HORACE'S VENUS: SOME ASPECTS
OF HER ROLE IN THE ODES

DISSERTATION

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* * * * *

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To

Eunice Kraft

who introduced me to Horace's poetry,
whose enthusiasm and excellence as a teacher
have been an inspiration through the years
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Horace announced with C.1.1 that he was presenting a collection of lyric poetry. In the three odes immediately following, Venus appears as a non-erotic power, being the only deity to appear successively in these opening odes. Elsewhere within the three Books of Odes she appears twenty-three additional times as an erotic deity in both minor and major roles. She appears six times in Horace's fourth Book of Odes published ten years later, both opening and closing this final presentation of lyric. Her importance to his lyric poetry is clear from the introductory ode, C.4.1, addressed to her and concerned with her powers over his lyric efforts.

In view of the frequency of Venus within the Odes and the roles she plays within the individual poems and the collection, it is the purpose of this dissertation to show that Venus was significant to Horace's lyric poetry within individual odes and the collection as a whole, both in her role as erotic deity and in her ancestral relationship to Rome and the Julian gens.

In order to see more clearly the Venus whom the Romans knew I have presented a survey of her cult roles
in Rome prior to the time of Horace, including her role in Rome during Horace's lifetime. This provides background for the ancestral and erotic deity who appears in the Odes. In Chapter II I have presented a brief look at Venus who existed in Roman literature before Horace. I have not tried to consider her role in Greek literature or the Greek influence on Roman literature, topics beyond the scope of this paper. Chapter III concerns Venus' role in the three serious odes at the beginning of Book 1, C.1.2, 3, and 4. In this discussion I consider her role within each individual ode and in the relationship of the three. In Chapter IV, by far the longest, I consider the erotic Venus in the three Books of Odes. As with C.1.2, 3, and 4 I look at Venus in the poems individually and collectively. It is obvious that the effect of the single poem may change as it is placed in a collection. So I have considered Venus' role within individual poems, the cumulative effect she plays within the collection, and the significance of certain key placements of poems in the collection. To facilitate the discussion of her numerous appearances in these Books I have chosen to present Venus in the following categories: her role within literary poems, as a harsh erotic deity, a beneficent, favoring deity, and in connection with the genus grande. When the persona of the poet appears in an ode, I view it only in the context
of the poem itself, not as a biographical statement of Horace the poet, although I often use "Horace" as representative of the persona. Finally in Chapter V I consider the Venus in Book 4. I discuss her role within the individual odes, its development within the Book, and its relationship to Odes 1-3, particularly C.1.2. Horace begins and ends Book 4 with Venus. With C.4.15 I hope to show that Horace has not only returned to Venus with whom he began the Book, but that Venus surrounds his entire collection, in that he has returned to that aspect of Venus of C.1.2 which he had placed early in the collection.
The deity whom the Romans worshipped as Venus in the last half of the first century B.C. was a complex goddess with various epithets, associated cults, and foreign influences attached to her. Originally an Italic divinity, but not specifically Roman, she seems to have been rooted in the early unrecorded history of Italy, and obscurity surrounds her origins and very name.1 The problem of her origin, however, is not just a modern one. By Varro's time the month of April had become well-associated with Venus, but he comments that he cannot find Venus in the early writings on the subject.2 Opinion varied even in antiquity about the meaning of venus. Varro elsewhere connects it etymologically with vinctio.3 Cicero gives yet another etymology connecting Venus with venire when he has Lucilius Balbus as an exponent of Stoicism in De Natura Deorum point out false ideas and superstitions about the gods.4

What the word venus originally meant is not known, and the difficulty is compounded because of its form, which is like the neuter genus, generis; yet venus itself
is feminine.\textsuperscript{5} Theories on its meaning in its early period vary: some would connect it with vegetation, fertility; others point to venustus and the idea of sexual attraction; and some ascribe a religious sense to it based on veneror in the sense of asking a divinity for a favor or pardon.\textsuperscript{6}

In considering the significance of the word venus at its early period, R. Schilling presents a study of several words belonging to the family through the root ven-: veneror, venia, venenum, venenatum, and venerium. In each case he attributes a religious sense to the word which would relate it to the propitiatory-protective role of Venus which dominated the Roman concept of her even to the time of Augustus.\textsuperscript{7}

The early concept of the word venus is uncertain; that it involved an abstraction devoid of anthropomorphic characteristics is a possibility, given the Roman inclination to other abstract divinities in Rome's early period.\textsuperscript{8}

The nature of the Italic deity, if one existed with full anthropomorphic development, is practically irretrievable. The process by which venus became Venus and acquired female anthropomorphic traits may possibly be related to the Greek influence in southern Italy and goddess Aphrodite. What is recorded is that the first official temple and cult to Venus in Rome arrived in 295 honoring her as Obsequens, a title indicative of her favor toward
the Romans during a distressing period in their history.\(^9\) 
There is mention that Venus was known in Rome in the early fourth century under the title Calva. Almost nothing is known about this, however, except that two stories existed explaining the cause for Venus Calva.\(^10\) In practical terms Venus at Rome in the last centuries of the Republic must be viewed as a goddess artificially introduced. The formal cults brought in during these centuries would seem to have overwhelmed whatever might have survived of a primitive Italic deity.

Disagreement exists about the main source of Rome's early contact with Venus as a developed female divinity. Schilling would place it in Laviniurn where evidence for the Trojan legend and a Venus cult exists from the fifth century B.C.; he maintains that the legend of Aeneas having established a cult to his mother as Venus Frutis came from contact with Sicily, possibly through Etruscans.\(^11\) K. Galinsky disputes his arguments and conclusions, citing difficulties he finds in literary and archaeological evidence which do not in his opinion permit the close connection with Sicily and Etruria found by Schilling. Contrary to Schilling he suggests that Frutis was a local Latin goddess at Laviniurn whose cult was superseded by Venus and perhaps Aphrodite.\(^12\) He proposes that only after 338 B.C. when a foedus was concluded between Rome


and Lavinium, did the Romans become actively interested in the Trojan legend and connections with Sicily. Among their reasons Galinsky suggests rivalry with Alba, desire for closer identification with the Greek world, and Rome’s ascendancy over Etruria and the states in Latium.¹³

The imported cults of Venus

Only a few decades after its foedus with Lavinium and the institution of ritual sacrifices by visiting officials to the penates (brought by Aeneas) at Lavinium, Rome had its first cult of Venus, that of Venus Obsequens. This earliest temple, located near the Circus Maximus and honoring the goddess as Obsequens, had been vowed to her in 295 B.C. at the beginning of the Third Samnite War, by Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges, and was dedicated at its close around 290 B.C. Despite military success early in the war, pestilence and alarming prodigies during that first year caused the Romans to consult the Sibyline books for a remedy. As a result Venus was to be honored and propitiated in a time of threatening disaster with a temple financed by fines which Gurges imposed on women convicted of adultery.¹⁴ Later in the century the Romans vowed and dedicated yet another temple to Venus, again occasioned by consultation of the Sibyline books when disaster seemed imminent.
In the same year as Garges' vow to Venus Obsequens, his father, the consul Q. Fabius Rullianus, also vowed a temple, but to Jupiter Victor on the occasion of the battle at Sentinum. The dedication for both temples was August 19, the festival of Vinalia rustica. Ancient evidence on the festival of the Vinalia is unclear about the development and exact nature of the festival. There were two separate celebrations, the Vinalia priora on April 23, and the Vinalia rustica on August 19. Tradition attributed the festival to be in honor of either Jupiter or Venus, or at times, both. The worship seems to have concentrated on the propitiatory and protective aspects of the divinities, and in the case of Venus was directed toward Venus Obsequens and the cults of Erycina later introduced; the dedication days of these temples occurred on the dates of the festivals, August 19 for Obsequens, and April 23 for the temples of Erycina. According to Schilling the Vinalia renewed each year the alliance between the Roman people and Jupiter, their protector, through the consecration of the vines and the libation of wine to the deity. Although Jupiter was the major protector of the State, Venus' role as protectress caused her to be associated with him, but initially in a subordinate position. By the first century B.C., however, her popularity was displacing
Jupiter. Schilling cites in a detailed discussion the ancient and modern theories on the Vinalia, and points out that neither solves the problem. It is his opinion that the Vinalia was "la fête propitiatoire par excellence dans la religion romaine." Thus from her earliest cult association Venus occupied an important place in Roman thought—as a powerful propitiatory deity in her own right and linked with the most powerful god of all, Jupiter.

Later in the third century a much more important temple to Venus was built, that of Venus Erycina on the Capitoline. In 217 B.C. after the disaster at Lake Trasimenus, Q. Fabius Maximus, grandson of Gurses, vowed the temple according to instructions in the Sibylline books and dedicated it in 215 B.C. In close conjunction with this a temple to Mens was also dedicated by T. Otacilius Crassus; the two temples were separated only by a narrow water channel (sewer). As with the temple to Venus Obsequens the Romans looked to Venus Erycina as a propitiatory, protecting goddess in a time of war. In 248 B.C. they had gained and subsequently kept control of the citadel and sanctuary of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx in Sicily, never to lose it to the Carthaginians. Now in 217 B.C. they brought the same deity to Rome to protect them once again from the same enemy and placed her temple on the Capitoline with the great
national deities. A few years later in 184 another temple was vowed to Venus Erycina. As in the two previous instances fear of impending disaster occasioned the vow, this time by L. Porcius Licinus. The temple was dedicated in 181 B.C. along with one to Pietas vowed by M'. Acilius Glabrio. Placed just outside the Colline Gate and thus outside the pomerium, this later temple to Venus Erycina is reported to have been the site of a copy of the goddess' image at Mount Eryx, and to have taken on a character different from that of Venus Erycina on the Capitoline; at the temple outside the Colline Gate the erotic aspect of the goddess was dominant as it was at the sanctuary on Eryx.

There also existed a shrine dedicated to Venus in the Forum near the Basilica Aemilia. Its remains have been discovered over the drain that flows under the basilica near where it empties into the Cloaca Maxima. According to Pliny the original divinity of the place, Cloacina, became identified with Venus because of the story that the Romans and Sabines purified themselves near the shrine with myrtle branches, sacred to Venus, and threw aside their weapons. Another temple connected with purification was that of Venus Verticordia, built in 114 B.C. at the instructions of the Sibylline books over a matter of the lack of purity.
among the Vestals. Ovid comments that the epithet related to the power of the goddess to turn minds from lust to purity. Other temples, about which little is known, are (1) a temple of Venus Libitina in the Lucus Libitinae on the Esquiline—the dedication day was also August 19, but the date of erection is unknown; (2) a temple of Venus Felix possibly built by Sulla near the Horti Sallustiani; (3) Venus Hortorum Sallustianorum (although this may be that of Venus Erycina outside the Colline Gate mentioned by Ovid in Fasti 4.865-95); (4) a shrine or altar on the Capitoline to Venus Victrix which is mentioned in the calendars with the Genius populi Romani and Felicitas; and (5) Venus in Palatio, a shrine mentioned only once in Dio Cassius.

Two later temples which added to the importance and significance of Venus in Rome were: 1) Pompey's temple to Venus Victrix and 2) C. Julius Caesar's temple of Venus Genetrix. In 55 B.C. Pompey dedicated the first permanent stone theater in Rome as a temple to Venus. At the top of the cavea, centrally located, with the seats leading up as steps was a temple to Venus Victrix. In addition to the temple to Venus four smaller shrines were included in the structure: to Honos, Virtus, and Felicitas; the deity of the fourth is unknown. Pompey had enlarged on Sulla's use of Venus
as his personal protectress and the concept of her as Felix, especially for Sulla, and had presented her as his own personal champion, Victrix, in the elaborate setting of his theater-temple. 

C. Julius Caesar at the battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C. had vowed a temple to Venus Genetrix, and incorporated it into his Forum Julium by making the forum the forecourt of the temple's precinct. Although the forum was not completed, he dedicated both temple and forum in 46 B.C. The temple was richly adorned and housed a cult statue of Venus Genetrix which emphasized with its matronly appearance her role as mother of the race and Julian gens. With Venus as Genetrix Caesar thus associated himself and the Roman people more closely with the goddess than had any previous individual. This ancestral emphasis gave added significance not only to Venus' relationship with Rome but also to Caesar's with both Rome and Venus.

Rome thus had numerous temples to Venus by the middle of the first century B.C. The variety of circumstances which brought about their establishment was reflected in the cults associated with them. Various aspects of the goddess were emphasized, and the nature of the cults determined the Venus which the Romans knew. Her importance continued into the second century A.D. when Hadrian built the temple of Venus and Rome, still
maintaining honor to Venus as ancestress, an idea which entered Rome at least as early as the cult of Venus Erycina and now well established in literary and imperial usage.  

**Venus Erycina**

The cult of Venus Erycina at Rome had its roots in the cult of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx in western Sicily. There, according to tradition, Eryx, the son of Aphrodite and Butes, a native king, founded both a settlement called Eryx and, on the very summit of the mountain, a sanctuary in honor of his mother who because of her love for her son and the city became known as 'Αφροδίτη 'Ερυκέει. The sanctuary became the most famous in Sicily on account of its site on the summit, its riches, and magnificence.  

Its fame included the report that Daedalus was builder of an extending wall for the temple, and of a life-like golden ram for the goddess. Historically the Elymian settlement of Eryx itself later was occupied by Carthaginians in the fifth century. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, during his attempt to aid Tarentum against the Romans, held it briefly in 278 or 277 B.C. Thus the Greek influence at Eryx was minimal. Phoenician masons' marks have been found on the city walls, and Phoenician coinage from about the fourth century B.C. has been found verifying the early non-Greek influence in the area.
Although the Romans had been in Sicily as early as 263 B.C. during the first Punic War, when Segesta surrendered to them ostensibly because of its Trojan ancestry, they did not get control of Mount Eryx until 248 B.C. The cult which they found there showed evidence of its long and varied background, but the dominant influences were eastern, primarily Phoenician, because of Carthaginian hegemony in western Sicily; a notable exception was the involvement of Eros (Cupid), who is thought to be Greek. The Romans honored the cult at Eryx, and although they eliminated the eastern influences in Rome, magistrates while at Eryx worshipped Aphrodite Erycina, putting aside their conservatism for the goddess, and engaging in the rites of prostitution connected with the temple. The characteristics of the cult seem to have concentrated on the fertility aspect of the eastern goddess. Coins from the area dated from the fifth century B.C. help in our knowledge of the cult; on these the goddess often appears accompanied by doves. Schilling points out that since the second millennium B.C. the dove had been associated with the goddess of fertility in the Aegean world, with such local examples as the Phoenician Astarte, and the Greek Aphrodite. Also associated with her were the dog, vegetation, particularly roses and myrtle or laurel, and the wheel associated with Phoenician
navigation. The occasion of Venus' birth from the foam associates her also with the sea and the idea of fertility. Certain rituals in the cult indicative of her oriental nature are known: altars open to the sky, no sign of the sacrifice the following morning, the covering of the altars each morning with roses and herbs. These rituals of the Sicilian Erycina appear very like those of the Paphian Aphrodite on Cyprus, whose cult goes back to the Bronze Age; here, too, an open, unblemished altar, roses, doves, and an emphasis on fertility; each temple is said to have had sacred prostitution. At Eryx the prostitution was permanent with temple priestesses in extended service to the goddess; at Paphos it was a temporary ritual for women before marriage. Although there may have been some influence on the Cyprian goddess from the cult of the Minoan fertility goddess, no trace of the snakes associated with her at Knossos has been found on Cyprus or in Eryx. Any influence from Crete probably came indirectly through Anatolia or North Syria, which would account for the lack of the snake association on Cyprus.

Doves also played a part in the cult at Eryx each year when at a special festival a large number of them was regularly seen flying toward Libya. It was thought that Aphrodite made a journey to Libya accompanied by these doves and returned after nine days, heralded
by one dove of exceptional beauty.47

Thus the Romans found a goddess eastern in most respects when they gained control of the sanctuary. It was in 248, after a series of defeats and maritime disasters, that the consul L. Junius took the city and sanctuary through treachery. Although they later lost the city itself, the Romans retained control of the sanctuary, and became its protectors as well as its masters. Polybius attests to their devotion in his account of the Gallic mercenaries who under Carthaginian pay attempted to plunder the sanctuary. For this impiety he reports that Rome later disarmed Carthage and forbade access to Italy.49 The Romans attributed their success in Sicily and retaining control of the citadel to the favor of Erycina, their ancestress through Aeneas. They maintained that it was their Trojan connection which had facilitated their task in Sicily; for Segesta had surrendered to them, and Erycina had not abandoned them. Aeneas' stop at the shrine of Erycina at Eryx on his way to Italy seems to have been a Roman addition to the Trojan legend to which Vergil later gives credence in his Aeneid.50 From 241 on, coins from Segesta represented Aeneas carrying Anchises.51 Thus the Romans appropriated the goddess of the enemy and made use of her in the growing legend of Trojan ancestry for Rome.
In a crisis with the same enemy, but this time on Roman soil in 217 B.C., the Romans turned once again to the deity who had protected them on enemy territory. Schilling says that it is natural that they would remember Erycina in their ordeals of 217, and entrust themselves to the same goddess in regard to the same enemy.\(^{52}\) Hannibal had dealt them several defeats, and after the disaster at Lake Trasimenum, Q. Fabius Maximus, the dictator, urged that they consult the Sibylline books to discover how to appease the anger of the gods. Several measures were prescribed: games vowed to Jupiter, a supplication and \textit{lectisternium}, a \textit{ver sacram}, and a temple vowed to Venus Erycina as well as one to Mens.\(^{53}\) Livy places the establishment of the temples to Erycina and Mens second in his list, after the games to Jupiter. Along with Jupiter it was Venus who held the main position in that she was not only included in the \textit{lectisternium} of the twelve official deities, but a cult was created around her in a new temple on the Capitoline. In the \textit{lectisternium} Jupiter and Juno occupied the first couch, Neptune and Minerva the second, with Mars and Venus on the third, an association traditional in the Greek mythological accounts. The dictator Q. Fabius vowed the temple to Erycina, while T. Otacilius, a praetor, vowed the temple to Mens.\(^{54}\) In 215 Fabius and Otacilius were made \textit{duumviri} for the purpose of
dedicating the temples. Fabius Maximus, the grandson of Fabius Gurges, was thus continuing the official, and perhaps the family devotion to Venus as a protecting deity.

By 217 when the Romans felt in dire need of divine protection, Venus at Eryx had become to the Roman mind a propitiatory goddess, and also a goddess of victory. Her temple on the Capitoline, extraordinarily within the pomerium, placed her with the great national gods and near the temple of the great protector of Rome, Jupiter. When the Romans brought Erycina to Rome, they ignored the Carthaginian aspects of her cult and emphasized the Trojan associations. Thus they mixed myth with history in her epithet, which evoked the memory of their victorious resistance on Mount Eryx. She was again associated with Jupiter as a protectress of Rome and in the Roman calendar. The dedication date of her temple was April 23, the same day which was consecrated to the festival of the Vinalia priora, a festival which seems to have been associated primarily with Jupiter.

Venus Erycina was not limited to the Capitoline. The appeal of the goddess occasioned the second temple to be vowed to her in 184 B.C. by L. Porcius Licinus during the Ligurian War, and to be dedicated by him in 181. This temple, located outside the Colline Gate and outside the pomerium, had the same dedication day
as Venus on the Capitoline, April 23. The difference between the two was the cult. That of the Colline Gate seems to have retained the more exotic eastern elements of Erycina at Eryx, particularly that involving sacred prostitution as practiced at Paphos, Corinth, and Eryx. Ovid's account, although inaccurate in part because of confusion with the Capitoline Erycina and the date of entrance, describes the ceremonies of the Colline Erycina with the procession of the statue, the garlands of roses, and the courtesans. The emphasis is on her foreign characteristics, not her Romanized ancestral role as protectress and goddess of victory for Rome; this aspect of her cult centered on the Capitoline, the home of Jupiter, the other great protector of Rome. As the temple to Mens had been dedicated along with the Venus Erycina on the Capitoline, a second temple was dedicated with the Erycina outside the Colline Gate—a temple to Pietas by M'. Acilius Glabrio. In each instance a Venus Erycina and an abstraction appear, and Schilling suggests that the temples to Mens and Pietas were to represent characteristics of Aeneas. Granted that these were qualities attributed to Aeneas, they were, however, not unique to him; they were qualities which the Romans considered important for themselves to maintain in their relationships with their gods. Livy points out the emphasis placed on Flaminius' neglect of the proper regard
for the gods as necessitating the remedy which included the temples to Erycina and Mens on the Capitoline. Temples to the personifications of Mens and Pietas in connection with temples to Venus seem to indicate the importance the Romans placed on these qualities in their relationship with Venus as a protecting deity of Rome. It is these same qualities which the Romans stressed in their later characterization of Aeneas, the son of Venus and founder of the Roman race.

**Minor cults of Venus**

In contrast to the cult of Erycina little is known about the cult of Venus in the Lucus Libitinae. Like that of Venus Obsequens the temple was dedicated on August 19, the day of the Vinalia rustica. The etymology and significance of the epithet Libitina are unclear and were so even in antiquity. Varro gave the derivation: *ab lubendo, libido, libidinosus ac Venus Libentina et Libitina.* Schilling points out that despite Varro's derivation all the ancient authors who spoke of Libitina presented her as a funerary goddess; influence from the Etruscan goddess Turan who had funereal characteristics and was identified with Venus might explain the fact of a temple of Venus in the Grove of Libitina since cemeteries existed in the area. He concludes that
eventually the Etruscan connection was forgotten, and only the Hellenistic erotic aspect of the goddess remained in mind. 67

Another example of the amalgamation of Venus with another deity appears in the case of Venus Cloacina. As Pliny explains it she represents reconciliation and purification, the latter particularly signified by the myrtle. 68 Coinage of 43-42 B.C. by L. Mussidius Longus depicts both aspects; the inscription CONCORDIA appears behind a bust of Concord on the obverse; the reverse has two statues of Venus on a platform; each statue holds a myrtle branch; L. MUSSIDTIUS LONGUS is inscribed above, CLOACIN below. 69 At this time Venus' strong connection with the Julian gens would very likely associate Octavian in the minds of the people with the idea of purification and harmony symbolized on the coin. The legend MUSSIDIUS on the coin would seem to indicate his support of Octavian at a time when he was struggling for supremacy.

As in the case of Venus Cloacina, purification played a part in the cult of Venus Verticordia which seems to have been concerned with sexual morality (or the lack of it). Near the end of the third century in accordance with the Sibylline books, Sulpicia, designated as the most chaste woman in Rome, dedicated a statue to Venus Verticordia. The statue's relationship to the later
temple is not known, although it, too, was instituted at the instructions of the Sibylline books over a matter of morality. As a cult established by the Sibylline books, Verticordia may have had connections with the Greek cult of Aphrodite ἀντωποποιία at Thebes. Like the foreign cult of Erycina it was introduced as a remedy for a difficult situation, in this case social rather than military. Ovid describes the rites of the cult which involved a ritual bath, and as in other cults of Venus and Aphrodite, use of roses and myrtle.

Venus and the republican principes

Since the third century Rome had looked to Venus for help in times of distress. With L. Cornelius Sulla a new situation arose: an individual was claiming the divine favor of Venus on a personal level, and not as the result of aid specifically requested in a time of need. Sulla experienced extraordinary good fortune in his life, and seems to have linked this to the favor of Venus. Although it cannot be definitely proved, it is possible that Sulla chose the name Felix as a testimony to his concept of Venus' role in his life.

At his triumph in 82 B.C. after his return from the east, he added the name Felix. Coins, denarii from this time (82-81 B.C.), depict on the reverse the head of
Venus with Cupid standing before her holding a palm; L. SULLA is inscribed below. The obverse has a capis and lituus between two trophies; IMPER above, ITERUM below.\(^74\)

This was not the first time, however, that he had associated himself with Venus. After the capture of Athens in 86, he had gold coins minted in the Hellenistic tradition with his personal name on the obverse. These were similar to those of 82, with Venus and Cupid on the obverse, while the reverse showed a lituus and capis between two trophies.\(^75\) Also in 82 he minted denarii like the above but with a double cornucopia on the reverse along with a crown of laurel and the legend EX S.C.\(^76\) While in Greece he also displayed his devotion to Venus when he inscribed the names Mars, Victory, and Venus on the trophies after the battle with Archelaus at Chaeroneia.\(^77\) Victory was predicted to come to him again by the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadea if he would dedicate an ax to Aphrodite of Aphrodisias in Caria. Plutarch briefly mentions the oracle's favorable prediction, but says nothing about Aphrodite. Appian reports the oracle as follows:

> πεζθεό μου, 'Ρωμαῖε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν
> Ἀκνείου γενεὴ μεμελημένε. ἀλλὰ σὺ πάσην
> ἀθανάτους ἐπέτεεα τοὺει. μὴ λήθεο τῶνθε.
> Δελφοῖς δόρα κόμης. καὶ ἔστι τοῖς ἀμφιβαῶνοις
> Ταῦρου ὑπὸ υψήλεντος, ὥπου περιμένετον ἄστυ
> Ἀφροδίτην, οὗ νοΐσουσιν ἐπώνυμον εἰς Ἀφροδίτης.
> ἡ πέλεκυν θέμενος λήψῃ κράτος ἀμφιλαφέες σοι.
He then gives Sulla's reply:

τὸν δὲ σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ, Ἀφροδίτη, ὁ σ' εἶδον κατ' ὄνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιῶν ὀλέχουσαν τεῦχεσι τοῖς Ἀρεοὶς μαρναμένη ἐνοπλοῦν.78

The sanctuary of Aphrodisias like that of Eryx became a site for pilgrimage to the Romans, and Sulla took from it the ax and scepter to represent the concepts of the military and beneficent nature of Venus. Greek coins of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias picture the goddess with a star and crescent above her—indications of her cosmic force.79 These two attributes appear later on coins in connection with Pompey and Caesar's relationship to Venus.80

The name Felix in itself is not necessarily indicative of Venus, and could possibly be linked with Felicitas or Fortuna. One bit of evidence which favors Venus, however, is the Greek translation of Felix as Ἑπαφροδίτος and his trophies in Greece bearing the inscription:

ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΑΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣ.81

There is less evidence in Rome itself for the idea of Venus as Felix aside from the coins of Sulla and the inscription attesting to the existence of a temple of Venus Felix.82 It is therefore difficult to say positively how much Sulla identified with Venus and promoted
Cn. Pompeius Magnus followed Sulla's lead in publicly proclaiming the patronage of a deity, namely Venus Victrix. By dedicating his theater-temple to her as Victrix he placed a new emphasis on the militaristic nature of Venus. Before this there is no definite evidence of the use of the actual epithet Victrix in connection with Venus. Her worship as Victrix did continue to spread, however, especially in the provinces. Money issued by Faustus Sulla (Pompey's son-in-law) in 54 is thought to commemorate Pompey's Victrix. The head of Venus, diademed, laureled, jeweled, and with a scepter appears on the obverse; the reverse has three trophies of Pompey's African, European, and Asian triumphs between a capis and lituus. Plutarch and Appian report the dream which supposedly caused Pompey to shout Hercules Invictus rather than Venus Victrix at Pharsalus. His subsequent defeat at Pharsalus gave form to his earlier fear of providing honor and glory to the line of Caesar, although not in the manner in which he had interpreted his dream. Implicit in the accounts of Plutarch and Appian on Pharsalus is that the divine favor of Venus now resided with Caesar and provided him the victory over Pompey.

The battle of Pharsalus emerges as an important factor in Caesar's subsequent relationship to Venus. According to Appian he vowed a temple to Venus Victrix.
before the battle and himself gave the cry Venus Victrix in battle. The temple was dedicated to Venus Genetrix, however, and gave Caesar the opportunity to emphasize the ancestral aspect of the goddess. He had begun this emphasis even as early as his aunt's funeral and again before his soldiers in 49 B.C. With the temple in the center rear of his forum Venus more than ever became a prominent deity in Rome. Various authors remark on the beauty and magnificence of the temple and the cult statue. The statue, attributed to Arcesilaus, was matronly rather than the Hellenistic type emphasizing the erotic beauty of Aphrodite. Coinage of about 48 B.C. pictures Venus on the obverse, while the obverse has Aeneas carrying Anchises and the Palladium; the inscription reads CAESAR. This and numerous coins during Caesar's later years in power emphasized Venus as the ancestress of the Julian gens and in her role as Victrix.

