INTRODUCTION

1. HORACE'S LITERARY CAREER

By the year 23 BCE H. had published his first three books of *Odes*, probably as a single, finished collection – as it was clearly intended to stand, whatever the particulars of publication.[1] Three or four years later he put out the first book of *Epistles*, whose *sphragis* helpfully provides the age of H. – 44 years old in 21 BCE (*Epist.* 1.20.26–8) – if not the date of publication. That was a year or two later, as is clear from references to events of 20 (*Epist.* 1.3.1–2; 1.12.26–7, Tiberius in Armenia; *Epist.* 1.12.27–8, Parthian standards recovered) and 19 BCE (*Epist.* 1.12.26, Agrippa successful in Spain).

Around this time, it would seem, H. returned to lyric. For all we know he never stopped composing in lyric meters, though the hexameter form was reclaiming his immediate attention in the years following the appearance of *C.* 1–3. There is no substantial evidence for the view that *Odes* 1–3 had been poorly received. Fraenkel was a strong advocate of that view, referring to H's 'annoyance at the cool reception which the three books of his *carmina* met with after their publication in 23 B.C.', 'the anger which he vented in the nineteenth epistle' (1.19) and his resolve 'to accept the failure of his proud venture and never to write lyrics again', 'as solemnly announced . . . in the overture of his book of *Epistles* (1.1.10ff.)'.[2] All of this is to misjudge the programmatic aspects of the poems in question, and subsequent studies have provided a less biographically focused picture, one more in line with other Augustan poetic programmes and genre shifts.[3] Fraenkel's wording is telling (339): 'Horace vented his annoyance in a letter to Maecenas (i. 19).'

There are two components to the poetics of *Epist.* 1.19. Firstly, H. directs a vigorous response to servile and superficial imitators: 10–20, culminating in the outburst at 19–20 *o imitatores, seruum pecus, ut mihi saepe | bilem, saepe iocum uestri mouere tumultus!* And secondly, at 37–49, he pinpoints the real reason for the public carping of critics, as opposed to their private praise (35–6) – a combination which, even taken in a purely autobiographical way, is hardly evidence for the poor reception of the *Odes*. Why not the other way around? Their criticism, levelled even if H. is taken at his word *in spite of* the actual (i.e. private) admiration of critics (35–6 *cur . . . lector | laudet ametque domi*), is due to H.'s refusal to pursue the

[1] See Hutchinson 2002 for the possibility of *seriatim* publication between 27 and 23 BCE, with Nisbet 2007: 13–14 for scepticism.

[2] Fraenkel 365; also 339–50, with similar language: 339 'vented his annoyance'; 348 'vents without restraint his anger at . . . ', 349 'mood of resentment', 350 'thoroughly bitter'. See also the introduction of K-H *ad Epist.* 1.19.

[3] See Kambylis 1965: 162; McGann 1969: 84–5; for more extended studies, focused on H.'s moralizing, cf. Macleod 1977; and on his poetics, Smith 1984.

votes of the fickle mob (37 *non ego uentosae plebis suffragia uenor*). What did H.'s critics criticize? Nothing, so far as this poem tells us, about the *Odes* themselves. Rather, the (putative) unpopularity of the poet comes from his refusal to involve himself with the public, to court popular votes at the price of meals and second-hand clothes (37–8). The electoral metaphor gives way to the literary (39–45), but the point is the same. The popular dislike is now tied to his refusal have his verse recited from the lecterns of the *grammatici*.

