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Horace: life and chronology

Horace says more about himself than any other ancient poet does, and our main source for his life must be his own poems. A subsidiary authority is the ancient *Vita* abbreviated from Suetonius, *De Poetis*;[1] his official posts under Hadrian enabled him to quote the correspondence of Augustus.

From Venusia to Philippi (65–42 BCE)

Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born on 8 December 65 BCE;[2] the Romans cared more than the Greeks for dates and birthdays. His birthplace was Venusia (Venosa) on the border of Apulia and Lucania (*Satires* 2.1.34–5). He recalls the mountains of his homeland (*Satires* 1.5.77–8, *Odes* 3.4.9–16) and the river Aufidus or Ofanto (*Odes* 3.30.10, 4.9.2),[3] but the ties were not to last.

Horace was the son of a freedman, though he himself was born free (cf. *Satires* 1.6.8). Moderns have speculated about Greek or even Eastern roots, but he seems to have regarded himself as a Sabellus or Samnite (*Epistles* 1.16.49, cf. *Satires* 2.1.35–6); his father had perhaps been enslaved as a result of capture in the Social War.[4] The reproach of servile origin rankled (*Satires* 1.6.45–8), but was later exploited by the poet when he wished to exaggerate the humbleness of his background (*Epistles* 1.20.20).

Horace's father was a *praeco* (auctioneer) and *coactor* (*Satires* 1.6.86–7), the middleman who provided credit for the purchaser;[5] it was a profitable business, and like other enterprising freedmen he acquired money and land (*Satires* 1.6.71). He was reluctant to send his child to the local school, which

1 Rostagni (1944).
2 For the year cf. *Odes* 3.21.1 (*consule Manlio*); for the month, *Epistles* 1.20.27; for the day, *Vita* 71.
3 For local patriotism in Italy see Fraenkel (1957) 3–4.
4 G. Williams (1995) 296–313. 5 Fraenkel (1957) 4–5.

was dominated by the hulking sons of hulking centurions (72–3), and he could afford to take him to Rome to be educated in style (76–80); there under Orbilius of Beneventum and other teachers he studied Livius Andronicus and (more agreeably) Homer (*Epistles* 2.1.69–71, 2.2.41–2). Horace gives an affectionate portrait of his father (*Satires* 1.4.105–29, 1.6.81–99), but understandably describes his moral instruction rather than his commercial capacities.

Horace next proceeded to Athens to study philosophy like Cicero's son and other members of the elite (*Epistles* 2.2.45 *inter silvas Academi quaerere verum* 'to seek Truth amid the groves of the Academy'); this was a further indication of his father's prosperity. In a city with such traditions of liberty Caesar's assassination found support, and after Brutus attended philosophy lectures in the summer of 44 BCE (Plutarch, *Brutus* 24.1), Horace joined the Republican cause (*Epistles* 2.2.46 *dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato* 'but the harshness of the times dislodged me from the agreeable spot'); youthful idealism should not be discounted, though later it proved convenient to forget it. In spite of his persistent pose of modesty and idleness, he must have impressed his superiors with his energy and efficiency, and in due course he was promoted to the high rank of *tribunus militum* (*Satires* 1.6.48). This may have carried with it equestrian rank,[6] and seems to have occasioned some jealousy among the well-born young men in Brutus' army.

In the autumn of 42 Horace fought on the losing side at Philippi, when Antony and Octavian, the future Augustus, defeated the tyrannicides Cassius and Brutus. When he says that he shamefully left his shield behind (*Odes* 2.7.10 *relicta non bene parmula*), he is imitating the insouciance of Archilochus,[7] who had abandoned his shield in much the same part of Thrace (5.2 West); and when the Republican army surrendered on Thasos, the second homeland of Archilochus, this may have given him the idea of imitating the most mordant of early Greek poets. When he mentions his part at Philippi, he is often admired for his candour; but in fact he denigrates his own commander (*Odes* 2.7.1–2 *o saepe mecum tempus in ultimum / deducte, Bruto militiae duce* 'you who were often led with me into a desperate crisis when Brutus led the campaign'[8]), and flatters Augustus (*Epistles* 2.2.47–8 *arma / Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis* 'arms that could not match the muscle of Caesar Augustus'), though it was really Antony who won the battle. When he says over twenty years later that he had found favour in war and peace with the first men of the city (*Epistles* 1.20.23), some see a compliment to Brutus;[9] but Philippi was not Horace's only campaign (see below).