Octavian continued his adoptive father's policy of honoring Venus, and in 42 held games in honor of the anniversary of the temple to Venus Genetrix at which the statues of Venus and Caesar led the procession. He also consecrated in the temple a painting of Venus Anadyomene in honor of the goddess. Through coinage particularly he promoted the idea of Venus as the
personal deity of the Julian gens and her connection with their victories. In 39 he issued coins showing Aeneas carrying Anchises; the obverse had a picture of Octavian with the inscription TRIUMVIR. The following year Venus and Cupid appeared on the reverse, while the obverse again pictured Octavian and the inscription TRIUMVIR. Also in 38 he issued a coin with Apollo on the obverse and Venus on the reverse. Coins continued to depict Octavian (or Augustus, as he was to become in 27) and Venus. Several from about 30-27 B.C. show the head of Augustus on the obverse; the reverse has Venus leaning against a column with a shield against it while she holds a helmet and scepter. Another type has the diademed head of Venus on the obverse; the reverse depicts Augustus in military garb holding a spear in his left hand and raising his right hand; the inscription reads CAESAR DIVI F. A variant on this has him holding a glove in his right hand. One other variant has the head of Venus between a cornucopia and laurel, while the reverse shows Augustus walking, raising his right hand, and carrying a spear over his shoulder; the inscription is the same—CAESAR DIVI F.

Although Augustus maintained Venus in her place of honor, nevertheless he may have been uncomfortable with the temple of Venus Genetrix because of the Egyptian connections elicited by the statue of Cleopatra placed
there by Caesar. It was to the statue of Venus in the Pantheon (begun in 27 and dedicated in 25, not to Augustus as Agrippa had proposed, but to all the gods, particularly Venus and Mars) that Augustus dedicated the spoils of Cleopatra. This association of Venus with Mars was not new; it went back to the first *lectisternium* in Rome in the year 217, and was also in Greek myth, but with a different emphasis. By associating Mars with Venus, Augustus focused on Mars' role in the ancestry of the Roman people. At Philippi in 42 as Octavian he had vowed a temple to *Mars Ultor*, designating the god as avenger and protector of the Julian *gens* and the Roman people. A bas relief from the facade of the Villa Medici has been identified as representing the temple of Mars Ultor and its pedimental sculpture consisting of Mars with a spear and Venus with Cupid on her shoulder and Fortuna at her side; within the temple stood colossal statues of Venus and Mars. Venus' role as *Genetrix* with its victorious and protective aspects had not changed, but it had become a role shared with Mars and more militaristic in emphasis.

Venus had thus been exerting an influence in Rome as a cult deity since early in the third century B.C. She had entered as primarily a propitiatory deity in the role as Venus Obsequens, and had been linked closely
with Jupiter in the Vinalia. Through the centuries her early qualities of a protectress had remained, but additional nuances were incorporated into her image as she acquired the eastern and Greek eroticism of Aphrodite, particularly in her cult of Erycina outside the Colline Gate. Her role became more narrowly defined later as individual men, Sulla, Pompey, C. Caesar, and to some extent his great-nephew Augustus, attributed many of their successes to the patronage of Venus. Under Caesar and Augustus her ties with the Julian gens gained prominence, which in turn associated them closely with a deity noted for her protection of Rome. By the first century B.C. and particularly in the latter half, Venus had become one of the leading deities in Rome.
Notes
Chapter I


Nomina decem mensibus antiquis Romulum fecisse Fulvius et Iunius auctores sunt et quidem duos primos a parentibus suis nominasse, Martium a Marte patre, Aprilem ab Aphrodite, id est Venere, unde maiores eius oriundi dicebantur.

Cf. Macrobius 1.12.14:

...eaque omnia verno, id est hoc mense, aperiantur, arbores quoque nec minus cetera, quae continet terra aperire se in germem inciplant, ab his omnibus mensem Aprilem dici merito credendum est, quasi Aperilim, sicut apud Athenienses Ἀνθέοτητος idem mensis vocatur ab eo quod hoc tempore cuncta florescant.

3 Varro L. 5.61, 62, 63.

4 Cicero N.D. 2.27.69 Quae autem dea ad res omnes veniret Venerem nostri nominaverunt, atque ex ea potius venustas quam Venus ex venustate. Cf. 2.28.70 for Lucilius Balbus' speech on how false ideas and superstitions evolved about the gods. Cf. Servius A. 1.720 Nam Venerem vocari quidam propter promptam veniam dicunt.

5 A. Ernout and A. Meillet, Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine, 4th ed., (Paris, 1959), s.v. venus, 722, identify venus as an ancient neuter form which lost its original neuter gender when the concept which it represented was personified and identified with the Greek Aphrodite. Venus corresponds to the Sanskrit vanah and is traced to the Indo-European root *wen- which they translate "désirer"; cognate, German: wunsch; English: wish.

7 Schilling, 33-46. Veneror was used only with gods in the Republican period to ask for divine favor; so with venia; venenum and venenatum imply the potential of magic associated with the power of Venus; venerium, too, involves the favor of the goddess. Cf. also p.30, "D'abord les recherches de la linguistique n'ont pas pretendu faire une étude exhaustive des mots de la famille de venus, elles ont indique les rapprochements principaux venus, venia, venerari, venenum, negligeant des termes plus particuliers tels que venenatum, venerium."

8 Schilling, 60ff.

9 See page 4 and footnote 14, ch. 1. Schilling, 29, points out that Jupiter and Fortuna were the only other divinities invoked by this title.

10 In one version Roman women gave their hair for bowstrings when the Gauls were besieging Rome; the other has the women lose their hair in an epidemic. In each instance a statue was erected to Venus Calva. Cf. Servius A. 1.720; RE, 3.1408.


12 Galinsky, op. cit., 118. Strabo 5.232, cites a temple of Aphrodite, ἠστὶ τὸ Λαουάνων, ἐχον κοινὸν τῶν Λατίνων ἱερὸν 'Αφροδήτης.

13 Galinsky, op. cit., 145, 160-1, chapters 3 and 4, passim.

etiam Obsequens Venus, quam Fabius Gurges post peractum bellum Samniticum ideo hoc nomine consecravit, quod sibi fuerit obsecuta; cf. also Platner and Ashby, 552; Schilling, 27ff.

15 Livy 10.29.14; cf. Ovid Fast. 4.621.
16 RE, 8.848-50, s.v. Venus.
17 Livy 10.29.14. After the death of his colleague at the hands of the enemy, Q. Fabius Rullianus vowed a temple and spoils to Jupiter Victor, and proceeded to defeat the Gauls and Samnites. The dedication date of August 19 for both the temple to Venus and to Jupiter suggests that the Vinalia emphasized the propitiatory and protective qualities of the deities. At this time grapes of the harvest were offered to the gods to renew the alliance between them and the people. For a full discussion of this, see Schilling, 91-155.

18 Schilling, ibid.
19 Ibid., 154.
20 Livy 22.9.10, 10.10; 23.30.13.
21 Ibid., 23.31.9; Ovid Fast. 6.241.

22 The more complex image of Venus Erycina in regard to her historical and legendary connections with Carthage and Troy will be handled in a discussion of the significance of "Erycina."

23 Livy 40.34.4-6.

24 Strabo 6.2.5; αφόρομα δ'έστι καὶ ἐν'Ρώμη τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς κολλύνης ἱερὸν 'Ἀφροδύτης Ἐρυκύνης λεγόμενον, ἐχων καὶ νεὼν καὶ στοὰν περικυκλωμένην ἀξιόλογον. Cf. Livy 30.38.10, who confirms the location and aspect of the goddess. K. Galinsky, op. cit., 184-6, interprets the Strabo passage as meaning that the worship of Venus Erycina outside the Colline Gate was patterned after that of Aphrodite at Eryx. He concludes that her temple at Rome was round, 180-4.

25 Ovid Fast. 4.865-95; Platner and Ashby, 551; Schilling, 260-2.
26. Pliny Nat. 15.119-20 quippe ita traditur, myrtea verbena Romanos Sabinosque, cum propter raptas virgines dimiticare voluissent, depositis armis purgatos in eo loco qui nunc signa Veneris Cluacinae habet: cluere enim antiqui purgare dicebant. et in ea quoque arbor suffimenti genus habetur, ideo tum electa quoniam coniunctioni et huic arbori Venus praeest, haud sclo an prima etiam omnium in locis publicis Romae sata, fatidico quidem et memorabili augurio. Cf. Livy 3.48.5; Platner and Ashby, 128.

27. Ovid Fast. 4.157-60: Roma pudicitia proavorum tempore lapsa est; Cumaem, veteres, consulustis anum; templa iubet fieri Veneri, quibus ordine factis inde Venus verso nomina corde tenet. Cf. Schilling, 226ff; H. Seaby, Roman Silver Coins, Republic—Augustus (London, 1967), 36; cf. Coins of the Roman Republic, British Museum, 1.523; 4037-9; Coins with a statue of the goddess on the reverse holding scales and a scepter and Cupid on her shoulder were issued by M. Cordius Rufus. Seaby suggests a possible pun on the name Cordius with Verticordia, who could turn men's hearts.

28. Platner and Ashby, 14, 552, 555.

29. J. A. Hanson, Roman Theater-Temples (Princeton, 1959), 43-55, is particularly helpful on Pompey's theater-temple to Venus Victrix. Cf. Tert. De spect. 10.5 for the statement that Pompey dedicated his theater as a temple to Venus, not as a theater.

30. Hanson, ibid., 52, 53; cf. note 51 on pp. 52-3.

31. Schilling, 296ff; Hanson, op. cit., 43-55.

32. Platner and Ashby, 226; Pliny Nat. 35.156; CIL 12, p. 330.

33. Schilling, 310ff. presents the information available on the description of the temple and the cult statue of Venus Genetrix.

34. Venus Obsequens seems to have been eclipsed in later centuries by Venus Erycina brought into Rome not long after and having similar protective characteristics. Cf. Attilio Degrassi, Inscriptiones Italicae, 13.2 (Roma, 1963), who records no occurrence of Obsequens in any of the known calendars. Reference to Venus Erycina, however, does occur in the Fasti Antiates Maiores for April 23,
the Fasti Fratrum Arvalium for October 24, and the Fasti Esquillini for April 23.

35 Diodorus 4.83.1-3.

36 Polybius 1.55.7-9; Pausanias 8.24.6; CRRBM, 3830-2; Seaby, op. cit., 34. Roman coins of the first century B.C., c.63-2 were issued by C. Considius Nonianus with the inscription ERUC on the reverse side, and the temple on the mountain top; the obverse showed Venus wearing a crown of laurel and a diadem. Cf. also Schilling, 235f.

37 Diodorus 4.78.4-5.


39 Thucydides 6.2.3 cites Eryx and Segesta as settlements founded by Trojans after the Trojan War.

40 Diodorus 4.83.7.


42 Schilling, 237.

43 Aelian De natura animalium 10.50. Galinsky, op. cit., 73-6, suggests that the open altar means an unroofed temple to the goddess, which along with the other rites common to the Paphian and Sicilian cults may go back to pre-Phoenician times.

44 Tacitus Hist. 2.3.5; Servius A. 1.335.

45 Herodotus 1.199; cf. Schilling, 238.


47 Aelian op. cit., 4.2.
Polybius 1.55.6.

Ibid., 2.7.9-10.

Lycophron Alex. 951-70; 1237-60; Lycophron does not have Aeneas stop at Eryx; Diodorus does, however in 4.83.4. Cf. Schilling, 244-5. Vergil 5.759-60, where Aeneas is credited with building a temple to Idalian Venus "Erycino in vertice."

Schilling, 245, pl. 27.3.

Ibid., 241-2.

Livy 22.10.7-10; cf. Schilling's suggestion that Mens represented the wisdom of Aeneas, pp. 250-2.

Livy 22.10.9-10.

Ibid., 23.31.13-5.

Coinage of C. Considius Paetus, c. 45 B.C. shows Venus Erycina wearing a diadem and laurel crown on the obverse; the reverse has Victory with a palm and crown in quadriga carrying a trophy. Cf. CARBM, 4087, 4090; Seaby, op. cit., 35.

The exact site of her temple on the Capitoline is not known, but one would assume some proximity to the temple of Jupiter.

Schilling, 247ff.

Varro L. 6.16 Vinalia a vino; hic dies Iovis, non Veneris. Schilling, 98-107 cites epigraphical and literary evidence which contradicts Varro.

Ovid Fast. 4.865-900. Cf. 4.135-9 and 869-70 in which he speaks of the profusion of myrtle and roses during the festivals of Verticordia and Erycina:

aurea marmoreo redimicula demite collo,
      demite divitiis: tota lavanda dea est.
aurea siccato redimicula reddite collo:
      nunc ali flores, nunc nova danda rosa est.
vos quaque sub viridi myrto iubet ipsa lavari;

(4.135-9)
Numina vulgares Veneris celebrate puellae!
Multa professarum quaestibus apta Venus,
poscite ture dato formam populique favorem,
poscite blanditias dignaque verba loco,
cumque sua dominae date sisymbria myrto
tectaque composta iuncea vincla rosa:
templa frequentari Collinae proxima portae
nunc decet, a Siculo nomina colle tenent;

(4.865-72)

61 Schilling, 252-5.
62 Cf. Cicero N.D. 1.41.115; Off. 2.3.11. Cf. Galinsky, op. cit., 175-6, for comments regarding the temple of Mens.
63 Livy 22.9.7-10.
64 RE, 8.850-1, s.v. Venus.
65 Schilling, 206 cites Varro L. 6.47.
66 Schilling, 205.
67 Ibid., 206.
68 Pliny Nat. 15.119; 15.120.
69 Seaby, op. cit., p. 68 #6a. Crescent below chin; #6b. Star below chin of bust. Three others are similar, but have a bust of Sol on the obverse. CRRBM 4244, 4246, 4248, 4252; BMC, p. 578; The platform for the statues still exists; see Seaby, p. 68.
70 Platner and Ashby, 555.
71 See above, page 7. The Greek Aphrodite as the deity concerned with sexuality would seem the appropriate one to effect a remedy.
72 Cf. Schilling, 229, note 3.
73 Ovid Fast. 4.135-44. See note 60 for lines 135-9.

causaque, cur iubeat (discite!), certa subest.
litore siccabitrorantes nudacapillo:
viderunt satyri, turba proterva, deam.
sensit et opposita textusacorpora myrto:
tuta fuit facto voxque referre iubet.

(4.140-4)
Seaby, op. cit., 38, #29; #30 is similar except for the inscription ITERV.

Schilling, 280-1; cf. Babelon, MRR 1, p. 406, #28; also, Grueber, CRH 2, p. 459, #1.

Seaby, 38-9, #33, #44.

Plutarch Sulla 19.5.

Ibid., 17.2; Appian B.C. 1.97, gives the words of the oracle and Sulla's reply.

Schilling, 294-5.

The coin was a commemorative issue in honor of Pompey by Faustus Sulla (Pompey's son-in-law) depicting Venus driving a chariot across a field of stars. Cf. Schilling, 301, note 1. Cf. Seaby, 108, #22, BMC 4152; the crescent appears with Caesar on the obverse, Venus holding Victory on the reverse; date, c. 44 B.C.

Plutarch Sulla 34.3-4; cf. De Fortuna Romanorum, 318 D (ed. Bernardakis, p. 388). Cf. J. Carcopino, Sulla (Paris, 1947), 108-13, and Schilling, 283-4, for discussion of Ἐπαφρόδιτος. They point out that in documents sent from Rome to Greek cities, Sulla's Roman title of Felix was translated as Ἐπαφρόδιτος, thus specifically associating him with the favor of Aphrodite.

Some would label a female head as Diana rather than Venus on a coin issued c. 63-2 by Faustus, Sulla's son. The obverse of the coin has Sulla seated with Bacchus and Jugurtha kneeling; the inscription is FELIX. Cf. Seaby who labels it Diana, p. 40, #59; CRRBM 1, p. 471, #3824; cf. Schilling, 276.

Cf. RE, 8.860-3, s.v. Venus.

Hanson, op. cit., 50.

Ibid. Hanson cites the epigraphical evidence, 51-2.

Seaby, 40, #63; Brit. Mus. #3909.

Plutarch Pompey 68.2; Appian B.C. 2.68, 76.

Appian B.C. 2.68; 2.76; cf. Servius A. 7.637, who says Venus Genetrix; cf. also Schilling, 305, note 4.
89 Suetonius Caesar 6.2.
90 Dio 41.34.2.
91 Dio 43.22.3 remarks on its beauty. Ovid Ars. 1.81-2; 3.451 describes it. Pliny Nat. 35.136; 9.116; 34.18.
92 Schilling, 311, note 4.
93 Seaby, op. cit., #12, p. 107; pp. 106-10 offer numerous examples of Venus associated with the Julian gens.
94 Dio 47.18.4; 49.49.1; Pliny Nat. 2.93; Appian B.C. 3.28.
95 Pliny Nat. 35.91.
96 Grueber, CRBBM 1, p. 579, #4257; p. 593, #4277.
97 Ibid., p. 590, #4300.
98 Coins with heads of Augustus; cf. Seaby, 136, #62, 63; CRBBM 1, #4333, 4334; Venus heads, Seaby, 136, #70, 71, 72; CRBBM, #4327-9.
99 Pliny Nat. 9.121; cf. Dio 51.21.8; 53.27.2.
100 Lugli, Roma Antica (Rome, 1946), 266ff. Cf. Ovid Tr. 2.296.
101 Lugli, ibid., 267. Because Augustus had difficulty obtaining the land, the dedication of the Forum Augustum, site of the temple of Mars Ultor, did not occur until 2 B.C. Even then the temple was incomplete, and it is unlikely Horace would have been familiar with the sculpture group.
Chapter II

Venus in Roman Literature Before Horace

Roman contact with Venus was not limited to the official temples and cults in the city. When the influence of Greek literature began to be felt in Rome around the mid-third century B.C. through the translations and adaptations of Greek literature into Latin, Venus appeared there, too. Latin authors presented a Venus shaped after the Greek Aphrodite as well as the nationalized goddess with whom they were more familiar. The Venus known to Romans from literature thus became a more complex divinity as authors drew her with characteristics from either or both heritages. By mid-first century B.C. Horace had a multiplicity of Venus-Aphrodites, both in cult and literature, from which to create the divinity he brought to his *Odes*.

In Ennius we already find this amalgamation in fragments from his *Annales*. There the ancestral Venus of the Homeric Aeneas legend appears.¹ With her prophetic gift to Anchises she is the beneficent goddess of the type honored by the Romans as Obsequens in their first temple to her in 295.

36
Doctusque Anchisa, Venus quem pulcherruma dium fari donavit, divinum pectus habere

Ann. 1.18-9

While the relationship with Anchises recalls Venus' ancestral and propitiatory connections with Rome through their son, Aeneas, at the same time it implies her erotic nature which Ennius emphasized by the word pulcherruma. Clearly the erotic and generative aspects are closely related in the early development of the goddess. But the literary usages tend to take advantage of them independently as well as in combination. Elsewhere she is specifically genetrix as Ilia addresses her in a prayer:

Te nunc sancta precor Venus, te genetrix patris nostrī ut me de caelo visas cognota parumper.

Ann. 1.49-50

Her reply to Ilia confirms the relationship:

Ilia dia nepos, quas aerumnas tetulisti.

Ann. 1.52

Venus' complex ties with Rome would very likely be in the mind of the ancient reader of the late first century B.C. as he heard the word genetrix, for by then C. Caesar had strongly promoted the relationship between Venus, the Julian gens, and the Roman people. Although considered old-fashioned, Ennius' Annales were popular with the Romans of the late Republic, even with such an intellectual as Cicero, who was accustomed to quote them. Even prior to that, a reader of Ennius might easily connect genetrix with the genealogy of Venus, Aeneas, Ilia, and
Romulus, for in another fragment from the *Annales* Venus advises Ilia:

>Cetera quos peperisti/ne cures.  

*Ann.* 1.53-4

Despite the emphasis in the *Annales* on the maternal and ancestral aspects of Venus, the influence of the Greek Aphrodite prevailed. In fragment 1.18 the erotic aspect of the deity comes out in the description *pulcherrima dium.* Ennius noted the erotic nature of the goddess again, but in a different light; in his translation of Euhemerus the emphasis in on the temple prostitution which was part of her cult on Cyprus.

>artem meretriciam instituit auctorque  
mulleribus in Cypro fuit uti vulgo corpore  
quaestum faceret; quod idcirco imperavit ne  
sola praeter alias mulieres inpudica et  
virorum adpetens videretur.\(^3\)

Elsewhere in early Roman literature, particularly the comedies of Plautus, Venus is depicted more as the Greek Aphrodite than as the Roman goddess. This Greek goddess of passionate love and desire was frequently invoked by the young men, *lenones,* and courtesans in the plays, often under humorous circumstances. She became Venus in name, but retained primarily her Greek erotic nature. At times, however, her ancestral-protective image as stressed in the cult of Venus Erycina on the Capitoline was evident. Both the *Poenulus* and *Rudens* portray this nationalized, essentially non-erotic aspect
of Venus as well as her foreign, erotic nature. Galinsky suggests that "the contrast between matronly decency and professionalism of a *meretrix*" in *Poenulus* (1174-94ff.) reflects a controversy in Rome about the two cults of Erycina—the already established cult on the Capitoline, and that of Erycina *extra Portam Collinam* vowed in 184; the fact that the second, more exotic cult was even considered resulted from sufficient dissatisfaction with the Capitoline cult. Most often in Plautus' plays an allusion to Venus concerns her role as the goddess of erotic love. She is a powerful deity and one to be propitiated. On occasion *venus* is used to refer to the idea of physical love without the personification of the goddess. In the *Rudens* Plautus combines the Greek and Roman concepts of the goddess, and at one point a Venus somewhat less Hellenized may be said to be evident when the priestess of the temple describes her as *obsequens*, the epithet of the first official temple-cult to Venus in Rome:

| Qui sunt qui a patrona preces mea expetessunt? |
| Nam vox me precantium huc foras excitavit |
| Bonam atque opsequentem deam atque haud gravatam |
| Patronam exsequontur benignamque multum. |

*Rud.* 258-61

The propitious, protective qualities of her role as *Obsequens* were also to be seen in Venus Erycina on the Capitoline and the later cults of Victrix and Genetrix; it would appear that this role of Venus was highly prized
by the Romans. At various times Plautus seems to combine this more Roman concept of Venus with the Greek elements as when he unites her propitiatory role with the erotic. Although this mixture seems to occur in Plautus, the other comic writers of Roman literature, in the limited fragments extant, portray Venus with such lines as are indicative of her erotic nature:

Verbum hercle hoc verum erit. sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus. Terence Eu. 732

Animos Venus veget voluptatibus.
L. Pomponius Bononiensis
(Ribbeck CRF, p. 258)

Blanditia non imperio fit dulcis Venus.
In Venere semper certant dolor et gaudium.
In Venere semper dulcis est dementia.
Publilius Syrus
(Ribbeck CRF, verses 56, 268, 276)

References to Venus in comic writers other than Plautus are minimal, even in the case of Terence. Her role in general in Latin literature before the Ciceronian period appears minor, and seems to have been limited to a great extent to that in drama, particularly Plautus from whom we have the largest amount of extant material.

A search through the indices and fragments of early writers has yielded little which even mentions Venus
other than a few brief fragments of poems from Aedituus, Catulus, Laevius, and Calvus. In each instance these are references to an erotic Venus. 9

at contra hunc ignem Veneris nisi si Venus ipsa nulla est quae possit vis alia opprimere.

Aedituus
(Morel 275B, p. 43)

Venus <o> amoris altrix
genetrix cupiditatis
mihi quae diem serenum
hilarula praepandere cresti.

Laevius
(Morel 291B, p. 60)

Both authors emphasize her power in love. Genetrix, which Ennius had used of her Roman connections, appears in Laevius' poem in an obviously erotic sense. In these two brief fragments contrasting images of erotic Venus appear in the phrases ignem Veneris and quae diem serenum/hilarula praepandere; the one indicative of her fierceness, the other, of her gentleness—two aspects of her nature upon which Horace builds in his odes.

At a time when Venus was becoming increasingly important in Rome in a political-religious sense, particularly as Victrix to Pompey and as Genetrix to Caesar, she also figured prominently in a major literary work of the period, for Lucretius began his De Rerum Natura with an invocation to her. This proem of 49 lines 10 has generated considerable scholarly debate about Lucretius'
purpose in beginning his poem on Epicureanism with a lengthy entreaty to a divinity, and what significance he meant to convey through his choice of Venus. Some have attributed the invocation to mere convention in ancient poetry, but the generally accepted view is that Lucretius presented Venus as the creative force of Nature, and was thus not inconsistent with his Epicurean beliefs that the gods did not interfere in the affairs of men.¹¹

Lucretius described but did not name in the first line the divinity who was to provide the inspiration for his poem:

_Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divumque voluptas_
She is first of all _genetrix_, specifically of Aeneas and his descendants, the Romans. Having thus referred to her in terms which would immediately identify her to his audience and emphasize her creative role, Lucretius further qualifies her with _voluptas_. Only in line two does he name her; she is _alma Venus_. Bailey points out that this is not a mere conventional epithet of Venus, that rather it has special significance because of its source, _alere_, and serves to emphasize the "fostering" nature of the goddess.¹² According to Roman legend she had been _alma_ to the Romans down through the generations and in times of crisis. It is likely that Lucretius had this background in mind, yet he proceeds to describe the
goddess not of myth or legend, but a deity uninvolved in the affairs of men, one who could be reconciled with the philosophy of Epicurus. Lucretius makes this clear with the closing lines of the proem, 44-9. In addition to noting the obvious role of Venus-Voluptas or Aphrodite-\( \nu \delta ου\) η, Elder in his article on the proem suggests as reasons for the choice of Venus that 1) With the phrase Aeneadum genetrix, Lucretius is possibly sounding a note of national pride as reflected in line 40 with Romanis and in 137 with Latinis versibus; 2) it is a tribute to the Memmius gens which associated itself with Venus through the Trojan Mnestheus. Memmius at this time seems to have been in support of C. Caesar, and Grimal believes that the proem has a double significance, philosophical and political, with the political being in support of Caesar.\(^{13}\)

The designation of voluptas has received much attention. Equivalent to \( \nu \delta ου\) \( \eta \), it should indicate a Venus consistent with the ideals of Epicurus. Scholarly opinion varies as to what kind of pleasure Lucretius meant, if he meant pleasure at all. Bignone has suggested that voluptas represents two kinds of Epicurean pleasure: 1) kinetic in the first 23 lines, and 2) static in the remaining, with the understanding that kinetic pleasure refers to that enjoyed by men and animals, while static is a higher kind reserved to the gods.\(^{15}\) Elder modifies
this and finds three meanings in voluptas, including Farrington's designation of "blessedness." For Elder voluptas is 1) the static pleasure of the Epicurean gods, 2) kinetic pleasure when it is impersonal and thus harmless, and 3) the harmful pleasure of a passionate lover. Elder extends this to include the ideas of generation as personified in Venus, and the resulting peace which follows physical creativity, and further suggests that Lucretius applied these concepts to the mental, spiritual, and artistic levels, believing that poetry and philosophy produced serenity and happiness. Elder points out that Lucretius used vocabulary descriptive of Venus' generative powers in the proem to speak of his poetry, and that he seeks her as socia so that his verses may have lepos.

    quo magis aeternum da dictis, diva, leporem.  
    1.28

Above he has said: ita capta lepore/te sequitur cupide quo quamque inducere pergis (1.15-6). In lines 1.922ff. when Lucretius speaks of the aid of the Muses, he repeats ideas and images from 1-43 such as percussit, suavis, amor, flores, lepos. Elder concludes that Lucretius saw his poem as a generative force for the peace found in Epicurean philosophy, much as Venus was the generative force of nature. Thus Lucretius counted poets and philosophers as divine among mortals.
The Mars-Venus scene in the proem has received various interpretations. The commentaries indicate its suggestion of both deities' legendary connections with the founding of Rome. Bailey rejects an allegorical interpretation wherein Venus would represent Love and Mars, Strife; so do Leonard and Smith; in their view it is primarily a mythological scene. While not disputing these interpretations, Elder extends them, suggesting that Mars represents man who does not know what true voluptas is; that it is not passionate love, but the complete happiness of the gods. With the Mars-Venus scene Lucretius may have had in mind the ability of the creative force to bring that kind of peace. I would add here that the effect of Venus upon Mars may also be a foreshadowing of the negative aspects of Venus on men as described in the last part of Book 4:

sed leviter poenas frangit Venus inter amorem blandaque refrenat morsus admixa voluptas. 4.1084-5
	sic in amore Venus simulacris ludit amantis nec satiare queunt spectando corpora coram. 4.1101-2

Frequently in Book 4, however, Venus is nothing other than various aspects of physical love, and is not the goddess of the proem.