None of this has anything to do with actual criticism of Horatian lyric. The stance rather allows H. to engage the now familiar trope of rejecting the popular, a Callimachean motif that goes back, through *C.* 3.1 (*Odi profanum uulgus et arceo*) with its translation of Callim. *Epigr.* 28 Pf. (cf. 4 σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια 'I hate all public things'), to the end of *Satires* 1.10 – parallel in placement to *Epist.* 1.19, given the fact that 1.20, the address to the book, is a separable envoi.[4] *S.* 1.10 is a response to those who had (?putatively) criticized *S.* 1.4, and specifically had criticized the earlier poem's finding fault with H.'s genre model Lucilius, guilty for H. of lack of Callimachean polish. The criticism of *S.* 1.4, whether or not it happened, allows H. to reiterate his grounds for faulting the earlier poet, who, H. assures his readers, would have composed very differently had he been active in H.'s day (67–70). Then, before ending *S.* 1.10 with a list of his ideal readers (81–90), juxtaposed to those about whom he cares nothing (76–80), H. makes his point: care of composition and artful writing may result in a small readership, but that is in fact preferable to striving for the admiration of the mob (73 *neque te ut miretur turba labores*) and having your poetry consigned to school curricula (73–5, 90–1).

This aversion is the context in which the central section of *Epistle* 1.19 (21–34) is to be understood. There, in addition to describing his relationship to his Greek models – that is, to explaining how non-servile imitation works – H. declares his primacy in bringing Archilochean iambic and the lyric of Alcaeus to Latin verse:

> libera per *uacuum* posui *uestigia* princeps,
> *non aliena* meo *pressi pede*. qui sibi fidet,
> dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos
>
> ostendi Latio . . . 21–4
> hunc [scil. Alcaeum] ego, *non alio* dictum prius ore, Latinus
> *uulgaui* fidicen. 32–3

In other words the centre of the epistle elaborates the claim made in the envoi of *Odes* 1–3: 3.30.10–14 *dicar . . . ex humili potens | princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos | deduxisse modos*.[5] The end of the first book of the *Epistles* reiterates that earlier poem's pride in the achievement of Rome's lyre player. It does so, moreover, from

[4] See Macleod 1977: 373 for reference to *Epigr.* 28.
[5] For the connection see Kambylis 1965: 162.

an intensely Callimachean perspective that had always been the programmatic focus of H.'s verse, in particular adapting the famous injunction at *Aet.* 1 fr. 1.25–8 Pf.:

> πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἅμαξαι
> τὰ *στείβε*]*ιν, ἑτέρων ἴχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμά*
> δίφρον ἐλ]ᾶν μηδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
> *ἀτρίπτο*]*υς*, εἰ καὶ στε[ι]ϙοτέρην ἐλάσεις.'
>
> 'this too I bid you, to *tread* where wagons do not go, and *not* to drive your chariot in the *common tracks of others*, nor along a wide road, but on *untrodden* ways even though you drive a narrower path'.

With *uulgaui* (*Epist.* 1.19.33) H. takes things a step further, as through his own achievement he has *created* the commonplace and put imitation of his own work on the side of the artless – as he would do again at *C.* 4.9.3–4 *non ante uulgatas per artis | uerba loquor socianda chordis* (see 9.3n.). At *G.* 3.3–4 Virgil, turning to the *Aeneid* as he put the finishing touches to the *Georgics*, noted the now commonplace status of the predominantly Hellenistic topics that might otherwise have diverted him: *cetera, quae uacuas tenuissent carmine mentes, | omnia iam* uulgata. Virgil's new and future topic, figured in the metaphor of a temple, would be the battles of Caesar and his line back to Tithonus (*G.* 3.46–8), and in this he claimed primacy, as H. would do a few years later:

> *primus* ego in patriam mecum, modo uita supersit,
> Aonio rediens deducam uertice Musas
> *primus* Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas
> Virg. *G.* 3.10–12

As in H.'s opening to his third book (*C.* 3.1 *Odi profanum uulgus et arceo*), so in Virgil's *omnia iam uulgata*, it is natural to see an allusion to Callimachus' disdain for the commonplace, as found in *Epigr.* 28 (πάντα τὰ δημόσια, with *omnia* perhaps recalling the differently functioning πάντα) and in the *Aetia* preface (26 καθ' ὁμά).

