Schütz, Hermann.
Pet.	Petschenig, Michael.
Hirs.	Hirschfelder, Guilelmus.
Ha.	Keller, O. et Haeussner, I.
L.M.	Mueller, Lucian (1891)
Wick.	Wickham, E.C.
Orel.	Orelli, Gaspar.
Kk.	Kirkland, James H.
Kr.	Krüger, Gustav.
Mac.	Macleane, Arthur John.
Pal.	Palmer, Arthur.
Wag.	Henke, O. und Wagener, O.
Kies.	Kiessling, Adolf.

- E.M. Morris, Edward P.
- G.L.H. Hendrickson, G.L. 'Horace and Lucilius'. A Study
of Horace Serm. 1. 10. Gildersleeve Studies.
- Ul. Ullman, B.L. 'Horace, Catullus and Tigellius'.
Classical Philology Vol. X.
- Ra. Rand, E.K. 'Catullus and the Augustans'. Harvard
Studies. Vol. 17.
- Con. Conington.
- El. Elmer, H.C. 'An Attempt to Solve the Difficulties
of Horace Sat. 1. 10. 21'. Transactions of American
Phil. Ass'n. Vol. 23.

SIGLA

Class I.

V - Codex Blandinius qui dicitur vetustissimus.

Cruq. - Readings of the other 3 Blandinian MSS. (not V) according to Jacobus Cruquius.

Comm. Cruq. - Collection of notes gathered by Cruquius from the marginalia in his Blandinian MSS.

Ac. - Helenius Acon, a scholiast. 3rd. cent. A.D. The scholia now surviving under his name are as late as the 5th. cent.

Porph. - Pomponius Porphyrio, a scholiast, 3rd. cent. A.D. Later than Acon.

K. - Codex S. Eugendi, now St. Claude. 11th. cent.

B. - Codex Bernensis 363. End of 8th. or beginning of 9th. cent.

Perhaps the oldest of the Horatian MSS.

related

{ A. - Parisinus 7900. 10th. cent.

{ a. - Avenionensis, now codex Ambrosianus O 136. 10th. cent.

C. and E. - Codex Monacensis 14685. 11th. cent.

D. Codex Argentoratensis. Destroyed at Strasburg, 1870. 10th. cent.

Y - Codex Parisinus 7975. 11th. cent.

Class II.

G. - Codex Gothanus. 15th. cent. Descendant of V.

σ - Codex Sangallensis (312). 10th. cent.

M. - Codex Mellicensis. 11th. cent.

R. - Vaticanus Reginae. 1703. 9th. cent.

Φ - Codex Parisinus 7974. 10th. cent.

ψ - Codex Parisinus 7971. 10th. cent.

λ - Codex Parisinus 7972. 10th. cent.

l - Leidensis (Leyden. Lat. 28). 9th. cent.

- z. -Leidensis Vossianus 21. 12th. cent.
 y. -Nienburgensis, now Dessaviensis. 10th. cent.
 u. -Codex Parisinus 7973. 10th. cent.
 v. - Codex Parisinus 8213. 13th. cent.
 l. - Lipsiensis (II) rep. I 4.38. 10th.cent.
 i* -Codices deteriores.

*As used in the critical apparatus, i indicates the reading of two or more of the ninety-four inferior manuscripts reports on whose readings were available.

h. - The reading of two or more early editions which Kirchner cites.*

*These editions are as follows :

15th. cent.

Coloniae in officina filiorum Quentell ad Matum.

Florentine 482.

Iac. Locheri.

Mediol. 477, 486.

Ed. Princeps.

Venet. 478, 479, 483, 486, 490, 492, 494, 495.

Antonio Zaroto.

16th. cent.

4 Aldine editions.

~~2~~ Ascension editions.

Basileensis 527, 555, 580.

Gualth. Chabotius.

M. Johannus Crato.

George Fabricius.

Glareanus.

Dionysius Lambinus.

Mediol. 508, 512.

Muretus.

Theod. Poelmann.

Henricus Stephanus.

Rob. Stephanus.

Venet. 544, 553.

Gül. Xylander.

17th. cent.

George Bersmann.

Io. Bond.

Peter Burmann.

Andr. Dacier.

Lud. Despres.

D. Heinsius.

Ios. Iuvencius.

Pet. Rodellius.

Iac. Talbot.

Tarteron.

Eduard a Zurck.

18th. cent.

Ioh. Nicolaus de Azara.

Car. Batteux.

W. Baxter.

Alex Cuningham

Franciscus Dorighellius.

Philippus Francis.

Steph. Andr. Philippe.

Iacobus Oberlin.

R.P. Senadon.

Guil. Sandby.

Poinsenet de Sivry.

Ios. Valart.

Gilb. Wakefield.

Ch. F. Wetzel.

19th. cent.

Bipontina II.

Henr. Bothe.

Th. Burette.

Camponon et Després.

Dillenburger.

Doering.

Henricus Duentzer.

Petri Duviquet.

Heindorf.

Iahn.

Krüger.

Meinecke.

Godfr. Praedicow.

Theod. Schmid.

Weidmann.

Car. Zell.

HORACE SERM. I. 10.

- Nempe inconposito dixi pede currere versus
 Lucili. Quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est,
 Ut non hoc fateatur? At idem, quod sale multo
 Urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.
- 5 Nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera : nam sic
 Et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer.
 Ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
 Auditoris (et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus):
 Est brevitatem opus, ut currat sententia neu se
- 10 Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus auris;
 Et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
 Defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
 Interdum urbani, parentis viribus atque
 Extenuantis eas consulto. Ridiculum acri
- 15 Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.
 Illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,
 Hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi : quos neque pulcher
 Hermogenes unquam legit neque simius iste,
 Nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
- 20 'At magnum fecit, quod verbis Graeca Latinis
 Miscuit'. O seri studiorum, quine putetis
 Difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
 Contigit? 'At sermo lingua concinnus utraque
 Suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est'.
- 25 Cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum
 Dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?
 Scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque Latine,

- Cum Peditus causas exsudet Publicola atque
 Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita
- 30 Verba foris malis Canusini more bilinguis?
 Atque ego cum Graecos facerem natus mare citra
 Versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
 Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:
 'In silvam non ligna feras insanius, ac si
 35 Magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas'.
 Turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque
 Defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,
 Quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa
 Nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatriis
- 40 Arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
 Eludente senem comis garrere libellos
 Unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio regum
Fata canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer
 Ut nemo Varius ducit; molle atque facetum
- 45 Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae:
 Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino
 Atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem,
 Inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim
 Haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.--
- 50 At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem
 Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis.-- Age, quaeso,
 Tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?
 Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci,
 Non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,
- 55 Cum de se loquitur non ut maiore repressis?
 Quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentis

Quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
 Versiculos natura magis factos et euntis
 Mollius ac si quis pedibus quid claudere senis,
 60 Hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos
 Ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus ; Etrusci
 Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius anni
 Ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
 Ambustum propriis. Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
 65 Comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
 Quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor
 Quamque poetarum seniorum turba : sed ille,
 Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
 Detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
 70 Perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo
 Saepe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet unguis.
 Saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint
 Scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores.
 Contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens
 75. Vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?
 Non ego ; nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
 Contemptis aliis explosa Arbuscula dixit.
 Men moveat cimex Pantilius aut cruciet, quod
 Vellicet absentem Demetrius aut quod ineptus
 80 Farnius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli?
 Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
 Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus atque
 Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque!
 Ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
 85 Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque

Vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
Conpluris alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
Prudens praetereo : quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,
Adridere velim, doliturus, si placeant spe
90 Deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,
Discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.
I, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

CRITICAL APPARATUS.

1. inconposito: $\Phi \lambda \nu$. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Leh. Mue. Frit. Haup.
 Pet. L.M. Kies. inconposito- Ac. Porph. ED $\gamma \psi u$. edd.
 Bask. Lam. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Hold. Sch. Hirs. Ha. Wick.
 Kk. Kr. Mac. Pal. Wag. E.M.
2. Lucili: all edd.* (except Lam. whose reading was not available
 for this word.***) LuciII - Comm. Cruq. Lucilii -
 u. Lucilli - ih.
- inepte: Ac. aED $\gamma G \sigma M \nu$ i. edd. Bask. Bent. Kir. Pau. Cur. Peer.
 Dunt. Hold. Leh. Frit. Sch. Pet. Ha. Hirs. Wick. Kk. Kr.
 Mac. Pal. Wag. E.M. inepti - RLi. ineptus -h.
ineptest - edd. Mue. Haup. L.M. Kies.
3. At: Ac. Porph. ED $\gamma \lambda u$. all edd. (except Lam.) ac - \).
- quod: Ac. Porph. all edd. quo^d - λ . quae - B.
4. defricuit: Porph. DL. all edd. (except Lam.) perfricuit -Ac.
charta: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) carta - Gi. karta - ν .
5. Nec: Ac. ui. all edd. (except Lam.) n̄ - G.
cetera: all edd. except Bask. Bent. Lam. caetera: -aD $\gamma \sigma \nu$.
 edd. Bask. Bent.
- nam: Ac. Porph. E₁D₁GRih. all edd. nam - aE₂D₂ $\gamma \sigma M \lambda z \nu \psi$
 Lih. nec - u. non -ih.
6. Laberi: Ac. Porph. all edd. laberi^{rii} - γ . Laberi - Comm. Cruq.
mimos: all edd. (except Lam.) Mimos - Porph. minos -
 mimos above -E.

*'all edd'. indicates all 26 editions (excluding Orel. whose text is for the most part used in this study) which were consulted for the text in this thesis.

**Hereafter in the critical apparatus this will be indicated by (except Lam.)

pulchra: all edd. (except Lam.) pulcra - u.

7. diducere: Ac. Porph. aEDY Gσ MR √ vL. all edd. (except Lam.)

deducere - Kzuih.

rictum: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) rectum - G.

8. hic: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) hec - u. haec - i.

9. Est: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) Est $\overline{\text{H}}$ - φ.

currat: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) curras^t - u. curat^r - E.

sententia: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) sentencia - λ.

10. Inpediat: ER √ λ i. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Leh. Mue. Haup. Pet.

Kies. Impediat - Comm. Cruq. DY GM φ u. Orelliana 3.

edd. Bask. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Hold. Frit. Sch. Hirs. Ha.

L.M. Wick. Kk. Kr. Mac. Pal. Wag. E.M.

onerantibus: Ac. all edd. hōnerantib - D(α).

auris: R₁. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Leh. Haup. Sch. Hirs. Ha. Kk.

Pal. Wag. Kies. E.M. ures - GR₂. Orelliana 3. edd.

Bask. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Hold. Mue. Frit. Pet. L.M. Wick.

Kk. Mac. aureis - Comm. Cruq.

11. saepe: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) sepe - ED √ λ .

12. Defendente: all edd. Defendente - λ .

rhetoris: all edd. (except Lam.) rethoris - Ac.EYGu.

poetae: edd. Bask. Pau. Peer. Dunt. Hold. Leh. Mue. Frit. Haup.

Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. L.M. Wick. Kk. Kr. Pal. Wag. Kies.

E.M. poëtae - edd. Bent. Kir. Cur. Mac. poete - E.

13. urbani: Ac. Porph. all edd. except L.M. urbane - R₁. ed.

L.M. urbeni - R₁.

14. Extenuantis: all edd. (except Lam.) Extenuantis - λ .

Extenuatis - D √ .

acri: Ac. Porph. all edd. acre - G.

15. Fortius: Ac. Porph. all edd. Forcius - λ .

- et: Ac. Porph. all edd. except Bask. Lam. ac - i. ed. Bask.
- secat: Ac. Porph. all edd. secet -i.
16. Illi: Ac. Porph. all edd. Illis -γ.
- comoedia: Ac. all edd. except Bent.Lam. Comoedia - ed. Bent.
comodia^e -γ. comedia - EDu.
17. stabant: Ac. Porph. all edd. stabat - G.
- quos: all edd. (except Lam) quas -γ₁.
18. unquam: Ac. most mss. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Peer. Leh. Mue.
Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. L.M. Kk.Kr. Pal. Wag.
Kies. E.M. unquam - aEG. edd. Bask. Cur. Dunt. Hold.
Wick. Mac.
- neque: Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) nec - h.
- simius: all edd. Simius - Ac. Porph. simus -γ.
19. Calvum: all edd. except Bent. Hold. Frit. Calvom - edd.
Bent. Hold. Frit.
- et doctus: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) edoctus - i. doctus -σ.
'et' cm.Ri.
20. At: Porph. all edd. ut - G. Et -γ_i. Ac - R.
- quod verbis: all edd. except Bask. Lam. verbis quod - ed.
Bask. quod verba -Porph.
- Graeca: Porph. all edd. except L.M. graeca - ed. L.M. greca -
EDγλ u. gca - Ac. a }.
21. O seri: Ac. Porph. all edd. o s//eri -γ. o seri - γ.
at seri
O sacri -a.
- quine: Ac. Porph. aγ ui. all edd. qui ne - Dσγ i. Cruquii
codd. Priscian. qui.ne - E. qd ne -G. quidne - h.
quive -h.
- putetis: Ac. Porph. aEDγ G σ γ. Cruquii omnes. Prician. all
edd. except Peer. putatis - γu_ih. pntatis - ed. Peer.

22. Difficile: all edd. (except Lam.) Difcile - E.

Rhodio: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) rodio - u.

Pitholeonti: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) phitoleonti - σu.

pitho leonti - E. pytho leonti - G. pitholeo - γ.

pitholeon - ν.

23. concinus: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) concinus - λ.

24. ut: Ac. Porph. αEDΥΓσMΨ|uLi. all edd. et - Rz ν i.

commixta: Most mss. h.edd. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Hold. Leh. Frit.

Haup. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. Wick. Kk.Kr. Mac. Pal. Wag.

E.M. commixta - Ac. Porph. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Mue.

L.M. Kies. commista - Comm Cruq. λ i. edd. Bask. Lam.

commissa - GR.

Falerni est: Ac. Porph. edd. Bask. Bent. Kir. Pau. Cur. Peer.

Dunt. Hold. Leh. Frit. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. Wick. Kk.Kr.

Mac. Pal. Wag. E.M. falerni est - R₂. Falernist -

edd. Mue. Haup. L.M. Kies. falernist - R₁.

25. Cum: Ac. Porph. all edd. except Peer. Quum - ed. Peer.

percontor: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) pcontor - E.

an et cum: Porph. Orelliana 3. all edd. except Lam. Peer.

an et quum - ed. Peer. an te-cum - G. et an cum -

Comm. Cruq. i. anecum - E.

26. Dura: Porph. all edd. Dura | /ū - u.

rei sit: Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) rei et sit - G.

Petilli: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) petilli - DG σ

z ν uLi. petelli - αEΥMR.

27. oblitus: Most and best mss. edd. Bask. Bent. Kir. Pau. Cur.

Dunt. Hold. Frit. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. Wick. Kk. Kr. Mac.

Pal. Wag. E.M. oblitos - h. edd. Peer. Leh. Mue. Haup.

L.M. Kies.

patrisque patrisque: Ri. all edd. patrię patrię - u.

Latine: Comm Cruq. R | ih. Orelliana 3. edd. Bask. Lam. Cur.

Peer. Hirs. Wick. Mac. Pal. latine -z. latine - u.

Latini -V Cruq. G V Lih. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Dunt. Hold.

Leh. Mue. Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet. Ha. L.M. Orel. Kk. Kr.

Wag. Kies. E.M. latini -aED Y O M Φ.

28. exsudet: Ac. Porph. DGu. edd. Bask. Bent. Kir. Pau. Cur. Peer.

