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## THE ALCAIC ODES OF HORACE AND GREEK POEMS OF THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

**Summary:** This article is concerned with shedding light on two examples of influence between Horace and the Greek poets, both ancient and modern. The aim of this paper is to shed light on several parallel aspects between two of the Alcaic odes of Horace and two modern Greek lyric poems by Constantine Cavafy and Angelos Sikelianos, respectively. Subsequently, I show, within the wider framework of intertextuality, a subtle example of the utilization and re-utilization of lyric elements that are originally ancient Greek in nature by the Latin and modern Greek poets. In my argumentation, I will rely on textual similarities, as well as on the views expressed by scholars in non-comparative contexts. The paper is divided into two parts. In the first part, I compare Horace's *carm.* 2. 3 with Cavafy's *Ithaka*. The most important points of comparison in this section are three common features: instructive tone, the epicurean tendency and the melancholic end. In the second, I compare Horace's *carm.* 1. 37 with Sikelianos' *Dithyramb*. The most important points of comparison in this section are three common features, namely, the connection of the Bacchic ecstasy to political issues, the connection of the Dionysiac spirit to the struggle against the national enemy and the association of Bacchic frenzy with hunting and chase.

**Key words:** intertextuality, utilization, re-utilization, Alcaic odes of Horace, Horace' political odes, Cavafy *Ithaka*, Sikelianos' *Dithyramb*, dramatic monologue, Epicureanism, dionysism, Euripides' *Bacchae*, Euripides' *Cyclops*

Horace is regarded as belonging to the group of Latins who were highly influenced by the ancient Greek lyric poets, in particular Alcaeus.<sup>1</sup> His *carm.* 1. 32, written in

\* Manuscript received: February 1, 2018, accepted: September 4, 2019.

<sup>1</sup> For the adoption of themes and meters of ancient Greek poems by Horace, see FRANK, T.: How Horace Employed Alcaeus. *CPh* 22 (1927) 291–295, here 291, and for impacts of ancient Greek poets on Horace in general, see ΓΡΟΛΛΙΟΣ, Κ. Χ.: Οράτιος, Ο Ελληνικότατος Πουητής: Διερεύνηση μιας τεχνοτροπίας. *Νέα Εστία* 86 (1969) 1676–1694, here 1676. For more details about the similarities between the fragments of Alcaeus and the odes of Horace, see FRANK 292ff; WILKINSON, L. P.: The Earliest Odes of Horace. *Hermes* 84 (1956) 495–499, here 497f., FRAENKEL, E.: *Horace*. Oxford 1957, 159; MACLEOD, C. W.: Horace and His Lyric Models: A Note on Epode 9 and Odes 1, 37. *Hermes* 110 (1982) 371–375, here 374f.; CAIRNS, F.: Alcaeus' Hymn to Hermes, P. Oxy. 2734 Fr. 1 and Horace Odes 1, 10. *QUCC* 13 (1983) 29–35, here 35; NICOLL, W. S. M.: Horace's Judgment on Sappho and Alcaeus. *Latomus* 45 (1986)

Greek meter and according to the standards of Greek predecessors, is a hymn to the lyre as the goddess of lyric poetry.<sup>2</sup> In this ode, Horace addresses the lyre first tuned by Alcaeus of Lesbos (*Lesbio primum modulate civi*), affirming the relationship of Alcaeus to war, sea, Bacchus, the Muses, and Eros saying:

Alcaeus was a man daring in war amongst arms (*ferox bello ..... inter arma*). He moored his storm-driven boat on a watery shore (*iactatam reli-garat udo litore navim*). He used to sing of Bacchus, Muses, Venus, and her son (*Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi semper haerentem puerum canebat*).

The reflection on these relations defines the spirit of most of Horace's odes, which can be divided into poems on poetic, political/national, philosophical, and erotic/Bacchic themes.<sup>3</sup>

In one of his repudiated poems, "Horace in Athens" (*Ο Οράτιος εν Αθήναις*), C. P. Cavafy (Κωνσταντίνος Π. Καβάφης) clearly implies this close relationship between Horace and the ancient Greek spirit, describing Horace as consorting with an Athenian girl, named Leah. In the poem, the young Roman wears a *himation* of white silk with red oriental embroidery (*με ανατολικά κεντήματ' ερυθρά*) and speaks in the Attic dialect in a manner that is pure (*Η γλώσσα του είν' Αττική και καθαρά*), but with a slight accent (*αλλ' ελαφρός τις τόνος εν τη προφορά*). He betrays his Tiberian and Latium origins (*τον Τίβεριν προδίδει και το Λάτιον*) and confesses his love (*την αγάπην του ομολογεί*) to the girl, who listens in silence to her eloquent lover (*τον εύλωττόν της εραστήν*) and sees new worlds of Beauty in the Passion of the Great Italian (*εντός του πάθους του μεγάλου Ιταλού*).<sup>4</sup>

The aim of this paper is to shed light on several parallel aspects between two of the Alcaic odes of Horace and two modern Greek lyric poems by Constantine Cavafy and Angelos Sikelianos, respectively. Subsequently, I show, within the wider framework of intertextuality, a subtle example of the utilization and re-utilization of lyric elements that are originally ancient Greek in nature by the Latin and modern Greek poets. In my argumentation, I will rely on textual similarities, as well as on the views expressed by scholars in non-comparative contexts. The paper is divided into two parts. In the first part, I compare Horace's *carm.* 2. 3 with Cavafy's *Ithaka*, while in the second, I compare Horace's *carm.* 1. 37 with Sikelianos' *Dithyramb*.

603–608, here 604f.; CURLEY, D.: The Alcaic Kid (Horace, *Carm.* 3.13). *CW* 97 (2004) 137–152, *passim*; LYNE, R. O. A. M.: Horace Odes Book 1 and the Alexandrian Edition of Alcaeus. *CQ* 55 (2005) 542–558, here 542f. For impacts of Archilochus on Horace, see MACLEOD 372f. For impacts of specific poems of Pindar on Horace' odes, see MENDELL, C. W.: Horace I. 14. *CPh* 33 (1938) 145–156, here 145f.; cf. CAIRNS 33. For the impacts of Bacchylides on Horace, see FRAENKEL 188f.

<sup>2</sup> ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Α. Ν. – ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Χ. Ν.: *Ρωμαϊκή Λυρική Ποίηση. Οράτιος Carmina*. Αθήνα 2015, 84.

<sup>3</sup> See the classification of Horace Odes by ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> For an English translation of this poem and other repudiated poems, see *The Complete Poems of Cavafy*. Translated by R. DALVEN. With an Introduction by W. H. AUDEN. New York 1961, 206.

I. HORACE'S *CARM.* 2. 3 AND CAVAFY'S *ITHAKA*

Both poems can be divided into three sections of one or more stanzas, each section reflecting an important feature the two poems have in common. In the first section of *carm.* 2. 3, for example, Horace advises Dellius to remain calm and sober in times of great trouble and great happiness alike:

*Aequam memento rebus in arduis  
servare mentem, non secus in bonis  
ab insolenti temperatam  
laetitia, moriture Delli,*

*seu maestus omni tempore vixeris  
seu te in remoto gramine per dies  
festos reclinatum bearis  
interiore nota Falerni.*

(*carm.* 2. 3. 1–8)

Remember to keep a level head when life's path is steep; likewise, when the going is good, to restrain it from excessive joy, Dellius; for you are sure to die, whether you live in perpetual gloom or on holidays lie in a secluded meadow, treating yourself to a Falerian vintage from the back of your cellar.<sup>5</sup>

In the first section of *Ithaka*, Cavafy advises his hero to pray that the road to Ithaka be a long one, but not to fear along the way:

*Σὰ βρεῖς στὸν πηγαῖμὸ γιὰ τὴν Ἰθάκη,  
νὰ εὖχεσαι νᾶναι μακρὺς ὁ δρόμος,  
γεμάτος περιπέτειες, γεμάτος γνώσεις.  
Τοὺς Λαιστρυγόνας καὶ τοὺς Κύκλωπας,  
τὸν θυμωμένο Ποσειδῶνα μὴ φοβᾶσαι,  
τέτοια στὸν δρόμο σου ποτὲ σου δὲν θὰ βρεῖς,  
ἂν μὲν ἡ σκέψις σου ὑψηλὴ, ἂν ἐκλεκτὴ  
συγκίνησις τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ σῶμα σου ἀγγίζει.  
Τοὺς Λαιστρυγόνας καὶ τοὺς Κύκλωπας,  
τὸν ἄγριο Ποσειδῶνα δὲν θὰ συναντήσεις,  
ἂν δὲν τοὺς κουβανεῖς μὲς στὴν ψυχὴ σου,  
ἂν ἡ ψυχὴ σου δὲν τοὺς στήνει ἐμπρὸς σου.*

