ARRANGEMENT AND STRUCTURE OF SATIRES IN HORACE, SERMONES, BOOK I: SATIRES 5 AND 6

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In Horace's editorial arrangement of the satires of Book I, nos. 5 and 6 occupy the central position in the book. Before we can inquire whether, and in what ways, these two pieces form a pair, it is necessary to give a brief survey of the form and contents of each poem. Taken at their face value, the two poems have nothing in common: 5 gives an account of a journey to Brundisium in 38 or 37 B.C., while 6 deals with the related subjects of political ambition and high birth and Horace's own descent and education.

SATIRE 5

While 1,6 is constructed with careful and rather precise symmetry, as we shall presently see, Horace perhaps designedly steered free from a definite pattern in the Iter Brundisinum, so as to avoid any impression of composing a carefully balanced log-book. However, we may distinguish four main sections, of which the first, second and especially the third each forms more of a unit and a unity than the fourth and last:

(i) vss. 1-26.
(ii) vss. 27-49.
(iii) vss. 50-70.
(iv) vss. 71-104.

(i) The first section, 1-26
The poem starts by demonstrating Horace's powers of 'brevitas' as opposed to the prolixity of Lucilius which had been criticised in the previous poem.

* The analysis and interpretation of Satires 5 and 6 in the present article continues a series consisting of (1) an article in Acta Classica XI, 1968, 37ff. entitled 'Arrangement and Structure of Satires in Horace, Sermones, Book I, with more special reference to Satires 1-4'; (2) the article, supra p. 7ff. on 'Arrangement and Structure of Satires in Horace, Sermones, Book I: Satires 4 and 10'.


For an appreciation of Sat. 5 see Fraenkel, Horace 105-112 and Rudd, Horace 54-65, briefly also G. Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford 1968, 659-661; on Sat. 6 see Fraenkel, Horace 101-5, E.L. Harrison, CP 60, 1965, 111-4, and Rudd, Horace 36-53.

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(I,4). Almost with a stroke of the pen we are transferred from Rome to Aricia, 1–2a:

Egressum *magna* me accepit Aricia Roma
hospitio *modico*;

‘After my departure from mighty Rome Aricia received me in a modest inn.’ ‘Modico’ clearly serves to draw a contrast with ‘magna...Roma’, as most commentators indicate.

The remainder of the first section, from vs. 3b, covers the canal-trip from Forum Appi through the Pomptine marshes to the ‘lucus Feroniae’, cf. 24, and briefly to Anxur (Tarracina). Here we note an example of Horace’s frequent use of epic parody in giving a poetic version of a journey — as commentators have pointed out — usually in complete contrast to the immediate context. In between Horace’s attack of diarrhoea at Forum Appi (7–9a) and the down-to-earth altercations between the slave boys (11–23a) of the travellers and the boatmen, we hear of the approach of night and the appearance of the stars on the firmament in the following terms, 9b–10:

Iam nox inducere terris
umbrae et caelo diffundere signa parabat.

(ii) *The second section*, 27–49
The second main section is marked by the name of Maecenas at its beginning, 27 ‘huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus’. This is followed shortly afterwards by his actual arrival, ‘interea Maecenas advenit’, 31, and by that of some others; and it is concluded in the last line but one with a third and final mention: ‘lusum it Maecenas’, 48. In between the first two mentions of his name we have a brief, passing reference to the real (diplomatic) purpose of the journey to Brundisium. In contrast to the brief references to Maecenas, Horace feels free to go into raptures at the arrival of Plotius, Varius and Vergil at Sinuessa (39–44), a passage which is concluded with (vs. 44):

nil ego contulerim iucundo *sanus* amico.

Dünster, despite his mistaken interpretation of considerable portions of the poem, has well characterised the significance of Horace’s restraint in regard to Maecenas.2

(iii) *The third section*, 50–70
After a brief notice of the company’s arrival at the ‘plenissima villa’ of Cocceius at Caudium (Coccei in vs. 50 links up with Cocceius at the beginning of the previous section vs. 28), we have a narration of a battle of wit and abuse between the buffoons Messius Cicirrus and Sarmentus which occupies

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a more or less ‘central’ part in the poem. While it had been specially or­
ganised to amuse the travellers at dinner, it now provides the reader with a
diversion from the ‘travelogue’. Once again we encounter a mock-heroic
style in the opening account, with an invocation to the Muse (51b–56a).
While to us the humour may appear rather flat, it has been rightly pointed
out that ‘this boisterous humour appealed to something very deep in the
Roman character’. In this regard we note that it links up closely in spirit
with the fourth section, which is concerned mainly with ‘risus’ and ‘iocus’
(cf. vs. 98).