Dunt. Leh. Mue. Haup. Sch. Pet. Hirs. L.M. Wick. Kk. Kr.

Mac. Pal. Kies. E.M. exudet -E Y R, . edd. Hold. Frit.

Ha. Wag. exsudat -ih.

Publicola: Porph. Gh. edd. Pet. Ha. Wick. Kk. Wag. publicola -

Ac. publicula -a, . Poplicola - Comm. Cruq. h. edd.

Bask. Bent. Kir. Pau. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Leh. Mue. Frit.

Haup. Sch. Hirs. L.M. Orel. Kr. Mac. Pal. Kies. E.M.

Puplicola - ed. Hold. puplicola - L. poblicola - R.

30. malis: all edd. (except Lam.) malles -u.

more: Ac. Porph. all edd. mere - E.

31. Atque: Most and best mss. Ac. Gh. edd. Kir. Pau. Cur. Dunt.

Hold. Leh. Mue. Frit. Pet. Hirs. Ha. L.M. Wick. Kk. Kr.

Mac. Pal. Wag. Kies. E.M. Atqui - Comm. Cruq. Rih. edd.

Bask. Bent. Peer. Haup. Sch.

Graecos: Ac. all. except Lam. L.M. graecos -R ed. L.M.

ēcos - a) . grecos - many mss.

32. vetuit: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) monuit - G.

me tali: Ac. Porph. ih. all edd. except Bask. Bent. Lam.

tali me - ed. Bent. (from cod. collegii Trinitatis).

tali vetuit me - ed. Bask.

Quirinus: all edd. (except Lam.) quirin⁴is - G.

33. mediam noctem: Ac. all edd. except Bask. Lam. mediam visus
noctem. ih.ed. Bask.
somnia: all edd. sonnia -u.
34. silvam: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) siluas -D.
non: Ac. all edd. ne - h.
ligna: Ac. all edd. ligni - φ. lingua -G σ | .
feras: Ac. all edd. feras - a. feres - σ.
insanius: all edd. (except Lam.) insanius - λ.
35. Graecorum: all edd. except Bask. Lam. Graiorum - ed. Bask.
grecor - ψ. gcorum - a | . crecor - E. grecorum -
D Y φ λ u.
implere: Ac. σ. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Leh.Mue. Haup. Pet. L.M.
Kies. implere - Comm. Cruq. G. Orelliana 3. edd. Bask.
Cur. Peer. Dunt. Hold. Frit. Sch. Hirs. Ha. Wick. Kk.
Kr. Mac. Pal. Wag. E.M.
36. Alpinus: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) Albinus -i.
Memnona: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) memnona - EDGR, ψ.
menona - γ. mennona - aMzUL. memona - σ.
37. Defingit: Ac. aD Y σ M ψ ih. edd. Bask. Bent. Lam. Kir. Cur.
Peer. Dunt. Leh. Mue. Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha.
Wick. Kk. Kr. Mac. Pal. Wag. E.M. Diffingit - KG φ ψ λ
uvLi. ed. Kies. Diffindit - ed. L.M. Difigit -R.
deffingit -i. Defindit - Ei. defigit - i. Effingit -
Porph.
luteum: Ac. Porph. all edd. luteum - placed before 'Rheni'
in Ac. lutulentum - G.
caput: Ac. Porph. all edd. capud - E.
haec: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) hoc - E, G ψ i. haec - ψ.
hec - D λ.

38. neque: Ac. Porph. } ih. all edd. (except Lam.) nec - Comm.
 Cruq. ih. ed. Lam.
- aede: Ac. Porph. ih. all edd. except Bent. Aede -ed. Bent.
ede -u.
- sonent: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) sonant -Φih.
- certantia: Ac. σ ('nec certent' supsc.) all edd. (except Lam.)
cortancita - G. certancia - λ. certamina - L. (-'tantia'
 supsc.)
39. Nec: all edd. (except Lam.) net^c - λ.
- spectanda: aEP γ σ λ, ν. all edd. spectata - KRuLi. spectatque -
 G. spectantia -E₁.
40. potes: Porph. Most and best mss. all edd. (except Lam.)
potest - Rz. potens -Φih. putes -E.
- Chremeta: all edd. (except Lam.) cremeta -G. crhemeta -u.
41. Eludente: all edd. (except Lam.) Et ludent -E₁. Illudente -i.
Deludente - i.
- senem: all edd. (except Lam.) senam^e - G.
- comis: Cruq. Ac. G. Orelliana 3. all edd. except Mue. L.M.
 Kr. comes -ψih. edd. Mue. L.M. Kr. comi - Raymundus
 Seyffertus.
- garrire: all edd. (except Lam.) carrire -R₁.
- libellos: Comm. Cruq. Ac. EγGu .Orelliana 3. all edd. except
 Lam. Kir. libellis - ed. Kir. (from Lipsiensis I.)
labellos - D.
42. Unus: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) Vanus -ψ.
vivorum: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) uiuonum^r -ψ.
- Pollio: Ac. Bramback. edd. Bask. Bent. Lam. Kir. Cur. Peer.
 Dunt. Hold. Mue. Frit. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. L.M. Wick.
 Kk. Kr. Mac. Pal. Wag. Kies. E.M. Polio - edd. Pau.

Leh. Haup.

43. In Cruq. the last of v. 43 and v. 44 and 45. are read in the following way : 'forte epos acer, ut nemo, Varius. ductu molle atque facetum Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camoenae'.

Fata: Gi. Facta - Ac. Most and best mss. all edd. (except Lam.) Fracta - L.

epos acer: all edd. (except Lam.) oo saoor -G.

44. Varius: Cruq. Ac. aED Y G σ υ. all edd. (except Lam.) Varus - i.

uarus - ui.

ducit: Ac. aED₁ γ υ ih. all edd. except Bask. dicit - G σ

i. ductu - Cruq. R λ zuh. ed. Bask. dictu - } i.

ductum - i.

molle: Ac. Rih. all edd. mole - υ.

45. Vergilio: RLih. Bramback. edd. Pau. Dunt. Hold. Leh. Mue.

Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. L.M. Wick. Kk.Kr. Pal.

Wag. Kies. E.M. Virgilio - Cruq. Comm. Cruq. Ac. edd.

Bask. Bent. Kir. Cur. Peer. Mac.

adnuerunt: Cruq. EGMR υ vih. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Hold. Leh.

Mue. Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet. Ha. L.M. Kk. Kr. Pal. Wag.

Kies. E.M. annuerunt - Comm Cruq. Ac. edd. Bask. Cur.

Peer. Dunt. Hirs. Wick. Mac. annuerant - a Y σ zLih.

annuerint - D Φ υ ui. adnuerint - λ. adnumerunt - E.

annumerant - h.

Camenae : Ac. all edd. except Lam. Leh. Haup. Kies.

camenae -edd. Leh. Haup. Kies. camene - E.

46. Experto: Ac. Porph. all edd. expertum - i.

Varrone: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) Varone - Y G.

Atacino: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) Acitano - L.

47. possem: Ac. aED Y G σ M υ ul. all edd. (except Lam.) possim - Rzvi.

48. illi: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) illi - cm. - ψ λ u.
ausim: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) ausi - G.
49. Haerentem: all edd. (except Lam.) Herentem - ψ . Herentem -
ED ψ ϕ u.
capiti: all edd. (except Lam.) capite - γ .
cum multa: ψ Lih. all edd. except Bask. Lam. multa cum -
Comm Cruq. ih. ed. Bask. cumulata - i. cumulatam - i.
50. At: Ac. Porph. D. all edd. Et - ψ λ).
dixi: Ac. Porph. all edd. dixi - u.
lutulentum: Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) lutulentū - E.
lutulentē - E.
saepe: all edd. sepe - E γ λ .
ferentem: all edd. ferentum - λ .
51. quidem: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) quidam - G. quidam - λ .
relinquendis: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) relinquens - G.
Age: GLih. all edd. ego (age supsc.) - ψ .
quaeso: Porph. } zui. all edd. quaero - aED γ G σ MR ψ LI quero - λ .
52. nihil: all edd. except L.M. nil - edd. L.M. nichil - u.
reprehendis: GLih. Orelliana 3. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Cur. Peer.
Dunt. Hold. Mue. Frit. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. Wick. Kk. Kr.
Mac. Pal. Wag. E.M. reprendis - Comm. Cruq. σ ψ h. edd.
Bask. Leh. Haup. L.M. Kies. doprehendis - h.
deprendis - h.
Homero: all edd. (except Lam.) omero - E.
53. Nil: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) Nihil - E.
comis: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) comos - Porph.
tragici: all edd. (except Lam.) traici - E. tragicus - u.
mutat: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) mittat - G. motet - E.
Lucilius: all edd. (except Lam.) licilius - E.

Acci: Ac. Porph. Glih. all edd. except Lam. Kir. Pau. Dunt.

Leh. ecci - aED $\gamma\sigma$. Atti -h. Ald. Manut. Orthogr.

p.83. edd. Lam. Kir. Pau. Dunt. Leh. Atti -Comm. Cruq.

accii - u. Acti -h. acti - ν . Keller and Holder (1869)

and Palmer (1896) record that Peerlkamp has 'Enni' in

this line and 'Acci' in l.54, but this is not so, accor-

ding to Peerlkamp's 1862 and 1863 editions in which

the satires are found.

54. Non: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) Num - i.

Enni: Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) ennij -G. ennii - u.

Enni - Comm. Cruq. See note on 'Acci' above.

minores: Comm. Cruq. Ac. Porph. h. Orelliana 3. all edd. (ex-

cept Lam.) minoris - Gi.

55. Cum: Ac. Porph. all edd. except Lam. Peer. Quam - Peer.

reprensis: Porph. ED $\gamma\phi$. all edd. (except Lam.) reprehensis -

ψ uih. rephensis - λ .

56. Quid: Ac. all edd. Quis - R.

Lucili: all edd. (except Lam.) lucilii - Gu. lucilli - ν .

Lucilii -Comm. Cruq.

legentis: R.edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Hold. Leh. Frit. Haup. Sch.

Hirs. Ha. Kk. Pal. Wag. Kies. E.M. legentes - some mss.

edd. Bask. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Mue. Pet. L.M. Wick. Kr.

Mac. legenteis - Comm. Cruq. loquentes - Orelliana 3.

57. Quaerere: all edd. (except Lam.) Querere -E γ .

num illius: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) non illius - ψ .

negarit: Porph. D. all edd. (except Lam.) negavit - i.

58. factos: Ac. Most and best mss. all edd. altos - GLi.

aptos -i. carptos -R.

et: all edd. (except Lam.) et - om. E.

euntis: Ac. aDmi. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Hold. Leh. Frit. Haup.

Sch. Hirs. Ha. Kk. Pal. Wag. Kies. E.M. euntes -

Orelliana 3. edd. Bask. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Mue. Pet. L.M.

Wick. Kr. Mac. euntis - E. eunteis - ed. Lam.

59. ac siquis: Gih. Orelliana 3. edd. Pau. Hold. Leh. Mue. Haup.

Ha. L.M. Kk. Wag. Kies. ac si quis - V. Cruq. Ac. √

Lih. edd. Bask. Bent. Kir. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Frit. Sch.

Pet. Hirs. Wick. Kr. Mac. Pal. E.M. at sit quis - ed.

Lam. at si quis -ih. an si quis - h.

ac: EDG OMRz √ L. all edd. (except Lam.) at - u. ed. Lam.

& - a γ.

quid: Ac. all edd. qui - 2 Blandinian. i.

senis: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) senes - G.

61. Ante: all edd. (except Lam.) anne - G.

cenatus: E γ √ u. all edd. except Bask. Lam. Cur. Peer. Mac.

caenatus - D \ γ. coenatus - edd. Bask. Cur. Peer. Mac.

Etrusci: Ac. Porph. h. all edd. etrusce - γ. Hetrusci - h.

62. Cassi: Ac. Porph. all edd. crassi - φ.

ferventius: Porph. all edd. feruentuus - E.

anni: Ac. Porph. Most and best mss. all edd. (except Lam.)

anni - u. anne - σ i.

63. Ingenium: all edd. (except Lam.) Ingeniōm - γ.

quem: Porph. all edd. quē - D.

fama est: Porph. all edd. except Mue. L.M. famast - edd. Mue.

L.M.

64. inquam: all edd. (except Lam.) inq (=inquam) - u.

65. v.65 cm. - φ.

urbanus: all edd. (except Lam.) urbanis - z.

limator: Ac. all edd. limator - γ.

66. rudis et: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) rudis a - i. Rudius - Casaubonus.
- auctor: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) actor - Bährens.
67. sed: all edd. (except Lam.) set - Y.
68. fato: all edd. (except Lam.) facto - E.
- dilatus: VG O'Lih. edd. Bask. Bent. Lam. Kir. Pau. Cur. Peer. Leh. Mue. Haup. Hirs. Wick. Kk.Kr. Mac. Pal. Kies. E.M.
- delatus - ih. edd. Dunt L.M. dilapsus - Ac. aED YMR
z V ih. edd. Hold. delapsus - Cruq. ih. edd. Frit. Sch. Pet. Ha. Wag.
- aevum: Ac. all edd. except Lam. Hold. Frit. aevum - edd. Hold. Frit. eum - A u.
69. Detereret: Ac. all edd. Detraheret - i. D&errer& - E.
- recideret: Ac. all edd. recidere - G.
- omne: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) omne - G.
70. versus: all edd. (except Lam.) versus - ih.
71. v.71 cm. - ϕ .
- Saepe caput: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) Sepe capu^t - E.
- scaberet: Ac. Porph. all edd. scabar& - E. foderet - G.
- et: Ac. all edd. ac - Porph.
- roderet: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) cogeret - G.
- unguis: aED Y MRi. edd. Bent.Kir. Pau. Hold. Leh. Frit. Haup. Sch. Hirs. Ha. Kk. Pal. Wag. Kies. E.M. ungues - Ac. Orelliana 3.edd. Bask. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Mue. Pet. L.M. Wick. Kr. Mac. ungueis - Comm. Cruq.
72. stilum: Ac. all edd. except Bask. stylum - ed. Bask. illum - G.
- vertas: Ac. all edd. uertasse - G.
- quae: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) q. - E.
- legi sint: all edd. (except Lam.) legi sunt - i. legissint - a ✓

legissent - u.

74. Contentus : Ac. all edd. except Hirs. who has Cententus which may be a typographical error. Contemptus - i.

demens: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) clomens - E.

75. Vilibus: Ac. Porph. ED YΦ u. all edd. Milibus - ψ λ |.

in ludis: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) ^Nilludis - γ.

76. nam: all edd. except Bask. Nam -ed. Bask. n̄ - u.

equitem: all edd. (except Lam.) equidē - E.

mihi: all edd. (except Lam.) mihi -cm.u.

77. Contemptis: Porph. G. Orelliana 5. all edd. except Bask.

Bent. Lam. the first^{two} of which have Contemptis.

contentis - Comm. Cruq. Contemptis - u.

explosa: Ac. Porph. all edd. expulsa - G.

Arbuscula: Ac. Porph. all edd. arbuscula - γ. Arbustula - Li.

arbustula - EG.

78. Men: Ac. Kir. Pau. Dunt. Hold. Leh. Mue. Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet.

Hirs. Ha. L.M. Wick. Kk.Kr. Mac. Pal. Wag. Kies. Men -

edd. Bask. Bent. Cur. Peer. E.M.

cimex: Ac. a. all edd. cimes - G. cumex - γ. ^{+ci}cumex - u.