(*Ithaka* 1–12)

When you set out on the journey to Ithaca  
pray that the road be long,  
full of adventures, full of knowledge,  
The Laestrygonians and the Cyclops,  
The raging Poseidon do not fear:

<sup>5</sup> The works of Horace and their English translations are cited from *Horace: Odes and Epodes*. Ed. and Trans. by N. RUDD [LCL 33]. Harvard University Press 2004.

you'll never find the likes of these on your way,  
 if lofty be your thoughts, if rare emotion  
 touches your spirit and your body.  
 The Laestrygonians and the Cyclops,  
 the fierce Poseidon you'll not encounter,  
 unless you carry them along within your soul,  
 unless your soul raises them before you.<sup>6</sup>

In both poems, the poet talks to another person (or to his alter ego) using the imperative (*memento...servare*) or exhortative (*νὰ εὐχέσαι νᾶναι*), such that the advice given is connected to a specific situation (*rebus in arduis ... in bonis*) or temporal condition (*Σὰ βγεῖς στὸν πηλαιμὸ γιὰ τὴν Ἰθάκη*). Also, both poets advise their recipients to display mental quality (*Aequam... mentem, σκέψις ... ὑψηλή*) and spiritual moderation (*ab insolenti temperatam laetitia, ἐκλεκτὴ συγκίνησις τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ σῶμα σου ἀγγίξει*). The two poems adopt the form typical of what is known as a didactic monologue. In terms of the didactic tone, the Cavafy poems most comparable to *Ithaka* are *God Abandons Antony*, *The City*, *Going Home from Greece*, and *Philhellene*, several of which can also be characterized as dramatic monologues.<sup>7</sup> Keeley speaks of multiple Cavafy poems as evincing an effort to devise various means for moving the subjective to the dramatic:

These poems make use of a persona who addresses another character in the second person, offering advice and drawing conclusions in terms of the context of poem projects – what one might term a “didactic monologue” for short. The earliest example of this form is the second stanza of the 1894 draft of “The City”, and the latest, two poems written in 1910, “Ithaka” and “The God Abandons Antony”. It is, therefore, a form only sparsely represented in the canon of post-1911 poems, one abandoned early in Cavafy’s mature years in favor of narrations, dramatic monologues, and first-person monologues such as those that focus on contemporary Alexandria.<sup>8</sup>

It may be noted that both forms of monologue, didactic and dramatic, also feature in Horace’s poems. In this context, two of the poems from Horace’s odes are comparable with 2. 3, the first being 2. 10, and the second 2. 14, which some critics have described as “dramatic monologue by virtue of a redirection of attention to the flavor and character of the writing.”<sup>9</sup> Connor, for his part, regards *carm.* 2. 3 as one that

<sup>6</sup> The poems of Cavafy are cited from Cf. ΚΑΒΑΦΗΣ, Κ. Π.: Ποιήματα: αναγνωρισμένα, αποκρηματοποιήματα, Κρυμμένα, Ατελή. Πεζά: Δημοσιευμένα, Κρυμμένα. Ο Επίσημος Δικτυακός Τόπος του Αρχαίου Καβάφη: <http://www.kavafis.gr/index.asp>. The English translation is cited from CAVAFY, C. P.: *The Collected Poems*. Trans. by E. SACHPEROGLU. With an Introduction by P. MACKRIDGE. Oxford 2007.

<sup>7</sup> SIFAKI, E.: Self-Fashioning in C. P. Cavafy’s “Going back Home from Greece” and “Philhellene”. *Synthesis* 5 (2013) 29–48, here 31.

<sup>8</sup> KEELEY, E.: *Cavafy’s Alexandria*. Princeton, Mass. 1996, 37.

<sup>9</sup> CONNOR, P. J.: The Dramatic Monologue: A Study of Horace Odes II 14 and II 3. *Latomus* 29 (1970) 756–764, here 756.

invites immediate comparison with *carm.* 2. 14, and indeed, the two poems are, at first glance, similar in subject matter, i.e., warnings regarding the inevitability of death and advice on how to best achieve happiness.<sup>10</sup> The main stylistic difference between the openings of the two poems derives from the character and situation of their respective recipients: while the recipient in Horace's ode is a person, Dellius, whose situation is unknown, the recipient in Cavafy's poem is a nameless individual at the beginning of a sea journey. This difference, however, should be seen as broadly connected to three factors. The first concerns the ancient model the poet is recycling. The beginning of Horace's *carm.* 2. 3 draws its inspiration from a poem by Archilochus (fr. 128),<sup>11</sup> in which the author speaks to the heart, exhorting it to moderation: "delight in things that are delightful and, in hard times, grieve not too much" (*χαρτοῖσιν τε χαῖρε καὶ κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα μὴ λῆν*).<sup>12</sup> In *Ithaka*, on the other hand, this didactic tone is manifest within the framework of the voyage of Odysseus in Homer's *Odyssey*.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, there is a sense of the wayfaring life in the reference to water in verses 10–11, where the Latin mentions waters rushing down their zig-zag bed. In the words of Witke: "The image of flowing water is indeed an example of the passage of time, just as it is in *carm.* 3. 29. It is this that makes Dellius, and all men, mortal."<sup>14</sup> In other words, both journeys symbolize the passing of life/time. Thirdly, the element of the sea voyage may be viewed as a metaphor for human life in another of Horace's philosophical pieces, *carm.* 2. 10, written in didactic monologue comparable to *carm.* 2. 3. Here, Horace connects psychological advice to the beginning of the journey of life. In this ode, Horace begins as if in a propempticon<sup>15</sup> addressed to a friend about to depart on a journey or sea voyage. Specifically, the poet addresses his friend Lecenius, advising him to follow the golden mean,<sup>16</sup> i.e., to be moderate by steering neither too boldly toward the deeps (*neque altum semper urgendo*), nor, for fear of storms, too closely to the shore (*neque, dum procellas cautus horrescis, nimium premendo litus iniquum*). In this ode, it is clear that Horace uses the voyage as a symbol for human life.<sup>17</sup> Blaiklock, for his part, notes that the tone of this poem is

<sup>10</sup> CONNOR (n. 9) 761ff.

<sup>11</sup> ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (n. 2) 271.

<sup>12</sup> Archilochus, fr. 128. Cf. Archilochus, *Fragments*. Ed. & trans. by D. E. GERBER. In *Greek Iambic Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* [LCL 259]. London 1999.

<sup>13</sup> According to S. J. HARRISON (Horace, Odes 3.7: An Erotic Odyssey? *CQ* 38 [1988] 186–192, 187), the epic model of Odysseus' return is adopted in Horace's *carm.* 3. 7, in which the poet puts, by creating some similarities of what the characters suffer, the tale of Gyges and Asterie as parallel to the story of Odysseus and Penelope, making in this way the tale of Gyges and Asterie a small Odyssey.

<sup>14</sup> WITKE, C.: Questions and Answers in Horace Odes 2. 3. *CPh* 61 (1966) 250–252, here 251.

<sup>15</sup> Horace's *carm.* 1. 3, 1. 35, 3. 27 belong to this genre. See MENDELL (n. 1) 146, 153.

<sup>16</sup> For the meaning of this ode, see MENDELL (n. 1) 147.

<sup>17</sup> See Horace's *carm.* 1. 34. 3–6: *nunc retrorsum / vela dare atque iterare cursus / cogor relectos*. The idea is repeated in the classical sources, see Aeschylus' *Suppliants* 471; Sophocles' *Ajax* 683–684; Cicero's *De officiis* 2. 8.26, *Pro Sulla* 14. 41, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1. 107; Ovid's *Heroides* 1. 110, *Ex Ponto* 2. 8. 68, *Tristia* 5. 6. 1–2; Seneca's *Agamemnon* 589–592, *Hercules Oetaeus* 1021, *Hercules Furens* 1071–1073. For the sea journey as a metaphor of human life, see also ANDERSON, W. S.: Horace "Carm." 1. 14: What Kind of Ship? *CPh* 61 (1966) 84–98, here 90; cf. MENDELL (n. 1) 150f; ZUMWALT, N. K.: Horace's "Navis" of Love Poetry ("C." 1.14). *CW* 71 (1977–1978) 249–254, here 249; JOCELYN, D.: Boats, Women, and Horace Odes 1. 14. *CPh* 77 (1982) 330–335, here 330.

instructive, i.e., didactic: “The storm of stanzas 1 and 3 dies didactically in 4 and 5; ‘for life, Licinius, is a chancy business. Good navigation brings the ship to harbour and enables the shrewd helmsman to steer clear of coast and deep-sea squall; and as for what is left, remember what happened to Flaccus – the gods relent, the tumult dies, and if we hold fast, we ride out the storm.’”<sup>18</sup> In *Ithaka* Cavafy seemingly intends to mix the two experiences of Horace’s two philosophical odes – the experience of human life as it appears in *carm.* 2. 3, and that of the sea voyage, as it appears in *carm.* 2. 10, as a metaphor for human life. In the second section of 2. 3, Horace refers to the beauty of nature using two consecutive rhetorical questions and calling upon mortals to enjoy nature as much as they can.<sup>19</sup> He also advises the recipient to enjoy life as long as time allows:

*quo pinus ingens albaque populus  
umbram hospitalem consociare amant  
ramis? quid obliquo laborat  
lympha fugax trepidare rivo?*

*huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis  
flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,  
dum res et aetas et sororum  
fila trium patiuntur atra.*

(*carm.* 2. 3. 9–16)

For what purpose do the tall pine and white poplar like to form a welcoming shade with their branches? Why does the hurrying water go to the trouble of bustling along its winding course? This is just the place. Tell them to bring wine and perfume and the all too brief blooms of the lovely rose, while circumstances and time and the black threads of the Three Sisters allow it.

