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A YOKE CONNECTING BASKETS: *ODES* 3.14, HERCULES, AND ITALIAN UNITY[1]

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte uenalem petiisse laurum
Caesar Hispana repetit Penatis
uictor ab ora.

unico gaudens mulier marito
prodeat iustis operata diuis,
et soror cari[2] ducis et decorae
supplice uitta

uirginum matres iuuenumque nuper
sospitum. uos, o pueri, et puellae
non[3] uirum expertae, male nominatis
parcite uerbis.

hic dies uere mihi festus atras
exigit curas; ego nec tumultum
nec mori per uim metuam tenente
Caesare terras.

i pete unguentum, puer, et coronas
et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit uagantem
fallere testa.

dic et argutae properet Neaerae
murreum nodo cohibere crinem;
si per inuisum mora ianitorem
fiet, abito.

lenit albescens animos capillus
litium et rixae cupidos proteruae;
non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuuenta
consule Planco.

After the manner of Hercules, o common people, Caesar, recently said to have sought a laurel at the cost of death, returns victorious from the Spanish shore to his household gods.

Let his wife, rejoicing in her matchless husband, come forth worshipping the just gods, and the dear leader's sister and, adorned with the suppliant's ribbon,

the mothers of girls and of young men recently saved. You, boys, and girls who have not known a husband, avoid ill-spoken words.

[1] The central idea of this paper was inspired by Alessandro Barchiesi, and encouraged by Nicholas Purcell, and I am grateful to both of them; Gregory Hutchinson was kind enough to point out that an attractive thesis did not in itself make a convincing argument, and Ed Bispham came to the rescue with exactly the evidence I needed. Matthew Leigh and John Penney have both helped me with aspects of the argument and presentation, and enlightened me in the process. None of these scholars, needless to say, shares responsibility for the shortcomings of what follows. The paper originated as a lecture to that most exacting and rewarding audience, the students of the JACT Latin Summer School.

[2] For arguments in support of the printed text, see n. 13 below.

[3] For discussion of this crux, see R. G. M. Nisbet, 'Some problems of text and interpretation in Horace *Odes* 3,14 (*Herculis Ritu*)', *PLLS* 4 (1983), 105–19, at 112–14.

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This day, for me truly festive, drives out black anxieties; I shall not fear upheaval or death by violence while Caesar governs the world.

Go, boy, and fetch perfumed oil, and garlands, and a cask of wine that recalls the Marsian War, if there is a jar anywhere that could evade the wandering Spartacus.

And tell clear-voiced Neaera to bind up her myrrh-coloured hair in a knot, and be quick about it; if there is any resistance from the unpleasant doorman, come away.

Greying hair softens spirits once eager for disputes and violent brawling: I would not have put up with this, hot with youth, when Plancus was consul.

Horace, *Odes* 3.14 boasts a resounding *incipit, Herculis ritu*, but its relevance to the poem it introduces is less evident than that initial impact might lead us to expect. Even within its own sentence the significance of this adverbial phrase is a matter of dispute. Up to the word *Hispana* in line 3 the point of comparison between Caesar and Hercules seems to be the achievement of glory at the price of death: in Hercules' case his deification on the pyre on Mount Oeta (and *ritu* can only reinforce the suggestion of religious honours), in Augustus' the death that he narrowly escaped while on campaign in Spain. But as the stanza continues we are obliged to revise our construing of the comparison. By the end of it we are reading Augustus as resembling Hercules not in his glorious death but in his triumphal return from Spain: Hercules' tenth labour involved his herding the cattle of the three-headed Geryon around the coast of Italy, a myth exploited elsewhere to celebrate Augustus' arrivals at Rome.[4]

The shift in the implication of this simile is subtle even by Horace's standards, and it is a case where ambiguity needs to be allowed to stand. '*Herculis ritu* belongs not to *petiisse* but to *repetit*, and commas should be placed after *ritu* and *laurum*', Nisbet believes,[5] but on what grounds would contemporary readers (even if they had commas) distinguish between these two options? The truth is surely that a reader cannot help construing *Herculis ritu* with *both* verbs in turn, and it is very much Horace's plan that they should. When the implications of Augustus' resemblance to Hercules change from pessimistic to optimistic, Horace is dramatizing in the reader's response to his poem the turbulent emotions that Romans had experienced (so Horace claimed, at least) over Augustus' fate in Spain. They thought that he was dead (like Hercules on Mount Oeta), but to their joy he is triumphantly alive (like Hercules returning with the oxen of Geryon), an emotional peripeteia vividly recreated by Horace in all of seventeen words. Romans may or may not have felt this way in actuality; but Horace does his best to ensure that they do so when they read *Odes* 3.14, and this is not the last time that Horace will manipulate his readers' responses in this way.

Richly meaningful as the expression *Herculis ritu* proves to be in the first stanza of 3.14, it has never been suggested that its contribution to the poem extends any further. This article will argue precisely that: the assimilation of Augustus and Hercules

[4] For a summary of recent work on Virgil's Hercules episode in *Aeneid* 8, and its allusions to Augustus' own self-fashioning as Hercules in his triple triumph of 29 B.C., see Ll. Morgan, 'Assimilation and civil war: Hercules and Cacus (*Aen.* 8.185–267)', in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (London, 1998), 175–97. The hint of imminent deification (for Hercules and Augustus) is not lost entirely as the simile is reconstrued. M. Leigh, 'Founts of identity—the thirst of Hercules and the greater Greek world', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 10 (2000), 125–38, at 130–1, cites Diodorus (4.24.2) for a beautiful interpretation of rock indentations in the vicinity of his native city of Agyrium in Sicily. They were the footprints of Hercules and his cattle, and evidence that he was turning into a god, the weight required to leave an impression in rock ('as if in wax') being a sign of his incipient divinity. At Agyrium, Rome, and elsewhere, of course, the roaming Hercules was already rewarded with religious honours.

[5] Nisbet (n. 3), 106–7.

