Horace's Programmatic Priamel

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ABSTRACT

Horace's MAECENAS ATAVIS (Hor., Carm. *1.1) is shown to enumerate nine allusive icons whose attributes evoke signature elements in the works and biographical traditions of the nine canonical Greek lyric poets. In his first ode the Roman poet thus announces the commencement of a lyric programme synthesising the distinctive styles and subjects of his illustrious predecessors. In so doing, Horace figuratively and literally inserts himself among these nine 'lyric bards' in ironic fulfilment of his own request for canonisation, with which the poem concludes. His programmatic priamel therefore harmonises archaic subject-matter and Hellenistic method in a manner which sets the tone for the entire project to follow.*

Keywords: catalogue; epigram; Greek lyric; Horace; Meleager; priamel

In the first words of their commentary on *Odes* 1, Nisbet and Hubbard observe that 'the *Odes* of Horace are too familiar to be easily understood'.[1] Among the most familiar is surely MAECENAS ATAVIS (*Carm.* 1.1), which by virtue of its position might be designated exhibit 'A' of the phenomenon they describe. As every student of Roman literature knows, and every synoptic study of the *Odes* duly notes, Horace's dedicatory ode to Maecenas takes the form of a priamel which, after elaborating a series of alternative vocations, culminates in a bold declaration of his ambition to be counted among the canonical nine Greek lyric poets (*Carm.* 1.1.35–6):[2]

> 35 quod si me lyricis uatibus inseres,
> sublimi feriam sidera uertice.

> 35 But if you enrol me among the lyric bards,
> with exalted crown I shall strike the stars.

What has not been noticed is that the preceding priamel and its climax enumerate precisely nine allusive icons, each of which displays attributes associated with one of these nine 'lyric bards' through intertextuality, biographical tradition, or both. Horace thus figuratively and literally inserts himself into the established group, thereby announcing the commencement of a poetic programme synthesising the distinctive styles and subjects of his illustrious Greek predecessors. In so doing, the Roman poet earns for himself a crown of ivy, 'the

[1] Nisbet and Hubbard (henceforth N-H) 1970: xi.

[2] E.g. Fraenkel 1957: 230–3; Commager 1962: 330–1; Santirocco 1986: 14–23; Davis 1991: 143–4; Feeney 1993: 41–2; Lyne 1995: 69–73; Oliensis 1998: 227; Syndikus 2001: 1.24–5; Barchiesi 2009: 323–4. The best overview of the form remains Race 1982, which treats Hor., *Carm.* 1.1 at 122–3. On the canonisation of the nine lyric poets, see Pfeiffer 1968: 205–8. While now conventional, the terms 'priamel' and 'canon' are both anachronistic, the former being popularised in the fifteenth century (Race 1982: 1) and the latter in the eighteenth (Pfeiffer 1968: 207). In antiquity a priamel such as *Carm.* 1.1 would have been regarded as a species of catalogue.

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prize of learned brows' (*Carm.* 1.1.29: 'doctarum hederae praemia frontium'), to which he prospectively lays claim in ironic fulfilment of his own request for canonisation.

Critical to this reading are three intertexts from the *Palatine Anthology* which invoke and characterise a prescribed list of poetic forebears, and which themselves participate in the long tradition of canonical catalogues as established by Homer and Hesiod and adapted by their successors to convey genetic and generic affiliation through the ages. The first of these is Meleager's famous proem (Mel., *Anth. Pal.* 4.1), in which the poet-editor assigns a signature plant to each of the authors to be woven into his own anthology. Indeed, as Matthew Leigh has observed, Horace's use of the Latin verb *inserere* in the couplet just quoted (*Carm.* 1.1.35: 'inseres') precisely recalls Meleager's prior choice of the Greek *emplekein* (Mel., *Anth. Pal.* 4.1.5: ἐμπλέξας) to describe his own editorial process, thus signalling the Roman poet's ambition not only to have his book 'inserted' among the editions of the canonical nine Greek lyric poets,[3] but also to interweave their voices in much the same manner that the anthologist plaited his own *Garland*.[4]

The second catalogue is an anonymous epigram usually dated to the second century B.C. which is our earliest testimony for the canonisation of the nine *lyrikoi* (*Anth. Pal.* 9.184):[5]

Πίνδαρε, Μουσάων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρὴν
  Βακχυλίδη Σαπφοῦς τ' Αἰολίδες χάριτες
γράμμα τ' Ἀνακρείοντος, Ὁμηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ῥεῦμα
  ἔσπασας οἰκείοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις,
5 ἥ τε Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερὴ σελὶς ἡδύ τε Πειθοῦς
  Ἴβυκε καὶ παίδων ἄνθος ἀμησάμενε
καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαίοιο, τὸ πολλάκις αἷμα τυράννων
  ἔσπεισεν πάτρης θέσμια ῥυόμενον,
θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες, ἵλατε, πάσης
10 ἀρχὴν οἳ λυρικῆς καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε.

Pindar, holy mouth of the Muses, and Bacchylides,
  babbling Siren, and you, Aeolian graces of Sappho,
and letter of Anacreon, and you, Stesichorus, who
  drew from the Homeric stream in your own works,
5 and the honeyed page of Simonides, and you, Ibycus,
  who plucked the sweet bloom of persuasion and boys,
and you, sword of Alcaeus, which often shed the blood
  of tyrants, defending the laws of his fatherland,
and you, Alcman's nightingales, singers of maidensong;
10 smile on me, you who begin and end all lyric song.

The third catalogue is a variation on the same theme (Anon., *Anth. Pal.* 9.571) generally agreed to be modelled on the one just cited, and to which we shall return in closing;[6] for now, suffice it to say that this second epigram from Book 9 of the *Palatine Anthology* closely resembles its predecessor in enumerating the nine Greek lyric poets and celebrating what its author regards as their distinctive attributes.

Meleager in his proem had established an influential tradition of commencing a poetic anthology with an allegorical 'table of contents' assigning signature emblems to each of the poets to be woven into his *Garland*;[7] and these two shorter catalogues (which the poet-editor may well have included in his collection) had already instituted the practice

[3] On this valence of *inserere*, see Farrell 2007: 189–90; cf. Horsfall 1993.
[4] Leigh 2010, esp. at 271. On Meleager's editorial poetics, see Gutzwiller 1997; 1998: 276–322.
[5] On the dating, see Pfeiffer 1968: 205; Barbantani 1993: 8.
[6] On the relationship between these two epigrams, see Barbantani 1993: 9–10.
[7] Gutzwiller 1998: 280.

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of invoking and characterising the nine Greek lyric poets in an epigrammatic formula frequently applied to such groups.[8] Horace in his programmatic priamel cleverly fuses these two models into an anonymous list of Greek lyric icons for a select group of learned readers such as Maecenas to recognise, and in so doing simultaneously realises and justifies his request to be inserted among them.

I THE CHARIOTEER (PINDAR)

The order in which the nine Greek lyric poets were presented in antiquity was variable, with one important exception: Pindar always stood at the head of the list.[9] As Quintilian reports, 'of the nine lyric poets Pindar is ranked first by far … on account of which Horace rightly considers him inimitable'.[10] Here the rhetorician clearly means to adduce PINDARVM QVISQVIS (*Carm.* 4.2), a work whose irony was lost on him;[11] but Horace had already much more subtly invoked this tradition of Pindaric pre-eminence by commencing his programmatic priamel with the figure of the Olympian charioteer (*Carm.* 1.1.1–6):

Maecenas, atauis edite regibus,
o et praesidium et dulce decus meum:
sunt quos curriculo puluerem Olympicum
collegisse iuuat, metaque feruidis
5 euitata rotis palmaque nobilis
terrarum dominos euehit ad deos;

O Maecenas, scion of ancient kings,
my bulwark and my sweet source of glory:
it pleases some to collect Olympic
dust in a chariot, those whom turn-post
5 cleared on blazing wheels and noble palm
raise up to the gods as lords of the earth;

While Olympian chariots are by no means absent from the works of other Greek lyric poets, the specifically Pindaric character of these lines is widely acknowledged.[12] The usual comparandum is a fragmentary priamel which may have partially inspired Horace's entire composition (Pind. frag. 221 Maehler):[13]

<– ⏑> ἀελλοπόδων μέν τιν' εὐφραίνοισιν ἵππων
τιμαὶ καὶ στέφανοι,
τοὺς δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοις θαλάμοις βιοτά·

[8] E.g. Antip. Sid., *Anth. Pal.* 7.81 (The Seven Sages), 9.58 (The Seven Wonders); Antip. Thess., *Anth. Pal.* 9.26 (The Nine Poetesses); and others collected at Barbantani 1993: 8.

[9] Pfeiffer 1968: 205. Cf. Anon., *Anth. Pal.* 9.184.1 (above), 9.571.1 (below); Barbantani 1993: 9–10.

[10] Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.61: 'Nouem uero lyricorum longe Pindarus princeps … propter quae Horatius eum merito nemini credit imitabilem'. The numerical, social and professional valences of the term *princeps* are all active in Quintilian's usage here. Cf. *OLD* s.v. princeps[1] 3a, 5; *OLD* s.v. princeps[2] 2, 3.

[11] On the irony see e.g. Davis 1991: 133–43; Harrison 1995: 115; Race 2010: 155.

[12] E.g. Pasquali 1920: 746–8; N-H 1970: 2–5; Hardie 2003: 371; Strauss Clay 2010: 133–4. Cf. Hor., *Carm.* 4.2.17–20.

[13] While among surviving examples this priamel most closely resembles Hor., *Carm.* 1.1, the form's relative frequency in the works of the *lyrikoi* made it an ideal instrument for the kind of iconic fusion Horace effects in his dedicatory ode. Cf. e.g. Alcm. frags. 1.64–77, 16 PMG; Bacchyl. 3.85–92 Snell-Maehler; Pind., *Nem.* 8.38–42; Sappho frag. 16 Lobel-Page.