That *Epist.* 1.19 comes across as full of annoyance, anger and resentment is also part of the game and cannot be used to create the sweeping conclusions found in Fraenkel and elsewhere. The emotions that H. conjures up in *Epist.* 1.19 are, then, elements of a literary trope, going back through *Epod.* 10 and poems like Catullus 16 to the prologues of Terence, and on the Greek side to the *Aetia* preface of Callimachus (*Aet.* 1, fr. 1.1–20 Pf.), along with his epigrams (*Epigr.* 28 Pf.) and iambics (*Ia.* 13). The voicing of strong hostility to poetic rivals and to critics is part of the poetics of *aemulatio* and in keeping with H.'s Callimachean affiliations. The same may be said of H.'s famous quote from Terence, *Andr.* 126, which comes immediately after his disavowal of the popular: *Epist.* 1.19.41 *hinc illae lacrimae*. Here Fraenkel discusses the metrical trick whereby the iambic

hemiepes is in the right circumstances, as here, by accident indistinguishable from and therefore interchangeable with the dactylic hemiepes. By way of example he notes 'So Callimachus borrows half a line from the *Bacchae* of Euripides and makes it the beginning of a pentameter [*Epigr.* 48.6], 'ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος', τοὐμὸν ὄνειαρ ἐμοί.'[6]

Like Fraenkel, H. noticed and emulated the Callimachean game of exploiting the shared prosody of his intertext. He did so, moreover, at the end of a book that had announced at its outset that the time for poetic play was no more:[7] *Epist.* 1.1.10–11 *nunc itaque et uersus et cetera* ludicra *pono:* | *quid uerum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum.* These lines come immediately after H., resisting Maecenas' purported attempt to have him continue with lyric (2–3 *quaeris,* | *Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere* ludo), compares himself to a retiring gladiator, then to an old horse, ready to be released from service. Similarly, the Callimachean *ludus* of *Epist.* 1.19.41, concluding the Callimachean defence of *C.* 1–3, is followed by the metaphor of the gladiator not now retiring, but rather asking for an intermission: 47 diludia *posco.* Thus the frame reveals that games are still being played, and that the *Epistles* are an interlude, necessary, since games lead to contest, anger, hostility and war, as the poem, and effectively the book of *Epistles*, comes to an end: 48–9 ludus *enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,* | *ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.* When the *ludus* of lyric is resumed, it will take the form of warfare, but not of the conventional kind: *C.* 4.1.1–2 *intermissa, Venus, diu* | *rursus bella moues?* So the beginning and the end of the first book of *Epistles* ostentatiously display their relationship to the Horatian lyric that surrounds that book. Again, and to reiterate, there is no reliable evidence within the corpus of H. or anywhere else to indicate that the earlier lyric collection was received with anything short of appreciation.

On the contrary. The success of *Odes* 1–3 must have induced Augustus to choose H. as the composer of the hymn that would be performed at the Secular Games of 17 BCE, the most important state festival in Augustan and later imperial propaganda. This choice, like the decision to stage the Games, was presumably made soon after publication of *Epistles* 1, at which time there is no reason to think H. was not at work on the fourth book of *Odes.* In that connection, this is a good place to deal with what looks like another fiction, a well-known passage from the Suetonian *Vita Horati*:[8]

> scripta quidem eius usque adeo probauit [sc. Augustus] mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est, ut non modo saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique, privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus Carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere. Suet. *Vit. Hor.* pp. 297.35–298.1 Roth

[6] Fraenkel 349, noting a similar practice at *S.* 2.3.264.

[7] As Mayor 269 notes, 'strictly speaking this is the last epistle of the collection, since the next poem [*Epist.* 1.20] abandons the epistolary fiction for direct address'.

[8] The details are disputed by Fraenkel 364.