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established at the outset is designed to persist in the reader's mind throughout the poem, but the dimension of the cult of Hercules most in play in 3.14 is one that has been inadequately appreciated in scholarship on Hercules in Latin literature, although it is familiar enough to historians and archaeologists. This Hercules is the promoter and emblem of cohesion and integration within the diverse populations of the Italian peninsula, a god of community. To that end, however, the peculiar emphases of this poem need first to be analysed in more detail.

ODES 3.14: THE PUBLIC BECOMES PRIVATE

Augustus' return to Rome in 24 B.C. was marked by energetic attempts on his part to define it as a turning point.[6] Augustus used the (in truth, indecisive) campaign against the Cantabri as a pretext to close the shrine of Janus again, and also terminated his autobiography at this point (Suet. *Aug.* 85.1), as if a significant chapter in his life had indeed now closed.[7] *Odes* 3.14 is clearly related to this exercise, but it approaches its political messages obliquely. Both sides of this notoriously disunited poem[8] share a peculiar perspective. Both in the public celebration of Augustus' return from Spain, which fills the first three stanzas, and in Horace's arrangements for a private celebration, which occupy the last three, momentous public events are consistently refracted through a domestic frame. This is obvious enough in the second half of the poem, where cataclysmic occurrences in recent history—the Social War (18), Spartacus' rebellion (19), and the Battle of Philippi (28)—are alluded to in details of Horace's party preparations, the vintage of the wine to be served and the attitude the slave is to take should Neaera prove resistant to Horace's invitation. But in the first (ostensibly public) half of the poem also Augustus' triumphal return is presented in strikingly intimate terms. It is to his home (*Penatis*, 3), rather than to the city of Rome, that Augustus is said to be heading, and the reception committee as Horace presents it to us is constituted primarily by the emperor's own immediate family, the wife and sister who occupy the second stanza.[9] Even when Livia and Octavia are supplemented by figures representing the wider population of Rome in the third stanza, the crowd consists of sections of society—*matres, pueri*, and *puellae*—whose natural domain is the domestic realm. The bold apostrophe of line 1, *o plebs*, seems to represent a similar compromise between public and private. By means of this expression, as Williams writes,[10] 'the poet has ventured to suggest that the whole populace is gathered' to welcome Augustus. But the strategy is double-edged: either *o plebs* drags personal lyric into the public realm, or else the strange collective apostrophe squeezes the Roman people into the space generally occupied by an individual lyric addressee, in which case it is better to see it as a case of the public rendered intimate. Everyone is present, but everyone is also on familiar terms.[11]

[6] See R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), 333–6 for the contemporary situation, and the anxieties that underlay such ostensibly confident assertions of stability as 3.14.

[7] See J. M. Carter, *Suetonius: Divus Augustus* (London, 1982) *ad* 85.1 for the pretence of retirement which Augustus adopted after the return from Spain, an important determinant of the insistently domestic focus of this poem.

[8] See p. 202 below.

[9] One effect of the emphasis on domestic harmony may be to obviate any comparison with the returning Hercules of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, esp. 205–24 and 634–62.

[10] G. Williams, *The Third Book Of Horace's Odes* (Oxford, 1969), 92.

[11] This is not to exhaust the significance of this odd expression, on which see E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), 289 and n. 1. *Plebs* denotes the common people, strictly speaking, and thus introduces a suggestion of integration across social classes, the bridging of high and

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Once noted, this interest in the impact of great events on the everyday realm is suddenly everywhere in 3.14. In the bridge stanza (13–16) between the first 'public' and second 'private' halves of the poem, for example, the movement from the lyric *ego* to the cosmic state of affairs that will remove fear from that individual, *tenente/Caesare terras*, encapsulates the architecture of this poem: totality perceived and experienced at a personal level.[12] Something similar is happening in *cari ducis* at line 7, text always permitting.[13] This collocation is potentially highly incongruous, *dux* being a term from public discourse and *carus* an expression of intimacy.[14] But in that very tension it captures again a central dynamic of the poem. Augustus is being defined as a public and private figure simultaneously, or rather, in Augustus that polarity is being presented as redundant. 'Dear leader' encourages us to feel about the head of state as we feel about our kith and kin. It is an attempt to familiarize the emperor, render him an object of affection, and modern readers are apt to find it as objectionable as comparable attempts to conflate public and private loyalties by, for instance, a contemporary Dear Leader, Kim Jong-il of North Korea.[15] But we are witnessing here a crucial development in the definition of the emperor and his relation to his Roman subjects. Horace, like Augustus himself (there is an analogy here with the emperor's attempt to characterize his supremacy in terms of *auctoritas* rather than *potestas, RG* 34.3), is negotiating the terms of loyalty that will apply between the people and this new form of authority. Specifically he is helping to develop the concept of the royal family, whose relation to the rest of the polity takes the form of an extension of the emotional ties that apply within the family.

If Horace is representing Rome as an extended family, the main effect of that strategy is to promote community between people, create a sense of fellow-feeling and cohesion, efface distinctions. Thus in contemporary North Korea the encouragement of an emotional bond between the citizens and head of state is part and parcel of the ruling ideology of *juche*, 'self-reliance': the internal cohesion of the People's Republic is the flipside of its neurotically antagonistic stance towards the outside world. The Hercules of the Italian cycle is as capable as Augustus of spanning the public and private spheres, an individual (often a guest, or a lover) who brings benefits to entire communities, and ultimately to the whole world.[16] But I

low encapsulated in the terms that bracket the first line, *Herculis . . . plebs.* As this article will go on to argue, a major function of the cult of Hercules was the integration of otherwise disparate groups, but in this connection it is interesting to note the emphasis on the common people (ὁ δῆμος as opposed to οἱ βασιλεῖς) which we find in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' aetiology of the celebrations at the Ara Maxima (*Ant. Rom.* 1.40.3). Cf. H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (London, 1981), 173: 'Hercules gives the impression of having been rather a "popular" deity with an appeal to the individual man.' Hercules' inclusiveness did have its limits, however: women (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 60; Prop. 4.9.69), other gods, dogs (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 90) and flies (Plin. *HN* 10.79) were all unwelcome at the rites at the Ara Maxima, and the ban on women is of course an important stimulus for Propertius' version of the story: W. S. Anderson, '*Hercules exclusus*: Propertius, IV, 9', *AJPh* 85 (1964), 1–12.

