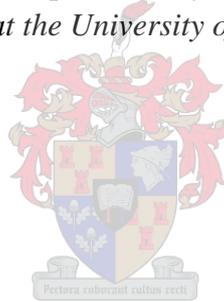


The animal themes in Horace's *Epodes*

by

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis focused on the animal themes while attempting to make a comprehensive analysis of such themes as they were portrayed in the *Epodes* of Horace. A close analysis of each poem that contains animals was made. The aim of such an analysis was twofold, firstly to arrive at a possible interpretation of said themes in each specific poem; secondly to indicate how Horace used these animal themes to enhance the meaning of the *Epodes*. To support this second aim the various animal themes were arranged according to a list of five functions associated with the themes, namely invective, irony and humour, *exempla*, metaphor and colouring or setting. Finally the investigation aimed at achieving not only a better understanding of the animal themes per se but also an enhanced appreciation of the entire collection.

Opsomming

Die diere temas is die fokuspunt van hierdie tesis terwyl daar gepoog word om 'n omvattende ontleding van die temas soos uitgebeeld deur die *Epodes* van Horatius, uit te voer. 'n Deeglike ontleding van die diere temas soos gevind in die verskillende gedigte, is gemaak. Die doel van hierdie ontledings was tweeledig, eerstens om die moontlike interpretasie van die temas vir elke spesifieke gedig te verstaan; en tweedens om aan te dui hoe Horatius die diere temas aangewend het om die *Epodes* ruimer uit te beeld. Ter ondersteuning van die tweede doel is die verskillende diere temas volgens 'n lys van vyf funksies wat met die temas vereenselwig kan word, ge-orden naamlik oordrewe kritiek, ironie, humor, *exempla*, metafoor en voorkoms of aanbieding. Ten slotte poog die ondersoek om nie net 'n beter begrip van die diere temas te bevorder nie maar ook om waardering vir die totale versameling van die gedigte te bevorder.

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to make a comprehensive analysis of the recurring animal themes and images in the *Epodes* of Horace. The purpose of this is twofold, firstly to arrive at a possible interpretation of said themes in each of the specific poems, and secondly to arrange this imagery into five groups as a means of illustrating the possible purpose and effect of the animal imagery.¹

The *Epodes* were for many years regarded as the least important of Horace's works. Except for a few poems that held some interest because of their historical significance (epodes I, VII, IX, and XVI) most of the epodes went unnoticed (Watson 2002:93). Sellar (19th century) completely ignores the overtly sexual epodes VIII and XII and summarises the *Epodes* as follows: 'The *Epodes* are on the whole the least interesting and satisfactory work of Horace...they have neither the musical charm and variety of the *Odes* nor their studied felicities of language' (Sellar 1892:130-131).

However the consensus has changed in the last two decades. Three commentaries on the *Epodes* have been published since 1992, namely, Mankin (1995), Cavarzere (2001) and Watson (2003). The *Epodes* have been dissected and analysed to the extreme trying to discover Horace's internal logic. Carrubba lists five possible 'governing principles' when it comes to the *Epodes*. These are 1) influence of the *iambi* of Archilochus, 2) avoidance of any internal principle, 3) chronology, 4) metre and 5) theme (Carrubba 1969:13). The problem with such an analysis is that too often it stresses form over content and constructs overly complicated structures.² However in spite of the great diversity in meter, themes and language there are certain recurring images in the *Epodes*. This imagery concerns animals. Of the seventeen epodes only two mention no animals at all. They are epodes XI and XIV. It is for this reason that I have decided to investigate and analyse the animal images not only to explain their meaning in their respective epodes but also to arrange them so that their possible purpose may be revealed. I will show that by arranging the animal imagery according to 'the

¹ By imagery I mean the depictions of animals in the *Epodes*. I will use this term interchangeably with theme. In the section entitled 'The significance of the animal themes: their possible purpose' (3:81-90) various possible uses of the animal themes will be put forward some of which include similes and metaphors.

² See the section entitled 'Structure of the *Epodes*' (1.3:9-13) for a fuller description of the various approaches.

point of view of the imagery and its purpose' one arrives at a more meaningful interpretation of the imagery itself and the entire book of *Epodes* (Andrewes 1950:107).

In the introduction I will look at the historical influences that appear in Horace's *Epodes*. These influences include Horace's time spent during the campaign of Brutus at Philippi in 42 BC where Horace was a military tribune as well as Horace's subsequent position as secretary in the treasury during which time he became acquainted with Maecenas. I will also look briefly at the influences of archaic *iambus* on Horace's *Epodes* specifically the works of Archilochus and Hipponax. During this investigation it will become clear that Horace's *Epodes* do not have the ferocious invective of his archaic forerunners but that he was indeed influenced by Catullus and indirectly by Callimachus. Subsequently I will touch on the various approaches to organising the *Epodes*. There are many approaches possible and I will look at the most prominent ones. Lastly I will look at the language and style of the *Epodes*. Horace's use of language in the *Epodes* is colourful and descriptive especially when he ties this in with imagery. After the introduction the specific animal images will be dealt with. In particular, I will focus on their meaning in the respective epodes, their origin and significance.

1.1 Historical background

Horace was born in 65 BC in the town of Venusia (Nisbet 2002:1). Horace's father was a freedman and made a sufficient living as an auctioneer's agent. This enabled his father to send him to a better school in Rome instead of the local school in Venusia.³ During this time Rome was in turmoil. Gang warfare had erupted between the Caesareans and Pompeians (50s BC). This gang warfare would escalate and eventually lead to civil war (49-45 BC) (Nisbet 2002:1). Caesar's assassination in 44 BC forced Brutus and his allies to abandon Rome. This period was a troubling time for Rome. Mark Antony and Octavian had joined forces to form the second triumvirate to defeat the armies of Brutus and the other 'liberators' (Mankin 1995:4). It was during this time that Horace was studying at Athens at the ancient equivalent of a university where he was recruited by Brutus and made a military tribune (Rudd 2004:2). Horace took part in the Battle of Philippi. Brutus' side lost. Horace escaped with his life and was subsequently granted amnesty. He returned to Rome and was made a secretary of the treasury (Rudd 2004:2).

Horace began writing verse on returning to Italy after the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC (Watson 2002:93). His first works were the *Satires* and *Epodes*, and on the strength of these he was introduced to Maecenas in 38 BC (Watson 2003:2). Horace's friendship with Maecenas was advantageous since it allowed Horace to express dissent and impartiality as he does in epode XVI where he is pessimistic about the future of Rome, without fear of reprisals (Nisbet 2002:10).⁴ A genuine friendship developed between Horace and Maecenas as he publicly attests in epode I.

Dating the *Epodes* is problematic. The latest datable reference occurs in epode IX. In this epode Horace recounts the main phase of the naval Battle of Actium which was fought on 2 September 31 BC (Du Quesnay 2002:17). Epode VII tells of the renewal of civil war, this could refer to either the Pact of Brundisium in 40 BC or the outbreak of the war between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius in 39 BC (Rudd 2004:9). The same theme occurs in the opening lines of epode XVI, but by now the war had already progressed and this epode must surely have been written after epode VII (Rudd 2004:9). Epodes I and IX concern the Battle

³ Horace remarks in the *Satires* I.6.72-75 about the school in Venusia: 'My father was a poor man with a few scraggy acres, yet he wouldn't send me to Flavius' school where the important boys of centurions used to go with their satchel and slate swinging from the left arm' (Rudd 1979:68-69).

⁴ Maecenas also gave Horace a Sabine farm which he loved dearly (*Epodes* I.25-32, *Satires* II.6).

of Actium, the first poem is datable to the eve of the Battle of Actium in which Horace most likely participated (Watson 2003:2).⁵ Epode IX takes place after Actium and portrays Cleopatra as a villainous queen and Antony as her slave. These two epodes (I and IX) show Horace's commitment to Octavian's cause at about 37 BC (Rudd 2004:10). Epode X may also belong to the early 30 BCs, since the character of Mevius seems to come from Vergil's *Ecloques* 3.90 (Rudd 2004:10). Epodes IV and XIV were composed after 37 BC when Horace had already become Maecenas' client (Rudd 2004:10). Epode IV takes place during the war against Sextus Pompeius (39-36 BC), since Horace mentions *latrones atque servilem manum* (a band of rabble and slaves) which is a clear reference to Sextus' army (Rudd 2004:10). Since epode V shares the characters Canidia and Sagana with the *Satires* I.8 it is reasonable to conclude that epode V must have been written at the same time as the *Satires* namely circa 36 BC (Rudd 2004:10). Epode XVII which also mentions Canidia however came after *Satire* I.8 In epode XVII line 58 mention is made of the Esquiline Hill which first appears in *Satires* I.8.14 and the wax dolls mentioned in line 76 which first appear in *Satires* I.8.30 (Rudd 2004:10). All these datable references and the cross-references indicate that the *Epodes* were most likely composed between the end of the Battle of Philippi (42 BC) and the end of the Battle of Actium (31 BC).

The *Satires* (36 BC) and *Epodes* (31 BC) were Horace's earliest works (Rudd 1979:21). After 30 BC Horace started to write three books of *Odes* which were published in 23 BC and established him as Rome's first lyric poet (Rudd 1979:21). Horace then returned to hexameter to composed verse epistles. The *Epistles* consist of two books composed sometime between 21-19 BC (Rudd 1979:22). Next Horace composed the *Carmen Seculare*, a choral ode which was first performed in 17 BC (Rudd 1979:25). Horace intended *Odes* III.30 to mark the end of his *Odes* collection, but in 13 BC he composed a fourth book of *Odes* (Rudd 1979:25). Horace's last composition the *Ars Poetica* was composed sometime between 12-8 BC. Horace died on the 27th November 8 BC, two months after Maecenas and was buried near to Maecenas on the Esquiline Hill (Rudd 2004:9). The fact that they were buried near to each other, evokes what Horace had said earlier about his friendship with Maecenas in *Odes* II.17.10-12: 'We are ready to set out on the final journey as companions together' (Rudd 2004:9).

⁵ Various arguments have been put forward for Horace's presence at Actium, the chief being (1) his declared intention in epode I of accompanying Maecenas to battle (I.11-24), (2) and references made by Horace to his participation in military campaigns after the Battle of Philippi 42 BC (*Odes* III.4.26-28) (Watson 2003:3).

1.2 Literary background

In this section I will explore the literary influence of archaic *iambus* and Hellenistic literature on Horace's *Epodes*. I will also look at Catullus' influence on Horace's work. The title '*Epodes*' is derived from the Greek *epodoi* which is a lyric metre, in which a couplet consists of a longer line followed by a shorter line (Watson 2002:94). *Iambus* was at its zenith in the seventh and sixth century BC (Mankin 1995:7). The main practitioners of *iambi* were Archilochus of Paros and Thasos (mid seventh century BC) and Hipponax of Ephesus (mid sixth century BC) (Mankin 1995:7).

Iambus may have originated as a 'cult song' associated with Demeter and Dionysus, specifically the metre of *iambus* is thought to have come from these songs (Mankin 1995:8). But *iambus* could be composed in many different meters (i. e. elegy and mixed forms). The unifying element of *iambus* was invective (Mankin 1995:8). This constituted finding blame, to a varying degree of hostility, with behaviour that was deemed somehow inappropriate or contrary to society (Mankin 1995:8).

Iambus was aimed at perpetrators who went against the norms of society and not specifically against individuals who offended the sensibilities of the author (Mankin 1995:8). *Iambus* was meant to be read by an audience, drawn from that society which it was supposedly acting in defence of. The *iambus* was meant to remind the audience of what might be a threat to their customs and norms, and so brought them together as an audience (Mankin 1995:8). The members of this audience would be equals and consider themselves *philo*i (friends). An iambic poet could affirm this friendship through finding and pointing out blame. He could do this in a number of ways. Firstly by speaking in his own person or as a member of the group and attack someone directly, either another member of the group or an outsider (Mankin 1995:8). Secondly the author could adopt a *persona* (not his own) and reveal certain misconducts 'he' has performed by listing the 'worst things about himself' (Mankin 1995:8). Thirdly the author could tell a 'blame narrative' combining accusations against himself with accounts of questionable acts (Mankin 1995:8). The levels of blame ranged from admonition to humorous scolding directed at members of the group or if against outsiders a more aggressive attack (Mankin 1995:8).

The parallels between Horace's *Epodes* and archaic Greek *iambi* are not hard to discover. Horace's audience, where he does mention them are either his fellow citizens (i.e. epodes

VII, XVI) or his circle of friends (i.e. epodes III, IX). His enemies are generally not real people but rather stock figures like Mevius, Alfius and Canidia (Mankin 1995:9). Horace generally speaks as his own person but sometimes he adopts a *persona* and reveals the ‘worst things about himself’ (i.e. epodes IV, VI, VIII, XI and XII) (Mankin 1995:9).

Though *Epodes* is the name that is used today to refer to Horace’s work he himself used the generic name *iambi* (*Epistles* I.19.23, II.2.59, Mankin 1995:12). Horace claims that he was the first to introduce this genre of poetry into Latin: *Epistle* I.19: ‘I was the first to show the iambics of Paros to Latium, keeping Archilochus’ rhythms and fire, but not his themes or the words which hunted Lycambes’ (Rudd 1979:170). Horace states that he followed Archilochus’ metrical practice and spirit, but did not imitate Archilochus’ subject matter and language of personal invective (Barchiesi 2001:143). Archilochus sustained attack on one individual Lycambes who supposedly promised one of his daughters Neobule in marriage but then rescinded on the agreement which resulted in a torrent of invective which drove Lycambes and his daughters to suicide (Watson 2003:264). In epode VI Horace makes a clear allusion to this tale of Lycambes and also refers to another archaic iambic poet Hipponax.

With these lines Horace explores the ethos of iambic poetry. He will attack provocateurs with the same ferocity as Archilochus did Lycambes and Hipponax did Bupalus.⁶ Like Archilochus Hipponax hounded his enemy Bupalus to death with invectives. Both these poets were famed for their anger and it is chiefly this characteristic that Horace copied in his *Epodes* (Hutchinson 2002:37). Archilochus and Hipponax’s poems were arranged according to metre. Archilochus wrote epodes and elegiacs in trimeters and tetrameters (Hutchinson 2002:37). Hipponax wrote two books of *iambi* (Hutchinson 2002:37). Of Horace’s *Epodes* only the last poem is not an epode (i.e. it does not have couplets). This variation at the end may have been inspired by Callimachus, a Hellenistic iambic poet, whose poems show a similar transition from one metre to another (Hutchinson 2002:38).

Horace differs from his predecessors in respect of narrative. The ‘speaker’ in Horace’s *Epodes* often lacks intensity of characterisation, however narrative comes across strongly in the ‘animal fables’ which were associated with Archilochus’ *iambi* (Hutchinson 2002:38). In

⁶ *Namque in malos asperrimus / parata tollo cornua, / qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener / aut acer hostis Bupalos*: ‘For I am exceedingly brutal against villains, picking up my ready horns, like the son-in-law scorned by treacherous Lycambes, or the relentless enemy of Bupalus’ (VI.11-14) (All translations of the *Epodes* are my own, except where a different translator is explicitly indicated; The Latin text of the *Epodes* which I have used comes from Rudd’s *Horace: Odes and Epodes* (2004).

place of these animal fables Horace resorted to comparisons and metaphors with animals such as in epode VI.⁷

The Archilochean influences on the *Epodes* are overlaid with influences from Callimachus (3rd century BC) and Horace's predecessor in *iambus* Catullus (Watson 2002:95). These 'newer' influences reflected the mood and modality of the language and theme of the 'older' *iambi* of Archilochus and Hipponax. It is these newer themes which Horace eludes to when he says he introduced Archilochus' rhythms and fire, but not his themes or the words which hunted Lycambes. The first epode concerns motifs that Archilochus was acquainted with namely friendship and war by the sea (Watson 2002:95). However Horace differs a great deal in tone and mood from the Archilochean model (Harrison 2001:168-169). He has none of the bellicosity and bravado of Archilochus, instead he depicts himself in epode I.16 as *imbellis ac firmus parum*, (unwarlike and weak, I.16). He compares himself to a mother bird which fears for her chicks but cannot offer any protection against the snake.

The lack of bravado displayed in this epode by Horace is uncharacteristic of Archilochus, but has its origin in the *iambi* of Callimachus (Thomas 2002:60). This may be the 'softness' to which Horace refers in *Epistles* I.19 when he says: 'but not his themes or the words which hunted Lycambes'. Though there are few identifiable Callimachean references in Horace's *Epodes*, the expunging Archilochean animus present in the *Epodes* has its origins in Callimachus (Watson 2003:12). Examples of this lighter and softer invective can be found in epode III, where Horace makes a feeble invective against garlic, or in the attack on the undefined villain in epode VI, or in epode XVII where the invective is rather to amuse than to attack (Watson 2003:12). Horace's *Epodes* reflect the 'modernising iambic style' of Hellenistic poets like Callimachus whose presence is very clear in the works of Catullus (Thomas 2002:60).

Catullus' influence on Horace's work is most clearly seen in the *Epodes* (Tarrant 2002:70). The very first epode evokes Catullus. In this epode Horace vows to accompany Maecenas to the ends of the earth (I.11-14), this is a clear reference to Catullus' eleventh *carmen* in which Catullus ascribes a similar readiness to Furius and Aurelius (11.2-13, Tarrant 2002:70). The invective of Horace's *Epodes* owes its origin to Catullus' *Carmina*, since he blended the archaic harsh invective of Archilochus and Hipponax with the softer *iambi* of Callimachus

⁷ In this epode Horace goes through various transformations first he is a sheepdog and then a bull. His opponent goes through a similar metamorphosis first a cowardly cur then a *malum* (evil doer).

(Tarrant 2002:70). Other similarities between Horace's *Epodes* and Catullus' *Carmina* included the repulsive imagery used to describe the physical unattractiveness of people (e.g. epode XII and *carmen* 69, Tarrant 2002:70). The erotic epodes also show influence from Catullus' poetry. However the tone of the imprint from Catullus' work has shifted, Catullus' Lesbia becomes Horace's Canidia in epode XVII. Where Catullus refers to Lesbia as: 'loved by us as no other woman will ever be loved' (*carmen* 8.5) (Tarrant 2002:70), Horace takes this model but the tone is darker. Lesbia now becomes the witch Canidia and is described as: 'greatly loved by sailors and merchants' (XVII.20) (Tarrant 2002:70).

Other points of similarities between Catullus and Horace are based on shared topics which are typical of iambic poetry (Randall 2007:368). Some of these points include the drinking songs (*carmen* 27; epode XIII), expressions of love and erotic desires (*carmen* 5, 7; epode XV), and invectives (*carmen* 16, 21; epodes VIII and XII) (Randall 2007:368). Both poets placed an emphasis on the reliability and importance of friendships. However they differed in their approach to the depictions of friendships. Catullus represents himself as moving within a wide circle of friends, acquaintances and rivals whose relationships with the poet are constantly changing (Randall 2007:370). By contrast Horace concentrates on the depiction of one friendship, specifically his close relationship with his patron Maecenas. Both poets were also concerned with the depiction of loyalty and trust in friendships. Again they differ in their approach. Catullus dwells on the emotional costs of betrayal (*carmen* 30 and 70), while Horace is more concerned with loyalty and the duties of *amici* (friends) (epode I) (Randall 2007:370). Both poets also wrote about practical jokes and teasing amongst friends (*carmen* 6 and 14; epode III). Invectives against social upstarts were also a common feature of both Catullus and Horace. Catullus concentrated on attacking the habits and mannerism of upstarts (*carmen* 12 and 22) while Horace concentrated on social climbers who flaunted their wealth (epode IV) (Randall 2007:370).

It is clear that Horace's *Epodes* had their origin in Archilochus and Hipponax, Horace even attests to that fact. But where Archilochus' invective is personal and harsh Horace's is impersonal and 'softer'. These differences can be attributed to the influences of Callimachus and the Hellenistic poets but more so to Horace's immediate predecessor, Catullus.

1.3 Structure of the *Epodes*

In this section I will look at the various attempts made to try and arrange the *Epodes* into some sort of order. In his book entitled *The Epodes of Horace*, Carrubba makes a comprehensive study of all the various approaches and arranges these into five groups. Group one concerns placing the *Epodes* into order of their Archilochean influences (Carrubba 1969:13). This theory has been put forward by such scholars as Plüss who argued that Horace always maintains to a greater or lesser extent the traditional aggressiveness of archaic *iambus* (Watson 2003:21). The problem with this approach is that it undermines the diversity in tone and theme of the *Epodes* and forces a very rigid view of archaic *iambus* on the *Epodes* (Watson 2003:21). The second group's approach is to see no internal principle at all. This argument however is refutable, since Augustan poets almost always arranged poems in books in an artistic way even if those principles which govern the arrangement are disputed today (Carrubba 1969:14). A clear example that Horace put some thought into arranging the *Epodes* is found in the first word and the last word of the book. The opening word of epode I *ibis* together with the closing word of epode XVII *exitus* clearly implies careful and thoughtful organisation (Watson 2003:20).

The third approach is to focus on chronology. Bentley (18th century) postulated that Horace composed the *Epodes* between 31-30 BC. Such a short composition period leads one to believe that the seventeen epodes are themselves chronologically arranged (Carrubba 1969:15). However the consensus has changed and various contradictory chronologies of the *Epodes* have appeared. The scholar Latsch during the 1930's compiled a list of the various approaches to the chronology of the *Epodes*. For example the sequence of the first three epodes according to the scholars Kirchner, Franke, Grotefend and Latsch is as follows: (Carrubba 1969:15)

	1st	2nd	3rd
Kirchner	Epode 16	Epode 12	Epode 8
Franke	Epode 16	Epode 8	Epode 4
Grotefend	Epode 5	Epode 17	Epode 12
Latsch	Epode 16	Epode 6	Epode 8

Just from this simplified version one can see that there is a great disparity between the views of scholars over the possible chronological sequence of the *Epodes*. Chronology can therefore not be used as a meaningful approach to arranging the epodes in a specific order.

The fourth approach is to arrange the *Epodes* according to metre. The *Epodes* share a consistency in metre. Epodes I-X are all in the same metre consisting of a couplet of iambic trimeter followed by dimeter (Watson 2003:20). The following six poems (XI-XVI) are in a variety of metrical systems: third Archilochean⁸, Alcmanian strophe⁹, second Archilochean¹⁰, and first and second Pythiambic.¹¹ The final poem is the only one in the entire collection that does not use epodic couplets but is instead in stichic iambic trimeters (Watson 2003:20). The departure from the normal couplets in I-XVI is further advertised by the fact that epode XVII has an odd number of lines (81). The grouping of the first ten poems in the same meter reflects the Augustan poets' fondness for the number ten or multiples of ten in their books (i.e. Vergil's ten *Eclogues*, Horace's ten *Satires* I, twenty *Odes* II, thirty *Odes* III, Watson 2003:20). The metrical arrangement is neat and organised but does not account for the thematic relationships between various epodes.¹²

The fifth approach is to group the *Epodes* according to theme. Many of the poems share thematic connections. Epodes I and IX both concern the Battle of Actium, epodes VII and

⁸ A couplet consisting of iambic trimeter and elegiambus (Carrubba 1969:19).

⁹ A couplet consisting of dactylic hexameter and dactylic tetrameter (Carrubba 1969:19).

¹⁰ A couplet consisting of dactylic hexameter and iambelegus (Carrubba 1969:19).

¹¹ A couplet consisting of dactylic hexameter and iambic dimeter/trimeter (Carrubba 1969:19).

¹² I.e. epode VIII is thematically linked with epode XII in the character of the *vetula* but the poems are in two different meters

XVI depict the fear of civil war, epodes V and XVII focus on the witch Canidia and her concoctions. The problem with taking theme as a principle for arrangement is that analyses according to theme can almost be extended indefinitely arising in an infinite number of thematic groups and pairs (Watson 2003:21). For example epodes II and XVI could be associated because of their portrayal of life on the blessed isle. If one ties in these subject-matter arrangements with the metrical arrangements (I-X, II-XVI and XVII) some overlapping occurs. For example in epode I Horace bids farewell to Maecenas (*propemptikon*). The shipwreck and death of Mevius in epode X could be seen as an inversion of the *propemptikon* theme, as typified by the departing of Maecenas in epode I. This associative organising principal could be extended indefinitely and that very point makes it unsatisfactory.

Developing from the thematic approach scholars had tried discovering Horace's voice or *persona* as a means of discovering the *Epodes*' internal structure. E. A. Schmidt, a proponent of this approach, has argued that throughout the *Epodes* Horace writes from the perspective of a 'disempowered individual defending the still more powerless' (Watson 2003:21). This perspective is strongly felt in epodes IV and VI, in both cases Horace takes on individuals who are offending the accepted standards of society. However some epodes, such as epode III, which has the trappings of social criticism, do not fit this organising principal. On a closer reading it is evident that Horace was joking with Maecenas in epode III, Schmidt's approach understates the element of humour in this epode and the entire collection. Bücher continues with the voice or *persona* approach. He argues that Horace wrote from real events which he experienced (Watson 2003:21). This approach fails to take into account the rich literary tradition of *iambus*. The impact of literary traditions, especially animal themes is strongly felt in epodes VIII and XII. The farm animal themes in these two poems have their origins in Archilochus, Hipponax, Callimachus and Semonides. This literary tradition is important to bear in mind since Horace did not write in a vacuum but was influenced by his predecessors. The impact of this literary tradition directly influenced the five groups of functions listed as possible enhancements of the overall animal themes. For example the tradition of using farm animal imagery to ridicule women as found in Semonides' *fr.7* 1-5 was continued by Horace in epode XII where it serves to ridicule a *vetula* for her sexual aggressiveness.