Haec Venus est nobis; hinc autemst nomen amoris 4.1058

...teriturque thalassina vestis assidue et Veneris sudorem exercita potat. 4.1127-8
As the diversity of scholarship on the subject indicates, the Venus of Lucretius' poem is not a straightforward representation of the Greek Aphrodite, nor is she simply the Venus of the Trojan legend, the ancestress of the Romans. Lucretius has taken various aspects of the goddess as she was known in antiquity and created a Venus suitable to his Epicureanism. The legendary, mythological Venus with her ancestral, protective, procreative, and erotic aspects is only hinted at in the proem. She is primarily a creation of Lucretius and a vehicle for his philosophy, while in Book 4 she verges closest to the concept of the erotic goddess in the instances when Lucretius is not using Venus simply as physical love.

Venus appears in the poetry of Catullus a sufficient number of times to warrant consideration of how he presented her in his poems. Yet, it is strange that Catullus, an erotic poet, used Venus so little in his poetry. One must also consider whether he treated her in a manner similar to Lucretius' Venus. Although the two poets were contemporaries, Lucretius' Venus seems not to have had any influence on that of Catullus or the reverse. In contrast to scholarship of Lucretius there is little discussion of Venus in Catullus' poetry. Scholarly discussion centering on poems which do contain reference to Venus are silent about any ancestral and protective
qualities in Catullus' Venuses. The Venus who appears in his poetry seems to be the erotic goddess known primarily from Greek literature.\textsuperscript{22}

Those who have written about Catullus' poems have tended to ignore Venus in them except for the three poems in which he speaks of the plural Veneres.\textsuperscript{23} It is generally interpreted as being without any special reference to the various forms of the goddess,\textsuperscript{24} but rather as suggestive of the graces and charms of Venus.\textsuperscript{25} Each time he used Veneres it occurs in a poem about his mistress. In two of these instances Veneres is accompanied by Cupidines, 3.1 and 13.12, but Catullus was not being original in this, for he had precedents in Greek literature.\textsuperscript{26}

In 36.3, however, he speaks of the goddess and her companion, Cupid, in the singular when he is thinking of them in more concrete terms in association with mea puella, who has vowed to Venus to burn bad verses. Later in 36.11-5 Catullus stresses Venus' erotic nature with reference to her birth from the sea and to several cult sites of Venus in the Mediterranean, as he beseeches her to accept the vow of his mistress. Thus he would destroy his verses which are not equal to the perfection of the goddess who rules sanctum Idalium. Three of the sites, Idalium, Amathus, and Golgi, all on Cyprus and famous for the worship of Aphrodite, specifically connect her
with Cyprus. Cnidus (line 13), which had three temples to the goddess, carries the possible allusion to the famous statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles which was in one of the temples. Ancona (line 13) may also connect her with Cyprus in an indirect way. It, too, had a cult to Venus, the importance of which is suggested by the coinage issued there bearing the head of Venus. This cult at Ancona is perhaps more remote from that at Cyprus than the others because Ancona had been founded by settlers from Syracuse who might have been exposed to the cult at Eryx. The similarity in cult practices between the Cyprian cult and that at Eryx (the two goddesses were frequently connected) may well have carried over to the cult of the Syracusan colony at Ancona.27

Elsewhere in his poetry Catullus used venus in 45.26 and in 63.17 to express the idea of passion and physical love. She is the goddess of love as Idalium colens... Venus in 61.17-8, and at various points in 66 she is again the goddess who presides over love. Catullus laments the cruelty of Venus in 55 and 68. She delights in the revelation of unfaithfulness as he points out in 55.20: verbosa gaudet Venus loquella. In 68.17-8 he dwells upon her double nature as regards love:

...non est dea nescia nostri,
quae dulcem curs miscet amaritiam.

Later in the poem at lines 51-2 he returns to this idea:
mihi quam dederit duplex Amathusia curam
scitis et in quo me torruit genere.

In line 51 Amathusia identifies her with her cult on Cyprus, and emphasizes the erotic nature of the goddess as it prevailed on Cyprus. The epithet duplex may serve a double purpose here, alluding to a hermaphrodite statue of the goddess said to be at Amathus, and to twofold erotic nature, now beneficent, now cruel, but always capriciously so; as a result—a goddess "treacherous" or "deceitful" in the realm of love. Commentators remark on this rare duplex to describe character, citing Horace's use of duplicis Ulixei in C.1.6.7. Given Catullus' other comments about the antitheses of love and the goddess responsible for them, it is most likely that he intended to convey through duplex the idea of Venus' double nature. Once in 64.72 Catullus uses the epithet of a specific cult in Rome, that of Erycina. He presents a goddess presiding over an erotic situation of unrequited love which she has created for Ariadne. This Erycina is apparently not the one on the Capitoline, but rather that of the temple at the Colline Gate, whose practices were closer to the Sicilian Erycina, with emphasis on the erotic aspects of her cult and the eastern nature of the goddess. As wherever else Catullus used Venus in his poetry, she is the goddess of love rather than the deity on the Capitoline who was nationalized and
looked to for victory and protection.

Horace's literary predecessors in Rome had available to them numerous sources from which to draw for their depiction of Venus. Immediately at hand were the cults of Venus which had been imported to Rome mainly from Sicily and Cyprus. The goddess whom they worshipped was not basically Roman, but in some cases, particularly as Obsequens, Erycina on the Capitoline, and later as Victrix and Genetrix, she became associated with the Trojan ancestral tradition and thus nationalized as a deity presiding over victory and protection for her descendants. While Roman authors had this Venus, they also had direct access to the eastern and Greek Aphrodite cults such as at Eryx and Cyprus. In addition to cults, there was also the use of Aphrodite in Greek literature, which stressed the erotic Aphrodite. The existence of both the foreign and nationalized Venus allowed for diversity of presentation. This can be seen in the early authors Ennius and Plautus, who present both views of Venus at various times. Later Lucretius chose to combine in his proem the ancestral aspect of Venus and her generative role in nature. Yet in Book 4 he uses her name primarily as indicative of physical love and eroticism. His contemporary, Catullus, elected, however, to concentrate on the erotic connotations associated with Venus, and presented those aspects
of her even in reference to cult, such as Erycina in 64.

Years later Horace, Catullus' successor, if he can be called that, used the same epithet, Erycina, for Venus in C.1.2, but with different and more extensive ramifications for the Romans of his generation. In the time intervening between the literary activity of the two, Cn. Pompey and C. Caesar had placed increased emphasis on the victorious, protective, and ancestral aspects of Venus as they related to the Roman people and themselves. Pompey had followed Sulla's lead in attributing his victories to Venus' personal favor for him. Caesar then exceeded these previous personal alliances with the goddess by his open promotion of the ancestral ties between Venus and the Julian gens. His heir Octavian continued in her popularity as a mainly erotic deity, but the political-religious climate in Rome in the passage of time and the emergence of Venus Victrix, Venus Genetrix, and Venus in a place of honor in the Pantheon, had placed increased emphasis, but with new implications, on those qualities for which she earlier had been brought into Rome as Obsequens and Erycina on the Capitoline. Horace's Erycina displays these renewed Roman characteristics of the protective goddess and ancestress of the Romans, which Catullus' Erycina does not. By the time of Horace the Venus who existed in Rome was a fairly complex religious figure
who had little in common with the earliest Venus in Italy. Over the centuries she had acquired a series of cult locations in Rome which emphasized foreign sites and aspects connected with the goddess. During this period of growth in cult sites, her appearance in Roman literature was remarkably small and made little use of her cult roles prior to her emergence as Genetrix in the late first century B.C. Her frequent and dominant role in Horace's Odes is new for her in Roman literature. He had available to him the long history and evidence of her cults in Rome, the very evident, erotic Venus of the Erycina cult outside the Colline Gate, the Hellenistic and earlier Greek literary tradition of Aphrodite, and Venus from his predecessors and contemporaries in Latin literature. Horace introduces Venus as Erycina in C.1.2 with her companions Iocus and Cupido, and thereby presents a deity evocative of her complex background in a poem which bespeaks the new order at Rome. In treating C.1.2, 3, and 4, important odes which include Venus as Erycina, diva potens Cypri, and Cytherea, Horace had the influences of her cult at hand to color his use of the goddess.
Notes
Chapter II

1 Ennius, Remains of Old Latin, vol. 1, (Loeb Cl. Lib.), 1935. In searching for Venus in Latin and Greek authors before Horace, I have used indices of the editions of extant fragments and the indices verborum of individual authors where possible.

2 Warmington, Remains of Old Latin, vol. 1, (Loeb Cl. Lib.), 1935, assigns these lines as Venus' reply to Ilia, and provides a concordance to Vahlen's third edition of Ennius. These particular lines follow in the same order in each.


5 Bac. 115-6 Amor, Voluptas, Venu', Venustas, Gaudium;/ Iocu' Ludus, Sermo, Suavisaviatio. Cf. ch. 3, p. 68.

Cur. 3 quo Venu' Cupidoque imperat, suadetque Amor;

Mer. 38 eodem quo amorem Venu' mi hoc legavit dic.

Mos. 161-5 0 Venus venusta,/...quam mihi Amor et Cupido/in pectus perpluit meum,

Poen. 339 quia apud aedem Veneris hodie est mercatus meretricibus.

6 Poen. 331 ut Venerem propitiem; Trin. 658 ita vi Veneris vinctus, otio [c]aptus in fraudam incidii.

7 Cist. 313-4 venerem meram haec aedes olent, quia amator expolivit.
Plautus Poen. 278 hanc equidem Venerem venerabor me ut amet posthac propitia; Poen. 332 propitia hercle est; Rud. 1348-9 ...Venus, veneror te ut omnes miseri lenones sient; Rud. 305 a chorus of fishermen: nunc Venerem hanc veneramur bonam, ut nos lepide adierit hodie.


Lucretius De Rerum Natura 1-49. Lines 44-9 also occur in 2.646-51 after the description of the rites of the Magna Mater. Although once considered as an interpolation, it is now generally agreed that the lines are original in book 1. Cf. C. Bailey, Commentary, vol. 2, p. 601ff. for a presentation of the arguments for authenticity.


Bailey, op. cit., 591; Cleary, op. cit., sees in alma a contrast with voluptas.


Cicero Fin. 2.13.


Elder, op. cit., 119.


Cf. Elder, op. cit., 106-8; Lucretius on Ennius, 1.121, on Homer, 1.124, on Democritus, 3.371, 5.622.

Bailey, op. cit., 599; Leonard and Smith, op. cit., 69-70.
Elder, op. cit., 114-8; Cleary, op. cit., 17-8, sees Venus in a dual role as "benign creative force" and "pleasurable seductress" in the poem but as eros elsewhere in the poem, especially in Book 4. Hahn, op. cit., 135, points out that in contrast to Sappho's Aphrodite, we do not see Venus, but only her effects.

Venus 36.3; 45.26; 55.20; 61.18, 44, 61, 191, 195; 63.17; 66.15, 56, 90; 68.10; Veneres 3.1; 13.12; 86.6; Dione 56.6; Erycina 64.72.

Ellis, A Commentary on Catullus (Oxford, 1889), for Greek parallel passages which may have influenced Catullus; cf. E. Merrill, Catullus (Boston, 1893).


Cicero N.D. 3.24 gives four Venuses. They are listed by Cotta, the Academic, among fables (fama) from ancient Greece. Earlier in N.D. 2.22 Balbus, the Stoic, cites an etymology for Venus: Quae autem dea ad res omnes veniret Venerem nostri nominaverunt, atque ex ea potius venustas quam Venus ex venustate.

Ellis, op. cit., 110.

Apollonius 3.936; Theocr. 7.117; Anth.P. 7.25.3.


Macrobius 3.8.

Ellis, op. cit., 410; cf. Fordyce, op. cit., 349.

Cf. Fordyce, op. cit., 349; Ellis, op. cit., 411; Catullus 64.95-8. Horace describes Pyrrha as simplex in C.1.5; Ulysses in C.1.6 is duplex. I will comment further on this in a later discussion of Horace's poems.

Cf. Ovid Fast. 4.865-900.
Chapter III

C.1.2, 3, and 4:
The Formal Presentation of Venus in the Collected Odes

Horace introduced his first three books of Odes with a statement on his poetic ambitions in the prefatory ode to the collection, C.1.1. After having listed a series of goals to which others commonly aspired and in which they usually found delight, he brought the ode to a close on a personal note with the declaration of his desire to be ranked among the lyric poets.

quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseris,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

C.1.1.35-6

At the beginning of the ode Horace has presented an active scene of a chariot race and its palm of victory that elevate some men to the gods (evehit ad deos) (6). By contrast, he too, is raised among the gods, but by virtue of his achievement and recognition as a poet:

me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
dis miscent superis.

29-30

The garland for the brow, along with the cool grove (gelidum nemus) (30), and the nymphs and Satyrs
(nympha rumque leves cum Satyris chori) (31) are all elements that both describe the setting of lyric and comment on the writing of lyric. As Horace has brought them forth in this introductory ode they pre-note the lyric topics to be developed in the collection. Even earlier in the ode (lines 19-22) some of his lyric themes may be said to appear in the allusions to wine, enjoyment, and setting (viridi...arbuto/...ad aquae lene caput sacrae). This setting possibly foreshadows the gelidum nemus of line 30. With the last eight lines and perhaps earlier Horace indicated that he was presenting a collection of poetry in the lyric genre. He then immediately followed this declaration with his first lyric offering, a long, serious poem in the sapphic meter.

C. 1.2: Iam satis terris

Discussions of the poem tend to center around its political nature and its connections with Augustus. As a result the question of the poem's date has frequently been an issue, although it is generally agreed that it was written after Actium, probably between 29 and 27 B.C. Commager opts for just before or after Octavian's return to Rome in July of 29, for at that time there would still be a question as to what policy he would pursue. This would allow for Horace's "caveat" that revenge should be
against foreign enemies if Rome was to survive, for Octavius's triple triumph may have caused some question as to the fate of his political enemies at Rome. West finds the Kiessling-Heinze date of the winter of 28 (if correct) evidence that "Horace is clearly making a tactful allusion to a current rumor"—the rumor being that Octavian desired to be called Romulus at the time a title was being considered. L. A. McKay reviews the arguments for the earlier dates and contends that the storm of January 27 B.C. recorded by Dio (53.20) and the bestowal of the title "Augustus" in the same year would make 27 the more likely date for the ode. Whatever the precise date of the poem, one has to guard against emphasizing a date to the subordination of the meaning and tone of the poem which the poet intends. This holds true not only for C.1.2, but for the other poems where one may see a topical allusion which lends interest to the poem and meaning to interpretation, as does the reference to civil wars in 1.2. The poem must first of all be considered as an expression of ideas and feelings that are unique in the presented work.

Following as it does upon Horace's announcement of the lyric poems he was presenting, C.1.2 presents a contrast to the lighter tone and themes one might expect to find in lyric poetry, for it solemnly begins with the recitation of frightening portents which call to mind the
mythological flood which destroyed nearly all mankind, grave.../saeculum Pyrrhae (5-6). Horace then moves to another flood account, this time to the Tiber in Rome itself. He maintains the mythological and legendary flavor by bringing in the name Ilia, which would remind a reader of Rome's beginnings and the unfortunate events associated with it, particularly the fratricidal quarrel between Romulus and Remus. With the sixth stanza, the mid-point of the poem, Horace shifts from the portents to the topic of civil war, still a very real threat to Rome. With lines 25-9 he embarks upon the second half of the poem in which he posits possible remedies for the danger, introducing the section with three questions which West aptly characterizes as "clearly the pivot" of the poem.

quem vocet divum populus ruentis imperi rebus? Prece qua fatigent virgines sanctae minus audientem carmina Vestam?oui dablt partis scelus expiandi Iuppiter?

25-9

The first question with the phrase ruentis imperi rebus alludes to the portents earlier in the poem which have afflicted and threatened society. The references to pater, sacras...arcis in stanza one emphasize the Capitoline, home of Jupiter, and may be a preparation for Venus Erycina who is to appear later in the ode. Recent threatening signs of natural phenomena in stanza one led
Horace to the topic of the flood that nearly destroyed mankind in the distant age of Pyrrha, which in turn brought him back to a recent flooding of the Tiber associated with those signs in the first four lines. The flooding Tiber and its legendary connection with Ilia introduced the theme of internal strife in lines 21-4. Although Jupiter saved the Romans from disaster once (\textit{Iove non probante}) (19), the potentially destructive civil wars mentioned immediately following the portents present an unnatural and even more serious threat to Rome's survival. It is from within that the family and country are threatened. Even Vesta, the guardian of the Roman hearth, private and national, turns from the impiety of civil war. Jupiter, though angry, will as before provide a solution; this time through an agent. The three questions with all their implications thus make for the transition to the second half of the poem with its appeal to Apollo, Venus, Mars, and Mercury as possible saviours of Rome. In the final stanza Horace has moved from the divine to the human in the son of the deified Julius, Octavian, whom he addresses as \textit{pater atque princeps} (50), and in the final line with the phrase \textit{te ducce, Caesar.}

By its position in the line the term \textit{pater} for Caesar reflects that in line two which Horace uses to refer to Jupiter. In both lines \textit{pater} occupies exactly
the same position, being immediately after the caesura and followed by a conjunction. The lines themselves stand second in their respective stanzas, the first and last:

grandinis misit pater et rubente (2)

hic ames dici pater atque princeps (50)

Horace, thus frames the poem, as it were, with the father-figure represented by Jupiter in stanza one and by Octavian in the final stanza. Octavian the man stands in contrast to Jupiter the god, and yet is reflective of him. Jupiter, father of gods and men, had once almost destroyed and might again destroy mankind. As Jupiter had been an agent of destruction, so Octavian had been and could be again to his fellowmen and citizens; and just as Jupiter (19, 29), he could seek to prevent their destruction. More importantly, he could, as Horace proposes, become the protector of Rome, seeking retribution from foreign enemies rather than his fellow-citizens of whom he would be pater atque princeps.

It is in the second half of this strategically positioned poem that Horace invokes four divinities, each well known to the Romans and each seemingly suited to the task of saving Rome. Before he begins his list of possible saviours, however, he responds to the question: quem vocet divum populus ruentis/imperi rebus? with a second question: prece qua fatigent/virgines sanctae minus
audientem/carmina Vestam? With this question he initiates his answer in a negative fashion with the words minus audientem/carmina Vestam. Vesta, who represented the spirit of the hearth-fire, differed from the gods whom Horace was to present in the succeeding lines. Although the concept of her divinity was developed enough to be represented by statues, her personality as an individual deity was never delineated with depth and detail. She has been presented already in templae Vestae and therefore appears more as a personification of the fundamental concept of the basic structure of life at Rome which was threatened by civil strife. In that respect she would be unsuitable as a choice for saviour.

The first of the four invoked is Apollo, who may have become identified with the Julian gens as early as 431 B.C., when Cn. Julius dedicated a temple to him. His appearance has been foreshadowed in line six with the introduction of Pyrrha's flood and the monstra it produced. As in the case of Venus, who came to Rome later, Apollo was brought in at the instigation of the Sibyline books as a remedy for a situation Livy describes as a pestilentia. From the fifth to the third centuries Apollo seems to have been known essentially as a god of healing to whom the Vestals prayed as Apollo Medicus and Apollo Paean. Even as early as the fourth century the priests of Apollo in Rome were assisting in the triumphal
ceremonies with the attendant result that Apollo was also becoming associated with the Romans' victories.\textsuperscript{15} By the time of C.1.2 Octavian had already vowed a temple to him in the struggle with Sextus Pompey and had invoked him as his protector at Actium. As Venus had been the special divinity of C. Caesar, Apollo thus became the special patron of Octavian.\textsuperscript{16}

Venus and Mars, who follow in that order in the ode, were important to Rome for their ancestral ties, Venus as the mother of Aeneas and the ancestress of the Julian \textit{gens}, and Mars as the father of Romulus. All three deities had been champions of the Trojan cause in the \textit{Iliad}.\textsuperscript{17} Octavian had vowed Mars a temple as \textit{ultor} at Philippi, and in line 18 and in the warlike sixth stanza Horace may well hint at his later appearance. The fourth and final god whom Horace considers, \textit{almae/filius Maiae (42-3)}, does not relate to the Romans in the same way as the previous three. He was not a partisan in the Trojan War. His seeming lack of ancestral, warlike, or protective characteristics in relation to them has caused readers to ask why Horace singles him out as possible saviour. \textit{Iuventus} (line 24) would seem to signal the coming appearance of the youthful god Mercury, who appears in 1.30 in close connection with \textit{Iuventus} and whose special association with youth is well-known. It has been pointed out,
however, that Horace does not, as some have suggested,
commit himself to a final choice, but that all is hypotheti-
cal under sive. If he is pointing to Mercury as the
saviour of Rome, I find Womble's suggestion a most likely
interpretation. He would view Mercury as the choice
because his (Mercury's) position is the only one that is
neutral and represents the civilian, noncombatant role,
that of conciliation; the others because of their connec-
tions to the Romans and the Julian line imply militancy and
civil war, particularly in connection with Octavian's
recent victory at Actium under the protection of Apollo.
It is not very likely that Horace calls on Mercury because
of an existing Mercury-Augustus cult in Rome. No reliable
evidence has been found which substantiates such a cult in
Rome or Italy.

Of the four deities invoked only Venus appears under
a cult name, that of Erycina. The epithet augur without
cult association accompanies the name of Apollo, while
neither Mars nor Mercury is mentioned by his own name.
To call the goddess Erycina would undoubtedly remind
Romans of the temples and cults to Venus on the Capitoline
and at the Colline Gate. I have noted that the emphasis
on the Capitoline in stanza one with pater and sacras
...arcis could have been a preparation for Erycina in
line 33. Perhaps even altos.../montes was meant to
reinforce this topographically. Preceding Erycina in the ode are also *columbi* (10) often associated with Venus in cult and specifically at Eryx (see p. 12 above). Even *aequor* (12) would seem to prepare for her because of the close association of Venus with the sea. Quite possibly the more learned reader would be reminded of the occasion for her first entry into Rome and onto the Capitoline as a protective goddess with a military nature during a situation threatening to the existence of Rome. Her ability to bring protection and victory to the Romans at Eryx had been established in 215 with the dedication of her Capitoline temple, and again in 181 when a second temple was dedicated at the Colline Gate as completion of a vow for protection against the enemy. Bound in with the protective-victorious aspects of Erycina were her ancestral connections to the Romans and the Julians through Aeneas. As mentioned above, her cult at the Colline Gate had an emphasis different from that on the Capitoline. 22 The more exotic nature of the second cult would not be unfamiliar to a Roman, and since Horace does not specify to which Erycina he is referring, it is likely that he expects to evoke the erotic aspects of the Colline Gate Erycina as well as her nationalistic role. She is not just Erycina in line 33, she is *Erycina ridens*. Commager's conjecture that with the epithet *ridens* "she stands as the embodiment of gentleness, and
her companions Iocus and Cupido confirm the benevolence im-
plicit in the adjective," may be possible, but I find it unconvincing.\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Ridens} at the same time suggests the
Homeric epithet ϕιλομελόνς which describes Aphrodite.\textsuperscript{24}
Aphrodite was primarily an erotic deity in literature, and
Horace elsewhere in the \textit{Odes} uses a form of \textit{rideo} with
Venus in an erotic situation.\textsuperscript{25} At times in these situ-
tions the Venus who smiles is not kindly, but rather cruel.
As \textit{ridens} suggests the erotic aspect of Erycina which was
known to the Romans, so \textit{Iocus} and \textit{Cupido} add to this con-
cept of Erycina:

\begin{verbatim}
sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens, quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido
\end{verbatim}

Although \textit{Iocus} and \textit{Cupido} may impart a certain gentleness
to the picture as Commager has suggested, I think Horace
uses them in \textit{C.1.2} to intensify the double nature of
Erycina in her two cult sites at Rome. She was their
ancestor and protector, but also the goddess of erotic
love whose province was often the theme for lyric poets;
and in the previous ode Horace has emphatically stated
that he wants to be counted among the lyric poets.

His lyric predecessor Catullus had associated \textit{Iocus}
and \textit{Cupido} either together or separately with Venus and
erotic situations. In three of four instances Catullus
associates Cupido (or the plural Cupidines) and Venus
specifically with his mistress (*mea puella*). 26 In 68.133 Cupido alone flies around Lesbia who embodies the charms of Venus. 27 Venus as Erycina appears in Catullus 64.72; the situation is erotic, but one in which she behaves in a cruel manner, for she had incited Ariadne with love for Theseus, who had deserted her.

\[a\ misera\ assiduis\ quam\ luctibus\ externavit\ \text{spinosas Erycina serens in pectore curas.}\]

64.71-2

A few lines later Cupid appears with her. He, too, has brought sorrow along with joy to humanity.

\[heu\ misere\ exagitans\ immiti\ corde\ furores\ \text{sancte puer, cures hominum qui gaudio misces, quaque regis Golgos quaque Idalium frondosum qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam}\ \text{fluctibus in flavo saepe hospite suspirantem.}\]

64.94-8

C.1.33.12 finds Horace using *locus* again, but this time in a specifically erotic context. The word refers to enjoyable behavior, and is not as strongly personified this time as in C.1.2. The whole scene, however, is a personification in the yoking together of *impares formae* and *animi* with bronze, and by the application of *saevus* to *locus*. As in Catullus 64, Venus is a cruel goddess with the adjective *saevus* transferred to *locus* to describe the result of her cruelty. Neither Catullus nor Horace consistently portrays Venus and her associates *locus* and Cupido as cruel. This can be seen in Epistle 1.6 and also in 2.2 where Horace abstractly associates
locus with love:

si, Mimnemus uti censet, sine amore locisque
nil est iucundum, vivas in amore locisque.
Epist. 1.6.65-6

eripuere locos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
Epist. 2.2.56

Catullus in 8,6 uses the adjective locosa to speak of joyous or pleasurable behavior in love, *ibi illa multa cum locosa fiebant*. Locus occurs even earlier in Plautus' Bacchides, l14ff. in a list of other qualities associated with love:

*quis istic habet?* / Amor Voluptas Venus Venustas Gaudium/
Locus Ludus Sermo Suavisaviatio. In answer to the question the terms from Amor through Suavisaviatio describe the courtesan Bacchis. The qualities first ascribed to her are specifically erotic—Amor, Voluptas, Venus, Venustas—and become less so as the list progresses. Yet the latter assume an erotic flavor from their association with the preceding qualities and in the context of the line. Just as Venus—the deity or the concept represented by the word—frequently appeared in erotic settings and situations, so, *rideo* seems to take on erotic connotations in those instances when it describes the goddess; the associations of desire, pleasure, and smiling become mingled and connected with Venus herself as elements indicative of eroticism.