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τέρπεται δὲ καί τις ἐπ' οἶδμ' ἅλιον
5 ναῒ θοᾷ †διαστείβων

... honours and garlands of storm-hoofed horses
delight one man,
a life in halls decked with gold delights others,
and another enjoys [crossing over] the salty swell
5 in a swift ship;

But an even closer Pindaric parallel is to be found in Horace's apostrophe to Maecenas, which clearly echoes the Theban poet's characterisation of the Sicilian tyrant Theron following the latter's victory in the Olympian chariot race of 476 B.C. (Pind., *Ol.* 2.5–7):

5 Θήρωνα δὲ τετραορίας ἕνεκα νικαφόρου
γεγωνητέον, ὄπι δίκαιον ξένων,
ἔρεισμ' Ἀκράγαντος,
εὐωνύμων τε πατέρων ἄωτον ὀρθόπολιν·

5 But Theron for his victory-bearing chariot
is the man to proclaim, for his reverent hospitality,
bulwark of Acragas,
glory and rector of the city from noble fathers;

To be sure, tutelage, glory and breeding are not uncommon attributes for a poet to praise in a patron, but the echo of Pindar's *ereisma* ('bulwark') in Horace's 'praesidium' is unmistakable, and 'decus' is as close a Latin equivalent to the similarly polyvalent — and notably Pindaric — *aōtos* (here translated 'glory') as one is likely to find.[14] Indeed, Pindar himself twice couples this noun with the adjective *glykys* ('sweet'), just as Horace calls Maecenas his 'sweet source of glory' (*Carm.* 1.1.2: 'dulce decus') here.[15] The Roman honorand's pedigree from 'ancient kings' (*Carm.* 1.1.1: 'atauis ... regibus') similarly recalls Theron's lineage 'from noble fathers' (*Ol.* 2.7: εὐωνύμων ... πατέρων), thereby strengthening the Pindaric intertext. And of course, Pindar's praise of the Sicilian tyrant 'for his victory-bearing chariot' (*Ol.* 2.5: τετραορίας ἕνεκα νικαφόρου) provides a smooth transition from Horace's initial apostrophe to his own description of the Olympian charioteer. In sum, by virtue of their pre-eminent position and conspicuously epinician language, the poem's dedicatory couplet and first allusive icon get Horace's programmatic priamel off to a markedly Pindaric start, thus paving the way for his eight subsequent representations of the remaining *lyrikoi*.[16]

II THE DEMAGOGUE (STESICHORUS)

From the sublime heights of Olympian athleticism, we pivot to the inglorious struggle for power at Rome (*Carm.* 1.1.7–8):

[14] LSJ s.v. ἄωτος 2 'that which gives honour and glory'; *OLD* s.v. decus 2 'a particular source of honour, distinction, glory'. LSJ s.v. ἄωτος 1 notes 'freq. in Pind.'; for a conspectus, see Slater 1969: 87.
[15] Pind., *Ol.* 5.1–3: Ὑψηλᾶν ἀρετᾶν καὶ στεφάνων ἄωτον γλυκύν | τῶν Οὐλυμπίᾳ ... δέκευ; *Pae.* 6.58–9 ἔρα[ται] δέ μο[ι] | γλῶσσα μέλιτος ἄωτον γλυκὺν. Cf. Pind., *Ol.* 3.3–4: ὕμνον ὀρθώσαις, ἀκαμαντοπόδων | ἵππων ἄωτον.
[16] It should be noted in connection with Pindar's status as *lyricorum princeps* that this Pindaric opening is mirrored with closural force at *Carm.* 3.30.10–16, where the title *princeps* and the Delphic laurel of the Pythian games similarly invite comparison with Horace's pre-eminent predecessor. See Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 377–8.

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hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium
certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;

this man, if the mob of fickle Romans
vies to extol him with triple honours;

As Nisbet and Hubbard note, the sudden shift of scene is emblematic of Horace's entire poetic project; as so often in his work, the poet adapts a Greek tradition to his contemporary Roman context through conspicuous juxtaposition of foreign and native vocabulary.[17] Yet even when describing a scene as quintessentially Roman as a politician's manipulation of the mob to his own advantage, Horace also manages to evoke the character of a second canonical antecedent, in this case the first lyric luminary of Magna Graecia, Stesichorus.

For while the poetry and biographical traditions of his esteemed colleagues engage with contemporary politics to varying degrees, Stesichorus is unique among the *lyrikoi* for having supposedly intervened directly in affairs of state as an orator.[18] Indeed, no less an authority than Aristotle cites Stesichorus' speeches twice in his *Rhetoric*, most notably to demonstrate the poet's exemplary use of the Aesopic fable of 'The Horse and the Stag' in addressing a public assembly at Himera.[19] That Horace knew this story about Stesichorus is all but certain, since he retells the same fable in *Epistles* 1.10 to encourage the urbanite Aristius Fuscus to forsake the political and financial stresses of Rome for the countryside's simple pleasures (*Epist.* 1.10.34–41); other adaptations in Conon, Phaedrus, Babrius, Plutarch and Theon attest to the anecdote's wide and lasting currency.[20] Indeed, so great was Stesichorus' reputation for demagoguery in antiquity that even almost a millennium after his death, the pseudepigraphical *Letters of Phalaris* portray the poet as a leading political opponent of the tyrant,[21] who in one letter accuses Stesichorus of disgracing the Muses by meddling in affairs of state ([Phalar.], *Ep.* 92 Hercher):

οὐκ ἄρ', ὦ Στησίχορε, παύσῃ τῆς ἀκρασίας τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι τηλικοῦτος ὤν; οὐδὲ αἰσχύνῃ τὰς θεάς, ὧν ζηλωτὴς μὲν εἶναι καλλωπίζῃ, λυμαίνῃ δ' αὐτὰς ἐν οἷς πολιτεύῃ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀμείνους;

At your age, Stesichorus, shouldn't you put aside this blessed rage for politics? Are you not ashamed before those very goddesses whose devotee you pride yourself on being? Don't you think you are disgracing them by intriguing against your betters?

And in another epistle, Phalaris goes so far as to label Stesichorus a demagogue outright ([Phalar.], *Ep.* 109 Hercher):

τί δὲ μουσικὸς καὶ μελοποιὸς ὢν καθιστᾷς σεαυτὸν εἰς ἐναντίον σχῆμα καὶ προαίρεσιν βίου τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἐξὸν σχολὴν ἄγειν καθεζόμενον καὶ μὴ θερμοτέρων ἅπτεσθαι πραγμάτων ἢ ποιηταῖς πρέπει; ἐπεὶ δ' ἀντὶ ποιητοῦ δημαγωγὸς ὠρέχθης γενέσθαι, μένει σε οἷα φημὶ οὐ ποιητὰς οὐδὲ μουσικοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ δημαγωγοὺς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν θρασυνομένους κρατούντων ἐχθρῶν.

Why, as a singer and composer, have you got yourself involved in a way of life utterly opposed to what is normal, when you could just as easily sit around all day and avoid issues more heated than is appropriate for poets? Since you have decided to become a demagogue

[17] N-H 1970: 3.
[18] West 1971: 302–3; Kivilo 2010: 75–7; Lefkowitz 2012: 38–9; Davies and Finglass 2014: 12.
[19] Arist., *Rh.* 1393b (Stesich. T 16 Campbell; Perry, *Aes.* 269a). Cf. Arist., *Rh.* 1394b–95a (Stesich. T 17 Campbell); Philodem., *Mus.* 1.30 (Stesich. T 18 Campbell).
[20] Conon *BNJ* 26F1.42; Phaed. 4.4; Ba., *Par.* 166 Crusius; Plut., *Arat.* 38; Theon, *Progymn.* 66.10 Patillon.
[21] Russell 1988, esp. at 97–9.

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> instead of a poet, I say what awaits you is the fate not of poets or singers, but of demagogues conspiring beyond their abilities against stronger foes.

Thus, among all the *lyrikoi* Stesichorus was a prime candidate for political typecasting well into Late Antiquity.

For a reader alert to this potential biographical identification, two further details confirm Stesichorus' presence behind Horace's demagogue. First, there is the unusual number of honours accorded to him by the Quirites, which Nisbet and Hubbard dubiously interpret as 'reiterated applause' rather than 'triple magistracies' on the grounds that 'it is hard to see why Horace should talk of successive victories; these are a sign of the crowd's consistency, not of its fickleness'.[22] But if Horace's politician is indeed a Stesichorean stand-in, this odd numerical specificity finds ready explanation in the fact that 'Stesichorus' three' was a byword for basic poetic knowledge in antiquity, and ignorance of them (whatever they were) earned the proverbial opprobrium 'you don't even know Stesichorus' three'.[23] By allotting triple honours to his iconic statesman, Horace thus issues a playful challenge for his readers to perceive the poet behind the politician. And indeed, his lyric predecessor is effectively hiding in plain sight, since the collocation 'turba … tollere' not only approximates the nominal and verbal elements of Stesichorus' name,[24] but also, in a 'reverse signature' analogous to Virgil's 'translation' of Aratus at *Georgics* 1.1–2,[25] playfully inverts both their literal order and grammatical relationship: whereas Stesichorus was supposedly the first poet to establish a chorus accompanied by the cithara,[26] Horace's demagogue becomes established in Roman politics by playing up to the crowd. In the space of just two lines, Horace thus manages to evoke Stesichorus' reputation for demagoguery, the triad for which he was proverbially known, and even his very name.

