

INTRODUCTION

1 DATING OF *ODES* 2

Books 1–3 of the *Odes* of Horace (hereafter ‘H.’) are presented as a unified collection: the first and last poems (1.1 and 3.30) have the character of a prologue and an epilogue respectively, and are matched as the only poems in the three books in their unusual metre (stichic asclepiads).¹ Scholars have generally agreed that the collection emerged as a unit about 23 BCE; but it has been suggested more recently that its individual books might also have been published separately in chronological order.² This suggestion fits *Odes* 2, the central book of the collection, where the poet seems to be reacting in particular to Virgil’s *Georgics*, published c.29 BCE (see section 4 below), and where the latest identifiable date mentioned is the passing of the poet’s fortieth birthday in the December of 25 BCE (2.4.22–4). The few topical indications in the book suit the period 28–25 well. The reference to the restoration of Phraates IV to the throne of Parthia in 2.2 points to 25 (see 2.2, introduction), while the allusions to the wars against the Cantabrians in Spain in 2.6 and 2.11 fit 29–26 (see 2.6 and 2.11, introductions), and the reference to the *princeps’* campaigns at 2.9.19–24 and his naming as Augustus point to 27 or soon after (see 2.9, introduction), while 2.12 seems to look to a period soon after 28 (see 2.12, introduction), and the allusions to Rome’s enemies in 2.20.18–20 (see n.) look to a date of 28–25.

2 HORACE’S LITERARY CAREER

The chronology and sequence of Horace’s works is largely agreed. *Satires* 1 belongs to around 36/35 BCE,³ *Satires* 2 and *Epodes* to around 30/29 BCE,⁴ *Odes* 1–3 to 23 BCE (with possible earlier separate publication),⁵ *Epistles* 1 to 20/19 BCE,⁶ the *Carmen Saeculare* to 17 BCE, and *Odes* 4 to 14/13 BCE.⁷ Only the date of *Epistles* 2 and the *Ars Poetica* have been a matter of debate:

¹ This introduction draws freely on my previous work on H., especially Harrison 2007c, 2010, 2012 and 2014a.

² Hutchinson 2008: 131–61.

³ See *S.* 1.10.86 with Gowers 2012: 336 (the presence of Bibulus in Rome in the winter of 36–35 is a dating point). In general *Satires* 1 seems to belong to the period of peace after the battle of Naulochus (September 36).

⁴ Both clearly after the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra in autumn 30 but before the triumphal return of the young Caesar in autumn 29.

⁵ Though the usual marker of the suffect consulship of Sestius in 23 (Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: xxxv–vii) has now been doubted by Hutchinson 2008: 138.

⁶ After Tiberius’ Eastern settlement of 20 (*Ep.* 1.12.26–7): cf. Mayer 1994: 8–11.

⁷ Before Augustus’ return to Rome in 13: see *Odes* 4.5 and Thomas 2011: 5–7.

Epistles 2.1 is clearly dated to after 12 BCE with its address of Augustus as sole ruler (after the death of Agrippa in that year), but *Epistles* 2.2 has often been dated together with the first book of *Epistles* to 19 BCE. Recent research has suggested that *Epistles* 2.1 and 2.2 both belong to the period after 12 and that they may have originally been intended to be combined with the *Ars Poetica* in a single final book.⁸

The tracing of the trajectory of Horace's poetic career has now largely displaced the reconstruction of his biography in contemporary scholarship. This seems a reasonable step, as most of the poet's traditional biography is reconstructed from the texts of the poems, which are complex literary artefacts rather than records of real life.⁹ Classical scholars share this interest in poetic careers with scholars of Renaissance literature, whose authors were of course responding to the evident self-fashioning of poetic careers by Virgil, Horace and Ovid.¹⁰

The three earliest books of Horatian poetry begin from self-consciously low literary predecessors: *Satires* 1 and 2 pick up the hexameter *sermo* of Lucilius, the humble and parodic cousin of hexameter epic, looking at least momentarily to lowly Attic Old Comedy as a Greek parallel (*Sat.* 1.4.1–6),¹¹ while the *Epodes* take on the rumbustious and low-life world of archaic Archilochean iambus.¹² This constructs a poetic career as beginning near the bottom of the generic scale: such self-positioning, along with the elements of aggression fundamental to both these low genres, nicely fits a poet who starts the period as an angry young man who has suffered real worldly dispossession. In *Satires* 2 and the *Epodes* we find the first example of Horace's working on more than one poetic genre simultaneously. This 'horizontal' aspect is an interesting part of Horace's poetic career: such an implicit self-construction as a poet who operates on more than one generic front suggests the *poikilia* or generic versatility for which Callimachus represents himself as criticised in the first of his *Iambi*, a collection which is certainly significant for Horace's *Epodes*.¹³ Though published after Actium, the *Epodes* show the whole extent of the movement from outsider to insider: the aggressive, Archilochean analyses of the ills