If one looks at the deities invoked by Horace in C.1.2 in the relationship of three (who are unsuitable
to the task) and one (suitable) for Rome's rescue from civil
distress, Venus occupies a central position in her group of
three, and shares a stanza with Mars. A chronological
order of presentation might be considered if Mars were not a
very old Italic deity. Horace may have had in mind their
relative importance in his own time. Octavian had elevated
Apollo to a prominent position. He had vowed the temple on
the Palatine to him as early as 36 and dedicated it on
October 8, 28 B.C., three months after his triumphs,
clearly associating himself with the god. As the adopted
son of Caesar who had promoted Venus Genetrix in Rome, he
maintained her cult and influence, but not on as personal
a note as had Caesar. This is perhaps a large part of
the reason that Horace did not choose to have Venus as
the saviour deity in C.1.2. The temple to Mars Ultor had
been vowed, but was not to be dedicated until 2 B.C. As
a primarily military god and one associated with vengeance
for the past, he did not in my opinion possess enough
redeeming, positive qualities to precede Apollo or Venus.
At the time of the poem Mars may well have been the least
important of the three to Augustus and Rome.

In the stanza with Mars, Venus appears in the first
line (33) and Mars completes the stanza as auctor.
Horace's positioning connects the two ancestors of the
Romans visually in the poem, thereby perhaps recalling
their specific ancestral roles. Horace may also have had in mind the picture of Venus and Mars which Lucretius creates in his *De Rerum Natura*, a relationship that is traceable to the story presented by Homer in *Odyssey* 8.267ff. Here Horace echoes that scene by the placement of the two deities within the same stanza, an involvement, as it were, reminiscent of the erotic scenes in both the *Odyssey* and Lucretius' poem, and of the erotic nature of Erycina as suggested by *ridens*, *locus*, and *Cupido*. In C.1.2 Horace presents a Venus with erotic associations and connotations, but also a protective goddess who shares certain characteristics with the warrior god, Mars, another divine ancestor of the Romans. Erotic or no, she is no less a potential protectress for the state than Apollo or Mars (or for that matter, Mercury).

The Venus of C.1.2 is thus a complex deity. With two major cult sites at Rome, she appears as a national, ancestral, protective deity with all the attendant solemnity and dignity and at the same time has the associations of her erotic nature, *locus* and *Cupido*, and the epithet *ridens* which further suggests her erotic role, with their implications of her lighter, more frivolous nature, and foreign origins. Her very cult name, Erycina, and the temple at the Colline Gate suggest all the exotic, erotic aspects of her worship. Her proximity to Mars in the
poem recalls Lucretius' Venus and the scene with Mars. Lucretius' Venus was *Aeneadum genetrix* and the epithet underscores the ancestral significance of the goddess which the name Erycina also implied from her cult on the Capitoline. As Erycina she envelops qualities from the nationalized cult with protective, victorious significance and also those from the foreign goddess of Eryx more erotic in nature.

Erycina, with all the connotations associated with her name, occupies the central position in the first ode following Horace's introduction to the collection; at the same time she appears in a serious, political theme. Her prominent position within the collection, ode, and theme suggests, as does her involvement with Cupid, Iocus, and the descriptive *ridens*, that she plays an important part in Horace's poetry and concept of lyric. Not only does Venus appear through a significant cult name centrally in this first example of lyric, she also appears in cult aspects of a somewhat different nature in *C.1.3* and *1.4*, the only deity to appear in all of these first three odes of the collection.

*C.1.3: Sic te diva potens Cypri*

With his next example of lyric, *C.1.3*, Horace maintains the seriousness of tone begun in *Iam satis terris*. His concern in *1.2* for the safety and preservation of the
state and the Roman people narrows and focuses on 1.3 on
the safety of his close, personal friend, Vergil. As his
dear friend, animae dimidium meae (8), Vergil receives
homage in the ode that immediately follows those to
Maecenas and Octavian as patron and political leader. The
opening lines make a formal prayer for Vergil's safety as
he sets out for Greece. The seeming lack of connection
between this propempticon for Vergil and the course of the
rest of the ode has caused Nisbet and Hubbard to find the
ode "unsatisfactory," "trite" with "unseasonable moralism"
and "little more than an accomplished piece of versifica-
tion."31 Others, however, have found more in it.32
J. P. Elder has interpreted the ode as a statement of
"man's tragic heroism" and links the first eight lines to
the themes of courage, impiety, and the ultimate ruin to
man which is admirable yet tragic.33

The importance of the position and dedication of 1.3
prompt denial of the judgment that the poem is trite or
inconsequential. Elder's explication of the careful
thought progression in the poem makes it clear that Horace
intended the opening to be especially significant.
Within the conventions of the propempticon34 Horace
creates his individual poetic situation and statement.
He begins the poem with an emphasis on the divine: Sic

tet diva potens Cypri. It is not until line four that
the reader learns that te is the ship, nor until line six that the passenger to be protected is Vergil. It is first of all Aphrodite, Venus, of Cyprus, as potens who commands our attention at the beginning as a protector of Vergil.

The cult of Aphrodite on Cyprus was very old even in Horace's time. Archaeological research suggests the existence of the cult back as early as the Bronze Age, but our knowledge of the temple and cult comes primarily from Roman times. Tacitus speaks of her wide-spread fame and the unusual temple ceremony: only male sacrifices were allowed, with kid entrails preferred; blood was forbidden on the altar; the rite was conducted with prayers and pure fire, and although the altar stood in the open, it was never wet from rain. Tacitus also describes the unusual image of the goddess at Paphos— not human, but coneshaped— and comments on the unknown meaning of it.

Hesiod speaks of Aphrodite's arrival at Cyprus after having been born in the sea from the foam surrounding the severed genitals of Uranus. Thus her association with the sea caused her to be worshipped as one of the gods powerful over the sea and seafaring, and she was referred to by such epithets as ἀλασσά ἡ, πελαγίς, and ἐπικολου, especially at Cnidus. Horace recognizes the usefulness of this relationship as marina in 3.26 and 4.11, both erotic poems. Her associations with the sea and fertility
were particularly strong at Paphos on Cyprus. Rites involving salt, phallic symbols, and temple prostitution were an important part of her cult. Worshippers are said to have received lumps of salt and phallic symbols during ceremonies to commemorate her birth in the sea and fertility associations. Aphrodite of Cyprus was a powerful, mysterious deity who was associated with forces important in life: fertility, love, the sea, the moon, warfare, and even the underworld and death through the myth of Adonis.

Thus *diva potens Cypri* appears in the first line of 1.3 as an indication of the importance of this deity to individual man rather than the state. Although as Erycina she had not been the final solution to Rome's difficulties in civil war, as Cyprian Venus she is called upon to protect a friend who will enter her sphere of influence, Greece and the sea. Both she and the *fratres Hellenae*, the Dioscuri, represent the help and safety needed by sailors at sea. Like Venus the Dioscuri had in Rome a cult established in return for help in time of battle and distress. There is no evidence for a cult specifically dedicated to Cyprian Venus in Rome.

Why Horace chose Venus rather than Neptune, the lord of the sea, cannot be definitely concluded, but some conjecture is reasonable. Since he chose to honor Vergil in this ode, he may have wished to honor him as a poet also
by alluding to Venus who takes on an important role in the *Aeneid*. Vergil by 23 B.C. had certainly completed and most likely discussed with Horace certain portions of the poem as they were taking shape in his mind. Reference to Venus' home at Paphos occurs twice in the *Aeneid*, once in 1.415-7 and again at 10.51-2:

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ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit
laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo
ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.
1.415-7
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est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera
Idaliaeque domus:
10.51-2
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In 5.759-60 Vergil speaks of the founding of her temple on Mount Eryx by Aeneas, and she is called Idalian Venus:

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tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos
5.759-60
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With *Idaliae*, Vergil is undoubtedly referring to Mount Idalium on Cyprus and the link between the cults of Cyprian and Erycinian Venus. An earlier reference to her Cyprian home and also to Cythera (mentioned in connection with Paphos and Idalium in 10.51-2) occurs in 1.680-1 as Venus, called *Cytherea* in 1.657, debates where to hide Ascanius while Cupid takes his place:

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hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera
aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam,
1.680-1
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At Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat
consilia,...
1.657-8
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In being protective of Aeneas, Venus employs her skills as an erotic deity as she plans to use Cupid against Dido.

Vergil's use of Cyprian Venus in the *Aeneid* may have been a quite specific reason for Horace's choice of *diva potens Cypri* in C.1.3. With this phrase Horace honors Vergil as the author of the nascent *Aeneid*, for *diva potens Cypri* anticipates the power of Venus in her efforts to protect Aeneas. The emphasis on the Cyprian and Sicilian cults of the goddess in the *Aeneid* as Vergil contemplated his epic might well have influenced Horace's choice of *Erycina* in C.1.2. Because of their strong friendship, the possibility of an inter-relationship between the two works (particularly in the introductory sections) cannot be entirely dismissed. The inclusion of Venus, Helen, and Aeolus in the opening of 1.3 increases the closeness of thematic references between *Aeneid* I and 1.3. Which way, if at all, that flow of ideas travelled cannot be proved, but possibility also exists of Horace's influence on Vergil's choice of *Erycina*. If one considers the positioning of the two odes, 1.2 and 1.3, with *Erycina* Horace has anticipated the honor he pays to Vergil in 1.3. Even though the *Aeneid* was still in its early stages, friends within the literary circle of Vergil and Horace would likely have known of the *Aeneid* and recognized references to it within the *Odes*. Although Vergil attached a
certain universality to Venus in his intermingling of the locations for the goddess in her protective role, it is the goddess who has her home on Cyprus who is protecting Aeneas on his long voyage to his homeland. The courage of Aeneas, the dangers, and the tragedies along the way could have been in Horace's thoughts as the background to his ode. Venus as a possible saviour of the state in 1.2 has become the saviour of the poet of the state in 1.3. As she opens the poem, Jupiter closes it. The last two lines recall the themes of wickedness and punishment in 1.2 which begins with Jupiter flashing his thunderbolts. The complexities of Cyprian Venus reflect those of Erycina. Each has in common the foreign nature which Horace stresses by the cult name; in neither instance does he use Venus to Romanize her. Each is eastern in origin and has similar emphases in her cult, attributes, and associations; e.g. fertility, prostitution, war, protection. In addition Horace has as precedent the numerous references in poetry to the Cyprian goddess, far more than to Erycina. As a lyric poet it was fitting that he begin an important poem with mention of a goddess who figured significantly in the poetry of one of his chosen predecessors, Sappho. Cypris was a powerful deity in the realm of love, a topic of lyric poetry which Horace had yet to display in his collection.
C. l.4: *Solvitut acris hiems*

In the first line of C.1.4 Horace juxtaposes *acris hiems* and *grata vice veris*, two contrasting images from which he develops the theme of the inevitability of death. The dissolution of winter, *solvitut acris hiems*, occupies the first half of the line and the remaining lines (2-4) of the first stanza. While the vignettes are of winter, the dry hulls on the beach, the flock in the stable, the farmer at his fire, and the fields white with frost, they describe *solvitut* through the actions associated with the scenes, the *trahunt*, *nec gaudet*, and *nec albicant*. Thus they prepare the way for the second stanza, the depiction of spring. As *ver* in the second half of line one contrasts with *hiems*, so stanza two with its mythological representation of spring stands in contrast to the preceding realistic picture of winter. The opening image of the yielding of stormy winter to spring contrasts nicely with the concern for stormy weather in the ode to Vergil. As Cyprian Venus had been the power over the storms of 1.3, the divine representative of this spring is Cytherean Venus leading a group of dancing nymphs and Graces beneath the moonlight. Cytherea is an appropriate epithet for Venus here in a metaphorical scene of spring, for it identifies her with the fertility and beginnings of things associated with spring. According to
mythological tradition the goddess first came ashore at Cythera after her birth from the foam of the sea, and then went on to Cyprus where grass grew up around her feet as she stepped ashore. Lucretius in his proem was a more recent predecessor for Horace in associating Venus with the beginnings of things and spring. In 5.737 Lucretius depicts her in a more mythological setting and has Cupid and Flora accompany her. In C.1.4 her companions are nymphs and Graces who emphasize her association with fertility as they, too, were associated with vegetation and fertility, and were her traditional companions in Greek literature and art. Their presence in the poem enhances the idea of the beauty and charm of Venus who is the generative force of spring.

The transition from winter to spring is presented by the image of transition from coolness to warmth. With the words **canis albicant prunis** Horace emphasizes the coolness of winter which diminishes with the approach of spring. In line five the warmth has increased with the advent of spring, but the lingering coolness is depicted by the cool light put forth by the moon. Babcock has suggested that the **imminente luna** may harbor the sense of threatening as it waxes and wanes, thus foreshadowing the theme of death that appears in stanzas three and four. I agree and would add the suggestion that the eastern
association of Aphrodite with the underworld may also be at work here suggesting the fertility goddess' association with death and rebirth.

Through the reverse process of the disappearance of coolness Horace approaches the warmth of spring. With line seven, however, he begins to emphasize the creation of warmth by the motion of the dance and Vulcan's visits to his forges. The sense of warmth in the fulness of spring is expressed in the phrase *Volcanus ardens* which completes the stanza along with *visit officinas*. Immediately following that Horace declares it is time to rejoice in the abundance of nature, a fruitfulness brought forth from the earth loosened (*solutae*) by warmth. *Solutae* recalls *solvitur* of line one. There very likely may be an allusion in *solutae* to the role of Venus and her retinue as symbols of the fertility and beauty of spring, for he applies the same word to the Graces in C.1.30.5-6, *solutis Gratiae zonis*, and in 3.21.22, *Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae*. Their association with Venus lends an erotic sense to the word *solve*vere. The generative quality associated with Venus is seen in the loosening of the earth and the coming of spring. From the warmth which produced life he quickly shifts back to the image of coolness of shady groves, *umbrosi luci* (ll), for the offering of sacrifices to Faunus.
Babcock has suggested that it is an oracular Faunus who announces the fact that death cannot be escaped. This fits well with Horace's transition to the coolness of the grove which foreshadows the approach of pallida Mors. In this manner Horace moves from the coolness of winter to the warmth of spring which also represents the spring of life, back to coolness of death. He continues the coolness image with the addition of darkness contained in the words nox fabulae Manes/et domus exilis Plutonia. The inevitability of death which follows upon the spring of life symbolized in Cytherean Venus brings his thoughts to the pleasures associated with Venus and the spring of life. He implies that one must now (nunc, 20) enjoy youth just as it was fitting to enjoy spring (9-10). By the end of the poem Cytherean Venus has become more than the deity associated with spring and fertility. The flowers and myrtle of 9-10 and the nymphs and Graces of the preceding lines (5-6) recall the lyric/erotic setting of 1.1.21-2 and 30-1. She is also an erotic deity as Horace probably notes by his inclusion of her husband Vulcan in the second stanza. One is reminded of her ability both to anger and charm him. The heat of lines seven and eight is renewed in the brief erotic scenes alluded to with the verbs calet and tepebunt. The slight warmth of a spring night associated with Venus has become the glow associated with the erotic aspect of the goddess.
In each of these three odes composed at various times, Horace chose to give Venus a significant role. In each instance he referred to her by a cult title or cult site, Erycina, her cult on Cyprus, and Cytherea. She was not simply Venus, but was Venus with specific associations. Although each was in origin foreign to Rome, Erycina had the closest connection because of the adoption of her cult at two locations in Rome, the immensely prestigious Capitoline Hill and the Colline Gate.

Venus appears in C.1.2 primarily as the long-nationalized deity who had been and could be protectress and saviour of Rome. Horace has placed her in the central position in the second half of the ode flanked by two other well known divinities who also could possibly save Rome. In his first lyric offering following the introductory ode, Erycina presents a Venus important politically and historically to Rome. Her first appearance in the collection of odes as Erycina reflects her introduction to Rome via the Sibylline books for the purpose of saving it. There can be seen in this choice of Erycina also a strong hint at her connection with Jupiter on the Capitoline and in the festival of the Vinalia and her inclusion in the lecisternium. Erycina combines both the native and foreign elements which Horace claimed to unite in his Odes. Her companions Iocus and Cupido add to the foreign aspect of her nature because of their
allusion to the erotic; they emphasize the aspect of pleasure which was also part of Erycina, particularly in the cult at the Colline Gate.

Horace's choice of 1.3 to follow 1.2 heightens the prominence of Venus by her appearance in the first line where the poet stresses her power alluded to in 1.2 by calling her potens Cypri, here specifying the power on the sea. The foreign nature of the goddess is again apparent, as is the erotic aspect of her nature which was strong in the Cyprian cult. To the devotee of lyric, Cypri will be an appropriate cult association. If Aeneid I is at all known, a literary cast is established by the associations of the first stanza. The political tone of 1.2 would not be lost, even though 1.3 is not ostensibly a political poem, for Cyprus had come under Roman control only in 58 B.C. In 48 B.C. C. Caesar had given the island to Egypt, and in 34 Marc Antony had confirmed it to Cleopatra. Finally and recently after Actium it had become an imperial province. In 22 Augustus gave it to the senate, but that probably occurred after the publication of Odes 1-3.53 Augustus apparently valued Cyprus and the cult of Aphrodite there, for later a statue of his daughter, Julia, was placed in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, and he rebuilt Paphos after the earthquake of 15.54 As the poems are arranged, the te in line one of 1.3 follows closely
upon the te duce, Caesar in the last line of 1.2, and it is not obvious who the te is until line 5. The clever positioning of the poems seems to continue at first glance the theme of Venus as a possible protector for Caesar, and would be a compliment to the concern Augustus had for Cyprus and the cult of Aphrodite.

The third cult name, Cytherea, Horace specifically connects with Venus after two poems in which he refers to her by cult name alone. Once again a cult name for Venus is introduced that is to appear prominently early in Vergil's Aeneid. It is as Cytherea that Jupiter addresses her in beginning the great prophecy of 1.257ff.; it is as Cytherea in 1.657 that she plans the cruel trick using Cupid to cause Dido to become enamored of Aeneas (cf. also 1.680-1; 10.51-2). In C.1.4 Horace has shifted to her elemental powers as a nature and fertility goddess. In antiquity there was a close association between Cyprian and Cytherean Aphrodite in respect to her birth and arrival on land; the cults were similar in their stress on her fertility powers. The imminente luna of 1.4 recalls the lucida sidera of 1.3. Venus was associated with both, although in 1.3 the stars refer to the Dioscuri. In each case there is a hint at her power to guide and influence. As in 1.2 she once again has a retinue, this time Graces and nymphs who emphasize her
role in nature while also having connotations for the erotic picture in the final stanza. But one is not surprised because of the preparation in lines 5-8. This scene suggests the coming of spring and the warming of the earth which puts forth the greenery, *viridi myrto*, in the third stanza. Myrtle was associated with Venus in several cults and may be an indirect link to her here. The spring of the year can be symbolic of the spring of life, youth, a time appropriate to enjoyment of life and activity such as Horace describes in lines 19-20.

By positioning odes 2, 3, and 4 as he has, Horace has presented a Venus who represents power in various aspects. The element of Venus in the poems may not be the primary reason for the positioning of the poems, but with it Horace has alluded to her in her role as the national protective deity, ancestress, a power over the sea and seafarers, and the goddess of spring and generation. Enlarging on those, she is shown as a patron to poets (Vergil in particular in 1.3), and as the erotic force in life. In these first three poems Horace has related her to the major themes on which he builds his odes: political life, erotic situations, death, and the variations on the theme of *carpe diem*.

The prominence of Venus in the opening of Horace's lyric collection is subtle. She had been and was an
important, popular deity in Rome; she produced the Julian
gens. The Odes were written in a time when Octavian was
coming to power or had just recently achieved it. As he
provided a foundation for a new Rome, so did Venus have a
similar significance in this new kind of verse, for she is
an integral part of the progression of the three poems.

Although Venus is not specifically named in C.1.5,
her presence pervades this first amatory lyric of the
collection. With the last word of line one, rosa, an
association exists with the cult of Venus Erycina extra
Portam Collinam, a cult in which roses were particularly
visible (cf. Ovid Fast. 4.869-70). The erotic aspect of
Venus continues to dominate in the stanza with the refer­
ces to liquidis...odoribus, grato...antro, and flavam
...comam, each noun receiving a dominant position at
line's end. Antrum is specifically associated with Venus
and erotic lyric in C.2.1.39-40:

mecum Dionaeo sub antro
quaerere modos leviore plectro.

One might compare the setting in 1.1.30 (gelidum nemus).
Whereas the cave is characterized as Dionaeum in 2.1,
here in 1.5 Horace specifies that it is gratum, an idea
which suits the erotic tone of the ode. Coma, too, has
its connections with Venus and the erotic lyric from the
frequent use of coma and synonymous words in erotic situ­
ations involving Venus (e.g. 1.15.15) or lyric (e.g.
1.32.12). Also within the first stanza Horace introduces the images of moisture and shining in the words liquidus and flavus. These images occur (usually within the same poem) many times in relation to Venus and erotic situations. The moisture image figures strongly in 1.5 as Horace compares Pyrrha (fire being another related image) to the tempestuous sea. Not only does the sometimes fierce nature of Venus (cf. 1.19) apply here, but also her strong connection with the sea. The emphasis on the twofold nature of the sea and love continues in lines 9-12 as Horace ends the first two lines with aurea (9), amabilem (10), positive descriptions of Pyrrha, and completes the thought with aurae/fallicis (11-12) noting her treacherousness. Horace's final word about Pyrrha is nites (cf. 1.19.5 nitor with Glycera); she still shines but without the warmth implied in aureus. The sea with its divinity prevails at the end of the ode: potentii/ ...deo. Horace possibly is alluding to Venus here (cf. 3.26), but the reading of deo in the manuscripts is well attested. Some would read deae; it is unnecessary, however, as an indication of the presence of Venus in the ode. Having survived the onslaught of the sea of love, the poet may indeed be thanking Neptune as he hangs up the evidence (his poem?) of his encounter with Venus.

The continuing presence of Venus may be felt in the recusatio of C.1.6. Immediately after his stand for the
genus tenue as contrasted to the grande (9), he points out that the Muse of his instrument, *inbellis lyra* (10), forbids the genus grande. He connects Venus with the tenue in 1.19 and 2.1, but also with the *inbellis lyra* in 1.15.15 (*inbellis cithara*) where he contrasts the triviality of love with more serious themes. He makes this same contrast in 1.6.17-20, but much more clearly as he states:

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nos convivia, nos proelia virginum
sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium
cantamus vacui, sive quid urimur
non praeter solitum leves.
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In these lines appear the topics of 1.19 toward which Venus urges him and of which he has just sung in 1.5.

The many allusions which the name of Venus calls forth increase her complexity. She is more than a political symbol for Rome. Horace can and does use her in these and numerous other odes in various ways, mentioning her more than any other deity in the collection, sometimes prominently, sometimes not. She becomes a deity who figures largely in his lyric expression, both directly and indirectly, and who is to provide the basis for a striking framework for his collections of lyrics.
Notes
Chapter III

1 Commager includes it in his chapter "The Political Odes," 175ff.

2 H. Womble, "Horace, Carmina, 1,2.," AJP, 91 (1970), 30, suggests that Commager's interpretation of the ode as an admonition to Augustus not to wreak vengeance on the defeated party in his war with Antony is incorrect and that Augustus is only the last of a series of powers apostrophized.

3 Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 16-21 for a full discussion of proposed dates.

4 Commager, 189-90.

5 Dio 53.16.7; West, op. cit., 98.


7 C.L. Babcock, "Omne militabitur bellum; the Language of Commitment in Epode 1.," CJ, 70 (1974), 14-31, clearly summarizes in pages 14-5 the difficulties and danger in attempting precise dating of Horace's poetry.


9 The authenticity and dates of the portents have been the object of extensive scrutiny. Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 16ff; S. Commager, 176ff; E. Fraenkel, 243ff. Camps, "Critical and Exegetical Notes," AJP, 94 (1973), 131-46, identifies the flooding of the Tiber with that of 54 B.C., pp. 140-2.

10 D. West, Reading Horace (Edinburgh, 1967), 89.

Livy 4.29.7. The association may have been carried on continuously down to Octavian's time, but evidence is lacking to assure this.

Ibid., 4.25.3-4.


Ibid., 112-3.

For a summary of bibliography on Augustus' connections with Apollo cf. Commager, 187, note 57.


West, *op. cit.*, 97.

Womble, *op. cit.*, 17, says that Apollo, Venus, and Mars are "party to the crime" of civil war by helping one side or the other.

Octavian by birth and adoption also assumed the connections of the Julian gens with Apollo, Venus, and Mars. Not only is there an early Julian association, but Apollo has favored him personally at Actium.

Cf. Fraenkel, 247-8 for a summary of the evidence.

Cf. Womble, *op. cit.*, 8-9; cf. p. 7, ch. 1 of the present discussion.

Commager, 188; Schilling, 243, suggests that the smile refers to her help in bringing victory.

Homer *Iliad* 3.424; Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* 5.17, 49; Hesiod *Theogony* 989; Cat. of Women 67; *Anacreontea* 57.24-5.

Cf. C.2.8.13; 3.27.67; cf. also 3.16.6 in which Venus and Jupiter are laughing, but the situation is less erotic than the previous two.

Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 31; Catullus 68.133 quam circumcursans hinc illinc saepe Cupido.
Cf. Sappho 22.11f.: καὶ ὁ μήτε πάθος ταύταις μυθιστόταται;
cf. also Anacreonta 57.24-5: ὠδερροῦ πάθος μετάδημψεν
"Ἑρας ἔμερος γελῶντες"
Greek counterparts of Cupid appear in similar situations.

Venus is the only female deity in the list. Her inclusion here was probably influenced by her importance in Rome as both the nationalized protectress and ancestress of the Romans and her more foreign, erotic role which was also prominent in the city, rather than by her sex. As both foreign and nationalized deity she serves as a fitting link between Apollo and Mars in the ode.


Cf. Schilling, 328; Caesar had also introduced a statue of Cleopatra into the temple of Venus Genetrix, an association which Octavian would try to avoid.

Nisbet and Hubbard, 42-3.

D. Jones, Horace's Idea of Poetry and the Poet, Diss. (Bryn Mawr, 1963), p. 75, interprets 1.3 as saying that what is impious and condemned for most men is not only permitted, but divinely sanctioned for the poet.


Ibid., 147-8, Elder points out that it was conventional to invoke Venus and the Gemini for a safe voyage. Cf. Roscher, Lex. Myth., 402, s.v. Aphrodite.

Vessberg and A. Westholm, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus, Vol. 4,3 (Stockholm, 1956), 221, 230. Cf. also M.H. James, "On the History and Antiquity of Paphos," JHS, 9 (1881), 175-92, cites the ancient sources mentioning Paphos; Tacitus Hist. 2.2ff. is the most important.

Tacitus Hist. 2.3-4.
37 Hesiod Theog. 193; Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 5.292; 6.2.


39 RE, ibid., 2757-8; cf. also Hill, A History of Cyprus (Cambridge, 1940), 67-77.

40 Strabo 14.6.3.

41 Roscher, loc. cit., 390-404; cf. Plutarch QR 23 stating that at Delphi there was a picture of Venus called Ἐπιτομήδα.

42 Roscher, op. cit., 1168-9, s.v. Dioskuren; battle of Regillus, 496 B.C., Pydna; cf. Cicero N.D. 3.5.11.

43 Simonides, Lyra Graeca II, (Loeb Cl. Lib.), p. 380, #166, describes Cyprian Aphrodite as saviour of Greece against the Medes.

44 The references to Cyprian Aphrodite in Greek literature are frequent, more so than in Latin. Neither Lucretius nor Catullus mentions Venus as Cyprian.


46 Hesiod Theog. 193-206; cf. Homeric Hymn to Aphrod. 5.1-6.

47 Roscher, op. cit., 389, s.v. Aphrodite; cf. Od. 18.193f.; Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo 194ff.; Pausanias 9.35.1 speaks of a picture of Delian Apollo leading three Graces by the hand.

48 The close association of Venus and the Graces can be glimpsed from the account in the Iliad which names Charis as Hephaestus' wife, while in the Odyssey his wife is Aphrodite. Cf. II. 18.328; Od. 8.270.