III THE GRAIN-IMPORTER (BACCHYLIDES)

For his third lyric icon, Horace transports us from Forum to Emporium (*Carm.* 1.1.9–10):[27]

> illum, si proprio condidit horreo
> 10 quidquid de Libycis uerritur areis;
>
> that man, if he has hoarded in his store
> 10 all the sweepings from Libya's threshing-floors;

Like his figure of the politician, Horace's wealthy middleman superficially conforms to a common Roman stereotype.[28] But for a reader approaching his programmatic priamel with an eye to prior canonical catalogues, Meleager's botanical emblem for Bacchylides readily springs to mind (Mel., *Anth. Pal.* 4.1.33–4):

[22] N-H 1970: 7–8.
[23] Davies 1982; Pitotto 2015.
[24] For Latin *turba* suggesting Greek χορός, see e.g. Ov., *Am.* 1.1.6, *Her.* 15.201–2 (cf. Prop. 1.19.13), *Tr.* 3.2.3–4; Sen., *Tro.* 409. For the equivalence of *tollere* and στῆσαι, see *OLD* s.v. tollo 8a, esp. Hor., *Epist.* 1.17.61. Note also how 'tollere' at Hor., *Carm.* 1.1.8 iconically sustains 'turba' at *Carm.* 1.1.7 by virtue of its placement directly below.
[25] Katz 2008; cf. Katz 2007.
[26] Suda s.v. Στησίχορος (Stesich. T 1 Campbell): ἐκλήθη δὲ Στησίχορος ὅτι πρῶτος κιθαρῳδίᾳ χορὸν ἔστησεν.
[27] *Pace* N-H 1970: 8, Horace does not describe the owner of a *latifundium*; on the contrary, the only *horrea* likely to house grain from transmarine Libya in the Augustan period were located either at Ostia or in the Emporium of Rome itself. See Mayer 2012: 55.
[28] Cf. e.g. Cic., *Off.* 1.151.

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λείψανά τ' εὐκαρπεῦντα μελιστάκτων ἀπὸ Μουσέων,
  ξανθοὺς ἐκ καλάμης Βακχυλίδεω στάχυας·

and [he plaited] the fertile remains of the honey-dripping
  Muses, the yellow corn from Bacchylides' stalk;

Meleager seems to have assigned this peculiar posy at least partly on account of one of the two or three epigrams attributed to Bacchylides during the Hellenistic period, a poem which the anthologist doubtless included as an exemplary specimen in his *Garland* (Bacchyl., *Anth. Pal.* 6.53):

Εὔδημος τὸν νηὸν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε
  τῷ πάντων ἀνέμων πιοτάτῳ Ζεφύρῳ·
εὐξαμένῳ γάρ οἱ ἦλθε βοαθόος, ὄφρα τάχιστα
  λικμήσῃ πεπόνων καρπὸν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων.

Eudemus dedicated this shrine in his fields
  to Zephyrus, the most prosperous of all winds;
for he came to his aid when he prayed that he might
  quickly winnow grain from the ripened corn.

Horace's hyperbolic periphrasis 'all the sweepings from Libya's threshing-floors' (*Carm.* 1.1.10: 'quidquid de Libycis uerritur areis') thus doubly associates his figure of the grain-importer with Bacchylides by recalling not only Meleager's symbolic sheaves, but also the lyric poet's (probably pseudepigraphical) commemoration of Eudemus' winnowing.

But we need not rely on Bacchylides' reception alone for evidence of his commerce in corn. Take, for example, a passage quoted by Athenaeus on the effects of too much wine (Bacchyl. frag. 20B.6–16 Snell-Maehler ap. Ath., *Epitom.* 2.10):

εὖτε νέων ἁ[παλὸν γλυκεῖ' ἀ]νάγκα
σευομενᾶν κ[υλίκων θάλπῃ]σι θυμ[όν,]
Κύπριδός τ' ἐλπ[ὶς <δι>αιθύσσῃ φρέ]νας,
ἀμμειγνυμέν[α Διονυσίοισι] δώροις·
10 ἀνδράσι δ' ὑψο[τάτω πέμπει] μερίμν[ας·]
αὐτίκ[α] μὲν π[ολίων κράδ]εμνα [λύει,]
πᾶσ[ι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρ]χήσ[ειν δοκεῖ·]
χρυ[σ]ῷ [δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμ]αίρ[ουσιν οἶκοι,]
πυροφ[όροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντ]α πό[ντον]
15 νᾶες ἄγο[υσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον]
πλοῦτον· ὣς [πίνοντος ὁρμαίνει κέαρ.]

when the sweet compulsion of speeding cups
warms the tender hearts of the young, and hope
of Cypris mixed with Dionysus' gifts
flashes through their brains; and it sends to men
10 overweening ambitions; straight away
one is breaching battlements of cities
and thinks himself sole ruler of all mankind;
his houses gleam with gold and ivory,
and wheat-bearing ships from Egypt carry
15 immense wealth over a shimmering sea;
such are the musings of the drinker's heart.

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While arousal, delusions of grandeur, aggression and acquisitiveness are common enough consequences of a good tipple, grain importation as drunken fantasy is idiosyncratic, to say the least. But it is in the very first word of his 'most prestigious commission',[29] *Ode* 3 in honour of the chariot victory of Hiero I of Syracuse at Olympia in 468 B.C., that Bacchylides' frumentary fixation figures most significantly (Bacchyl. 3.1–4 Snell-Maehler):

Ἀριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας κρέουσαν
Δ[ά]ματρα ἰοστέφανόν τε Κούραν
ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, θοάς τ' Ὀ-
  [λυμ]πιοδρόμους Ἱέρωνος ἵππ[ο]υς.

Corn-rich Sicily's ruler Demeter
and violet-crowned Persephone
sing, sweet Clio, and the swift
  Olympic-running horses of Hiero.

Possibly read programmatically by Hellenistic scholars and poets, Bacchylides' hapax *aristokarpos* ('corn-rich') obviously caught the ear of Meleager, whose own hapax *melistaktos* ('honey-dripping') describing the Muses in the couplet quoted above playfully caps Clio's rare epithet *glykydōros* ('sweet') here;[30] whether it also inspired the Eudemus epigram is less certain. What is clear is that, by amassing all these intertextual grains in just two verses — Meleager's botanical emblem, Eudemus' winnowing, the oversea shipment, and perhaps even the critical kernel of the lyric poet's hapax — Horace subtly sows a small crop of connections between his third allusive icon and Bacchylides.

IV THE FARMER (ALCMAN)

From *horreum* we segue naturally to farm (*Carm.* 1.1.11–14):

gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
agros Attalicis condicionibus
numquam demoueas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pauidus nauta secet mare;

the man content to cleave ancestral fields
with humble hoe you will never dislodge
for an Attalid price to plough the Myrtoan
Sea aboard Cypriot bark, a trembling sailor;

Both the citizen-farmer's pride in his family plot and the sailor's fear of the sea are of course well-known Roman commonplaces, as is the contrast between them.[31] But why 'Attalicis condicionibus', 'trabe Cypria' and 'Myrtoum … mare'? While the Attalids were justly famous for their affluence in Horace's time,[32] other paragons of wealth were surely available. As for 'Cypria' and 'Myrtoum', commentators note that these toponyms add 'colour' or 'vividness',[33] but as the work of Richard Thomas in particular has shown, such epithets are seldom purely ornamental in Augustan poetry, especially in contexts as prominent as a collection's opening poem.[34] And indeed, for a Greek lyric poet divided

[29] Maehler 2004: 9.
[30] Mel., *Anth. Pal.* 4.1.33. Cf. Bacchyl. 11.1 Snell-Maehler; Rufin., *Anth. Pal.* 5.22; Opp., *H.* 4.105.
[31] E.g. Verg., *G.* 1.141–9; Tib. 1.1.43–50, 1.9.7–10.
[32] N-H 1970: 9; Mayer 2012: 55.
[33] Colour: N-H 1970: 9, on 'Cypria'. Vividness: Mayer 2012: 55, on both 'Myrtoum' and 'Cypria'.
[34] Thomas 1986: 198. Cf. Verg., *G.* 1.1–42, on which see Thomas 1988: 1.68–75.

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between his 'ancestral fields' (*Carm.* 1.1.11–12: 'patrios … agros') and Attalid Asia Minor by the Myrtoan Sea, we need look no further than the Spartan Alcman.[35] An epigram by Horace's contemporary Antipater of Thessalonica neatly summarises the dispute over his birthplace (Antip. Thess., *Anth. Pal.* 7.18; Alcm. T 4 Campbell):[36]

Ἀνέρα μὴ πέτρῃ τεκμαίρεο· λιτὸς ὁ τύμβος
 ὀφθῆναι, μεγάλου δ' ὀστέα φωτὸς ἔχει.
εἰδήσεις Ἀλκμᾶνα, λύρης ἐλατῆρα Λακαίνης
 ἔξοχον, ὃν Μουσέων ἐννέ' ἀριθμὸς ἔχει.
5 κεῖται δ' ἠπείροις διδύμαις ἔρις, εἴθ' ὅ γε Λυδὸς
 εἴτε Λάκων. πολλαὶ μητέρες ὑμνοπόλων.

Judge not a man by his stone: though not much
 to look at, this tomb holds a great man's bones.
Recognise Alcman, outstanding strummer
 of Sparta's lyre, one of nine, the Muses'
5 number. He lies a source of dispute for two lands,
 whether he was Lydian or Spartan.
Many are the mothers of hymnmakers.

Indeed, according to the Suda, it was precisely the Pergamene librarian Crates of Mallus who under Attalid patronage wrongly promoted (if not originated) the idea that Alcman was born a Lydian at Sardis and not a Spartan at Messoa.[37] Thus, Horace's conceit that his farmer cannot be dislodged from his native lands 'for an Attalid price' (*Carm.* 1.1.12: 'Attalicis condicionibus') implies that no matter how much the Pergamene rulers spent to convince the world otherwise, Sparta's claim to Alcman's legacy remained secure in the Roman poet's estimation. Nor is the provenance of his farmer's hypothetical boat unrelated to this attempted expatriation, since Crates' own hometown of Mallus was located at the mouth of the river Pyramus, whose silt according to a famous oracle would one day link the Cilician mainland directly to Cyprus.[38] Thus, in Horace's nautical analogy, Crates himself can be construed as the very 'Cypriot bark' (*Carm.* 1.1.13: 'trabe Cypria') which is the vehicle of the voyage refused by his thalassophobic farmer.