Still based on the *persona* approach is a more recent argument to the problem of organising the *Epodes*. This approach is to see Horace ‘walking a tightrope between strength and weakness’ (Watson 2003:22). This approach interprets the *Epodes* as portraying Horace as an ‘impotent’ iambist. This approach sees Horace on the one hand asserting his strength while at the same time undermining himself. A case in point occurs in epode I, in which Horace vows to follow Maecenas across the Alps, but at the same time Horace compares himself to an ineffectual mother bird afraid for her chicks. The strength of this approach lies in that a similar swinging back and forth between the positions of strength and weakness can be found in archaic iambus (Watson 2003:22). However this approach’s merits are not without limits. Epodes V and VII for example do not fit this mould. In both cases there is no change in position from strength to weakness, and to make these epodes fit this mould would be arbitrary.

A final means of discovering unity in the *Epodes* is put forward by Porter. He argues that a clear and distinct ‘movement’ or ‘trajectory’ can be seen in the *Epodes* (Watson 2003:22). He argues that a ‘curve movement’ shapes the *Epodes* (Porter 1995:109). The poems I-VIII show a downward curve, this is mirrored by the parallel progression of epodes IX-XVII. The laughable conclusion of epode VIII further prepares for the ‘lighter’ tone of epode IX (Watson 2003:22). This argument is too strained and overly complicated for a fruitful reading. Though this argument is by no means solid it does pay much attention to animal imagery. Porter uses this imagery to map the oscillating movement of the epodes. He claims that the animal motifs in the first seven poems clearly show this downward momentum (Porter 1995:109). In epode I Porter uses the imagery of the mother bird and serpent (I.19-22) as well as the imagery of the cattle (I.25-28) to bolster his argument. He opines that in the case of these images, the bird and serpents show Horace’s devotion to Maecenas and the cattle Horace’s assurance of not being motivated by material gain (Porter 1995:109). Porter says that the ‘thrust of both motifs are positive’ since they suggest the depth and disinterest of the Horace’s affection for Maecenas (Porter 1995:109).

Porter further states that the hopes of epodes I and II are paralleled by the despair of epodes XVI and XVII (Porter 1995:109). This argument is debateable. Is epode I really hopeful given the note of danger with which this epode ends? The same goes for epode IX which ends with Horace’s fears over a recurring civil war.

The exposé on structure which I have given here, though very brief shows the great complexity and intricateness of the *Epodes*. The various approaches all have their merits and weaknesses, some more so than others (i.e. chronological approach). It is for this reason that I feel it is a pointless endeavour to try and prove the supremacy of one approach or series of approaches.

I think it is more useful to take the animal imagery and arrange them into 'point of view or purpose' so that their possible effect and significance can be revealed. I have applied the point of view approach only to animal imagery but Andrewes in his article *Horace's use of imagery in the Epodes and Odes* applies it to various images i.e. drinking, eating, etc. For the purposes of this thesis I am only concerned with discovering the meaning of the animal imagery in the respective epodes not the arrangement of the poems themselves. I am concerned with organising the animal themes according to the role they play in the poems overall.

1.4 Language and style

The language of the *Epodes* is vivid and descriptive, especially in the invective epodes of VIII and XII. The *Epodes*' colourful language has its origin in the archaic *iambus* of Archilochus and Hipponax (Watson 2003:30). Hipponax and the choliambic poets were especially renowned for coining *hapax legomena*, either from their local dialects or from non-Greek words (Watson 2003:30).¹³ Latin did not have such a rich storehouse of words, but Horace compensated for this by inventing *neologisms* and using rich imagery and metaphors.¹⁴ The *Epodes*' language can be seen as a midway between poetic and un-poetic language, or between colloquial and elevated language (Mankin 1995:12). In his *Epistles* II.2 5-60 Horace recounts: 'You put lyric poetry first—he's for iambics—he prefers the tangy wit of Bion's homilies' (Rudd 1979:184). Horace's lyric poetry is the *Odes* and the *Epodes* his iambic and informal hexameter poetry (Mankin 1995:12).

In the *Epodes* Horace has fused 'poetic' and 'un-poetic' language. The 'poetic' consists of words, forms, phrases and constructions which are to be found in 'elevated poetry' like epic and tragedy (Mankin 1995:13). The 'un-poetic' consists of the colloquial, spoken language or is derived from written prose (Mankin 1995:13). The *Epodes* also share many poetic devices with their archaic *iambi* forebears such as hendiadys, metonymy, personification, similes and metaphors. Horace ornamented these various devices with mythological, zoological and geographical references (Mankin 1995:14).¹⁵

In the *Epodes* Horace tried to duplicate the aggressive and frank language of archaic *iambus*. The best example in the *Epodes* is epodes VIII and XII. A fragment of Hipponax's poem captures the blunt language and style of the archaic iambic poets, and I quote: 'What umbilical cord-snipper wiped and washed you as you squirmed about, you crack-brained creature?' (*fr.* 19 W. Gerber 1999:367). In this same vein Horace attacks the *vetula* of epodes VIII and XII. The adjective-ridden description of the *vetula* in lines 5-6 is just as forceful as its Hipponactean counterpart: *hietque turpis inter aridas natis / podex velut crudae bovis!*

¹³ Choliambic verse known as 'limping verse' was originally pioneered by Hipponax and used in Greek and Latin poetry. The metre is 'lame' since it reverses the stresses of the last foot (Harvey 1990:269).

¹⁴ Mankin notes some of these *neologisms*: *Epode* I, 15 **rogēs** = *si rogēs* (a colloquial parataxis), 20 **allapsus** first appears in this epode and may be a Horatian coinage, 23 **militabitur** is unusual here, since it usually means to serve as a soldier, but Horace coins a new meaning, rather to fight (Mankin 1995:55-58).

¹⁵ The zoological references are covered extensively in the section on 'Analysis and interpretation' (2:19-79).

(VIII.5-6).¹⁶ The same aggressiveness is levelled against another un-named *vetula* in epode XII. In this epode her body becomes the haunt of a series of smelly creatures: *nec firmo iuveni neque naris obesae? / namque sagacius unus odoror, / polypus an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis, / quam canis acer ubi lateat sus* (XII.4-6).¹⁷ The vivid descriptions in the *Epodes* are not only reserved for sexual insults. In epode XV Horace creates a beautiful and tranquil scene: *Nox erat caelo fulgebat luna sereno / inter minora sidera* (XV.1-2).¹⁸ Other examples of these pictorial descriptions can be found in epode IV, where Horace describes a parvenu striding along the *Via Sacra* in his overly-long toga: *Videsne, Sacram metiente te Viam / cum bis trium ulnarum toga* (IV.7-8) or the description of Sagana's hair in epode V: *horret capillis ut marinus asperis / echinus aut currens aper* (V.27-28).^{19 20}

In the *Epodes* Horace 'juxtaposes un-poetic and poetic language' in a very fruitful manner which he would later use again in his *Odes* (Watson 2003:32). In epode I this feature is already present. The first eighteen lines discuss the nature of Horace and Maecenas' friendship against the backdrop of the coming naval battle at Actium. These lines reveal a vocabulary that has its origin in prose literature (Watson 2003:32). The interruption of the mother-bird simile in epode I lines 19-22, which lends weight to Horace's declaration of weakness, has the effect of undermining his statements about accompanying Maecenas to the ends of the earth: *feremus et te vel per Alpium iuga / inhospitalem et Caucasum / vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum / forti sequemur pectore* (I.11-14).²¹ This simile has epic and tragic overtones but the two 'un-poetic' adjectives *implumibus* (unfledged, I.19) and *allapsus* (gliding, I.20) are first attested to in Latin poetry in this epode (Watson 2003:32).²² Another interesting note is that there is a play (assonance) on the 'a' in *allapsus* with the previous *assidere* (attend, I.19), where the first adjective refers to the motion of the snake and the second describes the mother-bird's futile attempt at protecting her chicks (Watson 2003:32).

¹⁶ 'And your nauseating anus gapes between your scrawny buttocks like that of a diarrhoeic cow!'

¹⁷ 'For I am not a firm young man with an overgrown nose. For certain I myself can smell more keenly whether a sea polyp or a shaggy goat lies in your hairy armpits, than a tracker dog can detect where a sow is hiding'.

¹⁸ 'It was night and moon was shining in the clear sky among the smaller stars'.

¹⁹ 'Do you see, as you traverse the Sacred Way in your nine-ell toga'.

²⁰ 'Her hair stands on end like a sea urchin or a charging boar'.

²¹ 'I will endure and follow you with a stout heart through the mountain ridges of the Alps and the hostile Caucasus or even as far as the farthest gulf of the West'.

²² The image of the mother-bird first surfaces in Homer's *Iliad* II.308-316 and appears subsequently in Aeschylus' *Sept.* 292-294.

The *Epodes* also show a marked complexity in syntax. Horace interweaves the syntax with the meaning of the sentence. He does this by using lengthy initial or near-initial poetic periods (Watson 2003:33). An example of this technique can be found in epode V.11-24 where the lengthy period gives the impression of ‘monomaniac relentlessness’, which supports the meaning of the sentence since it is at this point that Canidia is pressing on with her murder of the boy (Watson 2003:33). Another example of this technique comes across in epode IX where the multiple modifications of lines I-X suit the panegyric tone of the lines (Watson 2003:33). By this I mean that Horace has purposefully affected the word’s meaning by limiting and describing them.

I will cite epode X to give a more complete description of the various stylistic and language techniques Horace used in the *Epodes*. Epode X is thought to be modelled on a poem the so called *First Strasbourg Epode* either composed by Hipponax or Archilochus (Watson 2003:338). Like the previous examples I have given structure also plays an important role in this epode. The structure of this poem is bipartite: lines X.1-14 are all in epodic couplets and deal with Mevius and lines 15-24 deal with Horace’s desires of misfortune befalling Mevius (Harrison 2002:264). Horace uses a ring composition in this poem. The storm evoked in the opening lines is repeated in the last word of the poem *Tempestatibus* (storm gods, X.24). The reference to Mevius’ stench in line 2 is picked up in line 23 by the image of the goat, which was traditionally noted for its odour (Harrison 2002:264). Horace has taken so much care with the structure of this poem that he even arranged the winds accordingly. The third, fourth and fifth pairs of lines all mention the winds (i.e. *Auster* (X.4); *Eurus* (X.5); *Aquilo* (X.7) (South, East and North winds respectively). The West wind is not mentioned because this is the wind which would aid Mevius on his journey to Ionia (*Ionius* (X.19) (Harrison 2002:264). The placing of the mythological references (i.e. *Ilio* (X.13); *Pallas* (X.13) *Aiacis* (X.14) was also done carefully. The placing of such terms in near proximity to each other creates the impression of saying as much as possible in as little as possible space, since the reader upon reading these names, would immediately be reminded of the Trojan war and the crimes of Ajax (Harrison 2002:264).

The word order is also significant. The third and fourth lines of epode X are almost enclosed by the noun/adjective pair *horridis...fluctibus* (swamping waves) (X.3-4). This pair seems to mirror the intended sinking of Mevius’ ship. Horace has purposefully inverted the normal Latin word-order of placing the adjective *horridis* next to the noun *fluctibus* which it describes so that the syntax adds another layer to the meaning of the words (Harrison

2002:264). The verb at the end of line X.6 is in the subjunctive mood *differat* (let [the East wind] scatter) and this same mood is used at the beginning of line X.7 *insurgat* (let [the North wind] rise up). This is again an example of the different poetic devices Horace used to stress importance; in this case the wind's destructive force. Line X.6 begins with *fractosque* (smashing) and line X.8 begins with the verb *frangit* (shatters). These two pairs (*differat/insurgat*; *fractosque/frangit*) capture the wind's shattering the holm-oaks (X.8) and the splintering of the oars (X.6, Harrison 2002:264). The rising of the North wind (*insurgat*) is contrasted with the falling of Orion (*cadit*, X.10). Both verbs are at opposite ends of successive clauses (Harrison 2002:264). The purpose of this opposition is to show the different forces that are against Mevius. On the one hand the wind rises up against him while on the other hand the Orion constellation falls down on him.

Horace personifies the landscape in order that it may also turn against Mevius. Horace uses the participle *remugiens* (bellowing, X.19) to describe the attitude of the Ionian coast. Horace's choice is interesting here since Neptune is often compared to a bull in his capacity as god of earthquakes (Harrison 2002:265). The Ionian shore becomes personified as a 'hostile sea god' aiding in sinking Mevius' ship. The poetic language of this poem is overwhelmingly epic. The invocation of the storms and the mention of the return of the Greeks from Troy recall the now lost cyclic epic *Nostoi* (Harrison 2002:265).²³ The pallor of Mevius is described as *luteus* (yellow, X.6) and is reminiscent of the Homeric adjective *chlopos deos* (green fear) which was used to describe the actions of a coward in the face of drowning (Watson 2003:350). The unmanly wailing (*non virilis eiulatio*, X.17) is also reminiscent of epic. It reminds one of the song of the Sirens in Homer's *Odyssey*. Odysseus resisted the sirens but Mevius does not have the composure of Odysseus. He succumbs and in fact mimics the wailing of the Sirens showing himself to be an effeminate coward (Harrison 2002:265). The depiction of Mevius' corpse being eaten by birds also has its origin in Homer, but Horace twists this by using the un-poetic image of sea gulls devouring carrion (Harrison 2002:265).

Although different and varied poetic and un-poetic devices are used in Horace's *Epodes* there are few diminutives. This is somewhat strange since one would expect them to proliferate since diminutives are emotionally charged and would be suited to the highly intense tones of the *Epodes* (Watson 2003:35). Parenthesis is also scarce in the *Epodes* which is peculiar since

²³ The *Nostoi* relates the story of the return of the Greeks from Troy but only five and a half lines of it survive (Watson 2003:351).

through parenthesis the author is allowed to ‘imprint his personality on the text’ (Watson 2003:35). From this section it can be gained that Horace had a plethora of poetic devices to choose from. To these he added some un-poetic words and sentence structure to conceptualise vivid and picturesque images.

In this section I looked at the different techniques Horace used to add a further layer of interpretative possibilities to his poems. His choice of words and sentence structure compliment his metaphors and imagery. The personification of Ionia as the bull—form of Poseidon is aided by Horace’s choice of sentence structure and words. The positioning of Mevius’ raft between the hostile noun/adjective pair *horridis...fluctibus* (swamping waves, X.3-4) is a prime example. In this way Horace makes the physical language aid his metaphorical language.

2. Categories of animals that appear in the *Epodes*: Analysis and interpretation

In this section I will give an analysis of the various animal themes that occur in the *Epodes*. The purpose of this is to arrive at a possible interpretation of said themes in each specific poem. I have arranged the specific epodes into categories of animals i.e. canines, birds, reptiles and amphibians, farm animals, marine animals, wild animals and mythological animals.²⁴ In the subsequent section I will arrange the animal imagery according to ‘the point of view of the imagery and its purpose’ as a means of better understanding the effect and purpose of the animal imagery (Andrewes 1950:107).

2.1. Canines

Canines (wolves and dogs) play a pivotal role in the *Epodes*. They occur in ten of the seventeen poems. Horace’s preference for canine imagery is surely linked with the fact that his audience was well acquainted with canines, since many Romans hunted or had dogs as pets. Horace uses canines to describe qualities such as faithfulness and protection. These qualities are proverbial to dogs. However Horace develops canine imagery. He does not only use dogs as images of faithfulness (i.e. the noble Spartan sheepdog of epode VI.5-8) but also portrays the darker nature of dogs. An example of this negative portrayal is the close association between dogs and Canidia (cf. p.42, 1,9; p.45, note 62; p.89,2,2) (i.e. the starving bitch and the dogs of the *Subura* in epode V.23; 57).

Canine imagery is first introduced in epode II. The ‘speaker’ of this epode is Alfius, a usurer who fantasises with the idea of leaving behind the city for the *vita rustica* (the country life).²⁵ The praise of the countryside was by no means a new topos. This epode shares many

²⁴ See appendix (5:95-98) for a detailed list of animal imagery.

²⁵ There was a famous usurer (*faenerator*) of the day called Alfius, a maxim attributed to him is recorded in Col. 1 7. 2: ‘good debts become bad ones if they are not called in’ (Mankin 1995:78). This is the only other reference to Alfius and it is therefore not hard to believe that Horace based his character on the real Alfius who lived during the late Republic. The name Alfius, is also appropriate for a money-lender, since it suggests the Greek verb *alphaino* which means ‘to earn or gain’. It seems that Horace was acutely aware of the etymological play on the name Alfius (Watson 2003:124).

similarities with Vergil's *Georgics* especially the final poem of book two.²⁶ Since this epode concerns the *vita rustica* it is no wonder that this epode contains a multitude of animal imagery, the purpose of which is to lend an air of authenticity to Alfius' fantasy. Dogs are mentioned by Alfius in the 'winter section' of the poem.

hinc multa cane / apros in obstantis plagas (II.31-32)

... he drives fierce boars with many a dog into nets set before their path

Hunting dogs were an integral part of a hunter's equipment (Green 1996:231). Archaeological evidence suggests that early Roman shepherds, who lived on the edge of subsistence would supplement their diet with the meat from predators they killed sharing the meat with their hunting dogs (Green 1996:228). When the early pastoral life of the Romans was replaced by an agricultural one, it can be assumed that these farmers would also hunt to supplement their diets (Green 1996:228). During the winter months when the farmer was not working his fields he would hunt game (Green 1996:228).²⁷ It is to this fact that Horace refers to in this epode. Horace builds up Alfius making the reader think that he is sincere and knowledgeable about the farmer's life. However at the end of the epode it is revealed that it was all a hoax. Alfius is not a real farmer but only flirted with the idea of leaving his city life behind.

²⁶ Undoubtedly Horace borrowed a great deal from other pastoral poets, but the resemblances between epode II and the *Georgics* of Vergil are so great that their interdependence seems certain (Mankin 1995:63). The question then arises as to who came first, Vergil or Horace? Some scholars have favoured Horatian priority and others Vergil. Two scholars, Pieri and Oksala, have made a convincing argument for Vergil's priority. They point to the fact that the entirety of the *Georgics* bears resemblance to epode II and not just the concluding poem of book two. They state that it was probably more likely that Horace gathered these resemblances and compiled epode II than that Vergil, imitating Horace, spread images of epode II throughout the *Georgics* (Watson 2003:77).

²⁷ The relationship between hunter and dog was a well-established one in literature. In Plautus' *Casina* the character Lysidamus is compared to a hunter spending his days and nights with his dogs (*Cas.* 319-320) (Green 1996:243). Hunting metaphors were a common one to Roman audiences; they were well acquainted with the techniques of hunting, the game being hunted and the various types of dogs and their characteristic behaviour (Green 1996:244).

The next canine image is that of a wolf in line 60:

...*haedus ereptus lupo*. (II.60)

...a kid snatched away from a wolf.

The image here is proverbial. Kids and lambs were not usually eaten by the farmer unless they were dead or about to die (Mankin 1995:84). The rule was that farm animals were too valuable to be slaughtered for food (Watson 2002:120). The implication here is that the wolf unlike the farmer is not concerned with the 'monetary value' of the kid. A proverb taken from Plutarch 'animals eaten by wolves have sweeter meat' (Plut. *Symp*.2.9.) highlights the attitude of the wolf compared to that of the farmer (Mankin 1995:84). The wolf singles out the tastiest and most valuable animal for its prey.

The two canine images in this epode serve to depict the *vita rustica*. Alfius' paeon to the pastoral life is made believable by these two depictions. The animals serve to build up this paeon, making it more believable and beguiling us to trust Alfius. And at the end the entire paeon is turned upside down: Alfius is revealed for what he is. In this revelation of Alfius' character the animal imagery has been paramount. The animal imagery makes the final section, in which Alfius decides to lend money out on the *kalends* so much more poignant. Without the animals the duplicity of the final lines would not have been so convincing. The two statements made by Alfius concerning hunting dogs and wolves serve to reinforce the reader's trust. Alfius' statements sound credible, but in the final lines of the poem Alfius reveals that he never actually intended leaving his life of usury behind. This final revelation of Alfius then undermines what he has previously said. The irony of Alfius final revelation is made more intense by the knowledge that he has shown about the *vita rustica*. This fact comes across more strongly with the farm animal imagery, which I will mention subsequently.

The next depiction of canine imagery occurs in epode IV. However the character Canidia bears a close resemblance to *canis*, the Latin word for dog. Her very name has caused quite a stir amongst scholars. Oliensis is of the opinion that her name too originates from the Latin

word for dog, *canis* (Oliensis 2009:164). Oliensis' argument is based on the descriptions of Canidia's character as described in *Satires* I.8, and II.8.²⁸ She also points out that in classical literature the image of dogs forms part of the 'misogynistic depiction of female powers and desire' (Oliensis 2009:164). The latter comes across in epodes V and XVII. If one accepts this premise, and I do, then Canidia becomes the embodiment of canine imagery. Her association with dogs comes across more prominently in epode V. Her role in epode III is small but revealing.

...*an malas / Canidia tractavit dapes?* (III.7-8)

Or has Canidia had a part in the noxious dish?

The prank described in this poem takes place during a *dapes* (meal) hosted by Maecenas. Horace has suffered the adverse effects of excess garlic, and the effects thereof match those of hemlock and the fierily spells of Medea and Canidia. Canidia's function in this epode is to make Horace's claims about being poisoned more believable for comic effect. It appears as if Maecenas is to blame for excessively seasoning Horace's food with garlic, and it is Maecenas who suffers a light-hearted curse at the end of the poem for all the discomfort he has caused.²⁹ Horace uses Canidia here to great effect. Her hand in the supposed poisoning is intended to make Maecenas regret the cruel trick he has played on Horace. Canidia's notoriety adds flavour to the symptoms Horace claims he is suffering. Canidia aids Horace in allowing him to give validity to his outrageous claims about almost dying. Horace now turns the

²⁸ Horace describes Canidia in *Satires* I.8.23-29: 'I saw Canidia walking barefoot, her black robe tucked up and her hair streaming free, shrieking with the elder Sagana; their faces were both made hideous by a deathly pallor. They scraped away the earth with their nails. Then taking a black lamb they set about tearing it to pieces with their teeth, letting the blood trickle down into the ditch, from where they meant to summon spirits of the dead to answer their questions' (Rudd 1979:74). She occurs again in *Satires* II.8.93-96: 'We paid him back by dashing off without tasting a thing, as if the banquet had been blighted by Canidia, whose breath is more deadly than that of African snakes' (Rudd 1979:125).

²⁹ The setting is a banquet which is a popular scene in Greek *iambus*, and Maecenas' joke and Horace's response seem to parallel the many *iambi* in which mockery or even verbal abuse among friends serves to reaffirm their *amicitia* (Mankin 1995:88). *Iambus* and its counterpart *Satire* have also displayed a marked interest in topics concerning eating, gastronomy, suitable foods, unsuitable foods and the effects of indigestion (Watson 2003:125). Horace avoids realistic descriptions of his indigestion, but rather utilizes mythological, and climatological images to produce an absurdly over the top description of his intestinal discomfort (Watson 2003:126). This poem also has many similarities to Hellenistic *aria* (curse poetry). The poem is not a curse against garlic, unlike in Plautus' *Pseudolus* 873 which does contain curses against offending foods, but it is rather a humorously erotic hex against Maecenas for his *iocus* (joke) (Watson 1991:155).

table on Maecenas, turning Maecenas' practical joke back on him. The power of Canidia's image rests on her notoriety as an evil witch who specialises in magical concoctions, an aspect that Horace will pursue more in epodes V and XVII.

The wolf plays a central role in epode IV.³⁰ The poem concerns an ex-slave who flaunts his new-found wealth before the eyes of citizens walking down the *Via Sacra*, and further angers them by sitting in seats reserved for knights (*equites*) in the theatre, and by serving as military tribune in the forces of Octavian fighting against Sextus Pompey. Horace is one such citizen who despises the display of the upstart. Horace turns to the animal kingdom to look for similar cases of enmity. He finds the perfect example in the proverbial hostility between lamb and wolf. Comparing an adversary to a wolf was already an established theme in Greek *iambus*; Archilochus' character Lycambes is one such example where the character's name is actually derived from the Greek word wolf i.e. *lukambes=lukos* (Mankin 1995:100). Lycambes and his daughters were the primary targets of Archilochean *iambi* (invective) (Nagy 1976:191). The similarity between Lycambes (*lukos*) and the un-named upstart (*Lupus*, IV.1-2) is uncanny, and it is very likely that Horace is imitating Archilochus here. Another reference to the inherent enmity between the wolf and lamb comes from Homer *Iliad* XXII.262-5 'Hector, you must be mad to talk about a pact. Lions do not come to terms with men, nor does the wolf see eye to eye with the lamb – they are enemies to the end' (Rieu 1954:402). This bears such close resemblance to Horace that it must be more than mere coincidence. In comparing Horace's hate for the ex-slave to the hate felt between Hector and Achilles, Horace makes his displeasure legendary. Here is the lamb and wolf passage from Horace:

Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit, / tecum mihi Discordia est...(IV.1-2)

Great enmity has been assigned by Nature to wolves and lambs, just as the enmity that exists between you and me...