50. Ibid., 17. W. Barr, "Horace, Odes 1.4," CH, N.S. 12 (1962), 5-11, points out that the festival of the dead, the dies parentales, began at the sixth hour of the very day of the sacrifice in the temple of Faunus, and that the sacrifice to Faunus in line 11 refers to this, thus preparing the reader for Pallida Mors of line 13. He rejects the comparisons of the ode with C.4,7 as unsatisfactory explanations for the introduction of Pallida Mors. Nor does he think that it is the progression of the seasons which prepare the reader for line 13. He would confine the picture in the poem to February even in the earlier lines of the poem. Cf. Fraenkel, 419ff. for the comparison with 4.7. M. Delaunios, "Horace Odes 1,4: Le Printemps," Les Études Classiques, 25 (1952), 320-7, and P. Defourney, "Le Printemps dans l'ode a Sestius (1,4)," LEC, 14 (1946), 174-94, argue for April as the time of the poem. M. Owen Lee, Word, Sound, and Image in the Odes of Horace (Ann Arbor, 1969), 65-70, finds Faunus the focus of what he terms a "thematic and sonic circle" on life and death.

51. W. Sylvester, "A Note on Horace 'Odes' 1,4," CJ, 48 (1952-3), 262, interprets the first three stanzas as concerned with both destruction and creative force, that they anticipate line 13 and Pallida Mors. He further suggests that the message of change only may have a political application as well. This suggestion seems quite possible in view of Horace's political tone in C.1.2.


53. Dio 53.12.7; 54.4.1.

54. IGRRP 3.940; Dio 54.27.7; Roman coinage from Cyprus from the time of Augustus to Septimius Severus depicted the temple at Paphos on the reverse with an Emperor on the obverse; cf. BMC, Cyprus, pp.119-34.

Chapter IV

Venus as an Erotic Influence in Odes 1-3

Unlike odes 1.2, 3, and 4 and the basically non-erotic role Venus has in them, the remaining odes in which she appears in Books 1-3 are either erotic or have in them erotic situations or settings. Venus herself is specifically an erotic deity in these odes, much like the goddess in the cult of the popular Venus Erycina outside the Colline Gate. The erotic situation varies with each ode; at times the emphasis is on the erotic power of Venus as she displays it in cruelty; at other times her role is that of the beneficent goddess of love. The majority of times, however, her cruelty dominates, and she is portrayed as a harsh, exacting deity creating distress. Usually she is the personified goddess, but in some instances her name within an ode refers only to the abstract force of sexual attraction. It is in her erotic role that Horace associates Venus in several odes with his lyric efforts and the genus tenue. In a smaller number of odes whose themes are more appropriate to the genus grande, he involves Venus as an erotic deity, but with no specific connections to his literary efforts. These divisions for Venus are
not always so clear-cut, however, in every instance of her occurrence within an ode, for on occasion Horace blends her erotic cruelty and beneficence with the tenue and grande in varying combinations and degrees, creating an ode which fits no one category.

**Erotic Venus in the Literary Odes**

The literary odes in which Venus appears are scattered throughout the collection of *Odes* 1-3. In order to present a unified picture of Venus as Horace portrays her in connection with his writing of lyric poetry I have chosen to lift these odes from their positions within the collection and to place them together as a group. This group consists of five odes: C.1.19*, 1.32, 2.1, 3.13, and 3.26. Within this group I have arranged the odes according to the two erotic aspects of Venus' nature—her role as mater saeva and as a more pleasant erotic goddess. With this arrangement I have thus gathered together Horace's statements about his erotic literary efforts, while at the same time I have listed within these literary odes the types of erotic Venus appearing in the remaining odes in the Books 1-3.

In 1.19 Horace presents a Venus who for the first time in the collection dominates an ode. It is mid-way in Book 1, perhaps significantly at that point because of
its central position, that for the first time since the
initial three odes (C.1.2, 1.3, 1.4) Horace mentions Venus
in connection with a cult site.

\[ \text{in me tota ruens Venus} \\
\text{Cyprum deseruit nec patitur Scythas} \\
et versis animosum equis \\
\text{Parthum dicere nec quae nihil attinent.} \]

C.1.19 is an amatory ode in which Venus dominates the first
stanza as the erotic deity who will not let Horace put
aside loves he had considered finished. She is the fully
emerged erotic deity only alluded to in the early poems,
and who plays only a minor role in 1.15 and 1.18.

\[ \text{Mater saeva Cupidinum} \\
Thebanaeque iubet me Semelae puer \\
et lasciva Licentia \\
finitibus animum reddere amoribus.} \]

There is no mention of her cult in the opening lines.
Rather, the emphasis is on Venus' role as the erotic deity
who cruelly and willfully exerts great power. She wields
this power over the lover and the poet. He must turn
again to love—a theme appropriate to the tenue genus
of lyric. Horace heightens the concept of her power as
an erotic force, while at the same time recalling her
other associations in Rome, by placing saeva\(^1\) between
mater and Cupidinum.\(^2\) Mater would reflect her ancestral
ties as Erycina on the Capitoline, while Cupidinum would
be a point of reference for the erotic Erycina outside
the Colline Gate. *Saeva* itself could reflect on her role as a fiercely protective mother of Aeneas and the Roman race, and her cruelty in the realm of love. As the mother of Aeneas she had employed her other son, Cupid, in a cruel trick to inflict Dido with love for Aeneas—a love that was to prove disastrous for the afflicted Dido (cf. *Aeneid* 1.657ff.; 4.128). Just as she who thought love was over, but whose thoughts were once again turned in that direction by Venus, so Horace finds himself urged by Venus (*iubet*) to turn his thoughts again to love and love-poetry as a theme for lyric. Although Venus is central to the stanza, the addition of Dionysus³ and Licentia⁴ strengthen the image of the pressure placed upon Horace. As the son of Theban Semele, Dionysus would recall the amorous association of his mother and Zeus, while *lasciva* increases the erotic tone of the stanza. They also are subjects of *iubet* and reinforce the erotic, literary associations of Venus.

Following his statement of Venus' insistence upon his return to love, Horace describes the girl in question, Glycera. As Venus exerted force upon Horace with *iubet*, so Glycera presents pressure with *urit*. *Urít* may echo the sound of *iubet* and certainly repeats the sense of an external force determining Horace's course. He emphasizes the effect of Glycera with the repetition of *urít* at the
beginning of lines five and seven. Ultimately *urit* refers to Venus who was the driving source of love. As Cytherea in C.1.4 she signals the warmth of spring and youth (the spring of life) in which Horace describes the burning of love with the words *calet* and *tepebunt*. In C.1.19 it is *nitor*, the shining beauty of Glycera, which inflames Horace with love. The image of the cold brilliance of *nitor* contrasts with the warmth implied in *urit*. This contrast is heightened by the image of hard, glistening marble, and an appearance Horace describes as *nimium lubricus*. Grata *protervitas* serves as a contrast to the smooth, cold, perfection of Glycera's beauty and reflects back to lasciva *Licentia* in the first stanza. Yet in itself *grata* *protervitas* provides a contrast in that *protervitas*, which has the connotation of being displeasing in a moral sense, is here described as *grata*; it is because it is *grata* to Horace that *protervitas* affects him in the same way as does *nitor*. As the hardness of marble implies the hardness of Glycera's character, so *protervitas* implies behavior which is indicative of hardness of character and a degree of insensitivity. The picture of Glycera suggests the hardness, the insensitivity of Venus to Horace's difficulties, and her cruelty as expressed through *saeva*. 
Finally in the third stanza Horace specifies that it is Cyprian Venus who has descended upon him and prevents him from concerning himself with the Scythians or Parthians. With this stanza it is clear that Horace is writing not only about love but about love-poetry and the writing of such poetry as well; for he says that Venus does not allow him to sing of (dicere) the Scythians or Parthians, subjects suitable for the grand style of poetry. Ruens implies Venus’ force and violence, and that she is destroying Horace’s hopes of grander themes, as she rushes forth upon him in behalf of love and themes of love. The fact that she comes from Cyprus (deseruit Cyprum) (10), her main seat as love goddess, emphasized that it is in her role as love goddess that she forbids him to write of epic themes. Cyprum at the beginning of line 10 carries with it implications of her cult there and suggests erotic themes appropriate to lyric; this contrasts with Scythas at the line’s end, suggestive of the grand themes which Venus of Cyprus does not allow (nec patitur Scythas). In the remaining two lines Horace elaborates upon the grand themes which he claims must give way to those approved by Venus. Ruens in 1.19.9 recalls ruentis of 1.2.25 which connotes the violence and impending destruction of the Roman state unless some god (among whom Venus is suggested) could save it. In 1.19 the erotic Venus from
Cyprus, characterized by ruens, is rushing upon Horace to topple his poetic hopes regarding themes that are grandis, but as she exerts her power in this way, perhaps Horace implies that she is simultaneously in the role of saviour as she prevents him from the grand poetic style which could bring his literary ruin. Ruens in 1.19 can be seen thus as a possible link to the political theme of C.1.2 and to Horace's first mention of Venus as a cult goddess. It should be noted that Jupiter of 1.2 is echoed in 1.16.12: Jupiter ipse ruens tumulta. The line preceded by saevus ignis (1.16.11) recalls his power (1.2.2-4) and anticipates the force of ruens Venus in 1.19. The connection between the two powerful deities in the cult of the Vinalia as protectors and benefactors of Rome, each with a temple on the Capitoline, receives additional recognition with ruens. As Erycina she might possibly save Rome from impending destruction. Yet as Erycina she had erotic associations from her cult at the Colline Gate and strong similarities to the Cyprian goddess despite the serious political theme with which she can be said to be involved justifiably as Erycina of the Capitoline cult. Ruo occurs also in C.1.3.26, the second cult poem with a serious theme and one with reference to Cyprian Venus, who had traits in common with Erycina. Here, too, ruo implies the idea of impending disaster just as in 1.2 and 1.19.
gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.

1.3.26

A further association of ruo in connection with concept of love (venus) occurs in C.2.5.4:

Nondum subacta ferre iugum valet cervice, nondum munia comparis aequare nec tauri ruentis in venerem tolerare pondus.

In this instance, however, there is no cult involved, nor is venus even the divinity, but rather the concept of physical love. Although ruentis modifies tauri, the allusions to the force, cruelty, and violence of the goddess are there in the images of the bull (tauri ruentis) and the yoke (ferre iugum) which can be compared to the image in C.1.33.10-12:

sic visum Veneri, cui placet inparis formas atque animos sub iuga aenea saevo mittere cum ioco.

The fierceness of Venus in 1.19 (mater saeva) has been transferred in 1.33 to iocus which appears personified in 1.2 as one of her companions.

To lessen the impact of Venus upon him in C.1.19, to lighten her blow, to make her less harsh, Horace proposes in the final stanza a sacrifice to the goddess. It is to be a simple sacrifice with an earthen altar (caespitem), greenery, incense, unmixed wine, and, to insure her pleasure, a victim. Horace hopes that thus from the mater saeva of line one she will become lenior in the
closing line. The victim involved is more than the animal in the sacrifice Horace is planning. Horace, himself, is the victim to the power of Venus over his poetry; he will sacrifice writing themes that are grandis for those more suitable to the lyric mode. Stanza one begins with an emphasis on his relationship with the goddess, Mater saeva.../ iubet me. In the last line of the final stanza Horace has come full circle back to himself and Venus. He dominates the line as the victim, mactata...hostia, but is dominated still by the goddess, although she now will be lenior in view of his sacrifice. Lenior itself may even extend to include here Glycera who above has exemplified the harsh characteristics attributed to Venus. Indeed, the whole final stanza is in contrast significantly softer than the first three in both images and sound. Lenior implies not only Venus' attitude toward Horace on love, but also more significantly the lighter themes and style of poetry represented in the erotic lyric which he must write. Horace seems to be representing with this closing stanza his submission to Venus and his retreat to the lyric-erotic from the grandis. Thus Horace has moved from the Erycina of 1.2 and her erotic echo in 1.13 to the exclusively erotic Cypris of 1.19.

Vixi puellis (C.3.26) continues the theme of 1.19 of Horace as a lover who has chosen to lay aside such
activity. It is reminiscent of 1.19 in that it stresses the idea of violence connected with love through the military metaphor in stanza one. By the fourth line, however, the reader knows that it is the poet again, not only the lover talking: barbiton hic paries habebit. The wall is in a temple of Venus. Once again a specific Venus is the goddess who provides the impetus for his poem. She is the beatam diva tenes Cyprum, reminiscent of C.1.3, diva potens Cyprī. In line five her connection with the sea is stressed by the epithet marinae. This recalls also C.1.3 with its emphasis on her role as a protectress of sea-voyagers, and specifically the poet Vergil. The Memphis allusion is unusual, although she did have a temple there.  Williams has interpreted the allusion as a contrast with chilly Thrace and the coldness of Chloe, the warmth of Egypt being equated with the warmth of Venus' nature. The cruelty of Venus as in 1.19 is alluded to in the last two lines of the ode:

    regina, sublimi flagello
    tange Chloen semel arrogantem.

In 1.19 she is mater saeva whose force is depicted by ruens. Her role in 3.26 as powerful erotic deity is reflected in the phrase diva tenes Cyprum, and her power is stressed even more in the two final lines with the word regina. She is being summoned by Horace as lover and poet to use her power as regina against Chloe as she had used it
against him (in me tota ruens Venus) (1.19.9). Venus in 3.26 is at the same time the protectress of Horace, the safe harbor after the battle in the stormy sea of love, and the goddess who can cruelly inflict her will upon the one resistant to her power, as in the case of Chloe.

The erotic theme of 3.26 can be compared to that of 1.5, along with the detail of technique and the delayed revelation of the poet's own involvement. Fraenkel has pointed out that convention equated love's warfare with erotic poetry. It has been noted that as 1.5 is fifth from the beginning of the collection, 3.26 is fifth from the end. Horace may be hinting that his involvement in love is about to end, as is the collection; however, he still desires success. Be that as it may, Horace has once again through cult reference to Cyprian Venus focused on her power as erotic deity over him in a theme consonant with her role.

1.19 and 3.26 are odes which portray Venus as mater saeva and stress the erotic in literary composition. In two other major odes of the genus tenue that concentrate on literary themes, Venus appears in more beneficent light.

C.1.32 has received much attention from commentators and critics over the textual problem in line 1 revolving around the word poscimus which some would read
poscimus. Another textual debate exists about the reading in line 15: mihi cumque. The occasion of the ode, what Horace is really requesting, and the significance of its position in the collection have all been topics of discussion. The inclusion of the third stanza is generally agreed upon as being indicative of the lighter themes of which the lyric poet Alcaeus wrote. Why Horace includes these specific examples has various interpretations.

Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi semper haerentem puerum canebat, et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque crine decorum.

Kilpatrick says: "If we analyze what Horace's words to the lyre really imply, it becomes clear that what he is asking for is a lyric that is (a) erotic and convivial, (b) in an Alcaean meter, and (c) in a consolatory vein."

He then proposes that Horace wrote 1.32 as a prooemium for the opus, C.1.33.

I would read the ode in a less specific way, and find more general reference to his lyric in the language and themes he uses. In referring to his writing of lyric, Horace speaks of himself (vacui), location (sub umbra), and the mode of writing (lusimus), as he asks (poscimus) the tangible symbol of lyric verse (barbiton) to give forth a native song (Latinum carmen) as opposed to one that is Greek. With the phrase vacui sub umbra/ lusimus (1-2) Horace associates specific vocabulary.
with the idea of composing lyric. Ludo with its basic meaning of "play" was used frequently by poets to refer to the writing of poetry in the lighter genres. Generally excluded were epic and tragedy. Horace speaks of his lyric verse on several occasions in the Epistles with ludo and its derivatives:

Prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena, spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris, Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo?
Epist. 1.1-3

Nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra ponere
Epist. 1.1.10

Again when he speaks of no longer writing lyric, he uses ludus; this time it is in conjunction with three other words which appear in the Odes in conjunction with the writing of lyric, iocus, venus, and convivium:

Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes eripuere iocos, venerem, convivia, ludum; tendunt extorquere poemata;
Epist. 2.2.55-7

Later in the same Epistle, he speaks of what a poet must do to write poetry: ludentis speciem dabit (124). He becomes even more specific in using ludus to refer to lyric:

nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
Epist. 2.2.141-3

Ludus occurs frequently in the Odes, but only one other time does it occur specifically as a reference to the writing of poetry:
nec siquid olim lusit Anacreon
delevit aetas;
C.4.9.9-10

It also occurs in some odes which are specifically concerned with poetry and poetic inspiration. In C.2.19.25-8 Bacchus with his power to inspire the poet is described:

quamquam choreis aptior et iocis
ludoque dictus non sat idoneus
pugnae ferebaris; sed idem
pacis eras mediusque belli.

Ludo appears yet again in a section of an Ode about inspiration when Horace describes his own inspiration from the Muse, and asks: an me ludit amabilis/insania?(C.3.4.5-6).

In lines 11-20 he is the young child (poet) sacred to the gods:

ludo fatigatumque somno
fronde nova puerum palumbes
texere, ............... 
........................
........................
ut premerer sacra
lauroque conlataque myrto
non sine dis animosus infans.

Vacuus and umbra also figure in poems in which Horace speaks about himself as poet. When he writes of themes that are tenuis and appropriate to the lyric genre, Horace says he is vacuus, he is levis.

C.1.6.17-20
As the poet inspired by Bacchus, he associates himself with the grove (nemus) and its implied shade, a grove that is vacuum.

\[ \text{Legend: ut mihi devio ripas et vacuum nemus mirari libet.} \]

C. 3.25.12-14

In C.1.17 as one who is dear to the gods for his poetry, he invites Tyndaris to a convivium. In lines 21-8 Horace sets the scene sub umbra. Within the setting are the elements suitable for a lyric poem—wine (pocula Lesbii), Bacchus (Semeleius Thyoneus), the erotic as represented by Tyndaris the poet and Cyrus, and the garland in the hair (haerentem coronam crinis). The similarity to the generic type in C.1.32.9-12 is striking. It does not correspond exactly in every item to 1.32.9-12, rather, it echoes it and enlarges upon it. Sub umbra brings in Horace's specific poetic statement from the beginning of 1.32; there will not be the warfare of love which Horace mentions in 1.6—yet the negative expression in 1.17 recalls what Horace says is a fit topic for lyric. Other less obvious allusions exist in haerentem and coronam. The garland of the poet and poem are spoken of in C.1.26.6-8. By connecting haerentem which describes Cupid in 1.32 (his relationship to Venus) to corona, Horace has connected allusions to love and poetry. He goes even further and includes the word crinis.
(haerentem coronam crinibus) which adds to the beauty of Lycus, the love object in 1.32.

After asking his barbiton for a Latinum carmen, Horace focuses on his Greek model, Alcaeus, whom he calls Lesbius civis and ferox. By emphasizing this aspect of Alcaeus, Horace seems to imply that a Latinum carmen can involve more than the ideas associated with vacuus, sub umbra, and ludo. The implication is that Alcaeus wrote lyric on both the more weighty, political themes and the lighter themes of wine, poetry, and love. Horace ties the two areas together with the phrase sive iactatam religarat udo/litore navim. Zumwalt has proposed that Horace used the metaphor of the nautical poetic voyage in C.1.3, 1.34.1-4½, 3.2.25-32, and 3.29.57-64 in addition to the commonly recognized passage in C.4.15.1-4. On the basis of several examples of the sailor/sea/ship metaphor as applied to his own poetic endeavors, I suggest that he extended the image to speak of the poetic activity of Alcaeus in C.1.32.7-8 (sive iactatam religarat udo/litores navim). As opposed to the sea which Horace represents as symbolic of epic themes, the moist shore (udum litor) (cf. 2.19; 3.25) represents the composition of the lighter themes as given form in Liberum et Musas Veneremque...crine decorum (9-12). Venus the erotic deity occurs as decens (The word is related to the decorum which modifies Lycus in 1.32.) in 1.18.6 in
connection with Bacchus. This description of Venus as decens should be noted in connection with the theory of decorum discussed in the next paragraph. The more difficult themes of epic are suggested by his lactata navis, the vehicle of these themes which has experienced the roughness of the sea, but has now been tied to the shore (religarat) where it will not experience the roughness of the vast sea, but rather conditions more appropriate to the lyric genre--tenuis, parvus, levis, mollis, lenis.\(^\text{23}\)

In the final stanza Horace is back to the lyre with which he began the ode. He has moved from the subjects of the lyre to the instrument itself. The word decorum has completed the thought relating to the subjects for lyric; specifically it modifies Lycum. In a poem about lyric and the subjects suitable for lyric, Horace has concluded the statement which forms the major portion of the poem with a telling word--decorus. It ostensibly describes Lycus as "seemly," "becoming," "handsome," "beautiful," or perhaps even as "elegant" or "adorned". There is another implication in decorum as it stands in the poem, that of literary style. The concept of decorum in literature was concerned with "style in relation to the subject matter" and was "considered by many to be the supreme virtue of style".\(^\text{24}\) It involved a sense of what was "fitting" or "becoming" or "appropriate" style; it is
the τὸ πρέπον of Greek which is frequently expressed in Latin by decorum, decor, decens, aptum, conveniens, and the like. An important part of the theory of decorum was the practice of moderation, nothing in excess, adherence to the Golden Mean in both literary style and life. That decorum was an important principle to Horace has been acknowledged and thoroughly discussed by critics, particularly as it relates to and is demonstrated in his Epistles—specifically noted has been Epistle 2.3 (Ars Poetica).

His frequent use of decorum and related words in the Odes suggests that he is expressing in an indirect way an important aspect of his lyric composition. In C.1.32 Lycus is decorus by reason of his dark eyes and hair; he is also "appropriate" in a stanza about wine and love as subjects for lyric, and in a poem about lyric. Liber, the Muses and Venus have given him the tone and the inspiration with which to shape his ode. Since decorum ends the thought of the first three stanzas, there is an emphasis on the "propriety" of the entire statement with its balancing of the allusion to epic themes in stanza two by the lighter themes of lyric represented in stanza three. Horace does not stop there. He plays on the meanings in decorum when he begins the final stanza O decus Phoebi as an address to the lyre. There is a relationship between the lyric he has sung in the
preceding lines and the instrument of lyric which began and
closes the ode; the relationship between decorum and decus
conveys this within the meaning each contributes to the
poem itself and to the underlying concept of decorum—a
concept to which Horace alludes through his examples in
lines 5-12. In fact, he has demonstrated decorum with the
ode itself and the erotic genus has again taken its form
from Venus and her frequent associates, Liber and the Muses.

Horace associates Venus with the light themes appro­
priate for lyric poetry (genus tenue) in the recusatio of
C.2.1 when he draws back from the serious topics he has
been pursuing in the previous thirty-six lines (genus
grande) and bids his Muse to the Dionean grotto:

\[
\text{sed ne relictis, Musa, procax iocis} \\
\text{Cea retracts munera néniae;} \\
\text{mecum Dionaeo sub antro} \\
\text{quaere modos leviore plectro.} \\
\text{C.2.1.37-40}
\]

He urges the Muse to abandon the lofty themes of the
previous nine stanzas to seek lighter measures with themes
he calls loci. He implies that these are to be found in
returning to Venus' realm of erotic poetry (Dionaeo sub
antro). As in the case of ludus, locus and its deriva­
tives are frequently found in connection with statements
about poetry and in odes with Venus and erotic themes;
e.g. C.1.33.10-12:

\[
\text{sio visum Veneri, cui placet impares} \\
\text{formas atque animos sub iuga aenea} \\
\text{saevo mittere cum ioco.}
\]
An example which literally connects the word with poetry occurs in C.1.12.3-4

\[ \ldots \ldots \text{cuius recinet iocosa} \]
\[ \text{nomen imago} \]

In a situation somewhat similar to that in C.2.1, Horace recants and says:

\[ \text{non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae;} \]
\[ \text{quo, Musa, tendis? desine pervicax} \]
\[ \text{ref erre sermones deorum et} \]
\[ \text{magna modis tenuare parvis.} \]

C.3.3.69-72

The emphasis on the genus tenue as opposed to the grande occurs in each with such words and phrases as locus/iocosa lyra, Dionaeo antro, levis, tenuo, parvus, and procax. By asking the Muse to seek the Dionean grotto, Horace has associated a particular setting, antrum, with Venus and the erotically suggestive words procax and iocus, while at the same time connecting all as being appropriate for lyric poetry.

In one other poem in the collection the name of Venus, albeit abstractly, occurs in connection with poetry. In 3.13 the topic of the poem is primarily poetry and relates thus to the previous odes in this group 1.19, 1.32, 2.1, and 3.26. The influence of the goddess is perhaps least felt in C.3.13, a poem generally admired for its pleasant picture of the spring, Bandusia.  

\[ \text{O fons Bandusiae, spendidior vitro,} \]
\[ \text{dulci dign e mero non sine floribus,} \]
\[ 1-2 \]
Although the hymnic form of the poem is directed toward the spring, it is more than just a tribute to a spring; as has been frequently pointed out, the ode is a statement about Horace's poetry. After the first twelve lines in tribute to the spring, Horace proclaims in the final four lines that it is through his song that the spring will gain fame:

\[
\text{fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,}
\text{me dicente cavis impositam ilicem}
\text{saxis, unde loquaces}
\text{lymphae desilunt tuae.}
\]

13-6

As in the first three stanzas, the language centers around the spring, but the power of Horace's lyric claim dominates in the final stanza.

Reference to Venus in 3.13 occurs within the first statement of tribute to Bandusia, not in any direct connection with Horace's poetic skill or inspiration:

\[
\text{cras donaberis haedo,}
\text{cui frons turgida cornibus}
\text{primis et venerem et proelia destinat.}
\]

3-5

Instead it is associated with the sacrificial offering to the spring. Because of its characteristic, splendidior vitro, so Horace implies, the spring is worthy of a tribute (line 2). But rather than the simple wine and flowers, it will receive a kid (haedus). It is the kid's potentiality in the erotic area of life that Horace deems worthy to mention. Worth comparison at this point is 3.1.19,
another poem about poetry, but specifically erotic in tone. In the opening lines on love, Glycera in line six is described with the adjective splendens: splendentis Paro marmore purius. Both fons (3.13) and Glycera (1.19) are compared to and excel a hard, gleaming substance. Another characteristic of fons is gelidus which emphasizes the coolness of the water which will receive the sacrifice. There is a similarity to the idea of the gleaming cold implied in the word nitor in C.1.19.

The erotic element in the ode centers around the word venerem, referring to the concept of erotic love, not the goddess herself. It is the influence of this erotic element which Venus could represent that dominates the two central stanzas, even the entire poem. The image of love's warfare is present in venerem et proelia (5), while the dichotomy in the nature of Venus can be said to be expressed in the contrasting images of warmth and coolness: ruber sanguinis and flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae as opposed to gelidus rivi and frigus amabile. Lascivus (line 8) adds to the erotic sense of the passage as it stands between rubro sanguine (7) and flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae (9). Both amabilis and gelidus have literary allusions from their associations in other odes. In C.1.1.30 it is the gelidum nemus which is one of the factors separating Horace as poet from the "vulgar crowd".
Amabilis appears in conjunction with both the poem and the poet: seu condis amabile carmen (Epist.1.3.24); me ludit amabilis/insania? (C.3.4.5-6); inter amabiles/vatum ponere me choros, (C.4.3.14-5). Even in the last stanza of 3.13 there are echoes of erotic lyric. Springs were often associated in antiquity with the idea of literary inspiration (cf. the Castalian Spring at Delphi, Hippocrene on Mt. Helicon). The mention of cava saxa in 3.13 in conjunction with fons suggests another word, antrum, found as part of erotic settings or in association with poetic inspiration (cf. C.1.5; C.2.1.39; C.3.4.40). The loquax which describes lympha in 3.13 can be compared with the related loquens used when Horace speaks of his Lalage in C.1.22, an ode in which the poet is also the lover:

\[\text{dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,}^{37}\]
\[\text{dulce loquentem.} \]

Although C.3.13 is not an erotic ode, it abounds with language that is erotically allusive, and that has at the same time literary allusions through associations in his odes concerning poetry. Venerem has an important role in erotic allusions in this ode. The diaeresis at venerem et places an emphasis on venerem which extends over the entire poem, with a subtle linking of setting, erotic element, and poetry.