⁸ Fully set out in Harrison 2008, following a suggestion in Kilpatrick 1990: xi; similar views are stated independently in Holzberg 2009: 28–9. Williams 1972: 38–9 also argued briefly that the three poems belonged in one book, but dated that book to soon after 17 BCE. The later dating of *Epistles* 2.2 has now been endorsed by e.g. Nisbet 2007: 18, Günther 2013: 48, and Rudd 2007.

⁹ See e.g. Harrison 2007c. We do have an ancient life of H. which may go back to Suetonius, but it is plainly heavily dependent on the works and tells us little beyond some basic biographical facts: see e.g. the analysis of Harrison 2014a: 9–13.

¹⁰ See especially Hardie and Moore 2010, with Harrison 2010 on Horace.

¹¹ On Old Comedy in the satires see now Ferris-Hill 2015.

¹² On H. and Archilochus in the *Epodes* see conveniently Watson 2003: 4–11.

¹³ See Watson 2003: 12–17.

of Rome in *Epodes* 7 and 16, which have plausibly been suggested as the poems which triggered Horace's recruitment into the Maecenate circle,¹⁴ turn into equally Archilochean celebrations of the victory at Actium in *Epodes* 1 and 9, both addressed in warm terms to Maecenas, which recall Archilochus' poems of friendship and shipboard action in war.¹⁵

This first and formative phase of Horace's poetic career, then, is marked by a rhetoric of literary and socio-political ascent. Horace rises from the humble exponent of rough Lucilian satire, refining it in Callimachean terms, through Archilochean iambus, tempered for new times, to the brink of lyric operations, matching his movement from Republican defeat at Philippi and loss of property to the generous patronage of Maecenas and political engagement with the interests of the young Caesar.

Though as we have seen (section 1 above) it is possible that it was also published serially in single books, the collection of *Odes* 1–3 which emerged as a unit about 23 BCE should be conceived as a single stage in Horace's poetic career. At the end of 1.1, itself constructed on the basis of a priamel framework from early Greek lyric, Horace famously asks for inclusion in the canon of Greek lyric poets (1.1.29–36), and at the end of 3.30 he suggests that he has done enough to deserve this honour (3.30.10–16). One subject of justifiable pride in his lyric achievement in *Odes* 1–3 is Horace's dexterous employment of Aeolic Greek lyric metres. There is clearly an ascent in complexity from the simple hexameters of the two books of *Satires* and the identical epodic metres of *Epodes* 1–10, though the more mixed metres of *Epodes* 11–17 (one of which (the first Archilochean) reappears in the *Odes*: *Epode* 12 ~ *Odes* 1.7 and 1.28) are some kind of anticipation of this move. This metrical prowess is famously stressed by the use of nine different metres for the first nine odes of Book 1, followed by a sequence of poems (12–18) in which thematic elements appear from an identifiable range of individual Greek lyric poets.¹⁶ This appreciable technical step in Horace's career is thus strongly marked in a major group of initial poems.

Between the challenge of *Odes* 1.1 and its fulfilment in *Odes* 3.30 there is some sense of internal ascent and onward movement. The initial window-display of the adaptation of Greek lyric through metre and themes just noted is followed in Book 2 by a more moderate approach to both metre and subject matter (see section 3 below): a set of topics in which moral philosophy is prominent is treated in twenty poems which in the first ten simply alternate the commonest Horatian lyric metres (the Alcaic and Sapphic stanzas), while as the book comes to a close, it shows some anticipation of the national and grave themes of the Roman *Odes* at the

¹⁴ See Nisbet 1984. ¹⁵ See Harrison 2007b: 106–14. ¹⁶ See Lowrie 1995.

beginning of Book 3. In particular, the substantial and earnest 2.18, with its criticism of luxury and commendation of the poet's own modest sufficiency in the Sabine estate, looks forward to the themes and scale of *Odes* 3.1 (see commentary). In *Odes* 3, there is a clear elevation of content:¹⁷ the opening sequence of six lengthy Roman Odes tackles major themes of politics and public morality in an enigmatic style which combines a vatic, oracular stance with elements of higher poetic genres, while several other poems later in the book narrate myths associated with tragedy (Hypermetra in 3.11, Danae in 3.16) or epyllion (Europa in 3.27).