³⁰ More correctly the animosity between wolf and lamb, though the lamb image is actually part of the farm animal category. Its close association in this epode with that of the wolf image necessitates its mention here.

The proverbial enmity depicted here between wolf and lamb serves to differentiate Horace from the upstart ex-slave. With this image Horace exposes the vast differences between himself and the upstart. However the next animal metaphor of this epode *mannis* (IV.14) (Gaulish ponies) exposes quite a substantial lack of difference between Horace and the upstart.³¹ When Horace began this poem he chose the metaphor of the lamb and wolf, which are so opposed to each other. This leads to the reader to expect that Horace will also be the exact opposite of his target. But as we read on we discover disquieting similarities between the two. By the end of the poem, we have come to realise that the image of the wolf and lamb is not so straightforward. Horace has shown that he and his adversary are actually quite alike. The images of the lamb and wolf then become very important, since without them there would be no contradiction or hypocrisy. The wolf and lamb imagery in this epode serve as self-deflation. The negative characteristics of the upstart are actually shared by Horace. The original opposition between Horace and the upstart is very flimsy. The weakness of the wolf—lamb comparison is undermined by the Gaulish ponies (IV.14).

Epode V opens with a scene of a kidnapped boy pleading for his life. Canidia and her accomplices are to blame for his situation. They intend to bury him up to his neck, starve him to death and then use his liver in a love potion to attract the attention of Varus, Canidia's onetime lover. All her previous attempts to woo Varus have failed but her new magic will be successful, since the boy's organs will give her magic potency. Canines play an important role in this epode. They are explicitly mentioned in the epode (V.23 and 57-58) but are also hinted at by the character of Canidia herself (*canis*) with the implied reference imbedded in her name. The imagery of canines in this poem is darker in tone than was previously the case. Here dogs and wolves are the embodiment of black magic and vengeance. The first instance in V line 23:

... *et ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis*... (V.23)

...and bones snatched from the mouth of a starving bitch...

The image of the starving bitch is quite poignant, since the dog's hunger brings about by transference a hunger in Canidia's intended target, Varus. The dog's hunger, just like the

³¹ See the subsequent farm animal section on the Gaulish ponies in epode IV pages 55-56.

boy's could also be seen a symbol for the 'hunger' Canidia has for Varus (Watson 2003:205).³² This comparison makes Oliensis' argument, for seeing Canidia as the 'bitch' (*canis*, V.23) all the stronger.

The next image is that of stray dogs from the *Subura*.

...senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum / latrant Suburanae... (V.57-58)

...the dogs of the *Subura* bark at the old lecher, a sight at which all laugh...

This passage has caused some controversy, since a clear reason for the dogs barking is lacking. One possible reason is that the dogs bark, because the effects of Canidia's potion on Varus have caused him to hurry from the *Subura* and in his haste provoke the dogs to bark (Watson 2003:229). Dogs were traditionally hazardous to nocturnal lovers and therefore explaining their bark as a response to Varus' hasty departure makes sense (Mankin 1995:127). Other possible explanations could be that the dogs are announcing Varus' arrival at Canidia's door, although the wording *senem...adulterum* and *Suburanae* (V.57-58) suggests that Varus has gone to the *Subura* to seek other gratification besides Canidia and has not gone to see her only. Another possibility is that the dogs could be barking at Varus to chase him away from the *Subura* where he is seeking the company of other women, but this would nullify the effects of Canidia's potion (Bain 1986:127).³³

At the end of the poem the boy, knowing that he is going to die, calls on wolves and vultures to avenge his death. The image of wolves and vultures are so intertwined that it necessary to mention both here.

...post insepulta membra differant lupi / et Esquilinae alites... (V.99-100)

...then the wolves and vultures of the Esquiline will scatter your unburied limbs...

The witches' corpses will be left unburied and torn to pieces by wolves and vultures. Both these images are common in curses. The first were commonly found at graveyards and were known to devour corpses (Mankin 1995:136). Vultures and carrion birds are also a plague at

³² *...dapis inemori spectaculo*, dying a slow death amid the sight of food (V.33-34).

³³ *nardo perunctum, quale non perfectius meae laborarint manus*, perfumed with nard, that was of such potency, that my own hands could not have made better (V.59-60).

the burial grounds of the poor, especially those found on the Esquiline hill (Watson 2003:249). The boy's curse serves as poetic justice. The witches dug up corpses for their rituals, and now their corpses in revenge will be scattered by wolves and vultures in the same way as they desecrated the graves of the dead.

The canine imagery in epode V serves to vilify Canidia and her coven. The imagery has illustrated the wickedness of the witches. The canine and vulture imagery (V.99-100) has also given the boy an opportunity for vengeance. The close association of the Canidia and dogs in this poem cannot be denied; this closeness along with the portrayals of Canidia in the *Satires* makes Oliensis' argument for reading Canidia as one with *canis* all the more convincing.³⁴

In epode VI Horace takes on a cowardly cur which harasses undeserving passers-by but shrinks from provoking wolves. Horace challenges the cur to take him on and Horace warns that unlike the passers-by he will bite back. Horace begins by comparing himself to a noble sheepdog, contrasting himself with the cowardly cur, lines VI.1-2:³⁵

Quid immerentis hospites vexas canis / ignavus adversum lupos? (VI.1-2)

Why do you harass innocent guests, when in the presences of wolves you are a cowardly cur?

³⁴ The significance of this 'negative' portrayal of dogs in epode V is made clear by the 'positive' portrayal of dogs in epode VI. Horace compares himself to a noble sheepdog; this comparison could be seen as Horace's response to Canidia's portrayal of the 'bad' aspects of a dog. Two kinds of dogs, two aspects of wicked and good typified by Canidia and Horace are revealed. Horace's 'well-aimed bark' in epode VI is defined by contrasting it with the 'malicious biting' of Canidia in epode V (Oliensis 2009:170).

³⁵ Here the cowardly cur, who is unnamed, is reminiscent of the stock characters found in the poems of Archilochus. Horace attacks a stock figure rather than a real person, which is a characteristic of Greek *iambus* (Mankin 1995:137). The animal comparisons seem to recall *fr.*185-7 of Archilochus which is known as the *fable of the fox and monkey*. I will quote the fable in full: A monkey danced in a gathering of animals and having won their esteem was elected king by them. A fox was envious and when he saw meat lying in a trap he led the monkey there and told him he had found a treasure. He said that he had not made use of it himself but had kept watch over it as a prerogative of royalty, and he urged him to take it. When monkey [*sic*] thoughtlessly approached, he was caught in a trap, and when he accused the fox of having laid an ambush for him, the latter replied: 'Monkey, with a rump like that, are you king of the animals' (Gerber 1999:199). Beast imagery played an important part in early *iambus* as the previous example illustrates. The application of the dog image to the iambist, in this case Horace, has its origin in the Hellenistic poets (Watson 2003:252). The ferociousness of the iambist to those who offend him are not only confined to Archilochus. Catullus was known to utter such threats, usually taking the form of retribution in verse, bringing notoriety to his intended victims (Watson 2003:252).

The cowardly cur has been interpreted as an iambist or slanderer, but attempts at identifying him as a real person are ‘misguided’ according to Fraenkel (1957:57). He suggests that the villain here is rather a stock figure, like Alfius or Mevius. The image of the dog was usually associated with abuse, greed and shamelessness (Mankin 1995:138). This negative image of the dog was already hinted at in epode V through the character of Canidia. Here it is aimed at a slanderer. This dog is cowardly (*ignavus*, VI.1) in comparison to the wolf (*lupos*, VI.2) and is only able to attack (*vexas*, VI.1) when the wolf is not around. All this indicates the spinelessness of Horace’s opponent. This is in contradiction to the duties of a guard dog, which is supposed to defend the flocks from wolves when they attack. This dog is cowardly (*ignavus*, VI.2) and fails to perform his duties (Watson 2003:257). The duty of a sheepdog was especially important during winter when food is in short supply, and when wild animals such as wolves prey on flocks (Watson 1983:157). The theme of sheepdogs protecting the shepherd’s herd was already established in Homer’s *Illiad*: ‘like a mountain lion...while all around the herdsmen and their dogs create a din’ (XVII.110-113, Rieu 1954:117).

Next Horace portrays the ideal sheepdog contrasting it with the earlier portrayal of the cowardly cur.

*nam qualis aut Molossus aut fulvus Lacon, / amica vis pastoribus, / agam per altas aure
sublata nives, / quaecumque praecedet fera...*(VI.5-8)

like a Molosian or tawny Spartan hound, the steadfast friend of shepherds, I shall drive off and pursue any wild animal through the deep snow with raised ears...

In this passage Horace compares himself with the perfect image of a sheepdog contrasting himself with his unnamed adversary who typified the qualities of a cowardly cur. The Molossian breed of dog was especially prized as a watchdog and hunter (Mankin 1995:139). Its build was like that of a bulldog and it was also known for its courage (Watson 2003:258). By giving himself a ‘pedigree’ Horace may be insinuating that his opponent is a ‘mongrel’ (Mankin 1995:139). The Spartan breed (*Lacon*, VI.5) was known for its light colour (*fulvus*, VI.5.) and its speed (Watson 2003:259). The noble sheepdog pursues his objectives even in the harshness of winter. He does so with raised ears, in pointed contrast to the *canis...ignavus*

adversum lupos (VI 1-2). Dogs in pursuit typically pick up their ears as attested to by Xenophon in his *Cryopaedia*. 3.308-313 the fact that the dog's ears are up also indicates its excitement and functions as transference of Horace's excitement at chasing down his opponent.

Next attention is shifted back to the *canis ignavus* (VI 1-2).

...tu cum timenda voce complesti nemus, / proiectum odoraris cibum. (VI.9-10)

...while you have filled the forest with your fearful voice and have sniffed at food tossed down before you.

Here the *canis ignavus* shows his bravado when men approach the forest where the sheep are grazing. His terrifying bark is soon abated as he sniffs at the scraps thrown at him so to quiet his threats. This image bears close resemblance to a similar situation in the *Aeneid* where the Sybil tossed a sop to temper Cerberus.³⁶ Lines VI.9-10 create an emphatic contrast with lines VI.5-8 and make a clear parallel with lines VI.1-2 (Watson 2003:262). When Horace (VI.5-8) drives off the wild beasts (*ferae*) protecting the shepherd's flock, his opponent allows himself to be bought off with morsels of food and leaves his flock unprotected. This bears resemblance to lines VI.1-2 where the *canis ignavus* runs away from the wolves (*lupos*). Here he is distracted by food which men, most probably stock-thieves, have thrown to distract him (VI.9-10).

Horace undergoes three transformations in epode VI. First he is a sheepdog, then a bull and finally a helpless child. The bull image I will discuss under the farm animal category. Though the final image of the helpless child is not an animal image it does influence the original metaphor of the opening lines and for that reason I will mention it now.

³⁶ The monster lay before them in his cavern, but the Sybil threw before him a morsel which she had dipped with drowsiness (*Aen.* VI.420-421, Knight 1956:159-160).

an si quis atro dente me petiverit, / inultus ut flebo puer? (VI.15-16)

if someone attacks me with a malicious tooth, am I to cry like a child, and not strike back?

This image of the helpless boy is at odds with the image that Horace portrays of himself earlier in this poem (VI.1-2). This simile suggests that Horace's opponent has not taken his threats seriously. The opponent is not threatened by the sheepdog Horace or the bull Horace. This simile may be a reference to the previous poem; recalling the helplessness of the boy in Canidia's clutches. Throughout this epode the canine image has been thoroughly exploited. Horace typified the best of canine qualities while his opponent was the epitome of the worst qualities ascribed to the nature of dogs.

Epode VII concerns Horace's fears about the on-going civil wars. He asks why there is so much bloodshed. His argument is that even wild animals do not prey on each other in this way. Horace tries to find an answer to this problem. The answer according to Horace is that the Romans are cursed, because of Remus' murder in the founding of their city. It is the curse of Remus that compels the Romans to turn on each other. Lions and wolves do not attack their own species, but only those of another species.³⁷ To make his argument more convincing Horace uses an example from the animal kingdom. Wolves and lions do not harm their own species, but only other species. It is interesting that Horace chose two animals that are known for their ferocity as a foil for the ferocity of the civil war. Horace surely had Rome's bellicose nature in mind when making this analogy.

neque hic lupis mos nec fuit lionibus / numquam nisi in dispar feris. (VII.11-12)

This is not the nature of wolves and lions; never are they fierce except to other species.

The thought that wild animals never kill their own kind was a commonplace one (Watson 2003:278). Animals were regarded as having morals equal to or often superior to men, this opinion is well attested to in Cynic texts (Watson 2003:278). The 'nature' Horace speaks of

³⁷ Though the lion imagery should be mentioned under the wild animal category, not mentioning it here would not do this metaphor justice.

in lines VII.11-12 is the relationship between prey and predator or in the case of the Romans civil war. Pliny records in his *Naturalis Historia* 7.1.5: ‘in fine, all other living creatures pass their time worthily among their own species... fierce lions do not fight among themselves, the serpent’s bite attacks not serpents... whereas to man, I vow, most of his evils come from his fellow man’ (Rackham 1949:510-511). This fact from Pliny is exaggerated for rhetorical effect. The ancients knew perfectly well that animals could be vicious against their own kind. An example of fighting among wolves can be found in Homer’s *Iliad* IV.471-2: ‘They, the Trojans and Achaeans leapt at each other like wolves’ (Rieu 1954:89). This realisation, that animals were equally vicious to their own kind seems to undermine Horace’s metaphor.³⁸

Horace has used the imagery of animals to great effect. In doing so he has highlighted the problems he sees with Rome. The image of the wolf draws our attention back the legend of Romulus and Remus, and at the end of the epode he actually mentions the legend.³⁹ This curse is the root of all Rome’s evils. It has caused Roman to turn against Roman. The wolf and lion symbolise Rome’s greatness as a military power. But when this martial prowess becomes tainted (Romulus’ curse) it becomes the source of Rome’s eventual downfall.

Canines make their appearance again in epode XII. In this epode Horace replies to the overbearing demands of a *vetula* (an old woman), who complains about his lack of enthusiasm in bed. Epode XII contains a menagerie of animal images: some exotic like the black elephant, others known for their foul stench, like the goat and sea creatures and the proverbial bull recognised for its virility. However for now I will only be concerned with

³⁸ The close similarities between this epode VI and that of epode XVI is uncanny. In epode XVI Horace makes use of impossibilities (*adunata*) to vow that the Romans never return home until these impossibilities have taken place. I propose that the wolf and lion metaphor of epode VII is a foreshadowing of the impossibilities (*adunata*) which Horace explicitly mentions in epode XVI. The reason that I say this is that the function of the lion and wolf imagery in this epode mirror that in epode XVI, namely that lions and wolves are not inherently vicious to their own kind. This image serves as an *adunaton* for the Romans to follow, however unlikely it may be. These two epodes share many characteristics with each other, the main ones being the curse of Romulus and the fall of Rome. The wolf of course has another important meaning. It recalls the foster-mother of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf served as symbol for Rome herself. The implication of this is that Rome (the she wolf) is the cause of her own destruction (civil war/prey vs. predator).

³⁹ ...*ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi / sacer nepotibus cruor* ...from the time when the blood of innocent Remus flowed onto the earth, it was a curse for his descendants (VII.19-20).

canine imagery. Horace uses his already established hunting dog image. In this case he uses it as a mark of ridicule, criticising the *vetula* for her horrid smell.

...namque sagacius unus odoror... / ...quam canis. (XII.4-6)

... For certain I myself can smell more keenly... than a tracker dog

Horace's primary reason for rejecting the *vetula*'s advances is her odour. He says that he has a nose particularly sensitive to her smell, he compares himself to a tracker dog chasing down its prey by relying on its nose. This image of Horace as a tracker dog bears close resemblance to the comparison between himself and the Spartan sheepdog in epode VI and the hunting scene in epode II. Here in epode XII he is not chasing an opponent but rather sniffing out the putrid smell of a woman who is anything but attractive.

The *vetula* now becomes the speaker. She criticises Horace for his unmanliness, by comparing him to a lamb running away from wolves.

o ego non felix, quam tu fugis ut pavet acris / agna lupos capreaeque leones! (XII.25-26)

oh, I am miserable in love. How you run away from me like a lamb afraid of fierce wolves or a roe deer of lions!

Since the image of the roe deer and lion forms such an integral part of this entire metaphor, I will mention them alongside that of wolf and lamb. The male suitor was associated with the predatory animal i.e. wolf or lion and the female object of his desire with a defenceless animal i.e. lamb or deer. In this situation Horace has changed the roles. Here the *vetula* is the aggressor and Horace is the unwilling quarry. In doing this Horace highlights that this *vetula*'s sexual appetite is masculine and animalistic. It also serves as a chiasmus tying in with the description of the black elephant in the opening lines.⁴⁰ The combination of the wolf and lamb has a long-established tradition in connexion with sexual predation especially in the works of Callimachus *fr.*202 (Luck 1959:35). Luck shows that it is the 'lamb that attracts the wolves'; the lamb fulfils their sexual desire (Luck 1959:35).

⁴⁰ The elephant image I will treat separately in the section on wild animals (see page 76).

In Callimachus' case the lamb represents a dainty boy (*puer delicatus*) and as soon as the lamb has matured the wolf loses interest (Luck 1959:36). It is the lamb's frailty, youth and beauty that attracts the wolf. In the same way the *vetula* objectifies Horace (making him into a 'lamb', her prey) and in this way inverts the normal order of sexual approach. The deer and lion are emblematic of the hunt. The hunt has long been a metaphor for the erotic chase. Horace uses the image of a lioness in *Odes* III.20.2 to warn Pyrrhus about taking away another's love.⁴¹ He compares it to snatching away a cub from a lioness (Murgatroyd 1984:367).

However the lioness of epode XII (the *vetula* in disguise) is chasing down the roe deer (Horace) because the deer is the natural prey of a lion. This predatory image of the lioness is in contrast to the protective image portrayed by the lioness in *Odes* III.20.2. The image of the wolf and lion serve to portray the *vetula* as a sexual predator. This association makes her masculine and as a consequence she un-mans Horace. The imagery of the tracker dog highlights her unattractiveness more specifically her smell which would impact very strongly on a tracker dog. At the same time the image of wolf and lion highlights her predatory nature. Horace has cleverly taken tried and tested literary images and has given them new meanings. Images traditionally attributed to men he has given to the *vetula* and likewise he (Horace) has donned the imagery associated with women (passive animals such as the lamb and roe deer). The point of this reversal of roles is to highlight the masculine and animalistic lust of the *vetula*.

In epode XV Horace uses the proverbial image of the wolf and flock as metaphor for the oath Neaera⁴² swore.

...dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion... (XV.7)

...as long as the wolf was hostile to the flock and Orion to sailors...

⁴¹ The 'lioness' of *Ode* III.20.2. is chasing after Pyrrhus for he has tried to steal Nearchus away from her.

⁴² Neaera once promised eternal fidelity to Horace but now has abandoned him for another lover. He warns her of his vengeance and as for her new lover, Neaera will tire of him and in the same way abandon him as she did Horace. Like the other amorous epodes VIII and XII, this epode shares many of the familiar love *topoi* found in early Greek *iambus*: such as unwelcome sexual advances, animal images and odours acting as symbols of unattractiveness and in the case of epode XV, Neaera's breaking her oath which recalls the similar situation of Lycambes and Neobule of Archilochus (Mankin 1995:234).

The implication is that Neaera's oath which she swore would keep as long as enmity existed between prey and predator. No one would ever suggest that the wolf would live in peace with sheep, so it seemed that Neaera took the oath seriously. In the context of epode XV, the wolf also serves as an image of 'incompatibility' and of 'predatory lust' (Mankin 1995:238). An example of this type of predatory love can be found in Plato's *Phaedrus*. Socrates is speaking to Phaedrus about the dangers of loving too much and says: 'Just as the wolf loves the lamb, so the lover adores his beloved' (Fowler 1917:457). Bearing in mind Phaedrus' situation Neaera's promise now seems likely to be broken. The uncertainty is further heightened by comparing the wolf with Orion that usually heralds a period of winter storms.⁴³

Epode XVI announces to the Romans that they had better give up and abandon Rome. Horace takes on the role of a *vates* (prophet), proclaiming doom and destruction for Rome. He urges his fellow citizens to abandon Rome and only return once certain impossibilities (*adunata*) have taken place, which in itself is ironic. Horace uses the imagery of wolves and boars taking over Rome's ruins as a way of shocking his fellow citizens into leaving Rome.⁴⁴ The cause of this destruction is civil war and its result will be that Rome will be sacked by a barbarian army and become a dwelling place for wild. The boar imagery is closely associated with that of the wolves and since this is the case I will mention both here.

...*habitandaque fana / apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis...* (XVI.19-20)

...leaving behind their shrines to be inhabited by wild boars and savage wolves...

The Phocaeans left their homeland for fear of invasion: in contrast Horace suggests that the Romans leave theirs for fear of civil war. Ironically the escapist tactics of the Phocaeans have the same consequences as civil war in Rome *ferisque rursus occupabitur solum* (XVI.9-10, Watson 2003:501).⁴⁵ The boars and wolves are proverbially images for the savageness of nature, the fact that they inhabit (*habito*) the shrines seems out of place. In the Latin of

⁴³ Horace may here be playing on the fact that as a lover, Orion had bad luck and that the constellation Orion was the herald of winter storms (Mankin 1995:238).

⁴⁴ Here Horace is referring to the Phocaeans who voluntarily left their city in 540 BC fearing an invasion by the Persians (Nisbet 1984:4). They took with them their most valuable statues and offerings from their temples leaving the buildings behind to become the haunt of wild animals (Mankin 1995:254). A modern example of this motif can be found in Hollywood apocalyptic films which like to depict famous US landmarks (i.e. the statue of Liberty) with strange juxtapositions to illustrate the extent of the destruction of civilization. The idea is also clearly to shock the viewers.

⁴⁵ 'The ground will again be taken over by wild animals'.

republican Rome the verb dwell (*habito*) was normally reserved for humans and gods (Mankin 1995:255). How could animals ‘dwell’ in a place in the same manner as people or gods do? Horace may here be anticipating the impossibilities (*adunata*, XVI.25-34) which have to happen before the Romans may safely return to Rome; animals living like people is one such impossibility.

The final use of canine imagery appearing in the *Epodes* occurs in epode XVII. In this epode Horace is now the prisoner of Canidia. The reason for his imprisonment is the scathing remarks he has made about her licentious rites and the notoriety she achieved thanks to Horace’s remarks about her doings on the Esquiline Hill.^{46 47} This poem takes the form of a series of *exempla* from mythology. The *exempla* serve to vilify Canidia and to portray Canidia’s vindictiveness (Oliensis 2009:171). The first *exemplum* recounts the women of Troy lamenting the dead Hector:

...luxere matres Iliae addictum feris / alitibus atque canibus homicidam Hectorem...
(XVII.11-12)

...the Trojan mothers lamented the man-killing Hector, who had been left to the wild dogs and birds of prey...

After Achilles had killed Hector he desecrated his corpse by not giving it back to his father Priam. Worse still Hector’s corpse served as carrion for wild dogs and birds.⁴⁸ Leaving an enemy’s corpse to be eaten by birds and dogs was the final insult in the ancient world, for they believed that without proper burial the soul could not cross the river Styx (Watson 2003:548).

The point Horace makes is that Canidia desecrated him (like Achilles did to Hector) but unlike Achilles she refuses to show any clemency.⁴⁹ Horace is fated to be eaten by carrion birds and wild dogs. The image of wild dogs is significant since Canidia is closely associated with dogs (see pages 21-22). Horace’s fate in this epode is like that of the boy of epode V.

⁴⁶ This could possibly be referring to Horace’s *Satires* I.8, where he describes Canidia and her fellow witches performing magical rites on a graveyard on the Esquiline Hill.

⁴⁷ This may be referring to Horace’s portrayal of Canidia murdering the boy in epode V so that she could make a love potion with his entrails to attract Varus.

⁴⁸ Since the wild dog and bird imagery form one metaphor here I will mention them both.

⁴⁹ After Priam went to see Achilles, the latter returned Hector’s corpse.

Here the wild dogs and vultures will devour Horace's remains but in epode V the boy curses Canidia, hoping that the carrion animals will devour her remains in the same way as that she desecrated the burials of others for her magical concoctions.