Reference to Venus thus appears in this group of odes each of which contains specific statements about
Horace's poetry. These references to Venus (venus in C.3.13) associate her with 1) an erotic scene in which she is mater saeva, forcing love and love poetry on the poet (1.19) or presiding fiercely over love relationships (3.26), 2) a statement on appropriate themes for lyric, in which she is represented as the deity of literary eroticism (1.32), 3) lighter themes as opposed to more weighty themes appropriate to epic with the phrase Dionaeo sub antro (2.1), a phrase which also associates Venus and love with a specific setting, antrum, and 4) an oblique erotic reference (3.13). In each poem the presence of Venus imposes a particular erotic cast on the poem; she is central only in 1.19, but extends her influence over the dramatic or thematic element of each.

The Harshness of Venus in Erotic Odes

In the following group of poems Venus can be generally characterized as mater saeva varying in her degree of harshness. She appears in odes of the genus tenue that have erotic themes concentrating on the pain, anguish, and negative aspects of love. In each she appears incidentally rather than centrally as an erotic deity. This classification constitutes the largest group of Venus odes in the collection.
The first ode in which Venus appears after her initial appearance in the collection (C.1.2, 3, and 4) is C.1.13. With its erotic theme and erotic Venus, it stands in contrast to the serious, political theme and the nationalized ancestral-protective Venus in C.1.2. As if to recall that first national ode Horace has placed just prior to 1.13 another ode in the same meter, serious in theme, about Rome and Augustus, and ending on a note reminiscent of the opening of 1.2 with a reference to the thunderbolts of Jupiter:

\[
tu\ \text{parum}\ \text{castis}\ \text{inimica}\ \text{mittes}
\]
\[
\text{fulmina}\ \text{luces}
\]
1.12.59-60

The two odes both pose questions seeking an individual important to Rome from among gods (1.2) or gods, heroes, and men (1.12); each concludes that Caesar is that individual. By placing a serious poem which ends with a reference to Jupiter and thunderbolts before an erotic ode with an erotic Venus in it, a connection with 1.2 is suggested and the relationship recalled between Jupiter and Venus who shared the Vinalia and the Capitoline. Venus on the Capitoline was Erycina, but she was also Erycina in her erotic, exotic cult outside the Colline Gate. The proximity of the poems and the collocation would have an alert reader note the connection which Horace perhaps saw when he arranged his collection.
C.1.13 concentrates on the jealousy which the power of Venus can bring about, and the opening lines are often compared to Catullus 51 and Sappho 31. In this ode there is no obvious connection of Venus with cruelty. Instead she is the goddess who imbues (imbuo) the lips of Lydia with the sweetness of her nectar. Thus in the ode it is the lips of Lydia that are dulcia.

\[
\ldots \ldots . \text{dulcia barbarae} \\
\text{laedentem oscula, quae Venus} \\
\text{quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.}
\]

Yet there is an irony of cruelty in the lines, for the mouth Venus endows is being used to the torment of the poet. As part of the cruelty associated with Venus a hint of the familiar figure of love's warfare appears in the contrasting dulcia barbarae and in the phrase immodicae rixae (10) (cf. C.1.18.8; 1.27.4; 3.27.70; 3.19.16).

This is lessened in the final lines by the phrase irrupta copula (18) as opposed to the more unpleasant bond in the image of iugum aeneum in C.1.33 and 3.9.

Other similarities exist between this first erotic ode mentioning Venus and C.3.9. Each opens with praise for the beauty of a lover in reference to cervix and bracchia. In 1.13 rosea modifies cervix, while in 3.9 it is candida cervix, but later in 1.13 candidus modifies umerus (9-10). The image of gleaming white beauty which candidus imparts to the individual contrasts with
the rosy warmth implied in *rosea*. This image of warmth is continued in the following fire imagery used in an erotic context (*ignis* 1.13.8, *uror* 1.13.9). *Rosea* itself has an erotic connotation already established in 1.5.1; the roses associated particularly with the erotic cult of Venus Erycina outside the Colline Gate at Rome confirm the effect. C.3.9 contains a similar contrast between the shining whiteness of *candidus* and the fire imagery in the gold-red glow of *flavus* (19), a contrast heightened by the intervening *ardeo* (3.9.6) and *torreo* (3.9.13). Set against the burning imagery, moisture is present in each ode, though in different forms. It is the small tear (*umor*) gliding down the cheek in 1.13.6, the large sea (*Hadria*) in 3.9.23. Even the closings of the two odes are similar as they speak of the erotic power of Venus to reverse the anguish of love she has caused in the earlier lines of the poem. In each the final emphasis is on the possibility of happiness attainable through the bonds of Venus. Venus’ role in each poem, dramatically small, is greatly strengthened by her indirect presence in the final line (*amor* 1.13, *amem* 3.9).

C.2.5 uses the name of Venus in an abstract way similar to that already noted in C.3.13. In both odes *venus* is the concept of physical love in the frame of reference of an animal, *haedus* in 3.13, *taurus* in 2.5.
Although *venus* in 2.5 is not the goddess, the word appears in an erotic ode in which her power is cast in form similar to that in 3.9:

Nondum subacta ferre iugum valet
cervice, nondum munia comparis
aequare nec tauri ruentis
in venerem tolerare pondus.

2.5.1-4

Her power is once again expressed in terms of the yoke, and there is the emphasis on the *inparis formae* also seen in 1.33.10-11 in the *nondum* which is repeated twice and then followed by *comparis*. The proximity of *ruentis* to *venerem* in 2.5 recalls the violent force of Venus noted in 1.19.9. Numerous associations common to Venus occur in 2.5. There is the image of moisture in *fluvii*, *udus salictus*, and *mare*. The contrasting heat imagery is present in *aestus*. Words suggestive of shining dominate in lines 18-20:

non Chloris, albo sic umero nitens,
ut pura nocturno renidet
luna mari Cnidius Gyges,

In this stanza *Cnidius* must certainly relate to the Venus whose cult is mentioned in C.1.30.1 and 3.28.13. Immediately preceding *Cnidius*, *luna* and *mare* provide two more associations with her (cf. C.1.4 and 3.26) and the gleaming of the moon on the sea at night (*nocturno renidet/* *luna mari*) as it points up the gleaming shoulder of Chloris (*albo...umero nitens*) is cast in language which
in this context reinforces the initial appearance of Venus and its slight modification to Venus through Cnidius. The language in a poem introduced by Venus is thus made to evoke Venus. In lines 9-10 cupidinem (desire) is followed by inimitis, a word which Horace has used in 1.33 to describe Glycera (cf. 1.16.25 for mitis of verse). In 2.5 the implication is of hardness associated with the unripe grape. Hardness as an aspect of Venus' nature is a frequent allusion in the odes (cf. 1.19 and lenior in 1.18; 1.33.11 and 3.9.17, iugum).

The cruelty and harshness of love (Venus) which result in the inimitis uva (2.5.10) and are suggested by the images of the yoke occur more frequently under the direction of a Venus in the type of the mater saeva (1.19) who urged love and love-poetry upon Horace. In the following five odes (1.33, 2.8, 3.9, 3.10, and 3.12) a Venus akin to the mater saeva and the abstract Venus alike is depicted willfully inflicting pain in an erotic situation.

In 1.33 and 2.8 Venus in her power displays delight at love's inconsistencies. She finds pleasure (visum and placet) in the unrequited love which she causes:

\[
\text{sic visum Veneri cui placet inparis}
\text{formas atque animos sub iuga aenea}
\text{saeva mittere cum ioco.}
\]

\[\text{C.1.33.10-2}\]

The broken vows of love are another source of her
pleasure (ridet, rident):

ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa; rident
simplices Nymphae ferus et Cupido,
semper ardentis acuens sagittas
cote cruenta.

C.2.8.13-6

The disparate lovers depicted in stanzas two and three of C.1.33 have a foreshadowing in the oxymoron of inmitis Glycera in line two. Stanza two has its inparis formae in the examples of capreae and lupi. Within the lines about Venus' cruelty Horace pairs saevus with locus, giving this inpar forma particular significance by placing saevo at the beginning of the line and loco at the end. It has additional force because it pairs the positive and negative aspects of Venus who herself delights in the inpares formae she causes. The final stanza has yet another unlikely combination in grata compes. At the beginning of the ode the combining adjective in the contrasting pair is negative, inmitis, the noun Glycera is positive. Horace alternates the pattern, thus ending his contrasting pairs with the positive adjective grata beginning line 14, and its noun, the negative compes. In this final stanza Venus is the abstract quality of sexual attraction, whereas in the preceding she appears as the deity. The jugum aeneum of line 11 becomes the grata compes of line 14. The emphasis of the closing stanza is positive in contrast to the preceding negative
view of Venus. Venus in line 13 is *mellor Venus*, the bond
is *grata*. *Myrtale*, completing the line (14) sounds much
like *myrtus* which is a pleasant, associated attribute of
Venus. The position of *grata* associates it closely with
Venus (13), and even with *Myrtale* also at an emphatic posi­
tion in its line. The final two lines of the ode continue
with the allusion to Venus in the description of the sea
(cf. C.1.16.4; 3.26.5) as compared with *Myrtale* who is
*acrior*. *Acrior Myrtale* herself is in contrast to *mellor
Venus.*

The emphasis on Venus' power in both 1.33 and 2.8
appears in the images of shining and burning. In 1.33
the love preferable to Glycera has the verb *praeniteo*
(cf. 1.19, *nitor*); the loved one in 2.8 appears with
*enitesco*. Another lover in 1.33 burns (*torreo*), while
in 2.8 the fire imagery occurs within the stanza depicting
the cruelty of Venus and her entourage of Nymphs and
Cupid. The arrows of Cupid are *ardentis*, but the warmth
of the word is picked up in the final phrase of the
stanza, *cote cruenta,*—both the color and warmth of *ardens*
being echoed in *cruentus*. Although *locus* is not used in
C.2.8, Venus is enclosed by words which give the same
impression—forms of *rideo*. *Ridet* begins line 13, and
*rident* stands at its end. *Venus, the Nymphs, and Cupid*
share in the "joke." Thus the implication of *locus* is
there. The laughter is a contrast with the words ferus and acuens describing Cupid. Yet it adds to the picture of the cruel sport in which they engage. With sagitta and cruentus Horace has also incorporated into this stanza the image of love's warfare.

Venus in 3.9 has a smaller role within the poems than in 1.33 and 2.8. The poem is full of the language of love, and hence the role of Venus is enlarged from a relatively minor dramatic entrance in 1.17 to one that emphasizes her power over mortals. Once again, this time in 3.9, Horace uses the image of the bronze yoke to convey the idea of her ability to compel; this time it is with the verb cogit:

quid si prisca redit Venus
diductosque iugo cogit aeneo?

In this ode Horace seems to be portraying Venus as both the deity and the abstraction. The image of the goddess displaying her erotic power exists in the phrase iugo cogit aeneo. Prisca lends the idea of abstract physical love to the name. There is a sense of capriciousness in the changing affections among the four lovers, and that capriciousness must be referred to Venus who has the power to force their affections. Only by this implication does she "take pleasure" in the harshness of love, for by another interpretation she is more kindly than cruel, for she presents the possibility of reconciliation which
is accomplished by the last line of the poem.

C.3.10, which is basically a paraclausithyron, but sounds a warning of departure on the part of the "locked-out lover," only alludes to the potential cruelty of Venus.

ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
ne currente retro funis eat rota.
9-10

The proverbial expression in line 10 is thought to have something to do with a pulley or windlass, but the exact device and its operation is unclear. The implication in the expression is that Venus will punish one who scorns her. Although ingratam modifies superbiam, it stands next to Venus, thus extending it, meaning to include Venus. As she could be grata, so she could be ingrata if thwarted (cf. C.4.6.21) and scornful in her punishment.

As in the case of 3.9, C.3.10 is filled with the language of love serving as an introduction to Venus' appearance mid-way in the poem. As part of the language associated with Venus the word saevus at the beginning of the second line is introduced in an erotic reference. Strengthening this is asperas at the line's end; this fierceness and harshness of Venus have occurred in 1.19 (saeva) and 1.33 (acrior). Nemus recalls the grove associated with love and poetry (C.1.5 and 1.1). The glistering coldness of Glycera in 1.19 (mitor) has a counterpart in glacies nives (3.10.7), and the cruelty associated with this coldness in an erotic situation
receives further emphasis in the stanza following the reference to Venus (9-12) when Horace uses *supplicibus* (line 16). The whiteness of the snow is picked up in *tinctus...pallor* (14)—a variation on the gleaming and whiteness associated with the lovers in the erotic odes. It should be noted that the coldness of the snow here in a love cycle has a relationship to the similar image in the life-death cycle (cf. C.1.9). A return to harshness is evident in the final stanza with the phrase *nec...mollior.../nec...mitior*.

C.3.12 concentrates on the effect of the power of Venus as *mater saeva*. In this ode, a soliloquy of a love-stricken girl unique in the collection, direct reference to Venus occurs only in the phrase *Cythereae puer ales* (line 5). Through Cupid, her son and frequent companion, the power of Venus as Cytherea manifests itself.

\begin{verbatim}
tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas operosaeque Minervae studium aufert, Neobule, Liparaei nitor Hebr, 4-6
\end{verbatim}

Unlike his presentation in C.1.4 of *Cytherea Venus*, however, Horace in 3.12 emphasizes the power of Cytherean Venus as specifically erotic. This power in the extended form of *Cythereae puer ales* controls Neobule, and diverts her from her weaving to love and praises for Hebrus.

In 3.12 Neobule is shown in a situation which has similarities to that of the poet in C.1.19. In each
instance the individual is compelled by the power of Venus to put aside more serious pursuits in favor of the erotic over which she presides, in 1.19 as Cyprian, in 3.12 as Cytherean. The power of Venus as an erotic deity cannot be evaded by Horace as poet who must lay aside grander themes for the lighter ones of love. For him Venus is mater saevas Cupidinum, who will be gentler (lenior), he anticipates, once the sacrifice has been made (mactata veniet lenior hostia) (C.1.19.16). Nor can Neobule avoid the power of Venus. The first stanza of 3.12 generalizes on the unhappiness which love can cause:  

Miserarum est neque amori dare ludum neque dulci mala vino lavere, aut examinari metuentis patruae verbera linguae.

1-3

This leads to the specific example of Neobule, who concentrates in the two remaining stanzas on Hebrus, the source of her distraction. Nitor is in apposition to puer ales, a device by which Horace more closely involves Hebrus in the erotic linking to Venus. Commager has pointed out that in 3.12 there is a tension between the alternative existences of Neobule and Hebrus which "is made the more powerful by the fact that it is Neobule herself who proudly describes the masculine world for which her lover has deserted her".  

In expressing the erotic effects of Venus' power as Cytherea over an individual, Horace has created not only
a similarity of situation between himself, the poet, and Neobule, the lover, but also a similarity in the expression of ideas related to the erotic and the poet. In the opening stanza of 3.12 the expression *amori dare ludum* relates in 1.19 to the phrases *Mater Cupidinum* and *lascivia Licentia*, along with the idea *animal reddere amoribus*. Joined with *amori dare ludum* is *dulci vino lavere*, just as *Thebanae Semelae puer* is linked with *Mater Cupidinum* in 1.19. Horace depicts the *mater saeva* of 1.19 through *miserarum, mala*, and *metuentis*, expressions of the results of her power upon others rather than descriptions of the goddess herself. *Verbera*, having no counterpart in 1.19, adds to the picture of distress, and presents an image that can be related to the harshness of erotic power in C.3.26. In lines 1-6 of that poem Horace associates himself as a lyric poet with erotic themes and with *Venus marina*. Although Horace does not call Venus *Cytherea* in 3.26, the epithet *marina* strongly suggests the idea of Cytherean Venus with her birth in the sea and association with the erotic. Later when he calls upon Venus as *quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum* (3.26.9), one has the sense of a strengthened allusion to the erotic Venus who emerged from the sea at Cythera and proceeded to her eventual cult site at Cyprus. Horace calls upon her as *quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum* to display her power to Chloe:
Twice in odes with an erotic theme—one of them connected specifically with poetry (C.3.26), odes in which Venus figures as a cult deity and erotic power, Horace employs the image of the lash. Although verbal in 3.12 and not in the hands of Venus, nevertheless, in each case the image serves to point up the power of Venus to cause difficulty as well as pleasure. On another level, too, it can be seen as an expression of the same effects in respect to the poet and his creation of lyric.

3.12 and 1.19 also reflect similarities in the description of the beloved. For the poet in 1.19 it is Glycerae nitor, while for Neobule it is Liparaei nitor Hebri. In each the image of nitor is enhanced by further description. Glyceri is splendens Paro marmore purius, and her countenance, nimium lubricus. Hebrus' beauty is also described in terms to indicate gleaming and moisture—unctos Tiberinis umeros lavit in undis—both characteristics associated with Venus.

Even as Horace speaks in 1.19.9 of Venus' total power over him, a power which excludes the writing of heroic themes, he has incorporated them into 3.12 (lines 10-12). Neobule's total immersion in praise for Hebrus finds her also lauding virtues more appropriate to heroic themes.
In addition to its significance as a reference to Archilochus' verse, Horace's choice of name, Neobule, "one with new ideas," is thought-provoking, and perhaps particularly significant if, in light of Horace's poetic statements about his new lyrics, she and C.3.12 are a poetic representation of Horace's more specific statements about his lyric poetry and the significance of Venus to it.

As Venus saeva in the preceding odes the goddess of love has exerted a force not to be ignored in personal relationships any less than the power she exerted as mater saeva over Horace as a poet in 1.19. Although not central to these odes, she influences the theme through the aspect of her fierceness.

**The More Favoring Aspect of Erotic Venus**

In contrast to the larger group of odes in which Venus wields her power with cruelty, a smaller number shows another side of her erotic nature. As a more pleasant and propitious deity who fosters the erotic experience, Venus appears several times in association with Bacchus and wine (e.g. 1.18.6; 2.7.25; 3.21.21).

.................eques ipso
melior Bellerophonte, neque pugno neque segni pede
victus,
catus idem per apertum fugientis agitato grege cervos
ioculari et celer arto latitantem fruticeto excipere
aprum.

7-12
Her association with Bacchus in relation to love and poetry has been noted earlier in the discussion of C.1.32. The more beneficent side of Venus had a further connection with the vine and wine in cult through her worship in the celebration of the Vinalia.

Venus occurs as a companion of Bacchus in the Odes for the first time in C.1.18. In line six Horace presents Bacchus and Venus (who preside over wine and love) as preferable antitheses to *gravis militia* and *pauperies*:

*quid non te potius, Bacche pater, teque decens Venus?*

1.18.6

The emphasis in the poem is on wine and the god of wine, with a warning against excess: *ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi* (?). To illustrate his plea for moderation, Horace then cites the battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, a result of the immoderate use of wine. Although Venus is graced only by the epithet *decens* in line six and has no other dramatic role within the poem, her presence is clear in the example of the Lapiths and Centaurs which involved excess in both wine (the drunkenness of the Centaurs) and love (the attack at the wedding). *Rixa* introduces the theme of warfare in love developed in 3.25; *rix* itself is used in a similarly erotic sense in 1.13.11, 3.21.3, and 3.27.70. Following the reinforcement of *rix* in lines 8-10 the erotic influence of Venus is specifically continued with *libidinum* (10). *Decens*
itself has evoked a Venus of beauty, pleasure, and the environment of love (cf. decorum 1.32.12). This impression is strengthened by words associated with love and erotic settings—candide (11), frondibus (12), saeva (13), amor (14), and vacuum (15) (cf. 1.5). Even the image of gleaming brightness so often associated with love is evident in perluckdior vitri (16), the final words in the poem. Decens thus not only signals an erotic Venus and the extension of her presence in the poem, but perhaps also signals Horace's belief in literary decorum and the contribution erotic Venus makes to it in lyric poetry. The lyric relationship suggested in theory in 1.32.9-12 is here introduced in a practical example of a call to moderation and a description of a setting in which it must be practiced, where love and wine both inspire and threaten rixae.

In C.3.21, an address to a wine jar, Horace dwells on the effects of wine beginning with a list of negative and positive effects: querellas, iocos, rixam, insanios amores, and facilem...somnum. His options exemplify the contrast in the erotic nature of Venus which can bring about the unpleasantness of querellae, but also the opposite result, ioci. This contrast between the pleasant and unpleasant aspects is strengthened by the position of rixam...amores and facilem...somnum as alternatives after seu.
134

The movement from querellas to somnum stresses the more pleasurable aspects of wine. This positive tone (pia testa) is extended in stanza two by comment on the jar and wine which produce the pleasantness. The wine jar becomes digna, the wine (vina), languidiora. The lack of harshness in love is reflected in the more mellow wine. Although Venus does not appear in the poem until the final stanza, the language from the very first anticipates her. When she does appear it is as a companion to Bacchus (21). This association of Bacchus (wine) and Venus (love) is fore­shadowed in line twelve, the mid-point of the poem: saepe mero caluisse virtus. Horace has placed mero (wine) and caluisse (glow, be warm) centrally within the line and together. Caleo with its erotic overtones (cf. C.1.4.19) suggests the combination of wine and love already mentioned in the first stanza and prepares for the erotic setting in the last. Lene tormentum (13) reflects languidus (8) and the twofold nature of Venus who here is laeta (21). In line 15 iocons o echoes iocos (2) and in modifying Lyaeo (16) enhances the love-wine association. Stanza five with its emphasis on the negative (anxiis, pauperi, iratos, trementi, regum, militum, arma) provides a contrast with the happy picture closing the poem. The more specific
contrast between the last two stanzas serves as a reference to the more general distinctions in the first. In line twenty-one wine (te, Liber) and love (Venus) embrace the laeta modifying Venus, but central in the line and perhaps extending its meaning to both Liber and Venus. Throughout the poem emphasis has been on gentleness as opposed to harshness—the lack of force and violence in Bacchus and Venus. This is further suggested by segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae (22). Warmth, the glow of love, and the images of brightness so frequently associated with Venus are no less a part of this erotic setting as they occur in vivae... lucernae, astra, and Phoebus. Each of the four final lines reinforces the theme of love which ends the poem. Venus herself completes line twenty-one; her companions the Graces emphasize the gratia of Venus at the end of line twenty-two, while vivae lucernae indicate the night during which love will be present (with wine) (cf. 3.11.50; 3.28) until night departs at the arrival of day (Phoebus). Commentators have viewed this poem in various lights. None to my knowledge has noted the emphatic role assigned to Venus by language and position.55

The erotic present of Venus in 3.18 receives attention in the first line,

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,

which Faunus as lover shares with the attendants of Venus
There is already a note of the cruelty of love in the fleeing of the nymphs and the seeking of Faunus who pursues the perhaps unattainable. Faunus is approached uneasily—he is asked to be lenis and aequus, thereby implying his potential for the opposite quality. Out of this tentative beginning hope for a propitious Faunus is expressed on condition that he accept a sacrifice. It is within the description of the sacrifice that Venus herself is mentioned:

\[\text{si tener pleno cadit haedus anno,}
\text{larga nec desunt Veneris sodali}
\text{vina cretterrae, vetus ara multo}
\text{fumat odore.}\]

5-8

The appropriate sacrifice involves a victim (haedus), wine (vinum), and the fragrance from the altar. Venus seems to be mentioned incidentally as a comrade of the wine bowl, but in fact her presence pervades the poem. As on at least two other occasions (1.18, 3.21) she is here a companion of wine. In those instances she is decens (1.18) and laeta (3.21) and a companion of Liber himself. Here the god does not appear and Venus is without a qualifying epithet. It is the language of the poem that suggests the hope for a propitious Venus for the lover Faunus as Horace hopes for a propitious Faunus through the sacrifice that may improve his amatory aims. If Venus is decens, laeta, or obsequens, her gentleness will be reflected in the
gentleness (lenis) Horace requests of Faunus. The wishful thinking of lenis is reinforced by tener haedus (5) as part of the sacrifice. Ludit at the beginning of stanza three depicts the gamboling of the flock and the amorousness of its members; it also is often used in a literary sense to refer to erotic lyric poetry (cf. C.3.11.10; 2.19.26; 3.12.1; Epist. 2.256). With the description of the festival to Faunus in the last half of the poem, Horace depicts the gaiety and gentleness (otioso bove) which could be associated with Faunus if the god is favorable. There seems to be a conscious echo of the scene with Venus and the nymphs in C.1.4.5-7 in the final stanza of 3.18 with its setting (agrestis...silva frondes (14) and the dance (gaudet...pepulisse...ter pede terram (15-6).  But as in 1.4 there is a certain foreboding in the imminente luna (1.4.4) associated with the goddess of spring and Faunus' proximity to pallida Mors (1.4.13), so in 3.18 the unpredictable character of Faunus, the uncertainty of love, the time of the year (nonae...Decembres), and the ambiguity of the final stanza (the wolf among the lambs, the beating of the hated earth) leave the reader with a less than comfortable feeling. Although Venus is on the surface relatively inactive, she is introduced with the hope that she will be propitious and help with Faunus' problems and attitudes. Without her and her enabling companion
wine there will be no success in the festival and no favorable response by Faunus.

By contrast to this indirect propitiation the beneficent qualities of Venus are directly sought in C.1.30 when she is hailed as regina Cnidi Paphique (1). Here Horace urges the goddess to desert her temples for the shrine of Glycera (cf. C.1.19). In 1.19 Venus left Cyprus (deseruit Cyprum) to urge upon Horace love and the tenuis for his poetry. Now he calls upon her as erotic deity to forsake her favored site (sperne dilectam Cyron) in favor of Glycera's shrine which he calls decora aedes. Glycera and what she represents for his poetry, the themes which he had tried to avoid in the past, he now pursues. Thus Glycera's shrine is most aptly described as decora. Decoram is so placed as to allow application to Venus (te), Glycera, and aedem. It is a fitting site for the goddess described as decens in 1.18 who has urged love and the tenuis style on Horace (nec patitur.../quae nihil attinent) (1.19.10-12). He emphasizes her power and role as erotic goddess with the mention of her famous cult sites at Cnidus and Paphos.

Commentators on 1.30 have tended to concentrate on the hymnic nature of the ode. The attention is upon the goddess and the manner in which she approaches Glycera's shrine. F. Cairns' suggestion that 1.30 was meant to suggest evocatio, inviting a tutelary deity to abandon
the foreign city and come over to the Romans, would fit in well with Venus' background and relationship to Rome in the role of Erycina. The goddess in 1.30 is viewed as gentle rather than as the *saeva mater* of 1.19 now that Horace has returned to suitable themes. Yet the opening line leaves no doubt of her power. Her cult sites and companions are particularly indicative of the power and influence of her erotic nature. The inclusion of Mercury presents a slight problem for some. Nisbet and Hubbard see the ode and the inclusion of Mercury as merely an "ineffective imitation of a familiar Greek epigram." There were some joint cults of the two deities, however, and the closing emphasis on Mercury would nicely recall his association with Venus, though limited, in 1.2 as possible saviours of Rome. Iuventas was a minor deity, a protector of young men, whom Augustus promoted in Rome. The close connection in 1.30 of the two, Iuventas and Mercurius, would enhance the allusion in this poem, to C.1.2 where Venus is first mentioned. Rather than a Venus involved with the serious political theme of the safety of Rome, C.1.30 presents her as the guardian deity of love.

With 1.30 Horace hails Venus as the goddess powerful over love and thus over his poetic style. He indicates his complete submission to her demands in 1.19 and his return to the *tenuis* with his invocation to her as cult
goddess at sites particularly associated with her erotic nature, his request for her departure from Cyprus, most famous in this respect, the erotic allusions in the echoing reference to Glycera (cf. 1.19.4-8), and in the final stanza with its inclusion of her traditional companions the Graces and Nymphs (cf. 1.4., 3.21). The entire ode is one which is tenuis in theme, allusions, style, and very brevity. 62

The grand themes which he has foregone are perhaps recalled in the closing words Iuventas Mercuriusque which have reference to the Augustan regime through the cult of Iuventas and close association of Mercury with Augustus in C.1.2. Horace pays tribute to the power of Venus with this lyric offering ostensibly to the goddess of love, but with his parting words he reminds the reader of grander themes in which she has played a part, namely in C.1.2.