Pantilius: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) Pantilius - i.

Pantillus - h. Potillus - G.

aut: edd. Haup. Kies. aut - ed. Kir. aut - ed. Bask.

aut -edd. Bent. Pau. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Hold. Leh. Mue.

Frit. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. L.M. Wick. Kk. Kr. Mac. Pal.

Wag. E.M.

cruciet: ih. Most^gmass. all edd. (except Lam.) crucier - ih.

ed. Lam. crucior - Comm. Cruq. crucit & - E. cruciat - i.

79. Demetrius: Ac. all edd. demetrius - i.

80. Famius: ψ, all edd. Fanius - G.

Hermogenis: all edd. (except Lam.) ermocenis - E.

laedat: all edd. (except Lam.) ledat - Eu.

conviva: all edd. (except Lam.) cuia - E.

Tigelli: all edd. (except Lam.) tegelli - E. Tigilli -

Gih.

81. Plotius: aY u. all edd. (except Lam.) Plocius - EDG V Li.

Varius: all edd. (except Lam.) uarius - aEY G σ V. Varus -

Li. uarus - u.

Maecenas: all edd. (except Lam.) maecenas - i. mecenas - φ.

mecenas - γ ψ. mecenas - ED λ u.

Vergiliusque: h. Bramback. edd. Pau. Dunt. Hold. Leh. Mue.

Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. L.M. Wick. Kk. Kr. Pal.

Wag. Kies. E.M. Virgiliusque - edd. Bask. Bent. Kir.

Cur. Peer. Mac. uergilius - R₁. uirgilius - R₂.

82. G. puts v.83 before 82.

haec: all edd. (except Lam.) hoc - i. hec - λ.

Octavius: all edd. hoctavius - γ.

atque: all edd. (except Lam.) utque - h.

83. haec: all edd. (except Lam.) hoc - i. aeque - Maehlyus.

utinam: all edd. (except Lam.) unina - E.

laudat: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) laudat - G.

84. Ambitione: Ac. Porph. all edd. Ambicione - D λ.

85. Pollio: Ac. Bramback. all edd. except Lam. Pau. Leh. Haup.

Pollio - edd. Pau. Leh. Haup. Pollo - E.

Messalla: edd. Pau. Dunt. Hold. Leh. Mue. Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet.

Hirs. Ha. L.M. Wick. Kk. Kr. Mac. Pal. Wag. Kies. E.M.

messalla - R λ. Messala - Ac. i. odd. Bask. Bent. Kir.

Cur. Peer. messala - ED Y Gu.

tuo cum: all edd. (except Lam.) uocum - G.

- fratre: all edd. (except Lam.) fracte - E.
86. Bibule: h. all edd. except Hold. Bibuli - Comm. Cruq. Gh.
Most and best mss. ed. Hold.
Servit: Comm. Cruq. EYGu. all edd. (except Lam.) serui - λ.
his te: all edd. (except Lam.) iste - E. et te -ih.
Furni: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) funi - u. Furvi - h.
87. Compluris: ed. Bent. Pau. Leh. Haup. Kies. Complures - ad
Y G Gh. edd. Bask. Cur. Peer. Dunt. Wick. Kr. Mac.
Compluris - R. edd. Kir. Hold. Frit. Sch. Hirs. Ha.
Kk. Pal. Wag. E.M. Complures - E. edd. Mue. Pet. L.M.
Complureis - Comm. Cruq. ed. Lam. Compluresq; - u.
Compluresque -ih. Cum plures - √ i.
88. praetereo: Ac. all edd. (except Lam.) pretereo - D.
ptereo - Eu.
sint: Comm. Cruq. Ac. a √ Lih. edd. Bask. Peer. Dunt. Hold. Mue.
Frit. Sch. Pet. Ha. L.M. Kk. Kr. Pal. Wag. E.M. sunt -
G G ih. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Cur. Leh. Haup. Hirs. Wick.
Mac. Kies.
qualiacumque: Ac. Eu. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Peer. Hold. Leh.
Mue. Frit. Haup. Sch. Pet. Hirs. Ha. L.M. Kk. Kr. Pal.
Wag. Kies. E.M. qualia cumque - D Y. qualiacumque -
edd. Bask. Cur. Haup. Wick. Mac.
89. Adridere: Ac. ED √ Li. edd. Bent. Kir. Pau. Hold. Frit. Haup.
Pet. Ha. Kk. Wag. Kies. Arridere - Y u. edd. Bask. Lam.
Cur. Peer. Dunt. Leh. Mue. Sch. Hirs. L.M. Wick. Kr.
Mac. Pal. E.M.
placeant: all edd. (except Lam.) placeat - E.
90. Tigelli: Ac. Porph. all edd. (except Lam.) Tigilli - Glih.
91. Discipularum: Comm. Cruq. Ac. Porph. D Y G λ uih. all edd.

Discipulorum - \, ih. Discupularū - E.

92. This line is considered spurious by Palmer.

citus: Porph. all edd. cito -h.

haec: Porph. h. all edd. (except Lam.) hoc - i.

G. adds the following lines to v.92 :

'Q. Horatii Flacci Sermorum liber primus
explicit; incipit secundus foeliciter,
velut in dialogum Tribanio loquitur'.

NOTES1st 8 lines

The first eight lines of Sat. 1.10 have not been included in the text of this Satire as given on p 30 of this thesis, as it is uncertain whether or not they are Horatian. These lines, which are as follows:

Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone
 Defensore tuo pervincam, qui male factos
 Emendare parat versus, hoc lenius ille,
 Quo melior vir est, longe subtilior illo,
 Qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis
 Exoratus, ut esset opem qui ferre poetis
 Antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,

Grammaticorum equitum doctissimus, Ut redeam illuc:

were not noticed by the Scholiasts, but are found, though with numerous variations, in some of the oldest MSS.

Lambinus says that they are not Horatian but were put in by some half-learned scamp ('semidoctus nebulo'), who thought that since the Satire proper began with 'Nempe', something was lacking which really was not lacking at all. There are more MSS. in which the lines are not found. They are not in the best MSS. and Keller and Holder do not include them in their first or second families. Palmer says that the fourth verse has a false quantity, 'vir', which is not easy to amend, and that, 'Ut redeam illuc' in the eighth verse has no meaning. They must have been written before the tenth century, for some of the MSS. which contain them are of that antiquity, probably some centuries earlier. Some have thought that two recensions

of this poem may have been made by Horace himself. L. Müller thought that they were written by some contemporary of Horace. Kirchner attributes them to Furius Bibaculus; F. C. Hermann to Fannius. Orelli says that they have 'antiquum colorem', and suggests that they may have been written in the time of Fronto (150 A.D.). Keller puts the date as late as 350 hinting at Tetradius who is addressed by Ausonius (Ep 15.9) as emulating Lucilius.

The MSS. which contain these lines are Cod. Bernensis 21,542, 619, 327, Parisini $\Phi \Psi \lambda \nu$, Leidensis 28, unus Cruquii (Martinius). Among those which omit them are the Blandinian MSS, *a E D Y g o L*.

Franke (F.H. p.107) says that they are genuine. Heindorf and Teuffel think they were written by Horace but finally rejected in revising the satire.

Morris (E.P.) says that the lines contain Horatian phrases (cf. 'loris et funibus' with Epod 4.3, Epist. 1.16,47) and opinions (cf. verse 7 with Epist. 2.1. 18ff). The reference to P. Valerius Cato, (born about 90 B.C.) though not exactly identical with the statement in Sueton. de Gram. 2 is a similar bit of grammatical tradition; the satirical allusion in vss. 5ff. is obscure and contradictory but comes evidently from the same school of literary and personal gossip; the phrasing is stiff ('hoc lenius ille', 'ille' and 'illo' referring to different persons, the apposition of 'doctissimus' to 'qui'). Hence Morris thinks this is the work of a grammarian.

Doering (1822) attributes these lines to Horace.

Eichstadius (1822) says that they do not belong to him. Gesner thinks that if they are not Horace's, they seem to be the work of an ancient and ingenious man. They are found in the Zarottina edition which is very ancient and in more ancient ones than that, according to Peerlkamp, who says also 'Utut est, non abhorrent ab ingenio Horatiano et forma satirarum'.

Keller says that one MS. handles these verses as the continuation of the previous satire.

Hendrickson (G.L.) thinks that the lines belong to Horace and sees a connection between them and the rest of the satire which begins with 'Nempe'. Here Horace does not approach Cato (who represents the champions of Lucilius) directly but through the conceit of addressing Lucilius, introduces Cato in the 3rd Person as his champion and satirizes him indirectly. The initial word 'nempe' stood here originally in order to point the precise application of the obscure reference to the critic and his criticism which was contained in the preceding lines. Cato is mentioned as the mild and good critic of Lucilius while Horace is presumably a harsh and inconsiderate critic. Cato who is referred to in the first eight verses as 'Cato defensore' who by his 'emendation' had made unintentional confession of the faultiness of Lucilius, reappears in a generalized form as 'quis tam Lucili fautor inepte ut hoc non fateatur' in the satire proper. With this expression, 'fautor inepte', the 'adversarius' whom Horace combats in the satire as finally edited is defined.

In spite of the connection of thought which has just been pointed out there is still the evidence that these lines are not Horatian. The satire makes a complete whole without them. Persius, the obvious imitator of Horace, introduces one of his satires with, 'Nempe.'

Of the twenty-six editions used in this thesis for the text, three (Bask. Bent. Wag.) omit these eight lines entirely; two indent them (Kir. Leh.); three put them in italics (Cur. Sch. Hirs.); twelve place them in brackets (Pau. Dunt. Hold. Mue. Haup. Pet. Ha. L.M. Kk. Kr. Pal. Kies.); two put them both in italics and brackets (Frit. Wick); three quote them in a discussion before the satire (Lam. Mac. E.M.); only one treats them as an integral part of the satire (Peer.). Orelli whose text is for the most part used in this study puts the lines in italics.

1. Nempe---dixi: 'it is true I said.' We are to imagine ourselves as overhearing part of a conversation. Horace is replying to a criticism on what he had said in Sat. I.4, that Lucilius is unrhythmic, rugged, hard. Or, 'yes, I did say'. Thus the reader is at once introduced into a lively discussion. The scholiast says that 'nempe' concedes and also confirms. It may be another form of 'namque'. 'Nempe' = 'scilicet' or 'nimirum'. Persius imitated Horace. (Pers. 3.1): 'Nempe hoc assidue.'

inconposito---pede: 'with halting rhythm, 'i.e. with no fixed succession of quantities. Horace had said that Lucilius was 'durus componere versus' (Sat. I.4,8) and had also referred to him with 'cum flueret lutulentus'.

2. Lucili: Gaius Lucilius (180 B.C.-103 B.C.). He wrote thirty books of satires of which the first twenty and the thirtieth were in hexameters, and the others in iambic, trochaic, and elegiac measure. The extant fragments number about 1100 lines.

tam: Belongs to 'inepte'.

fautor: Technically this meant a claqueur in the theatre, but is used by Horace for a literary partisan, 'admirer'; cf. 'fautor veterum' (Ep. 1.1.25). As a verbal noun in combination with 'est', it takes the adverb 'inepte'. 'fautor est' = 'favet'. Horace asks who favors Lucilius to such an extent that he denies his open faults.

inepte: 'stulte'. Cf. 'servit ineptus famae', S. 1.6.16

('are silly slaves to fame'); or Cic. de Or. 2.4.17 'qui in aliquo genere inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus dicitur'.

3. At idem---eadem: as in English, 'but at the same time'.

'At' may denote addition rather than opposition. It is commonly employed after a concession (Keys. L.G. 1445) - 'You say and I admit it, still in the same Satire I praised him'. Kiessling puts this sentence into the mouth of the adversary who appears in verses 20 and 23.

sale multo---defricuit: 'scoured the city with plenty of salt', or 'with the stinging salt of wit, he rubbed down the city.' The general sense is imitated by Pers. I.114, 'secuit Lucilius urbem.' His wit was the salt which made the sore places smart. The praise which Horace claims to have given Lucilius is in Sat 1.4. 1-8. 'Defricare' is properly used of scouring with some liquid. Catullus uses it of brushing the teeth (37.20). Salt mixtures were used for scouring. 'Sale' is used both in its literal sense and its derived sense of wit, sarcasm; cf. Ep 2.2.60, 'sale nigro'. The word 'defricuit' is nowhere else used in this sense. 'Sales' with the present meaning is usually plural but the singular is used here on account of 'defricuit.' Cicero uses the same word for the praise of Lucilius (de Fin I. 3. 9.) - 'cum multa venustate et omni sale'. Quintil. X 1.94. - 'eruditio in Lucilio mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abundantia salis'. Juvenal says (I.65): 'Ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens

Infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est Criminibus:
tacita sudant praecordia culpa'. By 'urbem' is meant the
chief men of the city (Lupus, Mutius, and others).

4. charta: i.e. in the same satire or poem (as in Od.4.9.31.
Sat.1.5. 104.

5. Nec tamen: = 'attamen non' as in Ep. 1.7.23. 'Nor allowing
him this merit'.

tribuens: = 'si tribuam'.

dederim: = 'concesserim' = 'can I be said to have granted.'

cetera: every other good quality including smooth versifi-
cation.

sic: 'in that case, 'on the same principle', or 'by such
reasoning', i.e. if it were granted that wit alone made
poetry. Horace says, 'If I say Lucilius is a poet because
he has humor, then I would have to say the same about the
mime write Laberius, for he had humor. But he lacks many
things which a poet ought to have.'

6. Laberi: Decimus Laberius, a Roman knight who was, in his
old age, constrained by Julius Caesar to act his own mimes
on the stage (45 B.C.) in a dramatic contest with Publius
Syrus, an enfranchised slave of Antioch and younger rival
of Laberius. Cicero, who was one of the audience, spoke
sightly of the mimes themselves - 'equidem sic iam ob-
durui ut ludis Caesaris ^{no}stri animo aequissimo audirem

Laberii et Publi poemata* (ad Fam. 12.18). On this occasion Laberius had the courage to insert the well known lines: 'Porro Quirites!, libertatem perdimus,' and 'Necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent.' Although the prologue then was very fine and had great spirit, yet the judgment of Cicero seems to have been that of the ancients generally. Laberius died some ten years before the date of this satire. He was one of two or three successful writers of mimes. About forty-four titles of his plays have come down to us, and about one hundred-fifty lines or fragments have been preserved. These fragments are now gathered together by Ribbeck, *comm. Lat.* p. 237 flg.

mimos: Mimes had existed in Rome from an early date as a kind of plebian farce. They had at first no proper plot, and were not acted on the stage; they sometimes formed a part of the entertainment at private feasts. In the time of Laberius they were represented in the theatres with the regular drama. They were used as interludes between the acts of the regular drama, or afterpieces, 'exodia', like the Greek Satyr-dramas, and soon became very popular, driving out the Atellanæ, which were of a more patrician character. In the time of Laberius they were of a higher order than those representations which at an earlier period bore this name, though still they seem to have been of a licentious character. They were a combination of grotesque dumb-show, of farcical representations in verse dialogue of incidents in low and profligate life and of grave sentiments and

satirical allusions interspersed with the dialogue. The first of these elements prevailed. Improper love scenes and domestic broils were represented. This seems to have been the only purely Roman conception of the drama; for though the name is of Greek origin, the characters of the Greek and Latin mimes were essentially different. The actors wore no masks that their facial expression might be better seen; they often went without the 'soccus' or 'coturnus'; and even women acted. Many representations of the actors of mimes who were called 'mimi' have been preserved. Sulla (Plutarch. Sulla c2) was fond of mimes. Ovid says that Augustus himself was a great patron of these licentious representations. Horace in this passage is not necessarily speaking slightly of Laberius. He gives Laberius as much praise as he gives Lucilius, and though that is qualified praise, the nature of the compositions he employed himself on made this unavoidable. He may still appreciate the ability of the author, as is indicated when he says that Laberius's mimes, like Lucilius's satires contain plenty of well applied wit, but of course they could not be called 'pulchra poemata.' Mueller (1891) thinks that Horace is here speaking with contempt because of the meter of Laberius's mimes, which, as seen from the fragments, appears sometimes so loose that it seems as if he has alternated prose and verse.

pulchra: More like 'noble' or 'wonderful' than 'beautiful'.