(iv) The fourth section: 71–104
The last main section covers the remainder of the journey, to Beneventum
and thence to Brundisium. On the face of it, the poet’s main concern is with
incidents which caused him and his friends laughter, whether during the
journey or afterwards when they recounted their experiences and listened to
a narration of Horace’s poem. Thus we have the story of how the fussy host
at Beneventum nearly burnt his house down; how Horace stupidly (‘stul­
ttissimus’, 82) awaited a faithless girl right up to midnight; and of the fun
at Gnatia where the local people tried to convince the party that frankincense
would melt without fire on the steps of the temple. ‘Credat Iudaeus Apella’,
says Horace, and he concludes with a striking parody of Lucretius’ doctrine
of the care-free life of the gods. With the ‘brevitas’ which is characteristic
of the poem as a whole, the last verse –

Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est

– effectively concludes both the journey and the poem, and perhaps also
marks the end of the first half of the first book of the Satires.

SATIRE 6

The sixth satire which has been well analysed by Rudd, consists of three
groups of pairs. The first group (1–22 and 23–44) presents opposite aspects
of Gloria, the ambition for glory; the second is concerned with merit (45–64
and 65–88), and the third with freedom (89–111a and 111b–131). Rudd,

3. Rudd, *Horace* 64. Of course, the humour becomes significant when we observe the
mock-heroic parody of an agon in the passage (on which cf. briefly G. Leich, *De Horatii in
incidentally, does not note the careful *arithmetical* balance or symmetry with which Horace constructed Satire 6.4

1(a), vss. 1–22 deals with the irrelevance of birth in determining a man’s worth. Horace praises Maecenas, a man of noble birth, for not despising men, like himself, of free but humble birth (vs. 6): ‘ut me libertino patre natum’. Many men of merit in the early days of Rome rose high without having a pedigree.

1(b), vss. 23–44: a new theme emerges, the folly of ambition. Common people, no less than nobles, are the slaves of ambition, e.g. the commoner Tillius.

The two sections of the second group deal with Horace’s merit and his obligations to his father respectively.

II(a), vss. 45–64. The centre group5 starts with the well-known words, containing a significant repetition:

\[ \text{nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,} \]
\[ \text{quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,} \]

– and the following verses explain that Horace is in fact carped at because he rose to eminence in spite of being a freedman’s son. But, he says, no one should grudge him his friendship with Maecenas, since his patron chooses only those who are worthy (‘dignos’, 51), and stand aloof from ‘prava ambitio’ (51–2). He then further explains that he was eventually admitted to Maecenas’ circle not because of a father’s fame, but by virtue of his blameless life and heart.6

II(b), vss. 65–88. In the link (vss. 65–71) with the second section the poet says that if his ‘recta natura’ (66) is marred only by ‘vitia mediocria’ (64),7

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4. The construction (cf. Rudd, *Horace* 42) is as follows:

- I(a) = 1–22 = 22 verses
- (b) = 23–44 = 22 verses

- II(a) = 45–64 = 20 verses
- (b) = 65–88 = 24 verses

- III(a) = 89–111a = 22½ verses
- (b) = 111b–131 = 20¼ verses

Rudd, of course, rightly stresses ‘the way in which the theme of glory, merit and freedom are built into a unique artistic structure’ (p. 47).

5. See Rudd, *Horace* 40 on how Horace deliberately recalls the introductory passage (1–6) in vss. 45–8.


7. Cf. Fraenkel, *Horace* 87, n. 2: ‘That *mediocria vitia* should be condoned is a principle which Horace, fully aware of his own shortcomings, has very much at heart, cf. 1.4.130f. and 1.6.65ff.’ We should also compare 3.19–20: nunc aliquis dicat mihi: ‘quid tu? nullane habes vitia?’ immo alia et fortasse minora.
the credit is due to his father. Next follows the famous picture of his father who not only provided him with the best education at Rome, but personally acted as his guardian, keeping him chaste and free from shameful deeds and scandal.  