The first book of *Epistles* presents a conspicuous contrast with the first collection of *Odes*. Its opening programmatic poem claims that Horace has renounced the frivolities of poetry for the serious concerns of philosophy (1.1.7–12). The pose of not writing poetry is surely ironic in this book of carefully crafted hexameters, and forms part of a consistent ambiguity about the poetic status of Horatian *sermo*. The collection's overt shape as a letter-collection, though picking up epistolary elements in Lucilius, points to a conspicuous genre of prose literature, as does its philosophical content (though one should not underestimate the influence of Lucretius' philosophical poem), but in terms of Horace's poetic career *Epistles* 1 represents a conscious return to the *sermo* of the 30s, in a slicker, more varied poetry book: the greater number of items (20 in *Epistles* 1 as opposed to 10 and 8 in *Satires* 1 and 2) reflects not only the relative brevity conventional for the letter but also a poet who has in the last decade produced eighty-eight lyric poems in three books.

The turn from Horatian lyric form is matched by a partial turn from Horatian lyric *persona*. Though Horace can still describe himself as *Epicuri de grege porcum* ('a porker from Epicurus' herd', *Epistles* 1.4.16) and can still suggest (in the same poem, at 1.4.13) that each day should be treated as one's last in the true Epicurean style, the poet's hedonistic involvement in the sympotic and erotic world of *Odes* 1–3 has indeed vanished, and the poet is presented as a trainee moral philosopher who encourages his friends along the same road by appearing equally fallible rather than a stern and superior sage. The themes of love, drinking and politics linked with lyric in the style of Alcaeus (*Odes* 1.32.1–12) are replaced by concerns with ethics, friendship and patronage, all part of moral philosophy in Roman terms. This is best seen in two pairs of poems where an addressee is shared between the two collections. Horace's friend Fuscus can be teased for his Stoicism in both *Odes* 1.22 and *Epistles* 1.10, but where the former poem then turns to Horace's own comic love affair with Lalage, the latter poem develops an ethical argument about living according to nature. Likewise, the Quinctius invited to put away political

¹⁷ See Lowrie 1997: 224–316.

concerns and attend a symposium in *Odes* 2.11 (see comm.) is in *Epistles* 1.16 invited (via a description of Horace's Sabine estate) to match good reputation with good actions and determined moral character. Again, the political themes prominent in *Odes* 1–3 and soon to be central to *Odes* 4 are introduced only briefly and incidentally: the military doings of Agrippa, Tiberius and Augustus are added as mere epistolary topical references at the end of *Epistle* 1.12 (25–9), while Augustus is further alluded to only in celebrating his birthday (*Epistles* 1.5) and as a recipient of a presentation copy of the first collection of *Odes* (*Epistles* 1.13).

Horace's commission to write a lyric poem (conventionally labelled the *Carmen Saeculare*) for performance by a mixed choir of boys and girls at Augustus' ideologically crucial *ludi saeculares* of 17 BCE, celebrating the renewal of the *saeculum* or generation of 110 years, represents an anomaly in his career: it is a one-off lyric piece outside a collection, and written in a choral rather than a monodic mode.¹⁸ Its link with the Greek lyric genre of paean is clear, but its importance in Horace's poetic career is not so much for its literary qualities as for its status as an occasional poem commissioned for an express politico-religious occasion, and the Suetonian *Life* suggests the hand of the *princeps* himself in Horace's selection. The death of Virgil in 19 BCE had left Horace as the unchallenged chief poet of Rome, and the *Carmen Saeculare* clearly presents him as a kind of laureate, addressing the gods on behalf of the Roman state on a public occasion of the highest profile.

This externally motivated resumption of Horatian lyric seems to have led to a further period of production in the genre (this time in its monodic form) which culminated in the fourth book of fifteen *Odes* a few years later. The book begins by figuring itself as a return to love (and therefore lyric love poetry), presented as inappropriate for a man past fifty (4.1.6–7); accordingly, love and its sympotic context appear again only in the sequence of poems 4.10–13, while the rest of the book is dedicated to weightier themes, for example the Pindaric-style poems in praise of the victories of his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus (*Odes* 4.4 and 4.14), or the two highly encomiastic poems addressing Augustus directly, 4.5 and 4.15. In this book H. emerges as a mature poet at the zenith of his career who has established himself in a public and national role. The older poet who advises the younger literary aspirant Iullus Antonius in *Odes* 4.2 is a recognisable anticipation of the national authority on poetry in the didactic mode of the second book of *Epistles* and the *Ars Poetica*, to which I now turn.