And indeed, much like Horace's agricultural icon, Alcman himself seems to have possessed both rustic roots and a profound distaste for the sea. According to a tradition preserved in both the Suda and a fragment of Heraclides Lembus, the lyric poet was born into slavery, but subsequently manumitted on account of his talent.[39] Although exactly what is meant by an *oiketēs* in a Spartan context is now a matter of some debate, Horace's older contemporary Cornelius Nepos explicitly equated the majority of Spartan slaves with helots who tilled the land.[40] If Nepos' opinion can be taken as

[35] For a clear depiction of how the Myrtoan Sea separates Sparta from Attalid Lydia via the Cyclades (which according to Plin., *HN* 4.65 it encompasses), see Talbert 2000: 57 B 4–5.
[36] Other testimonia are more partisan: in favour of Sparta, see Alex. Aet., *Anth. Pal.* 7.709 (Alcm. T 2 Campbell); Schol. Pind. 1.11 Drachmann (Alcm. T 6 Campbell); in favour of Lydia, see Leon., *Anth. Pal.* 7.19 (Alcm. T 3 Campbell); Vell. Pat. 1.18.3 (Alcm. T 5 Campbell); Schol. B ad Alcm. 1.58–9 (Alcm. T 7 Campbell); P.Oxy. 2389 frag. 9 col. 1 (Alcm. T 8 Campbell). Cf. Lefkowitz 2012: 39–40.
[37] Suda s.v. Ἀλκμάν (Alcm. T 1 Campbell) Λάκων ἀπὸ Μεσσόας· κατὰ δὲ τὸν Κράτητα πταίοντα Λυδὸς ἐκ Σαρδέων. For further evidence linking this tradition to Crates and his pupil Alexander Polyhistor, see Kousoulini 2017.
[38] Str. 1.3.7; 12.2.4; 14.5.16. See Talbert 2000: 66 G 3.
[39] Suda s.v. Ἀλκμάν (Alcm. T 1 Campbell): ἀπὸ οἰκετῶν δέ; Heraclid. Lemb., *Excerpt. Polit.* p. 16 Dilts (Alcm. T 12 Campbell): ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμὰν οἰκέτης ἦν Ἀγησίδου, εὐφυὴς δὲ ὢν ἠλευθερώθη καὶ ποιητὴς ἀπέβη.
[40] Nep., *Paus.* 3.6: 'Est genus quoddam hominum, quod Hilotae uocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedaemoniorum colit seruorumque munere fungitur'. On the terminological problem, see Ducat 1990: 46–7,

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representative of his era, there is no reason to think that Horace would have viewed Alcman's early servitude any differently. At the very least, like many farmers, the Greek lyric poet himself appears to have advocated giving the sea a wide berth. In a tantalising gloss on the phrase 'the neighbourhood is briny' in an oration by Aelius Aristides,[41] a scholiast reports (Alcm. frag. 108 PMG):

> Ἀλκμὰν ὁ λυρικὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν·
> ἁλμυρὸν τὸ γειτόνημα·
> ἀντὶ τοῦ τὶ κακόν ἐστι γείτονα ἔχειν τὴν θάλασσαν.

> Alcman the lyric poet said this:
> 'the neighbourhood is briny'
> by which he meant it is a bad thing to have the sea as a neighbour.

While such fragmentary evidence must be handled gingerly, Alcman's fear of the sea seems to have pervaded Greek consciousness to the point that this formulation remained current even in the lexicon of the Second Sophistic. Thus, by embedding a select series of details both biographical and intertextual in his characterisation of the sea-fearing farmer, Horace reaps a fruitful harvest of links between his fourth lyric icon and the staunchly Spartan former helot, Alcman.

V THE MERCHANT (SIMONIDES)

While the farmer refuses to sail at any price, the merchant will endure even shipwreck for material gain (*Carm.* 1.1.15–18):

> 15 luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
> mercator metuens otium et oppidi
> laudat rura sui, mox reficit rates
> quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati;

> 15 fearing the Southwest Wind wrestling Icarian
> waves, the merchant praises the leisure and
> countryside of his town, but soon rebuilds
> his shattered rafts, unfit to suffer poverty;

The contrast with the previous figure is both elegant and effective: the Icarian clashes with the Myrtoan Sea, the merchant's hollow praise of his native countryside supplants the farmer's genuine delight in his ancestral fields, and the relationship between greed and fear is entirely upended. But Horace's intrepid trader is more than a mere foil for his agricultural antecedent, since both avarice and shipwreck loom large in what is perhaps the richest biographical tradition of a Greek lyric poet to come down to us, that of Simonides of Ceos.[42] Both elements are present already in Aristophanes (Ar., *Pax* 695–9; Simon. T 22 Campbell):

esp. on Isoc., *Ep.* 5.49, 6.88, 6.95 as 'trois passages où οἰκέται s'applique sûrement aux Hilotes'. Cf. Isoc., *Panath.* 178; Kennell 2003: 91.

[41] Aristid., *Or.* 3.294: ἔστω τὸ γειτόνημα ἁλμυρόν, ὥς φησιν.

[42] On Simonides' greed, see Bell 1978; Rawles 2018: 155–225. On the shipwreck, see Oates 1932: 4–7. For a summary of his biographical tradition, see Lefkowitz 2012: 55–60. Ceos' location in the Myrtoan Sea makes for a natural transition between Horace's Alcmanian and Simonidean icons; compare n. 47 below on the similar shift from Simonidean merchant to Anacreontic drunkard via Teos on the shores of the Icarian Sea.

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695 Ερ. πρῶτον δ' ὅ τι πράττει Σοφοκλέης ἀνήρετο.
Τρ. εὐδαιμονεῖ, πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν.
Ερ. τὸ τί;
Τρ. ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.
Ερ. Σιμωνίδης; πῶς;
Τρ. ὅτι γέρων ὢν καὶ σαπρὸς
κέρδους ἕκατι κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι.

695 Hermes: [Peace] first asked how Sophocles is doing.
Trygaeus: He thrives, but something remarkable is happening to him.
Hermes: What's that?
Trygaeus: He's changing from Sophocles into Simonides.
Hermes: Simonides? How so?
Trygaeus: Now that he's old and stale, he'd sail on a raft of rushes for profit.

A scholiast explains the joke (Schol. V ad Ar. *Pacem* 695–9; Simon. T 23 Campbell):[43]

ὁ Σιμωνίδης δοκεῖ πρῶτος σμικρολογίαν εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὰ ᾄσματα καὶ γράψαι ᾆσμα μισθοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν τοῖς Ἰσθμιονίκαις φησὶν αἰνιττόμενος·
… ἁ Μοῖσα γὰρ φιλοκερδής
οὔ ποτ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις…

Simonides seems to have been the first to introduce money-grubbing into his songs and to write songs for pay. Pindar indirectly alludes to this in his Isthmians [Pind., *Isthm.* 2.1–8]:
… for at that time the Muse
was neither greedy nor mercenary…

Already in the fifth century B.C., then, the itinerant poet-for-hire Simonides was closely associated with nautical mercantilism and its attendant risks. And indeed, as the poet's biographical tradition evolved, the threat of shipwreck implicit in Aristophanes' 'raft of rushes' (Ar., *Pax* 699 ῥιπός; cf. *Carm.* 1.1.17: 'rates') developed into a much more elaborate tale of Simonides' salvation from a watery grave through the intervention of a ghost whose corpse he laid to rest. The *Palatine Anthology* lemmatist preserves the story along with two epigrams Simonides supposedly composed in commemoration of his saviour (Schol. ad *Anth. Pal.* 7.77; Simon. frags. 128–9 Bergk; Simon., *Anth. Pal.* 7.516, 7.77; Simon., *Epig.* 84–5 Campbell):

Σιμωνίδης εὑρὼν νεκρὸν ἐν νήσῳ τινὶ θάψας ἐπέγραψεν·
οἱ μὲν ἐμὲ κτείναντες ὁμοίων ἀντιτύχοιεν,
Ζεῦ Ξένι' οἱ δ' ὑπὸ γᾶν θέντες ὄναιντο βίου.
ὁ ταφεὶς νεκρὸς ἐπιφανεὶς τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ ἐκώλυσε πλεῖν· διὸ τῶν συμπλεόντων μὴ πεισθέντων, αὐτὸς μείνας σώζεται, καὶ ἐπιγράφει τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τῷ τάφῳ·
οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Κείοιο Σιμωνίδου ἐστὶ σαωτήρ,
ὃς καὶ τεθνηὼς ζῶντι παρέσχε χάριν.

Finding a corpse on an island, Simonides buried it and set up this inscription:
May those who killed me suffer the same fate, O Zeus
Lord of Hosts, and may my gravediggers thrive.

[43] Cf. Arist., *Rh.* 1405b (Simon. frag. 515 PMG); Callim. frag. 222 Pfeiffer; Phaed. 4.26; Bell 1978; Rawles 2018: 155–225.

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> The buried corpse appeared to Simonides in a dream and prevented him from sailing; but as his fellow travellers did not heed him, he alone was saved, and he set this epigraph above the tomb:
> This is the saviour of Cean Simonides,
> who even in death repaid the living.