Cavafy also advises the addressee to pray that the journey to Ithaka be long, and to enjoy it through the acquisition of knowledge and beautiful things:

*Νὰ εὐχέσαι νά 'ναι μακρὺς ὁ δρόμος.  
Πολλὰ τὰ καλοκαιρινὰ πρωῒνὰ εἶναι  
ποῦ μὲ τί εὐχαρίστηση, μὲ τί χαρὰ  
θὰ μπαίνεις σὲ λιμένας πρωτοειδωμένους·  
νὰ σταματήσεις σ' ἐμπορεῖα Φοινικικά,  
καὶ τὲς καλὲς πραγμάτειες ν' ἀποκτήσεις,  
σεντέφια καὶ κοράλλια, κεχριμπάρια κ' ἔβενους,  
καὶ ἡδονικὰ μυρωδικὰ κάθε λογῆς,  
ὅσο μπορεῖς πιὸ ἄφθονα ἡδονικὰ μυρωδικά.  
Σὲ πόλεις Αἰγυπτιακὲς πολλὰς νὰ πᾶς,  
νὰ μάθεις καὶ νὰ μάθεις ἀπ' τοὺς σπουδασμένους.*

(*Ithaka* 13–23)

<sup>18</sup> BLAICKLOCK, E. M.: *The Dying Storm: A Study in the Imagery of Horace. Greece & Rome* 6 (1959) 205–210, here 210.

<sup>19</sup> ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (n. 2) 274.

Pray that the road be long;  
 that there be many a summer morning,  
 when with what delight, what joy,  
 you'll enter into harbours yet unseen;  
 that you may stop at Phoenician emporia  
 and acquire all the fine wares,  
 mother-of-pearl and coral, amber and ebony,  
 and sensuous perfumes of every kind,  
 as many sensuous perfumes as you can;  
 that you may visit many an Egyptian city,  
 to learn and learn again from lettered men.

The advice given in the second section of the two poems appears to be an extension of an Epicurean theme, starting from the beginning of the two poems. For the Epicureans, the absence of fear or mental turmoil, *ataraxia*, was the goal of human life, equal to the greatest of mental pleasures. Thus, a typical Epicurean writing would be expected to offer both an account of the psychology of fear, and the proper methods for managing and eradicating it.<sup>20</sup> The Epicureans assumed that the principal goal of philosophy was to secure happiness and that this result could only be achieved by removing the principal causes of human suffering, namely, the vices (*kakiai*), along with certain emotions or passions (*pathe*).<sup>21</sup> To attain a state of tranquillity and freedom from fear, Epicureanism suggests a kind of philosophical therapy that accomplishes its task without a diminishment of knowledge. In the estimation of Tsouna, the most important aspect of this was purgatory in nature: it removed the causes of turmoil and unhappiness, rather than effected an attainment of knowledge previously lacking.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the way to achieve happiness was to live modestly, gain knowledge of the workings of the world, and limit one's desires. One can detect a measure of the philosophical therapy of this kind, in the form of Epicurean instructions, at the very beginning of each poem. Horace urges the addressee, the recipient of his words, to maintain equanimity, avoid too much happiness, and enjoy the holiday at hand. Roberts, citing the opinion of Landino on the Epicurean character of the first section of the ode, states:

The tendency to contain Horace's Epicureanism reappears in Landino's commentary on *carm.* 2. 3, a poem in which Horace repeatedly insists upon the *memento mori* theme in order to persuade Dellius to enjoy the holiday at hand. Landino first identifies the sentiments expressed in the poem as Epicurean in his gloss on *seu maestus* in line 5. [...] He continues in the same vein at *seubearis*. [...] He devotes special attention to the phrase *dies festos*, because it demonstrates the moderation preached by

<sup>20</sup> WARREN, J.: Removing Fear. In *The Cambridge Companion to Epicureanism*. Ed. by J. WARREN. Cambridge 2009, 234–248, here 234.

<sup>21</sup> TSOUNA, V.: Epicurean Therapeutic Strategy. In *The Cambridge Companion to Epicureanism* (n. 20) 249–265, here 249.

<sup>22</sup> TSOUNA (n. 21) 249.

authentic Epicureans. [...] Landino seizes upon Horace's suggestion as an occasion to remind his readers that the poet's Epicurean pursuit of pleasure is first guided by wisdom and a sense of propriety, and consequently should not be regarded as an exercise in unrestrained hedonism.<sup>23</sup>

Another scholar, Connor, has also noted the Epicurean feature in the second section of Horace's poem, suggesting that Horace's 'message' (in the fourth stanza) "is not startlingly fresh to us and could not have been to the Romans either, embedded as it was in the teachings of Epicurus".<sup>24</sup> In this stanza, Horace again pairs enjoyment of the joys of life with what circumstances and time (*res et aetas*) allow. The same Epicurean tendency is expressed in other philosophical odes, as well, one example being *carm.* 1. 9. This latter work is based, as Μιχαλόπουλος notes, on a poem by Alcaeus (fr. 338),<sup>25</sup> in which the poet gives orders to strike down the storm (κάββαλλε τὸν χεῖμων') sent by Zeus, to stoke the fire (ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις πῦρ), and to mix unsparingly the honeysweet wine (ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως μέλιχρον).<sup>26</sup> Epicurean commentary on this ode explains it as a summons to live a life free from anxiety.<sup>27</sup> The poet advises his recipient to enjoy the time allotted him in life, not to ask what tomorrow will bring, and to exploit the days Fortune gives while life is still green:

... deprome  
o Thaliarche, merum diota:  
permitte divis cetera, ...  
  
quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere et  
quem Fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro  
adpone nec dulcis amores  
sperne puer neque tu choreas,  
  
donec virenti canities abest  
morosa. (carm. 1. 9. 8–18)

... Thaliarchus, ... serve the four-year-old wine... Leave the rest to the gods.... Avoid asking what will happen tomorrow; whatever kind of day Fortune sends you, enter it as a profit, and do not say no to sweet love and dancing, while you are still a lad and your green age is free from peevish whiteness.

Cavafy, for his part, urges his recipient not to fear, but to soothe his spirit and body with lofty thoughts and "rare emotion" – again, exactly what one would expect from

<sup>23</sup> ROBERTS, M.: Interpreting Hedonism: Renaissance Commentaries on Horace's Epicurean Odes. *Arethusa* 28 (1995) 289–307, here 291f.

<sup>24</sup> CONNOR (n. 9) 762.

<sup>25</sup> ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (n. 2) 245.

<sup>26</sup> Alcaeus fr. 338. Cf. *Greek Lyric. Vol. I: Sappho and Alcaeus*. Ed. and trans. by D. A. CAMPBELL [LCL 142]. Harvard University Press 1982.