III(a), vss. 89–111a. Horace effects a smooth transition to the third section on freedom with the verse (89):

"nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius . . . ."

"— ‘never, while in my right mind, could I be dissatisfied with this father’ — and he affirms that if he had the choice, he would choose the same parents again, and decline to take those adorned with the insignia and privileges of high magistrates. This leads back to the theme of the folly of ambition, with the emphasis on the duties and burdens of those in high office. It is stressed by the fact that as example he refers again to Tillius — once again approximately in the middle of the third section, as previously in the middle of the first group.  

III(b), vss. 111b–131. The final section of the last group describes a contented, relaxed day in the life of Horace, concluding with the comforting thought ‘that I shall live more pleasantly than if my grandfather, and likewise my father and uncle, had been quaestor’.  

The question arises whether we may link satire 6 closely with no. 5, the *Iter Brundisinum*, in which Horace gives a selective account of a journey in company with an embassy on which Octavian sent Maecenas and others to make terms with Marcus Antonius at Brundisium.  

Walter Wili links 6 with 4, and with the ideas on ‘avaritia’ and friendship in the first and third poems. The nature and significance of no. 5 he characterises as follows. It has long been evident that on the journey which went through a rich and varied country, the landscape is a matter of minor importance. Only people play a role in this piece, while in addition there are small scenes of daily life or unusual scenes: a night in the canal-boat disturbed by gnats and croaking frogs and a drunken boatman singing love-songs; the meeting with Maecenas and his companions in Anxur; the dressed up official at Fundi; the arrival of more friends; the burlesque battle of wits between two buffoons, which covers one-fifth of the poem, etc.  

8. On the relation between II(a) and II(b), see Rudd, *Horace* 43f. and Harrison, CP 90–1965, 113.  
10. I now see that W.S. Anderson implicitly groups them together as follows: ‘S.I.5 provides the satirist an opportunity to contrast the meretricious goals of political ambition with the values of friendship and humane enjoyment. This attitude towards politics is explicitly proclaimed in S.I.6: the satirist frankly admits his humble parentage . . . and willingly relinquishes any right to engage in politics’ (Critical Essays on Roman Literature, *Satire*, ed. by J.P. Sullivan, London 1963, 24, cf. p. 7).  
‘So ist diese Reise kein Weg durch die Landschaften, weniger ein Gang durch Städte und Länder, als ein Wandern an köstlichen Ereignissen und Menschen vorbei; keine Reihung von Namen, sondern eine Reihung von Bildern menschlichen Tuns und Gehabens…’

Regarding its position in the structure of the book Wili points out that in its personal content the poem is closely related to satires 4 and 6; in the sphere of friendship it points back to no. 3. This does not take us beyond the grouping of 4, 5 and 6 as a triad; and in the sphere of friendship I submit that 6, even more significantly than 5, points back to 3. Wili concludes by noting that Horace wrote the Iter Brundisinum in imitation – where ‘imitatio’ means also ‘aemulatio’ – of the Iter Siculum of Lucilius, a poetic description of a journey from Rome to Capua and the Sicilian straits.13 He might have added that after his severe criticism of Lucilius’ style in satire 4, Horace in no. 5 now pays his predecessor the compliment of imitating one of his poems – the only earlier example known to us in Latin literature of the carmen hodoiporikon. Of course, Horace does at the same time show how it should be done!

I now propose to argue that poems no. 5 and 6 were composed and edited as a pair inasmuch as there are evidently several elements in 5 which act as pointers to 6, and vice versa. These elements consist of specific themes in the first place; and there are many verbal allusions in the two pieces which show that the parallelisms and counterparts form part of an intentional design by the poet. There is also a significant contrast to which I shall first draw attention. It concerns the first main section of 5 and the closing scene of 6 (111b–131).

Now the last-mentioned is a restful scene, with Horace sauntering forth on a walk and returning in the evening to a modest meal. No. 5 opens in a similar mood, with Horace and Heliodorus starting on a journey which ends on the evening of the first day ‘hospitio modico’ (2) at Aricia. The journey is continued in a leisurely manner to Forum Appi: ‘hoc iter ignavi divisimus… minus est gravis Appia tardis’ (5–6).