This version of the story was well known at Rome during Horace's lifetime, as Cicero attests.[44] But perhaps even more significant for the interpretation of Horace's fifth allusive icon is an alternative version told just a generation later by Phaedrus, who attributes Simonides' actual deliverance from a sinking ship not to the poet's burial of the exposed corpse, but rather to his (proto-)Stoic sagacity (Phaed. 4.23; Perry, *Aes.* 519):

Homo doctus in se semper diuitias habet.
Simonides, qui scripsit egregium melos,
quo paupertatem sustineret facilius,
circum ire coepit urbes Asiae nobiles,
5 mercede accepta laudem uictorum canens.
hoc genere quaestus postquam locuples factus est,
redire in patriam uoluit cursu pelagio;
erat autem, ut aiunt, natus in Cia insula.
ascendit nauem; quam tempestas horrida
10 simul et uetustas medio dissoluit mari.
hi zonas, illi res pretiosas colligunt,
subsidium uitae. quidam curiosior:
'Simonide, tu ex opibus nil sumis tuis?'
'Mecum' inquit 'mea sunt cuncta'. tunc pauci enatant,
15 quia plures onere degrauati perierant.
praedones adsunt, rapiunt quod quisque extulit,
nudos relinquunt. forte Clazomenae prope
antiqua fuit urbs, quam petierunt naufragi.
hic litterarum quidam studio deditus,
20 Simonidis qui saepe uersus legerat,
eratque absentis admirator maximus,
sermone ab ipso cognitum cupidissime
ad se recepit; ueste, nummis, familia
hominem exornauit. ceteri tabulam suam
25 portant, rogantes uictum. quos casu obuios
Simonides ut uidit: 'Dixi' inquit 'mea
mecum esse cuncta; uos quod rapuistis perit'.

The learned man always has wealth within himself.
Simonides, who wrote exceptional lyrics,
in order to alleviate his poverty
began to tour the famous cities of Asia,
5 singing the praises of winning athletes for pay.
After he got rich on such royalties,
he wished to return to his native land by sea.
For he was born, they say, on the isle of Ceos.
He boarded the ship; but a dreadful storm (along
10 with its age) sank it in the middle of the sea.
Some grab their money belts, others precious treasures
to survive afterwards. One asks curiously:

[44] Cic., *Div.* 1.57, 2.135; cf. Val. Max. 1.7.ext.3.

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'Simonides, you're taking no money with you?'
'Everything mine', he replies, 'is with me'. Only
15 a few reach shore; most of them drown, weighed down by wealth.
Bandits appear, and steal everything they had saved,
leaving them naked. By chance the ancient city
of Clazomenae was close by, so the shipwrecked
men headed there. Here a certain man of letters,
20 one who had often read Simonides' verses
and was his biggest fan on that far shore, received
him with pleasure, having recognised the poet
by his speech alone; and he granted the man clothes,
cash, and the use of his house. The others carry
25 signs and beg for alms. Simonides, when he chanced
on them one day, says when he sees them: 'I told you
everything mine is with me; all you saved is lost'.

Whether Phaedrus' version preserves otherwise unattested elements of Simonides' biographical tradition already available to Horace or was invented by the fabulist in response to his predecessor's priamel is difficult to say.[45] What is certain, however, is that Phaedrus' Simonides perfectly matches the description of Horace's iconic merchant: both figures undertake the hazards of a sea voyage explicitly to escape poverty (*Carm.* 1.1.18; Phaed. 4.23.3); both are conspicuously fond of their native lands (*Carm.* 1.1.16–17; Phaed. 4.23.6–7); both regain their wealth after the foundering of their ships (*Carm.* 1.1.17–18; Phaed. 4.23.23–4); and most crucially, both are shipwrecked on the northern shore of the Icarian Sea, where the Horatian trader would logically be driven by 'the Southwest Wind wrestling Icarian waves' (*Carm.* 1.1.15: 'luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum'), and where in Phaedrus the Greek lyric poet and his companions find that 'the ancient city of Clazomenae was close by' (Phaed. 4.23.16–17: 'forte Clazomenae prope | antiqua fuit urbs').[46] As with the Myrtoan Sea in the case of Horace's land-lubbing farmer, therefore, the Icarian Sea here provides a useful geographic index of his iconic merchant's allusive identity as the prototypical poet-for-hire, Simonides.

VI THE DRUNKARD (ANACREON)

While the merchant risks wreckage at sea, the drunkard gets smashed on shore (*Carm.* 1.1.19–22):

est qui nec ueteris pocula Massici
20 nec partem solido demere de die
spernit, nunc uiridi membra sub arbuto
stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae;

there is one who spurns neither a cup of vintage
20 Massican, nor to while away the better part
of a day with limbs splayed beneath an arbutus,
or beside the soothing source of a sacred spring;

Although the detail of the vintage Massican lends these lines an undeniably Campanian flavour, Horace's description otherwise perfectly distils the sympotic character of

[45] The scenarios are equally plausible. On Phaedrus and Horace, see Champlin 2005: 117–20; Park 2017: 148–231.
[46] We are probably to understand that Phaedrus' Simonides makes landfall near Teos and proceeds north to Clazomenae, though a shipwreck in the Gulf of Smyrna is not impossible; see Talbert 2000: 57 E 3–4. Cf. Bean 1979: 99–115.

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the most notorious toper of all the *lyrikoi* (if not all antiquity), Anacreon of Teos.[47] Indeed, bibulousness was widely regarded as the Greek lyric poet's dominant attribute from the earliest period of his reception. Pausanias describes a prominent portrait (Paus. 1.25.1; Anac. T 10 Campbell):

> ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει καὶ Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου καὶ αὐτὸς Ξάνθιππος, ὃς ἐναυμάχησεν ἐπὶ Μυκάλῃ Μήδοις. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλέους ἀνδριὰς ἑτέρωθι ἀνάκειται, τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἕστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας· καί οἱ τὸ σχῆμά ἐστιν οἷον ᾄδοντος ἂν ἐν μέθῃ γένοιτο ἀνθρώπου.
>
> On the Acropolis at Athens there are statues of Pericles son of Xanthippus and of Xanthippus himself, who fought the Persians in a naval battle off Mycale. But the statue of Pericles is set up to one side, while near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, the first poet after Sappho of Lesbos to write mostly erotic songs; and his figure is made to resemble that of a man singing while drunk.

Regardless of whether this statue is to be identified with a widely disseminated type best known from a full-length Roman copy now in Copenhagen, its presence on the Acropolis all but ensured this portrait's fame;[48] Horace himself almost certainly would have seen it during his early scholastic sojourn in Athens (*Epist.* 2.2.43–5). But of course, Anacreon was represented in this manner for good reason: both his authentic poems and the pseudepigraphical *Anacreontea* practically overflow with references to wine.[49] Indeed, by the Hellenistic period Anacreon's status as the archetypal tippler among the Greek lyric poets was unshakable, as exemplified by Leonidas of Tarentum's epigram on what is probably the same portrait type described by Pausanias (Leon., *Anth. Plan.* 16.306; Anac. T 11 Campbell):[50]

> Πρέσβυν Ἀνακρείοντα χύδαν σεσαλαγμένον οἴνῳ
> θάεο †δινωτοῦ στρεπτὸν ὕπερθε λίθου†,
> ὡς ὁ γέρων λίχνοισιν ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ὑγρὰ δεδορκὼς
> ἄχρι καὶ ἀστραγάλων ἕλκεται ἀμπεχόναν·
> 5 δισσῶν δ' ἀρβυλίδων τὰν μὲν μίαν οἷα μεθυπλὴξ
> ὤλεσεν, ἐν δ' ἑτέρᾳ ῥικνὸν ἄραρε πόδα.
> μέλπει δ' ἠὲ Βάθυλλον ἐφίμερον ἠὲ Μεγιστέα,
> αἰωρῶν παλάμᾳ τὰν δυσέρωτα χέλυν.
> ἀλλά, πάτερ Διόνυσε, φύλασσέ μιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν
> 10 ἐκ Βάκχου πίπτειν Βακχιακὸν θέραπα.
>
> Behold old man Anacreon sloshed past the brim
> with wine, bending over the rounded stone:

[47] The juxtaposition of Ionian and Campanian toponyms at Hor., *Carm.* 1.1.15–22 recalls the move from Olympia to Rome at *Carm.* 1.1.3–8, with similar effect. Teos' location on the shores of the Icarian Sea also makes for a particularly fluid transition between Horace's Simonidean and Anacreontic icons; see n. 46 above, and compare n. 42 on the similar shift from Alcmanian farmer to Simonidean merchant via Ceos in the northern Myrtoan Sea.

[48] In favour of the identification, see Shapiro 2012: 9–15; against, see Rosenmeyer 1992: 27–9; Ridgway 1998.

[49] E.g. Anac. 346, 356, 373, 389, 396, 409, 412, 433, 442, 450 PMG; *Eleg.* 2, 4 Campbell; *Anacreontea* 1–2, 4–6, 8–9, 12, 15, 18, 20–1, 32, 38, 42–5, 47–50, 52–3, 56, 59–60b Campbell.

[50] On the obelised δινωτοῦ στρεπτὸν ὕπερθε λίθου at *Anth. Plan.* 16.306.2, see n. 57 below. For further Greek epigrams emphasising Anacreon's inebriety, see [Simon.], *Anth. Pal.* 7.24; Antip. Sid., *Anth. Pal.* 7.26, 7.27 (Anac. T 12 Campbell); Anon., *Anth. Pal.* 7.28; Jul. Aegypt., *Anth. Pal.* 7.32, 7.33. *Anth. Plan.* 16.307–9 seem to describe the same portrait type, which bears no resemblance to the Copenhagen Anacreon; see Gow and Page 1965: 2.340–1; Ridgway 1998: 724 n. 23. The epigrammatic evidence thus favours Rosenmeyer 1992 and Ridgway 1998 over Shapiro 2012.

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see how the codger, clearly leering with lewd eyes
  trails his dress past his ankles in drag;
5 hammered on wine, he's lost one of two boots,
  but keeps a wrinkled foot in the other.
He is singing either delightful Bathyllus
  or Megisteus, his love-lorn lyre in hand.
Take care of him, father Dionysus! It is
10 not seemly for the bacchant to fall from Bacchus.