<sup>27</sup> See ROBERTS (n. 23) 290, who again mentions the opinion of Landino. For the Epicurean tendency of this ode; see also ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (n. 2) 245.



an Epicurean. In the words of Woolf, “Pleasure is the goal of life for an Epicurean. But it is pleasure of a particular kind that represents this goal, namely lack of pain in body (*aponia*) and lack of distress in soul (*ataraxia*). It is clear that, for Epicurus, to be free from bodily pain and mental distress is, in and of itself, to be in a state of pleasure.”<sup>28</sup> Melakopides, too, links Cavafy’s content from line 4 onwards with Epicurus’ *fr.* 74: “Pointing to the sources of unhappiness, Epicurus observed: ‘Unhappiness comes either through fear or through vain and unbridled desire: but if a man curbs these, he can win for himself the blessedness of understanding.’ We may recall that lines 4–12 of *Ithaka* allay one’s fears by pointing to their real source (inside one’s soul) and to the means of overcoming them.”<sup>29</sup> Acquiring knowledge (*ᾠμάθεις καὶ νῆμάθεις*), which Cavafy emphasizes in the end of the second section, carries with it an Epicurean resonance. Epicurus, as Warren mentions, diagnoses mental disturbance, anxiety, and fear as the result of ignorance and false opinion.<sup>30</sup> In spite of this Epicurean tendency, the two poems move from instruction (in the imperative or exhortative) to melancholy.<sup>31</sup> In the last section of *carm.* 2. 3, Horace warns the recipient that when he arrives at the end, he will lose all he could enjoy before:

*cedes coemptis saltibus et domo  
villaque, flavos quam Tiberis lavit,  
cedes et exstructis in altum  
divitiis potietur heres.*

*dives ne prisco natus ab Inacho  
nil interest an pauper et infima  
de gente sub divo moreris:  
victima nil miserantis Orci.*

*omnes eodem cogimur, omnium  
versatur urna serius ocus  
sors exitura et nos in aeternum  
exilium inpositura cumbae*

(*carm.* 2. 3. 17–28)

You will leave the woodland pastures that you have bought up, and your town house, and your villa washed by the yellow Tiber; yes, you will leave them, and your heir will take possession of the wealth you have built so high. It makes no difference whether you live beneath the sky as a rich man descended from ancient Inachus, or a poor man of the humblest family; you are still a victim of pitiless Orcus. We are all driven to the

<sup>28</sup> WOOLF, R.: Pleasure and Desire. In *The Cambridge Companion to Epicureanism* (n. 20) 158–178, here 158.

<sup>29</sup> MELAKOPIDES, C.: Cavafy: The Philosophical Poetry. In *The Mind and Art of C. P. Cavafy: Essays in His Life and Work*. Athens 1983, 195–223, here 219.

<sup>30</sup> WARREN (n. 20) 235.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. WITKE (n. 14) 250, who notes that “The third ode of Horace’s second book is a poem which moves from imperative to question to melancholy assertion of death’s inevitability.”

same pen; for all alike is the lot shaken in the urn; sooner or later, out it will come, and put us aboard the skiff for eternal exile.

Cavafy calls upon his addressee to enjoy the road until its (final) destination, as that place (Ithaka) has nothing to offer him that he has not already acquired in getting there:

Πάντα στὸ νοῦ σου νᾶχης τὴν Ἰθάκη.  
 Τὸ φθάσιμον ἐκεῖ εἶν' ὁ προορισμός σου.  
 Ἀλλὰ μὴ βιάζης τὸ ταξείδι διόλου  
 Καλλίτερα χρόνια πολλὰ νὰ διαρκέσει  
 Καὶ γέρος πιά ν' ἀράξης στὸ νησί,  
 πλούσιος μὲ ὅσα κέρδισες στὸν δρόμο,  
 μὴ προσδοκώντας πλοῦτη νὰ σὲ δώσῃ ἡ Ἰθάκη.  
 Ἡ Ἰθάκη σ' ἔδωσε τ' ὠραῖο ταξίδι.  
 Χωρὶς αὐτὴν δὲν θαῖβγαινες στὸν δρόμο.  
 Ἀλλὰ δὲν ἔχει νὰ σὲ δώσῃ πιά.  
 Κι ἂν πτωχικὴ τὴν βρῇς, ἡ Ἰθάκη δὲν σὲ γέλασε.  
 Ἔτσι σοφὸς ποὺ ἔγινες, μὲ τόση πείρα,  
 ἦδη θὰ τὸ κατάλαβες ἡ Ἰθάκης τί σημαίνουν.

(Ithaka 24–36)

Always keep Ithaca in your mind.  
 To arrive there is your final destination.  
 But do not rush the voyage in the least.  
 Better it last for many years;  
 and once you are old, cast anchor on the isle,  
 rich with all you've gained along the way,  
 expecting not that Ithaca will give you wealth.  
 Ithaca gave you the wondrous voyage:  
 without her you'd never have set out.  
 But she has nothing to give you any more.  
 If then you find her poor, Ithaca has not deceived you.  
 As wise as you've become, with such experience, by now  
 You will have come to know what Ithacas really mean.

As summed up by Witke, the theme of Horace's *carm.* 2. 3 "is a reminder to Dellius that he should have a right awareness of life's limitations and possibilities, and of the inevitability of death."<sup>32</sup> The theme of *Ithaka*, according to Galens, "may be summed up in one phrase: it is better to journey than to arrive."<sup>33</sup> The difference in the main

<sup>32</sup> WITKE (n. 14) 250–251.

<sup>33</sup> GALENS, D.: Ithaca, C. P. Cavafy, 1911. In *Poetry for Students: Presenting Analysis, Context, and Criticism on Commonly Studied Poetry*. Vol. 19. Michigan 2003, 113–128, here 115. For a comparable interpretation, whether optimistic or pessimistic, see ΞΕΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Γ.: Το Ανθρώπινο στην Ποίηση του Καβάφη. *Νέα Εστία* 34 (1943) 845–851, here 849f.; LIDDELL, R.: Studies in Genius: Cavafy. In *The Mind and Art* (n. 29) 19–32, here 25; BARNSTONE, W.: Real and Imaginary History in Borges and Cavafy. *CompLit* 29 (1977) 54–73, here 65f.; BIEN, P.: *Constantine Cavafy*. New York 1964, 45f.; KAMPERI, M.: *The Homeric Element in Cavafy's Poetry: Three Examples*. Master Thesis. Lund 2013, 35.

message between the two poems demonstrates a certain intertextual conflict between them. Nevertheless, they do have some points in common: we should enjoy life as it is now and not wait until the end, or the last station, because the end has little to offer in this regard. Another message is that mentioned by Witke concerning Horace: the recipient has no control over the term of his existence but can have some control over his attitude towards it, hence over the quality of what it contains. His mind, in other words, can acknowledge the inevitability of death and use this awareness to direct his life.<sup>34</sup> Although the message reflects a certain degree of melancholy, it does offer some of the insight of epicurean therapy, which aims to liberate humans from their fear of the gods (*Ποσειδῶνα μὴ φοβᾶσαι*, *Ithaka* 5) and of death (*omnes eodem cogimur*, *carm.* 2. 3. 25). The message is much clearer in Horace's famous philosophical ode, *carm.* 1. 11 (*carpe diem*), another ode with Epicurean tendencies.<sup>35</sup> Here, Horace advises the recipient to suffer what happens now, show wisdom by seizing the present, and not place too much hope on what will happen tomorrow:

*Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi  
finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios  
temptaris numeros. ut melius, quidquid erit, pati.  
seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,  
quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare  
Tyrrhenum: sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi  
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida  
aetas: carpe diem quam minimum credula postero.* (*carm.* 1. 11. 1–8)

Do not inquire (we are not allowed to know) what end the gods have assigned to you and what to me, Leuconoe, and do not meddle with Babylonian horoscopes. How much better to endure whatever it proves to be, whether Jupiter has granted us more winters, or this is the last that now wears out the Etruscan Sea against cliffs of pumice. Take my advice, strain the wine and cut back far-reaching hopes to within a small space. As we talk, grudging time will have run on. Pluck the day, trusting as little as possible in tomorrow.

This ode echoes a poem of Alcaeus (*fr.* 38A), in which the poet enjoins the recipient (Melanippus) to drink wine with him and not be eager for great things (*ἀγὼ μὴ μεγάλων ἐπιβάλλεο*) “Now if ever, while we are young, it is fit to endure whatever of these things God may give us to suffer (*θᾶς ἀβάσομεν αἶ ποτα κάλλοντα νῦν χρόων ὅτινα*

<sup>34</sup> WITKE (n. 14) 250. Cf. KAMPERI (n. 33) 35, whose view about Ithaka seems to encompass Galens' about Ithaka and Witke's about Horace *carm.* 2. 3. He says: “the greatest thing is not the aim (the aim may not even exist), but instead the endless trip and how every person has to organize his life so as to make it better. Thus, we do not have to hurry; we must enjoy our life and everything else. Ithakas are beyond reality”.

<sup>35</sup> See SILK, E. T.: Bacchus and the Horatian Recusatio. *YCS* 21 (1969) 195–212, here 203; ROBERTS (n. 23) 1995, 296–297, who cites the commentary of Mancinelli. See also ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (n. 2) 245.

τῇνδε πάθην τά χα δῶ θεός).<sup>36</sup> In the meantime, the sensual interpretation of *Ithaca* can also be applied to Horace's *carm.* 1. 11 (*carpe diem*). In the words of Kamperi: "*Ithaca* is a poem that expresses the value of the sensual element in life. One has to focus on the desires and the experience of each day instead of waiting to gain something without enjoying every moment."<sup>37</sup>

## II. HORACE'S *CARM.* 1. 37 AND SIKELIANUS' *DITHYRAMB*

Horace's Alcaic<sup>38</sup> ode, *carm.* 1. 37 commences with a description of several aspects of Dionysiac Ecstasy.

*Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero  
pulsanda tellus; nunc Saliaribus  
ornare pulvinar deorum  
tempus erat dapibus, sodales.* (carm. 1. 37. 1–4)

Now let the drinking begin! Now let us thumb the ground with unfettered feet! Now is the time, my friends, to load the couches of the gods with a feast fit for the Salii!

Sikelianos, too, begins his poem *Dithyramb*<sup>39</sup> by describing certain aspects of "metaphorical" Dionysiac ecstasy:

Απάνω στ' άνοιζιάτικα βουνά τῶν αρωμάτων  
πῶς ξάφνου μοῦ σκιρτᾷ ἡ καρδιά, πού τῇ σιγῇν ἐχάρη  
σάν τὸ λιοντάρι πού ἄκουσε τῇ δίψα τῶν αἱμάτων!  
ὦ, πῶς εὐώδα ὁ βαρσαμος καὶ τὸ σγουρὸ θυμάρι,  
πῶς φτέρωνεν ὁ ἀνηφορος τὸ ἀνάλαφρο ποδάρι,  
κ' ἡ εὐωχία ἡ μυστικὴ τοῦ πόθου μου εἶχε πάρει  
τῇ γέψῃ, μὲς στὰ σπλάχνα μου, τῇ θεία τῶν ἀθανάτων!

<sup>36</sup> Alcaeus fr. 38A, trans. by Campbell (n. 26).

<sup>37</sup> KAMPERI (n. 33) 35f.

<sup>38</sup> ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (n. 2) 173.

<sup>39</sup> Two poems in Sikelianos poetic work are entitled *Dithyramb*. The first is the lyric poem *Dithyramb* (Διθύραμβος), published in the poetic collection "Epinicians A (Επίνικοι Α)" in 1912–1913. The second is *Dithyramb of Rose* (Διθύραμβος του Ρόδου) or *The Last Orphic Dithyramb* (Τελευταίος Ορφικός Διθύραμβος), published in 1932. It is the first of his five tragedies. For more details about Sikelianos' tragedies and their presentation, see ΧΑΤΖΗΔΑΚΗ Γ.: Ένας Ορφικός στην Γειτονιά του Διονύσου: Καθόλου Ευκαταφρόνητο το θεατρικό Έργο του Σικελιανού, Είδετο Φως της Σκηνης μετά το Θάνατό του. In Αφιέρωμα «Άγγελος Σικελιανός ο Οραματιστής». Επιμέλεια της Π. Κουνενάκη. Αθήνα (Η καθημερινή-Κυριακή Ιουλίου 6–5, 1997), 20–22, here 21; ΧΑΡΗΣ, Π.: Οι τραγωδίες του Σικελιανού. *Νέα Εστία* 52 (1952) 214–217, *passim*; ΚΟΥΝΕΝΑΚΗ, Π.: Η Ζωή και του Έργου του Αγγέλου Σικελιανού. In Αφιέρωμα «Άγγελος Σικελιανός ο Οραματιστής» 2–5, here 4f.; ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Β.: Μουσικές για τον Σικελιανό: Από τον Σίμωνα Καράστον Θάνο Μικρούτσικο και (σκηνικώς) από τον Μάνο Χατζιδάκι στον Γιώργο Τσαγκάρη. In Αφιέρωμα «Άγγελος Σικελιανός ο Οραματιστής» 23–26, here 23; ΠΑΠΑΔΑΚΗ, Λ.: Πνευματικό Συναπάντημα: Συνάντηση Σικελιανού-Ευάς έμελλε να σφραγίσει τη ζωή και την Τέχνη τους. In Αφιέρωμα «Άγγελος Σικελιανός ο Οραματιστής» 15–17, here 15.

Aloft, on the spring mountains of perfumes how  
suddenly gambols my heart, which enjoyed the silence  
like the lion who heard thirst of bloods! How balsam  
scented the crispy thyme too, how the upward slope  
provided the light foot with wings, and the secret  
drunken feast of my lust digested (and absorbed), into  
my entrails, the holy taste of immortal gods.

(*Επίνικοι Α', Διθύραμβος* 1–7; trans. by H. A. Darwish)

At the beginning of each poem, the poet shows the Bacchic spirit appearing through drinking and eating. In Horace's ode, the medium is wine, the consumption of which is a key characteristic of original dithyrambic song. In the earliest reference to the word *dithyramb*, Archilochus claims, "I know how to take the lead in the dithyramb, the lovely song of Lord Dionysus, my wits thunderstruck with wine" (*ὥς Διονύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρχαι μέλος / οἶδα διθύ-ραμβον οἶνω συγκεραννωθεῖς φρένας*).<sup>40</sup> To wine, Horace and Sikelianos each add another cultic element: the sacrificial (mystery) feast (*Saliaribus dapibus*,<sup>41</sup> ἡ εὐωχία ἡ μυστική) held in the honour of the immortal gods (*deorum, τῶν ἀθανάτων*). The two poets use identical wording in speaking of Dionysiac liberty<sup>42</sup> (*pede libero, τὸ ἀνάλαφρο ποδάρι*), which expresses redemption from the fear of the enemy. In both cases, the association between the feast and this particular form of liberty can feasibly be made. Commager, for example, points out that "the feast marking an end to anxiety for Numida serves, probably by design, as a prelude to a grander celebration, final freedom from fear of Cleopatra".<sup>43</sup> If, in the above mentioned poems of Horace and Cavafy, Epicureanism serves as a means of liberating humans from the fear of death and the gods, here, Dionysism serves as a means of liberating them from the fear of a national enemy. Just after this, both poets reveal the true propose of the Dionysiac celebration and the accompanying ecstasy as representing a victory over the particular national enemy and political opponent in the given poem. Horace, for his part, links the Dionysiac ecstasy featured in his work with the political atmosphere in which it was written – i.e., the period following the war of Actium – and Dionysiac power to the struggle of Rome against Cleopatra:

*antehac nefas depromere Caecubum  
cellis auitis, dum Capitolio  
regina dementis ruinas,  
funus et imperio parabat  
contaminato cum grege turpium*

<sup>40</sup> Archilochus, fr. 120. Ed. & trans. by D. E. Gerber (n. 12). Cf. WEIDEN, M. J. H. VAN DER: *The Dithyrambs of Pindar. Introduction, Text and Commentary*. Amsterdam 1991, 1; ZIMMERMANN, B.: *The Dithyramb at Athens: Some Remarks on the History of an Unknown Literary Genre of Ancient Greece*. *Αρχαιογνωσία* 15.1–3 (2007–2009) 11–31, here 13.

<sup>41</sup> *Saliaribus dapibus* refers to the feasts of the Salians (priests of Mars), ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (n. 2) 176.

<sup>42</sup> The word *liber* refers to the cultic epithet of Dionysus. See ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ–ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (n. 2) 176.

<sup>43</sup> COMMAGER, S.: *The Function of Wine in Horace's Odes*. *TAPhA* 88 (1957) 68–80, here 69.

*morbo virorum quidlibet inpotens  
sperare fortunaque dulci  
ebria.*

(*carm.* 1. 37. 5–12)

Before this it was sacrilege to bring the Caecuban out from our fathers' cellars, at a time when the queen, along with her troop of disgustingly perverted men, was devising mad ruin for the Capitol and death for the empire – a woman so out of control that she could hope for anything at all, drunk, as she was, with the sweet wine of success.

The connection between Dionysiac ecstasy and the political struggle against Cleopatra was made previously in *epode* 9, in which Horace addresses Maecenas, asking:

*Quando repositum Caecubum ad festas dapes  
victore laetus Caesare  
tecum sub alta – sic Iovi gratum – domo,  
beate Maecenas, bibam  
sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,  
hac Dorium, illis barbarum,*

(*epod.* 9. 1–6)

When, happy Maecenas, shall I drink with you, in joy at Caesar's victory, in your high house (for that's what the god intends) the Caecuban that has been laid by for a banquet of celebration, while the lyre sounds forth its Dorian music mingled with the foreign notes of the pipe?

In Macleod's opinion, a link may be presumed between such Roman victory poems and the Greek dithyramps, partly because the word *triumphus* was generally derived from θρίαμβος, which is closely connected to Διθύραμβος; both words can be either a title of Dionysus, or the name of a song in his honour. Macleod believes that the first lines of *carm.* 1. 37 are, in effect, an answer to the longing and impatient *quando* that begins *epode* 9 and points out that there may be a further connection between *epode* 9 and Archilochus' fragment. "It may be too that *Odes* 1. 37 is conceived to be a full-dress dithyramb, in contrast to the Archilochean dithyramb of *Epode* 9."<sup>44</sup> The word *dithyramb* is usually associated either with triumph (θρίαμβος = Δι+τρίς+ιαμβος)<sup>45</sup> or the double birth of Dionysus (Διθύραμβος = = δίζ+θύρα+βαίνω or λῶθι+ράμμα).<sup>46</sup>

Whatever the etymology of the word, however, there is no connection to a political or national victory to be found in the remaining poems and fragments of the Classical

<sup>44</sup> MACLEOD (n. 1) 372f.