[12] Cf. Fraenkel (n. 11), 290: 'The thought, while still dwelling on the *res publica populi Romani*, is gliding into the sphere of the *res privata* of the poet.'

[13] Nisbet (n. 3), 110–11.

[14] Ibid.: '*cari ducis* is unexpected by comparison, as the adjective and the noun belong to different spheres, yet the very incongruity adds piquancy.'

[15] In his representation of North Korea as an extended family, as also in the reverence displayed towards his dead father Kim Il-sung, who remains the head of state a decade after his death, Kim is advertising his regime's affinities with traditional Confucian morality, which places emphasis on filial piety and sees political authority as an extension of the power of the paterfamilias. Augustus would recognize the strategy.

[16] See n. 39 below.

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want to argue that if we are to appreciate the full impact of *Herculis ritu*, and its point of connection with the theme of integration under consideration here, we need to be aware of a dimension of the hero especially prominent in his Italian cult. The story of Hercules' travels around the coast of Italy played an important part in the mythical history of Rome and many other cities in the Italian peninsula, Virgil's narrative in *Aeneid* 8 being only the most familiar. Interpretations of the latter passage, like interpretations of the expression *Herculis ritu* in Horace's poem, rightly emphasize Hercules' role as the conquering hero returning in triumph. Augustus himself worked to promote just such an association of *triumphator* and Hercules, arranging his triple triumph in 29 B.C. to follow immediately after the festival of Hercules at the Ara Maxima on 12 August, which commemorated Hercules' arrival at Rome and slaying of Cacus.[17] Now in the process of defeating Cacus, Hercules bestowed peace and order on early Rome, and already intrinsic to his status as *triumphator* is an implication, in both the *Aeneid* and 3.14, that the Hercules-like Augustus will bring order on his return. But the nature of the Herculean order envisaged in 3.14, and potentially also in the *Aeneid* and in the celebrations of 29 B.C., can be further refined. In Italy especially, it seems, the major benefit that Hercules was thought to have bestowed on the diverse peoples through whom he passed was *unity*.

HERCULES: ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL

The instructions for his celebration that Horace gives to his slave in the last three stanzas of 3.14 are delivered against the backdrop of a series of crises that had afflicted the Roman state over the preceding seventy years. As Fraenkel nicely puts it, 'The thunderstorm is over, *tenente Caesare terras*, but you still see here and there the horizon kindled by lightning.'[18] Horace specifies a cask of wine which predates the Social War (18: conventionally dated 91–87 B.C.), if any happen to have evaded the depredations of Spartacus in 73–1 B.C. (19–20). Finally and most powerfully, its impact increased by its placement, Horace alludes to the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. (*consule Planco*, 28), the most brutal chapter of the whole civil wars, in the process of explaining why, with advancing age, he is less inclined to provoke a fight with Neaera's janitor. At Philippi, incidentally, we have another conflation of the public and private: the battle represented the nadir both for Rome and for the individual Q. Horatius Flaccus, and in respect of his disastrous involvement in the Philippi campaign Horace's life is once again, as in the fourth stanza, a microcosm of the Roman world.[19]

In a sense, then, the second half of 3.14 involves an expansion in the poem's outlook at the same time as it focuses in on Horace's private party. While stanzas 1–3 presented us with a Rome-wide ceremony that somehow retained a domestic character, stanzas 5–7 give us an intimate celebration that manages to encompass a much broader swathe of territory. Italy is an important emphasis: Horace's first two

[17] K. W. Gransden, *Virgil, Aeneid Book VIII* (Cambridge, 1976), 16.

[18] Fraenkel (n. 11), 290.

[19] Ibid.: 'It is with a turning-point in the recent history of the *res publica* that the "private" part of the ode concludes.' Horace has ensured his readers' familiarity with his involvement at Philippi at *Odes* 2.7.9–10 and 3.4.26; 2.7 anticipates many of the moves of 3.14. The Social War may also have had a special relevance for Horace, a native of Venusia, the only Latin colony willingly to join the rebels: see G. Williams, '*Libertino Patre Natus*: true or false?', in S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Homage to Horace: A Bimillenary Celebration* (Oxford, 1995), 296–313.

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examples of past upheaval,[20] the Social War and the rising of Spartacus, are Italian (rather than more narrowly Roman) catastrophes. It is thus conflict damaging to the internal fabric of the state that is at issue here, but that state is understood to be constituted by the whole of Italy. And as a restorer of order, by implication, in this wider territory, and the settler of differences between its inhabitants, the Augustus of 3.14 presents intriguing parallels to the Hercules described in a remarkable passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The context is his treatment, explicitly indebted to Hellanicus of Lesbos, of the myth on which all the Italian legends of Hercules ultimately hang, his herding of the cattle of Geryon around the Italian littoral:

Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ὁ Λέσβιός φησιν Ἡρακλέα τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς ἀπελαύνοντα εἰς Ἄργος, ἐπειδή τις αὐτῷ δάμαλις ἀποσκιρτήσας τῆς ἀγέλης ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐόντι ἤδη φεύγων διῆρε τὴν ἀκτὴν καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ διανηξάμενος πόρον τῆς θαλάττης εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφίκετο, ἐρόμενον ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθ' οὓς ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο διώκων τὸν δάμαλιν, εἴ πή τις αὐτὸν ἑωρακὼς εἴη, τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων Ἑλλάδος μὲν γλώττης ὀλίγα συνιέντων, τῇ δὲ πατρίῳ φωνῇ κατὰ τὰς μηνύσεις τοῦ ζῴου καλούντων τὸν δάμαλιν οὐίτουλον, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν λέγεται, ἐπὶ τοῦ ζῴου τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαι πᾶσαν ὅσην ὁ δάμαλις διῆλθεν Οὐιτουλίαν.