In this section I have illustrated the great variety of qualities Horace portrayed in association with dogs and wolves. Dogs can be both loyal and good trackers (i.e. the Spartan hound of epode VI and Horace the tracker dog of epode XII) but they can also be cowardly and vicious (i.e. the cowardly cur of epode VI and the wild dogs of epode XVII). The reason for these contradictory qualities is linked with the purpose that the canine imagery is meant to achieve in their respective epodes. In the section entitled 'The significance of the animal imagery: their possible purpose' I will try to illustrate the effect of these themes.

2.2. Reptiles and amphibians

Reptiles and amphibians are mentioned in five of the seventeen epodes. They include snakes, toads, winged serpents and crocodiles. Horace uses snakes to indicate danger. Snakes are known for their dangerous nature. Horace's audience would have immediately recognised the snake image in the *Epodes* as an indicator of danger. The reference to toad's blood in epode V heightens the magical potion Canidia is brewing for Varus. Horace's audience would have understood the image of the toad's blood as a key ingredient in magical potions. A similar situation can be found in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, when the three witches list the ingredients used in their potion. Shakespeare's audience would have immediately understood the witches' choice of reptiles. Horace uses reptiles in the *Epodes* for mainly two purposes namely metaphor and 'colouring'.⁵⁰ The exception to this is the image of the crocodile which serves as invective against the *vetula*.

The first mention of reptiles and amphibians is in epode I. The image of the mother bird and snake form one simile. Not to mention them both together would not do the simile justice. This poem is addressed to Maecenas and in it Horace explores the nature of their friendship.⁵¹ He uses animal imagery, specifically the mother bird and snake, to buttress his arguments.

*comes minore sum futurus in metu, / qui maior absentis habet, / ut adsidens implumibus
pullis avis / serpentium allapsus timet / magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili / latura plus
praesentibus.* (I.17-22)

But I would be your companion in less fear, since fear has a greater hold on those who are away; just as a bird protecting her unfledged chicks, fears the gliding approaches of serpents, even more when they have been left unguarded, although, even if she were there, she could not offer them any more assistance.

⁵⁰ See the section entitled 'The significance of the animal themes: their possible purpose' (3:81-90).

⁵¹ At first it seems odd that a book dealing with iambus should start with a poem expounding friendship, for *iambus* is meant to deal with ridicule and mockery. But Horace must have intentionally put this poem first for a very good reason. This reason may serve two purposes; firstly by addressing it to Maecenas Horace is also dedicating the book to him, and secondly Horace may have intended to recall 'the importance of friends (*philoï*) as the audience and context of early Greek *iambus*' (Mankin 1995:49). In early Greek *iambus*, friendship is often illustrated by differentiating it from unfriendly or hostile behaviour and measured by instances of disaster (Mankin 1995:49). Horace's description of his friendship with Maecenas, here then serves as a gauge for what true friendship ought to be like.

The Battle of Actium in 31 BC forms the backdrop to this scene in epode I. Horace is no soldier. He rather counters his lack of soldiering by reaffirming his friendship with Maecenas. And he also confirms that Maecenas' command ordering him to stay behind has been in consideration for Horace's imbellicosity (Du Quesnay 2002:26). Horace is clearly anxious for Maecenas' wellbeing and his fear is aggravated by the fact that he could not see Maecenas. Horace turns to the animal kingdom for comparison. He uses imagery that is commonplace to both the *propemptikon* (a farewell poem) and friendship literature (Du Quesnay 2002:27). To help buttress the imagery of the protective mother bird, Horace used the word order in a chiasmus to imitate the spreading of the bird's protective wings over her chicks: *adsidens* (I.3) corresponds to *comes* (I.1), and *minore sum futurus in metu* to *timet* (I.17-22) (Watson 2003:56). The imagery of the mother bird is not difficult to understand. The image of the mother bird who offers ineffectual protection to her chicks is associated specifically with epic and tragedy (Watson 2003:67). An example of a similar simile can be found in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* 292-294: '...even as an ever-fearful dove for the sake of her nestlings has fear of serpents, the lethal visitors of her nest' (Smyth 1927:347). Horace knows that because of his unwarlike nature he will be of no use to Maecenas as a soldier, just as the mother bird is no real protection to her chicks.

Horace does not try to convince Maecenas. For Horace knows that he will be just as useless as the mother bird is in protecting her chicks. The only possible reason Horace gives Maecenas why he should be allowed to come is that his fear of being separated and not seeing Maecenas will be averted. The predatory snake is a constant in all such similes.⁵² The snake here represents the 'danger' that Maecenas may face during the battle. Horace knows he himself is un-warlike and therefore can offer no protection to Maecenas. The mother-bird represented for him the fear of loss, for just as the mother-bird is powerless to defend her chicks from predators so Horace feels he is unable to protect Maecenas from danger, especially military danger (the Battle of Actium).

⁵² Horace may be referring to the portent of Odysseus in book two of the *Iliad* 308-320. In this section Odysseus says: 'a snake...darted for the tree and there was a brood of sparrows nine in all including their mother...and they all were cheeping piteously and with their mother fluttering round and wailing for her little ones' (Rieu 1954:48). If Horace's simile is in fact referring to the portent of Odysseus then the simile becomes even more ominous, since Troy to which the portent refers is the 'mother city' of Rome and also serves as a symbol for Rome herself (Mankin 1995:57).

The next reptile image is that of the winged serpents and snake's blood in epode III:

Num viperinus his cruor / incoctus herbis me fefellit, / an malas Canidia tractavit dapes? ...Medea serpente fugit alite... (III.6-14)

Surely snake's blood could not have been mixed in with these greens without my notice? Or has Canidia had a part in the noxious dish? ...when Medea fled on her winged serpents...

Horace uses the imagery of snake's blood, bulls and winged serpents to create an atmosphere of mystery and sorcery. Snake's blood was thought of as particularly poisonous by the ancients and its use here is quite clear, Horace is considering that he might have been poisoned with more than just garlic (Mankin 1995:91). Or maybe the garlic is so horrible that it's as if snakes' blood had been mixed in with the food? The depiction of Medea's miraculous form of transport was probably inspired by Euripides' *Medea*.1321-2.⁵³ ⁵⁴ By drawing attention to her unusual form of departure Horace gives her the appearance of a witch with unrivalled magical powers, and the poison, from which Horace supposes he is suffering, gains more potency by this description (Watson 2003:139). These references serve to colour and illustrate Horace's agony. The snakes' blood likens the garlic to a powerful poison and the winged serpents serve to draw attention to the supposed supernatural powers of the author (Medea) of this 'poison'.

The next depiction of reptile and amphibian images occurs in epode V.

...Canidia, brevibus implicata viperis / crinis et incomptum caput, / iubet sepulcris caprificos erutas, / iubet cupressos funebris / et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine... (V.15-19)

...Canidia, with her unkempt head and her hair entangled with tiny snakes, orders wild fig trees that have been uprooted from tombs; and orders funeral cypresses and eggs, smeared with the blood of a hideous toad...

⁵³ The mention of Medea in this epode is to give validity to Horace's claims about being poisoned. Since Medea killed Creusa by sending her clothes as a bridal gifts that were dipped in a flammable substance that when she put them on consumed her (Watson 2003:138). In the same way the garlic is consuming Horace.

⁵⁴ In this scene from the play Medea describes her unnatural mode of transport refer: 'touch us you cannot, in this chariot [drawn by dragons] which the sun has sent to save us from the hands of the enemies' (Vellacott 1977:58).

The image of Canidia's hair entwined with tiny snakes associates her with the Furies. They, like Canidia, were depicted as repulsive old women of terrifying appearance, often with wings and snakes about them (Watson 2003:198). By wreathing her hair with snakes Canidia is also asserting her claim of power over them. Snakes were associated with chthonic powers and knew the secrets of the underworld. Their blood was an important ingredient in magical concoctions (Mankin 1995:114). Toads (*ranae*) (V.19) were an essential part of magical spells to do with rousing love and securing fidelity.⁵⁵

Canidia intended the potion concocted from the boy's entrails for Varus, whom she both wanted to charm and keep away from other lovers. The *turpis* (V.19, hideousness) of the toad and the other ingredients of Canidia's spell reflects the belief that the when animal products were used in magic the more disgusting they were the more likely they were to be used and the greater the powers attributed to them by witches (Watson 2003:202). The eggs are significant since they are symbolic of life and are specifically associated with amatory magic, and this is just what Canidia needed to get Varus' attention (Watson 2003:202). Another important consideration is that eggs were important in the cults of Hecate and chthonic Dionysus, and were also often offered to the dead in worship (Mankin 1995:116).

Blood was just as important as eggs as an ingredient in magical potions. Blood was thought to contain the essential life force of the being, human or animal, from which it was derived (Watson 2003:202). The fact that in this case, the blood is derived from a toad makes this spell even more potent since toads were considered as a particularly important ingredient in love spells. The snake imagery serves to liken Canidia to the *Eumenides* (Furies), who were renowned for their horrid appearance and vengeful nature. The toad's blood, as indicated in

⁵⁵ Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia* describes the different uses for toads and frogs: 'They say, for instance, that if a man takes a frog and transfixes it with a reed, entering the body at the sexual parts and coming out at the mouth, and then dips the reed in the menstrual discharge of his wife, she will be sure to conceive an aversion for all paramours' (*Nat. Hist.*32.18.5-6), the reference continues: 'On the other hand, again, in the left side of this reptile [frog] there is another bone, they say, which, thrown into water, has all the appearance of making it boil and the name given to which is "apocynon." / This bone, it is said, has the property of assuaging the fury of dogs, and, if put into the drink, of conciliating love and ending discord and strife. Worn, too, as an amulet, it acts as an aphrodisiac, we are told.' (*Nat. Hist.*32.18.11-12, Rackham 1949:21).

Pliny, was a potent ingredient in any love spell and the fact that Canidia uses it in her love potion on Varus shows her resolve and expertise as a witch.

In epode XII Horace uses crocodile dung to ridicule a *vetula* for the horrid odour of her cosmetics.

...neque illi / iam manet umida creta colorque / stercore fucatus crocodili, iamque subando / tenta cubilia tectaue rumpit! (XII.9-12)

...her white chalk cosmetics now wet, and her complexion dyed with crocodile dung run off, and now in heat she breaks the bed frame and the canopy!

Roman women used chalk (*creta*) (XII.10) to give themselves a white complexion and to cover up wrinkles (Watson 2003:403). *Stercore ...crocodili* (XII.11) (crocodile dung) was employed as a type of cosmetic rouge giving a red complexion and was also used as prevention against skin disease (Mankin 1995:209).⁵⁶ The mixture of red and white imparted a ‘peaches and cream’ look that was highly fashionable in classical antiquity (Watson 2003:403). The only drawback of these substances were their foul smelling odour, that mixed with the *vetula*’s sweat produce a truly noxious odour, making any hope of sexual activity on Horace’s part very unlikely. Horace cleverly inverted the useful function of cosmetics which serve to highlight the wearer’s attractiveness; instead he uses it as a weapon proving quite the opposite. The gerund *subando* (XII.11) bears close observation since its literal meaning is ‘on heat like a sow’ (Mankin 1995:209).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ *Crocodili* refers not to the modern crocodile, but rather to several species of lizard one of which *Agama stellio* is a producer of a red coloured dung, the sort of which Horace referred to (Watson 2003:405).

⁵⁷ *Subando* is etymologically linked with *sus* (sow) and like its counterpart is a highly insulting description of the *vetula*’s behaviour. *Subo* the verb of *subando* is a rare word and Horace is the first extant author to use it as a description of a woman rather than a beast (Mankin 1995:209). The connotation is that the *vetula* like the pig is sexually unbridled and rapacious, for pigs were considered the most highly sexed out of all the animal kingdom (Watson 2003:405). The connection here between the *vetula* and sow will be made clearer in lines XII.4-6, which I will discuss under farm animals.

In epode XVI, Horace explores the possibility of abandoning Rome. He describes what life is like in the *beatae insulae*:

...*neque intumescit alta viperis humus.* (XVI.52)

...and the deep ground does not swell with snakes.

In the blessed isles there are no dangers or difficulties and for that reason there are no snakes.

Snakes were proverbial images of danger. In the ancient world there was a widespread belief that all snakes were poisonous (Watson 2003:521). Horace attests to this fact in the *Epodes*. He compares the garlic of Maecenas' banquet to poisonous snake's blood in epode III and refers to the tiny snakes entwined in Canidia's hair in epode V. It is interesting to note that Horace made the Romans swear that only after certain *adunata* (impossibilities) take place are they to return to Rome. But in the *beatae insulae* impossibilities, such as no snakes, are not impossibilities but realities. In the *beatae insulae* snakes are not to be feared, either because there are none or because there is a state of harmony between living creatures; unlike the current state that exists in Horace's Rome.

2.3. Birds

Bird imagery occurs in six of the seventeen epodes. Horace mostly uses bird imagery as metaphors or for ‘colouring’ a scene.⁵⁸ Horace uses birds along with their natural enemies in epode I and epode XVI. In both these cases the birds (mother-bird I and dove XVI) represent helplessness in the face of adversary (the snake I and kite XVI). The various birds in epode II are all examples of luxurious cuisine. Horace has purposefully chosen them to portray a sumptuous diet. His audience would have undoubtedly picked up on this. Horace uses the screech owl, vultures and gulls in epodes V and X respectively. His choice of birds in epode V is consistent with the main theme of the poem. Screech owls are nocturnal and would therefore be perfect familiars with Canidia. The image of gulls (X) and vultures (V) in their respective epodes are perfectly suited. Both gulls and vultures are scavenger birds and it is therefore no wonder that Horace has used them both for such purposes.⁵⁹

I have already mentioned the mother-bird image in epode I, because of its close association with that of the snake image. I will therefore now move on to epode II. In the ‘summer section’ of epode II Horace uses birds to ‘colour’ a picture of the pleasantness of summer.⁶⁰

*libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice, / modo in tenaci gramine: / labuntur altis interim ripis
aquae, / queruntur in silvis aves, / fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus, / somnos
quod invitet levis. (II.23-28)*

now it is delightful to lie under a long standing holly oak or in the matted grass; meanwhile streams glide in between their steep banks, and birds chirp in the woods, and fountains resound with the sound of their own clear water, the type which induces pleasant sleep.

⁵⁸ See the section entitled for an explanation of the term ‘The significance of the animal themes: their possible purpose’ (3:81-90).

⁵⁹ In epode V vultures are mentioned as scavenging the Esquiline burial grounds and in epode X gulls feast on the corpse of Mevius.

⁶⁰ Heyworth has made an interesting investigation into the seasonal order of the farmer’s tasks. He has arranged lines II.9-36 into four sections, namely II.9-16, 17-22, 23-28, and 29-36 (Heyworth 1988:74). He looks specifically at the two seasons mentioned: *autumnus* in line II.18 and *hibernus* (winter) in line II.29. He then opines that since Horace carefully indexed these two seasonal descriptions, he intended that the other two sections namely II.9-16 and II.23-28 must refer to spring and summer respectively (Heyworth 1988:74). Heyworth looked at surviving agricultural handbooks written by Cato, Varro and Columella and has found that Horace had gone to great lengths to organise these different tasks into the correct months during which they were supposed to have taken place.

The activities described above belong to summer. The heat of the day is contrasted with cool flowing water of the brook. A grassy bank offers comfort, a holly oak gives shade and birds chirping in trees bring tranquillity. Here Horace is evoking an all too familiar topos. In *Phaedrus* 230.b2-7 Plato uses similar imagery to accentuate the delights of this *locus amoenus* (pleasant location): ‘For this plane tree is very spreading and lofty, and the willow is in full bloom so as to make this place most fragrant...the spring is very pretty and its water is cool to my touch’ (Fowler 1917:422). Horace has here used the summer atmosphere and the imagery of the carefree birds to show the pleasant and charming side of the countryside. Leaving behind this picturesque image of summer Alfius moves onto the thrill of the winter hunt. Horace uses thrushes, cranes, hares and boars to portray the great variety of local delicacies that a farmer could hunt during winter.

*at cum tonantis annus hibernus Iovis / imbris nivesque comparat, / aut trudit acris hinc
et hinc multa cane / apros in obstantis plagas, / aut amite levi rara tendit retia, / turdis
edacibus dolos, / pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem / iucanda caput
praemia. (II.29-36)*

but when the winter season of thundering Jove brings a torrent of rain and snow, he drives fierce boars with many a dog into nets set before their path, or with a smooth fowler’s pole he stretches wide-meshed nets, to trap the greedy thrushes, and with a noose he hunts a terrified hare and migratory crane, both are choice delicacies.

Winter was when farmers hunted but Horace’s description of winter is lopsided. Mention is only made of hunting and no other activities are named, although farmers had many other duties to attend to in winter (Heyworth 1988:80). All the animals mentioned in this excerpt were considered delicacies by the Romans (Mankin 1995:77). They serve to show the diversity of local delicacies. This is later contrasted with the different examples of exotic delicacies (II.49-60). The variety of prey mentioned in this section is mostly harmless. The speaker’s only purpose for hunting is filling his own stomach. The real farmer was more concerned about protecting his flock from predators (Watson 2003:103). The description of hunting here serves to bolster and augment Alfius’ argument. Alfius’ description of the winter hunt gives the impression that he knows something about the farmer’s life. Alfius even makes sure that his description of hunting takes place in winter, but as the reader progresses

through the poem it becomes clear that the image of farming as portrayed by Alfius is unrealistic and too good to be true.

In this section of epode II Alfius compares exotic foods to a homely meal mentioned in lines 39-49.⁶¹

...non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum, / non attagen Ionicus / iucundior, quam lecta de pinguissimis / oliva ramis arborum / aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi / malvae salubres corpori... (II.53-58)

... no African guinea fowl, no Ionian partridge would pass down into my stomach with greater pleasure, than olives plucked from the fruitful branches of trees or stalks of sorrel, which love the meadow, and mallows, which aid a bloated body....

The rustic foods such as olives, sorrel and mallows are compared to the rich and exotic foods such as the guinea fowl and partridges. This passage bears a close resemblance to a similar statement made by a certain Ofellus in Horace's *Satires* II.2: 'bread and salt will do to appease your growling stomach...the greatest pleasure does not lie in the rich savoury smell' (II.2.18-19, Rudd 1979:89-90). So Alfius just like Ofellus knows about the health benefits of simple food, however Ofellus is sincere in his statements and embodies the Epicurean virtue of moderation. On the other hand Alfius' reason for favouring the humble diet is more selfish. Alfius is not concerned with the supposed health benefits but is rather attracted to humble food because it is cheaper. African guinea fowl were an expensive delicacy domesticated by the Romans (Watson 2003:116). The Ionian partridge was the biggest of the partridges and was native to Asia Minor (Watson 2003:116). Its tasty flesh made it a noted delicacy (Watson 2003:116).

Alfius is clearly well informed about exotic foods but settles on simpler food not because of their supposedly health benefits, as attested to by Ofellus, but simply because they are cheaper. Horace's method of listing exotic and gourmet foods helps define the rural menu and it also highlights the poetic richness of the rustic's menu. In this section local foods such as olives, sorrel and mallows are contrasted with the exotic guinea fowls from Africa and the

⁶¹ *quodsi pudica mulier... horna dulci vina promens dolio dapes inemptas apparet* (II.39-49). 'But if an honourable wife ... ladles this year's wine from a fragrant jar and prepares a homely meal'.

partridges from Ionia. They serve to praise the plain rural diet over its counterpart. The animal imagery serves here to highlight the miserliness of Alfius, which is finally revealed in lines II.67-70. Alfius' praise of the rustic meal at first seems to echo the Epicurean virtue of moderation but it is revealed that in actual fact Alfius' reason is not so noble but rather linked with his miserly concerns over expense.

In epode V birds play a role in Canidia's magical love potion and act as an agent of revenge on behalf of the dying boy.⁶²

... *plumamque nocturnae striges*...(V.20)

...and the feathers of a nocturnal screech owl...

Birds' feathers were often used in religious rites and magical spells (Watson 2003:204). The choice of bird is important. The *strix* (screech owl) is a species of owl and owls are nocturnal (*nocturnae*) and therefore were of great importance in magic and superstition (Watson 2003:204). Witches were thought to take on the shape of *striges* and attack small children, drinking their blood not unlike Count Dracula of Bram Stoker (Mankin 1995:116). The screech owl here serves to portray Canidia as a powerful witch. The fact that *striges* are associated with drinking blood ties in with Canidia's character. Her bloodthirstiness has already been attested to. The boy victim is proof of her 'blood sacrifice'. Canidia's association with the screech owl reiterates her obsession with blood.

In epode X Horace calls on gulls (*mergi*) to desecrate the corpse of his enemy, Mevius:⁶³

opima quodsi praeda curvo litore / porrecta mergos iuverit... (X.21-22)

but if a bloated corpse, sprawled out on the curved shore, gives delight to gulls...

⁶² Here I refer to the vultures the boy invokes to avenge himself of Canidia. The image of the vultures is closely associated with that of wolves already mentioned under canine imagery.

⁶³ Identifying Mevius is problematic, just as identifying Alfius is difficult in epode II. A possible candidate is the same Mevius of Vergil's *Eclogues* 3.90-1. This Mevius was a poet whose style of verse was ridiculed by the Neoteric poets. If this is the case (that Mevius was ridiculed by the Neoterics) then Horace's attack on Mevius may be understood as an attack on bad poetry with Mevius' crime being bad poetry (Watson 2003:342). Since Mevius is an uncommon name, and the *Eclogues* were published before Horace's *Epodes* and the fact that Horace breaks with his practice of not naming his victims, as in epodes IV, VI, VIII and XII, all this seems to indicate that Horace's Mevius is the same as Vergil's (Watson 2003:342).

This poem can be considered an inversion of the *propemptikon* (farewell poem) theme, present in epode I. Horace does not wish Mevius' safety, but rather his death; but even that is not enough, his corpse must suffer further humiliation by being eaten by carnivorous *mergi* (gulls). The highly colourful and descriptive malediction seems humorous when all that Mevius is accused of is stinking (*olentem*, X.2).⁶⁴ This description of harming one's enemy's corpse has its origins in Hellenistic curses (*arai*). The vivid descriptions of the curse levelled against Mevius seem to have been coloured by Hellenistic *arai* (Watson 1991:158). Horace's ferocity against Mevius is quite ludicrous, since the only offence specifically mentioned is his stench (*olentem*, X.2). This piling up of curses in this epode is characteristic of *arai* (Watson 1991:158).⁶⁵

The victim's corpse is not even allowed to be properly buried. It is to suffer further acts of degradation. The word *mergi* (X.22) is also problematic, since the usual English rendering of gull or mew is misleading (Arnott 1964:258). Each ancient author used *mergi* (X.22) in a different sense, however since Horace has depicted these *mergi* as flesh-eating, he was most likely envisaging herring gulls or lesser black-backs (Arnott 1964:258). Gulls preying on corpses of drowned sailors were proverbial in antiquity. The fact that they eat corpses associates them with the ravaging dogs and birds of Homer's *Iliad*. But where the dogs and the birds of the *Iliad* fed on dead warriors the gulls of epode X feed on Mevius, the victim of a curse: thereby vilifying him as unworthy of even dogs and birds and only fit for carrion gulls (Watson 2003:353).

This seems unnecessarily severe. In Hellenistic curse-poetry there is often a widespread and farcical disproportion between the triviality of the offence (Mevius' stench) and the ferocity of the curse (gulls feasting on Mevius' corpse). Humour and exaggeration played a large part in Hellenistic curse poetry, especially when it involved sexual tendencies (Mevius'

⁶⁴ At first it seems as if Mevius' only crime is his stench, however the image of the 'lustful goat' may hint at his true crime, lust. I will cover this aspect in the section on farm animals.

⁶⁵ Horace has already cursed Mevius by first invoking the winds against him (X.3-8), then praying that his raft is shattered (X.7-9) and finally hoping that his bloated corpse ends up sprawled out on the shore (X.21-22).

association with Ajax⁶⁶, Watson 1991:139). With this in mind and the apparent triviality of Mevius' specified crime (body odour), whatever it may be, the poem appears to be a playful display of humour, certainly influenced by Hellenistic *arai*. The gulls serve to humiliate and vilify Mevius. His corpse is not afforded a proper burial. He is to suffer indignation even past death.

Doves and kites form part of an *adunaton* in epode XVI. The image of the tiger and stag form part of the same metaphor and for that reason I will discuss them together.

...novaque monstra iunxerit libidine / mirus amor, iuuet ut tigris subsidere cervis, / adulteretur et columba miluo... (XVI.30-32)

...and when an extraordinary desire initiates monstrous couplings with unheard-of lust, compelling the tigress to mate with the stag, and the dove to be lover of the kite...