6 Lyne (1995) 3n. 7 Fraenkel (1957) 11–12. 8 Note how *duce* picks up *deducte*.
9 Fraenkel (1957) 360.

Epodes and *Satires*

Horace obtained pardon from the victors (*Vita* 7 *venia impetrata*), but in the confiscations at Venusia (Appian *Bell. Civ.* 4.3) he lost his patrimony (*Epistles* 2.2.50–1). He says jokingly that he turned to verse because of poverty (2.2.51–2);[10] his first satires must belong to this period, 1.7 (a legal process observed by Horace in Asia) and perhaps 1.2 (a discussion of sexual relationships in the Cynic manner). Grandees like Pollio and Messalla expressed approval (*Satires* 1.10.85), and it was perhaps through their subsidies that he acquired the position of *scriba* at the *aerarium* (*Vita* 8, mentioned immediately after his pardon). The office was an important one,[11] and gave Horace a place in the world that gratified his self-esteem (*Satires* 2.6.36–7).

Apart from his early satires, Horace experimented in the manner of Archilochus with a book of *Iambi* (since late antiquity known as *Epodes*), but his ambiguous origin and new-found caution kept him from attacking important people in either genre;[12] he is content with gibes at an anonymous ex-slave who had become a *tribunus militum* (*Epode* 4), a curious way of compensating for the criticisms of himself. Yet among slighter pieces he wrote two impressive political poems, *Epodes* 7 and 16, expressing horror at the renewal of civil war, presumably the Sicilian War against Sextus Pompeius (38–36 BCE);[13] probably 7 was the earlier, as there the war has not yet begun. The pessimism of *Epode* 16 makes a striking contrast with Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, which is dated by Pollio's consulship to 40 BCE; some argue for Horace's priority,[14] others more plausibly for Virgil's.[15] The new Sibylline age gave Virgil his organising principle, but Horace's *altera aetas* is inexplicit by comparison and therefore probably derivative.[16] Both epodes allude to the Parthian menace; this points to a time after their calamitous invasion of Syria and Asia Minor in 40 BCE,[17] which recalled the sixth-century Persian assault on Phocaea (16.17–20). Both epodes, particularly 16, seem to be influenced by Sallust's *Histories*;[18] Sertorius' hope of an escape to the Happy Isles (Sallust *Hist.* 1.103 M) was a moral comment on the state of Rome such as

10 For early experiments in Greek verse see *Satires* 1.10.31–5; for a suggested identification with the Flaccus of *Anth. Pal.* 7.542 see Della Corte (1973) 442–50.
11 Fraenkel (1957) 14–15.
12 For criticism in the *Satires* of the unimportant see Rudd (1966) 132–59.
13 Ableitinger and Grünberger (1971) 60–4; Nisbet (1984) 2–3 = (1995a) 163–9; L. Watson (2003) 269–71.
14 Drexler (1935); Wimmel (1953).
15 Snell (1938); Fraenkel (1957) 50–1; L. Watson (2003) 486–8. For extensive bibliography see Setaioli (1981) 1753–62.
16 Nisbet (1984) 2–3 = (1995a) 163–4. 17 Grimal (1961). 18 Syme (1964) 284–6.

we find also in Horace's poem (16.41–66). If Horace is borrowing from the *Histories*, he might have met the first book by 38, but not in 41.

Horace was out of sympathy with current literary movements, whether of archaisers or of late neoterics (*Satires* 1.10.1–19);[19] but he admired the *Eclogues* of Virgil (1.10.44–5), who was no doubt one of the friends to whom he recited his poetry (1.4.73, cf. 1.10.81). Virgil had recently been taken up by Maecenas, who is not mentioned in the *Eclogues*, and now with his fellow poet Varius he introduced Horace to the great man (1.6.54–61). Horace characteristically exaggerates his bashfulness, an unlikely quality for an ambitious soldier, and eight months later, perhaps early in 37 (see below on *Satires* 2.6.40–2), Maecenas admitted him to the circle of his friends (1.6.61–2). There were practical advantages for both men in the relationship: the politician tamed a potential dissident who had shown dangerous impartiality in *Epode* 16,[20] and the poet found the encouragement, psychological as well as material, that so skilful a manipulator could provide.