The sentence is unobjectionable as far as *iniunxerit*; moreover it could have been composed by anyone, at any time, aware of the authorship and occasion of the *Carmen saeculare*: 'Augustus so approved of H.'s writings and thought they would last for ever [an extrapolation from H.'s own claims at *C.* 3.30, *exegi monumentum* etc.?], that he imposed on him not only the composition of the Secular Hymn . . . ' However the continuation is problematic: 'but also [imposed on him the compositions on] the victory over the Vindelici of his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus and for this reason compelled him after a long interval to add a fourth to the three books of *Odes*'. It is worth noting that the *Vita*, short as it is, is almost all made up of observations supported by direct quotes, mostly of H., Augustus or Maecenas. Peter White argues that Suetonius is here paraphrasing a letter of Augustus, but that is open to debate.[9] The verb *iniunxerit*, 'imposed as a duty' is appropriate to the *CS*, since a text was actually commissioned as part of a state festival, but that is not the case with 4.4 and 4.14, the poems on Drusus and Tiberius. White takes *Vindelicam uictoriam* as a title on the same level as *Carmen saeculare*, but since this is a matter of two separate poems, that seems difficult, as does the notion that Augustus imposed composition on H., a concept otherwise unparalleled except for the special case of the *CS*. If the same *Vita* is to be believed, H. was under no compulsion to write anything for Augustus, nor to agree to the princeps' request that he serve as his secretary. The Loeb translation finesses the difficulties by filling the gap before *Vindelicam uictoriam* with an implicit verbal idea 'but also bade him celebrate', but this only draws attention to the oddity of the text. Even more odd is the notion that H., finding himself with his two imposed poems on Drusus and Tiberius, was therefore (*propter hoc*) compelled by Augustus (*coegerit*) to come up with thirteen more poems so as to add his fourth book of *Odes*. Much more likely, this narrative was constructed, in the very changed circumstances that existed in the early second century CE, by the biographer of the Caesars, who will therefore have been interested to account for the composition of the *CS* but also that of the poems on the future emperor Tiberius and his brother.

2. THE DATE OF *ODES* 4

The last fifteen years of H.'s life (8 December 65 BCE–27 November 8 BCE), were less productive (108 Teubner pages) than the years which saw publication of the *Epodes*, two books of *Satires* and the first three books of *Odes* (222 pages). In the latter years there is also a sense of less concentrated production and generic clarity, with uncertainty about publication dates for *Epistles* 2 and the *Ars Poetica* and the fourth book of *Odes*. Once the poetic programmes of *Epist.* 1.1 and 1.19 are recognized for what they are – literary justification for the work of which the two poems provide a frame – and for what they are not – a general flight from lyric in the wake of hostile reception of *C.* 1–3 – the questions of when the

[9] White 1993: 114–15.

fourth book was composed and published become even more difficult to resolve. There is no particular reason to assume that H. stopped writing lyric in 23 BCE and started again around 19 or 18. Indeed if Suetonius' detail were correct, the poems on Drusus and Tiberius (4.4, 4.14) would represent the first resumption of lyric, which would mean that H. did nothing for two or three years after publication of *Epist.* 1. As Nisbet notes, 'just as in the earlier collection, some of the non-political odes may have been written early'.[10] *C.* 4.12, addressed to Virgil,[11] has intertextual resonances with the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, but not the *Aeneid*, and was therefore probably composed before, possibly well before, the death of Virgil, possibly even before the famous *Aeneid* 6 reading to Augustus and Octavia (the first reading to anyone?), some time after 23 BCE. And *C.* 4.1 is written with a consciousness that it cancels the retirement from erotic play marked by *C.* 3.26. Its addressee, Paullus Maximus (b. *c.* 46 BCE), is clearly a bachelor around thirty years old, while H. was perhaps fifty (4.1.6–7).

Scholars are divided on the lower terminus and likely publication date. The last firmly datable reference in *C.* 4 is provided by 4.5, which anticipates the return of Augustus from Spain and Gaul in 13 BCE, for which see Syme 1986: 396. Even this date is, however, somewhat unstable, since the poem could presumably have been written as early as 14 BCE or so, given that it only looks forward to the return, which is vaguely off in the future. Williams 1972: 44–7 somewhat radically suggested publication as late as 9 or even 8 BCE, on the assumption that 4.1 celebrated the addressee's consulship of 11 BCE (or the year before), while 4.8 celebrates that of its addressee, (perhaps) Gaius Marcius Censorinus (8 BCE, or the year before). In support of this principle (44: 'the habit of honouring a man in his consulship') Williams cites N–H 1, p. xxxvi, to similar effect on the dating of 1.4: H. 'has adopted the conventional practice of honouring a consul during his term of office'. The evidence cited for this (Syme 1958: II 672) is negligible and insufficient basis on its own to support such a late publication date.