<sup>45</sup> See PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, A. W.: *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy*. Oxford 1927, 14f., WEIDEN (n. 40) 1991, 1f.

<sup>46</sup> See Pindar, *fr.* 99. Cf. *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*. Ed. A. TURYN. Oxford 1952. See also JEANMAIRE, H.: Διόνυσος: Ιστορία της λατρείας του Βάκχου. Athens 1985, 1, 309; KERÉNYI, K.: Dionysos: *Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life*. Trans. into English by R. Manheim. Princeton 1976, 305; HARRISON, J. E.: *Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion and Themis. A study of the social origins of Greek religion*. New York 1962, 35–36; WEIDEN (n. 40); MAEHLER, H.: *Bacchylides: A Selection*. Cambridge 2004, 5.

dithyrambs of either Pindar or Bacchylides. Instead, most of the dithyrambic material which has remained to us from that period focuses on the myth of the birth of Dionysus and the festive ambiance of Dionysiac celebrations.<sup>47</sup> This type of link between the dithyramb and the concept of political or national victory may be a characteristic feature of the Roman version of the genre, derived from the influence of Alcaeus' poems. Celebration accompanied by the drinking of wine as an aspect of victory over a political opponent recalls, for example, a certain poem (*fr.* 332),<sup>48</sup> in which Alcaeus declares that men (the poet and his friends) must drink and get drunk with all their strength upon the death of Myrsilus (*νῦν χρῆ μεθύσθην καὶ τινα πὲρ βίαν πώνην, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος*).<sup>49</sup> It would seem that Sikelianos, then, is following the Roman dithyrambic material which connects the Dionysiac spirit with the Greek national struggle in the Balkan wars in which he participated.<sup>50</sup> In the following stanzas, for instance, he identifies the power of Dionysiac *thiasos* with the power of the Greek army:

*Κ' εἶπα: "Ἄν Βακχεύει ὁ πόλεμος, ἐσὸν πατᾶς στὰ κρίνα,  
Νίκη! Τὰ ρεῖθρα τὰ ζεστὰ τοῦ αἱμάτου ἀφρὸ τὰ κάνει  
μὲ τὸ καθάριο κύμα τῆς ἡ αἰώνια Σαλαμίνα!  
Τῆς Ἰφιγένειας, στήν ψυχὴ, μόνη ἡ θύσια δὲ φτάνει;  
Στῶν Ὀλυμπίων τὴν ἀγκαλιὰ ὁ Ἀτρεΐδης τινε χάνει,  
μὰ ἰδὲς, σπαράζει στὸ βωμὸν ἡ ἀσύγκριτη ἀλαφίνα!*

*Καὶ τὸ δικόρυφο ψηλὰ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ ἡ ματιά μου  
ξάστερη ἀγκάλιαζε, στυλὰ στήν αὐγινὴ γλυκάδα,  
κι' ὁ θύρσος ὅπου κράταγα στὸ χέρι μου, ὡσὰ δάδα  
ὅπου Βοῦίζει ἡ φλόγα τῆς ἀπὸ πυκνὴ σβίλαδα,  
στὸν Ὕμνο ποὺ λογιζομουν ἐβόγκαε στήν καρδιά μου,  
τὸν Παιάνα σὰ νὰ ψῆλωμεν ὀλάκερη ἡ Ἑλλάδα!*

*"Ὡ ἡ πύρη μου, στὴ μυστικὴ τοῦ πόθου μου εὐωχία  
γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα! Μ' ἔνα της φτερουγίσμα ἡ καρδιά μου  
μ' ἀνέβαξε στὴ δυνατὴν ὀλύμπιαν ἡσυχία,  
καὶ μέσα στὴν ἀτάραχη ποὺ μῶφεγγε εὐτυχία*

<sup>47</sup> Although Pindar's dithyrambic fragments treat myths and stories of other gods and heroes, they still include the myth of the birth of Dionysos as an important part of dithyrambic poems. At the same time, most dithyrambic poems of Bacchylides completely neglect Dionysiac themes. For the main theme of the dithyramb and its relationship with Dionysos, see PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE (n. 45) 38, KERÉNYI (n. 46) 305, JEANMAIRE (n. 46) 310, HAMILTON, R.: Pindaric Dithyramb. *HSPH* 93 (1990) 211–222, here 211ff., WEIDEN (n. 40) 20, ZIMMERMANN (n. 40) 12f., 17.

<sup>48</sup> See MACLEOD (n. 1) 374, who points out that the poem of Alcaeus is that which inspires *carm.* 1. 37. Horace, however, is more dignified than Alcaeus in that he refuses to gloat over the enemy's death.

<sup>49</sup> Alcaeus *fr.* 332, trans. by Campell (n. 26).

<sup>50</sup> For the Balkan wars and the connection of the poem with these wars, see WOODHOUSE, C. M.: *The Story of Modern Greece*. London 1968, 190ff., ΤΣΑΡΛΑΜΠΙΑ-ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗ, Β.: Σικελιανός ο Ελληνολάτρης: Ανέκδοτα Κείμενα προς τους Αδελφούς Ίωνα και Φίλιππο Δραγούμη αλλά και για την Αναβίωσής της Δελφικής Ιδέας. In Αφιέρωμα «Άγγελος Σικελιανός ο Οραματιστής» (n. 39) 11–13, here 11; KOYNENAKH (n. 39) 3.

μοῦ κρυφομίλει, τοῦ Ἑρακλῆ βλαστός, ἡ Μακαρία,  
κ' ἡ Εὐάδνη ἀπὸ τὸ θάλαμο τοῦ πύρινου τῆς γάμου.

I said: "If the Bacchic spirit dominates the war, you will step on the lilies, o Nike! Eternal Salamis with its pure wave turns the warm streams into a foam of blood! The sacrifice of Iphigenia, in her soul, is not enough *per se*; the son of Atreus loses her in the arms of the Olympians, but you saw him: he was dismembering an incomparable doe on the altar.

My clear look embraced the two tops of Parnassus, pointing upwards, like pens in the sweetness of dawn, and the thyrsus which I was holding in my hand, like a torch, the blaze of which droned with its density, was roaring with the hymn which I felt in my heart. As if all Greece were raising the paean.

O my flaming (soul), in the secret drunken feast of my longing, for (the sake of) Greece! With one hovering my heart raised me to vigorous Olympian quietness, inside my unperturbed happiness which glimmers upon me. Heracles' daughters, Macaria and Euadne:

From the fiery chamber of her union, whisper to me!"

*Επίνικοι Α', Διθύραμβος 8–25*; trans. H. A. Darwish

Here, the Bacchic spirit is associated with national victory: the poet hopes it will dominate the war so that victory may trample the lilies. The term "sacred *bakcheia*" (*ιερή Βακχεία*) refers to a state in which a person steps out of the self and identifies with others – a euphoria of the identification of the self with the non-self.<sup>51</sup> The poet himself has this Bacchic spirit,<sup>52</sup> a quality that can lead to victory. The meaning of sacred *bakcheia* here is similar to that seen at the beginning of another of Horace's Dionysiac poems, *carm.* 3. 25, where he is "full of Bacchus" and sings of a recent achievement of Octavian that will be illustrious of Caesar's lasting glory among the stars:

*Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui  
plenum? quae nemora aut quos agor in specus,  
velox mente nova? Quibus  
antris egregii Caesaris audiar  
aeternum meditans decus  
stellis inserere et consilio Iovis?* (*carm.* 3. 25. 1–6)

Where are you hurrying me, Bacchus, full as I am, of you? Into what woods, what caves, am I being driven at such speed in a strange state of

<sup>51</sup> ΚΕΚΚΟΥ, Μ.: *Η Ποίηση του Κρύφιου Λόγου*. Αθήνα 2003, 15–19.

<sup>52</sup> ΠΑΠΑΔΑΚΗ (n. 39) 17.



mind? In what grotto shall I be heard as I practise setting the eternal glory of peerless Caesar among the stars and in the council of Jove?