7. Ergo: the mere mention of Laberius is enough to prove that witty verse is not necessarily poetry.

risu diducere rictum: 'to make the audience grin from ear to ear', or 'to make your hearer grin.' 'rictus' (ringi) is the drawing back of the lips so as to show the teeth. Juv. 10. 230: 'Ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum Suetus hiat tantum.' This expression is a slightly contemptuous colloquialism. Cicero (Verr. II 4.43) uses 'rictum' for the mouth, where he is speaking of a statue. It is used, according to Mueller (1891), mostly in connection with animals (Nonius 455.36)

8. Auditoris: not 'lectoris,' for Horace is thinking of the spoken word Cf. 'auris'.v.10, and 'sermone', v.11.

et --- virtus: a concession in the form of a parenthetical statement. 'Tho there is a certain kind of merit even in this,' i.e. in exciting the laughter of an audience. A laugh is not enough however.

9ff. In these lines Horace again discusses the nature of satire, as he had already done in Sat. 1.4.36-61. Since the main purpose of this argument is to justify the criticism of Lucilius, it is less general and only those qualities are mentioned in which it is implied that Lucilius was lacking. These are specifications under the general statement, 'durus componere versus', and are, in form, two in number- brevity and variety. But the idea of variety is expressed by contrasting two styles, the serious and the light, which contrast is carried on through v.15; in a general way 'tristi',

'rhetoris atque poetae', and 'acri' express one side, and 'iocoso', 'urbani', and 'ridiculum', the other. Horace, however, does not merely imply that Lucilius was monotonous, but also and especially that he lacked the lighter and more polished forms of wit. The quality of 'urbanitas' is therefore further suggested by the definition 'parentis', 'extenuantis', and by carrying over of the thought into the next sentence. The reference to the Old Comedy, as a standard of polished wit, is then used to clinch the argument, as it had been used in Sat. I. 4 to open it. Horace recommends the combination of orator, who sternly rebukes vice, of the humorous satirist (poetae) who broadly ridicules it, and of the polished wit who instead of throwing himself with all his strength upon his victim, substitutes sarcasm for invective and lets his power be felt rather than seen. Horace considers the gravity of stern reproof of the least value, saying that ridicule generally settles questions better and more decisively than severity.

9. brevitate: 'conciseness', "That condensation of style which is secured by the selection of words that carry the meaning adequately (ut currat sententia) and by the avoidance of commonplace and meaningless phrases" (E.M.) Lucilius was 'garrulus'; 'erat quod tollere velles' (Sat. I. 4. 11-12). Horace says that there are two reasons for brevity: (1) that the thought (sententia) may run along, that it may not limp or halt (pause), and (2) that it may not be hindered by a multitude of words and burden the hearer. Cic. de Or. 2. 326:

'si brevis appellanda est, cum verbum nullum redundat.'

neu --- auris: 'and may not embarrass itself by a multitude of words, that only serve to load the wearied ears.'

10. lassas: proleptic. 'Which burdens the ear almost to fatigue.'

11. 'sermone modo tristi saepe iocosé!': cf. Dryden, Art of Poetry. l.75 - 'happy who in his verse can gently steer From grave to light, from pleasant to severe.' and Pope's line, 'From grave to gay, from lively to severe' (Essay on Man 4.379.). The context shows that the second quality in each pair (i.e. 'iocosé' and 'urbani,') is the more important and the inclusion of the first is largely a concession to the opposition.

sermone: 'style.'

triste: Hendrickson thinks that this is not 'serious' or 'earnest' as some editors have suggested, but it defines accurately the harsh means by which Lucilius provoked laughter with the language of abuse or invective. It designates the cutting jest which aims to hurt and not to please as Sat. II. l.21: 'quanto rectius hoc quam tristi laedere versu.' Horace praises this with reserve. He places against this the frequent (saepe) or constant requirement of a tone of playful humor (iocosé) (G.L.H. p 153).

12. Defendente vicem: 'playing the part, ' 'maintaining the

part', i.e. 'adopting the style'. As A.P. 194, 'partes officiumque defendat'. It is a variation of the common 'tueri personam', 'tueri munus,' etc. Strictly, 'defendente' should agree not with 'sermone' but with some word like 'scriptore.' 'Vicem' is used in the same sense in A.P. 304: 'fungar vice'.

rhetoris: one who composes declamations. Here used in the Greek sense as equivalent of 'orator.'

13.urbani: 'of the polished wit', the polished society talker who as a 'dissimulator opis propriae', skillfully restrains and with calculation applies his strength. Cf. Domitius Marsus ap. Quintil. 6.3.105: 'urbanus homo erit qui-- in sermonibus, circulis, convivis, item in concionibus, omnidenique loco ridicule commodeque dicet'. In this quotation 'urbanus' really has a wider meaning than wit. The passage gives a definition of 'urbanitas'. 'Urbanus' was first used as a technical term of rhetoric by Cicero.

parentis viribus: 'sparing his powers' and 'purposely keeping them in check' ('Extenuantis eas consulto'). Perhaps ironical.

14&15.Ridiculum---res: 'ridicule' usually decides matters of importance more effectually and in a better manner, than severity'. Cic. de Or. II.58. 236: 'odiosaque res saepe, quas argumento dilui non facile est, loco risuque dissolvit (orator)'. Quintil. VI.3.9: 'Rerum saepe -- maximarum momenta vertit (risus) ut cum odium iramque frequentissime frangat.'

Aristotle writes (lib. 3 de Arte dicendi) that Georgia Leonitinus writes that 'res severas et serias risu, risum rebus severis discutiendum esse.'

14. Ridiculum: that which produces laughter. Nominative case.

acri:= 'docto', according to the Scholiasts.

15. plerumque: as usually in Horace, 'very often,' Sat.2.5.55; Epp. 1.18.94, 2.2.84; A.P.14.95.

secat: 'decides', 'cuts the knots', 'settles'. Epp. 1.16.

42. 'multae magnaecque secantur iudice lites.' Acron suggests 'mordet' or 'lacerat' in his explanation of this word.

16. An intentional repetition of Sat. I. 4.2, in order to remind the reader that Horace is maintaining the opinion there expressed.

comoedia prisca: Among the other famous poets of the Old Comedy we must reckon Crates, Pherecrates, Teleclides, Hermippus, Amipsias, Phrynichus, and Plato. The Old Comedy dated from 460-404 B.C.; its characteristic was the most unspairing exposure of public characters. The chief representatives were Cratinus (died 422 B.C.), Eupolis (died 411 B.C.) and Aristophanes (450-385 B.C.). Horace said that satire traced back to the Old Comedy. The construction of this line is, 'Illi (viri) quibus viris prisca Comoedia scripta est' (the writers of the Old Comedy.). The antecedent is here incorporated in the relative clause.

viris: Wickham suggests as a translation, 'true men' and thinks Horace is contrasting them with the effeminate taste of the day. For the dative, cp. Epp. 1.19.3, 'scribuntur aquae potoribus,' Madv. S 250a. This is probably a dative of agency as is found in poetry with the perfect passive and not ablative, although sometimes the agent is regarded as an instrument and so expressed by the ablative without a preposition.

17ff. Horace means here, 'But the men who are pretending to be so disturbed by my criticism of Lucilius know nothing of the best standards or even the earlier writers.'

17. hos: the quality, 'ridiculum', rather than 'acre'. Or 'hoc' may cover the whole description of the excellence of satirical composition. vv9-16. The first is the more probable.

stabant: 'They owed their success to this', 'maintained their ground by this, ' or 'depended upon this'. 'Stare' is a phrase of the theatre. A play which pleased from beginning to end was said 'stare' while one which was hissed off the stage was said, 'cadere', to fall. Epp. 2.1.176 : 'cadet an recto stet fabula talo'.

Ter. Phorm. prol. 9: 'quod si intelligeret olim cum stetit nova Actoris opere magis stetisse quam sua.' In English we speak of a play as 'having a run.'

imitandi: in their command of this quality ('ridiculum') rather than in their use of the 'acre' are the writers of the Old Comedy to be imitated, as they were not imitated by

Lucilius. For though he is proclaimed as an emulator of them, it is only in their license of speech and their harsh wit that he reproduced them.

quos: = 'but them'.

pulcher: ironical. Said of a fop. 'The pretty youth'.

Cic. Att. 1.16.10 'surgit pulchellus puer.' The point of applying this adjective to Hermogenes is not known, but it is meant to contrast with 'simius', for the ape is a symbol of hatred - 'simia quam similis, turpissima bestia nobis' (Ennius Sat. 45.). Lambinus, in his explanation of the word suggests, 'homo bellus'. Mueller (1891) says that Hermogenes's bodily beauty is not meant here, but his musical skill.

18. Hermogenes: Hermogenes Tigellius, a representative of the foppish and effeminate taste of the day in music and poetry. He was a musician, apparently spoken of by Horace as alive, and of course, if so, not to be confounded with Tigellius Sardus. He was some relation of the latter, perhaps son or nephew and had the family gift. Tigellius was a singer, and Horace looked down on singing, classing it with dancing and prolific verse-writing. Tigellius may have written for the rabble as in Sat. I.4.72, he is classed with 'volgus'. He was a literary dilettante whose work appealed to the untrained 'volgus', but who had no knowledge of the subject. His training was narrow and superficial, for he had not even studied the masterpieces of the Old Comedy and his pupils

could do nothing but 'cantare Calvum et Catullum'. His proper place, therefore was 'inter cathedras' of his music pupils, for he was a good musician just as Alfenus was a good cobbler (Sat. I.3.130), and a cobbler should stick to his last, (Ul. p.278). Tigellius is associated first with a 'simius', secondly, with a Pantilius, cimex,' and thirdly with an 'ineptus Fannius'. This is the same Tigellius as in v.80 and 90. There is only one Tigellius in Horace's Satires and not two as Kirchner thinks. It is not certain whether or not he was alive at the time of the Satire. Ulman is inclined to think that he was not. The fact that Heromgenes is addressed in I.10.90, in the vocative case may be like he addressed Lucilius in the first eight lines before the Satire proper. Whoever wrote these lines, if Horace didn't, well knew that Lucilius had died years before. In the case of the mention of the names of Demetrius and Tigellius, Horace follows the principle of keeping from his pages satirical mention of more important personages. In purpose and intention, the words are aimed at larger game; but either from motives of restraint, or from some principle of exclusion, the humble follower is made to take the place of the master.

simius: M. Demetrius, a musician. They say he is here called a monkey on account of his ugliness and small stature. It is to be contrasted with 'pulcher'. Others take 'simius' to mean 'ape', imitator of Hermogenes. Vulpius wanted to make out that Horace is referring to Propertius here; and if chronology allowed, Horace's words square well enough

with Propertius's own account of himself; he was of small stature, 'Sed tibi si exiles videor tenuatus in artus' (2.22.21), and he was a great admirer of Catullus and Calvus, 2.25.4: 'Calve tua venia pace Catulle tua'. The epithet 'simius' is probably a hit at both the person and talent of Demetrius. It is a contemptuous expression for all perverse men, as Cicero says, 'Simius, non semissis homo.' Hendrickson suggests that Horace means here some character like Furius Bibaculus (instead of Demetrius) the faithful satellite of Cato and 'doctus contare Catullum.' Hendrickson thinks also that Cato is the prime object of criticism throughout the satire. Most people, however, think Demetrius is referred to here. It is the same Demetrius as in v. 90. He is in some close relation to Tigellius, probably a 'cantor' like Hermogenes, (Tigellius), and a trainer of 'mimae'. His only skill lay in singing the love songs of Calvus and Catullus. Horace having mentioned the great Masters of Greek Comedy, cannot help stepping out of his way to aim a blow at these people. Kirkland classes 'simius' under 'coarse words--the language of the streets.' 'Doctus' goes with 'simius'.

19. Calvum---Catullum: Calvus is the C. Licinius Macer Calvus (82-47 B.C.), the son of Licinius the annalist. He was an orator and poet, a contemporary and close friend of C. Valerius Catullus (87-54 B.C) referred to here. Calvus had a high and perhaps an exaggerated reputation with his contemporaries. None of his works are left. He was Cicero's rival as an orator. Catullus and Calvus wrote the same kind of poetry, chiefly erotic and epigrammatic. Catullus was one of the greatest poets of his

time, inferior to Horace in sanity and judgment, but superior to him in spontaneity and brilliancy. One hundred sixteen of his poems are extant some of which are lyrical, some elegies, others epigrams, and one heroic. In this passage some editors think that Horace is sneering at Calvus and Catullus. Palmer thinks it might be because Catullus violently lampooned Julius Caesar, and his poems, for this reason, found little favor with Octavian, (a friend of Horace,) but Horace attacks Tigellius a friend of Octavian and speaks without censure of Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, and so fear of the disapprobation of Octavian is not likely to have prevented the praise of a poet. Some have thought that this is a sneer at the Alexandrine school of which Catullus was a representative. Robinson Ellis, in a commentary on Catullus even says that 'Horace's sneer no doubt expresses the position of the Augustan poets to Catullus.'

(Ra. p.15) But most editors think that Horace is not throwing a sneer at these poets here. He wanted merely to show that it required a more vigorous taste than Demetrius (or Hermogenes) possessed to appreciate or even to read such writers as Aristophanes and his brethren, for whom he had an unbounded admiration. It is as if a man were to say of a modern English coxcomb who could do nothing better than please a circle of ladies with a popular song and agreeable voice, that he could sing Moore's ballads from beginning to end, but could not understand a line of Shakespeare, therefore he was disparaging that graceful song-writer between whom and Shakespeare there can be no comparison, as there could not be between

Catullus and Aristophanes(Mac.) The writers of the Old Comedy were indeed too difficult for Demetrius to understand. He and Hermogenes are one sided admirers of Lucilius. It is surprising that they have not read the great Greek poets since their own names are half Greek. Horace does not blame the two great poets, but only the one-sidedness of these people. Horace himself was an imitator of Catullus (perhaps 'sint qualicumque', v88, is^a imi-^{an}tations of Cat. 1.8. 'quidquid hoc libelli, qualecumque.') He was an Atticist along with Calvus and Catullus too. Since Tigellius and his followers are Asiatics (believers in the grand style as contrasted with Atticists, believers in the plain style), Ulman thinks the sense here is ironical and means, 'the simius who has been taught to imitate ('cantare') Calvus and Catullus', implying that he would imitate anything in the world rather than Calvus and Catullus. The other explanation (that the Old Greek Masters were too philosophical for Demetrius and his friends) seems better.