Venus as the erotic but beneficent deity has no direct connection with the topic of poetic composition in C.3.11, although Horace begins the ode with an address to Mercury and the lyre invented by him. Emphasis is given to the lyre and its power, particularly in love. Horace calls upon it to exert that power over Lyde:

\[
\text{nec loquax alim neque grata, nunc et divitum mensis et amica templis, dic modos, Lyde quibus obstinatas applicet aures,}
\]

5-8

It is loquax, grata, and blandiens; it is powerful (potes).
There are echoes of C.1.32 in grata and testudo (line 3). As he did in C.1.32, Horace asks the lyre to give forth a song: *dic modos.* He implies an erotic ode with the description of Lyde who is young and unwilling. In 1.32 the poet played upon his lyre (*lusimus*); in 3.11 Lyde, the desired lover, and the object of song within 3.11 plays (*ludit*).

Horace cites several instances of the lyre's power in mythical situations which culminate in the story of the daughters of Danaus. He emphasizes the erotic power of the lyre with the word *mollior* (43) which is descriptive of the maiden. It is only in the closing stanza, however, that Venus is mentioned, although not specifically in connection with poetic composition:

\[
1, \text{ pedes quo te rapiunt et aurae,} \\
\text{dum favet Nox et Venus;}
\]

49-50

The lyre has performed to the advantage of love, and there is an implication of the close association of the two—lyric and love. Horace links the two in stanzas two and three as he requests the lyre to sing (*dic modos*) for his advantage. The lyre does sing to the advantage of love—that within his poem. It should be noted that in C.3.28 Venus and Nox more elaborately bring the ode to a close in an erotic setting which directly involves poetry. The similarity of the situations suggests Horace's intention of expressing the importance of the erotic element in
lyric poetry and the manner in which it could be incorporated into varied themes. In each poem Venus and a companion Nox (as elsewhere wine) provide the favorable element needed.

The final allusion to Venus in Odes 1-3 as a fostering erotic deity occurs in C.3.2. A festive note begins the ode as Horace calls for wine to celebrate the festal day of Neptune (1-4). Wine suggests poetry (cantabimus) (9) whose subject is love, that of Neptune and the Nereids (10). When Horace says that the songs will be of the *virides comas* of Neptune and the Nereid, he is bringing in a characteristic often associated with lovers in the Odes—coma or comae, crinis, capilli. It is frequently described as shining, flowing, or with some similar laudatory adjective. The association of hair with love becomes involved with poetry in 1.32.12 as Lycus, a subject of love-poetry is praised for the beauty of his black hair (*nigroque crine decorum*). More specifically the locks (comam) of the poet himself are crowned with laurel (C.3.30.16). *Viridis*, too, provides associations with love and poetry. The color green as descriptive of the hair of Neptune and the Nereids suggests the green of seaweed and the greenish hue of the sea. An allusion to the sea and love easily suggests Venus *marina* (cf. 3.26). The associations of *viridis* extend also to spring (the greenery) and thus to the spring of life (youth).
which in turn suggests love (cf. C.1.19). It is the greenery of spring that furnishes the garland of the banqueter, of the god of wine and poetry, Bacchus (cf. 3.25.20), and the poet himself. Thus with *virides comas* Horace uses language strongly indicative of Venus and love.

Lyde in turn will sing of Latona and shafts of Diana, Diana who is the antithesis of Venus. With this allusion Horace represents the warfare theme often associated with love. Yet it is Venus who will win, as the final song will be of her, the goddess of love who rules over Cnidos, the Cyclades, and Paphos:

```
summo carmine, quae Cnidon
fulgentisque tenet Cycladas et Paphon
iunctis visit oloribus.
```

3.28.13-15

The gleam attributed to the lover as in 1.19.5-6 here emits from the realm of Venus (*fulgentis...Cycladas*), and *iunctis...oloribus* suggests her power to join lovers together (cf. 1.33.10-11; 3.9.17-18; 1.13.18). As love was the proper topic for a lyric poet, it was fitting to end the festal day and ode with a tribute to Venus. The implication is that the final song (*summo carmine*) will be sung by Horace after Lyde has sung of Latona and Cynthia. As a lyric it is an appropriate song for him over whom the goddess exerts her power. As the ode comes to an end, so does the day. The song to Venus suggests night (*Nox*) and the continuance of the theme of love.
appropriate to Venus. With the gentle calm of the closing scene Horace presents a contrast to the suggestion of her erotic power as she rules over Cnidus, the gleaming Cyclades, and Paphos, sites often associated with her more fervent nature.

The serious tone with which C.2.7 begins would not suggest the presence of erotic Venus in the final stanza of the ode:

\[ ...quem Venus arbitrum dicet bibendi? \]

As frequently in her role as a beneficent erotic force she is associated with wine and a sympotic setting. Preparation for her appearance begins in the second stanza as Horace sets the tone for the banquet to follow by recalling previous symposia with his former military comrade, Pompeius. The conviviality of the scene with its companionship (sodalium), wine (mero), and garlands (malobathro) for the hair (nitentis capillos) contrasts with military emphasis of stanza one. There is a similarity to Veneris sodali (3.18.6) in sodalium/...mero (2.7.5-6). The scene is one appropriate to poetic composition (cf. 1.6.17-20; 3.28). Stanza three, however, shifts back to the military theme of the first. Horace's references to his participation in the battle of Philippi, the subsequent rout of the Republican forces, and his
flight have been much discussed with attention centered on the phrase *reliqua non bene parsa* (10). Fraenkel notes that Horace was undoubtedly aware of the similar statements of Archilochus, Alcaeus, and Anacreon, and that the shield is a conventional poetic device by which Horace admits his flight with no more reality than the "Homeric mist" in the following lines. His reference to his shield could, however, be an allusion to his own poetic efforts as he followed in their footsteps. Commager suggests that Mercury in the following stanza could be linked to poetry through the haven Horace had in poetry after the war. If this is so, the two stanzas fit well as statements about Horace the poet, for Horace has returned to the setting suitable for a banquet and poetry. He invites Pompeius to join him *sub laurum mea*, the tree sacred to Venus. Wine and its companion Venus fill the two closing stanzas of the ode. Horace has moved from the serious theme at the beginning to setting and theme appropriate to lyric, but the implied peacefulness in *morantem diem* (6), *depone sub laurum*, and *oblivioso Massico* lessens as Horace approaches Venus in the poem. Activity increases: *exple* (22), *funde* (22), *deproperare* (24). Venus is heralded by the wine, shining cups (*levia*), and perfume (*unguenta*) (cf. 1.5.2), and the sea (*conchis*), moisture (*udo*) and yet another plant (*myrto*) sacred to her. Having
progressed through suggestions about wine to hints of Venus, Horace combines them in the question: *quem Venus arbitrum/dicet bibendi?* But as she is the culmination so Venus remains the dominant force in her control; she represents the highest throw on the dice, the best of luck. But the language of the poem has prepared the reader for the goddess herself, not the dice throw, as even the personification through *dicet* assures. The violence of which she was capable along with Bacchus her frequent companion is sounded in *non ego sanius/bacchabor Edonis* (cf. 3.19.16-18; 1.27.1-2). Yet despite the *furo*, the ode closes emphasizing the pleasantness rather than the harshness of Venus as *dulce* and *amico* enclose the final line and she presides over the love of friends reunited.

We have considered seven odes (1.18, 3.21, 3.18, 1.30, 3.11, 3.28, 2.7) in which Venus is a more or less pleasant erotic deity. She often has strong associations with wine and Bacchus, and in two odes is joined with Nox. Aside from C.1.30, a short hymn to the goddess, she is incidental within each ode, but spreads an erotic tone in each poem. The more kindly aspect of her erotic nature Horace associates in this group with the tranquility and joy of a sympotic setting rather than its more riotous scenes. As Venus *decens* and *laeta* she is viewed in connection with the happier aspects of love as opposed to the distress she creates as *saeva*. Even
in 2.7 which combines fierceness with sweetness, the tone of dulce and laeta prevails. Vocabulary related to Venus appears in these odes further to define and enhance her role as a pleasant erotic deity much as it has done for her in the role of mater saeva in the preceding group. Often this vocabulary considerably increases her influence in poems in which her actual appearance is minimal.

Erotic Venus in the Genus Grande

Within the first three Books of Odes there are also instances of Venus as an erotic deity in poems which thematically are more appropriate to the genus grande. Three odes seem to fit into this category (C.1.15, 3.16, and 3.27). Venus herself is an erotic figure or in an erotic situation, but the poems as a whole have serious historical or mythological themes.

C.1.15 treats the epic theme of the destruction of Troy. It speaks of heroes and heroic deeds, topics Horace claims are not for him in such odes as 1.6, 1.19, and 3.3. Commentators and critics see a problem in that there is no contemporary reference in the ode. Fraenkel, however, considers the ode an experiment which Horace did not care to try again. He remarks that it "appears to be a piece of epic narrative, without any recognizable reference either to Horace himself or to a contemporary
Some would see a reference to the contemporary Antony and Cleopatra in Paris and Helen. This controversy does not affect Venus' appearance in the ode. Horace begins the ode on an erotic basis with Paris' abduction of Helen. Within the prophecy of Nereus, Paris is warned of the futility and danger associated with his love.

\[\text{nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox}\
\text{pectes caesariem grataque feminis}\
\text{imbelli cithara carmina divides;}\]

13-5

The line in which Venus has the central position begins and ends with negative words in connection with love: \text{nequiquam} and \text{ferox}. The remaining two lines in the statement are filled with vocabulary appropriate to Venus, the erotic, and unwarlike themes. There is an emphasis on poetry: \text{grata carmina} and \text{inbellis cithara}. The words \text{caesariem} and \text{inbellis cithara} in such close proximity are suggestive of C.1.6.10-11 in sound rather than meaning. Within this serious poem Horace has involved the erotic which he has said is appropriate to the \text{genus tenue} lyric. He has specifically connected Venus as an erotic deity with an epic theme, yet the situation within the theme is erotic in setting and situation. There may also be an allusion to Venus' ancestral connection with the Romans in her inclusion in the Trojan theme and in the word \text{caesariem}. The reference to the Trojan War in 1.15
also recalls the maternal Venus in the Aeneid who through her erotic power devises to save her son Aeneas, survivor of the conflict and destined ancestor of the Julian gens. Horace thus presents a more complex Venus (perhaps as both Capitoline Erycina and Erycina outside the Colline Gate) in a poem which is not basically an erotic poem.

C.3.16 aligns Venus with Jupiter in a reference to an erotic myth involving Jupiter and Danaë. Venus joins him in laughter over the deception about to take place. The reference to the shower of gold is Horace's means of introducing his thoughts on moderation. The Venus and Jupiter connection has very little significance to the poem itself, but provides an appropriate device for setting up his point of departure. Venus has been associated with Bacchus in 1.18 as an introduction to an example of excess connected with love much as here she joins Jupiter in an allusion to a mythological erotic scene.

In 3.27 Horace moves to myth for the major portion of the ode. Omens, a warning against crossing the Adriatic, and a prayer for danger to be averted from Galatea to the enemy lead up to the account of the abduction of Europa. Fraenkel again comments: "And I feel confident that what induced Horace to write this ode was not his wish to dissuade a young lady from a voyage
but his intention to recast the old tale of Europa in the new style of his lyrics." 73 He continues that "the mythological part which dominates the whole ode is executed in a grand style", Europa's speech is "highly dramatic", and "adopts a pattern known from Attic tragedy". 74 It is at the end of all this that Venus appears.

\[\text{\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots aderat querenti}\\ \text{perfidum ridens Venus et remisso}\\ \text{filius arcu.}\\ \text{mox ubi lusit satis, 'abstineto'}\\ \text{dixit 'irarum calidaeque rixae,}\\ \text{cum tibi invisus laceranda reddet}\\ \text{cornua taurus.'}\]

66-72

Again, the situation, although not the ode is erotic. Venus' presence and her attitude (ridens) introduces the erotic; ridens suggests her cruelty in an erotic situation (cf. 3.16). This assumption is reinforced by perfidum and remisso filius arcu. Not only does Horace portray Venus as laughing, but he uses the verb lusit as descriptive of her attitude and actions. Since this is lyric, and Venus is symbolic of the erotic element in lyric, Horace may very well be using lusit also in the sense in which it applies to lyric composition (cf. C.1.32.2). With the closing verses of 3.27 perhaps Horace is pointing to the new style of his lyrics. He has the essentially erotic deity bring the ode to a close with praise for invictus Iuppiter and a lofty statement of
advice to one who is to give her name to Europe. This close
association with Jupiter in 3.16 and 3.27 recalls her
Capitoline association with him and her more serious role in
Rome as a nationalized ancestral deity much as she appears
in C.1.2. Significantly in that poem she is Erycina ridens.
Here, also, she laughs.

These three odes in the genus grande foreshadow
Horace's development of his erotic Venus who is also to be
the alma Venus of the final ode in his fourth Book. In
1.15 Venus appears to have a connection with the Venus,
mother of Aeneas, in the Aeneid and Trojan cycle, themes
not appropriate to the genus tenue. In 3.16 she appears
with Jupiter to introduce a theme on moderation, one of
the virtues of the old Roman Republic and which Augustus
tried to foster in Rome. Her references at the close of
3.27 to Jupiter, magnam fortunam, and tua sectus orbis/
nomina ducet sound a note of national pride which could
apply to the greatness of Rome and its accomplishments,
all of which would be fitting words from the mother of
the Roman race and Julian gens.

Just as Horace has presented a mixture of themes
and approaches suitable to the genus tenue and the genus
grande, so it is clear that many odes will not fall com-
fortably into a single category of the type that I have
somewhat arbitrarily isolated for convenience of
discussion. C. 1.27 offers a good example of such an ode. It is built of elements that are used in several of the categories of odes in which Venus appears and therefore presents several aspects of the goddess in Horace's lyrics.

Venus' literary associations in 1.27 are implied rather than stated directly as in such odes as 1.19 and 1.32. It is through the action of the poet within the poem, his introduction of an erotic topic at the banquet, that Venus has literary associations. A divergence of opinion exists as to whether the poet is relating the scene or participating, but despite that, the speaker is still the poet. Both Fraenkel and Commager would involve the poet within the dramatic action of the poem. Commager gives emphasis to the poet by interpreting the statement of Pegasus' power to free the lover (23-4) as comparable to the poet's ability to free the banqueters with his poem from their ensnarement in hostilities.

The duality of Venus' erotic nature, which can be expressed by saeva and laeta, is evident at the beginning of the ode and prepared for in the contrast between laetitia and pugnare in the first statement:

\[ \text{Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis} \]
\[ \text{pugnare Thracum est;} \]

Horace continues in the ode with examples of contrasts between ferocity and gentleness, speaking of barbarum
morem and sanguineis rixis as opposed to verecundum Bacchum.\textsuperscript{77}

It is the restrained and gentle Bacchus with whom decens Venus (1.18) and laeta Venus (3.21) appear. Vino and lucernis (4) intensify the association of Bacchus and Venus (cf. 3.21.21-4) in contrast to the fierceness of Medus acinaces/immane quantum discrepat (5-6). Horace advises gentleness and restraint (inpium/lente clamorem), the contrast of gentle and harsh. If the banqueters wish his participation in the banquet with its Falernian wine, attention must be given to love, Horace warns. From the topic of wine the poet then moves to love, still keeping the pleasant as opposed to the unpleasant in the foreground as he suggests that the brother of Megylla tell his troubles:

\begin{quote}
...quo beatus 
vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.
\end{quote}

11-12

With beatus Horace has connected the implication of the pleasure of love with the theme of the warfare of love expressed in vulnus, pereo, and sagitta. At this point Horace introduces Venus:

\begin{quote}
.....quae te cumque domat Venus, 
non erubescendis adurit 
ignibus ingenuoque semper

amore peccas.
\end{quote}

13-17

Venus here represents the girl who, exhibiting the charm and beauty of the goddess, has conquered the youth. The
harshness of Venus' power, however, is evident in domat
(cf. 1.19.9 ruens Venus), the image of fire (erubescendis,
adurit, ignibus), and the closing words of the sentence
(amore peccas) implying that one commits an error or
sins. Continuing the emphasis on the harsh aspect of love,
Horace calls the boy miser (18) and depicts him involved
with disaster:

quanta laboras in Charybdii (19)

In contrast there is the hope of meliore flamma (20), but
only through the aid of more than human powers (21-4) can
he escape a love likened to the Chimaera (24). Bound
(inligatum) (32) as the youth is, even Pegasus would have
difficulty freeing him. If we accept that Venus (14)
represents the girl and the Chimaera (24) the complexity
(triformi) of the love with which she binds the youth,
then the experience of the Venus odes suggests that
Horace is proposing a dual answer to his question quis
poterit deus (22): only Venus, who controls such situ-
ations (domat) and her companion Bacchus, who is
verecundus, can be expected to achieve the difficult
release of the hapless young man (expedit).

Horace has not simply created an erotic ode in a
symposiac setting. He has included within 1.27 elements
of the genus grande. With his opening references to
battles (pugnare, sanguineis rixis), Thracians, and
Persian sword (*Medus acinaces*) in lines 2-5 he assumes a tone suitable to lofty themes. To close the ode which has centered on banqueting and love, Horace returns with greater emphasis to the *grande* as he begins with *quanta laboras in Charybdi* and proceeds to list possible saviours (*saga*, *magus*, *deus*, *Pegasus*). The final stanza with its emphasis on impending disaster and mythology (*Charybdi*, *Pegasus*, *Chimaera*) reflects the seemingly serious tone of the first. Thus Horace has encircled the central portion of the ode with its light theme of banqueting and love with the elements appropriate to the *genus grande*. From a central point within a poem of the *genus tenue*, Venus' influence dominates and extends to both the beginning and end. Her literary significance is established, she reveals aspects of both harshness and pleasantness (*saeva Venus* and *laeta Venus*), and her powers foster a connection with the *genus grande*. 
Notes
Chapter IV

1 A.T. von S. Bradshaw, "Horace, Odes 4.1" CQ 20,1 (1970), 143-55, cites Horace as the only poet who applies saeva to Venus, p. 144. Cf. C.1.33.10-12 where saevo occurs with loco.


3 Cf. Dodds, Eur. Bacchae, 402, for information on Aphrodite with Maenads in vase-paintings and with Dionysus in temples.

4 Cf. Claud. 10.78; Licentia resides in Venus' garden.

5 Nitor has the implication of a cold brilliance; cf. Pease on Aen. 4.2.

6 Cf. grandia, C.1.6.9 and the distinctions established in that recusatio between the tenuis and the grandis in verse.

7 Womble, "Horace, C.1.2," op. cit., 10, note 23 says that Horace "combines the connotations of 'rush' and 'ruin' borne by ruo, as he does in other poems (e.g. C.1.3.26; 16.12; 19.9; Epode 7.1)." He notes that the word is often associated with water, "a suggestion especially significant in this poem (cf. Sat. 1.7.26; 2.3.57; Verg. Georg. 1.313, 324; Aen. 5.695; 8.525)."

8 Further discussion of C.1.33 and 2.5 will appear in the next section of Chapter IV concerning the harshness of Venus in erotic odes.

9 Nisbet and Hubbard, 238, seem to contradict themselves when they say the poem has no such complications of 'love' standing for 'love-poetry.' Later they say the poem is too detached to be a love poem, that it is about literature and Horace. Lenis is used to describe language in Cic. Or. 2.43.183 oratio placida, submissa, lenis; cf. Cic. Fam. 5.15.1 lenissima verba.

10 Herodotus 2.112; Strabo 17.1.31.

12 Fraenkel, 413. See above pages 86-8 for comment on C.1.5 and 6 as "Venus poems."

13 Cf. G. Williams, op. cit., 133.


15 Fraenkel, 168-76; also the above, Babcock and Kilpatrick, ibid. Cf. also Nisbet and Hubbard, 359-68.

16 Ibid.

17 Kilpatrick, op. cit., 235.


19 Cf. C.1.6.17; 2.1.37; 1.19.


21 The barbitos was particularly associated with Alcaeus and Sappho, both models for Horace's lyrics. Cf. J. Snyder, "The Barbitos in the Classical Period," CJ 67 (1972), 331-40; Snyder cites evidence from literature and vase-paintings.


23 Tenuis, parvus, levis, mollis, lenis are terms Horace uses in the Odes to speak about poetry and the poet.


25 C. O. Brink, Horace on Poetry: Prolegomena to the Literary Epistles (Cambridge, 1963), 228.

26 D'Alton, op. cit., 116, 129.

28 Cf. for decens, C.1.18.6; Epist. 1.1.11; G.3.15.14; Epist. 1.7.44; C.1.4.6,9,11; 1.26.12; decorus, C.1.30.3; 4.1.35; Epist. 2.1.73; C.2.19.30; 4.2.35; decus, C.3.25.5; 4.6.27; 1.1.2; dedecuit, C.2.12.17. These are odes in which there is some mention of poetry or Venus. Numerous other examples of decet and its derivatives occur in odes without any specific reference to poetry or Venus.

29 Dionaeus refers to Dione, wife of Zeus and mother of Aphrodite who became known as 'Αφροδίτη Δωναιή. Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, 168.

30 Procax is used in an erotic sense in Cicero Cael. 20.49, non solum meretriux sed etiam procax; in connection with speech, Tac. H.2.23, procax ore; cf. use of levis in C.1.6.20; 1.1.31; 1.31.16; 1.18.9; tenus, C.2.16,14,38; 1.6.9; 2.20.1; Epist. 2.1.115; see H. Mette, "'Genus tenue' und 'Nenstiu tenus' bei Horaz," Wege zu Horaz (Darmstadt, 1972), 220-4.

31 Cf. Fraenkel, 202; Shorey, Horace: Odes and Epodes (Boston, 1898), 348; Williams, op. cit., 148; cf. R. Nisbet, "Romanae Fidicen Lyrae: The Odes of Horace," Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Elegy and Lyric (Cambridge, 1962), 198, who thinks the poem has been overrated; he objects to the killing of the goat and the blood.

32 Commager, 323, suggests that "we could equally well name it an invocation to his own art." Cf. Nisbet, 199, "It belongs...to the large group of odes...which deal in whole or part with the poet's own art and aspirations." Cf. also J. Wilson, "O fons Bandusiae," CQ 63,7 (1968), 289-96.

33 Fraenkel, 203, says "...in this poem it is Bandusia, and not the poet, that dominates to the end."

34 Cf. G.1.19.16 and the reference to a sacrifice: hostia, in a poem about love, lyric, and Venus.

36 Cf. Lasciva Licentia in C.1.19.3.

37 I call attention at this point to ridens used in an erotic context. Cf. its use in C.1.2.33 with Venus, and in C.2.8.13 with the Nymphs. Commager, 324 comments on Horace's use of loquaces (15) to indicate the spring speaks through his poetry. In effect it is through his erotic lyric that Lalage also speaks (loquentem) (1.22.24).

38 Cf. C.1.9.1 nive candidum.

39 Cf. C.1.27.23 in which the bond of love is viewed as more threatening.


41 Commager, 130. It may also be a device by which the poet "warns of his departure" from lyric composition.


43 Fraenkel, 178, note 2.

44 Cf. C. 1.2, 1.19, 1.30, 1.31, 2.8, 3.22, 4.1 for Cupid as Venus' companion.

45 Cf. C.1.33.

46 Commager, 143.

47 Cf. C.1.6 in which Horace claims that he sings of convivia; cf. 1.18.6, 1.32.9, 3.21.21, for association of Bacchus, Venus, and poetry; 4.8 Bacchus and poetry; 1.18.7, 2.19.10, 3.16.34, 3.21.14-6, 4.12.14, Bacchus and wine.

48 Hesiod Theogony 192-206.

49 Page, op. cit., 347, gives this translation for "Neobule." It is clear from Epode 6.13 and Epistle 1.19.23 that Horace was aware of Archilochus' use of the name "Neobule" in his poetry and of the bitter verses against her father Lycombes. "Neobule" occurs also in a recently discovered fragment of Archilochus' poetry; cf. P. Colon. Inv. 7511, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, ed. by R. Merkelbach and M.L. West, 14 (1974), 97-112. cf. Times Literary Supplement, March 14, 1975, 272, for a discussion and translation of the fragment.
Cf. C.3.30.13 and Epist. 1.19.23 for Horace's claims of creating new lyric from Greek and Latin.


Cf. Chapter I, p. 5.

Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 229; Commager, 337; Fraenkel, 177, for somewhat different interpretations of the theme.


Wickham, The Works of Horace, Vol. I, 244-51 stresses the wine element and banquet scene of the poem; cf. Kiessling-Heinze, 345; Commager, 126-7 offers comments on the ode's hymnic form; Williams, op. cit., 115-7 concentrates on the religious elements.

Cf. C.1.4.6, 1.30.6 appear in conjunction with Venus.

Odor may reflect the incense/perfume of Venus; cf. C.1.30.3 ture te multo; 1.5.2 liquidis...odoribus in an ode filled with the presence of Venus; 2.11.15 rosa...odorati.

Cf. alterno terram quatlunt pede, 1.4.7; cf. also 4.1.27 ter quatient humum.


Nisbet and Hubbard, 344.

Cf. Cicero Nat. deor. 1.112, for gayer qualities.


The references to the punishment the girl may receive from her father hint at the distress and pain love can cause (cf. C.3.12). The idea is present even at the end of 3.11 in the word querellam.
64 Cf. C.1.15.14; 1.17.27; 1.5.4; 3.19.25; 4.3.11; 4.10.3; 2.5.23.

65 Cf. 1.1.21; 1.4.9; 3.25.20.

66 Fraenkel, 11-13 in his discussion notes the amount of attention given to the shield and considers it excessive; cf. Commager 170-2, Williams, op. cit., 119, for additional remarks on lines 9-14.

67 Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, 188, for parallels in Greek literature. Fraenkel, 11-12, does not however, suggest the phrase is any indication of Horace's lyric composition based on his models; cf. Commager, 171.

68 Cf. Commager, 171, note 23; Fraenkel, 164-5 discounts Mercury as a patron of poetry.

69 The highest throw resulted when the dice (tali), marked on four sides, showed the same face. This was considered the highest throw and called the "Venus." Cf. Wickham, 149.

70 Fraenkel, 188.

71 Commager, 217-8, note 112; cf. Nisbet and Hubbard, 188-90.

72 Venus first appears in the Odes associated with rideo (C.1.2.33 Erycina ridens).

73 Fraenkel, 193.

74 Ibid., 194.

75 Fraenkel, 181, "...the role of the poet is...that of a principal actor who either talks to his fellow actors or responds to their actions and utterances."

76 Commager, 75.

77 Commager, 74, notes the potential religious sense of beatus and peccas.

78 Cf. C.1.18.7 modici Liber; Epode 11.13 inverecundus deus. The appropriateness of wine and love as themes for lyric may be implied in verecundus. Cf. its use in a literary sense in Cicero Orator 81, Ergo ille tenuis orator, modo sit elegans, nec in faciendis verbis erit audax et in transferendis verecundus et parcus et in priscis in reliquisque ornamentiis et verborum et sententiarum demissior.
Ten years after Odes 1-3 Horace published a fourth book of Odes. The significance of Venus to his lyric is indicated in the opening lines of the introductory ode to the Book. She does not appear with any cult titles in Book Four, but by allusion and echo there is some recall of her cult roles in 1-3. She appears in six of the fifteen odes in this final collection: C.4.1; 4.6; 4.10; 4.11; 4.13; 4.15. In these odes as in Books 1-3 her role varies, but other than in C.4.1, she plays no major dramatic role within an ode in Book Four.