Monstrous sexual unions are a common trait of *adunata* and Horace's description here is probably taken from Vergil's *Eclogues* 8.27 (Nisbet 1984:4). The likelihood of the Romans' return seems a far distant possibility now since only in a topsy-turvy world will such strange bed partners be found. The pairings are made more extraordinary by Horace's choice of verbs. The verbs *iuuet* and *subsidere* (XVI. 30-34) are at odds with the characteristics of a tiger. *Iuuet* stresses the compliancy of the tigress to mate with a male of an inferior species (stag) (Watson 2003:507). *Subsidere* literally means 'to lie down beneath', indicating the tigress' subservience to the stag (Watson 2003:507). These two verbs highlight the paradoxical nature of the couplings. The dove and kite might serve as a kind of double *adunata*. The dove was known for its faithfulness to its mate and therefore *adulteretur* would be against its nature. The kite is the proverbial enemy of the dove (Mankin 1995: 259). Horace cleverly uses these two examples of unnatural couplings to highlight the improbability of the Romans' return to Rome. The unnatural couplings of dove/kite and tiger/stag serve to make the Romans relive the almost impossible hope of their return. Horace

⁶⁶ In line X.14 Mevius is compared to Ajax. Ajax's crime was the rape of Cassandra and his punishment was his shipwreck, the same fate wished on Mevius by Horace. The punishment of Mevius is the same as that of Ajax. Since this is so their crimes must also be similar. This association is tied in with the *libidinosus caper* (lustful goat) of lines X.23-24 (Harrison 1989: 272).

has purposefully chosen two very unlikely events to make certain that the Romans will never return to Rome until certain *adunata* have taken place.

In epode XVII Horace makes use of several *exempla* from mythology to try and persuade Canidia to show mercy. I have already mentioned the birds of prey that feast on Hector's corpse. I will now turn to the eagle that perpetually eats Prometheus' liver.

optat [quietem] Prometheus obligatus aliti... (XVII.67)

Prometheus craves (peace), though he is bound to an eagle...

Prometheus' crime involved deceiving Zeus by stealing fire and giving it to mankind. His punishment was to have his liver pecked out by an eagle only to have it grow back and the cycle repeated for eternity. What a powerful image this is for portraying Horace's current predicament, since Canidia like the eagle shows no likelihood of stopping. In some versions of the myth Zeus allows Hercules to kill the eagle and even lets Prometheus go in exchange for the centaur Chiron (Mankin 1995:291). Horace has no Hercules to set him free, no Chiron to take his place. He has to endure Canidia's torments for all eternity with no hope of reprieve. This *exemplum* ties in with the mood of epode XVII, which is one of utter hopelessness. Horace resorts to trying to persuade Canidia with sorties of forgiveness and mercy but she will have none of it. At the end of epode XVII.74-75 Horace becomes her subservient steed with no will of his own.

Bird imagery has been used to describe Horace's feelings towards Maecenas (Mother-bird/snake epode I), to create a scene of luxury (thrushes, cranes, guinea fowl, partridge epode II) and to take vengeance on Canidia (screech owl and vultures epode V). Horace's choice of birds to describe qualities like fear, witchcraft and luxury is inexorably linked with the associations the various birds have with these qualities. Horace has chosen these various bird species to express these qualities (i.e. fear, witchcraft and luxury) because imagery serves as a more powerful medium of expression than ordinary language.

2.4. Farm animals

Farm animals are the most numerous of all the animal images that Horace uses. Horace preference for animal imagery is linked with the abundant meanings he attributed to them. Firstly Horace uses them in their natural setting. In epode II flocks and herds are symbols of the idyllic countryside. Secondly Horace uses them as invective. In epode VIII a mare and cow are used to divest a *vetula* of any sexual attraction. They occur in twelve of the seventeen epodes, and it is now to them that I turn my attention. Farm animals occur in the very first epode. Epode I is addressed to Maecenas. The mother bird and snake imagery highlights Horace's fears and concerns, while the farm animal imagery (bullocks and flocks) illustrate Horace's feelings regarding his friendship with Maecenas. Horace was especially concerned to show that his friendship with Maecenas is based on affection and not *benignitas*.⁶⁷

Horace does not deny the *benignitas* he has already received; his only desire is to thank Maecenas:

*libenter hoc et omne militabitur / bellum in tuae spem gratiae, / non ut iuvenis illigata
pluribus / aratra nitantur mea, / pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum / Lucana mutet
pascuis, / neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi / Circaea tengat moenia (I.23-30)*

I will gladly serve in this or any other war in the hope of gaining your gratitude, not so that my ploughshare may be supported by yoking it to more bullocks, or that my flocks may move from Calabrian pastures to Lucanian ones before the rising of the fiery star, and not that I may have a villa touching the Circaen walls of proud Tusculum.

Horace denies that he is motivated by greed. Some of Horace's contemporaries did not share his feelings. After Actium Octavian's supporters demanded gifts for their involvement as the

⁶⁷ This issue over the nature of *amicitia* (friendship) -- whether it is based on affection or material motives (*benignitas*), is of paramount importance in this epode. Two important schools of philosophy at the time, Stoicism and Epicureanism, had very different views on friendship. In this epode Horace compares and contrasts the opposing views. Stoic ideas of friendship are chiefly concerned that friendship should be based on mutual respect on the desire to be a friend. Seneca in his *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 9.8 says: 'The wise man, though he may be self-sufficient nevertheless desires friendship, if only for the purpose of practicing friendship' (Moles 2002:170).

Epicureanism is accused of relying too much on utility and need as Seneca says: 'In the letter of Epicurus quoted above...he made friends with one who could assist him out and who at the first rattle of the chain will desert him' (Moles 2002:170). In this poem Horace assures Maecenas that his friendship is based on enjoyment of his company and not on the gifts and rewards (bullocks and flocks) he has received from Maecenas.

historian Dio Cassius states in his *Historia Romana* 51.3.1-5 (Carter 1987:11). Octavian was compelled to offer land and properties belonging to him and his close associates as rewards to satisfy their demands (Hills 2005:30). With this in mind, Horace's stern refusal of any reward for accompanying Maecenas serves as a harsh criticism of those who demanded recompense for their involvement. Bullocks (*iuuencis*) are younger than adult bulls (*tauri*); the fact that Horace mentions bullocks may indicate to the recent date of Maecenas' gift (Mankin 1995:59). The seasonal change of flocks from Calabria to Lucania indicates that Horace must have had an estate large enough to incorporate both types of grazing land (Mankin 1995:59).⁶⁸ The oxen and flocks serve as symbols of *benignitas*, which Horace was thankful for. Unlike his contemporaries who fought for Octavian at Actium and demanded recompense, Horace has made himself explicitly clear on this point. His friendship with Maecenas is not driven by material gain (*benignitas*).

Horace showed by means of his friendship with Maecenas the proper way to behave in giving and receiving thanks and favour (*gratiae* and *benignitas*). The oxen and flocks are images of Maecenas' favour; Horace is sincerely thankful for these gifts, but he is acutely aware that many others have profited from their benefactors for the wrong reason. After Actium, many participators in the battle expected restitution. Though Horace did benefit he wants to ensure Maecenas that he is a true friend, and not only interested in *benignitas*. So one could say that the imagery of animals in this epode could be seen as 'animals of friendship' since they allow Horace to investigate the nature of his friendship with Maecenas.

Farm animals play a central role in epode II. They appear in the opening lines:

*Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis, / ut prisca gens mortalium, / paterna rura bobus
exercet suis / solutus omni faenore...* (II.1-4)

Happy is he, who far from the concerns of business ploughs his ancestral lands with his own oxen as the men of old, free from any kind of debt...

⁶⁸ Calabria also known as Apulia was renowned for its sheep, particularly the quality of their wool as Pliny recounts in his *Historia Naturalis* 8.73.190: 'The most highly esteemed wool is the Apulian kind...the Apulian fleeces are short in the hair and owe their high regard to the traveling cloaks (*paenula*) that are made of them (Rackham. 1949:133).

These lines paint the picture of a small landholder who farms an inherited estate for survival rather than profit. The phrasing *beatus ille... exercet* (II.1-3) evokes the image of a *makarismos* (blessed man), a statement that someone is happy for some reason or other and the reason is given in the relative clause, *qui procul negotiis* (II.1-3) (Mankin 1995:64).⁶⁹ *Beatus* reflects the idea that the life of a farmer was a reversion to the happiness of the Golden Age. In one sense it means ‘spiritual happiness’, but here it also means ‘rich’. It later emerges that Alfius is wealthy, so his statement about enjoying rural *beatus* seems ironical since it is actually money-making that interests him (Watson 2003:87). The word *faenore* (II.1-3) ‘debt’ is of particular interest since we later find out that the speaker is a *faenerator* ‘usurer’ and makes his living by putting other people in debt. How ironic that we have a usurer talking about the blessings of being debt-free. The oxen here show that the farmer is wealthy enough to own his livestock (*beatus*). They also serve as images of the Golden Age of Saturn, when farmers tilled the land with ease and no winter existed (Watson 2003:87).

Alfius then goes on to compare farming with different occupations namely, soldiering, seafaring and financial pursuits. The comparison between different modes of living were a common theme in early Greek poetry and here it serves the purpose of idealising the rural life as carefree and blithe (Mankin 1995:67). What follows next is a long passage describing the duties of a farmer. Some of these activities include viticulture, rearing of cattle, pruning and grafting, and keeping sheep:

*ergo aut adulta vitium propagine / altas maritat populous, / aut in reducta valle
mugientium / prospectat errantis greges, / inutilisque falce ramos amputans / feliciores
inserit, / aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris, / aut tondet infirmas ovis...* (II.9-16)

and so he marries the tall poplars with the mature layers of the vine, or within a secluded valley he looks out over his lowing herd of oxen as they wander around, and pruning bare branches with his sickle he grafts on more fruitful ones, or he stores extracted honey in fresh jars, or he shears his tolerant sheep...

⁶⁹ Horace in his *Epistles* II.1.139 makes a similar statement about early man, who lived by agriculture and was also a *makarismos*.

These lines serve to bolster and augment Alfius' argument, giving the impression that he knows something about farming. Again the imagery of wandering cattle and of sheep unresisting to be shorn harkens back to the Golden Age, a carefree time when farmers had no difficulty. Alfius next turns his attention to the Roman matron and her household chores:

quodsi pudica mulier in partem iuuet / domum atque dulcis liberos, / Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus / pernicious uxor Apuli, / sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum / lassi sub adventum viri, / claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus / distenta siccet ubera, / et horna dulci vina promens dolio / dapes inemptas apparet. (II.39-48)

But if an honourable wife for her part looks after her home and dear children, just like a Sabine woman or the wife of a nimble Apullian burnt by the sun day after day, and plies the sacred hearth high with dried wood just before the arrival of her weary husband, and shuts up the teeming flock in wattle pens and drains their bulging udders, and ladles this year's wine from a fragrant jar and prepares a homely meal.

This scene evokes the image of a Roman matron, who keeps the household going and helps her husband with the farm chores. The speaker is here again highlighting the simplicity and virtues of the rustic life. The wife's chores include locking up the animals in pens and milking them. Here the animals referred to are sheep. The Romans used sheep's milk more than other types and it was more abundant just after the ewes had given birth (Mankin 1995:81). The sheep here, with their milk, form part of the *dapes inemptas* (homely meal) (II.39-49).

The next farm animal image is that of the lamb slain to Terminus:

...agna festis caesa Terminalibus... (II.59)

...a lamb slain for the festival of Terminus...

Terminus was the god of boundary markers (*termini*). The *Terminalia* was celebrated in early spring (23 February) (Mankin 1995:84). The slaughtered lamb is at odds with the idealised *vita rustica* as described by Alfius so far. In the Golden Age blood sacrifice was absent as well as in the early days of Rome (Mankin 1995:84). The lamb here might function as a

foreshadowing for the final revelation of Alfius' real nature in lines II.67-70.⁷⁰ The implication of the slain lamb is that it hints that Alfius' statements are suspect. All Alfius' talk about the *vita rustica* has been correct thus far, but the slain lamb is the first mistake he has made. The position of the lamb image (X.59) is in close proximity to the final revelation of Alfius' true nature (X.67-71) and must therefore be seen as a foreshadowing of this revelation.

The image of the small landowner who works his ancestral plot, with the help of his dutiful wife and who enjoys the simple pleasures of life is now contrasted with a rich landowner returning at the end of the day, surveying his flocks of sheep and oxen and his throng of slaves.

*has inter epulas ut iuvat pastas ovis / videre properantis domum, / videre fessos vomerem
inversum boves / collo trahentis languido, / positosque vernas, ditis examen domus, /
circum reidentis Lares!*. (II.61-66)

when at a feast like this, how delightful it is to see the sheep hurrying home from their pastures, and to see the weary oxen dragging the upturned ploughs with their drooping necks, and to see the home-born slaves, the swarm of a wealthy house, waiting on their master, surrounded by the gleaming Lares!

This image of the rich landowner is contrasted with the image of the simple farmer we have in the beginning of the poem (II.1-4). However the imagery of the animals remains the same, though the rich land owner does not work his animals himself. They still bring him pleasure and are still images of the idyllic Golden Age of Saturn that we had in the opening lines. Horace's use of animals in this poem was meant to bolster the imagery of the *vita rustica*. They make Alfius' statements more believable and reliable since it seems that he was speaking with authority. Without the animal scenes the poem would not be as effective as it is. The image of the perfect farmer with his happy oxen and sheep, the description of the

⁷⁰ '[A]fter making these remarks, the usurer Alfius, on the verge of becoming a farmer called in all his money on the Ides, wanting to lend it out on the *Kalends*' (II.67-70).

local hunting delicacies, and the contrast with the exotic foods, all these are vital in making the image of idyllic life appear more desirable. The picture that the farm animals ‘colour’ in this poem is that of the *beatae insulae*. There the farmer’s life is easy, the sheep and cattle take care of themselves. This theme of the *beatae insulae* will recur again in epode XVI. However in epode XVI they take on a new meaning; the animal imagery serves as *exempla* for the Romans to follow. While reading the poem one truly believes that the country life is so amenable that not immediately giving up city life seems foolish. It is only through Alfius ‘mistake’ of the lamb (X.59) image that we begin to doubt his word. When Alfius reveals his true intentions (X.66-70) all semblance of the *vita rustica* melt away.

The next farm animal image is that of the fire-breathing bulls of epode III.

...ignota tauris inligaturum iuga / perunxit hoc Iasonem... (III.11-12)

...she smeared Jason with this when he was about to fasten yokes on bulls, which were not used to them...

The bulls of Aetes were fire-breathing and Jason had to yoke them as part of the quest for the Golden Fleece. The fact that they are fire-breathing is perfect for Horace, since his stomach is feeling the ravages of the garlic. Though Horace does not mention the fact that they are fire-breathing their association with Jason ensures that the audience knows exactly what kind of bull Horace is talking of. Horace is alone in having Medea use the same potion to protect Jason and kill Creusa (Mankin 1995:94). The potion used on Creusa consumed her but when this flammable potion was placed on Jason it protected him from the fire-breathing bulls. This dual nature of her potion also resembles the garlic which causes sickness as in the case of Horace and can also be used as an ingredient in medicine (Mankin 1995:95).

The bulls here function to highlight the supposed supernatural or necromantic origins of Horace’s pain. The bulls are inextricably linked with Medea and her role as a powerful enchantress. By comparing his ‘poisoning’ to the bull’s ability to breath fire Horace builds up the hyperbole of his ailment. At the end of the poem Horace ‘curses’ Maecenas hoping that if ever he plays a trick like this again he may suffer garlic breath. The hyperbole of the fire breathing serves to ornament the friendship between Horace and Maecenas. Though

Maecenas' joke caused Horace indigestion the 'final curse' reveals that Horace has no hard feelings.⁷¹

The next farm animal imagery occurs in epode IV. Epode IV as previously indicated concerns Horace's attack on an upstart ex-slave who flaunts his wealth. The Gaulish ponies are one such exhibition of wealth. The lamb and wolf passage in lines IV.1-2 sets the tone that a natural enmity exists between Horace and the upstart. The Gaulish ponies (IV.13-16) are but one of the offences committed by this parvenu:

*arat Falerni mille fundi iugera / et Appiam mannis terit, / sedilibusque magnus in primis
eques / Othone contempt sedet.* (IV.13-16)

now he ploughs a thousand acres of Falernian farmland and wears down the Appian Way with his Gaulish ponies, and sits in the first rows as a great equestrian with Otho's laws disregarded.

Gaulish ponies were prized for their speed according to Lucretius (Mankin 1995:106). This man uses such elegant animals to travel down the Appian Way when ordinary mules would have sufficed and in doing so raised a special amount of indignation (Watson 2003:106). This passage shows that the original image of the diametrical opposition of lamb and wolf is no longer so firm. Horace in fact shares many similarities with the upstart.⁷² These similarities bring the opening analogy into question, since the two adversaries don't seem so different anymore. The question then arises as to why Horace chose to attack a character which resembled him so closely. It must be that Horace intentionally chose to fool the reader into a straightforward reading; expressing enmity between himself and the ex-slave functions as a way of distancing himself from the actions of the ex-slave who flaunts and revels provocatively in the great amassment of wealth (Hills 2005:32).

⁷¹ 'If you ever again desire such a thing, my funny Maecenas, I pray that your girl will use her hand to ward off your kiss and lie on the very edge of the bed' (III.19-22).

⁷² Like the ex-slave Horace has his Sabine farm, as mentioned in epode I. Like the ex-slave Horace sat in the first fourteen rows of the theatre with Maecenas (Hills 2005:32). The ex-slave is also a military tribune just as Horace was when he served in Brutus' army during the civil war. Not only was Horace a tribune he was ridiculed for it (*Satires* I.6.47-48): 'only a freedman's son, run down by everyone as only a freedman's son...because as a military tribune I commanded a Roman legion' (Rudd 1979:68).

The Gaulish ponies' passage serves to contradict the opening passage. Horace intended the audience to be entertained by his bold attack on one so similar to himself. This self-denigration was a common trait of Greek *iambus* and Horace's use of it here entails that he places himself in a ridiculous position (Watson 2003:152). By the end of the poem, we have come to realise that the image of the wolf and lamb is not so straightforward. Horace has shown that he and his adversary are actually quite alike. The Gaulish ponies act as an agent of this self-deflation making the opening statements (lamb and wolf) a contradiction.

The image of the bull occurs again in epode VI. This epode concerns Horace's attack on a villain (*malos*). Through a series of metamorphoses Horace attacks his opponent; firstly as a sheepdog and then as a bull.

...namque in malos asperrimus / parata tollo cornua, / qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener / aut acer hostis Bupalus. (VI.11-14)

...for I am exceedingly brutal against villains, picking up my ready horns, like the son-in-law scorned by treacherous Lycambes, or the relentless enemy of Bupalus.

The bull was traditionally associated with anger and violence. The bull's *cornua* (horns) were especially seen as the source of their anger (Mankin 1995:140). Just as *iambus* is a type of weapon against wrong-doers so the bull's horns are weapons against adversaries (Mankin 1995:140). The bull has no need of sheepdogs to protect his herd; he can fend off would-be predators himself. The names Lycambes and Bupalus have their origins in specific animals. Lycambes as I have already mentioned is derived from *lukos* Greek for wolf (Latin *lupus*). Bupalus was apparently a sculpture who mocked Hipponax for his ugliness and is likewise also the object of attack in Hipponax's *iambi*. His name is derived from *Bou-palos* 'bullfighter' (Mankin 1995:141). Horace ties in the names of Lycambes to the image of the *lupi* in lines VI.1-2 and Bupalus to the image of himself as the bull-iambist in lines VI.11-14. The bull image reminds us of Horace's predecessors in iambic poetry and also serves as a simile for the 'weapon' of *iambus* namely the *cornua* (VI.11-14) (horns) of the bull. The bull image of Horace in epode VI is in perfect harmony with the tone of invective throughout this epode. The epode is the most Archilochean of the entire collection. It is in this epode that

Horace explicitly mentions his archaic predecessors. It is no surprise then that Horace metamorphoses into animals that are a literary link with Archilochus and Hipponax.

Moving onto epode VIII, I will continue to explore the farm animal imagery. Epode VIII like its counterpart epode XII concerns an aging *vetula*.⁷³ Horace uses the image of a cow and horse to highlight the unattractive aspects of the *vetula*.

...hietque turpis inter aridas natis / podex velut crudae bovis! (VIII.5-6)

...and your nauseating anus gapes between your scrawny buttocks like that of a diarrhoeic cow!

This very unflattering simile is intended to highlight the *vetula*'s repulsiveness (Watson 2003:296). *Turpis podex* (VIII.5-6) is a brutal description of the anatomy of the woman's posterior and it is exacerbated by the image of the diarrhoeic cow. The imagery of her scrawny backside calls to mind an unhealthy animal, in this case a sickly cow. The imagery of a sick cow was a popular form of attack in *iambus*, especially when it came to insulting on account of a lack of sexual attractiveness (Mankin 1995:154). A precedent can be found in Archilochus *fr.*35 'we have in our house, a work-cow' (Gerber 1999:109). The connotation being that the 'cow' is an unattractive woman and the 'work' is some kind of sexual activity. Another example can be found in Archilochus *fr.*43 'his member swelled like that of a Prienian grain-fed breeding mule' (Gerber 1999:123). This passage draws attention to the unabashed realism of detail and the disproportion in the size of the animal's organ with that of its human counterpart (Watson 2003:300). Horace's use of the cow imagery in this epode is also unabashedly realistic and the size of the *vetula*'s posterior is equated to bovine proportions. The two examples from Archilochus show that Horace has ridiculed the *vetula*

⁷³ It is not likely that she was a real person, but rather that she is emblematic of 'an antiquated literary style' which the poet finds just as repulsive (Clayman 1975:57). This was not an invention of Horace but was already established by Cicero in his *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, where he likens the 'simple and plain style of literature' to the natural beauty of a woman (Clayman 1975:57). Horace inverses this in writing *iambus*, and instead of using positive metaphors he uses negative ones describing her in unflattering terms as a reference to the 'ill-wrought bombastic style' (Clayman 1975:57). Other possibilities for her representation may include a young man's fear of not being able to satisfy his insatiable lover or she could be a personification of Rome itself (Mankin 1995:153). Oliensis sees the *vetula* as an image of female 'sexual rapaciousness' who challenges Horace but to whom he fails to respond; Horace strikes back by representing her as a collection of disgusting body-parts, smells and sounds (Oliensis 2002:225).

for the ‘sickliness’ of her backside and the size of it. The cow image also found in Archilochus shows that it has a long tradition of being used as a mark of ridicule against unattractiveness. Horace uses the cow image to great effect in this epode. It captures so vividly the repulsiveness of the *vetula* when ordinary language would not suffice.

Next Horace compares her sagging breasts to the udders of a mare.

sed incitat me pectus et mammae putres, / equina quales ubera... (VIII.7-8)

but surely your bosom with its withered breasts, like the udders of a mare excites me...

The *vetula*'s breasts are pendulous like the *ubera* of a mare; the fact that her breasts are sagging suggests that she has breast-fed. This is further implicated by the choice of the word *mammae* (breasts) which is not primary sexual but rather refers to lactating breasts (Watson 2003:299). Sagging breasts were considered unattractive while conversely firm breasts were frequently admired (Watson 2003:299). Horace uses the mare imagery here quite usefully to give the description an air of reality. In epode II Horace used cows to colour his descriptions of the *vita rustica* focusing on their positive attributes, such as helping the farmer with ploughing and as images of the Golden Age. In epode VIII Horace uses the images of cows to highlight the repulsiveness of the aging *vetula*: her scrawny behind is likened to a sick diarrhoeic cow making her devoid of all sexual attractiveness.

The next appearance of farm animals occurs in epode IX. In this poem Horace praises the military glory of Octavian over the forces of Mark Antony and Cleopatra. Horace uses current historical events and past historical events to support his argument. Mention is made of Octavian's earlier victory over Sextus Pompey, Gaius Marius' triumph over Jugurtha and Scipio Africanus' victory over Hannibal (Cairns 1983:92). In lines IX.17-18 Horace looks to current events:

at huc frementes verterunt bis mille equos / Galli, canentes Caesarem... (IX.17-18)

but two thousand Galatians have turned their snorting horses this way, singing Caesar's praises...

In this passage Horace is referring to a real event. A few days before the actual battle two thousand Galatian cavalymen under the command of Amyntas, joined with Octavian's forces (Watson 1987:123).⁷⁴ Horace's reason for this little exposé is to contrast these foreign soldiers with the Roman soldiers who followed Cleopatra.⁷⁵ Horace's point is that these Galatians are acting bravely in a dangerous situation, while the Romans who follow Cleopatra still remain obedient to her (Cairns 1983:92). The Galatians' horses seem to share their masters' enthusiasm for Caesar's cause. They snort in agreement. This imagery is already present in Homer's *Illiad*: 'Eurymendon kept back the snorting steeds' (Rieu 1954:86). In this passage, the horse belongs to Agamemnon and like its owner, also longs for the fight. Horace uses the imagery of the snorting horses in the same way. The horses are eager for battle just like their riders. This short passage plays a critical role. With it Horace makes a bold statement, commenting on the misplaced loyalty of the Roman soldiers still loyal to Cleopatra. He further highlights this by portraying not only the foreigners' zeal for Caesar but also that of their mounts, implying that the horses are more loyal 'Romans' than the Roman followers of Antony and Cleopatra.

The image of a goat and lamb occur in epode X. The gulls as mentioned serve to implement Horace's curse on Mevius (the goat image may allude to Mevius' crime and the lamb serves to incite the storm gods to wreck Mevius' ship).