20. At --- Latinis: 'Surely it was a feat to mingle Greek words in his verses as he did.' An argument imagined for a defender of Lucilius, but hardly a serious one. It was a practice of early Latin writing - not entirely dropped in Lucretius (4.1162 etc.), criticised by Cicero, de Off. 1.31.111, 'ut sermone eo debemus uti qui notus est nobis, ne, ut quidam, Graeca verba inculcantes iure optimo irrideamur' - but allowed by himself freely in the freedom of his letters. The fragments of Lucilius contain a great deal of Greek. To judge from the extant fragments the Greek words are sometimes technical terms, some-

times quotations, and only occasionally used for comic effect. Lucilius himself ridicules the use of Greek words in common conversation (vss. 88-94, Marx). Horace thinks it is a weakness and a lack of taste and crudity to mix Greek with Latin in a Latin piece.

21 seri studiorum: 'O ye who are late in learning'. A translation of the Greek ὀψιμαθεις, of dunces turned pedants, men who have just learned something that everybody else has known before and who parade their new knowledge. This Greek word is the opposite of παιδομαθεις, who have learned from boyhood. Horace adds point to his criticism by setting the example of translating the Greek word. The defenders of Lucilius showed by their perverse judgment that they had begun to give attention to letters late. 'Estis' is omitted. 'Studiorum' is a Greek genitive (Virg. Aen. V. 73-'aevi maturus'). 'Serus' with the genitive is an innovation of Horace's according to Lejay.

21. quine: There has been a great deal of controversy over this word. Wickham says that 'qui' is the nominative plural of the relative and that the interrogative tone, added by 'ne' gives a rhetorical emphasis ('what? when you think etc') Palmer seems to think that 'quine' is stronger than 'qui' by itself and that though the interrogative force is latent, it is still present. Priscian regards 'ne' here as an affirmative particle. Keller thinks 'quine' is a fuller form of 'quin' and would translate with Ritter, 'How could you then think?'

Currie describes it as the use of the double interrogative as 'Uterne (Sat.II.2.107) and 'Quone' (Sat.II.3.295). Bentley thinks 'ne' is the interrogative. Hirshfelder says that it is a contraction from 'putatisne'? and 'qui putetis'. Kiessling says that in 'quine', the particle 'ne' has unusual value, truly as in 'festivom caput, quin (=quine) omnia, sibi post putarit esse prae meo commodo'(Ter. ad.262.). Professor Greenough suggests 'qui' may be indefinite in which case it would mean, 'O you blockheads! can you have any idea, etc?' But this does not happen elsewhere in literature. Schütz thinks that 'ne' really has nothing to do with the 'qui' clause, but that it is felt with 'seri studiorum', and that the passage means, 'Are you blockheads, since you think, etc?' But in the passages which Schütz cites to defend his view, there is none in which there is anything to correspond to the 'O' here. Elmer does not agree with any of these views(El.p.XX-XXII). He says that 'ne' is clearly interrogative. 'Qui' cannot be explained in connection with it as a relative without forming anomalies for which there are no parallels. It must be, therefore the interrogative adverb here used in the sense of 'why'. Horace and writers after him not infrequently append 'ne' to words already interrogative, as 'uterne' and 'quone' mentioned above. The 'ne' is not appended to intensify the interrogative, because there is no such thing as an intensified interrogation, but it is appended to interrogative words only when those words are such as frequently have also

'non'-interrogative meanings. It is never appended to words like 'cur', that are always understood as soon as uttered. 'Ne' is appended merely to avoid ambiguity - to show that in the particular instance in hand, the interrogative use is intended. Supposing that this theory is correct 'quine' becomes intelligible: 'qui putetis' would have been in danger of being mistaken for a causal relative clause. The 'ne' is accordingly appended to indicate at the outset that we have the interrogative adverb. By 'qui' being the interrogative adverb, then, the passage would be translated, "O you blockheads! Why do you think, etc?" As 'cur' could not meet the metrical requirements 'quine' is used instead, the 'ne' showing that 'qui' is not the relative. Exact parallels are found in Od. 3. l. 46; Od. 3. l. 47; Sat. 1. l. 53; Sat. I. 4. 70; Sat. 2. l. 41; A. P. 450. In spite of this explanation, however, it seems that Horace meant to bring in a causal idea, after all and that 'qui' and 'ne' (as Orelli, Kiessling, and others think) in some way make the clause at one and the same time both causal and interrogative and that the passage means, "O you pedants, who (i.e. since you) think --and can it be that you think, etc?"

22. Pitholeonti: Probably the same as Pitholaus mentioned by Suetonius (Jul. 75) as a poetical libeller of Julius Caesar, and the same person who is called M. Otacilius Pitholaus by Macrobius (Saturn. 2. 2. 13.). This would make him to have been the slave of one Otacilius, whose name he prefixed to his own on manumission. He was probably a Rhodian by birth.

He was a comparatively unknown writer of epigrams and from the context, we know that he used Greek words in his verses and yet was so poor a poet that the mere mention of his name is an argument against the use of foreign words. Cf. the similar condensed argument in v. 6. Acon says of him, 'Dicitur Pitholeon Epigrammata ridicule scripsisse, in quibus Graeca verba mixta erant cum Latinis'. The form Pitholaus was not suited to the hexameter; hence Horace changed the form. So also 'Timoleon' stands for 'Timolaus' or 'Timoleos'. The slight modification of the name of Pitholaus also afforded a decent cloak for rather sharp personal illusion, and yielded at the same time a more distinctive Greek form suitable to the argument.

23. concinus: 'happily blended'. For 'concinatus'. Acon suggests, 'conpositus', 'coniunctus'. In our ignorance of the etymology of this word it is impossible to say whether any metaphor is felt. Nonius Marcellus (a grammarian of unknown date) derives it from 'cinnus', the name of a drink, like the Homeric $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\omega\nu$, of meal and wine. If this was believed in Horace's time it would suit the similitude of the following verse.

utraque: with 'lingua'. The usual phrase for Greek and Latin, barbarous tongues being ignored.

24. Chio --- Falerni: The two wines are often spoken of among the poets as mixed together. Tib. 2.1.27: 'Nunc mihi fumosos veteris proferte Falernos Consulis et Chio solvite

vincla cado.' The Chian (a Greek wine from Ariūsia, in the north of Chios) was sweet; the Falernian (Italian) was dry ('austerum'). The other best Greek wines were Lesbian and Thasian. The Falernian was a fiery kind and as Cicero said, jokingly, 'bore its age uncommonly well' (Macrob. Sat. 2.3.3.). Horace calls it 'forte' (Sat. 2. 4. 24), 'ardens' (Od. 2. 11. 19); 'severum' (Od. 1. 27. 9). The two wines were best when mixed, but it does not follow from this that things essentially different would be so. In this passage the Chian, the sweet wine would represent the Greek as the rougher wine of Campania would stand for the less polished Latin. Horace says this ironically.

nota: 'brand' or 'label', the mark attached to the amphora on which was the name of the wine and of the consul in whose year it was bottled. Sometimes the amphora itself was branded.

25-30 Cum versus ---- bilinguis: Some editors alter the text in this passage, some would transpose lines, and others would alter single words. Poppendieck considers 'bilinguis' accusative plural (agreeing with 'Pediū atque Corvinus', instead of Canūgini, and thus being the accusative subject of 'intermiscere') and not genitive singular as all the other editors do. Some have the reading 'Latini' and say it refers to Latinus, the father-in-law of Aeneas and used here as the ancestor of all Latin speaking people. Others think 'Latini' is just the adjective and corresponds to 'Romani'. Bentley would change 'oblitus' to 'oblitos' which would

agree with 'eos', to be supplied as subject of 'intermiscere' and to refer to Pedius' and 'Publicola'. But it seems that there is more point to the passage if we take 'bilinguis' as genitive singular with 'Canusini' and use the reading 'oblitus' (agreeing with 'tu' the subject of 'malis') and 'Latine' an adverb going with 'exsudet' (although the manuscript authority for 'Latini' is better), and the passage would mean, 'you say that the language is more elegant if it be set off with Greek. But I ask you yourself ('te ipsu^mpercontor') is it only when you are writing poetry; or supposing that you had a hard or difficult case such as that of Petillius, would you then likewise, forgetting your country and father, while our great orators Pedius and Messalla are elaborating their speeches in Latin (their pure mother tongue) - would you, I say, prefer mixing up a foreign jargon with your native language, like a double-tongued Canusian?' The supposition would be absurd to a Roman. Horace says that just as a lawyer in an earnest case does not mix Latin and Greek, so a poet taking his work seriously will not play around with foreign words. Horace puts the composition of verses on such themes as Lucilius chose, on a par with the gravity of forensic speaking and asks the defender of Lucilius why if he would not apply the rule to the latter, he should do so to the former. It might be all right to do this in sportive poems.

26. facias: subjunctive because the omitted main clause would be subjunctive - 'num sermo---suavior sit.'

te ipsum percontor: 'I press the question home to yourself'
 'give me your own experience,' or 'I put the question to
 your inmost soul and best judgment.'

26. Dura: 'hard', difficult to defend. As Terent. Phorm.
 (II 1.8 sq.). "Verum scientem, tacitum causam tradere ad-
 versarius, Etiamne id lex cogit?' Phaed. 'Illud durum'.
 Get. 'ego expediam'".

causa Petillii: Petillius Capitolinus was accused of pecu-
 nation, tried and acquitted, although the evidence was strong
 against him. (probably through the corruption of the jury).
 This is all that is known for certain. What Comm. Cruq. adds
 to this is probably not true. He says that Petillius 'cum
 Capitolie praesesset' was accused of stealing the crown of
 Jupiter Capitolinus and was acquitted 'in gratiam Augusti'.
 The first part of this statement is just an unnecessary at-
 tempt to account for the name Capitolinus. 'Capitolinus',
 however, was a cognomen of the Petillia gens.
 Petillii Capitolini are known from coins. As to stealing
 the crown of Jupiter Capitolinus, that was a proverbial
 expression for great and daring villainy, which the scholiast
 seems to have confused with this passage: Plaut. Trin. 1.2.
 46.

'Nam nunc ego si te surrupuisse suspicer

Jovi coronam de capite ex Capitolio'

and Plaut. Men. 5. 5. 38.

'At ego te sacram coronam surrupuisse Jovi scio.

The 'causa Petilli' was a 'cause célèbre' in Horace's time not elsewhere mentioned. It is used here to stand for a case where there is much at stake and where the defense is difficult and almost hopeless.

27. Latine: see 25-30 above.

28. Pedius---Publicola atque Corvinus: Corvinus is the M. Valerius Publicola Messalla Corvinus (64 B.C.-9 A.D.) of Ode 3.21.7, Sat.I. 6.42, A.P. 371 ('diserti Messallae') and of v.85 of this satire. He was once distinguished in the political and literary world. He had belonged to the senatorian party and turned Octavius's flank in the first day's fighting at Philippi. Later he joined Octavius against Antony and commanded the center of his fleet at Actium. After the settlement, he retired from active life and devoted himself to oratory and literature. He was a great friend and patron of Tibullus. The Scholiasts tell us that he was a purist. Quintilian describes Messalla (X.1.113) as 'orator nitidus et candidus et quodammodo prae se ferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam'. His intimacy with Horace began in Brutus's army and remained unbroken till Horace's death. It is uncertain who Pedius was. The Scholiasts say that he and Corvinus were brothers (this may be due to v.85. 'te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre', where they annotate, 'sc. Publicola'). That the two families were connected is known from Pliny N.H.35.7) who writes that Q.Pedius, the nephew of C.Julius Caesar was married into the family of Messalla. Their grandson was a deaf-mute who by Messalla's advice was taught the art of painting. This is all that is known. It has been

conjectured that Q. Pedius the younger, the father of the deaf-mute adopted his cousin's son, a brother of Messalla the orator who therefore became 'Pedius'.

Both Corvinus and Pedius had the cognomen of Publicola, but most editors take Publicola here with Pedius. The additional name is intended to recall the pure Roman descent to which he was true (as was Corvinus) in his native Roman speech. Horace uses their names here as a type of great lawyers. The 'Cum Pedius --- Corvinus' clause is in opposition to 'Cum versus facias.'

causas exsudet: Pedius and Corvinus sweat much, that is, spend much work in getting ready and pleading cases in Latin. 'Exsudare causas Latine' has been rightly explained in Cod. Bland, antiquissimo, 'cum sudore et omni instantia Latine recitet, Latine proferat'. Horace charges his opponent with dragging in a Greek word when he is at a loss for a Latin word, while Messalla perspires ('exsudet') to find the proper idiom. In 'exsudet' is shown the difficulty of expressing everything in Latin. Many things were expressed more easily in Greek. Peerlkamp remarks that our lawyers once laboured over the same vice, speaking half Latin and half-French, and so they were 'trilingues', not 'bilingues.'

29. intermiscere: 'to thrust in among'. This is the proper meaning of 'intermiscere' with the dative; cf. Verg. Ecl. 10,5, 'sic tibi --- Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam.'

30. foris: 'from abroad,' i.e. from Greece.

Canusini --- bilinguis: Canusium was in Apulia, near the south side of the Aufidus, fourteen miles from its mouth. In the immediate neighborhood was the field of Cannae. It (Canusium) had been founded in olden times by the brave Diomedes after his return from the Trojan war. The inhabitants had a population partly Greek, and partly Oscan and spoke both languages, probably neither being spoken in its purity. The Oscan gave way before the Latin. The Scholiast tells us that both Ennius and Lucilius had given the title 'bilingues' to the 'Bruttates' or Bruttii' doubtless in the same sense, as speaking Greek as well as the native Italian dialect. Currie suggests that the secondary meaning of 'bilinguis', like that of its English equivalent is 'deceitful', but this meaning is not necessary here.

31. Atque ego: 'I too (once thought of making Greek verses, but Quirinus forbade it).' 'Atque' (as most of the codices have) is right here instead of 'Atqui', since the adversative idea is not present. The poet merely adds his own example like the rest. Lachmann ad Lucr. III.415: "'atqui' ante vocales posuerunt Plautus ac Terentius, non Horatius in sermonum I. 10.31."

natus mare citra: 'born on this side of the water,' i.e. in Italy, not in Greece. 'Mare citra' is an anastrophe for 'citra mare'. 'Citra' is very seldom placed after its noun.

32. Versiculos: probably epigrammatic attempts, similar to those of other dilettants preserved in anthology (Kk.).

vetuit me: 'forbade me (to do so)', i.e. to write Greek verses. Horace probably refers here to the period when he was pursuing his studies at Athens. Quirinus forbade him because there were already very many Greek poets. Greek had been so familiar to Horace in his youth that he dared attempt to write Greek poetry.

Quirinus: the deified Romulus, as head of the Roman race, the father of the Romans. Romulus is selected here, because he would naturally be more interested than any other deity, in obliging his descendants not to cultivate any language in preference to their own.

33. cum somnia vera: This superstition is often referred to. Ov. Her. 19.195, 'sub aurora, iam dormitante lucerna, somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent,' Porph. 'ferunt autem post tunc etiam mens et a potu et a cibo purior est.' Professor Shorey recalls Tennyson's line in 'Morte d'Arthur':

'Till on to dawn, when dreams

Begin to feel the truth and stir of day.'

34. in silvam --- ligna: proverbial, like our 'coals to Newcastle'. It denotes a useless and superfluous effort.

ac si: 'than if'.

35. Graecorum: = The Greeks had given an endless quantity of

poetry up to Horace's time.

inplere: = 'augere'. Cp. Vergil Aen. VI.545.