Drunkenness remained Anacreon's dominant attribute well into the Augustan period, as Ovid attests.[51] Indeed, Horace's contemporary Didymus even wrote a treatise sifting the sympotic strains of Anacreon's character, much to Seneca's dismay (Sen., *Ep.* 88.37):

> Quattuor milia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit: misererer si tam multa superuacua legisset. In his libris de patria Homeri quaeritur, in his de Aeneae matre uera, in his libidinosior Anacreon an ebriosior uixerit, in his an Sappho publica fuerit, et alia quae erant dediscenda si scires. I nunc et longam esse uitam nega!

> Didymus the grammarian wrote four thousand books: I would pity him if he had merely read so many useless works. They include treatises on Homer's birthplace, Aeneas' true mother, whether Anacreon lived more for wine or for sex, whether Sappho was a prostitute, and other things you ought to forget, if you knew them in the first place. Now go and tell me life is short!

That Didymus decided the question in favour of *ebriosior* may be inferred not just from Ovid's aforementioned characterisation, but also from Athenaeus' later assessment (Ath. 10.429b; Anac. T 18 Campbell):[52]

> ἄτοπος δὲ Ἀνακρέων ὁ πᾶσαν αὑτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν ἐξαρτήσας μέθης. τῇ γὰρ μαλακίᾳ καὶ τῇ τρυφῇ ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι διαβέβληται, οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν πολλῶν ὅτι νήφων ἐν τῷ γράφειν καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὢν προσποιεῖται μεθύειν οὐκ οὔσης ἀνάγκης.

> Anacreon is unusual in having made drunkenness the basis of all his poetry. For he has been attacked as having surrendered himself to laxity and luxury in his poems, although most people do not realise that he was sober when he composed, and he was a solid citizen who merely pretended to be a drunkard, though there was no need for it.

Regardless of whether this rather diluted portrait originated with Didymus or represents Athenaeus' own muddled attempt to rehabilitate Anacreon's reputation, by the late imperial period the burden of proof clearly lay with the claim that the Tean was *not* a sot.[53]

Still, dipsomania is not the only aspect of Horace's sixth allusive icon which evokes the figure of Anacreon. Indeed, probably out of his association with the free flow of liquor there arose in the Hellenistic period a parallel tradition connecting the poet with sacred springs of various liquids. Take, for instance, an epigram by Dioscorides (Diosc., *Anth. Pal.* 7.31):

Σμερδίῃ ὦ ἐπὶ Θρῃκὶ τακεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἔσχατον ὀστεῦν,
  κώμου καὶ πάσης κοίρανε παννυχίδος,
τερπνότατε Μούσῃσιν Ἀνάκρεον, ὦ 'πὶ Βαθύλλῳ
  χλωρὸν ὑπὲρ κυλίκων πολλάκι δάκρυ χέας,
5 αὐτόματαί τοι κρῆναι ἀναβλύζοιεν ἄκρητου

[51] Ov., *Ars am.* 3.330 'uinosi Teia Musa senis'. Cf. *Rem. am.* 761–2; *Tr.* 2.363–6; Porph. ad Hor., *Artem P.* 85.
[52] Athenaeus' familiarity with Didymus is confirmed by e.g. Ath. 4.139d.
[53] Rosenmeyer 1992: 19–20.

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κὴκ μακάρων προχοαὶ νέκταρος ἀμβροσίου,
αὐτόματοι δὲ φέροιεν ἴον, τὸ φιλέσπερον ἄνθος,
κῆποι καὶ μαλακῇ μύρτα τρέφοιτο δρόσῳ,
ὄφρα καὶ ἐν Δηοῦς οἰνωμένος ἁβρὰ χορεύσῃς
10 βεβληκὼς χρυσέην χεῖρας ἐπ' Εὐρυπύλην.

You whose marrow melted for Thracian Smerdies,
and lord of every late-night revel,
Anacreon, delight of the Muses, you who
often shed a fresh tear for Bathyllus
5 into your cups, may springs of uncut wine bubble
up for you unbidden, and streams of ambrosial
nectar from the gods; may gardens bear the violet —
the night-loving blossom — unbidden, and
myrtle nourished by tender dew, so that even
in Demeter's house you may dance lightly,
10 drunk on wine, embracing golden Eurypyle.

Here everything flows: marrow, tears, wine, nectar, and ultimately the dancing limbs of Anacreon as they move to embrace Eurypyle and begin the cycle anew.[54] But most crucially, the Greek lyric poet is situated in an idyllic setting 'beside the soothing source of a sacred spring', in Horace's phrase (*Carm.* 1.1.22: 'ad aquae lene caput sacrae'): Dioscorides locates Anacreon not just anywhere along his streams of wine and nectar, but precisely where they 'bubble up unbidden' from their divine fountainheads.[55] Indeed, the Hellenistic poet may well have had a very specific locale in mind, since as Diodorus Siculus reports, the people of Teos justified their claim to Dionysus' birthplace by pointing to the existence of just such a miraculous fountain of wine within their city precincts.[56] Thus, while sacred springs are by no means associated solely with the Tean bard in Greek literature, the presence of one alongside Horace's iconic hedonist serves to strengthen the identification of Roman poet's sixth allusive icon with antiquity's archetypal tippler, Anacreon.[57]

VII THE SOLDIER (ALCAEUS)

The drunkard's idle pleasure then yields to the grim business of the soldier (*Carm.* 1.1.23–5):

multos castra iuuant et lituo tubae
permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
25 detestata;

many the camps please, and the sound of horn
mixed with bugle, and wars detested by
25 mothers;

Like the farmer and the merchant before them, Horace's drinker and soldier strike a potent contrast. But once again, more than mere rhetorical antithesis is at issue here. For just as

[54] On marrow and semen in ancient thought and poetry, see Katz and Volk 2006: 172.
[55] For a variation on the same theme, cf. Antip. Sid., *Anth. Pal.* 7.23.
[56] Diod. Sic. 3.66.2.
[57] Indeed, the convention of situating the drunken Anacreon at the source of a spring may account for the obelised δινωτοῦ στρεπτὸν ὕπερθε λίθου at Leon., *Anth. Plan.* 16.306.2 (quoted above), 'a very obscure line' according to Gow and Page 1965: 2.341. The problem evaporates upon realisation that stones become smooth and round precisely through prolonged exposure to liquids in motion.

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bibulousness was generally perceived as Anacreon's dominant attribute in antiquity, so too was patriotic bellicosity in defence of his native Mytilene widely considered Alcaeus' essential character trait.[58] This characterisation had become entrenched already in the Hellenistic period, as exemplified by the anonymous epigram praising the 'sword of Alcaeus, which often shed the blood | of tyrants, defending the laws of his fatherland' with which we began.[59] Quintilian, too, ranks Alcaeus' blows against tyranny as the Lesbian poet's strongest lyric achievements (Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.63; Alc. T 21 Campbell):

> Alcaeus in parte operis 'aureo plectro' merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confert, in eloquendo quoque breuis et magnificus et diligens et plerumque oratori similis, sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior.

> Alcaeus is rightly awarded the 'golden plectrum' [Hor., *Carm.* 2.13.26–7] in that part of his work where in attacking tyrants he also makes a great contribution to ethics, and where his style is pithy, elevated, and precise (much like an orator's);[60] but he also fooled around and resorted to love poetry, though he was better suited to loftier subjects.

Athenaeus likewise emphasises Alcaeus' militancy above all other aspects of his character, dubbing him 'warlike to a fault' (Ath. 14.627a; Alc. frag. 357.1 Lobel-Page):

> Ἀλκαῖος γοῦν ὁ ποιητής, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος μουσικώτατος γενόμενος, πρότερα τῶν κατὰ ποιητικὴν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τίθεται, μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος πολεμικὸς γενόμενος. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις σεμνυνόμενός φησιν·
> … μαρμαίρει δὲ μέγας δόμος
> χαλκῷ …

> Even the poet Alcaeus (if there was any man more devoted to the Muses than he) rates works of courage above works of poetry, since he was warlike to a fault. And so boasting about such things he says:
> … and the great hall gleams
> with bronze …

But most importantly of all, Horace himself repeatedly and consistently underscores Alcaeus' belligerence whenever he describes the life and work of his most prominent lyric predecessor in the *Odes*. This combative characterisation of Alcaeus begins in POSCIMVS SI QVID (*Carm.* 1.32), where the Lesbian 'citizen' (*Carm.* 1.32.5: 'ciui', with attendant patriotic undertones) sings of love only in the intervals afforded by the more tempestuous affairs of war on land and sea (*Carm.* 1.32.5–12). This pugnacious portrait continues in ILLE ET NEFASTO (*Carm.* 2.13), where Alcaeus' songs of martial hardship (*Carm.* 2.13.28: 'dura belli') overpower Sappho's lovelorn complaints in the estimation of their underworld audience, who prefer his tales of 'battles and banished tyrants' (*Carm.* 2.13.31: 'pugnas et exactos tyrannos').[61] Even Alcaeus' sources of inspiration are

[58] On Alcaeus the citizen-soldier, see e.g. Feeney 1993: 47; Hutchinson 2007: 40; Strauss Clay 2010: 134. On Alcaeus' 'masculine [sc. aggressive] style', see N-H 1978: 219; cf. Cic., *Tusc.* 4.71, 'fortis uir …' (quoted below).
[59] Anon., *Anth. Pal.* 9.184.7–8: καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαίοιο, τὸ πολλάκις αἷμα τυράννων | ἔσπεισεν πάτρης θέσμια ῥυόμενον (quoted in full above).
[60] On the connection with oratory, cf. Dion. Hal., *Imit.* 421 (Alc. T 20 Campbell), where, as in Quintilian, the emphasis is on Alcaeus' forceful patriotism. Note that unlike Stesichorus, Alcaeus most famously intervened in contemporary politics not as an orator, but as a warrior; see esp. Alc. frags. 428a–b Lobel-Page ap. Str. 13.1.38, Hdt. 5.94–5. The crucial distinction is that while Alcaeus' poetry can be characterised as rhetorical, he himself was not an orator like Stesichorus.
[61] Hor., *Carm.* 2.13.21–32. On the juxtaposition of warlike Alcaeus and peaceful Sappho in this passage, see Strauss Clay 2010: 135–7.