Nisbet is right to point to the 'cluster of datable allusions' to the mid-teens, though he also entertains the possibility that references at *C.* 4.15.6–9 to the return of the standards lost to the Parthians, and the closing of the doors of Janus Quirinus, may refer to events of 11 BCE – a closing voted in that year, though perhaps not enacted, until 8 or 7 BCE.[12] His suggestion that the closings of 29 and 25 BCE 'hardly deserve such prominence years later' (in that they were followed by reopenings) is not entirely persuasive. The language of the *Res gestae* suggests that the acts of closing are what matters, not a continued state of closure: *Ianum Quirinum . . . ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit.* All said, the

[10] Nisbet 2007: 16.
[11] See 12 intro., for the position that the *Vergilius* of that poem is Virgil.
[12] Nisbet 2007: 17.

year 13 BCE seems to be about the right date for publication,[13] with composition for the non-political odes stretching back as much as a decade.

3. STRUCTURAL PATTERNS

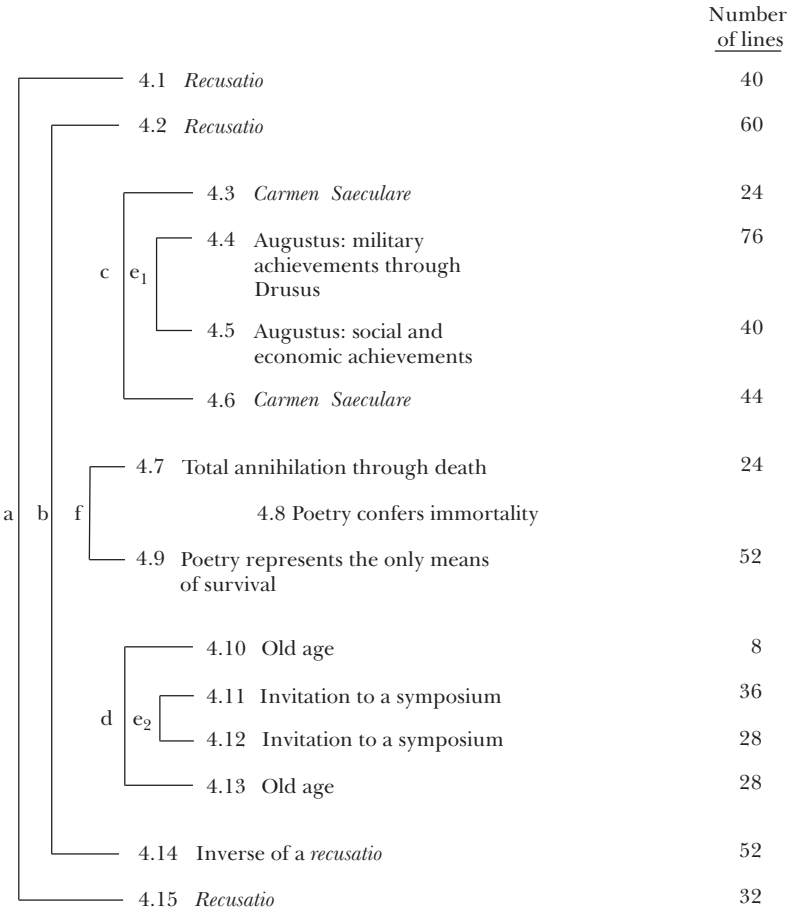
Various structural patterns have been detected, none of which need exclude the others, with the possible exception of Belmont 1980: 8–10, suggesting a bipartitite structure (1–6 and 8–15, arranged around the central 7 *Diffugere niues*). There is no reason, other than one's admiration of 4.7, to see it as central to the book, and the poem at the *actual* centre, 4.8, has the distinction of being the only ode sharing its metre (First Asclepiadean) with the framing poems of H.'s earlier lyric collection (1.1 and 3.30). Moreover it enacts, albeit in curious ways, through this metrical sharing as through its own content, the 'monumental preservation of fame',[14] particularly in its reference to the actual inscribing of encomium (8.13 *incisa notis marmora publicis*), in the centre of the *monumentum* that is *C.* 4's response to the *monumentum aere perennius* that was the earlier lyric collection according to 3.30.1. That 4.8 as we have it (and perhaps as H. wrote it, on which see 8 intro.), uniquely among the 103 odes H. produced, offends against 'Meineke's Law' could also mark it as distinct from all other odes. Indeed it is the only central ode H. produced, in that the parts and therefore the whole of *C.* 1–3 are even-numbered.