But a new note is struck at an early stage of the journey in vss. 7–9a. While in Satire 6 Horace peacefully enjoys an evening meal served by three slave boys, we find that the bad water at Forum Appi has caused him a stomach upset, so that impatiently (‘baud animo aequo’, 8) he has to sit out at dinner. Moreover, the slave boys of the travellers are cursing the boatmen and vice versa; in addition, grats and croaking frogs drive off sleep, ‘avertunt somnos’ (15), until at last the wearied passenger on the canalboat tires and

falls asleep: ‘tandem fessus dormire viator/incipit’ (17–18a). At dawn they discover that the boat is not even under way, and only at about ten o’clock (‘quarta hora’, 23) do they reach the lacus Feroniae.

In contrast Horace in the closing scene of 6 goes to sleep quite untroubled: ‘deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus’ etc. (119), and after a restful night also gets up at about ten: ‘ad quartam iaceo’ (122).

What is the significance of this contrast? I suggest that the unpleasant experiences in Sat. 5 illustrate – in a light-hearted manner – the burdens that have to be shouldered by those in official position, a theme on which Horace enlarges in mainly serious vein in no. 6. As regards no. 5, we must remember that Horace on his journey enjoyed a semi-official position as member of Maecenas’ entourage. Very significant in this connection is the word ‘comes’ which provides a link between the two pieces. In section III(a) of no. 6 Horace says that if he had political ambitions he would, inter alia, have to take one or two companions if he went into the country: ‘ducendus et unus/et comes alter’ (101b–102a). And when Horace sets off from Rome in poem no. 5, before meeting Maecenas and others on the trip, he has with him ‘rhetor comes Heliodorus’ (2).15

I now turn to one of the main themes of no. 6 which is foreshadowed in a subtle manner in the fifth poem.

After meeting Maecenas and Cocceius at Anxur, the old Volscian name for Tarracina, Horace’s next stop is at Fundi, of which he tells us (34–6):

Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter
linquimus, insan’ ridentes praemia scribæ,
praetextati et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.

‘Fundi with Aufidius Lescus as praetor we leave with delight, laughing at the prerogatives of the insanus scriba: his purple-bordered robe, broad stripe, and pan of burning charcoal’.

Superficially Horace is having a laugh at the chief magistrate of Fundi, an acédile whom he calls ‘praetor’ by way of overstatement.16 Heinze points out that ‘zugleich höhnt das feierliche, nach Analogie von Cn. Pompeio consule gebildete Aufidio Lusco praetore den aufgeblasenen Munizipal­tyrannen, der sich, angetan mit den Abzeichen seiner Magistratur, den reisenden Diplomaten gegenüber ungemein aufgespielt hatte’.17

But there is much more that underlies this gibe. The passage points forward to the theme of the Vanity of political office and ambition which

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15. Elsewhere in Book I ‘comes’ is found in 7,25, the ‘comites’ of Brutus, without providing an evident link. In Satire 5 ‘comes’ is found at vs. 9.
16. On the titles of municipal officiali at Fundi and elsewhere, see the inscriptions cited in Kiessling-Heinze ad loc.
we repeatedly encounter in the sixth poem, in sections 1(a) and (b) and in sections III(a) and (b), some of which contain a significantly similar terminology.

1(a). A preliminary note is struck in vss. 15–17 where Horace speaks of the ‘populus’, which often foolishly (‘stultus’) bestows office on the underserving, which is also ineptly (‘ineptus’) a slave to fame, and which gapes in fascination (‘stupet’) at inscriptions and waxen masks.

1(b). The theme emerges fully – but on a different note – at the beginning of 1(b) with reference to Tillius who according to the scholiasts was removed from the senate by Julius Caesar, but after Caesar’s death resumed this dignity and also became a military tribune (24a–29):

quo tibi, Tilli,
sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?
invidia adcrevit, privato quae minor esset.
nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus
pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum,
audit continuo ‘quis homo hic est? quo patre natus?’

‘What did it profit you, Tillius, to resume the stripe you had laid aside, and become a tribune? Envy towards you increased, but it would be less if you were still in private station. For as soon as any man is so insanus that he has bound the black leather straps half way up his leg, and has hung the broad stripe down his breast, he hears immediately: What fellow is this? Who was his father?’