As noted above, the three poems *Epistles* 2.1, 2.2 and *Ars Poetica* seem to belong together in the final phase of Horace's poetic career, a closural return to the form of hexameter *sermo* with which he began in *Satires* 1.

¹⁸ For recent guidance see Thomas 2011.

This sense of a final phase in a distinguished career is accentuated by several features of these three poems as a group: all three poems deal with the theme of poetry in general from a didactic angle, all three share a sense of Horace's self-location in the Roman literary tradition, and all three deal with the theme of the usefulness of the poet and of Horace in particular to the community of Rome (2.1.124, 2.2.121, *Ars Poetica* 396–401). Perhaps most tellingly, it is in these poems that Horace gives us the fullest retrospective on his poetic career, augmenting the account in *Epistles* 1.19 (see *Epistles* 2.2.59–60, *AP* 79–85).

Odes 2, then, belongs to the central lyric phase of H.'s long and carefully-modulated poetic career.

3 CHARACTERISTICS OF *ODES* 2

(a) *The ordering and topics of the poems*

Scholarship on the ordering of poems in the *Odes* has sometimes aspired to produce complete and inclusive schemes in which each poem can be related significantly to its neighbours.¹⁹ A contrasting cautionary note here was struck by Nisbet and Hubbard: 'Yet it is only too easy to imagine some subtle principle either of similarity or difference in every juxtaposition, not to mention more complicated sequences and cycles. Most of these suggestions seem completely fanciful, and equally ingenious reasons could be adduced to justify any arrangement.'²⁰ In what follows I pursue something of a middle way between these two positions in suggesting some significance in the order of poems in *Odes* 2, but not a complete and elaborate scheme which involves each and every poem.²¹

The poems of Book 2 seem to show some groupings which express both similarity and contrast thematically. A linear reading of the book might emerge with the following, in which repeated themes are underlined and linked consecutive poems are put together:

- 2.1 Pollio, writer of history and tragedy, link with civil wars
- 2.2 Sallust, nephew of writer of the history of civil wars
- 2.3 Dellius, famous side-changer in civil wars, Antonian historian; symposium
- 2.4 Xanthias, young rich Greek, and his lover
- 2.5 Potential lover, girl too young
- 2.6 Septimius, old friend and the future

¹⁹ See e.g. Dettmer 1983, Santirocco 1986, Porter 1987, Minarini 1989.

²⁰ Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: xxiv.

²¹ There are valuable observations on thematic links in the book in Cucchiarelli 2006.

- 2.7 Pompeius, old friend and Philippi (civil wars); symposium
- 2.8 Barine, living irresistible lover
- 2.9 Valgius, writer of elegy and his dead lover; advice to a friend (praise of Caesar)
- 2.10 Licinius, ethical advice to a friend
- 2.11 Quinctius, ethical advice to a friend; symposium
- 2.12 Maecenas, potential historian, literary advice to a friend (praise of Caesar) and love
- 2.13 The tree: near-death of the poet, immortality of Sappho and Alcaeus in the underworld
- 2.14 Postumus, future death and the underworld
- 2.15 no addressee, anti-luxury, ethical advice
- 2.16 Grosphus, anti-luxury, ethical advice to a friend
- 2.17 Maecenas – near-death, friendship and loyalty
- 2.18 anonymous addressee, anti-luxury diatribe, ethical advice
- 2.19 Bacchus, literary/fantastic poem, underworld scene
- 2.20 Maecenas, friendship, literary/fantastic poem

This scheme shows that there are groups of poems with common themes. 2.1–3 are linked by the civil wars and the writing of history, all addressed to real historical figures (Sallustius in 2.2 cannot be separated from his famous adoptive father here: see commentary), 2.4–5 are paired as two lighter poems of the life of love, involving figures with fictionalised speaking names, 2.6–7 are both addressed to old friends with real names and look back to the poet's past, possibly both to the civil wars, 2.8–9 are another pair of poems on erotic subjects, the *femme fatale* Barine and the dead *puer* Mystes, again with speaking names (here the actual infidelity of Barine is neatly matched by the poetic over-fidelity of Valgius to Mystes), while the three poems 2.10–2.12 are linked by the offer of advice to a friend. 2.13 and 2.14 are paired by the prominence of death and the underworld in both poems, while 2.14 and 2.15 stand together as poems of ethical advice against luxury, anticipating both the themes and the metre of the Alcaic Roman odes of 3.1–6 (2.18 also anticipates the themes, but not the metre). The final group of four poems is contained by two poems addressed to Maecenas, both of which stress the poet's friendship, but 2.19 and 2.20 are also paired together because of their imaginative fantasy about immortals, 2.19 with its description of the divine Bacchus, 2.20 with its description of the immortalised poet.²²