The book also shows pairings, sometimes with, sometimes without reference to larger patterns. This is true for 4.8 and 4.9, encomia with problematic aspects, and with echoes back and forth: 8.20–2 *si chartae sileant* ~ 9.33–4 and *liuidas obliuiones*; 8.25–7 ~ 9.26–8 *uates* saves from oblivion; 8.21–2 ~ 9.45 impersonal second person; 8.13–20 ~ 9.34–44 anacoluthon/zeugma. Likewise 4.1 and 4.10, the two very different poems featuring Ligurinus, are clearly connected, though not by placement in the book. In 4.11 and 4.12 the theme of invitation to parties (11.14 *gaudiis*; 12.21 *gaudia*) creates a bond, even though the addressees (Phyllis and Virgil, see 12 intro.) create poems with a very different feel. More prominently, it is hard not to perceive in the close parallelism between the pairings 4.4/5 (Drusus/Augustus) and 4.14/15 (Tiberius/Augustus) the traces of a pentadic system – which would then create an interesting relationship in the juxtaposition of 4.9/10 (Lollius/Ligurinus).

[13] So Putnam 23, Du Quesnay 1995: 133, n.17, with further bibliography. Du Quesnay 133 believes 4.4 and 4.15, along with their 'companion pieces' 4.5 and 4.15, 'were written with a view to being performed and published in the context of celebrations that would mark Augustus' quasi-triumphal return'. Suetonius might be expected to have mentioned any such performance, since he does mention the poems to Drusus and Tiberius.

[14] Currie 1996: 82.

For Dettmer, Book 4 is primarily arranged, as are 1–3, in a ring structure, with numeric patterns to match:[15]



Num. Pattern (difference): a = 8, b = 8, c = 20, d = 20, e ([4.4 – 4.5] – [4.11 – 4.12]) = 28, and f = 28

The labelling of this scheme is somewhat tendentious (especially for 4.7 and 4.14, for instance), and in such analyses the numerical pattern can be made to 'work', particularly when every poem involved is in quatrains. And her pattern

[15] Cf. Dettmer 1983: 484–523, 486 for the scheme here given. She has a further, different scheme on 488 ('Interlocking-ring structure').

only works if 4.7.17–20 are excised, unlikely in my view. In this regard, however, Dettmer's structure would likewise support those who believe the irregularity of 4.8 – its violation of Meineke's Law – is Horatian and not due to subtraction or accretion in its transmission (see 8 intro.).

Fraenkel, on the other hand, saw a division into three, again with the central position of 4.8 and its two surrounding praise poems serving to isolate the centre: Fraenkel 426 'within the plan of the whole book *Ne forte credas* is no less fundamental than *Donarem pateras*, to which *Diffugere niues* forms a significant prelude. This central triad, firmly linked together, is kept separate from the poems which precede it and from those that follow it.' Indeed, most scholars have seen a triadic structure as being the dominant one, including Putnam, who arranged separate chapters on each of the poems into triads, meant to reflect the structure of book, and gave titles to each of the groups: 1–3 'The Loving Muse', 4–6 'Doctus Apollo', 7–9 'Time and Redemption', 10–12 'Festivity's Musics', 13–15 'Sorcery and Song'. These titles themselves are somewhat vague, and so rather easily support an assertion of triadic structure, but they also for the most part reflect a structural reality.