The new point that Horace is making is that commoners who are the slaves of ambition, are as vulnerable as ambitious nobles in becoming the victims of jealous inquiry.

Note how by way of ‘stultus’, ‘ineptus’ and ‘stupet’ Horace has built up to insanus, the key-word which – with ‘latum clavum’ – links this passage with 5, 34–6 on the official at Fundi.

The theme and the key-word, or its opposite, is continued in section III(a), starting with ‘nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius’ (89), and a few lines further, in the middle of the section, Horace continues by saying that if Nature should provide a second choice of parents, then (96b–99):

meis contentus honestos
fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
iudicio volgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum –

‘content with my own I should refuse to take for myself those distinguished by the rods and chairs of office; mad in the judgement of the mob, but sound of mind perhaps to you for refusing to carry a tiresome burden to which I have never been accustomed’.

After all these serious pronouncements, Horace at the end of the same
section returns to the theme, but now — with the necessary variatio — in a jocular manner. After enlarging on the above-mentioned burdens of a public career, from which he is free, he illustrates his freedom by saying (104b-106): ‘If I like I can go right to Tarentum on a gelded mule whose flanks are chafed by the weight of the saddle-bag and whose withers are chafed by the rider’.18 He then continues, returning to Tillius who is ‘traveling east, complete with portable lavatory’ (Rudd) (107-111a):

obiciet nemo sordis mihi quas tibi, Tilli,
cum Tiburte via praetorum quinque sequuntur
te pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque.
hoc ego commodius quam tu, praecclare senator,
milibus atque aliis vivo.

‘No one will taunt me with meanness as they do you, Tillius, when on the Tibur road five slaves attend you as praetor, carrying a commode and wine-vessel.19 In this and a thousand other ways do I live a more convenient life than you, distinguished senator’.

I suggest that ‘portantes’ here alludes to ‘portare’ in vs. 99: Horace is having a private joke in representing the burdens carried by those in public office as — in the case of Tillius — the commode together with the wine-vessel carried by his slaves.

III(b). However that may be, at the end of the final section and of the whole poem the poet concludes his theme on a serious note. After giving an account of his leisurely life free from ambition, he concludes (130-2):

his me consolor victurum suavius ac si
quaeestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisse.

This brings us to a second theme, on the importance of ancestry, which links up with the first theme on ‘ambitio’ in the words ‘quo patre natus?’ in 6, 29 (quoted above). This theme is also foreshadowed in the fifth poem, again in a mocking manner, in fact, in a mock-heroic manner. Horace introduces the verbal battle of the two buffoons Messius Cicirrus and Sarmentus with an invocation of the Muse (51b-56a):

nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurræ pugnam Messique Cicirri,
Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque
contulerit litis. Messi clarum genus Osci;
Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti
ad pugnam venere.

18. Translation by Rudd, Horace 44.
Rudd translates as follows: ‘Now O Muse recount in brief, I pray thee, the fight between Sarmentus the clown and Messius Cicirrus. And tell from what lineage each entered the fray of words. Messius comes from glorious stock – Oscans. Sarmentus’ mistress is still alive. Such was their ancestry as they joined battle.20

This theme assuredly points forward – cf. the exactly similar phrase ‘quo patre natus’ – to the sixth poem, which Horace starts by praising Maecenas, a man of most noble lineage, for not despising ‘men of unknown birth, for instance myself, born of a freedman father’ (vs. 6). Here it assumes a serious tone, particularly in the thrice-repeated words: ‘me libertino patre natum’ (6, 45, 46).

Soon after referring to himself in vs. 6, Horace repeats this theme with reference to early Rome, and argues that many men of merit rose high despite their lowly origin (9–11):

ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum
multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos
et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos;

– where vs. 10b harks back to 5,55b ‘ab his maioribus orti’. At the end of this first section of group I of the poem Horace returns, in a more light-hearted manner, to his own lowly origin (20b–22).

At the beginning of the second section of this group we have already considered the first passage on Tillius which concludes with ‘quo patre natus?’ (29b); and at the beginning of the second group we have encountered the double line on ‘(me) libertino patre natum’ (45–6). Horace concludes the first section of the second group by paying homage to Maecenas who admitted him to his circle not because of a father’s fame but by virtue of a blameless life and heart (64):

non patre praeclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.