Horace's first book of *Satires* derives its political interest from what it does not say. In 1.5 he describes a journey to Brundisium with Maecenas, who was on his way to negotiate the Treaty of Tarentum with Antony (37 BCE); by his literary imitations of Lucilius and his emphasis on warm friendships and trivial mishaps, Horace artfully conceals any political involvement.[21] In 1.9 he tells how a social climber tried to exploit his new friendship with Maecenas (43–60); but his indignant protests themselves show an eagerness to please (48–9 *non isto vivimus illic / quo tu rere modo* 'we don't live there in the way you think'). In 1.6, his most autobiographical poem, he gives an attractive and no doubt exaggerated picture of his simple life (104–31) as he potters around the market and asks the price of vegetables; he thus tries to avert the malice that attended his new success. The thrust of the book is ethical, and in the opening address to Maecenas (1.1) the theme of 'contentment with one's lot' is not just an expression of gratitude but a denial of larger ambitions. The book seems to have been issued about 35 or 34, before Horace's acquisition of his Sabine estate.

The epodes, similarly, become less political for a time. Horace was nearly drowned in the Sicilian War (*Odes* 3.4.28 *nec (me extinxit) Sicula Palinurus unda* 'nor did Palinurus extinguish me with Sicilian waters'); this refers to the storm that wrecked Octavian's fleet off Capo Palinuro in 36,[22] and as Maecenas was present (Appian *Bell. Civ.* 5.99) Horace was presumably in attendance, but in the *Epodes* he says nothing about it. When the tenth

19 Nisbet (1995b) 391–7. 20 Otherwise Griffin (1993) 13.
21 Griffin (1984) 197–8; Du Quesnay (1984) 39–43; Lyne (1995) 17–19.
22 Wistrand (1958) 16–17 = (1972) 304–5.

poem promises an offering to the storm-winds if Mevius is drowned, that reminds us of Octavian's dedication to the winds at Anzio (*ILS* 3279, Appian *Bell. Civ.* 5.48), but typically Horace's enemy is not a man of power but a bad poet (Virgil, *Eclogues* 3.90). When he says that Cupid keeps him from finishing his book of epodes (14.6–8), the excuse means that he is turning to the uncontroversial erotic themes (11 and 15) that were to lead to lyric.

The poems on the hag Canidia (*Epodes* 5 and 17, *Satires* 1.8) are sometimes thought to show personal acquaintanceship with low life, but the series cannot be put back to a time before success had mellowed the poet; *Epode* 3, which mentions the woman, is addressed to Maecenas, and *Satires* 1.8 begins with his renovation of the Esquiline cemetery. Horace talks as if she was a real person (*Epodes* 5.41–8, 17.23, *Satires* 2.1.48), and the ancient commentator Porphyrio alleges that her real name was Gratidia (on *Epode* 3.7); imaginative reconstructions have been attempted, but *Epodes* 5 is too gruesome to be plausible, *Epodes* 17 too literary, and *Satires* 1.8 too farcical. At *Epodes* 5.21–2, where she is described as handling poisons from Hiberia (south of the Caucasus), there is a political gibe that may help to account for her name: Canidius Crassus, suffect consul 40, a leading Antonian and bitter enemy of Octavian, conquered Hiberia in 36 (Plutarch *Antony* 34.10).[23]

The second book of *Satires* continues to dissociate Horace from the political world: the amusing discussion of satire (2.1) is in Rudd's phrase 'shadow-boxing', and the criticisms of gastronomic experts (2.4) and legacy-hunters (2.5), where the poet plays a minimal role, are not related to important individuals. In spite of his display of modesty and simplicity, as when he compares himself to a country mouse (2.6.79–117), we learn that Horace was an *eques Romanus*, perhaps as a result of his position at the *aerarium*; this is made clear when the slave Davus alludes to the poet's equestrian ring (2.7.53). At some stage Maecenas presented Horace with an estate near Licenza in the Sabine hills (2.6.1–5); this gave him not only respite from time-consuming obligations in Rome (2.6.23–39), but a continuing income from his five tenants (*Epistles* 1.14.2–3). He was now bound firmly to the regime by ties of gratitude and loyalty, an important consideration in the crisis that threatened.

It is disputed whether Horace was present at the battle of Actium in 31 BCE,[24] when Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra. This corresponds to the disagreement of the sources about Maecenas' whereabouts: the first

23 See Nisbet (1984) 9 = (1995a) 170–1; L. Watson (2003) 197–8.
24 In favour see Wistrand (1972) 293–351; Kraggerud (1984) 66–128; Nisbet (1984) 9–17 = (1995) 171–81. Against, Fraenkel (1957) 71–5. For further bibliography see Setaioli (1981) 1716–28.