- 36 ff. The mention of those early discarded attempts leads naturally to the notice of the style of composition that was actually adopted - satire- and the reasons for doing so.
36. Turgidus Alpinus: M. Furius Bibaculus (104 B.C.) a poet of the previous generation whom Quintilian (10.1.96) classes with Catullus and Horace as a writer of 'iambi', and whom Tacitus (Ann. 4.34) puts with Catullus as one whose writings, 'referta contumeliis Caesarum,' were still read. 'Gallum' is probably a misunderstanding of 'Alpinus' (Acron had a note referring to him as 'poetam Gallum'), as it would hardly be used as his birth place in Cisalpine Gaul, Cremona. The nickname 'Alpinus,' poet of the Alps, is due to his verse parodied in Sat. 2.5.41, 'Jupiter hibernas cana nive conspuat Alpes' or possibly to fuller descriptions in the same vein of Alpine scenes (as the 'Rheni caput') occurring in the poem on the Gaulish wars ('pragmatia belli Gallici') which Acron attributes to him. Cruquius infers that Horace here refers to C. Cornelius Gallus, the intimate friend of all of Horace's friends and of Vergil in particular (Ecl. X). But this is improbable. Lambinus thinks A. Cornelius Alpinus is meant here, but the general opinion is the one first mentioned here. 'Turgidus' may be translated 'bombastic', not 'corpulent' as Krüger desires. The word is used here because of Furius's style (grand).

iugulat --- Memnona: i.e. writes of Achilles slaying Memnon. Some writers have thought that this expression and 'Defingit Rheni luteum caput' are from an epic 'Aethiopsis' or a tragedy by the name of 'Memnon.' But probably they are both from the epic on the Gallic War as it is more certain that Furius wrote this than 'Memnon' or 'Aethiopsis' (it was a translation of this that he was supposed to have made from the Aethiopsis of Arctinus, the cyclic poet). Furius describes the wars of Memnon and does it badly and thus Horace says, 'iugulat', as if in his bad poems, he kills Memnon himself. This as well as 'Defingit Rheni luteum caput' refers satirically to his Latinity.

37. Defingit luteum caput: 'disfigures the head of the Rhine with mud'. 'Defingere' is a rare word, perhaps one used, as is suggested, of rough, offhand workmanship. Probably the point lies in Bibaculus having used the epithet 'luteum' of the source of the Rhine which word would be prosaic and out of place in an epic. It would appear that Horace means to insinuate that the mud was in the poet's imagination. It is not certain whether the mouth or source is meant by 'caput.' Probably the mouth is meant, as the sources of rivers are not muddy. Bibaculus, however, could have made this one muddy (as it were) by his bad description of it. Some think (not very probable, however) that the figure of the Rhine carried in a triumphal procession, is meant. Horace refers here to the work of the poet as he does in 'iugulat -- Memnona.' Most editors give the reading 'Defingit' which seems

better than 'diffingit' or others mentioned in the critical apparatus.

haec: refers to Satires in opposition to tragedies, comedies, and epics.

ludo: 'I am toying with'.

38. in aede sonent: This cannot refer to the temple of Apollo Palatinus, which contained figures of the Muses, because it was not opened till 28 B.C. The only known temple of the Muses before this time was 'the temple of 'Herculis Musarum' built by M. Fabius Nobilior, the friend of Ennius in B.C. 187 and restored by L. Marcius Philippus, the step-father of Augustus and then called 'Porticus Phillipi.' Pliny (N.H. 34.10) tells of Accius the poet having put a statue larger than life, of himself in 'Camenarum aede', which may be a loose designation of this one. In the time of Livius Andronicus the temple of Minerva was assigned for meetings of the 'collegium poetarum'. These may probably have been transferred to a temple of the Muses or Camenae. At any rate here it is a temple in which Sp. Maecius Tarpa, perhaps as public censor of plays and as head of the 'collegium poetarum' passed judgment on new poetry. One of the most striking features of literary life at Rome was the custom of public recitations. Among the Greeks Heroditus was said to have read his histories in public, and somewhat similar stories are told of the epic poet Antimachus and others. At Rome Asinius Pollio was the first who recited his own writings

publicly in 39 B.C. Such recitations, sometimes in private, but usually in public, became very common, being practiced by Vergil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial, Juvenal - in fact by all the poets of the time. The purpose was to secure the criticism of friends, and to gain for any composition an introduction to the literary world. The general custom survives at the present day, 'Sonent' s 'resound', as the poets read aloud their verses.

certantia: 'contending for favour'. Horace means that his words do not await a foreign judge but that he satisfied himself.

Tarpa: Sp. Maecius Tarpa, the same as the Maecius of A.P. 387 and the critic named in Cic. Fam. 7.1.1. as having been in some way made responsible for the plays to be performed in Pompey's theatre in B.C. 55. He was appointed as public licenser of plays by Pompey in 55 B.C. According to Comm. Cruq. he was again appointed to this office by Octavius with four others. This had previously formed part of the functions of the aediles, but when political allusions became common and the position of affairs too critical to bear them, this special censorship was created. Kiessling suggests that he may have been 'magister collegii' (Poetarum). Horace's fling at the 'Collegium Poetarum', and its chief critic Tarpa, should be connected with the fact that Pompey had chosen Tarpa to select and stage the official plays during his consulship. Apparently Pompey had been the patron of the 'Collegium' which Horace scorns. Of the men criticised in this satire (I.10) Pitholaus the Rhodian had written an

eulogy of Pompey and lampooned Caesar; Fannius had sent his portrait to the poet's club, had ridiculed Augustus as well as Caesar; Valerius Cato - 'qui solus legit et facit poetas' - seems to have had a high position in the 'Collegium Poetarum', and Lucilius, the chief theme of the satire, was of course a favorite of Pompey's circle because of his close kinship.

39. theatris: ablative of place. 'Spectanda theatris' - 'to be represented on the stage.'

40 ff. Other fields were already occupied, but satire was open to Horace. He now mentions from among his contemporaries and friends the four masters in four distinct departments of literature; Fundanius in comedy, Pollio in tragedy, Varius in epic, and Vergil in bucolic poetry.

40. Arguta: 'tricky,' 'sly'. So. Epp. 1.14.42 'calo argutus' of the slave whose wits are sharpened by town life.

Davoque Chremeta: 'and a Davus cheating old Chremes'. Davus is the name of a crafty slave and Chremes that of a covetous old man in the *Andria* of Terence (who founded most of his plays on those of Menander). The commonest plot in Terence is one in which a young man's confidential slave (Davus) with the help of his mistress (meretrix) deceives the father (Chremeta senem). These names are used here as types of the characters introduced by Fundanius in his comedies. The ablatives go with 'eludente'

of which 'Chremeta' is the object.

41. comis: Some editors take this as nominative singular agreeing with Fundanius and translate it like an adverb ('comiter' or 'facete'). Others think it is accusative plural going with 'libellos.' It may be as Kirkland suggests a paraphrase for and at the same time possibly a play on 'comœdias'. It seems that 'comis' is always used of persons or of personal qualities. In that case it would have to be nominative singular.

garrere libellos: 'to rattle off witty (lit. 'little books') comedies'. 'Garrere,' is used of the 'sermo quotidianus' of comedy as opposed to the more elevated tone of tragedy. Peerlkamp thinks 'libellos' is 'labello' used for 'labro' (lip). He says that Eloquence, as Suada lives or sits in the mouth and lips of the speaker. Juvenal seems to use 'labellum' for 'labrum' when he says, 'digito compece labellum'. Horkelius would change 'potes' to 'places' and 'libellos' to 'popello' (the crowd) and would read the passage 'You, Fundanius, pleasant to rattle off, please the crowd, etc.' The first suggestion for a translation is best.

42. Fundani: Of Fundanius we know nothing more than what Horace tells us: he is the narrator of Nasidienus' banquet (Sat. II.8). Horace says that he was the only one of the day who could write a comedy in the style of Men-

ander and that school. Although he was the most outstanding comic poet then, not even one verse of his works survives. He must have read aloud his works to his friends. He was probably a wit and a man of sharp sight. 'Fundani' is in the vocative case here.

Pollio: C. Asinius Pollio (75 B.C. - 5 A.D.), the friend and supporter of Julius Caesar, having been a consul in 40 B.C. (Virg. E.4.) and won the honors of a triumph for his campaign against the Illyrians (Virg. E 8.6-13) withdrew from public life, and in the subsequent struggle between Antony and Octavius remained honourably neutral. He was a great patron of literature and is famous for having established the first public library at Rome in 39 B.C. out of the spoils of his Illyrian campaign. He was also one of the most accomplished men of the age. Catullus (12.9) speaks of him in his youth as 'leporum Disertus puer et facetiarum'. He is ranked among the great orators by Quintilian (10.1.113), Seneca (Epist. 100), and Tacitus (De Or. 38). His tragedies are highly spoken of by Vergil (E.8.10. 'sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno') and Horace (in this satire). His history of the Civil wars (in which he took an active part for eleven years) from 60 B.C. to the establishment of Augustus's power, is referred to by Tacitus (Ann.4.34) and Suetonius (Jul. Caus. 30.). Vergil dedicated the fourth Eclogue to him and Horace addressed to him one of his finest odes (Carm 2.1.). He instituted the practice of public re-

citations in Rome. His writings are all lost.

regum: the kings obviously of mythology - Pirithous, Theseus, Bellerophon.

43. Fata: Although 'facta' here has better authority, it seems that the reading 'fata' is preferable, since it was not the exploits of kings which Pollio told in his tragedies, but 'sad stories of the death of kings'. The scribe may have been thinking of epic poetry when he wrote 'facta', as 'facta' of kings are sung in epic poetry, and 'fata' in tragic. Tragic poetry thus joined with epic poetry (in v.42 and 43) demands a distinction. Horace had never said, 'Pollio canit facta regum in carmine tragico, Varius in epico'. 'Facta' belongs to epic - Horat. Epist. ad Pisones 73, 'Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella Quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus'. No one would say, 'res gestas regumque ducumque quo scribi possent numero monstravit Aeschylus' but 'quo numero fata regumque ducumque, tristia fata, scribi possent, monstravit Aeschylus et Sophocles'. The two words are very often confused.

pede ter percusso: 'In meter thrice accented'. It refers to iambic trimeter verse, the ordinary verse of tragedy, in which the ictus occurs thrice (on the first, third, and fifth feet). 'Pede' is here 'meter' and Horace probably

does not refer to the beat of the musicians foot accompanying the meter as Orelli and Dillenburger think. 'Ferire has this meaning in Diomed. Gramm. p 504.5 (Keil): 'feritur senarius Iambicus combinatis pedibus ter' (quoted by Heindorf) and elsewhere.

forte: 'Manly', 'forceful'. The adjectives 'forte' and 'acer' express the same quality from two sides, the 'power' of epic poetry and the 'lofty spirit' of the epic writer.

44. ut nemo: after 'nemo' understand 'ducit'. No one is better than he (Varius). Wickham translates 'acer ut nemo', 'with a fire all his own', and Hirshfelder suggests 'fervidus' as a synonym for 'acer'.

Varius: L. Rufus Varius (74?-14 B.C.), who with M. Plotius Tucca revised and edited the Aeneid after Vergil's death. He was considered as the epic poet of Rome until Vergil's epic appeared. He wrote a tragedy, 'Thyestes' on which Quintilian said, 'cuilibet Graecorum comparari potest'. The Scholiasts (on Epp. 1.16. 27) say that he wrote a panegyric on Augustus (Porphyrio calls it 'notissimum panegyricum'). He was one of ²Mecenas's friends (Sat. I.5) and on intimate terms with Horace. Vergil and he introduced Horace to Maecenas. From Sat. I.5. 93 we suppose that he was popular with his contemporaries and admired by them - 'Fluentibus hic Varius discedit maestus amicis'. Augustus had an affection for him as we know from Epp. II. 1.245.

'At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque

Munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt

Dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae.'

on which passage Comm. Cruq. informs us that Augustus had made a present to each of these poets of a million sesterces. This is confirmed by the Parisian Codex referred to in his life in the Dict. Myth. which says Varius received this sum for his 'Thyestes'. Macrobius cites twelve hexameters from an epic poem of Varius entitled 'de morte'. From Horace's placing Varius at the head of the Roman Epic writers, it is evident that the Aeneid had not yet appeared. Also see the note on 'molle atque facetum' on this point. This is the same Varius as in v. 81.

ducit: 'shapes', 'fashions', 'draws out', 'spins out'.

Wickham thinks that the use of 'ducere' here is analogous to its use in connection with architecture (Od. 4.6.23), molding brass (Epp. 2.1.240), or marble (Virg. Aen. 6, 848).

Most editors connect it with 'deducere', 'to spin'. Sat.

II. 1.4: 'Mille die versus deduci posse'. Ov. Trist. 1.11.17:

'tamen ipse trementi carmina ducebam qualiacumque manu'.

The three verbs 'garrere', 'canit', and 'ducit' are carefully selected here, used in connection with comedia, tragoedia, and 'epicum carmen' respectively.

molle atque facetum: The interpretation of these words

has puzzled most editors, as we see from the following translations: 'tenderness and playfulness', 'tenderness and elegance,' 'gentleness and elegance' 'tenderness and

gracefulness'. Even Quintilian found the phrase baffling. He thought it meant 'grace and refined elegance, ' as we understand from these lines: 'Facetum quoque non tantum circum ridiculum opinor consistere. Neque hinc diceret facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Vergilio. Decoris hanc magis et exultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto'. It seemed strange to Quintilian that the word 'facetum' could be applied to the great author of the stately Aeneid, but it must be remembered that at this time Vergil had not written the Aeneid. Harper's lexicon in quoting this passage from Horace, suggests 'elegant' or 'fine' as a translation. Palmer thinks the phrase means 'tenderness and playfulness' and refers to the Bucolics (to which the epithet 'molle' might be well applied), and to his earlier minor works - the 'Culex', 'Copa', 'Priapeia', and 'Epigrammata' - some of which were playful and erotic. It is to these compositions that Horace refers by the word 'facetum', and there are a few examples of the 'facetum' in the Bucolics also. The Georgics probably had not been published yet, although this is not absolutely certain since both the date of this satire and the publication of these poems is uncertain. Carl Newell Jackson (Harvard Studies Vol. 25) thinks that these terms are rhetorical and relate to certain stylistic qualities in the bucolic poetry of Vergil. He says that both terms allude to the 'genus tenue' or plain style in which the Eclogues were written. This seems probable, since Horace implies here a distinction between the simple pastoral poetry of Vergil and the epic of Varius

which Horace terms 'forte'.

45. aduerunt: the 'e' is short. cf. Epod. 9.17 'vertērunť' and Epp. 1.4.7 'dederunt'. This is an imitation of similar forms in the older poets, and shows the original quantity. No satisfactory explanation has been found for the universal lengthening of the penults in these forms.

rure: refers to Vergil's *Bucolics*.

46. Hoc: satire. Repeats the 'haec' of V.37.

erat: Satire was the only branch of literature left for one to take up. Horace says he had nothing which he could write more ably or better than Satire, a kind which Varro Atacinus and others had tried in vain.

Varrone Atacino: P. Terentius Varro (82 B.C. - 37 B.C.) called 'Atacinus' from his birthplace on the river Atax (Aude) in Gallia Narbonensis. His satires of which he is supposed to have written four books in the style of Lucilius are not mentioned elsewhere. Quintilian's mention of him (10.1.87) recognizes the fact that some of his poems did not merit immortality, 'in iis per quae nomen est assecutus, interpretis operis alieni', with reference no doubt to his 'Argonautica' (a translation of the 'Argonautica' of Appolonius Rhodius) a poem frequently referred to by later poets (as Ov. Fast. 2.439). He was seventeen years senior to Horace. He is not to be confounded with his namesake, the famous M. Terentius Varro Reatinus (born 116 B.C.), among whose numerous writings

were the so-called Menippean Satires, a medley of verse and prose. Varro Atacinus wrote a geographical work, called 'Chorographia', following Alexander of Ephesus; also an epic called 'Bellum Sequanicum, an Elegy on Leucadia, and an Ephemeris in imitation of Aratus. He wrote in several styles without marked success in any.