By way of contrast he mockingly calls Tillius – a man of low origin, and ambitious in a repulsive manner – ‘praecclare senator’ (110b) at the end of section III(a).

In greater detail we may observe how Horace repeatedly emphasises the theme of ancestry by placing it at the beginning or (mainly) end of a verse: so in Sat. 5, vss. 53 and 55, and in Sat. 6, vss. 6, 10, 21, 29, 36, 45, 46, 58, 64 and 73.

Next we may have a look at some of the names and their significance. Maecenas occurs at 5, 27: ‘huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque / Cocceius’. ‘Optimus’ – used of Maecenas21 – is a key-word here, for Horace employs it only with reference to people who had the greatest influence on

20. Rudd, Horace 63 (the italics are mine)
his life, and for whom he had the greatest regard. Thus in 6, 64f. he speaks of ‘optimus ... Vergilius’, who first introduced him to Maecenas, and so we have a clear link between 5 and 6, especially when we note that Vergil appears prominently in both poems in the context of Maecenas’ circle (5,40 and 48; 6,55).

Of course, the term ‘optimus’ provides links with other poems in the collection as well. Thus he calls his father ‘optimus’ in 4,105: ‘insuevit pater optimus hoc me’.22 Since satire 6 also deals with the formative influence of his father on him, why do we find no ‘optimus pater’ in 6? My guess is that since his father was a ‘libertinus’, Horace tactfully refrains from addressing him as ‘optimus’ in the same poem as Maecenas.

The fourth person in the whole of Book I whom Horace calls ‘optimus’ is Octavius, in 10, 82 (10 forms a pair with 4). In the context the poet gives a list of the small number of people whose approval he seeks for his verses (81–2):

Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus23.

... and some others. 10, 81 is parallel to 5, 40, where more travellers meet Maecenas and his company at Sinuessa, cf. 40,43f.:

Plotius et Varius Sinuessa Vergiliusque
o qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.

What is the significance of this parallelism? In no. 5, which forms the conclusion of the first half of the collection, as well as in no. 10, which concludes the second half and the book as a whole, Horace stresses the most important names in the circle of friends and authors to which he belonged.24

What is the significance of the key-word ‘sanus’ in 5,44 quoted above? Fraenkel most plausibly finds a significant link with the sixth poem: ‘To assess the value of this outburst of enthusiasm one has to remember that Horace was not lavish with his superlatives. When we compare the last sentence of this section [i.e. 5,44] with 1.6.89, nil me paeniteat sanum patris

21. H. Musurillo, Symbol and Myth in Ancient Poetry, New York 1961, 210 n. 20 writes: ‘The controversy on whether optimus is to be taken with Maecenas or with Cocceius can only, in my view, be decided by suggesting that Horace deliberately wrote the line so that the adjective could be taken with both’. This may be true, but the placing of ‘optimus’ next to the name of Maecenas can leave us in no doubt about Horace’s real meaning. The same applies to ‘Octavius optimus’ in Sat. 10,82.

22. I shall consider the nature and significance of the relation between Satires 4 and 6 on a later occasion.


24. Note also Varius and Vergilius appearing in the same verse in Satires 5 and 6 (5,40 and 6,55).
huius, we discover that here we are listening to the voice of the poet’s heart: he prizes these friendships as he prizes the memory of his father.25

Finally there are a number of scattered words and phrases which quite evidently link the fifth and sixth satires as a pair. The fact that they do not occur in any other piece in Book I can leave us in no doubt that they were used by Horace for this very purpose. In the order of their occurrence (in Sat. 5) they may be listed as follows: ‘mulius’ (in the plural) at 5,47 – cf. ‘mula’ at 5, vss. 13,18 and 22 – recurs at 6,105, ‘nunc mihi curto jire licet mulo’, with ‘lumbus’ in the same context in both poems, at 5,22 and 6,106; ‘morbus’ at 5,62 and 6,30, and ‘inmundus’ at 5,84 and 6,124. Lastly, we may compare ‘dormitum’ at 5,48, ‘lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego’ and at 6,119, ‘deinde eo dormitum’.