4. THEMATIC PATTERNS

Suetonius' hypothesis about how the entirety of *C.* 4 came to be – 4.4 and 4.14 commissioned, with H. additionally compelled to come up with the remainder of the book – is but the recorded beginning of a long tradition of dissatisfaction with the book and its apparent lack of unity of themes, motif and design. Although *C.* 1–3 had included personal and political poems, the Roman *Odes* (3.1–6) at least were segregated, and there is nothing quite like 4.4 or 4.14 in the earlier collection, so that the sympotic and erotic poems of the fourth book can seem in sharp contrast to those addressed to the aristocratic *nobiles* currently in service to the Augustan régime. Similarly, the march of history, the more urgent concerns about succession along with a larger presence of the house of Augustus, the relative remoteness of the Republic, along with other realities, meant that a poem such as *C.* 2.7, the welcoming home of a comrade-in-arms from Philippi, belong to a different world.

There is a constructive tension between the two cultures of the fourth book, and it does no service to H. to try to flatten out the difference. Juxtapositions and contiguities create interesting questions about what it means to sustain a lyric voice in the context of praising – or failing to praise – the principate and its machine. At the same time the fourth book is not a random assemblage of dissonant poetic forms, and integration is to be found in part through a variety of important motifs that persist across the boundaries between the personal and the public or political. Porter 1975: 189 begins by identifying three themes or categories into which the poems of *C.* 4 may be grouped:

> One theme is that of time's relentless passing and the melancholy occasioned by that passing. Six poems focus on this theme: 1, 7, 10–13. A second, more joyful theme is that of poetry and poetry's power to immortalize. This theme is dominant in five poems: 2, 3, 6, 8, 9. A third theme is celebration of Augustus, his house, and his régime. This theme is central in four poems, 4, 5, 14, 15, and in addition plays an important role in two of the poems which focus on poetry, 2 and 9.

The contrast between the first and second themes – melancholic contemplation of the passing of time versus a sense of joy in the power of poetry to compensate for that passing – both unifies and also serves to separate these poems from the nationalistic ones of the third group, with their focus on the exploits of Drusus, Tiberius and their adoptive father. Porter proceeds to trace the way in which a number of motifs run across the boundaries of these thematically distinct groups and so contribute to continuities within the generally disparate nature of the book. The motifs identified are indeed integral to the entire book: rivers in various states of flood, birds and flying, Venus and love, wealth, commerce and giving, war, fire and light, trees and flowers, music and dancing. And yet the distinctions and contrasts remain, productively in tension with each other, leaving readers to choose between the public and the private, politics and play, ideology and aesthetics.

5. POETRY AND PROPAGANDA

The last decade of Horatian poetry, particularly that which, even in passing, touches on the régime of Augustus, is to be understood first and foremost in the context of the *Carmen saeculare*. The poem was commissioned precisely as every other aspect of the celebration was commissioned, and the function of the entire event was to celebrate the régime while sustaining the fiction that the ceremony was a traditional, republican event, predicted by the Sibylline prophecies. Its composition and performance were part of the organization of opinion and propaganda, helping to sustain the fiction of unbroken continuity with previous republican iterations.[16] Whatever the connection between H.'s hymn and the actual proceedings,[17] the purpose of the hymn was simple and unequivocal: it was to contribute to the celebration of a Roman citizen who had through a series of civil wars established himself as the ruler of Rome.

There has been heated discussion of the term 'propaganda' in recent years, with attempts to soften it with apparently less loaded and dramatic terminology ('influence', 'organization of opinion', 'Publizistik').[18] I use the term unabashedly,

[16] See *CS* intro. for details.
[17] On which see, with bibliography, Barchiesi 2002.
[18] See Eich 2000: 20–45 for discussion, with extensive bibliography for the Augustan context.