47. quibusdam aliis: if it were not for this reference we should not have known that Varro had written Satires; it is not surprising that there were other writers whose names are not preserved. On the other hand, we have the names of other writers of satire in the Augustan period, but no knowledge of their writings. Porphyryon says that Horace here refers to Ennius and Pacuvius, but this is very improbable because satire did not acquire its distinctive character until Lucilius; the 'saturae' of Ennius and Pacuvius were general, miscellaneous writings. More probably Horace alludes to L. Albucius (of whom Varro, R.R.3.2.17, says 'homo apprime doctus, cuius Luciliano caractere sunt libelli'), Sevius Nicanor (mentioned as a writer of Satire by Suet. Gram. 5.), Lenaeus (a freedman of Cn. Pompey who bitterly attacked the historian Sallust), T. Quintus Atta, and probably M. Terentius Varro Reatinus, who besides the Menippean wrote four books of satires of the Lucilian kind. The phrase depends upon 'melius' here.

48. inventore minor: Lucilius is meant here. There is a concessive idea - 'even though I fall short of Lucilius'. It was an accepted doctrine of literary history that Lucilius

was the inventor of satire, i.e. was the first to put it into hexameter and give it the distinct form which it thereafter retained (even though he was dependent on the Old Comedy as Horace says). The thought of verses 48-49 is connected, with the preceding, 'hoc erat -- possem,' as if it were a natural consequence of his choice of satire. If it had been put into a separate sentence, it would have been strongly adversative, 'but I do not claim to be his equal nor desire to lessen his credit'. Cf. Sat. II.1.29, 'me pedibus delectat claudere, verba Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque'. Also Sat. II.1.62, 'quid, cum est Lucilius ausus Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem?'. And Sat. II.1.74 - 'Quidquid sum ego, quamvis Infra Lucili sensum ingeniumque tamen, etc.'

illi: Omitted in $\vee \lambda u$. The monks of the early middle ages scanned the verse after the omission of 'illi' as follows: 'Inventore minor neque ego (illi) detrahere ausim'. They did not understand the omission.

ausim: an old aorist form.

49. Haerentem: as though the crown would be unwilling to be removed. It was deservedly due him, so that even if Horace wished it, he could not rob him of this praise.

cum multa laude: Some editions have 'multa cum laude'.

But Sat. I. 8.50. 'Vincula cum magno risuque iocoque videres';

Sat. II. 3. 112, 'Correctus vigilet cum longo fuste'; Pliny

Epist. VII.9, 'multos videmus eiusmodi certamina sibi cum
multa laude sumisse.'

50. At dixi: repeating with emphasis 'dixi' in v.1 where he said 'cum flueret lutulentus' ('as he flowed along in a muddy stream'), Ritter writes 'dixti' on his own authority and defends it thus: 'per totam eclogam adversus Horatium pugnat interlocutor'. He adds truly, 'at in Satiris ponit Horatius, quotiens aut adversarium inducit aut ipse quae opposita sunt refutare aggreditur, non ubi ad novam rem ipse transitum facturus est'. But this remark contains the answer to his 'dixti', for 'At dixi' means, 'I said, as you will say, etc', and so the alteration is useless. The apparent contradiction between the praise and blame bestowed on Lucilius is explained away in the following lines, 'Criticism of others is not self-praise; why should not I do what Lucilius did for others and what he would be first to do for his own writings were he alive?'

fluere: the figure used in Sat I.4.11.

51. tollenda: 'to be done away with'. Equal to 'recidenda', 'sumenda', or 'excipienda'. Cf. Ars. Poetica (v.367), 'hoc tibi dictum Tolle memor'.

relinquendis: ablative after the comparative 'plura'.

What would be taken away would be more than what was left. The rubbish seemed often more in amount than the water which swept it along. But the figure is not very clearly

conceived.

52. doctus: 'a learned critic', 'Sir critic' (Con.), Ironical.

Horace means, 'are you not learned critic enough to pick some holes like the Alexandrines in Homer?'

53. comis: 'gracious'. Some editors think this is not ironical, but yet an epithet taken from his admirers as in v.

85. Porphyryon says, 'Comis Lucilius propter urbanitatem dicitur.' It is usually taken ironically.

tragicus: has the force of 'the true tragic poet'.

mutat: 'alter, 'censure', 'desire to change'. This is ironical, as Lucilius was noted for his sarcastic attacks on preceding poets. 'Clariorque tunc in poematis eorum (i.e. of Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, etc). obtrectandis Lucilius fuit' (Gell. 17.21.49). He criticized Accius chiefly, against whom he had a particular spite. Peerlkamp suggests that as far as we know Lucilius from the fragments and judgment of Horace, Lucilius was not at all a suitable person to 'change' Accius's works. He (Lucilius) lacked 'ingenium', 'perita', 'usus', and 'exempla'. He did not know how to take pains in writing. Those who perceive the faults in a writer do not always possess the art of correcting them. To make fun of them is very easy. Lucilius probably did this, according to Peerlkamp.

Acci: L. Accius (170-94 B.C?), the greatest of early writers of tragedy. Only fragments of his works are extant. Some forty-five titles of his tragedies have been preserved to us.

They are praised and frequently quoted by Cicero. Quintilian's judgment (10. 1.97) is 'Tragoediae scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, et auctoritate personarum..Ceterum nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus, quam ipsis defuisse'. He was a writer of tragedies chiefly from the Greek, but some are 'praetextatae'. Cicero calls him, 'gravis et ingeniosus poeta' (pro Planc. c24), and 'summus poeta' (pro Sestio c. 56). Horace speaks elsewhere (A.P. 258) of 'Acci nobilibus trimetris'. Gellius relates (XIII.2) how Accius read to Pacuvius one of his early productions (Atreus, a tragedy) and the old man said, 'sonora quidem esse quae scripsisset et grandia; sed videri ea tamen sibi duriora paullum et acerbiora'. Accius acknowledged it was so but hoped that what was hard and harsh in him would be mellowed by time. Acron says that Accius was the first to write tragedy among the Latins. Some say that the same Accius wrote comedies also and so perhaps should not be called 'tragicus'. He also wrote 'Libri Didascalion'. 'Attius' is sometimes found instead of 'Accius' as 'Maccius' for 'Mattius', but the manuscript authority is better for 'Acci' here.

54. ridet: as for example Lucilius laughed at the line of Ennius which says, 'at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit' (Servius on Aen. 9.503), and 'sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret', where Lucilius, sarcastically proposed, 'horret et alget'. (Serv. on Aen. 11.601). Perhaps 'mutare' and 'ridere' mean the same thing here. Horace says that if Lucilius could criticise Accius and En-

nus, then what forbids him from criticising him (Lucilius).

Enni: Q. Ennius (239-169 B.C.), the creator of artistic poetry at Rome, and especially famed for his Annals which gave the history of Rome from Aeneas to his own times in eighteen books. This work introduced the dactylic hexameter to the Romans.

gravitate: some editors think that this is an ablative of comparison, and construe 'Enni' with 'versus' and 'gravitate', translating the expression, 'verses of Ennius, below the dignity of Ennius. Others take it as an ablative of respect and read it, 'verses in dignity inferior' to the demands of epic poetry. The latter seems more probable.

55. Cum de --- repressis: 'Whilst he speaks of himself not as though he were greater than those (Ennius and Accius) whom he criticizes'. 'Cum' almost equals 'cum tamen'. For the 'cum' clause see Harper's Lexicon s v. E 5. a and b. The interpretation above is that of the Scholiasts and most editors. Heindorf and Doering make this a separate question understanding a second 'loquitur', 'when he speaks of himself is it not as one greater than those he criticizes?' This interpretation would be wrong because Horace is arguing that criticism of your predecessors is no proof of disrespect to them. Horace also wishes here to expose the inconsistency of the admirers of Lucilius in censuring him for what they do not blame in their favorite poet. 'Maior' should call to mind Horace's own confession 'inventore minor', v. 48.

57. Quaerere: the simplest conclusion of the argument would have been something like 'Lucilium reprehendere', but that is expanded and at the same time made milder by substituting 'quaerere' with its dependent questions.

num --- num: parallel questions, not alternative, for both are true. First, as the spirit of the man was harsh, so the form of his verse was the expression of it and lacked that smoothness of movement which a kindlier nature would have found as the vehicle of its thought. Concerning 'rerum natura', some have thought that it designates the general crudeness of the time, but there is no reason for deserting the natural significance of the words - the harsh nature of the subject matter.

illius: long 'i' (illiūs) only here in Horace: Illiūs - eleven times.

58. magis factos: 'more finished', 'more polished', 'more highly wrought', i.e. created with artistic view, not 'sponte natos', Cic. de Orat. 3.48.184, 'oratio polita ac facta quodammodo. This meaning is found only with the perfect participle of 'facere'.

59. Mollius ac: 'more smoothly than'. Though putting it in this indirect way, Horace repeats the charge of Sat. I.4. 9ff. that Lucilius's roughness was due to his rapid composition. The passage means, 'than might be expected of a man who was content with giving his lines the proper number of feet and took delight in stringing together a vast number of

them in the shortest possible time'. 'Euntis mollius' is the same figure as in v.1. The expression is used of animate things making a journey over smooth or level places. Even poems, however, have their own feet, and therefore they are rightly said, 'ire' and 'currere'. Thus Martial (XI.90.1), 'carmina nulla probas, molli quae tramite currunt, Sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt.' Orelli limits this use of 'ac' after words of comparison to the poets: but it is also used in prose, as Cic. ad Att. XIII.2, 'Diutius abfuturus ac vellem'. See Keys L. G. S 1439.

pedibus --- senis: Cf. Sat. 2. 1.28 'pedibus verba claudere'; and Sat.1.4.40 'concludere versum'. This refers to the hexameter, although Horace does not use this word; he also expresses elegiac measure as 'versus impariter iuncti', (A.P. 75). 'Pedibus --- senis' explains 'hoc', 'contented merely with this, that is to say, comprising something (that he calls a verse, for there is contempt in 'quid') in six feet'. Bentley puts 'hoc tantum' in parentheses but this is not necessary. 'Claudere' is dependent upon 'contentus'. 'At', which is the reading of the old editions and of Lambinus, and 'an', the conjecture of Dacier and Doering are bad substitutes for 'ac'.

60. scripsisse: depends on 'amet'. Used for 'scribere' perhaps to suit the metre. Or it may be the completion of the task which delights him.

ducentos: used for an indefinitely large number, which was usually expressed by 'sescenti' (Cic. Sest. 19), sometimes

by 'trecenti', and rarely by 'ducenti' and 'quingenti'. This reference is to Sat. I. 4.9. 'in hora saepe ducentos, Ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno.'

61. Etrusci Cassi: not Cassius Parmensis as the Scholiasts and many editors have thought. In the first place Parma was not an Etrurian town, but belonged to the Boii in Cisalpine Gaul; secondly, Cassius Parmensis was alive at the time this satire was written; and thirdly, Horace speaks highly of Cassius Parmensis in Ep. 1. 4. 3. Nor is it Cassius Severus in Epode 6 whose books were burned with his body by order of the senate. At any rate Cassius Etruscus wrote so much bad poetry that it was said his manuscripts and their cases served for fuel for his funeral pile, or his books and cases ('capsis') were sufficient for his funeral pile. (We read that papyrus was generally used for the filling of funeral pyres, as in Mart. VIII. 44.14 - 'fartus papyro dum tibi torus crescit.') Horace means here that the verses of Lucilius are so ill made and have so rough a movement that his aim would seem to have been only to put together, somehow or other, hexameters in quantity, with the result that it would have furnished fuel for his funeral pyre, as is the story of Cassius Etruscus.

63. capsis: the 'capsa' was a round box suited to hold one or more rolled volumes. The larger sort was called 'scrinium'.

64. Ambustum: generally 'scorched', but here is equal to 'combustum'. Cf. Carm. 4.11.25; also Tac. Hist. 5.12, 'magna'

vis frumenti ambusta'. Perhaps Horace chose the milder word on purpose that he might not exaggerate it too much.

Fuerit: 'Let it be granted that he was,' 'suppose that he was'. In designating Lucilius as 'comis et urbanus', Horace makes a concession contrary to his own belief and feeling for the sake of adding cumulative force to his argument. 'Illius dura natura' is balanced in the concessive form by 'comis et urbanus', while 'rerum dura natura' as an explanation of the crude form of Lucilius, is offset by 'limatior quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor.' These two concessive clauses comprehend the spirit and form of Lucilius.

65. Comis: same as in v.53. This quality as well as that of 'urbanus' are admitted with reserve, having already been denied by implication (v.13) in order to show that they would not disprove Horace's criticism.

urbanus: joined with 'comis' in Sat. 1.4.90. It seems to imply some refinement in the humour. 'Urbanus' and 'urbanitas' were often used in this sense after Cicero.

limatior: he may also have been 'more polished' (lit. 'more filed'). From 'lima' (a file).

66. Quam rudis --- auctor: 'Than was to have been expected of a pioneer in a form of poetry as yet unhewn (rudis) by the hands of Greek predecessors. There has been a great deal of doubt as to whether 'carminis' refers to 'satire' or not and to whom 'auctor' refers. Casaubon altered 'rudis et' to 'Rudius' so that the line definitely described Ennius.

Other editors also have thought that it refers to Ennius. Doderlin thinks that the 'auctor' is he who first wrote Fescennine verses. Lenaeus (the freedman of Pompey) or Livius Andronicus have been suggested also. There is no reason why it cannot refer to Lucilius (who was referred to as 'inventore' in v.48). This is criticized as grammatically impossible because Lucilius is apparently compared with himself. But Lucilius, here, strictly speaking, is not compared with himself. He is compared, rather with an imaginary 'auctor' in circumstances like his own. (G. L. H. p. 163). The criticism that has done most to displace this interpretation and to cause preference to be given widely to the reference of the words to Ennius as the 'carminis auctor', is the fact that in Sat. I.4. Horace has already said that Lucilius is a close follower of the Old Comedy, and therefore can here scarcely affirm with consistency that Lucilius in taking up satire found it 'Graecis intactum'. This objection is met by pointing out that the harshness of Lucilius's subject matter itself did not so much lie in the subject matter itself, as in the treatment of it in a metrical form not appropriate to its nature. In relation to the hexameter, the 'res' were as yet rough and unhewn, for the practice of Greek predecessors had not pointed the way to the successful employment of this verse for the familiar matter of satire. The reference, it is clear, is to form and not to content and the passage therefore in no way conflicts with the affirmation of Lucilius's dependence on the Old Comedy, a dependence which is expressly stated to have been one of spirit

and not of form ('mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque'). And 'limatior' is clearly an illusion to form. In matter and spirit, therefore, Lucilius drew from the Old Comedy, but in form he was independent of Greek models. (It was later found out that the form of Roman satire, that is, hexameter, was derived from Rhinthon, but in Horace, Lucilius was the pioneer in satire in the matter of form.)

67. Quamque --- turba: 'and than the host of older poets was,' such as Livius Andronicus, Cneius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Plautus, Caecilius Staius, etc. 'Senex' is frequently used of the early Latin writers.

ille: Lucilius.