We have seen that two important main themes of the sixth satire, on ‘ambitio’ and ancestry, are heralded in the fifth. Despite the solemn formula and mock-heroic manner with which they are heralded (‘Aufidio Lusco praetore’, 5,34; ‘quo patre natus’, 5,53), they are merely alluded to in the first member of the pair, and they are fully revealed only in the light of an analysis of these themes in Sat. 6. It remains to ask, both in general terms and in more specific terms, what were Horace’s aims with poems 5 and 6?

The general question is more easily answered in regard to 6 than to 5. Thus, e.g. E.L. Harrison writes: ‘In the sixth Satire of Book I Horace contrasts the anxieties that afflict the ambitious men with the contentment he himself enjoys, and records his indebtedness to the two persons who have made his present way of life possible: to Maecenas on the one hand, scion of the ancient Etruscan aristocracy, and to his father on the other, auctioneer’s agent and former slave’. Harrison then proceeds to show in an admirable manner how Horace employs his art in solving the difficulties arising from setting beside his patron ‘a man whom in real life Maecenas would never have allowed to darken his door’.26 So much for Sat. 6 in general, apart from the two special themes to which we have drawn attention.

What of the fifth poem? Walter Wili’s characterisation has been quoted above: the journey is ‘ein Wandern an kostlichen Ereignissen und Menschen vorbei; keine Reihung von Namen, sondern eine Reihung von Bildern menschlichen Tuns und Gehabens’.27 As regards the stylistic characteristics of 5, in particular its echoes of the epic style, we are told by Heinze that ‘das alles ist, ohne je aufdringlich zu werden, mit grossem Geschick so verwendet, dass gerade wegen dieses parodischen Schmuckes kein Leser auf den Gedanken kommen kann, der Dichter habe den erzählten Ereignissen im Ernst Bedeutung beigemessen’.28

25. Freinkel, Horace 112.
26. CP 60, 1965, 111.
27. Wili, Horaz 94.

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Accordingly, we would have the following sequence: serious poem (no. 4) - light-hearted poem (no. 5) - serious poem (no. 6), a structural sequence in which the fifth piece would be no more than a light, satiric, anecdotal poem which 'fills in' between 4 and 6 to provide the required relief. On the face of it, and in the experience of most of Horace's readers, this would be a correct assessment. However, the analysis given above, together with the comparisons that have been drawn, shows that no. 5 carries serious undertones which can only be grasped when it is related to no. 6 with which it forms a pair.

It remains to consider in particular the significance of the key-word 'insanus' both in this context and in its relation to the preceding poems, especially 1,2. We have seen that Aufidius Luscus in 5,34-6 heralds one of the main themes of no. 6. Now what does Horace mean when he styles him an 'insanus (scriba)', vs. 35? According to Lejay the adjective 'est à peu près synonyme de ineptus, cf. 3,49'. But if this were correct, it would have been better to refer to Horace's use of 'ineptus' in 6,16, that is, within its context in 6,15-17. In fact, we have seen that for Horace 'insania' in Sat.1,2, as in 3 and 4, means a reckless extravagance manifested by characters who do not observe a 'modus' or 'modestia' in the sense of a mean or moderation. In this light, and in the light of the parallel passage in 6,24a-29 on Tillius and the 'insanus', vs. 27, it is quite clear that Aufidius Luscus is 'insanus' in the lack of modesty or moderation which he manifests by making an excessive show of the outward signs of his office (5,34-6).

It is true that 1,5 is mainly 'eine Reihung von Bildern menschlichen Tuns und Gehabens' — but mainly what sort of 'Tun und Gehaben'? The answer, or one half of the answer, which hinges on the key-word 'insanus', would seem to be: of those who act insano modo, as in the case not only of Aufidius Luscus, but also of the drunken boatman, of the 'cerebrosus' of vs. 21, of the fussy host at Beneventum who nearly burnt his house down, of Horace himself waiting like a fool ('stultissimus', 82) for a girl till midnight, and finally of the superstitious people of Gnatia, not to mention the Jew, Apella (100).

If our answer is correct so far as it goes, an immediate qualification is called for regarding the difference in the manifestations of 'insania' in Satires 5 and 6. In 6 the 'insania' of e.g. Tillius (vss. 23–9) is a real and serious 'vitium' (despite vss. 107–9); while in 5 the 'insania' of an Aufidius Luscus is no more than a 'vitium mediocre' and consequently something to be laughed at. The same applies to the other 'insane' incidents which occurred during the journey, such as the superstition of the people of Gnatia which 'dedit risusque iocosque' (98), not to mention the amusement that Horace must have caused to his friends by waiting in vain for a faithless girl.