Elegia ad Maecenatem says that he was there (45–6), but Appian implies that he was in Rome (*Bell. Civ.* 4.50). The dedication to Maecenas in the first epode reads *ibis Liburnis inter alta navium, / amice, propugnacula* ('you will go in the fast galleys, my friend, amid the towering ships' fortifications'); this is followed by protestations of loyalty from Horace, which would make a strange introduction to the book if the two men had not in fact gone.[25] *Epode* 9 purports to comment on the battle while it is going on, and provides convincing detail about how things looked to a participant. A crucial piece of evidence is 17–18 †*ad hunc*† *frementis verterunt bis mille equos / Galli canentes Caesarem* ('two thousand Galatians turned their snorting horses, singing the praises of Octavian'); here the only plausible reading is *at huc* (cited by Cruquius), for otherwise *verterunt* would mean 'turned in flight', which is incompatible with *canentes Caesarem*.[26] In that case 'hither' shows that Horace was there.

The references to Actium in *Epodes* 1 and 9 are the last datable allusions in the book, which was presumably issued about 30 BCE. The second book of *Satires* seems to have come out about the same time; there is a reference to the settlement of soldiers in 31–30 (2.6.55–6, cf. Dio 51.4.3). The same date suits 2.6.40–2, where Horace says that it is nearly the eighth year since Maecenas included him among his friends; he is looking back to the spring of 37, the date of the journey to Brundisium. We may also note 2.6.38 *imprimat his cura Maecenas signa tabellis* 'see that Maecenas stamps his seal on these writing-tablets'; this indication of Horace's new influence belongs to the time after Actium when Maecenas had charge of Italy and could use Octavian's signet-ring (Dio 51.3.6).

Odes Books 1–3

Horace may have written some of his odes before the Actium campaign of 31, as it is unlikely that the elaborate political poems of 30–27 were his first attempts. The non-political odes do not normally provide a date, but the accident with the tree seems to have belonged to the consulship of Tullus in 33 BCE (3.8.9–12);[27] this suggests an approximate timing for 2.13 and 2.17

25 Nisbet (1984) 10; Du Quesnay (2002) 19; L. Watson (2003) 56–7. Against the general view I take *ibis* to refer to the departure of the expedition (cf. Tibullus 1.3.1), not the attack at Actium (which is supposed to lie in the future), and *propugnacula* to refer to Octavian's ships, not Antony's.

26 Nisbet (1984) 12–13 = (1995) 175–6. La Penna (1963) 54 unconvincingly suggests that *huc* means 'to the side that Horace supports'.

27 Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 244; E. A. Schmidt (2002) 259–60.

(which may carry with it 1.20). Of the political odes the poem on the Ship of State that is being swept out to sea again (1.14) best suits the period before Actium.[28]

From 30 to 27 Horace concentrated on political poems that in their sensitivity to current ideology show his increasing closeness to the regime. In 1.37 he celebrates the death of Cleopatra (30 BCE) in a way that in its virulence (9–14) must reflect the official verdict; the recognition that she was a courageous and formidable woman (32 *non humilis mulier*) does not reverse this impression. In 1.2 he eulogises the victorious Octavian with the hyperboles of Hellenistic court-poetry. In 3.4 he alludes to the demobilisation of Octavian's army (37–8) and exults over the defeated Antonians with Pindaric allegories about the Giants. In 3.6 he looks forward to the repair of the temples in 28 (as recorded in the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, 20.4); his denunciation of adultery (17–32) seems to be connected with Octavian's first attempt at moral legislation, and the laments of 3.24.33–6 with its failure.[29] In 3.3 he uses mythology to resist the creation of a secondary centre of power in Troy,[30] and in 3.5 he uses the story of Regulus to resist the ransom of the Roman prisoners in Parthia. The name 'Augustus', assumed by Octavian in January 27, is first attested in these two poems.

From 27 to 24, when Augustus was in Gaul and Spain, Horace's political allusions concentrate on foreign wars.[31] In 1.35, the hymn to Fortuna, he looks forward to the invasion of Britain (29–30) and forecasts an expedition against the Arabs (40);[32] he returns to the latter in 1.29 (the ode to Iccius), which must be connected with the campaign of Aelius Gallus in 25 or 24. At 3.8.21–2, which belongs to the spring of 25,[33] he celebrates Augustus' Spanish campaign in the previous year; he also refers hopefully to the rebellion in Parthia in 26–5 (3.8.19–20), but later shows disappointment at its failure (2.2.17–24). In his ode on Augustus' return in 24 (3.14), he greets him not as an imperious conqueror but as a beloved ruler whose illness had threatened the happiness of the poet.