68. dilatatus: 'postponed', i.e. if he had lived a century later. (Lucilius died in 103 B.C.). 'Dilatatus' is better suited to 'fato' than 'delapsus' or any other reading. It means 'if destiny had postponed his appearance till our time.'

69. Detereret sibi: the same metaphor as 'limatior', 'would use the file on himself freely.' Then he would have written far otherwise; his verses would be more polished, less rough; he would not have mixed in Greek and he would avoid all things which do not make for poetic perfection.

recideret: 'prune', as with the gardner's knife, cutting off the trailing vines. Or it may be a metaphor from the surgeon's knife as in 'immedicabile vulnus ense recidendum' (Ovid. Met. 1.190).

omne quod ultra: that which is in excess and therefore spoils a thing - the 'plura tollenda' of v. 51.

70. traheretur: 'dragged out', 'prolonged'.

faciendo: as 'factos' in v. 58, 'perfecting'.

71. caput scaberet: cf. Varro, 'scabens caput novo partu poetico'. The rest of the line is imitated by Pers. Sat. 1.106, speaking of composition which has caused no effort 'nec demorsos sapit unguis'. This is the sign of great care in writing. 'Scaberet' is a rare word. Lucilius himself uses this phrase.

vivos: = 'ad vivum', 'to the quick'. Cf. Pers. 5.162.

'crudum -- unguem abrodens'.

roderet unguis: thus people do who think diligently.

72. ff. From the completed argument in support of his criticism of Lucilius, Horace turns first to a general truth and then to his less worthy assailants, Hermogenes and his friends.

72. Saepe: a final vowel remains short before following 'st' (see Sat. II. 2.43 and Sat. II. 3.296); also before 'sc' (see Sat. I.5.35 and Sat. II.2. 36).

stilum vertas: 'you should frequently correct'. This expression is used of erasing the writing on the wax tablets with the 'stilus' which was sometimes made of iron, pointed at one end for writing and chisel-shaped at the other for making corrections. Cf. Cic. Verr. 2.2.41; '(Verres) vertit stilum in tabulis suis'. Ideas were put on wax tablets first

so that they could be corrected and polished and then put on the papyrus in the permanent form.

iterum; belongs to 'legi'; cf. Cicero's judgment of the poems of Livius Andronicus. 'non digna sunt quae iterum legantur' (Brut. 18,17).

73. Scripturus: with the effect of a condition: 'if you hope to write'.

neque --- lectoribus: 'and in this work seek not the applause of the many, but the praise of the few'. Cf. Milton Par. L. 7,30: 'still govern thou my song, Urania, and fit audience find though few.'

75. Vilibus in ludis: 'in petty schools', perhaps such as Flavius's, if poetry was ever taught there, or those cheap schools in the back streets mentioned in Epp. 1.20.18. Horace prophesied this fate for his books. Epp 1.20.19: 'Hoc quoque te manet ut pueros elementa docentem Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus'. This fate befell his poems too: 'Quot stabant pueri cum totus decolor esset Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni' (Juv. 7.226f). Horace did not really dread this, of course; he is merely saying in a humorous way, 'do not aim at popularity, don't try to be one of the best sellers. (E. M).

dictari: refers to the practice of the teacher reading

out a passage for the pupil to repeat after him, one of the earliest steps in education being accurate pronunciation. Also poetry to be learned was dictated by the teacher and taken down by the pupils, due to the scarcity of books.

76. equitem: the equestrian order, i.e. the educated class.

The knights occupied the first fourteen rows in the theatre next to the orchestra which was occupied by the senators according to the law of Roscius Otho, 67 B.C. 'Satis est equitem mihi plaudere' are understood to be the words of Arbuscula.

audax: 'undismayed' by the disapproval expressed by the crowd. Used in praise of Arbuscula.

77. Contemptis aliis: 'all others', an uncommon use of 'alius'

but found even in good prose. Cf. Liv. 7.19: 'vulgus aliud trucidatum'.

Arbuscula: a 'mima' or actress famous about twenty years before this satire was written. Cicero preserved her name; 'Quaeris de Arbuscula, valde placuit'. She was hissed (explosa) by the goundlings of the pit apparently on one occasion. She said, at the time, that she cared nothing for the rest of the spectators and was satisfied if she pleased the front benches (the 'equites'). So Horace says he only wishes to be read in the better sort of schools, where that class of people sends its sons. Bentley suggests that the name may be derived from 'arbuscula', 'a little tree' (Quintil. Declam. XIII, 'consitas manibus meis arbusculas:').

78 ff. Horace first mentions those about whose opinions he is indifferent (v.78-81), then those whose approbation he seeks, namely, the circle of Maecenas and the wider circle of the aristocracy of culture (v.81-87).

78. Men moveat: The construction is : 'Men moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet (illud), quod, etc'., not as Bentley wishes; 'Men moveat, quod cimex Pantilius aut (men) cruciet, quod Demetrius absentem vellicet'. The activity of Pantilius has already been expressed with 'cimex'.

cimex: 'bug', or since this is not used by us as a term of reproach, we might say, 'beast', 'louse', or 'reptile'. It was used reproachfully for a mean, insidious, disagreeable person, who would backbite his neighbor. Hirshfelder says that Horace calls this Pantilius 'cimex' from his 'putida et foeda' abuse with which he secretly pricked his adversaries as bugs are wont to prick people while sleeping. The word is coarse. Hadrian is said (Philostratus 588) to have tolerated the attacks of a slanderer calling them
 δ κ υ μ α τ α κ ο ρ ε ω ν .

Pantilius: an unknown person. Estre thinks his name is invented for its etymology, π α ν τ ι λ λ ε ι ν , in the sense of 'vellicare'. But the name has been found in Inscriptions (Corp. Inscr. Lat. IX. 5277; X. 5925) and so there is no reason why he has to be connected with the Greek words above. According to Cruquius's Scholiast, he was a worthless, offensive poet.

cruciet: the subject is 'quod vellicet'. 'Should it greatly annoy (me that)'. 'Cruciet' was changed to 'cru-cier' by some one who did not know the construction of the passage.

79. Vellicet: 'should calumniate (slander) me'.

Demetrius: same as in v. 90 and 'simius' in v. 18.

80. Fannius: mentioned in Sat. I.4.21. Not mentioned elsewhere in extant Roman literature. The Scholiasts call him 'Quadratus', which was a cognomen in the gens Fannia. He was a bad poet. His poems were hardly satires, for Horace (Sat. I.4.21) contrasts his own obscurity with Fannius's popularity, and explains it by the fear the people have of Satire. Fannius was a great card with Hermogenes Tigellius, and a frequent guest at his table, where they ran down Horace together.

Hermogenes: Hermogenes Tigellius, same as in v. 18.

81. Plotius: M. Plotius Tucca, one of Vergil's two literary executors, Varius being the other. They edited the Aeneid after Vergil's death.

Varius: L. Varius Rufus. See above on note on Plotius. He was an epic and tragic poet of note. Same as in v. 44. Mentioned by Horace more frequently than any other of his literary friends.

Maecenas: Caius Cilnius Maecenas, a Roman knight and con-

fidential minister of Augustus, chiefly celebrated as the patron of literature and learned men, particularly of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius.

82. Valgius: C. Valgius Rufus, a poet whose elegies are referred to and quoted by Servius on Verg. E. 7.22 and Aen. 11.457. The Scholiasts speak of him as a 'Consularis', and the name appears in the Consular Fasti, 12 B.C. He was a poet friend of Horace: 'amice Valgi' (Carm. 2.9.5.). Of him Tibullus says (4.1.180) 'Valgius, aeterno propior non alter Homero.' He was an epic and epigrammatic poet, and author of grammatical and rhetorical treatises. He is ranked by Horace as a critic with Plotius, Varius, Maecenas, and Vergil. Only a few fragments of his compositions remain.

Octavius: not Augustus, whom Horace always calls either Caesar or Augustus, but probably the poet and historian whose untimely death Vergil laments (Catal. 14.): 'Scripta quidem tua nos multum mirabimur et te raptum et Romanam flebimus historiam.' He is called Oct. Musa by Servius on Verg. Ed. 9.7.

optimus: with 'Fuscus'.

83. Fuscus: Aristius Fuscus, an intimate friend of Horace. Called by Acron on Epp. 1.10 'scriptor tragoediarum', by Porph. 'comoediarum', by both on Sat. 1.9.61 'grammaticorum doctissimus', but nothing is known of him from other sources.

Viscorum uterque: literary men. There is also Viscus Thurinus (again in the company of Varius) at Nasidienus's

supper, Sat. 2.8.20. Nothing is known of them besides. The Scholiasts speak doubtfully, 'optimi poetae', 'alii dicunt criticos fuisse', both conjectures from the passage of Horace. It is said that the father of the two was Vibius Visco, a rich knight and a friend of Augustus.

84. Ambitione relegata: 'without flattery'. In this sense Tacitus (Hist. 1.1.) speaks of 'ambitio scriptoris' as one of the corrupting influences in History - the interested desire to please. One of the commonest meanings of 'ambitio' is a desire to please by paying compliments: cf. Cic. Att. 15.1.2 - 'Brutus noster misit ad me orationem suam petivitque a me ut eam ne ambitiose corrigerem'. Horace puts the phrase in here because the men whose names follow were all of high rank and social standing and he was afraid he would be suspected of boasting. He wants their approbation because they are persons of judgment and taste.

85. Pollio: same as in v 42.

Messalla: M. Valerius Corvinus Messalla. Same as in v. 29.

fratre: Some say that this refers to Pedius Publicola in v 28. Others say it is Gellius Publicola, Messalla's brother by adoption. He was with Brutus and Cassius in Asia Minor; but left them before the battle of Philippi, and joined M. Antonius and commanded the right wing of his army at Actium. (Dion. Cass. 47.24). If this is the person to whom Horace alludes, his acquaintance with him began in Brutus's camp. He was consul in 36 B.C.

86. Bibule: L. Calpurnius Bibulus, youngest son of the consul M. Calpurnius Bibulus colleague of C. Julius Caesar. He was still a boy when his father died, and his mother Porcia married M. Brutus. We hear of him at Athens (and in company with Messalla, Cic. ad Att. 12.32) in 45 B.C. and subsequently at the battle of Philippi with his step-father. This will account for his friendship with Horace. After the battle of Philippi, he attached himself to Antony who appointed him commander of his fleet and often sent him on diplomatic purposes. It also seems that he wrote a memoir of M. Brutus (Plutarch, Vit. M. Bruti 13 and 23). 'Bibule' should be the reading here instead of 'Bibuli'. The corruption was due to 'vos' or 'Servi' which was mistaken for the vocative plural instead of the vocative singular as it really is. Furthermore, it would not be the plural 'Bibuli' here because the other three sons of M. Calp. Bibulus had died, it seems; and because Horace would hardly connect a plural (Bibuli) with a singular (Servi) here.

Servi: possibly the son of S. Sulpicius Rufus, consul in 51 B.C. The amorous poems of Ovid mention ~~á~~ Servius - Ovid Trist. II 441 - 'nec sunt minus inproba Servi carmina'. The first name 'Servius' soon became exclusively borne by the Sulpicii Rufi and Galbae.

simul his: 'together with these'. Here 'simul' is used as a preposition governing 'his'.

candide: 'open hearted', 'honest'. Used in Sat. 1.5.41

for 'purely white'. Opposite of 'niger'.

Furni: probably the person with respect to whom Seneca tells a story (de Benef. 2.25) of his reconciling Augustus to his father C. Furnius (friend and correspondent of Cicero, ad Fam. 10.26.) who had been a supporter of Antony. He was consul in 17 B.C. when the Saecular games were celebrated. In the Euseb.Chron. occurs, 'Furni pater et filius clarissimi oratores habentur, quorum filius consularis ante patrem moritur.'

87. doctos: 'good critics' without the slur which 'doctus' often implies.

88. Prudens: 'purposely'. Horace says 'if I omit any names, it is not that I forget them'. His naming them would become tiresome.

haec: 'these productions of mine'.

sint quaecumque²: 'such as they are'. The subjunctive is used here because of the indirect discourse. Both the indicative and subjunctive, however, are found after 'quaequae'. Suetonius Aug. c. 87, 'Et cum hortatur ferenda esse praesentia, quaecumque sint: contenti simus hoc Cato'. Cic. de Oratore 37, 'Quae, quaecumque in me sunt, me ipsum poenitet quanta sint'. Ovid and Martial use the indicative in similar instances. Some editors read 'sunt' here in the Satire. Perhaps this expression is a reminiscence of Catull. l. 8f. 'quidquid hoc libelli, quaecumque.

89. Adridere: 'be pleasing'; cf. Carm. 2.6.13f. 'ille terrarum mihi --- angulus ridet'. Horace wants his writings to please these men whom he mentions - not women and men like women.

spe Deterius: 'less than I hope'. Having enumerated some of those whom he would like to please, Horace now, by way of contrast, expresses contempt for Demetrius and Tigellius, as being incapable of anything higher than teaching girls singing.

90. Demetri: same as in v. 79. Demetrius is a Greek name, 'cathedrae' were Greek chairs whose use was considered effeminate at this time and 'iubeo plorare' is an evident translation of the Greek, κλάεΐω κλάεΐν or οΐμώ
 ἔεΐν and a malediction of 'iubeo valere'. The heaping up of Greek references may be significant, especially in connection with v. 20ff.

Tigelli: same as in v. 18 (Hermogenes). Kirchner makes much of the point that Tigellius whose wealth is indicated in Sat. 1.2. and 1.3 should be teaching for a living. But perhaps he was not teaching for living. He may have wanted in this way to get acquainted with ladies of the upper crust. This is the last time Tigellius is mentioned. Evidently Augustus has preferred Horace's style of poetry to that of Tigellius.

91. Discipularum: 'your lady pupils,' to whom Demetrius and Tigellius gave music and singing lessons. Their pupils were chiefly 'mimae', but some ladies of birth at this time

learnt singing of professors and it was not counted much to their praise. The regular actors at Rome as in Greece were men; but the dancing and pantomimic parts were sustained also by women. The 'mimae' were persons of loose character. Origo was one; also Arbuscula. Maclean says that Weiland suggests that 'discipularum' contains a foul insinuation against the male pupils of these music men. Horace suggests the unfortunate condition of the schools. As in Sat. 1.6.81. - 'Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes Circum doctores aderat,' Horace's father himself took him to school as he did not dare entrust the care of his son either to a 'paedagogus' or the teachers. Hendrickson thinks that the feminine form, 'discipularum' is used here to characterize the effeminacy of the whole school of poetry which looked to Cato as head.

iubeo plorare: with double meaning, first with reference to their singing (a drawling out noise) and also a substitute for 'valere iubeo'. The more usual Latin phrases are 'abeas in malum,' 'I in malam crucem', 'malum tibi sit,' 'pereas', and their English equivalents are such as, 'go hang', 'to the mischief with you', 'plague take you,' 'confound you.'

92. Some editors take 'haec' to mean these last remarks, the concluding hit at Demetrius and Tigellius. It is better (as most editors think) to take 'haec' as this satire and 'libello' as the first book of satires. Horace addressed this line to an 'amanuensis'. Palmer thinks this line is

spurious and copied from Propertius (I, puer, et citus haec aliqua
propone columna'. Prop. 3.23,23). Ullman explains the line as
follows : 'Go slave and add these verses (i.e. the whole poem
and specifically the last lines) to my book (that they may serve
as an epilogue) while I still have the courage to back up my in-
sult to Tigellius'.