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markedly 'aggressive', as Horace would later inform us in NE FORTE CREDAS (*Carm.* 4.9.7–8: 'Alcaei minaces … Camenae').[62] Thus, while it was primarily Alcaeus' poetic range that earned him pride of place among Horace's lyric predecessors,[63] from the standpoint of the biographical tradition the Lesbian poet was always a citizen-soldier first and foremost, and thus ideally suited for deployment as Horace's seventh allusive icon.

VIII THE HUNTER (IBYCUS)

From the soldier keen on war, Horace trains his sights on an unuxorious huntsman (*Carm.* 1.1.25–8):

25 manet sub Ioue frigido
uenator tenerae coniugis immemor,
seu uisa est catulis cerua fidelibus
seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.

25 the hunter abides under frigid sky
forgetful of his tender bride, whether to sight
a hind with faithful hounds, or for a Marsian
boar to burst through his encircling nets.

As the poet's audience knew perfectly well, the chase was an almost exclusively masculine pursuit in Roman antiquity.[64] So why home in on his iconic sportsman's conjugal neglect? This seemingly superfluous detail is in fact quite significant, since whereas in Augustan poetry heterosexual lovers normally go hunting precisely in order to forget their amorous cares,[65] in homosexual circles such outings regularly provide cover for quite another kind of sport.[66] And indeed, as we have already seen, for a Greek lyric poet renowned above all for 'pluck[ing] the sweet bloom of persuasion and boys',[67] we need hunt no further than the most elusive of Horace's predecessors, Ibycus. Cicero, too, awards the Rhegian first prize for pederasty (Cic., *Tusc.* 4.71; Ibyc. T 12 Campbell):[68]

> Atque, ut muliebris amores omittam, quibus maiorem licentiam natura concessit, quis aut de Ganymedi raptu dubitat quid poetae uelint aut non intelligit quid apud Euripidem et loquatur et cupiat Laius? Quid denique homines doctissimi et summi poetae de se ipsis et carminibus edunt et cantibus? Fortis uir in sua re publica cognitus quae de iuuenum amore scribit Alcaeus! Nam Anacreontis quidem tota poesis est amatoria. Maxume uero omnium flagrasse amore Reginum Ibycum apparet ex scriptis. Atque horum omnium lubidinosos esse amores uidemus.

[62] Cf. *TLL* s.v. minax 996.57–8 'sc. στασιωτικά', i.e. 'factious', in reference to Alcaeus' role in the Lesbian civil wars, cited by Thomas 2011: 200.

[63] On Alcaeus' status as the leading model for the variegated lyric persona of *Odes* 1–3, see e.g. N-H 1970: xii; N-H 1978: 205; Feeney 1993: 45–53; Strauss Clay 2010.

[64] Prominent (and notably ill-fated) exceptions include virgin devotees of Diana (e.g. Camilla at Verg., *Aen.* 11.573–84), moonlighting goddesses (e.g. Venus at Ov., *Met.* 10.533–41) and aberrant queens such as Dido (Verg., *Aen.* 4.129–59) and Cleopatra (Plut., *Ant.* 29.2). On Roman women and hunting, see Anderson 1985: 89–92.

[65] E.g. Verg., *Ecl.* 10.55–6; Prop. 2.19.17–32; Ov., *Rem. am.* 199–212.

[66] E.g. Verg., *Ecl.* 2.28–30, 3.66–7, 3.74–5; Tib. 1.4.49–50; Ov., *Met.* 10.171–3. Cf. Plut., *Quomodo adul.* 52b–c; Philostr., *Im.* 1.28.1. On the homoerotics of hunting, see Dover 1989: 87–8.

[67] Anon., *Anth. Pal.* 9.184.5–6: ἡδύ τε Πειθοῦς | Ἴβυκε καὶ παίδων ἄνθος ἀμησάμενε (quoted in full above). Cf. Suda s.v. Ἴβυκος (Ibyc. T 1 Campbell): γέγονε δὲ ἐρωτομανέστατος περὶ μειράκια; Anon., *Anth. Pal.* 7.714.3–4 (Ibyc. T 6 Campbell): φιλέοντα λύρην, φιλέοντα δὲ παῖδας | Ἴβυκον.

[68] On Cicero's 'singling out of male–male *erōs*' in general and the specifically 'homoerotic material' of Alcaeus, Anacreon and Ibycus in this passage, see Graver 2002: 175, 179. For the pederastic connotations of 'lubidinosos', see *TLL* s.v. libidinosus 1329.66–8: 'amorem … illicitum, id est libidinosum'. Cf. Wilkinson 2013: 20.

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> And leaving aside the love of women, which nature has made more permissible, who doubts what the poets mean by the rape of Ganymede, or fails to grasp Laius' meaning and motivation in Euripides? Finally, what do scholars say, and what do the greatest poets tell us about themselves in their poems and songs? The things Alcaeus — considered a formidable man in his city — writes about his love of youths! And of course Anacreon's entire oeuvre is erotic. But it is clear from his writings that Ibycus of Rhegium was the most ardent of all in love. And we see that the loves of all these men are lustful.

Moreover, the sole occurrence of the name Ibycus in the Horatian corpus refers to the impoverished husband of a Roman matron who evidently feels neglected by him to the point that she scandalously goes chasing after much younger men in VXOR PAVPERIS IBYCI (*Carm.* 3.15),[69] a poem whose nexus of spousal inattentiveness, cynegetic imagery and Ibycus is too expertly woven for it to be unconnected to Horace's eighth allusive icon: mark, for instance, how its striking doe simile recalls the 'hind' (*Carm.* 1.1.27: 'cerua') stalked by the priamel's iconic hunter.[70] Nor is the sportsman's anticipated wild 'boar' (*Carm.* 1.1.28: 'aper') without precedent in Ibycus: indeed, despite the highly fragmentary state of his corpus, we know from a reference in Diomedes the grammarian to 'Meleagrid Althaea, as Ibycus the Greek called her' that the Rhegian poet seems to have treated the myth of the Calydonian Boar Hunt in some detail.[71] But most importantly of all, we also happen to know that 'the vast nets of Cypris' feature prominently in an Ibycan poem which Horace would later emulate in INTERMISSA, VENVS (*Carm.* 4.1) quite conspicuously (Ibyc. frag. 287 PMG):[72]

Ἔρος αὖτέ με κυανέοισιν ὑπὸ
  βλεφάροις τακέρ' ὄμμασι δερκόμενος
κηλήμασι παντοδαποῖς ἐς ἄπει-
  ρα δίκτυα Κύπριδος ἐσβάλλει·
5 ἦ μὰν τρομέω νιν ἐπερχόμενον,
ὥστε φερέζυγος ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος ποτὶ γήραι
ἀέκων σὺν ὄχεσφι θοοῖς ἐς ἅμιλλαν ἔβα.

Eros, once again shooting me
  melting glances from under dark
eyelids, hurls me into the vast
  nets of Cypris. How I tremble
5 at his approach, like a prize-winning
horse which goes unwilling, bridled,
and old to the race with swift chariot.

Like Bacchylides' corn at the outset of his *Ode* 3, Ibycus' 'vast nets of Cypris' may well have been regarded as emblematic of the Rhegian poet's work: indeed, Horace's choice of the Latin adjective *teres* to describe his sportsman's snare nicely catches Ibycus' similarly unusual *apeiros* of Eros' hunting nets, since both terms essentially

[69] The contention that the Greek lyric poet's 'hedonism and reputed lechery… are not in point here', advanced by Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 192, recalls similar attempts to sanitise Horace's characterisation of Virgil in Hor. *Carm.* 4.12, on which see Thomas 2011: 225–8.

[70] Hor., *Carm.* 3.15.11–12: 'illam cogat amor Nothi | lasciuae similem ludere capreae'. Against the tentative suggestion by Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 196 that 'capreae' here refers to a wild goat or ibex instead of the usual roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), see Mynors 1990: 147; Watson 2003: 416; Freudenburg 2021: 186.

[71] Ibyc. frag. 290 PMG: 'Althaea Meleagris, sicut Ibycus Graecus rettulit' (*GL* 1.323 Keil), on which see Bowra 1961: 250–1.

[72] Cf. Hor., *Carm.* 4.1.1–4, on which see Thomas 2011: 86. The fact that *Carm.* 4.1 concludes with a wistful address to the boy Ligurinus (*Carm.* 4.1.33–40) probably also reflects Ibycus' presence behind this ode.

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connote circularity, the former by way of Greek *kykloterēs*, and the latter by way of infinity.[73] Thus, through careful concatenation of the chase, conjugal neglect and intertexts both internal and external, Horace's eighth allusive icon cleverly captures the character of the Greek lyric pederast *par excellence*, Ibycus.

IX THE LESBIAN LYRE (SAPPHO)

Finally, before issuing the bold request to be enrolled among the *lyrikoi* with which we began, Horace presents his intellectual and social bona fides for inclusion in the canon, with one critically important proviso (*Carm.* 1.1.29–34):

> Me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
> 30 dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
> Nympharumque leues cum Satyris chori
> secernunt populo, si neque tibias
> Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
> Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.

> Me the ivy, the prize of learned brows,
> 30 unites with the gods above, me the cool
> grove and nimble choruses of Nymphs
> and Satyrs seclude from the people, if
> neither Euterpe withholds the flute, nor
> Polyhymnia the Lesbian lyre.