Horace connects Bacchus with Octavian, and Bacchic power with the political power that emerged following the victory at Actium. The poet, as Silk points out, is bustled through groves and caves in order to receive prophetic statements of the coming glory of the Augustan order. In effect, he is to be the poetic voice of the regime, and the one to place Augustus among the immortals.<sup>53</sup> In this way, both Horace and Sikelianos depart from the narrow framework of the classical dithyramb as a song of the Dionysiac festival, combining the dithyrambic spirit with the triumphal spirit of the Balkan war and the Battle of Actium instead. In the last section of each poem, the poet talks about martial conflict in terms of Bacchic motion, frenzy, and chase. Horace, for his part, describes the escape of Cleopatra and her pursuit by Octavian:

*... sed minuit furorem*

*vix una sospes navis ab ignibus  
mentemque lymphatam Mareotico  
redegit in veros timores  
Caesar ab Italia volentem*

*remis adurgens, accipiter velut  
mollis columbas aut leporem citus  
venator in campis nivalis  
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis*

*fatale monstrum. quae generosius  
perire quaerens nec muliebriter  
expavit ensem nec latentis  
classe cita reparavit oras.*

*ausa et iacentem visere regiam  
vultu sereno, fortis et asperas  
tractare serpentes, ut atrum  
corpore combiberet venenum,*

*deliberata morte ferocior;  
saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens  
privata deduci superbo,  
non humilis mulier, triumpho.*

(carm. 1. 37. 12–32)

But her frenzy was sobered by the survival of scarcely one ship from the flames; and her mind, crazed with Mareotic wine, was brought down to face real terror when Caesar pursued her as she flew away from Italy with oars, like a hawk after a gentle dove or a speedy hunter after a hare on the snowy plains of Thessaly, to put that monster of doom safely in chains.

<sup>53</sup> SILK (n. 35) 200.

Determined to die more nobly, she showed no womanly fear of the sword, nor did she use her swift fleet to gain some hidden shore. She had the strength of mind to gaze on her ruined palace with a calm countenance, and the courage to handle the sharp-toothed serpents, letting her body drink in their black venom. Once she had resolved to die she was all the more defiant – determined, no doubt, to cheat the cruel Liburnians: she would not be stripped of her royalty and conveyed to face a jeering triumph: no humble woman she.

In this depiction, the poet creates two identifications, the first being that of Octavian with Dionysus, the hunter. Regarding the implications of this, Stevens notes:

To suggest the praise of Augustus by singing about Bacchus, Horace implies a comparison of his allegiance to Caesar to that of an initiate in Dionysian mysteries. The point of similarity between Augustus and Bacchus lies in the tremendous ‘metamorphosis’ that Augustus is bringing upon the Roman Empire. Bacchus, the ‘twice-born’ god, is remembered especially for bringing down mighty kings (for example, Pentheus in the *Bacchae*); he changes freely into a bull or a lion (Eur. *Bacch.* 1018; Hom. *Hymn. Bacch.* 44–53), and wine is associated with political change (or song) – and the best wine with Actium – in Horatian poetry (for example, *Epod.* 9, *Carm.* 1. 37).<sup>54</sup>

An identification of a similar type appears in another two of Horace’s Bacchic odes, the first being *carm.* 3. 25, mentioned above, and the second, *carm.* 2. 19, in which Horace alludes to the episode of Bacchus and Pentheus from Euripides’ *Bacchae*, *carm.* 2. 19. In this second instance, the poet, addressing Dionysus, states that it is right to sing of the shattered and ruined palace of Pentheus and the demise of Lycurgus of Thrace:

*fas et beatae coniugis additum  
stellis honorem tectaque Penthei  
disiecta non leni ruina,  
Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.* (carm. 2. 19. 13–16)

I am allowed to sing of how your consort was beatified and her crown set among the stars; how the palace of Pentheus was blasted apart and collapsed in devastation; and how the Thracian Lycurgus was destroyed.

On another occasion, Stevens calls our attention to the association between Dionysus and Octavian in the ode *carm.* 2. 19: “This is the drama of *Carm.* 2.19: the audience brings to the poem an association between Antony and Bacchus. Horace means to suggest that the role of ‘agent of Bacchus’ is determined at Actium and belongs

<sup>54</sup> STEVENS, J. A.: Seneca and Horace: Allegorical Technique in Two Odes to Bacchus (Hor. “Carm.” 2. 19 and Sen. “Oed.” 403–508). *Phoenix* 53 (1999) 281–307, 284.

exclusively to Octavian; Antony, while seeming at first to be the god himself, is gradually perceived as the god's enemy."<sup>55</sup>

This identification (of Octavian with Bacchus, the hunter) leads directly to the second of Horace's parallels in this ode, namely, the identification of the hunted Cleopatra with the enemy of Dionysus. In a context such as this, Dionysus' enemy is usually associated with a person (e.g., Lycurgus, Pentheus, or Polyphemos). In *carm.* 1. 37, Horace describes Cleopatra as an intoxicated woman escaping the battlefield in the manner of a prey as Octavian pursues her. It would seem, therefore, that Horace is misrepresenting the facts of the historical event in order to create a Bacchic plot or a Dionysiac scenario for his ode. As Carrubba points out: "The portrayal of Octavian as a swift hunter (*citus venator* 18–19) strikes a false note since Octavian did not in fact initially follow Cleopatra at all; rather, he dispatched Agrippa to Italy to assist Maecenas, while he himself went on to Greece and later to Brundisium to deal with disaffected veterans."<sup>56</sup> This Dionysiac scenario has nothing to do with the ancient Greek dithyramb, at least inasmuch as it appears from the remaining dithyrambic fragments and poems by Pindar and Bacchylides. It seems that both the scenario, and its identifications of Dionysus (or his agent) with the hunter and of his enemy with the hunted prey is inspired by Dionysiac drama, with particular reference to Aeschylus' *Bassarai* and Euripides' *Bacchae* and *Cyclops*. Here, Octavian is the hunter who pursues Cleopatra, taking revenge on her in a manner similar to that in which Bacchus and his agents (the Maenads) take revenge on his enemy (Pentheus or Lycurgus), hunting him in the manner of a prey (a hare or a calf).<sup>57</sup> It should also be noted that the victim in a metaphorically Dionysiac atmosphere is usually subject to hunting and sacrifice.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> STEVENS (n. 54) 285. Tibullus seems to make a comparable association between Missala, Alexander and Dionysos in his 1. 7. He recalls the same path that Alexander followed in the first part of his conquest of the Persian Empire. In the same context, both Alexander and Dionysus are conquerors of the east. See CAIRNS, F.: *Tibullus: Hellenistic Poet at Rome*. Cambridge 1979, 43f. On the other hand, J. F. MILLER (Propertius' Hymn to Bacchus and Contemporary Poetry. *AJPh* 112 [1991] 77–86, here 77–79) suggests that Propertius' hymn to Bacchus (3.17), which refers to the enemies of Bacchus (Lycurgus, Pentheus, and the Tuscan sailors) is an elegiac rehandling of themes in Horace's two Bacchic poems [i.e., *carm.* 2. 19 and 3. 25], although the subjects of the two prospective encomia differ – Horace will honour Caesar Augustus (cf. *carm.* 3. 25. 4–6), Propertius the god Bacchus himself.

<sup>56</sup> CARRUBBA, R. W.: Octavian's Pursuit of a Swift Cleopatra: Horace Odes 1. 37.18. *Philologus* 150 (2006) 178–182, here 179.

<sup>57</sup> In Euripides' *Bacchae* 337–339 (ὄρᾳς τὸν Ἀκτεῶνος ἄθλιον μόρον, / ὃν ὠμόσποισι κύλακες ἄς ἐθρέψατο / διεσπάσαντο ...) Cadmus reminds Pentheus of the fate of Actaeon, torn by hunting dogs, predicting the fate of Pentheus, who will be torn apart by the Bacchae in a work portrayed as hunting and dismemberment of a beast or calf in the same place where Actaeon was dismembered by the hunting dogs (see 1291: Ἀκτεῶνα διέλαχον κύνες, cf. 1227). SILK (n. 35) 199 hinted at the impact of Euripides' *Bacchae* to Horace's *carm.* 2. 19, noting that "reminiscences of Euripides should have involved some reference to the Bacchants, but Bacchus followers here are not human but Nymphs and Satyrs".

<sup>58</sup> The clearest example for this is what happens in Aeschylus' *Orestia*. Pythia refers to the killing of Pentheus by the Bacchae (under the command of Bromios) as if he were a hunted rabbit (see Aeschylus' *Eumenides* 24–26: Βρόμιος ἔχει τὸν χῶρον, οὐδ' ἄμνημονῶ, ἐξ οὗτε Βάκχαις ἐστρατήγησεν θεός, / λαγὼ δίκην Πενθεῖ καταρράψας μόρον:). At the same time, the Erinyes identify themselves with the Maenads, see Aeschylus' *Eumenides* 500, cf. GUEPIN, J. P.: *The Tragic Paradox: Myth and Ritual in Greek Tragedy*.