It has been readily recognized that C.4.1 is an introduction to Horace's new collection of poetry, and that it is a statement not only about love, but also about his return to lyric poetry.¹

Intermissa, Venus, diu
rursus bella moves, parce, precor, precor.
non sum quails eram bonae
sub regno Cinarae. desine, dulcium

mater saeova Cupidinum,
circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
iam durum imperiis; abi,
quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces.

Often in Books 1-3 Horace had followed common practice
and associated the concept of love with that of warfare. In 4.1 the bella intermissa follows that theme, but also extends its metaphor to signalize the lyric poetry which he had ceased to write. In a not uncommon ambiguity, intermissa not only modifies bella, but it seems to refer to Venus until bella occurs in the second line; the bella have been absent because Venus, too, had been absent (intermissa). Sub regno Cinarae introduces a new metaphor of power, the power which Venus would exert again. That poetry is the main topic is clear from the line mater saeva Cupidinum, recalling the opening line of C.1.19, a poem in which he specifically links the power of Venus with his poetry. After Intermissa, Venus announcing the return of Venus and lyric, Horace anticipates mater saeva Cupidinum with the suggestion of harshness in bella, of power in parce and regno. This is the Venus dominant in the lyrics of Odes 1-3. Her harsh erotic role was not untempered, however, and Horace reflects this in a glancing reference to the past (bonae...Cinarae) and in a hopeful comment on the nature of love (dulci... Cupidinum). Dulci does not occur in 1.19; its use in 4.1, however, both by position and syntax adds to Venus the dimension of her potentially gentler side from Odes 1-3. In an exemplary chiasmus mater is framed by two apparently contradictory words descriptive of Venus—
dulciu1 and saeva. Although dulciu1 grammatically modifies
cupidinum it extends its sense to her through the relationship of Venus and Cupid and by standing before mater brings into focus her contrasting nature. Saeva in similar fashion influences both mater and cupidinum. His recognition of her continued power is clear; he asks her not to bend him to her will: desine...flectere. Her commands are mollis; the word is obviously both a hope and a description appropriate to a love goddess’ orders. Horace, on the other hand, has aged and has hardened (durus), or so he says. The erotic-poetic conflict is thereby personalized.

Language associated with Venus and the erotic in Books 1-3 fills the ode. The swans of 3.28.15 with which she visits Paphos appear in 4.1 to carry her to the house of Maximus whom the poet considers more suitable for the goddess’ intentions. Tempestivius opens a stanza preoccupied with suitability for love; idoneum closes it. Love is referred to in terms of burning, torrere iecur (cf. 1.33.6; 3.9.13; 3.19.28, 1.13.4). Decens, elsewhere an epithet of Venus, reinforces the theme of suitability in love and indirectly of literary suitability as it appears in line 13. Decens along with idoneus expresses the idea of suitability (cf. 1.4.6; 1.18.6; 3.26.1) of Maximus opposed to Horace both as lover and love poet. It has suggested that Maximus’ role in the ode is in line with the Augustan tone of the book as a whole.
His stature within the Augustan regime would anticipate this nationalistic tone and the nationalized-ancestral Venus later in the Book. The theme of love's warfare is picked up again in line 16: *late signa feret militiae tuae.*

Strong emphasis is placed on poetry in lines 21-8 with *lyra, tibia, and fistula.* *Pede candido/ in norem Salium ter quatient humum* (27-8) recalls C.1.4.7 *alterno terram quatuant pede* (cf. also 3.18.15-16). C.1.19 and 1.30, both poems to Venus as the erotic goddess of Cyprus, have links with the fifth stanza (lines 17-20) in the picture of the small temple for Venus (1.30), and in the reference to the marble statue (1.19, in which Glycera is *splendentis Parlo marmore purius*).

In lines 29-32 Horace returns to himself, and to the topic of his poetry.

*me nec femina nec puer
iam nec spes animi credula mutui
nec certare iuvat mero
nec vincire novis tempora floribus.*

With the repeated use of *nec* he insists that he cannot be brought back to love or to any of its associated pleasantries. But love and banqueting with its wine and garlands are also the topics of the very lyric which he has forsworn at the beginning of the ode. He repeats his refusal in lines 29-32. Not like the youth of C.1.5 who *credulus,* has faith in love, Horace speaks of himself negatively: *iam nec spes animi credula mutui.* Credula
in 4.1 is one more example of Horace's close linking of the erotic vocabulary (as established in his odes) with lyric poetry. Although Horace renounces lyric, he succumbs to the power of Venus. His surrender is not aimed at her directly, but at Ligurinus, his newest love. As he addressed Venus in the beginning of the ode, he now turns his words toward the representation of his love. As Horace begins once more in his pursuit of love, and thus of lyric, he expresses the anguish which it is causing him. The words are reminiscent of C.1.13.6-7: *umor et in genas/furtim labitur*; in 4.1 they take the form of a question, indicative of his as-yet-incomplete awareness of the force which drives him:

*sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur manat rara meas lacrima per genas?*  
33-4

The next two lines are even more to the point of his return to lyric:

*cur facunda parum decoro inter verba cadit lingua silentio?*  
35-6

**Facundus** is used one other time in connection with poetic expression to describe Mercury, inventor of the lyre (C.1.10.1). Eloquence is shifted to the lyre itself in C.3.11.5 when Horace says that it once lacked eloquence and charm (*nec loquax olim neque grata*). In 3.13 he suggests the waters of the spring are eloquent through his lyre. Reference to the concept of *decorum* already
implied in lines 9-12 has a further implication in the
parum decoro...silentio. He sees his pursuit of Ligurinus
through gramina Martii/Campi. With this phrase Horace
includes the sense of nature and greenness in nemus and
lucus, settings often associated with love and poetic
inspiration. By including Campus Martius he introduces
another site he has associated with erotic lyric (e.g.
C.1.9.18-24). The final lines of the ode focus on
Ligurinus: a symbol of Horace's surrender to Venus and
return to lyric.

nocturnis ego somnus
iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor
te per gramina martii
Campl, te per aquas, dure, volubilis.

37-40

Yet at the same time these lines reflect the opening of
the poem, and the figures of Venus (through Ligurinus)
and Horace. Dure, now shifted from Horace to Ligurinus,
and so to Venus, had described Horace in his resistance
to the onslaught of Venus for renewed effort at lyric
(cf. her hardness in C.1.19). Horace now has been
softened; he has turned full circle as he pursues
Ligurinus and love and lyric. The closing word of
the ode, volubilis, turns the waters in whirling circles.
The whirling waves of Venus have ensnared Horace,
turned his round to lyric poetry.
After this introduction to his new collection of lyric poetry, Horace does not immediately proceed to the erotic themes which C.4.1 would lead the reader to believe that mater saeva Cupidinum had once again enforced upon him. He continues rather with the theme of poetic ability in a compliment to Octavia's stepson Iullus Antonius. In C.4.2 he considers his own poetic ability as compared with the lyrics and power of Pindar. The ode has long been recognized as a form of recusatio in which he proclaims that he has not the power to rise to the heights of the Dircaeus cydnus; rather he compares himself to a bee, apis Matina, suitable only for the genus tenue. The setting for the bee is that which he has associated his lyric before: nemus uvidique/Tiburis ripas operosa parvus/carmina fingo, setting suitable to the erotic themes of Venus. Being parvus, both he and his poetry are unsuitable to sing the praises of Augustus. Yet within his refusal he does extol Augustus, ignoring the themes of Venus. C.4.3 is similar to 4.2 in that again Horace concentrates in negative fashion on his role as a lyric poet. By way of listing the heroic deeds for which he will not become famous, and thus implying that he will not gain fame from writing about them, he cites topics of serious nature (lines 1-9). What will make him renowned he says is:
sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt
et spissa nemorum comae
fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem.

These are the elements present in the genus tenue, a setting similar to that in 4.2.30-2, ideal settings for Venus whom he does not introduce into the poem. He continues with language reminiscent of his erotic lyric in his statement about his position among poets:

dignatur suboles inter amabiles
vatum ponere me choros,

The remainder of the ode is devoted to himself as a particularly Roman poet and to the Muse who bestowed his gift upon him in language that is somewhat elevated in the manner of C.1.1.

Still, however, he does not return to erotic themes. In C.4.4 and 4.5 he concentrates on the praises of the family of Augustus; Drusus in 4.4, and Augustus himself in 4.5. The odes are the serious type for which he has denied his ability. C.4.4 is filled with material about battles, heroes, and glorious deeds. 4.5 deals primarily with the beneficence of Augustus’ rule. Lines 18-20 may have a significance which does not become clear until the last lines of the collection, almae/progeniem Veneris canemus (4.15.32-3). When Augustus is at Rome:

tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
pacatum volitant per mare navitae;
culpari metuit fides.

4.5.17-20
Ceres and Faustitas are a foreshadowing of alma Venus.
The close of 4.5 may also be compared with 4.15 in its reference to days of praise:

longas o utinam, dux bone, ferias
praestes Hesperiae: dicimus integro
sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,
cum sol Oceano subest.
4.5.37-40

mosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
inter iocosii menera Liberi
cum prole matronisque nostris,
rite deos prius adprecati,
4.15.29-33

In C.4.6 Venus receives the first direct mention since C.4.1 where she had such a dominant role as the goddess of love and poetry. We do not find her in an erotic poem nor is her role within the poem that of the erotic deity. 4.6 is accepted as being primarily Horace’s public announcement of his appointment to compose the Carmen Saeculare which was to honor Apollo and Diana. It is addressed to Apollo, with no hint at the beginning of the poetic theme to come. Rather, like the other odes before it, it has a strong connection with epic topics. Horace deals in particular with the Trojan War and Achilles who would have hastened the destruction of Troy. It is at this point in the poem, just about mid-way that he mentions Venus:

ni tuis victus Venerisque gratae
vocibus divom pater adnuisset
rebus Aeneae potiore ductos
alite muros.
21-4
She appears in connection with Apollo as being responsible for the prolonged existence of Troy. Her role is that of Venus genetrix, a role which seems assured by the mention of Aeneas in the stanza. Yet there may be a hint of her role as the erotic goddess in the designation grata which appears frequently in the erotic odes in which she has a role. There may also be a connection in 4.6 with her poetic inspiration for Horace's lyrics because of her close association in the poem with Apollo, whom Horace then addresses as: doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae (25). The remaining five stanzas Horace devotes to himself and the Carmen Saeculare with strong emphasis on Apollo and Diana.

Although the following ode, C.4.7, does not include any mention of Venus, there is a strong reminiscence of C.1.4.5-6 in lines 5-6,

Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet ducere nuda choros.

4.7.5-6

Gratia nuda also recalls C.1.30.5-6:

..........................et solutis
Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae

The close similarity of theme in 1.4 and 4.7 would also add to the likely recognition of the allusion to Venus as a kindly, generative force in C.4.7. This generative force which Lucretius emphasized in Aeneadum genetrix and thus associated with the fostering of Rome may have
national echoes in the reference to Aeneas (7). By mentioning him in the underworld his earlier journey in Aeneid 6 and its national implications are recalled.

C.8 and 9 also concentrate on poetry as a theme. In the arrangement of the odes in Book 4, this emphasis on the power of poetry appears to be strategically placed, for in C.4.10 Horace presents his first erotic ode in the collection after 4.1. The ode has not been popular with students of Horace. Little is said about it other than that it represents the loss of youth and perhaps the cycle of ages. Ligurinus, whom Horace pursued in 4.1, is reintroduced. The ode emphasizes at the beginning the cruelty and power of love:

O crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens
Venus is central in the line, enclosed by crudelis and potens, which, although they do not modify Veneris grammatically reflect the two aspects of her most frequently associated by Horace with her role as an erotic goddess. The implication is that love in the form of Ligurinus has eluded Horace. This elusiveness is also a comment on the small number of erotic poems in the book, and the lack of emphasis within the book upon Venus as the erotic goddess whom he tried to reject in 4.1.

In addition to crudelis and potens other language within the ode contributes to the dominance of Venus as
an erotic power. Superbia in line 2 is used in 3.10.9: ingratam Veneri dote superbiam; in both instances it causes the disfavor of Venus. Umeri, comae, and color (or lack of it, as in candidus) are frequent physical characteristics mentioned in relation to lovers. Rosa can refer to the complexion as in 1.13.2 (the adjective rosea is used). Roses were an important part of the atmosphere at banquets and in the garlands worn by the banqueters. They also had a strong association with Venus in her cult outside the Colline Gate and on Cyprus. The last line of the poem with its reference to incoluemes genae recalls the lovers' cheeks of 1.13.6 and 4.1.34 which are marred by tears. Incoluumes is in reference to the unchanged color, but can also be an allusion to crudelis in line one and the power of Venus to hurt.

C.4.11 has as its theme the invitation to a banquet, a theme which is appropriate to the Venus of 4.1, for erotic odes often had banquet scenes as settings. Fraenkel notes, however, that the "mood of an ageing man colors 4.11." The banquet is to be in honor of Maecenae's birthday, but the ode opens with an address to Phyllis and thus sets the erotic tone in the opening lines. The setting is in horto and there are to be garlands: nectendis apium coronis; est hederae vis/multa, qua crines religata fulges; the sense of brightness in fulges is reflected
in argento. As so frequently in the Odes imagery of brightness appears in an erotic ode. The erotic mood is further enhanced by mixtae pueris puellae (10) and flammae.\textsuperscript{14}

After the setting of the scene Horace announces the occasion for the party. He prepares to announce the birthday of Maecenas by first making a definite point of naming the day and month:

\begin{quote}
Idus tibi sunt agendae,  
qui dies mensem Veneris marinae  
findit Aprilem,  
\end{quote}

Venus is marinae,\textsuperscript{15} the same goddess whose protection he sought in 3.26.5 and to whom in 'retirement' he hung up his weapons in the battle of love. In the next stanza when he mentions Maecenas meus (19) he places adfluentes next to meus and completes the stanza with annos. As his years are flowing away, so is Venus and love. The allusion to the flowing of water in adfluentes occupies the same place in its stanza as does marinae thereby perhaps linking the flowing of both years and Venus, the erotic deity. Further allusions to erotic poems in which Venus has figured occur in later stanzas.

Lines 23-4,

\begin{quote}
dives et lasciva tenetque grata  
compede vincentum.  
\end{quote}

recall C.1.33.13-14 and 1.19.3. Fraenkel has pointed out that in line 29 te digna (dignum belongs to decet) is a
perfect rendering of ῥα κατὰ χαυτὸν in Callimachus Epig. 1.16
Digna follows the pattern of the frequent use of forms of
decet in conjunction with Venus and erotic themes. Finis
amorum (32) recalls 1.19 and 4.1 and the impending accuracy
of intermissa...bella. Even the atrae/carmine curae has
its reflection in mater saeva of 4.1 with the idea of the
pain of love. The final stanza once again proclaims a
renunciation of love (and lyric?).

Venus does not figure in C.4.12, but certain phrases
may be said to contain allusions to her representation as
the goddess of spring. The veris comites of the opening
line has a ring to it which recalls C.1.4 with Venus and
her retinue ushering in spring, and also C.4.7 with the
Graces and Nymphs as the symbols of spring and youth.
Although the theme is carpe diem, there is an erotic
allusion in the setting in line 9: dicunt in tenero
gramine pinguium. Gramine recalls gramina Martii/Campi
of 4.1.39-40, and its erotic implications (and cf. 4.7.1).
The invitation to a banquet follows upon that of the
previous ode, but the poem as a whole has less of an
erotic tone than C.4.11. The erotic inspiration is
slipping away from him (or so he feels.).

C.4.13 has been criticized for its unpleasantness
of theme, the effort of an old woman to remain young, and
the futility of that effort. It is the last erotic ode
in the collection and also contains the last erotic appearance of Venus. The erotic tone of the poem is clearly evident in Lyce's desire to be *formosa* (3) and the proximity of *ludisque et bibis* (4) suggesting the connection of youth and beauty with love. The cruelty of love is seen in Cupid who is unwilling (line 5). The main emphasis on the flight of Venus (love) from Lyce (and from Horace) is in the lines

*quo fugit venus, heu, quove color? decens*  
*quo motus?*

17-18  

*Venus* here is the charm, the physical beauty which the goddess represents rather than the goddess herself, but the ambiguity between the goddess and the abstraction is strong. The dying fire of love and Horace's fading erotic inspiration can be seen in the contrast of *iuvenes fervidi* with the closing line of the ode: *dilapsam in cineres facem*. He has said in 4.1.4 that he is no longer as he was when under the sway of Cinara, and in this ode (4.13) which is his closing endeavor in erotic lyric Cinara is again mentioned as a comparison to the fading Lyce. Cinara was fortunate; she died young. Lyce (and Horace as lover) are less so.

With C.4.14 Horace has returned to the serious political ode in praise of Rome and the Augustan family. He has played out his lyric on light themes appropriate to erotic. The close of the ode perhaps best anticipates
the final ode of the collection. With the phrase *compositis venerantur armis*, the peace heralded in C.4.15 is foreshadowed. The tone of C.1.2 has been reestablished.

As frequently in this fourth book Apollo is a dominant figure in 4.15. His identification with Augustus was strong at this time, and the god had been heralded in the *Carmen Saeculare*. Horace begins on a note which harks back to the theme of his poetic endeavors. The first three and one-half lines may be thought of as an allusion to the numerous *recusationes* he had put forth in the course of his poetic career, claiming light themes for his lyre. It is somewhat ironical that it occurs just after his long serious work on the heroic deeds of Drusus and Tiberius. The references to the Parthians recall the power of erotic Venus who denied them as themes in C.1.19. Augustus' accomplishments for Rome reflect the last line of the preceding ode, and even reflect the hopes held forth in C.1.2. Lines 17-20 are especially reminiscent of the role of Caesar as guardian of Rome and the omission of civil war for which Horace expressed hope. The Roman emphasis at the end of the poem is thus foreshadowed by the emphasis on Apollo and Caesar in stanza one. The national tone continues with mention of Jupiter, on the Capitoline, with whom Venus had appeared in 1.2 as Erycina, a possible saviour of the state. Strong references to 1.2 occur in *licentiae* and *culpas* (10-11).
There is an implied suppression of the erotic in these lines which may relate to the changing role of Venus. As Augustus grows in the protective role, with the closing stanza of 4.15 Venus has become linked with him. Her cult image in Rome as the ancestral-protective deity of the state has become the prominent note in the final ode. Horace had begun his Odes (C.1.2) with her in the guise of the smiling ancestress and much as he does in C.4.15 had associated her with the ancestral aspect of her image as it was prominent in Rome, particularly since the time of C. Caesar. With the closing lines of the poem and collection Horace heralds Venus:

Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
progeniem Veneris canemus.

31-2

She is not the erotic goddess who had dominated the Odes, but the deity who represented the destiny of Rome and the Roman people. This progression from erotic to alma Venus is recalled with mention of iocosī munera Liberi (26). In 4.1 Horace speaks of his weakened lyric powers in terms of erotic Venus and her demands which he can no longer meet. He underscores this change in his lyric power by her absence from the odes until C.4.6. When Venus finally does appear in 4.6 she still is not the erotic deity of 4.1, nor is the ode itself erotic. As in 4.15, this first mention reflects her ancestral-protective role, alma mater, as opposed to saeva mater.
of 4.1 and the erotic odes. The dominance of the primarily erotic deity in Odes 1-3 fades, and she plays a minor role in Book Four. C.4.6 and 4.15 frame the three erotic appearances of Venus, incidental within their odes. Thus the image of Venus which begins and ends the references to her in Book Four (aside from 4.1) is alma.

A parallel can be drawn with her first appearance in Odes 1. Here, too, she is the ancestral-protective deity, Erycina ridens. Her presentation as a possible saviour of Rome is reflected in 4.6 by Venus' appeal for the safety of Aeneas and thus the destiny of Rome. The potentiality of peace and prosperity expressed in C.1.2 and 4.6 are realized in 4.15. With alma Venus Horace has returned at the end of his Odes to the ancestral-protective deity, Erycina ridens, with whom he began his entire collection. Alma itself, now assigned with Augustan justification to a greater goddess, echoes the fostering role suggested for the Julian gens in C.1.2 when Horace seems to equate almae/filius Maiae with Octavian whom he calls Caesaris ultor, pater, princeps, and dux. He thus re-states in 4.15 the importance of the Roman theme within his new collection of odes and the contribution of Venus to his Roman lyre.
Notes
Chapter V


2Porter, David, Book IV of Horace's Odes: An Interpretive Study, Dissertation (Princeton, 1962), 30, interprets the swans of Venus as suggestive of the preoccupation Horace has in 4.1 with the flight of time and loss of youth.

3Commager, 296, cites the use of tempestivius (Epist. 2.2.142) with youth and poetry as a further indication that 4.1 is about poetry.


5Paullus' friendship with Augustus led to a consulsip in 11 B.C. and marriage to Marcia, daughter of the younger Philippus and the younger Atia. cf. PIR² "Fabius (47), esp. p. 105, and OCD² Fabius (9), Phillippus (6), Atia (2).

6Cf. C.1.26.7-8; 1.29.30; 3.30.16.

7Cf. discussion of viridis in Chapter IV, p. 142.

8Volubilis was also used of speech in the sense of "fluent"; cf. Auc. Her. 3.14.25; Cic. Brut. 28.108. The waters hence may also enhance the lyric fluency of the poet.

9Cf. Commager, 17; Kiessling-Heinze, 420; Fraenkel, 400-7.

10Cf. Vergil A. 1.257.

11Commager, 297; cf. Kiessling-Heinze, 442; Fraenkel, 414, states that although the "general theme" and "some detail" are from Hellenistic epigrams, the "real theme" is "regret for bygone days of youth." Cf. Eeckford, Horace (New York, 1969), 129-30.

12Fraenkel, 416.

13Cf. discussion of coma and viridis, Chapter IV, p. 142-3.
14 Commager, 303.

15 Cf. note 2, Chapter I; cf. Ovid Fast. 4.62.

16 Fraenkel, 417, note 3.

17 Fraenkel, 449-53, stresses the theme of progression from war to peace and prosperity.
Conclusion

Horace's use of Venus in Odes 1-4 has a significance which becomes more obvious when viewed in light of her various roles as a cult deity in Rome, her already established presence in Roman literature, Horace's statements about his poetry in relation to Venus, and her role within individual odes.

C.1.1, the introduction to Odes 1-3, concludes with a statement that clearly reveals the genre of poetry that Horace was presenting—lyric:

quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseris,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

35-6

He had prepared for this statement in the lines above (29-34) with elements symbolic of poetic composition, style, and inspiration—hederae, gelidum nemus, nympha rumque leves cum Satyris chori, the gods (superi), and the instruments associated with lyric (tibia, barbitos). With lyricis vatibus he has anticipated the distinction in C.1.6 between the genus tenue and genus grande in poetry. Lyricis suggests the element of tenuis; vatibus, that of grandis; together they suggest the linking within an ode of both the tenuis and grandis
themes. Each of these thematic categories, tenuis, grandis, and the combination, occurs within the collection.

Horace has used Venus in Books 1-3 primarily as an erotic goddess who exhibits both cruelty and beneficence. It was in this guise that she figured most often in Roman literature prior to Horace. Her appearance as the ancestral-protective deity of Rome is limited to a very small number of odes, perhaps influenced by Lucretius' Aeneadum genetrix in the De Rerum Natura. She was worshipped in both respects in the cults at Rome, being known as an ancestral-protective deity from her cult of Erycina on the Capitoline and as an erotic deity at her cult of Erycina outside the Colline Gate (perhaps more prominent in Horace's time as Ovid's Fasti seems to indicate). Horace's use of Venus in his more serious odes, e.g. C.1.2 and 4.15 reflect the ancestral image she had in the Capitoline cult. Although we cannot surely assess the complexities that relate Horace's Venus and Vergil's in Odes 1-3, certainly by the time of Odes 4, the Aeneid and Venus' maternal role in it were well known and undoubtedly influential in the Venus of 4.6 and 4.15. The temples of Felix, Victrix, and Genetrix erected by Sulla, Pompey, and C. Caesar respectively, as well as coins of the period also indicate her political-ancestral influence in the city, an influence which would add significance to her role in the Odes.
Immediately following C.1.1 Horace placed three odes which included Venus as Erycina, *diva potens Cyprì*, and Cytherea respectively. In each of these poems she is primarily a symbol of power in an area other than the erotic. These opening odes deal with themes suitable for poetry in the *genus grande*. Venus is the only divinity to appear successively in all three of these odes. Her more usual erotic role has been subdued in favor of the more serious roles connected with political, protective, and life/death themes.

Horace's most frequent statement about his poetry is that it belongs to the *genus tenue* and that he is not able to and should not write on themes and in the style of the *genus grande*. He states this in a variety of ways with frequent mention of the properties which create the *genus tenue*, e.g., that his themes are those of the *convivia*, *proelia virgínium/in iuvenes*, that his lyre is *inbellis*. He connects his poetry with themes of wine, love, the light and the simple, as opposed to the serious and grandiose theme and style. Yet while engaging in these *recesationes*, he writes of the very themes he denies. Venus represents this dichotomy which Horace practices in these *recesationes*. She is the erotic deity of lyric genre, yet in the serious odes such as 1.2, 3, 4, and 4.15, her role is one of protection and benevolence. She also assumes this role in odes verging on the *genus grande*. 
The importance of her erotic role, of erotic themes with their settings, imagery, and language are emphasized in 1.19, 3.16, and 4.1, odes about poetry. In 1.19 and 3.26 Venus is the cult deity of Cyprus, whose power, Horace claims, forces him to themes of love. In her erotic role in Horace's poetry Venus is often depicted as cruel and powerful, representative of the force and difficulties Horace encounters when he writes his lyrics with themes on the genus grande. Although cruelty dominates in the erotic odes in which she appears, it is not without relief, e.g. 3.9. At times, such as in C.3.16 and 1.18, in conjunction with Bacchus, as a pleasant deity she becomes associated with the themes of moderation. Her association with Bacchus in C.1.27, 2.7, 3.18, and 3.21 also establishes her connections with wine and conviviality, themes appropriate to lyric. Venus the erotic deity symbolizes the importance of the erotic element to lyric, be it only allusive language, settings, or themes in non-erotic odes. Thus through allusions to the erotic Venus and her inclusion in odes whose themes are not specifically erotic, Horace has increased the range of his lyric and created poetry in the lyric genre including both genus tenue and genus grande.

Horace's statements in Book Four about his poetry and Venus help substantiate the importance of Venus and
what she symbolized to his poetry. C.4.1 emphasizes her power and uses language reminiscent of odes in the earlier books when Horace speaks of the intermissa.../bella and the militia which Venus is renewing; her role as mater saeva Cupidinum recalls C.1.19; the purpureis ales oloribus, his several references to the swan in connection with Venus and poetry. Lyra, tura, Berecyntia/...tibia, and fistula all have been used before in connection with Venus and poetry.

The decrease in the number of erotic odes in Book Four does not detract from the power which Horace attributes to Venus over his poetry, for he has increased her range through subtle allusions and associations. C.4.6 presents her ancestral connections with Rome through Aeneas and her importance to its destiny. Yet the fact that she is grata to Jupiter alludes to her erotic associations. C.4.10, 11, and 13 re-establish her as the erotic deity whom Horace has stressed in C.4.1, and associate her with the lighter themes of lyric, but with a less commanding presence. It is with the closing ode, 4.15, however, that he speaks of her role as ancestral protectress, a role attributed to Erycina in C.1.2. Venus is mentioned only in the closing lines of C.4.15:

Troiamque et Anchisen et almae progeniem Veneris canemus.

31-2

With these lines Horace has come full circle (the
volubilis of 4.1?) to Venus with whom he began, a Venus who is an important force in Augustan society as well as in his lyrics. He has enlarged her sphere as a source of inspiration for lyric, while creating a lyric style which can and does admit the serious themes once thought suitable only to the genus grande. Not only has he returned to Venus who opened his new collection, more specifically there is a strong connection with the ancestral Venus of C.1.2, his first national ode in the complete collection. Thus he frames his entire collection of Odes with Venus who is associated with the peace and prosperity of Rome—Erycina ridens and alma Venus.
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