These links within groups are matched by links across groups. As already noted, the theme of the civil wars not only holds together the

²² See further Cucchiarelli 2006: 86. In forthcoming work, Stephen Heyworth proposes that 2.19 and 2.20 are a single poem (as well as 2.13–15) – for earlier work in this direction see Heyworth 1995.

opening sequence of 2.1–3 but also seems to be relevant to the friendship-pairing of 2.6–7; poems concerned with writers move from the initial group linked with historians (2.1–3) to the elegist Valgius in 2.9 and the potential historian Maecenas in 2.12; the theme of the underworld links 2.19 with the pair 2.13–14; diatribes against luxury connect 2.18 with the pair 2.15–16; the theme of praise of Caesar as a potential literary topic is raised in both 2.9 and 2.12; the theme of the symposium draws together 2.3, 2.7 and 2.11, that of love the two pairs 2.4–5 and 2.8–9 as well as 2.12, that of fantasy 2.13 and 2.19–20; and general ethical advice and professions of friendship are liberally distributed across the whole book.

These similarities are accompanied and balanced by contrasts and alternations, which like the variety of addressees seem to be a carefully orchestrated element in the book. The tragic realism of the opening group 2.1–3 and their links with the civil wars and their historians contrast with the lighter and less ‘real’ poems of love 2.4–5, but we then return to the realities of Rome’s past history with the old friends of 2.6–7, at least one of which provides a strong link with the civil wars. 2.8–9 reprise the erotic themes of 2.4–5: 2.4 and 2.9 both deal with lovers of inferior rank to the addressee, while the issue of excessive youth (too young for love, too young to die) links Lalage in 2.5 with Mystes in 2.9. The more serious subject of advice to a friend constitutes the core of the next group 2.10–12, while the two treatments of the underworld in 2.13 and 2.14 (another contrasting switch) have their own internal contrasts (one is fantastic and literary, the other severe and moralising), and in the final two sequences we find the same clear variation between ethical preaching (2.15–16, 2.18) and literary fantasy (2.19–20).

(b) *The book of moderation*

Book 2 of the *Odes* contains 20 poems, almost half the 38 of Book 1 and two-thirds of the 30 of Book 3. Like *Satires* 1 (10 poems), it thus has a number of poems founded on a decimal base, following Virgil’s *Eclogues* (10) and Tibullus’ first book (10), a feature later echoed in Book 3 (30). The contrast with *Odes* 1 is interesting: its 38 poems seem to show a poet keen to emphasise his full acquaintance with the rich range of Greek lyric, with considerable metrical diversity (beginning with nine poems in different metres), while the 20 poems of Book 2 show much less metrical variety: as already noted, it begins with ten poems in which Alcaics alternate with Sapphics, and then presents seven of its remaining ten poems in Alcaics, looking forward in the Alcaic groups 2.13–15 and 2.19–20 to the consecutive repetition of the same metre in the Roman *Odes* of 3.1–6 (for more on the book’s metres see section 7 below). The same restraint and consistency is shown in the matter of length: only four of its twenty poems

extend to more than 30 lines with none over 40, and none is shorter than 20, whereas in Book 1 poem-length can range from 8 lines (1.11, 1.38), 12 (1.23) or 16 (1.19, 1.21, 1.34) to 52 (1.2) and 60 (1.12).

These statistics suggest that where Book 1 shows poetic ambition and diversity, Book 2 shows poetic moderation and consistency. Having shown what he can do in his first book, in his second book the lyric poet settles into a more constant form and establishes the characteristic concerns of the *Odes*. Moderation is a key theme in Book 2: it stresses moderation across a range of fields – in material consumption, in philosophical outlook, in passions and emotions, and in literary form. The opening poem is here symptomatic: after an impassioned recall of the horrors of civil war treated by its addressee Pollio in his lost *Histories*, the last stanza famously implies that this material is too much for Horatian lyric (2.1.37–40). There Horatian lyric is in effect defined as a moderate literary form, both in implicit contrast with the dramatic history of Pollio evoked in the rest of the poem and in explicit contrast with the intense lyric laments associated with the name of Simonides of Ceos (see commentary). Note too that this intervention by the poet comes when the lyric ode has reached the maximum number of lines allowed to an ode in Book 2: restraint of length as well as of emotional intensity, presented as programmatic in the first poem, is indeed a key feature of the book.