On the other hand, Cleopatra, having been overcome by Octavian, is described as a woman with a mind driven mad by Mareotic wine. This suggests the use of drunkenness against the enemy of Dionysus as a means of Bacchic punishment. In Euripides' *Cyclops*, Odysseus blinded Polyphemus after giving him wine (Bacchus) that rendered him intoxicated. In other words, Odysseus blinded Polyphemus only after Polyphemus had been overcome by Bacchus himself.<sup>59</sup> Sikelianos makes a similar identification between the Dionysiac *thiasus* led by Bacchus and the soldiers of the Greek army. Both Bacchus and the dancers of his chorus struggle against the national enemy whom the poet identifies with Pentheus:

φεύγει ο χορός ἀπὸ κορφή σ' ἄλλη κορφή καὶ λάμπει ...  
Γοργὰ π' ἀλλάζει ὁ προστινὸς ποὺ πέφτει ἀπὸ τὸ βόλι!  
Τ' ὥριο μαντίλι γλήγορα πετάει, ποιὸς πρῶτος θά 'μπει!  
"Ω Μάνα 'Ελλάδα, ἀγάλλιασαν ἀπ' τοὺς χορούς σου οἱ κάμποι!  
Κοίτα πῶς δράμει ἡ νιότη σου κι ἀπὸ τὸν ἵδρο λάμπει,  
σὰ νὰ κινάει συμπεθεριὸ στοῦ Μάη τὸ περιβόλι!

Νιότη σκιρτάει πεντάχαρη, σὰν ἐλυμπίοιο ἀλάφι!  
Νιότη, παρθένα 'Αρτέμιδα, τῆς Νίκης κυνηγήτρα,  
πῶς δρασκελάει καὶ πέτεται ὅπου γκρεμοὶ καὶ τράφοι!  
Κάθε σπαθιὰ φτερούγισμα, κάθε φωνὴ ξυπνήτρα!  
Πέφτει στὸ διάβα της ὁ ὀχθρὸς καὶ δέεται μὲ τὰ λύτρα,  
μ' αὐτὴ ἔχει διαμαντόσπαθο καὶ χούφτα ἀπὸ χρυσάφι!

Μπροστά! μπροστά! Στὸ διάβα σας ἡ θεία πνοὴ αναστήθη!  
Παρθένιος ὕμνος ἦτανε π' ἀκούστη στὸν ἀγέρα.  
'Αμωμος παιάνας ἄπλωσε κι ὥς μὲ τὸν ἥλιο ἐχύθη.  
θεϊκὲς Χαρὲς ὀργώσανε καὶ σπαίρανε τὰ στήθη.

Amsterdam 1968, 27; SOMMERSTEIN, A. H.: *Aeschylus' Eumenides*. Cambridge 1989, 174; WEST, M. L.: *Euripides' Orestes*. Warminster 1987, 205 note 319; and pursue Orestes (see Aeschylus' *Eumenides* 111–112: ἐκ μέσων ἀρκυστάτων, 131–133: ὄναρ διώκεις θῆρα, κλαγαίνεις δ' ἄπερ / κύων μέριμναν οὔ ποτ' ἐκλείπων πόνου; 326–327: ματῶν ἄγνισμα κύριον φόνου; 328: τῷ τεθυμένῳ; *Libation Bearers* 924: φύλαζαι μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας). For the important role of chase in Aeschylus' *Orestia*, see VIDAL-NAQUET, P.: Hunting and Sacrifice in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. In VERNANT, J.-P. – VIDAL-NAQUET, P. (eds): *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*. New York – Cambridge, Mass. 1988, 141–161, *passim*. Neoptolemus who is about to be killed in Euripides' *Andromache* 1140–1141 is likened with a dove seeing a hawk (ὅπως πελειάδες / ἱέρακ' ἰδοῦσαι ...).

<sup>59</sup> The identification of Dionysos with wine is generally expressed in the Dionysiac religion: see *Orphicorum Fragmenta* 216, see also GRUBE, G. M. A.: Dionysus in the Bacchae. *TAPhA* 66 (1935) 41, 53; DODDS, E. R.: *Euripides' Bacchae*. Oxford 1953, 100f., notes 284–5; HANDLY, E. W.: *The Dyskolos of Menander*. London 1965, 300f., 946f.; USSHER, R. G.: *Aristophanes' Ecclesiazusai*. Oxford 1973, 74 note 14. In Euripides' *Cyclops*, 519–520: Odysseus, giving the wine to Polyphemus, identifies it with Dionysos: Κύκλωψ, ἄκουσον: ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ Βακχίου / τοῦτου τρίβων εἴμ', ὃν πιεῖν ἔδωκά σοι ... Previously Odysseus told the Satyrs that he gave Polyphemus another cup knowing that wine would be his undoing and he would soon pay the penalty, 421–422: ἄλλην ἔδωκα κύλικα, γινώσκων ὅτι / τρώσει νιν οἶνος καὶ δίκην δώσει τάχα. And that Polyphemus falls asleep, overcome by Dionysus, 454: ... ὑπνώσῃ Βακχίου νικώμενος, ... This wine which Odysseus gives to Polyphemus to drink belongs to Maron, because Odysseus tells Silenus that “Maron, the god's own son gave me the drink”, 141: Μάρων μοι πῶμ' ἔδωκε, παῖς θεοῦ.

*Φανερωθήκαν οἱ θεοὶ μὲς στήν καθάρια ἡμέρα.  
Πνοὴ τοῦ Πανὸς σηκώθηκε καὶ στὸν ὄχθρὸν ἐχύθη.  
'Ο 'Απόλλωνας ἐτόξευεν ἀπ' τὸν παρθένο αἰθέρα...*

The dancing (chorus) flees from one top to another and sparkles... The one in the front (in the dance) changes speedily and falls by the bullet! He who is the first to come in (the dance) quickly throws the beautiful scarf away! O Mother Greece, your plains were delighted by the dancing choruses! Look how your youth acts and shines out of perspiration, moves like a wedding procession in the orchard in May!

Niote thrills, full of happiness like an Olympian deer! She is a goddess of youth, virgin Artemis, huntress of victory. How she is running out and flying where there are cliffs and stony lands! Every sword thrust is a hover (of wings), every sound is (a shout of) alertness! In her passage the enemy falls, a hostage for ransom, for she has a diamond sword and a golden hand.

On, on! In your passage the holly puff was resurrected! When a virgin hymn was about to be heard in the moving air. Immaculate paeon stretched and spilled with the sun rays. Divine graces plowed and sowed the breasts. The gods were manifested in this pure day. Whiff of Pan blew and submerged the enemy. Apollo unleashed his arrows from the virgin ether. You, Dithyramb, quickly wake up the immortals' breasts.

I myself throw the thyrsus on your feet, O Nike, goddess of clear victory! The spirit of Parnassus granted me a rich soul, that I may keep the horror of bakcheia in my mind, as if a sword were not hanging in its scabbard, and like my lucky blood on the quiet summits. But here, Dionysus, your absolute justice is about to come true, and the lie of Pentheus smashes on your rocks and here the dismembered wolves shriek among the teeth of lions.

My vigilant drunkenness foretells your terrible coming! A transparent night keeps me inside its soft darkness ... How can the vineyards perfume and your fruit that cannot be restrained! My meditations are starry. Longing for thee

overwhelms me. O Greece, your fruit is fresh, and  
it is your fruit indeed! Your purity is jubilant, as  
if it were a psalm of Orpheus.

Let my desire bear witness: Let it be, let me be the  
first who falls down!

(*Επίνικοι Α', Διθύραμβος* 60–94; trans. H. A. Darwish)

Sikelianos, too, focuses on the hunt and the chase, likening the enemy's soldiers to wolves howling from between lions' teeth. Therefore, we can say that both Horace's dithyrambic ode *carm.* 1. 37 and Sikelianos' poem *Dithyramb* are influenced by the dramatic treatment that stems from the Dionysiac element. Thus, Dionysius takes revenge upon his enemy by provoking his agent (the one filled with Bacchic spirit) to hunt and dismember him/her. At the same time, both poets use the dithyramb genre both as a song to the birth of Dionysus, and as a song of triumph that identifies the victor with Dionysus in his war against his enemy.

In conclusion, the observable similarities between the treatments of Horace and those of the two modern Greek poets permit the assumption that both modern poets have reutilized elements of ancient Greek poetry, in particular that of Alcaeus. The elements in question are manifest in a manner resembling that employed by Horace in some of his odes to reflect new and innovative poetic devices and motifs. The most important among such devices/motifs is the Epicurean-infused instructive monologue observable in odes that were inspired by the poems of Alcaeus enjoining the recipient to the simple enjoyment of life via the delights of the moment. Another, also seen in a number of Horace's odes, is the dithyrambic character with links to some tragic scenario of a political-national theme inspired by the poems of Alcaeus with Bacchic or political tendencies.

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