(*Ant. Rom.* 1.35.2 = Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 111 = fr. 111 Fowler; cf. Varro, *Rust.* 2.5.)

But Hellanicus of Lesbos says that when Hercules was driving the cattle of Geryon to Argos a calf escaped from the herd, while he was by now travelling through Italy, and in its flight traversed the whole coast and, swimming over the strait of sea in between, reached Sicily. Hercules constantly enquired of the inhabitants wherever he came as he pursued the calf if anyone had seen it anywhere, and when the people there, who knew little of the Greek tongue, called the calf *uitulus* (as it is still called) in their native language when indicating the animal, he named the whole country that the calf had crossed *Vitulia*, after the animal.

The passage in question takes the form of a rationalization of this myth of Hercules' droving:

ὁ δ' ἀληθέστερος, ᾧ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διηγησαμένων ἐχρήσαντο, τοιόσδε· ὡς στρατηλάτης γενόμενος ἁπάντων κράτιστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως πολλῆς ἡγούμενος ἅπασαν ἐπῆλθε τὴν ἐντὸς Ὠκεανοῦ, καταλύων μὲν εἴ τις εἴη τυραννὶς βαρεῖα καὶ λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἢ πόλις ὑβρίζουσα καὶ λωβωμένη τὰς πέλας ἢ ἡγεμονία ἀνθρώπων ἀνημέρῳ διαίτῃ καὶ ξενοκτονίαις ἀθεμίτοις χρωμένων, καθιστὰς δὲ νομίμους βασιλείας καὶ σωφρονικὰ πολιτεύματα καὶ βίων ἤθη φιλάνθρωπα καὶ κοινοπαθῆ· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἕλλησί τε βαρᾶ βάρους συγκεραννύμενος καὶ θαλαττίοις ἠπειρώτας, οἳ τέως ἀπίστους καὶ ἀσυναλλάκτους εἶχον ὁμιλίας, ἐρήμῳ τε γῆ πόλεις ἐνιδρυόμενος καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐκτρέπων ἐπικλύζοντας πεδία καὶ τρίβους ἐκτέμνων ἀβάτοις ὄρεσι καὶ τἆλλα μηχανώμενος, ὡς ἅπασα γῆ καὶ θάλαττα κοινὴ ταῖς ἁπάντων χρείαις γενήσοιτο. (1.41.1)

The more accurate account, which has been adopted by many of those who have described his deeds in the form of history, is as follows: it was as the greatest general of his age that Hercules, leading a large force, marched through all the country that lies this side of the Ocean, destroying any dictatorships that were oppressive and distressing to their subjects, or cities that harmed or mistreated their neighbours, or gangs of men living a savage life and indulging in lawless murder of strangers, and establishing law-abiding monarchies, well-ordered states, and sociable and congenial ways of life. Furthermore, he mixed together barbarians with Greeks and inlanders with coast-dwellers, people whose dealings with each other had hitherto been distrustful and standoffish. He also built cities in deserted country and diverted rivers that flooded the plains, cut roads through impassable mountains, and did everything else which might ensure that all the land and sea be available for the use of all men.

This Hercules is above all a force for integration and unification. He pacifies those who threaten inter-communal conflict, promotes sociability, removes conflict between ruler and ruled, blends hitherto hostile ethnic and geographical factions,

[20] *Duelli* at 18 is a beautiful form to combine with *memorem*, the simple use of the archaic form retrojecting the event it denotes to a time (all but) out of mind.

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and makes all resources common to all men. The relevance of such a Hercules to the concerns of *Odes* 3.14—a poem all about community and interdependence—is clear enough. But in Dionysius' account his benign influence extends beyond Italy: his scope is ἅπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ὠκεανοῦ, even if Dionysius' attention at this point is clearly on Italy. Can we find evidence that Hercules fulfilled the function of unifier in a more specifically Italian context?

It seems so. Hercules was, as Dionysius also informs us, an enormously popular deity across the Italian peninsula: σπανίως ἂν εὕροι τις Ἰταλίας χώρον ἔνθα μὴ τυγχάνει τιμώμενος ὁ θεός (*Ant. Rom.* 1.40.6). His symbolic force in an Italian context was inevitably complex, but certain relevant themes recur. It is well recognized, for example, that the myths of Hercules' passage around the Mediterranean littoral reflect aspects of the colonial experience. Leigh discovers in the stories of Hercules' liaisons with various local princesses a message of 'friendly union between Greek and native',[21] and the role of the deity as a promoter of post-colonial harmony between native and interloper is illustrated for north-west Sicily by Giangiulio,[22] and further afield by Plácido.[23] The narrative of Hercules' itinerary, the outline of which had presumably been established in Stesichorus' *Geryoneïs*,[24] had the advantage of being open to supplementation should any city along the route wish to stake a claim: a marginal community like Patavium, for example, could, by virtue of its location along Hercules' legendary route, assert its membership of the Mediterranean community, boasting an oracle of Geryon[25] and hot springs associated by legend with the travel-weary Hercules.[26]

The dominant mode of contact between Greeks and indigenous peoples, coast and hinterland, was of course trade, and it is primarily in his role as a god of mercantile exchange, with special responsibility for livestock and salt, that Hercules penetrates beyond the Greek colonies and their immediate hinterlands, and right into the Italian interior. Coarelli summarizes the character of this inland Hercules in connection with the temple of Hercules that dominated the commercial centre of the Latin colony at Alba Fucens:[27]

> nell'ambito dei grandi mercati la divinità è sempre presente come garante e intermediaria. Il culto di Ercole, poi, è strettamente connesso con la funzione mercantile, particolarmente nella zona Sabellica, dove la divinità rivestiva la funzione di protettore delle greggi e dei pastori.