The selection of addressees in Book 2 shows variety in more than metre and length, but here too there is some aspect of moderation and restraint.²³ The *princeps* himself does not figure as addressee, and alongside the indispensable Maecenas (2.12, 2.17, 2.20), the only consular invoked is Pollio, assigned the prestigious initial position in 2.1. A quarter of the poems are addressed to minor friends of H., some of whom are also addressed in the first book of *Epistles*: Septimius (2.6; cf. *Ep.* 1.9), Pompeius (2.7), Quintius (2.11; cf. *Ep.* 1.16), Postumus (2.14) and Grosphus (2.16; cf. *Ep.* 1.12). Several addressees have misleadingly resonant names but turn out to be less important than their potential homonyms: Sallustius in 2.2 is an influential figure as friend of Augustus but recalls above all the celebrated name of his great-uncle and adoptive father the historian; Pompeius in 2.7 is not a key member of the family of that name, though he may have been a political supporter of Sextus Pompey (see 2.7, introduction); and Licinius in 2.10 is probably not the famous conspirator ‘Varro Murena’ (see 2.10, introduction). The theme of civil war raised in 2.1 is continued in the associations of the addressees of several other poems in the first half of the book: Dellius in 2.3, well known for his rapid side-changing, and Pompeius in 2.7, H.’s comrade at Philippi. Writers are also prominent: the historian Pollio in 2.1 has been noted, while 2.3 provides

²³ Cf. Günther 2013: 319–20.

another historian of the civil wars in Dellius (it cannot be an accident that 2.2, the poem intermediate between these two, is addressed to the homonymous heir of the great historian Sallust), while in 2.9 we find the elegiac poet Valgius. The suggestion in 2.12 that Maecenas himself could write a prose history of Caesar's battles fits the emphasis in this book on contemporary history and its recording.

The number of fictional addressees is lower than in Book 1, partly because of the smaller number of erotic odes: Xanthias (2.6) and Barine (2.8) seem to have typical or speaking names, while another poem (2.5) seems to have an anonymous addressee but a fictionally named protagonist (Lalage). Two further poems of more ethical character have either an anonymous addressee (2.18) or no addressee at all (2.15): both these look forward to the similarly moralising and non-individually-addressed Roman Odes of the following book. Finally, for further variation, we find non-human addressees: the famous tree which nearly ended H.'s life (2.13), and the god Bacchus, invoked as the inspiring deity of lyric poetry (2.19).

The prominence of philosophical elements in *Odes* Book 2 has often been noted by scholars.²⁴ Here again we find moderation: rather as in Book 1 of the *Epistles*,²⁵ the poet comes across as interested in general maxims which would find sympathy with adherents of most contemporary philosophical schools: the correct use of wealth (2.2), the importance of equanimity in good and bad times (2.3), the proper limits to lamentation (2.9), the golden mean (2.10), the ephemeral nature of human life (2.14), the evils of excessive materialism and the virtues of austerity (2.15, 2.18), the primacy of inner peace (2.16). Links with the philosophical views of particular addressees have been suggested; Stoic doctrines appear prominently in 2.2 and may reflect the views of both Sallusts (see 2.2, introduction); on the other hand, Stoic and Epicurean doctrines are happily mixed in 2.3 and probably do not reflect Dellius' views (see introduction to that poem), while the evocation of *aurea mediocritas* in 2.10 need not be specifically Peripatetic (see introduction to that poem).

But H.'s personal penchant for Epicureanism²⁶ does show in the book's emphasis on friendship, the symposium and erotic pleasure. As already noted, most non-fictional addressees in *Odes* 2 are personal friends rather than distant grantees, and several odes appeal to years of particular friendship, especially the matched pairing of 2.6 (Septimius and the future prospect of joint retirement) and 2.7 (Pompeius and the past joint experience of Philippi), and the two odes to Maecenas, H.'s main patron for more than a decade (2.12, 2.17); 2.17 in particular stresses the poet's warm devotion to his grand *amicus*. Friendship can be sealed with sympotic celebration (cf. 2.3,

²⁴ E.g. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 2–3; Günther 2013: 316–17.

²⁵ Cf. Kilpatrick 1986. ²⁶ See e.g. Moles 2007.