As we have seen, each of the eight figures preceding this climax represents one of Horace's male lyric forebears through intertextuality, biographical tradition, or both. But Sappho posed a special challenge for Horace's programmatic priamel: however 'masculine' his sole female predecessor may have been (*Epist.* 1.19.28: 'mascula Sappho'), the Roman poet's commitment to the principles of elegance and decorum obviously precluded any gender-bending in his iconic catalogue, grammatical or otherwise. And so he devised a climactic solution which ironically and iconically effects the very insertion he requests in the poem's final couplet. For as Gisela Richter has meticulously documented, in each and every surviving portrait of Sappho in which her hands are depicted — and even on the reverses of coins from Mytilene and Eresos which portray her bust in profile — the Lesbian poetess is universally accompanied by the lyre (usually the distinctive Lesbian *barbitos*) which is her formal attribute.[74] In this respect, Sappho is unique among ancient adepts of this instrument.[75] For while her Lesbian compatriot Alcaeus is likewise depicted with a *barbitos* on a famous kalathoid krater now in Munich, his less renowned portrait on a second-century A.D. bronze coin from Mytilene is struck in more

[73] LSJ s.v. ἄπειρος 3: 'endless, i.e. circular' (cf. πεῖραρ, πέρας); *OLD* s.v. teres: 'cf. Gk. κυκλοτερής'. On the strangeness of ἄπειρα in the Ibycan fragment, see Wilkinson 2013: 239. I do not dispute that 'teretes' at Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.28 connotes 'fine' as well as 'round(ed)'; on the former 'rare meaning' see N-H 1970: 13; Mayer 2012: 58, with the latter's comment on the curved deployment of hunting nets. Indeed, such studied polyvalence in favour of both an archaic intertext and a Callimachean concept accords perfectly with the poetic programme announced in Horace's priamel and implemented throughout the *Odes*.
[74] Richter 1965: 1.70–2 (figs. 252–63); Richter 1972: 5 (figs. 252a–b, 263a); for fuller discussion of the coins with line drawings, see Forrer 1901, esp. at 419. On the sole portrait of Sappho (likewise holding the *barbitos*) identified since the publication of Richter's 1972 Supplement, see Snyder 1997: 109–12; Yatromanolakis 2001.
[75] Aside from Sappho and Alcaeus, the *barbitos* was also associated in antiquity with Terpander and Anacreon, the former of whom was not enrolled among the *lyrikoi*, and the latter of whom was from Teos, not Lesbos. For an overview, see Snyder 1972.

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characteristic opposition to the tyrant Pittacus.[76] Sappho, conversely, is distinguished solely and without exception in pre-Augustan portraiture by her poetry as emblematised by the Lesbian lyre. By placing the *barbitos* at the climax of his programmatic priamel, therefore, Horace allows Sappho's musical attribute to speak for her, and his own penultimate position in his iconic catalogue to speak for itself.

And indeed, what little remains of Sappho in the literary record accords perfectly with this picture, since it was the Lesbian poetess herself who first bade her lyre speak in a poem whose incipit is preserved by Hermogenes of Tarsus (Sappho frag. 118 Lobel-Page ap. Hermog., *Id.* 2.4, p. 334 Rabe):[77]

> καθόλου τὸ περιτιθέναι τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτοις προαιρετικόν τι γλυκύτητα ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ ἔν τε τῷ προειρημένῳ δηλοῦται καὶ ὅταν τὴν λύραν ἐρωτᾷ ἡ Σαπφὼ καὶ ὅταν αὐτὴ ἀποκρίνηται, οἷον
>
> ἄγι δὴ χέλυ δῖα † μοι λέγε †
> φωνάεσσα † δὲ γίνεο †
>
> καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.
>
> In general the attribution of agency to objects which lack agency has a sweet effect, as is made clear in the preceding example, and when Sappho prompts her lyre, and the lyre itself responds:
>
> Come along, divine tortoiseshell, [speak to me
> and find] your voice
>
> and the following lines.

As with the attributes of the other *lyrikoi*, this essential feature of Sappho's iconography was picked up and played upon by Hellenistic epigrammatists, for instance in yet another anonymous example from Book 9 of the *Palatine Anthology* (*Anth. Pal.* 9.189; Sappho T 59 Campbell):[78]

> Ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος ταυρώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης,
> Λεσβίδες, ἁβρὰ ποδῶν βήμαθ' ἑλισσόμεναι·
> ἔνθα καλὸν στήσασθε θεῇ χορόν· ὔμμι δ' ἀπάρξει
> Σαπφὼ χρυσείην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην.
> 5 ὄλβιαι ὀρχηθμοῦ πολυγηθέος· ἦ γλυκὺν ὕμνον
> εἰσαΐειν αὐτῆς δόξετε Καλλιόπης.
>
> Come to the gleaming precinct of bull-faced Hera,
> Lesbian girls, turning your graceful steps;
> form a fine chorus for the goddess there,
> and Sappho will lead you, golden lyre in hand.
> 5 Blessed are you of the gladsome dance! You will think
> you hear a sweet hymn from Calliope herself.

But most importantly of all, in Sappho's sole personal appearance in the *Odes*, Horace himself depicts the Lesbian poetess 'complaining on Aeolian lyre about her fellow girls' in ILLE ET NEFASTO (*Carm.* 2.13.24–5: 'Aeoliis fidibus querentem | Sappho puellis de popularibus'), where the phrase 'Aeoliis fidibus' surely designates the same instrument as the 'Lesboum barbiton' (*Carm.* 1.1.34) at the priamel's climax — an icon which reappears resoundingly in Horace's retrospective catalogue of poetic predecessors in *Odes* 4.9, where 'still the love breathes, and passions live which were confided to the

[76] For images of the kalathoid krater (Munich, Antikensammlung, Inv. 2416), see Richter 1965: 1.70 (fig. 252); Snyder 1997: 111. For an image of the coin (now *RPC* IV.2 2461 [temp.]), see Richter 1965: 1.69 (fig. 247).
[77] On the synonymity of *chelys* and *barbitos* here, see Snyder 1972: 334.
[78] On this epigram and Sapphic portraits, see Page 1981: 338.

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Aeolian girl's lyre' (*Carm.* 4.9.10–12: 'spirat adhuc amor | uiuuntque commissi calores | Aeoliae fidibus puellae').[79] Thus, in both the Roman poet's own lyric oeuvre and the material record, Sappho is never depicted without the instrument which functions as her formal attribute at the climax of Horace's programmatic priamel, where the songstress finally assumes her proper place among her sisters.

For indeed, now that the Roman poet has taken the liberty of occupying the ninth place in the canonical list of *lyrikoi*, Sappho has been elevated to the tenth position in his iconic catalogue alongside the Muses Euterpe and Polyhymnia, which according to tradition is of course precisely where she belongs (Pl., *Anth. Pal.* 9.506; Sappho T 60 Campbell):[80]

Ἐννέα τὰς Μούσας φασίν τινες· ὡς ὀλιγώρως·
 ἠνίδε καὶ Σαπφὼ Λεσβόθεν ἡ δεκάτη.

Some say there are nine Muses; how careless!
 Sappho of Lesbos is clearly the tenth.

In this manner, Horace takes advantage of an opening provided for him in the second of the two epigrammatic catalogues of the nine Greek lyric poets with which we began (Anon., *Anth. Pal.* 9.571):[81]

Ἔκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος· ἔπνεε τερπνὰ
 ἡδυμελεῖ φθόγγῳ μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω·
λάμπει Στησίχορός τε καὶ Ἴβυκος· ἦν γλυκὺς Ἀλκμάν·
 λαρὰ δ' ἀπὸ στομάτων φθέγξατο Βακχυλίδης·
5 Πειθὼ Ἀνακρείοντι συνέσπετο· ποικίλα δ' αὐδᾷ
 Ἀλκαῖος, κύκνος Λέσβιος, Αἰολίδι.
ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐκ ἐνάτη Σαπφὼ πέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐρατειναῖς
 ἐν Μούσαις δεκάτη Μοῦσα καταγράφεται.

Pindar issued his mighty cry from Thebes; the Muse
 of Simonides breathed delights with sweet-strained voice;
Stesichorus shines, and Ibycus; Alcman was sweet,
 and Bacchylides uttered sweet sounds from his lips;
5 Persuasion mingled with Anacreon; Alcaeus,
 the swan of Lesbos, sings varied Aeolic songs.
But Sappho was not the ninth among men, but is
 enrolled as the tenth among the lovely Muses.

Just as Pindar is conventionally the first of the *lyrikoi*, so too is Sappho traditionally the tenth Muse, a fact that Horace wittily exploits to usurp the Lesbian poetess' prior position as 'the ninth among men' even as he elevates the lyric songstress to her proper place among her divine sisters in the form of her iconic attribute, the *barbitos*.

* * *

Thus, in a consummate masterstroke, Horace resolves two discordant numerological traditions about the canonical nine Greek lyric poets even while pluckily inserting himself among them, thereby harmonising Archaic matter and Hellenistic method in a manner which sets the tone for the entire poetic project to follow. In so doing, he prospectively lays claim to a victory garland of ivy, 'the prize of learned brows' (*Carm.*

[79] Lesbos was of course the largest and most important Aeolian island.
[80] Cf. Antip. Sid., *Anth. Pal.* 7.14.1–2 (Sappho T 27 Campbell). See Gosetti-Murrayjohn 2006.
[81] A poem which, according to Page 1981: 340–1, 'is written for the sake of the point in its last couplet — that Sappho is not a ninth lyrical poet but a tenth Muse'.

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1.1.29: 'doctarum hederae praemia frontium') of which he boasts in his programmatic priamel, and with which he will again retrospectively crown himself (albeit with myrtle and laurel, respectively) in the closural PERSICOS ODI (*Carm.* 1.38.5: 'myrto') and EXEGI MONVMENTVM (*Carm.* 3.30.16: 'lauro'). Just as the apodosis of Horace's concluding couplet will be fulfilled by the editorial placement of an *asteriskos* beside his written 'crown' (*Carm.* 1.1.36: 'uertice'),[82] so too has its protasis already been realised in the preceding catalogue of lyric icons, where the Roman poet has ironically and emphatically inserted himself (*Carm.* 1.1.29–30: 'Me … me') as the penultimate figure. The ninth among men is the tenth Muse: long live the ninth among men!

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[82] Eidinow 2009: 84–6.

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