[21] Leigh (n. 4), 127.

[22] M. Giangiulio, 'Greci e non-Greci in Sicilia alla luce dei culti e delle legende di Eracle', in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nella società antiche. Atti del convegno di Cortona (24–30 Maggio 1981)* (Pisa and Rome, 1983), 785–845. Cf. id., 'La dedica ad Eracle di Nicomaco (*IG. XIV* 652). Un'iscrizione arcaica di Lucania ed i rapporti fra Greci ed indigeni nell'entroterra di Metaponto', in A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Ercole in Occidente. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Trento, 7 Marzo 1990* (Trento, 1993), 29–48, for a similar argument relating to Lucania.

[23] D. Plácido, 'Le vie di Ercole nell'estremo Occidente', in Mastrocinque (n. 22), 63–80.

[24] Leigh (n. 4), 126–7. For a general account of the poem, see D.L. Page, 'Stesichorus: *The Geryoneïs*', *JHS* 93 (1973), 138–54; and for the fragments M. Davies, *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum fragmenta* 1. *Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus* (Oxford, 1991), 154–75.

[25] The worship of Geryon must obliquely reflect pre-Greek cultic practices: Leigh (n. 4), 133, 'a local Venetic deity is being redefined as Geryon'; cf. Giangiulio (n. 22, 1983), 838 on the origins of the cult of Geryon at Agyrium in Sicily.

[26] Leigh (n. 4), 129–30.

[27] F. Coarelli, in F. Coarelli and A. La Regina, *Abruzzo—Molise. Guide archeologiche Laterza 9* (Bari and Rome, 1984), 87.

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Van Wonterghem has investigated the prevalence of the cult amongst the pastoral, upland communities of the Paeligni, in the vicinity of Sulmo,[28] and notes in particular the association of the god with the network of drove roads along which cattle or sheep were herded between their summer pastures in the highlands of the Sabini, Vestini, Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Praetuttii, and Samnites, and their winter pastures in Apulia, Campania, and coastal Lucania. The material evidence reported by van Wonterghem proves the enormous popularity of Hercules in the territory of the Paeligni, and this can be paralleled in Samnium and among the Pentri and Frentani,[29] and in the *Ager Praetuttianus.*[30] And it is the drove roads that provide the focus for his cult. 'These transhumance paths,' van Wonterghem describes,[31] 'were lined with sanctuaries or shrines where Hercules was worshipped and invoked as protector of the herds.' Transhumance is a practice that repays attention: we find in Varro suggestions both of the remarkable distances it involved and its ideological significance. At *Rust.* 2.9.6 Atticus tells a familiar story about the homing instincts of animals, but in the context of the herding of sheep from *Umbria ultima* down to 'the Metapontine pastures and the emporium at Heraclea' (a suggestive destination indeed) in Lucania. Some sheepdogs, sold along with their sheep in the south of Italy and hence separated from their masters, managed to find their way back to them in Umbria a few days later, retracing a journey of some three hundred miles across Italy. At 2.2.9 Varro, speaking this time *in propria persona*, deploys a memorable image to convey the cohesive power of this system of transhumance and the network of drove roads on which it depended: 'I myself had flocks that wintered in Apulia and summered in the mountains of Reate, these two distant pastures being connected by public drove roads (*calles publicae*) as a pair of baskets is held together by the yoke (*ut iugum continet sirpiculos*).'[32] The notion of the *calles publicae* as a catalyst for unification is parallel to the power that might be attributed to the network of *uiae publicae* which the *calles* shadowed. When Statius characterizes the impact of the Via Domitiana as a case of 'bringing the home of the Euboean Sibyl, the inlets of Gaurus and steaming Baiae close to the Seven Hills' (*Silv.* 4.3.24–6), he is reflecting official representations of the benefits of road building: a surviving inscription records formal thanks to Domitian from the town of Puteoli, *indulgentia maximi diuinique principis urbi eius admota*, 'by the kindness of the greatest and divine leader brought close to his city'.[33] Hercules' presence along the drove roads as guarantor

[28] F. van Wonterghem, 'Le culte d'Hercule chez les Paeligni: documents anciens et nouveaux', *Antiquité Classique* 42 (1973), 36–48; cf. (in more detail) id., *Superaequum, Corfinium, Sulmo*, Forma Italiae 4.1 (Florence, 1984), 240–53 on the monumental sanctuary of Hercules Curinus at Monte Morrone, located on the drove road connecting Apulia and the Sabine highlands and in the vicinity of a number of sources of water (252–3). It follows naturally that 'Ercole era qui probabilmente venerato come protettore delle greggi.'

[29] E. T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge, 1967), 170–1; A. Di Niro, *Il culto di Ercole tra I Sanniti, Pentri e Frentani*, Documenti di Antichità italiche e romane 9 (Campobasso, 1977), esp. 9: 'Non c'è dubbio che tra le tante divinità del pantheon italico, Ercole è quella più cara alla religiosità sabellica e quella che ha lasciato più forte impronta del proprio culto.'

[30] M. P. Guidobaldi, 'Transformations and continuities in a conquered territory: the case of the *Ager Praetuttianus*', in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (edd.), *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford, 2001), 85–90, at 89.

[31] Van Wonterghem (n. 28), 46.

[32] For a good representation of a *iugum* balancing two *sirpiculi*, albeit in this instance wielded by a pygmy, see *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici IX (Regio IX Parte II)* (Rome, 1999), 504–9, figs 34–6, 38, and 40–1.

[33] K. M. Coleman, *Statius: Silvae IV* (Oxford, 1988), 110; *AE* (1973), 137 = (1941), 73.

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of the commerce they facilitated makes of him also a catalyst for communication and exchange between disparate peoples and places, the same role in essence as he fulfilled at the interface of Greek colonists and indigenous peoples along the Italian and Sicilian littoral, but now transplanted into the very middle of the Italian peninsula.