...libidinosus immolabitur caper / et agna Tempestatibus (X.23-24)

...a lustful goat and a lamb will be sacrificed to the storm-gods.

The offering of a lamb was a standard type of sacrifice to the gods of the sea, including the storm winds (Watson 2003:354). The colour of such sacrificial animals was usually black, since these gods were violent and the thought was that similarities attract (Watson 2003:354). The goat on the other hand is associated with the *Tempestatibus* (X.23-24, storm-gods), and this is known from offering inscriptions from Horace's time (Harrison 1989:272). Why does the goat have to be *libidinosus* (X.23-24, lustful)? The adjective here, which is a traditional attribute of male goats, may refer to Mevius' true crime. Attacking an individual for lechery

⁷⁴ The Galatians known as *Galli*, *Galatae* or *Gallograeci* were descended from a tribe of Celts who settled in Galatia following the invasion of Macedonia in 279 BC. (Watson 1987: 325).

⁷⁵ 'A Roman soldier, alas, you future generations will deny it, enslaved to a woman...' (IX.11-12).

was already an established *topos* in Archilochus *Myklos fr.270* (Harrison 1989:272).⁷⁶ Further evidence for this interpretation can be found in the *exemplum* of lines 11-14.⁷⁷ Ajax's crime along with the image of the *libidinosus caper* (lustful goat) hints at Mevius' crime (Harrison 1989:272). That is to say that Mevius must suffer the same punishment as Ajax suffered since he too committed a sexual crime.⁷⁸ Mevius' crime was not necessarily rape, but some type of sexual offence. As to the real crime we can only guess (Watson 2003:343). The image of the goat in epode X hints at Mevius' possible crime, for the only other indication of his offense is the opening *olentem* (X.2). The image allowed Horace to insinuate in such a way as not to blatantly mention the crime.

Farm animals appear again in epode XII, and here as in epode VIII they serve to divest a *vetula* of sexual attractiveness. Horace uses the image of a goat and sow to draw attention to her putrid smell.

*...nec firmo iuveni neque naris obesae? / namque sagacius unus odoror, / polypus an
gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis, / quam canis acer ubi lateat sus.* (XII.3-6)

..for I am not a firm young man with an overgrown nose. For certain I myself can smell more keenly whether a sea polyp or a shaggy goat lies in your hairy armpits, than a tracker dog can detect where a sow is hiding.

The sea polyp is closely linked with the image of both the sow and goat and therefore I will discuss it here. The tracker dog in this section was already mentioned under canine imagery. The sea polyp, as with most sea creatures, was proverbial for its stench. Pliny attests to this in his *Naturalis Historia* III.9.48 where he makes special mention of a species of polyp called *ozaena*. The name of this polyp comes from the Greek verb *odzo* which means 'to emit an odour' a particularly foul odour (Rackham 1949:221). *Polyptus* was also a medical term referring to a nasal polyp in ancient medicine (Watson 2003:396). So here Horace is personifying her nasal polyp with its marine counterpart. Nasal polyps are also known for the

⁷⁶ 'They call *mykloi* those who have a propensity for women. The word is derived from one named Myclus, a piper satirized by Archilochus for his lewdness' (*Myklos fr.270*:Gerber 1999:259).

⁷⁷ '...and let the ship not be carried on a calmer sea, than was the Greek band of victors, when Pallas turned her anger from burnt Troy to the wicked raft of Ajax!' (X.11-14).

⁷⁸ Ajax chased Cassandra in the temple of Athena at Troy and then raped her in front of the cult statue refer: Callimachus *fr.35* (Mankin 1995:188).

foul smelling odour, due to secretions from the mucous membrane, which makes this simile between the nasal and marine polyp so striking (Watson 2003:396).

The goat as metaphor for armpit odour is already present in Old Comedy and it is alluded to in Hipponax *frag.*78.5 where the goat-smell is mentioned as hindering sexual potency (Mankin 1995:207). Catullus also compares armpit odour with the smell of goats in *carmen* 69 and 71. In this epode (XII) the goat also serves as a metaphor for the *vetula*'s insatiable sexual appetite. This aspect of the goat was already seen in epode X; where the goat image hints at Mevius' possible sexual crime (X.23-24). These two qualities of lechery and stench combined with the *vetula*'s hairy armpits (XII.4-6) (foul reeking) all aim to remove any quality of sexual attractiveness the *vetula* might have. Horace's primary reason for rejecting her advances is her smell. He says that he has a nose particularly sensitive to her smell; he compares himself to a tracker dog chasing down its prey by relying on its nose. This image of Horace as a tracker dog bears close resemblance to the comparison between himself and the Spartan sheepdog in epode VI.5-6. Here in epode XII Horace is not chasing an opponent but rather sniffing out the putrid smell of a woman who is anything but attractive.

Horace's use of *sus* in place of *aper* (wild boar) is interesting. *Sus* is usually meant for a domesticated pig, but where it is used as an equal to *aper* it may be to indicate a contemptuous and sarcastic aspect (Mankin 1995:207). In this case it seems to be used as a mark of derision and denigration of the *vetula*. A similar example can be found in Semonides *fr.*7. Another interpretation of the meaning of *sus* is that here it is being used as a slang word for *cunnus* (Mankin 1995:207). Horace may have got the idea from the Greek *hus* (sow) which was also used by Greek authors such as Hipponax as a euphemism for the female sexual organ (Mankin 1995:207). Hipponax compares a female pudendum to 'the meat of a young pig'; so it is not inconceivable that Horace had this in mind when comparing the *vetula* to the sow (Gerber 1999:437). The image of the sea polyps and goat creates a vivid description of the *vetula*'s stench. The image of the sow marks her as a sexual libertine.

Now the *vetula* has a chance to get back at Horace for his snide remarks:

pereat male, quae te / Lesbia quaerenti taurum monstravit inertem... (XII.16-17)

may Lesbia waste way, for when I was looking for a bull she pointed you out to me,
you who are such a flaccid creature...

The *vetula* accuses him of impotence; his excuse is her stench. The bull (*taurum*) was the proverbial image for male sexuality. The Greek *tauros* (Latin *taurus*) can be a metaphor for phallus and a woman who was unmarried was known as *ataurotos* that is (without a bull) (Mankin 1995:211). Where the image of a bull usually served as a compliment for the sexual vigour of a man, in this epode the *vetula* uses the image to criticise Horace for his lack of vigour. The male *taurus* had a female counterpart *vitula* (heifer); she typifies beauty and sexual attractiveness. An example of the *vitula* can be found in Horace's *Odes* II.5.6 (Watson 2003: 11). The *vetula* of epode XII is certainly the complete opposite of a *vitula*. The *vetula*'s unattractiveness makes her unfit to be a *vitula* which in turn makes Horace a 'not—*taurus*'. Horace may also be making an ironic reference to his self-portrayal as a bull in epode VI lines 11-12. In epode VI the bull attacks the *malos* (villians), but in epode XII the bull by comparison serves as a mark of ridicule. The farm animals in this epode all serve to ridicule their intended victim. The goat and sea polyp are both metaphors for the *vetula*'s horrid smell and the sow for her sexual rapaciousness. The image of the bull serves as self-deflation. By putting this personal attack in the mouth of the *vetula* Horace is recreating the same mood that was present in epode IV where the differences between Horace and the upstart are only illusionary (IV.15-20).

Farm animals again occur in epode XV. Neaera who once promised eternal fidelity to Horace now has abandoned him for another lover. He warns her of his vengeance and as for her new lover, Neaera will tire of him and in the same way abandon him as she did Horace. The fact that Neaera breaks her oath recalls a similar situation that happened when Lycambes promised Neobule to Archilochus, but then broke his promise (Mankin 1995:234). Horace uses the proverbial image of the wolf and flock as a metaphor for the oath Neaera swore.

...dum pecori lupo et nautis infestus Orion... (XV.7)

...as long as the wolf was hostile to the flock and Orion to sailors...

The implication is that Neaera swore that she would keep her oath as long as enmity existed between prey and predator. No one would ever suggest that the wolf would live in peace with sheep, so it seemed as if Neaera would keep her oath. Horace repeatedly uses the image of the wolf throughout the epodes. Generally the wolf is portrayed as vicious as is the case in epode VII. Its association with Canidia in epode V does not help improve its image. This negative association leads the reader to assume that Neaera's promise is not so solid. In the context of epode XV, the wolf also serves as an image of 'incompatibility' and of 'predatory' lust (Mankin 1995:238).⁷⁹ Neaera's promise seems from the very beginning likely to fail. The uncertainty is heightened by comparing the wolf with Orion. Horace may here be playing on the fact that as a lover Orion had bad luck and that the constellation was the herald of winter storms, which were dreaded by sailors (Mankin 1995:238). After ridiculing Neaera Horace turns his attention to her un-named paramour. Horace warns him that she will leave him too no matter how wealthy he is:

...sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit... (XV.19)

...even if you have great wealth in livestock and land...

This passage shows the futility of Neaera's love. The new lover can do nothing to escape the inevitable. Neaera will not love him any longer because he is wealthy. When Horace remarks

⁷⁹ An example of this type of predatory love can be found in Plato's *Phaedrus*. Socrates speaking to Phaedrus about the dangers of loving too much, says: 'Just as the wolf loves the lamb, so the lover adores his beloved' (Fowler 1917:457).

that the new lover may be wealthy he is echoing the same ridicule applied to Alfius in epode II and the upstart slave of epode IV. In this way Horace turns a compliment into an attack, likening the new suitor to the dilettante Alfius and the arriviste of epode IV. The connection between Neaera's new lover and Alfius (II) and the upstart (IV) is tied with the image of the herds and flocks. The implication of this is that the un-named lover is just as convincing as Alfius but will ultimately reveal his true nature. His association with the ex-slave (IV) paints him as an object of contempt for flaunting his wealth.

Farm animals play a central role in epode XVI. This epode as I have already mentioned concerns the abandonment of Rome. Horace uses farm animals here as *exempla* to show the Romans the futility of remaining in Rome and points to the wondrous harmony that exists in the *beatae insulae*. The first mention of farm animals actually does not concern animals at all. Horace mentions clattering hooves (*sonante ungula*) (XVI.11-12) and these could be seen as a synecdoche for the horses.

barbarus heu cineres insistet victor et Urbem / eques sonante verberabit ungula...
(XVI.11-12)

alas, a savage conqueror will step on the ashes and his horseman will beat the city with thundering hooves...

A further consideration is that Horace intentionally mixed human and equine images to suggest something monstrous, like a centaur (Mankin 1995:251). The image of the centaur here functions as an agent of destruction, bringing about Rome's downfall.⁸⁰ Whatever the meaning this is clear; because of the civil war Rome has become weak and vulnerable and therefore a perfect target for barbarian invasion.

Horace uses cattle and goats to portray the sequence of unnatural (*adunata*) acts that have to happen before the Romans can return to Rome.

⁸⁰ The image of the centaur in XVI is comparable to the centaur—like image of Horace in epode XVII. Both these images are symbols of destruction and domination. This is in contrast to the noble image of the centaur Chiron in epode XIII.

*...credula nec rivos timeant armenta leones, / ametque salsa levis hircus
aequora...*(XVI.33-34)

...and trusting cattle no longer fear tawny lions, and the goat, now bald, enjoys the salt water.

The portrayal of unnatural peace, here between the cattle and lion is another common motif in *adunata*.⁸¹ Lions are either not present in the *beatae insulae* or if they are they live in harmony with cattle, their natural prey. It is possible that Horace is echoing Vergil's *Eclogue* 4.22 'and the ox will not be frightened of the lion' (Rieu 1949:53). The interpretation of the lion imagery is not difficult to understand. The absence of lions or just the absence of their predatory nature is a quality of the *beatae insulae*. Mankin makes an interesting observation that the erotic imagery present in the kite/dove and tiger/stag imagery is actually present in the cattle/lion imagery. He opines that the word *credula* (XVI.33) (trusting) can also be interpreted as 'gullible' rendering the translation 'gullible cattle' in the sense of gullible lovers (Mankin 1995:259).

In Vergil this unnatural harmony is a characteristic of the Golden Age; but Horace turns this into an impossibility never to be reached making the Romans return home even more unlikely (Watson 2003:508). The image of the goats leaving their usual pastures for the sea seems quite ludicrous at first, but in *beatae insulae* impossibilities are not unnatural occurrences they only appear so to the Romans. Horace's inspiration might have been Archilochus *frag.*122.7-9 'not even if wild animals take on a briny pasturage in exchange with dolphins and the crashing waves of the sea become dearer to them than the land' (Gerber 1999:163).⁸²

⁸¹ The lion imagery forms part of the same metaphor as that of the cattle and for that reason I will mention it here.

⁸² Archilochus never mentions the specific animals but the similarity with Horace's goats is uncanny. Hollis is of the opinion that Horace may have had another source in mind. He suggests that Horace may have used the story of the foundation oracle of Tarentum, as recounted by Diodorus Siculus as the origin for this metaphor (Hollis 1998:311). The implication of this is then that *hircus*, in Horace's Latin does not simply mean goat. For in this instance Diodorus Siculus' *tragos* (goat) functions as a metaphor for a fig tree (Hollis 1998:311).

There is no precedent in Latin for *hircus* denoting fig tree, but Horace may have expected his readers to be aware of the Greek usage. The adjective *levis* (smooth) if understood in the same foundation

Horace now leaves behind the *adunata* and describes what life is like in the *beatae insulae*.

illic iniussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae, / refertque tenta grex amicus ubera; / nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile... (XVI.49-51)

there she-goats come spontaneously to the milk-pail, and the friendly flock brings back its bulging udders, and in the evening no bear growls around the sheepfold...

The image of bears forms part of the same metaphor as that of the she-goat and flocks and it is for that reason that I discuss them now. This image of agricultural bliss without toil and danger is a common characteristic of the Golden Age as described in Vergil's *Eclogues* 4.21-22; 'goats, un-shepherded, will make for home with udders full of milk... the snake will come to grief, and poison lurk no more in the weed' (Rieu 1949:53-55). Horace must have been influenced by this when writing epode XVI. It is clear that in the blessed isles *adunata* take place. At the end of the poem Horace reveals that it is Jupiter who set these lands aside preserving the Golden Age, while in the rest of the world, especially Rome the Golden Age has disintegrated first into a bronze age and then into iron. The implication is that if *adunata* would happen in Rome, allowing the Romans to return, Rome too will be a utopia enjoying the blissful life of the Golden Age. In the *beatae insulae* bears are not to be feared, either because there are none or because there is a state of harmony between living creatures; unlike the current state that exists in Horace's Rome. Bear attacks were not an uncommon occurrence in Italy, even in Horace's home province of Apulia (Watson 2003:520).

Horace now moves onto the climate of the *beatae insulae*.

nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri / gregem aestuosa torrent impotentia.
(XVI.61-62)

no blight harms the herd, and the merciless heat of no star torments the flock.

oracle usage as *tragos* makes sense, since Pliny recounts certain fig trees with smooth bark (Hollis 1998:312). Horace may have been aware of the Greek oracle concerning Tarentum's foundation, in which a goat was not a goat but a fig tree. If this is the case, Horace use of the oracle which served as a good omen for Phalanthus, the mythical founder of Tarentum, now becomes an *adunaton* for the Romans, making their return home even more unlikely (Hollis 1998:312).

The absence of disease is a characteristic of an earthly paradise; here it is complemented by a mild climate. For a balanced climate, as found in the blessed isles not only promotes fertility but also health. An imbalance in the climate brought about by the rising of the Dog Star (*astir*, XVI.61.) could bring about disastrous consequences. Sheep were particularly vulnerable to the summer heat (*aestuosa*, XVI.61-62) and humans suffered from heat stroke (*aestus*). Both these conditions were brought on by the Dog Star (Watson 2003:523). Contagious diseases were a common problem in the ancient world. *Contagia* literally means ‘touching’ and refers to diseases spread between livestock (Mankin 1995:269). Vergil recounts a description of such a disease in his *Georgics* 3.478-566: ‘there arose here a season pitiable, when the whole of autumn glared white hot... and the bleating of flocks and their constant bellowing... and in their stalls the corpses decomposing with foul rot’ (Johnson 2009:109-115). A disease such as this is unknown in the *beatae insulae* making it an *adunaton* (impossibility) there. The farm animals in this epode serve to firstly display what will happen to Rome. The clattering hooves of barbarian horses will trample its ruins. Secondly this imagery serves to depict *adunata* that must first occur before the Romans can safely return to Rome. Thirdly this imagery serves to portray how unnatural life is in the *beatae insulae*. It is interesting to note how Horace matches the *adunata* of Rome (i.e. unnatural couplings and no predators) with the very real qualities of the blessed isles (i.e. goats and sheep that need no shepherds). These qualities only appear impossible from a Roman perspective, but to the inhabitants of the *beatae insulae* they are natural.

Horace begins the epode with the curse/blight of Romulus and all that follows as a result of it (i.e. barbarian horses trampling on its ashes) and he ends with cleansing the blight and ending the torment of the herd.⁸³ Here the herd might be seen as a metaphor for Rome itself and the disease as a metaphor for Romulus’ curse and the civil war.

In the final epode Horace resorts to citing *exempla* from mythology to try and persuade Canidia to show mercy. I have already mentioned the passage concerning Hector’s corpse being eaten by birds and wild dogs and the image of the eagle which perpetually pecks out Prometheus’ liver. I now turn to the image of pigs and bullocks.

⁸³ Here Horace explains the reason for the civil war. The Romans are cursed. They still bear the guilt of Romulus killing his brother Remus: ... ‘we, an unholy generation with accursed blood...’ (XVII.9).

...*saetosa duris exuere pellibus / laboriosi remiges Ulixei / volente Circa membra...*
(XVII.15-17)

...with Circe's approval the oarsmen of the long-suffering Ulysses stripped the skins from their limbs that were bristly with the hair of pigs...

When Odysseus and his men came to Circe's island she turned his men into pigs. Horace recounts this *exemplum* from Homer's *Odyssey* (X.229-400). The implication of this exemplum is that unlike Circe Canidia will not show clemency and release Horace. In the *Odyssey* Odysseus appeals to Circe who then turns his men from swine back into humans. She did not do this because she pitied them. Odysseus had to sleep with her (*Odyssey* X.333-347). Horace may here be making a further connection between Canidia and Circe, not only their lack of sympathy but their promiscuity (Watson 2003:550).⁸⁴

Breaking with his *exempla* Horace invokes a striking hyperbole to try and appease Canidia.

...*paratus expiare, seu poposceris / centum iuencos...* (XVII.38-39)

...I am prepared to atone, if you wish, by sacrificing a hundred bullocks...

The sacrifice of a hundred bullocks, a hecatomb to Canidia is an exaggeration. She most likely does not require it since she is not divine and Horace is in no position to supply it (Watson 2003:561). This sacrifice to Canidia is further exaggerated by the fact that a sacrifice of such a large amount of animals to the great gods, like Jupiter was often considered excessive (Mankin 1995:283). The hecatomb is compared by Horace to the situation surrounding the poet Stesichorus, who made accusations against Helen and was punished by having his sight removed.⁸⁵ Canidia will have none of it. No amount of pleading or peace-

⁸⁴ Horace has already attested to Canidia's promiscuity in epode V and according to post-Homeric tradition Circe was a *meretrix* (prostitute, Mankin 1995:278). Further evidence for this interpretation is given by lines 19-20 in epode XVII: 'I have given enough satisfaction above and beyond to you, who are so loved by sailors and peddlers...' (XVII.19-20).

⁸⁵ 'Castor and his mighty brother, though offended by the treatment of notorious Helen, were won over by a prayer, and restored to the poet the eyesight that had been taken away... (XVII.42-44)' the hecatomb of Horace then becomes the prayer of Stesichorus; though unlike Castor and Pollux Canidia

making will persuade her. In this way the hyperbole of the hecatomb becomes an *exemplum*, typifying Canidia's heartlessness and cruelty against that of *exempla* of mercy from mythology.

In the closing lines of epode XVII Horace compares himself to a horse completely dominated by Canidia.

vectabor umeris tunc ego inimicis eques, / meaeque terra cedet insolentiae. (XVII.74-75)

then I as a rider on enemy shoulders shall be carried and the earth shall give way to my arrogance.

This metaphor expresses Canidia's final dominance over Horace. He has been reduced to a horse—man and Canidia is the rider (*eques*).⁸⁶ Horace is forced into submission. This submission is eternal like Prometheus' torments (XVI.67). The final blow is her *insolentiae* (arrogance), most likely referring to her magical powers as a witch, of which Horace is the victim. At the end of the *Epodes* Horace is reduced to a husk. He can no longer go on; Canidia has finished him (Oliensis 2009:174). The image of a horse (Horace) being ridden (by Canidia) is overtly sexual and was a common image for the potency of the male partner over the female (Oliensis 2009:171). In epode V Canidia is busy brewing a love potion to tempt Varus. In epode XVII she exhausts Horace with her magical incantations, and in the end he is left broken and without hope of pardon. He is forced to accept her supremacy.

From this analysis one can see that the farm animal imagery has a great variety of meanings. Horace has used this imagery to great effect. This imagery has allowed Horace a medium of expression that ordinary language would not have allowed. The possible reason why out of all the animal imagery used in the *Epodes* farm animals are the most numerous must be linked to the pervasiveness of farm animals in a pre-industrial society. Horace's audience

will not show mercy. Stesichorus' crime like Horace's was to ridicule a powerful woman. It was only through writing a palinode to Helen that Stesichorus could appease her brothers. It is interesting to note that blindness was typically associated with offending the gods (Watson 2003:563). Helen persuaded her brothers to lift the curse and restore Stesichorus' sight. Helen serves as an *exemplum* of mercy. After Stesichorus made amends (the palinode) Helen willingly asked her brothers to give Stesichorus his sight back.

⁸⁶ Here Horace becomes a horse—man echoing the image of the centaur Chiron in epode XIII.11.

would all have been acquainted with the many types of farm animals he mentioned. Therefore when he compares the physical repulsiveness of the *vetula* in epode VII to a cow and mare his audience could mentally envision the hideousness of the *vetula*'s physical failings. Another possible reason for the numerous farm animal references in the *Epodes* may be tied to the rich literary tradition of archaic iambic poets. Archilochus, Hipponax and Semonides all used farm animals in their invective. The *Epodes* are Horace's invective and since he claims he was the first to introduce this type of poetry in Latin it is no wonder that Horace would make use of similar imagery.

2.5. Marine animals

Marine animals are used by Horace in his *Epodes* on three occasions. Horace specifically uses oysters, sea urchins and sea polyps. Oysters, parrotfish and turbot were all expensive commodities and were therefore considered a delicacy. Horace's audience would have been actually aware of this fact, so when Horace mentions them in epode II his readers would not have found the seafood reference out of place. The sea urchin reference in epode V is simple enough. Sagana's spiky hair is compared to the spines of a sea urchin. Sea creatures were proverbially known for their stench. Horace makes reference to this fact in epode VIII. In epode II Alfius mentions oysters, turbot and salt water fish. Horace's purpose in using marine animal themes is to contrast them with the simple rustic food (*dapes inemptas*) mentioned elsewhere (II.39-49).

*non me Lucrina iuverint conchyliā / magisve rhombus aut scari, / si quos Eois intonate
fluctibus / hiems ad hoc vertat mare...*(II.49-52)

then Lucrine oysters would not please me more, nor turbot nor parrotfish, if winter,
thundering over the Eastern ocean, should drive them to this region of the sea...

Lucrina conchyliā was the finest kind of oyster (Watson 2003:114). *Conchyliā* is a generic name for shell-fish but the adjective, *Lucrina* establishes a reference to oysters (Watson 2003: 114). Horace recounts in his *Satires* II.2.21-22 that oysters were a particular delicacy, and I quote: 'The man who is pale from gluttony will never enjoy his oysters...' (Rudd 1979:90). Oysters from the Lucrine Lake near Baiae were especially prized not only for their taste but also because of their scarcity (Watson 2003:114). The reason for their scarcity may be linked to Agrippa's work on the *Portus Iulius*, which involved opening the Lucrine Lake via a dyke to the sea (Watson 2003:114). The oysters lived in fresh water and since the lake was now open to the sea the oyster population suffered because of this increase in sea water. This resulted in reduced numbers and smaller sizes of oysters making them an even more sought after commodity.

The *rhombus* (turbot) comes from the Adriatic especially around the vicinity of Ravenna (Mankin 1995:82). Turbot were often mentioned as a luxury food, *Satires* I.2.11-116: ‘When famished do you turn your nose up at all but peacock and turbot’ (Rudd 1979:47). Turbot’s popularity was also linked to their size which could be rather imposing: *Satires* II.2.95-96, ‘But the bigger the turbot and dish the bigger the scandal...’ (Rudd 1979:92).