Horace issued the first three books of odes together, and sent copies to Augustus (*Epistles* 1.13.2 refers to plural *volumina*). It has recently been argued that the three books appeared separately,[34] perhaps in 26, 24 and

28 Fraenkel (1957) 158; Syndikus (2001) I. 165–6.
29 Propertius 2.7.1–3, G. Williams (1962); otherwise Badian (1985).
30 Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 36–8 (against the general view); otherwise Fraenkel (1957) 267–9.
31 Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xxx–xxxiv.
32 For Britain see Syme (1991) 386 against Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xxviii–xxix. For Arabia, Bowman et al. (1996) 149; Hutchinson (2002) 523n.
33 Nisbet and Rudd (2004) ad loc. 34 Hutchinson (2002).

23; admittedly they show some variation in metrical practice,[35] but, though chronology seems to have played a part in the sequence of the books, there were other factors at work (for instance the alternation of Alcaics and Sapphics at the beginning of Book 2, as well as that book's particular emphasis on friendship). And there are positive objections to the theory: 1.12, which associates Octavian with the great men of the Republic, seems to belong to a later stage (see below) than the semi-divine ruler in 1.2, and 3.8 is hopeful about the rebellion in Parthia, which is over in 2.2 (unless the latter refers to an earlier rebellion).

The date of completion was probably 23 BCE, when Sestius became suffect consul; he was the recipient of *Odes* 1.4, immediately after poems to Maecenas, Octavian and Virgil, and this prominent position could be explained by his office (which is not to imply that this hedonistic poem was written for his consulship). We may also invoke 1.12.45–6 *crescit occulto velut arbor aevo / fama Marcelli* 'the fame of Marcellus grows like a tree with the imperceptible lapse of time'; though that refers not to Augustus' nephew and son-in-law but to his third-century ancestor, the association in the next line with the 'Julian star' (presumably Augustus himself) suggests a date between the young man's marriage to Julia in 25 and his death in the autumn of 23. It is also relevant that the Licinius addressed in 2.10 was certainly Maecenas' brother-in-law,[36] who was killed after an alleged conspiracy, probably in 22 (Dio 54.3.4–5); the tactful Horace would hardly have included the poem in the aftermath of so embarrassing a scandal.

Epistles Book 1

The *Odes* proved less successful than Horace had hoped (*Epistles* 1.19.35–6): he gives as reasons his isolation from the literary cliques (37–40), and jealousy of his success at the imperial court (43–4), but his austere classicism must also have been a factor. Some think the disappointment drove him from lyric poetry to verse epistles,[37] but we should not exaggerate: a poet as versatile as Horace would have wished in any case to move on to another genre. When he introduces his new book with the words *nunc itaque et versus et*

35 Alcaic lines with a short first syllable are commonest in Book 1 (Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xl); in the third line of the Alcaic stanza the word-distribution *fatalis incestusque iudex* is much commoner in Books 3 and 4 than in 1 and 2 (ibid. xlii); *atque* (normally unelided) is much commoner in 1 than in 3 (Hutchinson (2002) 517–18).

36 The advocacy of the Golden Mean in 2.10 suits the alleged conspirator, who was associated with the Peripatetic philosopher Athenaeus; see Strabo 14.5.4, Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 152–3.

37 Fraenkel (1957) 365.

cetera ludicra pono (*Epistles* 1.1.10) 'so now I lay aside verses and such-like trifles', he is humorously suggesting in verse that he has abandoned all poetry, not simply lyrics, in favour of moral philosophy.