The connection between this Hercules of the transhumance network and the Roman Hercules of the Ara Maxima with whom Horace is most concerned may appear tenuous, but is actually intimate. The remarkable temple that stood at the heart of the colony of Alba Fucens was dedicated to Hercules Salarius, the god in his aspect of protector in the trade in salt between coast and inland areas. Salt is of course an essential commodity to any community, and the routes along which salt was transported in Italy were consequently crucial arteries of exchange. The trade in livestock and the trade in salt were in fact inalienable activities,[34] partly no doubt because salt is indispensable in the movement of livestock, and the sanctuary at Alba was contiguous both to the Via Valeria and to important transhumance tracks. Hercules Salarius at Alba was thus literally connected to the cult of Hercules at Rome, but figuratively as well: for the Forum Boarium in which the Ara Maxima was located could also claim a strong association with salt, indeed drew its origins from the trade. It was here that one of Rome's oldest roads terminated, the Via Salaria, so called *quoniam illa salem in Sabinos portari conuenerat* (Plin. *HN* 31.89), and this leads Coarelli to conclude that the Forum Boarium was originally 'luogo di concentrazione e di deposito del prezioso sale' collected at the mouths of the Tiber before export along the Via Salaria to Cures, Reate, and the communities of the central Apennines, a function that by a natural process of evolution also came to encompass cattle trading.[35] Fulfilling the role of protector of this emporium, just as in the later foundation of Alba Fucens, was a deity later identified with Hercules, though originally perhaps identical with another mythical denizen of the place, Cacus: Solinus (1.8) suggestively locates Cacus' home in the Salinae, 'Salt-pans', the southerly part of the Forum Boarium up against the lowest slopes of the Aventine, site of the ruined cave that Virgil also (*Aen.* 8.190–97) associates with Cacus.

There may be another point of connection between Hercules Salarius and the deity of the Forum Boarium: it has been suggested that the famous statue of Hercules unearthed at Alba Fucens in 1960, now in the Museo Nazionale di Antichità in Chieti, was a replica of the statue at the Ara Maxima.[36] Be that as it may, what is not in doubt is that the cult of Hercules at Alba was, in Torelli's phrase, 'functionally homologous' to the Roman cult, centred on a god who protected and promoted commerce and exchange, in salt and livestock primarily, between communities across the Italian peninsula.

As such a patron of communication between diverse locations and peoples, Hercules is also an exceptionally appropriate presence behind the meeting of Trojan and Arcadian in Book 8 of the *Aeneid.* In this book the cult of Hercules provides a context for the paradoxical *societas* of Trojan and Greek, and the aetiological myth of the cult, the defeat of Cacus, operates as a paradigm for the struggle between Trojans and Latins which will occupy the rest of the poem. The ultimate upshot of this

[34] M. Torelli, 'Gli aromi e il sale. Afrodite ed Eracle nell'*emporia* arcaica dell' Italia', in Mastrocinque (n. 22), 91–117, at 106–7; E. Bispham, 'Mimic? A case study in early colonization', in E. Herring and K. Lomas (edd.), *The Emergence of State Identities in Italy in the First Millennium B.C.*, Accordia Specialist Studies on Italy 8 (London, 2000), 157–86, at 160.

[35] F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario dalle origine alla fine della repubblica* (Rome, 1988), 109–13.

[36] Torelli (n. 34), 111–14.

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struggle will be, not coincidentally, the *integration* of Trojans and Latins in an all-powerful *Italian* race (*Aen.* 12.835–9):

> commixti corpore tantum
> subsident Teucri. morem ritusque sacrorum
> adiciam faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos.
> hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget
> supra homines, supra ire deos pietate uidebis ...

Mingled in body only, the Trojans will be submerged. I shall give them usage and rituals of worship and I shall make them all Latins of one tongue. Hence will rise a race mingled from Ausonian blood, and you will see it surpass men and gods in devotion ...

In Virgil's account Evander rounds off his narrative of Cacus' defeat by Hercules with an exhortation to the listening Trojans to drink in honour of the deity (273–5), a detail of which has exercised commentators since antiquity:

> quare agite, o iuuenes, tantarum in munere laudum
> cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris,
> communemque uocate deum et date uina uolentes.

Come then, young men, in honour of such great achievements, wreathe your hair with leaves and hold out wine cups in your right hands; and invoke the common god and offer wine with a will.

Hercules' epithet here, *communis*, has seemed 'difficult', to use Feeney's term,[37] and Servius' portmanteau of possible explanations is eloquent proof that this was also the case in Late Antiquity. But it is transparent enough in the light of the evidence presented above. Fordyce suggests that 'Hercules has become *communis* to Evander's people and the Trojans by virtue of the new alliance', which is part of the truth, but Hercules' capacity to foster community applies far beyond the specificities of the Arcadian–Trojan alliance. *Communemque ... deum* is a marked expression, as Gransden's subtle comment on the prosody of 275 shows:[38] and if the text pauses over it, that is because it denotes an essential function of this deity, not just a role he happens coincidentally to play in *Aeneid* 8: *communis deus*, 'the god who is god for everyone'.[39]

[37] D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1991), 159.

[38] Gransden (n. 17), *ad* 273–5: 'The metrical structure of 275 is unusual: there are weak caesuras in the second and third feet while in the fourth the elision in *deum et date* carries the line through virtually without further pause.' Another analysis of the effect (Gregory Hutchinson, personal communication) sees the common scheme of elision preceding *et* before a caesura deferred from the third to the fourth foot, giving the whole phrase *communemque uocate deum* a sense of extension.