The *scarus* (parrot-wrasse) was a highly prized fish, especially since it was rare.⁸⁷ The parrot-wrasse inhabits the eastern Mediterranean and the Asiatic coastline (Mankin 1995:82). The *sacrus* could only be caught in Italian waters if a storm had driven it there from its natural waters or if it was artificially introduced (Watson 2003:115). Like the turbot the parrot-wrasse was also renowned for its taste and size. The function of these three marine animals in this section of the poem is to differentiate a homely meal from a luxurious one. The oysters, turbot and parrot-wrasse like the partridges and guinea fowl typify the exotic and luxurious. Alfius uses them to praise the simple meal, which is preferable for health reasons according to Epicurean moderation. However it is revealed that Alfius’ reason for preferring the simple over the exotic is not so noble. He is concerned with money and how much such an opulent meal would cost. Alfius’ occupation (*faenerator*) is only revealed in lines II.67-70. With this in mind the exposé of the simple vs. the luxurious takes on a new meaning. The exposé then becomes a hint that all that Alfius has said so far, about leaving Rome behind and taking up the farmer’s life, should not be taken too seriously.

The next marine animal image occurs in epode V. Horace uses snakes to refer to Canidia’s hair now he uses sea urchins to refer Sagana’s hair:

*at expedita Sagana per totam domum / spargens Avernalis aquas / horret capillis ut
marinus asperis / echinus aut currens asper.* (V.25-28)

But Sagana ready for anything, sprinkles water from Lake Avernus through the whole house, her hair stands on end like a sea urchin or a charging boar.

Sagana may have her hair cut in a bristle style or even be wearing a wig. The species *Echinus Lividus* which inhabits the Mediterranean has short irregular spines, resembling unkempt hair (Watson 2003:205). Horace may have had this image in mind for Sagana’s hair. The boar simile is closely linked with the urchin simile and for that reason I will now mention them

⁸⁷ A species of fish with protruding lips and well-developed canine teeth.

together. The simile of the boar is an interesting one, since the usual subject of boar-similes is a heroic warrior (Watson 2003:209).⁸⁸ Unlike the immobile sea urchin the boar is also emblematic of danger, in this case danger for the boy. Horace's use of these two similes shows two aspects of Sagana. Firstly Sagana is like Canidia, with her urchin-like hair which is also wild and unkempt and secondly she is just as dangerous, especially to the boy.

The third marine animal image, the sea polyps of epode XII, I have already mentioned since it accompanies the sow and goat in lines XII.4-6.

The way in which Horace has used marine animals in his *Epodes* is tied firstly to their characteristics (i.e. the sea polyp's smell and the spines of the sea urchin) and their expense (the scarcity of oysters, turbot and parrotfish). By comparing the *vetula* and Sagana to the sea polyp and sea urchin respectively Horace has created a vivid and tangible image of the *vetula*'s smell and Sagana's hair. The expensive seafood mentioned by Alfius in epode II makes his paean on the luxurious diet more believable.

⁸⁸ But Idomeneus was not scared off like a little boy. He waited with the self-reliance of a mountain boar when he is caught by a crowd of huntsmen in some lonely spot and faces the hue and cry with bristling back eye aflame, whetting his tusks in his eagerness to take on all comers, hound or man (*Illiad*.XIII.471-476, Rieu 1954:246).

2.6 Wild animals

Wild animal imagery (boars, hares, beasts, lions, elephants, deer, stags, bears and tigers) occur in six of the *Epodes*. The use of wild animal imagery conjures up in the mind of the reader images of hunting, the exotic and ferocity. Horace counted on his readers picking up these implicit meanings when confronted by the various wild animal imagery.

The first mention of wild animals occurs in epode II in the ‘winter’ section of the poem. Alfius imagines the farmer hunting wild game with his dogs during the winter months. The game includes cranes, thrushes, boars and hares. It is with the last two that I am now concerned:

at cum tonantis annus hibernus Iovis / imbris nivesque comparat, / aut trudit acris hinc et hinc multa cane / apros in obstantis plagas... pavidumque leporem... (II.29-36)

but when the winter season of thundering Jove brings a torrent of rain and snow, he drives fierce boars with many a dog into nets set before their path... and with a noose he hunts a terrified hare...

Hunting boar was a favourite Roman pastime, not only for the skill it involved but also for the taste of the meat (Watson 2002:104). Pliny records in his *Naturalis Historia* 8.210 the extant speeches of Cato the elder condemning the extravagance of eating wild boar bacon (Green 1996:241). Cato condemns the consumption of boar meat because it is a luxury but not hunting. Horace recounts in his *Epistles* I.18.49-52: ‘it’s [hunting] the age-old pastime of Roman heroes, improving one’s life and standing and physique’ (Rudd 1979:167). The context of these lines emphasises the *Romanitas* (Romaness) of hunting (Green 1996:241). The letter is addressed to Lollius who is about to enter upon a public career and Horace wrote this to offer good advice.

Alfius’ exposé on hunting boar could be seen as encompassing the extravagance, condemned by Cato the Elder and the *Romanitas* as defined by Horace in his *Epistles* I.18.49-52. Boars are excessively dangerous and hunting them required great skill. Firstly nets were placed not far from their lairs; they were then roused and driven by hunting dogs into the waiting nets

(Watson 2002:104). Images of the boars here symbolise the ideal *vita rustica*, which Alfius is fantasising about. The boar also symbolises the luxurious food which Alfius then contrast with the *dapes inemptas* (homely meal) of lines II.39-49.

Hares were hunted in winter and nets were used to entrap them. In Horace's *Satires* II.2.9-10, 19-20 the character Ofellus, much like Alfius, also praises the country life. Ofellus comes up with the perfect recipe for life: 'when you're tired from hunting hare or breaking a horse... The highest pleasure is not in the succulent smell [of food] but in you [being hungry and tired from the hunt]' (Rudd 1979:89-90). Alfius uses the image of the hare in a similar way. Firstly it is used to colour his fantasies about the farmer's life and secondly it acts as a contrast to the simple foods mentioned in line II.60: sorrel, mallows and olives.

I have already mentioned the boar image of epode V since it forms one metaphor with the sea urchin. The next occurrence of wild animals occurs in epode VI. Here Horace appearing as the sheepdog chases away would be evildoers in the guise of wild animals:

...agam per altas aure sublata nives, / quaecumque praecedet fera... (VI.7-8)

...I shall drive off and pursue any wild animal through the deep snow with raised ears...

Protecting the sheepfold from wolves and other predators was an important duty of the sheepdog (Watson 2003:260). In the *Digest* 41.1.44, Ulpian relates a case discussed by Pomponius in which the pigs of one farmer are carried off by wolves. Sheepdogs belonging to a neighbouring farmer gave chase and retrieved the pigs but this provoked a dispute over the ownership of the pigs since the neighbouring farmer felt the pigs were now his because his dogs had brought them back (Watson 2003:260). Predators were a real problem for farmers and their only protection lay with their trusty hounds. The antagonism between sheepdog and predator (*fera*) superbly suits the diametric opposition between Horace and the cowardly cur. It is for this reason that Horace chose such a poignant image to convey his feelings of hostility.

Since I have already mentioned the lion image of epode VII, I will now turn to the images of wild animals in epode XII. Epode XII concerns a particularly rapacious *vetula* who preys on

Horace.⁸⁹ He in turn uses animal imagery to refer to her sexual aggression and her sexual unattractiveness. In the opening lines of epode XII Horace categorises her lust as elephantine.

Quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris? (XII.1)

What do you want, woman, you who are the perfect mate for black elephants?

The lust of this *mulier* (woman) is so great that only an elephant will satisfy her. There are various examples from literature and art about woman coupling with animals, but these are usually goats and more often donkeys (Watson 2003:392). The reason was the donkey's large member, as attested to in Lucian's *Onus* (Watson 2003:392). It seems then that in the case of this *mulier* an ass would not be adequate. She needs an elephant. Her great lust coupled with the elephant's penile endowment make them a perfect match for each other. The word *barrus* (XII.1-2) is quite a curious choice since the word *elephantus* was more common; *barrus* was associated with the verb *barrire* (to trumpet like an elephant) (Watson 2003:394). I do not think it is unreasonable to think that Horace here calls to mind the image of the elephant's trunk as a phallic symbol and the noise of sexual pleasure, as that of an elephant trumpeting. The adjective *nigris* is also significant. It calls to mind the malicious black tooth of Canidia in epode V and it also suggest the proposed union is an outrageous perversion.⁹⁰ The lion and roe deer of lines XII.25-26 I have already mentioned since they form one metaphor together with the lamb and wolf imagery.

The final wild animal occurs in epode XVI. In this epode Horace proclaims to the Romans that they should abandon Rome and find a new home in the *beatae insulae*. His drastic decision to leave Rome was wholly against *pietas* and national pride and would not have

⁸⁹ The *vetula* herself could be seen as a bad poet. All her disgusting smells, her repulsive appearance and her predatory nature are metaphors for bad poetry, especially an antiquated style (Mankin 1995:153).

⁹⁰ This portrayal of the *vetula* as being akin to a menagerie of animals was probably inspired by Semonides' Satires on Women *fr.7*. In it women are compared to monkeys, horses, bees and dogs. It is interesting to note that in the opening lines of Semonides' *fr.7.1-5* the first animal image mentioned is a sow: 'In the beginning the god (Zeus) made diverse the female mind. One woman he created from the long-bristled sow. Throughout her house everything is in disorder, befouled with mud, and she rolls about on the floor, and she herself is unwashed, with unwashed clothes, and sits in the dung and grows fat' (Gerber 1999:305). This pig metaphor also occurs in epode XII with the descriptions of the *vetula*; *sus*, *subando* and *stercore* (XII.6-11, Watson 2003:385).

been easily accepted by most Romans (Watson 2003:481). Horace cleverly uses animals as examples of harmonious living and by doing so avoids relying on human images. In this way he makes it easier for the reader to accept his argument since, if animals can live in peace why not humankind.

...impia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas, / ferisque rursus occupabitur solum. (XVI.9-10)

...we, an unholy generation with accursed blood, will destroy the city and the ground will again be taken over by wild beasts.

Here Horace explains the reason for the civil war. The Romans are cursed. They still bear the guilt of Romulus killing his brother Remus. The result: Rome will revert to its uncivilized state and become the haunt of wild beasts. The image of wild beasts taking over a once great city now in ruins is a *topos* related to prophetic literature; particularly to the Sibylline oracles (Watson 2003:481). It seems that Horace may have borrowed from them for this image for a similar line is found in the *Sibylline Oracle*.8.40 '[when Rome is destroyed] wolves and foxes will inhabit its foundations' (Nisbet 1984:3).

The wild boar imagery of lines XVI.19-20 has already been mentioned since it complements the wolf imagery of the same lines. The stag and lion image that makes up the sequence on unnatural couplings was already mentioned since they together with the kite and dove imagery all make up the same sequence in line XVI.31. The tawny lions of lines XVI.33 have already been mentioned since they are part of the same metaphor as that of the cattle. The imagery of the growling bear was covered since it goes with the flock and herd imagery of line XVI.51.

Horace begins by stating what will happen to Rome as a consequence of the civil wars: animals are to inhabit its ruins, as a likely possibility. He then makes the Romans swear an oath ensuring that they will only return when a series of *adunata* have taken place. Finally he lists the very real qualities of the blessed isles. It is interesting how Horace matches the *adunata* of Rome (i.e. unnatural couplings) with the very real qualities of the blessed isles (i.e. goats and sheep that need no shepherds and that have no predators like bears and lions). These qualities only appear impossible from a Roman perspective, but to the inhabitants of the *beatae insulae* they are natural. Horace begins the epode with the curse/blight of Romulus

and all that follows as a result of it (i.e. wild animals living in Rome's shrines and barbarian horses trampling on its ashes) and he ends with cleansing the blight and ending the torment of the herd. Here the herd might be seen as a metaphor for Rome itself and the disease as a metaphor for Romulus curse and the civil war.

Generally wild animal imagery has been used by Horace to express danger. The image of the boar V, the wild beasts VI and XVI all serve as metaphors for violence. The boar image of epode V characterises Canidia as violent. The wild beasts of epode VI are predators that threaten the herd, only the trusty sheepdog can protect the herd. The image of wild animals in the final epode XVI suggests the result of what will happen to Rome on account of Romulus' curse. Horace's use of wild animals in the *Epodes* has helped him describe opinions and feelings with regard to the destruction of Rome, which would not have been popular with his audience. The animal imagery allowed Horace a medium to express freely opinions of hopelessness and pessimism.

2.7 Mythical animals

The only mythical animal to appear in the entire collection of *Epodes* is Chiron the centaur.⁹¹ A possible reason why Horace only refers once to a mythical animal is that his audience had no frame of reference besides the myths. His audience was most likely aware of the myths concerning Chiron the centaur but undoubtedly none of them would ever have seen a real centaur. Horace's preference for real animals is surely linked with the fact that his audience could imagine in their mind's eye the various animals which confronted them as they read. Some of these animals like farm animals could have been envisaged by most of his readers therefore making these images more tangible for them.

The setting of epode XIII is a storm. Horace exhorts his companions to quell their fears with a drinking party.⁹² Horace resorts to an *exemplum* from mythology to show his friends how they ought to behave. His choice of *exemplum* concerns the centaur Chiron who gave Achilles similar advice when he was bereft at Troy. Questions have arisen over the date of this epode since the 'storm' to which Horace refers is never fully described.⁹³

Here is the *exemplum*:

...nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno... (XIII.11)

...as the gracious Centaur sang to his towering ward...

Though it is only one very short line from the actual myth, the *exemplum* none the less is quite illuminating. What Horace was trying to say with this *exemplum* was basically, 'look at Chiron's example and do the same'. The *exemplum* is odd in the sense that it takes the form

⁹¹ Chiron the centaur was an exception among centaurs. Centaurs were usually violent and very hostile (Grimal 1991:89). Unlike his fellow centaurs Chiron was peaceful and wise (Grimal 1991:96).

⁹² At first this poem's convivial and genial tone seems at odds with the iambic genre, it seems that it is only iambic in metre. However the symposium (drinking party) was a recurring theme in early Greek *iambus*, and the 'blame' was often directed, as it is here, at friends and companions who behave in an inappropriate manner (Mankin 1995:214).

⁹³ A possible date is some time after the Battle of Actium but before the Battle of Alexandria. The reasons for this date come from the poem itself: Horace mentions his birthday on 8th December B.C., the winter storm mentioned in the opening lines, the anxiety his companions feel over the storm and the *exemplum* of Chiron and Achilles (Mankin 1995:214). The last of these is also martial in nature and therefore it would not be unthinkable that Horace specifically chose an *exemplum* that would fit his companions' dilemma.

of a prophecy and does not refer to some past action as would usually be the case with *exempla* (Watson 2003:430). However this particular *exemplum* does conform to the usual practice of making an *exemplum* portray a more impressive or dangerous instance than the action to which it is being compared (Watson 2003:430). In this *exemplum* Horace and Chiron are compared as are the companions and Achilles. Chiron was an anomaly; unlike other centaurs he was renowned for his wisdom, piety and self-restraint (Watson 2003:431). He was a sought after teacher and some of his pupils included Jason, Asclepius and of course Achilles (Grimal 1991:96). Chiron prophesied to Achilles that he would inevitably die at Troy, but that he could find some release from his troubles in wine.

Horace chose the verb *cecinit*, the perfect form of *cano* (I sing) to describe the means by which Chiron told Achilles of his fate. By implication *cecinit* is in the realm of poets since they ‘sing’ their compositions. This leads one to see Horace and Chiron as linked. However the difference lies in the outcome of their respective prophecies. Chiron’s prophecy and Achilles’ killing of Hector would inevitably lead to his downfall. Horace’s prophecy is milder in nature; his companions need not fear the future and unlike Achilles they are not alone in their grief. They are surrounded by friends in a symposium. The point Horace is making, is that if Chiron could exhort his ill-fated ward to drink wine even though his outcomes are dire, Horace’s friends should then be able to do the same.

The effect of mentioning such an illustrious character as Chiron is that Horace’s appeal to his friends is given strength. Readers who would have been acquainted with Chiron’s character from mythology would have immediately picked-up the mythological weight Chiron lends to Horace’s counsel.

3. The significance of the animal themes: their possible purpose

In the previous section I made a close analysis of the animal imagery. I looked specifically at the great variety of animal images and their meaning and interpretation in their respective epodes. In this section I intend to indicate how these animal images give the collection of animal themes cohesiveness or more correctly how Horace's use supported the construction of the collection of the *Epodes* and enhanced its meaning.⁹⁴

In the work of any writer certain themes and ideas can be expressed in simple language (Andrewes 1950:107). However when these ideas or themes become too complex for literal expression the writer then resorts to imagery to make his ideas and themes tenable (Andrewes 1950:107). Horace's practice in the *Epodes* and *Odes* suggests that his use or avoidance of imagery is regular enough to justify some conclusion as to the author's intentions and methods (Andrewes 1950:107). Andrewes terms these intentions 'the point of view of the imagery and its purpose' (Andrewes 1950:107). He has compiled a list into which each of the epodes can be placed according to the purposes suggested by the use of their imagery.

Andrewes has included all types of imagery but for my purposes I will only be looking at animal imagery. Firstly he suggests Horace employed animal imagery in the *Epodes* as invective (Andrewes 1950:108). The purpose of invective imagery is to divest of or ridicule an individual for offending the poet or breaking social norms. Secondly Horace used animal imagery for humorous or ironic effect (Andrewes 1950:111). Irony and humour is an enhancement of the simple interpretation of the imagery. Horace uses imagery in this group that at face value appears to represent what one would expect but these expectations are broken down and the images given a new meaning (i.e. the flock mentioned in epode XV which at first appears to impress Nearea becomes ironic at the end of the poem when she reveals her lack of faithfulness). To these two groups I would like to add another three. Thirdly Horace used animal imagery to express feelings and qualities which serve as *exempla* for others to follow. Most of the *exempla* in the *Epodes* come from mythology. Horace uses

⁹⁴ For a detailed list of farm animals of the various animal images and how they appear and reappear in the *Epodes* see the appendix (5:95-98).

well known stories from the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and Prometheus' myth (XVII) to persuade Canidia to show mercy. Besides the mythological *exempla* the only historical *exemplum* is the Galatian horses in epode IX. Fourthly he uses animal imagery to compare an object, person or situation to an animal or that animal's characteristic (when not invective, i.e. the snake's blood and winged serpents of epode III which heighten the supposed dangers of the garlic 'poisoning' or the sea urchin's spines to which Horace compares Sagana's hair). Fifthly Horace uses animal imagery to 'colour' an epode. By this I mean that the animal imagery is not being compared to a person or object but is rather creating a setting (*mise en scène*), i.e. the husbandry imagery of epode XVI which helps define the *beatae insulae* or the farm animal imagery in epode II which helps create the idyllic setting making Alfius' claims more believable. The five groups to which animal images belong are then as follows: (1) animal images that serve as invective, (2) animal imagery that is ironic or humorous, (3) animal imagery that serves as *exempla*, (4) animal imagery that serves as a comparison or metaphor for an object, person or situation (when not invective) and (5) animal imagery that is used to 'colour' an epode or set the scene for an epode.

Now that I have established these five groups I will review the animal images as they appear in the *Epodes* and organise the said imagery into groups of possible purposes or intentions. This summary of functions of the imagery suggests a solid purpose with regards to the significance of the animal imagery.

Farm animals (category D) are the most prevalent throughout the epodes they occur in twelve of the seventeen epodes and it is with them that I begin.⁹⁵ In epode I farm animals (in this case flocks and bullocks, l.27-29) serve to assure Maecenas of Horace continued loyalty and friendship. Here their function is as a metaphor for the *benignitas* and *gratiae* which Horace has already received from Maecenas, i.e. as a metaphor for an object (group 4).

The function of the farm animal imagery in epode II overlaps. Firstly they serve to make Alfius' claims about leaving Rome behind more real. It seems that Alfius has a great deal of knowhow concerning farming and therefore these images are consistent with the group 5:

⁹⁵ See appendix (5:95-98) for a detailed list of animal imagery.

animal imagery that sets the scene or ‘colours’ the epode. However at the end of the poem (II. 67-70) it is revealed that Alfius never actually intended to leave his life of usury behind. With this revelation the farm imagery then becomes humorous and ironic (group 2: animal imagery that is ironic and humorous). The effect of putting the praise of the *vita rustica* in the mouth of a hypocritical usurer renders the entire sequence of farm animal motifs ironic.

In epode III Horace compares the pain of his indigestion with the fire-breathing bulls of Aetes from mythology (III.11-12). This metaphor (the burning garlic=fire breathing bulls) serves to authenticate Horace’s complaints. By means of transference the heat produced by the bulls is now transferred to the garlic and heightens the discomfort of his indigestion. This use of farm imagery is consistent with that in group 4 where a comparison between objects is suggested.

The proverbial hostility between wolf and lamb in epode IV.1-2 serves to highlight the severe distinction Horace wants to make between himself and the ex-slave who is the victim of this epode. This would make this metaphor harmonious with group 4 of imagery functions where a direct comparison between objects is suggested. However at the end of the epode Horace reveals that he in fact shares many similarities with the ex-slave.⁹⁶ The opening metaphor of wolf and lamb then becomes ironic and contradictory making the metaphor consistent with group 2 where animal imagery is used in an ironic way. The Gaulish ponies (IV.14) serve to actively depict the crimes committed by this parvenu making them in line with group 5 where animal imagery ‘colours’ an epode. They are not metaphors illuminating the crime but are rather part of the indictment.

The bull image of epode VI to which Horace compares himself (VI.11-12) depicts his resolve against the cowardly cur again a direct comparison is involved (group 4). The ferocity of the bull is the attribute that is transferred to Horace. The animal imagery of epode VIII.6-8 (cow and mare) is purely invective. They serve to divest a *vetula* of all sexual attractiveness. These two images are in line with group 1 of imagery functions which is where the image supports invective.

⁹⁶ Like the ex-slave Horace has his Sabine farm, as mentioned in epode I. Like the ex-slave Horace sat in the first fourteen rows of the theatre with Maecenas (Hills 2005:32). The ex-slave is also a military tribune just as Horace was when he served in Brutus’ army during the civil war. Not only was Horace a tribune he got flak for it (*Satires* I.6.47-48): ‘only a freedman’s son, run down by everyone as only a freedman’s son...because as a military tribune I commanded a Roman legion’ (Rudd 1979:68). These similarities bring the opening analogy into question, since the two adversaries do not seem so different anymore.

The Galatian horses of epode IX.17-18 serve as an *exemplum*. The point is that these ‘barbarian’ horses are more loyal Romans than the Roman followers of Mark Antony. The horses’ loyalty becomes an example for the rebellious Romans to follow. This metaphor is consistent with group 3 of imagery functions which is where imagery is used as an *exemplum*.

In epode X.23-24 the sacrifice of the lamb and goat serves to vindicate Horace’s curse. The object of this curse is Mevius and the agents are the storm gods. The lamb and goat are the necessary ingredients to make the curse come about. In this case the metaphor here is consistent with group 5 of imagery functions since the lamb and goat authenticate Horace’s curse and ‘colour’ the situation. However the fact that the goat is ‘lustful’ hints at Mevius’ possible crime and for this reason it also serves as a metaphor associated with group 4 of serving an *exemplum*.

The image of the sow and goat in epode XII.5-6 serves to ridicule the *vetula*. They draw particular attention to her horrid smell making these two metaphors consistent with group 1 of imagery functions, namely invective. The image of the bull (XII.17) serves to ridicule Horace for his lack of enthusiasm and displays invective (group 1). The image of the lamb and roe deer in lines XII.25-26 again serve to ridicule Horace and display invective (group 1). The *vetula* has taken on masculine aspects (she is now the predator) while Horace has now taken on passive and submissive aspects of the lamb and roe deer, pointing to invective (group 1) functions.

The flocks of epode XV.7 are supposed to impress Neaera; so one would think. However Horace actually makes the opposite statement. No matter how rich Neaera’s new lover is, she will inevitably leave him just as she left Horace. The flocks become ironic since they symbolise the opposite of what one would ordinarily expect and the animal imagery is used ironically (group 2).

The thundering hooves of epode XVI.12 (a synecdoche for horses) serve to highlight Horace’s claims about Rome’s impending doom. They authenticate his apocalyptic claims and ‘colour’ the setting (group 5). The image of cattle and goats (XVI.33-34) taking over where men once lived serves as one of the *adunata* (impossibilities) that need to take place before the Romans can safely return. Their function is to authenticate Horace’s oath since only after such a highly unlikely series of events can the Romans safely return to Rome. The goat and cattle imagery is consistent with the 5th group of imagery functions namely

enhancing the setting of the epode. The imagery of the she-goat, flock and herd in lines XVI.49-52 serves to depict life in the *beatae insulae*. The miraculous circumstances surrounding the spontaneous milking and predator-free husbandry authenticate the idyllic picture Horace wants to portray of the *beatae insulae*. Therefore these three images are in line with group 5 of imagery functions, namely setting the scene of the epode.

The imagery of the pigs and bullocks of epode XVII.15-17, 39 serve as *exempla*. These two images are meant to appeal to Canidia's sense of mercy as *exempla* to follow (group 3). The image of Horace as the horse (XVII.74) serves as self-mockery by the direct comparison (group 4). Horace has been dominated by Canidia, and his *insolentiae* (arrogance) gives way. From the above examples it should be clear that Horace employed farm animal imagery (category D) with remarkable consistency.