29. AClass XI, 1968, 46f., 49,51,54f.; cf. supra (on Sat. 1,4 and 1,10) p. 24f.
Relevant to all these is Horace's claim in Sat. 4,129b-131b (cf. the echo in 6,65f.):

Ex hoc ego sanus ab illis,
perniciem quaecumque ferunt, medioeribus et quis
ignoscas vitis teneor.

'Owing to this I am sound from all ruinous faults, though I am subject to moderate and pardonable failings'.

What of the other half of the picture in Satire 5? The other half of our answer relates to the 'sanus', the person who does observe the 'modus'. Does Horace signify this ideal in 1,5 at all? If not explicitly, he certainly does so implicitly, and in more ways than one. Thus we note the modesty that he displays regarding his relation to Maecenas, as also in his brief, passing mention of the real purpose of the journey to Brundisium (28-9). By way of contrast his extreme reserve in regard to Maecenas is balanced by his extreme joy in announcing the arrival of Plotius, Varius and Vergil. Perhaps we might say in Aristotelian terms that here the mean becomes an extreme, and that in this sense he can rightly claim to be 'sanus' in his enjoyment of friendship (5,44):

nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.

This brings us, in conclusion, to the theme of friendship which is so prominent in the first six satires. The manner in which Horace handles this theme in the two pieces under discussion throws interesting light on 5 and 6 as different, as well as complementary to each other. In both poems the term 'amicus' occurs four times. In 5 it is used twice with reference to Octavian and/or Antony (30,33), and once in a general sense (44, quoted above) with more special reference to three friends. Finally it occurs when Varius takes leave of his friends ('discedit ... amis', 93). Only in this last instance does it include Maecenas in no uncertain manner, and then in relation to Varius,

30. I suggest that in 'hospitio modico' (5,2) Horace also alludes to the 'modus' in the sense of modesty or moderation. The basic meaning of 'modicus' is 'having or keeping a proper modus (measure), moderate' (cf. Lewis and Short), and it is here used of 'hospitium' not merely in the sense of 'moderate-sized' as Lejay thinks ('ou coucheent peu de voyageurs'), but in its usual culinary sense in Horace: the service and the food were 'modest'. Cf. Sat. 2,6,70; Carm. 1,20,1-2a and 1,18,7; Epist. 1,5,2. In Epist. 2,2,190f. Horace uses the word in the general sense of moderation in one's way of life.

31. The theme of friendship derives additional prominence from the fact that Horace with but few exceptions places the term 'amicus' at the end of a line. 'Amicus' is found once only in 1,1 (vs. 89), twice in 1,2 (vss. 5,20), but ten times in 1,3 which deals specifically with the principle of friendship in the exercise of criticism and punishment (vss. 1,26,33,43, 50,54,69,73,84,93); and it occurs six times in 1,4 (vss. 35,73,81,96,132,135) which is so closely related to 1,3. After appearing four times each in 1,5 and 6 (vss. 30,33,44,93; 6, vss. 56,53,62,70) it disappears but turns up again in 1,9 (vs. 22) and 1,10 (vs. 87) which form a close pair and are both related to 1,5 in regard to literary friendship.
not to Horace, who never styles Maecenas as his friend in 1,5, but only mentions him three times by name. By way of contrast we find that in 1,6 he refers three times to Maecenas as ‘amicus’ by way of defending his right to his patron’s friendship: in vss. 50, 53 and 62. In the fourth reference, 6,70, he allows himself some self-praise – in contrast to 1,5 – and says that if he is ‘purus et insons’ and cherished by his friends (‘carus amicis’, 70), he owes it to his father. Thus he relates his friendship to Maecenas and his friends in general to its cause, the education given him by his father (‘causa fuit pater his’, 71a).

In two forthcoming analyses on the subject of Arrangement and Structure of Satires in Horace, *Sermones*, Book I, I shall consider Satires 7,8,9 and 10. Meanwhile attention should be drawn to the important recent contribution by Vinzenz Buchheit on the relation between Satires 7,9 and 10.32

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