[39] There is nevertheless some truth to the gloss of Servius *auctus*: *humanum, beneficum, φιλάνθρωπον: unde et communes homines dicimus.* If *communis* can be taken in the sense of 'sociable' (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.41.1), Virgil's Hercules finds a reflection in an intriguing nexus linking the public feasts which were a feature of the cult at the Ara Maxima (and are the context of this description of the god in *Aeneid* 8), the cult statue from Alba Fucens, and Horace's poem. The feasts were funded by a tithe paid by merchants and public figures such as Crassus (Plut. *Crass.* 2.2), and Hercules himself symbolically partook of them: see Macrob. *Saturn.* 1.10.15 and Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 1.20.4 for the myth of the game of dice between the god and the *aedituus* of Hercules' shrine, and the *cena* and assignation with Acca Larentia that Hercules won; and Festus 298L (s.v. *pollucere*) for the indiscriminate quality of food offerings to Hercules: *Herculi autem omnia esculenta, posculenta.* Hercules' own *scyphus* (Virgil's *sacer scyphus*, 278) had some role in the rituals (Servius ad loc.). The cult image from Alba Fucens represents just such a convivial deity, garlanded and cup in hand—Torelli (n. 34), 112–13—and he has a lot in common also with the *carus dux* of the

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There is certainly an easy analogy to be made between Hercules' role as divine overseer of transhumance routes and Rome's status as the guarantor of such trade by virtue of its dominance of the Italian peninsula: the *calles publicae* that disregarded tribal and linguistic boundaries (to the dismay of sheepdogs) were both the result and the symbol of Roman domination of the Italian peninsula: a politically unified Italy was a prerequisite of the system.[40] At Alba Fucens, a foundation which loudly advertised Rome's presence in the uplands of central Italy, the patterns of exchange overseen by Hercules Salarius are best understood in the context of Roman colonization. Hercules here operated as mediator between the Latin colony and the indigenous peoples of its hinterland,[41] just as earlier he had mediated between Greek coastal colonies and their neighbours. Bispham pursues the Roman colonial associations of Hercules further, arguing that the prominence of the god in colonial foundations of the Middle Republic suggests his capacity to bear 'a number of messages about what the Romans were doing in Italy, and what their colonies stood for'—Hercules' Italian wandering becoming in effect 'a charter myth for Roman conquest and colonization' of the Italian peninsula, the integration of Italy under Rome's tutelage.

But such Roman appropriation of the Italian Hercules did not, apparently, go uncontested. Some of the most striking allusions to Hercules' cattle-droving originate not among the Romans but in the coinage minted by the Italian rebels who initiated the uprising against Rome known as the Social, Italian, or Marsian War. From their capital at Corfinium, renamed Italica, the rebels issued coins carrying images that bespoke, for the first time, a developed Italian nationalism.[42] The coins frequently feature the name *Italia* or its Oscan equivalent **Víteliú**, often in connection with a wreathed female figure whom Pobjoy plausibly interprets as a personification of a state called 'Italy': in which case, 'these are the earliest surviving images of any sort which we can identify as representing *Italia.*'[43] Also prominent on the coinage, and regularly associated with the inscription *Italia* or **Víteliú**, is the image of the bull, most arrestingly in scenes of a sexual assault[44] by an Italian bull on a Roman wolf. The bull clearly exerted a special significance for the Italian rebels, and the sources of the symbolism were no doubt multiple. But Pobjoy must be right to see in the imagery a reflection of contemporary theories deriving the name *Italia* from *uitulus*, 'calf', an etymology which (if we can postulate an Oscan word resembling Latin *uitulus* and Umbrian *vitlu*)[45] works even better in Oscan, or alternatively from an alleged Greek word ἰταλός.[46] One explanation (which Varro, *Rust.*

first half of 3.14, and Horace himself in the second. Hercules is a figure capable of bridging the gap between an act of cosmic pacification and a party, then, which is the same as saying between epic and lyric, and in general the conviviality of the god of the Ara Maxima offers some precedent for the thirsty, hungry, amorous, in a word 'comic', Hercules of Propertius 4.9, who may seem proportionately less anomalous, or subversive.

[40] M. Corbier, 'La transhumance entre le Samnium et l'Apulie: continuités entre l'époque républicaine et l'époque impériale', in *La Romanisation du Samnium aux II^e et I^er siècles av. J.-C.* (Naples, 1991), 149–76, esp. 161.

[41] Mario Torelli, *Tota Italia: Essays in the Cultural Formation of Roman Italy* (Oxford, 1999), 39.

[42] For an excellent discussion of the coinage and its iconography, see M. Pobjoy, 'The first *Italia*', in Herring and Lomas (n. 34), 187–211, at 198–205.

[43] Ibid. 200.

[44] Ibid. 203–4.

[45] J. Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen* (Heidelberg, 2000), 859–60.

[46] R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (Leeds, 1991), s.v. *Italia.*

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2.5.3 attributes to Timaeus)[47] is that Italy is particularly rich in this commodity, but the other, as we have seen,[48] derives the very *name* of this territory, when conceived of as a unit, from the activities of Hercules. As Pobjoy concludes, 'it is scarcely credible that the etymology was not in the thoughts of those who designed the coinage': Hercules' herding of the cattle of Geryon could thus apparently function as nothing less than the foundational myth of a unified Italy-wide polity.

What matters for an interpretation of *Odes* 3.14, however, is that wherever Hercules is found in Italy, whether along the drove roads of the Paeligni or at the Ara Maxima in Rome, or at the interface of Greek and native in the south, or in the rebellious cabals of Corfinium, he is operating as a force for Italian integration. Dionysius' presentation of the god as a bringer of unity is thus fully supported by the evidence for his Italian cult. In 3.14 Hercules plays many roles, and Augustus resembles him in many respects, as *triumphator*, as someone (contrary to report) in robust physical health,[49] as a future recipient of deification, as a bringer of peace and order. But I would argue that Hercules' most active role in this poem is the one we have been investigating here, the unifier of the Italian peoples; and Augustus' most important point of comparison with the hero is the cohesion that *he* will bestow, the guarantee he will bring that the division and upheaval which characterized recent Italian history—the conflicts of the Social War, the Spartacan rebellion, and, above all, Philippi—are at an end.