The epistles are mainly addressed to congenial and wealthy friends (5 to Torquatus, 16 to Quinctius), a poet like Tibullus (4), a scholar and schoolmaster like Aristius Fuscus (10), sometimes rising young men who could be given tactful advice (2 and 18 to Lollius, 3 to Florus, 8 to Celsus, 12 to Iccius). Horace writes to each with a calculated urbanity that reflects the social hierarchy and the manners of his new class. Maecenas still plays the dominant role, being given the programmatic opening epistle and the defence of Horace's poetry (19) before the epilogue. Most interesting is the seventh poem, where Horace refuses constant attendance on Maecenas; he writes with his usual grace and humour, but at the same time asserts his growing independence.[38]

A date is provided by the autobiographical lines at the end of the book (1.20.19–28), the so-called *sphragis* or seal: Horace says that he completed forty-four Decembers in the consulship of Lollius and Lepidus, i.e. 21 BCE. Elsewhere he mentions Tiberius' mission to Armenia in 20 BCE (1.3.1–2, 1.12.26–7) and the Parthians' submission to Augustus in the same year (1.12.27–8). He also alludes to Agrippa's final conquest of the Spanish Cantabrians (1.12.26), which is assigned by Dio to 19 (54.11.5). If that date is precise, Horace is not referring in his *sphragis* to his most recent birthday, but paying a compliment to his important friend Lollius; the young Lollius addressed in two prominent epistles (2 and 18) may well have been the consul's son.

Carmen Saeculare

Augustus returned in glory from the East in 19 BCE, and now began to take more interest in Horace. At some stage he invited him to be his private secretary (*Vita* 18–25),[39] another sign of the poet's practical abilities, but the offer was wisely declined. Augustus also invited Horace to compose the *Carmen Saeculare* to commemorate the new age (17 BCE); as the inscription in the Museo delle Terme records, *carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus* (*CIL* 6.32323.149). It is suggested that after the disappointing reception of *Odes* 1–3, the perceptive *princeps* brought Horace back to his proper role;[40] and it is true that his feeling of isolation may at last be disappearing (*Odes* 4.3.16 *et iam dente minus mordeor invido* 'and now I am less gnawed

38 Fraenkel (1957) 327–39; Shackleton Bailey (1982) 52–9.
39 Fraenkel (1957) 17–18; Millar (1977) 85. 40 Fraenkel (1957) 382.

by the tooth of envy'). Yet the prosaic Augustus had less understanding than Maecenas of how a poet's imagination works, and the official phrases of the *Carmen Saeculare* (17–20) communicate his social ideals less effectively than the vivid vignettes of *Odes* 3.6.25–44.

Odes Book 4

According to the *Vita* (40–3) Augustus next commissioned poems on the victories of his stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus (*Odes* 4.4. and 4.14), and thereafter induced Horace to produce a fourth book of odes. There may be some exaggeration in this, but it is true that the new book shows the influence of the imperial court: odes celebrate not only Augustus and his stepsons (2, 4, 5, 14, 15) but the young aristocrats who are now coming to the fore,[41] notably Paullus Fabius Maximus, who married the emperor's cousin Marcia (4.1), and Iullus Antonius, who married the emperor's niece Marcella (4.2). The change of emphasis may be connected with the declining importance of Maecenas,[42] who is mentioned only at 4.11.18–20, and, though that poem celebrates his birthday, it is addressed to a fictitious Phyllis. Significantly, Horace no longer mentions his Sabine estate, which he had replaced or supplemented with a house in the more fashionable Tivoli (*Vita* 66), a place celebrated at *Odes* 4.2.30–2 and 4.3.10.

Just as in the earlier collection, some of the non-political odes may have been written early. The invitation-poem to Vergilius (4.12) was probably addressed to the poet,[43] and therefore written before his death in 19; when Horace calls him 'the client of young aristocrats' (who could supply the perfume he asks for) and speaks of his zeal for money-making, that is friendly banter (cf. *Epistles* 1.5.8) that could not have been addressed to anybody in a serious spirit. In the hymn to Apollo (4.6), Horace mentions the *Carmen Saeculare* of 17 as an imminent occasion. In 4.9 he celebrates Lollius, who lost a standard to the Sugambri in 17[44] and may have needed rehabilitation, though the exact date of the poem remains uncertain. In 16 Augustus drove this tribe back without a battle: 4.2, which predicts a triumph that proved unnecessary,[45] must certainly be assigned to that time. The introductory ode to Paullus Fabius Maximus should probably be associated with his marriage

41 Syme (1986) 396–402.
42 Lyne (1995) 136–8, 191; the decline of Maecenas is doubted by G. Williams (1990) 258–75, White (1991).
43 Otherwise Fraenkel (1957) 418n.; G. Williams (1972) 45; Syme (1986) 397 'a merchant, or perhaps rather a banker'.
44 Velleius 2.97.1; Syme (1978) 3–5, 153.
45 Dio 54.20.6; Syme (1986) 398.