The next most prevalent category is canine imagery (A, see appendix 95-98). The dog and wolf (II.31,60) imagery that appears in epode II serve to 'colour' Alfius' statements about the farmer's life and therefore belongs to group 5. However like the farm animal imagery, the image of the hunting dog becomes ironic and humorous towards the end of the poem when it is revealed that Alfius never intended to actually leave Rome behind serving to illustrate animal imagery used in an ironic fashion (group 3).

The canine origin of Canidia's name warrants her mention here. She appears in epode III.8 and her function there is to lend her notoriety as a sorcerer employing 'poisonous' garlic against Horace. This use of animal imagery adds to the 'colour' of the epode (group 5).

The wolf image of epode IV.1-2 is tied with that of the lamb image since they form the same metaphor. The wolf image at first appears to distinguish Horace from his opponent. In epode IV the character of the ex-slave is being compared to the negative/rapacious wolf—a direct comparison (group 4). However at the end of the poem Horace reveals that he is not so different from his aforementioned opponent, this then negates the original enmity making the wolf metaphor ironic (group 2).

The canine imagery of epode V.23, 58, 15 (bitch, dogs of the *Subura*, wolves and Canidia) serve the same purpose. They are all intended to make the epode more horrific and dreadful. The hungry bitch, the dogs of the *Subura* and Canidia serve to 'colour' the negative and evil qualities of the witches (group 5). The wolves of the Esquiline (V.99) present the boy's vain attempt at revenge and serve as metaphors for his vengeance (group 4). The wolf, cur and

sheepdog imagery (VI.1-2, 5) of epode VI serve to characterise Horace and his opponent. The wolf and cur act as metaphors for the upstart's cowardly behaviour and the sheepdog acts as metaphor for Horace's dogged tenacity (group 4). The wolves and lions mentioned in epode VII.11 serve as *exempla* (group 3). The example they set is that predators do not attack their own kind so why should Romans. The tracker dog mentioned in epode XII.6 serves as a metaphor for Horace's keen sense of smell (group 4) but it also draws attention back to the *vetula*'s stench. The wolf image in line XII.25 serves as invective against the *vetula* since it draws attention to her as a sexual predator (group 1, invective).

The wolf image of epode XV.7 serves as a metaphor for Neaera's oath. The proverbial hostility between wolf and flock foreshadows the impossibility of her actually keeping her oath (group 4). The predator and prey relationship between the wolf and flock serves as a metaphor for Neaera's hostile relationship to her oath. The implication is that Neaera is by nature predisposed to violate her oath just as a wolf is by nature predisposed to prey on livestock. The wolves of epode XVI.19-20 serve to 'colour' the fate of Rome (group 5 where the setting is coloured by this image). In this epode Horace acts as prophet foretelling the fall of Rome. The wolves that are to inhabit its ruins are one such consequence. The wild dogs of epode XVII.11-12 that ate Hector's corpse serve as an *exemplum* (group 3). With this *exemplum* Horace tries to persuade Canidia to show mercy, as Achilles did. The character Canidia (XVII.6) is herself associated with canines (via the suggestiveness of her name) and for that reason I include her in category A. Her association with sorcery and evil already established in epodes III and IV 'colour' the tone of this epode (group 5).

The effect of canine themes in the *Epodes* is strongly felt. Horace uses canines to portray hostility, danger and ferocity. However he also uses the image of the noble sheepdog in epode VI to epitomise the good qualities of dogs. The canine theme in the *Epodes* becomes polarised between this negative and positive portrayal. The effect of this polarisation is that canine imagery allowed Horace a means of expressing positive and negative qualities in one image.

The next category of animal images appearing in the *Epodes* contains birds (C see appendix 95-98). The mother—bird image of epode I.19, to which Horace compares himself, serves as a metaphor for his fear of losing Maecenas and his helplessness in preventing that loss (group 4). The birds, thrushes, cranes, guinea fowl and partridge of epode II.25, 31-33 serve to depict the ideal pastoral setting and 'colour' the epode (group 5). But like their counterparts,

the farm animal imagery of epode II, they also become ironic in light of the revelation of Alfius at the end of the poem (group 2). In epode V.20 the feathers of the screech owl, which was associated with magical incantations and spells (Watson 2003: 204) serve to 'colour' the actions of Canidia and her coven (group 5). The vulture as with its counterpart the wolf (V.99-100) serves as a metaphor for the boy's vengeance. He cannot punish Canidia so the next best thing is to curse her invoking vultures and wolves to do his bidding metaphorically (group 4). The gulls of epode X.22 serve to further humiliate Mevius corpse. Horace invokes them as agents of his vengeance (group 4). The punitive malediction of Horace seems humorous since the only crime specifically mentioned is Mevius' retched smell. His sexual crime is only eluded too (group 2). The dove and kite imagery of epode XVI.31-32 represents an impossibility (*adunaton*). They serve as occurrences that have to first take place before the Romans can safely return home. For this reason the imagery creates an atmosphere of improbability and implausibility (group 5). The birds of prey and Prometheus' eagle (XVII.11-12, 67) like that of the pigs serve as *exempla*. Horace has used the image of the scavenger birds feeding on Hector's corpse to try and persuade Canidia to show mercy according to this *exemplum* (group 3). The eagle that perpetually feeds on Prometheus' liver is another example of Horace appealing to Canidia for mercy (group 3). For just like the eagle she shows no indication of stopping.

Horace's choice of bird imagery is linked with the aim or theme that the specific poem sets out to achieve. For example the vultures of epode V and the gulls of epode X are both examples of scavenger birds. Their usage in the respective epodes ties in with their scavenger nature. In epode V the vultures are metaphorical agents of vengeance punishing Canidia since the boy cannot. In the same manner the gulls in epode X act as arbitrators of Horace's curse. Scavenger birds do not attack living or healthy prey rather they feed on dead or dying prey. The implication of this is that the prey of the vultures and gulls, Canidia and Mevius respectively are likened to dead and dying prey. This implication adds a deeper level of meaning to the vulture and gull images in epodes V and X.

The next category of animal themes appearing in the *Epodes* is wild animals (F see appendix 95-98). They occur in six epodes. The imagery of the boar and hare in epode II.32-35 is used in the same way as that of the farm animals and birds, namely that they create the atmosphere of a perfect country life (group 5) but at the end of the epode Alfius reveals that he never intended to leave usury behind thereby making the image of the boar and hare ironic (group

2). The boar of epode V.28 is a simple metaphor. Sagana's ferocity is compared to that of a charging boar which was known for its pugnacious behaviour (group 4). The wild beasts mentioned in epode VI.8. are the natural enemies of sheepdogs. The purpose of the beasts in this epode is to create a realistic depiction of the duties of the Molosian sheepdog (group 5). However since Horace compares himself to the sheepdog it is not implausible to see the wild beasts as a metaphor for the cowardly cur mentioned in line 1 (group 4). The lions of epode VII.11 are *exempla* (group 3). Their behaviour is more congenial towards their own species than Roman behaviour towards other Romans.

The image of the black elephant of epode XII.1-2 is pure invective (group 1). By portraying the *vetula* as a mate for an elephant Horace is ridiculing her sexual appetite as gargantuan. The image of the lion in epode XII.25-26 (like that of the wolf) is invective (group 1). It serves to characterise her as a sexual predator. The image of the deer (XII.26) also serves as invective but this is directed at Horace himself for his celerity in avoiding her (group 1). The beasts of epode XVI mentioned in line XVI.10 serves to portray the apocalyptic future that awaits Rome and set the scene for the disaster (group 5). Likewise the image of the boar in line XVI.20 also serves to portray Rome's fall (group 5). The image of the stag and tiger mating (XVI.30-34) is an example of an *adunaton* (impossibility) that has to take place before the Romans can return to Rome (group 3). The unlikelihood of the Romans' return is made even less probable by this image which also serves to create an atmosphere of impossibility and ridiculousness (group 5). The image of the bear (XVI.51) or more precisely the lack of it serves to portray the miraculous nature of the *beatae insulae* (group 5), since life in the blessed isles is care-free. Likewise the image of the lion in line XVI.33 also serves to portray the care-free nature of the blessed isles (group 5).

Horace has used wild animal imagery to express a great variety of literary functions such as scene creating and invective. His choice of wild animals is tied to their association with hunting (i.e. hare and boar) and size (black elephant). Horace relies on his audience picking-up on these associations to make the wild animal imagery more effective.

The next animal category focuses on reptiles and amphibians (B, see appendix 95-98). The image of the serpents in epode I.20 is inextricably linked with the image of the mother bird. Where the mother bird symbolised Horace's fear of being able to protect Maecenas, the image of the serpents symbolises in a straight forward comparison (group 4) the danger of the ensuing battle, in this case the naval Battle of Actium in 31BC. In epode III.6 the snake's

blood is used as a metaphor or comparison (group 4) for the burning sensation Horace is experiencing on account of the garlic ‘poisoning’. The image of the winged serpents (III.12) draws attention to Medea’s supernatural mode thereby making her appear a more powerful witch and ‘colouring’ the entire epode with dread (group 5). The purpose of this is that Horace attributes Medea as having a hand in preparing the poison that he has ingested. By making the author of this poison more powerful Horace is in fact making the poison more potent.

In epode V.15 the tiny snakes in Canidia’s hair associate her with the Furies and set the scene for making Canidia appear a more powerful witch (group 5). Likewise the image of the toad’s (V.19) blood, which was considered an essential part of magical spells to do with rousing love, is intended to make Canidia’s own love potion more potent in a scene set to support her power (group 5). The reference to crocodile dung in epode XII.11 represents pure invective (group 1). The dung draws attention to the *vetula*’s stench. The image of the snakes in epode XVI.52 or more precisely the absence of snakes highlights the harmony and safety that exists in the blessed isles (group 5) contrasting the blessed isle with the disharmony and danger found in Rome.

Horace only uses reptiles seven times in the *Epodes*. In all these occasions their usage is negative. When it comes to the snake imagery in epodes I, III, V and XVI Horace relies on the traditional association that snakes are symbols of danger.

Marine animals form the basis of the next category of animal themes (E, see appendix 95-98). Oysters, parrot fish and turbot appear in epode II.49-50. All three set the scene and epitomise the opulent diet (group 5) which Alfius contrasts with the simple diet of sorrel and olives (II.58-59). However at the end of the epode Alfius reveals that his intentions of leaving usury behind were never sincere. This revelation calls into question his paeon on the health benefits of the simple diet. Alfius’ true reasons for preferring the simple diet is simple because it is cheaper. Bearing this in mind the oysters, parrot fish and turbot then become humorous and ironic (group 2). The sea urchin in epode V.58 is a simple metaphor (group 4). It serves to characterise Sagana’s hair as standing on end (4). The sea polyps in epode XII.5 like the crocodile dung (XII.11) serves to ridicule the *vetula* for her horrid smell (group 1).

Marine animals are used by Horace to express the gourmet diet in epode II. He uses species of fish that were renowned for their sacrilege and expense (i.e. oysters, parrot fish and turbot);

undoubtedly Horace's audience would have been aware of this fact and would have read this underlying thread into their understanding of the image. Horace also uses the physical qualities of sea animals to characterise Sagana's hair (i.e. V) and the stench of the *vetula* (i.e. XII). The effect of these two images relies on Horace audience being acquainted with the bristly spines of a sea urchin (i.e. V) and the proverbial horrid odour of a sea polyp (i.e. XII).

The final category of animal themes appearing in the *Epodes* contains mythical animals (G, see appendix 95-98). Chiron the centaur appears in epode XIII.11. His cameo appearance serves as an *exemplum* for Horace's companions. When Achilles was faced with his inevitable death Chiron urged him to drink and be merry. In the same way Horace's companions are in the midst of a storm, so Chiron's message should urge them to follow this example and to do the same (group 3).

Chiron was renowned in the mythological world for his wisdom. He was a sought-after teacher and had many heroes, such as Achilles and Jason, as pupils. The effect of his appearance in epode XIII rests on Horace's audience being aware of Chiron's fame and the subsequent transference of his authority to Horace's instructions to his companions.

From the above summary of functions we can conclude that Horace used animal imagery as a medium for invective (1), or as a means of irony or humour (2), or as *exempla* (3), or as metaphors (4) or as a means of creating a scene (5). The prevalence of animal imagery in the *Epodes* is linked to the tone of the poems. For example epodes VIII and XII in which Horace attacks a *vetula* for her sexual advances indicate the freedom and potency that animal imagery allowed Horace when simple language would not suffice. Animal imagery allowed Horace a means of ridiculing the *vetula*. Simple language could not have sufficed. The cow, mare and sow capture her repulsiveness so succinctly, the sea polyps and crocodile dung, her horrid smell and the black elephant and wolf her indefatigable sexual appetite. Imagery allowed Horace to express opinions and feelings that simple language could not capture. Andrewes expresses this sentiment succinctly: 'through an image we can sometimes catch an undertone too faint to reach us by other means' (Andrewes 1950:115).

3. Conclusion

The historical circumstances surrounding Horace writing the *Epodes* is important to bear in mind since those historical events influenced and often, as is the case with Actium, became topics in the *Epodes* (i.e. epodes I and IX). Another important influence on Horace was his close friendship with Maecenas. Maecenas gave Horace a Sabine farm which often featured in his poems.⁹⁷ This protection afforded by this friendship also allowed Horace an opportunity to express pessimistic views as he did in epode XVI, where he takes on the role of seer and urges the abandonment of Rome. Being acquainted with the historical circumstances is also important for dating the *Epodes*. The various references in the *Epodes* to Actium indicate that the *Epodes* must have been composed sometime between Philippi (42 BC) and the end of Actium (31 BC).⁹⁸

From Horace's own account it is clear that he did not write in a vacuum. In the *Epistles* he mentions specifically that he was inspired by the works of Archilochus and Hipponax (*Epistle* I.19). Though he admits that he follows his archaic forebears in spirit and metre he has changed the language of personal invective and subject matter to suit his own purposes. The differences in Horace's invective can be attributed to the 'modernising' *iambi* of the Hellenistic poets such as Callimachus. However the greatest influence on the *Epodes* is most surely Horace's immediate Roman predecessor Catullus.

Horace had a solid literary tradition to borrow from. He used similar meters, language, style and imagery to that used by his predecessors. He used animal imagery the use of which was already established by his archaic forerunners (i.e. Semonides' sow *fr.*7.1-5, Archilochus' bull horns VI.11-14 and the goat-smell of Hipponax *frag.*78.5).

The structure of the *Epodes* remains a challenge. Some of the theories put forward suggested that Greek influences somehow determined the structure of the *Epodes* but this argument is undermined by the basic diversity of the poems for which no archaic precedents can be found. Identifying no internal principal is not an option either.⁹⁹ Chronological arrangement

⁹⁷ In the *Satires* Horace recounts his fondness of his Sabine farm: 'This is what I prayed for, a piece of land – not very big, with a garden and, near the house, a spring that never fails, and a bit of wood to round it off' (*Sat* II.6.1-3, Rudd 1979:114).

⁹⁸ These historical references show their influences through the subject matter of the *Epodes* (i.e. Actium (I, IX) and the fears of recurring civil war (XVI).

⁹⁹ The opening word *ibis* in epode I.1 and the closing word *exitus* of epode XVII.81 clearly show a thoughtful arrangement.

has also been put forward but as there are very few actual references to specific dates in the *Epodes* no consensus can be reached about concrete dates for the various poems. Metre is a good principle for arrangement but this approach does not consider the thematic relationships between the various poems.¹⁰⁰ The thematic approach alone is also unconvincing since identifying the main theme of a specific poem is open to debate and could be extended indefinitely. Identifying the voice or *persona* of Horace is an argument for structuring the *Epodes* in a specific way but this undermines the literary tradition of the genre *iambus*.¹⁰¹ Porter's argument for a downward 'trajectory' in the course of the work is interesting since the *Epodes* do end on a rather hopeless note. I have concluded that the various approaches to structure have merit and that some arguments are better than others. However there is no single comprehensive argument put forward at present suggesting a persuasive organising principle behind the structure for the *Epodes* as a whole.

The language and style of the *Epodes* represent a specific level of development in Horace's career as a poet. The *Epodes* had their origin in the archaic *iambi* of Archilochus and Hipponax. Like his predecessors, Horace introduced new words into Latin poetry from prose. The *Epodes* can therefore be seen as a combination of poetic and un-poetic language. It was not only new words that Horace used to ornament the *Epodes*. He also made use of various poetic devices: *zeugma*, hyperbaton, transferred epithet, postposition and many more. He also created colourful pictorial descriptions.¹⁰² Horace also changed the syntax of sentences to give weight to his depictions.¹⁰³ The effect of these poetic devices is that they augment the effect of imagery. Horace has carefully chosen specific words and arranged the syntax to be in harmony with the imagery.

The main body of this thesis focused on the various animal images that occur in the *Epodes*, by first listing all the types of animals that occur (i.e. canines, reptiles and amphibians, birds, farm animals, marine animals, wild animals and mythological animals). A detailed explanation of each of the concomitant themes in their respective epodes followed. The origin

¹⁰⁰ Epode VIII is in an epodic couplet while epode XII is in the Alcmanian strophe, but both poems are thematically linked by the person of the *vetula*.

¹⁰¹ Based on the *persona* approach an argument put forward that Horace wrote as an 'impotent iambist' has its merits, but some poems like V and VII do not fit this mould.

¹⁰² The best examples occur in epode VIII and XII where Horace uses animals to refer to a *vetula*'s unattractive looks and her horrid smell. In these two epodes one can see a clear reference to Hipponax's poem *fr.* 19 W.

¹⁰³ In epode X Horace positioned Mevius between the storm in the opening lines and the last word of the poem *Tempestatibus*. This technique creates the physical impression of Mevius being swamped by the storm.

of certain animal themes was cursorily investigated, with reference to the works of Archilochus, Hipponax, Homer, Semonides and Pliny the Elder where it was clear how Horace reworked these themes into new and original ones.¹⁰⁴

A secondary aim of this thesis was to point out the enhanced meaning triggered by the use of animal imagery in specific epodes. The section entitled 'The significance of the animal imagery: their possible purpose' (3:81-90) illustrated how Horace intentionally and with forethought used animal imagery to achieve specific 'purposes'. These 'purposes' were grouped into five different topics (1) invective, (2) humour and irony, (3) *exempla*, (4) metaphors, (5) scene creating. Animal imagery allowed Horace to express feelings and opinions more widely when 'ordinary' language would not suffice.

Of all Horace's works the *Epodes* have been the least regarded because of supposedly being structurally incoherent and even merely disgusting (Watson 2003:36). In the section on the significance of the animal imagery Horace's logic and forethought in using such imagery indicated an awareness of structure even though this structure does not necessarily lend itself to organisation into obvious patterns. As to the claim that the language and imagery of the *Epodes* is disgusting and base, there is a solid reason why Horace chose such language and imagery.¹⁰⁵

The negative references to these aspects of the poems in question have led to an unfavourable opinion of the *Epodes* especially where the implications of the animal imagery is concerned. But once one understands the purpose and point of view of this animal imagery, the *Epodes* can no longer receive a purely negative assessment.¹⁰⁶ Horace could express feelings and opinions more strongly through imagery than by simply putting his opinions in ordinary language.

The animal imagery of the *Epodes* is vital to the collection. They add a further layer of interpretation to the poems. The animal imagery along with the poetic devices (see pages 16-18 for a detailed description of how Horace adapted the syntax of a sentence to interweave it

¹⁰⁴ The image of the sow in epode XII is a clear reference to Semonides' *fr.7 (sus)*, but in Semonides it refers to an untidy woman. Horace uses it to refer not only to the woman's untidiness but also her sexual insatiability.

¹⁰⁵ Especially the descriptions Horace uses to ridicule the *vetula* in epodes VIII and XII.

¹⁰⁶ The image of the cow (VIII.6) is striking since it captures the totality of the *vetula*'s repulsiveness. Symmetry and form were conventionally considered marks of female beauty (Watson 2003:41). The cow metaphor captures her asymmetry perfectly where ordinary language would not have done so.

with the meaning of a poem) and the awareness of structure implied in the repeated use of animal imagery over different epodes heighten the vividness of the *Epodes*. The pervasiveness of the animal imagery (only epodes XI and XIV are free of animal imagery) is not unintentional.¹⁰⁷ The significance of the animal imagery is that it adds a deeper and more tangible layer of meaning to the *Epodes*. Through animal imagery Horace allows his audience not only to read and comprehend the poems but to smell, taste and see them in the flesh.

This thesis has attempted to highlight the complexity of the animal themes, taking into account their origin and the layered meaning they impart to the individual poems and to the collection as a whole. The negative response that the *Epodes* received in the past can no longer go un-challenged.¹⁰⁸ Great care and forethought went into compiling the animal imagery. As the investigation reflected in this thesis has indicated, tracing the individual animal themes in the *Epodes* has brought about not only a better understanding of the animal imagery employed by Horace but also of the entire collection of *Epodes*.

¹⁰⁷ Animal imagery already appeared in Archilochus and Hipponax, and it is no wonder that since Horace attributes his writing the *Epodes* to Archilochus and Hipponax (VI.11-14) he would use similar imagery and poetic devices.

¹⁰⁸ The *Epodes* have long been neglected by scholars, since it was regarded as 'the imperfectly formed compositions of a poetic neophyte' (Watson 2003:36).

4. Appendix

Animal images in the *Epodes*

This table shows the various epodes and which category of animal appears in each. The animal images are arranged into seven categories according to species. The seven categories are canines, reptiles and amphibians, birds, farm animals, marine animals, wild animals and mythological animals.

The numbers following the specific animals indicate to which group of ‘functions and purposes of imagery’ they belong. The groups are as follows: (1) invective, (2) irony and humour, (3) *exempla*, (4) metaphor, (5) ‘colouring’ or setting. For a more detailed explanation of these groups see the section on ‘The significance of the animal themes: their possible purpose’ (3:81-90).

	Canines A	Reptiles and amphibians B	Birds C	Farm Animals D	Marine Animals E	Wild Animals F	Mythological Animals G
Epode I		Serpents (4)	Mother bird (4)	Bullocks, flocks (4)			
Epode II	Dogs, wolf (5) (2)		Birds, thrushes, cranes, guinea fowl, partridge (5) (2)	Oxen, herd, sheep, flocks, lamb (5) (2)	Oysters, turbot, parrotfish (5) (2)	Boars, hare (5) (2)	
Epode III	Canidia (4)	Snake’s blood, winged serpents (4) (5)		Bulls (4)			
Epode IV	Wolf (4) (2)			Lamb, Gaulish ponies (4) (2) (5)			
Epode V	Bitch, dogs of the <i>Subura</i> ,	Tiny snakes, toad’s blood (5)	Owl’s feathers, Vultures (5) (4)		Sea urchin (4)	Boar (4)	

	wolves, Canidia (5) (4)						
Epode VI	Wolf, cur, sheepdog (4)			Bull (4)		Beasts (4) (5)	
Epode VII	Wolf (3)					Lions (3)	
Epode VIII				Cow, mare (1)			
Epode IX				Galatian horses (3)			
Epode X			Gulls (4) (2)	Goat, lamb (5) (4)			
Epode XI							
Epode XII	Dog, wolf (4) (1)	Crocodile dung (1)		Goat, sow, lamb, bull (1)	Sea polyps (1)	Elephant, deer, lion (1)	
Epode XIII							(Chiron) Centaur (3)
Epode XIV							
Epode XV	Wolf (4)			Flock (2)			
Epode XVI	Wolves (5)	Snakes (5)	Dove, kite (5)	Thundering hooves(horses), cattle, goat, she-goat, flock, herd (5)		Beasts, boars, stag, bears, tiger, lion (5)	

Epode XVII	Wild dogs, Canidia (3) (5)		Birds of prey, eagle (3)	Pigs, bullocks, horseman (3) (4)			
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Animal images as they appear in the *Epodes*: arranged from most numerous to least often cited.

I	D	C	B			
II	D	A	C	F	E	
III	D			B		
IV	D	A				
V		A	C	F	B	E
VI	D	A		F		
VII		A		F		
VIII	D					
IX	D					
X	D		C			
XI						
XII	D	A		F	B	E
XIII						G
XIV						
XV	D	A				
XVI	D	A	C	F	B	
XVII	D	A	C			

This table shows the distribution of animal images in the *Epodes*. Farm animal imagery (category D) is the most numerous. It appears in twelve of the seventeen *Epodes*. A possible reason for the high proportion of farm animal imagery is that it is the most versatile. Horace uses it to describe all five functions and purposes of imagery.¹⁰⁹ Mythological animal imagery (category G), occurs only once in the entire *Epodes* collection. A reason for this may be that since mythological animals are not real Horace chose not to overuse mythological

¹⁰⁹ See 'The significance of the animal themes: their possible purpose' (3:81-90) for a detailed explanation of the five groups of functions portrayed by the various images.

animals since his audience could not envisage them so vividly as farm animal images with which they would have been more acquainted.

The distribution of animal images in the *Epodes* is tied in with the tone or atmosphere of the specific poems. The more complex or abstract a poem is, the more likely it is to contain animal themes. These themes allowed Horace to express complex ideas and feelings more succinctly than if he had used 'simple' language.

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