As the promoter of a specifically Italian unity, this Hercules obviously chimes with an acknowledged emphasis of Augustan ideology, the integration of Italy into the Roman polity.[50] And I have suggested that Horace's poem is equally in harmony with Augustus in its promotion of a concept of the Royal Family, a domestic unit that Horace wants us to understand as encompassing symbolically the *whole* community: everyone to whom Augustus is *dux* is encouraged to consider him *carus*. Later in the poem, explicitly in stanza 4 and by implication in stanzas 5–7, Horace's private comfort is shown to be contingent upon the huge processes initiated by Augustus. *Integration* is again the watchword here. The private and the public are one, is the message of 3.14; we are all engaged in the same project; or to put it more colloquially still, Italy under the aegis of Augustus is one big, happy family.

POETIC AND POLITICAL UNITY

But poems demand unity as much as polities, or so at any rate Horace has it: *denique sit quiduis, simplex dumtaxat et unum* (*Ars P.* 23).[51] Hercules, the hero who heals

[47] =Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 42. Cf. 2.1.9, *denique non Italia a uitulis, ut scribit Piso*, 'Finally, is not Italy named from *uituli*, as [L. Calpurnius] Piso [Frugi] writes?' (=fr. 1 Peter).

[48] Page 195 above.

[49] See the explanation of the iconography of Hercules (most famously the 'Farnese Hercules') in the Baths of Caracalla in J. Delaine, *The Baths of Caracalla: A Study in the Design, Construction, and Economics of Large-scale Building Projects in Imperial Rome, JRA* Suppl. 25 (Portsmouth, RI, 1997), 80–1: he was an appropriate presence in bath complexes both as the patron of hot springs—cf. Leigh (n. 4)—and as the presiding deity of the *palaestra*, as well as a figure for the emperor who constructed the bath complex. And, we might add, as the bringer of benefits to all Romans indiscriminately.

[50] Syme (n. 6), 284–8. Manilius' description of the Social War as *Romamque suismet/pugnantem membris* (4.43–4) identifies Rome and Italy to an extreme degree, and is an assessment of the conflict only possible in the wake of Augustus' inclusive policies.

[51] On which C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry II: the 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge, 1971), 79 comments: 'Aristotle's postulate [sc. the necessary unity of tragedy] has been moved out of its restrictive place within the context of tragedy, however great the importance there attached to

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division and promotes community, introduces a poem that, when one stops to think about it, is *all about* unity. It can be no coincidence that much of the criticism of this poem has concentrated on the vexed question of its *formal* unity. Nobody now may advocate splitting the poem into two, as Lehrs did,[52] but Fraenkel could dismiss that option and still effectively devote his treatment of the poem to the issue of unity, ultimately unable to rid himself of a lingering misgiving that 'for all Horace's skill there remains here a faint disharmony'. La Penna makes the poem the ground for more sweeping conclusions about Horace's lyric ambitions: 'Il legame con la prima parte non riesce convincente come legame analogico, giacché questa festa intima non raccoglie neppure la minima eco dei motivi ufficiali.' As such, 'l'ode quasi può essere assunta a simbolo di tutta l'attività lirica di Orazio, del suo tentativo di unire filoni diversi e del fallimento del tentativo stesso.'[53] La Penna's position may be extreme, but he usefully gives voice to anxieties that, I would want to claim, the poem is quite deliberately aiming to provoke, as surely as Horace wants us to hesitate over the implications of *Herculis ritu* in the first stanza.[54] In other words, it is impossible to read 3.14 without being alerted to the issue of unity, whether it be the quality of a political entity or of a poem. Both anxieties are settled at the same time, of course: the realization that those spheres that appear unrelated, the public and the private, are one and the same, simultaneously removes any qualms about the unity of the poem. There cannot be separate public and private halves to a poem if those terms no longer have any validity.

A striking feature of 3.14 is thus the degree to which it obliges the reader, in the very process of reading, to experience the concerns it addresses. It is by provoking the literary-critical responses of his readers that Horace secures their acquiescence in the politics of his poem: one cannot read 3.14 without being exercised about cohesion, at a formal level primarily ('how can this possibly be one poem?'), but the solution to the literary-critical quandary is an ideological one, readers discovering the formal cohesion they crave only when persuaded of the harmony that Augustus has given to the Italian people. This dramatization of the issues of the poem in the experience of the reader is what Brink was referring to in his masterful sketch of the poem, an explicit response to criticisms of its unity:

> What matters to the lyric poet is not to report two kinds of events, but to make the reader feel and understand the motives that induce a private person, and that private person H., to celebrate a public event. This is the meeting point of private and public, and in that point the unity of the poem inheres.[55]

West comments to similar effect: 'The unity of this poem is the unity of the Augustan programme as publicly presented.'[56] Unity is thus not a quality that 3.14 may or may not happen to display, but an issue that the poem precisely sets out to provoke us to consider and reassess. I think the same insight might be expressed in terms of the

it. Prefixed to the whole *Ars*, it is proclaimed as the grand law of all poetry, the reward to the poet who has acquired his *τέχνη*.'

[52] Fraenkel (n. 11), 288–91.

[53] A. La Penna, *Orazio e l'ideologia del principato* (Turin, 1963), 131.

[54] So I would consider H. P. Syndikus, 'Some structures in Horace's *Odes*', in Harrison (n. 19), 17–31, at 24–5, equally wrong to *underplay* the difficulty of discerning unity in the poem.

[55] C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry II: The 'Ars Poetica'* (Cambridge, 1971), 460, on *Carm.* 3.14 and 4.5.

[56] D. West, *Horace, Odes III: Dulce periculum. Text, Translation and Commentary* (Oxford, 2002), 131.

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incipit which has motivated this enquiry: the relevance of the opening words of 3.14, *Herculis ritu*, to the poem as a whole, and hence the poem's unity, becomes apparent to the reader only when Hercules' (and by association Augustus') role as a force for unity is appreciated. But we can be grateful that what I have expressed so clumsily Horace communicated by means of an exquisitely evocative two-word formulation, *Herculis ritu.*

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